Durham University

Durham E-Theses

The Book of Revelation: Its historical backgorund and use of traditional hychological ideas.

J. M. Court

How to cite:

Court, J. M. (1973) The Book of Revelation: Its historical backgorund and use of traditional hychological ideas. Doctoral thesis, Durham University.

Use policy

The full-text may be used and/or reproduced, and given to third parties in any format or medium, without prior permission or charge, for personal research or study, educational, or not-for-profit purposes provided that:

- a full bibliographic reference is made to the original source
- a https://etheses.durham.ac.uk/id/eprint/1312/ is made to the metadata record in Durham E-Theses
- the full-text is not changed in any way

The full-text must not be sold in any format or medium without the formal permission of the copyright holders.

Please consult the full Durham E-Theses policy for further details.

Academic Support Office, The Palatine Centre, Durham University, Stockton Road, Durham, DH1 3LE
e-mail: e-theses.admin@durham.ac.uk Tel: +44 0191 334 6107
https://etheses.durham.ac.uk

JOHN M. COURT

THE BOOK OF REVELATION:

Its Historical Background

and Use of Traditional Mythological Ideas

Ph.D. Thesis presented at
the University of Durham

1973

The copyright of this thesis rests with the author. No quotation from it should be published without his prior written consent and information derived from it should be acknowledged.

BEST COPY

AVAILABLE

TEXT IN ORIGINAL IS
CLOSE TO THE EDGE OF
THE PAGE

C O N T E N T S

Introductory

Chapter 1 The Interpretation of the Book of Revelation page 4

2 The Book of Revelation - A Liturgical Apocalypse? 40

Selected Topics

Chapter 3 The Letters to the Seven Churches 70

4 The Plague Sequences 115

5 The Two Witnesses 189

6 The Woman Clothed with the Sun 235

7 The Beast with Seven Heads 266
Appendix on Revelation 13.18 302

8 The Harlot Babylon 307

9 The New Jerusalem 349

Chapter 10 Conclusions 357

Bibliography

Maps and Tables

The Seven Churches of Asia Minor	pages 90-97
Old Testament Imagery associated with the Day of Yahweh	116-119
Parallels between the Seven Seals and Apocalyptic traditions of the Synoptic Gospels	134-135
The Colours of the Horses in Zechariah and Revelation	145
The Beast - important references	267-268

(Mrs. Holt), "regarding all her trouble about Felix in the light of a fulfilment of her own prophecies, treated the sad history with a preference for edification above accuracy, and for mystery above relevance, worthy of a commentator on the Apocalypse."

George Eliot, 'Felix Holt', p. 324 (Everyman).

THE INTERPRETATION OF THE BOOK OF REVELATION

It is important at the beginning of this work to offer some indication of the range of possibilities still open to the interpreter of the Book of Revelation. Some methods of interpretation have a remarkably long history of active use; others have moved in and out of fashion in a way that is not unrelated to the history and internal politics of the Christian Church; others are comparatively modern, being based on the scientific techniques of nineteenth and twentieth century criticism.

In presenting a catalogue of possibilities, it is necessary to stress that such methods are not by any means mutually exclusive options. The history of criticism sometimes tends to give this impression, as do the individual proponents of one particular theory, when they advocate it at the expense of another. But the remarkable feature of any survey of recent commentaries, as, for example, the one offered by André Feuillet,[1] is that the comments made, to indicate the characteristics of this or that work, highlight first one aspect and then another of the total story about the Book of Revelation. One writer is interested primarily in its contemporary relevance, another in its literary unity, another in its eschatological themes, another in its historical allusions. But more than one of these emphases could be combined in a more comprehensive study of the Book. That such methods of study are by no means incompatible can be demonstrated easily from R. H. Charles' work; in the Introduction to his Commentary he devotes a section to "The Methods of Interpretation Adopted in this Commentary" in which there is "an enumeration of the methods which have stood the test of experience and been found necessary for the interpretation of the Apocalypse"[2]; and in his survey 'History of the Interpretation of the Apocalypse'[3], his headings do justice to the combination of methods used by individual interpreters in the assessment of the book at various periods.

What is offered here is not by any means a history of interpretation,

but, rather, an introductory survey of methods that have been used and can still be used.[4] Each method is considered in the light of a few examples of its application, which can serve to illustrate the advantages and disadvantages. The order in which the methods are considered is approximately chronological, namely that of the first major appearance of each method, so far as this can be determined from extant material. The systems of exegesis may be tabulated as follows:

1. Chiliastic
2. "Alexandrian" - spiritual or allegorical
3. Recapitulation Theory
4. Historical applications - "weltgeschichtlich" or "kirchengeschichtlich"
5. Eschatological - "endgeschichtlich"
6. Contemporary-Historical - "Zeitgeschichtlich"
7. Literary analysis
8. Comparative studies - "religionsgeschichtlich" and "traditionsgeschichtlich"

1. Chiliastic

The earliest commentaries on the Book of Revelation are thought to belong to that category labelled "millenarian" because of the preoccupation with the literal concept of a reign of Christ ~~for a period of one thousand years~~ on earth, with the righteous from the "first resurrection", for a period of one thousand years before the Final Judgement. The textual basis for this chiliastic interpretation is found in Revelation 20.1-6. And the literalism which characterises the interpretation of this passage is the dominant attitude in the reading of the book as a whole.

The association of chiliastic ideas with this passage of Revelation is indicated by Justin Martyr[5] and Irenaeus[6]; it is most likely that a developed

presentation was offered in Hippolytus' commentary on the Apocalypse, which we know about through Jerome,[7] but which is unfortunately not extant. But Hippolytus' millenarian interests are revealed in his commentary on Daniel, his discussion of the Antichrist (De Antichristo), and in his 'Capita adversus Gaium'. Daniélou comments: "This interest in eschatology was not unusual in the earliest Roman community. We can find an echo of it in Hermas. But it does not represent the spirit of the Church of Rome in the time of Hippolytus. The Roman priest Gaius (c. A.D. 210) had written a work against the genuineness of the Johannine authorship of the Apocalypse[8] . . . What we encounter in Hippolytus is the influence of Asiatic "prophet" cults. Photius represented him as a disciple of Irenaeus. . . He shares the millennial hopes of the Asiatics. He thinks that the End of the Ages is imminent. His rigorism too, is motivated by this expectation. Without going so far as Tertullian . . . he approximates to him in his apocalyptic literalism, which was very different both from the spiritualization of eschatology of the Alexandrians and from the tendency to see it realised in the present world on the part of the bishops of Rome."[9]

The comparison with the attitude of Tertullian, after his conversion to Montanism,[10] underlines the connection with Asia Minor which may well prove to be significant for this method of interpretation. Montanism was born in Phrygia, and characteristically was concerned with the imminence of the Millennium and the actual descent to earth of the Heavenly Jerusalem. Sir William Calder[11] argued that Montanism originated in the region of Philadelphia as a direct result of the influence of the Book of Revelation and, in particular, of the letter to Philadelphia in Rev. 3. The fact that such could be the immediate response to the book, the prototype of all commentaries, is not of course an infallible guide to the actual meaning of the book. A single idea could have widely-different values in the background to the author's thought, in his own use of it, and in the response of his readers.

Feuillet draws attention to the importance of sectarian movements from

Montanism to the present day, in keeping alive this chiliastic interpretation. "Si le chiliasme a survécu, c'est surtout grâce aux sectes qui ont toujours fait le plus grand cas de l'Apocalypse comprise très matériellement: Taborites de Bohême au xv^e siècle, anabaptistes au xvi^e s., labadistes (disciples de l'hérétique français Jean Labadie) au xvii^e s., darbystes, mormons, adventistes et témoins de Jéhovah aux xix^e et xx^e siècles."[12] R. H. Charles, referring to the rejection of the literal interpretation of Rev. 20, tells how "a realistic eschatology was crushed out of existence in the Church for full 800 years . . . revived by Joachim of Floris . . . again abandoned for some centuries and declared heretical by the Augsburg and Helvetic Confessions."[13]

A wildly chiliastic interpretation of Revelation was offered by J. A. Bengel in 1740; with Vitringa (1705) and J. Lange (1730) he pioneered within Protestantism a future understanding of the Millennium, and actually dated its commencement to 1836. Subsequent interpretations involving chiliastic beliefs have tended to be much more moderate, and to view a fairly literal understanding of Rev. 20 as part of a total eschatological interpretation. Examples are provided by the following commentators who refer to some form of final manifestation of the Kingdom of Christ on earth, or an unveiling of the Church in its fullest reality before the End of the World: F. Godet 'Études Bibliques' Paris 1874, vol. 2, p. 357; Th. Zahn 'Die Offenbarung des Johannes' Leipzig-Erlangen 1924-6; P. Feret 'L'Apocalypse de saint Jean, vision chrétienne de l'histoire' Paris 1943; H. Bietenhard 'Das tausendjährige Reich' Zürich 1952; Ch. Brütsch 'Clarté de l'Apocalypse' Geneva 1955.

It is clear that, apart from its use for the highly chiliastic views of some sects, the millenarian category of interpretation does not by itself provide an adequate definition for the exegesis of the Apocalypse as a whole. Reduced to more suitable proportions, it could do duty as a designation for a basically literal as opposed to a purely symbolic understanding of one aspect of the final consummation depicted in Revelation. But it may even be

inaccurate to recognize the Millennial kingdom as a separate item in the Seer's order of events; R. H. Charles' painstaking reconstruction[14] of the end of the book has the virtue of logic, but the Seer may not have been so logical in employing traditional features within a total "collage" of the Consummation.

2. "Alexandrian" - spiritual or allegorical

I am inclined to label the spiritual or allegorical tradition in the interpretation of Revelation as "Alexandrian" because its roots seem to be firmly embedded in the school of exegesis associated with the Christian Church at Alexandria. Origen stood within this exegetical tradition and exercised a formative influence upon it, but it was not by any means a Christian innovation. It is paralleled by the spiritual interpretation of Greek myths by Stoics like Chrysippus, and by the tradition of interpretation in Alexandrian Judaism which reached its climax in the work of Philo. Origen was able to bring to the service of the Bible the hermeneutical methods of the pagan philosophers, just as he had applied the methods of the Alexandrian grammarians to his detailed studies of the text.[15] He uses the same kinds of interpretation as Philo who saw in the Old Testament symbols of cosmic realities, or of elements in the soul, or of the mysteries of the heavenly world. Origen was a thoroughgoing Platonist; for him "the phenomenal world of historical occurrence might have a certain measure of significance; but the ultimate reality must belong to the changeless truth of the transcendental realm."[16]

In his exegesis of Scripture Origen separates out three levels of meaning - the literal, the moral and the spiritual.[17] This formal structure is an analogy with human psychology, corresponding to the body, the soul and the spirit in man; it is supported by Scriptural texts, such as the Septuagint reading of Proverbs 22.20 - "Describe these things in a threefold way."[18] It is not easy to sustain a clear distinction, even in Origen's own work, between the moral and spiritual senses; sometimes Origen distinguishes them as

differing levels of spiritual attainment in the progression towards Christian maturity; elsewhere the distinction can be more one of content than of exegetical method, for "the spiritual interpretation is that which relates to Christ and the great truths of God's saving dispensation, whereas the moral interpretation is one which relates to human experience".[19] Such distinctions in content can be elaborated with the development of new interpretations. The variety of spiritual meanings offered by Origen himself could be classified as Christological, ecclesiological, mystical and eschatological, and these classifications were in fact used to the full in later systems of exegesis. But the really significant methodological distinction which is maintained clearly and consistently is that between the literal and the spiritual.

Origen held to the principle of verbal inspiration of Scripture; the Scriptures were written by inspiration of the Holy Spirit and have a deeper meaning than that which appears upon the surface of the record. Because these two convictions were held closely together, what Origen regarded as the unattractiveness, or the factual error, in the literal meaning of some parts of Scripture did not invalidate his conclusions about Biblical inspiration. On the contrary, spiritual truth can be preserved in material falsehood; literal unattractiveness, absurdity or error can be positive signs of a hidden meaning which is of primary or sole importance.[20]

The search for the spiritual meaning of Scripture involves extensive use of allegory and typology employing it much more widely than just to explain awkward passages. Figurative interpretations are required at every point in Scripture irrespective of whether a passage is judged to be historical or improbable. For the deepest meaning of Scripture goes beyond the literal and historical level. At the close of a discussion about the meaning of Passover in his commentary on John, Origen generalises a principle for the final reference of scriptural interpretation to heavenly realities - "We ought not to suppose that historical events are types of other historical

events and material things of other material things; rather material things are types of spiritual things and historical events of intelligible realities".[21]

This exegetical process is described by M. F. Wiles: "Sometimes the figurative meaning of some part of the New Testament is itself developed in historical terms. As the Old Testament points forward to the dispensation of the New, so the New may point forward to the dispensation of the Church. When Jesus withdrew to a desert place on hearing of the death of John the Baptist (Mt. 14.13) the mystical meaning of his action was a "withdrawal from the place in which prophecy was attacked and condemned to the place which had been barren of God among the Gentiles, in order that the Word of God might be among the Gentiles." (Comm. in Matt. x.23). But much more often and much more importantly the whole drama of New Testament history is seen as a type of the eternal truth, which may be expounded either in terms of present spiritual experience, or more fully in terms of that heavenly Jerusalem already existing and one day to be entered into and enjoyed by the believer. What the law is to the recorded gospel, that the recorded gospel is to the eternal gospel."[22]

Origen criticised the chiliastic interpretation of Revelation as "Jewish";[23] but he himself apparently did not complete a commentary on the book.[24] He offers incidental examples of interpretations: of the sealed book (Rev. 5) as Scripture;[25] of the vision in Rev. 19.11ff. as "the opening of heaven by the Divine Word, through the white light of knowledge which he imparts to believers".[26] Similar examples of spiritual interpretations from Clement of Alexandria include: the 24 Elders as representing the equality of Jew and Gentile in the Church;[27] the tails of the locusts as the influence of false teachers;[28] the foundations of the heavenly city as the grace of Apostolic teaching.[29]

The ever-present problem which faces any allegorical interpretation is that of establishing any effective control over the interpretation, such that one meaning can be said to be justified over against another. The

difficulty is sharpened in the view of the modern scholar with his concern, which was by no means necessary to the ancient mind, that the exegesis should be related to the original situation and intention of the Biblical writer. As C. K. Barrett expressed it, the effect of the allegorical method is "to emphasise the authority of the work interpreted and at the same time to rob it of any serious historical meaning."[30] The apparent result is to divide the moment of the inspiration of scripture into two - the moment of writing and the moment of interpretation. The interpreter is as important as the writer because the scriptural text "speaks only to the man who, by nature or special divine endowment, has the gift of penetrating its secret."[31] "It cannot be said that antiquity discovered any means of regulating the allegorical method and applying it with any kind of objectivity; the result was that each interpreter succeeded in reading out of his text the ideas that he had brought with him and placed within it."[32]

One of the few methods of control over such exegesis which were attempted by some commentators was the use of an historical frame of reference. We have seen that this was employed spasmodically by Origen, when he developed the figurative meaning of some texts in historical terms. A more satisfactory example can be cited from an earlier period, when the exegesis of the Old Testament at Qumran (Midrash Pesher) employed a certain amount of fairly crude allegory, but usually combined this with an "historical" kind of interpretation. As Millar Burrows describes it - "the interpretation put upon the Scriptures is primarily historical, not in the sense that it corresponds to modern conceptions of historical criticism and interpretation, but in the sense that everything is supposed to refer directly to the history of the group itself. Not only are events of the writers' own times interpreted in the light of Scripture; it is even more characteristic that the Scriptures themselves are interpreted in the light of recent events."[33] The Qumran sect saw the Scriptures as fulfilled in themselves and the events which befell them. Not so much in the form of exegesis as in the conviction

underlying it that their present time is the eschatological time in which the prophecies of Scripture are fulfilled, the Qumran community and the New Testament Church came close together.[34] The allegorical method was used to apply the passage being quoted to the desired historical setting. The use of allegory itself is a fairly clear indication that the commentator began with certain convictions about the historical situation and then imposed these on the text. Individual paragraphs of text are interpreted separately; the continuity is provided not by the original context, but by the new historical context.

With the application of this historical frame of reference to allegorical interpretation of the Book of Revelation, we are rapidly approaching the boundary between this Alexandrian method of interpretation and the fourth classification of the "World"- or "Church-Historical" method. Without anticipating a discussion of this latter method, we can see how the concern for the application of a spiritual message to the commentator's own situation may control the broad line of his exegesis. Many commentators have related some feature of the Book of Revelation to the continuing history of the Christian Church. A good example of this is provided by Tyconius, the fourth century Donatist. He rejected the literal - chiliastic - interpretation of the thousand-year reign of Christ (Revelation 20.4-6); instead he interprets the first resurrection as that which is the effect of baptism, and the reign of the saints as the reign of the Church in the world. This aspect is quoted as an instance of the influence upon Augustine of Hippo of his studies of Tyconius; he seems to have abandoned his earlier belief in the material reign of the saints on earth (Sermon 259.2) in favour of Tyconius' interpretation (De Civ. Dei xx.7-13).

Tyconius' work also illustrates another attempt at the control of allegorical exegesis, by the method of maintaining a consistent line of thought as the basis of the interpretation. "The greatness of Tyconius' achievement lay in his typological interpretation of scripture within a fixed

pattern of thought: the struggle of the City of God, the members of the Body of which Christ is the Head, with the City of the devil, the infernal antitype of the Body of Christ."[35] In the case of Tyconius the method of control approximates to an application of the Recapitulation theory of the second or spiritual type, which will be discussed in the next section. Tyconius' chief work was his 'Liber Regularum' (c.380) in which he sets out seven rules for the interpretation of scripture; Augustine incorporated these in his 'De Doctrina Christiana'.[36] Tyconius' commentary on Revelation is not extant, but can be reconstructed in part from later quotations, especially by the Spanish presbyter, Beatus of Liebana (c.776).

3. Recapitulation Theory

It is usually said that, as far as we know, the originators of the Recapitulation theory were Victorinus of Pettau and the Donatist Tyconius; certainly these two give the first clear expression of the idea. Victorinus' work is the earliest extant commentary on the Apocalypse[37], while Tyconius' views have to be reconstructed from quotations, fortunately substantial, made by later exegetes. In brief, the Recapitulation theory holds that the Apocalypse is not a strictly consecutive account of a sequence of events, but a description which repeats the same facts in different forms, such as the seven seals, trumpets and bowls.

But we should also notice what is, at least, a connection in terminology between this theory and the comments of Irenaeus about the interpretation of the Beast's number, 666. Irenaeus was inclined not to commit himself irrevocably to a single theory about the name of the Beast, although he thought that the name "Titan" had "a strong degree of probability" (Adv. Haer. 5.30.3). But in the preceding chapters he has interpreted the number as the totality of all apostasy: "and the number is six hundred and sixty six, that is six times a hundred, six times ten, and six units. (He gives this) as a recapitulation of the whole of that apostasy which has taken place during six thousand years" (5.28.2). "And there is therefore in

this beast, when he comes, a recapitulation made of all sorts of iniquity and of every deceit, in order that all apostate power, flowing into and being shut up in him, may be sent into the furnace of fire." (5.29.2). "The digit six being adhered to throughout, indicates the recapitulation of that apostasy, taken in its full extent, which occurred at the beginning, during the intermediate periods, and which will take place at the end." (5.30.1).

Irenaeus used the term 'recapitulatio' (ἀνακεφαλαίωσις) widely, in more than one specialised context. It may be that we should acknowledge him as the real originator of this recapitulatory tradition in the exegesis of the Apocalypse, just as we acknowledge him as the expounder of a 'physical' theory of the atonement on the basis of Ephesians 1.10.

Victorinus, the Bishop of Pettau, was a martyr in the persecution of Diocletian. According to this commentary, there is a chronological progression in the Apocalypse as far as the sixth seal, when the stage of the 'novissima persecutio' is reached; thereafter the punishment of the unbeliever is described, firstly in the seven trumpets and then repeated in the seven bowls. "Et licet repetat per phialas, non tamen quasi bis factum dicitur, sed quoniam semel futurum a Domino decretum ideo bis dicitur; quod ergo in tubis minus dixit, hic in phialis est. Non aspiciendus est ordo dictorum, quoniam saepe Spiritus Sanctus, ubi ad novissimi temporis finem percurrerit, rursus ad eadem tempora redit et supplet ea quae minus dixit, nec requirendus est ordo in apocalypsi, sed intellectus sequendus est eorum quae prophetata sunt." (on Rev. 11.8).

While Victorinus of Pettau wrote his commentary in expectation that the End was near, and held firmly to a literal interpretation of the Millennium, we have already noted that the other pioneer of the Recapitulation Theory, Tyconius, made a conscious break with the Chiliastic tradition and treated the Millennium as an expression of the period between the first and second advents of Christ. For Tyconius, the Apocalypse described the war of Christ with the devil; the seven heads and ten horns of the beast were

not to be understood as a chronological sequence, open to individual identification as Victorinus had suggested, but rather they symbolised the totality of powers hostile to Christ, the 'civitas diaboli' under the leadership of the 'rex novissimus'.

Tyconius applied the Recapitulation theory consistently through his commentary; at the conclusion he writes, "Advertendum praeterea est et ante oculos cordis habendum narrationis genus, quod Spiritus Sanctus in isto libro in omni periocho servavit; usque ad sextum enim numerum ordinem custodivit; et praetermisso septimo recapitulat et duas narrationes quasi ordinem secutus in septimo concludit; sed ipsa recapitulatio pro locis intelligenda est; aliquando enim ab origine passionis, aliquando a medio tempore, aliquando de sola ipsa novissima pressura aut non multo ante dicturus recapitulat. Tamen fixum servat; ut a sexto recapitulet" (Beatus 314 // Primasius and Bede). Bousset notes other references to the Recapitulation theory in comments on Rev. 8.2; 9 end; 11.14; 14.5; 14.13; 16.12; 16.16; 17 end; 19.11; 20.11; 21.1.

It is clear from the outset that not all writers will apply the Recapitulation theory in the same way. Much depends on whether this method of interpretation is associated primarily with an exegesis which recognises some chronological sequence within the book, as in Victorinus' commentary. Such a sequence may relate to historical events or to future expectation; what is important is that within the Apocalypse the sequence comes to a halt, and the action is "replayed". A distinct type of recapitulation occurs in Tyconius' work, and there would seem to be some relationship between this and the language of Irenaeus. In what is basically a spiritual interpretation the system of recapitulation emphasises the totality of the forces involved.

The influence of Tyconius and therefore of the recapitulation theory was widespread in the Church up to the early Middle Ages; those who perpetuated his work naturally removed it from the original context of Donatism. Further developments in the recapitulation theory were brought about by

Collado (1581), Paraeus (1618) and especially Cocceius (1688). Whereas Collado had held that the seven seals, trumpets and bowls referred to almost identical events, Cocceius introduced as well an assessment of the seven letters within this account. Of all the modern commentators, E.B. Allo is notable for the use he has made of recapitulation in his exegesis; it is appropriate to conclude this section with some remarks about his commentary, published in 1921.

According to Allo, the seven letters are not prophetic in intention but reflect the actual situation of the churches of Asia; but the seven seals and trumpets describe the world's future, from Christ's glorification to the last judgement (announced already in 11.15-18). Revelation 12-21.8 also represents prophecy covering the same period, but with the difference that the first part of the book relates primarily to the pagan world, and the second to the Church. The seven bowls are not chronologically the successors of the trumpets, and the Millennium is not an historically defined period, but has to do with the Kingdom of God on earth established since the Resurrection. The last section of the book (21.9-22.5) is in effect a recapitulation of what has gone before; it contains "une image transcendante de l'Eglise, aussi bien sur la terre que dans le ciel, aussi bien sous le régime de la grâce que dans la gloire, dans le temps que dans l'éternité; mais c'est la gloire de son état définitif dans l'éternité qui jette sa lumière sur toute la description, contrairement aux scènes des chapitres XI et XII où l'Eglise était exclusivement représentée dans son état militant."[38]

The theory of Recapitulation presumably arose to give a more satisfactory account of the apparent repetitions, both of ideas and of forms, within the Book of Revelation. At times it has assumed the status of a dogma in exegesis; once accepted, all the details of the book from the seven letters to the New Jerusalem are brought into relationship with it. The textual justification of the theory rests primarily in the parallelism between the three sequences of plagues. Even here, the theory seems to do

violence to the epithet ἐσχάτας of the plagues in Rev. 15.1. But only a full reappraisal of the three sequences can provide an adequate basis on which to judge the value of this theory.[39]

4. Historical applications - "weltgeschichtlich" or "kirchengeschichtlich"

The 'World-historical' and 'Church-historical' methods of interpretation were favoured especially by Medieval commentators. We have seen traces of this 'historical' method as early as Tyconius, but there referring to the particular aspect of the Millennium (where he made a deliberate break with the Chiliastic tradition in interpreting the thousand years of the current activity of the Church in the world) rather than governing the exegesis of the book as a whole. Because Tyconius was a Donatist it is usually thought that the Church to which he referred was the Donatist Church, and the Apocalypse therefore represented the conflict between the Donatists on the one side and the false Catholic Church, together with the world powers, on the other. But although he accepted the Donatist view of the Church of the Martyrs, Tyconius believed that their principle of separation was mistaken because the Church is universal in extent. The real division is not a division of churches, such that the Donatists should keep themselves apart from all 'Catholic' Churches; it is rather a division between "two supernatural societies - the city of God and the city of the devil, each of which is made up of individuals governed by contrary wills."[40] The lines of Tyconius' controlled spiritual interpretation were preserved, and the refined version, purged of any incidental references to the Donatist Controversy, had a substantial influence on the early Middle Ages.

Tyconius speculated that the Millennium, or reign of the Church, would come to an end with the second advent of Christ after $3\frac{1}{2}$ days (a calculation on the basis of Rev. 11.3 where the two witnesses symbolise the Church), that is 350 years after the Crucifixion; this produced a date about 380 A.D. This offers an early example of a type of calculation, applying the apocalyptic data to the course of contemporary events, which has remained strangely attractive in spite of the recurrent anguish and disappointment it

causes. In the context of thought concerning the Millennium, there was a renewal of speculation about the world's end in the eleventh century, particularly in France, the period of 1000 years of the Christian Church being calculated either from the Birth or the Ascension of Christ.

The name of Joachim of Floris is associated with a much more detailed evaluation of the Apocalypse as a description of the seven periods in the history of the Church. The foundation of his system is a division of world history into three ages: the age of the Father, lasting for 42 generations,[41] covered by the Old Testament; the age of the Son, equally of 42 generations, the era of the New Testament lasting until 1260 A.D.; and the Age of the Holy Spirit, inaugurated c.1260 with the rise of the new religious orders.[42] As the age of the Father was the time of the 'ordo conjugatorum', and the age of the Son that of the 'ordo clericorum', so the new age of the Holy Spirit was the time of the 'ordo monachorum'. The three ages are referred to also as the times of Peter, Paul and John respectively; the third age with its characteristics of 'vita contemplativa' and 'intellectus spiritualis' will produce a new revelation of the meaning of the Old and New Testaments. It is within this context that Joachim sees the contribution of his own works ('Liber Concordiae Novi ac Veteris Testamenti', 'Expositio in Apocalypsim' and 'Psalterium decem chordarum') and he recounts how his understanding of the meanings of the two Testaments and the Apocalypse were given to him as divine revelation.[43]

The seven periods of Church History described in the Apocalypse represent six times of suffering for the Church, followed by a Sabbath (the Millennium), and then the eighth period which is the final consummation and eternal rest. The first four periods are times of strife for various orders in the Church against their opponents: first the 'apostoli' against the 'Judaei' (Chs. 2-3), second the 'martyres' against the 'Romani', from Nero to Diocletian (Chs. 4-7), third the 'doctores ecclesiae' against the 'Ariani', the Arian 'reges Constantinopolitani, Vandali, Gothi, Longobardi' (Chs. 8-11), and fourth the 'virgines' against the 'Saraceni', the Muslims as the enemies

of Monasticism (Chs. 12-14). The fifth period is the time of conflict between the Church in general and Babylon, the degenerate Holy Roman Empire;[44] this period is depicted by Joachim in terms of contemporary events. It is followed by the sixth period, that of Antichrist, in which Babylon comes to judgement; thereafter the Church is renewed for the Millennium by a return to the poverty and simplicity of apostolic times, under the influence of the new order of monks devoted to the contemplative life.

The main force of Joachim's interpretation lies in the prophetic statement of an eschatological message for his own times; the relationship between the individual conflicts of the first five periods is established by means of a theory of recapitulation, each conflict being taken up into the total conflict of the Church. A more systematic and strictly chronological statement of the "weltgeschichtlich" method is provided by Nicholas of Lyra (c.1270-1340); he retained the scheme of seven ages, and expounded the Book of Revelation as a continuous history of the Church from its foundation to the end of time.

As examples of this detailed scheme of "historical" identifications can be cited: the seven seals which cover the period from Christ to Julian the Apostate; the seven trumpets from Julian to Khusraw II and Mohammed; the seven bowls from Charlemagne to Henry IV of Germany. The measuring of temple and altar in 11.1 refers to the Feast of Dedication of the churches instituted by Pope Felix, and the opening of the temple in heaven to the institution of the Feast of Purification; the two witnesses are Menas, Patriarch of Constantinople and Pope Silvester. The woman of Rev. 12 is the Church of Jerusalem persecuted by Khusraw II, the Persian king who captured Jerusalem and overran the Holy Land (605-614), while the woman's male child is the Emperor Heraclius who recovered what had been conquered (622-9). The Millennium begins with the founding of the orders of Friars.

The majority of modern scholarly exegesis no longer sustains such an application in detail of the imagery of the Apocalypse to the history of the

world or the church or to events of the commentator's own day. But, apart from the readjusted calculations of certain sects concerned with the date of the world's end, there are occasional attempts to read from Revelation's sequences of seven a schematic guide to the broad stages of world history, attempts which have inherited the inspiration of Joachim of Floris.[45] Mention might also be made at this point of the commentary by W. Hadorn (1928) which stresses that exegesis of the Apocalypse should be at one and the same time "endgeschichtlich" and "reichgeschichtlich". Hadorn renounced all attempts at concrete identifications with historical events, but saw the Apocalypse as revealing the fundamental principles of the Kingdom of God, and thereby illuminating every single epoch in the history of the Church.

It is at least a more reasonable argument to suppose that something is applicable to more than one concrete situation because it is in a sense "timeless than to imagine that a work composed in the first century A.D. must of necessity contain a "blueprint" for events in the distant future, whether of later persecutions, the Middle Ages or the Reformation. The major objection to so many expositions of world history through the pages of the Apocalypse is the arbitrary manner in which the age precipatating the final crisis is identified with the age of the present writer. Even if it is true, and not a gross simplification, that writers in the apocalyptic tradition were concerned principally with the timing of the End, and did no more than revise previous predictions, which events had proved incorrect, is this any justification for the commentator who, instead of writing a commentary, puts on the Seer's mantle and brings his work up to date?

5. <u>Eschatological - "endgeschichtlich"</u>

The eschatological method of interpretation cannot be distinguished sharply from the first category, the chiliastic. As R. H. Charles rightly pointed out, "strictly speaking, Chiliasm forms a subdivision of Eschatology".[46] But whereas the earliest interpreters tended to concentrate on the Millennium, which was still regarded as a prophecy for the future, liable to imminent earthly fulfil-

ment, the thoroughgoing eschatological interpretation of the whole book first arose in the 16th century as a reaction against the proliferation of "world-historical" interpretations.

It was the Jesuits who reacted most strongly to the bombardment of anti-Catholic exegesis from the Protestant Reformers who used the Apocalypse as ammunition for their attacks on the Papacy and the Church of Rome. These Jesuits proposed a strictly eschatological interpretation: the Apocalypse is concerned with the end of the world and the signs which herald it; the calamities, wars and persecutions which it predicts, apply almost exclusively to this last age of history. Therefore it is no longer necessary to force John's imagery to make it apply to past or present realities; there is every reason to believe that John's oracles will be fulfilled literally - "haec verba intelligenda sunt ut sonant".

The pioneer, and a notable exponent, of this method of exegesis was the Spanish Jesuit Ribeira ('Commentarius in sacram beati Joannis Apocalypsim' Salamanca 1591). According to Ribeira, only the first five seals refer to the early history of the Church, from the preaching of the Apostles up to the time of Trajan. From the sixth seal to the end of the book, everything relates to the last age, and therefore the figures for $3\frac{1}{2}$ years (42 months or 1260 days) can be understood literally. Basically, the Apocalypse is in two parts: up to Chapter 11 there is a description of the calamities prior to the reign of Antichrist; between chapters 12 and 20 the reign of Antichrist and the accompanying persecutions are predicted.

Other Jesuit writers in the 17th century reproduced substantially this system of exegesis, notably Viégas (1601), Pereyra (1606), Cornelius à Lapide (1625), Joh. Steph. Menochius (1630). A comparable emphasis in modern interpretation is to be found in the works of Wikenhauser ('Der Sinn der Apokalypse des hl. Johannes' Münster 1931; 'Offenbarung des Johannes übersetzt und erklärt' Regensburg 1947) and Lohmeyer ('Die Offenbarung des Johannes' Tübingen 1926, re-edited by Bornkamm 1953).

Wikenhauser recognises an indissoluble connection between "Zeitgeschichte" and "Endgeschichte"; the author of Revelation, influenced by Daniel in the Old Testament, and the Little Apocalypse of the Synoptic Gospels, describes the phases in the eschatological drama and at the same time makes numerous allusions to contemporary history. In contrast, Lohmeyer's application of the eschatological method is much more comprehensive and, indeed, absolute. Everything in Revelation, from ch. 4 to ch. 21, is strictly eschatological; there is no direct correspondence between the events described in Revelation 5 and 12, and the historical account in the Gospels of Christ's birth, death, resurrection and ascension. Babylon is not to be identified with the historical power of Rome - "nicht um irdische Mächte kann es sich mehr handeln, sondern um dämonische Wesen."[47] Similarly the two beasts of chapter 13, modelled on the imagery of Daniel and the figures of Leviathan and Behemoth, are "satanischen und mythischen Wesens."[48] Historical identifications are therefore not appropriate; indeed, Lohmeyer believed that John was working with what is essentially an atemporal or "zeitlos" concept of salvation, in which past, present and future are in certain senses interchangeable. "So stellt Eschatologie in zukünftigen Bildern dar, was der Sinn alles Glaubens in Vergangenheit, Gegenwart und Zukunft ist."[49]

We have already referred to what W. Hadorn meant by saying that the exegesis of the Apocalypse ought to be both "endgeschichtlich" and "reichgeschichtlich".[50] It seems to me that comparable conclusions to these based on the eschatological method are being reached in a somewhat different way by Paul Minear in his investigations of ontology in the Apocalypse. John's data ~~is~~ are historical, ontological and eschatological in character: "he is speaking of present, existent realities in such a way as to discourage a disjunction between the present demands for endurance and the future reward of life in the kingdom. On Patmos and in the seven cities of Asia the eschatological reality and the historical reality had become fused . . . We may separate the two dimensions - the visible and the invisible, the historical and

the eschatological - but John assumes their compresence."[51] On the subject of the cities in Rev. 11.8 Minear comments: "the prophet describes not only a coalescence of heavenly and earthly forces; he sees also in a single situation the coalescence of many times and places."[52] "He saw each story as fully historical, and yet as fully eschatological . . . He perceived each separate place-time in terms of its content, i.e. that corporate historical action which 'filled it'. He discerned behind this action a 'trans-historical model' which linked each story to the others. This is a comprehensive rather than a disjunctive mode of seeing and thinking. It apprehends events in terms of their inner structure as responses to God's action."[53]

Such conclusions, although based originally in whole or in part on the eschatological method, seem to me to go far beyond the strict confines of the exegetical technique. Because the commentator is freed by his own arguments from historical controls which will limit his exegesis, his final results may closely resemble the spiritual interpretation of a modern "Neo-Alexandrian". Nor is the eschatological theme itself always sufficiently well-defined, and restricted by an historical investigation of the type of thinking characteristic of the period, that it can act as a control on the exegesis.

On the supposition that Oscar Cullmann's presentation of Christian eschatology and 'Heilsgeschichte' reflects at least one tradition of eschatological thinking within the Early Church, it may be most instructive to examine the work of Matthias Rissi,[54] as he applies Cullmann's thesis directly to the Book of Revelation. According to Rissi, the intention of the Apocalypse "is not simply to devise a general theology of history,[55] but to lay out, quite concretely, a prophetic interpretation of that history which lies between those two divine interventions which are so very decisive for all human history, between the historically datable first appearance of Jesus Christ and his return"[56] John expresses an "expectation of the near End" from "certainty that the last time has broken in with the historical coming of Jesus Christ";[57] Rissi explains the repeated "anticipation" of the eschatological

events by a version of the recapitulation theory. "The tension of the End time", which is the time of Christ's lordship, the time of Antichrist and the time of the Church, "is resolved by the Parousia of Christ, the final revelation and the accomplishment of salvation . . . John describes the End under various aspects and shows thereby that he is not satisfied with the mere laying out of a rigid scheme of eschatological events and that he is aware of the inadequacy of our conceptions. But he accommodates all elements in a total compass and presents the materialization of salvation as a consequence of events whose unfolding lies grounded in the nature of salvation history."[58] In this way the "final creative act of consummated history is bound to the redemptive act of Jesus, who is enthroned with God in Paradise as mankind's atoning Lamb."[59]

6. Contemporary-Historical - "zeitgeschichtlich"

R. H. Charles observed that "quite sixty years pass before we find any references to" the Book of Revelation "and over a hundred before any writer deals at length with its expectations. Thus, since the real historical horizon of the book was lost, and its historical allusions had become unintelligible for the most part, the use of the Contemporary-Historical" method of exegesis, "unless in isolated passages, had become practically impossible."[60] The possibilities of this exegetical method only came to light and were given serious consideration in the 16th and 17th centuries, as part of the same reaction against the fantasies of "world-historical" exegesis which had also created the eschatological method.

The first steps were taken by Hentenius, a professor at Louvain, who summarised his understanding of the Apocalypse in the preface to an edition of Arethas' commentary in 1547. He divided the prophetic section of Revelation into two parts: chapters 6-11 dealing with 'synagogae abrogatio', and chapters 12-19 concerning 'excidium gentilismi'. This very influential analysis was combined rather quaintly with an identification of chapter 13 with Mohammed and Islam's persecution of the Church. The date of the Apocalypse was given as in the time of Nero. Very similar ideas recur in the work of the Spanish Jesuit

Salmeron ('In Johannis Apocalypsim praeludia', 1614), and are taken up, but without the references to Islam, in the important commentary of Alcazar ('Vestigatio arcani sensus in Apocalypsi' Antwerp 1614 and 1619).

According to Alcazar, the first four seals refer to the apostolic preaching and the victorious course of the Gospel, while the sixth seal concerns the siege of Jerusalem. Revelation 7 describes the deliverance of Christians from Palestine, and chapters 8 and 9 the misfortunes of the Jews in the Jewish War. The Gospel is transferred from the Jews to the Gentiles (chapter 10), Jerusalem is destroyed, and the two witnesses of chapter 11 symbolise the increase of Christianity and the conversion of a proportion of Judaism. In his treatment of the second section of the book (the 'excidium gentilismi') Alcazar is tending to adopt a very moderate form of the "world-historical" method. The woman of chapter 12 is the Jewish-Christian community giving birth to the Gentile Church at Rome; the immediate sequel is the persecution under Nero. The first Beast in chapter 13 represents the Roman Empire, the second Beast the 'sapientia carnis', and the number 666 ἡ ἀλαζονεία βίου . The outpouring of the seven bowls signifies the stages in the victory of Christianity over the Roman Empire, and 19.11ff represents the complete conversion. The angel who binds Satan is Constantine the Great, and at this point the Millennium begins, which will last until the end of the world.

It is with some justification that Bousset comments, "Mit Alcazar beginnt die wissenschaftliche Auslegung der Apokalypse."[61] But Alcazar's successors did not maintain his high standard of sober exegesis. Of Grotius ('Adnotationes in Novum Testamentum' Paris 1644), who at least rejected the protestant tradition of anti-papal exegesis, Bousset remarks: "Die klare Auslegung des Alcazar hat er durch hinzugefügte Einzelausdeutungen sogar wieder verschlechtert."[62] Grotius discovered references to Bar Kochba in Revelation 11, Simon Magus in chapter 12 and Apollonius of Tyana in chapter 13. Likewise J.B. Bossuet ('L'Apocalypse avec une explication' Paris 1688)

finds a representation of the history of the Roman Empire from Trajan, through the persecution of Diocletian, to the destruction of Rome by Attila.

In more recent exegesis, the emphasis on references to events contemporary with the author has been maintained in a number of works, and for a variety of reasons, not least the rationalist desire to exclude from consideration supernatural and prophetic elements. An obvious example is provided by the work of Ernest Renan 'L'Antéchrist' (Paris 1871, E.T. London 1890). He offers historical identifications for numerous details in the Book of Revelation: e.g. 6.6. refers to the famine prices of 68 A.D.; 8.7 to the disastrous storms of 67, 68 and 69; 8.8 to the volcanic island of Thera; 8.10 to the fall of a meteorite which was associated with the pollution of drinking water; 8.12 to a series of eclipses or the dreadful storm of 10th January 69; 9.2 to the volcano (Solfatara) of Puteoli; the two witnesses in chapter 11 must be prominent members of the Jerusalem Church.

Another important and an unfairly neglected example is offered by the work of Sir William Ramsay of Aberdeen. As a young man he was influenced deeply by the speculation of the Tübingen school; but "the story of his researches" as a practical archaeologist, painstakingly relating the evidence of inscriptions and other discoveries to the issues of New Testament interpretation, "is the story of his gradual conversion to the view"[63] of the accuracy and reliability of the New Testament writings. J.G.C. Anderson described him as "the foremost authority of his day on the topography, antiquities, and history of Asia Minor in ancient times."[64] As W. Ward Gasque says in his study of Ramsay:[65] "even in his later, more apologetic writings he is expressing judgements formed during his early work in Asia Minor as a scientific archaeologist and classical historian." With these interests it is natural that Ramsay's attentions in the Book of Revelation should have been directed to 'The Letters to the Seven Churches of Asia and their place in the plan of the Apocalypse'.[66] In the preface to that work he wrote: "The Apocalypse reads the history and fate of the Churches in the natural features, the relations of earth and sea, winds and mountains, which affected the cities;

this study distinguishes some of those influences."[67]

Two works by French Roman Catholics offer notable examples from more recent scholarship of the "zeitgeschichtlich" method of interpretation. P. Touilleux's 'L'Apocalypse et les cultes de Domitien et de Cybèle' was published in Paris in 1935 in reaction against Allo's use of the Recapitulation method. According to Touilleux, John adopted the "fiction" characteristic of Jewish apocalypses, that of describing events of the past or present as if they were future prophecies. The Apocalypse was actually written under Domitian, but gives the impression of being a revelation received about 68 A.D. in the reign of Vespasian. Chapters 2 and 3 refer to the circumstances of this earlier period, while 4.1-14.7 presents as apocalyptic "prophecy" a series of calamities occurring between 68 and 95 A.D., the actual date of composition. The two beasts of chapter 13 seem to Touilleux to correspond perfectly with the situation in the reign of Domitian when the cult of Cybele and the Imperial cult were associated together in Asia Minor. But it must be noted that the accuracy of this historical reconstruction and the validity of all the supposed correspondences with the cult of Cybele have been called into question.[68]

Finally there is the work of S. Giet, 'L'Apocalypse et L'Histoire', published in Paris in 1957, which originated in a comparison between material in the Apocalypse and Josephus' account of the 'Jewish War'. Giet argues for a date of composition of the majority of the Book of Revelation about 74/5 A.D. in the reign of Vespasian, which he supports by an interpretation of 666, the Beast's number. The detailed correspondences are discovered between Revelation 8.13-11.19 and Josephus' account of the three phases in the Jewish War with Rome. The five months of the first woe (9.5) correspond to the first phase of the war under the procuratorship of Gessius Florus; the second woe involves the four angels from the Euphrates (9.14), while the second phase of the war is marked by the introduction of four Roman contingents from the Euphrates region under the command of the legate Cestius; the third woe, not described (11.14), is the destruction of the temple after the $3\frac{1}{2}$

years trampling, which corresponds to the duration of the Flavian campaign. The Apocalypse reflects the impression made upon the Jews by these catastrophes; the fabric is interwoven with specifically Christian prophecies, designed to show how the New Covenant is superseding the Old.

Interpretations in terms of the contemporary historical situation, although justified as being in accord with the tradition of apocalyptic writing, are always most vulnerable because of the limited nature of historical data to corroborate the identifications. And where there ~~is~~ are such data, the commentator's eye lights automatically on any "parallelism", even though it may be only chance coincidence. The modern reader has access to only a minute proportion, and not necessarily the most useful proportion, of the information available to the earliest reader, who naturally did not think of documenting what were, to him, obvious identifications. We can only proceed with extreme caution, assessing our historical allusions in the light of the book's total context. And so, for example, we recognise that, attractive though many of Giet's identifications appear, his assessment is based on a strictly limited portion of the book; the difficulty with his dating lies in the absence of evidence to support a context of actual persecution, despite all the indications Giet offers of a powerful impetus given to the Imperial cult by Vespasian.

7. Literary Analysis

The technique of Literary-Criticism, applied systematically to the text of the Book of Revelation, is really a development of 19th century scholarship. But it was anticipated, to a limited extent, by Grotius in his application of the "contemporary-historical" method of exegesis.[69] Since he wished to assign different parts of the text to different historical settings, and since he observed that there was more than one tradition as to the place and date of composition, Grotius conjectured that the book was made up of several visions which had been written down at different times, either on Patmos in the time of Claudius, or at Ephesus under Vespasian.

The application of Literary Criticism in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries produced a variety of theories which can be classified under three headings, as R. H. Charles suggested. Firstly there are hypotheses of Redactions, where the present text has been amended by one or more editors, as suggested by Völter (1882, 1885); Weyland (1886, 1888); Erbes (1891); J. Weiss (1904); H. von Soden (1905). A second group is formed by the Source hypotheses, advocating a number of independent documentary sources fused together or merely juxtaposed, as suggested by Spitta (1889); Briggs (1895); Schmidt (1891); Rauch (1894). And thirdly come the "Fragmentary-Hypotheses", in which material from other sources, Jewish or pagan, is interpolated by the author into his work in such a way that the unity is disrupted by elements which are not assimilated completely. In this group are the works of Weizsäcker (1886, 1892); Sabatier (1886); Bousset (1896); Bruston (1886, 1896, 1908); Wellhausen (1909); Calmes (1907).

Subsequent developments in literary analysis can be illustrated by two examples: the two-volume commentary by R. H. Charles - the result of no less than twenty-five years' work - which appeared in the I.C.C. series in 1920; and the hypothesis suggested by M.-E. Boismard in his article '"L'Apocalypse" ou "Les Apocalypses" de Saint Jean'[70] and set out in the introduction to the Book of Revelation in the 'Jerusalem Bible'.[71]

R. H. Charles analysed several different sources utilised by the author in his work; he also believed that the text had suffered considerably after the author's death at the hands of a faithful disciple who was incompetent and rather stupid as an editor. Charles recognized the inadequacy of literary-critical methods without a study of the distinctive form of Greek employed by John; he therefore provided in his introduction, and in the sections on diction and idiom within the commentary itself, an extensive exposition of Revelation's linguistic peculiarities and characteristics. He was particularly concerned to point to deviations from Classical Attic Greek, and tried to demonstrate that what appear as irregularities are in fact consistent features

of John's style. Largely on the basis of this analysis, Charles distinguished the parts of the text which were composed by John from those which represent independent sources and from interpolations and editorial glosses in the text. G. Mussies comments on Charles' analysis that, although it is extensive, it "is not complete, especially not if measured by the new demands resulting from the developments in linguistics of the last fifty years. For a solution of the problems . . . it is absolutely necessary that the linguistic description be as complete as possible." Mussie's own work ('The Morphology of Koine Greek as used in the Apocalypse of St. John' Leiden 1971) aims "to extend Charles' description to subjects not yet discussed or not sufficiently treated of, and to compare the result thus obtained with the morphological system of non-literary Koine-Greek, so as to discover the facts that are peculiar to the Apocalypse."[72]

R. H. Charles identified and dated various sources used by John, for example: 7.1-8, a source of Jewish or Jewish-Christian origin written before 70 A.D.; 11.1-2, a Jewish document (a Zealot pamphlet) also dated prior to 70; 11.3-13, another independent fragment which "presupposes Jerusalem to be still standing"; 12.1-5, 13-17, originally from a pagan source, alien to its present Christian application; 12.7-10, 12, from a Jewish source; while 17.1c-2, 3^{b}-6a, 7, 18 and 18.2-25 are from a source written by a Jewish-Christian of the reign of Vespasian, 17.11-13, 17, 16 are from a Jewish oracle of the time of Titus. The Letters to the Seven Churches were written by John himself, probably in the reign of Vespasian and certainly long before the time of Domitian, at which point they were re-edited and incorporated into his book.

Charles draws attention to numerous interpolations, glosses and corruptions in the text which may be due to editorial activity. But his hypothesis about the incompetent editor has the most significant effect on the order of the text after 20.3, where Charles offers the following reconstruction of the logical order originally intended by the author:[73] 20.1-3; 21.9-22.2; 22.14-15, 17; 20.4-6; 20.7-10; 20.11-15; 21.1-5b; 22.3-5; 21.5c,6b-8; 22.6-7, 18a, 16,

13, 12, 10; 22.8-9, 20-21. Charles believes that the author died leaving his work in its final form only as far as 20.3, while the rest of the work existed as a number of documents waiting for their final editing.

According to the theory of M.-E. Boismard, the "strictly prophetic part of Revelation, chapters 4-22, is made up of two different apocalypses written by the same author at different times and later fused into one by some author."[74] Before looking at the analysis itself, we should consider what kind of arguments demand this precise conclusion. "As it stands the text of Revelation presents many difficulties; repetitions, interruptions in the sequence of visions, and passages obviously divorced from their context. Many explanations for this have been suggested: that Revelation was compiled from diverse sources, that whole chapters have been accidentally misplaced, etc." It is noted that doublets seem to appear frequently in narrative passages and also in formulae. There is a parallelism between chapters 4-9 and chapters 12-16; were this parallelism restricted to these chapters, it would be possible to think that a deliberate contrast had been made by the author between the reign of God and the reign of Satan. But doublets also abound from Rev.17 onwards, but are so tangled together that such a deliberate plan of composition is no longer a possible explanation.

Rearrangements, such as these which R. H. Charles proposed, take account of the problem but do not solve it, since the doublets still remain. In the last century commentators suppressed the difficulties by presenting the work as a more or less coherent compilation from sources, but more recent writers have tended to desert the source theory because of the recognisable unity of style in the work as a whole. The advantage of the theory of a fusion of two parallel series of prophetic visions is that it does not ignore either the unity of style or the problems of doublets. To distinguish between two parallel series does not necessarily involve the argument of a difference in authorship; there could be two works by the same author, distinguished by the situation of composition. If two works are by the same author, they are

hardly likely to be separable by characteristics of style; instead the analysis must be made by examining internal affinities within the material, by separating the doublets and by remedying the incoherences.

The analysis into two texts, as set out in the Jerusalem Bible introduction, is as follows:

	Text I	Text II
Prologue - the small book		10.1-2a, 3-4, 8-11
Satan attacks the Church	12.1-6, 13-17 [75]	12.7-12
The Beast attacks the Church		13
Proclamation and preludes of the Great Day of Wrath	4-9; 10.1-2b, 5-7; 11.14-18	14-16
The Great Day of Wrath:		
Babylon's Wickedness	17.1-9, 15-18	17.10, 12-14
Babylon's Fall	18.1-3	(cf. 14.8)
The elect preserved		18.4-8
Lament for Babylon	18.9-13, 15-19, 21,24	18.14, 22-23
Canticles of triumph	19.1-10	18.20 (cf. 16.5-7)
The Messianic Kingdom	20.1-6	
The eschatological war	20.7-10	19.11-21
The judgement	20.13-15	20.11-12
The Jerusalem to be	21.9-22.2; 22.6-15	21.1-4; 22.3-5; 21.5-8
Appendix - the two witnesses		11.1-13, 19

The analysis concludes with a brief reference to chapters 1-3: "The Letters to the Seven Churches, which were certainly intended to be read as an introduction to the two prophecies, must originally also have existed as separate text."

I have already offered some general observations on the application of literary criticism, as well as particular comments on these theories chosen as examples, in the course of an introduction to a work in collaboration with Graham Jagger which presents a report on computer analysis of the text of Revelation.[76] Obviously there is great value in a description of the language of Revelation such as that produced by Charles and carried further by Mussies. But the application of literary criticism to source analysis, in the most

comprehensive sense, can be a misleadingly destructive method when conducted in isolation; these examples, considered in the light of the most recent scholarship, appear as rather primitive attempts, devised in a vacuum, to cater for all those seemingly problematic inconsistencies in style and content. In contrast, the mathematical techniques of analysis indicate the substantial unity of the book; of the passages which do not appear to belong to the same population as the remainder, only in the case of chapter 12 can the variation not be explained simply in terms of special features required by the subject-matter.

8. Comparative studies - "religionsgeschichtlich" and "traditionsgeschichtlich"

The final category of methods of interpretation represents another substantial contribution made by scholars of the nineteenth and twentieth century, associated with the rise of comparative studies in religion. It is recognised that the symbols and imagery employed in Revelation are not necessarily the special creation of the author, but the majority of them may well be borrowed from tradition. Although the traditions of the Old Testament and Inter-Testamental Judaism, as well as early Christian traditions, clearly have contributed much to the author's thinking, it is desirable to define more exactly the circumstances in which this happened, and also to look further afield and consider the possibilities of other contributions from traditions beyond Judaism. Several scholars did significant work as pioneers in elucidating the debt of Revelation to these other religious traditions.

Particular attention has centred on the imagery of Revelation 12, especially that of the woman with child, pursued by the dragon. Many different solutions have been advanced for the problem of the mythological ancestry of this image. The Greek myth of Leto, pregnant by Zeus, and pursued by Python the serpent son of Earth, was advocated by A. Dieterich.[77] H. Gunkel favoured the Babylonian mythology about Marduk the child of Damkina, the earth mother, and his conquest of Tiamat.[78] A. Jeremias preferred the Mandaean version of the Babylonian myth in terms of Manda d'Hayye who fought against the monster of the waters of chaos before the creation of the world.[79]

Bousset found parallels in Egyptian mythology in the story of Isis, Horus and Set, which were at least as striking as Dieterich's Greek references.[80] Bousset thought that the total picture represented a combination of Iranian and Egyptian ideas. H. Leitzmann thought in more general terms of a widely-current legend of a heavenly Saviour figure, such as could be seen depicted in Virgil's Fourth Eclogue.[81] Reference should also be made to Norden's work 'Die Geburt des Kindes, Geschichte einer religiösen Idee' (Leipzig-Berlin 1924).

The weakness in so many cases for a striking parallel to Revelation 12 would seem to lie in the exclusive nature of most arguments. On what grounds should one solution be preferred as indicating the original source? Or is there adequate justification for the belief that the tradition, manifested in several forms, had become international, as Gunkel asserted in his later work?[82] Are we dealing in Revelation 12 with what Cheyne called "the old story of the conflict between light and darkness, order and disorder, transferred to the latter days and adapted by spiritualisation . . . to the wants of faithful Jews."?[83]

Although the material of chapter 12 was a particularly attractive subject for such comparative studies, the method has been applied to the Apocalypse as a whole. An important exposition of the method, with special reference to Iranian traditions, is provided in the classic commentary by Wilhelm Bousset first published in 1896. Other notable examples[84] include the work of Franz Boll ('Aus der Offenbarung Johannis, Hellenistische Studien zum Weltbild Apokalypse' Leipzig-Berlin 1914),[85] followed substantially by A. Loisy in his commentary published in Paris in 1923; Lohmeyer also employs this method, but with a preference for the parallels with Mandaism, in the commentary which first appeared in 1926.

For Boll the important background to the Book of Revelation was constituted by the ideas of astral-mythology, which derived from the "science" of the Babylonians, but had been developed in the Greeco-Roman world. He concluded from the comparisons he made that the visions of Revelation were not the genuine results of spiritual experience, but were merely a literary

elaboration of pagan data. So, for example, the plagues of the trumpets and the bowls derive from a system of cosmological anthropology such as that of the work of (Pseudo) Hippocrates from the 5th century B.C. Περὶ ἑβδομάδων - "Das 6. Kapitel dieses krausen Buches enthält - aus dem ältern Gedanken heraus, dass der Mensch alle Elemente der irdischen Natur in sich vereinigen muss, wenn er lebensfähig sein soll - eine parallele Siebenteilung des Makrokosmos und Mikrokosmos."[86] - or the catalogue of Adam's constituent parts in Slavonic Enoch chapter 8.[87]

The importance of the signs of the zodiac for the interpretation of Revelation is emphasised by Boll. The four horsemen of chapter 6 correspond to the four signs - Leo, Virgo, Libra and Scorpio. Boll refers to the ideas represented by the δωδεκαετήρες (twelve-year cycles) of Hellenistic speculation. "Durch den Charakter des jeweils herrschenden Tierkreiszeichens und des Windes, der dazu gehört, wird das ganze Jahr bestimmt: Witterung und Ernteertrag, Gesundheit oder Krankheit von Menschen und Tieren, Hungersnot und Pest, nach der Mehrzahl dieser Texte aber auch Aufstand und Krieg oder Frieden - all das hängt ab vom Wesen jenes Tierkreiszeichens und des Windes, der am Anfang des Jahres weht."[88] The third horseman who carries the seales and proclaims famine conditions (6.6) indicates that this year is believed to be under the dominance of Libra, the sign which causes this distress.

In a similar way Boll explains the five months of torment caused by the demonic locusts (9.10) as the inclusive length of time from the sign of Scorpio to the end of the year.[89] The heavenly altar, referred to in 6.9, is compared with the altar in the southern sky, in the Milky Way, found in the Hellenistic traditions of astrology, and probably originating in the Babylonian picture of the heavens.[90] As a final example, the woman of chapter 12 is identified with the zodiacal sign Virgo, and her crown of twelve stars represents the zodiac itself.[91]

We have already referred to the main themes of Lohmeyer's commentary.[92] Here it is enough to list some of those points in Revelation which he

discusses in the light of Mandaean parallels: 6.6, the oil and wine as "die sakramentarischen Mittel"[93]; 7.4-8, the numbers 12,000 and 144,000 significant in Persian and Mandaean writings[94]; 12.5, the rapture of the child is paralleled by that of Anoš-Uthra to Parwan[95]; 12.14, the eagle as "Symbol des Erlösers", as in the case of the Mirjai[96]; and chapter 17, especially the harlot and the beast, compared with Ruha and Ur "der König der Finsternis"[97].

Of course Lohmeyer is not the only scholar to have drawn parallels between Mandaism and the Johannine writings. The work of Rudolf Bultmann on the Fourth Gospel provides an interesting comparison; but in both cases the issues of relative chronology deserve as serious attention as the parallels of theme.

It may well be largely due to the range of work of scholars in the 'traditionsgeschichtlich' school that the Apocalypse could be described by Holtzmann as "one of the most valuable documents for the primitive age of the Christian Church."[98] This method of interpretation affords a clear recognition of the 'traditional' character of the book, and emphasises the importance of understanding it in relation to earlier traditions and the contemporary world of ideas. It is vital that it should be considered in an accurate perspective, so that it can, in its own right, contribute to the reconstruction of Christian origins and the assessment of those factors which were most influential in the development of Christian self-expression.

Of course the sheer variety of parallels drawn to Revelation's imagery raises its own kind of problems. It is necessary to establish a history in miniature of the development of a particular set of ideas, so that Revelation's own position in this history can be described with some probability. At the same time it needs to be recognised that superficial parallels are not a complete guide to a real historical relationship and dependence; within our imperfect knowledge of the situation, there is always the possibility of movements of syncretism which establish artificial connections beyond the bounds of the original sources, as well as the case of complete coincidence where similar ideas are produced spontaneously in different places as a

result of a general stimulus. In all our reconstructions the note of uncertainty must remain.

Much of Revelation's symbolism is allusive, and therefore open to several possible identifications within traditions near and far. In such circumstances the best "rule of thumb" seems to be to choose the traditional context that is nearest, temporally and geographically. It must be possible not only to suggest a relationship but also to indicate how that relationship is feasible. Inevitably this creates a preferential situation for the early Christian and Jewish traditions, and frequently it will appear that this preference is vindicated in detailed exegesis of the surrounding text. But to say this is not to exclude at the outset many interesting possibilities raised even by the more eccentric exponents of the 'traditionsgeschichtlich' method.

Only when the possibilities of a relationship between Revelation and a particular tradition have been explored critically, and some likelihood established, is it reasonable to consider the value-judgements which have achieved prominence, and perhaps bedevilled, the expositions of scholars using this method. The search for a traditional source which can illuminate the understanding of the author's ideas, by no means carries with it the denial of real visionary experience by the Seer, or the genuine inspiration ~~inspiration~~ and creativity of an independent artist. The reconstruction of a history of tradition and the accompanying assessment of relationships can illuminate the position of a writer within a development of thought without denying the substantial originality of that writer's thought. For a writer who has made a creative contribution to the development of thought can be assigned a role within that development by an historian of ideas who will investigate his debt to his predecessors as well as his legacy to the future.

W. G. Kümmel, in his 'Introduction to the New Testament'[99] concludes, "To be sure, today we are one in principle in respect to the correct method of exposition of the Apocalypse, at least where such exposition proceeds from scientific presuppositions: The Apocalypse can only be understood in accordance with the intentions of the author and with our historical distance from his time, if we first of all ask about the traditional meaning of the images and conceptions (traditionsgeschichtliche Methode), then seek to determine which expectations the author proclaims in respect to the imminent end (endgeschichtliche Methode), and finally observe to what extent, by means of reference to the history of the immediate past or present, the time of the end is regarded as already realized in the present (zeitgeschichtliche Methode)." I certainly would agree that these three elements are essential to the interpretation, without necessarily following Kümmel's exact order of priorities, or failing to recognise some valuable insights contained within some of the other principal methods.[100]

My own inclination is to begin with an investigation of the historical situation as reflected in the Apocalypse, because this can illuminate the possibilities of dependence upon other traditions, as well as indicating how the author may be using eschatological concepts within a broadly defined structure of 'Heilsgeschichte', and satisfying the requirements of frequent historical allusions. But this is, in a measure, to anticipate my conclusions. The special purpose of this study is to investigate the relationship between these three major elements, revealed in interpretation - history, traditional mythology and eschatology. In the sense in which the eschatological element is taken for granted in a study of the Book of Revelation, insofar as it belongs to the apocalyptic genre, this study will concentrate on the inter-relationship of the two factors - the historical background and the use of traditional mythological ideas - which have influenced the presentation of the book.

This study must begin from a fresh critical appraisal of the data of

the Apocalypse. But one cannot hope to cover every aspect of the book in a specialised study, unless the aim is to take more than twenty-five years in writing a multi-volume commentary. Therefore a sample of the material will be used, a sample which it is hoped can be regarded as broadly representative of the whole. If number symbolism counts for anything in the context of the Book of Revelation, then the selection of seven topics for special study must be significant! But before we begin a consideration of this new sequence of seven, one further area of highly specialised background study demands our attention. No introduction to the exegetical methods used on the Apocalypse would be complete without a critique of the recent fashion in "liturgical" interpretation. To this we turn in the next chapter.

Notes on Chapter 1

1. Andrè Feuillet, 'Les diverses méthodes d'interprétation de l'Apocalypse et les commentaires récents'. L'Ami du Clergé 71 (1961), pp. 257-70.

2. Charles Commentary I clxxxiii ff.

3. 'Studies in the Apocalypse, being lectures delivered before the University of London', 1913. Chapters 1 and 2 pp. 1-78.

4. I must acknowledge a very obvious debt to previous surveys and histories of interpretation, especially the article by Feuillet and the two works of R. H. Charles, already referred to. I would also mention: W. Bousset 'Die Offenbarung Johannis' 1896 Einleitung IV pp 49-119; E. Lohmeyer 'Die Offenbarung des Johannes 1920-1934' Th.R. 6(1934) pp. 269-314, 7(1935) pp. 28-62; O. Piper 'Johannesapokalypse' RGG^3(1957-65) Bd III, 825-6; A. Feuillet L'Apocalypse.

5. Dialogue with Trypho 81.4.

6. Adversus omnes Haereses 5.30-35.

7. De Viris Illustribus 61.

8. At the beginning of the third century there was no generally accepted view about the authorship of the Apocalypse; this enabled opponents of Montanism and Chiliasm to attack these doctrines by attacking the Book of Revelation which was used in their support. So the 'Alogoi' of Asia Minor and Gaius in Rome ascribed the authorship of the Apocalypse to the Gnostic Cerinthus. Similarly Dionysius of Alexandria, in the context of a polemio against Chiliasm, denied the apostolic authorship of the Apocalypse in contrast to the Gospel (Eusebius H.E. 7.25.1ff).

9. J. Daniélou 'Pelican Guide to Modern Theology' Vol. 2 'Historical Theology' 1969, pp. 72-3.

10. cf. Adversus Marcionem 3.24.

11. 'Philadelphia and Montanism' B.J.R.L. 7 (1922-3), pp. 309-54.

12. Feuillet, Méthodes 258.

13. Charles, Commentary I, clxxxiv.

14. See pages 30f.

15. cf. J. Pépin 'Mythe et Allégorie' 1958, pp. 453-61.

16. M. F. Wiles in 'Cambridge History of the Bible' Vol. I.Cambridge (1970), p. 484.

17. De Principiis 4.24.4.

18. LXX text - καὶ σὺ δὲ ἀπόγραφαι αὐτὰ σεαυτῷ τρισσῶς.

19. Wiles op. cit., p. 468.

20. cf. J. Pépin 'À propos de l'histoire de l'exégèse allégorique: l'absurdité signe de l'allégorie' S.P.I. Berlin 1957, pp. 105-22.

21. Comm. in Ioann, 10.18.

22. M. F. Wiles, op. cit., pp. 484 f.

23. De Principiis 2.11.12.

24. cf. Comm. in Matt. 49.

25. Philocalia 5.5.

26. Comm. in Ioann. 2.6.

27. Stromateis 6.13.

28. Stromateis 3.18.

29. Paedagogus 2.12.

30. 'Cambridge History of the Bible' I, p. 379.

31. Op. cit., p. 379.

32. Op. cit., p. 379.

33. Millar Burrows 'The Dead Sea Scrolls' London 1956, p. 248.

34. cf. M. Black 'The Christological Use of the Old Testament in the New Testament' N.T.S. 18 (1971) pp. 1-14.

35. G, Bonner, in 'Cambridge History of the Bible' I. 554.

36. De Doct. Christ.3.30, 42ff.

37. Migne, P.L. 5, 281-344.

38. E. B. Allo, 'L'Apocalypse de St. Jean' Paris 1921, p. cv.

39. See chapter four.

40. G. Bonner, 'St. Augustine of Hippo-Life and Controversies' 1963, p. 245, citing T. Hahn 'Tyconius-Studien. Ein Beitrag zur Kirche- und Dogmengeschichte des vierten Jahrhunderts' Leipzig 1900, pp. 23-30.

41. Cf. Mt. 1.1ff; Rev. 11.2.

42. cf. earlier divisions of world history, such as Bede's chronicle of six ages of the world, in an appendix to 'De Temporibus', and Isidore's 'Chronica Majora' which covers the period from Creation to 615 A.D.

43. His followers seem to have gone further than he would have done and made an explicit identification between the desired new revelation and Joachim's own writings, referred to by them as the "eternal Gospel" (Rev. 14.6-7).

44. It is hardly surprising that this line of interpretation was turned against the Papacy itself, in the first place by certain Franciscans,

notably Peter John Oliva in his 'Postilla super Apocalypsim', and subsequently by sectarian and reforming movements. This tradition was inherited by Luther and the Lutheran exegesis of the 16th and 17th centuries.

45. cf. J. de Plessis, 'Les Derniers Temps d'après l'histoire et la prophétie', Vol. 2. Paris 1937.
L. Poirier, 'Les Sept Eglises ou le premier septénaire prophétique de l'Apocalypse' Montreal 1943. According to this thesis the seven letters, with their promises to the Conqueror, represent the following stages of the Old Testament -
1. Ephesus - Paradise and Fall
2. Smyrna - Captivity in Egypt
3. Pergamum - Exodus and Conquest of Canaan
4. Thyateira - Kingdom of David and Solomon
5. Sardis - Division of the Monarchy
6. Philadelphia - Post-Exeilic Restoration
7. Laodicea - Hasmonean Restoration
The letters are also regarded as prophetic for the seven ages of the Church - Primitive Church, Persecutions, Heresies, Middle Ages, present age characterised by spirit of revolt, persecution of Antichrist, and finally the Return of Christ.

46. Charles, Commentary I, clxxxiv.

47. E. Lohmeyer, 'Die Offenbarung des Johannes', 1926/1953, p. 138.

48. Op. cit., p. 115.

49. Op. cit., p. 192.

50. Page 20.

51. P. Minear, 'Ontology and Ecclesiology in the Apocalypse' N.T.S. 12 (1966), p. 93.

52. Op. cit., p. 94.

53. Op. cit., p. 96.

54. M. Rissi, 'Zeit und Geschichte in der Offenbarung des Johannes' Zurich 1952; 'Time and History - A study on the Revelation' Richmond U.S.A. 1966 (being a translation of 'Was ist und was geschehen soll danach' Zurich 1965).
cf. 'The Future of the World - an exegetical study of Rev. 19.11-22.15' London 1972.

55. Cf. H-D. Wendland 'Geschichtsanschauung und Geschichts-bewusstsein im N.T.' 1938, pp. 49ff.

56. Foreward to 'Time and History'.

57. 'Time and History', pp. 112-3.

58. Op. cit., p. 115.

59. Op. cit., p. 134.

60. 'Studies in the Apocalypse', p. 8.

61. W. Bousset, 'Die Offenbarung Johannis', p. 94.

62. Op. cit., p. 98.

63. S. Neill, 'The Interpretation of the New Testament 1861-1961' London 1964, pp. 141-2.

64. 'Dictionary of National Biography', 1931-40, p. 727.

65. 'Sir William Ramsay and the New Testament' Studia Evangelica 5 (1968), pp. 277-80. cf. W. Ward Gasque, 'Sir William Ramsay: Archaeologist and New Testament Scholar' Michigan 1966. cf. W.F. Howard, 'The Romance of New Testament Scholarship', London 1949, pp. 138-55.

66. London, 1904.

67. Op. cit., p. viii.

68. cf. L. Cerfaux, ~~Ephem. Theol. Lovan.~~ E.T.L. 13 (1936), pp. 527f.

69. See page 25.

70. R.B. 56 (1949), pp. 507-41.

71. 'The Jerusalem Bible' London 1966, N.T., p. 429.

72. Quotations from p. 3.

73. Charles, commentary ad loc, cf. 'An Attempt to Recover the Original Order of the Text of Revelation 20.4-22, P.B.A. 7 (1915/16) pp. 37-55; 'The Restoration of the Original Order of Chapters 20-22 of Revelation', B.M.R.T. 1 (1927), pp. 16-22.

74. 'The Jerusalem Bible', N.T. p. 429.

75. This division of the material in chapter 12 was not apparent in the earlier form of the analysis in 1949.

76. J. M. Court and G. Jagger, 'Computer Analysis of the Book of Revelation', in preparation.

77. 'Abraxas, Studien zur Religionsgeschichte des späteren Altertums' Leipzig 1891, pp. 117ff.

78. 'Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit, eine religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung über Genesis I und Apokalypse Johannis XII' Göttingen 1895, pp. 171-398.

79. 'Babylonisches im Neuen Testament' Leipzig 1906, pp. 34-45.

80. 'Die Offenbarung Johannis', Göttingen 1896, pp. 354ff.

81. 'Der Weltheiland', Bonn 1909.

82. 'Zum religionsgeschichtlichen Verständnis d. N.T.' 1903, p.55.

83. 'Bible Problems and the New Material for their Solution' London 1904, p. 80.

84. cf. J. Moffatt, 'Revelation of St. John', Expositor's Greek Testament London 1910.

85. For a critique of Boll's work see J. Freundorfer 'Die Apokalypse des Apostels Johannes und die hellenistische Kosmologie und Astrologie', Freiburg i.B. 1929.

86. Boll, op. cit., pp. 60f.

87. Op. cit., pp. 62ff.

88. Op. cit., pp.79-80.

89. Op. cit., p. 71.

90. Op. cit., pp. 32ff.

91. Op. cit. chapter 7 pp. 98ff.

92. See page 22.

93. Lohmeyer, op. cit., p. 61.

94. Op. cit., p. 69.

95. Op. cit., p. 97.

96. Op. cit., p. 107.

97. Op. cit., pp. 145ff.

98. In 3rd Edition of commentary, with W. Bauer (1908) as quoted in translation by R. H. Charles in 'Studies in the Apocalypse', p. 77.

99. Kümmel, London 1966, p. 332.

100. cf. Feuillet, Méthodes, pp. 268-70.

'The Book of Revelation - A Liturgical Apocalypse?'

C. F. D. Moule, in his survey of 'The Birth of the New Testament', significantly examines the Church at Worship as the first main feature of the complex circumstances from which the Christian scriptures emerged. In his view "Nobody reading the New Testament with a grain of imaginative insight could fail to recognise that considerable blocks of its material glow with the fervour of worship."[1] This glow has, it would appear, been fanned into a flame by the special interest in worship of recent years.* "The tendency today", Moule says, "is to assume a liturgical context wherever it is in the faintest degree possible, rather than to start from other assumptions." It would seem that for C. F. D. Moule at least it is good to do this,for he goes on,"This has brought a good deal of fresh understanding, and thrown a vivid awareness of corporate life and movement and poetry into passages which had been treated far too statically, and individualistically and prosaically: the words have begun to sing themselves, the mind's eye to see the rhythm of processions and the swing of censers." He does, however, sound a warning, "If anything, this fashion has overreached itself a trifle, and our professors are in danger of crying worship, worship where there is no worship. The liturgical clue is a useful guide but it can become a snare . . . But all this is only a caveat against abuse of the new insight." He then proceeds to examine those parts of the New Testament that clearly have been influenced by the worship of the Christian Church, remembering that such worship was born within a context of the Temple and synagogue of Judaism. When he comes to consider the Book of Revelation he has this to say: "The next most Psalm-like pieces among the New Testament ejaculations of worship are the songs of the Apocalypse...The Apocalypse certainly presents some splendid Christian enthronement Psalms"- he quotes 11.15 and 19.6-8. "Even if these, and the other Christian Psalms and ejaculations in this extraordinary work, were composed by the seer expressly for the occasion or given him in ecstasy, it is hard to doubt that they represent the kind of

poetry which Christians actually used in corporate worship. Again, therefore, it is to liturgy that we are able to trace the genesis of such parts of the New Testament - and to liturgy deeply influenced by Jewish forms."[2]

This is the extent of C. F. D. Moule's consideration of Revelation, in what is a very mild form of the liturgical theory. But even so two major assumptions have been made, for which justification is required but not given. Setting aside the epithet 'enthronement', which presumably is used loosely with reference to content, the comparison with the Psalms of these passages from Revelation, directly following a similar comparison of the 'Lucan Canticles'[3], is made without any supporting evidence of a Psalm-like structure. The typical features of Jewish Psalmody - metre and parallelism - perhaps appear in the Apocalypse in the fragmentary quotations, or more often allusions, from the Book of Psalms[4], but do they elsewhere in the book? Is it significant that in the Nestle/Aland text the passages referred to as Songs are not set out as poetry, as is the case with Luke 1 and 2, but they are indicated merely by an indented margin? The second assumption is that the author, even if he composed these Psalms himself (a concession which several scholars would certainly not allow), was inevitably influenced deeply by the Christian worship of his day. This is an attractive hypothesis, but it stands in need of evidence.

Not all the exponents of the liturgical theory are as restrained as this. What W. C. van Unnik[5] describes as an attitude of 'panliturgism'[6] has three distinct methods of dealing with the Book of Revelation: the form-critical approach which finds the structure of Christian hymns and other liturgical expressions in the material; the analytic approach which traces an order of worship as the framework on which the book is built; and the theological/liturgical approach which draws comparisons between ideas expressed in Revelation, and aspects of the theology of worship demonstrated by later liturgies. I propose to give examples of each of these three approaches, with any necessary comments, and then explore the foundations for

these theories in the Book of Revelation itself.

Samuel Läuchli in his article 'Eine Gottesdienststruktur in der Johannesoffenbarung'[6] provides examples of both of the first two techniques. Revelation 1.4-8 he regards as an Introit to the whole book (or liturgy) and he analyses this Introit into a four verse hymn, with a triadic structure in each verse. The double use of the liturgical formula ἀμήν divides the passage into three sections: the whole is prefaced by a greetings formula (1.4) that is essentially Pauline, but has been worked over by the author, who has introduced somewhat clumsily, the triadic form of the divine name and a reference to the seven spirits, into the basic form χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη ἀπὸ θεοῦ καὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. The juxtaposing of nominative and genitives in the Greek construction is then explained "most easily" by the theory that the nominative construction is the form in which the material came to the author; he preserved this when making the quotations because the material was liturgical. The lack of grammar is then deliberate, and not the result of any lack of familiarity with the subtleties of Greek! But the motive is not theological - an expression of the unchangeability of God by the lack of declension in the threefold name; such a purpose would have been equally well served by the form ἀπὸ τοῦ ὁ ὢν ; further, such a theological purpose is not appropriate for Christ, whose threefold description is also in the nominative.

The greetings formula with its genitive construction can now be left on one side, and an examination made of the material beginning with the second change to the nominative, after Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ in Verse 5. This is found to be of a persistent triadic structure which can be set out in 4 strophes. This liturgical structure is reinforced by the change of grammatical construction at the start of each new strophe:

I (Nominative) ὁ μάρτυς ὁ πιστός
ὁ πρωτότοκος τῶν νεκρῶν
ὁ ἄρχων τῶν βασιλέων τῆς γῆς

II (Dative) τῷ ἀγαπῶντι ἡμᾶς

καὶ λύσαντι ἡμᾶς ἐκ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν

καὶ ἐποίησεν (= ποιήσαντι) ἡμᾶς βασιλείαν, ἱερεῖς

Doxology ἀμήν (1.6b)

III (Verb in 3rd Person Singular - an eschatological passage)

ἰδοὺ ἔρχεται

καὶ ὄψεται

καὶ κόψονται

ναί, ἀμήν (1.7)

IV (Nominative in threefold statement about God)

ἐγώ εἰμι τὸ Αλφα καὶ τὸ Ω

ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος

ὁ παντοκράτωρ [7]

It is suggested that a closer parallelism between the first and fourth strophes could be achieved if the first strophe originally began with ἐγώ εἰμι and ended with λέγει Ἰησοῦς. Perhaps the first strophe should also end with ἀμήν like strophes two and three.

R. H. Charles wished to remove verse 8 (the fourth strophe) as an interpolation.[8] For Lauchli this is unnecessary because his construction shows that all four strophes have abrupt transitions and lack of conjunctions. They correspond with the style of hymns defined by J. Kroll as "eine ganz bestimmt stilisierte feierlich hieratische Diktion."[9] Further, this 'hymn' has a continuity and a logical development of the material, such that it is a theological unity rather than a chance collection of ideas. In content the

the early hymns and credal formulae are close together - the creed gives the hymn its theological substance.

In summary Läuchli's argument seems to be this: the liturgical formulae betray the origin of this passage in worship. The construction and development typical of liturgical forms argues against the composition of this passage by the author, or even his giving of a liturgical form to three or four pieces of traditional material he had collected together. One must therefore conclude that the author is quoting a four-verse hymn with which he was already acquainted in the order of worship of his community. This means that this Introit derives from the liturgy of the Churches in Asia Minor. However at this stage Läuchli is prepared to concede certain reservations. We can only approximately reconstruct the liturgy of Asia Minor, because we are not in possession of a precise liturgical text. The author has been rather free in adapting his material; he is hampered also by his lack of sensitivity for Greek, whereby he betrays his Semitic ways of thought!

"New Testament scholars have recognised for a long time now that the Book of Revelation of St. John contains much liturgical material belonging to the worship life of early Christianity, so that one may use this New Testament document as a source book for the study of this subject, especially for the study of Christian hymns of the early period."[10] Läuchli agrees with this general statement by Oscar Cullmann and lists a further twenty-three examples of hymn material from Revelation, some of which he calls hymns 'buried' in prose."[11] Three such examples, possessing the same rhythmic and structural principles as he discovered in the Introit are -:

V (1.17-18) ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ πρῶτος καὶ ὁ ἔσχατος
καὶ ἐγενόμην νεκρὸς
καὶ ἔχω τὰς κλεῖς

VI (2.8) ὁ πρῶτος καὶ ὁ ἔσχατος
ὃς ἐγένετο νεκρὸς

VII (3.14b) ὁ ἀμήν

ὁ μάρτυς ὁ πιστὸς

ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς κτίσεως

Particularly noteworthy is the theme of Christ as the Amen - an exegetical personification of the liturgical formula which played an important part in the basic argument. Significant features of the other hymn material in the rest of the book are the frequent repetition of certain formulae, or the use of similar formulae from a common origin. These 'hymns' can be grouped together into sets, closely related by the use of common formulae.

Certain basic observations should be made about this kind of approach. Much of the argument rests on the occurrence of known liturgical formulae. From their occurrence it is argued that the surrounding material is part of a liturgy. One such formula, important to Läuchli in his argument about the Introit, is ἀμήν . Because this word had a special place in the worship of the synagogue in Judaism, signifying the response of the community, and because it was also used at the conclusion of Christian prayers and doxologies, one must not necessarily conclude that it always occurs in a liturgical context. Heinrich Schlier allows for the possibility that "a liturgical use can be turned to literary account."[12] He gives examples in Rom. 15.33 and Gal. 6.18 of the use of ἀμήν at the end of an epistle - a literary application in a work which evokes or anticipates a popular response in a similar way to a liturgy. But Läuchli asserts that this argument cannot stand with regard to Revelation 1.7 - in Romans we are concerned with the closing of a letter, but in Revelation we are dealing with hymns. It is amazing that he can make this assertion, when he relies partly on the occurrence of ἀμήν to identify his 'hymns', and when only three verses earlier, in the same context, 1.4 opens this section with the precise formula of a letter. One might go further and ask whether a liturgical

definition of ἀμήν ,perhaps with literary application on analogy with liturgy, could ever be satisfactory for the New Testament as a whole.[13] This would surely fail to take account of the Gospel usage, unless every time the word introduces an utterance of Jesus it has elaborate Christological implications like those crystallised in Rev. 3.14.

This warning against an over-eagerness to see a liturgy behind every use of ἀμήν is, it seems to me, especially valid when considering Läuchli's exegesis of ναί, ἀμήν in Rev. 1.7. Whereas interpreters like R. H. Charles see them as the Greek and Hebrew forms of affirmation side by side,[14] although perhaps with some distinction in meaning, for Läuchli this phenomenon can be adequately explained only by reference to the synthesis of language in the Diaspora liturgy.[15] So this is one more argument for the presence here of a section of the bi-lingual Asia Minor liturgy.

This first observation about arguments from the occurrence of certain supposed key-words or formulae, without a very careful assessment of the context, and precautions against assuming that this context represents the type of material that you are trying to argue for, is not necessarily the most important one to be made. The other observations can however be set down much more briefly, at this stage, in the form of questions. Läuchli also has employed as an argument in favour of his hidden fragments of liturgy the presence of a triadic structure. Why should it be assumed that the earliest Christian liturgy possessed this kind of structure? Could one not equally well argue for a strong Jewish influence in the style of the earliest liturgy, which might produce the metre and parallelism of Jewish psalmody? The third observation concerns the argument against the composition of the Introit material by the Seer because the construction and development are typical of liturgical forms.[16] In a situation where comparative liturgies of the period are not available, does not this assertion stand in need of some justification? But we are merely told that, of the four strophes of the Introit, the first sounds archaic, like an early confession formula,

the third must be older than the second, and perhaps than the first, and the fourth certainly belongs to the Diaspora. "The step from the fourth to the first and second hymns is the development from pre-Christian theological to early-Christian christological hymnody."[17] At the least some arguments and evidence should be provided for these identifications and datings.

This is an example, admittedly an extreme one, of the first type of 'liturgical' theory applied to the Book of Revelation. We must now turn to consider two examples of the second method of approach, which traces an order of worship as the framework of the book, an order paralleled by later liturgies. For the first example the article by Samuel Läuchli can be taken up again.[18] He has grouped together a high proportion of the twenty seven hymns which he discovered in the book. He establishes these groupings on the basis of recurring phrases, similar structures or common subject matter, admitting that he is of course building on no more than allusions. The main groups are as follows:

1. ἄξιος εἶ λαβεῖν - You are worthy (4.11, 5.9-10, 5.12)
2. Praise to him who sits on the throne, and to the Lamb, with Amen
   τῷ καθημένῳ ἐπὶ τῷ θρόνῳ καὶ τῷ ἀρνίῳ (5.13b, 7.10)
3. εὐχαριστία and prayer for the coming Kingdom (11.15, 11.17-18, 12.10-12)
4. Hallelujah, with Amen (19.1-2, 19.4b-5, 19.6b-8)
5. The Coming of the Lord (22.12, 22.17, 22.20)
   ἀμήν, ἔρχου κύριε Ἰησοῦ

The pattern which emerges from these groupings is then compared with the orders of worship indicated in Justin Martyr's First Apology. The order of the Baptismal Eucharist in chapter 65 is:

Baptism

Prayers (εὐχαί)

Kiss of Peace

αἶνος καὶ δόξα τῷ Πατρὶ - offering of praise and glory to God, over the bread and wine.

εὐχαριστία - thanksgiving

Amen - response of congregation (πᾶς ὁ παρὼν λαὸς ἐπευφημεῖ)

Distribution of bread and wine.

Läuchli considers that a definite relationship emerges between this scheme and that of Revelation, so that the two "orders" can be set out side by side like this (with Revelation on the left):

ἄξιος εἶ	αἶνος
δόξα (praise)	δόξα
εὐχαριστία	εὐχαριστία
Amen - Hallelujah	Amen

In spite of some discrepancies, the points of contact are regarded as noteworthy; this impression is strengthened by a further comparison with the order of the regular Eucharist (which differs in form from the special Baptismal celebration) - the order which Justin presents in chapter 67:

Readings from the "Memoirs" of the Apostles and the writings of the Prophets

Sermon

Prayers (εὐχαί)

Prayers (εὐχαί) after the bringing in of the elements

εὐχαριστία

Responses of congregation (ἐπευφημεῖ) - Amen

Distribution of elements

In Revelation the letters to the seven churches take the place of the readings and sermon in Justin's order, and these are followed by the ἄξιος εἶ or Justin's first set of prayers. Justin also uses the word εὐχή as a term for the Doxology (cf. Chapter 65); therefore the second set of prayers listed in chapter 67 refers to the δόξα and hymn of praise.

A comparison with the Didache introduces fresh points of correspondence. In Didache 10 the prayer after the Eucharist has the following scheme: a three-fold thanksgiving, each member of which ends in a short doxology -

- then four short liturgical phrases: "May grace come and may this world pass away. Hosanna to the God of David. If any man is holy, let him come; if any man is not, let him repent. Maranatha - Amen." Here is evidence for a prayer for the coming of the Kingdom associated with the Eucharist (cf. Rev. 11, 12) the Aramaic Hosannah is parallel to the Hebrew Hallelujah of Revelation (ch. 19); here also in 'Maranatha' as a parallel to the last hymns of Revelation (ch. 22). The result of these comparisons is a confirmation from two sources (Justin and the Didache) that the hymns of Revelation follow and reflect a set order of worship, as follows:

Opening Grace.
Four-verse Introit.
Apostolic Preaching.
Trishagion.[19]
ἄξιος εἶ λαβεῖν
Praise to him who sits on the throne and to the Lamb.[20]
Eschatological Eucharistic prayers for the coming Kingdom.
Hallelujah.
Maranatha.

Whether this is an adequate account either of the special features of Revelation, or of the structure of a Liturgy of Asia Minor is debatable. To be fair to Läuchli he does acknowledge that his analysis lacks precision and completeness, and he produces special arguments to explain some of the inadequacies. These must of course be judged on their individual merits. Some regular features of worship are lacking, but these stand beyond the category of 'hymns' which is what is important to the author of Revelation. This seems an incredible assumption at this stage of the argument. Läuchli also says that we must not allow our desire for completeness to lead us into the trap of reading back into a first century Apocalypse the practices of a later date. Account must be taken too of the peculiarities of Asia Minor which argue against the transfer of ideas from other settings. Perhaps these general warnings have come too late for Läuchli himself. Again, Läuchli says that,

just as the points of contact between Revelation and later Liturgies show the cohesive development of the Early Church, so the differences and discrepancies show the individual natures of particular Church orders. When the argument takes this kind of stand it is not so far from saying that the two works compared are both liturgies because they are different. If the liturgy here analysed is clearly Eucharistic, it may seem strange that the actual words of the Institution of the Eucharist are lacking. But Läuchli says that the Apocalypse nowhere wishes to be merely the text of a liturgy; rather it is everywhere underlaid by the theology of the Eucharistic liturgy, from the Blood of the Lamb to the Maranatha. Exactly the same is true of the Fourth Gospel. Läuchli seems to have shifted his ground somewhat - quite a legitimate procedure, so long as it is clear what form the liturgical influence is supposed to have taken. If the liturgy has contributed material as well as ideas and this is interwoven with other material, as seems to be the case where parallels with other orders of worship are being cited to help in detecting it, one might still ask, on the assumption that the importance of the liturgy is that it is Eucharistic, why then the Institution itself has not verbal, but only theological echoes? This question is not answered.

Why are the hymns themselves not clearly visible, but half-buried or only hinted at? Läuchli answers that there is a difficulty in making quotations, in a language not your own, of forms of words familiar in your own language, and this leads to paraphrasing. The start of the hymns is well known, but the quotation is thereafter broken because it is written from memory. This pattern is followed by the group of hymns containing the ἄξιος formula (4.11, 5.9-10, 12). There are three different hymns, irregular in form because of the reliance on memory. (The fact that the ἄξιος formula only appears in much later liturgies does not, by Läuchli's argument for individual liturgies, prevent it from being a special feature

of the Asia Minor liturgy of the period). Shorter hymns, which are easier to remember accurately, are therefore more tautly constructed, while longer hymns tend to lose themselves in prose, as does the Introit found in Rev. 1. Therefore it is possible to find the total structure of only a few hymns. If this argument is to be used, should not a thorough justification be provided for the assertion that these really are hymns, faultily recorded, rather than quotations from, or allusions to, hymns, or even the raw material of tradition which helped to form the later liturgy?

A variant theory following this method is offered by Massey H. Shepherd as a "very modest claim with respect to liturgical origins". He aims "to show that the outline or plan according to which the visions unfold is possibly - we would say, probably - laid out in a scheme that follows the order of the Church's Paschal liturgy".[21] The clue that led to this theory was offered by the use of the Hallel Psalms (113-118) in Rev. 19 immediately preceding the "marriage supper of the Lamb". These Psalms are associated with the Jewish festivals, and in particular with Passover. This fits in with the Seer's statement that his vision was experienced "on the Lord's day" (Rev. 1.10 - a verse of which great capital is made in many different ways by the liturgical theories). This phrase, for Shepherd, "may refer not only to Sunday but also to the Pascha, or to the Parousia."[22] A warning is made, however, that the rich symbolism of the heavenly worship may not be a literal reflection of the actual state of Christian worship at the time of writing, but may rather be a source of inspiration for the embellishment of liturgies developed in later times. It must be questioned whether a Paschal liturgy is read out of the Apocalypse or read in.

Such an order of Paschal celebration would be difficult to construct from the Apocalypse, without the guidance of the order in the 'Apostolic Tradition' of Hippolytus. It is, however, argued that there is nothing in the general order of this rite described by Hippolytus that could not have

been used in the first century.[23] The worship of the Early Church was not necessarily so rudimentary as Acts 2.46-7 or as chaotic as that of Corinth - its forms were constructed from a Jewish heritage that was highly ordered. A comparison is made with the liturgical materials of 1 Clement. The Apocalypse therefore is not "ahead of its time" but a faithful witness to the usages of its own day and age.

An analysis of Revelation shows three major pauses or interludes that interrupt the underlying sequence of sevens (Rev. 4, 5; 7; 10.1-11.13).[24] It is striking that the pauses occur between the sixth and seventh members of the sequence of sevens. The seventh of the series (the Jewish Sabbath) is held over to be replaced by the first of a new series (the Christian Sunday). This is the background to the significance of the dating "on the Lord's Day" - which is Sunday, or the Parousia, or the Pascha which provides the connection between them. The associated meanings are hinted at in Rev. 1.5-7 which precedes the dating in 1.10.

The structure of the Apocalypse compared with the outline of the Paschal liturgy is as follows:[25]

Rev. 1-3	The Seven Letters	The Scrutinies
4-5	The Assembly before God's Throne	The Vigil
6	The Seals (I-VI)	a) The Lessons
7	The Pause: sealing of martyrs	The Initiation
8	The Seventh Seal	The Synaxis
	The Censing	a) The Prayers
8-9	The Trumpets (I-VI)	b) The Law(Exodus)
	= The Woes (I-II)	
10-11	Pause: Little Scroll; Two Witnesses	c) The Prophets
12-15	Seventh Trumpet - Antichrist	d) The Gospel
16-18	The Vials (I-VII)	" "
19	The Hallelujah	e) The Psalmody
19	Marriage Supper of the Lamb	The Eucharist
20-22	The Consummation	

This is not to say that the Apocalypse is itself a Paschal liturgy, but it might be a commentary on that liturgy from the vantage point of prophecy.

At the very least, the liturgy has suggested to the Seer a structural pattern for the presentation of his message. His book is full of liturgical pieces, but the sources of his imagery are not derived from the liturgy, except in so far as certain passages, such as the Exodus narrative, were part of the liturgical ritual of the Pascha with which he was familiar.

The letters to the seven Churches symbolise the examination of candidates prior to Baptism. Shepherd argues that this sequence of seven has no pause between the sixth and seventh because it belongs to the pre-Baptismal or pre-Christian stage.[26] Thus the old order of the seven day week is represented, and not the octave. The setting of the Vigil is the Throne-room of heaven - the description of which is built out of the visions of Isaiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel - but it is also the idealised picture of the assembly of the Church, with its 'cathedra' for the Bishop, flanked by the seats for the elders, the deacons standing before the throne, and the Holy Table with the Scriptural scroll or book. The arrangement conforms to all we know about the ordering of the early Christian congregations at worship. The sealed scroll is, as Lucetta Mowry[6] also argues, a copy of the Torah.[27] The Apocalypse is regarded as a key to unlock the mysteries of the Old Testament.

There are disturbing features common to both these examples of the second method of analysis by liturgy. Firstly both exponents have uttered strong warnings against reading back into Revelation material from a later time or another place, and yet have proceeded to use this material without all the precautions which their warnings suggested were necessary. Shepherd based his analysis on Hippolytus' 'Apostolic Tradition' which he dated c.200 A.D. Even if we are to discount the fact that the attribution to Hippolytus, and a date as early as the beginning of the third century, as established by R. H. Connolly and others, have been called into question by J. M. Hanssens,[28] there is still a gap of more than a century between Revelation and Shepherd's basic plan for a Paschal liturgy. Such a gap, without any

other parallel evidence, must surely be too great to be bridged merely by the extremely subjective judgement that there seems to be nothing in the order of the early third century rite which could not have been used in the first century. This is no sort of argument upon which to base such an elaborate theory as this, especially when it is remembered that the gap to be bridged is a century from a formative period for the Church and its worship, when all kinds of changes and developments must have taken place. The models used by Läuchli at least have the merit of being closer in their dating to the probable time when Revelation was written. Even so about fifty or sixty yearx have elapsed before Justin's Apology, while the date of the Didache is uncertain. It should also be noted how selective Läuchli has to be in the use of his models - the order is modified, or only certain portions of it are used. In addition he is driven to arguing from the differences between his models and Revelation in support of his theory.

A second disturbing feature is that in neither of these examples are the authors of the theories sure as to the extent of the influence of the liturgy. Revelation is not itself a liturgy, but it may well be a commentary upon one; or at least it is built on a liturgy as a structural pattern. How great an influence is this structural pattern? Does it control the whole book, or only certain parts? One does not have to go very far on this downhill road to decreasing influence before the point becomes hardly worth making, for most people would agree that Revelation has a wide range of influences upon it. But if a stand is taken and Revelation is declared to owe its pattern and structure completely to a liturgy, we must ask if this structural analysis does justice to the book as a totality. It would of course be begging the question to object to the analysis on the grounds that the structural features, regarded as created by the liturgy, are not in fact the structural features of the book. But one can, justifiably, from a personal impression of what appears to be the main features of the book and of the way in which it is constructed. The degree of correspondence or

discrepancy between this personal analysis and the proposed liturgical structure, will inevitably influence one's judgement towards these theories favourably or unfavourably. Furthermore one can ask whether the book is made alive by this liturgical structure, or is placed in a strait-jacket.

Development on the basis of a structure may well be so luxuriant as to conceal much of the original structure, but it will not contradict or deny its existence. To what extent do these analyses combine distinct materials, or separate what appears as a single entity, for the sake of the pattern? As a single example I would take a criticism of Massey Shepherd's theory, made by both Samuel Läuchli and Lucetta Mowry.[29] A frequently noted break seems to occur between Rev. 3.22 and 4.1, when the door is opened in heaven. In contrast, the transition from Ch. 5 to Ch. 6 is uninterrupted. However, for Shepherd, influenced by his scheme from 'Apostolic Traditions', it is in the latter place, certainly not the former, where the actual order of worship begins. All before this is only preparatory.

We have yet to consider the third liturgical approach to Revelation. This attitude can perhaps be summed up by the words of one of its exponents, Otto A. Piper:[30] -"Except for its (Revelation's) prayers and hymns. . Little attention has been paid to its liturgical character." The visions are presented in a framework of liturgical activities, to which they are so closely related, apparently, that the liturgical portions cannot be purely a literary device. This liturgical framework contains features which occur also in the liturgies of the Ancient Church. "Thus it is from the liturgical character of the Apocalypse that the historical development of the Christian liturgy becomes intelligible." Features emerge which have determined the history of the liturgy to its present day, while others, no longer having a vital role, were preserved because of their original significance. Such features are; "the Eucharistic Parousia, the Church's participation in the angelic worship, the emphasis placed upon the worthiness of the interpreter of Scripture,

the connection between the Confession of Sins and the Eucharist, the separation of believers and unbelievers prior to the heavenly meal, the celebration of the Eucharist as an act of the Church in its cosmic totality, the association of the Eucharist with the judgement of the world, and the interpretation of the liturgy as a spiritual battle."

Two of these features are dealt with in some detail. Firstly in the Apocalypse "the Seer and other believers are depicted as partaking, together with the angels, in a joint cultus in heaven."[31] For Judaism "heavenly and earthly worship might be parallel but they could not be blended." But the early Church believed that Jesus was the Door through which they could approach the Father. The idea of this joint worship is found in the early liturgies: also in 1 Clement 34.5-7 the heavenly worship is set forth as forming the example of the earthly worship. For Piper this indicates "that Revelation reflects the liturgical theory and practice of its age." On reflection, several steps seem to be missing from this argument, and one which bears most ~~insight~~ weight - 1 Clement - because it is near-contemporary writing - needs to be reassessed in the light of the exegesis by W. C. Van Unnik that is noted below.[32]

A second feature is that of the worthiness of the interpreter of Scripture.[33] The exclusive worthiness of the Lamb is the central theme of Rev. 5. The scroll which the one who sits upon the throne holds in his hand must be the Old Testament or that portion of it dealing with the future. "The whole scene is certainly associated in the Seer's mind with the reading of the Old Testament in the Sunday worship of the Primitive Church." We are therefore to infer that the Church to which John belonged treated the Old Testament as a sealed book of which Jesus alone had the key. The sealed scroll is obviously contrasted with the open book of Rev. 10.8 which John is commanded to eat. This book "can hardly be anything but the Christian Gospel." The inference drawn from this contrast is that, in John's day, the reading of a Gospel, no less than that of the Old Testament, formed part of the Sunday

worship service. The way in which the two are contrasted indicates that John regarded the New Testament as a self-explanatory work, whereas the Old Testament requires an extra gift of interpretation. Piper quotes passages from the Didache and from Origen as "early liturgies" which "confirm the correctness of our view."[34] But these passages merely state that the heritage of the Old Testament was to be understood in the light of the revelation of Christ; they do not justify any of Piper's assumptions or exegesis of Revelation. Later liturgies have, according to Piper, obliterated the distinction between the two Testaments, and lost the earlier insight of the unique role of Christ as interpreter, to which Revelation bears witness.

Such arguments seem to be a collection of assumptions and inferences, built upon disputed exegesis. Were the argument about the Scroll in Rev. 5 to be reversed, it would at least provide some attempt to justify the exegesis of the passage. Then the same major weakness, which existed in the other two types of liturgical theory, would be revealed afresh. Because the later liturgies provide parallels - or in this case even contrasts! - to some aspect of Revelation, be it words, structure, or ideas, therefore Revelation is in this respect assumed to be bearing witness to the contemporary patterns of worship of the church from which it originated. When the argument is turned round to its present form, and apparently founded upon the exegesis of a passage in Revelation, one can only ask whether this exegesis, otherwise unsupported, is not tantamount to question-begging.

As a kind of footnote, since he has already assumed the answer to his question in the preceding arguments, Piper discusses the place of the Apocalypse in the history of the Liturgy.[35] There are three possibilities: Revelation could be the source of the Christian liturgies; the early liturgies and Revelation could be independent offshoots from Jewish worship; Revelation could be the Seer's interpretation of the actual worship of the primitive Church, out of which the early liturgies developed. The first is entirely out of the question because none of Revelation's hymns are found in the

official forms of worship before the fourth century. It is acknowledged that the temple and synagogue had a strong influence on the forms of worship of the early Church. To this extent W. O. E. Oesterley proved his point, that there must have been some historical continuity.[36] But "in view of the antagonism that developed rapidly between the Church and the Synagogue it is inconceivable that at the close of the first century the early Church should have given up its own original non-Jewish form of worship to conform with Jewish patterns."[37] Also the common features of the early liturgies - by which Piper, to judge from his examples, means their strong Christocentric emphasis - cannot be explained as independent mouldings by various congregations drawing on their knowledge of the Old Testament and Jewish worship. The similarity points to a common type of liturgy in the early days, but with great freedom in the implementation of that type. Therefore the only real possibility is the third - that Revelation reflects the actual worship of the primitive Church. The reference in Rev. 1.10 to the Lord's Day, in which the Seer was "in the spirit", means that, in the description of the heavenly liturgy, John was spiritually partaking in the Sunday services of the congregation from which he was absent in body.[38] In recording his experience he wanted to tell his readers what public worship was intended by God to be. Although it is a mistake to look for actual liturgies in the book, it nevertheless has great significance for our knowledge of the early Christian liturgy.

Before evaluating these arguments and forming our own conclusions, some considerations must be given to an article by T. F. Torrance[39] which can probably best be classified under this third type of liturgical approach to Revelation. It ranges far and wide, but seems to originate from the kind of reasoning we have been considering. The aim is to examine Revelation to rediscover there the place of the Ascension and of the Return of Christ in the worship of the New Testament Church, and to infer from this some theological implications, in view of the contemporary liturgical movement.

Revelation is the most liturgical and most eschatological of the books of the New Testament. In the Bible and the early Church, liturgy and eschatology are inseparable - the liturgical forms and images are essentially apocalyptic, and, conversely, apocalyptic forms are completely liturgical.[40] The Apocalypse is the revelation, as far as is possible here and now, of the glory which is to come. How this is expressible is the paradox of the Apocalypse, because it can only be described in the language of the present age, so that the apocalyptic symbols themselves partake in the transient world. However, the apocalyptic symbols are not myth - that outmoded dramatic means of expressing what is beyond history and time - but instead two closely connected means are used. One is that all eschatological attention is based on the historical Christ, so that the apocalyptic language is a projection of an historical life, death, and resurrection in the perspective of the ages. Secondly, where human language fails, eschatology makes use of the language of liturgy, (in this context liturgy is not earthly ceremonial, but opens for us a door to the heavens).

Because the Church lives already under the power of the Resurrection it can use another, a revelatory, language, that of transfiguration. So the Apocalypse uses liturgical language drawn principally from the Old Testament, but transfigured by the Spirit ~~of~~ on the Lord's Day, to become the language of Resurrection, Ascension and Parousia. The Lord's Day is the judgement day inaugurating the Messianic age. The essence of the Christian liturgy is the celebration of the Resurrection, and thereby a preparation for Christ's coming in glory. This means that the author, as an exile, is thinking, on a Sunday morning, of the liturgy of his home church, for fragments of this liturgy appear constantly in his descriptions. But his heart is raised above the earthly liturgy, as the Spirit permits him to see the liturgy of heaven, that cosmic liturgy in which earth and heaven can re-unite. In Revelation we have a book that is both at the origin of, and also a source of, Christian liturgy - but liturgy mingled inextricably with

apocalyptic. If the apocalyptic is separated from its inner liturgical form, we do not achieve an understanding of it. But by examining this entirely eschatologised liturgy, we can better understand Christian liturgy in its essential nature.

So we can analyse a threefold process in the book of Revelation. Old Testament liturgical forms are taken as the substructure of the Apocalypse. The author interprets the ancient cult, employs features like the Song of Moses, and cultic items like the large vessel called 'the sea'. Because the saving events of history and the cult are interrelated, the Israelites had the idea that salvation must be interpreted in terms of cultic repetition of historical events. But the cult also developed to become the way in which the last events of eschatological salvation were interpreted (e.g. expectations like the new Exodus). So the Seer could take his dynamic concept of the liturgy - as an action of militancy in the grand battle of salvation - from the Old Testament.

This substructure is, secondly, transformed and creatively reinterpreted in terms of the saving acts of Christ. The new scheme is related to the old, but transcends it. In Revelation liturgy is christologically transformed to apocalyptic liturgy. The earthly liturgy of the Church is used as a necessary scheme for the interpretation of the last things. From the use made of it we can learn much about early Christian worship; in describing the heavenly liturgy it is inevitable that the author uses terms from the earthly liturgy, and such features can be perceived.

Thirdly, parallels are drawn between earthly and heavenly liturgy and the theological implications of Christian liturgy emerge clearly. The Lamb presents himself in heaven by virtue of his unique sacrifice. Just as the earthly liturgy is a counterpoint to the eschatological music of the heavenly liturgy, so the Church when it performs the Eucharistic liturgy participates in the sacrifice of the Lamb in making a "counter-sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving". But it can only be a kind of echo. It is because they are

only echoes that the hymns and prayers of Revelation are preserved as imperfect fragments of earthly forms, corresponding to the heavenly liturgy. The true liturgy of heaven is described as the "new song" which no man knows except the redeemed and victorious saints (cf. Rev. 14.3). The relation between the two is indirect - "not immediate but eschatological, not a smooth harmony but apocalyptic agonia."

There is much here that is beyond the scope of our present discussion. But one of the basic assumptions is this close dependence on the liturgy of the Seer's church, which we have seen cause to question repeatedly. This dependence seems to take a variety of forms - hymn fragments, cultic equipment and setting, the ideas and theological significance of worship - but nowhere is a case presented for this dependence. Torrance seems disposed to accept a more creative role for the Seer, who sets down impressions of heavenly worship, than many other liturgical theories would allow. But is Revelation so totally impregnated with liturgy as this theory suggests? Is this a fair assessment of the overall character of the book? Many, I suspect, would dispute that the prime purpose of Revelation was liturgical - to use the language of liturgy as a bridge between two worlds, and thus to expound a theology of liturgy. It must be considered whether this intense and impressive theological motivation, which extends to an explanation of such details as why the hymns are so short (might there not be a simple explanation that the author could say all he wished to say in these few words at this point in his book, especially when the passages show no sign of being broken abruptly before the end?), is really appropriate for this writer at this time. There is one basic question, which is to be set against all these theories. What evidence is there, apart from constructions placed upon the Book of Revelation itself, and upon other New Testament passages, that there was a Christian liturgy before the end of the first century which was so well-defined and so influential, playing such a role in the Christian life, that it could have exercised this effect?

For Revelation to contain direct or indirect references to the words

of a liturgy, the order of a liturgy, or even the ideas, features or theology of a liturgy, there must be one order, or a group of related forms of service, in existence, for which we can provide some evidence from the New Testament or other contemporary documents. We are interested, then, in New Testament worship in the specialised sense of the public worship of the religious community. "Worship" as Gerhard Delling defines it "is the self-portrayal of religion."[41] We are interested in this self-portrayal when it takes the form of hymns, prayers, or rites that were used in gatherings for worship. "The Christian Church was born in song". "The Lord taught his Church to pray." There are many passages throughout the New Testament that have been regarded as the hymns, prayers, and credal formulae of the Church. But because these are distinguishable from their immediate setting by form or style or literary analysis, does not entitle us to transfer them automatically to their "proper setting" within the Church's orders of worship.

To examine the New Testament ideas of worship we must first investigate the terminology. The most likely words to bear the meaning of regular acts performed in honour of God appear to be λατρεία , λειτουργία , προσκυνέω and their cognates. (There are other words but they are used to express the more general senses of "worship", such as that of "the whole life of the community or of the individual viewed as the service of God." Again there are words with a more limited meaning "to denote a particular element of . . . worship, namely adoration".[42]) λατρεία and λειτουργία , frequent in the Septuagint, are much rarer in the New Testament. Even so they often refer, here also, to the Jewish temple service,[43] or to a general devotion[44] (a broader meaning than our technical use of "worship"); λειτουργία can also retain its original meaning of a social service.[45] There is, in fact, only one passage (Acts 13.2) where any of these terms are used for the worship of the Early Church. In the other examples concerned with Christian worship, the reference is to Christ as High Priest (Heb. 8.2, 6) or to the martyrs before God's throne in heaven (Rev. 7.15, 22.3). The verb προσκυνέω occurs

more frequently; but often this means a single act of prostration (Mt. 8.2, 9.18 etc.) and not worship in any full sense; or the initial act of submission (1 Cor 14.25; Rev.3.9) or a lasting attitude of adoration and devotion (cf. Mt. 4.9). This last meaning is common in Revelation, but there the adoration is usually of the Beast or similar figures.[46] The word has a cultic sense only in connection with Jews or proselytes, or Samaritans (Jo. 4.20; 12.20; Acts 8.27). Admittedly the word is repeated more than once in the passage following Jo. 4.20, but the point being made is that true worship is not restricted to any place or to any type of ritual. (To regard the passage as anti-liturgical is to read in more than is expressed; on the other hand nothing is being said about a technical sense of "worship"). Nowhere in the New Testament, then, does προσκυνέω mean worship, in a technical sense, performed by Christians. We must then concur with B. Reicke's analysis that "the New Testament does not use any specific term for Christian worship in the technical sense of the word, the only relevant passage being Acts 13.2 where λειτουργέω seems to refer to prayer."[47]

Because there are no technical terms, it does not mean that there is no idea of worship. The terms could well have been avoided for their Jewish or pagan associations. It is these concepts, rather than the Christian concept or worship,that probably are being attacked in Acts 17.25 - "God is not worshipped with men's hands, as though he needed anything." The New Testament emphasis is on what God does for man, and the only proper response is the λογικὴ λατρεία described in Rom. 12.1. But Church tradition in the New Testament records that Jesus, the Apostles, and the early Church practised worship. Jesus participated in temple and synagogue services, and also is said to have instituted or provided a pattern which later was copied in, specifically Christian forms of worship. It is arguable whether a community which expected the end at any moment would be concerned with the shaping of, or even the participation in, services of worship. But this would be to ignore the essence of Christian worship, as a proper response to

God, even by those waiting for the imminent coming of Christ in glory. These forms of worship could be a practical expression of their fellowship with Christ and with each other.

The main types of these services are discernible from references within the New Testament: Initiation (Baptism); a Common Meal (Eucharist); gatherings for prayers, reading, and teaching. The references are to types of worship; because they are grouped in an order, such as Acts 2.42 this is no reason for talking about "a sort of liturgy". It is natural to assume a development from a simple type of worship to a more complex, and sooner or later certain types will be found more frequently in specially favoured forms. But why should we assume the common grouping-together of favourite forms, and the creation of a liturgy, before we have clear evidence that such has happened? It is clear from passages like 1 Cor. 14.23-40 that an order of service at a gathering for worship could be very freely organised, and need follow no set pattern. What the New Testament offers is, as T. W. Manson expressed it, "some fundamental certainties which are the basis of all future developments of doctrine; some central acts of worship out of which will come the immense treasury of the liturgies."[48]

For some works of the New Testament, such as Revelation and Hebrews, it is possible to argue that an "evolution of conceptions of worship" has taken place, so that we are presented with some explicitly 'liturgical' concepts. According to Bo Reicke, "the question is whether such differences are great enough to justify rejecting the liturgical interests of Hebrews and Revelation, and so to conclude that the development of worship in the Church was not a legitimate one, as many anti-liturgists are inclined to say."[49] But perhaps what is really open to question is the definition of these concepts as 'liturgical', in the sense in which pro-liturgists (or panliturgists) use the term; perhaps what should be rejected as illegitimate are the assumptions that liturgical concepts have evolved already.

The feature of Revelation, as well as Hebrews, with which Reicke is

principally concerned is the belief that the earthly temple is a copy of the real one in heaven. As Reicke acknowledges, this idea can be traced back to the Old Testament and Intertestamental Judaism.[50] If we take account of this Jewish heritage, we must be prepared to reckon with a degree of Jewish influence on the forms of Christian worship,[51] in spite of the inevitable break between Christianity and Judaism within the New Testament period. But such influence must not be exaggerated so that we expect an order of worship and a liturgical emphasis, comparable with that of Judaism, in the New Testament Church; the Christian concept of the essence of worship also involved criticism of Jewish attitudes, and developments in certain areas of more serious Christian-Jewish antagonism, which would have prevented this. Nevertheless the Church had a heritage of Jewish ideas, because it was born into a Jewish world, and was able to reinterpret the heritage shared with the Jewish leaders of the first century A.D., although that reinterpretation would be along lines which tended to diverge rapidly from orthodox Judaism.[52] Similarly, the strong interest in the Old Testament displayed by Hebrews, and by Revelation in particular, was possible in spite of such alienation from Judaism.[53] Is it not possible that much of what has been suspected in Revelation as due to a liturgical bias, may actually be due to the frequently underrated debt of the Seer to Old Testament ideas?

What evidence is there outside the New Testament canon for an early formulation of a liturgy? The First Epistle of Clement, as a work roughly contemporary with Revelation, is often regarded as evidence for such a liturgy. But even Otto Piper agrees that "for the time when Revelation was written we have no material to support the assumption that in 1 Clem. 50 and 51 the existence of an elaborate text of an authoritative Christian liturgy is implied."[54] W. C. van Unnik[55] after a thorough exegesis of the context of 1 Clem. 34 concludes that references to the Eucharist and to a fixed liturgical form of the Sanctus do not exist there; the author is merely making a characteristically strange combination of two passages from the Old

Testament (Is. 6.3; Dan. 7.10). This conclusion must be significant for Revelation's supposed 'Sanctus' formula (Rev. 4.8), where Is. 6.3 is coupled with a designation of God favoured by the Seer. Apart from the Didache, which may possibly have an early date, the other early patristic "liturgies"[56] are sixty years or more after the probable date of Revelation - as far removed from Revelation as Revelation is from the founding of the Church. These instructions and orders of worship give the impression of providing patterns, endowed with authority, for those who feel in need of guidance as to the form and content of organised worship. There is an allowance for flexibility in application for those who do use these patterns; the Didache is specific, with reference to the Eucharist, that the 'prophets' must be given complete freedom of scope.[57] For set liturgies offering an ~~inf~~ infinitely fuller pattern of worship, and for examples of Christian hymns, one must wait for the patristic writings and papyri of a century or more later. The earliest complete liturgy dates from the second half of the fourth century; before this there are only isolated forms and fragments. R. P. C. Hanson arguing from a range of references that, until the middle of the third century, and probably much later, the celebrant at the Eucharist was allowed to compose his own 'anaphora' prayer, suggests the strong possibility that there were no complete liturgies before the fourth century, because, where it is legitimate for fixed forms to be abandoned, there is little point in laboriously compiling copies of complete liturgies.[58]

When Revelation's position within the historical framework of the origin and development of the liturgy is thus assessed, it is clearly rash, failing some new and strong contemporary evidence, to read back into Revelation conclusions based on apparent parallels from a later age. In such a situation the reproduction of contemporary orders of liturgy as a framework for the Book, would seem to be excluded. The reproduction of contemporary hymns is a ~~p~~possibility, although the significance of this, as represented in liturgical theories, would be much reduced. There would

be no very special reason why the Seer should quote another's hymn, rather than compose one himself. On the present evidence there is no set type or style of hymn, so that examples may easily be identified. In the Seer's special case, given the distinction between earthly and heavenly worship, there is an argument against his use of hymns, by himself or others, which were associated with earthly worship, to exemplify the worship of heaven. Although a modern psychological account of his visionary experience would talk about the preconditioning of his mind, for what he was to "see", by his environment, allowance must surely also be made for that transformation and heightening of his everyday experience, and the use of significant ideas and concepts from other traditions, alien to his experience, which are the least that his basic theological beliefs and strong indebtedness to tradition would achieve. That the ideas and theology of contemporary worship are reproduced, is at best a nebulous theory without the stronger support of verbal dependance. In this type of liturgical theory the danger of "reading back" is heightened, and modern preconceptions may enter in more readily.

What, then, is the function of the references to worship in the Book of Revelation, if they are not the structural basis of the book, or the means of teaching the theology of worship by the use of familiar features of the liturgy of the local congregation? Gerhard Delling[59] conducted a form-critical investigation of these worship passages; he concluded that they play a prominent part, in their position in the sequence of apocalyptic events, although he was sure that they do not have a significance independent of their context. He classed them as 'Rahmenvisionen', whose purpose is to interpret the apocalyptic events in terms of the Christian faith, to explain them as events which complete the saving acts of God. It is to be noted how often the hymns do have the character of a confession of faith. The author seems to follow no precise pattern in his application of worship passages in the construction of the whole. He does not interpret every vision by an expression of worship; such a procedure would cause a disjointed narrative

and lead to monotony. Whereas, in fact, the varied application of this motif of worship, among other motifs, helps to preserve the coherence of the book, and contributes to the strength of its framework. One possible interpretation of the author's aim is that, as he presents the analysis of the developing situation which confronts the Church, the analysis which he believes God has given to him, first of all he contrasts the present suffering with the future blessedness by means of the proleptic visions of rejoicing. Secondly, he explains this suffering as part of God's ultimate plan, and shows its theological significance, interpreting the apocalyptic events from the viewpoint of Christian faith. Thereby, thirdly, he gives a message of comfort, and exhortation to perseverance, to a persecuted Church, indicating the way in which God's servants must respond in such a situation. The analogy of response seems to be significant here; response to God for his saving acts is, as we have seen, basic to Christian worship from its earliest stages. So the hosts of heaven respond to the apocalyptic events with their hymns and prayers of praise. So the Church on earth under persecution should respond. In this sense the author is teaching his readers what worship really means and what it should be; but he is teaching about a practical attitude of life, not contrasting the forms of earthly and heavenly liturgy, and, as it were, advising about a perfected form of the Asia-Minor liturgy.

That the author should choose references to worship as a means of interpreting apocalyptic events is in a sense perfectly natural, because it is an appropriate expression of the heavenly attitude of life, which makes the present reality intelligible and bearable (the real temple as a symbol of perfect worship is, as we have seen, a feature of Old Testament thought). But his choice of this means probably can tell us also how much the author himself lives in a context of worship (in the sense of the importance he places on the relationship with the Risen Lord established by worship). This assessment would, however, draw no irrevocable conclusions

about the application of material used in contemporary worship, or the book's independence from this influence, simply because the evidence is insufficient. To some extent, the derivation of material from the Old Testament, as we have observed, argues against a close dependence on contemporary worship. It is not impossible that the author's community was strongly influenced by the Old Testament - although this is more obviously true of him,to judge from other features of his book. What we can conclude is that the relationship with Christian worship and liturgies is more complex than the three mutually exclusive possibilities presented by Piper. Our analysis of the development of liturgy must leave open the real possibility that subsequent liturgies have been influenced by new ideas, or new expressions from the Book of Revelation. In such circumstances it is even more important to acknowledge not only the significance which these expressions of worship held for the author in his interpretation, but also the sheer creative literary power of John the Theologian.

Notes on Chapter 2

1. C. F. D. Moule, 'The Birth of the New Testament' London 1962, Chapter 2, p. 11f. Cf. C. F. D. Moule 'Worship in the New Testament' London 1961.

2. Moule, op. cit., p. 23.
Cf. J.A.T. Robinson 'On Being the Church in the World' London 1960, p. 76: "The Seer of the Revelation . . . unlike most apocalyptists, was a liturgist in his bones."

3. Moule, op. cit., p. 22.

4. Psalms quoted or alluded to, according to Nestle-Aland index:
2, 7, 17, 19, 22, 23, 28, 32, 33, 40, 42, 46, 47, 62, 69, 75, 78, 79, 86, 89, 93, 96, 97, 98, 99, 104, 105, 106, 111, 114, 115, 118, 119, 121, 130, 134, 135, 137, 138, 139, 141, 144, 145, 149.

5. W. C. van Unnik, 'Dominus Vobiscum' in 'New Testament Essays in Memory of T. W. Manson' ed. A. J. B. Higgins 1959, p. 272.

6. T.Z. 16 (1960) pp. 359-378.

7. Cf. W. Michaelis Kittel TWNT 3.914f (Eng); G. Delling 'Zum Gottesdienstlichen Stil der Johannesapokalypse' Nov.Test.3 (1959) pp. 127-134.

8. Charles, Commentary I.17ff. II.387.

9. J. Kroll 'Die christliche Hymnodik bis zu Klemens von Alexandreia' 1921, pp. 10, 16ff.

10. O. Cullmann 'Early Christian Worship', London 1953, p. 37 (translation by A. S. Todd and J. B. Torrance from German and French editions).

11. Lüchli, op. cit., p. 367.

12. H. Schlier Kittel TWNT 1, p. 337. (Eng).

13. For the argument that Jesus used it as a cultic word, demonstrating his faith that God will stand behind what he says, cf. G. Ebeling 'Jesus and Faith' in 'Word and Faith' transl. J. W. Leitch, London 1963, pp. 236ff.

14. Charles, Commentary I.19f.

15. Lüchli, op. cit., p. 359.

16. J. Marty was much more cautious in 'Étude des textes cultuels de prière contenus dans le N.T.' R.H. Ph.R. 9 (1929) pp. 234-68; he recognised a mixture of influences in the hymnic fragments, including elements of personal elaboration on a cultic basis. The picture is of a hymn-leader selecting from the repertoire of a cult-assembly what is appropriate and to his liking. He followed Deissmann's suggestion (Neue Bibelstudien, p. 58f) that θεολόγοι , used of preachers of the Imperial Cult in Asia Minor, corresponded to ὑμνῳδοί.

17. Op. cit., pp. 364-5.

18. Op. cit., pp. 368ff.

19. On the Trishagion in the Early Church cf. A. Baumstark 'Trishagion und Qeduscha' Jahrb. f. Lit. 3 (1923) pp. 18ff.; W. O. E. Oesterley 'The Jewish Background of the Christian Liturgy' 1925 pp. 142ff.
Cf. Charles, Commentary I.125f.
I am grateful to A. H. Couratin for further perspectives on this subject, which he has summarised in 'The Pelican Guide to Modern Theology' Vol. 2. 1969 pp. 151f. See further pages 65f.

20. On doxologies and similar formulae cf. Delling 'Zum gottesdienstlichen Stil der Johannesapokalypse' Nov. Test. 3 (1959) pp. 108-116; E. Werner 'Doxology in Synagogue and Church' Hebrew Union College Annual 19 (1945-6), pp. 275-351; T. Klauser 'Akklamation' Reallexicon für Antike und Christentum I (1950) pp. 216-33.

21. Massey H. Shepherd 'The Paschal Liturgy and the Apocalypse' London 1960; quotations from p. 77.

22. Shepherd, op. cit., p. 78, cf. p. 81.
Cf. H. Riesenfeld 'Sabbat et Jour du Seigneur' in 'New Testament Essays: Studies in Memory of T. W. Manson' ed. A.J.B. Higgins. Manchester 1959, pp. 210-17. W. Stott 'A Note on the Word KYPIAKH in Rev. 1.10' N.T.S. 12 (1965), pp. 70-5. W. Rordorf 'Sunday' tr. A.A.K. Graham 1968.

23. Shepherd, op. cit., p. 49.

24. Op. cit., pp. 80f.

25. Op. cit., p.83.

26. Op. cit., p. 87.

27. Op. cit., p.88.
Lucetta Mowry 'Rev. 4-5 and Early Christian Liturgical Usage' J.B.L. 71 (1952) pp. 75-84. cf. below, chapter 4, especially pages 139ff, also p. 200.

28. R. H. Connolly 'The So-Called Egyptian Church Order and Derived Documents' 1916; E. Schwartz 'Über die pseudo-apostolischen Kirchenordnungen' 1910; G. Dix 'The Treatise on the Apostolic Tradition of St. Hippolytus of Rome' 1937; J. M. Hanssens 'La Liturgie d'Hippolyte' Rome 1959.

29. Läuchli, op. cit., p. 374, citing Mowry's article in support of his argument.

30. Otto A. Piper 'The Apocalypse of John and the Liturgy of the Ancient Church' Church History 20 (1951), pp. 10-22, quotations from p. 10.

31. Piper, op. cit., pp. 10-13.

32. See page 65.

33. Piper, op. cit., pp. 13-16.

34. Op. cit., p. 15.

35. Op. cit., pp. 16-20.

36. W. O. E. Oesterley 'Jewish Background of the Christian Liturgy' 1925 pp. 72-102.

37. Piper, op. cit., p. 17.

38. Op. cit., p. 19.

39. T. F. Torrance 'Liturgie et Apocalypse' Verbum Caro XI.41 (1957) pp. 28-40. Professor Torrance kindly supplied me with a photo-copy of the English version of the same article, published in the Church Service Society Annual of the Church of Scotland, May 1954, from which I have quoted (pp. 13, 14).

40. Ct. the emphasis of Dom Gregory Dix - 'The Shape of the Liturgy' 1945 - who "interpreted the history of the Church's worship as the transmutation of eschatology into liturgy."

41. G. Delling 'Worship in the New Testament' London 1962, p. xi.

42. C. E. B. Cranfield 'Divine and Human Action - The Biblical Concept of Worship' Interpretation 12 (1958), pp. 387-98, reprinted in 'The Service of God' 1965. Quotations from p. 387.

43. Lk. 1.23, 74; 2.37; Acts 7.7; Rom. 9.4; Heb. 8.5; 9.1, 6, 9, 21; 10.2, 11; 13.10.

44. Mt. 4.10; Lk. 4.8; Jo. 16.2; Acts 7.42; 24.14; 26.7; 27.23; Rom. 1.9, 25; 12.1; Phil. 3.3; 2 Tim 1.3; Heb. 9.14; 12.28.

45. Rom. 15.27; 2 Cor. 9.12; Phil. 2.17 (metaphorical); 2.30.

46. e.g. Rev. 9.20; 13.4, 8, 12, 15; 14.9, 11; 16.2; 19.20; 20.4.

47. Bo Reicke 'Some Reflections on Worship in the New Testament' in 'New Testament Essays: Studies in Memory of T. W. Manson' ed. A.J.B. Higgins Manchester 1959, pp. 194-209. Quotation from p. 196.

48. T. W. Manson 'The Church's Ministry' 1948, p. 65f. cf. E. Sjöberg, 'Kirche und Kultus im Neuen Testament' in 'Ein Buch von der Kirche' hrsg. G. Aulén 1950, pp. 85-109.

49. Reicke, op. cit., p. 200.

50. Reicke, op. cit., p. 201.
Ex. 26.30; Is. 6.1-13; Ezek. 40-44; Ecclus. 24.1-12; Wis. Sol. 9.8; 1 En. 14.10-25; 2 En. 55.2. Cf. C. K. Barrett 'The Eschatology of the Epistle to the Hebrews' in Davies and Daube 'The Background of the New Testament and its Eschatology' 1956 pp. 363-393; B. Gärtner 'The Temple and the Community in Qumran and the New Testament' 1965. For the development of this and other Old Testament and Jewish motifs into a liturgical theory, see J. Comblin 'La Liturgie de la Nouvelle Jérusalem (Apoc. 21.1 - 22.5)' ~~Ephem.~~ ~~Theol.~~ ~~Lovan.~~ 29 (1953) pp. 5-40. ("Saint Jean a vu dans l'image de Jérusalem le type de l'oeuvre de Dieu arrivée à son stade ultime. Dans l'image de Jérusalem intervient une liturgie. Cette liturgie est celle du peuple juif rassemblé dans

le temple au terme des pélerinages. Plus précisement encore, c'est celle du peuple d'Israël assemblé dans le temple pour la fête des Tabernacles.") cf. H. Wenschkewitz 'Die Spiritualisierung der Kultusbegriffe, Tempel, Priester und Opfer im Neuen Testament' ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ 4 (1932) pp. 109-113.

51. cf. C. W. Dugmore 'The Influence of the Synagogue upon the Divine Office' 1948.

52. cf. the discussion by James Barr, 'Old and New in Interpretation' 1966.

53. This interest persisted, notwithstanding the influence of Marcion.

54. Piper op. cit., p. 19. He cites F. E. Warren 'Liturgy and Ritual of the Ante-Nicene Church' 1897 p. 172.

55. W. C. Van Unnik 'I Clement 34 and the Sanctus' Vigiliae Christianae 5 (1951) pp. 204-248.

56. Such "liturgies" include Justin's First Apology 65-7; Acts of John 85, 109; Martyrdom of Polycarp 14.1; Didache 7-10.

57. Didache 10.7, cf. Justin Apology 67.5 which allows for the Bishop to offer "prayers and thanksgivings to the best of his power".

58. R. P. C. Hanson 'The Liberty of the Bishop to improvise prayer in the Eucharist' Vigiliae Christianae 15 (1961), pp. 173-6.

59. G. Delling 'Zum gottesdienstlichen Stil der Johannesapokalypse' Nov. Test. 3 (1959) pp. 107-37.

60. Pages 64f.

THE LETTERS TO THE SEVEN CHURCHES

Within extant apocalyptic literature a unique feature of the Book of Revelation is its collection of seven letters addressed to the Churches of Asia Minor. E. J. Goodspeed[1] called it "this extraordinary facade", a portal made up of seven individual letters introduced by a general covering letter. Because it is a unique feature of the Christian Apocalypse it will be especially important to examine this section in detail both for historical clues and for its relationship to earlier tradition. But the underlying question about these letters, whether they are individual letters originally circulated separately and now collected together, or whether we have an artificial construction devised to suit the author's particular purpose, also needs to be answered. This answer should be of significance for the historical side of the enquiry, although care must be taken to keep that significance in perspective. These letters do not have to be individual pieces of writing, each for their own destination, in order that they may be thought to tell us something of the situation in the churches of Asia, as the author of Revelation saw it. For at the stage when this book was produced, these letters arranged in a collected form did have a special significance for the compiler and a function in the arrangement of his work. In this respect a theory propounded by E. J. Goodspeed in his book 'New Solutions of New Testament Problems' will be examined.

But first it is necessary to attempt some sketch of the background of the letter as a literary, or semi-literary, form in the New Testament world. In the New Testament itself there are twenty-seven books, of which twenty-one are, or appear to be, letters. As well as these, and the contribution of the Book of Revelation, the Acts of the Apostles contains the texts of two letters (15.23-29; 23.26-30). "The free interchange of letters among the churches of Asia, Macedonia and Syria, that is implied or reflected in the letters of Ignatius and Polycarp, shows in what close touch these

churches, and probably the other leading churches of Italy and Greece already were. Paul's letters to the churches had led the way in this, and the letter collection that begins the Revelation, together with Hebrews, 1 Peter and 1 Clement, had continued it. These churches of East and West were in frequent communication by letter, and these letters sometimes rose to the stature of permanent contributions to the growing treasures of what was to be Christian literature."[2] This raises, by implication, the interesting question as to what extent this widespread use of the letter was distinctive of Christianity. Or is this idea a misleading impression created largely by chance, since the churches valued the teaching and exhortation contained in their letters and so preserved them? A difficulty is encountered here that is inherent in the material; letters are by nature ephemera and are unlikely to be preserved deliberately, unless they have a particular personal, social or legal significance. But references to letters in more permanent documents and remarkably fortunate archaeological discoveries have both provided some material for a more balanced picture.

Since the end of the last century thousands of papyrus documents have been discovered and published. These represent the writing of day-to-day life and provide a valuable store of source material for social and political history. Among the papyri are a large number of private letters, and it is hardly surprising that there are frequent similarities between the New Testament letters and the letters from the papyri which are approximately contemporary with them.[3]

Adolf Deissmann was a notable populariser of the wealth of these papyrus finds in Egypt. The tendency has been for his studies, with those of Milligan, Moulton, and Goodspeed, now to be taken for granted, so that their scholarly works have become the authorities, often superseding the actual papyri which were, for them, the real authorities. Their primary honour has come in the fields of grammar and lexicography; other implications of their studies have received far less attention. Deissman wrote

in 1901 in 'Bible Studies': "The author is forced to confess that, previous to his acquaintance with ancient papyrus letters he had never rightly known, or at least, never rightly realised within his own mind, what a letter was."[4] By the word 'letter' he was making a sharp distinction between non-literary letters which are so abundant in the papyri ("true letters"), and literary letters, that is 'epistles'. He asked: "Are the letters of the New Testament (and further of early Christianity in general) non-literary letters or literary epistles?" As regards Paul, Deissmann answered his own question, and his answer has often been accepted: "The letters of Paul are not literary; they are real letters, not epistles; they were written by Paul not for the public and posterity but for the persons to whom they are addressed."[5]

W. M. Ramsay had one major reservation about this distinction, declaring it to be impossible "to reduce all the letters of the New Testament to one or other of these categories." For him Deissmann "shows, it is true, some consciousness that the two older categories are insufficient, but the fact is that in the new conditions a new category has been developed - the general letter addressed to a whole congregation or to the entire Church of Christ."[6] The older class of letter had been developed by the churches into new forms, so that a new category of epistles arises. Communication by letter became one of the most important agencies for consolidating and maintaining a sense of unity among the scattered members of the universal Church. Such general letters are, in Ramsay's view, true letters in the sense of something springing from the heart of the writer and speaking directly to the heart of the readers: they were written for specific purposes, arising out of an actual situation. The achievement of such letters was to discover the universal principle in the individual case. That none of these letters can be restricted within the narrow range of definition originally proposed is shown by the fact that Deissmann had to use force to allocate them to one or the other of his categories.

Ramsay suggested that an analogy could be drawn between this general type of letter and the Imperial Rescripts. In origin these Rescripts were

replies to requests for guidance, imperial decisions upon special points of law in answer to petitions ('libelli') addressed to the Emperor by a litigant, or to the enquiries ('relationes') of judicial officers faced with complicated cases. The Rescript was one form which the legislative enactments ('constitutiones') of a Roman Emperor could take; naturally enough Rescripts were called 'epistulae' when directed in the form of a letter, or 'subscriptiones' when the reply was written on the 'libellus' itself and signed by the Emperor. "These forms of constitutions gave occasion to legislative innovations, for their statements of law exceeded often the sphere of mere interpretation of existing law and laid down new legal rules which, though issued in particular cases, became authoritative and binding for all, as coming from the Emperor himself."[7] This came to be regarded as one of the chief means of improving and developing Roman public law; although it arose out of special circumstances and gave the Emperor's opinion for the eyes of one official, it would set forth the general principle of policy which was being applied to the special case. By this analogy with the Rescripts Deissmann's classification again is shown to be incomplete. In certain circumstances the form of the Imperial Rescript seemed especially appropriate for an utterance of the Church, for such a document as that introduced by the words, "It seemed good to the Holy Spirit and to us."[8] Such bold and authoritative speech from one congregation to another, as moved by the Spirit, offers a parallel to the Rescript, without necessarily expressing more than the intense interest of an equal in an equal. As the imperial Rescripts developed Roman public law, so the general letters of the Christian churches expressed and embodied a growth in the 'law' of the Church and in its common life and constitution.

A further study of the previous history of letter-writing, to provide data for a more comprehensive analysis of the forms and the purpose of letters, would have to take account of a much wider range of evidence. Within the limits of this present work all that can be done is to recognise

the extent of this previous history and, following the observations of W. M. Ramsay, adopt a less rigid approach to the material from the period which is our chief concern. For, besides the papyrus discoveries, account should be taken of other fruits of archaeology, such as the Lachish ostraca - most of which are letters - to be found translated and edited in J. B. Pritchard's 'Ancient Near Eastern Texts'.[9] This volume contains a variety of other letters - Egyptian, Sumerian, Akkadian and Aramaic - as well as these documents in Hebrew. The Old Testament itself incorporates some examples of correspondence (usually a summary or surmise of the words used) or makes reference to the practice of letter-writing.[10] There are similar references to letters in the Apocrypha, in 1 and 3 Maccabees.[11] According to the editor in the Oxford Annotated Apocrypha, the letter of Jeremiah "from inter-testamental times, may have provided later writers with an example of how this literary form could be used for religious purposes, a form which offers the possibility of combining profound theological content with a direct personal approach to the reader."[12]

Martin Dibelius quoted Cicero's words: "We write in one way when it will be read only by the persons addressed, and in another way when it will probably be read by many."[13] In this way, "Christians entered into a large and rich literary tradition when they began to write letters whose form and content went beyond private news."[14] The Church was not inventing new categories, but making use of what was already known, although, naturally enough, applying them to their own particular purposes. Dibelius, in his analysis, isolated two main types of letter, both of which were produced even by "primitive Christianity"; this is how he described them: "On the one hand the genuine letter which was worth reading by other people than those for whom it was written, and which occasionally was even written with this intention, and on the other hand, the epistle which was really addressed to Christendom in general - in spite of an occasional circumscribed address - and which in its style drew away from the intimacy of a letter to the

nature of a sermon. In addition we meet with mixed forms standing between the two types."

On this defined basis - notably less rigid and more realistic - Dibelius proceeded to an analysis of early Christian literature. Paul's writings are genuine letters, although, with the exception of Philemon, they are not private letters. Frequently they ascend from the immediate subject matter to become something of general validity, in the manner of a sermon. While the intimacy of a genuine correspondence is not lost, Paul's place in literature is made plain. The style of his letters is in the spoken language of dictation, but not lacking the correct conventions of public speaking. Dibelius insists that it is important to remember, before too much is built upon this, that Paul was not necessarily a substantial innovator, but was in fact entering upon a tradition. The letters of Ignatius differ from the Pauline particularly in their far greater similarity to one another, although the powerful factor of their common background in the journey to martyrdom helps to explain this. As examples of treatises in the style of letters Dibelius cites Ephesians, 1 Peter and 1 Clement; Hebrews and Barnabas he lists as treatises on a single theme. Illustrations of the Christian sermon are found in passages in Acts, and also in 2 Clement; Jude, 2 Peter and 1 John are to be described as tractates for particular circumstances. Finally, in Revelation, Dibelius observes the special literary type which he terms "heavenly letters",[15] that is, communications written or dictated by a heavenly person, or writings fallen from heaven or otherwise revealed in visions. It is in accordance with this "form" that the Seer is told to communicate not with the Churches directly, but with their "angels". Dibelius thought that what the heavenly Christ dictated could refer only to a limited extent to the particular situations of the individual Churches. For this reason each letter ends in a general exhortation.

This descriptive analysis of forms can be compared with the earlier and rather different approach of W. M. Ramsay. It is remarkable that

there is not more conflict in the broad lines of the respective conclusions of these two scholars, as well as in their attitudes and methods. Although Dibelius' form-critical approach still commands more attention today, it should be remembered that Ramsay's work, while often swamped with "purple" writing and not always adequately documented, is founded on historical data examined in a scholarly way.

Ramsay quotes some words of Bartlet:[16] "Of a temper too ardent for the more studied forms of writing, St. Paul could yet by letter, and so on the spur of the occasion, concentrate all his wealth of thought, feeling and maturing experience upon some particular religious situation, and sweep away the difficulty or danger . . . The true cause of" all his letters "lay deep in the same spirit as breathes in First Thessalonians, the essentially 'pastoral' instinct." The process in Paul's writing is then seen as a development towards a more general philosophico-legal statement of religious dogma. Ramsay would trace this line of development to Romans, and then going further to the Pastorals and Catholic Epistles. These are of the nature of a general address, while being devoid of the artificiality of a literary epistle. "It was left for the Christian letter to prove that the heart of man is wide enough and deep enough to entertain the same love for thousands as for one." "This remarkable development, in which law, statesmanship, ethics and religion meet in and transform the simple letter, was the work of St. Paul more than any other. But it was not due to him alone, nor initiated by him. It began before him and continued after him. It sprang from the nature of the Church and the circumstances of the time."

Ramsay decided, from his investigation of the background to letter writing, that the form of the letter had become established as the most characteristic expression of the Christian mind, and it was, therefore, almost obligatory upon any Christian writer. This was the explanation he offered both for the epistolary framework of the Book of Revelation, and for the inclusion of the seven letters in the Book.[17] The epistolary introduction

and conclusion are out of keeping with the Jewish apocalyptic form which lies between, but are used because the writer, in spite of the style he had chosen for his work, was unable to lose the strong pastoral instinct of a successor to Paul. "Just as the Roman Consul read in the sky the signs of the will of heaven on behalf of the State, so St. John saw in the heavens the vision of trial and triumph on behalf of the Churches entrusted to his care." He must record his vision in the appropriate apocalyptic form; but, equally, he must enclose it in a letter to the Churches. For similar reasons the author feels himself obliged to use the letter form within his work, and so again he abandons the apocalyptic form briefly and expresses his thoughts within seven letters, although he makes some attempt to maintain the symbolism that is prescribed by the traditional principles of apocalyptic. He has recognised the inadequacy of the Jewish literary form; it "breaks in his hands and he throws away the shattered fragments" according to Ramsay's view of this disaffection. The author is presumed to have come to this realisation during composition; the seven letters were, therefore, the last part of this work to be conceived,although they were carefully fitted in near the beginning.

This means that the letters to the seven churches are, strictly speaking, "literary epistles", further removed from the type of the "true letter" than any other New Testament composition. They are deliberate imitations of the accepted literary form which seems to have become almost obligatory for any Christian writing; but they have no independent existence and were written without any intention that they should ever be sent directly and separately to the individual churches addressed. They were written on a uniform plan because apparently the author had not yet attained to that degree of literary freedom where he might be emancipated from his models! In spite of their general uniformity each has, as Ramsay demonstrated abundantly, certain specially suitable touches for the individual churches. As the author was writing, each Church "stood before

his imagination in its reality and its life",[18] so that he almost forgets that he is writing literature, and apostrophises it directly, with the same earnestness and sense of responsibility as did Paul. A contrast is made with the vague generalities to be found in the epistles of Ignatius. But are Ignatius' letters not supposed to be "true letters", sent personally to each Church? Ramsay explains this contrast as probably due to the fact that Ignatius had only seen two of the five Asian churches to which he wrote, and those cursorily, so he confined himself to general topics, or what concerned his coming fate.[19]

The main point to notice about Ramsay's arguments is that his work betrays an obvious prejudice against the Jewish apocalyptic form and in favour of the more acceptable 'Classical' form of the letter. Ramsay has no high opinion of apocalyptic as a form of literature; he regards it as a "poor model" and so his general approach is unsympathetic. A strongly pro-Hellenist bias is shown in the theory that the writer was fettered by the Jewish apocalyptic style which he so rashly employed in most of his book, and which renders him incapable of approaching reality. Only where he deserts this Jewish style for Hellenism does his power of expression improve, so that the book becomes - almost - worthwhile. "The seven letters are a truer index to the writer's character than any other part of the Apocalypse, because in these letters he is in closer contact with reality than in any other part of the book." We are presented with a picture of a writer in the process of growing out of the primitive Jewish expression into the purer light of the Greek forms in which the Gospel was composed.

This underlying attitude explains the loaded imagery which Ramsay uses to express the inadequacy of the Jewish forms. That Apocalyptic is a characteristic form of literature for Judaism is undeniable; but Jewish writing took other forms, and among these we must include the letter, as can be seen from the brief survey of the letter form and its history above.[20] It can also be shewn that, although the letter form had a vital role to play

in the growth of Christian writing as well as in the development of the Church, nevertheless in the latter years of the first century it was neither the only nor the distinctive form of Christian literature. Why then should a blend of literary forms be interpreted necessarily as expressing the inadequacy of the one, and the natural superiority and appropriateness of the other, which is coming to its aid? Such a combination or transition can be expressed in neutral terms, leaving open the question of the relative merits of these forms, as used each in their appropriate 'Sitz im Leben'.[21] And a glance beyond the first three chapters of the Book of Revelation to the other structural schemes of seven, such as the seals or the bowls, which follow a distinctive and literary pattern, may even raise some doubts as to how justified it is to isolate the seven letters and descfibe this feature of the work alone as a temporary transition from one literary form to another.

For E. J. Goodspeed the view of the seven letters as literary epistles, written in deliberate imitation of an accepted literary form, had a special significance which he expressed in his theory about the influence of the Pauline epistles. "The letters of Paul had individually no effect upon other Christian writings. It was only after they were gathered into a collection and, as we should say, published, that their literary influence began. The distinction between the letters scattered among the churches to which Paul wrote them, and the same letters gathered into a collection and published, must be sharply drawn."[22] The striking picture of Paul presented by the Book of Acts led to such a revival of interest in the man that his letters were collected together, and Ephesians was written by these editors as an introduction to their collection, so that the Pauline epistles might become one great encyclical to all the churches. The form of Revelation with its seven letters, that are really one letter containing messages to all seven churches, reflects this recently formed Pauline corpus. Revelation "begins with a collection of letters, represented as dictated by Jesus, and

individually addressed to seven churches of the province of Asia, a missionary field which beyond any other Paul had made his own. It is enough to say that this virtually makes the Revelation a hybrid type of literature, half letter collection and half apocalyptic . . . It is evidently the effect of a whole collection of his (Paul's) letters to churches which has so impressed the prophet John and his public that it shapes into letter-collection form the whole first division of his apocalypse." This collection is not a true one, made up of actual letters that had previously been written, because the collection is obviously written as a whole. There is only one letter salutation which stands at the beginning of the introductory or covering letter in the first chapter; each letter, therefore, apart from certain local details, is intended for all seven. For E. J. Goodspeed it was unthinkable that anyone should write in this way without having seen an actual collection of Christian letters. But once the author had seen the incidental values of this 'corpus' method, he would necessarily use this technique rather than write all the letters to all the churches. This hypothesis, frequently reiterated, but with very little substantiating evidence, is Goodspeed's "new solution" to New Testament problems.

This theory is a neat reversal of the comparison made in the Muratorian Canon which states that "the blessed Apostle Paul himself, following the rule of his predecessor John, writes only by name to seven churches".[23] As a theory it possesses a certain attractiveness, the natural appeal of a seemingly successful attempt at "sewing-up" several long-standing problems. But it remains a hypothesis because there is so very little evidence to examine which would prove or refute it. The description of Revelation 1 as a "covering letter" would be disputed by most commentators. Further attempts which Goodspeed makes to demonstrate Pauline influences on Revelation do not really succeed. The use of a distinctively Christian salutation in Revelation 1.4, such as is employed in the Pauline epistles and Ephesians, hardly proves more than that it is an opening formula used in Christian letters, even

though it differs from the ordinary Greek usage of χαίρειν found in the papyri and also in Acts 15.23; 23.26; James 1.1. Goodspeed is disposed to construe the profound difference between Paul and John in their attitude to Roman authority as an adjustment of Paul's views by John in the light of a new situation. The view that so profound a difference could make any case for dependence unnecessary is not discussed. Use is also made of that dubious factor, liturgical interest, believed to be shared by Luke/Acts, Ephesians, and Revelation. Another argument stems from the foundation role of the apostles in Ephesians and Revelation. But, as Akira Satake[24] has pointed out, in Rev. 21.14 the twelve apostles act as the foundation for the heavenly Jerusalem, whereas in Eph.2.20 the apostles and prophets are the foundation of the earthly Church. In Revelation there is no direct continuity between the earthly Church and the heavenly Jerusalem.[25]

There is, further, an element of inconsistency in Goodspeed's hypothesis where he regards the author as writing an artificial collection of letters because he had seen the advantages of this technique over against individual letters in the way the Pauline collection had been used. If these advantages are in the general application of principles arising from vivid illustrations in individual situations, so that a personal approach can be maintained while a much wider audience is reached, are such advantages not, in fact, inherent in the use of a collection which contains actual letters, letters that Paul wrote to single churches in their own special situations? But this advantage is lost to a considerable extent when a stylised pattern of a collection is copied by an author when he could have written individual letters. Yet Goodspeed insists that this is what happened, that these are not actual letters previously circulated but rather a specially composed collection.

It is time to face the question whether these could be seven actual letters once circulated to the churches addressed, but now collected in this symbolic arrangement to suit some purpose of the author. This view

was more popular among commentators in the past than it is today. Spitta for example, thought that chapters 2 and 3 contained real letters that had been sent with the body of the work to each of the communities.[26] R. H. Charles argued that the letters should be dated earlier than the rest of the book, and had been sent to the churches towards the end of the reign of Vespasian. They had been edited subsequently by the author and incorporated in his Apocalypse which dated from the time of Domitian.[27] Goguel also argued that the letters were written ten to fifteen years earlier than the remainder of the work, because their different emphasis, with the minimum of references to persecution, pointed to a different situation of composition.[28] However a diametrically opposite conclusion was drawn from the same data by Dibelius, in suggesting the possibility that "diese Schreiben erst konzipiert sind, als Domitian tot und die schlimmste Gefahr vorüber war."[29]

Many commentators have endeavoured to show that the letters are inseparable from the rest of the work; attention has been drawn to the many connecting links in words and ideas. This does not, of course, preclude an independent existence of the letters at some stage, so long as common authorship of the letters and the Apocalypse is maintained. A more serious objection to the idea of real and separate letters can be drawn from "the sevenfold design of the letters and from the careful symmetry of the arrangement."[30] A somewhat extreme analysis of this design was offered by Austin Farrer[31] on the basic pattern of the half-week; there are four sequences of sevens, each divided into a greater and a lesser half-week (4+3=7), in the book of Revelation taken as a whole. Farrar wrote about the letter sequence: "the continuity of pattern over the whole book so far prevails, that a slightly marked halving does appear in the first (i.e. the letters) and last sevens; but it is not nearly so emphatic as in the middle two. The messages fall into two cycles, the last three going back over the ground traversed by the first four." He draws attention to the repetition of themes, and the use of 'texts' for the messages, selected from the vision

of Christ in Chapter 1. The symmetry of the composition, the balance between the letters and the interplay of themes among themselves and with the preceding vision, all these can be seen even without so mathematical an exposition as Farrer offered. The role of the writer of the Apocalypse has been enhanced considerably by these observations, but even this does not preclude the possibility that there are still actual letters to be found, written by the same author, but buried deeply in his subsequently imposed editorial pattern.

Even this possibility can be excluded, for practical purposes, when these letters are extracted and examined.[32] Features of the process of composition of this collection of letters are: a common plan followed in each letter; the opening formula with its instructions to the scribe (τῷ ἀγγέλῳ τῆς . . . ἐκκλησίας γράφον); the identification and the credentials of the speaker (τάδε λέγει . . .) in the 'text' with which each letter opens, taken from the Seer's vision of the Son of Man; the 'promise' with which each letter closes, expressed in apocalyptic imagery which is taken up elsewhere in the book; the formula (οἶδα) which introduces the appraisal of the situation and the statement of merit or demerit; the verdict itself, calculating the failures of the churches (ἀλλὰ ἔχω κατὰ σοῦ) and giving a direct command to each church to cope with its situation; and the exhortation to use the ears one has, and hear what the Spirit says - not to this one particular church currently being addressed - but to "the churches". This last formula of exhortation occurs in two positions, but even this variation seems systematic and not at random; the formula precedes the promise to the conqueror in the first three letters, and follows it in the other four. When allowance is made for all these features of pattern imposed in the letter collection, what remains of the individual letters, discounting any further patterns in content as well as form, is so small a unit that it is most unlikely to resemble an original letter transmitted independently, or offer any basis on which such an original could be reconstructed, unless

there had been some kind of "postcard correspondence" in the Early Church.

It was said at the beginning that a decision on the question whether the seven letters are individual letters which originally had an independent existence, or whether this is an artificial construction devised for a particular purpose, might be of significance in an historical investigation. If there had been traces of an actual correspondence, this would itself furnish a major historical clue. But an artificial collection can also offer evidence which may point to an historical interpretation, and we must investigate those features of the Seven Letters which have been held to demonstrate this.

We have seen how Ramsay regarded the author of Revelation as seriously fettered by the fanciful and unreal form of Apocalyptic, and we have criticised this exposition as motivated largely by prejudice. Ramsay described in Chapter six of his book how the complicated and artificial symbolism, used by the author elsewhere, "dropped from him in great degree" when he began to write the letters. "He comes into direct contact with real life, and thinks no longer of correctness in the use of symbols and in keeping up the elaborate and rather awkward allegory. He writes naturally, directly, unfettered by symbolical consistency."[33] Ramsay argues that the "direct contact with real life" is shewn in the way the characteristics of each church are described in terms of its natural scenery and geographical environment. The interpretation of the first of the seven letters offers a striking illustration of the method of Ramsay's argument. The characteristic which belongs distinctively to the city of Ephesus is change - the variations in the natural conditions and the site of the city. "The scenery and the site have varied from century to century. Where there was water there is now land; what was a populated city in one period ceased to be so in another, and has again become the centre of life for the valley. . . The city followed the sea, and changed from place to place to maintain its importance as the only harbour of the valley."[34]

This is reflected in the letter; "a threat of removing the Church from its place would be inevitably understood by the Ephesians as a denunciation of another change in the site of the city, and must have been so intended by the writer. Ephesus and its Church should be taken up, and moved away to a new spot, where it might begin afresh on a new career with a better spirit. But it would be still Ephesus, as it had always hitherto been amid all changes."

C. J. Hemer, in an unpublished[35] Ph.D. thesis 'A Study of the Letters to the Seven Churches of Asia with Special Reference to Their Local Background' presented to the University of Manchester in 1969, has undertaken a reappraisal of Sir William Ramsay's work in which many of his conclusions are vindicated and some new suggestions offered. He goes further than Ramsay in relating the symbol of "the tree of life" in "the Paradise of God" particularly to the church in Ephesus. The tree is associated on coinage with Artemis of Ephesus and a primitive tree-shrine occupies the site of the later temples (identified by D. G. Hogarth[36]); this tree represented a connecting link with the sacred tree of Ortygia where it was believed the goddess was born.[37] The continuity of shrines and temples on the one site provided a fixed focal point of religious interest contrasted with the changeable nature of the site of Ephesus itself. This fixed point "was a place of salvation for the suppliant" of Artemis, "surrounded by an asylum a bow-shot or more in radius, enclosed by a boundary wall." This sacred enclosure is alluded to by the word παράδεισος,[38] a development from the original idea of a royal park. Mark Antony enlarged the bounds of the asylum including within it part of the city itself, with disastrous consequences because there the criminal had refuge from the law. Augustus, Tiberius, and the proconsul under Claudius, all had to intervene to control the abuse of the right of asylum. M. P. Charlesworth says that Domitian "apparently extended the boundaries of the temple of Ephesian Artemis".[39] Apollonius of Tyana was highly critical about the evil consequences of

asylum in a holy place.[40] To the church at Ephesus especially "the promise of a city-sanctuary pervaded by the glory of God would be meaningful";[41] if the "tree of life" also alludes to the cross of Christ,[42] then such a promise provides a complete contrast with the threat of the movement of church and city back under the dominance of the Artemision.

A similar kind of argument based on the local circumstances of another church, the Church of Laodicea, is put forward by two other supporters of Sir William Ramsay's approach, M.J.S. Rudwick and E.M.B. Green, in an article on 'The Laodicean Lukewarmness'.[43] They offer an explanation of the terms 'hot', 'cold', and 'lukewarm' used in the letter, terms which Ramsay rather curiously neglected in his historical/geographical exposition.[44] Apparently, the site of Laodicea was originally chosen because of its control over an important road junction.[45] The site lacked a natural water supply and so had to derive its water from hot mineral springs nearby, along a special syphon type of aqueduct; the water would have cooled in the pipes, but still be warm when it reached the city. So "Laodicea would have been notorious as a city which, for all its prosperity, could provide neither the refreshment of cold water for the weary, as, for example, its neighbour Colossae could, nor the healing properties of hot water for the sick, as its neighbour Hierapolis could. Its lukewarm water was . . . only fit to be "spewed out of the mouth".[46] The church in Laodicea would have been intended to see in itself a similar uselessness. It was providing neither refreshment for the spiritually weary, nor healing for the spiritually sick. It was totally ineffective and thus distasteful to its Lord."

This reflection in the letters of particular local characteristics, making each message specially suitable for each individual church, Ramsay admitted, might only be appreciated by subsequent readers after very close study of the local history and geography. The author imparts many touches to these letters which shew his intimate knowledge of all the churches. "The letters were written by one who was familiar with the situation, the

character, the past history, the possibilities of future development of these Seven Cities."[47] In each instance the writer thinks of the particular church in that one city. For example he sees only death facing the church of Sardis; the other churches in the Hermus valley however do not necessarily share this fate, according to Ramsay's interpretation; they may be warned by the fate of Sardis, and be spared and honoured. But Ramsay conceded that this singleness of vision by the Seer might not be consistently marked in each case. In the letter to Laodicea he thought there might be references to the other cities in the group. This might also be true of the letter to Thyatira, which might explain the obscurity of that letter; but Ramsay was confident enough of the validity of his interpretation to assert that "a quite sufficient and more probable reason is our almost complete ignorance of the special character of that city." The references which the author makes to local conditions are so restricted in application to each individual church, that they will really be appreciated only by those in that particular situation. The letters are "a book with seven seals" for the modern reader "which can be opened only by long familiarity, earnest patient thought, and the insight given by belief and love. The reader must have attuned himself to harmony with the city and the natural influences that had made it."[48]

It seems possible to envisage two distinct background situations for the writing of the letters in the Apocalypse, for both of which this line of argument, used by Ramsay, would be appropriate. The author who makes such deliberate and specialised reference to local conditions may write from a close pastoral understanding of the situation of his churches, and in his writing have the fortunate gift - or inspiration - of selecting some feature from the church's environment which admirably symbolises the characteristic attitude of belief or practice he wishes to praise or condemn. By these highly significant allusions he depicts the spiritual condition of the churches. Alternatively the detailed characterisation of the churches may be the work of a writer who "surveys them from the point of view of one who

believes that natural scenery and geographical surroundings exercise a strong influence on the character and destiny of a people. In the relations of sea and land, river and mountains . . . he reads the tale of the forces that insensibly mould the minds of men."[49] The second alternative clearly represents Ramsay's understanding of the situation. Not only is it expressed in the terms he used, but also the scheme of his book shows that considerable stress was laid on describing each church's environment before expounding the appropriate letter.

We might question the way Ramsay saw the methods of an author in a first century situation. Would it not be more characteristic of a nineteenth century sociologist than of a first century Christian pastor to be concerned to emphasise the connection between the forces of the natural environment and the spiritual condition of the local community of the Church? Expressed in its most extreme form, this belief in the determining influence of the environment would leave little opportunity or justification for a pastor's praise or blame. In a situation where, granted the weakness of human nature, conformity was almost inevitable, the function of a writer in letters such as these would amount to stating the reality of the situation for those who had failed to recognise it. The characteristic expression of the promise to the one who overcomes cannot have been made with much hopefulness or conviction. Whereas, apart from Ramsay's view of the author's situation, we might be disposed to recognise not only a realistic approach to practical problems in the churches, but also a confidence and optimism that is in tune with the mood of encouragement found elsewhere in the Book of Revelation. Certainly it is on the basis of this latter assessment that so much use has been made of Revelation 2 and 3 by countless churches other than the original Asian seven, for the purpose of practical devotion.

In assessing the general validity of this method of interpretation by contemporary references, as employed by Ramsay and his successors, it is necessary to weigh carefully the details of the argument. For what Ramsay

believed to be reality, in the historical and geographical references to individual churches, other commentators have seen as part of a symbolic structure. Where Ramsay separated out the material of the letters as belonging to a special category, others have drawn attention to the close relationship of this material to that of the rest of the book.[50] This would mean either that the historical method of interpretation is not to be reserved for the letters, but is applicable to the whole book, or that it is not an appropriate method for the book as a whole.

But a thorough assessment of all the detailed allusions that have been suggested, together with historical and geographical reconstructions to provide a suitable background for their consideration, would be a completely impractical project within the limits of this chapter. Furthermore, it would be in a large measure a duplication of the thorough appraisal of the evidence recently offered by C. J. Hemer. I have, therefore, considered it important to discuss in this chapter those issues which are dealt with less thoroughly by Hemer, so that my work may be complementary to his rather than merely repetitious. Since Hemer makes the significant point that evidence for an interpretation of the letters by local reference is essentially cumulative, I have endeavoured to represent on the next seven pages a visual impression of this cumulative argument, indicating the range of detail which has been assessed. Obviously I am deeply indebted to Hemer's work and to his sources, especially those listed, while the inadequacies of this summary representation can only be mine.

The numbers on the Greek text as printed refer to the appropriate historical and geographical data in the notes alongside. For purposes of comparison I have indicated references to the Old Testament and later Jewish writings by underlining in the text: a solid line represents what scholars usually regard as a direct quotation; a dotted line represents a suggested allusion. The maps or plans, on the facing pages, supply material for a more general context as well as indicating in visual terms some of the allusions referred to in the accompanying text.

THE SEVEN CHURCHES OF THE PROVINCE OF ASIA

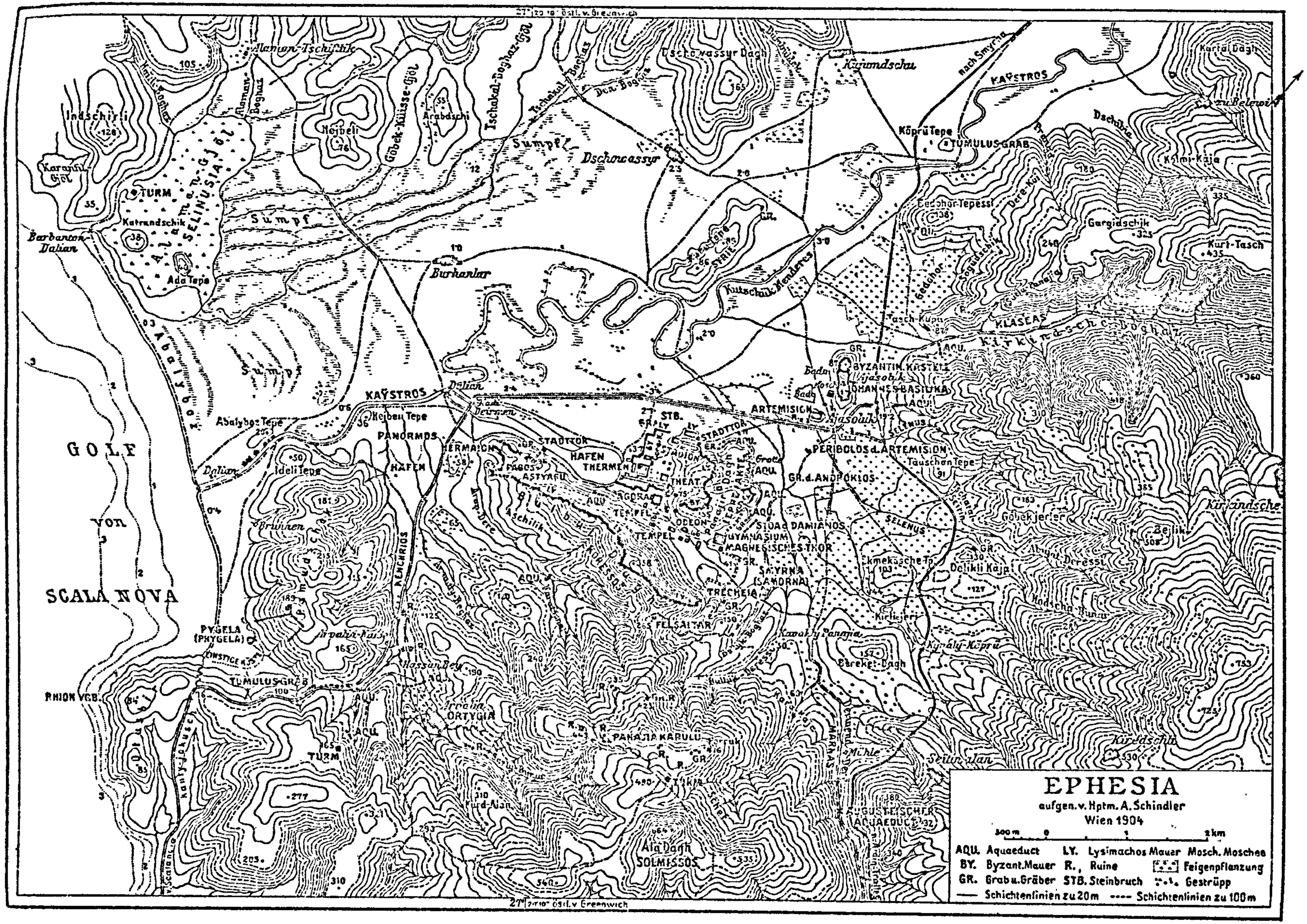
Explanation
Provincial Boundaries
Primary Circuit
Secondary Circuits
Sea Routes
Scale of Miles
10 0 10 20 30 40

28° 30° 32°
40° 38° 36°

PONTUS EUXINUS
ET PONTUS
Herakleia
CONSTANTINOPLE & Chalcedon
PROPONTIS
Nicomedeia
R. Sangarios
PROVINCIA BITHYNIA
Nicaea
Ezirgs
Lampsakos
Aenus Neapolis
R. Aisepos
R. Rhyndakos
MYSIA
R. Rhyndakos
Troas
Hadrianoutherai
Dorylaion
Adramyttion
Kotiaion
GALATIA
Pessinus
Pergamum
R. Caicos
Angyra
R. Sangarios
Amorion
Mytilene
Thyatira
LYDIA
R. Hermus
Akmonia
Hymnessos
Julia
PARORIOS
Magnesia
Satala
Hieropolis
Synnada
Philomelion
Smyrna
Sardis
Philadelphia
Eumeneia
Antioch (Pisidian)
R. Cayster
Apollonia
PHRYGIA GALATICA
Apameia
Ephesus
Tralles
Hierapolis
Laodicela
From Corinth
To & From Rome
Magnesia
Antioch
Samos
R. Maeander
Colossae
R. Cestros
Aphrodisias
Alabanda
Tregyllium
Themissonion
PISIDIA
Miletus
CARIA
Patmos
Kibyra
PROVINCIA PAMPHYLIA
Halicarnassus
Perga
Attaleia
Cnidos
Side
To & From Tarsus & Syria
PROVINCIA LYCIA
Rhodes
To & From Rome
To Crete & Rome
To Crete & Rome
To Alexandria
Patara
Myra
To Sidon

Longitude East of Greenwich

W. & A. K. Johnston, Limited, Edinburgh & London.


EPHESIA
aufgen. v. Hptm. A. Schindler
Wien 1904
AQU. Aquaeduct
BY. Byzant. Mauer
GR. Grab u. Gräber
LY. Lysimachos Mauer
R., Ruine
STB. Steinbruch
Mosch. Moschee
Feigenpflanzung
Gestrüpp
Schichtenlinien zu 20m
Schichtenlinien zu 100m
GOLF von SCALA NOVA
SCALA NOVA
PYGELA (PHYGELA)
RHION VGB.
PANORMOS
HERMAION
HAFEN
STADTTOR
THERMEN
PAGOS ASTYAPU
THEAT.
AGORA
TEMPEL
ODEON
GYMNASIUM MAGNESISCHES TOR
STOA DAMIANOS
PERIBOLOS d. ARTEMISION
GR. d. ANDROKLOS
ARTEMISION
BYZANTIN. KASTELL
JOHANNES BASILIKA
KAYSTROS
KLAZOMENISCHER BUSEN
SELENUS
AUGUSTEISCHER AQUAEDUCT
SMYRNA (SAMORNA)
TRECHEIA
FELSALTAR
PANAJIA KARULU
ORTYGIA
SOLMISSOS
Ala Dagh
Kurd-Kaja
Kirkindsche Dagh
Gökdjerler
Kirkindsche
Kirdaschik
Seitan Ilan
Kemekische Tp.
Köprü Tepe
TUMULUS GRAB
Dschibia
Klimi-Kaja
Gargidschik
Kurt-Tasch
Tasch-Kupu
Kutschuk-Menderes
Burhanlar
Sumpf
Dschowassyr
Tschakal-Dagh
Alaman-Tschiftlik
Alaman-Baghaz
Indschirli
Karanfil Göl
Ada Tepe
Barbaros-Dalian
Abalybas Tepe
Ideli Tepe
Hejbeli Tepe
Arabdschi
Göbek-Klisse-Göl
Kaimakdschi
Kara-Dere
Dere-Ka
Kemali-Köprü
Bereket-Dagh
Kara-Dere
Kara-Tschai
Kanly-Dere
Mühle
Brunnen
Dalian
Hassan Beg
Kara-Kaja
Kara-Tepe
Kara-Dere
Kara-Tschai
Kara-Dere
Kara-Tschai
Kara-Dere
Kara-Tschai

Τάδε λέγει ὁ κρατῶν τοὺς ἑπτὰ ἀστέρας ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ αὐτοῦ,
ὁ περιπατῶν ἐν μέσῳ τῶν ἑπτὰ λυχνιῶν τῶν χρυσῶν·(1)
οἶδα τὰ ἔργα σου καὶ τὸν κόπον καὶ τὴν ὑπομονήν σου,
καὶ ὅτι οὐ δύνῃ βαστάσαι κακούς, καὶ ἐπείρασας τοὺς
λέγοντας ἑαυτοὺς ἀποστόλους καὶ οὐκ εἰσίν,(2) καὶ εὗρες
αὐτοὺς ψευδεῖς· καὶ ὑπομονὴν ἔχεις, καὶ ἐβάστασας διὰ
τὸ ὄνομά μου, καὶ οὐ κεκοπίακας. ἀλλὰ ἔχω κατὰ σοῦ ὅτι
τὴν ἀγάπην σου τὴν πρώτην ἀφῆκας.(3) μνημόνευε οὖν πόθεν
πέπτωκας,(3) καὶ μετανόησον καὶ τὰ πρῶτα ἔργα ποίησον·
εἰ δὲ μή, ἔρχομαί σοι καὶ κινήσω(3) τὴν λυχνίαν σου ἐκ
τοῦ τόπου αὐτῆς, ἐὰν μὴ μετανοήσῃς. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο ἔχεις,
ὅτι μισεῖς τὰ ἔργα τῶν Νικολαϊτῶν,(4) ἃ κἀγὼ μισῶ.
ὁ ἔχων οὖς ἀκουσάτω τί τὸ πνεῦμα λέγει ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις.
τῷ νικῶντι δώσω αὐτῷ φαγεῖν ἐκ τοῦ ξύλου τῆς ζωῆς,(5)
ὅ ἐστιν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ τοῦ θεοῦ.(6)

EPHESUS [52]

Priority of Ephesus attributed to its status, either as official capital of Roman Asia, or as commercial centre of region (cf. Ramsay H.D.B.3.750f), or explained on geographical grounds as the natural starting-point for a traveller (cf. Ramsay 7 Ch.p.186).

(1) Allusion to status as leading city (one as centre for all seven) cf. reference to Sardis, ancient capital of Lydia.

(2) False apostles - local opposition?

(3) Idea of movement alludes to change in site of city during history: Ionian city moved by Croesus, moved again by Lysimachus. Silting-up caused by the river Cayster was a threat to the harbour and eventually made the moving of city and harbour and the dredging of the channel necessary. See map.

(4) Nikolaitans - local opposition?

(5) Tree-shrine of Artemis on the site of later temples. Tree as symbol of Artemis. (see p.85)

(6) Artemision offered asylum within its Τέμενος. (see p.85f.)

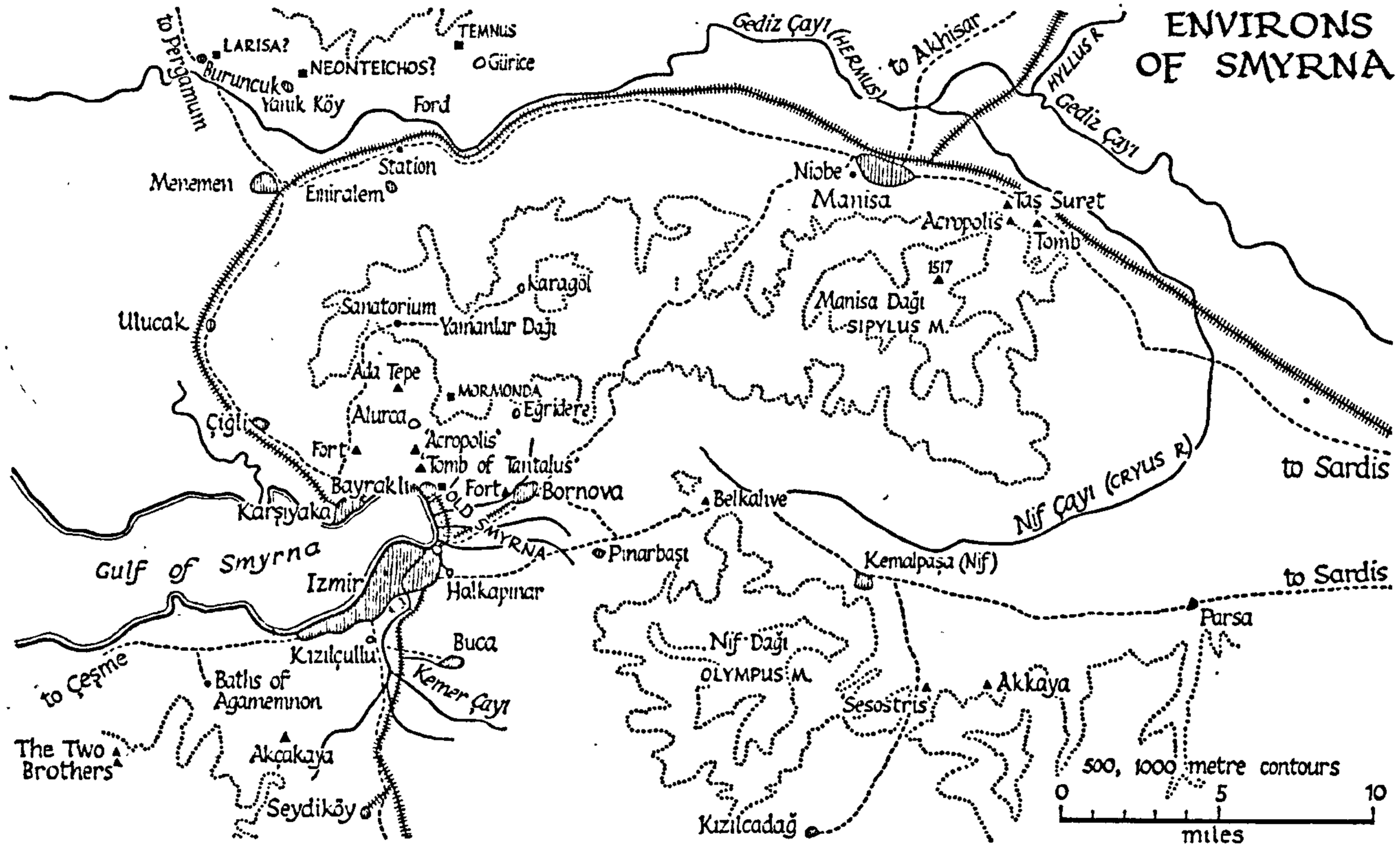


FIG. 9 Environs of Smyrna

Τάδε λέγει ὁ πρῶτος καὶ ὁ ἔσχατος, ὃς ἐγένετο νεκρὸς καὶ
ἔζησεν· (1) οἶδά σου τὴν θλῖψιν καὶ τὴν πτωχείαν, ἀλλὰ
πλούσιος εἶ, καὶ τὴν βλασφημίαν ἐκ τῶν λεγόντων Ἰουδαίους
εἶναι ἑαυτούς, καὶ οὐκ εἰσὶν ἀλλὰ συναγωγὴ τοῦ σατανᾶ. (2)
μὴ φοβοῦ ἃ μέλλεις πάσχειν. ἰδοὺ μέλλει βάλλειν ὁ διάβολος
ἐξ ὑμῶν εἰς φυλακὴν (3) ἵνα πειρασθῆτε, καὶ ἕξετε θλῖψιν
ἡμερῶν δέκα. (4) γίνου πιστὸς (5) ἄχρι θανάτου, καὶ δώσω
σοι τὸν στέφανον τῆς ζωῆς. (6)
ὁ ἔχων οὖς ἀκουσάτω τί τὸ πνεῦμα λέγει ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις.
ὁ νικῶν οὐ μὴ ἀδικηθῇ ἐκ τοῦ θανάτου τοῦ δευτέρου.

SMYRNA[54]

Hemer argues for a significant connection in the ancient mind between the name of the city and σμύρνα = myrrh. "The symbolism of weeping, burial and resurrection attached to myrrh may have been reflected in the portrayal of a city of suffering."

(1) Destruction of Old Smyrna by Alyattes of Lydia c.600 B.C. Inhabited κωμηδόν (acc.Strabo) until new πόλις was founded c.290 B.C. around Mt.Pagos. Aristides speaks of a city risen from oblivion since Alexander, uses image of Phoenix.

(2) Relations of church with local Jews? Special antagonism of the Jews of Smyrna illustrated later by conduct at martyrdom of Polycarp (Letter to Philomelium 13,21).

(3) Imprisonment not a penalty, but a temporary measure, a period of suffering pending trial or execution.

(4)[55] Possible reference to Niobe tradition in Homer's Iliad 24.602-17 where tenth day terminates period of mourning. Niobe tradition has local relevance: Hittite carving (Tas Suret) or natural rock feature on Mt. Sipylus identified as Niobe. (see map)

(5) Proverbial faithfulness of Smyrna to her allies. (cf.Cicero Philipp.11.25; Livy 35.42.2).

(6) Crown as reference to physical appearance of city on Mt.Pagos authenticated by ancient writers (Aristides and Apollonius of Tyana) and by use as emblem of city. May also be related to agonistic imagery used of martyrdom "in arena" (cf.Ignatius to Polycarp and Martyrdom of Polycarp)
Perhaps also local custom conferring crowns on the dead, or honouring visits of officials.

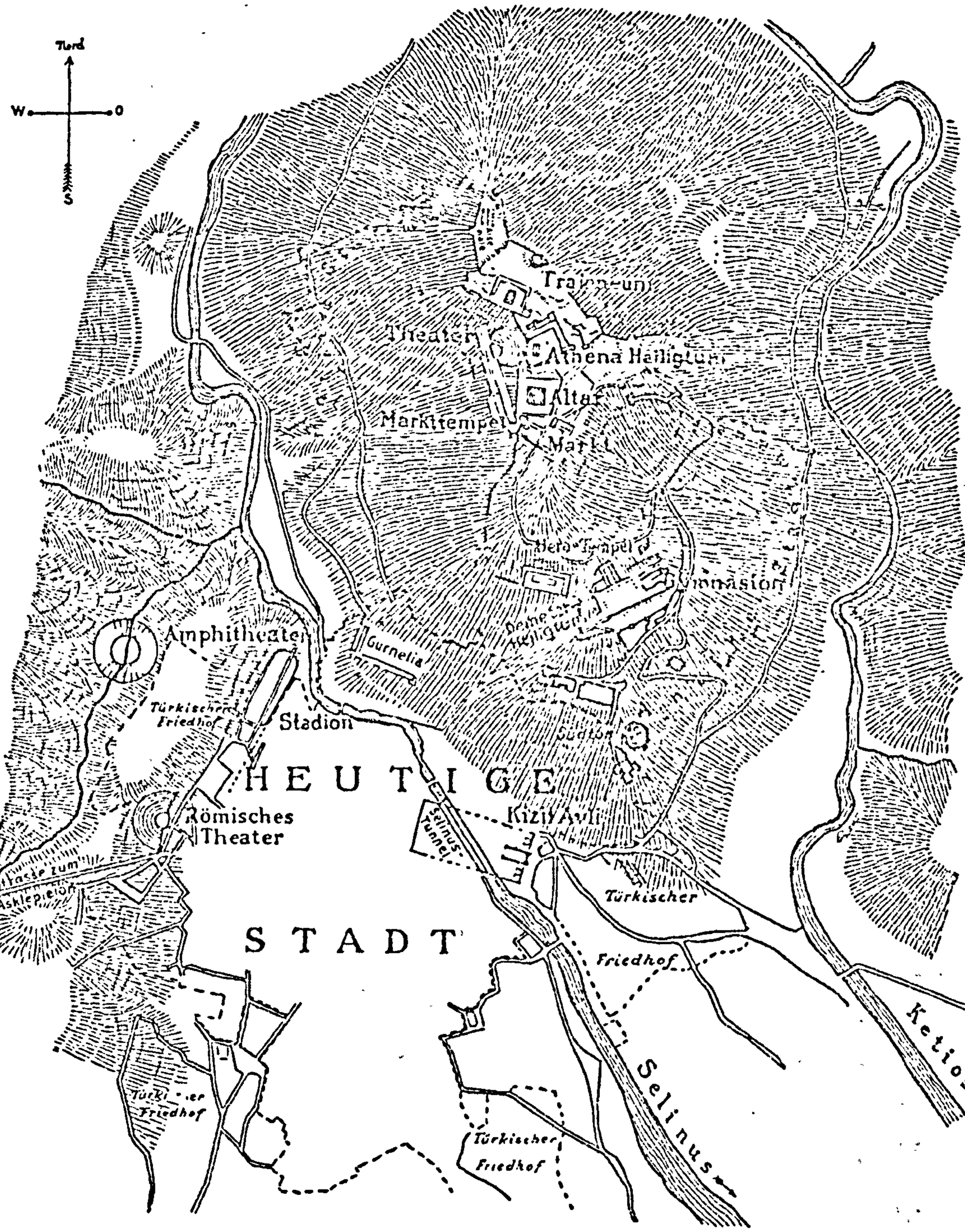

Nord
W
O
S
Theater
Athena Heiligtum
Altar
Marktempel
Markt
Hera-Tempel
Amphitheater
Gymnasion
Gurnelia
Türkischer Friedhof
Stadion
HEUTIGE
Römisches Theater
Kizil Avli
Selinus-Tunnel
Stufen zum Asklepieion
STADT
Türkischer Friedhof
Friedhof
Selinus
Ketios
100 m 0 100 200 300 400 500 600 700 800 900 1000 Meter

Abb. 1

Τάδε λέγει ὁ ἔχων τὴν ῥομφαίαν τὴν δίστομον τὴν ὀξεῖαν· (1)
οἶδα ποῦ κατοικεῖς· ὅπου ὁ θρόνος τοῦ σατανᾶ· (2) καὶ κρατεῖς
τὸ ὄνομά μου, καὶ οὐκ ἠρνήσω τὴν πίστιν μου καὶ ἐν ταῖς
ἡμέραις Ἀντιπᾶς ὁ μάρτυς μου (3) ὁ πιστός μου, ὃς
ἀπεκτάνθη παρ' ὑμῖν, ὅπου ὁ σατανᾶς κατοικεῖ. ἀλλ' ἔχω
κατὰ σοῦ ὀλίγα, ὅτι ἔχεις ἐκεῖ κρατοῦντας τὴν διδαχὴν
Βαλαάμ, (4) ὃς ἐδίδασκεν τῷ Βαλὰκ βαλεῖν σκάνδαλον ἐνώπιον
τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραήλ, φαγεῖν εἰδωλόθυτα καὶ πορνεῦσαι.
οὕτως ἔχεις καὶ σὺ κρατοῦντας τὴν διδαχὴν τῶν Νικολαϊτῶν
ὁμοίως. (4) μετανόησον οὖν· εἰ δὲ μή, ἔρχομαί σοι ταχὺ καὶ
πολεμήσω μετ' αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ ῥομφαίᾳ τοῦ στόματός μου. (1)
ὁ ἔχων οὖς ἀκουσάτω τί τὸ πνεῦμα λέγει ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις.
τῷ νικῶντι δώσω αὐτῷ τοῦ μάννα τοῦ κεκρυμμένου, (5) καὶ
δώσω αὐτῷ ψῆφον λευκήν, (6) καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ψῆφον ὄνομα καινὸν
γεγραμμένον, (7) ὃ οὐδεὶς οἶδεν εἰ μὴ ὁ λαμβάνων.

Ruler worship was developed under the Attalid dynasty and carried over when the kingdom was reconstituted as the province of Asia. Questioned how long Pergamum retained status of capital and seat of proconsul; likely rivalry with Ephesus and Smyrna.

(1) Ct.with proconsular 'ius gladii' (historical or present) or authority of spoken word (e.g. judge's sentence, as in the trial of Antipas).

(2) Earliest and greatest centre of ruler worship (Imperial cult-29 B.C.). Possibly also refers to 'arm-chair' appearance of city-hill to traveller from Smyrna.

Satan - allusion possible to other great shrines of Pergamum: throne altar of Zeus Soter, and worship of Asklepios Soter, both symbolized by the serpent (Biblical = Satan).

(3) Celebrated local case, otherwise unknown ?

(4) Nikolaitans =? Balaam - local opposition ?

(5) Manna - food of Messianic banquet (associated with the original manna, as preserved Ex.16.32-4), ct. with food offerings in Imperial cult or other religious feasts. 'Manna' in pagan Greek and Latin (Galen of Pergamum and Pliny N.H.) used of crumb of frankincense, pinch of incense used to prove loyalty to Emperor.

(6) White marble used for inscribed stones at Pergamum, ct. coarse dark brown granite of Acropolis buildings. White ct.black voting pebble which condemns a man on trial.

(7) Later analogy of Aristides' vision of Asklepios during 'incubatio' at Pergamum, commemorated by a σύνθημα or token he was given, associated with new name 'Theodorus' he received, suggests an interpretation if this was local practice at the Asklepieum.

Τάδε λέγει ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, ὁ ἔχων τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς (αὐτοῦ) ὡς φλόγα πυρός,(1) καὶ οἱ πόδες αὐτοῦ ὅμοιοι χαλκολιβάνῳ·(2) οἶδά σου τὰ ἔργα καὶ τὴν ἀγάπην καὶ τὴν πίστιν καὶ τὴν διακονίαν καὶ τὴν ὑπομονήν σου, καὶ τὰ ἔργα σου τὰ ἔσχατα πλείονα τῶν πρώτων. ἀλλὰ ἔχω κατὰ σοῦ ὅτι ἀφεῖς τὴν γυναῖκα Ἰεζάβελ,(3) ἡ λέγουσα ἑαυτὴν προφῆτιν, καὶ διδάσκει καὶ πλανᾷ τοὺς ἐμοὺς δούλους πορνεῦσαι καὶ φαγεῖν εἰδωλόθυτα· καὶ ἔδωκα αὐτῇ χρόνον ἵνα μετανοήσῃ, καὶ οὐ θέλει μετανοῆσαι ἐκ τῆς πορνείας αὐτῆς. ἰδοὺ βάλλω αὐτὴν εἰς κλίνην,(4) καὶ τοὺς μοιχεύοντας μετ' αὐτῆς εἰς θλῖψιν μεγάλην, ἐὰν μὴ μετανοήσουσιν ἐκ τῶν ἔργων αὐτῆς· καὶ τὰ τέκνα αὐτῆς ἀποκτενῶ ἐν θανάτῳ· καὶ γνώσονται πᾶσαι αἱ ἐκκλησίαι ὅτι ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ ἐρευνῶν νεφροὺς καὶ καρδίας,(5) καὶ δώσω ὑμῖν ἑκάστῳ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα ὑμῶν. ὑμῖν δὲ λέγω τοῖς λοιποῖς τοῖς ἐν Θυατίροις, ὅσοι οὐκ ἔχουσιν τὴν διδαχὴν ταύτην, οἵτινες οὐκ ἔγνωσαν τὰ βαθέα τοῦ σατανᾶ,(6) ὡς λέγουσιν· οὐ βάλλω ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἄλλο βάρος· πλὴν ὃ ἔχετε κρατήσατε ἄχρι οὗ ἂν ἥξω. καὶ ὁ νικῶν καὶ ὁ τηρῶν ἄχρι τέλους τὰ ἔργα μου, δώσω αὐτῷ ἐξουσίαν ἐπὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν, καὶ ποιμανεῖ αὐτοὺς ἐν ῥάβδῳ σιδηρᾷ,(7) ὡς τὰ σκεύη τὰ κεραμικὰ(8) συντρίβεται, ὡς κἀγὼ εἴληφα παρὰ τοῦ πατρός μου, καὶ δώσω αὐτῷ τὸν ἀστέρα τὸν πρωϊνόν.(9) ὁ ἔχων οὖς ἀκουσάτω τί τὸ πνεῦμα λέγει ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις.

THYATIRA

Exceptional prominence of trade-guilds as basis of city's organisation, associated in origin with military function of city, as supplying auxiliary services of garrison.

(1) Attributes perhaps reflect those of city's god Tyrimnus, assimilated to Helius and Apollo, and later explicitly linked with Imperial cult (Caracalla).

(2) Suggested trade term of metal work in Thyatira (guild of χαλκεῖς) - used for alloy of copper or bronze with metallic zinc (produced by distillation). χαλκός + ψευδάργυρος cf. ὀρείχαλκος (λίβανος from λείβω). Ore probably from Troad, but lignite for process available locally.

(3) Teacher from local opposition ? Or refers to syncretism of Sambathe Sibyl (cf.Schürer).

(4) Allusion to religious activities of trade guilds, feasts especially. Status of women in guild feasts not clear.

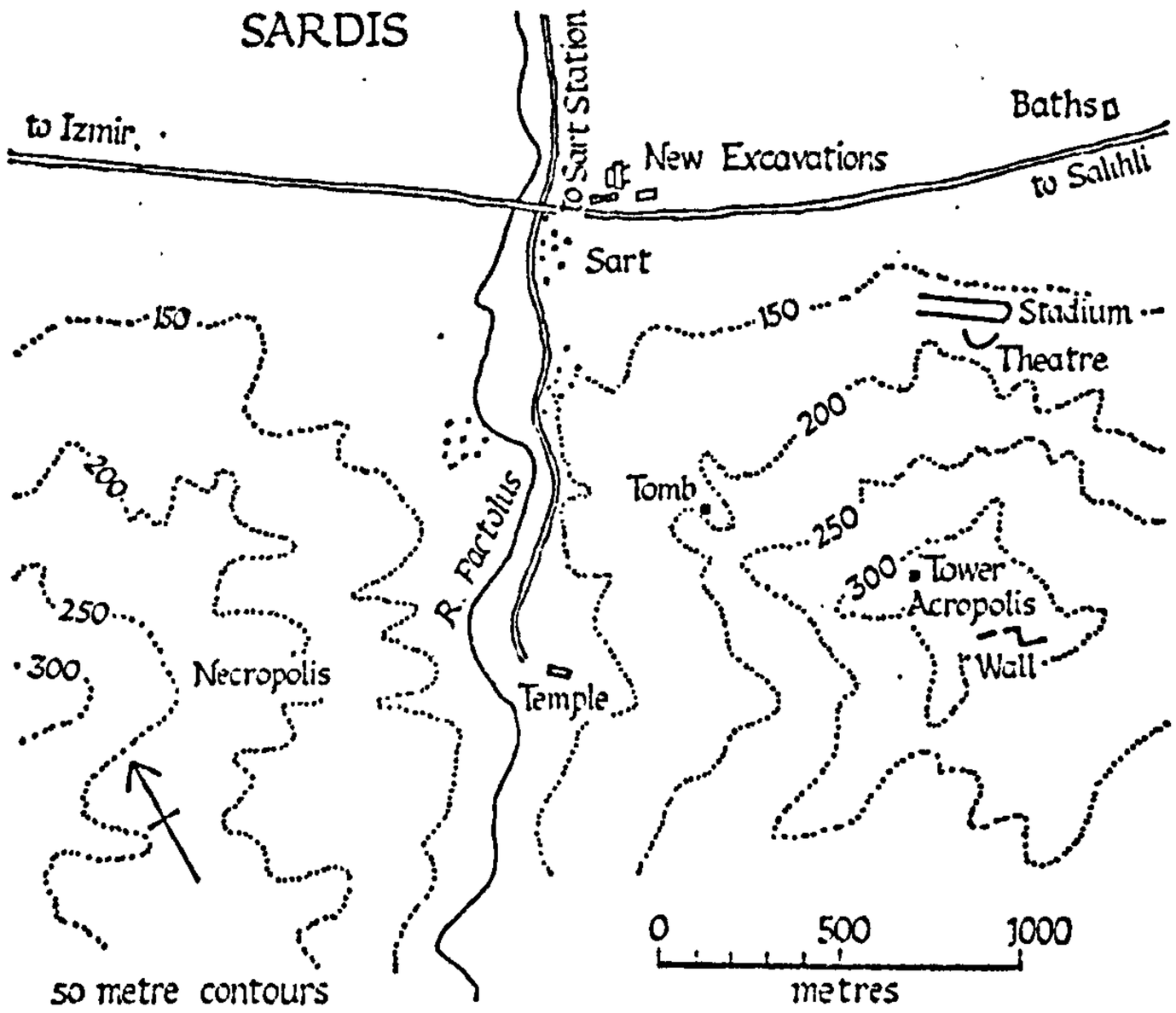
(5) As this is addressed to all the churches, this is a point at which local allusion is less likely.

(6) Allusion to, or caricature of, slogan of local 'Gnostic' group.

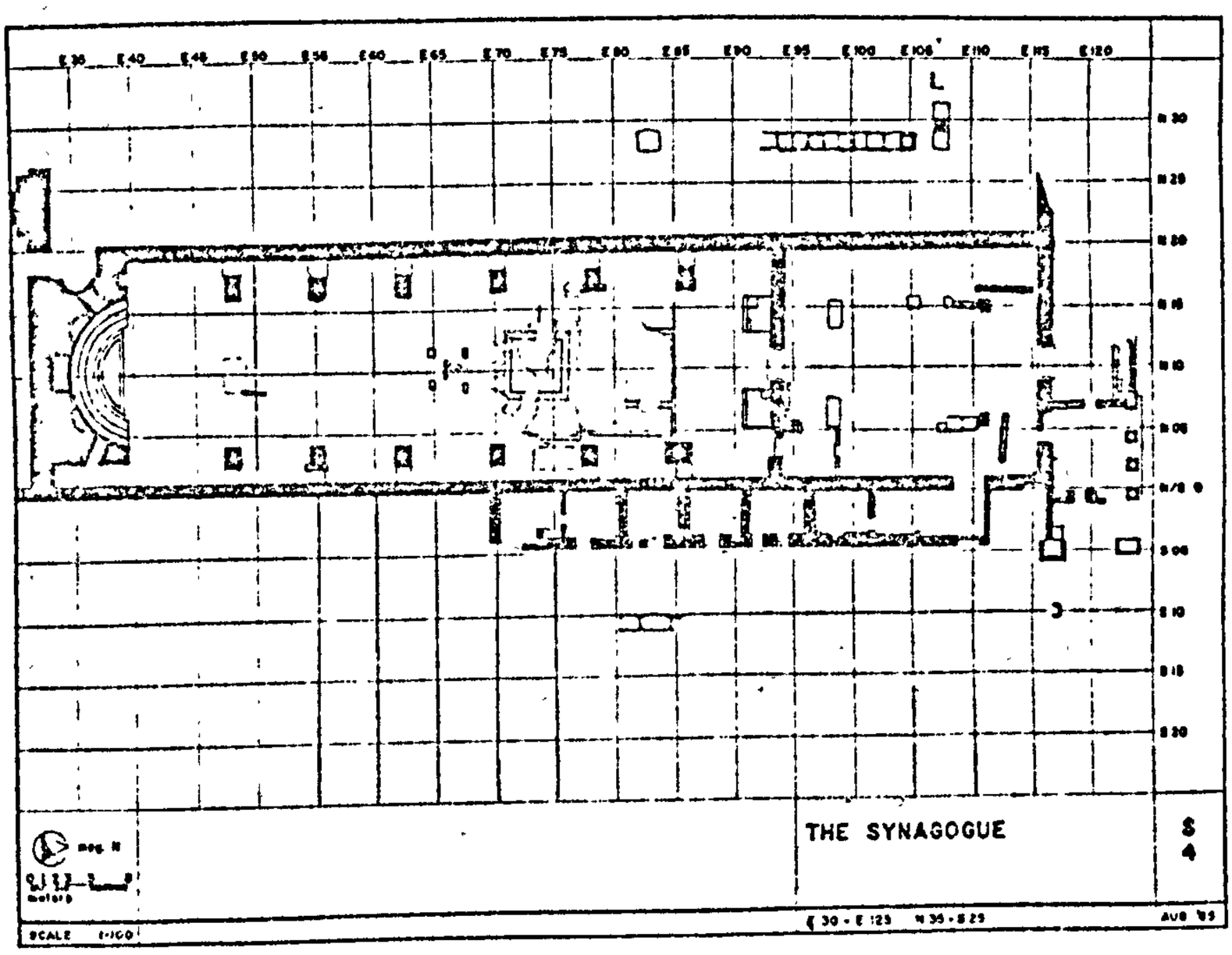
(7) Allusion to military power of city, perhaps represented by Tyrimnus with his battle-axe.

(8) Guild of potters - οἱ κεραμεῖς C.I.G.3485 = I.G.R.R.4. 1205.

(9) Emblem of authority, with Messianic connotations, Ct. with claims of Emperor (if Imperial cult was active threat here, perhaps in persecution by trade-boycott). cf. Domitian in 95 A.D. acc.Statius 'Silvae' 4.1.1-4.



Plan of Sardis



Plan of the synagogue and its vicinity at the close of the 1965 season.

Τάδε λέγει ὁ ἔχων τὰ ἑπτὰ πνεύματα τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοὺς ἑπτὰ ἀστέρας· (1) οἶδά σου τὰ ἔργα, ὅτι ὄνομα ἔχεις ὅτι ζῇς, καὶ νεκρὸς εἶ. (2) γίνου γρηγορῶν, (3) καὶ στήρισον τὰ λοιπὰ (4) ἃ ἔμελλον ἀποθανεῖν· οὐ γὰρ εὕρηκά σου ἔργα πεπληρωμένα (5) ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ μου· μνημόνευε οὖν πῶς εἴληφας καὶ ἤκουσας, καὶ τήρει καὶ μετανόησον. ἐὰν οὖν μὴ γρηγορήσῃς, ἥξω ὡς κλέπτης, (3) καὶ οὐ μὴ γνῷς ποίαν ὥραν ἥξω ἐπὶ σέ. ἀλλὰ ἔχεις ὀλίγα ὀνόματα ἐν Σάρδεσιν ἃ οὐκ ἐμόλυναν τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτῶν, (6) καὶ περιπατήσουσιν μετ' ἐμοῦ ἐν λευκοῖς, (7) ὅτι ἄξιοί εἰσιν. ὁ νικῶν οὕτως περιβαλεῖται ἐν ἱματίοις λευκοῖς, (7) καὶ οὐ μὴ ἐξαλείψω τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῆς βίβλου τῆς ζωῆς, (8) καὶ ὁμολογήσω τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἐνώπιον τοῦ πατρός μου καὶ ἐνώπιον τῶν ἀγγέλων αὐτοῦ. ὁ ἔχων οὖς ἀκουσάτω τί τὸ πνεῦμα λέγει ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις.

SARDIS [62]

Sardis was proverbial in ancient literature, both for wealth and for certain episodes in its history.

(1) Reference appropriate, cf.Ephesus, because of status of Sardis as ancient capital of Lydia.

(2) a.City in decay, or, at least, no longer seat of power.
b.Local religious preoccupation with themes of death and life.
c.Allusion to differing views on fate of Croesus - apotheosis or self-deception.
d.Situation of temple of Artemis with acropolis of ancient Lydian capital to East, and Necropolis hill to West. Royal Lydian Necropolis nearby at Bin Tepe.
e.Citadel imposing from a distance, but material of hill liable to crumble and be eroded.

(3) City captured, in spite of its strength, through lack of vigilant defence (in 546 by Cyrus, and again in 214 by Antiochus III) "Coming like a thief" describes method of assault at a weak point by a few men.

(4) By nature of site, Sardis suffered most severely in the earthquake of 17 A.D. perhaps losing much of S.W. of citadel.

(5) "Unfinished" un-fluted columns of Cybele temple ?

(6) Immorality censured by Apollonius of Tyana. Inscriptions refer to chastisement with disease of those morally unclean when performing vows.

(7) a.Ancient centre of woollen industry
b.White toga worn at Roman triumph and at festivals - such pomp had departed from Sardis, but remained for faithful Christians.

(8) [63] Ct.with citizen register, or membership of synagogue. (Jewish curse of the Minim: "May they be blotted out") Later archaeological evidence indicates large body of Jews in Sardis (3C.Synagogue building), confirms earlier evidence (e.g.Josephus) for Jewish community here.

Τάδε λέγει ὁ ἅγιος, ὁ ἀληθινός, ὁ ἔχων τὴν κλεῖν Δαυίδ,
ὁ ἀνοίγων[1] καὶ οὐδεὶς κλείσει, καὶ κλείων καὶ οὐδεὶς
ἀνοίγει· οἶδά σου τὰ ἔργα· ἰδοὺ δέδωκα ἐνώπιόν σου θύραν[1]
ἠνεῳγμένην, ἣν οὐδεὶς δύναται κλεῖσαι αὐτήν· ὅτι μικρὰν
ἔχεις δύναμιν, καὶ ἐτήρησάς μου τὸν λόγον καὶ οὐκ ἠρνήσω
τὸ ὄνομά μου. ἰδοὺ διδῶ ἐκ τῆς συναγωγῆς τοῦ σατανᾶ,[2]
τῶν λεγόντων ἑαυτοὺς Ἰουδαίους εἶναι, καὶ οὐκ εἰσὶν ἀλλὰ
ψεύδονται· ἰδοὺ ποιήσω αὐτοὺς ἵνα ἥξουσιν καὶ
προσκυνήσουσιν ἐνώπιον τῶν ποδῶν σου, καὶ γνῶσιν ὅτι ἐγὼ
ἠγάπησά σε. ὅτι ἐτήρησας τὸν λόγον τῆς ὑπομονῆς μου, κἀγώ
σε τηρήσω ἐκ τῆς ὥρας τοῦ πειρασμοῦ[3] τῆς μελλούσης
ἔρχεσθαι ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης ὅλης, πειράσαι τοὺς
κατοικοῦντας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. ἔρχομαι ταχύ· κράτει ὃ ἔχεις,
ἵνα μηδεὶς λάβῃ τὸν στέφανόν σου.[4] ὁ νικῶν, ποιήσω αὐτὸν
στῦλον[5] ἐν τῷ ναῷ τοῦ θεοῦ μου, καὶ ἔξω οὐ μὴ ἐξέλθῃ[3]
ἔτι, καὶ γράφω ἐπ' αὐτὸν τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ μου καὶ τὸ ὄνομα
τῆς πόλεως[6] τοῦ θεοῦ μου, τῆς καινῆς Ἰερουσαλὴμ[7] ἡ
καταβαίνουσα ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ μου, καὶ τὸ ὄνομά
μου τὸ καινόν. ὁ ἔχων οὖς ἀκουσάτω τί τὸ πνεῦμα λέγει ταῖς
ἐκκλησίαις.

PHILADELPHIA[65]

(1) City as "open door" towards Phrygia, controlling the route from Smyrna and Lydia. Afforded missionary opportunity for church (cf. Paul:1 Cor 16.9;2 Cor 2.12; Ignatius Philad.9.1.) Although Hemer questions Ramsay's theory that Philadelphia originally founded as "missionary" centre for Greek ideas.

(2) Reference to Jewish community ? (cf.Smyrna). Ignatius offers evidence of proselytising - Philad.6.1, 8.2. The reference to "shutting" may then also allude to Jewish power of excommunication.

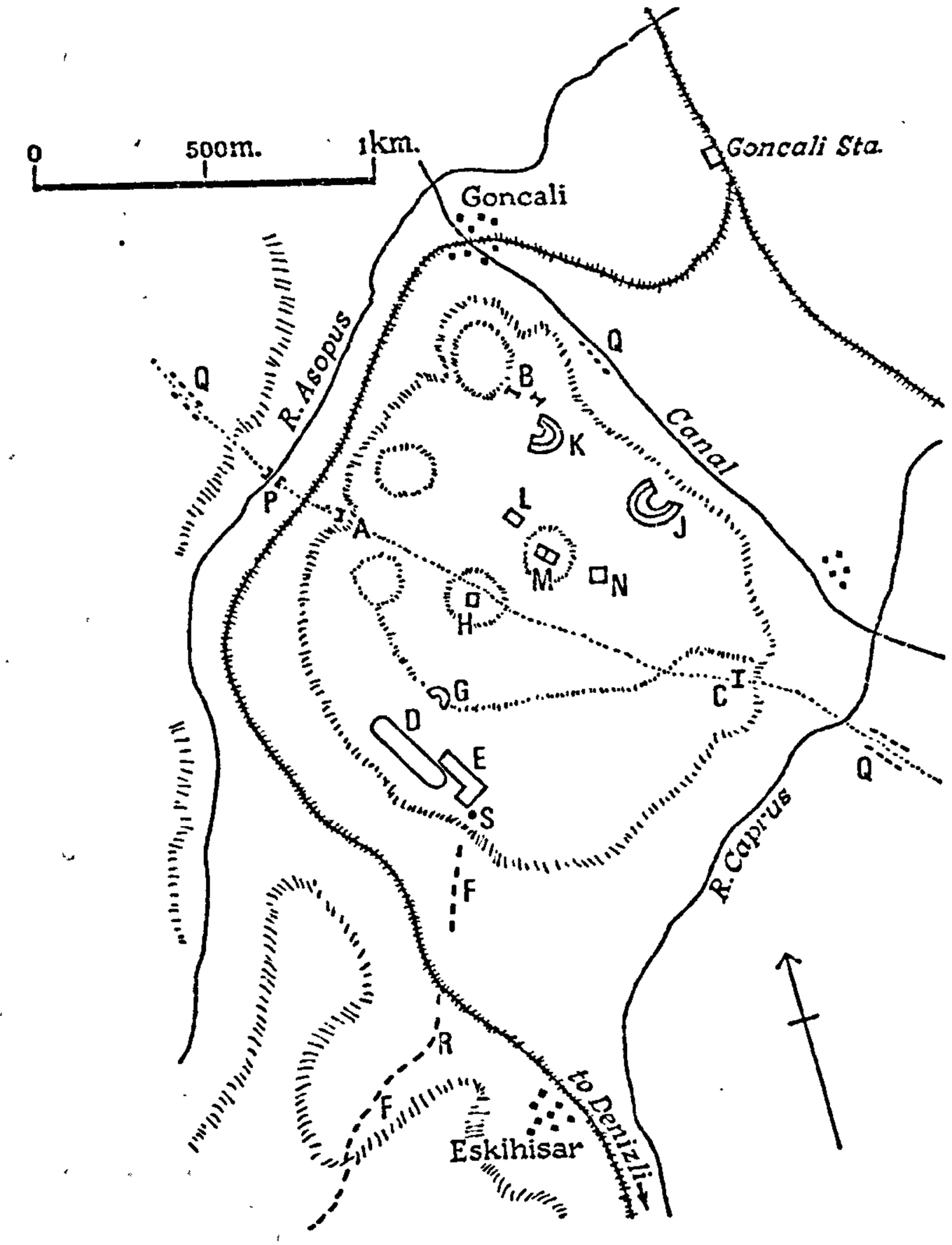
(3) Church facing prospect of disaster. Image of city living under constant threat of earthquake in volcanic region. Slow recovery from major earthquake of 17 A.D. Many inhabitants lived outside city in surrounding country to avoid greatest danger. (cf. Strabo 13.4.10/628).

(4) Games and memorials to athletic prowess prominent in Philadelphia, which had reputation as "Little Athens" because of its festivals and temples.

(5) Pillar as image of stability (ct.earthquakes). Possible allusion to a local use of inscribed pillars.
? ct.στήλαι (Ignatius Philad.6.1).

(6) City took Imperial names in gratitude for aid:
Neocaesarea (Tiberius)
Flavia Philadelphia (Vespasian - Domitian)
Honours seemed hollow after Domitian's edict against vines (92 A.D.) which affected Philadelphia's major product.

(7) Does the unusually square and symmetrical town-plan of modern Alasehir represent a practical working-out of New Jerusalem prophecy? Cf.important belief in descent of New Jerusalem for Montanism, which Calder, followed by Hemer, saw as originating in district of Philadelphia.



A – 'Ephesus Gate'
B – 'Hierapolis Gate'
C – Syrian Gate
D – Stadium
E – Gymnasium?
F – Aqueduct
G – Odeum or Council-House
H – Nymphaeum
J – Large Theatre
K – Smaller Theatre
L – Ionic Temple
M,N – Unidentified Buildings
P – Bridge
Q – Sarcophagi
R – Clearing-Basin
S – Water-Tower

FIG. 46 Plan of Laodiceia

Τάδε λέγει ὁ ἀμήν, ὁ μάρτυς ὁ πιστὸς καὶ ἀληθινός, ἡ ἀρχὴ
τῆς κτίσεως τοῦ θεοῦ°[1] οἶδά σου τὰ ἔργα, ὅτι οὔτε ψυχρὸς
εἶ οὔτε ζεστός. ὄφελον ψυχρὸς ἦς ἢ ζεστός. οὕτως ὅτι
χλιαρὸς εἶ,[2] καὶ οὔτε ζεστὸς οὔτε ψυχρός, μέλλω σε ἐμέσαι
ἐκ τοῦ στόματός μου. ὅτι λέγεις ὅτι πλούσιός εἰμι καὶ
πεπλούτηκα καὶ οὐδὲν χρείαν ἔχω,[3] καὶ οὐκ οἶδας ὅτι σὺ εἶ
ὁ ταλαίπωρος καὶ ἐλεεινὸς καὶ πτωχὸς καὶ τυφλὸς καὶ γυμνός,
συμβουλεύω σοι ἀγοράσαι παρ' ἐμοῦ χρυσίον[4] πεπυρωμένον ἐκ
πυρὸς ἵνα πλουτήσῃς, καὶ ἱμάτια λευκὰ[5] ἵνα περιβάλῃ καὶ
μὴ φανερωθῇ ἡ αἰσχύνη τῆς γυμνότητός σου, καὶ κολλύριον[6]
ἐγχρῖσαι τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς σου ἵνα βλέπῃς. ἐγὼ ὅσους ἐὰν
φιλῶ ἐλέγχω καὶ παιδεύω° ζήλευε οὖν καὶ μετανόησον. ἰδοὺ
ἕστηκα ἐπὶ τὴν θύραν[7] καὶ κρούω° ἐάν τις ἀκούσῃ τῆς
φωνῆς μου καὶ ἀνοίξῃ τὴν θύραν, εἰσελεύσομαι πρὸς αὐτὸν
καὶ δειπνήσω[8] μετ' αὐτοῦ καὶ αὐτὸς μετ' ἐμοῦ. ὁ νικῶν, δώσω
αὐτῷ καθίσαι μετ' ἐμοῦ ἐν τῷ θρόνῳ μου,[9] ὡς κἀγὼ ἐνίκησα
καὶ ἐκάθισα μετὰ του πατρός μου ἐν τῷ θρόνῳ αὐτοῦ. ὁ ἔχων
οὖς ἀκουσάτω τί τὸ πνεῦμα λέγει ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις.

LAODICEA[67]

City stood on the crossroads, controlling trade routes.

(1) Cf.terminology of Colossian heresy suggested by Col. 1.15ff. Parallel situation at neighbouring Laodicea.

(2) Local water supply by aqueduct required as city grew, since river water was petrifying and unpalatable. Aqueduct fed from spring 5 miles away at Denizli. Water as drunk tended to be lukewarm, ct.cold water of Colossae and hot healing springs of Hierapolis.

(3)[68] Ostentatious independence of city in reconstruction after earthquake of 60 A.D. (cf.Tacitus Ann.14.27.1) Public buildings paid for by individuals.

(4) Trading city was centre of banking (cf.Cicero).

(5) Ct.local speciality of clothing made from raven-black wool of local sheep (colour attributed by Vitruvius to water which sheep drank).

(6) Local medical school produced influential specialists in ophthalmology (e.g. Demosthenes Philalethes). "Phrygian powder" - eyesalve made from alum available locally.

(7) Perhaps alludes to monumental triple gate (Ephesian Gate) of city donated in rebuilding, with dedication to Domitian. The whole city, not just the Acropolis, was contained within a ring-wall with three gates. "Closed door" symbol on Phrygian tombs.

(8) Ct.enforced hospitality exacted by Roman officials on Laodicea as affluent 'conventus' capital.

(9) Allusion to Zenonid dynasty, resulted from Roman offer of throne to Polemo after resistance to Labienus Parthicus in 40 B.C. (cf.Strabo 12.8;16; 14.2.24).

It can only be stressed that the strength of this argument is cumulative. While individual features of the interpretation are open to dispute, and, if considered in isolation, might not command total respect, the fact that all the features combine together to present an intelligible picture of the cities and churches of the period, using such references to past events and present characteristics as are attested elsewhere, makes a convincing argument that is practically conclusive. The range of allusions suggested covers almost all the special features of the seven letters. Another significant point is that, as the juxtaposition of Old Testament references, and possible allusions, with the topical details in the summary indicates, the author seems to be using Old Testament and other traditional themes and adapting them to have a specific application in the current situation of the churches. So we have a combination of traditional ideas with references to the contemporary situation, a combination which we shall observe at many other points in the book and which appears to be important for the book as a whole.

Although such points support the general argument for the principle of interpretation, and some features of the letters are brilliantly illuminated by an application of this method to available data, is it not a weakness that in the final analysis the arguments for a detailed interpretation rely on their cumulative strength? This aspect clearly worried C. J. Hemer when presenting his thesis in the natural order, because the arguments for the first church, Ephesus, did not appear to him to be strong enough to stand alone; they needed the reinforcement of stronger arguments for some of the other churches. But in the circumstances a cumulative argument is only natural and reasonable; just as the arguments for allusions seem stronger for some churches than for others, so also the adequacy of the evidence about the local situation varies from place to place. Yet there is not necessarily an exact correspondence between the information available and the adequacy of the conclusions. There may be a comparatively rich source

of local information for the period, but this is no guarantee that it contains material to illuminate the pressing concerns of a Christian writer and pastor. So the total argument is naturally cumulative and the real test of its strength is its overall adequacy as a method of interpretation. And this is what I have attempted to convey by my visual summary.

To corroborate this it is useful to cite C. J. Hemer where he summarises the variety, and the extreme variability, of the evidence on which such a study draws. He lists seven categories: ancient literature, inscriptions, coinage, conclusions drawn from archaeological excavation, modern travellers' accounts, local knowledge acquired in the area, implications of place-names. "The most important kinds of evidence abound for Ephesus, Pergamum or Sardis, and yet amid the mass of detail there is no guarantee of finding the answers to the questions posed by our text . . .; for Thyatira or Philadelphia", (where the sites are under the modern towns of Akhisar and Alaşehir) "the problem is the lack of material, and we are driven to the careful consideration of every hint. Only Ephesus, Old Smyrna (Bayrakli), Pergamum and Sardis have been extensively excavated. The evidence of epigraphy and numismatics is particularly important where literary sources are lacking." [70]

As an indication of how little we know about those concerns which were probably uppermost in the mind of a Christian pastor, reference can be made to the area of greatest speculation and least tangible information, namely the identity and characteristics of the opponents attacked in five out of the seven letters. These are enemies of the Church, or groups within the Church who have been led astray, but practically all we know about them with certainty is contained within the references made by the author. Such are the Nicolaitans[71] (in Ephesus and Pergamum -2.6,15) who may be connected by popular etymology of the name with the followers of Balaam[72] (at Pergamum - 2.14). The doctrine of Balaam is broadly similar, but perhaps with a different order of priorities, to the teaching of Jezebel[73] (at Thyatira -2.20).

Also at Thyatira is a Gnostic-sounding group who apparently claim to know τὰ βαθέα τοῦ Σατανᾶ[74] - unless this is a parody of their claim (2.24). Then there are "false apostles" at Ephesus (2.2) and two groups described as "a synagogue of Satan"[75] who are guilty of slander or blasphemy and falsehood because they claim to be Jews (at Smyrna and Philadelphia - 2.9 and 3.9).

Perhaps the most significant aspect of all these designations (with the exception of the Nicolaitans, if the etymological connection with Balaam is unjustified) is their Jewish or Jewish-Christian associations. Of course this does not mean that the opposition which the author faced in these churches was necessarily Jewish or Jewish-Christian, nor is there any immediate justification for regarding the opposition as of the same type in each church. The Jewish element in the 'Gnostic' group at Thyatira could be associated with a significant Jewish influence in the development of Gnosticism.[76] But this reference, and the descriptions of Jezebel and Balaam, if not the nomenclature used by the groups and teachers themselves, could bear witness to the author's application of traditional Old Testament ideas to the contemporary situation. In areas of thought strongly influenced by Judaism such designations could have a devastating impact.

Many scholars have tended to assume that the Book of Revelation is anti-Jewish in feeling, on the basis of the apparently explicit attacks on "those who say that they are Jews and are not, but are a synagogue of Satan." (2.9 cf.3.9). As R. H. Charles writes, "the Christians are reminded that these Jews are Jews in name only. The true Jews are those who have believed in Christ, and thereby won a legitimate claim to the name and spiritual privileges belonging to the Jews."[77] But it must be questioned whether this is exactly the fact of Early Church life to which John is referring in these words. If it is indeed an anti-Jewish attack, it is a vitriolic one which goes beyond the terms of the Pauline distinction between flesh and spirit. Could a Jewish Christian make such an attack and still cherish the spiritual significance within Jewish terminology?

In other chapters of this investigation there are conclusions drawn from other aspects of the book and features of its interpretation which do not support so anti-Jewish an interpretation. There is the constant use and detailed application of Old Testament and Jewish traditions; the book as a whole makes creative use of the traditional form of Jewish apocalyptic.[78] Since there is a theoretical possibility that such traditions could be turned as weapons against the Jews,[79] perhaps a more conclusive argument rests on the requirements of the interpretation of Revelation 11 and 12 where a positive role is assigned not only to Jewish traditions and institutions but also to the Jewish people themselves.

F. F. Bruce, writing about the Neronian persecutions, links Tacitus' statement about information which led to further arrests and Clement of Rome's account of the persecution of the "pillars of the church" "through jealousy and envy" and speculates "whether some tension between Jewish and Gentile members of the Roman church played some part here or, since some of the Jewish members of the church probably still maintained a footing in the synagogue, whether the tension between Jews and Christians in Rome was exploited by the imperial police to procure the arrest of suspects."[80]

C. J. Hemer has taken up this latter suggestion and developed it with reference to the situation in some of the cities of Asia Minor. The 'Fiscus Judaicus', the temple tax transferred to Jupiter Capitolinus by Vespasian,[81] offered "every Jew implicitly a licence to practise his religion and an exemption from requirements of the Imperial cult on condition of payment and the implied recognition of the Roman national deity."[82] Under Domitian the scope of the tax was broadened so that it was exacted from all who were circumcised and from Gentiles who were, or were accused of being, adherents of Judaism, whether circumcised or not.[83] In such a situation where Christians could be involved, willingly or unwillingly, the Jewish communities were "in a position of peculiar power. By disowning a Christian and informing against him they might deprive him of his possible recourse to toleration

at a price, and render him liable to the Emperor-cult."[84] At about the same time the curse of the Minim seems to have been introduced into the twelfth of the Eighteen Benedictions.[85] This could have been used as a means of detecting Christians who had sought acceptance within the synagogue.[86]

Hemer considers that such anti-Christian activity may have been widespread among the Jews and in particular in the cities of Smyrna and Philadelphia.[87] He refers to the Hadrianic inscription in Smyrna (οἵ ποτε Ἰουδαῖοι C.I.G 3148.30) as indicating a community which maintained its exclusive status as the chosen race although its legal status was no longer recognised by Rome. The situation at Philadelphia is described in rather puzzling terms by Ignatius in his letter to the church there; "apparently Gentile proselytes to Judaism were themselves active in proselytising Christians." Hemer concludes: "If acceptance in the synagogue offered a status of exemption from the liability to Imperial cult, this was a standing inducement to the weaker Christian. Even after the rigours of the Domitianic abuses, hostile local Jewish informants might activate the standing machinery of persecution."[88]

If this theory is acceptable, then it could provide a solution to our difficulty with the vitriolic anti-Jewish tone of the letters to Smyrna and Philadelphia, compared with the rest of the book. While John does not condone the weak attitude of some Christians in seeking refuge within the Synagogue, he himself could have a higher motive for wishing to maintain a relationship with the Synagogue, in preserving what he sees as the essential continuity of Judaism and Christianity. But he is driven to a trenchant criticism of the Jews insofar as they conspire with the Roman Imperial administration in the persecution of the Christian Church. Such an interpretation does justice to the expression συναγωγὴ τοῦ Σατανᾶ not only as a parody of "συναγωγὴ Κυρίου",[89] but also as an idea integrally related to ὁ θρόνος τοῦ Σατανᾶ (2.13), the stronghold of the Imperial cult at Pergamum, and to the later characterisation of Satan as ὁ δράκων (12.9). The claim

of these people to be Jews is denied by their practical acceptance of "the mark of the beast".

In perfect consistency with this attitude John can use Jewish terminology, forms and traditions in his writing, and can speak of the Jews not merely as a type of the Christian Church, but also as a people who in principle still have a role to play in God's purposes. It is possible that we should relate this situation to Krister Stendahl's interpretation of Matthew's Gospel in circumstances where, for the most part, Jews and Christians are on easy terms and the word 'Gentile' can be used of a non-Christian as readily as of a non-Jew.[90]

Admittedly much of this argument is speculative; it remains to be seen whether it has validity when we come to draw together our conclusions for the book as a whole. Because of the limits of the evidence, the identification of this range of opposition in the seven churches can only proceed hesitantly beyond the general considerations indicated in the present discussion, although reference has been made in the footnotes to some more detailed suggestions and reconstructions. The whole question of who these opponents are and how, if at all, they should be related to the opposition parties referred to elsewhere in the New Testament is beyond the scope of one chapter in the present work; in reality it is material for a thesis on its own.[91]

There are three outstanding questions which deserve some consideration before the discussion of the seven letters is concluded. Does the detailed examination of the background to the letters, studied through the allusions made, require a particular date for these letters, and is that date in conformity, or at variance, with the traditional date for the book as a whole, or the slightly earlier date to be proposed as a result of the investigation of the riddle of the beast? Secondly, what are the principles on which the choice of seven churches, and these particular seven, has been made by the author? And thirdly, granted that each letter opens with a 'text' which, as

well as its possible allusion to local circumstances, is related to the subject matter of the Seer's vision in chapter 1, which came first, the letter or the vision? These questions will now be examined briefly.

We have already noted the argument of R. H. Charles that these seven letters had been sent to the churches towards the end of Vespasian's reign; they were then collected and edited within the Apocalypse at the time of Domitian.[92] This, and other theories of the separate distribution of the letters are weakened if not actually destroyed by the absence of significant traces of the original letter beneath its extant, stylised form in the structure of seven. What could be the point of editing out any distinctive structure and content? The recognised local allusions are no counter-argument to this - they are just as much local allusions in a stylised literary structure destined for this area of Asia Minor as they would be in individual letters. One could argue even that these are the kind of local allusions one would expect in a consciously designed artifice, rather than the natural "asides" of personal correspondence. But does the letter-structure indicate in its date and background a different setting from the rest of the book? Such a situation, while not necessarily reviving the separate distribution theory, might shed light on the writer's design and purpose. Is the letter structure an integral part of the total composition, or material edited in to form a prelude?

Charles' argument for an earlier date for the letters is based on the absence, except at 3.10, of an expectation of universal persecution and martyr-dom, a theme which Charles emphasises elsewhere in Revelation, and the absence of reference to the Imperial cult. The errant verse 3.10, together with the divine titles at the start of the letters, which "give the impression of being an afterthought", and the "new material" which is added "at the close of each letter", are all the product of the Domitianic revision.[93] This argument falls to pieces as soon as one is prepared to consider the letters as unities; then the contribution to the theme of martyrdom can be recognised

not only from 3.10 but also from the promises to ὁ νικῶν in the endings of the letters. And we have seen the importance of the Imperial cult to an understanding of the letter to Pergamum, as well as possible associations in the other letters.

The majority of the local allusions to the churches and cities are in terms of general characteristics or features which have been significant over a long period. They cannot therefore indicate a very precise dating. But among what may be more precise and restricted allusions, C. J. Hemer draws attention to the following which might serve as pointers;

3.17 - the reconstruction of Laodicea in the generation after the earthquake which Tacitus dates to 60 A.D. The Ephesian Gate (cf.3.20) was dedicated to Domitian (C.I.G. 3949).

3.12 - suggested that underlying this parody of the use of the Imperial name Flavia Philadelphia, there might be disillusionment with Domitian after his edict of 92 A.D. had such disastrous results on local viticulture. But this background is more obviously relevant to a consideration of Rev. 6.6 as is the question of a widespread famine in Asia Minor (cf. the inscription of Pisidian Antioch - 93 A.D.).[94]

2.7 - problem of abuse of right of asylum in Ephesus also worried Apollonius of Tyana (letters 65, 66), which suggests that the problem was acute under Domitian. But this had been a problem at least since the time of Antony (Strabo 14.1.23).

2.9, 3.9 if the reconstruction of the circumstances of Jewish opposition is accurate, then it is relevant to note that the curse of the Minim was inserted into the 12th of the 18 Benedictions about 90 A.D.

2.5 - The Salutaris bequest of 104 A.D. illustrates the power of the cult of Artemis in Ephesus (B.M. Inscrs. 481).[95] Hicks suggested that this bequest marked a reaction against Christianity, perhaps

provoked by a Christian revival stimulated by the Book of Revelation.

2.28 - Domitian is compared with the morning star in Statius' poem celebrating the beginning of his consulship in 95 A.D. (Silvae 4.1). The use of such 'heavenly' language and imagery in connection with the deification of Domitian (cf. Stauffer 'Christ and the Caesars' p.152) may well have provoked what Deissmann called "polemical parallelism" throughout the Seer's writing.

It is doubtful whether any of these arguments are sufficiently conclusive to have a real impact on the question of dating. Certainly none of them ~~are~~ is at variance with the traditional Domitianic date, nor do they support any theory that the letters are of a radically different date from the rest of the book. But they contribute cumulatively to a general picture of Asia Minor under Domitian, and make the traditional date into a reasonable working hypothesis.

Other arguments for the separate dating of the letters, such as that of Goguel who placed them earlier, and of Dibelius who set them after Domitian's death,[96] relied for their evidence on a rather subjective appraisal of the contents of the letters, holding that here the emphasis was different from the rest of the book, with less sense of the immediacy of persecution and final cataclysm. If this difference is a real factor in the situation, it may be explicable on other grounds. As Satake suggested, the difference of emphasis might be the result not of two different times of writing, but rather of a difference of style in the two parts of the Apocalypse.[97] I would prefer to express this as a difference of immediate purpose; with the sequence of letters the author is describing the churches as they are, whereas in the remainder of the book he offers a prophetic picture of their world as it soon will be.[98] Up to a point, the point of final cataclysm, he depicts, in his prophecy, the realities arising from the present situation, but this is transfigured by the symbolism so that it

surpasses current hopes and fears. John, like a wise pastor, prepares his audience to face this future, by standing with them in the situation of their own cities now. Although there is an important continuity of symbolism between the parts of the book, which corresponds to the truth of the future arising out of the present,[99] it would only be natural if there was also a discontinuity in emphasis. For the present the Seer is concerned with the local pastoral situation of his churches; for the future his vision is of lowering clouds pierced with shafts of glory.

There were, in the area in which these seven Churches of Asia are located, a number of other Christian communities in existance in the first century (e.g. Colossae, Hierapolis, Troas, Magnesia and Tralles),[100] Why did the author select only seven, and by what criteria did he select these seven particular churches? Clearly we must keep in mind the special significance which the number seven had for the author; his book is structured around other sequences of sevens, the seals, the trumpets, the bowls; in the present context the number seven as a symbol of totality could be applied so that the churches of Asia are representative of the Church at large.[101] This significance of seven as giving a "catholic" appearance was recognised in the Muratorian Canon.[102]

It has also been suggested[103] that the oracles which open the book of Amos may have supplied a pattern for the Apocalypse of the Christian prophet, not only as regards the oracular characteristics of the messages of the risen Christ, but also in the matter of the number. The parallel is not completely straightforward; with the text as it stands one can consider either the sequence of seven oracles against Israel's neighbours (Amos 1.3-2.5) which leads up to the more detailed denunciation of the sins of Israel, or the sequence of seven utterances introduced in the Septuagint by the words τάδε λέγει Κύριος, a formula to which the opening words of each message in Revelation corresponds (Amos 1.6-2.6).[104] A further possibility, which also produces a total of seven oracles, is to follow the majority of modern

commentators in regarding the oracle against Judah as secondary (Amos 1.3-2.3; 2.6ff.) The figure seven is also achieved by considering the refrain "for three transgressions . . . and for four" at the start of each of Amos' oracles. Although it is by no means clear that the phrase intends this, the figures three and four are added to make seven, and the contrast can then be drawn between the seven promises to the conquerors in the seven letters, and the punishment for transgression stressed by Amos.

One such theory, or a combination of them, may explain the number chosen, but there is still a valid question as to why the author chose the seven particular cities and churches he did. J. W. Bowman has developed an ingenious but highly improbable solution to this double problem, which makes use of the disputed identification of the seven lampstands with the seven-branched candlestick (Menorah). The geographical arrangement of the seven cities is compared to such a candlestick, where the arms link the first and seventh, second and sixth, and third and fifth cities.[105] He illustrates this on a map, depicting the lampstand based on Patmos, with a light to the S.W., so that its shadow falls across Asia and its branches create the desired effect.[106]

The second question was considered in contemporary-historical terms by Sir William Ramsay, who offered this explanation: "All the Seven Cities stand on the great circular road that bound together the most populous, wealthy and influential part of the Province, the west-central region . . . They were the best points on that circuit to serve as centres of communication with seven districts." He links this explanation with the interpretation of the symbol of the open door in the letter to Philadelphia: "Here alone in all the Seven letters is there an allusion to the fact which seems to explain why those special Seven Cities were marked out for 'the Seven Churches of Asia' . . . Each of the Seven Cities stood at the door of a district."[107] The order in which the seven appear is not haphazard: Ephesus was the natural point of entry to the province, and the other cities are

mentioned in the sequence in which they stand on the circular route round the inner province.

C. J. Hemer comments that essentially Ramsay's theory "corresponds luminously to the facts of communication, even as they are today." "All the sites except Pergamum are on the railway, and the road connecting them lies almost wholly over lowland and gentle contours. Only the section between Philadelphia and Laodicea requires a sharp climb above 2000 feet." But Hemer acknowledges that Ramsay's attempt to develop the theory, by mapping out routes for other, secondary, messengers from each of the seven cities, can only be conjectural. Ramsay's general explanation has satisfied several commentators. The suggestion is also made that the definite article which occurs with the first mention of the seven churches at Rev.1.4 could be explained as indicative of a recognised itinerary. But Akira Satake indicates one drawback in the argument, although this is little more than a carping criticism. He asks what confidence the author could have that a community such as Sardis, in which only a few faithful members could be found, would serve as a "centre of communication"?[109]

Ernst Lohmeyer suggested an explanation which has some differences from that offered by Ramsay.[110] Lohmeyer considered that each of the seven churches acts as if it had been the centre of a diocesan association of churches ('Vorort eines Diözesanverbandes'). Those churches that are not mentioned, such as Miletus, Magnesia, Tralles and Colossae, would therefore be represented by the nearby central church. The difficulty is that the letters give no indication of the existence of such associations of churches. Satake reinforced this criticism by his argument that the Church organisation shown in the Apocalypse seems to be of the prophetic type, differing radically from those types of organisation known from other sources concerned with Asia Minor.[111]

Satake himself favours a theory originally advanced by Walter Bauer. "John selected the most prominent communities from those in his area which

met the prerequisite of seeming to afford him the possibility of exerting a real influence." Bauer expressed doubts as to whether John was in any sense "an intellectual and spiritual leader of an important band of Christians in western Asia Minor . . . an influential figure in the region to which he addresses himself. To what extent might this have been only wishful thinking?" John therefore selected these seven churches to create an impression.[112] "The necessity of retaining the number seven resulted less in pressuring the apocalypticist to exclude communities in great numbers, as in compelling him to include one church or another which only to a very limited degree belonged to the sphere of his influence."

Bauer's arguments have been utilised, with variations, by several scholars including Goguel and Bornkamm as well as Satake.[113] Any discussion of these points of view involves wider issues than those which immediately concern us, and notably the debate about church organisation with its various types and differing speeds of development, and the problems of drawing distinctions between orthodoxy and heresy, or of exploring the shadowy land which divides them, at so early a stage in the history of the Church. Goguel preferred Bauer's solution of our current problems to that proposed by Ramsay, on the grounds that Ramsay's solution was hypothetical and conflicted with the fact that at the end of the first century A.D. the Church was still far from organised on a broader basis than that of the local community. But it must be recognised that Bauer's solution is also hypothetical, an attempt to do justice to the differing attitudes represented in early Christian literature and institutions. In the same way discussions about whether the Johannine attitudes represent an orthodox or heretical, a majority or minority viewpoint are largely speculative."[114]

It has already been observed that there are two stages in Ramsay's solution; the first concerns the cities on the circular route; the second concerns the subsequent distribution within postal districts. The first stage corresponds to geographical circumstances and the historical situation

of the Roman provinces; the second stage is speculation which is vulnerable to Goguel's criticism on organisational grounds. This first stage is also compatible with such a reconstruction of relations within the Early Church as that offered by Bauer. These churches were accessible to the author and within his sphere of influence. A combination of criteria perhaps affords a more adequate explanation, remedying the deficiencies in separate theories. There emerges a picture of a local pastor with authority, however this concept is to be defined or limited, a pastor whose situation is not dissimilar from that of Ignatius a few years later, a visionary teacher who reviews this significant group of seven churches set out in their natural order.

It is generally recognised that there is a connection between some of the material from the Seer's vision in Rev. 1 and the introduction to each of the letters (with the possible exception of the last[115]) in Rev. 2 and 3. R. H. Charles represents this as "the intention of our author to connect each of the Seven Letters with a special title. But this intention was carried out only partially and in a superficial manner in this preliminary sketch of his work . . . Again, that the titles were intended to have some connection with the letters in which they respectively appear is clear in most of the cases . . . Whereas only in the case of the Churches of Philadelphia and Thyatira is there any sort of organic connection between the divine title and the contents of the letter, in the case of the rest the connection is at the best either artificial or doubtful. Thus these titles give the impression of being an afterthought on the part of our author - inserted by him in order to link up chap. i and chaps. ii-iii."[116]

We have already criticised R. H. Charles' divisive attitude to the material in these chapters, and in particular his theory, linked to this argument, that the letters were circulated separately at an earlier period, and subsequently edited within the structure of the book. Other interpretations have been more successful in recognising a harmony and a relevance

to the local situation throughout each of the letters; such references are set out within the summary of the seven letters in this chapter. It is suggested that the letters are constructed in according to a literary pattern to form a significant sequence - to this extent they are "artificial". But they are nonetheless relevant to the immediate concerns of the churches, and each in its own way applies to a special situation. The titles of the letters, it is argued, introduce their purpose in what was probably a very striking way, by presenting the description of Christ in "polemical parallelism" to a dominant influence in, or aspect of, the local church.

What effect does the recognition of such an integral function of the titles within the letters have upon our judgement of the relationship between chapter 1 and chapters 2 and 3? The question of priority and dependence within the author's work is raised quite acutely. While R. H. Charles would answer that the natural order in which one reads the final text accurately reflects the "conceptual priorities" or the process of ideas through the writer's mind, since this material is original in the vision and an editorial adaptation in the letters, C. J. Hemer certainly does not agree. He observes what he describes as "a close relationship between the vision of 1.9-20 and the primary local references of chapters 2 and 3." "The clearest correspondence is that between the initial description by which Christ introduces himself to each church and the attributes ascribed to him in the Patmos vision. These parallels are explicit and verbal, and are found in all the letters except Laodicea." "John expressed ecstatic experience in terms which applied Old Testament language to portraying Christ with attributes which met the needs of the particular churches." [117]

Hemer's argument is that many of the phrases in chapter 1 have local significance; their presence in the vision anticipates their recurrence in chapters 2 and 3. The actual "conceptual priority" of these phrases is to be seen in the letters "where they are related explicitly to Christ's answer to a local situation in a named city." So this symbolism should be interpreted

primarily in the context of the letters. Hemer is critical of the assumption that is commonly made, that we are dealing with introductory "texts" drawn from the material of the vision, and therefore that these symbols should first be explained in isolation from the letters in the context of the vision. He sustains this criticism even though he recognises that the order of interpretation and the arrangement of commentaries is usually dictated by the demands of convenience in reading and reference.

Hemer has tended to overstate his case by suggesting that the order of interpretation should be reversed completely. He himself has to admit that the evidence for local association may only be tenuous on particular points because of lack of information. But the argument is more strongly based at points such as that of the usage of χαλκολίβανος at 1.15 and 2.18, if this is an instance of the modification of an Old Testament quotation to suit a local application. Everything depends on whether the unique word χαλκο-λίβανος was applied to the "local product" at Thyatira. But the uniqueness of the word favours the possibility that it was a local term. In this situation Hemer's argument is far stronger and more realistic than E. H. Plumptre's when he rejected the local reference of χαλκολίβανος in 2.18 on the grounds that "the imagery had already been used without reference to any local colouring!"[113]

Although we have rejected the idea of an actual local correspondence represented by the seven letters, such as would be comparable with the Pauline correspondence, we have seen that this by no means divorces the letter-sequence from reality, as understood in terms of allusions to the local circumstances. The most artificial construction can be used within a prophetic or apocalyptic framework to establish close relations between a pastor and the churches in crisis. Artificiality in form does not necessarily carry with it artificiality in experience; it must therefore be an open question how much or how little of the symbolic vision in chapter 1 is an artificial construction or an actual visionary experience. But if we are

right in asserting that the author of this book knew the cities and churches of Asia Minor and their local conditions, then it is reasonable to suggest that any visionary experience of his could be coloured, not only in the telling but also in the experience itself, by the imagery of the Asian situation. It may not always be possible to determine the "conceptual priority" as between the vision and the letters; either or both could be influenced by the needs of the local situation. What is supremely important is to consider the full range of material, recognising the links between vision and letters, and setting it against the background of what we know or can reconstruct about these churches in Asia Minor. In this way we can do greater justice to the author's description of ἃ εἰσὶν (1.19).

Notes on Chapter 3

1. E. J. Goodspeed 'New Solutions of New Testament Problems', 1927.

2. E. J. Goodspeed 'A History of Early Christian Literature', 1942, pp. 10ff.

3. Cf. more recent discoveries such as the Bar Kokhba letters (Aramaic, Hebrew and Greek on wood and papyri) described in Y. Yadin 'Bar Kokhba' 1971, pp. 124-139.

4. pp. 1-59. Quotation from p. 21.

5. A. Deissmann 'Light from the Ancient Near East', 1911, pp. 233f.

6. Ramsay, Letters, pp. 23ff. quoted extensively in this and the following pages.

7. A. Berger, Oxford Classical Dictionary, Oxford 1949 article on 'constitutiones', p. 231.
Cf. Cambridge Ancient History Vols. 9, 11 (Ch. 21 in each). Examples in 'Theodosiani Libri XVI cum Constitutionibus Simondianis' ed. P. Krueger; A. S. Hunt 'Oxyrhynchus Papyri' Vol. 17 No. 2103.

8. Acts 15.28.

9. pp. 321f. cf. for Egypt, pp. 475-9; Sumeria, pp. 480f; Akkadian, pp. 482ff; Aramaic (Elephantine) pp. 490f.

10. 2 Sam. 11.14; 1 Ki. 21.8; 2 Ki. 5.5; 10.1, 6; 19.14; 20.12; 2 Chr. 30.1; 32.17; Ezra 4, 5; 7.11; Neh. 2.7, 8; 6.5; Esther 1.22; 3.13; 8.10; 9.20; 9.25, 26, 29, 30; Is. 37.14; 39.1ff; Jer. 29.1, 25, 29.

11. In 1 Macc. letters of Jewish origin, and letters from Syrian kings to Jewish Leaders, and from rulers of foreign kingdoms; in 3 Macc. the letters of Philopator (3.12; 7.1).

12. B. M. Metzger (Ed.), 'The Oxford Annotated Apocrypha' New York 1965, pp. xi f.

13. Cicero ad Fam. 15.21, 4.

14. M. Dibelius 'A Fresh Approach to the New Testament and Early Christian Literature' 1936, pp. 137-213. Quotations from p. 141.

15. Dibelius 'Fresh Approach', p. 125.

16. H. D. B. Vol. 1, p. 730.

17. Ramsay, Letters, pp. 35ff.

18. Ramsay, Letters, p. 39.

19. Ramsay, Letters, p. 46.

20. Page 74.

21. Consult for example, a study such as S. Läuchli's 'The Language of Faith', 1965.

22. Goodspeed, 'New Solutions of New Testament Problems', 1927.

23. Translation by J. Stevenson 'A New Eusebius' 1957, p. 145. Text (lines 47ff.) -:

ipse beatus
apostolus paulus sequens prodecessoris sui
iohannis ordinē non nisi nomenatī semptē
ecclesiis scribat

24. A. Satake, 'Die Gemeindeordnung in der Johannesapokalypse' WMANT 21 (1966), p. 25; cf. page 355.

25. cf. M. Goguel 'L'Eglise primitive' Paris 1947, p. 67 - "L'Eglise ne répresente qu'un stade provisoire dans l'attente du Royaume de Dieu."

26. Spitta 'Offenbarung des Johannes' Halle 1889.

27. Charles, Commentary I xclv, 43-46.

28. M. Goguel 'L'Eglise primitive', Paris 1947, p. 66.

29. M. Dibelius 'Rom und die Christen im ersten Jahrhundert' Botschaft und Geschichte II 1956, p. 224.

30. M. Kiddle, 'The Revelation of St. John', London 1940, p. 18.

31. A. Farrer, 'The Revelation of St. John the Divine' 1964, pp. 11, 83ff.

32. cf. P. Minear, 'I Saw a New Earth' Washington, 1968, pp. 41ff.

33. Ramsay, Letters, pp. 70f.

34. Ramsay, Letters, pp. 245-6. In the quotation on page 85 it should be noted that Ramsay is using "denunciation" in the sense of 'prophecy' cf. Letters, p. 42 line 8 "denounced".

35. I understand it is now being prepared for publication in the S.N.T.S. Monograph series. Material on Ephesus, pp. 64-109.

36. D. G. Hogarth, 'Excavations at Ephesus. The Archaic Artemisia', 2 vols. London 1908.

37. Tacitus, Ann. 3.61.

38. cf. Xenophon Anab. 5.3.6ff.

39. Cambridge Ancient History, 11.39.

40. Apollonius of Tyana, Letters 27, 65, 66.

41. Hemer, Letters, p. 95.

42. cf. R. Roberts, 'The Tree of Life (Rev. 2.7)' Exp.T. 25 (1914), p. 332.

43. Exp.T. 69 (1957-8), pp. 176-8.

44. Some of Rudwick and Green's material was anticipated by Ramsay in 'Cities and Bishopries of Phrygia' Oxford 1895 I.48f., where he deals with the problems of the local water supply, but he drew no inferences from this for his discussion of the seventh letter.

45. Rudwick and Green add that, because each of the city gates opened on to a busy trade route, "the inhabitants must have been very familiar with the belated traveller who" stood at the door and knocked "for admission". (Rev. 3.20).

46. For the use of warm water as an emetic cf. Vita Aesopi I.c.1 p. 230, 7; 18.

47. Ramsay, Letters, p. 40.

48. Ramsay, Letters, p. 41.

49. Ramsay, Letters, p. 41.

50. e.g. P. Minear, 'I Saw A New Earth' 1968, with a treatment of parallels between the Letters and New Jerusalem (see below, page 354). Recent attempts to trace internal relationships and continuities of theme were anticipated by C. H. Parez 'The Seven Letters and the Rest of the Apocalypse' J.T.S. 12 (1911) pp. 384-6. He observed that Ramsay's treatment of the letters tends to a dichotomy in the book, and he argued for a basic unity of theme in the presentation of the victory of the ideal church.

51. Map reproduced from Ramsay, Letters, between pp. xix and 1.

52. Principal sources: Hemer, Letters pp. 64-109; Ramsay, Letters, pp. 210-250; J. Keil, 'Ephesos, Ein Führer durch die Ruinenstatt und ihre Geschichte' 1955; Magie, Roman Rule I 446f. 577f. II. 1432f.
Map on facing page reproduced from Pauly-Wissowa article on Ephesus. Vol. 5.2 pp. 2773ff, cf. Suppl. 12. 248ff, 1587ff.

53. Quotations: Gen. 2.9; 3.22, 24; Ez. 31.8; Test Levi. 18.11; cf. Enoch 24.3-6; 25.4-6; Slav. En. 8.2-4; Ps. Sol. 14.2, 3; 1 QH 8.4-14; 6.15-16.
Allusions: Ex. 25.31ff. - Jer. 2.2; Hos. 1-3 - Ps. 139.21f.

54. Principal sources: Hemer, Letters, pp. 110-167; Ramsay, Letters, pp. 251-80; C. J. Cadoux, 'Ancient Smyrna' Oxford, 1938, pp. 228-366; Sir W. M. Calder 'Smyrna as described by the orator Aelius Aristides' in W. M. Ramsay (ed.) 'Studies in the History and Art of the Eastern Provinces of the Roman Empire' 1906, pp. 95-116. Plan on facing page reproduced from G. E. Bean 'Aegean Turkey', London 1966, p. 67.

55. Cf. Hemer, Letters, pp. 117, 144f; ct. Ramsay in J.H.S. 3 (1882), pp. 61-3.

56. Quotations: Is. 44.6; 48.12 - Dan. 1.12, 14.
Allusions: Num. 16.3; 20.4; 27.17; 31.16; Josh. 22.16; Ps. 73.2 - cf. Str.B.III. 830f.

57. Principal sources: Hemer, Letters, pp. 167a-233; Ramsay, Letters, pp. 281-315; Magie, Roman Rule I, 1-33, 446f, 564, 582f.; E. V. Hansen 'The Attalids of Pergamon' New York 1947; H. Kähler 'Pergamon' 1949; P. Wood, 'Local Knowledge in the Letters of the Apocalypse' Exp.T. 73 (1961-2), pp. 263f.
Plan on facing page reproduced from Pauly-Wissowa article on Pergamon (19.1-1243f).

58. Quotations: Num. 31.16; 25.1, 2. - Ps. 78.24f. cf. 2 Bar. 29.8; Sib. Or. 7. 148-9. - Is. 62.2; 65.15. cf. Ex. 28.17-21?; Test. Levi. 8.14.
Allusions: Ps. 89.37 (Heb.) - Is. 11.4; 49.2 - Ex. 16.13-15, 32-4; 2 Macc. 2.4-8; 2 Bar. 6.7-10; Yoma 52b.

59. Principal sources: Hemer, Letters, pp. 234-93; Ramsay, Letters, pp. 316-53; E. Schürer, 'Die Prophetin Isabel in Thyatira, Offenb. Joh. 2.20' in 'Theologische Abhandlungen Carl von Weizsäcker zu seinem siebzigsten Geburtstage . . . gewidmet' Freiburg 1892, pp. 39-58. Summary in Theologische Literaturzeitung 18 (1893), pp. 153-4. I have been unable to obtain any plan, even of the modern Akhisar.

60. cf. A. Satake op. cit., pp. 22f. referring to parenthesis (v.23) between two specific addresses to Thyatira. The lessons of the strife there are applied to a wider audience of all the churches.

61. Quotations: Dan. 10.6. cf. Ez. 1.7; 1.4, 27; 8.2 - 1 Ki. 21.25; cf. 16.31-3; 18.19; 2 Ki. 9.22ff - Num. 25.1f. - Ez. 33.27; Jer. 21. 7 - Jer. 11.20; 17.10; 20.12; Ps. 7.9; 26.2; cf. 1 Sam. 16.7; Prov. 17.3; 21.2. - Ps. 62.12; Prov. 24.12 - Ps. 2.8f. cf. Jer. 18.1-11.
Allusions: Ps. 41.3 - 2 Ki. 10.7 or 2 Sam. 12.14 - Ps. 2.7 - Num. 24.17; Dan. 12.3; cf. Vermes Damascus Rule 7, p. 104; ct. Is. 14.12; Sib. Or. 5. 516. 527 (Lucifer).

62. Principal sources: Hemer, Letters, pp. 294-348; Ramsay, Letters, pp. 354-390; Magie, Roman Rule 1.500f; P. Wood, op. cit., p. 264; D. G. Mitten 'A New Look at Ancient Sardis' Bib.Arch. 29 (1966). pp. 38-68. G. E. Bates 'Archaeological Exploration of Sardis' (Monograph 1 - 1971) so far has surveyed only Byzantine Coins. Plan of Sardis from G. E. Bean 'Aegean Turkey', p. 264; plan of synagogue from D. G. Mitten, op. cit., p. 64.

63. According to Mitten (p. 64) the Synagogue appears "seemingly as an integrated part of the city gymnasium"; the dedicatory inscriptions "show the highly Hellenized state of Jewish culture at Sardis"; the building is the "largest, as well as the richest, Roman synagogue yet discovered."
Josephus references: Ant. 14.10.24 (Julius Caesar); 16.6.6 (Augustus) confirm Jewish rights of worship. cf. Ant. 12.3.4 (Antiochus the Great settles 2,000 Jewish families in Lydia and Phrygia); 4.10.17 (L. Antonius).

64. Quotations: Ex. 32.32f; Ps. 69.28; Dan. 12.1; Mal. 3.16. cf. Is. 4.3; 1 Sam. 25.29.
Allusions: Is. 11.2; Zech. 4.2, 10; Tob. 12.15. - Ez. 34.4 - Obadiah 5 - Eccl. 9.8; Enoch. 71.1.

65. Principal sources: Hemer, Letters, pp. 349-407; Ramsay, Letters, pp. 391-412; Sir W. M. Calder 'Philadelphia and Montanism' BJRL 7 (1922-3), pp. 309-54. I have been unable to obtain any plan, even of the modern Alaşehir.

66. Quotations: Is. 22.22; Job. 12.14. - Is. 45.14; 49.23; 60.14; Ps.86.9; cf. Ps. 72.9ff. - Is. 43.4 - Ez. 48.35; cf. Is. 60.14, cf.1 Ki. 7.21; 2 Chr. 3.15,17; Ex. 28.36-8; Num. 6.27; Dt. 28.10; Is. 43.7, 63.19; Dan. 9.18-19 - Is. 62.2; 65.15; cf. Enoch 90.29; Test. Levi. 8.14;
Allusions: Is. 60.11, 22 - Is. 24.17; Hos 4.1;Jl. 2.1; Ps. 24.1; 33.8; Enoch 37.5; 54.9; 55.1; 60.5; 65.6, 12; 66.1 - 1 Ki. 7. 21 Jer. 1.18; Is. 22.23; 56.5; (figuratively of R. Johanan ben Zakkai in Ber. 28b).

67. Principal sources: Hemer, Letters, pp. 408-80; Ramsay, Letters, pp. 413-30; Ramsay 'Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia' Oxford 1895, I.32-82; MJS Rudwick and EMB Green 'The Laodicean Lukewarmness' Exp.T. 69 (1957-58), pp. 176-8; Magie, Roman Rule I. 577f; S.E. Johnson 'Laodicea

and its Neighbours' Bib.Arch. 13 (1950), pp. 1-18. J. des Gagniers, 'Laodicée du Lycos: Le Nymphée', Paris 1969, is an account of practically the only excavation of the site (relating to 3rd Century A.D.).
Plan on facing page from G. E. Bean 'Turkey Beyond the Maeander' London, 1971, p. 252.

68. On Laodicea's refusal of Nero's help (cf. Ramsay, Letters, p. 428) ct Magie I.577f. (city refused no assistance, forced to rebuild at own expense, but could subsequently boast of achievement).
cf. reference to reconstruction in Sib. Or. 4. 108.

69. Quotations: Prov. 8.22 - Hos. 12.8; cf. Zech. 11.5 - Eccl. 9.8; cf. Dan 7.9 - Prov. 3.12; Cant. 5.2 (cf. Deissmann 'Light', p. 463).
Allusions: Is. 65.16 (or Prov. 8.22 cf. Silberman); cf. Vermes pp. 88-9; - Is. 55.1; Ps. 66.10; Zech 13.9; Is. 1.25.

70. Hemer, Letters, pp. 39-40.

71. cf. A. von Harnack 'The Sect of the Nicolaitans and Nicolaus, the Deacon in Jerusalem' Journal of Religion 3 (1923), pp. 413-22; M. Goguel 'Les Nicolaïtes' RHR 115 (1936), pp. 5-36; RGG^3 IV. 1485f. (G. Kretschmar); I.D.B. (1962) 3.547f - D.M. Beck

72. On Balaam cf. G. B. Gray I.C.C. on Numbers pp. 307ff.; K. G. Kuhn, Kittel TWNT 1.524f. (Eng); RGG^3 I 1290ff (R. Rendtorff); I.D.B. (1962) 1.341f - R. F. Johnson. On Balaam tradition (and connection with Baal Peor) cf. M. Noth 'Israelitische Stämme zwischen Ammon und Moab'. ZATW. 60 (1944) pp. 11ff. 23-30; 'Überlieferungsgeschichte des Pentateuch'. 1948, pp. 80ff; S. Mowinckel 'Der Ursprung der Bil'am-sage'. ZATW. 48 (1930), pp. 233-71; O. Eissfeldt 'Die Komposition der Bileam-Erzählung' ZATW. 57 (1939) pp. 212-41; W.F. Albright 'The Oracles of Balaam' JBL. 63 (1944), pp. 207-33.

73. Cf. H. Odeberg, Kittel TWNT 3.217f; RGG^3 III.904f (W. Foerster); E. Schürer op. cit; not forgetting the unusual contributions of Selwyn in 'Christian Prophets and the Prophetic Apocalypse' London 1900 and Nestle in Berl.Phil. Woch. 1904, pp. 764f. cf. E. Käsemann 'The Testament of Jesus' 1968, p. 31.

74. Cf. H. Schlier, Kittel TWNT 1 pp. 517f. (Eng).

75. Cf. W. M. Ramsay, Exp~~ositor~~ 6th series 2 pp. 429-44, 3. 93-110.

76. Cf. R. M. Grant 'Gnosticism and Early Christianity' 1966.

77. Charles, Commentary I.57. cf. A. Feuillet's exegesis - pages 127f below.

78. The debate as to whether Revelation is an apocalyptic book is considered in the concluding chapter (pages 363f). Insofar as valid distinctions are being made in this debate, most of the points covered can be comprehended within my expression "creative use"

79. Cf. Epistle of Barnabas.

80. Tacitus Ann. 15.44.5; 1 Clem. 5; F.F. Bruce 'New Testament History' 1969, p. 382.

81. Josephus Bell. Jud. 7.6.6. cf. Dio Cassius 66.7.

82. Hemer, Letters, p. 16.

83. Suet. Dom. 12.2. cf. E.M. Smallwood 'Domitian's attitude towards the Jews and Judaism' Cl. Phil. 51 (1956) pp. 1ff.

84. Hemer, Letters, p. 17.

85. The Hebrew text found in the Cairo Genizah has been translated: "For apostates let there be no hope, and the kingdom of arrogance do thou speedily uproot in our days; and let Nazarenes and heretics (minim) perish as in a moment; let them be blotted out of the book of life and not be enrolled with the righteous. Blessed art Thou, O Lord, who humblest the arrogant" cf. B. Berakoth 28 b; Justin Dial. 16, 96; Ephiphanius Haer. 29.9. Cf. G.F. Moore 'Judaism' I.291-2; 3.97n; C.W. Dugmore 'The Influence of the Syngagogue upon the Divine Office' Oxford 1944, p. 4.

86. On Christian apostasy to Judaism under threat of persecution cf. A. Harnack 'The Mission and Expansion of Christianity in the first three centuries' tr. J. Moffatt London 1908, p. 14; M. Green 'Evangelism in the Early Church' London 1970, p. 24.

87. Cf. Martyrdom of Polycarp 12 where the Jews urge on the proconsul.

88. Hemer, Letters, pp. 388f. on Ignatius Philad. 6.1.

89. Num. 16.3; 20.4; 27.17; Josh. 22.16; Ps. 73 (74).2.

90. K. Stendahl 'The School of St. Matthew' 1968; in 'Peake's Commentary' 1962, pp. 769-98?

91. This is the subject of my wife's thesis.

92. Page 82.

93. Charles, Commentary I.26, 44.

94. See pages 148ff.

95. 'Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum' ed. C.T. Newton, E.L. Hicks and others. 4 pts. Oxford 1874, p. 83.

96. Page 82.

97. Satake, op. cit., p. 35.

98. cf. Rev. 1.19 - "which are" corresponding to Chs. 2 and 3; "which shall be" corresponding to Chs. 4-22. Cf. W.C. van Unnik 'A Formula Describing Prophecy' NTS. 9 (1963), pp. 86-94.

99. See page 89 and note.

100. Cf. J. Chapman, Exp~~ositor~~ 6th series (1904) pp. 257-63 with Ramsay's reply pp. 263-5.

101. Cf. G.B. Caird, Commentary pp. 14f.

102. Lines 55ff:

una
tamen per omnem orbem terrae ecclesia
deffusa esse denoscitur et iohannis enī in a
pocalebsy licet septē eccleseis scribat
tamen omnibus dicit

3.vi.

103. Feuillet, L'Apocalypse, pp. 40f; Minear, New Earth, p. 43; Hemer, Letters, p. 30.

104. The first utterance, against Damascus (1.3-5) is introduced by a different formula - καὶ εἶπεν κύριος (cf. the Greek of Amos 1.2). The Hebrew text, on the other hand, introduces all eight utterances by כֹּה אָמַר יהוה ; Amos 1.3 follows this pattern in contrast to 1.2 נְאֻם יהוה

105. Cf. chiastic arrangement proposed by N.W. Lund 'Chiasmus in the New Testament - A Study in Formgeschichte' N. Carolina 1942, pp. 331-55. Is there clear evidence in the material itself which leads to such analysis? Or is the material 'shaped' to correspond to a theoretical solution?

106. J.W. Bowman 'The Drama of the Book of Revelation' Philadelphia,p. 23; I.D.B. 4.69 fig. 10.

107. Ramsay, Letters, pp. 191, 405; cf. the map reproduced on page 90, above. On the general background to 'Roads and Travel' see the article by W.M. Ramsay HDB Extra Vol. 1904;cf. M.P. Charlesworth 'Trade Routes and Commerce in the Roman Empire', Cambridge 1924.

108. Hemer, Letters, p. 28 and notes 1 and 2.

109. Satake, op. cit., p. 21.

110. E. Lohmeyer, 'Die Offenbarung des Johannes' 1926/53, p. 42.

111. Satake, op. cit., pp. 1-18.

112. W. Bauer 'Orthodoxy and Heresy in Earliest Christianity' 1971 p. 78 (German pp. 81-2). Bauer draws a parallel with Ignatius - "Subsequently Ignatius apparently followed a similar procedure and in turn made a selection from among those seven communities . . . Of the seven . . . Ignatius addresses only three - Ephesus, Smyrna and Philadelphia" (pp. 78/82).

113. M. Goguel 'Birth of Christianity' 1963, p. 412 (French, p. 448); G. Bornkamm, Kittel TWNT 6. 669f (Eng).

114. Cf. E. Käsemann 'Ketzer und Zeuge' 1951; J.A.T. Robinson 'The Destination and Purpose of the Johannine Epistles' N.T.S. 7 (1960), pp. 56-65; J.C. O'Neill 'The Puzzle of 1John' 1966; K. Weiss, 'Orthodoxie und Heterodoxie im 1. Johannesbrief' Z.NTW. 58 (1967), pp. 247-255.

115. On the significance of 'Amen' see the discussion in Chapter 2, pages 45f. On the explanation of 'Amen' as a cryptogram cf. G.R. Driver 'The Judaean Scrolls' 1965, pp. 339ff, 549.
See also L.H. Silberman 'Farewell to ὁ Ἀμήν-a note on Rev. 3.14'. JBL 82 (1963), pp. 213-5. On the significance of μάρτυς see Chapter 5 pages 211ff.

116. Charles, Commentary I.26.

117. Hemer, Letters, pp. 41, 43, 55. cf. Ramsay, Letters, p. 330.

118. 'A Popular Exposition of the Epistles to the Seven Churches of Asia' London 1884, p. 135.

THE PLAGUE SEQUENCES

The three Plague Sequences, the seven seals, the seven trumpets and the seven bowls, have an important role to play in any interpretation of the structure of the Book of Revelation. Upon the critical appraisal of their function within the book depends a judgement about the chronological order and historical nature of the events described. Is the divine process, which John sees to be at work, moving forward through these sequences of events, taken consecutively; or do these sequences reiterate, in a scheme of recapitulation, a single set of circumstances? A characteristic of much of the interpretation of these passages, as for example those theories about the seven seals reviewed by R.H. Charles in his commentary[1], is the apparent arbitrariness in which one exegetical method is chosen for one element in the picture, and another method for the next element. I shall endeavour to set out an interpretation which offers greater coherence both in method and in general theme, and also provides adequate consideration of the details.

As D.S. Russell observed[2], there is a significant continuity between the ideas about the Day of the Lord presented by the Old Testament prophets, and the apocalyptic picture of the signs of the End, with its sequence of judgements and woes associated with hope in the final triumph of God. "The apocalyptists took up the prophetic teaching concerning the future hope as expressed in the Day of the Lord, enlarging and enriching it out of the store of their own religious insight and experience. In this, as in so many other respects, they followed in the line of the Old Testament prophetic tradition, expounding its meaning for the days in which they themselves were then living. They were trying, in effect, to say what they believed the prophets would have said in the changed circumstances of their day."

The origin of the idea of the Day of the Lord is still to some extent

Table 1 Old Testament Imagery associated with the Day of Yahweh

Isaiah 2.12-22 - against pride, haughtiness, "all that is lifted up", "the Lord alone will be exalted", men hide in caves "before the terror of the Lord". (cf. Rev. 6.15).

5.24-30 - fire, earthquake, death, "a nation afar off" summoned, arrows, bows, horses, chariots, roaring like lions at prey, like the sea, "darkness and distress", "the light is darkened".

7.14-25 - Immanuel, the fly (Egypt), the bee (Assyria) - "they will all come and settle", "the Lord will shave with a razor", "curds and honey" - nurture in period of distress, vineyards and cultivated land to briers and thorns.

13.4-16 - the Lord mustering a host for battle (oracle applied to Babylon), destruction, "anguish like a woman in travail", desolation of earth, destroying sinners, heavens darkened, heaven and earth shaken, destruction "by the sword" (μάχαιρα LXX 13.15), Median bows (13.18).

17.4-6 - Harvest - grain, olive and fruit tree, A few gleanings left.

22.5-8a - Day of tumult, trampling and confusion (application to events of 701 B.C.?), Assaulting forces - archers, chariotry, infantry, Helplessness of city "a battering down of walls and a shouting to the mountains".

24.17-23 - Terror, pit, snare upon inhabitants of the earth, Windows of heaven opened, earth shaken to foundations, Host of heaven and kings of earth imprisoned and punished Moon confounded, sun ashamed, Lord of hosts will reign on Mt. Zion.

27.1 - Lord punishes Leviathan with his sword (μάχαιρα), slays the dragon in the sea.

27.12-13 - Threshing from Euphrates to Brook of Egypt, Great trumpet summons the dispersed to worship the Lord at Jerusalem.

34.2-10 - The nations doomed (application to Edom), "the host of heaven shall rot away, the skies roll up like a scroll."ἑλιγήσεται ὁ οὐρανὸς ὡς βιβλίον (cf. Rev. 6.14), Host falls as leaves from vine and fig tree(cf. Rev. 6.13), the Lord's sword (μάχαιρα) sated in the heavens, descends to earth for judgement, Sacrificial feast imagery , streams turned to pitch, soil to brimstone, land burning pitch, "smoke (καπνός) shall go up for ever".

63.1-6 - Crimsoned garments of warrior,
Winepress of God's judgement (Rev. 14.19-20),
Yahweh alone requites the nations - "I made them drunk in my wrath".

66.15-16,24 Lord comes in fire, chariots like storm-wind,
Judgement by fire, by sword (ῥομφαία),
All come to worship the Lord at Jerusalem and see the outcome of the judgement outside Jerusalem,
("their worm shall not die, their fire shall not be quenched").

Jeremiah 4.5-10 - Trumpet - "raise a standard toward Zion, flee for safety" - evil and destruction from the north,
Lion - "destroyer of nations",
"land a waste", cities uninhabited ruins.

25.15-38 - Cup of the wine of wrath for all nations to drink,
Sword (μάχαιρα LXX 32.27) "which I am sending among you",
Lord "roars" from on high in judgement "with all flesh,"
Grape treader,
Evil goes forth; tempest "from the farthest parts of the earth",
Those slain "from one end of the earth to the other" "shall be dung on the surface of the ground",
No refuge for the "shepherds" when the Lord despoils their pasture.

46.10 - Day of vengeance on God's foes, (Battle of Carchemish)
Sword (μάχαιρα LXX 26.10) sated at sacrifice by river Euphrates.

Lamentations 1.12 - Day of Yahweh's fierce anger,
Sorrow inflicted on Jerusalem,
Fire into bones, stunned, weighed down, weakened.

2.20-22 - Day of appointed feast; day of anger of Yahweh,
City starved to submission, put to the sword,
(LXX 2.21 - ῥομφαία, λιμός).

Ezekiel 7.1-27 - End comes upon Israel - God's judgement and punishment,
Disasters - tumult, not joyful shouting,
Wrath affects buyer and seller,
The trumpet sounds; sword, pestilence and famine, (ῥομφαία, θάνατος, λιμός) destroy them, survivors on mountains like moaning doves,
Weakness, mourning,
Silver and gold useless,
Ornaments plundered, holy-place profaned, as Yahweh departs from it. No help from prophet, priest, elder.

13.5 - Building a wall to stand in battle in the day of the Lord.

30.3f - Day of clouds - doom for the nations,
Sword (μάχαιρα) coming upon Egypt; fall of her mercenaries and allies. Land and cities devastated.

34.12 - Day of clouds and darkness,
Shepherd seeks scattered sheep.

Joel 1.15f - Destruction from the Almighty,
"food cut off before our eyes".

2.1-11 - Day of darkness and gloom. Comparison with
Locust plague in turn compared to an advancing army, horses and chariots.
'Scorched-earth' - from conditions of Eden to desolation.
Devouring fire
Earthquakes; heavens tremble; sun moon and stars darkened.

3.3ff (2.30ff) - Portents in heavens and on earth
Blood, fire, columns of smoke (καπνοῦ LXX 3.3)
Sun to darkness, moon to blood
On Mt. Zion those who call on the Lord and are delivered.

4.13-15 (3.13-15) - Judgement on all nations in the valley of decision, when fortunes of purged Judah and Jerusalem are restored.
Harvesting by sickle; treading the wine-press.
Sun moon and stars are darkened
The Lord "roars" from Zion.

Amos 5.18-20 - Darkness, not light
Like escaping from a lion and meeting a bear,
or like being bitten by a serpent (ὄφις).

8.9-14 - Darkness in daytime.
Mourning as for an only son.
'Famine' for the word of the Lord (cf. Ez. 7.26) - λιμός
'Thirst' - punishment for idolatry.

Obadiah 15-18 - Retribution on all nations (applied to Edom)
Punishment fitting crime. Drinking (cf. Jer. 25)
Salvation in Mt. Zion
Fire from Jacob on the stubble of Esau.

Micah 1.2-4 - Yahweh descends from his temple (judgement on Samaria and Jerusalem) treads on the high places
Mountains like melted wax, like poured water.

5.10-15 - Israel's punishment removes means of making war (horses, chariots, strongholds), and removes sorceries (φάρμακα) and images of idolatry.

Nahum 1.2-13 - Avenging wrath of Yahweh. Fiery heat of anger.
Whirlwind, storm; dries up sea and rivers.
Mountains quake, hills melt, earth devastated, rocks broken up. Flood makes "full end" of enemies.
Lord as stronghold for refugees, comfort for Judah.

Habakkuk 3.3-19 - Coming of God from his sacred mountain - "Before him went pestilence, and plague followed close behind."
Nations shaken and afflicted, trampled by God in his anger.
Mountains scattered, earth split with raging waters (rivers and sea). Sun and moon stand still.
Lord as warrior with horse and chariot, bow and spear.
Fights for salvation of his people, crushing their enemies
Rejoicing in spite of failure of figs, grapes, olive, agriculture, flocks and herds.

Zephaniah 1.7-18 - Day of Sacrifice (feast prepared for Yahweh's guests) and punishment
Punishment and wailing in the quarters of Jerusalem - the traders are no more.
Bitter sound of day of Yahweh - wrath, distress, devastation, darkness.

"Trumpet blast and battle cry" against fortified cities.
Sinners walk in panic as blind men; blood poured out like dust, flesh like dung.
Silver and gold useless.
All the earth consumed in fire.

2.2 - Day of Wrath of Yahweh.

3.8 - Day when Yahweh is witness; the fire of his anger consumes all the earth
Conversion of peoples to Yahweh.
Purging of Judah leaves humble righteous remnant.
Judah rejoices with Yahweh as warrior and king.

Zechariah 9.11-16 - Restoration associated with the coming king
God as warrior - bow, arrow, sword
Trumpet, whirlwinds
Sacrificial battle-feast
Day of battle as day of deliverance for God's people.

12.1-13.6 God uses Jerusalem as "a cup of reeling", "a heavy stone" for all peoples, and Judah as a disastrous fire, so destroying their enemies.
Mourning as for an only child - an image for repentance, and cleansing.
Removal of the evils of idolatry and false prophecy.

14.1-21 - All nations in battle against Jerusalem - half of inhabitants exiled, half preserved.
Yahweh appears to fight against the nations - Mt. of Olives split in two.
Transformation in new age - no cold, no night, living waters flow from Jerusalem - Judah becomes a low plain, while Jerusalem remains on high. God is King.
Plagues on men and beasts; general panic turns men against each other. Wealth of nations collected.
Survivors of nations worship at Feast of Tabernacles, or are punished with plague.
Holiness of Jerusalem and Judah; exclusion of "traders" from temple.

Malachi 3.19-24 - Evildoers burnt up as stubble
God-fearers like eager calves shall tread down wicked on day when "sun of righteousness" shall rise
Elijah the prophet as forerunner.

a debated question;[3] it has been taken to refer to God's day of battle in the holy war when his enemies are to be defeated;[4] others have seen in it "a mythical manifestation of Yahweh in the majesty of terrible natural phenomena conquering hostile powers;"[5] and others have related it to the day of Yahweh's epiphany, celebrated in the Enthronement festival.[6] Mowinckel writes: "As the people hoped for the realization of the ideal of kingship, particularly when reality fell furthest short of it, so, from a quite early period, whenever they were in distress and oppressed by misfortune, they hoped for and expected a glorious 'day of Yahweh' (cf. Amos 5.18ff), when Yahweh must remember His covenant, and appear as the mighty king and deliverer, bringing a 'day' upon His own and His people's enemies (cf. Is. 2.12ff), condemning them to destruction, and 'acquitting' and 'executing justice' for His own people. In the future hope, and later in eschatology, 'the day of Yahweh' becomes the term which sums up the great transformation, when He comes and restores His people, and assumes kingly rule over the world."

The two aspects of the picture of the Day of Yahweh, the dreadful day of judgement, and the heralding of the golden age of God's kingly rule, are held together as essentially complementary. In practical terms, the 'transformation' envisaged could well change the situation from one extreme to the other, from apparent prosperity to the irrevocable judgement of God's wrath, and from imminent disaster to an age of blessedness. Nor did the transformation necessarily accord with popular expectation, a point which the prophet Amos stressed. The judgement of God could be seen to operate on a national basis (against Israel's enemies) or on a religious and ethical basis (according to which Israel as God's people or as individuals were equally, if not more, liable to judgement). The future hope expressed by the prophets was associated with the "end" of an historical era; later the temporal dimensions were changed as the apocalyptists envisaged the end of the world.

Mowinckel argued that "specific features in the description of the future" are formed by the application of "ideas drawn from cultic experience" to "actual historical situations in which the Jews were placed."[7] Thus, for example, "arising out of the idea in the enthronement festival that all the hostile powers will gather together in order to destroy Jerusalem, but will be annihilated by Yahweh outside the city walls,[8] eschatology also says that in the last days the heathen will gather with hostile arrogance for a similar final onslaught, or that their hearts will be hardened by Yahweh, so that they conceive this presumptuous plan, in order that He may annihilate them all at one stroke in the valley of Hinnom, the unclean site of the sacrifices to Molech, or, as it is also called, the valley of Jehoshaphat, or the valley of the threshing instrument,[9] where apostate and ungodly Jews will also receive their punishment.[10] Thus does Yahweh 'judge' the nations."

Mowinckel has rightly drawn attention to the highly significant interplay between political/historical experience and religious experience as it receives formal expression in worship. While his main thesis, which traces the origin of the Day of the Lord and offers a satisfying explanation for some developments in prophetic and eschatological thinking, is attractive, this does not necessarily entail the complete argument that the whole range of development in ideas moves in a single direction from a cultic starting-point. The term "cultic" is itself deceptive, since it can be rendered so confused and vague, when applied to such a mass of material, and yet, at the same time, in the strict application of Mowinckel's argument, it provides too specific a context in the closely-defined corpus of ideas associated with the Enthronement Festival, thus distorting a proportion of the material beyond the limits of its natural perspective. Even though a close connection can be recognised between the activities of prophecy and formal worship, other possibilities should not be excluded, possibilities of prophetic material which neither derives its ideas or

inspiration from contexts of formal religious observances, nor is the product of disillusionment with the immediate application of the cultic system.

The Day of Yahweh "has been expanded into a phenomenon of cosmic significance",[11] depicted in the colours of traditional mythology.[12] A variety of traditions contribute to the total picture and insofar as the expectation is systematised, elements from different traditions are to some extent blended together; Table 1 indicates something of the range of ideas involved.[13] Within the cosmic dimension, Yahweh's enemies are not always identified specifically with historical nations; the prophetic oracle may have originated in concrete circumstances, or have been given an historical application subsequently, but the material transcends these limitations. As world powers the enemies are characterised in mythological terms and given labels such as Gog and Magog, names which are better known for the mythological aura which surrounds them than for any distant historical reality they may represent. Subsequently, in apocalyptic writing, these mythological world powers can be identified again with historical realities.

As Table 1 also indicates, a further important contribution to the imagery describing the Day of Yahweh is made by the Israelite's nomadic and agricultural experience, which John Gray describes as under the "influence" of "the deserts south and east of Palestine."[14] "From this quarter came the locusts, before which 'the land is as the garden of Eden and behind them a desolate wilderness' (Jl. 2.3). From there the sirocco blew as a blast from a fiery furnace, the ordeal of fire of which Amos speaks, which dried up even the subterranean waters (Am. 7.4). The whirlwind or dust storm also came from the great empty quarter (Am. 1.14). The 'darkness' or obscuration associated with both sirocco and dust storm, owing to the fact that the atmosphere is heavily charged with fine particles of dust, is also connected with the desert. Such a darkness obscures the heavenly bodies, and both sun and moon appear 'blood-red'. A prolonged visitation of the sirocco, called in Palestine the Ḥamsin (lit. 'fifty'), with drought and famine,

causes plague. All these are common manifestations of the presence of Yahweh in the Hebrew prophets . . . . They are not rare, supernatural phenomena, but are all too common in the experience of dwellers in Palestine in all ages, and to ancient Israel (e.g. Amos) they signified the dreaded presence of Yahweh their desert God."[15]

When, as a result of outside influences and internal disillusionment working upon the fundamental concept of God's activity in history, Judaism evolved a cosmic eschatology within and beyond the nationalistic future hope, and the phrase "the latter end of the days" was applied to the end of history itself, and not merely to the end of an historical era, many features of the description of the Day of Yahweh were developed to achieve a new significance and emphasis as "signs of the end." The 'wise men' (whether apocalyptists or scribes) claimed the ability to discern when the end was approaching, on the basis of the series of omens which precede it.[16] The current world-view, best described as a modification of pessimistic dualism, envisaged two ages - the present age dominated by evil powers, and the age to come which is the golden age - and believed that the turning-point between these ages was imminent. On this criterion the culmination of evil could indicate the proximity of the end. "It is this culmination of sin and wickedness which brings this world to an end, the last tribulation, so familiar to both the apocalyptists and the rabbis, and called by the latter "the travail of the Messiah (or Messianic age)" : tumult and war, pestilence and famine, bad seasons and dearth, apostasy from God and his law, the disruption of all moral order, and disorder even in the laws of nature."[17] Apocalyptic tradition since the Book of Daniel had declared: "There shall be a time of trouble, such as never was since there was a nation even to that same time" (Dan. 12.1). Subsequent writers developed the details of this expectation in a number of signs marking the nearness of the End.[18]

These "signs of the end" can be grouped by subject-matter into three broad categories:

1. Ominous happenings of every kind - "signs in the sun and moon and stars" - portents in the heavens and on earth; failure in the powers of nature, resulting in bad seasons and poor crops; famines, earthquakes, destruction by fire.[19]

2. Rebellion and warfare; all men at enmity with each other; persecution. Nation rises against nation; men provoke one another to fight; friends attack each other as if they were enemies; utter lack of any human sympathy, so that even the closest bonds of the family are broken.[20]

3. These first two categories presage the last desperate resistance to God by Satan, his army and the evil world powers, when God comes to wind up the present world order. Son of Man or Messianic figure coming from heaven as judge and as agent of deliverance from oppression.[21]

A special terminology is developed to refer to these "signs of the end" in later Jewish and Christian writings. One term, "the travail pains of the Messiah" was mentioned in the last quotation from Mowinckel, where it appeared in its singular, Rabbinic form. The idea of αἱ ὠδῖνες goes back in the Old Testament to the imagery of Hosea 13.13 (cf. Is. 26. 16-19; Micah 4. 9-10). Later developments of the idea, within an eschatological context appropriate to the birth or appearance of a Messianic figure, include 1QH 3. 7-10, where it is understood to be applied to the Qumran community itself; Mk. 13.8, where ἀρχὴ τῶν ὠδίνων is associated with earthquakes and famines; and Rev. 12. 1-6. Another term is θλῖψις, which is used by the Septuagint (and Theodotion) to translate the Hebrew צָרָה at Daniel 12.1 and in approximately 53 other instances. Daniel's general prophecy of "a time of trouble" is reiterated in subsequent writers who concentrate on expounding its features in detail (cf. Ass of Moses 8.1; Mark 13.19). Another word, τέλος , is self-explanatory when used in this connection, being applied to the climax of these expectations, the End itself. A sharp distinction is not always maintained when these three terms are applied to parts of the total range of

subject matter associated with these expectations. John 16.21 suggests that, even in literal usage, θλῖψις can be employed where ὠδίν might be more exact. Nevertheless it would appear that these three terms -ὠδῖνες, θλῖψις and τέλος - correspond in a general way to the three categories of subject matter already analysed.

References to the 'Little Apocalypse' of Mark 13 have appeared already in this brief review. Many scholars have seen a threefold structure of expectations, similar to our classification, within the material of Mark 13 and its parallels. As T. Colani wrote in 1864, "Our discourse presents not only this division, but it uses precisely these three technical words . . . We have here a very complete summary of the apocalyptic views spread among the Jewish Christians of the first century."[22] The threefold division within the 'Little Apocalypse', to which Colani refers, seems to have been recognised first in the analysis offered by H. J. Holtzmann which "was adopted by almost all subsequent exegetes: it narratives (1) ἀρχαὶ ὠδίνων , the beginnings of the woes, represented first according to their 'world historical' character, 13.5-9, and next according to their significance for the development of the kingdom of God (the time of the mission) vv.9-13; (2) ἡ θλῖψις, the tribulation, including the destruction of Jerusalem, vv. 14-23; (3)ἡ παρουσία, the coming of Christ, vv. 24-27" depicted as τὸ τέλος 'the end'.[23]

While hesitating to add yet one more variant to the multiplicity of modified analyses and sub-divisions of Mark 13 which has resulted from more than a century of development of the 'Little Apocalypse' source theory, I feel that there is a more satisfactory, if less admirably balanced, way of understanding the material of this chapter in terms of the proposed classification of "signs of the end". I would retain the significance of the technical terms as 'signposts' within the Marcan chapter, but take a different view of the order in which the three elements are expounded from that to be found in Holtzmann's analysis. It is important to recognise that Holtzmann's original work was conditioned by a threefold understanding of the parousia,[24]

which even he did not retain throughout his working life.

The first section in this chapter is by far the largest, comprising 13. 5-23. In its present form this is a carefully structured account of the θλῖψις , the last words of the section reverting to the opening theme of false prophecy. Verses 19-23 make a fitting conclusion for what has gone before, and 13.19 gives the section its title, using the words of Daniel 12.1 to prophesy days of unprecedented tribulation. In the context of Mark's Gospel these traditional ideas are applied by the evangelist to current circumstances in his readers' experience, pointing to their real significance as "signs of the end". This represents only the first of three stages, and 13. 7-8 serve to make this clear. The πολέμους καὶ ἀκοὰς πολέμων are part of the first stage, the θλῖψις; the third stage, the end, is not yet (ἀλλ'οὔπω τὸ τέλος). Before the end are two stages: there is firstly the international strife which is part of the present θλῖψις; even when numerous earthquakes and outbreaks of famine occur, these only represent the beginning (ἀρχή) of stage two (the woes): the first anticipations of the full range of cosmic signs disrupting the natural order of heaven and earth. Mark 13.8[25] thus points ahead to the second section of this 'apocalypse', represented by 13.24f; these are the cosmic woes, the supernatural portents which herald the appearance of the Messiah, the "birth-pangs" which precede his coming to the world. The third section (Mk. 13.26f) then represents the final stage, the τέλος, when the Son of Man comes "with great power and glory". As the judgement takes place "he will send out the angels, and gather his elect from the four winds".

When we come to examine the Plague sequences of Revelation against this general background of thought, there is a major question which warrants some preliminary consideration. Since these ideas have evolved into three separate sequences of seven 'plagues' it is necessary to ask what special significance is attached to each sequence, why, indeed, there should be three of them, and how they are related to one another and to the construction of

the book as a whole.

According to one method of interpretation, which we have already examined,[26] the appropriate response is that these three sequences are simply repetitions of each other. The Recapitulation theory asserts that the seven bowls reflect exactly the same events as the seven seals; the substance is the same and only the form has been changed. Feuillet expressed a widely-supported view in his summary rejection of this theory: "Nous ne pouvons admettre cette exégèse, et tout d'abord à cause de l'expression de 15.1: "Sept plaies, les dernières. ". . . S'il est vrai que la finale de l'Apocalypse se réfère à la fin des temps entendue au sens strict et à la Jérusalem céleste, ne doit-on pas penser que les descriptions antérieures nous acheminent progressivement vers cette fin, et donc qu'elles se succèdent selon un certain ordre chronologique?" [27]

Clearly in the accounts of the three sequences of plagues there are differences and similarities. The problem for the Recapitulation theory was to show how events which appeared to be different were only different in the way they were described. For the chronological theory the converse is a problem: how can the interpreter make a clear distinction between sequences which have superficial similarities?

The solution which Feuillet offers is integral to his view of the Apocalypse as a whole. "L'auteur, qui à partir du chapitre 12, se préoccupe des rapports de l'Église avec la Rome païenne, a en vue ici (chs. 4-11) les relations de l'Église avec le peuple choisi." [28] He considers, on what seems very dubious grounds, that this structuring of Revelation is parallel to that of the prophetic books of the Old Testament where, according to him, oracles against the Jewish people precede oracles against the nations. Such an understanding of John's purpose as "anti-Jewish" has already been discussed in the context of the Seven Letters; this exegesis of chs. 4-11 is built upon an interpretation of Rev. 2.9, 3.9 and 11.2. H.B. Swete had suggested that "if the ναός represents the Church, the outer court is perhaps the

rejected Synagogue; . . . while the Church fills the court of Israelites . . . Israel after the flesh is cast out and delivered to the heathen."[29] Feuillet takes up this idea: "Jean songe à la separation définitive entre la Synagogue et l'Église opérée par la catastrophe de 70; . . . . les armées de Titus n'ont pas detruit le vrai temple de Dieu, celui-ci perdure, constitué notamment par les Juifs qui ont adhéré au Christ (le Reste messianique). Quant aux Juifs incrédules . . . ils sont définitivement mis à la porte."[30]

We have already seen reasons for being critical of the "anti-Jewish" theory in this reconstruction.[31] It is significant that this precise allocation of the plague sequences to different situations (seals as preparation in heaven for the trumpets; trumpets linked with the judgement on the unbelieving majority of the Jewish people; bowls as punishment on the pagan world) is much more dependent on a general theory about the Apocalypse than upon detailed exegesis of each sequence. Although attention is drawn to the relationship between the seals and the 'Little Apocalypse' of the Synoptic Gospels, the role of this sequence is greatly reduced by its description as <u>only</u> "La preparation céleste",[32] to the detriment of its other features such as earthly effects; much of the activity in the Apocalypse is initiated in heaven, but that is not the sum total of what can be said about it. The argument about the trumpets is stronger insofar as Feuillet relies on the parallels with features from Josephus 'Jewish War' suggested in Giet's exegesis, but it is doubtful whether these features are distinctive enough to confirm the allusions to these particular events prior to 70 A.D. Even less satisfactory is Feuillet's use of the proportion "one third" affected by the trumpet plagues. He relates this to the prophetic theme of the "Remnant", especially quoting Ez. 5.1ff and Zech. 13. 8-9; not only does this disregard other possible meanings of "one third" and other fractions in Relevation, but it also fails to compare the application of the fraction in the Old Testament passages (in Zechariah

two-thirds, not one-third is destroyed, and in Ezekiel the "Remnant" is not identified with the division into thirds).

The main reason why Feuillet's exegesis appears so unsatisfactory in its treatment of the Plague sequences may be that he arrives at this interpretation after a consideration of material which, strictly speaking, falls outside the actual sequences of Plagues, to the neglect of a more detailed considera ion of the Plaguesthemselves. To be fair to him, his concluding remarks do refer to the unfinished task of commentators in this area.[33] But it clearly is time to look more closely at each of the three sequences in turn, to see what indications they may offer of their intended application; the proper place for overall conclusions is at the end of such a detailed investigation.

A valuable starting-point for a consideration of the Seven Seals (Rev. 6. 1-7. 1; 8.1) is R.H. Charles' presentation of the case for the dependence of this section on the material of the 'Little Apocalypse' in the Synoptic Gospels. He sets out the parallels as follows:[34]

Matthew 24 (verses 6, 7, 9a, 29)	Mark 13 (verses 7-9a, 24-25)
1. Wars	1. Wars
2. International strife	2. International strife
3. Famines	3. Earthquakes
4. Earthquakes	4. Famines
5. Persecutions	5. Persecutions
6. Eclipses of the sun and moon; falling of the stars; shaking of the powers of heaven.	6. (as in Matthew)

Luke 21 (verses 9-12a, 25-26)	Revelation 6. 2-17, 7.1
1. Wars	Seal 1. War
2. International strife	2. International strife
3. Earthquakes	3. Famine
4. Famines	4. Pestilence (Death & Hades)[35]
5. Pestilence	5. Persecutions[36]

6. Persecutions	6. Earthquakes, eclipse of the sun; ensanguining of the moon, falling of the stars, men calling on the rocks to fall on them, shaking of the powers of heaven; four destroying winds (cf. Lk. 21.25).
7. Signs in the sun, moon and stars; men fainting for fear of the things coming on the world; shaking of the powers of heaven.	

As Charles declared: "Even a cursory comparison of these lists shows that they practically present the same material." If we follow the traditional and widely-accepted relative dating of Revelation and the Synoptic Gospels,[37] then any dependence must be by the author of Revelation on the Gospel tradition. The dependence cannot be narrowed down to the use of a single Gospel: the fourth seal is only paralleled in Luke (21.11), whereas the substance of Rev. 6. 12-13 is described in similar language in Mt. 24.29 and Mk. 13.24f., but only alluded to in Lk. 21.25 as "signs in the sun, moon and stars." R.H. Charles prefers the conclusion that John was dependent upon the 'Little Apocalypse', as a document, underlying the present Gospels, (the hypothesis which James Moffatt[38] called "a 'sententia recepta' of synoptic criticism"), rather than that he made use of two Gospels, or used oral tradition.

Charles, in his Jowett lectures on eschatology[39] adhered to the view of H.H. Wendt that Mark 13 contained two separate discourses; one, an authentic discourse of Jesus, is addressed to persecuted disciples, and the other, the 'Little Apocalypse' (verses 7-8, 14-20, 24-27, 30-31),[40] to Jews facing tribulation in Judaea. He distinguished the characters of these two discourses in the following words: "Whereas faithfulness unto the death of the body is required from the disciples in one source, in the other they are exhorted to pray that the attack on Jerusalem, which is the beginning of the end, may not be in winter, lest they should suffer bodily discomfort!" [41]

As is the case with other discussions of sources in the Synoptic Gospels, parallels in order are as important as parallels in substance. Charles

indicates the former as well as the latter in his table, and, having established the point of parallelism, he can go on to discuss the two instances where the author of Revelation makes what Charles considers to be a deliberate divergence from this order.[42] "The sixth Seal embraces the two Gospel woes - earthquakes and signs in the powers of heaven." "Although he gives a new character to the seventh woe quite distinct from that of the last woe in these Gospels, he is careful not to omit the subject matter of this last woe, and accordingly embodies it under the sixth Seal." The second divergence is actually a change of order - the earthquakes are relegated to sixth position from third or fourth position in the Gospels. This is explained partly by the author's creative use of the Zechariah tradition for the first four seals, a scheme which will not accommodate the earthquakes, and even more significantly by "the dramatic fulness of the order of the Seals, and the growing intensity of the evils they symbolize. These begin with social cataclysms (Seals 1-4) and end with cosmic (Seal 6)." The earthquakes, then, are put in their proper place in the sequence.

Charles' argument for the dependence of the Seals sequence on the material of the 'Little Apocalypse', as traditionally defined, occasions an important difficulty. The description of the fifth seal-plague must presume some reference to the persecution of the faithful as part of the original apocalyptic source. But "in this Little Jewish Apocalypse, so far as it is preserved in the Gospels, there is no reference to the persecution of the faithful."[43] Charles solves the problem by the argument that "since in the Psalms, Daniel and later apocalyptic literature this is a constant subject of complaint to God, it cannot have been wanting in the original form of the Little Apocalypse." At this G.R. Beasley-Murray exclaims: "Can one find a better example of 'petitio principii'?" He comments: "Such a view implies both that John knew a longer version of the Little Apocalypse than the Evangelists knew, and that the Evangelists or their source cut out the original references to persecution in order to replace them by other references

to persecution . . . Why make such a conjecture, when the desired element is already contained in the discourse?" "The document identified with that Little Apocalypse already lies before us conjoined with a description of persecution, and the two together make up the bulk of the eschatological discourse as it has been preserved to us; to conjure up two hypothetical documents and overlook one actual document that fits the requirements is curious criticism."[44]

Beasley-Murray's eagerness to turn Charles' argument and make of it a weapon to attack the documentary theory of the Little Apocalypse leads him away from what would have been a coherent statement of the difficulties, and his own counter-argument does not therefore carry complete conviction. The real weakness in both arguments is a preoccupation with literary criticism at a point where it is by no means the most obvious critical technique to employ. The relationship between the seven Seals and the apocalyptic material of the Synoptic Gospels has been set out in terms of parallels of substance and parallels of order (although there is some flexibility here and Charles' arguments for amendments explicable in terms of literary policy are not overwhelming); there are practically no parallels of wording, either as literary allusions or direct quotations, but only unavoidable parallels in the usage of obvious words. In these circumstances the matter is stated much more happily in terms of a somewhat fluid tradition of apocalyptic ideas, moulded according to a fairly precise pattern of expectation. To this tradition Mark, perhaps Matthew (if his variations are significant), Luke (if his divergence from Mk.13 results from his use of fresh material as well as his creative reinterpretation of Marcan tradition in accordance with eschatological presuppositions[45]), and certainly the author of Revelation are indebted.

It is no longer a question of the Evangelists cutting out one set of references to persecution in order to include another; persecution is one element in the traditional pattern, which can be represented by a saying of

Jesus or in other ways. The individual traditions or pericopae which are applied to the apocalyptic pattern may be derived from a variety of original "sources". The way in which the basic elements of the pattern are expounded, being given shape and colour and detail, is an indicator of contemporary concerns; often, however, a precise interpretation of the underlying situation is made more difficult by uncertainty about the relationship of a description to an event (is it an historical allusion, or could it be prophetic?), by failure to detect the force of a particular allusion, and by further complications such as the reapplication of an earlier motif to a new situation.

The relationship between the seven Seals of Revelation and the apocalyptic tradition of the Synoptic Gospels - a relationship of vital importance to the exegesis of both, which is not altered by being presented in these different terms - can be tabulated afresh, as in the accompanying chart. I believe that this gives a fairer picture of the total situation: it indicates the significant parallels in order which are important for the total pattern; it indicates the parallels in subject-matter found in the apocalyptic chapters of the Gospels; and it indicates the further parallels in supporting detail, subordinate to the overall pattern, which show that the author of Revelation is working out this pattern in several particulars in the light of material from the apocalyptic tradition of the Gospels. If we consider the material in this way, we shall avoid the worst excesses of the literary analysis and permit other relationships to be examined which are obscured by Charles' presentation. Two examples of the latter may be mentioned: firstly, according to Charles, "While the predictions in Rev. 6. 15-17 are wanting in the first two (gospels), their equivalent is found in Luke 21.25"; presumably the Lucan reference should also include 21.26, but in any case a further helpful parallel is provided by Lk. 23.30.[46] Secondly, of the four winds of Rev. 7.1 Charles says "this feature may have its parallel in Luke 21.25, where the nations are said to be distressed,

ἐν ἀπορίᾳ ἤχους θαλάσσης καὶ σάλου";[47] this may offer some similarity in idea, or it may not, but more to the point would be the reference, in the next stage of the traditional pattern (Mk. 13.27; Mt. 24.31; no // in Lk.), to "the four winds", which is one of the infrequent verbal parallels.

Seven Seals in Revelation		Apocalyptic traditions of the Synoptic Gospels	
1) 6.1-2	White horse	Wars and rumours/wars and tumults	
	Bow	(Mt. 24.6; Mk. 13.7; Lk. 21.9)	(A)
	Crown, victor cf. 19.11	Mt. 24.5; Mk. 13.6; Lk. 21.8	
		"many will come in my name"	
2) 6.3-4	Red horse	Nation against nation	
		(Mt. 24.7; Mk. 13.8; Lk. 21.10)	(B)
	Sword	Mt. 10.34	
3) 6.5-6	Black horse	Famines - λιμοί	
	Scales	Mt. 24.7 (C); Mk. 13.8 (D); Lk. 21.11 (D or E)[48]	
4) 6.7-8	Bilious-yellow horse	Pestilence - λοιμοί	
	θάνατος / Hades	Lk. 21.11 (E or D)	
		variant reading Mt. 24.7; Mk. 13.8	
5) 6.9-11	Souls beneath the altar	Persecution/Christian witness	
	(Persecution, martyrdom)	Mt. 24.9-14 and 10.17-22 (E)	
		Mk. 13.9-13 (E)	
		Lk. 21.12-19 and 12.11-12 (G)	
	"How long"?	Mk. 13.20 (shortening of days)	
		// Mt. 24.22 cf. Lk. 18.7	

continued/

6) 6.12-17 σεισμὸς μέγας		σεισμοὶ μεγάλοι Lk. 21.11 (C) cf. Mt. 24.7 (D), Mk. 13.8 (C)
	sun, moon, stars	Mk. 13.24f. // Mt. 24.29 (Lk. 21.25, 21.11b?)
	like fig tree	Fig tree (Mt. 24.32f; Mk. 13.28f; Lk. 21.29ff)
	fear of what is coming	Lk. 21.26
	λέγουσιν τοῖς ὄρεσιν..	λέγειν τοῖς ὄρεσιν°
	πέσετε ἐφ' ἡμᾶς	πέσατε ἐφ' ἡμᾶς (Lk. 23.30) cf. Hos. 10.8
7.1 Restraining τοὺς τέσσαρας ἀνέμους		Gathering elect ἐκ τῶν τεσσάρων ἀνέμων at coming of Son of Man Mk. 13.27; Mt. 24.31.

Interlude - Sealing (7.2-17)

7) 8.1 Silence in heaven for half an hour

8.2ff. Trumpets.

Note - Capital letters used as symbols in right-hand column are indications of the order of events in the Gospel accounts.

According to this scheme, the author of Revelation has utilised here a substantial proportion of the main body of apocalyptic tradition within the Synoptic Gospels, at least in terms of overall pattern and some details. What he omits is omitted largely for the very good reason that he is concerned in this first plague sequence with the "signs of the End" and not with the ultimate manifestations of evil and good. The account of the βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως (Mk. 13. 14-19; Mt. 24. 15-21) or the ἐρήμωσις of Jerusalem (Lk. 21. 20-24) represents the ultimate activity of evil, which is presented by John in terms of the Beast and Babylon the Harlot (Rev. 13, 17 and 18). Such is the relationship of apocalyptic thought to historical events, that the climax of evil is not necessarily represented by the same event in successive writings; so in Revelation one should not be misled by the reference to the siege of Jerusalem in 11. 1-2 to place the centre of gravity there, under Lucan influence. There is a measure of repetition, for the sake of emphasis, in the Synoptic accounts with regard to warnings against false prophets (Mk. 13. 21-23, cf. 13. 5-6; Mt. 24. 23-28 cf. 24. 4-5, 11; Lk. 21.8 cf. 17. 20-21, 23-24, 37b); this theme is presented in a different way in Revelation, both in the Seven Letters and in the picture of the second Beast (13. 11-17). But there may be an allusion to it in the substance of the first seal.[49] As for the third divergence, the manifestation of good in the triumphant coming of the Son of Man, with its sequel in the actual vindication of the elect (Mk. 13. 26-7; Mt. 24. 30-31; Lk. 21. 27-28), is deferred until its proper place in the Seer's extended sequence of events (Rev. 19ff), although John's account of visionary experiences provide anticipatory glimpses of this reality.

When the author of Revelation is so dependent upon the apocalyptic tradition used in the Synoptic Gospels, the possibility that he has used this material for substantially the same reasons as the Evangelists and for a similar purpose is worthy of serious consideration. It is by no means inevitable, in the light of the constant reapplication of apocalyptic material, but one should see whether in general terms it stands up to

investigation.

Of Mark 13 Beasley-Murray wrote: "It has long been recognised that the discourse holds a significant place in the Gospel of Mark, in that it forms both a conclusion to the teaching ministry of Jesus and an introduction to the passion narrated immediately afterwards."[50] R.H. Lightfoot commented that its position "immediately before the Passion narrative, but altogether independent of it, suggests that at the time of the composition of his (Mark's) Gospel the Church had not yet found it possible to define satisfactorily the relationship between the crucifixion and the expected final consummation." "By means perhaps of traditional Jewish material, as well as by reflection on the Church's experience, the teaching set forth in this chapter with regard to what must come to pass before the glory is revealed is already permeated with the thought of suffering. But the climax is still the coming of the Son of Man; and in connection with this, there is no note of suffering."[51] C.K. Barrett points out that "Mark's own understanding of the matter" of suffering ("Jesus first suffers on behalf of others, and departs in death; later his disciples will suffer persecution in their service to him") is "a neat rationalization but one that scarcely does justice to the traditional material Mark himself preserves, though within the new framework forced upon him by the actual course of events."[52]

Just how closely Mark related the tradition to actual events is open to debate - much depends on whether the βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως of 13.14 refers to the episode of Caligula's image in 40 A.D. or to a prophecy of the Fall of Jerusalem. Matthew does not make such an historical connection any more explicit; while following Mk. 13 closely in chapter 24, he makes his own distinctive contribution in the series of parables presented in chapter 25, where they are applied strictly to the ~~contrast~~ context of Mk. 13. 33-7. They function as "instruction to the disciples about the demands on them while waiting with the church for the Parousia."[53] It is Luke who has made the historical reference deliberately clear by applying the apocalyptic tradition

to the past event of the Fall of Jerusalem (Lk. 21.20ff). He also clarifies the relationship between the crucifixion of Jesus, the present circumstances of the Christian Church, and the expected final consummation. According to Conzelmann's summary of his own argument, the delay of the parousia is explained "by means of the idea of God's plan which underlies the whole structure of Luke's account."[54] "The whole story of salvation, as well as the life of Jesus in particular, is now objectively set out and described according to its successive stages." "As the End is still far away, the adjustment to a short time of waiting is replaced by a 'Christian life' of long duration, which requires ethical regulation." This "ethical teaching is coloured by the fact that persecution now prevails." "The virtue of ὑπομονή. . . is viewed from the standpoint of martyrdom." There are two overriding emphases in this context: one is the note of warning, taken over from Mark, presented as an exhortation to adjust to the long period of persecution which will be a fact of church life (Lk. 21.12ff.); the other is the encouragement, distinctively Lucan, which is offered to the faithful now and in the future (Lk. 21. 15, 28).

If the author of Revelation is in any real sense an heir to this tradition, then we would expect his work to contain a reapplication of these ideas to a new set of circumstances subsequent to the composition of the Synoptic Gospels. The seals should indicate these circumstances which are basic to the author's experience, perhaps with reference to particular historical events where appropriate. The central theme of suffering should be related to the present situation of the churches and also be part of a total perspective which extends from the crucifixion of Christ at the one end to the final cosmic vindication of Christ at the other. We might also expect as a dominant idea, motivating the author's presentation, either the note of warning, or the note of encouragement, or a combination of the two. In the sense that C.H. Dodd's redefinition of the material from Mk. 13 as "a Mahnrede ('warning speech') in apocalyptic terms rather than an

apocalypse proper"[ss] reflects an important emphasis, it may be appropriate to extend this insight to the particular utilisation of this material in Revelation itself.

Now that we have established in these points a kind of "blue-print" for the treatment of the seven seals, on the assumption that this section represents a development of the apocalyptic tradition in continuity with the Synoptic Gospels, it is now time to look in more detail at this section, and to draw some general conclusions from it, for comparison with this "blue-print".

It is important to recognise what Paul Minear called the "extraordinary pains to show the continuity between the picture of worship in heaven (Ch. 4,5) and the opening of the seven seals (Ch. 6, 7). Since it is the Lamb who will open each of the seals, it is his qualification to do so which forms the burden of chapters 4, 5."[56] It is only the "Lamb standing, as though it had been slain" (Rev. 5.6), the Lamb who is also described as "the Lion of the tribe of Judah, the Root of David" (5.5), who is able to take the book and open its seven seals. No one else had been found worthy (5.3). Nor is there any doubt what is the Lamb's qualification for this task - "the Lion . . . has conquered, so that he can open the scroll and its seven seals." (5.5). The song in 5.9 describes this conquest more precisely: "Worthy art thou to take the scroll and to open its seals, for thou wast slain and by thy blood didst ransom men for God from every tribe and tongue and people and nation."

As Paul Minear says: "We must not neglect this clue to the meaning of the whole vision. It is a description of the operation of forces which were released by the single event of suffering and victory . . . The prophet is seeking to describe the repercussions, the echoes, the continuing effects of the passion story."[57] We can see already how in the terms of this symbolic vision one of the requirements of our "blue-print" is met; the Seer expresses very precisely the fact that his perspective begins with

the crucifixion of Christ.

So the victorious Lion/Lamb opens these seals. At this point we encounter a practical problem as to how the Seer envisaged the document, and the seals which had prevented access to its contents. This is not merely an academic issue in the debate between those who translate βιβλίον as "book" and those who prefer to translate it as "scroll".[58] For the solution of this problem may affect the way the "seal visions" are interpreted: are these the subject matter of the book which only the Lamb can open, or are they incidental features of the opening process so that the main burden of the contents is still to be revealed?

The logical modern attitude may require the latter view and look for the contents of the book later in the Apocalypse, perhaps in the trumpets or the bowls, on the grounds that the normal procedure of sealing documents, either books or rolls, would prevent access to the contents until all the seals were opened. It is true that R. Knopf did expend considerable ingenuity in constructing a roll in which seals fastened to its cords are so arranged that the opening of one permits the unrolling of part of the roll, while the rest remains secure.[59] But as W.S. Taylor commented: "If we are right in assuming that the writer intended his references to be understood, it is necessary to prove, not that the construction of such a roll was possible, but that its use was normal", and for this there is no evidence.

But we need not assume, with Taylor, that the seals were therefore extraneous to the book's contents. Charles makes the valid point: "If this view were right, then our author could not have omitted the most significant part of the whole procedure - the opening of the Book itself after the undoing of the seventh seal."[60] This point could be amplified by saying that at no stage in the subsequent chapters is there any indication to the reader that he is now being presented with the contents of this unsealed book - the trumpets have their own, and different introduction,

and by the time of the interlude in Ch.10 we have encountered another document, a βιβλαρίδιον, (10.2). It is conceivable that the author's symbolism does not always follow the requirements of strict logic, and that in the seal visions he is presenting aspects of the book's contents. The symbolism permits him an artistic exposition of the elements, stage by stage, and building up to a climax while ensuring, through the significance of the number seven, that each aspect forms part of the whole.

Sir W.M. Ramsay suggested a helpful parallel in his article 'The Early Christian Symbol of the Open Book'.[61] He favoured the model of a book rather than a scroll, partly because of the statement in Rev. 5.1 that it was γεγραμμένον. . . ὄπισθεν and partly because a book offered a more satisfactory interpretation. Whereas writing on the inside is a natural assumption for books and scrolls there can be no way of telling from a sealed scroll that there is writing on the back as well. But with a book the different function of "scriptura interior" and "scriptura exterior" was a recognised practice: the writing inside a sealed book is preserved in secrecy while the seals of the witnesses are still attached; the summary of contents written on the outside is useful because it gives some idea of the terms of the writing inside, but naturally it has no legal worth because it can so easily be tampered with. In Ramsay's view the frequently cited Old Testament parallel (Ez. 2.9) should be used with care, and its difference noted. This scroll, which is written "on the front and on the back", is spread before the prophet so that he can absorb the extent of its writing. The "words of lamentation and mourning and woe" are so numerous, that they overflow onto the back of the scroll.[62] The closest parallel is rather the Roman will or testament, the legal document in book form which traditionally is sealed with the seven seals of the witnesses.

If this is the precise model for Revelation, then the sealed book could represent God's "will" in the sense of what Caird calls "God's redemptive plan . . . the world's destiny, foreordained by the gracious

purpose of God."[63] Ramsay himself believed that the contents of the book were a record of the Covenant between God and man, and that the opening of the book was to be understood either as a forensic or a prophetic act. In the present context in Revelation a prophetic/eschatological interpretation seems preferable; and the idea of the plan fits better than the idea of Covenant with the atmosphere of secrecy appropriate for Apocalyptic; the exposition of the legal theme of judgement is more suited to the other books, including the book of life, which are opened at Rev. 20.12.[64]

The Lamb opens this book not only because he is the official legally charged with the duty of disclosing its contents, but above all because he himself has inaugurated the final stage of this plan; by the beginning which he made in the Cross he has ransomed men for God. This plan and purpose of God cannot be revealed to men until Christ makes it known. In the context of the Apocalypse of John, this plan of God revealed by Christ can be represented more extensively as the subject matter of the work as a whole (cf. Rev. 1. 1-2); but it is also concentrated within the circumstances of the opening of this sealed book. The relationship between the seven seals and the actual contents of the book can therefore be seen as an ambivalent one. The seals are the testimony of the witnesses of the "will" to the secrecy which has been preserved until the proper time for the book to be opened. But the seals of the witnesses are also the symbols of the witnesses themselves, witnesses to the contents of the "will". So, even if we apply modern logic to the interpretation of the Seer's vision, there is a sense in which the loosing of the seals represents a releasing of the witnesses, to reveal the contents of that "will".

This exegesis further illuminates the perspective of the seals sequence. Beginning from the crucifixion of Christ, this perspective, which is itself a revelation of God's plan, includes a range of individual pictures, each of which can testify to the reality of that plan, for those with eyes to see and insight to understand the ultimate purpose.

"The natural assumption is that the opening of the scroll, by which its contents are both revealed and put into effect, follows immediately on the victory by which he (Christ) acquired the right to open it. This means that from John's standpoint some at least of the contents are already past."[65] This suggests that John is an heir to the prophetic tradition of the Old Testament as he interprets events of the past, present and immediate future to demonstrate the overriding purpose of God. Even in situations of despair, in woes and tribulations, the prophet's followers can be shown how God makes use of the most unlikely agents to further his plan, and how the woes themselves are "signs of the end" and therefore indications of the ultimate triumph of God's purposes.

These broad lines of interpretation can be confirmed or disproved by an examination of the actual visions introduced by the opening of each seal. What do these pictures represent? We should recognise that four of them, the four horsemen, are variations on a traditional theme which can be traced back to the prophet Zechariah. The derivation of this material from a special tradition within the Old Testament is not of course incompatible with the view that the whole framework is derived from the apocalyptic tradition of the Synoptic Gospels. There are many illustrations in Revelation of the author's skill in combining traditional elements from several sources.

Whereas in Revelation it seems to be the riders who are important, and the colours of the horses are symbols associated with the significance of the riders, in the two visions of Zechariah (1. 8-15; 6. 1-8) only the leading rider in the first vision is even mentioned, although it is usually assumed that the other horses had riders. For Zechariah the individual characteristics and separate identities of these patrols or messengers seem unimportant, but in each vision their dependence upon the commands of Yahweh is stressed: in 1.10 "These are they whom the Lord has sent to patrol the earth," and in 6.5 "These are going forth to the four winds of heaven,

after presenting themselves before the Lord of all the earth." It is difficult to know how closely these two visions were related; there are obvious resemblances, and the Septuagint bears witness to some mutual influence, especially in the range of colours of the horses. While horses and chariots alike are servants of Yahweh, there may be a distinction in purpose; the horsemen are "patrols, like the Persian mounted posts" who report the restoration of peace;[66] the chariots are "messengers of God", perhaps war-chariots "expressing judgement and wrath upon Babylon" (so that 6.8 means they have indicated Yahweh's displeasure - "they have quietened, appeased my anger"), or messengers of promise, "stirring up the spirit of the exiles" (when 6.8 means "they have set my spirit upon the north country"). As P.R. Ackroyd says of the chariot vision, "It is not impossible that the two aspects of the divine spirit are here combined, and if the Hebrew text is followed in verse 6, so that both black and white horses go northwards, symbolism might be looked for in the colours": i.e. black for judgement and white for promise.[67]

Textual difficulties in the Hebrew account of both visions, discrepancies between the Hebrew of the first vision and its Septuagint translation, and variations in the order of colours particularly between the first and second mention of the horses in the second vision, all conspire to produce a confusing picture of the imagery of horses' colours.[68] It is certainly true, as Charles said, that the author of Revelation, drawing upon this material "was at liberty to arrange the colours in any order that suited his purpose."[69] With the minimum of hypothetical reconstructions and textual emendations, a possible description of the development of this traditional material is as follows. The Hebrew text of the first vision (Zech. 1) does not suggest a large colour range, and probably these colours had no special significance at this point. The Hebrew of Zech. 6 represents the origin of the significant range of colours, probably according to some traditional ascription of colours to the four

The colours of the horses - Zechariah and Revelation

	Zechariah 1 - Hebrew	Zechariah 1 - LXX	Zechariah 6.2-3,6-7	Zechariah 6 - LXX	Revelation 6
1.	אְדֻמִּים red-brown lentil colour - Gen. 25.30?	πυρροί	אְדֻמִּים red-brown	πυρροί	λευκός
			שְׁחֹרִים black	μέλανες	white - Mithras
2.	שְׂרֻקִּים bright red sorrel rising sun vines with red grapes yellowish red?	φαροί (dappled)[70]	שְׁחֹרִים black	μέλανες	πυρρός red - bloodshed slaughter
			לְבָנִים white-bright	λευκοί	
3.	לְבָנִים white-bright	ποικίλοι (dappled)	לְבָנִים white-bright	λευκοί	μέλας black - famine
			בְּרֻדִּים dappled spotted (as sprinkled with hail?)	ποικίλοι	
4.	-	λευκοί	[אֲמֻצִּים] בְּרֻדִּים dappled	ποικίλοι φαροί	χλωρός livid, yellowish green bilious (L and S) pale (Bauer)
			אֲמֻצִּים strong (piebald - flashing?)	φαροί (Aq. πυρροί)	

winds (6.5) or the four quarters of the heavens.[71] It may be that the text of 6.6 should be reconstructed to give an account of the distribution of colours to the quarters, but to do this might possibly destroy a special point Zechariah was making where black and white (now endowed with fresh symbolic significance) go in the same direction. The Septuagint translators were keen to preserve the colour symbolism; but because of uncertainties about the Hebrew text, the logically correct repetition of πυρρός was omitted from the second sequence of Zech. 6.6,7 (in Aquila this is followed through logically); the translators however were responsible for introducing the same colour symbolism into Zech. 1 to harmonise with Zech. 6 (but a black horse would not be appropriate because, unlike 6.8, there is no judgement motif and the "earth remains at rest" (1.11); therefore the (almost) identical ποικίλος and ψαρός , combined in 6.3, are separated to denote different coloured horses in 1.8. The author of Revelation borrowed three suitable colours,white, red and black,directly from Zechariah 6 to match the pictures he was drawing. The fourth colour χλωρός is not so much a natural colour for a horse as an attempt to represent the bilious yellow-green of sickness; it may be the author's adaptation of ποικίλος/ψαρός, or just possibly he was thinking back to שְׂרֻקִּים in Zech. 1.8 (if there is a yellow tone in this bright red colour).[72]

With this confusion in the text of Zechariah, and uncertainty about the precise application of these visions, it is difficult to say how much of the remaining context is carried over with the basic imagery into the pictures of Revelation. The functions of horses and chariots as servants of Yahweh are compatible with the view that has been taken of the seal visions as elements in the revelation of God's plan. There may well be some irony in the reapplication of Zechariah's "peaceful patrols" and "messengers of promise" to the subject-matter of the Apocalypse. It seems likely that John has worked up the details of the picture far more deliberately in his symbolism than was the case with this imagery in its original context in the visions of Zechariah.

One feature of the first vision (Zechariah 1.8-15), which is carried over into Revelation, is applied, not to the pictures of the horsemen in the first four seals but to the fifth seal and its vision of the martyr-souls. It is reasonable to conclude that the meaning of Zechariah's vision centres on the lamentation formula "How long?" (1.12) and the direct response from Yahweh, the "gracious and comforting words" of 1.13. "Although outward events do not seem to indicate God's working, he is intervening on behalf of his people and Jerusalem. Some of Zechariah's contemporaries no doubt saw in the upheavals (at the accession of Darius I) a sign of hope that national independence was at hand. Zechariah's answer, in accord with the teaching of earlier prophets, is that judgement and deliverance are the prerogative of God."[73] This theme, with its cry and encouraging response in terms of God's long-term purpose, is directly applicable to the fifth seal in Revelation 6. 9-11.[74]

Zechariah's two visions have provided John with the pattern for the four horses and their riders who appear as the first four seals are opened. The account of each of these four seals is shaped to conform to a basic model; the colour of the horse (the element supplied by the tradition) and the symbol associated with the rider (either the object he carries or the name by which he is known) both suggest the character and purpose of what is happening. The brief description is concluded by a statement which interprets the activity of the rider. In the light of Zechariah's emphasis on the fact that horses and chariots operate in obedience to Yahweh, it is significant not only that all four of Revelation's horsemen appear in response to the action of the Lamb and the word of command of the four living creatures, but also that the activity of the rider is similarly controlled. This is indicated by the use of the impersonal passive ἐδόθη[75] in the first, second and fourth descriptions (6.2, 4, 8), and by the location of the voice which utters the command about the third rider's activity. (6.6)[76] What powers these riders possess are given and restricted by God.

How would John's readers have understood these four characterisations of horses and riders? Is it possible to achieve a consistent interpretation which could be said to reflect the author's intentions? Let us begin with the possibility that the author is offering a prophetic reinterpretation of the contemporary situation and recent events.

It is the third seal which is most obviously linked to the contemporary situation of which the author and his readers had experience in Asia Minor. Clear evidence is cited by Rostovtzeff[77] that Asia Minor was subject from time to time to corn shortages and even famine. While Rome monopolised the corn produce of Egypt for the capital's needs, other cities of the Empire also relied upon imported grain; the cities of Asia Minor "were unable to live on the import from South Russia, as its production continued to decrease and much of the corn grown there was used by the imperial armies of the East." The Roman government could not afford to let the eastern provinces starve, and so measures were taken to encourage the production of corn and limit the culture of vines and olive trees, since wine and olive-oil tended to over-production in the East and the West. From an inscription of Cibyra, dated 73 A.D.[78], it is reasonable to infer that Vespasian endeavoured to encourage corn-production in Asia. A rich benefactor orders that the money he gives the city be invested in "corn-bearing lands". The Emperor and the Senate should be informed, presumably because this benefactor is following an official recommendation.

Because of the continuing seriousness of the situation, an edict was issued by Domitian in 92 A.D.[79] forbidding the planting of more vines in Italy and requiring that at least one half of the vineyards in the provinces be cut down, so that the ground could be used for growing corn. This drastic remedy was bitterly opposed in the vine-growing areas, including Asia Minor, and does not seem to have been enforced rigorously everywhere;[80] an embassy from Asia Minor headed by the orator Scopelianus of Smyrna was able to obtain remission for the vineyards of the province. Domitian's measure is

open to more than one interpretation: S. Reinach believed that it was a rather drastic means of protecting the livelihood of Italy's vine-growers.[81] This may have been an additional motive, but Rostovtzeff's argument[82] that the real reason was to stimulate corn-production at the expense of vines appears to fit the evidence of the situation, even if it shows up the edict as a theoretical solution, rather than one dictated by practical considerations of agriculture.

Rostovtzeff associated the edict with evidence for a serious famine in Asia Minor at this period. "The spectre of famine now hovered continually before the Greek cities: . . . the vivid picture in the Revelation of St. John . . . is proved to refer to a widespread famine in Asia Minor by a Latin inscription of A.D. 93, discovered at Antioch of Pisidia." Under famine conditions the Roman legate L. Antistius Rusticus took emergency action by requisitioning grain to be sold at fixed prices to the σιτῶναι of the city. Rostovtzeff may be over-confident in his assertion that this is evidence of widespread famine; Sir William Ramsay,[83] who was responsible for dating the inscription to 93 A.D., believed that this famine was local to Antioch. But the fact remains that such famines are frequently mentioned in the sources (e.g. famine-riots at Prusa in Bithynia a few years previously[84]) and were therefore a regular feature of the times. Domitian's edict was an unpopular attempt to find a more lasting solution to this recurring problem.

The third seal in Revelation introduces the situation of famine with the symbol of the pair of scales in the rider's hand (cf. Ezekiel's prophecy of famine - 4.9ff).[85] The colour chosen for famine is black - the colour of crops in the field blackened with blight. Farrer is less confident about the choice: "Black must do for famine (we read of blackened faces, where pestilence coincides with a scorching drought)".[86] While the "fair-price" fixed during the famine at Antioch was one denarius per modius - and this was double the price current before the famine[87] - the prices named in this picture of severe famine in Revelation are one denarius per χοῖνιξ (between

$1\frac{1}{2}$ and 2 pints or $\frac{1}{8}^{th}$ of a modius) for wheat, with barley a third of the price. In human terms this means that a day's wage for a labourer (Mt. 20.2) will only buy enough wheat for his average daily consumption.[88] But there is no rationing of wine and olive oil, nor must the abundance of these commodities be restricted. It is this feature which corresponds most closely to the situation of Domitian's edict. Admittedly, there is no record of the decree being applied to olive-growing, but the olive trees and vines are undoubtedly in a comparable situation, requiring so many years to achieve maturity that their destruction could mean lasting ruin. Ramsay pointed out that it was an unwritten law of Eastern warfare that these crops should be spared.[89]

C.C. Torrey recognised the force of the argument which associated Revelation with this situation under Domitian, but he refused to accept the Domitianic dating as proved on the grounds that, "this is just the sort of edict that might be given out by successive rulers. It is anonymous as it stands in Revelation, and Domitian was not necessarily the first to have made such an edict."[90] Certainly the situation, rather than the precise date, is the important aspect of the interpretation of the third seal; even so, there is no evidence for similar edicts, and Vespasian's approach to the problem seems to have been rather different. Could it not be that John, like the other literary sources referring to Domitian's edict, is reflecting contemporary feeling, most of which saw the imperial action as an outrage violating accepted principles? Some of the cities of Asia Minor did have strong vested interests in vine-growing,[91] and John could well be reflecting their concern. It is probably an error to assume, as some commentators do, that oil and wine are merely luxury goods,[92] that there is irony in "a glut of unwanted luxury", or that, as R.H. Charles argued, "our author from his ascetic standpoint had sympathised with Domitian's decree, which according to its own claims was directed against luxury, and was accordingly the more indignant when it was recalled."[93]

Do the other seals comparably reflect issues of current concern or

events of the recent past? Most debate centres on the interpretation of the first rider; there could not be a greater contrast between the identifications proposed. Is he, as Irenaeus thought, the figure of Christ himself, or "a symbol of His victorious power, the embodiment of His advancing kingdom"?[94] Or is he a figure of evil "die spezifisch christusfeindliche Macht, den Antichristus selbst zu sehen"; or "the Parthian king as seen by Roman apprehension"; a Roman general riding in a triumph; or a similar personification of "triumphant militarism."?[95]

The identification with Christ or the victorious course of the gospel is based on several arguments: the parallel with the rider of 19. 11-16 (described as the "symmetry of victory in prospect and victory realised"[96]); a reference to the model of Mk. 13.10 and // ("had not he also said, that the first phase of the church's history would combine wars and tumults, persecutions and natural disasters, with the preaching of the gospel to all nations"[97]); and the significance of the horses in Zechariah's vision which are divine rather than satanic agencies (it is even suggested that the man "among the myrtle trees" (Zech. 1. 8,10,11) who is an "angel of the Lord" represents a theophany of the preincarnate Christ).[98] But each of these arguments is open to major objections. All that the riders of Rev. 6 and 19 have in common is the colour of their horses; this may establish a link between them, but not an identification. Further similarities are illusory, the result of commentators transferring ideas from one context to the other. The reference to Mk. 13.10 at this point, seems to run counter to the sequence of events in the apocalyptic tradition of the Synoptic Gospels which the author normally follows closely.[99] The broad influence of Zechariah's imagery is recognised (but not the interpretation of a theophany); there is no suggestion that these riders are outside the control of God even if their activities do have disastrous consequences for the human race.

In default of these arguments it may be tempting to sympathise with Z.C. Hodges' feeling that the first horseman is described in such a way as to

leave the reader without sure means of identifying him - the author's purpose being to produce a "tantalizing state of suspense". But we cannot agree with the conclusion Hodges draws, that the climax in Rev. 19 will reveal the true identification and that the mysterious interim represents the "secret rapture of the Church".[100]

There is more substance to the arguments for the other line of interpretation, in terms of triumphant warfare and the threat of invasion. The main argument concentrates on the symbolic bow carried by the rider. "Of course one could point to the few Old Testament statements about the bow and arrows of God as very close parallels, but against that is the decisive observation that the Old Testament speaks of God's bow only when God is characterised as the enemy."[101] The bow is not then a suitable symbol for the saving activity of Christ and his Gospel; in this context the appropriate weapon of Christ is the sword.[102] Positively, the bow is the typical equipment for the cavalry of oriental armies. Ramsay argues that it is a distinctively Parthian weapon: "The bow was not a Roman weapon: it was not used in Roman armies except by a few auxiliaries levied among outlying tribes, who carried their national weapon. The Parthian weapon was the bow; the warriors were all horsemen; and they could use the bow as well when they were fleeing as when they were charging. The writers of that period often mention the Parthian terror on the East, and their devastating incursions were so much dreaded at that time that Trajan undertook a Parthian war in 115."[103]

Ramsay employs as a further argument the colour of the horse: "White had been the sacred colour among the old Persians for whom the Parthians stood in later time; and sacred white horses accompanied every Persian army." R.H. Charles, while insisting that the rider primarily symbolises triumphant war, concedes "a secondary reference to the Parthian empire" because of the bow and the white horse; he follows earlier commentators in detecting an allusion to a particular Parthian king, Vologases, who forced a Roman army under Paetus to capitulate in 62 A.D., an event which substantiated the

contemporary Parthian threat and "gave birth to the idea that Rome would be finally overthrown by an Oriental power." [104]

While other allusions to the Parthian menace, expressed in different terms, can be detected in Revelation, it is by no means so certain that this must be the significance of the first rider. The bow was a feared weapon, but, as Yigael Yadin shows, although "cavalry was a relatively late development in the art of warfare" (at the end of the second millennium B.C.), nevertheless the use of troops of mounted archers for long-range combat became widespread in "Biblical lands".[105] It is, then typical equipment, not specifically Parthian; associated with a white horse this might indicate a king or commander,[106] but not limit the nationality. White is a significant colour, but its symbolism is variously applied. Xerxes rode on white Nisaean horses,[107] and his general Mardonius rode a white horse. White is also symbolic of victory; as Virgil "Quattuor hic, primum omen, equos in gramine vidi / Tondentes campum late candore nivali."[108] on which Servius comments, "hoc ad victoriae omen pertinet." According to Dio Cassius, the horses which drew the 'quadriga' in Julius Caesar's triumph were white.[109]

But attempts to apply this imagery of the first horseman to Rome,[110] and particularly to a Roman general celebrating a triumph, have not succeeded. The bow is an alien weapon, and, although the city ("candida urbs") wears white for festivals and triumphs, the general himself does not ride a white horse or even wear white. "The general in a Triumph wore the purple and gold-embroidered robes of Jupiter, and was borne like the god in a four-horse car."[111]

A further difficulty applies to the general exposition of the motif as "triumphant warfare." If we turn to the second horseman, we see that he too brings warfare as he rides a red horse and is given a great sword. Rissi describes this rider as "the invisible spiritual power who, in the end time, incites men to the sacrificial cult of murderous wars."[112] Assuming that the first and second riders both represent warfare in some form,

is it possible to maintain a workable distinction between their respective interpretations? It cannot be adequate to say they "are not clearly distinguished"[113], because the two descriptions offered by the Seer are completely different. But the majority of attempts to draw distinctions (attributing to the figures alternative aspects of warfare, such as invasion and internal strife, international and civil wars; or seeing the first as a picture of war "nach der Seite des Sieges" and of "Imperialismus", while the second is war in its blood-stained confusion; or identifying the first power with Parthia and the second power with Rome[114]) ~~and~~ are guilty of highly subjective interpretations, or of importing elements unsubstantiated by the text.

In the face of these difficulties, Mathias Rissi suggested an identification of the first rider as a figure of Antichrist. "There is in the Old Testament a truly parallel figure" namely Gog;[115] from Ezekiel 39.3 we discover that Gog carries a bow. The fact that the figure of Gog also appears in Revelation 20.8, in a context more reminiscent of Ezekiel's, is no problem to Rissi; such a double reference fits in with his interpretation of recurring themes. Gog and Magog as traditional contenders in the last battle are suitable as a manifestation of Antichrist. Previously Rissi had employed other arguments for his interpretation of the first rider as Antichrist: parallelism with Mk. 13 and //s;[116] the reference to θηρία in Rev. 6.8b, relates to the first horseman and this is comparable with associations of the devil or Satan with the wild beasts;[117] the four horsemen as a group are demonic personifications of destructive forces, and the first rider is their leader. But there seems scant justification for this elevation of the first rider to a special status; the anticipation of Antichrist at this point does not reflect the order of apocalyptic tradition, and we have already seen reasons for believing that this element of the tradition is treated as a climax in the second half of the book; association with wild beasts is a different matter from identification; and Gog's bow is

hardly conclusive evidence, when it is a natural weapon for use in what is usually thought to be his original context."[118]

There remains an interpretation which seems to do justice to all elements in the picture of the first rider and may also prove to be satisfactory in the total context of Revelation. It was Gunkel who, in his 'religionsgeschichtlich' interpretation[119] of the four horsemen as four world gods, transformed into plague spirits, identified the first horseman as originally a sun-god. The white horse corresponds to the white horses of Mithras in the Avesta, where Mithras is the genius of celestial light, who crosses the firmament in his chariot drawn by four white horses. Mithras is often depicted as a mounted deity, particularly as an archer on horseback; at Dura Europos he is shown riding a horse at a gallop and shooting arrows from his bow like a huntsman, and according to one Roman relief he appears to have possessed a bow from birth. The type of representation seems to have varied with the locality, naturally enough in the interests of identifying Mithras with local traditions. So Mithras is a horseman in Eastern representations, particularly those from Syria; similarly the sun-god is represented as a horseman in Asia Minor, indicating a local variant on the traditional theme of the chariot of the sun.[120]

Although Mithras is more frequently shown wearing oriental costume and a Phrygian cap, he does appear with a radiate crown when he is identified with the sun-god.[121] The final aspect of Revelation's picture, the statement that the rider ἐξῆλθεν νικῶν καὶ ἵνα νικήσῃ , also finds a parallel in the description of Mithras; he is called ἀνίκητος or "deus sol invictus". Furthermore, if Rev. 6.8b does refer to all four horsemen, and τὰ θηρία τῆς γῆς relates to the first rider, this too has a Mithraic explanation. The focal point of Mithraism as a mystery religion, and therefore of the Mithraea, was a representation of Mithras killing the bull. The mastering of this wild-animal was the celebrated exploit of the god, commemorated in the gruesome ritual of the tauroctony, which imparted great benefit to the initiate.

It would be appropriate to the author's irony if he equated the "bull-slaying" ritual of Mithras with the murderous plague "by wild beasts" of traditional expectation.

This is a possible - and indeed a very suitable - background to the thought of Revelation, not least because it is widely believed that Asia Minor was a highly significant region for the development of Mithraism, from its Indian and Persian inspiration, into the mystery cult which spread through the Roman world. Mithras was an important god for the Achaemenid kings and for Antiochus I of Commagene; his "mysteries" were known to the Cilician pirates as well as to the Parthians, so that in the first century B.C. it may well have seemed that Mithras was the god who led the opposition to the Romans. The cult had penetrated to the heart of Rome by the end of the first century A.D. Statius in 79 A.D. has seen representations of Mithras, the god who "twists the unruly horns beneath the rocks of a Persian cave." [122] A vitally important stage has been reached for the worship of Mithras. In origin he was a warrior god "whom the heads of the countries worship as they go to the battlefield . . . whom the warriors worship at . . . the manes of their horses."; in the Roman world the cult of Mithras followed the march of the Roman armies to the outposts of the Empire. It is reasonable to suppose that in Asia Minor, much nearer to his home, Mithras the god of soldiers and battle, unconquerable as the sun, was already presenting a serious challenge to the much less belligerent religion of Christianity.

Just as the author of Revelation depicts the situation of famine in terms of the current concern with Domitian's edict, so he draws the first rider with the features of Mithras the warrior-god whose cult was well known in Asia Minor but is now, perhaps, becoming more closely identified with the presence of the Roman army. In this way he can take up the theme of "wars" in the apocalyptic tradition of the Synoptic Gospels and apply to it the highly appropriate symbolic figure of a popular warrior deity.

We have no means of knowing in what way this rival religion or cult of war impinged most directly on John's thinking, but we can conclude that it was a real issue in the contemporary situation. It could be suggested that rivalry had reached sufficient heights to justify the Seer in demonstrating this in the form of a parody (6.2 over against 19.11ff.). At least the idea of a parody does justice to the connection between these passages which, as we have seen,[123] falls far short of any positive relationship. And there is a sense in which this parody may be applied in the same way as the warning against false Christs in the synoptic apocalyptic tradition - a warning against religious "saviour figures" with a superficial similarity to Christ.

The second and fourth seals need not occupy so large a space in our consideration because their features are more readily apparent. The second horse is red, an appropriate colour for bloodshed and slaughter, and this function of the rider is confirmed by his explicit commission λαβεῖν τὴν εἰρήνην ἐκ τῆς γῆς καὶ ἵνα ἀλλήλους σφάξουσιν (6.4) - these are "the complementary sides of warfare."[124] This rider is given μάχαιρα μεγάλη (6.4); it is probably only a variation of expression, and not a significant difference, that ἐδόθη is used of the second horseman's sword, and ἔχων of the first horseman's bow and ἐδόθη of his crown.[125] The μάχαιρα is most probably the bent sword or sabre appropriate for use by a horseman who cuts with slashing strokes from a lofty position, contrasted with the straight sword or ξίφος suited to the thrusting strokes of a foot-soldier.[126]

It is unwise to make too rigid a general distinction between μάχαιρα[127] (which can also mean a short sword or a hunting knife as well as the specialised cavalry sabre, for which the epithet μεγάλη is appropriate) and ῥομφαία (which ought to be a long (broad) sword, or one with two cutting edges)[128] because the statistics of usage will not support this consistently.[129] In the New Testament μάχαιρα occurs 27 times and ῥομφαία seven times; in contrast the Septuagint has more than 230 instances of ῥομφαία and 180 of μάχαιρα (one third of which are in Jeremiah) translating in a total of 410

cases the single Hebrew word חֶרֶב . However in Revelation ῥομφαία has a special sense, being used of the sharp, two-edged sword of judgement proceeding from the mouth of Christ (1.16; 2.12,16; 19.15,21) in five out of six occurrences. In the sixth occurrence (6.8b), ῥομφαία probably corresponds to the μάχαιρα of the second horseman, but this awkward variation is explicable as a quotation from the Septuagint of Ezekiel 14.21, describing four acts of judgement. It is consistent with our author's purpose that the second horseman with his μάχαιρα is seen as one of God's acts of judgement; it therefore functions in the same way as Christ's ῥομφαία .

Matthew 10.34 offers a similar antithesis between εἰρήνη and μάχαιρα to that suggested by Revelation's second-horseman. This saying of Jesus, given in this form only in Matthew, may be in John's mind, but is not necessarily applied to the original context. On the Matthaean version Michaelis commented that it "can hardly refer to military conflict", although it is concerned with preparedness for general enmity, including hostility from those closest to the Christian (cf. the Lucan version - Lk.12.51), and this enmity may lead to the attempt to root out Christianity by violent means. A context of acts of violence is appropriate for μάχαιρα in Mt.26.52 (cf. Rev. 13.10); in Heb.11.34 στόματα μαχαίρης refers to violent death, whether as a result of persecution or warfare;[131] in the historical reinterpretation of the Fall of Jerusalem, Lk.21.24 (πεσοῦνται στόματι μαχαίρης) most obviously refers to death in battle. But it is not certain that any of these contexts correspond exactly to the situation of the second horseman.

The 'Pax Romana' had brought prosperity to western Asia Minor, and seems to have limited fighting west of the Euphrates to the pacification of the Cietae from the mountainous regions of Cilicia. But east of the Euphrates the situation was very different. "Rumours of wars" would be a constant feature of reports from the Eastern frontier, where Roman and allied troops were in action against "the constant inroads of barbarians"[132], whether these were Parthians or raiders such as the Alans and other Caucasian tribes.

Much nearer to the Seven Churches, there occurred in about 89 A.D. an event which demonstrated Domitian's despotic cruelty, when Civica Cerialis, the proconsul of Asia, was put to death by his command. "The ground for this act of violence was alleged participation in a conspiracy to overthrow the Emperor. If, as has been supposed, the procurator Gaius Minicius Italus, who "by command of the Emperor" governed Asia "in place of the deceased proconsul", was made acting-governor on the occasion of Cerialis's death, a step so unusual as the appointment of a personal agent of the emperor to the governorship of a senatorial province suggests that there was indeed a situation which necessitated vigorous action."[133] Events such as these could be represented by the μάχαιρα of the second horseman, and a parallel drawn with the description of the conditions of the period offered in Sib.Or 4.142ff: "Great wealth shall come to Asia, wealth which once Rome, having gained it by rapine, stored in a house of surpassing riches, but anon she will make a twofold restitution to Asia; then there will be a surfeit of strife."

The fourth horse is described as χλωρός , a bilious colour more suitable to vegetation than to a horse,[134] but not inappropriate in the context of sickness and pestilence. The fact that it is not strictly a natural colour for a horse[135] would not have prevented John from using it for its symbolic significance. It is better to understand the medical use of χλωρός[136] as "yellow, bilious-looking", following Liddell and Scott, than to be influenced by prior considerations of Rev. 6.8 into classifying this use with the exclusively poetic usage of χλωρός[137] in contexts such as the pallour of fear and death, and thus rendering it as "pale", with Arndt and Gingrich.[138] We have already noted the reasons for regarding this horse's rider, whose name is θάνατος , as a symbol of pestilence; θάνατος is used in the same sense as in the Septuagint, where in 34 instances it translates דֶּבֶר[139], and as an equivalent of λοιμός in the Lucan version of the synoptic apocalyptic tradition. This specialised use of θάνατος by the author also explains the otherwise tautologous expressions with ἀποκτείνω in 2.23 and 6.8b, as

well as the inclusion of θάνατος in a list of plagues (6.8b, 18.8), without preventing the normal meaning of the Greek word in other contexts. In 6.8 therefore the name of rider and the colour of horse combine to provide a vivid symbol of pestilence.

Pestilence, like famine, was a recurrent problem in Asia Minor. A widespread epidemic of plague is recorded in the reign of Nero, which affected Rome itself in 65 A.D. Because of the greater detail available, it is worth noting the disastrous outbreak of pestilence which followed the victory over the Parthians in 165 A.D. "and which, it was generally believed, was brought back by the troops".[140] This plague, sometimes identified with smallpox,[141] spread westwards to Italy, Rome and Gaul; in western Asia Minor its ravages were described by Aelius Aristides and there is an inscription from Smyrna in praise of the river Meles for deliverance from "pestilence and evil".[142] There is also evidence at the same time for a widespread failure of harvests causing a devastating combination of famine and plague.[143] While this is obviously too late to provide the setting for Revelation, an earlier occurrence, either as recorded in the time of Nero,[144] or an unrecorded outbreak in the time of Domitian, perhaps combined with the known famine, would present a compelling background for John's imagery. The frequent occurrence, and persistence, of major outbreaks that are recorded,[145] makes it reasonable to posit others, perhaps less widespread, that were not recorded in the far from comprehensive historical accounts of the period. The suggested source of the outbreak after 165 A.D., in the troops returning from the Eastern frontier, may have been the origin on other occasions too; the troops would naturally transmit the contagion back through Asia Minor.

It is difficult to escape the conclusion that John, after creating this symbol of pestilence, the most economical of his creations since it consists only in a colour and a name, proceeds to exploit the ambiguity which remains in the word θάνατος . We could deny this, as Charles does,[146]

by excising much of the text as the interpolation of a perverse scribe who has confounded the author's original meaning by using θάνατος in a different sense. The text is difficult, but not deserving of such drastic surgery. In the realities of the ancient world one sense of θάνατος (pestilence) most frequently led to the other sense (death). This transition is smoothed within the author's description by the introduction of Hades "who is the natural companion for the personified Death"[147] (1.18, 20.13f cf. Ps. 49.14, Hos. 13.14, 1 Cor. 15.55 variant). Hades, in accordance with the general line of New Testament thought, receives the souls of the dead for as long as his authority lasts. His is only an interim authority, for he must deliver up the dead at the resurrection; then Death and Hades are finished and "thrown into the lake of fire". (Rev. 20.13-14).

We can accept the view of Johannes Weiss[148] that Hades' function is to gather the victims of the four preceding events, without requiring his reconstruction of the text or interpretation of the new first Rider. This transition to a figure representing death as the 'interim' end, enables the author to recapitulate the immediate consequences of these four aspects of the local situation that are issues of concern. In each case it is a matter of killing - ἀποκτεῖναι ἐν ῥομφαίᾳ καὶ ἐν λιμῷ καὶ ἐν θανάτῳ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν θηρίων τῆς γῆς (6.8b). For this John has utilised a traditional Old Testament motif of four plagues[149], God's "four sore acts of judgement", and he quotes from the version summarised in the words of Ezek. 14.21 (LXX - ῥομφαίαν καὶ λιμὸν καὶ θηρία πονηρὰ καὶ θάνατον) and described in more detail in the preceding verses (12-20).

As we have seen, the traditional ῥομφαία (חרב) corresponds to John's μάχαιρα and the connection is a meaningful one. λιμός fits exactly with the third horseman; and θάνατος (=דבר) is a precise equivalent of the name of the fourth rider. Revelation's ὑπὸ τῶν θηρίων τῆς γῆς admittedly differs from Ezek. 14.21 (LXX θηρία πονηρὰ), but Ezek. 14.15 (LXX ἐὰν καὶ θηρία πονηρὰ ἐπάγω ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν)cf. Ezek. 34.28 (LXX καὶ τὰ θηρία τῆς γῆς οὐκέτι

μὴ φάγωσιν αὐτούς) offers adequate explanation of John's deviation in quotation. The θηρία must presumably relate to the remaining horseman, the first;but, according to Charles, "the concluding phrase . . . has no connection with the context."[150]

However it has been noted already that there is a connection between this reference to wild beasts and the Mithraic 'tauroctony', in the context of the first rider. Whether this "murderous" element is restricted to the central symbol and ritual practice of Mithraism, or it symbolised something less esoteric, compatible with the widespread fatal consequences associated with the other horsemen, is a matter for speculation. Perhaps Mithras the warrior-god symbolised the glories of warfare, and the 'wild beasts' are interpreted figuratively of the practice of war and the military presence. (Ezek. 14.15 could be re-read in this light - "If I cause wild beasts to pass through the land, (as the armies through Asia Minor) and they ravage it, and it be made desolate, so that no man may pass through because of the beasts") But we have moved away from the main theme of Mithras and back towards the criticised combination of the first and second riders as alternative aspects of war. More satisfactorily, then, the 'wild beasts' appear as an exaggeration or confusion of the practices of Mithraism, based on the tauroctony and the use of the titles 'Raven' and 'Lion' for grades of initiates. It can be seen from the early accusations against Christianity, how easily such misinterpretations arise when the practices are secret.

There is a further possibility which would associate this death by wild beasts with the practice of θηριομαχία . To be forced to fight with wild animals in the arena was an established punishment for criminals,[151] which was applied subsequently to Christians,[152] perhaps on the precedent of Nero's action after the Fire of Rome.[153] Paul's statement, in 1 Cor. 15.32,[154] is important evidence for the practice, whether the reference is metaphorical or literal in his experience at Ephesus. Such "a superb spectacle",[155] with 'bestiarii'[156] in the arena as well as 'venatores'[157], was not restricted to

Rome,[158] but could take place wherever there was a suitable amphitheatre, and sufficient money to organise and present such entertainment. There is no evidence for the regular use of this practice as a punishment for Christians as early as the end of the first century A.D., so that a close connection should not be assumed with the subject-matter of the fifth seal. The form of entertainment, however, was well established in Asia since the presentation by Lucullus in Ephesus in 71/70 B.C.[159] Laodicea had a stone-built amphitheatre in A.D. 79. Under Rome's influence such combats became so popular in Asia in subsequent years that there is evidence from inscriptions and monuments of performances in thirty-two cities of the province of Asia alone.

By far the most frequent of animal combats was the bull-fight "including pursuits by men on horseback who grappled the animal's horns",[160] although "African beasts" (leopards or panthers?), bears and lions are also mentioned. Such entertainments would be presented by local benefactors to gain popular favour.[161] Robert suggested a connection with the Imperial cult because of references in inscriptions to the 'archiereis' of the provincial or local cults as donors of the spectacles. Certainly priests could act as 'agonothetai' for local festivals, but Magie argues "that the apparent connection was due to the fact that the priests were ordinarily men of wealth who were able to entertain the public in this lavish manner."[162] Religious associations of this form of entertainment are, therefore, "not proven". If, however, this practice in Asia Minor especially provides the point of reference for John as he applies traditional imagery, derived from less "civilised" circumstances, he may be associating the bull-slaying feat of Mithras with the bull-fight of the amphitheatre. What had been under Nero, and was to become, a Christian "way of death", could also be linked, through the activities of certain priests, with the worship of the Emperor and the worship of Mithras, two ways of salvation which rivalled the "way of Christ".

We have seen four issues of current concern, four aspects of the

immediate situation in Asia Minor, presented by the author under the imagery of the four horsemen, derived from Zechariah, and summed up in terms of God's "four sore acts of judgement" in the tradition represented by Ezekiel 14. These two traditions reinforce the viewpoint that such actions are controlled and limited by God; he originates the activity and is the source of the riders' delegated authority. Their influence is restricted ἐπὶ τὸ τέταρτον τῆς γῆς (Rev. 6.8b); this proportion also indicates the stage which has been reached in the progress of God's plan, compared with τὸ τρίτον affected by the Trumpet sequence, and the total destructive effect of the Bowls, while in the flash-back represented by Rev. 11 the proportion is τὸ δέκατον (11.13). The four horsemen introduce God's interim judgement, comparable with the judgements on Jerusalem of which Ezekiel spoke. But because of the present context, where this tradition of 'judgements' is subordinated to the horsemen tradition, the emphasis falls not on the individual judgements as God's punishment of his rebellious people and of his enemies, but on the concept of judgement as expressing God's authority and jurisdiction in the contemporary situation.

The four horses of different colours from Zechariah's tradition may have represented, in origin, the four winds or four quarters of the heavens. The original choice of colours may go back to more distant mythological or astrological conceptions, and even may have represented, as Gunkel thought, four world gods. But John has applied these colours to a picture that is distinctively his own, representing his world. Although one of the figures is still a god, that is because Mithraism was a factor in John's situation, not because John is a conservationist in his attitude to traditions. This makes it all the more important to note how John has reemphasised one feature of the original prophetic message: in Mithraism, in the violence of events, in famine, and in pestilence, where all seems to be a matter of killing by one means or another, the Christian prophet can see the overriding purpose of God. These various agencies are all under God's strict control,

and he makes use of them as he wills to further his plan; judgement and deliverance both are God's prerogative.

The four horsemen appeared in their true colours only because the Lamb opened the first four seals, the seals which bear witness to the preservation of God's plan. The author thereby encourages his readers to see that these four issues of concern in the local situation, because they match up with the traditional expectation of "signs of the end", must therefore confirm the continuing progress of God's plan.[163] The plan which was first revealed in the crucifixion of Christ is followed through in events and circumstances which, however desperate, must surely testify to the furthering of God's purpose.

What is true of these four seals is equally true of what follows when the fifth seal is opened. It is very clear that here the author "is dealing more directly with the specific situations faced by the Asian congregations".[164] The possibility was noted previously,[165] in a comment by G. B. Caird, that some at least of the references in the Seal visions may be to events of the more distant past, rather than present circumstances and future prophecies. Anything subsequent to the crucifixion could fall within the scope of God's plan as at present understood. But the specific references to events considered so far have clustered in the period in which we suppose Revelation to have been written, with the possible exception of a reference to an outbreak of plague in the reign of Nero. We must investigate whether the vision of the fifth seal might suggest a reference back to the days of Nero.

It has already been noted that Rev. 6.10 with its lamentation formula, "How long?" may in this context provide a further echo from the vision of Zechariah 1.[166] It is interesting to speculate whether this echo by John of the Old Testament cry, coupled with the imagery of sacrifice,[167] is sufficient evidence that the author intends to include the martyrs of the Old Testament in the group ὑποκάτω τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου . We have also seen,

in the comparison with the Synoptic apocalyptic tradition, that the fifth seal would correspond to the section on Christian witness and persecution. But, as Charles points out, there is a difference of application: in the context of Jesus' words "persecutions and martyrdom are foretold; in our text they are in part already accomplished." The presence "under the altar" of "the souls of those who had been slain for the word of God and for the witness they had borne" (6.9) clearly indicates that their martyrdom was in the past when the Seer saw his vision. Charles concludes that "the martyrs are incontestably Christian martyrs . . . the martyrs of the Neronic times", while Caird agrees to the extent that "prominent among these martyrs would be those who had died in the persecution of Nero, but all others are included from Stephen to Antipas."[168]

But the recognition of an historical reference is only part of the lesson of this vision. The cry of the martyrs is answered in terms which leave no doubt that martyrdom is not only past fact but also present and inevitably future experience; in Kiddle's words, "A great martyrdom lies before the Church."[169] The author's own experience is sufficient evidence for a limited persecution, if only of individual Christians, at the time of writing, and the expectation of much more, even if there is no supporting information from Asia Minor, or any certainty about how references to Domitian's action against prominent people, including members of his own family, should be interpreted. In Rev. 1.9 he writes Ἐγὼ Ἰωάννης . . . συγκοινωνὸς ἐν τῇ θλίψει . . . ἐγενόμην ἐν τῇ νήσῳ τῇ καλουμένῃ Πάτμῳ διὰ τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὴν μαρτυρίαν Ἰησοῦ. It is likely that John saw in Domitian's hardening attitude and presumptuous action the threat of much worse to come, and composed this work to meet that threat.

The fifth seal vision, although it makes reference to the martyrdoms of the past, is also concerned to establish that martyrdoms of the same order must be expected in the current situation facing John's readers. Such martyrdoms now and in the future are the continuing evidence for the working

out of God's plan. The way in which this strong element of martyrdom corresponds to God's plan, and the means by which it furthers that plan, are indicated by the author in the terms of a Jewish tradition about the completion of the full number of martyrs.[170] This tradition is found in a comparable, and late, form in the words of 4 Ezra 4.35f: "Did not the souls of the righteous in their chambers ask about these matters saying: "How long are we to remain here? And when will come the harvest of our reward?" And Jeremiel the archangel answered them and said, "When the number of those like yourselves is completed.""

With the opening of the sixth seal the perspectives have altered. No longer is the subject matter concentrated on the special circumstances of the Asia Minor congregations, but a cosmic dimension is opened up for the first time by the description of the great earthquake and the cataclysmic portents in the heavens. The pattern is substantially that of the Synoptic apocalyptic tradition, with the qualification Charles noted, namely that the earthquake has been placed in the context of a cosmic, rather than a local, cataclysm.

The majority of the cities of Asia, specially mentioned by John, had abundant experience of earthquakes. Laodicea had been rebuilding at her own expense after the earthquake of 60 A.D. Sardis may have lost much of her citadel in the earthquake of 17 A.D. There are hints in the sixth letter also which are reminiscent of the slow recovery of Philadelphia, a city which lived under such a constant threat of earthquake that many of her inhabitants preferred to stay in the surrounding countryside. This was a region particularly vulnerable to earthquake tremors, and it is still true of the area today. But the traditional earthquake imagery which John uses, although it requires, for its effect, some experience or understanding of earthquakes on the part of his readers, is not restricted in scope as an allusion to a particular earthquake. Instead it builds upon experience and warns of an even more horrifying prospect, that of a great earthquake which shakes the

world. That this is John's meaning is clear not only from the fact that he has presented as one big earthquake what Mark described as σεισμοὶ κατὰ τόπους (13.8), but also because of the further aspect in 6.14 - πᾶν ὄρος καὶ νῆσος ἐκ τῶν τόπων αὐτῶν ἐκινήθησαν - and the context where sun moon and stars are affected as well.

John's picture of these cosmic phenomena is related to the Synoptic tradition and, like that tradition, is derived ultimately from aspects of the Old Testament pictures of the Day of Yahweh. John has applied to his picture some of the original colours, using, for example, the blood red appearance of the moon from Joel 2.31,[171] the rolling up of the heavens like a scroll from Isaiah 34.4, and from Hosea 10.8 the call to the mountains "Fall upon us!" Is this Day of Yahweh, the day of wrath, and the end of the world, seen as a reality here and now? Are there earthly circumstances in John's time with which these traditional cosmic expectations could be identified? As with the earthquakes, so with the whole cosmic cataclysm it seems likely that any earthly phenomena would be inadequate to support the tremendous weight of this imagery. Charles therefore concludes: "These woes are still in the future. They are not in our author the immediate heralds of the end, as in the Gospels".

With an awareness of the context in Revelation, where this description occurs in chapter six as the sixth element in the first of three plague sequences, so that there is much more to happen before the final judgement, it would be unreasonable to conclude that this is a sign of the immediate end. Even if the temporal obstacle is removed by recourse to some form of the recapitulation theory, there would remain an obstacle of substance in the wealth of material which the Seer employs before he comes to describe the actual day of judgement. Has, then, the function of this material in the Synoptic tradition been forgotten? Equally it is reasonable to say that the presence of this element within the first sequence should mean that the cosmic cataclysm is closely linked with the material of the first five seals, even if the dividing line between the present and the future,

representing the time of writing in an historical/apocalyptic sequence, has been crossed between the fifth and sixth seal. Does this mean that the author is emphasising to his readers how imminent the end is to their present situation?

Luke 23.28-31 uses the quotation from Hosea 10.8 in a context which may assist in showing how the tensions inherent in John's picture of the sixth seal may be held together without contradiction. Hosea's words, first applicable to the historical situation envisaged as leading to the fall of Samaria, subsequently available for use as part of a picture of cosmic disaster, can be reapplied to an apparent prophecy of the Fall of Jerusalem in 70 A.D. In the last context a commentary is provided by the sentence: "If they do this when the wood is green, what will happen when it is dry?" This expresses proverbially the truth of two stages in the inexorable progress towards disaster, whether this is related by Luke to the crucifixion and the fate of Jerusalem, or to the destruction of the city as an historical stage in the eschatological process.

If the passage where John utilises the same tradition derived ultimately from Hosea, can be read in a similar light, two important aspects emerge. Firstly, the present situation as exemplified in the first five seals should have demonstrated to Christian eyes the operation of God's plan. Soon the realisation of this truth will be brought home to the whole world. The situation will be so self-evident that all classes of society will be terror-stricken; they will make frantic attempts to escape from the judgement of God and the wrath of the Lamb.[172] In the words of God through Haggai, "Yet once more I will shake not only the earth, but also the heaven" (2.6), on which the writer to the Hebrews commented that this "indicates the removal of all that can be shaken . . . in order that what cannot be shaken may remain." (12.27). The relationship of seals 1-5 and seal 6 is sequential like the dry wood to the green; the readers are therefore prepared for the next stage in the process of God's plan,and prepared for something on a different scale from what has gone before.

Secondly, we can recognise that God's judgement "when the tree is dry", and the circumstances surrounding that event, are the main burden of the Seer's book. Therefore, the Seer's aim, at this early stage in the seals sequence when God's plan is being outlined, is to show how closely the elements of this plan are linked to the current situation experienced by the Churches. In this way the seals are both realistic (in referring to actual circumstances) and symbolic (in indicating the outcome of these events). This means that the sixth seal vision can have points of contact in those portents, and in particular the earthquakes, of local experience, but also from this stage onwards, once the cosmic dimension has been introduced, the symbolism refers not so much to particular events as to the ultimate consequences which these events prefigure. In a very real sense the sixth seal is a "sign of the end", applied within the limits of the Synoptic tradition, but it is a sign given while the wood is still green, while the Lamb is revealing the extent of God's plan.

That there is a delay, in real if not in symbolic terms, is shown by the restraining of the four winds, recorded in Rev. 7.1. As well as noting the possibility of a further echo from Zechariah at this point (an echo of the chariot vision of Zech 6), we have already indicated that there may be a significant allusion here to the mention of the four winds in the apocalyptic tradition of the Synoptic Gospels.[173] The context of Mk. 13.27 and Mt. 24.31 is that of the gathering of the elect from the four winds at the time of judgement when the Son of man has come in glory. This triumphant coming, with the final vindication of the elect, is deferred until Rev. 19ff; therefore this special activity of the four winds is held in check and ~~and~~ there is a lull as the winds are restrained by God's angels at the four corners of the earth.[174] The same idea of a lull is taken up again, after the Interlude in which the elect are sealed,[175] by the silence in heaven which lasts for half an hour (Rev. 8.1). After this significant pause, which is the first element of the seventh seal, the angels with the trumpets are introduced and the author moves rapidly to an exposition of the seven trumpet plagues.

It is time to relate what has been said about the seals to the suggested "blue-print" drawn up from the apocalyptic tradition of the Synoptic Gospels. What emerges clearly is a further justification for the original comparison of the seals sequence with the Synoptic material; the evidence leads to the conclusion that the seals represent a reapplication of the tradition to the new circumstances of the Church in the years following the Fall of Jerusalem. Each of the first five seals relates to an issue of concern for the churches of Asia Minor. The various forms of suffering which the communities have experienced are associated closely with events and circumstances of the reign of Domitian. By virtue of the image of the sealed book John presents all these elements as part of God's total plan; the revelation of this plan was inaugurated at Christ's crucifixion and proceeds to the point at which the cosmic "signs of the end" are anticipated. It is also clear that the perspective of John's work, intended for the churches of Asia, is controlled by two factors: firstly, the need to prepare his readers to realise what is happening and about to happen, to enable them to "read the signs of the time", so that they are forewarned of the gravity of the situation and of the demands placed upon the churches; and secondly, the need to offer encouragement and reassurance, so that his readers may receive confirmatory evidence of God's continuing activity and controlling power in the events of their days, and be uplifted by sharing in the Seer's visionary experiences which reveal the triumph of heaven and God's measures to preserve his elect.

A comparison between the Seven Seals and the other Plague Sequences, the Trumpets and the Bowls, reveals some important points of parallelism. Several features emphasise the fact that God is the originator of all these 'plagues' and therefore they take place under his ultimate control. The setting for each series of manifestations is clearly established; against the background of activity in heaven, or , more precisely, as a direct result of that activity, the horsemen ride out, the blast of the trumpet

heralds a cosmic event, and the bowls are poured out on the world.

We have seen the significance of the picture of worship in heaven (Rev. 4,5) as establishing the unique qualification of the Lamb to open the seven seals.[176] He inaugurates and reveals the extent of God's plan. There is a similar emphasis on the setting in 8.2-6 which prepares for the sounding of the trumpets. The seven angels "stand before God" and receive their trumpets; they sound them as a sequel to the action of the angel with the golden censer. A comparison of 5.8 with 8.3 shows that "the prayers of the saints" are an element in both situations, even though there is some uncertainty from the imagery whether they are the incense itself, or are added to it. We may speculate that the prayers in Rev. 5 are "in tune with" the song which the elders and the living-creatures sing (5.9-10); in chapter 8 the prayers (ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον τὸ χρυσοῦν) may echo the cries of the souls ὑποκάτω τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου (6.9) that God may "judge and avenge our blood". God acts in response to this cry although the response is not necessarily a direct answer to the prayer: in 6.11 the souls are "given a white robe and told to rest a little longer"; in 8.5 the angel picks up the same censer that had offered the prayers to God and, using it for a different purpose, he gives a symbolic demonstration of God's judgement by throwing the censer full of fire onto the earth. The scale of this gesture shows that it is not the final judgement,but it is a warning of what is to come, a warning reiterated by the blasts from the angel's trumpets.

Just as the worship in heaven and the prayers mingled with the incense in the angel's censer are significant for the first two sequences, so the "portent in heaven" and the Conquerors standing by the sea of glass, singing the "Song of Moses", are important as the setting, described in Rev. 15, for the plagues in chapter 16. In this vision the Conquerors have received the heavenly reward such as was promised in the Seven Letters, and they sing the "Song of Moses" celebrating God's triumph over his enemies, and the song of Christ's triumph - the "song of the Lamb". Then the angels appointed

specifically for this purpose come "out of the temple in heaven" and receive the "seven golden bowls[177] full of the wrath of God" from one of the four living creatures (15.6,7). It is stated explicitly that the outpouring from these bowls will complete the sequences of plagues and will represent the final working-out of the wrath of God upon his enemies (15.1). In this setting, therefore, God's promises are fulfilled and God's judgement is executed: the punishments are administered in accordance with the warnings so oftem given but repeatedly ignored. This vision expresses in symbolic terms the same truth conveyed by the Pauline doctrine of the Righteousness of God; Justification has its counterpart in Wrath (cf. Rom.1.17-18).

Not only are the plague sequences as a whole under the authority of God, so that each sequence embodies his will and purpose, but also the individual features of the plagues are controlled by him. In the seventh plague in each sequence there is an element which reminds the reader that the origin of the sequence is in heaven: after the seventh seal is opened there is silence in heaven; when the seventh trumpet sounds, there are loud voices in heaven worshipping God and declaring his Kingdom to be a present reality; and as the seventh angel pours out his bowl, there is a "great voice" from heaven "out of the temple, from the throne, saying, "It is done!""

We have noted already[178] how the four horsemen in the seals sequence are summoned and controlled; this view was supported by the use of ἐδόθη in 6.2,4 and 8 and by the occurrence of the "voice in the midst of the four living creatures" in 6.6. A comparable restriction or control over the scope of the other plagues, is indicated by the accounts of the fifth trumpet and the fourth bowl. Of the locust/scorpions it is said καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτοῖς ἵνα μὴ ἀποκτείνωσιν αὐτούς, ἀλλ' ἵνα βασανισθήσονται μῆνας πέντε (9.5). Those who received the seal of God on their foreheads (7.3ff) are protected by God, so that they are not exposed to this limited torture of humanity (9.4). Again, in 16.8 it is said of the sun καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτῷ καυματίσαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐν πυρί . Those subjected to the scorching heat

of the sun are those who also ἐβλασφήμησαν τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἔχοντος τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἐπὶ τὰς πληγὰς ταύτας . This last phrase is an explicit attribution of authority, even though it is put into the mouth of God's enemies.

The progressive stepping-up of the severity of these plagues sequences is represented, not so much by the description of fresh horrors, each more ghastly than the last, as by the indications of their range and intensity of application. In the seals sequence, the four horsemen are given ἐξουσία ἐπὶ τὸ τέταρτον τῆς γῆς . Again and again in the trumpet sequence it is emphasised that these plagues affect τὸ τρίτον ; while this restriction is made for the first four and the sixth trumpet, there is a temporal limit of five months set to the torture after the fifth trumpet. The precise significance of this period is uncertain,[179] but the context implies a restriction comparable to the proportion of one third. Finally the effect of the bowls is total, although the punishments inflicted by God's wrath are confined to those areas characterised by hostility to himself.[180] Within those areas there is no suggestion of only partial affliction - as 16.3 testifies, "every living thing died that was in the sea." In addition to these points, account should be taken of the change to a cosmic dimension in the sequences of plagues. This must involve some aggravation of the plagues by increasing their range.

We have seen how the cosmic dimension is introduced in the sixth vision of the seals sequence;[181] it was argued that, although the imagery of the sixth seal has points of contact in, for example, the local experience of earthquakes, nevertheless its main object is to symbolise a great earthquake and portents with cosmic significance, in expectation of the great earthquake of the seventh bowl (16.18). For similar reasons it can be said, anticipating our conclusions for the moment, that the whole sequences of plagues represented by the trumpets and the bowls are envisaged in cosmic rather than purely local terms. It is suggested that the author sets out, in describing the seals sequence, to relate events and factors in the contemporary circumstances and the recent past to God's ultimate plan, with

his control of the present situation and his use of events to reveal his purpose and his judgements. The congregations of Asia Minor can see the "signs of the end" in what is happening to them; the author reinterprets the Synoptic apocalyptic tradition to express this truth.

After the fifth seal, in which the martyr-souls are commanded to wait until the full number of martyrdoms has been completed, the description of the sixth vision links the present closely with the future and anticipates the cosmic dimension which is the outcome of the "signs" within the local situation. Although it is vitally important to the author's argument that this connection of present and future, local and cosmic, should be made, the distance remaining between the current situation and the ultimate judgement and vindication is expressed by the motif of the restraining of the four winds. Thereafter this distance is covered rapidly as the author's work is built up, thoroughly but expeditiously, to its cosmic climax; explanations are given in the form of "flashbacks" to smooth the path of the rapid development. The second and third plague sequences are seen to belong within this process: they indicate that critical stages have been reached in the working-out of God's plan. That their place is within the enlarged cosmic dimension, anticipated by the author, but actually belonging to the immediate future of his expectations, is shown both by the range of subject matter of the sequences and also by particular features comparable with the ideas of the sixth seal.

As a conclusion to the portents of the sixth seal, John sees τέσσαρας ἀγγέλους ἑστῶτας ἐπὶ τὰς τέσσαρας γωνίας τῆς γῆς, κρατοῦντας τοὺς τέσσαρας ἀνέμους τῆς γῆς (7.1). Comparable with this, but clearly not to be identified with it, is the reference at the beginning of the sixth trumpet vision (9.14) with its command: λῦσον τοὺς τέσσαρας ἀγγέλους τοὺς δεδεμένους ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ τῷ μεγάλῳ Εὐφράτῃ . The balance between these two passages serves to indicate that the action has advanced. The sixth seal represented an anticipation, and the restraining of the winds by

the angels showed that this was reserved for the future. The sixth trumpet, like the other trumpets, is cosmic in scope (although using traditional ideas which could convey a locally restricted meaning) and demonic in characterisation; that a later stage has been reached in the author's schematic representation of God's plan is shown by the action of releasing what has been bound (or reserved) for this moment. Significantly, part of this theme of the sixth trumpet vision is resumed in the description of the outpouring of the sixth bowl in the sequence of "last plagues": the area affected by this sixth plague is τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν μέγαν Εὐφράτην, with the result that the water is dried up, ἵνα ἑτοιμασθῇ ἡ ὁδὸς τῶν βασιλέων τῶν ἀπὸ ἀνατολῆς ἡλίου (16.12). Again, the theme of invasion from the East,[182] with its local reference to the natural frontier of the Euphrates, is applied to a cosmic setting, this time the musteringfor Armageddon. The use of the word ἑτοιμάζω could carry with it additional and deliberate eschatological connotations. But in any case the action is seen to have progressed to a further stage at which the Euphrates itself is dried up: God's activity, associated in Old Testament tradition with the Exodus and the Second Exodus, is applied finally to the drawing up of the opposing forces for the ultimate conflict. The sequence of ideas between these three visions, the seal, the trumpet and the bowl, emerges very clearly and presents an emphatic denial of any form of recapitulation theory.

While such parallels and comparisons between the three sequences of plagues are highly significant in exegesis, the contrasts are also important, not least the difference in the source material used by the author between the Seals on the one hand and the Trumpets and Bowls on the other. We have seen that the sequence of Seals is substantially a reinterpretation of the apocalyptic tradition of the Synoptic Gospels. While acknowledging a significant debt to the book of Joel,[183] it can be said that the principal "inspiration" for the material of the other two sequences is the traditional narrative of the Egyptian plagues. There are explicit references to the

first, second, sixth, seventh, eighth and ninth plagues as given in the account in Exodus 7.14-12.36:

1. (Ex. 7.20f) Rev. 8.8f, 8.10f, 16.3, 16.4
2. (Ex. 8.5f) Rev. 16.13f
6. (Ex. 9.8f) Rev. 16.2
7. (Ex. 9.23f) Rev. 8.7, 16.21
8. (Ex. 10.12ff) Rev. 9.3ff.
9. (Ex. 10.21ff) Rev. 8.12, 16.10

When applied specifically to this context of a relationship between the tradition of the Egyptian plagues and the Trumpet and Bowl sequences, the form-critical analysis offered by H. P. Müller in his article 'Die Plagen der Apokalypse'[184] offers further illumination. On the basis of the seven Bowls, Müller isolates five motifs (not all of which occur in each instance):

1. The empowering (angels given the bowls, commanded to pour them out)
2. The exercising of authority (stereotyped expression as when the angel empties the bowl)
3. Consequences - apocalyptic 'creative energy'. Formula using ἐγένετο (cf. clumsy expression in 16.19)
4. Effect on living creatures in each area.
5. The response of men to God.

Müller also finds the majority of these motifs applicable to the first four trumpets (as well as to a few other passages in Revelation) and to the Exodus narrative of the Egyptian plagues (in both E and P accounts).

According to Müller, the connection between the action itself (the exercising of the authority) and the consequences is a magical one; the role of the agent is equivalent to the role of magician. This is Moses' role in the Egyptian plagues, and therefore the contrasts drawn between Moses and the Egyptian magicians are significant. This form then has its 'Sitz im Leben' in popular traditions about the work of magicians; traditions which were secret because of the official Jewish attitude of hostility to

magic, but which gained access to 'canonical' writings because of their association with the heroes of the Exodus tradition. Müller also argues for the influence of such traditions on the Priestly narrative of Creation in which God is apparently depicted in the role of magician.

Acceptance of the usefulness of Müller's formal analysis, with its argument for a connection in form between the Plague sequences and Israel's Egyptian traditions, of course does not entail acceptance of this highly speculative construction about origins which is placed upon it. In view of the consistent literary debt to the tradition of the Egyptian plagues and the further indications of a formal relationship, it is appropriate now to attempt a sketch of the development of the tradition, from Exodus onwards, and to see if there are reasons inherent in the tradition itself to explain the use our author makes of it.

Martin Noth, in his commentary on Exodus,[185] describes the section 7.8-10.29 on the Plagues of Egypt as "a formal entity" which "is built up in a most symmetrical way and represents an independent whole even in content". The present narrative is directed towards the account of Passover night which forms the logical climax (11.1-13.16). But "the account of the Passover night occupies a primary place in the tradition in comparison with the plague narrative." The Passover account is differently constructed, and the plagues narrative is independently "rounded off" (at 10.28f; 11.9f). A literary analysis of the plagues narrative reveals two original strata which Noth assigns to J and P;[186] but behind this, within the period of oral tradition certain discrepancies are recognised within the narratives. Noth wonders "whether from the beginning the narrative had suffered such discrepancies, without paying any special attention to them, in the interest of a large number of signs and wonders, or whether the discrepancies first arose along with a gradual development of the plague theme." Despite its present symmetrical structure, "it is . . . evident that even the set of plague stories is not a well considered literary product but is derived from living oral tradition."

The Passover tradition embodies the conviction that Israel is freed from Egypt by the miraculous intervention of its God. "The reason for this event being preceded by plagues which were shown before Pharaoh . . . is that Yahweh wished to 'multiply' his 'signs and wonders' in Egypt. This ~~is~~ is said expressly in 7.3 and is repeated once again in 11.9 in the retrospect over the plague narrative. Whenever in the Old Testament summary references to the mighty deeds of God at the beginning of the history of Israel speak in an apparently stereotyped phrase of the 'signs and wonders' at the Exodus from Egypt it is the plagues that they primarily have in mind."[187] Noth emphasises the point that "from the beginning the divine demands and wonders stand opposed by the unwillingness of Pharaoh which is also caused by God.[188] Pharaoh is thus as much a tool of the divine action on the one side . . . as is Moses on the other; all this happens so that many wonderful signs may take place in Egypt". In the living oral tradition of God's mighty acts towards his people "it is intended to lay special stress on the fact that it was the wonderful power of Yahweh alone which was at work in the Exodus from Egypt without Israel having to, or even being able to, do anything of itself."

Such a schematic enumeration of plagues occurs in a variety of contexts within the Old Testament. We have seen something of its function within the framework of the historical narrative; a similar emphasis is found in other places where the tradition focusses on Israel's Exodus experience. In two Psalms, in particular, the Egyptian plagues are recounted as illustrations of Yahweh's power, when the Psalmist recalls God's guidance of his people through history (Ps. 78.43 - "he wrought his signs in Egypt, and his miracles in the fields of Zoan", cf. verse 42 "his power . . . the day when he redeemed them from the foe"; Ps. 105.27 - Moses and Aaron "wrought his signs among them, and miracles in the land of Ham").[189]

A similar schematic presentation occurs in another context, with a rather different emphasis, in some of the prophetic writings. As Martin Noth describes it, "prophets, looking back on the history of Israel, have

from time to time spoken of a series of divinely sent plagues calculated to bring Israel back into obedience, yet not taken by them as an occasion for repentance."[190] Amos 4.6ff offers a good example, including in the list of plagues "a pestilence after the manner of Egypt"(4.10), with the refrain after each group of plagues: "yet you did not return to me, says the Lord." A parallel formulation is found in the oracles of First Isaiah about the anger of Yahweh, using the refrain - "for all this his anger is not turned away, and his hand is stretched out still". (5.25f; 9.8ff). A passage with special significance for Revelation's fifth trumpet vision is the account of the locust plague in Joel, which may be related by subject matter to the eighth Egyptian plague, even though it does not form part of a comparable schematic presentation. The vital meaning of this plague for the prophet Joel lay in its accompanying call of the people to repentance: "Rend your hearts and not your garments. Return to the Lord your God." (2.12f). Such a purpose for a plague or sequence of plagues contrasts with the intention of the narrative of Egyptian plagues, where the fact that Israel is also present in Egypt, and therefore exposed to the plagues, is a difficulty with which J only occasionally deals (Ex. 8.22f; 9.4,26).

There is another important context in which such lists of plagues are found, where the emphasis is placed on the plague as a threatened punishment for the future. An example is to be found at the end of the Holiness Code in Leviticus 26 where the rewards for obedience are balanced by punishments for disobedience, expressed in the form of a schematic enumeration of plagues (cf. Ezekiel 5.7-17). We should also notice the refrain in Leviticus 26 (at verses 18,21,23-4,27-8) - "If you will not hearken to me/if you walk contrary to me, I will chastise you/I myself will smite you <u>sevenfold</u> for your sins." Noth comments, "the number seven simply expresses the extensiveness and completeness of the divine chastisement", but he also suggests that it may go back "to a traditional 'seven-plague-scheme' in the framework of a 'plague series' that has been handed down."[191]

A comparable emphasis on the plague as punishment is to be found in Philo's exegesis of the Egyptian plagues: "The punishments inflicted on the land were ten - a perfect number for the chastisement of those who brought sin to perfection. The chastisement was different from the usual kind, for the elements of the universe - earth, fire, air, water - carried out the assault. God's judgement was that the materials which had served to produce the world should serve also to destroy the land of the impious; and to show the mightiness of the sovereignty which he holds . . . He distributed the punishments in this wise: three belonging to the denser elements, earth and water, which have gone to make our bodily qualities what they are, he committed to the brother of Moses; another set of three, belonging to air and fire, the two most productive of life, he gave to Moses alone; one, the seventh, he committed to both in common; and the other three, which go to complete the ten, he reserved to himself."[192]

The juxtaposition of Leviticus 26 (the sevenfold chastisement) and Philo's exegesis of the Egyptian plagues (ten as the perfect number for the chastisement) raises the question of number symbolism in this context. The present form of the tradition in Exodus contains a total of ten plagues, including the death of the firstborn within the account of Passover night. These are the ten which Philo interprets, although he presents them in a somewhat different order. The Exodus narrative is, however, composed from two original sequences which Noth attributes to J and P: two plagues are only found in the P tradition (8.16-19; 9.8-12), while J has accounts of seven plagues (or eight, including the "first-born" in the Passover tradition). Noth is probably right in suggesting that the main point in the tradition is that these "signs and wonders" were numerous, and not that they were of a certain significant number; but the fact that a total of seven can be achieved may be important for subsequent developments.

In the two Psalms where a list of the Egyptian plagues is recorded, it is likely that the original intention of the Psalmist was to present a

sequence of seven plagues, whether this was due to a limited knowledge of the Exodus tradition (perhaps in the form labelled J), or to a desire for a significant number. Psalm 105.26-36 preserves a list of seven, for the "flies" and "gnats" of verse 31 are to be regarded as a single plague described in two ways, because of the structure of parallelism in Hebrew poetry. In the other sequence (Psalm 78.44-51) it is probable that the text of verse 48 was altered by a scribal error at an early period. Most witnesses to the Hebrew text, supported by most versions, do make verse 48 a continuation of the plague of verse 47. Briggs,[193] however, regards this as improbable and draws attention to the forced interpretation which results; he prefers to read וַיִּבֶּר , following two manuscripts and the version of Symmachus, instead of בָּרָד, and offers the translation "And gave over to pestilence their cattle, and their herds to the flame of fever", thus referring to the cattle plague of Ex. 9.3f(J). This would restore the total of plagues in Psalm 78 to seven. It is suggested that the number has importance, even when the constituents and their order vary.

Apart from Leviticus 26 there are other instances within Jewish tradition of a sevenfold punishment for sin, a sevenfold vengeance by God. Ecclesiasticus 40.8-10 speaks, in the context of the hardships of human life, of sinners as receiving "seven times more" of "calamities" which "were created for the wicked."[194] (μετὰ πάσης σαρκὸς ἀπὸ ἀνθρώπου ἕως κτήνους, καὶ ἐπὶ ἁμαρτωλῶν ἑπταπλάσια πρὸς ταῦτα) 40.9 lists the "calamities" (ἐπαγωγαί) and editors punctuate this verse to confirm that the Greek contains seven specific items covered by the generic term ἐπαγωγαί -

θάνατος καὶ αἷμα καὶ ἔρις καὶ ῥομφαία,
ἐπαγωγαί, λιμὸς καὶ σύντριμμα καὶ μάστιξ.

The Testament of Benjamin 7.2f refers to "the sword" as "the mother of seven evils" associated with Beliar and his malice.[195] 7.3 concludes "Therefore was Cain also delivered over to seven vengeances by God, for in every hundred years the Lord brought one plague upon him." It is clear that the sevenfold

vengeance of God which was a threat to the slayer of Cain, according to Genesis 4.15,24, has been transferred to Cain himself. Much later, in Pirke Aboth 5.11, following a reference to the "ten miracles . . . wrought for our ancestors in Egypt", there is a list of "seven kinds of calamity" which "come upon the world for seven classes of transgression" (Famine as a result of drought, famine as a result of tumult, all-consuming famine, pestilence, sword, evil beasts, and exile).

It seems reasonable to see here a process of development from the formative traditions of the Exodus and in particular from Yahweh's "signs and wonders" in Egypt. Once applicable to the historical situation of the Exodus, the tradition is celebrated by the Psalmist, reapplied by the prophet as he exhorts the nation to repent, and systematically formulated as a programme of curses, representing God's punishment for sin. The numbers seven and ten are both associated with the Egyptian plagues, but it is the former which becomes significant in subsequent applications, particularly in Yahweh's "sevenfold vengeance". The development of this tradition has made it eminently suitable for the use to which John applies it. Two separate emphases can be conveyed: - the prophetic note of warning and the reiteration of the need to repent; and, in the legal context, the systematic justice of the punishment administered by God. The significance of the number seven in this context is appropriate for John's requirements of number symbolism; this may be influential in determining the form of all three plague sequences. And there is a further emphasis in the Egyptian plagues tradition, exemplified in the interpretation offered by Philo, which seems to have appealed to John. He applies the first four plagues of the trumpets and the bowls sequences systematically to four elements of the created order - earth, sea, fresh water, heavenly bodies.[196]

In conclusion, it is necessary to draw together the main features of Revelation's sequences of Trumpets and Bowls and to show what special contributions they make to the development of the Egyptian plague tradition. A

fundamental question concerns the time references of these two sequences. One of the difficulties in the interpretation of apocalyptic imagery is to determine at what point the action, depicted in symbolic terms, ceases to be a representation of past and present and becomes a projection into the future. It is by comparison of the subject matter with the known course of historical events that scholars interpreting the book of Daniel have located this dividing line of the time of writing between 11.39 and 40 in that book's sustained description of the last vision. The narrative of the Book of Revelation is not so obviously continuous, and so the location of this line causes greater difficulty. But attention has already been drawn to the sixth seal as an important indicator of events of the imminent future, "signs of the end" which will lead to the ultimate climax after a short delay.

According to this argument, the line between present and future is prepared for by the fifth seal, with its view of past and future martyrdoms, and is actually drawn between the fifth and sixth seal. The natural corollary to this is the interpretation of the trumpet and bowl sequences as future expectation, viewed either literally or symbolically. The fact that the Egyptian plagues tradition has been reinterpreted within the Old Testament in terms of events subsequent to the Exodus, and, moreover, in terms of future punishments, would facilitate this. Such a conclusion in the exegesis of Revelation is supported for several reasons; namely, the interpretation of all the elements of the sixth seal within their context as an anticipation of the cosmic dimension, and the parallels drawn between the sixth seal and corresponding features in the other two sequences which support this idea of temporal development; the continuity between the seal and trumpet sequences which suggests some kind of temporal succession; and the nature and range of the subject matter of trumpet and bowl sequences which seems to fit most happily within the cosmic dimension, anticipated by the sixth seal.

It has already been remarked[197] that most natural disasters, and phenomena likely to be viewed as portents, pale into insignificance when compared with

the Seer's descriptions of the sixth seal, the trumpets and the bowls. Local experience as well as folk memory may contribute to the description, but the narrative is heightened intentionally and given a cosmic dimension appropriate for this order of future expectation. This is true of the fifth trumpet vision where the 'natural' element of the locust plague is only one of several basic ingredients set within the supernatural context of a fallen star, smoke rising from the abyss, and the identification of Abaddon/Apollyon as king over this locust/scorpion cavalry. Not even the suggestions of commentators, such as Theodoret's "If one carefully considers the head of the locust, he will find it exceedingly like that of a horse",[198] can preserve a naturalistic context for these locusts, who are to attack mankind and not their natural targets of grass, any green growth and trees (9.4).

A similar point can be made, and more of the author's method and intention can be observed, on the basis of the sixth trumpet and sixth bowl, also referred to earlier.[199] The theme of invasion from the East, from beyond the Euphrates, appears to have been a regular expectation within this part of the Roman Empire. This much is a realistic element from the historical situation, utilized in the Seer's imagery. But the picture he paints goes beyond the bounds of even the most symbolic representation of Parthian invasion. The hosts are mustering for Armageddon. At this point the author's conviction about, or artistic use of the theme of, Nero's return with support from the East, destructive of the power of Rome,[200] merges with the concept of the final battle between good and evil, between God and his enemies, developed within the Old Testament tradition.[201] While John combines these traditions for spectacular effect, juxtaposing the theme of invasion from the north, out of Israel's tradition, with the current feelings about invasion from the east, appropriate to the Asia Minor situation, his method is applied carefully, so that the dominant element is distinguished either by the force of the imagery or by the context in which it is placed. Otherwise the difficulties would be insuperable in trying to distinguish an

historical element presented in mythological terms from a mythological element presented in historical terms.

A final question concerns the destination of these two sequences of plagues and their function and purpose within God's plan. The trumpet plagues appear to be destined to affect mankind in general,[202] although it is explicitly stated of the fifth trumpet that its process of five month's torture will not affect those whom God has sealed on the forehead (9.4). In contrast the plagues from the bowls have very precise destinations;[203] they are poured out so as to affect all who are God's enemies or in any way involved with the Beast. So the first plague affects the beast's worshippers and all who bear its mark (16.2 cf. 13.12-17); the second the sea which is traditionally personified as the power of chaos and opposition to God's creative order, and in Revelation is the place of origin of the beast (16.3 cf. 13.1); thirdly those who "have shed the blood of saints and prophets" are given "blood to drink" (16.6 cf. 17.6); fourthly those who are scorched by the sun are those who "blasphemed the name of God" and such blasphemy is characteristic of the beast (16.9 cf. 13.6); the fifth bowl is poured on the throne of the beast itself (16.10); the sixth prepares the way for the "kings from the east", who are associated with the beast and identified with his ten horns, to march to defeat at Armageddon (16.12,16 cf. 17.12-14); the seventh affects Babylon, the great city, which is "split into three parts" (16.19).

The trumpet plagues which are to be the general experience of mankind are interpreted most satisfactorily in the same context as the prophetic use of the plagues tradition, with its emphasis on a call to repentance. The associations of the trumpet itself,[204] as G. B. Caird has summarised them, support this line of interpretation. The precise background may be the synagogue ritual of Tishri 1 ("a remembrance day of trumpet blowing" Lev. 23. 24) with the recital of the scriptural verses Malkiyyoth, Zikronoth and Shopharoth. "Whether the anthologies of verses preserved in the Rabbinic

writings go back to the first century, we have no means of knowing, but the practice is certainly an old one. John must have been accustomed to hearing, along with the synagogue or temple trumpets, verses which spoke of the kingship of God, of God's remembering his people, and of the blowing of trumpets." Within this sequence of trumpet plagues John tells his readers clearly that the trumpets are "a proclamation of the divine sovereignty, and a summons to general repentance."[205] But the outcome of this prophetic call to return to God also has similarities with the experience of many Old Testament prophets. "The rest of mankind, who were not killed by these plagues, did not repent." (9.20). The plagues are a warning to mankind, a warning which is unheeded; but for those who have been sealed by God this sequence offers reassurance in the proclamation of God's sovereignty, and also, in the Interlude (10.1-11.13) a further insight, retrospectively, into God's plan. Because the warning is unheeded the pace of events moves rapidly on to the appearance of Antichrist.

The bowls "of the wrath of God" poured out by the angels against all who are involved with the beast, are best understood in the light of the "sevenfold chastisement" that is evolved within Jewish legal theology as a scheme of punishment for disobedience to God. These plagues "are the last, for with them the wrath of God is ended" (15.1). Warnings have been given to those who worship the beast and have persecuted the saints and the prophets: the main warning and challenge to repentance was in the sequence of trumpet plagues; subsequently there was the announcement of the eternal gospel (14.7) proclaiming the hour of God's judgement. Now the punishments are administered comprehensively within the areas of opposition; man is involved right at the outset of this final sequence of plagues on the Egyptian model; as Swete says, these plagues "are not tentative chastisements, but punitive and final."[206]

These two sequences of Egyptian plagues have presented, in turn, the two emphases which we examined in the development of the plagues tradition - the call to repentance and the systematic punishment. It seems that this

presentation is consistent and deliberate; it can only convey the impression of the process of God's judgement moving towards its climax. If these two sequences are taken in association with the earlier sequence of seals, which combined warning and exhortation in the context of the revelation of God's plan, seen to be operating through the contemporary situation, then what emerges is no system of recapitulation, but a consecutive account of the history of salvation and judgement.

It is then reasonable to conclude that the Apocalyptic tradition of the Synoptic Gospels is influential for our author's presentation, not only because it provided the model for the Seals sequence in the way that the Egyptian plagues tradition provided the model for the Trumpets and the Bowls, but also because its programme for the three traditional stages of apocalyptic expectation is followed through in the three plague sequences of the Apocalypse. The θλῖψις of contemporary events and circumstances is represented in the Seals sequence, with the sixth seal fulfilling a similar function to Mk. 13.8 in looking ahead to the next stage. The ὠδῖνες are the cosmic woes, the supernatural portents comparable to the material of the trumpets, heralding the end. Revelation introduces at this stage the strong emphasis on a call for repentance. This feature, which is a product of the Seer's prophetic approach to the circumstances of his own time, also influences the order of events in the last stage. The τέλος is presented in the first instance as a judgement with systematic punishment, and then as a triumphant vindication.

Notes on Chapter 4

1. I. pp. 155ff.

2. D.S. Russell 'The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic' 1964, pp. 92ff, 272ff. Quotation from p. 95.

3. Cf. L. Černý 'The Day of Yahweh and some relevant problems' 1948, pp. 53ff; H. Wheeler Robinson 'Inspiration and Revelation in the Old Testament' 1946, pp. 135ff.

4. G. von Rad 'Old Testament Theology' 1965, II.119ff.

5. J.A. McCulloch 'Eschatology' ERE 5 (1912), p. 378.

6. S. Mowinckel 'He That Cometh', 1959, pp. 132f, 145f. His 'Jahves Dag' Norsk Teologisk Tidschrift (1958), pp. 1-56 is inaccessible to me.

7. So Mowinckel traces back all elements in the future hope, particularly as expressed by Deutero-Isaiah, to concepts of the enthronement festival. cf 'Psalmenstudien' Oslo 1921-4 II.228-314. Main features listed in 'He That Cometh' pp. 146f.

8. Pss. 46, 47, 76..

9. Joel 4; Zech. 12; 14.

10. Is. 66.23f.

11. Von Rad, op. cit., II.124.

12. e.g. Is. 13; Joel 3.3f; 4.15; Amos 8.9; Mic. 1.2-4; Nahum 1.2-10; Habb. 3.3ff; Zech 14.

13. See pages 116-9.

14. J. Gray 'Archaeology and the Old Testament World', 1962, p. 19.

15. Cf. Mowinckel 'He That Cometh' p. 269 note 1: "nature mythology of the divine epiphany".

16. Cf. Str.B. 4.977ff.

17. Mowinckel 'He That Cometh', p. 295.
Cf. 1 En. 99.4ff; Jub. 23.22ff; 2 Esdr. 4.51 - 5.13; 6.18ff; 8.63 - 9.6; 2 Bar. 25-29; 48.30-37; 70.1ff; B. Sanhedrin 96b.37; 97a.5, 16, 36, 39; 98a.4, 12, 21, 36; 98b.2; Str.B. 4. 981ff.

18. E.g. Dan. 12.1; 1 En. 80.2-7; 99.4, 5, 8; 100.1ff; Jub. 23.13-25; Sib. Or. 3. 538f, 633ff, 796ff; 5.512ff; Ass. Mos. 8.1; 10.5; Apoc. Abrah. 29f; 2 Bar 25-27; 32.1; 48.32ff; 70.2ff; 2 Esdr. 5.1-12; 50-55; 6.21-24.

19. 2 Esdr. 5.4-8, 50-5; 6.16, 21f., 24; 9.3; 2 Bar. 27; 32.1; 70.8; 1 En 8.2; 80.2ff; 99.5; 100.11; Jub. 23.18, 25; Sib. Or. 2.154f, 164f; 3.538ff, 633, 796-806f; Jos. B.J. 6.5.3; Apoc. Abr. 29f; Ass. Mos. 10.5; 2 Macc. 5.2-3.

20. 1 En. 99.4,8; 100.1-2; 110.2; 2 Esdr. 5.1-5, 9; 6.24; 9.3; 2 Bar 25.3; 27.4; 48.32f, 35, 37; 70.2ff; Jub. 23.16ff; Sib. Or. 3.633ff; 1 QM.

21. 1 En. 56.7; 90.16-19; 94ff; Sib. Or. 3.663ff, 670ff; Apoc. Elijah 7.1ff; T. Asher 7; T.Dan 5; T.Jos. 19; Ass. Mos. 10; B. Sanhedrin 95b; 2 Esdr. 13. Son of Man: Dan 7.13; 1 En. 38.2f; 51.3; 55.4; 61.8; 69.27ff; 2 Esdr. 13.1-3; Sib. Or. 5.414f.

22. Timothy Colani 'Jésus Christ et les croyances messianiques de son temps' 1864, p. 204. This is not to suggest that we must necessarily accept his actual theory that the majority of Mk. 13 had an independent origin as a small apocalyptic document; cf. the discussion in G.R. Beasley-Murray 'Jesus and the Future' 1954 and 'A Commentary on Mark 13' 1957, pp. 1,4-6.

23. Beasley-Murray 'Jesus', p. 11. H.J. Holtzmann 'Die synoptischen Evangelien, ihr Ursprung und geschichtlicher Charakter' 1863. Attempts such as that of Carl Weizsäcker in 'The Apostolic Age of the Christian Church' (1886-Eng 1895), to compare the triple division of Mk. 13 with the three woes of Rev. 8.13; 9.12; 11.14 are not really successful, because there is no detailed correspondence of subject matter (cf. Beasley-Murray 'Jesus' p. 35). Any analogy between these woes and the ὠδῖνες (the travail pains of the Messianic age) also fails on linguistic grounds: the word for 'woe' is οὐαί , used as an interjection in 8.13 and as a noun in 9.12 and 11.14. Blass (§58) explains this usage of οὐαί , with feminine article as a noun, as equivalent to ἡ θλῖψις . It is unlikely that these three woes are personified in Revelation, as suggested by Swete's reference (p. 120) to the "Erinnues of the Apocalypse". Probably John is using them as a literary device to heighten the tension, and signpost the way for the reader through the otherwise confusing sequence of trumpets with interlude. It is still possible that the scheme of three woes does derive originally from a threefold division of subject-matter inherent in apocalyptic expectation; but if so it preserves no trace of the distinctiveness of the three categories.

24. see Beasley-Murray 'Jesus', p. 11, cf. Meyer.

25. The same point is made in a different way by Luke 21: πρὸ δὲ τούτων in verse 12 indicates that the details of the θλῖψις, described in the following verses, belong to an earlier stage before the σεισμοὶ μεγάλοι and the φόβητρα καὶ ἀπ'οὐρανοῦ σημεῖα μεγάλα referred to in verse 11.

26. See pages 13-17.

27. Feuillet, L'Apocalypse, p. 46.

28. Feuillet, L'Apocalypse, p. 48, and the working-out of this exegesis in detail with reference to Rev. 11 in NTS 4 (1958) pp. 183-200. Cf. M. Rissi 'Zeit und Geschichte' 1952, pp. 123-33.

29. H.B. Swete, Commentary, p. 133.

30. Feuillet, L'Apocalypse, p. 49. This is not necessarily the last word. Feuillet follows Loisy, Gry and others in seeing a reference to the prophecy of Rom. 11.25-6 reflected in Rev. 11.13b. After the influx of Gentiles into the Church, the Jews themselves will be converted as

the last act in the divine plan of salvation. Then the seventh trumpet (the last trumpet of 1 Cor. 15.52) sounds to announce the end of the world (Rev. 11.15). Far from achieving the expected chronological sequence through all three sets of plagues, Feuillet has reached the end of the world, at any rate as regards his first section (Jewish-Christian relations before and after the Fall of Jerusalem); of necessity we must go back in time in the second section to recognise there an account of Christian-pagan relations under the Emperors, starting from Augustus. But this time-scheme is not very well marked in the text. It is by no means clear that 11.13b must refer to the final and highly significant conversion of the Chosen People. And what is the relationship between this response to the destruction of one-tenth, and 9.20 where, at an earlier stage in the same sequence, it is said after the destruction of one-third οὐδὲ μετενόησαν ἐκ τῶν ἔργων τῶν χειρῶν αὐτῶν ? Finally, Feuillet's argument depends on a symbolic interpretation of the two witnesses in Rev. 11 as the Law and the Prophets "qui par la bouche des disciples du Christ rendent témoignage à Jésus et montrent à l'adresse des Juifs que le christianisme est l'aboutissement de l'ancienne alliance". It seems that, in order to secure his interpretation, Feuillet has made a rather arbitrary and confusing selection of elements.

31. Cf pages 100f.

32. Feuillet, L'Apocalypse, p. 50.

33. Feuillet, L'Apocalypse, pp. 51-2.

34. Charles, Commentary I.158ff.

35. Rev. 6.8 ὄνομα αὐτῷ [ὁ] θάνατος, καὶ ὁ ᾅδης ἠκολούθει μετ'αὐτοῦ . θάνατος can be used in the sense of pestilence; in LXX it is frequent as a translation for דֶּבֶר . The word in the Lucan "parallel" is λοιμός , a word not found in LXX except in confusion for λιμός . The Aramaic מותא is ambiguous, meaning either "death" or "pestilence". If, as Charles argues, there is close correspondence between Rev. 6 and the "Little Apocalypse", especially an Aramaic original or the Lucan version, it is reasonable to conclude that θάνατος is used in the sense of Luke's λοιμός , which is in any event an acceptable meaning of the word in a Biblical context.

36. The fact of persecution is a natural inference from its consequences in the presence of martyrs "under the altar".

37. A contrary view was held by Gustav Volkmar who believed that Revelation was written on behalf of the Petrine party in primitive Christianity c.68 A.D., and that Mk's gospel was a defence of Paul written shortly afterwards, with its eschatological discourse a sustained polemic against the author of Revelation. "The whole discourse cries out, Have care!

i) vv. 5-9 Have care above all for bold and ensnaring proclamations of the future by alleged emissaries of Jesus Messiah like the author of the Book of Revelation! cf. Rev. 1.1-3, 9-19.

ii) Have a care for yourselves in respect of your commission to preach the Gospel to all, though you suffer for it!

iii) vv. 14-23, 24-27 Have special care, you Christians of Judaea, lest in the last distress anyone makes you trust in Jerusalem, as Rev. 14.1ff suggests, and thereby leads you to expect a parousia on earth.

iv) vv. 28-32 Learn finally to judge the time of the end rather from what God tells you in creation (28f), than from apocalypses that give boasting calculations in the name of Jesus Christ and his angel!"

Beasley-Murray ('Jesus' p. 42) citing this example comments: "Constructions of this kind are ingenious and intriguing, but we can scarcely be asked to take them seriously."

38. 'An Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament' 1911, p. 209. The scholarly reconstruction of the "Little Apocalypse" goes back to Weizsäcker who, in 'Untersuchungen über die evangelische Geschichte' (1864), analysed Mk. 13 into an actual apocalypse (13.7f, 14ff, 24ff) of Jewish or Jewish Christian origin, and additional sayings (13.6, 9-13, 21-23, 33-37). Pfleiderer (1868) sharpened this analysis, taking Holtzmann's original threefold division (Mk. 13.5-13; 14-23; 24ff) and arguing that each of these three sections contained an element of the original apocalypse (13.7-8, 14-20, 24-27) and other sayings which formed an heterogeneous group, inserted "to retard the swift course of the apocalyptic process described." Subsequently Weiffenbach (1873) and H. Wendt (1886) were to regard the 'unapocalyptic' sections of Mk. 13 not as heterogeneous but rather as a single authentic discourse of Jesus himself, combined with the "Little Apocalypse" by the Evangelist. For a more detailed account of the persistence of this basic scheme, through many variations, cf. Beasley-Murray 'Jesus'.

39. 'A Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life' 1899, revised 1913.

40. Although these are the verses he sets out on pp. 382-3 of the Lectures, and lists on p. 159 of the Commentary on Revelation, he also defines the original document as verses 7-8, 14, 17-20, 24-27, 30-31 (in Lectures p. 381).

41. Lectures, p. 381.

42. Charles, Commentary I.160.

43. Charles, Commentary I.159.

44. Beasley-Murray 'Jesus', pp. 61f, 240.

45. Cf. C.H. Dodd 'The Fall of Jerusalem and the Abomination of Desolation' JRS 37 (1947) pp. 47-54, reprinted in 'More New Testament Studies' Manchester 1968, pp. 69-83; P. Winter 'The Treatment of his Sources by the Third Evangelist in Luke XXI-XXIV' St. Th. 8 (1955) pp. 138ff; L. Gaston 'Sondergut und Markusstaff in Lk. 21' Th.Z. 16 (1960) pp. 161ff; T. Schramm 'Der Markus-Staff bei Lukas: eine literarkritische und redaktionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung' Cambridge 1971.

46. Charles, Commentary I.159, 181, 182.

47. Charles, Commentary I.158 note 1.

48. Order λιμοὶ καὶ λοιμοὶ ℵ℟ADLW Θ pl.
λοιμοὶ καὶ λιμοὶ B.157, 1241, lat, sy^{s}, ^{c}, Mcion

49. See page 157.

50. Beasley-Murray 'Jesus', p. 216.

51. R.H. Lightfoot 'History and Interpretation in the Gospels' London 1935, pp. 94, 104.

52. C.K. Barrett 'Jesus and the Gospel Tradition' 1967, p. 52.

53. K. Stendahl in 'Peake's Commentary' 1962, p. 794.

54. H. Conzelmann 'The Theology of St. Luke', 1960, pp. 131-2.

55. C.H. Dodd 'The Fall of Jerusalem'. cf. Beasley-Murray 'Jesus' pp. 100, 212-6.

56. P. Minear, New Earth, p. 74.
On the background of Rev. 5 cf. H.P. Müller 'Die himmlische Ratsversammlung' ZNTW 54 (1963), pp. 254-67, for the pattern of a commissioning (with parallels in ancient oriental literature and in the Old Testament at Is. 6.8f and especially 1 Ki. 22.19-22).

57. Minear, New Earth, p. 78.

58. Charles, Commentary I.136ff. cf. G. Schrenk, Kittel TWNT 1.617ff.

59. Cf. J. Weiss 'Offenbarung des Johannes' Gottingen 1904, p. 57, note 3.
Cf. W. S. Taylor 'The Seven Seals' J.T.S. 31 (1930) pp. 266-71.

60. Charles, Commentary, I.138.

61. Expositor, 6th series (1905), pp. 294-306.

62. Cf. Juvenal Satires 1.5, 6.

63. Caird, Commentary, p. 72.
Cf. parallels in apocalyptic literature to the idea of a Book of God's plan cited in Charles, Commentary I.138.

64. Perhaps it is the transference, unsupported by textual justifications, of this judgement theme from a different context, which influenced an interpretation of Revelation current in the second and third centuries. Ramsay argues that it was responsible for the use of the "opened-book" symbol on tombstones in Lycaonia and Phrygia. The symbol was taken to refer to the judgement of God and was used either to ward off intruders and protect the grave, or to give a solemn warning to the passer-by of the inevitability of judgement.

65. Caird, Commentary pp. 71f.

66. M. Rissi construes the situation differently when he writes of the "alarming quiet" as the calm before an imminent storm. He argues that John makes explicit the connection with the coming storm of judgement ('The Rider on the White Horse - a study of Rev. 6.1-8' Interpretation 18 (1964), pp. 407-18).

67. P.R. Ackroyd 'Peake's Commentary' 1962, p. 649.

68. See table on page 145.

69. Charles, Commentary I.162.

70. The two words for "dappled" may indicate spots of different size, according to Arist. H.A. 632b 19, ct. Hesychius.

71. Cf. H. Zimmern and H. Winckler 'Die Keilinschriften und das alte Testament' 1903. 339, 616, 633.

72. Cf. Charles, Commentary I.162n.1, 168.

73. Ackroyd op. cit., p. 647.

74. It is also possible that there is some connection between the four winds of Zech. 6 and the four winds of Rev. 7.1.

75. Cf. Blass Debrunner on use of passive voice, avoiding reference to the divine name, 130(1), 313, 342(1).

76. Since we have already been told that the four living creatures are ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ θρόνου καὶ κύκλῳ τοῦ θρόνου (4.6) there can be no justification for Swete's fanciful interpretation of this voice as "the protest of Nature against the horrors of famine" (p. 87).

77. M. Rostovtzeff 'The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire' 2nd ed. Oxford 1957. I.145-7, 201; II.599-600n.

78. IGRR 4.915.10-13.

79. Suet.Dom. 7.2; 14.2; Philostr. Vit. Appol. 6.42; Vit. Soph. 1.21-520; dating: Eusebius Chron. Cf. more favourable reference: Stat. Silv. 4.3.11-12, perhaps also 4.2.34-7 (95 A.D.).

80. Cf. previous note, Suet. and Philostr. references.

81. 'La Mévente des Vins sous le Haut-Empire Romain', R. Archéol. 3rd series 39 (1901) pp. 350-74, especially 367.

82. Op. cit., I.201 cf. Suet. Dom. 7.2; Stat. Silv. 4.3.11-12.

83. W. M. Ramsay 'Studies in the Roman Province Galatia' J.R.S. 14 (1924) pp. 179-84. No. 6. Cf. D.M. Robinson 'A new Latin economic edict from Pisidian Antioch' Transactions and Proceedings, Amer. Philol. Assoc. 55 (1924) pp. 5-20.

84. Dio Chrysost. Orat. 46.8ff.

85. Only instance of literal use of ζυγόν for scales in New Testament (cf. G. Bertram, K.H. Rengstorf, Kittel TWNT 2.896ff.).
Cf. F. Boll 'Aus der Offenbarung Johannis' 1914 for traditional idea of year under sign of scales (Libra) as time of disaster (p. 85).

86. Farrer, Commentary, p. 99.

87. Cf. with the information from this inscription - Cicero's data on price of wheat in Sicily (Verr. 3.81, 84); 2 Ki. 6.25; 7.1, 18; Magie, Roman Rule II.1443f. n.38.

88. Cf. Herodotus 7.187; Thucydides 4.16 (Spartan allowance double what was necessary); Athenaeus 3.20 (p.98E); Diog. Laert. Pythag. 8.18.
Cf. F. Stolle 'Der röm. Legionar und sein Gepäck' 1914, especially appendix on Rev. 6.6.

89. W.M. Ramsay 'Cities of St. Paul' London 1907, pp. 430-2.

90. C.C. Torrey 'The Apocalypse of John' 1958, p. 79.

91. Especially Philadelphia, cf. Hemer, Letters, pp. 362f.

92. Despite Prov. 21.17.

93. Charles, Commentary I.167-8.

94. Irenaeus Adv. Haer. 4.21.3; H. Alford 'New Testament for English Readers' 1863, II.991.

95. M. Rissi, 'Zeit', p. 90; Ramsay, Letters p. 61; Swete, Commentary p. 86.

96. Z.C. Hodges 'The First Horseman of the Apocalypse' Bib. Sac. 119 (476-1962) pp. 324-34.

97. Farrer, Commentary p. 98.

98. Z.C. Hodges, op. cit., p. 326.

99. See table on pages 134f.

100. Z.C. Hodges, op. cit., pp. 330f.

101. M. Rissi Interpretation 1964; cf. 'Zeit' p. 89. cf. Gen 9.13?; Ps. 7.12f; Is. 41.2; Lam. 2.4; 3.12; Ezek. 1.28?; Hab. 3.9; Zech. 9.13; cf. also Dt. 32.33; 2 Sam. 22.15; 2 Ki. 13.17; Job 6.4; Ps. 18.14; 38.2; 64.7; 77.17; 144.6; Ezek. 5.16; Hab. 3.11; Zech. 9.14.

102. Cf. Wis. 18.16; Mt. 10.34; Eph. 6.17; Heb. 4.12; Rev. 1.16; 2.12; 19.15. Cf. W. Michaelis, Kittel TWNT 6.696-8. T. Holtz 'Die Christologie der Apokalypse des Johannes' Berlin 1962, p. 179.

103. W.M. Ramsay, Letters, p. 58.

104. Charles, Commentary I.163. Cf. Rev. 16.12; 17.16; see pages 280f, 298 for the link between Parthia and the Nero Redivivus interpretation; cf. G.B. Caird, Commentary p. 122: "The Roman neurosis about Parthia . . . was not finally exorcized until Trajan earned the title Parthicus by his victories of A.D. 114-6".

105. 'The Art of Warfare in Biblical Lands in the light of archaeological discovery' London 1963, pp. 113, 287. cf. K. Galling 'Biblisches Reallexicon' 1937, p. 116; Liddell and Scott article on ἱπποτοξότης ; T. Sulimirski 'Les archers à cheval, cavalerie légère des anciens' Revue Internationale d'Histoire Militaire 3 1952; H. Bonnet 'Die Waffen der Völker des Alten Orient' 1926.

106. Cf. Lohmeyer, Kommentar ad loc. and on 19.11f.

107. Herod 7.40; Philostr. Vit. Apoll. 1.30; Herod 9.63.

108. Virgil Aeneid 3.537f.

109. Dio Cassius H.R. 43.14. cf. Plutarch Camill. 7.

110. Spitta, Offenbarung, p. 290ff.

111. Ramsay, Letters, p. 58.

112. M. Rissi Interpretation 1964.

113. W.J. Harrington 'The Apocalypse of St. John' London 1969, p. 123.

114. E.g. Bengel and Holtzmann; Hadorn; Swete (p.87: "Victory, white-horsed and crowned, wears another aspect when viewed in the lurid light of the battlefield. Triumph spells much bloodshed and slaughter in the past"); Holtzmann and Moffatt - on the sword as the emblem of Rome in contrast to the Parthian bow cf. Mommsen Röm. Gesch. 5.389.

115. M. Rissi Interpretation 1964.

116. M. Rissi 'Zeit', pp. 90ff.

117. Rissi 'Zeit', p. 90. T. Napht 8; T. Benj. 3; Mk. 1.12f; cf. Bousset 'Rel. d. Jud.' pp. 334, 516.

118. Scythians, or Gyges of Lydia?
Cf. Herod 4.46; Thuc. 2.96; on 'Scythians' as general Hellenistic term for ἱπποτοξεία - Ael. Arr. 2.13.

119. H. Gunkel, 'Zum religionsgeschichtlichen Verständnis des Neuen Testaments' 1903, pp. 53ff.

120. Principal sources for Mithraism include: M.J. Vermaseren 'Mithras the Secret God' London 1963; 'Corpus Inscriptionum et Monumentorum Religionis Mithriacae' 2 vols., The Hague 1956-60; F. Cumont 'The Mysteries of Mithra' 1903; 'Textes et Monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra' 2 vols. 1896-8; 'La Fin du monde selon les mages occidentaux' RHR 103 (1931) pp. 29-96; 'Mithra en Asie Mineure' in 'Studies presented to William Hepburn Buckler' Manchester 1939; L. Patterson 'Mithraism and Christianity: A Study in Comparative Religion' Cambridge 1922; S. Angus 'The Mystery Religions and Christianity' 1928; I. Gershevitch 'The Avestan Hymn to Mithras' Cambridge 1959; E.O. James 'The Ancient Gods' London 1960; E.C. Zaehner 'The Dawn and Twilight of Zoroastrianism' London 1961; J. Ferguson 'The Religions of the Roman Empire' 1970; L.A. Campbell 'Mithraic Iconography and Ideology' 1968. Evidence of fresh thinking about the significance of Mithraism is provided by the 1971 Congress of Mithraic Studies at Manchester, cf. the papers edited by J.R. Hinnells in 'Mithraic Studies' Manchester 1973.

121. This need not be offensive in a Christian writer. We have seen that the primary reason for the use of ἐδόθη in the description is theological (see page 147). It is because God permits it, that Mithras can receive worship as the sun-god with the radiate crown.

122. Statius Thebaid 1.717.

"Persei sub rupibus antri
Indignata sequi torquantem cornua Mithram."

F. Cumont linked the arrival of Mithraism at Rome with the visit of Tiridates of Armenia in 66 A.D. Tiridates wished to initiate Nero into the mysteries - Pliny's "magicisque cenis initiaverat" is interpreted with reference to the Mithraic banquet. If this is so, Nero would be the first of many Roman Emperors connected with the cult of Mithras. Tiridates was himself a Magus, and was accompanied by Magi; he travelled to Rome for his coronation by Nero using an overland route so as not to pollute water the sacred element. During the ceremony he said to Nero: "I am the ruler, descendant of Arsakos, of the kings Vologeses and

Pakorus, his brother, but I am your slave and I come to you, my Lord, to worship you, as it were Mithras." Nero was certainly interested in the occult, and may have hoped that the Magi would enlighten him in Eastern practices. Nero insisted on being worshipped as the Sun-God; in his Domus Aurea he had a statue of himself as Sun-God. During the festivities with Tiridates a purple cloth was stretched over the theatre of Pompey on Campus Martius, and on this had been painted a picture of Nero in the sun-chariot surrounded by golden stars. See, further on Nero's beliefs, pages 346f.

123. Page 151.

124. W. Harrington, op. cit., p. 123.

125. Ct. Charles, Commentary I.165.
Although there can be a theological significance in the use of ἐδόθη , namely that God permits these murderous activities within limitations.

126. Xen. Eq. 12.11; Jos. B.J.3.94f.

127. Cf. W. Michaelis, Kittel TWNT 4 pp. 524-7; 6. pp. 993-8.

128. A μάχαιρα , of whatever size and shape, rarely has two cutting edges. But cf. Heb. 4.12, where the image is of a knife, perhaps a priest's, a butcher's or a surgeon's. Apparently surgeon's knives could have two cutting edges - cf. Michaelis, Kittel TWNT 4.527 n.26.

129. In secular Greek μάχαιρα is widely used, whereas ῥομφαία is a rare word, referring to the sword used by Thracians (Plu. Aem. 18). As in LXX of 1 Ki. 17.51, so also in Jos. Ant. 6.12.4 it is used of the sword of Goliath. Also used of a bat - Cyran. 36.

130. See page 161.

131. Cf. Rom. 8.35.

132. Suet. Vesp. 8.4.

133. Magie 'Roman Rule' I.577f.

134. Cf. Rev. 8.7; 9.4.

135. But cf. Charles, Commentary I.169 for possible parallel with ξανθός applied to horses.

136. Hp. VM 10; Prog. 24; Thu. 2.49.5; Maxim. Tyr. 20.5b; Hp. Prog. 14; VM 10 (Comp.).

137. Il. 10.376; 15.4; Hes. Sc. 231, 265; Sapph. 2.14; Il. 7.479; Od. 11.43; A. Supp. 566; E. Supp. 599.

138. See note 35.

139. Ct. R. Bultmann's discussion of θάνατος in Kittel TWNT 3.7-21 which concentrates on the Greek background to New Testament usage.

140. Magie, Roman Rule I.663.

141. On account of the symptoms reported by Galen, cf. Magie, Roman Rule II.1533 n.8.

142. Aristides Orat. 33.6; 48.38f; 51.25; C.I.G.3165.

143. This is a natural combination of circumstances, if only because the shortage of manpower caused by plague results in a shortage of supplies. The combination, probably for literary effect, of λιμοὶ καὶ λοιμοί goes back to Hesiod (Op. 243) cf. Herod 7.171, Thuc. 2.54. For this reason Field wanted to accept the combination as the genuine reading in Mk. 13.8 as well as Lk. 21.22. But λοιμός in the sense of 'pestilence' is not common. cf. λιμὸς καὶ νόσος - Cassius Dio 71.2, 4 (165 A.D.).

144. So Erbes - plague in Asia and Ephesus dated 61 A.D., which may well be associated with the epidemic in Rome in 65. cf. Charles, Commentary I.155. A reference back to a plague in the more distant past, like this, is not impossible, although the other 'events' seem to be grouped at the end of the first century; it would be easier if it could be shewn that the fifth seal refers to the Neronian persecution.

145. Cf. also outbreaks under Commodus (Cassius Dio 72.14.3; Herodian 1.12.1f; C.I.L. 3.5567 - A.D. 182); fifteen year plague over the Roman world in the third century A.D., when Gibbon estimated half human race was exterminated.

146. Charles, Commentary I. 169-71.

147. Caird, Commentary p. 80.

148. J. Weiss 'Offenbarung des Johannes' 1904, p. 59.

149. Cf. Lev. 26.22-26 (LXX τὰ θηρία, μάχαιρα, θάνατος, θλῖψαι σιτοδεία ἄρτων); Jer. 15.2f (LXX θάνατος, μάχαιρα, λιμός, αἰχμαλωσία ; μάχαιρα, κύνες, θηρία, πετεινά); Ezek. 5.17 (LXX λιμός, θηρία, θάνατος, αἷμα, ῥομφαία); Gilgamesh Epic. (11.4, 20-24) - Lion, Wolf, Famine, Pestilence.

150. Charles, Commentary I.171.

151. Diod. S. 3.43.7; Artemid. 2.54; 5.49; Vett. Val. 129.33; 130.21; Jos. B.J. 7.38; Suet. Calig. 27; Tib. 75; Titus 8; Martial Lib. Spect. 4.4b; Pliny Paneg. 34; Vit. Hadrian 18 (? Appian Bell. Civ. 2.61.252; Philo. Mos. 1.43f).

152. Cf. Ign. Eph. 1.2; Tr. 10; Rom. 5; Martyr Pol. 3; θηρίον used of arena animals - Ign. Rom. 4.1f; 5.3; Sm. 4.2; Martyr Pol.3f; 2.4; 11.1f; Ep. Diognetus 7.7; Hermas Vis. 3.2.1; Eus. H.E. 4.15.

153. Cf. W.H.C. Frend 'Martyrdom and Persecution in the Early Church' 1965 pp. 162f, 175 n.59.

154. "This term (θηριομαχέω) is an interesting mixture of Greek and Roman ideas . . . in the lecture room he (Paul) became familiar with the Platonic comparison of the mob to a dangerous beast; and amid the surroundings of the Roman Empire he became familiar with the death struggle of criminals against the wild beasts of the circus." W.M. Ramsay 'St. Paul, The Traveller and Roman Citizen' 1895. pp. 230f. For the literal meaning cf. C.R. Bowen J.B.L. 42 (1923) pp. 59-68; also W.M. Ramsay 'The Church in the Roman Empire' pp. 312, 404f., on the Acts of Paul and Thecla. Would Paul have been punished, as a Roman citizen, with the sentence 'ad bestias'? Could he have escaped alive, cf. Ign. Rom. 5; Tac. Hist. 2.61? Could he have been freed by the president? Nero forbade this: "Ad bestias damnatos favore populi praeses dimittere non debet". For metaphorical meaning cf. C.P. Coffin J.B.L. 43 (1924) pp. 172-6.

155. Petronius Sat. 45; cf. Suet. Claud. 34.

156. "Leute, die in der Arena des Circus oder des Ampitheaters mit wilden Tieren kämpfen mussten." "der B. in der Regel ein zum Kämpf mit den Tieren verurteilter Verbrecher oder Kriegsgefangener war, der nackt und meist wehrlos, bisweilen sogar an einen Pfahl gebunden unrettbar diesem grausamen Tode verfiel" (Pauly-Wissowa).

157. Gladiators or professional huntsmen prepared for combat against wild animals as a demonstration of courage.

158. Cf. L. Friedländer 'Roman Life and Manners' London 1908-13 Vol. 2. cf. list for Asia in Vol. 4 p. 246f.

159. Plutarch Luc. 23.1. cf. Magie 'Roman Rule' I.253.

160. Magie 'Roman Rule' I.656.

161. L. Robert 'Les Gladiateurs dans L'Orient Grec' Paris 1940 pp. 270f.

162. Magie 'Roman Rule' I.656.

163. Cf. the rather less precise interpretation by Swete, Commentary p. 89.

164. Minear, New Earth, p. 74.

165. Page 143.

166. Page 147.

167. Cf. Pss. 6.3; 13.1f; 35.17; 74.9f; 80.4; 89.46; 90.13; 94.3f; Is. 6.11; Jer. 47.6; Hab. 1.2.
Cf. discussion in Charles, Commentary I.172-4.

168. Caird, Commentary p. 84.

169. M. Kiddle 'The Revelation of St. John' 1940, p. 121.

170. Cf. Bousset ad loc; Charles Commentary I.177-9. Application in Hebrews 11.40?

171. Cf. Ass. Mos. 10.5.

172. Cf. A.T. Hanson 'The Wrath of the Lamb' 1957 pp. 159-80 and discussion in Caird, Commentary pp. 91ff.

173. See pages 134f. and note 74.

174. Other commentators relate these winds to the idea of a destructive storm which ushers in the end. Swete cites Sib. Or. 8.204f. But, as Charles says: "no reference is made to this expectation in the rest of the Apocalypse in this form" (I.204).

175. See pages 196ff for the significance of the Interlude in the total plan of the work.

176. Page 139.

177. Bowls as altar vessels - φιάλη in LXX, e.g. Ex. 27.3; Num 4.14; 1 Ki. 7.40; 2 Ki. 12.13 (φιάλαι καὶ σάλπιγγες); 1 Chr. 28.17; Neh. 7.70; Zech 9.15; 14.20; Jer. 52.18; 1 Esdr. 2.13; 1 Macc 1.22. Cf. cup for

wine - Prov. 23.31; "beds of spices" - Cant. 5.13; 6.2.
Regular Greek usage of flat vessel for drinking or pouring libations, also used for unguents and medicines.

178. Page 147.

179. Cf. Str. B. 3.461f. According to Giet the period corresponds to the first phase of the Jewish War ('L'Apocalypse et l'Histoire' 1957 pp. 5, 33); cf. Boll's astrological interpretation (op. cit., p. 71).

180. See page 186.

181. Pages 167f.

182. See page 185, cf. page 280.

183. Cf. J.A. Thompson 'Joel's Locusts in the Light of Near Eastern Parallels' J.N.E.S. 14 (1955) pp. 52-5.

184. ZNTW 51 (1960) pp. 268-78.

185. M. Noth 'Exodus' 1962, pp. 67-71;

186. P- Ex. 7.8-13; 19, 20a, 21b, 22; 8.5-7, 15b, 9.8-12, 22, 23a, 35; 10.12, 13a, 20-22, 27; 11.9f.
J- remainder.

187. Dt. 4.34; 6.22; 7.19; ~~Pss. 105.27~~; Pss. 105.27; 135.9 etc.

188. "Pharaoh's heart was hardened" (7.13, 22; 8.19; 9.35)
"Yahweh hardened Pharoah's heart" (9.12; 10.20, 27)
"the heart of Pharaoh was stubborn" (7.14; 9.7)
"Pharaoh made his heart stubborn" (8.15, 32; 9.34).

189. Cf. Midrashic treatment of the Egyptian plagues in Wisdom 12.8ff, cf. 17.21
Cf. R. Levi (c.300) citing R. Chama b. Chanina (c.260) applying the Egyptian plagues of the past to Edom (=Rome), giving a list of ten with prophetic references (Joel 3.3; Is. 66.6; 34.9; 34.11; Ezek. 38.22; Zech. 14.12; Ezek 38.22b; 39.17f; Is. 34.11; 34.7) - Str. B. III. 818.

190. M. Noth 'Leviticus' 1965, p. 197.
As for the time reference of these plagues, perhaps Noth's expression "looking back on the history of Israel" is slightly misleading in this context; the prophet essentially is assessing his contemporary situation and recent events, and recognising God's call for repentance and the nation's obduracy in these circumstances.

191. Noth 'Leviticus' p. 199.

192. Philo de Vit. Mos. 1.17-26.

193. C.A. and E.G. Briggs 'The Book of Psalms' I.C.C. (1906-7) II.188, 195.

194. Cf. Eccl̈us. 35.11 "For the Lord is the one who repays and he will repay you sevenfold."

195. Namely, Bloodshed, Ruin, Tribulation, Exile/Captivity, Dearth, Panic, Destruction.

196. Cf the more ambitious analysis in Farrer's Commentary.

197. See pages 167f.

198. Harrington also offers an etymological note comparing the Italian 'cavalletta' and the colloquial German 'Heupferd' ('The Apocalypse of St. John' 1969, p. 141.).

199. Page 176.

200. Cf pages 280ff, 345f.

201. Cf pages 121, 228.
J. Jeremias, Kittel TWNT 1.468; Z NTW 31 (1932) pp. 73-7; J.H. Michael 'Har-Magedon' J.T.S. 38 (1937) pp. 168ff; C.C. Torrey 'Armageddon' H.T.R. 31 (1938) pp. 237-50; J.W. Bowman I.D.B. 1. cf. O. Eissfeldt, 'Baal Zaphon' Halle 1932; S. Mowinckel 'He That Cometh' 1959 pp. 62ff; Lauha 'Zaphon: der Norden und die Nordvölker im Alten Testament' Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae 49.2 (1943) pp. 10ff.

202. The plagues begin as visitations upon the elements of nature; although, in contrast to the bowls sequence, mankind is not the primary target, nevertheless animals and man naturally become involved, and by the end of the sequence mankind is attacked directly.

203. Cf. Charles, Commentary II.27.

204. Caird, Commentary pp. 108-11.

205. Caird, p. 111. He also draws a connection with the trumpets as an escort for the Ark (Josh. 6; 1 Chr. 15.24; Neh. 12.41), and cites the appearance of the ark in Rev. 11.9. Cf. Büchler ZATW (1899), p. 239; 1 QM with its seven priests, six blowing trumpets.

206. Swete, Commentary, p. 200.

THE TWO WITNESSES

Revelation 11. 3-13 poses a problem of identification and interpretation in miniature. Who are the two witnesses on whom this brief episode is focussed? The brevity of this passage, and its apparent independence from other themes of the book, serve to increase the enigma. And the situation referred to by Joachim of Floris ("De his duobus testibus multa multi locuti sunt et diversi diversa") has only been exaggerated and further complicated by the variety of modern interpretations.

The identification of the two witnesses, both as proposed by early commentators and as current in modern exegesis, can be classified under three broad headings. The symbolism may refer to actual historical figures and the traditions associated with them; it may be the imagery of prophecy concerned with figures belonging to the last days; or it may represent not so much particular individuals but rather a general theme.

The majority of scholars have argued that John had in mind two particular heroes, either from Jewish or from Christian traditions; the identification is made on the basis of clues provided in the text. Hippolytus and Tertullian identified the witnesses as Enoch and Elijah, on the grounds that both of these were taken up to heaven (Rev. 11.12). Tertullian wrote (De Anima 50.): "Translatus est Henoch et Elias, nec mors eorum reperta est, dilata scilicet. Ceterum morituri reservantur ut Antichristum sanguine suo exstinguant." Victorinus favoured Elijah and Jeremiah, on the basis of a comparison between Rev. 11.5 and Jeremiah 5.14, which pointed to Jeremiah. But the most usual identification within the Old Testament tradition is with Moses and Elijah; the ability to shut up the sky and create a drought indicates Elijah (Rev. 11.6;1 Ki. 17. 1ff) ~~and~~ as does the power to consume with fire (Rev. 11.5; 2 Ki. 1.10ff, cf. Ecclus 48. 1, 3); the turning of the waters into blood, in the context of smiting the earth with plagues, suggests

Moses (Rev. 11.6; Ex. 7.14ff). The interpretation of the passage is associated with the expectation of the return of Moses and Elijah before the end of the world (Malachi 3.23-4 prophesies the return of Elijah, and Moses is mentioned in the same context in 3.22).

If Revelation 11.3-13 was originally a piece of Jewish apocalyptic tradition concerned with Jerusalem, as R.H. Charles argued[1], it is natural that the two witnesses should be identified with two such highly significant figures in Jewish tradition as Moses and Elijah. But Charles still had to consider the significance of this symbolism when it was reapplied in its present context in the Christian Apocalypse. He concluded that allegorical interpretations are unsatisfactory and the passage retains its original significance. "The return of Moses and Elijah is to be interpreted in the first instance literally and in the next symbolically, as representing Law and Prophecy."[2]

Another possibility of Jewish origin is considered by S. Giet in his investigation of parallels between the Apocalypse and episodes in Josephus' 'Jewish War'.[3] Josephus (B.J. 4. 314-25) records that the chief priests, including Ananus the High Priest and Jesus who was next in order of seniority, were massacred by Idumaean extremists in 68 A.D., shortly before the start of Vespasian's second campaign. Their bodies lay without burial in the streets of Jerusalem. The murder of Ananus was particularly obnoxious to Josephus; he wrote of it: "I should not be wrong in saying that the capture of the city (Jerusalem) began with the death of Ananus."[4] Giet recognises that, apart from the details in the picture, the conception of the two witnesses in Revelation is far removed from the historical account of these Jewish murders. He suggests that the historical event may have been elaborated in Jewish circles "où il est tenu pour l'annonce des derniers événements du monde"; the writer of the Christian Apocalypse in Vespasian's reign then transposes this allusion and reinterprets it, perhaps in terms of the martyrdoms of Peter and Paul (which traditionally took place in the

same year, the fourteenth of Nero's reign, 67/8 A.D.)

Within Christian interpretations recognising the employment of Old Testament figures, attention is often drawn to the possible combination of the expectations of Elijah and Moses in Jo 1.21, and to the narrative of the Transfiguration (Mk 9.1ff. //s) which, as Hadorn pointed out, illuminates Moses' and Elijah's positions as witnesses of the glory of Jesus. But Hadorn argued that it could not be the actual return of Moses and Elijah that was described, since the prophecy of Elijah's return was already fulfilled in John the Baptist. Instead two witnesses would come forward like Moses and Elijah; it was on analogy with them that the witnesses would be two in number.[5]

Other commentators have sought for an historical identification of the two witnesses within the Christian tradition. Perhaps the most obvious choice is that of the apostles Peter and Paul[6] who are believed to have suffered martyrdom at Rome under the emperor Nero. The 1260 days of prophecy (11.3) represent approximately the period from the fire of Rome in July 64 (which was followed by reprisals against the Christians) to one of the traditional dates for the martyrdom of the two apostles, in 67/68 A.D.[7] These and other detailed arguments in support of this identification will be considered later; there is force in Johannes Munck's assertion that in Peter and Paul we have two μάρτυρες in the original sense of that word, and also that they are bound together as a genuine pair by their shared experience of martyrdom. But there is some difficulty in a reference to martyrdom at Rome, if 11.7 is to be understood literally; the "great city" where the witnesses are killed is the same city "where their Lord was crucified" and this is most naturally taken to be Jerusalem.

Other interpretations avoid this difficulty, but encounter other problems: any theory involving the sons of Zebedee (on the basis of Luke 9. 51.5) raises anew the difficulty as to whether they were both martyrs and died together. B.W. Bacon argued for an identification with James the Lord's brother and John the Apostle.[8] A. Gelin proposed a theory about two Christian

prophets martyred by the army of Titus.[9] H. Mosbech combined the elements of his interpretation from the expectation of the appearance of Moses and Elijah and the seer's contemporary situation; the promise of the Messiah's forerunners was seen to be fulfilled in the work of a prominent couple of preachers of repentance in the seer's own day.[10]

Some interpreters have not found the Jewish and Christian traditions an adequate background to the imagery of this passage. Gunkel believed that an older tradition lay behind Rev 11. 3-13, and he argued that the two witnesses, with whom the Beast is said to wage war, were in origin heavenly warriors.[11] Similarly Bousset, writing in the early stages of 'traditions-geschichtlich' research, confessed that he was puzzled by the fact that Revelation talked of two witnesses, as against Jewish expectation of only one (Elijah).[12] Bousset did not believe that the accounts of the companions of the Messiah, either in Mk 9.4 or 4 Ezra 6.26 were particularly helpful ("Aber das sind entferntere Parallelen und im allgemeinen steht die Tradition von den beiden der bösen Macht unterliegenden Vorläufern des Messias - man beachte auch den eigentümlichen Ausdruck 'die beiden Zeugen' - ziemlich isoliert da"). He was convinced that an outside influence would be found to lie behind the unusual form in Revelation. Later Fritz Hommel sought an origin for the two witnesses in ancient Babylonian astral mythology.[13] Munck, while acknowledging the lasting value of Bousset's critical appraisal, feels that Hommel's work is very far from proving his case.[14]

Moffatt suggested a fusion of the Jewish expectation of Enoch and Elijah with the Zoroastrian expectation of the two apostles Hûshêdar and Hûshêdarmâh who would appear after the temporary triumph of the evil spirit.[15] But R.H. Charles dismisses this idea; he seems to be unnecessarily dogmatic and scathing when he writes: "If the origins of the two witnesses are to be sought ultimately in non-Semitic religions, no such origins have yet been discovered, and, even if such non-Semitic originals ever existed, the writer of 11.4 was unacquainted with them."[16] But there is an important point here

which concerns all attempts to seek an origin for this imagery further afield than the Jewish and Christian traditions. Any connection with other traditions must not only be feasible, but also must be more precise in satisfying the requirements of the text in Revelation than Jewish and Christian traditions have been judged to be. Parallels of this order, at least for the two witnesses, have yet to be adduced. Meanwhile one should be more prepared to acknowledge the possibility that differences from known traditions are the result of the author's creative ability.

Some of the traditions we have looked at already have been concerned with the last days. But the second broad category of identifications of the witnesses also comprises references to figures, otherwise unidentified because they have no connection with events of the past or present, whose roles are prophesied by the seer as being significant in the last days. Zahn regarded it as a mistake to identify the two witnesses with men who had died, or been taken up from the earth, centuries before and were expected to return. He agreed with Schlatter that John never explicitly identifies the witnesses; the power they are given is the power which those Old Testament figures possessed, but this does not mean that they are those figures. Moses and Elijah are only types for the witnesses, just as Elijah is for John the Baptist. Zahn therefore sees the witnesses as figures of the future about whom John prophesies. Donatus Haugg in his substantial monograph concludes that 11. 1-13 is a prophecy for the Church in the last days. God will send two witnesses who will preach to that part of Christendom which is Christian only in name.[17]

The third category of interpretations involves those commentators who reject the approach which, as Paul Minear describes it, "formulates the problem in algebraic terms" (x + y = two witnesses).[18] Instead the symbolism is seen as representative of an idea. What is remarkable is the range of ideas which are thought to be represented in these two witnesses. This tradition of interpretation goes back to Tyconius who explained the witnesses

as the collective power and preaching of the church. The two-fold witness represents the two Testaments with which the Church is endowed (the balance between the Law and the Prophets has been modified to one between Law and Gospel). Much later H.B. Swete followed a similar line[19] - "the witnesses represent the Church in her function of witness bearing (cf. Acts 1.8); her testimony is symbolized by <u>two</u> witnesses, partly in reference to the well-known law of Deut 19.15, ... partly in order to correspond with the imagery of Zech 4.2ff ...; or as Primasius says, they may represent the Church in both stages of her career, "ecclesia duobus testamentis praedicans et prophetans."" Fr. Alcazar sees the two witnesses as types of persecuted and resuscitated Christianity.[20] And to J.S. Considine they represent the universality of Christian preachers and teachers; their mission is to combat the enemies of Christ and his Church. In this office they shall have considerable power; they have the characteristics of the great prophets of Israel who combined civil and religious powers; their power shall resemble the power of the ancient prophets, if it does not surpass that power.

Johannes Behm considered that the two witnesses, although described in terms of Moses and Elijah, had taken on a supra-historical and supra-personal character, and represented the power of Witness which is the gift and duty of Christianity. The author tells his readers that this road through death to life and victory is the road of all Christian witness ("Unerschütterliche Treue im Zeugentum Christi, das die Verheissung göttlichen Schutzes gegen die Mächte des Bösen hat, führt zwar auf die Bahn des Martyriums, aber eben durch das Martyrium hindurch zum gewissen Siege, zur Verherrlichung Gottes").[21] Martin Kiddle interpreted the two witnesses as symbols of "the militant among the Christian churches" whose "task is no less than the universal publication of the Gospel". "John, knowing the vastness of the Gentile world (far too great a parish for any two individual prophets, however great, and however endowed with super-

natural powers) and conscious also of the more urgent Christian tradition that all men should be confronted with the Gospel before the reign of God could begin" reinterprets the older expectation of Elijah's preaching of repentance to the Gentiles in this more general way. "The martyrs will be endowed with a spirit of prophecy" and will need "supernatural protection" against the fierceness of the opposition.[22]

L. Cerfaux, in his study 'Témoins du Christ d'après le livre des Actes', wrote "toutes les idées primitives du témoignage se rejoignent dans l'allégorie des deux témoins de Apoc. 11. 3-12".[23] A comparison with the data of Acts showed him how many features of the picture of the two witnesses were perfectly natural and to be taken literally of the practice of Christian witness. But André Feuillet is concerned to point out that this line of argument does not lead automatically to Allo's view that the witnesses symbolise the preaching of the Gospel in general and Jerusalem represents the entire world.[24] Feuillet quotes with approval some words of L. Gry, written in criticism of Allo, but deserving of a wider application to interpretations in this category - "Quand ils (les lecteurs) auront entendu que les Deux Témoins, Moïse et Elie, sont en bloc "tous les bons prédicateurs de l'Évangile", que la Grande Ville où ces apôtres sont mis à mort "Jerusalem, représente le monde entier", quand ils auront accepté un symbolisme dont ils n'auraient pu soupconner toute l'ampleur, je me demande s'ils ne se sentiront point perdus dans une immensité très vague". And Feuillet himself concludes more specifically, with exegesis of the details in the context, that "ils incarnent bien plutôt le témoignage rendu par l'Eglise au Christ en face du judaïsme obstiné dans son incredulité".[25]

Paul Minear writes in terms of 'prophecy' in his exegesis of the two witnesses; for this not to be misleading it should be understood in terms of the action of witness as confirming the work of Jesus and the word of God. In the opening verses of his book, John describes the objective of his prophecy as "to establish Jesus' 'marturia' as the effective norm for the

'marturia' of each congregation and each of its members".[26] Minear believes that the exegetical process of "decoding 'algebraic equivalents'" has proved unsatisfactory because "no conjecture has thus far convinced all exegetes". This applies equally to the identity of the great city, the identity of the two prophets, and the limiting of the time of prophecy to one historical epoch. "This impasse may be due not to the lack of exegetical ingenuity but to John's intention". That intention was to present"the 'transcendental model' of all genuine prophecy, taking as a central clue the story of Jesus' appearance in Jerusalem and describing the common vocation in language drawn from the stories of many prophets".[27]

There is an attractiveness in Minear's story about the author's "comprehensive rather than disjunctive mode of seeing and thinking" believed to represent a "distinctive ontological stance". Such an interpretation allows one to combine features from many identifications rather than to concentrate upon a single equation which satisfies all requirements. On the other hand Minear could be accused of wanting the best of all possible worlds, and of making a virtue out of the failures of exegesis. It is one thing to recognise, as often one must in dealing with the Apocalypse, that several strands have been woven together in the Seer's picture; it is quite another thing to use this fact to deny the possibility of a precise historical identification.

Before reaching any judgement on the possibilities of interpretation, it will be necessary to consider the context of chapter 11 and to examine the features of the picture of the two witnesses. It may then be possible to trace some satisfactory line of interpretation which does justice to all these aspects.

The passage about the two witnesses occurs within the structural framework of the Plague sequences. It forms part of what Paul Minear describes, in his analysis, as an 'Interlude'. But this term should not be understood as belittling the importance of the passage; in fact because of

its context, in a sequence moving towards its climax, "because of the rise in dramatic intensity ... the reader's attention is drawn all the more strongly to the seemingly extraneous interlude".[28]

It is necessary to recall the parallel structures of the two sequences of the seals and the trumpets. There is a clear break in the literary structure after the first four elements in each sequence: the four horses in chapter 6 and the four trumpets in chapter 8 are set apart by their brevity and symmetry. The fifth and sixth elements in both sequences are presented at greater length and without any clear regulating pattern other than the basic requirements of their own sequence. Both the sixth seal and the sixth trumpet are followed immediately by a highly significant interlude which also serves to increase the dramatic intensity of the sequence by delaying the seventh element.

The account of the opening of the sixth seal (6.12ff) is followed by the episode of the sealing of the 144,000 "out of every tribe of the sons of Israel" (7.4). It may be debated what precisely these servants of God are being "sealed" and protected against, but it is clear that they are being protected, so that, in 9.4, for example, the locust/scorpions would not now touch them; a pause is made in the sequence of terrible events in order that this sealing may be accomplished. At the same point in the trumpet sequence, after the sixth trumpet has been sounded, there takes place another action with a similar motivation of protection against calamity. This is the measuring "of the temple of God and the altar and those who worship there (11.1) which precedes the account of the two witnesses. The references to the ναὸν τοῦ θεοῦ (11.1) and τὴν αὐλὴν τὴν ἔξωθεν (11.2), coupled with the place-reference, "where their Lord was crucified" in 11.8, are indicative of the Jerusalem temple. The two interludes, then, share not only a common theme,[29] but also an "atmosphere" which is so Jewish[30] that some scholars have sought here for traces of originally Jewish apocalypses.

To complete the account of the parallel structure we should look at the seventh seal and the seventh trumpet. At the opening of the seventh seal "there was silence in heaven for about half an hour" (8.1); apart from the description of the angel with the golden censer (8.3-5), the pace of the narrative then moves swiftly into the account of the seven trumpets sounded by the angels (8.2, 6ff). The episode which follows the sounding of the seventh trumpet is also set in heaven; but instead of silence "there were loud voices" making triumphant statements about the present reality of the Kingdom of God (11.15-18). There is a close parallel between the description in 11.19b of the accompaniment of the opening of God's temple in heaven, and 8.5b with its account of the consequences of the angel's action in throwing the censer on the earth. And in the trumpet sequence, like the seal sequence, the seventh element points ahead rapidly. It is not intended that we should pause long on the scene in heaven, except to gain reassurance from what is said, just as there is reassurance in 8.4 in the fact that the prayers of the saints have been heard in heaven. Rather, the seventh trumpet heralds the beast from the sea, who appears at 13.1, after the account has been given in chapter 12 of the reasons for his appearance.

There is a sequence of three woes which for a time runs concurrently with the sequence of trumpets. The second woe clearly coincides with the sixth trumpet (9.12f; 11.14f), but the extent of the other woes is not indicated so precisely. Johannes Munck thought that the structure of the three woes represented three periods in a parallel construction to that of the apocalyptic chapters in the Synoptic Gospels.[31] In the Book of Revelation the first woe represents the events from the beginning of the book up to 9.12, and the third woe starts from 11.15 and continues up the last events and the return of Christ. But the most natural interpretation of 8.13, with its threefold woe "to those who dwell on the earth, at the blasts of the other trumpets which the three angels are about to blow", is to identify

the three woes with the last three blasts in the trumpet sequence. This is then primarily a literary device[32] which sharpens the division we have already observed between the first four and the last three trumpets. Although the scope of the three woes is severely limited by this interpretation, compared with the much broader scheme advocated by Munck, it is still reasonable to see the seventh trumpet and third woe as essentially connected with the manifestation of the Antichrist figure, the beast from the sea. Munck's conclusion that the death of the witnesses, associated with the end of the second woe, is the decisive turning-point in the book,[33] ushering in the third woe with its revelation of Antichrist in full horror, may still be a valid conclusion on these more restricted terms.

The interlude between the sixth and seventh trumpets is a long one ($10^1 - 11^{13}$): It is introduced by a "mighty angel" (10.1) who heightens the expectation of the seventh trumpet by solemnly declaring that when the trumpet is sounded there will be no more delay, but "the mystery of God,[34] as he announced to his servants the prophets" will be fulfilled. In this way the reader is prepared both for the third woe, the coming of Antichrist (13.1ff), and for the proclamation of God's kingdom (11.15ff) and the speedy intervention of God to destroy Babylon (14-19). We are also told that this "mighty angel""had a little scroll in his hand" (10.2); it is this scroll which the author is invited to take and eat (10.8ff). Just as the awaited revelation of the seventh trumpet would be a mixture of woe and triumph both for the prophet and for the world, so this scroll "was sweet as honey in my mouth, but when I had eaten it my stomach was made bitter". (10.10)[35]

But this parallel does not by any means require that the scroll is to be identified with the message of the seventh trumpet. This would be cumbersome and would convert the "interlude" into a proleptic revelation to the prophet of what is still to come. It is unlikely that the "mighty angel" would both promise the revelation by the medium of another angel and also

have the text of it open in his own hand.[36] Therefore it is natural to relate the "little scroll" to the material in the remainder of the interlude (11.1-13). The vision of the scroll is a way of introducing this special unit of material; the author digests its contents and is then told to make that contents known (10.11 "You must again prophesy about many peoples and nations and tongues and kings".) The relationship, then, between the bitter/sweet contents of the scroll and the woe/triumph of the seventh trumpet is a similarity of essential characteristics, perhaps amounting to an intrinsic connection, where the one episode is seen as a foretaste of what is later fulfilled, a microcosm presented in anticipation of the macrocosm.

There could be a significant contrast between the βιβλαρίδιον/βιβλίον of 10.2, 8ff and the βιβλίον of 5.1. In chapter 5, the scroll is "sealed with seven seals" and can only be opened by the Lamb/Lion; in chapter 10, the scroll is "open in the hand of the angel". The open scroll require no special agency to make it available; according to the figurative language of the author, he readily absorbed its contents. There appears to be a convention in apocalyptic writing that a book is sealed when it relates to the distant future.[37] As the events referred to draw near, the contents of the "prophecy" are made available; up until then the seals have preserved the book from misuse. By this convention the scroll of 5.1 refers to the events of the present and the immediate future.[38] Conversely one could argue that a scroll which is already lying open is one which has served its purpose in the past. The events to which it refers are past events, for which it offered an interpretation. In certain circumstances such a scroll might still offer "food for thought" and the material from it could be used in a subsequent reinterpretation.[39] This argument need not be applied literally, unless circumstances demand it; by itself it is no more a warrant for the theory that the material of chapter 11 derives from an earlier apocalypse, than is the convention of a sealed book any assurance that the prophecy was actually composed in the way that the "pseudonymous" tradition of

authorship asserts. But it can be a pointer to a "flash-back" in apocalyptic writing, in the same way that the unsealing points to a prophecy for the immediate future.

From such an examination of the context three main points emerge which could serve as criteria for an interpretation. They are the Jewish "atmosphere" of the material, the association with the final appearance of Antichrist, and the suggestion that the author is interpreting a significant event of the past. We should now explore the possibilities of this historical context and begin by looking at the setting of the first two verses in chapter 11.

It is usual to interpret 11.1-2 and 11.3-13 closely together as associated ideas within a single theme, even though several commentators have argued that they were originally derived from different sources. In their present context they are bound together by the framework of the contents of the little scroll, as well as by the shared allusions to time (42 months = 1260 days) and place (Jerusalem). It is the present context which is of importance from the point of view of identifying the references and interpreting the author's meaning. But some of the speculation about origins may be suggestive in indicating the possible terms of reference of this kind of material in the author's day.

Perhaps the most favoured theory, propounded by Wellhausen, Bousset and Charles, is that which sees in 11.1-2 a fragment of a "Zealot pamphlet".[40] It represents a prophecy, written during the siege of Jerusalem and before 70 A.D. while the Zealots were still in occupation of the inner court of the temple; the assurance of such a prophecy is that the temple itself will not be destroyed even when the city is occupied. Mosbech offered a variation on this theory which attributed the prophecy to Jewish-Christians who had left Jerusalem before the siege but were watching its progress anxiously. They expressed their confidence that the Temple would not fall completely. Another possibility suggested by A. Gelin and S. Giet is that the prophecy

referred to a temporary preservation of the sanctuary during the period of the siege; it will only be destroyed at the end of the siege. All these theories require a precise date for the original composition of this prophecy - during the siege but before the destruction of Jerusalem.[41]

If such were the original terms of reference of 11.1-2, how well would such ideas stand the test of time, or would the author who used them need to modify their meaning substantially? A. Feuillet, referring to the third theory of temporary preservation asked the very reasonable question - "Comment Jean eut-il pu accorder quelque importance à une préservation materielle aussi précaire?"[42] The difficulty with the first and second theories is that such prophecies prior to 70 A.D. represent disappointed hopes in the harsh realities after the Fall of Jerusalem. R.H. Charles concludes that the author of the Apocalypse can only have reinterpreted these ideas in terms of a preservation from spiritual danger.[43] Thus the majority of commentators offer symbolic interpretations. Such exegesis is usually so general that it evades any detailed argument which might lead to its refutation; but it does seem that so general a meaning could have been conveyed by the author without the precise description which is a feature of this passage.

But there remains a further way in which the author could have made use of material with a definite historical reference, and this supports the suggestion that here is a clear reference to past events. Either he uses a quotation from a familiar source, such as the "Zealot pamphlet" may have been, or he composes for himself a verbal picture with recognisable allusions. And so he introduces an historical "flash-back" to the temporally distant, but undoubtedly significant, situation of the siege and fall of Jerusalem. Two aspects of the situation are referred to: the "measuring" of the temple, and the surrender of the outer court to the nations who are trampling the holy city (cf. Lk. 21.24). Apart from these references, the main function of the allusion seems to be to set the scene briefly for the

appearance of the two witnesses.

The author is not necessarily concerned to emphasise, as his primary point, the failure of the original prophecy, if such it was. Instead he wishes to draw attention to the complex situation leading up to the destruction in 70 A.D., and to illustrate this by two aspects, the optimistic and the pessimistic, corresponding to the sweetness and bitterness of the scroll (10.9-10). On the one hand there was the attitude of religious enthusiasm coupled with zeal for the preservation of all that Jerusalem represented for the Jew; on the other hand there were the "outsiders", those who trampled over the holy city and those who collaborated and surrendered the city to them.

It may be that the author is making use of an essential ambiguity in the notion of "measuring the temple" and intends the thoughtful reader to recognise this point. It is usually assumed, as has already been indicated, that the measuring is for the purpose of preservation from calamity. This would be the most natural sense in an original prophecy, set against the trampling in verse 2, and is supported by the "one full line to be spared" referred to in 2 Sam. 8.2b;[44] but that context also refers to "two lines he measured to be put to death" (2 Sam. 8.2a, cf 2 Ki 21.13; Isa. 34.11; Lam. 2.8; Amos 7.7-9) where the measuring is clearly with a view to destruction. A third possibility is that of measuring with a view to rebuilding and restoring (cf. Ezek 40.2ff; 41.13; Zech. 2.1ff; Jer. 31.39). In the context of Ezekiel 40-42 the measuring is associated with the vision of the ideal temple of the restoration;[45] it has been suggested by Bornkamm that the context in Revelation is similar, insofar as the measuring of the temple is a prophetic anticipation of the measuring of the city of New Jerusalem (21.15ff).[46]

If the author is exploiting this ambiguity in the idea of measuring, he could be saying that the measuring in the original prophecy was understood to preserve the actual sanctuary in Jerusalem, but in the event the

outcome was quite different and the sanctuary was destroyed; but this should certainly not be viewed in an entirely pessimistic light, because the essential significance of Jerusalem, its religious heart, was indeed preserved and revivified by the experience. And, in accordance with the interpretation of chapter 12, the religious "Remnant", the spiritual reality which is preserved and will be restored, is found within an area of Judaism as well as within the Christian church.

The historical "flash-back" to the siege and fall of Jerusalem sets the scene for the two witnesses who are introduced in 11.3. The relationship between the two episodes is expressed with precision by the juxtaposing of the two equivalent time references in verses 2 and 3. In 11.2 the trampling of the holy city is said to last for forty-two months; as S. Giet pointed out,[47] this is approximately the period of the Flavian war, from the Spring of 67 A.D. to 29 August 70, during which time Jerusalem was "profaned", but in the sanctuary the sacrifices continued uninterrupted, until at the end the sanctuary was destroyed by fire. One can agree with Giet[48] that the historical identification of this period of forty-two months and an allusion to the Danielic period of $3\frac{1}{2}$ times ($3\frac{1}{2}$ years = 42 months) are by no means mutually exclusive. Indeed it seems likely that Daniel's prophecy for the length of time of "the shattering of the power of the holy people" (Dan. 12.7) has been reinterpreted in terms of new historical circumstances in which it seems to be fulfilled.[49] It may well be that confirmation of this is available in a similar interpretation, combining traditional and historical elements, for the identical period, expressed as 1260 days, which is set for the prophecy of the witnesses in 11.3. We must now consider in turn the main features of the account of the witnesses to establish the various criteria which must be satisfied by any complete interpretation.

"And I will grant my two witnesses power to prophesy" (11.3). In the Greek[50] the construction is Hebraic and the wording, if not the idiom, is parallel to the preceding sentence in 11.2.[51] This parallelism may be contrived,

as Austin Farrer suggested,[52] in order to express more clearly and emphatically the connection we have observed already between the episode of the measuring and trampling and the episode of the witnesses.

The development of the usage of the Greek word μάρτυς in Christian contexts has been discussed at length in a large number of articles and monographs.[53] Arndt and Gingrich summarise the uses under three classifications: the literal meaning is in the legal sense (Dt. 17.6, 19.15; Mt. 18.16, 26.65//; Acts 6.13, 7.58; 2 Cor. 13.1; 1 Tim 5.19; Heb. 10.28); the word is used figuratively of anyone testifying to anything - of God, especially in the formula of calling upon God as witness to vouch for the truth of something (Rom. 1.9; 2 Cor. 1.23; Phil. 1.8; 1 Thess. 2.5, 10);[54] of human witness in general, often in the relatively inert and passive sense of being a spectator (1 Thess. 2.10; 1 Tim 6.12; 2 Tim 2.2); and in the particular and active sense of the exertion of men who are messengers of God (what Holl described, with reference to Rev. 11.3 as "auszeichnende Name für den Boten Gottes ... derselbe Name, den die Urgemeinde für die Zeugen der Auferstehung Jesu verwendete".)[55] - and the third classification is the specialised meaning within the context of the persecuted church, a "martyr" dying for his testimony.

It is clear that the usage is not restricted to the legal meaning, either literally or in a precise metaphorical application;[56] nor is a witness necessarily an 'eye-witness' of the event to which he can testify. The word μάρτυς can be used of someone who knows about something without having a personal and physical experience of it.[57] Even in non-Biblical Greek μάρτυς and its cognate words referred "not merely to the establishment of events or actual relations or facts of experience on the basis of direct personal knowledge. It signifies also the proclamation of views or truths of which the speaker is convinced".[58] "The development of the distinctive Christian use is the result of" the application of these words "to the content of Gospel proclamation and to the circumstances in which this took place".[59]

It was in the context of the witnessing by Christians to Jesus, despite the persecution of the church, that the word μάρτυς underwent a semantic change and acquired the distinctive Christian sense of 'martyr', defined by Origen as "one who of his own free choice chooses to die for the sake of religion and prefers to die rather than deny his religion and live".[60] The first problem lies in establishing at what stage this adaptation in meaning took place, such that the word could be used without qualification in the sense of 'martyr'. In 1 Clement 5 the participle μαρτύρησας is used of both Peter and Paul who are cited as apostolic examples of those who ἕως θανάτου ἤθλησαν. J.B. Lightfoot[61] understood this, in the circumstances, as a reference to their martyrdom, but not all scholars would agree, especially as regards the technical sense of the verb. The description of Peter refers only to his sufferings; Paul in the same way is shown as an example of endurance and his preaching of the Gospel is described in terms of the verb διδάσκω and the noun κῆρυξ and not by the repetition of the verb μαρτυρέω or a cognate. It seems likely, then, that μαρτύρησας refers to martyrdom rather than to Christian witnessing in this context. But at this stage the context, not the word itself, is decisive for the technical sense; 1 Clem. 38.2 and 63.3 show that the words μαρτυρέω and μάρτυς can still be used in a general sense. That the meaning 'martyr' is still not widely established is suggested by the complete absence of this technical term in the Shepherd of Hermas, where martyrs are οἱ παθόντες διὰ τὸ ὄνομα or εἵνεκα τοῦ ὀνόματος (Similitudes 9, 28; Visions 3, 1, 9; 2, 1; 5, 2), and in the writings of Ignatius which are otherwise full of the ideas of martyrdom.

After the middle of the second century μάρτυς and its cognates are used absolutely in the sense of martyrdom. Examples are found from the church of Smyrna in the Martyrdom of Polycarp (cf. 19.1), from Melito of Sardis (in Eus. Hist. Eccl. IV 26.3) and from Polycrates of Ephesus in his letter to Victor of Rome about the paschal question. Strathmann concludes

from the origin of these references that "the sphere in which the martyr concept developed was the church in Asia Minor" since "elsewhere at this time no traces of the later concept are to be found"; he associates this fact with "the first clear steps ... taken towards such a development" in the Book of Revelation, which is also linked with the churches of Asia Minor.[62]

Before examining these references in Revelation and comparing them with others in the N.T., we must consider briefly the general question of the influences which, it has been suggested, contributed to the development of the technical meaning of μάρτυς in a Christian context. Were the ideas of "martyrdom" present elsewhere, before the Christian application of the 'witness' terminology gave absolute expression to these ideas? This is the second problem, to determine whether there is the possibility of decisive influence from the range of ideas associated with Old Testament prophecy, and the fact of martyrdom in later Judaism, as well as from the special circumstances of the proclamation of the Christian Gospel.

T.W. Manson, in a lecture on 'Martyrs and Martyrdom'[63], traced the introduction of the idea of suffering into the concept of witness back to the Old Testament and Jewish traditions about the persecution and manner of death of the prophets.[64] The witnesses are primarily "the prophets of Israel and secondarily those who through hard experience learn the truth of the prophetic message"[65] (Neh. 9.26; Is. 43.8-13, 44.6-8). The prophets, who are the witnesses 'par excellence' in the Old Testament, are witnesses in a twofold sense, because they testified to what they saw and heard when they "stood in the council of Yahweh" (Jer. 23.18, 21, 22), and they are persecuted "because the message that they bring is not the message that the audience wishes to hear". Other scholars before Manson had presented aspects of this argument. K. Holl, writing in 1914, drew attention to the theme in Deutero-Isaiah that a prophet must suffer and die for his testimony.[66] F. Dornseiff referred specifically to Is. 43.10, 12 and 44.8, where Israel

is called "my witnesses", and saw this as a decisive turning point for the term μάρτυς.[67] E. Lohmeyer and G. Fitzer developed these ideas; O. Michel wrote of a "prophetic martyr theology". The tendency was even to equate the terms 'prophet' and 'witness'.[68]

In contrast, H. Delehaye rejected any appeal to the Old Testament in general as well as to Second Isaiah in particular. "Il n'y a rien là qui, de près ou de loin, donne l'idée d'un témoignage qui va jusqu'au sacrifice de la vie".[69] Strathmann is highly critical of any suggestion that a technical use of the witness concept has been developed by Deutero-Isaiah. "There is no more precise connection between the function of witness discharged by the servant of Yahweh, Israel, and the suffering of the 'ebed Yahweh. It is thus straining things exegetically to press the metaphor, to pour all that the book says about the servant of the Lord into the figure of the witness of Yahweh, to speak of the prophetic martyr theology of Deutero-Isaiah. There is certainly no direct connection with the early Christian concept of the witness,let alone with the concept of the martyr in the Second Century Church".[70]

There is a difficulty which is probably insuperable in arguing for a close association of the ideas of suffering and witness in the Old Testament background without precise, linguistically based, arguments corresponding to the facts ofμάρτυςand its cognates.[71] But it may well be appropriate, when considering the context of Revelation's two witnesses, to remember the range of ideas indicated by T.W. Manson, if only because the witnesses appear in order to perform the function of prophecy, and one of them seems to be depicted with the attributes of the prophet Elijah.

The situation of martyrdom in later Judaism is even more problematic. "The Jewish religion is a religion of martyrdom. It is born out of martyrdom and the sufferings of the righteous in the Maccabean age".[72] 1 Maccabees tells the story of the Syrian persecution (chs. 1 & 2); 2 Maccabees glories both in the παρρησία with which the victims went to their execution and in the

obedience to the Law which triumphed over every pain. In 4 Maccabees the martyrdoms demonstrate the triumph of reason over sufferings, and the whole of the Old Testament from the murder of Abel onwards illustrates the true martyr spirit (18.11ff). Josephus also expresses admiration for those who suffer torture to the point of death without showing signs of pain (B.J. 2.151-153 - Essenes; 1.648-655 the σοφισταί). This indicates how high an ideal it was for the righteous man proving his loyalty to the faith and the Law by suffering persecution and death (cf. Daniel 3). And yet the term μάρτυς and its cognates are not used in such a context, until the technical term has become established in the Christian Church and a writer like Origen can describe Eleazar and the seven brothers as παράδειγμα κάλλιστον ... ῥωμαλέου μαρτυρίου , setting the Jewish 'martyrs' alongside the Christian ones.[73]

Von Campenhausen[74] emphasised that the high Jewish estimate of martyrs is wholly within the framework of the Pharisaic ideal of piety - suffering and death for the Law is a work of piety. So Rabbi Akiba "rejoices because in his martyrdom he first fulfils in truth the saying: Thou shalt love God with thy whole soul". Strathmann shows that there is a real distinction between such ideas of martyrdom, and the Christian concept of the martyr who is a witness bearing a message to others. The term μάρτυς is then very appropriate in the Christian context where the development from the original idea to the technical term is clearly indicated: it could only be used in the Jewish context in the very general sense of "one who suffers for his convictions" The context of the Maccabean heroes of faith and obedience therefore "does not contribute to an understanding of the early Christian concept"[75] of μάρτυς.

The use of μάρτυς in the context of the proclamation of the Christian Gospel is illustrated by a group of references in Luke/Acts. These represent the stage of development described by Holl[76] as the application of the term by the Early Church to the witnesses of Jesus' Resurrection. The missionary charge to the eleven, and those with them in Jerusalem, stresses that Christ's

suffering and rising from the dead has been fulfilled in accordance with scripture. "You are witnesses of these things" and also responsible for the preaching "of repentance and forgiveness of sins . . . to all nations". (Lk. 24.46ff). It is clear from the context of Acts that it is the chosen apostles who are "witnesses" "to his resurrection" (Acts 1.8, 22; 2.32; 3.15; 5.32; 10.39, 41; 13.31).

The distinction which may be implied in Acts 13.31 between the original apostles "who came up with Jesus from Galilee to Jerusalem" and "are now witnesses", and Paul and Barnabas - "we" who "bring you the good news", leads Strathmann to distinguish two stages in the development of the word μάρτυς in the Early Church[77]; the first stage with the older apostles who are primarily witnesses to the fact of the Resurrection and then "seek to propagate the Christian faith by confession"; and the second stage "when the term . . . is applied to Paul" and "the second aspect begins to predominate over the first." For Paul is also described as μάρτυς , in 22.15 "for you will be a witness for him to all men of what you have seen and heard" and in 26.16 "for I have appeared to you for this purpose, to appoint you to serve and bear witness to the things in which you have seen me and to those in which I will appear to you". It is possible that these references, and perhaps even the description of Stephen as μάρτυς in Acts 22.20[78], should not be explained as a separate secondary stage in the usage, but rather should be related to a visionary experience of the risen Lord which is essentially continuous with the experience of the first apostles. But the later contexts seem to refer to witness in a more general sense and do not limit the experience to that of the Resurrection event, which might support Strathmann's argument.

The reference to Stephen (Acts 22.20) in these terms - ἐξεχύννετο τὸ αἷμα Στεφάνου τοῦ μάρτυρός σου - makes this passage one of a small group of New Testament instances of the word μάρτυς where the context would permit the later technical use of the word. This is far from saying that such a technical use must be intended; the occurrence of such contexts is likely

to indicate not a new sense of the word, but a new situation of suffering and bloodshed which was to influence a development in the sense of the word. Some ambiguity, however, does persist in these references. In Acts 22.20 much depends on whether σου is an objective genitive expressing witness to Christ, or a subjective genitive indicating the witness or, in a special sense, martyr who belongs to Christ.[79] In Hebrews 12.1 the author tells how "we are surrounded by so great a cloud of witnesses". The picture is one of runners in a race; "it is impossible to exclude the thought of the spectators in the amphitheatre".[80] But the context of chapter 11 relates these witnesses to the heroes of the Old Testament and Judaism who suffered in their faith and are presented as examples; they are witnesses "in the sense that by their loyalty and endurance they have borne witness to the possibilities of the life of faith".[81] In 1 Peter 5.1, Peter is described as ὁ συμπρεσβύτερος καὶ μάρτυς τῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ παθημάτων, ὁ καὶ τῆς μελλούσης ἀποκαλύπτεσθαι δόξης κοινωνός. At first sight this suggests a witness in the sense of an eye-witness of the crucifixion; but such an interpretation is inadequate because of the way the author aligns himself with his readers in this construction as "fellow -elder" and "partaker in the glory that is to be revealed". The participation must then also involve a sharing in Christ's sufferings, or, as Christians, undergoing persecution (cf. 1 Pet. 4.13), whether the expression is Pauline (cf. Col. 1.24) or eschatological (of the Messianic woes).[82] Some scholars have seen in this passage a reference to Peter's martyrdom.[83]

In the Book of Revelation the word μάρτυς occurs five times. In 1.5 and again in 3.14 ὁ μάρτυς ὁ πιστός is applied to Jesus Christ himself. The significance of this is seen most naturally in the light of the opening words of the book (1.1-3) with the carefully structured account of the book's authority - τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὴν μαρτυρίαν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. God's revelation is transmitted in and through Jesus Christ, who has reliably fulfilled this task; he is worthy to be described by the Messianic title

from Ps. 88.38. (89.37)[84] But Arndt and Gingrich classify this usage of μάρτυς under the heading of 'martyr' on the grounds that "the death of Jesus was early regarded as the first martyrdom". More cautiously, Strathmann states that the "reference of the revelation""does not exhaust the meaning of the term"; he quotes Jo. 18.37 and comments: "He showed Himself faithful to this calling by dying".[85]

A similar title ὁ μάρτυς μου ὁ πιστός μου is applied to Antipas at 2.13. The information about him is meagre; we are told ἀπεκτάνθη παρ' ὑμῖν, that is, in Pergamum. The reference implies that the faithfulness of his witness is demonstrated in his death; because of the parallel title there is some recognition of the fact that "the crucified Lord is the model of the Christian witness". If the technical term for 'martyr' is not yet established, this is the situation out of which that usage was born. A similar context, although set out in more general and figurative terms, is suggested by the description of the woman Babylon as μεθύουσαν ἐκ τοῦ αἵματος τῶν ἁγίων καὶ ἐκ τοῦ αἵματος τῶν μαρτύρων Ἰησοῦ(17.6). According to R.H. Charles μάρτυς here, as in 2.13, means 'martyr'; "for since the Seer expects all the faithful to seal their witness with their blood (13.15), the word μάρτυς in our text is a witness faithful unto death, and therefore a martyr".[86] Strathmann does not agree, because there is also a reference to "martyred" saints as well as this supposed reference to martyrs. He thinks this passage deals with two distinct categories: "those who suffer death for their evangelistic witness are mentioned as well as those who are killed simply because of their faith". I suspect that Strathmann with his distinctions and Charles with his "tautologous clauses" are both being too precise; the author is not trying to classify those who have suffered at the hands of Babylon, but he is describing them as ἅγιοι and μάρτυρες. Whether μάρτυρες means 'martyrs' depends on the development of usage; but this is certainly a context in which that special sense becomes a real possibility.

The ambiguity remains in the reference to "my two witnesses" in 11.3; these two bear a prophetic witness, and are then put to death by the beast. The suffering of the Old Testament prophet is part of the Seer's picture, although by no means necessarily an integral part of the term μάρτυς. Johannes Munck seems to base his interpretation on the predominantly Lucan references to μάρτυρες as Apostolic witnesses, and in particular on Acts 22.15; 26.16 for Paul and 1 Peter 5.1 for Peter.[87] While it is true that the Apostles, in both the narrowest and the broader senses of the term, are described as μάρτυρες, the converse does not hold true, even for Revelation itself. This argument cannot, then, stand on its own; in identifying the witnesses of chapter 11, the possibility is not excluded of a reference to the Apostles in general, or to Peter and Paul in particular, but such a solution is by no means demanded. But the dominant view in Catholic and Protestant exegesis, to which Munck adhered, namely that Revelation uses μάρτυς for 'witness' and not in the later sense of 'martyr', is not, of course, the only view. H.-W. Surkau for example, held that Revelation only used the word "im betont martyriologischen Sinn".[88] And we have seen reason at least to recognise the ambiguity in a group of New Testament references including those of Revelation.

It is possible that Clement of Rome used the verb μαρτυρέω of martyrdom, and this is before the end of the first century and not so long after the date of Revelation. J.B. Lightfoot commenting on this development of the technical sense, wrote: "Doubtless the Neronian persecution had done much to promote this sense, aided perhaps by its frequent occurrence in the Revelation".[89] The earliest instances of witness by the major figures of the Christian Church, witness made complete in death, were likely to have a significant effect on the terminology of witness. Perhaps Munck's argument about Peter and Paul's martyrdom is more significant on this point than he was prepared to recognise. Strathmann couples with this influence "the heavy blows which smote the young church in Asia Minor"; he sees the Book

of Revelation as taking "the first clear steps" towards the technical development of the term μάρτυς.[90] In such a situation the context can prove decisive for the later meaning of the word, where this special sense of the word itself is only in its infancy. As a tentative conclusion to this survey of the significance of μάρτυς in chapter 11, it is a valid possibility that the word is indicative of the consequences in suffering and martyrdom as well as of the action of bearing witness. If a Christian example is being given, it could be that of Paul and Peter, not because they were apostles, but because they were martyrs.

The witnesses are identified as "the two olive trees and the two lampstands which stand before the Lord" (11.4). The imagery here is derived from Zechariah 4.1-14 but there are differences in the way it is applied. In Zechariah's vision the two olive trees are seen, one on the right and one on the left of a single lampstand (λυχνία=מְנוֹרָה)[91], which carries seven lamps (λύχνος=נֵר). The seven lamps are described as "the eyes of the Lord, which range through the whole earth", and the two olive trees "are the two anointed ones who stand by the Lord of the whole earth". Certainly the lampstand with seven lamps and the two trees are distinct from one another, not equated as are the two trees and the two lamps in Revelation. The rather obscure text in Zech. 4.12 may mean that the two trees supply the lamp directly with oil.

According to P.R. Ackroyd, the interpretation of Zechariah's vision "points first to the seven eyes of God, ranging throughout the whole earth, expressive of the omniscience of God and the range of divine rule". "A second stage of interpretation describes the olive trees as 'sons of oil' (RSV 'anointed') representing Zerubbabel and Joshua as the two agents of the divine purpose". A third element in v.12 "represents an extension of the basic idea, pointing to the function of the two leaders in contributing to the well-being of the community".[92]

Because the author of Revelation seems to have used this imagery freely, there can be no certainty that he will have interpreted it in the same way as in Zechariah's vision. The seven lamps are also a feature of the vision in Revelation 1, and, according to the interpretation in 1.20, are identified with the seven churches. G.B. Caird follows this idea through and accordingly interprets the two lampstands in Revelation 11 as "a proportion of the church in all parts of the world".[93] Some commentators, like Th. Zahn, are emphatic that John has used the imagery creatively, with disregard for the context in Zechariah.[94] Others would follow the speculative suggestions, considered by Bousset, that this imagery may belong to a broader tradition, interpreted by Zechariah in a specialised way, or, as considered by Charles,that links in the development of thought from Zechariah to Revelation are missing.[95] Identifications of the two olive trees within Judaism ranged widely; according to Rabbinic exegesis, spiritualising from the context of Zechariah, they represent priesthood and monarchy.[96]

The author of Revelation has collected a number of images which he can apply to the two figures of the witnesses. He seems to have treated the symbols from Zechariah's vision with freedom so that he can apply them directly to his own subject. There were two witnesses; this number may simply represent actual circumstances, but it must also be significant that the legal requirement is for two witnesses to validate a testimony. (Dt. 17.6, 19.15; Num. 35.30; Mt. 18.16; 2 Cor. 13.1; Heb. 10.28; cf. Jo. 8.17-18) To describe his witnesses further, John utilises the imagery from Zechariah; the olive trees are readily available and in the right number. As he also wishes to use the idea of the lamps he must modify the number to make it applicable. This seems a more natural direction for modification to take place than the contrary suggested by R.H. Charles when he writes - "if 11.4 belongs to the original document, the doubling of the Witnesses may be due to the reinterpretation of Zech. 4.14".[97]

If the two olive trees originally represented Zerubbabel the anointed

king and Joshua the anointed priest, the fulfilment in Zechariah's day of the prophecy of Jeremiah (33.14-26), then it is possible that the reapplication of this imagery refers to those who exercise royal and priestly functions within the Christian Church. In fact, as John addresses the seven churches of Asia at the start of his work, he ascribes glory to Christ who "made us a kingdom, priests to his God and Father" (1.6, cf. 5.10, 20.6). Such a reference in terms of chapter 11 could apply generally to the Christian churches, or, if a more specific reference is possible, then to individual Christians, perhaps two notable examples, who have been martyred and share "in the first resurrection" (20.4-6)

What fresh ideas could be added to the picture by the modified imagery of the lamps? One possibility is that outlined by Caird - this is the proportion of the church to suffer martyrdom[78]; but it is a weakness of this theory that no satisfactory account can be given of why precisely two sevenths is the selected fraction. When the seven-branched lampstand (or seven lampstands) is such a potent representative symbol of the unity and diversity of the churches, the force of the imagery here seems to be limited so arbitrarily merely to bring it into line with the pairs of witnesses and trees. If the imagery was to represent an aspect of the universal church, one feels that the picture could have been drawn to include the seven lamps.

Another interpretation would correspond more closely with the original spirit of Zechariah's vision and the imagery of the olive trees. In Zechariah the lamps are the seven "eyes of the Lord which range through the whole earth" expressive of the extent of divine rule. If this is reinterpreted in terms of the work of God within the Christian Church, and its missionary outreach to the known world, then it is possible to see how this universal reference can be expressed meaningfully in terms of the figure two, rather than the original symbolism of seven. The allusion could well be to the Early Church situation represented by Paul

in these terms - "I had been entrusted with the gospel to the uncircumcised, just as Peter had been entrusted with the gospel to the circumcised (for he who worked through Peter for the mission to the circumcised worked through me also for the Gentiles)". (Galatians 2.7-8).[99] Peter and Paul had divided the world between them in God's service. John could then be referring very precisely to these two notable Christian martyrs who had been "the eyes of the Lord" to the world.

"Heirs to the crowns of Zerubbabel and Joshua, the witnesses are to succeed also to the rod of Moses and the mantle of Elijah".[100] These words of G.B. Caird provide a connecting link to the third area of consideration, that is the power which the witnesses possess. There is little doubt that 11.5-6 depicts the two witnesses as exercising Elijah's power as "a man of God" to call down fire,[101] and sharing in Elijah's ability to prevent rain[102] and Moses' reputation for turning water into blood, as the one "who smote the Egyptians with every sort of plague" (1 Sam. 4.8). What is much more open to debate is the significance which such attributes can have when applied to the two witnesses; is this a genuine apocalyptic tradition about Moses and Elijah which has found currency in a Christian context, or is it another element, alongside the imagery from Zechariah, which goes to make up a larger and radically different picture?

Jeremias identifies the two witnesses with Moses and Elijah. "The two witnesses of Rev. 11.3ff are the prophet like Moses (Dt. 18.15, 18) and the returning Elijah (Mal. 3.23)".[103] In his earlier article he discusses the return of "the suffering Elijah";[104] "in only one New Testament passage (Rev. 11.3ff) is the expectation that Elijah redivivus has still to come in the future plainly advanced as a doctrine of the early Christian community". This expectation is in conflict with the Gospel tradition which believes that Elijah has already come in the person of John the Baptist. Jeremias concludes that Rev. 11.3ff must therefore belong to a pre-Christian apocalyptic tradition which treats of the return of Moses and Elijah and their suffering. Mk.9.12f, with its prophecy of suffering for both the Son of Man and Elijah,

can be taken to support this conjecture, assuming that the reference is to an extra-canonical tradition, which has been expunged from later Jewish writing for reasons of anti-Christian polemic. This tradition, although lost in Judaism, is preserved within the early Christian traditions about the Antichrist which Bousset described and documented.[105] Jeremias also quotes from the Coptic Apocalypse of Elijah,[106] which appeared in Steindorff's edition of 1899 subsequent to Bousset's work: "When, therefore, Elijah and Enoch hear that the shameless one has displayed himself on the holy place, they come down and fight with him, saying ... The shameless one will hear it and become angry and will fight with them in the market place of the great city and will make war with them for 7 days and they will lie dead for $3\frac{1}{2}$ days on the market place in view of the whole people. But on the fourth day they will rise again ... On that day they will rejoice to high heaven as they shine forth and the whole people and the whole world sees them". Elijah and Enoch appear again directly before the parousia of the Messiah: "They lay aside the flesh of this world and put on their heavenly flesh; they prosecute the son of lawlessness and kill him".

There are important points of agreement with the tradition in Revelation 11 (the death of the two witnesses, the exposure of their corpses for $3\frac{1}{2}$ days, the Resurrection and Ascension), but there are also significant differences (Enoch in place of Moses, the appearance of Antichrist prior to the witnesses, the purpose of the coming of the witnesses) which point to an independent tradition, although perhaps a neighbouring one. Here Jeremias is effectively reiterating and reinforcing the original arguments of Bousset. The conclusion of the story in the Elijah Apocalypse with the return of the witnesses might be, Jeremias suggests, the original conclusion of this tradition, modified in Revelation because there it is Christ who overcomes Antichrist (19.17ff).

Johannes Munck is critical of the work of Bousset on which Jeremias relies, and is particularly critical of Bousset's presuppositions.[107]

"Indem Bousset einen grossen Stoff aus der Zeit nach der Apokalypse, bisweilen sehr lange nach dieser, sammelt und verwendet, will er Traditionen rekonstruieren, die unabhängig von der neutestamentlichen Apokalypse und älter als diese sind. Anstatt eine gründliche Untersuchung der Frage vorauszuschicken, in welchem Grade dieser von ihm so verdienstvoll ans Licht gezogene Stoff von der Apokalypse abhängig oder eventuell nicht abhangig ist, versteht Bousset Apok. 11.3.13 von seiner eignen quellenkritischen und traditionsgeschichtlichen Auslegung dieses Textes aus, welche sich naturlich nicht mit der altkirchlichen Auslegung deckt.[108] Es entsteht dadurch ein grosser Abstand zwischen Apok. 11.3-13 in Boussets Auslegung und den altkirchlichen und mittelalterlichen Texten von den beiden Zeugen, so dass diese nicht als Auslegung des Textes der Apokalypse oder im mindesten als abhängig von diesem aufgefasst werden können. Stattdessen stellt Bousset fest, dass sich in diesen Texten eine bisher unbekannte, aber lebenskräftige Tradition von apokalyptischen Vorstellungen findet, die von der Apokalypse unabhängig sind. Und er meint, dass diese Texte von der 'erstaunlichen kontinuität' der Tradition zeugen, indem er ganz einseitig die Ähnlichkeiten betont hat, die zwischen diesen Texten bestehen, aber unterlassen hat, die offensichtlichen Unterschiede, die ebenfalls die Texte prägen, zu untersuchen und zu erklären".

Munck supports these general criticisms by a detailed consideration of five points of variation from the tradition of Revelation which Bousset held to support the independence of the tradition he had analysed and reconstructed. The first is the identification of the witnesses as Elijah and Enoch in Bousset's tradition, over against Elijah and Moses as the usual identification in Revelation - but Munck points out that Moses and Elijah were by no means the favoured pair in early commentators and patristic writings.[109] The second and fourth points are logically taken together; while in the Apocalypse the witnesses are active in prophesying before the beast appears, in Bousset's tradition Elijah and Enoch appear after Antichrist

with the express aim of doing battle against him. Here Munck indicates the hazards of forcing a temporal sequence in exegesis, and suggests that the order Antichrist/witnesses represents the order of theological treatment in the writings of Hippolytus and Pseudo-Hippolytus, while the original chronological order was witnesses/Antichrist.[110] Bousset's third point is that in the independent tradition the drought (connected with the witnesses in Rev. 11.6) is a punishment from God for apostasy to Antichrist. Munck points out that Rev. 11.6 does not say that the witnesses actually inflicted the drought, and the eschatological plague of Bousset's tradition has nothing to do with the witnesses.[111] Bousset's final point is that the resurrection and ascension of the witnesses after $3\frac{1}{2}$ days is found in Revelation, but only rarely in the other tradition, where it is paralleled by the waking of the witnesses by Michael and Gabriel, or by a description of the Last Judgement. Munck considers it more likely that the resurrection was originally in the tradition but was sometimes omitted, because of its doctrinal embarrassment, and sometimes passed over, in the more cursory references to Elijah and Enoch which Bousset cited. In traditions which are explicit, other events, such as the culmination of the period of Antichrist, intervene between the death of the witnesses and the Judgement.[112]

It is clear that the traditions are by no means as homogeneous as Bousset thought, and that the variety of individual differences tends to destroy the force of his argument on the basis of five main differences. And without substantial evidence for a tradition of the two witnesses, independent of Revelation, that could lead back to a Jewish tradition older than Revelation (but instead there is argument for Revelation as the source of these traditions) Jeremias' account of the apocalyptic tradition of "the suffering Elijah" loses much of its immediate support and significance. For Munck also argues that the Coptic Apocalypse of Elijah represents a confused rendering of Revelation 11, and not an independent tradition

from Jewish sources.[113] Nor is Mk. 9.12f an adequate indication that "the idea of a suffering forerunner is not strange to the contemporaries of Jesus".[114] Verse 12 does not say that Elijah will suffer as the Son of Man will, and verse 13 can be explained as a Christian interpretation in the light of the death of John the Baptist. Without the support either of Bousset's thesis or of evidence from the Gospel tradition, Jeremias' other references cannot sustain his argument.[115]

Is the tradition of suffering any better supported in the expectation about Moses? According to Jeremias' account of "The Second Moses as a Figure of Suffering"[116] in Rabbinic writings "elements of suffering are constantly linked with this figure". This is natural because the historical Moses "was regarded as the great example of patience", and, at least in the third century, "atoning efficacy was ascribed to his death and burial in the wilderness". In the Assumption of Moses (3.11) he is described as the sufferer, who "has suffered much in Egypt, at the Red Sea, and in the Wilderness, through forty years". In the New Testament also Moses is depicted as a figure of suffering (cf. Acts 7.17-44, Heb. 11.24-26). And there are verses where according to Jeremias the expectation of a "prophet like Moses" (Dt. 18.15, 18) is "construed as an intimation of the suffering Messiah" (Lk. 24.27, 44ff; Acts. 26.22f). But this emphasis on the elements of suffering is explained in the light of the Moses/Christ typology where "the reality of the second Moses determines the view of the first".

But the picture cannot be drawn as sharply as these first impressions suggest. Jeremias' own account emphasises the problems and obscurity about any Jewish typology involving Moses. If the second Moses is part of popular Messianic expectation, then the ideas of suffering may well belong to the realities of the situation facing the Messiah, rather than being intrinsic to the expected figure of Moses (cf. the range of parallels in Rabbinic typology cited by Jeremias[117], where the reference to suffering involves the whole people and not just the second Moses: "Like Moses, the Messiah will

lead the people into the wilderness to undergo a period of distress and suffering".) This judgement would be supported by Jeremias' conclusion from the New Testament use of this typology, if the passages Jeremias cites can sustain such a typological construction. But it is more likely that these passages should be taken literally with reference to the fulfilment of the Old Testament (the books of Moses and the prophets). Finally neither Acts. 7.17-44 nor Heb. 11.23-28 is designed to present the picture of the Suffering Moses; the latter offers an example of faith, in that Moses, instead of enjoying the wealth of Egypt, chose to share in the common sufferings of his people.

The expectation of a Suffering Moses, like that of Suffering Elijah then seems to derive almost all of its original support from Revelation 11. It would therefore be more realistic to examine more critically what this passage says about Elijah and Moses; does it make use of any earlier traditions apart from the allusions to the Old Testament in 11.5 and 6? Although there are no grounds that we know for deriving the suffering of the witnesses from any expectation of such suffering figures, it is possible that the account of their powers and activity may owe something to traditional expectations.

The expectation of the return of Elijah is based on the prophecy of Malachi 3.23-4; if this is taken with Malachi 3.1f then he is the messenger and precursor of Yahweh himself (cf. Sir. 48.10, Str.B. IV 782-4). Elijah is expected as the forerunner of the Messiah, either together with Enoch (Eth. En. 90.31; 89.52; 4 Esr. 6.26) or alone (Justin Dial. 8.4, 49.1; Str.B.IV 748-89; Soph. 19.9; and N.T. references Mk. 9.11; Mt. 17.10; Jn. 1.21, 25; Mk. 6.15//; 8.28//). It is possible that the expectation of Elijah was also identified with the expectation of the eschatological high priest which is rooted in Zech. 4.1ff and developed in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs and Talmudic literature (Test.R.6; S.7; L.2, 8, 18; Jud. 21; D.5; N.8; G.8; Jos. 19; Str.B.III 696, 812; IV 460ff, 789ff)

In accordance with this it could be maintained by the second century A.D. that Elijah would anoint the Messiah.

The expectation of Moses is of a different order. There are few references to the return of Moses himself in the last time, and these are associated with the problem of the fate of Israel's wilderness generation, for whom Moses' death would have atoning power. Nowhere in the older Rabbinic literature is there any idea that the returning Moses will be the Messiah. But instead Moses came to be seen as a type of the Messiah; the reference to a "prophet like Moses" (Dt. 18.15, 18) is variously applied,[118] and sometimes associated with the Messiah (cf. Jo. 1.21, 25; Acts.3.22) although not necessarily equated with him, except in Samaritan[119] and occasionally in Christian theology; and the typology of the first and the final redemption became a frequent principle in Rabbinic writing ("as the first redeemer (Moses), so the final redeemer (The Messiah)")[120]

The tradition of two forerunners of the Messiah is not found in older Rabbinic literature, but appears within the apocalyptic tradition, beginning with Eth.En. 90.31, and is expressed more generally, or allusively in 4 Ezr. 6.26.[121] It is possible that this tradition is reflected in the story of the Transfiguration at Mk. 9.4-5//s where Moses and Elijah appear with Christ. But outside the New Testament by far the most usual identification[122] of these forerunners is with Enoch and Elijah, chosen because they were both translated to heaven while still alive (4 Ezr. 6.26).[123] If Mk. 9.4f and Rev.11.3f represent evidence for another tradition in which Moses replaces Enoch, then perhaps this tradition was supported by a belief in the translation of Moses.[124] But might it not be more likely that the Gospel tradition of the Transfiguration modifies the existing popular hope, in order to depict Moses and Elijah, the embodiments of 'the Law and the Prophets', as the "supporters" of Christ? Then the author of Revelation either for this, or for his own, good reason retains the imagery of the

two figures of the Transfiguration. But meanwhile Jewish expectation is perpetuating the tradition of Enoch and Elijah, and writers in the Christian apocalyptic tradition, and even early commentators on Revelation, preserve this identification of the two eschatological figures, despite the allusive intentions of the author of Revelation.

Revelation 11 presents two witnesses engaged in prophetic activity and endowed with power. One set of powers is that of Elijah the prophet who was taken up to God and will return before the End; the other set of powers is that of Moses, presumably transmitted through the figure of the "prophet like Moses" who can have Messianic associations. The concepts of Elijah and Moses are linked in Rev. 11.4-6 with the concepts of Joshua and Zerubbabel (as represented in the imagery of Zechariah 4). It may be that this is the author's way of building up a picture, by combining imagery from varied sources; but there is also a possibility that such artistic creativity achieves an essential connection of ideas. Joshua and Zerubbabel are taken to represent priestly and royal functions; Elijah and Moses may balance this with an emphasis on prophecy, including prophecy which interprets the law. Alternatively, while the prophetic element is expressed by the witnesses' activity in this episode, Elijah may represent priesthood, as the eschatological figure who will anoint the Messiah (perhaps even to be identified with Qumran's Messiah of Aaron); the royal functions are then taken up by Moses, who is referred to by Philo as a king[125] (the apparent confusion of the "prophet like Moses" and the messianic king, which is problematic in Jo. 6.14-15, would support this suggestion, on the assumption that John is reproducing reliably a popular expectation and not combining motifs of his own within the narrative).[126]

As far as we know this specific pairing of Elijah and Moses in eschatological expectation is unprecedented outside the Christian tradition. But in the Gospels there are two relevant passages. The discussion of the

identity of John the Baptist (Jo. 1.20-1) involves three figures, Christ, Elijah and the "prophet like Moses", which may reflect popular expectation (but it is only a possibility that these correspond, in the reverse order, with the Qumran expectation of IQS ix.11)[127] The Transfiguration, in its Marcan form (Mk. 9.4-5), introduces Ἠλίας σὺν Μωϋσεῖ ..., συλλαλοῦντες τῷ Ἰησοῦ, which even corresponds to the order of the allusions in Rev.11.5-6 (although this order reverts to the more natural and historical order "Moses and Elijah" in Mk.9.5 and in the Matthean and Lucan versions). In default of other evidence it seems likely that the author of Revelation has in mind this latter episode in the Gospel tradition, when he records the words of the heavenly voice about "my two witnesses". As we have seen,[128] the element of suffering and death does not appear as an integral part of the traditional expectation, nor is it present in the words of the Gospel traditions. It seems reasonable to conclude that this element is added by the author of Revelation on the basis of experience. He is offering a reinterpretation of ideas about Elijah and Moses, and he identifies them with two notable witnesses who have suffered and died. It is possible that the evidence of the martyrdoms of Peter and Paul provides the material for the suffering in the story of the witnesses.[129]

Why might the author of Revelation choose to present Peter and Paul in terms of Mosesand Elijah?[130] There is no doubt that the ideas of the prophet whose return is expected, and the awaited "prophet like Moses" were suitable for application to the pioneers of the Christian mission.[131] Christian evangelism could be described in terms of prophecy,[132] and its principal exponents would readily be seen by their enemies as "two prophets" who "had been a torment to those who dwell on the earth". The popular expectations that existed about Elijah and Moses were ripe for reinterpretation, and the Elijah theme had already undergone a Christian interpretation in terms of John the Baptist; further reinterpretations were possible within the endeavour

to achieve an eschatological understanding of the Christian Church. Each popular expectation offered scope in terms of the awaited appearance, and for Elijah, and probably for Moses too (in some circles at least), there was the potentiality inherent in translation or assumption to heaven. As Farrer observes: "The ascension of the witnesses shows them once more in the parts of Moses and Elias".[133] The potentiality of these figures is reapplied by John in terms of death and resurrection and then ascension to heaven, a sequence which deliberately parallels the example of Jesus Christ himself. The martyrs die as their Lord died, "and like him they have their Easter Day",[134] although the tradition of "the third day" is adjusted to correspond with the $3\frac{1}{2}$ days (or half-week) of Daniel's prophecy. There is tremendous assurance in the thought that these early martyrs have been taken up to heaven to their Lord.

Perhaps it is the author's intention to offer a bold reinterpretation of the Transfiguration tradition in terms of Paul and Peter with their Lord. There is a certain appropriateness in the description of Paul (like Elijah) as the "prophetic troubler of Israel", and of Peter (like the Mosaic figure) as the "legal prophet", especially since this also corresponds very neatly with the division of labour set out in Galations 2.7-8, and already discussed in terms of the Zechariah prophecy. An interpretation in terms of Peter and Paul can then offer an explanation, relying on a creative combination of ideas from traditional expectation and Old Testament material, which does more justice to the situation than theories about conjectured earlier traditions on which the author is dependent. Peter and Paul hold together the pairing of Moses and Elijah and the association with suffering and death at just the points where our evidence about contemporary and earlier traditions is in danger of letting these ideas fall apart.

The two witnesses/martyrs will be allowed to complete the prophetic element of their testimony (11.7a) before the intervention of the Beast

(cf. Mk.13.10; Mt.24.14). The beast is τὸ θηρίον, the same word which is used in 13.1 of a beast with seven heads ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης ἀναβαῖνον , and in 17.3, 8ff. of the beast on which the harlot sits, the beast which ἦν καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν καὶ μέλλει ἀναβαίνειν ἐκ τῆς ἀβύσσου . In 11.7 it is also described as τὸ ἀναβαῖνον ἐκ τῆς ἀβύσσου . Since ἄβυσσος can be used of the underworld, in the sense of the primeval depths filled up with the ocean or waters of chaos,[135] these three descriptions can be taken as identical, and the beasts regarded as one. The antecedents of this beast figure, and its connection with the Antichrist tradition, are discussed in detail in the later chapter devoted to the beast. For our present purposes, it is important to see what effect the interpretation proposed for the beast in Rev. 17 has upon the understanding of the role of this same beast in Rev. 11.

The use of the present participle ἀναβαῖνον, with the repeated definite article in 11.7, suggests that it is a description of a characteristic of the beast, rather than a reference to a particular event, where the participle replaces another main verb.[136] This admits the possibility, natural enough in a panoramic view of the activities of Antichrist, that he can appear on more than one occasion. In the ultimate manifestation described in chapters 13 and 17 the beast is to be understood in terms of the Nero Redivivus legend, applied to the circumstances of the worship of the Roman Emperors.[137] The Antichrist legend can be applied to particular historical figures, as, for example, to Antiochus Epiphanes in Daniel, and to the Roman general Pompey in Ps. Sol. 2.29.[138] In a rather different metaphor, Nero himself was described as θηρίον by Apollonius of Tyana, according to Philostratus (Vit.Ap.IV 38). It would therefore maintain the continuity and essential identity of the beast imagery if the beast of chapter 11 were Nero himself, and the beast of chapters 13 and 17 Nero Redivivus. Exactly this interpretation is possible if the two witnesses represent

Peter and Paul, who traditionally were martyred in the reign of Nero.

The Antichrist legend has a long history,[139] both in its politico-religious and even more in its theological manifestations; the word 'Antichrist' is itself relatively late, first being known in Christian writings, but the ideas to which it was applied are much older. They can be traced back to Daniel's vision of the beasts and to the "contemptible person" of Daniel 11, and further back to Ezekiel's account of Gog and Magog (chs. 38, 39). The ideas are probably older still, and may derive from the Creation Myths, in the conflicts of the creator with Tehom or Tiamat, or with Leviathan. Naturally enough for a nation which orientated itself on Jerusalem, such that the capture of Jerusalem represented a cataclysmic experience for the nation, the final conflict with Antichrist is also centred on Jerusalem or its neighbourhood (e.g. Dan. 11.45 "between the sea and the glorious holy mountain"; 2 Bar. 40.1f. "they will take him up to Mount Zion"). So in the apocalyptic elements within the Gospel tradition, the "abomination of desolation" is linked with a prophecy of the destruction of the Jerusalem temple (Mk.13), a theme which is historicised by Luke in terms of the Siege and Fall of Jerusalem (Lk.21.20).

It is reasonable to look for an association with Jerusalem in the application of the Antichrist imagery in Revelation 11, especially if, with many scholars, one detects an earlier Jewish or Jewish Christian apocalypse, preserved at this point in Revelation. At first sight the connection with Jerusalem is clear: 11.1-2 provides the context of the siege and fall of Jerusalem; 11.8 describes the setting, where the witnesses' bodies lie, as "the street of the great city ... where their Lord was crucified"; and thirdly, by a more recondite argument from 11.13, if the figure of seven thousand killed in the earthquake is a strict continuation of the decimation of the city, then a total of 70,000 inhabitants is an appropriate figure for Jerusalem.[140] So the most obvious

reference of the location in 11.8 is to "<u>that</u> Jerusalem which had killed the prophets and crucified the Messiah (Mt.23.28-31, 37f; Lk.13.33f; 21.20-4)".[141]

But 11.8 offers two further designations of the city which are intended to be understood πνευματικῶς, that is, spiritually; this must refer to a deeper meaning than the surface, or literal, one (cf. the use of σαρκικῶς in Justin Dialogue 14, and the contrast κατὰ σάρκα , κατὰ πνεῦμα in Rom.1.4).[142] These names are 'Sodom' and 'Egypt'. In Isaiah 1.9, 10 Jerusalem and its rulers are compared with Sodom and its rulers (cf. Isaiah 3.9; Ezek. 16.46ff; Mart.Is. 3.10; Rom. 9.29). Sodom's reputation of rebellion and moral degradation and the consequence of utter ruin are presumably in mind (cf. 2 Pet. 2.6, Jude 7). In the Gospel tradition Sodom is compared favourably with Capernaum in its response to Jesus (Mt. 11.24), and with the cities of Israel who reject the Christian missionaries (Mt. 10.15; Lk. 10.12). Although the comparison is applicable to Jerusalem at its worst, it is also employed more widely in contexts of rebellion against God and judgement on evil. Egypt is naturally understood in Israel's tradition as a place of captivity, and the recollection of the Exodus from Egypt could be employed by Deutero-Isaiah, to bring hope in a subsequent situation of captivity, in Babylon. "It is virtually certain that by John's day Egypt had become a typological name for all anti-theocratic world kingdoms"[143] (cf. R. Jose b. Chalaphta - "All kingdoms are called by the name Egypt because they enslave Israel"; cf. Str.B.III.812). There are precedents also for the combination of references to Sodom and Egypt as examples of evil. Amos 4.10-11 couples punishments like the plagues brought against Egypt with the punishment of Sodom. There are allusions in Wisdom of Solomon 19.10ff to similar themes.

The city is called ἡ πόλις ἡ μεγάλη (11.8); in every other instance in Revelation "the great city" refers to Babylon (identified as Rome)[144]—

16.19; 17.18; 18.10, 16, 18, 19, 21. If this expression refers to Rome in every other instance, while Jerusalem, old and new, is described as ἡ πόλις ἡ ἁγία (11.2; 21.2, 10; 22.19) or ἡ πόλις ἡ ἠγαπημένη(20.9), it is reasonable to suppose that 11.8 also refers to Rome, especially when the examples of parallel usage of μεγάλη for Jerusalem, cited by commentators, are not reassuring,[145] Perhaps we ought to look again at the total identification made in 11.8: the only literally applicable name is "the great city" or Rome; the other three names, 'Sodom', 'Egypt', and 'where their Lord was crucified' (i.e. Jerusalem in the evil context of that event) all follow that important word πνευματικῶς . Therefore these three names, each in their own way symbolic of an evil, are applied to Rome, which, in the personification of Babylon the great harlot, epitomises evil for the author.

The Antichrist legend, although its final working-out was located in or near Jerusalem, had for some time been associated also with Rome, as Rome had supplied the particular identifications or the general personification of the figure of evil. What seems to have happened in Revelation is a reapplication of this tradition in such a way that Rome's evil is "brought home" to her, and results in her own destruction. The destruction of Jerusalem associated with this expectation in the Gospel tradition is now an historical fact; but the course of the "just war" against evil has moved on (perhaps feelings aroused by Rome's participation in the destruction of Jerusalem have contributed to the zeal with which that war is undertaken) so that it must now work itself out in the anticipated destruction of Rome (Rev.18). Rev. 11 could represent, both historically and thematically in the mind of the writer, the transition stage in this reapplication. The historical context is set by 11.1-2, with its reference to the Siege and Fall of Jerusalem. But now the expectation about Jerusalem is being transformed into a future hope about the glorious New Jerusalem, the holy city of

Rev. 21, 22. It may be that Jerusalem will still provide the setting for a final conflict, but this is only expressed in terms of a survival of the Gog/Magog tradition set around τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἠγαπημένην(20.7-10). Within the main theme of the book, the last and most awful manifestation of Antichrist, in the beast of chapters 13 and 17, is linked indissolubly with Rome, personified as Babylon the harlot.

This shift of location which brings Rome's evils home to her is accomplished very neatly, and it is the two witnesses who, by virtue of their origin and identification, provide the focus of this reorientation. The witness who "came up with Jesus from Galilee to Jerusalem" and the witness who saw the vision of Christ on the Damascus road, these two who, according to tradition, came to Rome and were martyred there in the reign of Nero, in themselves supply the connecting link. The Lord,crucified in Jerusalem, is the model of the Christian witness; Peter and Paul, in following this example, carried their witness to the heart of the Roman Empire. The seer, in recalling this episode at this point, sets the scene for his account of the last manifestation of Antichristian bestiality by the power of Rome; and the record of Nero prepares the way for the expectation of Nero Redivivus.

Most of the arguments for the setting of Rev.11.3-13 in Jerusalem rather than Rome (such as those raised by Charles[146]) have already been answered, at least by implication. The reference to Jerusalem in 11.2 fits well in our present account. A connection between Moses and Elijah and Rome would admittedly be strange, but the imagery used of these Old Testament figures has been reapplied to a new situation which connects up with Rome as well as with Jerusalem. The expression οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς (11.10), far from limiting the reference to one country (Israel) refers to the non-Christian world (cf. 3.10; 6.10; 8.13; 13.8, 12, 14; 17.2, 8) who are ἐκ τῶν λαῶν καὶ φυλῶν καὶ γλωσσῶν καὶ ἐθνῶν (11.9). The relevance of the figure of 7,000 in 11.13 is highly debatable, and it

has not been proved to be exactly one tenth of Jerusalem's estimated population. The most important aspect of this feature of the story may be the affected proportion ($\frac{1}{10}$th) compared with one quarter (the fourth seal - 6.8) and one third (the trumpet plagues - cf. 8.7). If the force of this progression can be pressed, this would indicate an event which actually preceded the opening of the seals, thus supporting the argument for a 'flash-back' in chapter 11.[147] Finally the argument from an original document preserved in this passage, while opening up possibilities for further consideration in connection with the suggested reapplication of the Antichrist legend, is too speculative to carry much weight, and in any case need not affect a judgement on the final author's intentions.

We can now draw together the main points discussed. From the context of chapter 11 come the indications, firstly that here is material with a Jewish 'atmosphere', especially in the measuring of the temple in 11.1-2; secondly that this material is closely linked with the final appearance of Antichrist; and thirdly it is suggested that the author is interpreting a significant past event. All of these points are borne out in the proposed solution which, in turn, satisfies five principal requirements from the text itself. In this situation the word μάρτυς can begin to indicate the consequences, in suffering and martyrdom, as well as the action of bearing witness; it is then possible that a Christian example is presented of Peter and Paul as martyrs. The imagery from Zechariah refers to those with a royal and priestly function within the Christian Church and in particular to a pair of key figures who were "the eyes of the Lord" to the world. Peter and Paul represent the foundation on which the association of Moses and Elijah in a context of suffering and death can be built. There is continuity and essential identity between Nero, as the beast of chapter 11, and Nero Redivivus, as the beast of chapters 13 and 17. And finally the combination of the symbolic "cities" behind the setting of Rome represents

the result both of the historical activity of Peter and Paul and of the reinterpretation of the Antichrist tradition.

Admittedly the common martyrdom of Peter and Paul is traditional, but it is a tradition which is strongly supported apart from the indications of Revelation 11[148] (1 Clem. 5; Ign.Rom. 4.3; Dionysius of Corinth in Eusebius H.E.II. 25, 8; Gaius in Eusebius H.E.II. 25, 6-7; Tertullian Scorpiace 15; Adv.Marcionem 4.5; De Praescriptione Haereticorum 36; Hippolytus Commentary on Daniel 2.36; Acta Petri et Pauli). Lightfoot observed that the "juxtaposition of S. Peter and S. Paul, where the Roman Church is concerned, occurs not infrequently".[149] According to Bruce, the words of Clement in their context can be taken to imply that "the two apostles ... were the most eminent of the Neronian martyrs". Further, "it might, indeed, be possible to construe Ignatius's language to mean ... that, while Peter and Paul had given the Roman church certain orders with reference to their martyrdom, he could only make a request of them regarding his".[150] Dionysius of Corinth is the first to make the tradition explicit, when he says that they taught together in Italy, as well as in Corinth, and suffered martyrdom there κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρόν . Gaius, a Roman Christian, describes the sites of the "monuments (τρόπαια) of the victorious apostles": Peter's on the Vatican hill,[151] and Paul's on the Ostian Way. Tertullian refers to the different circumstances of their respective deaths. Eusebius sums up these earlier writers, and the consensus of tradition, when he says (H.E.II. 25, 5): "They record that under Nero, Paul was beheaded at Rome itself, and Peter likewise was crucified, and this record is accredited by the attachment, until this day, of the names of Peter and Paul to the burial places there".

Beyond the fact that Peter and Paul were both martyred in the reign of Nero, the variations and the inherent difficulties in the traditional dating are probably relatively unimportant for a consideration of this passage in Revelation.[152] But it is possible that the traditional period

allocated to the prophesying of the witnesses, 1260 days or $3\frac{1}{2}$ years, was intended to apply to the period from the fire of Rome in 64 A.D., with its repercussions for the Christians which Tacitus describes (Annals 15.45), and the date of the martyrdom in 67/8 A.D.

The scroll open in the hand of the angel introduces the 'interlude' and provides an occasion for an historical 'flash-back'. The scene is the Siege and Fall of Jerusalem, the forty-two months of the Flavian war from 67 to 70 A.D. which the Seer reinterprets in accordance with his overall theme. Then the scene changes, moving further back, but pausing at the closely related episode of the witness of Peter and Paul in Rome, their witness and their martyrdom in the 1260 days from 64-67/8 A.D. Within this account with its traditional and historical allusions, there is also a reference back to a more distant event, the Crucifixion in Jerusalem, an event which provided the example that Christ's martyrs are following.

The 'interlude' ends with the earthquake and then the seventh trumpet sounds. But the third woe, the manifestation of Antichrist, is anticipated by a triumphant assertion of the reality of God's power; this offers reassurance that, however dark the hour of Antichrist may seem, in truth all power is vested in God and this is the moment he has chosen for "the kingdom of the world" to "become the kingdom of our Lord and of his Christ, and he shall reign for ever and ever". (11.15) Before the beast actually rises from the sea, the Seer provides further explanation, in historical and in cosmic terms, of the circumstances which have brought about this final and most bitter earthly manifestation of Antichrist. So John introduces the portent of "a woman clothed with the sun".

Notes on Chapter 5

1. Charles, Commentary I 269ff.

2. Charles, Commentary I 283f.

3. S. Giet, 'L'Apocalypse et L'Histoire', Paris 1957, pp. 15f, 38f.

4. οὐκ ἂν ἁμάρτοιμι δ'εἰπὼν ἀλώσεως ἄρξαι τῇ πόλει τὸν 'Ανάνου θάνατον.

5. W. Hadorn, 'Die Offenbarung des Johannes', 1928.

6. Cf. 'Joannis Marianae scholia in vetus et novum Testamentum', Paris 1620 - In Apocalypsim pp. 884-96; M.E. Boismard 'L'Apocalypse ou les apocalypses de saint Jean', R.B. 56 (1949) p.540; 'L'Apocalypse' Paris 1950, p.54; Johannes Munck 'Petrus und Paulus in der Offenbarung Johannis', Copenhagen 1950; S. Giet op. cit., pp.39ff.

7. Eusebius Chron. (Helm ed. 1913, pp. 183, 5); cf. Jerome de viris illustr. 5.

8. B. W. Bacon, 'The Gospel of the Hellenists', 1933, p. 29.

9. A. Gelin, 'L'Apocalypse', Paris 1938, p. 627.

10. Cited in Munck op. cit., p. 13.

11. H. Gunkel 'Zum religionsgeschichtlichen Verständnis des Neuen Testaments' 1903, p. 60.

12. W. Bousset, 'Der Antichrist', 1895, p. 137; cf. 'Offenbarung', pp. 317-8.

13. F. Hommel, 'Die zwei verschwundenen Götter der Adapa Legende und Apocalypse 11.3-13' Mitteilungen der altorientalischen Gesellschaft Bd. IV. 1928-9, pp. 87-95.

14. Munck, op. cit., p.9.

15. J. Moffatt, 'Expositor's Greek Testament' Vol. 5, 1910.

16. Charles, Commentary I 282f.

17. Th. Zahn 'Die Offenbarung des Johannes' 1924-6; A. Schlatter 'Die Briefe und die Offenbarung des Johannes' 1950; D. Haugg 'Die Zwei Zeugen - eine exegetische Studie uber Apokalypse 11.1-13' 1936.

18. Minear, New Earth, p. 101.

19. Swete, Commentary, p. 134.

20. For Alcazar and Considine see J. S. Considine 'The Two Witnesses - Apoc. 11.3-13' C.B.Q. 8 (1946), pp. 377-92.

21. J. Behm 'Die Offenbarung des Johannes' 1949, p. 60.

22. M. Kiddle, 'The Revelation of St. John', 1940, pp. 183f.

23. L. Cerfaux, 'Témoins du Christ d'après le livre des Actes' in 'Recueil Lucien Cerfaux' Gembloux 1954 II 157-74.

24. A. Feuillet, 'Essai d'Interpretation du Chapitre XI de l'Apocalypse' N.T.S. 4 (1958) pp. 183-200; E. B. Allo 'L'Apocalypse de St. Jean' 1921; L. Gry 'Les Chapitres XI et XII de l'Apocalypse' R.B. 31 (1922) pp. 203-14.

25. Feuillet 'Chap. XI', p. 191, cf. basic idea in Surete, Commentary, p. 133; similar exegesis in Rissi 'Zeit' pp. 123-33.

26. Minear, 'New Earth', p. 222. cf. 1 Jo. 1.1-3 and Minear p. 4.

27. P. S. Minear, 'Ontology and Ecclesiology in the Apocalypse' N.T.S. 12 (1966) pp. 89-105. Quotations from p. 96 and 'New Earth', p. 103.

28. Minear, 'New Earth', p. 95.

29. Considine recognises the correspondence and expresses it in these terms: "In the seals we behold God's plan; in the trumpets we see the execution of that plan. In Ch. 11 John is elaborating upon the 'great tribulation' hinted at in 7.14; the event he describes is regarded as parallel to the seals sequence, completing what was told us there." "What is left unsaid in the one is told in the other". (C.B.Q. 8 - 1946).

30. For the idea that the symbolism of Rev. 7.9-10 is founded in the ceremony of Tabernacles cf. F. J. Badcock 'The Feast of Tabernacles', J.T.S. 24 (1923) pp. 169-74.

31. Munck, op. cit., p. 53.

32. cf. Minear 'New Earth', p. 94.

33. Munck, op. cit., p. 55: "Es handelt sich also in Kap. 11 . . . um den entscheidenden Wendepunkt in der Apokalypse. . . Als die Apostel die Welt verliessen, war es klar, dass die Zeit des Antichrist angebrochen war, und jetzt ist sie gekommen. Die kleineren Verfolgungen, die bereits stattgefunden haben, sind die ersten Anzeichen der grossen Heimsuchungszeit, die mit dem Antichrist kommen soll."

34. 2 Thess. 2.3; Mk. 4.11. cf. Pauline usage for aspects of the purpose of God. "announced" = εὐηγγέλισεν.

35. In the context of Revelation a plausible interpretation is the diverse nature of the contents (cf. Charles I. 268). But Ezek. 3.3, 14; Jer. 15.16, 17 (Mass.) are concerned with the reaction of the prophet.

36. A further argument, mentioned by Charles I. 260, introduces a criterion of size. The dimunitive form βιβλαρίδιον would strictly limit the contents to a smaller amount than that contained in the βιβλίον of 5.1 - the substance of the seven seals.

37. Cf. Dan. 8.26; 12.4, 9; Rev. 22.10. This is in origin a literary device (on analogy with Is. 8.16? cf. LXX) to account for the fact that, although Daniel lived at the time of the Exile, his "writings" did not appear until the age of Antiochus Epiphanes. cf. pages 140-2 above; W. M. Ramsay 'The Early Christian Symbol of the Open Book' Expositor 6th series 6 (1905) pp. 294-306; Fitzer, Kittel TWNT 7. 941, 945. ct. Rev. 10.4 σφράγισον which represents a different idea:

the suppression of the seven thunders. They are not sealed as a prophecy for the distant future, because they are not even recorded.

38. Cf. page 143, for Caird's suggested qualification of this in terms of the Seer's standpoint in relation to Christ's victory.

39. Cf. interpretation as "die abgeschlossene Geschichte Israels" - G. Bornkamm 'Die Komposition der apokalyptischen Visionen in der Offenbarung Johannis' ZNTW 36 (1937) pp. 132-149, especially p. 144, citing H. Schlier 'Vom Antichrist' in 'Theologische Aufsätze, K. Barth zum 50 Geburtstag' 1936, p. 111.

40. J. Wellhausen 'Analyse der Offenbarung Johannis' Berlin 1907 p. 15 cf. 'Skizzen und Vorarbeiten' 6.221f; W. Bousset 'Offenbarung Johannis' 1896; Charles Commentary I. 270f.

41. For Mosbech cf. Munck op. cit.; A. Gelin op. cit., p. 625; S. Giet, op. cit., pp. 25ff, 36ff.

42. A. Feuillet 'Chap. XI', p. 185.

43. Charles, Commentary I. 274ff.

44. Cf. 1 Enoch 61.1-5 where angels with cords measure the righteous and faithful so that they may never be destroyed before the Lord of Spirits.

45. Some commentators, including Martin Rist (I.B.12 pp. 438, 443), draw special attention to the author's dependence upon material from Ezekiel in chapters 10 and 11, both in the account of the scroll (cf. Ezek. 2.8-3.3) and in the measurement of the temple (Ezek. 40.3-42.20; 47.1-12). But, just as the author has adapted Ezekiel's scroll to his individual purpose, so the significance of the measuring may have been adapted, especially in the light of other parallels (as Rist himself recognises, p. 444).

46. G. Bornkamm, op. cit., p. 145.

47. Giet, op. cit., pp. 36f.

48. Giet, op. cit., pp. 27 and 37n.

49. Giet, op. cit., p. 27: "la prophétie de Daniel aura été retenue pour cette raison qu'elle semblait ou réalisée ou devoir se réaliser."

50. καὶ δώσω τοῖς μάρτυσίν μου καὶ προφητεύσουσιν.

51. Cf. Charles, Commentary I. 280.

52. Farrer, Commentary p. 131.

53. Bibliography in Arndt and Gingrich μάρτυς 3, p. 495. Cf. H. Strathmann, Kittel TWNT 4, pp. 474-514; G. W. H. Lampe 'Patristic Greek Lexicon' Fasc. 3. 1964; Pauly-Wissowa XIV. 2 (1930), pp. 2044-52.

54. There is a parallel formula in non-Biblical Greek: "from very early times . . . appeal was made to the gods as witnesses in treaties . . . and oaths. Even if no other witness was present, they, the omniscient, could confirm the truth of a statement or the fact of an agreement." (TWNT 4.478).

55. K. Holl 'Gesamm. Aufsätze' II. 1928, pp. 68ff.

56. Under this heading reference might be made to the religious sense of μάρτυρες in the LXX of Dt. Is. (43.10, 12; 44.8). Here the prophet uses the imagery of a trial between Yahweh and the nations and their gods, in which Israel "gives evidence" to the nations of the uniqueness and reality of God (43.8-13; 44.6-8). But see pages 207f. for a discussion as to whether these texts are formative for the development in the meaning of the word.

57. Cf. Lk. 11.48 "The teachers of the Law bear witness to the murder of the prophets by their ancestors, by erecting tombs for the prophets" (Arndt and Gingrich p. 495).

58. TWNT 4.478. Strathmann refers to Arist. Rhet. 1.15.

59. TWNT 4.489.

60. Exhortation to Martyrdom, chs. 5 and 22.

61. 'Apostolic Fathers' I. Clement of Rome, Vol. 2 pp. 26f.

62. TWNT 4.506.

63. B.J.R.L. 39 (1956/7) pp. 463-84.

64. Cf. 1 Ki. 19.10, 14; Jer. 2.30; 26.20-4; 2 Chr. 24.20-22. Martyrdom of Isaiah; Ascension of Isaiah; Lives of the Prophets; cf. Mt. 23.31-9; Mk. 12.1-12; Lk. 11.47-51; 13.34f; Acts 7.52; 1 Thess. 2.15; Heb. 11.36ff. Cf. H. J. Schoeps 'Die judischen Prophetenmorde' in 'Aus frühchristlicher Zeit' 1950, pp. 126-43.

65. Manson, op. cit., pp. 466, 475.

66. 'Die Vorstellung vom Märtyrer und die Märtyrerakte in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung' N. Jbch. Kl. Alt. 33, pp. 521-56. ('Ges. Aufsätze z. Kirchengeschichte' II - 1928, pp. 68ff.).

67. F. Dornseiff, Archiv für Religionswissenschaft 22 (1923/4) pp. 133ff.

68. E. Lohmeyer 'Die Idee des Martyriums im Judentum und Urchristentum' ZSTh 5 (1927/8) pp. 232-49; G. Fitzer 'Der Begriff des μάρτυς im Judentum und Urchristentum' Diss. Breslau. 1929; O. Michel 'Prophet und Märtyrer' 1932; cf. P. Minear 'New Earth' (see pages 195f above).

69. Analecta Bollandiana 39 (1921) pp. 20ff. cf. Sanctus (1927) pp. 74ff.

70. TWNT 4.484f.

71. μάρτυς etc. - LXX use for עֵד etc. c. 60x, representing variety of popular usage; also for יְגַר שָׂהֲדוּתָא (Gen 31.47).

72. W. Bousset 'Die Religion des Judentums im späthellenistischen Zeitalter' ed. H. Gressmann 1926, p. 374.

73. Origen Exhortation 23. 4 Macc. 12.16 A variant - οὐκ ἀπαυτομολῶ τῆς τῶν ἀδελφῶν μου μαρτυρίας represents the later views of the Church. Rahlfs reads ἀριστείας (א).

74. H. von Campenhausen 'Die Idee des Martyriums in der alten Kirche' 1936 pp. 41-6.

75. TWNT 4.488.

76. 'Ges. Aufsätze' II, pp.68ff.

77. TWNT, 4.493-4.

78. K. Holl relates this application of μάρτυς to Stephen to the fact that before his death he saw a vision of the exalted Son of Man ('Ges. Aufsätze'II.70f).

79. It will be noticed that this is a problem which persists in Revelation's references (apart from 1.5 and 3.14 referring to Christ), cf. 2.13; 17.6; 11.3.

80. B. F. Westcott 'Epistle to the Hebrews' 1899, cf. Class. Rev. 5 (1891) p. 21b.

81. F. F. Bruce 'Hebrews' 1965, p. 346.

82. Cf. E. G. Selwyn, 'The First Epistle of St. Peter' 1947 pp. 299ff; A.R.C. Leaney 'Letters of Peter and Jude' 1967; E. Best '1 Peter' 1969 pp. 162f.

83. Munck, op, cit., p. 17 n. 19.

84. LXX - ὁ μάρτυς ἐν οὐρανῷ πιστός.

85. TWNT 4.496. This could be related to the significance of Christ's death for the revelation of God's plan, as emphasised in Rev. 5 - see pages 139f, 142f.

86. Charles, Commentary I.62; cf. TWNT 4.495.

87. Munck, op. cit., p. 18.

88. H. -W. Surkau 'Martyrien in jüdischer und frühchristlicher Zeit' 1938, p. 142 (n.33)

89. J. B. Lightfoot, op. cit., p. 26.

90. see page 207.

91. Used as a technical term for a sanctuary lampstand (not exclusively a seven-branched Menorah - cf. Ex. 25.31f; 26.35; 30.27; 31.8; 35.16; 38.13; 39.17; 40.4, 24; Lev. 24.4; Num 3.31; 4.9; 8.2ff; 1 Ki 7.49; 1 Chr. 28.15; 2 Chr. 4.7; 13.11; Is. 52.19; Ecclus. 26.16; 1 Macc. 1.21; 4.49f); and for an ordinary household lamp (2 Ki. 4.10). On the Menorah cf. E. R. Goodenough 'Jewish Symbols in the Graeco-Roman period', 1953.

92. P. R. Ackroyd 'Peake's Commentary' 1962, p. 648.

93. Caird, Commentary, p. 134.

94. Th. Zahn 'Die Offenbarung des Johannes' 1924-6, p. 428.

95. Bousset, 'Offenbarung', p. 319; Charles, Commentary I. 282.

96. Identification as Moses and Aaron; David and Aaron; Zerubbabel and Joshua; the Messiah and the High Priest of the Messianic Age; the

Messiah of David and the Messiah of Ephraim. cf. Str. B. 3.811f.

97. Charles, Commentary I. 283.

98. See page 215.

99. Munck refers to this point (op. cit., p. 18) in connection with his exegesis of the close relationship implied by "my two witnesses", but he does not apply it to the imagery from Zechariah 4. His objection to the use of an argument from Gal. 2.7-8 in connection with Rev. 11, on the grounds that this twofold division had been forgotten in the second part of the first century, is not only too dogmatic, but it overlooks the historical background of this material in the Fall of Jerusalem and the possibility that contemporary material is here referred to.

100. Caird, Commentary, p. 135.

101. 2 Ki. 1.10ff, but agreeing with 2 Esdr. 13 in making fire proceed out of the mouth. Idea // to Jer. 5.14, or of mythological origin? If thunder is God's voice, it is natural to think of lightning proceeding out of the mouth. Jeremias also refers to Num 16.35 where Korah and his company are consumed by fire in the time of Moses.

102. On the $3\frac{1}{2}$ year drought cf. Caird, p. 135, Farrer, p. 132, Charles I. 285.

103. J. Jeremias, Kittel TWNT 4.863 n. 189 (Eng).

104. J. Jeremias, Kittel TWNT 2. 928-41 (Eng).

105. W. Bousset 'Der Antichrist' 1895, pp. 134-9.

106. Jeremias describes this as "basically Jewish but . . . thoroughly worked over by Christians at the beginning of the fourth century." (TWNT 2.930 - Eng). Reference to Apoc. Elijah 163f.

107. Munck op. cit., p. 85.

108. cf. Munck op. cit., p. 113 n. 159.

109. Munck op. cit., p. 86; see above page 189.

110. Munck op. cit., pp. 87-9.

111. Munck op. cit., pp. 99f. Bousset admitted this, but made a virtue out of it.

112. Munck op. cit., pp. 100-12.

113. Munck op. cit., pp.113-18.

114. TWNT 2.941.

115. e.g. Lk. 9.31 (Jeremias' point depends on the assumption that Elijah and Moses <u>are</u> suffering figures; it does not by itself support it); Tertullian De Anima 50 (quoted above page 189); Rabbinic refs. - Jalqut Schim'oni משעוני 32. 133 (Elijah killed by the national genius of Edom = Rome); Seder 'Olam Rabba 17; ("He was hidden and did not show himself again until Messiah comes; then he will show himself and be hidden a second time, not showing himself until Gog and Magog come."); and some Germanic sagas and a Tartar song!

116. TWNT 4.863.

117. TWNT 4.860f.

118. Cf. 1 Macc. 4.41-50; 14.41; Qumran usage cf. R. E. Brown 'The Gospel According to John' 1966, I.49f.

119. Cf. J. Macdonald 'The Theology of the Samaritans' London 1964.

120. Qoh. r. 1, 28 on 1.9.

121. "And the men will appear who were translated, who did not taste death from their birth, and the hearts of those who dwell on earth will be changed and they will be turned to a new mind."

122. In Rabbinic literature there is only one late reference (Str. B. 1.756; 4.785) to the joint coming of Moses and Elijah in the last time - Dt. r. 3, 17 on 10.1. "One day when I cause the prophet Elijah to come you shall both come together."

123. Enoch cf. Gen 5.24; Sir. 44.16; 49.14; Jub 4.23; Eth. En 70.1ff; Slav. En. 36.2; Wis. 4.10f; Heb. 11.5; Jos. Ant. 9.28.
Elijah cf. 2 Ki. 2.11; Sir. 48.9, 12; Eth. En. 89.52; 93.8; Jos. Ant. 9.28.

124. The death of Moses is the dominant Rabbinic tradition (Str. B. 1.753-6; Philo Vit. Mos. 2.291; cf. Jude 9); cf. burial tradition Dt. 34.6. Jeremias (TWNT 4.854) suggests that the other tradition arose in Hellenistic Judaism. Jos. Ant. 4.326 is, perhaps intentionally, ambiguous. The tradition of the rapture of Moses is in a Baraita preserved in S. Dt. 357 on 34.5 ("Some say Moses did not die but stands and discharges the ministry above.") and b.Sota 13b (Str. B. 1. 754) cf. Midr. ha-gadol on Dt: "Three went up alive into heaven: Enoch, Moses and Elijah". Perhaps this tradition is also represented in the lost ending of Assumption of Moses (but as extant portions speak frequently of his death, the assumption referred to is likely to have been the ascension of his soul - cf. Jeremias TWNT 4.855 n. 95).

125. Philo Vit. Mos. 1.158.

126. cf. M.-J. Lagrange 'Evangile selon Saint Jean' 1948, p. 166;
T. F. Glasson 'Moses in the Fourth Gospel' 1963 pp. 29, 31.

127. Three eschatological figures were expected at Qumran: 1QS ix.11 "until the coming of a prophet and the messiahs of Aaron and Israel" = prophet like Moses, priestly Messiah, royal Messiah. cf. R.E. Brown C.B.Q. 19 (1957) pp. 53-82. cf. A. S. van der Woude, 'La Secte de Qumran' (Recherches Bibliques 4 - Louvain 1959) pp. 121-134, for an association of these figures with the three roles of John the Baptist in Jo. 1.20-1 (see discussion in R. E. Brown 'The Gospel According to John ' 1966, I. 49-50.

128. Cf. pages 220-2.

129. Cf. Munck op. cit., p. 27.

130. The correspondences suggested by Munck (op. cit., p. 22) between the features of 11.5-6 and episodes in the careers of Peter and Paul are, for the most part, unconvincing. They are also unnecessary because the allusions to Elijah and Moses are the main point of verses 5, 6,

and the analogy between Peter and Paul and these Old Testament figures depends upon the total picture of their function and their martyrdom.

131. Cf. J. Munck 'La Vocation de l'Apôtre Paul' St. Theol. 1 (1947), pp. 139-40.

132. Cf. A. Satake 'Die Gemeindeordnung in der Johannesapokalypse' 1966; David Hill 'Prophecy and Prophets in the Revelation of St. John' N.T.S. 18 (1972) pp. 401-18; M. Green 'Evangelism in the Early Church', 1970.

133. Farrer, Commentary, p. 136.

134. Caird, Commentary p. 138.

135. Cf. page 270f.
In LXX ἄβυσσος usually represents תְּהוֹם ; cf. also Test. Sol. 2.8 and references in J. Jeremias, Kittel TWNT 1.9f (Eng); 'Golgotha' 1926 pp. 54-58; 62-64, 74.

136. Cf. Munck op. cit., pp. 27f; Blass Debrunner§339.

137. See chapter 7.

138. And 2 Bar 40.1f?

139. Cf. H. Gunkel 'Schöpfung und Chaos' 1895; W. Bousset 'Der Antichrist' 1895; 'Die Religion des Judentums im späthellenistischen Zeitalter' 1906; 'Antichrist' in Hastings E.R.E. 1.578ff (1908); R. H. Charles, Commentary II 76-87; H. H. Rowley 'The Relevance of Apocalyptic' 1944, pp. 30ff; D. S. Russell 'The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic' 1964, pp. 191f, 276ff.

140. Ps. Hecataeus (in Jos. C. Ap. 1.197) gives a figure c. 120,000; 'Beginnings of Christianity' I.I. p.1. reckons, apart from festivals, a total not exceeding 50,000; Bousset 'Die Religion des Judentums' 3rd edition 1926, p. 65 thinks the figure exceeds 120,000; J. Jeremias 'Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus' 1969 pp. 83f estimates between 25 and 30,000 at the time of Jesus.

141. P. S. Minear 'Ontology and Ecclesiology in the Apocalypse' N.T.S. 12 (1966), pp. 94f.

142. Minear, N.T.S. (1966) p. 94, n.1, has a valid comment about the RSV translation "allegorically", if this word is applied strictly. But his own translation "prophetically" introduces other connotations and perhaps disposes one to concentrate on "whether John was hereinterpreting the 'sensus plenior' of the prophetic tradition".

143. Minear op. cit., p. 94.

144. Cf. pages 314f.

145. Of Jerusalem only in Or. Sib. 5.154, 226, 413; Jos. C. Ap. 1.197, 209; Appian. Syr. 50 (μεγίστη); Pliny H.N. 5.14, 70.

146. Charles, Commentary I. 287.

147. Cf. pages 200f, 174.

148. For appraisals of the evidence and discussion of critical points see

J. Munck op. cit., Ch. 4 (pp. 56-81); J. B. Lightfoot 'Apostolic Fathers' I.1 appended note on 'S. Peter in Rome'; and commentary on 1 Clem 5; O. Cullmann 'Peter: Disciple, Apostle, Martyr' London 1953; H. Lietzmann 'Petrus und Paulus in Rom' 1915; C. Heussi 'War Petrus in Rom?' 1936; 'War Petrus wirklich römischer Märtyrer?' 1937.

149. 'Apostolic Fathers' I.2. p. 26.

150. F. F. Bruce 'New Testament History' 1969, pp. 382f.

151. Nero's gardens, where according to Tacitus Ann. 15.44, the Roman Christians were publicly executed, were situated on the Vatican Hill.

152. Cf. discussion in Giet, op. cit., pp. 40-1, note 6.

153. Tacitus Ann. 14.27 dates the Lycus Valley earthquake in 60 A.D. According to Eusebius (Chron. 2; Olymp. 210.4) it seems to follow the fire of Rome. According to Orosius (7.7.12) it is one of a series of judgements on the pagan world, consequent upon the fire and the Neronian persecution.
Cf. Sib. Or. 4.107-8.

THE WOMAN CLOTHED WITH THE SUN

"Pourquoi avoir retenu dans le texte de l'Apocalypse, le 12ème Chapitre? C'est qu'il a toujours été, sciemment ou non, considéré comme le centre et la clé du livre entier . . . Les difficultés de ce chapitre (Ap. 12) en font comme la pierre de touche des différents systèmes d'interprétation." So Pierre Prigent introduces his 'Histoire de l'exégèse'.[1]

It would be repetitious to analyse again the varieties of interpretation which this chapter has received. Some of the important 'religionsgeschichtlich' contributions have already been mentioned in my introductory chapter.[2] Two other areas of recent interest are also worthy of special mention: a comparison between Revelation 12 and the Qumran Thanksgiving hymn IQH III;[3] and the persistent identification, largely by Roman Catholic scholars, of the Woman with the Virgin Mary.[4] I do not pretend in this chapter to offer more than an incidental assessment of some of the arguments employed; my main purpose is to outline, and try to justify, an exegetical theory of my own.

A bald and over-simplified statement of the images employed, with their equations, would be as follows. The woman represents the people of Israel, the Jews; the male-child is the Messiah, the promise to the Jews as realised in Jesus Christ; the dragon is, as the chapter states, Satan, the 'ancient serpent', the power opposed to God. In the present context this evil power is realised through the agencies of the Roman Empire. Finally, the 'rest of the woman's seed' is the Christian Church, and the introduction of this concept here prepares the way for the treatment of persecution - developing towards the climax of the book - which is to follow. This analysis must now be defended, and further elucidated.

Chapter 12 has posed a large number of thorny problems for exegetes. There are, in my view, certain main criteria which must be satisfied (unless an adequate alternative explanation can be provided) for any theory to be viable. There are three clearly recognisable phases of persecution carried

out by the dragon - that of the male child, that of the woman, and that of the rest of the woman's seed, a persecution which leads on into the following chapters. In view of the clear distinction made, no theory is satisfactory which blurs the edges of these categories, or causes them to overlap. I do not find theories which equate the woman with the Christian Church, as a corporate entity, and the rest of her seed with the Christian Church, viewed as individuals, in any way satisfactory, because the distinction is somewhat blurred between the second and third phases, or can only be maintained by what, in this context, seems like theological 'hair-splitting'. Nor do these theories take into account the temporal sequence of these phases, which is, at the least, the superficial impression presented by the narrative - or can one, with any credibility, maintain the priority of a persecution of the Church as a body, to be succeeded by the selected persecution of individuals? Far from certain though the documentation for the earliest persecutions is, it does seem to show that the method of attacking

the Church was by selecting individuals for punishment as scapegoats. One way out of this problem for those who wish to support the theory that the woman, as well as the rest of her seed, represents the Christian Church, is to reject verse 17 as a later addition, distinct from the original imagery, which was inserted simply as a connecting link with the chapters which follow. But, in this theory, the Christian Church, whose persecution receives detailed treatment in the next chapters, is already represented in Chapter 12 by the woman, so that no connecting link should have been necessary. The present stage of history has then already been reached by verse 14 (the Church is in the wilderness being persecuted). If somebody felt that the connection of thought here was not sufficiently clear, there would surely have been better ways of giving a direct point to the imagery than by introducing another verse which would appear to make that connection more difficult.

Another objection to such a summary removal of verse 17 is that in a

chapter such as this, which abounds with what might be called signs of clumsy editing, with passages not properly dovetailed in, great care should be exercised to explain the whole phenomenon. The arbitrary dismissal of a single verse, because it is awkward for a theory, would be a rash step without overwhelming - and preferably manuscript - evidence.[6] If the whole chapter hangs together badly, one must either reform the whole chapter, or hold in the same esteem an ill-fitting piece from the end as an equally ill-fitting piece in the middle.

Admittedly it is a characteristic of the Apocalypse that the same piece of symbolism can, and must, according to the author's intention, have several meanings. An example in Chapter 17, verses 9 and 10, shows how the seven heads can be both the seven hills of Rome and seven kings or emperors.[7] But it should be noted that the dual significance is stressed in the passage. The author does not introduce two ideas from the one figure without leaving a clue for the reader that this is what he intends. If such a clue is lacking in the present chapter, then another criterion by which to test any theories should be that a constant identification of the characters can be maintained throughout. That there are grounds in the New Testament for the theological concept of a continuity - although by no means a simple continuity - between the Israel of the Old Testament and the Church of the New Testament is not disputed. It is more debatable whether such an idea, in rather simplistic terms, should be read into the present chapter, as do those theories which envisage a change in the identification of the woman, from Israel, who gives birth to the Messiah at the start of the Chapter, to the Church, which is persecuted by the dragon at the end. Such an assertion can only be valid for this work when supported by the evidence of a thorough investigation of John's attitude to the Jews, on the basis of the use he makes of the Old Testament, and his enigmatic references to those who claim to be Jews and are not. My own impression is that, if the author had intended to make this major theological point within this chapter, he could not have assumed that

his readers were either so well versed in, or so sympathetic with, such an idea, that they would have read it in automatically, without a clue from himself. Is there not enough indication within the rest of the New Testament of a variety of attitudes toward such a theological continuity, so that, had the writer wished to make this point, he would need to have left a fairly clear signpost to his readers that this was his intention? No such signposts have been pointed out by the exponents of this theory; it might seem that a theological statement has become the servant of those in search of some key to the identity of the woman who not only gives birth but is also persecuted.

A final and rather obvious criterion is that the ideas and concepts presented in the exegesis of Chapter 12 should be those which the author and his readers could have understood, on the evidence of other literature of the period. This is not to deny the possibility of the development of new ideas by the author, but merely to prevent the wilder kinds of eisegesis. It does not seem likely that the author could have presented a picture of the Christian Church giving birth to Christ, under the figure of the woman and her child. This seems so close to a reversal of the usually accepted thought on this subject as to be distinctly improbable. One of the Thanksgiving hymns of Qumran (1QH3) was interpreted by J. V. Chamberlain[8] as a picture of the sect enduring birth pangs - fierce persecution from without - to bring forth the Messiah. If this were the correct interpretation - and it has been questioned by many, who either deny the presence of any Messianic ideas, or see it as a picture of the birth of the sect's community through the righteous worshipper or Teacher[9] - the view of a Jewish sect is not necessarily very convincing evidence for the view of the Christian Church, on such a vital topic as its own relations with its Lord. Even if the birth of the Messiah, referred to in Chapter 12, is not the earthly birth of the Incarnation, but, as Eduard Schweizer believes,[10] the birth of the Messiah in heaven, in anticipation of the Parousia, it does not

seem likely that the Early Church believed that, by virtue of a process of endurance of suffering, thus following in the footsteps of the Lord, Christians could bring about, by their own agency, a new stage in the divine purpose. Paul's vivid phrase in Colossians 1.24 will not support so weighty an edifice.

So a number of criteria for any theory have been presented, with illustrations from current theories. The identification should be consistent (unless the text offers facilities for a double significance), and the overall picture should be true to that of the text, without blurring any clear distinctions, or destroying any emphases. The text should be interpreted as it stands, unless there is weighty textual evidence to the contrary, and the concepts expressed should be 'in period' and credible for the writer's situation. Only as a last resort, and then on the basis of adequate evidence, should any of the passage be passed over as an example of traditional material incorporated without reinterpretation by the apocalyptist, and assumed, therefore, to have no meaning in the present context. Once this method of exegesis, favoured by R. H. Charles,[11] becomes authenticated, there is the real danger that it may merely provide the easy way out in a difficult passage. These, then, are the criteria against which any attempt at reconstructing the meaning of Chapter 12 must be judged.

If an Old Testament theologian were to produce a parallel volume to P. S. Minear's 'Images of the Church in the New Testament',[12] a significant portion of this work would have to be devoted to the picture of Israel as a woman. This is conveyed in a variety of ways, from the expressions 'daughter' or 'virgin daughter' of Zion, Jerusalem, Judah, or 'my people',[13] to the view of God's covenant with Israel as a marriage bond.[14] The whole background of this imagery needs to be investigated. It certainly appears that the inhabitants of a city could be considered as one unit in the feminine gender; this, it has been suggested, could be related to the fact that the Hebrew word for 'city' (עִיר) is feminine; the same is possible for

the citizens of a whole land (אֶרֶץ).[15] So the prophets could speak of the chosen people of God in terms of a virgin daughter. The imagery can be extended by referring to the sufferings of the people as those of a woman in childbirth (e.g. Hos. 13.13; 1s. 26.16ff, 66.7ff; Jer. 4.31; Mic. 4.10).[16] It appears that the Septuagint as well as the Dead Sea Scrolls enlarged on this figure of Israel as a woman; divergencies in text here do not necessarily mean mistranslations of the Massoretic text, but may represent variants. This seems to show that the imagery was increasingly popular towards the end of the Old Testament period. The imagery of passages such as Isaiah 7 and 9 may be brought into association here, although there is no evidence that these were understood in any corporate sense, of the nation as a whole, in their original context; the references require an individual woman, whether one from current history or an ideal figure in the future, by whose agency the all-important sign is given, in the child who is born.

S. Mowinckel[17] refers to a Ugaritic text which corresponds word for word with Isaiah 7.14. ("Behold the young woman will bear a son"), while the Ugaritic word 'galmatu' (Hebrew עַלְמָה)[18] is used in myth of a goddess who gives birth, the goddess who is "virgin Anath". He deduces, from the Septuagint translation of עַלְמָה by παρθένος, that "Greek speaking Jews must have known that behind the expression lay the idea of a woman who was a mother and yet ever became virgin again". He argues that Anath was worshipped in Israel, as at Elephantine, as the consort of Yahweh; "we may safely assume that such tales were known in Israel also, telling of a mysterious supernatural 'young woman' in some unknown place, possibly on the 'mountain of the gods' where paradise lay, a woman who would one day in a wonderful way bear a child whose birth would be the herald of a new age of bliss when all enemies would be overcome and God himself would dwell among his people." If this assumption can indeed be justified, then these would be conceptions similar to those underlying Revelation 12.[19] If this woman is Yahweh's consort, then one might presume, by association of ideas with the covenant

imagery, that this is a role which the ideal Israel might fulfil, or with which she might be identified.

But nowhere in the Old Testament is there any clear indication that the figure of Israel as a virgin daughter falls into any category of thought about the 'one' and the 'many', of a deliberate transference of ideas from a corporate to an individual sense, so that the 'virgin' people would one day be represented by one particular Virgin Daughter still to come. At one stage removed from this is the thought about the ideal Israel as a Remnant, perhaps preserved and embodied in a special community, a thought such as can be demonstrated from the Qumran Hodayoth already cited. The image of childbirth with its pains is one of a complex of confused and interwoven images describing the sufferings of Israel in 1QH III.[20] The setting suggests the emergence of a redeemed Israel through such trials and suffering, which are a description of persecution (whether by the Seleucids or by Rome). Even if the comparison between 1QH III and Revelation 12 is drawn no more positively than this, it can be said that Revelation represents an extension and further development of imagery from the Old Testament tradition, applied to the true Israel and its place in God's purpose. As some measure of confirmation that the Old Testament is a source of at least part of this imagery, 12.2-5 contains allusions to Isaiah 66.7 and 26.17f.[21]

There is of course far more to the picture of the woman in Revelation 12 than her being in labour and bearing a child. The first feature to note is that the woman, like the dragon, appears as a sign in heaven; it is not necessary to assume from this that all subsequent action takes place there. The earth is brought in specifically in the casting down of the dragon; it is probable that the desert also is on earth, to judge from verse 14 if not from verse 6. The casting of Satan from heaven to earth is a significant feature of the chapter, and the introduction of the characters "in heaven" may merely serve to heighten the effect. Satan, as the book of Job (1.6f, 2.1)

shows, originally had a place in heaven. The fact that the woman also appears in heaven, might, but does not necessarily, indicate a divine or semi-divine person; it could equally well mean that an ideal, rather than an actual historical, figure is involved. Further, since, in the context of the book as a whole, and in the theology of the Christian Church, although not in this chapter as it stands, the most significant feature is the birth of the child, the heavenly origin of this child could be expressed by introducing the mother as a figure in heaven. In this way the context of the vision does not argue against our overall scheme of interpretation.

What is the meaning of the description of the woman in terms of the sun, moon, and stars? The obvious first comment is that these are appropriate decoration for the woman who is introduced as a sign in heaven. The twelve stars could be symbols corresponding to the twelve signs of the zodiac,[22] but, in a context where Old Testament reminiscences are more than possible, they could stand for the twelve tribes of Israel. One is reminded of the account of Joseph's second dream in Genesis 37.9 where he sees the sun, the moon and the eleven stars bowing down to him. The Hebrews were conscious of the dangers of worshipping the heavenly bodies (Deut. 4.19), but this did not mean that they disregarded them; as potent symbols they were subordinated to the worship of Yahweh (e.g. Pss. 19.1-6; 104.19; 148.3f). There are passages which display an inclination to decorate ideal or representative figures with the imagery of the heavenly bodies (e.g. Test. Napht. 5.3-4; Song of Solomon 6.10). God himself is described as 'sun and shield' (Ps. 84.11) - this idea is expanded in Rev. 21.23 and 22.5; and of the Christ in triumph, in the vision of Revelation 1, it is said "and his face was like the sun shining in full strength" (ὁ ἥλιος...ἐν τῇ δυνάμει αὐτοῦ being a quotation from Judges 5.31 where it is applied, as an image, to the friends of the Lord God).[23] These ideas would seem to be quite possible in a description of the nation of Israel, in an idealised form, playing the role purposed by God.

To say this is not to deny the possibility of other influences on the creation of this picture, for our immediate interest is with the author's application of this material within the context of his own thought. It is credible that he should have depicted Israel in these terms. He may conceivably have chosen these images to paint some ideal picture which his readers could contrast with, or recognise as a striking parody of, the trappings of worship of the Emperor and the spirit of Rome, or religious cults of Greek or Eastern origins, in particular the local cult of Artemis of Ephesus, the mother goddess. He may well have used some source for this chapter, possibly of pagan origin, perhaps because he wished to point a lesson from a myth that was familiar to his readers. These questions warrant investigation, although it is probable that evidence is insufficient for anyone to do more than express a preference. What is important for the moment is the tracing of a line of interpretation that may represent the primary intention of the author in using this material. According to recent computer studies it appears that this chapter, alone in the book, may not owe its written form to the author of the book.[24] Such an assessment may only represent a difference in degree from what might be said about other material in the book, in that here the author has taken over a block of tradition ready-cast from another source, whereas in other cases traditional ideas may have been handled by the author, but cast in their present form by himself.

Whereas it may not be either Jewish or Christian thinking to refer to the Mother of the Messiah as 'clothed with the sun', it is at least possible that material, expressed in a foreign manner, can be understood in a Jewish or Christian way, because the concepts employed can find some echo in Jewish or Christian ideas. This would seem to be the reason why the author made use of them, because he found that what he wished to say at this point could be expressed through them. In these circumstances a helpful connecting link may have been provided by the practice of allegorizing of

the High Priest's vestments, as indicated by Josephus and Philo.[25] As Josephus relates, the tunic of blue linen represents earth by its material and heaven by its colour; the ephod "denotes universal nature . . .of four elements . . ., interwoven with gold in token . . . of the all-pervading sunlight". "Sun and moon are indicated by the two sardonyxes wherewith he pinned the high priest's robe"; "the twelve stones" are "the months or the constellations . . . which the Greeks call the circle of the zodiac"; "the head-dress appears to me to symbolize heaven, being blue; else it would not have borne upon it the name of God, blazoned upon the crown - a crown of gold by reason of that sheen in which the Deity most delights". Fairly widespread use of symbolism of this kind for a representative figure of Judaism could have made foreign images applicable to the Seer's picture of Israel.

When we turn to consider the statement about the birth of the child, it is equally true to say that this passage is not understandable as material of Christian origin, when it passes over the life and death of Christ, moving directly from the birth to the taking up of the child to God and his throne.[26] Despite the intervening quotation from Psalm 2.9, it hardly seems to do justice to the Jewish Messianic hope either. But we should be prepared for just such a lack of clarity in expression, and a picture which does not correspond precisely with what we might expect in the light of Christian theology; yet, to explain its use by the author, there are points which can carry Christian ideas, imperfect and inadequate though the forms of expression may be. It seems reasonable to conclude that the birth of Jesus Christ is intended by the figure of the birth of the child, and, because of the nature of the material, the bald reference, and the idea of the dragon's hostility, have to stand for the reality of the Incarnation. The taking up of the child to God can represent the immunity of Christ to the temptations of the devil, and, if the link with thoughts such as those of the fourth Gospel is sufficiently strong, it may also suggest the exaltation of Christ

in glory on the cross[27], as well as his Resurrection and Ascension. As we have seen, it might be possible to interpret the birth as other than the human birth of Christ[28], but unless such theories can offer a far better explanation of the material, it seems reasonable to conclude that the figure of birth represents the Incarnation, Christ's birth among the Jews, the chosen people of God. The Gospels do not dispute that Jesus was in his earthly life a full Jew; Matthew and Luke are both concerned to trace his descent through the royal Davidic house with which Messianic hopes were associated (Mt. 1.1ff; Lk. 3.23ff). So Jesus' coming to earth can be depicted, in summary form, by the symbol of a divine birth from the ideal mother, the daughter of Zion. It is open to debate as to how far one can assimilate the woman, as the ideal picture of Israel, to an individual, historical woman, Mary, who was chosen as the mother of Christ. In the circumstances of this chapter, one cannot expect to find references to Bethlehem, or the details of the Gospel records of the Nativity.

It has been argued that the birth is a torment, as here depicted, and therefore this cannot represent any physical birth through Mary, since such a picture would not agree with the New Testament teaching about the Virgin Birth and its subsequent theological development.[29] This argument may have some validity, but it would be dangerous to press it, since one may be guilty of reading back ideas that belong to a later, more precise stage of doctrine. It is however possible to do justice to the imagery of the birth woes, in terms of the national, rather than the individual, interpretation. One might observe, without necessarily placing much weight upon it, that the birth pains and the act of giving birth are separated in the narrative by the account of the dragon's appearance. The woes could be regarded as one of the characteristics of the woman, on a level with the crown of stars, which are employed as pointers to her identity, because of their Old Testament associations. The birth is a self-contained episode in this 'historical review'. The aspects of Israel are treated in her heavenly

characteristics and her sufferings - "heavenly" in the ideal form of God's plan; "sufferings" in the actual historical setting of the moment under foreign domination. It may well be that the basic theological picture of Israel is not merely the image of a woman, but actually the image of a pregnant woman, which would indicate both her potential in God's purpose and the inevitability of suffering (the Messianic woes) in the execution of that purpose.[30] From a Christian viewpoint it may also be said that the birth can be torment for Israel, the old "chosen people". The birth of the Messiah for whom they had hoped brought them distress; he was not as they expected, and so in blindness they rejected him, and have given up their prerogatives as God's Chosen People in favour of the new Israel, the Church.

The second character in the heavenly vision, the great red dragon, must be considered with due regard to its association with the beast of Chapters 13 and 17. A fairly close connection must be assumed, because of the features common to all the descriptions. At the same time account must be taken of the identifications provided within this chapter, particularly in verse 9. It might still be argued that the material in this chapter has been derived from more than one source (as R.H. Charles did in his commentary).[31] But whether a source is used in this chapter or not, whether the material comes from one source or several, the very fact that these ideas were associated together by the author, when he grouped them in his book and allowed the connecting links to be apparent, must mean that an interpretation is justified in taking these ideas together, where the links exist. The point of the interpretation must be what the author thought and wished to teach by these means, irrespective of any conflict in the past history of these traditions. Caution would of course be necessary if, and only if, strong evidence can be produced that any of this material is a later interpolation rather than a previous source. It would be a brave man who advanced such an argument on the grounds that the narrative of this chapter appeared disjointed. This very appearance of disjointedness is an

observable characteristic of much of the remainder of the Book of Revelation. The fact that stylistic analysis by computer has not drawn special attention to any other "joins" suggests that such disjointedness is really a superficial characteristic of the author's style.[32]

The symbolism of the dragon, as akin to the beast of Chapters 13 and 17, will be discussed elsewhere.[33] In summary the dragon/beast stands for all that is worst, all that is of the power of Antichrist, in the Roman Empire and its government, with a special reference to what is involved in the cult of the Emperor. The dragon is, according to Rev. 12.9, the devil, or whatever other name one may choose to call him. The point of verse 9 is to blend together the various names and characteristics by which he has been known in tradition, and is recognised in human life, and to add to this a further and immediately relevant characterisation. Just as Satan was at work throughout the Old Testament, from the time of the episode in the garden of Eden, so he is now very much at work in the current, or anticipated, hostilities to the Christian Church. His diabolical powers have taken as their current disguise, or have been delegated in a certain form to, the beast as the symbol of the Roman Empire. The relation between dragon and beast appears closer and more intricate than the simple relation of chief devil to subordinate demon, and more like the merging of one diabolical image or manifestation into another; this is demonstrated by the close parallelism of their attributes (12.3; 13.1; 17.3).

The first four names in verse 9 provide between them quite a complex of ideas related to the power of evil, from previous applications of these words, going back to the Hebrew terms in the Old Testament. Parallels have been drawn with Persian, Babylonian, Assyrian, Egyptian and Greek myths. δράκων and ὄφις are both used for creatures like serpents, although the Septuagint seems to draw the distinction that the ὄφις is only a land creature, whereas the δράκων can be a sea-monster.[34] The serpent was widely regarded as a demonic creature in antiquity, but as such it could still be

the object of some cultic worship. To the Hebrews it was naturally an unclean animal, not permitted for sacrifice. This attitude could have been fostered as much by a naturalistic as a fantastic concept of the animal - its natural dangers, especially in the suddenness with which it could attack man and beast. The phrase "the ancient serpent" clearly refers to Genesis 3 - an account which may be an attempt to explain the danger in the animal, or may be an application of the traditional serpent mythology. For any one people it would be possible for the myth to grow out of the fact.

The association of the serpent with water in the concept of the sea-monster offers further scope for mythological ideas to develop[35], since there is little doubt that the Hebrews agreed with the common tradition that the seas represent the powers of chaos, though the extent to which they applied this tradition can be exaggerated. The Monster from the sea is a personalisation of the impersonal powers of the waters. This it is which Yahweh is believed to have subdued, in accordance with the tradition of the conflict between the deity and the dragon of chaos. Perhaps it is in this context that the stream of water disgorged from the serpent's mouth in verse 15 is to be understood.

In the New Testament there appears to be no substantial distinction between the words διάβολος and Σατανᾶς , in spite of their difference in origin.[36] It has been suggested that the use in the Synoptic Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles indicates that Σατανᾶς is Palestinian. There hardly seems to be any particular reason for the alternation of the terms in the Fourth Gospel and Revelation, beyond the feeling that by such variation the fulness of the ideas might be expressed. The Old Testament idea of the Satan as the accuser in heaven, shewn by the book of Job (1.9ff, 2.4f)[37], is in the background of the present thought in that the theme of this chapter is the fall of Satan from such a justifiable post of responsibility (ὁ κατήγωρ- Rev. 12.10), to a situation where he terrorises the earth. The final title "the deceiver of the whole world" again may refer to the

serpent of the Fall, although the verb used is πλανάω rather than ἀπατάω[38] which seems more usual in the Fall context (LXX - Gen 3.13). But the use of πλανάω introduces a special significance to this expression, because of its later-Jewish and in particular its apocalyptic background. Deception - the leading astray of those buoyed up with eager expectations - is a characteristic feature of the Last Days (cf. Mk. 13.6//s; 2 Thess. 2.11).

An illuminating parallel to this whole passage can be traced in Isaiah chapters 26 and 27. The quotation in 12.2 of words from Isaiah 26.17f. has already been noted. Not only does this section make use of the image of childbirth, and the next section refer to the idea of hiding for a little while, until the wrath is past (like the woman who is carried by the eagle to safety in the wilderness), but also the following verses at the start of chapter 27 provide a comparable variety of names for the creature of evil whom the Lord will punish: "In that day the Lord with his hard and great and strong sword will punish Leviathan the fleeing serpent, Leviathan the twisting serpent and he will slay the dragon that is in the sea" (LXX - τὸν δράκοντα ὄφιν φεύγοντα, τὸν δράκοντα ὄφιν σκολιόν, τὸν δράκοντα τὸν ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ). It is, at the least, possible that the current arrangement of ideas in Chapter 12 may owe something to this section of the collected prophecies of Isaiah. This is an example of how these various ideas could be associated together.

The section comprising verses 7 to 12 has the general appearance of being an extended parenthesis. This impression, given by the disjointed effects at the beginning and end of the section, where any connecting link with the verse before or the verse following is not supported by any close connection of thought; by the uncertainty as to where the war in heaven might fit in the historical phases outlined in the remainder of the chapter; and by the recapitulation of verse 6 in verse 14, as if there was a danger that the connections of thought might have been severed by this apparent

digression, remains a valid impression, irrespective of the analysis of this chapter into one, two or more sources. Austin Farrer[39] is helpful here in seeing vv. 7 - 12 as an extended comment on the previous verses and in particular on the sky-raking in v. 4. These points are not central to the myth which is being utilised, the myth of the birth of the child, but are nonetheless significant and deserving of development in that they set the main theme against a larger background.

The war takes place 'in heaven' which was also, it is true, the setting for the appearances of the woman and the dragon. But we have already seen reasons why the scene at this stage in the narrative has shifted, in all probability, from heaven to earth. Whereas the other events of this chapter involve the participation of the woman, her child, or the rest of her seed, it is notable that here the only common factor is the dragon; instead there is a new protagonist in Michael.[40] This is a strong indication that here is an event which does not belong within the sequence of the chapter; rather has this account been introduced here as ancillary to the main development. It serves to show the broader effect that the principal sequence of events has on the sphere of operations of Satan. This theme is drawn in here, rather than at the end of the chapter, or anywhere else, because its relation to the events of the chapter is not a simple, single-directional relationship, but far more complex.

Satan loses his position in heaven because of the fact of Christ's Incarnation and its consequences, which set up a new relationship between man and God, that could effectively by-pass Satan's role within the heavenly council, as the Old Testament understood this. In New Testament thought there was no place for an independent Director of Public Prosecutions! This change in attitude towards man's relationship with God, particularly with reference to the concept of the Last Judgement, was expressed in terms of the banishment from heaven of Satan and his henchmen. It was intelligible that Satan should be angry at the loss of this sphere of power and authority,

and this would inevitably cause repercussions in such spheres of authority as remained open to him. So not only does the earthly activity of Christ bring about Satan's fall,[41] but also Satan's fall itself brings about the persecution threat to the woman and her seed, in circumstances where Satan's power and sphere of authority is manifested under the guise of the enforcement of Emperor worship. Such, in outline, is the relationship of the account of the Fall of Satan to the sequence of events in this chapter, which explains why this theme is introduced here. But we must emphasise that this theme is not developed merely within this particular sequence of events; if it were, it could be set down in terms of the child, rather than Michael, casting down Satan to the earth, and be treated as just one more phase in the sequence. But this would leave mankind as the victims of Satan's anger; Christ's victory would be accomplished, and only heaven would be affected by its realisation.

But the victory in heaven is won by Michael and his angels, not directly by Christ. This represents a transitional stage in which the devil's danger is increased, simply because he knows that he has only a little time left to him (v. 12). This passage is applied optimistically by the present author because he moves on from here to the final stage, where he wishes to narrate the ultimate victory of Christ (Ch. 19 where the Messiah and his hosts conquer the beast and the kings of the earth). Thereby the victory is realised for earth as well as heaven. In Apocalyptic literature the Archangels, frequently referred to under a variety of proper names, are made responsible for carrying out definite aspects of the divine will. So here Michael,quite consistently, accomplishes the first stage in Satan's repulse. It could be said that this restriction of Satan's activities occurs simultaneously with the birth of Christ. Satan loses this power as a result of the child's birth, and because he failed to prevent or annul it. This is the divine purpose, part of which Michael has executed. A significant feature of the description of the dragon at his first appearance (v. 4)

is the manner in which he sweeps a third of the stars from heaven with his tail. The background of this idea may well be in the goat's horn (Dan 8.10) which casts some of the hosts of stars to the ground and tramples on them, but there may also be a measure of irony in the description, because in the setting of this chapter, the dragon anticipates, by his activity, his own defeat - the stars which fall from heaven could correspond to Satan and his angels.[42]

The aim of this chapter is, then, to set the final stages of persecution, which lead to the climax of Christ's triumph, within a broader context that includes the historical Incarnation of Jesus Christ; as means to this end, use is made of traditional mythological ideas which may derive from a foreign milieu. There is an obvious kinship between the type of mythological material employed in vv. 7-12 and that of the remainder of the chapter, although there is nothing to argue against a Jewish origin for the War in Heaven myth.[43] We have seen how the themes of the birth and the War in Heaven are inter-related, but do not belong strictly, for literary and theological reasons, to the same sequence of events. Rather the relationship is like that of two tracks crossing at a certain point, both leading in the same direction; the junction point here is in the figure of the devil. If these themes were not related so clearly to one another in the author's mind, one might be doubtful about applying the variety of titles to the sign of the dragon, as we have done, on the grounds that this variety only occurs in v. 9. However the way this breadth of ideas has permeated the author's thought can be shown by the strange muddling of the terms ὄφις and δράκων in vv. 13-16. Finally the two tracks of similar tendency join together and one is swallowed up by the other; this is the point to which the saga of the woman and child is leading - the final destruction of the dragon by the child. The author of Revelation looks ahead to this end point; but when, eventually, he describes it (Ch. 19) he does not return to make use of exactly the same material which he employed for the introduction of the

theme (Ch. 12), presumably because he felt he could express this climax more appropriately and dramatically in different terminology. But we should not ignore those cross-references which are supplied by the author as he links together different traditional themes in a single presentation. So the picture of the defeat of ὁ κατήγωρ celebrated in 12.10, can be associated with the celebration of God's judgements and in particular the judgement of the harlot in 19.2. Further links are established by the imagery of the women in Revelation - the woman who is the mother of the Messiah (12.1ff), and the woman who is the bride of the Lamb (19.7f).

A review of this section cannot be concluded without a brief consideration of vv. 10-12. The great voice from heaven utters what could be described as a hymn. Passages of this type, scattered through Revelation have been discussed as a class elsewhere.[44] What seems most notable about this one is its apparent inappropriateness in this particular context; were it not for verse 12, which reads like a strenuous attempt to bring the material round to the subject matter in hand, the passage would be far more relevant in the context of the final victory in Chapter 19. It it true that 12.10 refers to ὁ κατήγωρ which we have associated closely with ὁ Σατανᾶς in 12.9; but the reference is not made explicitly to the War in Heaven rather than to the victory of chapters 19 and 20. The themes expressed certainly serve as an introduction to the chapters which follow; it is not unusual for these hymns to be placed, because of the reassurance they offer, slightly in anticipation of what they celebrate, but in that case v. 12 points back again rather abruptly to the immediate situation. One would hardly expect a hymn, celebrating the achievement of Michael, that would cut across monotheistic preconceptions. But v. 11 does not even seem applicable to Michael, but rather to the Christian martyrs who have resisted the worst that Satan can contrive. If we conclude that this hymn is appropriate to the theme of Revelation as a whole, it would be possible to say that it is applied here in the midst of mythological material, because some kind of hymn of praise

seemed to be demanded by the context. Perhaps we should not expect too precise a continuity of thought between hymn and narrative, especially in a chapter such as this.

Verse 13 confirms our earlier impression that the pursuit of the woman by the dragon takes place on earth. In verse 14 the events of verse 6 are taken up again, the details being repeated in an expanded form. The woman has been identified above with Israel, the people chosen by God; it was regarded as theoretically possible, in the line of development of the Old Testament personification of Israel as a woman, that eventually the nation might be represented by one such woman, an historical figure. Mary the mother of Jesus in effect standing as the ideal Eve, is within the compass of possibility for the thought of the time, but the evidence for this does not seem to amount to proof, either that such a view of the representative woman existed, or that Mary was regarded as typifying her in the view of the earliest Church.[45] Even if we can assume all this, and, further, that the Early Church in turn saw Mary as the ideal representative of themselves, this does not, in my view, justify an interpretation of this chapter which turns the figure of the woman into a kind of kaleidoscope, taking on all these shapes one after another. Such an interpretation comes up against the problems raised at the very start - the Church as both the woman and her seed; the fluctuation of the identification of symbols, without any indication in the text that this is happening. If the author wished to make such meaningful theological equations, he would surely have made them more positively, rather than leaving it to chance that his readers would use their imagination correctly.

The first question to ask should surely be whether it is possible to make sense of the woman as a symbol for Israel, the nation from which Christ came, throughout this chapter. It is certainly possible to say, when the Christian Church is first introduced as the 'rest of the woman's seed' in v. 17, that this corresponds to historical reality, since the Church, like

the Christ in his earthly life, had her physical origins within Judaism. One might say that this is a late stage in the development of the themes of this chapter at which to introduce the Christian Church. But it certainly serves well to lead into the following chapters, and, in the context of an historical introduction setting the scene for the final stages of persecution of the church (a general interpretation of this chapter towards which we have inclined above), it fits admirably.

What sense can we then make of the woman as carried into the desert by an eagle, preserved by God from the dragon, protected from the dragon's river that threatens to sweep her away? We must first look at the details of the picture. The eagle in the Old Testament was a symbol of swiftness, of God's protection of his people, or an expression of what is unattainable to man, yet within the control of God. (Deut. 28.49; 32.11, 12; Jer. 49. 16,22; Obad. 4). In the ancient world generally the eagle[1] has associations with, or acts as a symbol for, deities (e.g. Zeus uses an eagle as a messenger).[46] An attractive interpretation based on the Old Testament background is that here is a kind of Exodus from a power even fiercer than the Egyptians - "You have seen what I did to the Egyptians, and how I bore you on eagles' wings and brought you to myself." (Ex. 19.4) Like (or as) Israel the woman was carried on an eagle's wings to the safety of the desert.

But there is another Old Testament parallel which should not be ignored, because it comes from Ezekiel (the source of much of Revelation's symbolism) and because it refers to "a great eagle", using the same adjective as Rev. 12.14. Ezekiel 17 is a parable based on recent events; the great eagle of v. 3 is the king of Babylon who carried off Jehoiachin in 597 B.C. and placed Zedekiah on the throne, with the status of dependent chief, a position which was intended to be humiliating, but in fact secured the safety of the Judaean kingdom. These motifs employed by Ezekiel may be derived from Babylonian art and literature. G. A. Cooke[47] is doubtful whether the name "the great eagle" should be taken as a play upon the title "the great king",

for this title seems to be Assyrian rather than Babylonian. If Ezekiel 17 were to underly the image of the eagle in Revelation, it would probably carry with it the ideas of a contemporary political agency for God's plan (not necessarily respected or recognised as such by Israel), of a carrying off that involved some humiliation, and of an actual consequence of safety for the nation. Whether or not these ideas are present can best be seen when this passage is interpreted as a whole. However, within the context of Revelation itself, the roles which other eagles play must not be ignored. The fourth living creature is described (4.7) as being 'like a flying eagle' and in 8.13 an eagle appears, in place of the angel that might have been expected, to utter a prophecy of doom.

The woman's destination (τὸν τόπον αὐτῆς 12.14) seems surprisingly precise; the definite article serves to refer the reader back to the place mentioned in 12.6 - ἐκεῖ τόπον ἡτοιμασμένον ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ - this is 'a' place, but because of the qualification of a place prepared by God, it remains a precise reference. An interpretation should not, therefore, neglect it as merely an indefinite concept of safety in the wilderness, although the precision of the reference may rest on the fact that it has a defined part to play in God's plan, rather than on its being a particular geographical locality. The word τόπος is generally used of an inhabited place (a city, village, or building or a place to live etc.) or a location (often a particular one); τόπος is also used of a synagogue, as a Jewish "place of worship", and the term might be borrowed by Christians to use of their own meeting places (cf. 1 Cor. 1.2);[48] in the plural it can be used of regions or districts; it may refer to a place where something is, should, or could be,found; later it is applied to the place where one is destined to go (although this specific meaning comes probably from the context). The only other place in the New Testament where the words ἑτοιμάζω and τόπος occur together is in Jo. 14.2f; but it is not necessary to conclude from this fact that the place prepared by

God for the woman must be in heaven, and therefore this is an indirect reference to the Assumption of Mary. Previously this chapter has referred to an exaltation to heaven as being "taken to God and his throne" (v. 5); if a comparable "rescue operation" were here envisaged one might expect similar terminology. In fact these two words also occur together in the Septuagint, where the reference is not to heaven, but to David's preparation of a site for the Ark (1 Chron. 15.1).

The woman is to be cared for in her place of refuge for "a time, times, and half a time" or 1,260 days. This $3\frac{1}{2}$ year period, expressed in these ways, and as 42 months (the period also of the trampling of the holy city by the nations in Rev. 11.2) is a common feature in apocalyptic literature (cf. Dan. 7.25; 12.7) as an expression for the time of tyranny until the end comes, and also for the period of the earthly glory of the righteous until God draws all to a close, in short for the period of eschatological crisis. If the Exodus motif is important here (cf. the eagle), then the forty-two month period might also correspond to the forty-two years of Israel's wilderness wandering.[49] We should note that this period starts when Satan tries to attack the woman, is prevented from this, and in disappointment goes off to persecute the rest of her seed, the Church. This period is certainly a consequence of, but does not begin with, the birth of Christ. This, presumably, is the last short period of earthly activity which Satan is allowed. And throughout this period the woman is shielded from his attacks. In effect this points a contrast between the woman and the Christian Church, within the context of Revelation as a whole. The Church suffers Satan's attacks, but the woman is shielded from them; the woman is preserved from the ordeal, while the Church submits to it, but is prepared for it, and sealed by God, so that she will not be harmed spiritually. God calls some at least of his Church to martyrdom; it is in view of this apparently inescapable fact that the author writes his message of exhortation to the Church.

The fourth and final detail of this passage to be examined is the river^of water from the serpent's mouth. We have already seen that water could be associated with the power of evil,[50] particularly in the figure of the sea monster; from this it is a credible development that one way for the monster to express hostility would be to spout water, aiming to overwhelm his enemies. It seems more likely that the origin of this idea lies in these mythological traditions, presumably familiar at the time, rather than in the Old Testament narratives.[51] Passages such as Exodus 14, and Hosea 5.10 seem to have little bearing on our text; Ps. 32.6, 124.4; and Is. 43.2 are closer but do not constitute real parallels. An Old Testament passage, to which allusion may be made in verse 16, is Numbers 16.32 (the episode recalled is the swallowing up of the rebels by the earth). Interestingly, from the point of view of Exodus imagery, is the possible anachronistic allusion to this episode in the Song of Moses (Exodus 15.12). The real point of contact in the Old Testament imagery could only be that God so protects his people from danger, by not allowing them to be engulfed by the waters. This is indeed an idea in our present context, but it might well be questioned whether such an idea would be expressed in the developed imagery of this passage unless there was such a myth already current to assist the idea.

It remains to be asked whether there is any historical reference intended in this imagery. This is indeed a possibility, even if it is not an event for which we have evidence. There were rivers and streams which disappeared into the earth, and flowed underground (Herodotus, Strabo, and Pliny refer to such phenomena). Mt. 7.27 refers to rains and floods which could sweep away a house that lacked firm foundations on rock. The winter rains in Palestine come as isolated cloudbursts, not as steady showers. This has the practical result that the rain cannot be fully absorbed by the soil as it falls, but most runs off into gullies that are quickly filled. Particularly in the coastal plain, which has above average

rainfall, such cloudbursts might cause flooding and considerable damage in settlements. Thus a natural influence on this imagery might be the wadis swollen by a winter cloudburst.

The examination of these details from the passage has indicated a number of points which might be incorporated in the interpretation of the passage as a whole. Let us now test out on this section the theory that the woman of this chapter is Israel; we have already received a measure of encouragement for our endeavour from the arguments against the popular interpretation, in terms of the Church,especially the argument which points a contrast between what is said about the woman, and what is expected for the Church in Revelation.[52]

R. H. Charles recognised that if the source for the narrative at this point were Jewish, then the reference would be to the flight of Johanan ben Zakkai and other notable Jews to Jabneh, shortly before the Fall of Jerusalem.[53] Jabneh became the major centre for Jewish authority and scholarship in the years which followed Jerusalem's destruction. But Charles also said that if the source were Christian then the allusion would be to the flight of the Christian community in Jerusalem to Pella at about the same time. In both cases he asserted that these verses are devoid of significance in their present context. The passage is a meaningless survival from an older source, because what was relevant to 70 A.D. now admits of no intelligible reinterpretation. But might it not be conceivable that an author, quite possibly using an older source not of his own composition, wishes to include a passage, not merely out of an antiquarian interest in the preservation of old material, but because he can express his ideas thereby? If so, we must not surrender too easily in our search for a current meaning in the work before us. It is also possible that the present author may wish to make some historical reference, not confined to his current political situation, but tracing a pattern in past events as an introduction to this present situation. Furthermore, there have been

already several indications, from the appearance of phases in an historical and theological sequence beginning with the birth of Christ, that the author's intention is to furnish some such historical introduction, even if expressed in foreign, mythological terms, to the last phase in his sequence, which is the persecution of the Church in the period leading up to the Last Judgement. This last phase in which the author and his readers now find themselves, had a definite starting point, when the woman, pursued by the dragon, took refuge in the wilderness. If the material in this passage can be shown to have a relevance to 70 A. D., we do not have to conclude that this relevance was confined to a previous source. At some time after 70 A.D. an author could look back upon the destruction of Jerusalem as the prelude to the final eschatological phase.

The identification of the woman's flight with that of the Christian community from Jerusalem to Pella has been supported by some commentators on the ground that it removes the difficulty of identifying the children with the mother: the other children are then other Christians, in distinction from the Jerusalem Church. But this does not provide a satisfactory solution; the Church at Jerusalem was not the mother of the Messiah, nor does it appear that the authority of the Jerusalem Church in the early days, as suggested by the narrative of the Acts of the Apostles, persisted throughout the New Testament period, or was accepted by the other churches to the extent that they would refer to the Jerusalem Church as their mother. The sentiments implicit in Galatians 4.25 - 26 may well represent a widespread Christian attitude which would preclude this possibility. The destruction of Jerusalem in 70 A.D. seems to have marked a significant decline, if not actually the end, for that Christian community. From a viewpoint perhaps 20 years on, it seems unlikely that an author would look back on the Pella settlement in the way that he looked at the flight of the woman.

If we return to the Jewish possibilities, the first observation to

be made is that, with recent discoveries and theories about the sectarian life of Judaism, there are more candidates than there were for the office of the representative true Israel that has taken refuge in the wilderness, to escape the corruption of "modern life", and the rule of Rome. The difficulty of making an identification with any one sect in this way, is that, in all probability, only the sect themselves would regard themselves as the true Israel. One could not expect rival sects to agree on this. How, then, can one conceive of a writer in the Christian tradition, where the relationship with the sectarian milieu of Judaism is to say the least debatable, choosing one sect to identify in this way, confident that all his readers would be able to share his feelings and interpret his allusion correctly?

This difficulty does not arise when the identification is made with the flight of the Jewish scholars to Jabneh. According to M. Stein,[54] Jabneh was already an important seat of learning, even before the destruction of the Jerusalem temple. Because it was the private property of the Roman Emperor, R. Johanan ben Zakkai asked Vespasian or Titus for permission to go there; he favoured it since it was Roman property (many Jews would not have found Johanan's action unusual or treasonable), and since it already had the traditions of an independent sanhedrin by virtue of the city's special government. With the new influx of scholarship it became the widely acknowledged centre of Judaism in exile, and the Sanhedrin continued to meet there up till the outbreak of the second Jewish Revolt in 132. The school of Jewish learning there was regarded as having great authority, and seems to have been venerated, at least by the Jews who remained in Palestine. Johanan and his fellow teachers seem to have succeeded in their aim to reconstruct there the spiritual fortress of Judaism. Of course Jabneh was not the only centre for refugees from Jerusalem, and there will have been some disputes between the centres about their respective authorities. Under Gamaliel II the Sanhedrin met briefly at Usha, but then returned to Jabneh.

Without complete unanimity, yet the vast majority of Palestinian Jews, and those from the nearest areas of the Dispersion, seem to have regarded Jabneh as their spiritual centre, after the fall of Jerusalem. "Jewish tradition long regarded Yohanan's settlement there as the crucial nexus in the orderly transmission of the authority of the Sanhedrin in Jerusalem to the rabbinical courts of later ages".[55] It may be significant that the Sanhedrin met at Jabneh, in the time of Johanan, in a vineyard. This is usually interpreted figuratively: "the Sanhedrin sat in rows similar to vines in a vineyard" (Eduy ii.4; Yer. Ber. iv.1),[56] but a possible meaning, apart from the literal, geographical one, could be that they were conscious of a direct link with the Israel of the Old Testament (bearing in mind the symbolism of the vine in the Old and New Testaments).

Josephus makes clear that the settling of Jerusalem refugees at Jabneh was a war measure.[57] There is however no evidence for the contention that here was a concentration camp - this was not a Roman method, and, in any case, Rome was engaged in the suppression of a rebellion, not a religious persecution. This distinction is largely supported by what evidence there is for Roman/Jewish relations after the suppression of the revolt in 70 A.D. Mommsen expresses the attitude thus: "people shrank from declaring war on the Jewish faith as such, and from driving the far-branching Diaspora to extremities; it was enough that Judaism was in its political representation deleted from the commonwealth".[58] After the revolt the official Roman attitude to the Jews was surprisingly lenient: they were not prevented from following their religious customs, and K. W. Clark[59] has argued that they were allowed even to use the temple site in Jerusalem. The legions were soon withdrawn, except for a garrison force (under Domitian this was 2 alae and 4 cohorts).[60]

It is true that the Fiscus Judaicus was levied, and rigorously enforced (but those who evaded the tax were presumably punished for evasion rather than for being Jews), that Jerusalem as a political and religious

centre had suffered severely, and that Jewish losses in the revolt had been staggering - although the figures given were doubtless much exaggerated, they indicate the impression made upon contemporary observers. What Dio Cassius said of the later revolt - "All of Judaea became almost a desert" - may well be applicable here, and is an interesting parallel to the imagery of Revelation at this point. But in spite of all this the Jews were far more fortunate than they might have expected, by virtue of the traditional Roman tolerance toward them, and the Roman sense of justice which saw that the revolt had not been based on much more than the violent agitation of a minority.

Certainly the Jews were as liable as the Christians to the extremism of an Emperor like Domitian, should he choose to enforce the action of sacrificing to the Emperor's genius as a test of loyalty; "an emperor who demanded worship from his subjects might one day, like Gaius, demand it from the Jews too and revoke existing edicts of toleration".[61] Both Jewish and Christian traditions claim Flavius Clemens and Domitilla as victims for their religion. Another Jewish tradition records that c.95 A.D., when the Senate were debating a decree that would expel all Jews from the boundaries of the Empire within 36 days, R. Gamaliel II with some friends made a hurried winter journey to Rome, presumably to avert the threatened persecution and plead for the Jewish cause.[62] Nevertheless, as a general rule, the Jews were far more secure from such persecution, because of Roman toleration, than were the Christians who were, more and more obviously, no mere sect of Judaism, and consequently cut adrift from the protection Judaism could afford in these circumstances.

One can interpret Revelation 12 vv13 - 16 in the light of this background. The woman, as Israel, represents the nucleus of the nation, salvaged from the ruins of Jerusalem, which had built the new spiritual home of the nation at Jabneh. This is the place appointed in God's plan in which the Jewish nation, at least as a religious unit, can recover some of

its strength. One might argue that Jabneh's situation, on the coastal plain that is the most fertile area of Palestine, hardly qualifies it to be described as a place in the desert.[63] In this situation one can only speak in comparative terms; however fertile this actual setting may have been in comparison with Asia Minor for example, there is little doubt that, when one speaks of a religious community, the situation of Judaism after the revolt was a desert existence, set over against the glories of Jerusalem, their true religious home, around which all future hopes had centred. The humiliation of the new setting is undisputed; it would have been humiliating in any circumstances for a Jew to ask for asylum from a Roman as Johanan had to do.

The desert as a place of refuge is an Old Testament symbol from the Exodus tradition. In other biblical traditions, as G. B. Caird argues, the ambivalence of the symbol of desert is demonstrated, when "it is the very opposite of an asylum; it is the part of creation where chaos still reigns, unsubdued".[64] That John uses an Exodus symbol at this point should cause us to look more carefully at other possible allusions to the same corpus of ideas.

The eagle, an image with rich associations, including an Exodus context, already examined,[65] is not an inappropriate symbol for the military might of Rome. It can then have its role as a contemporary political agency for the divine plan, conducting the Jews to an exile in Jabneh. Nor can there be any doubt that such an exile from Jerusalem was an advantage for the Jews concerned; it rescued them from Roman punishment, or the hostility of the zealots of their own nation, and, most of all, it enabled them to forge a link between Jerusalem as it had been, and the spiritual centre of the people as it was to be. In this place of refuge, with the continuing Roman policy of toleration, they were safe from the worst of hostility and persecution which Rome was to throw at the Church through the Satanic and bestial activities of Emperor worship. When under Domitian the

threat of this kind of persecution loomed large again for the Jews, there was to hand some means of warding off this threat. Perhaps one may interpret the stream from the serpent's mouth as this kind of threat. Whether the picture is formed from traditional mythology, or perhaps from the natural imagery of a winter cloudburst which drains into the earth just in time before devastation is caused, it could symbolise some such event as R. Gamaliel II's hurried winter journey to Rome to plead for this threat to be averted. This measure was only made possible because of the divine plan that had preserved the continuity of the authoritative leadership of Judaism at Jabneh, and nourished it in difficult years.

This protection is offered to Judaism for as long as the phase of persecution for the Christian Church will last, until the period of crisis ends in the Final Judgement. Compared with some other parts of the New Testament, and with some interpretations, notably that of Eduard Schweizer,[66] placed on Revelation itself, this exegesis represents the author as holding quite an enlightened and tolerant view of Judaism. But in a book which depicts the Christ in glory it is appropriate that the best and truest, the ideal remnant of Israel, the chosen people of God, represented in the image of the mother who gave birth to Christ on earth, should not come to an ignominious and unworthy end. The ideal figure of Israel, unlike those who claim to be Jews and are not, but are nothing less than agents of Satan, has a worthy place in the divine plan. In this respect, then, the author of Revelation agrees with Paul that God has by no means rejected his original chosen people; rather "all Israel will be saved", when the full number of the Gentiles has been gathered in (Rom. 11.1, 25 - 6).

Notes on Chapter 6

1. P. Prigent 'Apocalypse 12. Histoire de l'exégèse' Tübingen 1959, p. 1.

2. See pages 33f.
Cf. Feuillet, L'Apocalypse pp. 91-8; J. Michl 'Die Deutung der apokalyptischen Frau in der Gegenwart' Biblische Zeitschrift 3 (1959) pp. 301-10; W. Foerster 'Die Bilder in Offenbarung 12f und 17f' in Theologische Studien und Kritiken 1932 pp. 279-310.

3. W.H. Brownlee 'Messianic Motifs and the New Testament' N.T.S. 3 (1956-7), pp. 12-30, 195-210; cf. A. Dupont-Sommer 'La Mère du Messie et la Mère de l'Aspic dans un Hymne de Qumran' RHR 147 (1955), pp. 174-88; J.V. Chamberlain 'Another Qumran Thanksgiving Psalm - further elucidation of a Messianic Thanksgiving Psalm from Qumran' J.N.E.S. 14 (1955), pp. 32-41, 181-2; L.H. Silberman 'Language and Structure in the Hodayot (IQH 3) J.B.L. 75 (1956) pp. 96-106; J. Baumgarten and M. Mansoor 'Studies in the New Hodayot (Thanksgiving Hymns) - II' J.B.L. 74 (1955) pp. 188-95; O. Betz 'Die Geburt der Gemeinde durch den Lehrer ' N.T.S. 3 (1956-7) pp. 314-26; 'Das Volk Seiner Kraft - zur Auslegung der Qumran Hodajah III 1-18' N.T.S. 5 (1958-9) pp. 67-75; F.M. Braun 'L'arrière-fond judaïque du quatrième évangile et la Communauté de l'Alliance' R.B. 62 (1955) pp. 29-31; R.E. Brown 'The Messianism of Qumran' CBQ 19 (1957) pp. 53-82.

4. Martin Jugie 'La Mort et L'Assomption de la Sainte Vierge - Etude Historico-Doctrinale' (1944) Pt. 1 Holy Scripture and Patristic Tradition, pp. 9-56, which cites Rev. 12 as Scriptural evidence for the Assumption of Mary; cf. H. Graef 'Mary, A History of Doctrine and Devotion' Vol. 1 - From the beginnings to the eve of the Reformation. 1963 pp. 27ff.
A. Feuillet 'La Messie et sa Mère d'après le chapitre XII de l'Apocalypse' R.B. 66 (1959) pp. 55-86; B.J. Le Frois 'The Woman Clothed with the Sun' Rome 1954; L. Cerfaux 'La Vision de la Femme et du Dragon' E.T.L. 61 (1955) pp. 7-33; F.M. Braun Revue Thomiste 30 (1950), pp. 429-79; 1951 pp. 5-68; 'La Mère des Fidèles, Essai de théologie johannique' Paris 1953, pp. 131-76; 'La Femme Vêtue du Soleil' Revue Thomiste 35 (1955), pp. 639-69.

5. Cf. Tacitus Ann. 15.44. W.H.C. Frend 'Martyrdom and Persecution in the Early Church' 1965.

6. Such evidence would of course be available only if the editing took place after the first appearance of the work.

7. Cf. pages 276f.

8. J.V. Chamberlain 'Another Qumran Thanksgiving Psalm - further elucidation of a Messianic Thanksgiving Psalm from Qumran' J.N.E.S. 14 (1955) pp. 32-41. Chamberlian cites Jo. 16.21f - "The apostles collectively are compared to a woman in travail, whose child is to be the resurrected Jesus."

9. See note 3 above.

10. E. Schweizer 'Church Order in the New Testament' 1961 p. 132 n.485. The origins of this idea are obscure.

11. Charles, Commentary I. 299ff.

12. P.S. Minear 'Images of the Church in the New Testament' London 1961.

13. Virgin - LXX παρθένος MT בְּתוּלָה - 2 Ki. 19.21; Am. 5.2; Is. 37.22; Jer. 18.13; 31.4; 31.21; Lam. 1.15; 2.13.
Cf. Pss. 9.14; 48.11; 97.8; Cant. 3.11; Is. 1.8; 3.16f; 4.4; 16.1; 52.2; 62.11; 66.8; Jer. 4.31; 6.2, 23; Lam. 1.6; 2.1, 4, 10, 13; Mic. 1.13; 4.8, 10, 13; Zeph. 3.14; Zech. 2.10; 9.9; Jer. 14.17; Joel 1.8.
Cf. Is. 23.12; 47.1; Jer. 46.11.
The use of this imagery with place-names is said to convey the underlying idea of the love of God for his people. "Das Volk Jahves ist die Jungfrau die nicht im Götzendienst ihre Reinheit preisgibt." Delling Kittel TWNT 5.831.

14. Cf. Hos. 3; Jer. 2.1; Ezek. 16.23.

15. Cf. G.A.F. Knight 'A Christian Theology of the Old Testament' 1959, pp. 320ff. But are these suggestions a legitimate use of linguistic data? Perhaps the imagery originates in the context of Yahweh worship where, officially at least, there is a male principle in the Godhead but no female principle (in contrast to neighbouring 'nature' religions). The male-female relationship, basic to human experience, is then employed to express Yahweh's love for his people, and the people's response. A positive response to Yahweh is depicted as a marriage relationship; a negative response, a turning away to idolatry is expressed as harlotry (see pages 307ff).

16. Cf. apocalyptic usage: D.S. Russell 'The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic' 1964, pp. 272f. See page 124 above.

17. S. Mowinckel 'He That Cometh' Oxford 1956, pp. 114ff.

18. Cf. Gen. 24.43; Ex. 2.8; 1 Chr. 15.20; Ps. 46.1; 68.26; Prov. 30.19; Cant. 1.3; 6.8; Is. 7.14. LXX uses παρθένος for Is. 7.14, but elsewhere νεᾶνις and νεότης . On the significance of the terms Delling comments: "Die Unberührtheit ist in נערה jedenfalls nicht betont"; "In manchen Zusammenhängen kann παρθένος allgemeiner das Mädchen sein; doch ist die Unberührtheit der παρθένος auch in der allgemeineren Verwendung allermeist als selbstverständlich eingeschlossen" Kittel TWNT 5.829, 31.

19. J. Michl, 'Der Weibessame (Gen. 3.15) in spätjudischer und frühchristlicher Auffassung' Biblica 33 (1952), contests the theory of a direct connection between Gen. 3.15 and Rev. 12. Cf. H. Gunkel 'Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit' Göttingen 1895, p. 271; "Wenn man dem Christus nach Ap. Joh. 12 einen Namen geben wollte, so müsste er "Sohn des Weibes" heissen. Diesen Namen führt der Christus bei Henoch 62.5, ein Name, der jedenfalls nicht aus Gen. 3.15 - wonach er "Weibessame" lauten müsste - entlehnt ist". There has been nevertheless scope for speculation, largely on the basis of references in Enoch, about a Jewish Messianic title "son of the woman', related to Gen. 3.15 and regarded as parallel to the title Son of Man.

20. How far can this imagery be pressed? Is it a parable or an allegory? In such a description of the birth of a "messianic" community from the womb of Israel what is the relationship between the woman and her "sons" - is it Israel and the true Israel of Qumran, or the true Israel and her Messianic representatives?

21. Is. 66.7 LXX - ὠδίνουσαν τεκεῖν ... ἔτεκεν ἄρσεν . Is. 26.17 LXX - ἐν γαστρὶ ἐλάβομεν ... καὶ ὡς ἡ ὠδίνουσα ἐγγίζει τοῦ τεκεῖν καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ ὠδῖνι αὐτῆς ἐκέκραξεν.

22. Cf. Farrer, Commentary p. 141, for the suggestion that Virgo is the reigning sign of the zodiac (arrayed in the sun means that the sun is "in virgine"). The fact that the moon is beneath the woman's feet indicates that her reign is of a month's duration. There might be some difficulty, however, in making one sign of the zodiac from just one star.

23. Cf. Dan 12.3; Dt. 11.21; Str. B. 3.1138ff. (the glory of the departed pious ones).
These references are discussed by A. Feuillet ('Le Cantique des Cantiques et l'Apocalypse' Rech. SR 49 (1961) pp. 321-53; 'La Messie et sa Mère' RB 66 (1959) pp. 54-86) who holds as the key reference that to the Song of Songs.

24. J.M. Court and G. Jagger 'Computer Analysis of the Book of Revelation' in preparation.

25. Josephus Ant. 3.180, cf. 123 and B.J. 5.212f; Philo Fuga 110; Vita Mosis 2.117-35; Spec. Leg. 1.85-95; Migratione Abrahami 102f; on the basis of Ex. 28.1-43; 39.1-31; Ezek. 28.13.

26. Charles, Commentary I.299f.
Cf. Farrer, Commentary pp. 141f, 144: "If St. John too were writing a Gospel he might show Satan vainly attempting to crush Messiah in the manger, and triumphed over by Messiah on the cross. But for the purposes of an apocalyptic vision the triumph must be not the Cross but the Advent." "No Christian writer who was not adapting the facts to a preconceived mythical pattern would wish to reduce the gospel to the two points of Christ's being born . . . and his escaping to the safety of the Father's throne."

27. ὑφοῦν cf. Jo. 3.14; 8.28; 12.32,34.

28. See page 238.
Cf. Caird, Commentary p. 149: "By the birth of the Messiah John means not the Nativity but the Cross." But this verse is not by any means a straightforward expression of the idea of Enthronement in accordance with Ps. 2.

29. A. Feuillet cites an argument by A. Mitterer ("Dogma und Biologie der hl. Familie, nach dem Weltbild des hl. Thomas von Aquin und dem der Gegenwart' Vienna 1952) to the effect that the concept of Virgin Birth does not exclude the pain inherent in ordinary birth.

30. Cf. 4 Ezra 9.38 - 10.57.

31. Charles, Commentary I.305ff.

32. See note 24.

33. See especially the argument of the next chapter (7).

34. W. Foerster in Kittel TWNT 5.566ff; 2.284ff. LXX translates שׁוּר by ὄφις 29 times, but only when a land creature is referred to; otherwise - Am. 9.3; Job 26.13 - δράκων is used. In later usage the two terms often appear to be interchangeable.

35. See pages 270ff.

36. W. Foerster and G. von Rad, Kittel TWNT 2.70ff; W. Foerster and K. Schäferdiek, Kittel TWNT 7.151ff.

37. Cf. 1 Chr. 21.1; Zech. 3.1; Eth. En. 40.7; 65.6; Jub. 1.20; 48.15f; Apoc. Zeph. 4, 11; Str. B. 1.139ff. Cf. G. von Rad 'Old Testament Theology' (1962,5) I.120, 318, 408; II.287 and in Kittel TWNT article.

38. H. Braun, Kittel TWNT 6.230ff; A. Oepke, Kittel TWNT 1.383f.

39. Farrer, Commentary pp. 145f.

40. On Michael as the opponent of Satan cf. Str. B. 1.142, Charles, Commentary I.323f. Michael is the guardian angel of Israel in the earlier tradition of Dan 10-12. Two further aspects may be of special interest: O. Betz refers to a Qumran fragment (11Q Melch) published by A.S. van der Woude, which speaks of the year of redemption being ushered in with the enthronement of Michael in heaven as 'Melchizedek', who will begin to judge the devil and his spirits (cf. 1 QM 17.5ff). This fact will be proclaimed by an evangelist anointed with the Spirit (Is. 52.7 is quoted). Secondly, there appears to be a local tradition in Asia Minor that Michael struck a rock at Colossae with his sword during the first century A.D. (I have so far been unable to document this tradition further).

41. Cf. Luke 10.18.

42. Rev. 1.20 supports the general principle of an identification of stars as angels or spirits. For a detailed discussion of the influences on this imagery see E. Schweizer, Kittel TWNT 6 330-453; 'Die sieben Geister in der Apokalypse' in 'Neotestamentica-deutsche und englische Aufsätze 1951-63' pp. 190-202; cf. W. Bietenhard 'Die himmlische Welt in Urchristentum und Spätjudentum' 1951 pp. 60ff; G.H. Dix 'Seven Archangels and Seven Spirits' J.T.S. 28 (1927) pp. 233-50; R. Koch 'Der Gottesgeist und der Messias' Biblica 27 (1946), pp. 241-68.

43. Cf. T.H. Robinson 'Hebrew Myths' in 'Myth and Ritual' ed. S.H. Hooke (1933) pp. 179f.f. It is suggested that Is. 14.4-21 may represent a form of creation contest myth and may have developed in a way parallel to Ezek. 28.1-14.

44. See Chapter 2: 'The Book of Revelation - A Liturgical Apocalypse?'

45. Cf. E.C. Hoskyns 'Genesis I-III and St. John's Gospel' J.T.S. 21 (1920) pp. 210-18.

46. Homer Iliad 24.310.

47. G.A. Cooke 'The Book of Ezekiel' I.C.C. 1936. ad. loc.

48. Cf. T. W. Manson 'Studies in the Gospels and Epistles' ed. M. Black 1962 pp. 208f; C.K. Barrett 'The First Epistle to the Corinthians' 1968 p. 33.

49. Cf. M.E. Boismard in the notes to the 'Jerusalem Bible'.

50. See page 248.

51. The way in which the earth swallows up the water might be considered

as parallel to the creation of dry land for the crossing of the Red Sea; further Moses typology suggested in the Jerusalem Bible notes includes the reference to the child, snatched like Moses from the dragon of water (the Leviathan of the Nile Pharaoh).

52. See page 257.

53. Charles, Commentary I.331.
On Pella cf. Eusebius H.E. 3.5; Epiphanius De ponderibus et mensuris 15.43.261.

54. M. Stein 'Yabneh and her Scholars' in 'Zion' n.s.3. (1938) pp. 118ff. (Hebrew article with English summary).

55. J. Neusner 'A Life of Rabban Yohanan ben Zakkai ca. 1-80 C.E.' Leiden 1962.

56. Max Seligsohn, article in Jewish Encyclopaedia, ed. Singer (1904) Vol. 7, p. 18.

57. Cf. the discussion in Neusner op. cit., pp. 122ff.

58. Theodor Mommsen 'The Provinces of the Roman Empire' 1886 Vol. 2. pp. 216ff.

59. K.W. Clark 'Worship in the Jerusalem Temple after A.D. 70', NTS 6 (1960), pp. 269-80.

60. C.I.L. III p. 857, Dipl. xiv.

61. M.P. Charlesworth in Cambridge Ancient History Vol. II (1954) p. 42.

62. M.P. Charlesworth in 'Some Observations on Ruler Cult, especially in Rome', H.T.R. 28 (1935), p. 34.

63. J. Neusner op. cit., p. 153.

64. Caird, Commentary pp. 151f.

65. See pages 255f.

66. E. Schweizer 'Church Order in the New Testament' 1961 pp. 131ff.

THE BEAST WITH SEVEN HEADS

That the historical method of interpretation for the symbolism of the Book of Revelation is unfashionable, is nowhere more apparent than in most recent writing on the topic of the Beast with Seven Heads. I am not sure that other methods of interpretation, taken by themselves, always lead to an improvement in exegesis, even if they do spare the reader from a total absorption in 'gematria' and similar riddles, and indicate that there are broader issues involved in this imagery. In some instances the neglect of historical clues can be a definite change for the worse; the reader is left pondering general truths, divorced from the realities of a particular situation, so that even his natural questions about what prompted this piece of writing remain unanswered. Therefore, a reconsideration of the Beast in Revelation should be watchful for any real possibilities of historical reference suggested by the evidence, without becoming totally preoccupied with the search for historical slots into which to fit the material.

In order that one may gain an impression of the full range of Beast imagery employed in Revelation, some important references have been tabulated on the next two pages. It is clear from this presentation that there are actually three beasts: the dragon, the beast from the sea, and the beast from the earth. In this chapter we are concerned chiefly with the second beast, whose identification remains problematic. But it is necessary to say something briefly about the other two beasts and their interrelationship.

The third creature, with two horns, is the traditional false prophet of the Last Days. He is given this title in Rev.16.13 and 19.20. The form of the creature is probably derived from the two-horned ram of Daniel 8.3, although there is nothing in that context to suggest a false-prophet. It may be, as Austin Farrer suggested[1], that John merely adopted

12.3 δράκων πυρρὸς μέγας, ἔχων κεφαλὰς ἑπτὰ καὶ κέρατα δέκα καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς αὐτοῦ ἑπτὰ διαδήματα. (1)

13.1 καὶ εἶδον ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης θηρίον ἀναβαῖνον, ἔχον κέρατα δέκα καὶ κεφαλὰς ἑπτά, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν κεράτων αὐτοῦ δέκα διαδήματα, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς αὐτοῦ ὀνόματα βλασφημίας. (2)

13.3-4 καὶ μίαν ἐκ τῶν κεφαλῶν αὐτοῦ ὡς ἐσφαγμένην εἰς θάνατον, καὶ ἡ πληγὴ τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ ἐθεραπεύθη. . . . καὶ προσεκύνησαν τῷ δράκοντι, ὅτι ἔδωκεν τὴν ἐξουσίαν τῷ θηρίῳ, καὶ προσεκύνησαν τῷ θηρίῳ λέγοντες, τίς ὅμοιος τῷ θηρίῳ, καὶ τίς δύναται πολεμῆσαι μετ' αὐτοῦ; (3)

13.12 (ἄλλο θηρίον ἀναβαῖνον ἐκ τῆς γῆς) τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ πρώτου θηρίου πᾶσαν ποιεῖ ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ. καὶ ποιεῖ τὴν γῆν καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ κατοικοῦντας ἵνα προσκυνήσουσιν τὸ θηρίον τὸ πρῶτον, οὗ ἐθεραπεύθη ἡ πληγὴ τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ. (4)

13.14 (καὶ ποιεῖ σημεῖα) καὶ πλανᾷ τοὺς κατοικοῦντας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς . . . λέγων τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ποιῆσαι εἰκόνα τῷ θηρίῳ, ὃς ἔχει τὴν πληγὴν τῆς μαχαίρης καὶ ἔζησεν. (5)

17.3 καὶ εἶδον γυναῖκα καθημένην ἐπὶ θηρίον κόκκινον, γέμοντα ὀνόματα βλασφημίας, ἔχοντα κεφαλὰς ἑπτὰ καὶ κέρατα δέκα. (6)

17.8 τὸ θηρίον ὃ εἶδες ἦν καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν, καὶ μέλλει ἀναβαίνειν ἐκ τῆς ἀβύσσου καὶ εἰς ἀπώλειαν ὑπάγει· καὶ θαυμασθήσονται οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ὧν οὐ γέγραπται τὸ ὄνομα ἐπὶ τὸ βιβλίον τῆς ζωῆς ἀπὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου, βλεπόντων τὸ θηρίον ὅτι ἦν καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν καὶ παρέσται. (7)

17.9 αἱ ἑπτὰ κεφαλαὶ ἑπτὰ ὄρη εἰσίν, ὅπου ἡ γυνὴ κάθηται ἐπ' αὐτῶν. (8)

17.10 (αἱ κεφαλαὶ . . . βασιλεῖς ἑπτά εἰσιν) οἱ πέντε ἔπεσαν, ὁ εἷς ἔστιν, ὁ ἄλλος οὔπω ἦλθεν, καὶ ὅταν ἔλθῃ ὀλίγον αὐτὸν δεῖ μεῖναι. (9)

17.11 καὶ τὸ θηρίον ὃ ἦν καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν, καὶ αὐτὸς ὄγδοός ἐστιν, καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἑπτά ἐστιν, καὶ εἰς ἀπώλειαν ὑπάγει. (10)

17.12 καὶ τὰ δέκα κέρατα ἃ εἶδες δέκα βασιλεῖς εἰσιν, οἵτινες βασιλείαν οὔπω ἔλαβον, ἀλλὰ ἐξουσίαν ὡς βασιλεῖς μίαν ὥραν λαμβάνουσιν μετὰ τοῦ θηρίου. (11)

17.13 οὗτοι (βασιλεῖς) μίαν γνώμην ἔχουσιν, καὶ τὴν δύναμιν καὶ (12)
ἐξουσίαν αὐτῶν τῷ θηρίῳ διδόασιν.

17.16 καὶ τὰ δέκα κέρατα ἃ εἶδες καὶ τὸ θηρίον, οὗτοι μισήσουσιν (13)
17 τὴν πόρνην, καὶ ἠρημωμένην ποιήσουσιν αὐτὴν καὶ γυμνήν, καὶ
τὰς σάρκας αὐτῆς φάγονται, καὶ αὐτὴν κατακαύσουσιν ἐν πυρί·
ὁ γὰρ θεὸς ἔδωκεν εἰς τὰς καρδίας αὐτῶν ποιῆσαι τὴν γνώμην
αὐτοῦ, καὶ ποιῆσαι μίαν γνώμην καὶ δοῦναι τὴν βασιλείαν
αὐτῶν τῷ θηρίῳ, ἄχρι τελεσθήσονται οἱ λόγοι τοῦ θεοῦ.

the next "visionary creature" of Daniel after the Great Beast of Chapter 7; but the ram-like appearance was suitable dress for a false-prophet, in the light of Mt.7.15, where the false prophet comes in sheep's clothing, although inwardly he is a ravening wolf.[2] The first creature, the dragon, is explicitly identified as "that ancient serpent, who is called the Devil and Satan, the deceiver of the whole world." (Rev.12.9). He is the accuser whose place is in heaven,[3] but he has been thrown down to the earth, where he proceeds to make war on all those who bear testimony to Jesus.

These three beasts must not be distinguished too sharply without recognising the kinship which exists between them. All three share in, and are motivated by, a power and authority which they have in common. This is why, according to Paul S. Minear,[4] they all have horns, to symbolise this power. It is clear that the kinship does not merely consist in the common purpose and activity described in the visions of the Book of Revelation. There is a common mythological form of a bestial figure with seven heads which underlies the two distinct conceptions of Antichristian power in the dragon and the beast from the sea in chapters 12 and 13. And it is this figure of the beast which is treated in chapter 17 as a riddle which demands a solution. We may be able to learn from this example something about the author's method of handling his symbolism; he sketches the basic picture with broad strokes, and then highlights that part of it on which he wishes his readers to focus their attention.

The Greek word for 'beast'[5] in this context in Revelation is θηρίον ; its original meaning is that of a 'wild animal' or an 'animal living wild'. In usage it seems to be a fairly exact equivalent of the Hebrew חַיָּה and its cognate forms, so that it is frequently employed to translate them in the Septuagint. The use of θηρίον within the Septuagint nearly always is restricted to land animals, in most cases those living wild.[6] The original meaning of the word seems to be maintained with "such vitality that even in the Hellenistic period no addition is needed to convey the sense of a

wild animal to readers."[7] The figurative use - what Liddell and Scott euphemistically call a "term of reproach" - came quite easily to the Greek. Titus 1.12 shows that it could be something of a proverbial expression, applied to Cretans - "always liars, evil beasts, lazy gluttons." In the Sibylline Oracles Nero is described as θὴρ μέγας[8], and Pliny the Younger refers to Domitian as "immanissima belua".[9] Apollonius of Tyana, according to Philostratus, called Nero a θηρίον.[10] The context shows that he was thinking of the metaphor of a beast of prey with claws and teeth, a carnivorous animal such as a lion or a panther. But the mere fact that the term could be used metaphorically, or even that it was used of a Roman Emperor, in particular of Nero, is not, by itself, any proof that the beast with seven heads in the Book of Revelation has to be Nero. It cannot, however, be excluded as a possible line of thought which may have influenced the author, if there were circles in which the term could be applied to a person, a figure of historical importance, even a particular Emperor.

Beasts and dragons are almost universal features of mythology. The beast with seven heads, rising from the sea, as described in Revelation 13, most closely and naturally recalls the vision of the τέσσαρα θηρία in Daniel 7, but the imagery can, undoubtedly, be traced back much further than this. Heaton and Bentzen in their commentaries on Daniel, following up ideas derived ultimately from Gunkel, believe that the author draws heavily in chapter 7 upon the imagery of the Creation myth in its Babylonian form."[11] Other references to the Creation myth within the Old Testament are important for this background, especially Pss.74.13ff. and 89.9ff, in which Leviathan and Rahab are understood to represent the primeval monster Tiamat of the Babylonian myth. Beasts coming from the sea signify the powers of Chaos as distinct from God's creation; the Hebrew תְּהוֹם, translated in the Septuagint by ἄβυσσος, corresponds philologically to the name Tiamat. In Ps.74 God's triumph over the beasts is described as a major part of the activity of Creation. "Thou didst divide the sea by thy might; thou didst break the

heads of the dragons on the waters. Thou didst crush the heads of Leviathan, thou didst give him as food for the creatures of the wilderness." (vv.13-14). The Greek word δράκων is the usual rendering of 'Leviathan' in the Septuagint (Job 41, Ps. 74.14, Ps. 104.26, Is. 27.1; but not Job 3.8). This would have seemed a more suitable Greek word for a sea monster than θηρίον which was usually restricted to an animal based on land. Even if the Septuagintal choice of words were taken as decisive for the author of Revelation, this would not, of course, exclude the Leviathan material from a consideration of the mythological background at this point. It is clear that, although there are two distinct episodes, two different contexts in Revelation 12 and 13, nonetheless there is a common mythological form behind the dragon and the beast from the sea, and what illuminates one may well shed some light on the other.

Where the Leviathan material could be especially helpful is with the description of both beast and dragon as having seven heads. Admittedly the beast of Revelation combines the features of all four beasts in Daniel 7, and the sum of their heads is seven. Yet Leviathan also has more than one head (Ps. 74.14); he is specifically described as seven-headed in Canaanite mythology, if we may assume that the material of this tradition can be traced back to the Ras Shamra texts, and the name 'Lotan' there corresponds to 'Leviathan' in the Old Testament. In the Baal myths of Ras Shamra Anat tells how she "muzzled the dragon" and has "slain the crooked serpent, the foul-fanged with seven heads." Later in the same myth it is said of Baal himself: "Though thou didst slay Lotan the primeval serpent, didst make an end of the crooked serpent, the foul-fanged with seven heads."[12] The identification of Leviathan with Lotan is reinforced by a comparison of this latter passage with Isaiah 27.1, where the same qualifying adjectives are used: "In the day the Lord . . . shall punish Leviathan the primeval serpent, even Leviathan the crooked serpent, and he shall slay the dragon that is in the sea."

Later apocalyptic writing developed the material about Leviathan in characteristic detail. 2 Esdras 6.49-53 records how God created both Leviathan and Behemoth on the fifth day of Creation. Enoch 60.7-9 says, "On that day two monsters will be produced, a female monster named Leviathan to dwell in the depths of the ocean over the fountains of waters; but the male is called Behemoth who occupies with his breast a waste wilderness named Dendain on the east of the garden where the elect and righteous dwell." The Syriac version of the Apocalypse of Baruch (29.4) states that the flesh of these monsters will be given as food not to "the creatures of the wilderness" (Ps. 74.14) but to the elect and righteous. Early Rabbinic sayings, such as those attributed to Rabbi Johanan ben Zakkai and Rabbi Joshua ben Hananiah, place emphasis upon the role of Leviathan.[13] And in the Gnostic traditions most coloured by Judaism, Leviathan and Behemoth stand for two of the stations through which the soul must pass. Howard Wallace concludes from a review of the Leviathan material, in an article which stresses the influence of Leviathan upon the image of the beast in Revelation, that "It is safe to assume that at a very early date in the Christian era Christians were familiar with the symbols of Leviathan and Behemoth as used by the Jews." With special reference to Revelation 12, where the primeval struggle becomes the contest between God and Satan, he writes, "Since the Leviathan theme was close at hand for the author of Revelation we can assume he used it along with other sources."[14]

We have already seen how the figure of the beast from the sea recalls the imagery of Daniel 7, and probably some of the mythology underlying that passage as well. In Rabbinic exegesis as far as the first century A.D.[15] the fourth beast of Daniel 7 stands for the kingdom of Edom, which is identified with Rome, and the four kingdoms are each interpreted separately and distinguished from each other. But in the imagery of Revelation 13 features from all four beasts are blended into one new beast. W. Förster concludes from this fact that the new beast "cannot therefore be identified with Rome."[16]

Such an argument only has cogency if the relation between apocalyptic imagery and its interpretation is observed to be constant, in a precise and logical way. But there may be already abundant reasons for doubting this, not least among which is the fact that the interpretation of the fourth beast has been completely changed, from that of its original context in Daniel,[17] when the Rabbinic exegesis is reached. If then the interpretation of apocalyptic imagery is very much relative to the particular context in which it is being handled, and this is true when the image is transmitted without modification, who can dismiss, apparently on 'a priori' grounds, the interpretation of this image with reference to Rome, when some drastic surgery has been performed? On the contrary, it is open to examination, with a close scrutiny of the context in Revelation, whether a fragment of the Rabbinic exegesis could have been absorbed along with the appropriate part of the fourth beast.

To say this is not to belittle the significant theological interpretation of the beast image which Förster presents in place of a traditional historical identification. He draws out the antitheses which he finds in the Book of Revelation between God and the Dragon, Christ and the Beast (the contrast is supported when the wound of the beast is set over against the description of the Lamb "standing, as though it had been slain" -5.6), and the Seven Spirits and the False-prophet (13.11f.). The pattern of these antitheses indicates that the Beast must be Antichrist, and the primary significance of the image of the beast is in contrast to the image of the lamb. "If ἀρνίον indicates Jesus Christ as the One who, by the self-surrender of His life even to the point of death in an act of service, is worthy to receive power (Rev. 5.12), θηρίον denotes the Antichrist as the one who uses the power given by "the murderer from the beginning" to commit acts of violence (11.7), and who causes himself to be worshipped because of this power (13.3ff). The beast has not actually suffered death; he has simply been given a mortal wound. The dragon, which has also been mortally

wounded and cast out of heaven, has divine permission to give "life" to this beast which is mortally stricken under the divine judgement, and as a beast of prey it persecutes those who belong to the Lamb. If Jesus can say of ~~to~~ Himself as the Lamb that he honours the Father, the whole point of the existence of the beast is to dishonour God by causing itself to be worshipped as God (13.4f). The Divine indicates this by saying of the beast that it was, is not, and will be - a blasphemous parody of the name of God as He who was and is and will be, and of the ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος. If Jesus Christ is the Shepherd of the community, Antichrist as θηρίον is its persecutor, and this persecution causes the community to tread the way of its Lord through death to glory. (11.7-12; 13.7-10; 15.2-4)."[18]

W. Förster goes outside the material provided in the Book of Revelation in drawing out these points, but the main lines of such an antithesis can be seen clearly in the work. Such a deliberate contrast, a 'ghastly parody', was certainly a highly significant feature of the Seer's presentation.

Paul Minear makes some similar points when he says that "there is more than a formal, rhetorical antithesis between the slain Lamb and the slain Beast. Both hold and wield the sword. Both have followers on whose foreheads are inscribed their names (13.16 - 14.1). Both have horns (5.6; 13.11). Both are slain, the same word being used to describe their death (vss. 3,8); both arise to new life and authority. The point of greatest conflict, the death of the martyrs, becomes the point of greatest illumination and power. At this point both antagonists claim victory. To the servants of Christ, the beast is mortally wounded in this encounter. To the servants of the beast there is an opposite outcome. For John's thinking the story of the Passion remains the centre of reference for all visions." This last point Minear justifies especially by his interpretation of the 'wound', to one of the beast's heads and to the beast itself, as "the plague of death released through the Messiah in his crucifixion and exaltation."[19] (The grounds for the identification of the wounding with this particular 'historical' event

rather than the suicide of Nero will be discussed later). And so Minear concludes "It is the knowledge of the Gospel that discloses the true character of God's Adversary. It is the death of Jesus that reveals the fatal weakness of the dragon. It is the continuing presence of the living Lord which guides Christians through the bewildering maze of current history."[20]

Minear conceded that "this interpretation . . . does not exclude the obvious fact that John thinks in images drawn from ancient tradition." These mythological traditions persist and are adapted, they are applied and reapplied in a succession of historical situations, as the beast stood for Greece and 'Edom' or Rome. "As the Rabbis said: '. . . Until the end of the world he will bear a thousand names, for like Israel, Israel's enemy is eternal.'"[21] Although Minear thinks that the Nero tradition is unnecessary for an interpretation of the image of the beast, he does not seem prepared to exclude completely the possibility that John may have known it. He offers an interpretation of one aspect of this image - the wound - which is based on an event which the Seer himself would have regarded as undoubtedly historical, even though this event is not of such a comparatively recent date as the other historical interpretations proposed. Moreover the significance and value of the theological interpretation of this imagery, as set out by Förster, Minear, and others, remains unimpaired and may even be enhanced, when the historical situation of the period is examined in a responsible way, to see what effect, if any, the historical situation has had on the formulation of the writing. No historical interpretation should be excluded on 'a priori' grounds, in favour of a theological interpretation, simply because they are in no way mutually exclusive. Apart from some specific interpretation, such as that of the 'wound' representing the effects of the death and resurrection of Christ, the general lines of the theological interpretation can be maintained within any particular historical situation which one cares to defend. The contrast between Christ, as the Lamb, and Anti-Christ as the Beast need be no less terrifying and portentous when the Beast

is related to Rome or some aspect of the imperial power. It may well be more realistic, if such a warning and exhortation is constructed from some historical or contemporary situation that has already impinged on the reader's consciousness. Therefore we must examine again the historical possibilities, before deciding whether to accept or reject any or all of such identifications.

One direct approach to the problem of an historical identification is through the background to the riddle posed by the Seer in Revelation 17. Quotation 9 (Rev. 17.10) appears to furnish a precise clue to the dating of the book, or at least of this passage within it. But it would hardly be surprising if the detective work in following up this clue failed to produce any conclusive evidence. The one thing which the author did not need to tell his readers was the date at which he was writing; veiled hints from which they could recognise the features of their situation would be all that was necessary.

One such hint is provided by the woman associated with the beast in Quotation 6(17.3); she is identified in verse 18 of the same chapter as "the great city exercising kingship over the kings of the earth." In Quotation 8 the seven heads which help to form a seat for the woman are identified as seven hills. This is a common feature of description of the city of Rome in the Latin poets. It then seems to be a reasonable assumption from this cumulative evidence, that the woman represents the city of Rome; woman and city are otherwise referred to in Revelation as 'Babylon',[22] and this corroborates the identification. It remains to be seen whether special reference is intended to any particular aspect of the city and its greatness. One consequence of this identification is the observation that, by this stage, the Antichrist tradition must have been severed from Jerusalem, where it was located at an earlier point within Judaism. (Revelation 11 may contain a remnant of this earlier tradition which has been reworked in a new context).[23] Now the Antichrist tradition is applied and reinterpreted in some relation to Rome and its anticipated destruction. The

implication of this development, for the purposes of an historical dating of the Book of Revelation, is that Jerusalem has already fallen, and in the more distant past, so that it no longer figures in such an immediate way in the Seer's interpretation of eschatology(as it could do in Luke 21.20)

The woman, Rome, relies on the Beast with seven heads in the same way that the city rests upon its seven hills. We have seen that this number of heads could serve as a convenient symbol for Rome's hills. But the text makes clear - in Quotation 9 - that the significance of these heads is greater than this. With this kind of material we need not be surprised if one symbol stands for several things, or several symbols have a single identification. The way that the symbols are handled in each particular context must be allowed to determine their special connotations. The heads are associated with the woman when they form a seat for her; but they must also be considered as what they are physically, an integral part of the beast. Quotation 2 (Rev. 13.1) differentiates these from the ten horns which wear diadems. The heads bear a blasphemous name, and the whole beast is described in Quotation 6 as being "full of blasphemous names". The natural historical interpretation of this blasphemy associated with Rome is in the context of Emperor Worship,[24] where the names are the titles claimed or inherited by, or bestowed upon, the Emperor, names which could have religious overtones, or pretensions to divinity. If the author's thought is indeed working within this frame of reference, then the heads which represent "seven kings" can most reasonably be identified with seven Roman Emperors. But, when this assumption is made,the problem of precise identification is only just beginning. None of the logical starting points, on the basis of political history, for the counting of a sequence of seven Emperors is entirely satisfactory. It may help to tabulate the data in this way:

Julius Caesar	Augustus	Galba	Vespasian	Nerva
	Tiberius	Otho	Titus	Trajan
	Caligula	Vitellius	Domitian	Hadrian
	Claudius			
	Nero			

If the sequence starts from Julius Caesar, or Augustus, this would make Nero, Galba, or (if the unsuccessful rulers in the Year of the Four Emperors are discounted) Vespasian the sixth in the sequence; but at such early dates one would not expect the reworking and diminution of the Jerusalem Antichrist tradition to have taken place. A start from one of the new dynasties (Vespasian or Nerva) brings a date that is really too late on the grounds of other internal as well as external evidence for dating. If we start with Galba, Domitian can be the sixth; but the first of three unsuccessful claimants, in a year of civil war, does not seem a reasonable place to begin. If the author then does not count dynasties, and is hardly likely to produce a significant sequence by a process of random selection, the real possibility which remains is that he is counting 'Antichrist' figures, hostile to the Church, beginning from a particularly notable example. Nero would have the strongest claim for such an identification in this period, since, to judge from Tacitus,[25] he started a fashion in hostility, whether persecution of the Christians was then established on a legal basis or not. Each succeeding Emperor would presumably have to be counted in the sequence of seven, whether he was actively hostile to the Christians or not.

If Nero,is the first, the sixth Emperor is Titus or Trajan, depending on whether the three 'pretenders' are to be included or omitted. There are arguments for and against including them; one can only be confident that either all or none must be included. It would be forcing the historical material to include only Galba, on the grounds that he was a 'Just Revolutionary', but to include two out of the three is impossibly arbitrary. Yet this would be required to achieve the 'correct' answer, that Domitian is the sixth Emperor who is now reigning as the author writes. External evidence for the dating of the book has generally followed the tradition of Irenaeus, that the Revelation "was seen towards the end of" the reign of Domitian (Irenaeus, Adv.Haer. 5.30.3). Is it possible then to make some kind of harmony out of the evidence and choose Trajan as the sixth Emperor of the sequence, taking

Irenaeus as a somewhat inaccurate witness in favour of Trajan, since the end of Domitian's reign is nearer to the beginning of Trajan's than it is to the end of Titus' rule? Such a conclusion should not be adopted too readily without further evidence. The date of composition has been pushed on to the turn of the century. There is also an argument worthy of consideration that the later the date the more likely it is for a writer who is not too politically conscious to include the three 'pretenders' in his list of Emperors. These three did hold the office and title of Emperor, and could be given a place among the other Emperors by Suetonius, Josephus, and the Sibylline Oracles.[26]

In describing the first Beast in Chapter 13 the Seer writes: "One of its heads seemed to have a mortal wound, but its mortal wound was healed." (Quotation 3). If, despite the difficulties of particular identification that have been experienced, the general theory of the heads being Emperors is retained and tested against this aspect of the imagery, the implication is that one out of the succession of seven Emperors received a death-blow but has been restored miraculously to life. This, read in association with the ideas of Quotations 7 and 10, seems to provide a forcible reminder of the superstition that the Emperor Nero was not really dead but would return one day. A variety of commentators have believed that John was influenced by this Nero legend; but they differ in detail over the way they think he made use of it. H. B. Swete traced the explanation back as far as Victorinus of Pettau, the earliest of the Latin commentators.[27]

The wound, although at first in 13.3 it is assigned to one of the heads of the beast, is later, in verses 12 and 14, assigned to the beast itself. But there could be such flexibility of reference if the beast symbolises certain aspects of imperial rule, and the beast's heads represent a succession of Emperors. The two may be interchangeable, because the imperial authority is vested in the individual Emperor. The heads being the successive members of the dynasties, the beast is actualised in only

one of its heads at any single time; in the actual situation of a particular time the other heads need not exist for all normal intents and practical purposes; in fact they do not exist as Emperors, except in history and prophecy. The head which was wounded must be one of the first five, if the data from Quotation 9 can be utilised, since the wounding is represented as a past event. It would be a risky argument to say that, because in passages like Rev. 6.1. the author can use the cardinal 'one' to stand for the ordinal,[28] therefore to refer to "seven heads" and "one wounded" must mean that the first is wounded. But where hypotheses abound and arguments frequently are inconclusive, the apparent coincidence of the theme of "wounded mortally yet returning", known to be associated with the figure of Nero, and the fact that, independently, Nero was seen to be the most suitable starting point for the sequence of Emperors, provides too promising a trail not to be followed.

Several factors contributed to the belief in a "Nero Redivivus" - a superstition which flourished in the minds of many long after Nero's reported death - among these the circumstances of his death, with few witnesses; his personality, verging on the demonic, which made a profound impression; and his enthusiasm for the East, with his desire to transfer the capital of the Empire there, a project which was supported by the prediction of astrologers that there would be a new, Eastern and almost-Messianic, reign after his repudiation in Rome.[29] Following the report that Nero had cut his own throat with a sword, at the villa of his freedman Phaon on June 9,68 A.D., rumours spread that he had not actually died, but had somehow escaped to the East, from where he would soon return to regain his throne. Such rumours spread most quickly in the Eastern provinces, and often had a particular reference to Parthia (an idea which may have been fostered by that nation in its antagonism to Rome). The return of Nero from Parthia, with a huge army subduing all opposition, was envisaged: "And to the west shall come the strife of gathering war and the exile from Rome, brandishing a mighty sword, crossing the Euphrates with many myriads."[30] In these earlier stages the

figure of Nero remains, more or less, human; there are records of at least two imposters who appeared in the East, claiming to be the Emperor, and who originated from, or were encouraged by, Parthia. Tacitus records several instances; Cassius Dio dates one in the reign of Titus and Suetonius may refer to the same one. In view of what we know about the early Antichrist tradition, it is of interest that one account of the belief states that Nero will make Jerusalem the seat of his new empire.[31]

The figure of 'Nero Redivivus' soon acquires supernatural attributes; at this later stage, his return from the abyss, with hordes of demons, is awaited as an omen of the last days. "There shall be at the last time, about the waning of the moon, a world convulsing war, deceitful in guilefulness. And there shall come from the ends of the earth a matricide fleeing and devising sharp-edged plans. He shall ruin all the earth, and gain all power, and surpass all men in cunning. That for which he perished he shall seize at once. And he shall destroy many men and great tyrants, and shall

burn all men as none other ever did." He is seen as the "dragon" having "the form of a beast", and the "terrible serpent" who would be borne through the air by the fates.[33] He was identified as "Beliar the great king, the king of this world"; "he will descend from his firmament in the likeness of a man" and as "Beliar of the Augustan house he will come . . . and raise up the dead and perform many wonders for men."[34] In this way 'Nero Redivivus' has become assimilated into the mythology of Beliar and the serpent. Clearly these beliefs were still very much alive, and developed in mythological directions, at the period when Revelation could have been written, so that the author could apply the tradition to his own particular purposes.

Paul S. Minear rightly criticised as "quite misleading" the way in which H. B. Swete presented the case for the influence of the Nero legend.[35] Swete said that when one asked "whether any of the earlier Roman emperors received a death-blow from which he recovered or was supposed to have recovered," the only satisfactory answer was Nero. But this is so to

present the case "as to focus the mind on those two major links between the sea-beast and Nero, i.e. an emperor and a death-blow followed by recovery." This is only a promising trail and by no means a proved case. There are questions which arise, such as those posed by Minear, which may present difficulties for this interpretation, and which have to be faced. Although it has been argued that the wound can be assigned to both head and beast, because the imperial authority can be regarded either in abstraction or in its concrete realisation in an individual Emperor, how can an actual physical wound, self-inflicted by Nero in the past, affect the Empire now? How did Nero's death jeopardise the power of the Empire, when he committed suicide as a fugitive and an enemy of the state? Does not his death, far from threatening imperial authority, in fact demonstrate the power of the state over him? How can the rumours about Nero Redivivus be said to have enhanced the prestige of the beast and increased the worship of the dragon, when, if anything, the legend of Nero's imminent return from Parthia would have been seen as a threat to the empire and the imperial dynasties? Minear finds such problems so destructive of any historical interpretation in terms of Nero Redivivus that he writes: "If we are to understand the wounded head, therefore, we should look not so much for an emperor who died a violent death, but for an event in which the authority of the beast (and the dragon) was both destroyed and deceptively restored." [36]

It is possible that these two events might still be equated, provided that the matter is not foreclosed, as it is by Minear, by an unexamined assumption that the beast would naturally be identified with the Roman Empire. The woman of chapter 17 stands, as has been seen, for the city of Rome set on the seven hills. But even that identification leaves the possibility open for a special reference which might be intended to a particular aspect of the city and its greatness. The heads of the beast are seven emperors; but this does not make the simple and direct identification of the beast with the empire obligatory, although it would be true to say

that the city of Rome relies on her empire just as the woman sits on the beast. We have seen that the background of the beast imagery embraces not only the "four world empires" - the political powers in Daniel which are also specially construed as powers hostile to the Kingdom of the "Saints of the Most High" - but also the themes of the Creation mythology, such as the conflict of the Creator with the powers of Chaos, symbolised by 'Tehom', Tiamat, and Leviathan. This beast imagery John employs to characterise Antichrist; attention has already been drawn to the theological pattern in which the beast with a wound is set up as a parody of the lamb that was slain; and there is no reason to discard such a theological pattern even if the imagery can also be fitted to an historical background.

If John is indeed depicting the Roman Empire as Antichrist, then his thought is diametrically opposed to the emphasis of Paul, in Romans especially, upon obedience to the powers that be - undeniably the Roman administration - as ordained of God.[37] It is not impossible that Paul and John should be in open disagreement, in the same way that it could be thought that Paul and James disagreed. The fashion of persecuting the Church, inaugurated by the Emperor Nero, would have brought about an almost complete change in the Christian environment, quite adequate to explain such a reversal of attitude. But there is another explanation which merits serious consideration, a possible harmonisation of these two apparently divergent views about Church and State, which does not need to emphasise the radical change in the historical situation to justify these opposing attitudes. It remains possible that Paul's and John's terms of reference were not identical, that Paul was concerned with the authority and political administration of the Empire, while John characterised as Antichrist that aspect of imperial organisation most inimical to Christianity, the institution of Emperor Worship.[38] In the situation of the last decades of the first century A.D. this institution would have been regarded as the concrete realisation of the power hostile to God, the creation of Satan, a bestial parody, in the

enforced worship of a deified man, of the only true worship of God through his Incarnate Son.

This more precise definition of the beast from the sea corresponds with two of the most distinctive aspects of the creature's characterisation: the fact that, through the beast from the land, the false-prophet, the inhabitants of the earth are made to worship the beast; and the description of the beast as "full of blasphemous names" with "a blasphemous name upon its heads" - the divine pretentions claimed by, or attributed to, the seven emperors. For the coherence of the imagery it would be equally true to say that, as the woman is supported by the beast, so the city of Rome is supported by the institution of emperor worship, or specifically by the worship offered to each of these seven emperors in turn, through which her empire is united in a common loyalty expressed in a common creed.

Let us test this possible interpretation further by applying to it Paul Minear's questions. Firstly, how can Nero's self-inflicted wound in the past affect Emperor Worship now? It is true that "a wound inflicted on a <u>former</u> ruler is not a wound inflicted on the empire." The authority of the Empire vested in an individual Emperor ceases when that Emperor is deposed by the Senate, when he dies, when his successor is vested with the authority. And it is not a really satisfactory solution of this difficulty to say, with R. H. Charles,[39] that the wounded head will become the complete antitype of the wounded beast, when Nero returns from the abyss in the last days. Although this imagery is preoccupied with the idea of the return, it is seen as a future event; yet chapter 13 speaks with reference to the wound as if the identity of head and beast were already established. "Other commentators meet this problem by arguing that what weakened the empire was not Nero's wound but the anarchic conditions following his death, the civil unrest which was terminated by Vespasian's succession. In this case 13.3 cannot refer to Nero's suicidal wound at all, because the civil unrest precedes his death, and the healing of the wound has nothing to do with his

reported reanimation." Apart from demanding what is perhaps too high a degree of historical precision from apocalyptic symbolism, this note from Minear's article[40] does express the continuing difficulties with the traditional historical interpretation.

But it is a different matter when the beast is seen as the embodiment of Emperor Worship. References to head and beast can still be interchangeable, and this obviously remains possible even after the lifetime of the individual emperor. So the circumstances of Nero can still affect the position at the end of the century; the consequences of his actions can be said to have left a permanent mark on the practice of Emperor Worship, at least as far as the Christian Church is concerned.

Nero followed more closely than his predecessors, with the possible exception of Caligula, the model of the Hellenistic monarchs in setting himself up as a divine ruler, actively encouraging the tendency to worship him, which resulted in extreme 'adulatio', and in many superhuman honours for himself (and for members of the imperial house). A significant symbol of this was his use of the radiate crown, particularly on the coinage. But the Senate of Rome was a jealous guardian of its rights to vote titles for the Emperor; the powers and titles so voted by the Senate remained an essential, if often a formal, element in the elevation of an Emperor. For Nero the Senate had shown its adulation by voting for the placing of Nero's statue in the temple of Mars Ultor, and Senators had greeted him on his return from Greece as 'Nero-Hercules' and 'Nero-Apollo', which brought divinity nearer.[41] But Nero never officially received the ascription of godhead in Rome, either before or after his death. When it was proposed to erect a temple of "Divus Nero" during the lifetime of the Emperor - a clear sign that "the tendency to deification was becoming more openly expressed"[42] - Nero himself apparently thought the proposal was a bad omen and would not permit the temple to be erected. He probably realised that an anticipation of apotheosis might be interpreted by his enemies as ominous, for traditionally

"honours that belong to the gods are not paid to the princeps until he has ceased to be active among men", as Tacitus commented upon this incident.[43]

Vespasian and Titus, in their attitudes to the Imperial cult, reverted largely to this norm established by Augustus. For this they were appropriately rewarded by being included among the 'divi' by decrees of the Senate. But Nero's Hellenistic style had set a precedent which later Emperors would follow; his innovation of the radiate crown was perpetuated after him. Under his influence there had been radical developments in Emperor Worship, in which the Eastern application of these ideas was carried further West, where what was primarily a political institution, for the consolidation of the Empire, became a religion in its own right, open to the possibilities of syncretism with other religions of Eastern inspiration, such as Mithraism. As Momigliano indicated, there is a strange truth which underlies the tradition that chose Nero as the personification of the Empire's opposition to the Church. The persecution in Rome was only the tip of the iceberg of menace which could be detected in the development of ideas within the institution of Emperor Worship under Nero's influence. He was "the emperor who first put into practice his conception of unlimited power", who "offset - even though in ignorance - the salvation of Christ by a salvation of his own, and like Christ wished to be called the saviour of the world." [44]

It is probably idle to speculate how different the course of history might have been,with its inevitable clash of Christianity with Emperor Worship, but for the closing days of the reign of Nero. Certainly this end of the Julio-Claudian dynasty would have been very different, had Nero acted otherwise. At the death of an Emperor, when power passed peacefully, it would usually be assumed that the Senate would vote for the deification of the Emperor, and for the inclusion of his measures ('acta') in the oath of loyalty (taken annually on January 1st) which mentioned the living Emperor and all "good" past Emperors. Occasionally there were difficulties, because the Senate was reluctant to take this automatic action and needed

persuasion. As in the case of Tiberius, it was possible for neither deification, nor the opposite process of 'damnatic' (condemnation of memory) for "bad" emperors, to take place.[45]

In the last crisis of Nero's reign, the rising led by C. Julius Vindex, the governor of Gallia Lugdunensis, and supported by Galba, Nero himself did remarkably little, apart from proclaiming himself sole consul. The Praetorian Guard were still loyal to Nero and he could rely on other troops too; Vindex had been defeated at Vesontio and had committed suicide; Galba in Spain was left in a dangerous position, had Nero acted quickly and decisively, in character as "ruler of the world". But he waited while Tigellinus, one of the Praetorian prefects, fled and the other prefect, Nymphidius Sabinus, bribed the Praetorian guard to support Galba. Nero was in hiding near Rome when the news came that the Senate had taken the action which was inevitable in this situation, by proclaiming Galba Emperor and declaring the fugitive Nero a public enemy, damning his memory. So Nero, bemoaning the loss to the world of such an artist as himself, was assisted to commit suicide by his freedman Epaphroditus.

There are two aspects of Emperor worship in the reign of Nero which are important for our pupose in understanding the symbolism of the Book of Revelation. The first is the notable contribution which Nero made to the development of Emperor Worship, especially as this was seen by the Christian Church. On these grounds Nero could be characterised as the figure of Antichrist, or, more precisely, a major contributor to the historical realisation of Antichrist, as the inaugurator of persecution of the Christians. And the second is the aspect symbolised by the wound. The suicide of the Emperor (and this self-administered and normally fatal blow recalls the historical circumstances which made it inevitable: the indecision and inaction, the artistic aberrations which alienated support) betrays an intrinsic weakness in this whole philosophy of Emperor Worship. Nero's suicide is the wound in the head; it is also the wound of the beast - the

imperial cult - because it is the demonstration of a weak link in the chain, which shows how the institution contains within itself the seeds of its own destruction. And this weakness which Nero demonstrated applies not only to the weakness of character shown by the suicide, but also to the weakness, from the point of view of the cult instituted as a political instrument by Augustus, of artistic exaggeration, the affectation of the trappings of oriental despotism, and the tendency to megalomania, which would be as able as any physical weakness might be to bring the institution to destruction. And such a wound to the beast can also be regarded as a wound to the dragon who shares the characteristics of the beast, inasmuch as the beast's authority is derived from the dragon and any reversal suffered by the beast has similar repercussions for the dragon. So Satan and the powers at enmity with God are adversely affected by the failure of Nero, the condemnation of his memory, and the exposure of inherent weaknesses and blasphemous pretensions in the imperial cult, Because Nero committed suicide as a fugitive and enemy of the state, he did not, it is true, jeopardise the power of the empire directly. It can even be said that his death demonstrated the power of theempire over him. But it did jeopardise that power indirectly; we have observed how this is true of the imperial cult in a way that is highly significant for our purposes; the truth can also be summed up more generally in the words of Rostovtzeff: "Above all, Nero . . . entirely destroyed the prestige of the Augustan dynasty." [46]

As Minear observed, in John's presentation it is the healing of the wound which enhances the prestige of the beast; it encourages the beast, leads to greater blasphemy, and impels men to worship the dragon. If the beast stands for the Roman Empire, it is certainly true that the rumours about Nero Redivivus supported by Parthia, far from heightening the authority and power of the Empire, constituted an insidious threat to its supremacy. It threatened the security of Empire and Emperor, as events on the Parthian frontier had done for generations. But this is precisely the situation which

seems to be symbolised in Chapter 17.16-17, in the vision of the destruction not of the beast but of the harlot by the ten horns of the beast.[47] It is argued that a clear distinction must be drawn between the woman and the beast, while account is still taken of the relationship between them. While the woman represents the city of Rome and may be the patron goddess of the city, the beast stands for all that is worst and Antichristian in the power of Rome; in the figure of the beast a special reference is intended to the cult of the Emperor, with its blasphemous exaggerations and extravagances, and this identification is supported by the colouring given to the traditional mythology of the beast by the legend of "Nero Redivivus".

We have seen how the popular superstition about Nero was built upon the historical situation of the end of his reign, the end of the Julio-Claudian dynasty, and the end of the Augustan Peace, and how it magnified the situation into a nightmare which haunted the minds of men. Its persistence and the manner of its development has been illustrated from an independent source in the Sibylline Oracles. It was based upon Nero's exaggerations of the Imperial cult and his enthusiasm for the Eastern concepts typical of an Oriental Despot. The legend heightened these aspects with its expectation of Nero's return at the head of mighty armies. And the Sibylline Oracles also show how the figure of Nero is associated with the mythology of the serpent and Beliar at the superhuman stage of the legend's development. The original tendency to megalomania, through artistic or religious extravagance, which gave inspiration to this nightmare legend or dream, would be regarded as a serious flaw in the Imperial cult from the pragmatic Augustan point of view; but it could also be seen as the logical development and consequence of the mass hysteria accompanying the worship of a man as deity. Thus not only is the "Nero Redivivus" legend, from the historical point of view, an apparent healing of Nero's self-inflicted death-wound, so that the adulation for Nero, crushed by reports of his death and the damnation of his memory, is revived and exaggerated in this new fantasy; but also, from the point of view of

Christian or other opposition to the cult, the legend represents the most natural and direct succession and extension of the abominable practices of Emperor Worship; this is the way such blasphemous pretensions would inevitably lead, especially when sought with enthusiasm and more than purely administrative motives. The wound represented by Nero's eventual failure was healed, and his glory enhanced, by the current rumours which affected all with dread, wonder and questioning, much more than by Vespasian's action in so papering over the cracks in the Augustan policy of Emperor Worship that he is reported to have said on ~~his policy of Emperor Worship that he is reported to have said~~ on his death-bed, "Vae, puto deus fio."[48] This miraculously healed presentation of the principal blasphemies of the imperial cult in the Nero legend makes Emperor Worship a more terrifyingly bestial opponent and augments the power of Satan, as each individual plays into his hands, by letting such fantasies fire his imagination, or scorning such a vision of what the imperial cult really is.

So the suicide of Nero, and its consequences, can be seen not merely as an historical event (largely irrelevant to the Apocalypse, according to some interpreters) when "an emperor . . . died a violent death", but also as a symbolic event "in which the authority of the beast (and the dragon) was both destroyed and deceptively restored."[49] And, although we accept such an historical interpretation, we need not exclude the possibility that the author is making, by these means, certain theological points, which have been most valuably illuminated by those commentators who have largely rejected any kind of historical reference within the symbolism. So the historical symbol of the beast which has one of its seven heads bearing a fatal wound, yet miraculously healed, can still be treated as a grim parody of the Lamb, "standing, as though it had been slain." And the historical event of Nero's suicide does not necessarily preclude any further development in the symbolism of the sword which inflicted the wound, or of the wound itself, since the word translated as "wound" in Chapter 13 is πληγή which is translated in all

twelve of its other occurrences in Revelation as "plague". Some such interpretation as that propounded by Paul Minear[50] is not excluded by this reinforced emphasis on the historical background, for in a Biblical context the events of history can be given a deeper spiritual significance. The events are presented at their face value, even if disguised in the terms of traditional mythology; but in a message of hope, such as this author offered, the events associated with Antichrist can betray the activity of God. Minear wrote: "The sword is the symbol of God's wrath; the wound is a God-inflicted plague which simultaneously destroys the authority of head, beast and dragon. It is a wound from which the beast may recover only by using deception, by succeeding in his temptations, by making absolute his illusory claims to ultimate power over human destiny."

Let us return to the sequence of Emperors represented by the seven heads of the beast. If the starting point with Nero is now established more firmly, which is the sixth head which we are told is operative at the time of writing?[51] We observed earlier that the two possibilities were Titus or Trajan, depending on whether the three 'pretenders' are included or omitted, and we saw reasons for caution before choosing Trajan, in our efforts to approximate to the 'correct' answer required by the external evidence (the tradition of Irenaeus that the Book of Revelation "was seen towards the end of" the reign of Domitian). Let us examine the possibility that Titus could be the sixth emperor, the sixth head in which the Beast is fully realised.

Although Suetonius could call Titus "amor ac deliciae generis humani"[52] and record the spontaneous mourning and affection which greeted his death, yet men had dreaded his accession because of past manifestations of his character. His concessions to the Senate and policy of mild tolerance did not stop the spread of discontent, particularly in the East. The Jews, of course, were prepared to ascribe an agonising end to the destroyer of their Temple. An important feature of the situation, at the time these chapters of Revelation were written, seems to have been the popular interest in Nero

Redivivus. Cassius Dio records that a false Nero appeared in the reign of Titus; there may even have been more than one of these imposters who appeared at this time in Asia Minor, giving fresh impetus to the legend. If Titus is the sixth, then the seventh head would be Domitian, whose succession was already assured, barring accident, since Titus had no male heir, but only a daughter, and had declared that his brother should succeed him. His accession was probably dreaded even more than that of Titus, because of his known character and the demonstration of his ability, in his "first fling" in 69 A.D.[53]

Some scholars have held that the description of the seventh head and emperor as one who "when he comes must remain only a little while" is more appropriate for Titus than for Domitian in view of Titus' actual brief reign. It is true that Titus only reigned from 79 to 81, but there seems to be little evidence for any popular knowledge of his ill-health, on which such a contemporary prophecy might be based; in fact, his death came as such a surprise that foul play was suspected. But the note of obligation in the description of the seventh emperor is not necessarily prophetic. The consequences of his reign for the Church, or, even more likely, the timing of the new onslaught of the Antichrist as the eighth figure, would be adequate explanation of the use of the Greek word δεῖ to express the necessity, in the divinely ordained plan, of only a short reign for the seventh emperor. This is an accepted use of δεῖ in New Testament Greek,[54] and in this context it offers what may well prove to be a preferable sense, appropriate to the situation, and as applicable to Domitian as to any other candidate to be the seventh emperor.

Although the character of the Beast is fully realised in each of the seven emperors in turn, it is regarded as achieving its ultimate bestiality only in the eighth manifestation, as the smitten head returning, that is, as Nero Redivivus (Rev. 17.11). Then it is fully the Beast "which was and is not and is to come." If Domitian proves to be the seventh emperor, then Nero Redivivus is not totally identified with him. But then

Nero Revidivus hardly could be equated with a man known to the people from his youth as a potential political figure; instead, he is the one who comes after, or breaks into, the reign of the seventh emperor, cutting him short. This kind of situation would do justice to the reinterpretation of the Nero legend in terms of a supernatural figure. Ideas about the mode of Nero's return had varied between a physical reappearance or reincarnation, such as the imposters claimed for themselves, and a superhuman or demonic irruption, with Nero "living again" in someone else or appearing in other than human form. For all but the last manifestation, and especially for a physical reappearance, a degree of resemblance was important, in features as well as in character. Pagan writers certainly noted a resemblance between Nero and Domitian, but by this time a similarity in appearance would not be any more authenticating for Domitian than it had been for the false Neros who had already been disposed of. As time passed and pretenders came and went the only expectation worthy of consideration was that of the reappearance of a superhuman Nero figure, or Neronic manners and demonic power, in the belief that something like Nero, but infinitely more powerful and dangerous, must appear as suddenly and surprisingly as Nero had disappeared.

H. B. Swete argued in his commentary[55] for a date of writing in the latter years of Vespasian because then Domitian could be the eighth figure and Titus the seventh emperor who "must remain only a little while". There is an initial attractiveness in this theory because it fits Titus' short reign and Domitian's character. Several attempts to solve the riddle of the beast have regarded these as two satisfactory fixed points indispensable to any historical interpretation; in working backwards from these two points they do violence to any logical sequence of emperors, or confess themselves thwarted, doubting whether the riddle is capable of a thorough solution. I have already argued against Vespasian as the sixth emperor[56]; this would mean either that the sequence starts with Augustus, and omits the three rebels, or has an inexplicable beginning with Claudius, Augustus as a starting point is

feasible; the problem is with the early date under Vespasian, which has to be reconciled with the modification of the Antichrist tradition and with the traditional date of Revelation. If this is done by positing an earlier edition of the work, subsequently revised, the problem remains in the significance of the latest reinterpretation of the material. If the author is as concerned with the contemporary message of his material as he seems to be, it is strange that he does not bring the "riddle of the beast" up to date when he reworks this earlier material for his present situation. If, as Swete suggested, the author merely transfers himself back to the time of Vespasian, one might be pardoned for asking why he should do so at this point in his book, and why he should select that particular Roman emperor.

Perhaps some theories can provide possible answers to these questions and a solution to this problem. But in fact these two starting points which would make these mental manoeuvres necessary can be seen to be based on a misunderstanding of the text of Revelation and a misconception of the "Nero Redivivus" legend. Since Titus' early death in 81 A.D. came as a surprise to most, a prophecy of his short reign would be remarkable in the time of Vespasian. As a prophecy it cannot be ruled out for that reason; but the use of δεῖ in the wording, providing a superfluous note of obligation, sounds strange. It is far more intelligible with the implications that have been suggested of divine necessity; either referring to the divine compassion in hastening the climax ("shortening the time") or to the divine foreknowledge and preordination of the final activity of Antichrist. And Domitian's reign with its blaze of glory, followed by an enforced retirement to poetry, was hardly consistent with the current popular expectation of "Nero Redivivus". Nor does it seem that the developed legend of this figure, presented in supernatural and demonic terms, coloured ultimately by identification with Beliar or Antichrist, was in any way consistent with a physical reincarnation in the person of the emperor Domitian. There is certainly no necessity here to abandon the understanding of the sequence of emperors which we have already

reached, merely so that we can label Domitian as the eighth.

To regard the eighth as another emperor following the seven, who can therefore be identified with Domitian, is to misunderstand the real significance of the eighth position. For if the author had intended this, he could have expressed it by the symbol of a beast with eight heads, where Domitian clearly would be shown to belong to the emperor sequence as a successor to the other seven. Admittedly this would mean the modification of traditional mythology, but this is no more than the author has done already, as can be seen by a comparison of the symbolism of Revelation with the previous contexts in which these mythological ideas have appeared, and especially with the book of Daniel. Instead the author adheres to the sequence of seven, presumably because of the significance which this number retained for him; evidence is provided for this by all the sequences of seven he uses; it seems that he wanted to use it wherever the material was capable of such a grouping. And the historical background of the sequence of emperors, selected not arbitrarily but according to an intelligible principle, was certainly capable of being handled in this way. It could also be argued that the use of a sequence of seven involves progression towards a climax, which accordingly places a special emphasis on the seventh position. This is perhaps most clearly demonstrated in the Book of Revelation by the handling of the seven seals. For the Emperor Titus to occupy the specially significant position of seventh, possibly the climax of the sequence, not only leaves the highly significant position of Domitian awkwardly and inadequately stated, which is hardly what one would expect, in view of the traditional setting and date of this book; it would also appear as a less than satisfactory treatment of the sequence as a whole, when one considers the principle on which it is based. Suppose that the sequence is built upon Nero, who establishes the theme by his hostility to the Christians and his blasphemous exaggeration of emperor worship. Which would provide the more satisfactory climax to this sequence - Titus, admittedly the destroyer of the Jewish temple, but an

emperor with a comparatively just reign; or Domitian, the successor of Nero in many ways, recognised even by pagan writers, with his religious extravagances and, possibly, his hatred of the Christians expressed in a revival of persecution?[57]

The most satisfactory reconstruction of the historical application of this tradition symbolism, combined with the Nero legend, would seem to be the following. The sixth emperor, who is now reigning, is Titus. Current expectations and fears centre upon his brother Domitian, whose character is known, and who has been designated as the next emperor. It is feared that he will provide the climax to the sequence which began with Nero. If all these signs of the times are fulfilled the Christians must pray to God that he will have mercy and shorten the times, for the sake of the elect.[58] Domitian must not reign long if the Church is to survive; and God reveals that it is ordained in his plan that the sufferings and tribulations of the Church will be brought to their terrible climax and then wound up, "swallowed up in victory" within the reign of Domitian. In this way the eighth - the full diabolical power of the Roman imperial self-assertion and blasphemy - as a "Nero Redivivus" will burst in upon the reigning seventh emperor. The eighth is not himself an individual emperor, except by his characterisation within the legend based upon the first of the sequence. When this sequence reaches its climax in the seventh the full venom breaks out; this is the Satanic power of Rome which has already appeared in each of the emperors, probably to varying degrees. Only as the Antichrist figure, which goes beyond a single historical identification, does it have what could be called "a personal existence". However great the dread of Domitian as heir to the throne, the equation of him with this demonic power would be unrealistic and unthinkable; rather his reign will see its ghastly manifestation. This eighth figure is nonetheless accurately described in these words: καὶ αὐτὸς ὄγδοός ἐστιν, καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἑπτά ἐστιν (17.11), which the Jerusalem Bible, recognising the parallelism in the clauses, renders "at the same time the eighth and one of the

seven" and the R.S.V. perhaps more literally translates, "it is an eighth and it belongs to the seven." If we accept the latter version, the meaning is that the eighth is an incarnation of that power which was characteristic of each of the emperors in the sequence; if we prefer the translation of the Jerusalem Bible, this means that this demonic figure exercised a major influence within an historical emperor in the reign of Nero, the first of the sequence, and it was this influence which inspired the Nero legend, leading to the expectation of the "eighth".[59]

Because the author of Revelation made use of the Nero legend, this does not mean that he was necessarily a believer in the popular applications of it which were current in his lifetime, or that he had ever supported it for its own merits or campaigned on behalf of a pretender. Rather the upsurge in this belief at the time he was writing may have suggested it to him as a useful contemporary image to employ as a vehicle for his own message. If, as we are inclined to say, his method was to apply traditional mythology to a presentation of his contemporary situation, he would have welcomed this modern mythological concept to blend in with his ideas. He had drawn much of his material from the Old Testament, and particularly from the book of Daniel, where this imagery had been used for much the same purpose, in a similar situation to that which he himself was facing, and from this material he fashioned a similar exhortation to endurance for the people of God.

So far the ten horns, which also figure in Daniel's picture, have been almost totally neglected. It might be sufficient to say that these were part of the original material which the author has carried over, without feeling any compulsion to attribute a contemporary meaning to all the minor features of his picture. But in overhauling the rest of the material he could have omitted these features, unless he found them significant. The horns are a feature of the beast distinct from the seven heads which are emperors (cf. Rev 13.1);[60] attempts to apportion ten horns between seven heads should convince the most determined that they are best regarded as an independent

set of symbols. It is possible that the horns bear no more than an indefinite future application in their present context, such as to unknown future allies, or, as Irenaeus suggested,[61] to those forces arising from the empire in the future who will carry on its worst features. But perhaps their meaning can be more precisely interpreted in terms of the Nero Redivivus myth. That these ten kings, as the text identifies them in Quotation 11, have not yet received their kingdoms serves to assign their function to the future, linking them with the seventh head who "has not yet come". They have not come into power; when they do it will be for a very limited period - a moment of glory - at a preordained time; their power is closely associated with that of the beast, and in fact they will devote their power to his service. In the contemporary picture they could represent the lords of Parthia who, in their opposition to Rome, support and promote the false Neros, as they keep the legend alive. Nero in this popular expectation will return from the East, supported by an Oriental host led by kings who owe allegiance to Nero. It may have been the Parthian hope to turn this dream into a reality.

A less satisfactory alternative to this interpretation is the identification with the officially recognised client-kings of Rome who were regarded as the Empire's "invisible frontiers". Clearly, when the Beast was thought to stand for the Empire, these horns could quite naturally stand for the client-kings; but if the Beast as a figure represents the Imperial cult, then this identification is not so happy. Client-kings were approved by the Roman Senate and were regarded as part of the constitutional support of the Empire. There is no evidence that they were as a class unusually co-operative in furthering emperor worship; the progress of the cult was largely dependent upon local enthusiasms. There is a further difficulty in interpreting the role of these kings in the conflict foretold in Quotation 12. We have seen[62] that the two evil figures - woman and beast - must be distinguished to make sense of the destruction of the woman by the beast, since civil war in its narrowest sense cannot be contemplated and would hardly be expressed by the

use of two different symbols. Rather the conflict can be understood as expressing the way in which the outrages of the Emperors and their cult could militate against the city, represented by Roma, which is the constitutional controller of the Empire. Client kings may have led local rebellions on occasion, but it is hard to see how they could have any part to play in an assault on Rome such as that described in Revelation 17.16.

Much more intelligible is the interpretation of the scene as that of Nero Redivivus and his Eastern host under its captains pledged to his support as they march against Rome. This is an expression in contemporary terms of an idea of conflict regular in traditional mythology. These kings here represented by the horns can perhaps be seen among the other "kings of the earth" in passages such as Revelation 16.14. As the ultimate fanaticism seizes hold of the Roman emperors, all the powers of the earth, persuaded by propaganda, will assemble under the banner of the Beast. They will overthrow the last vestiges of constitutional order in Rome, as all these hostile powers unite together. Then they will march against God, to join with the hosts of the Lamb in the final battle.[63]

At the least this seems a possible solution to the complex riddle posed by the symbolism of the Beast. It offers support to that method of exegesis which interprets the book as an application of traditional mythological ideas within an historical context. The author seems to have included some sort of clue to the time of writing in this section of his work. If the riddle has been solved correctly, a surprisingly precise date has been achieved, from the internal evidence, for this material if not for the book as a whole.

A date in the reign of the Emperor Titus, furnished by the author in connection with the imagery of the beast, seems to conflict with indications of a date in the reign of Domitian, detected elsewhere in the book. Significantly these pointers to a Domitianic date, which correspond well with the external evidence, are to be found in those passages such as the Seven

Letters and the Seven Seals which are most concerned with the current situation of the Church in Asia Minor.[64] But this apparent conflict over dates, important though it is, does not entail the rejection of the solution just offered to the "riddle of the beast", either on the grounds of mistaken exegesis, or as concerned with what is merely an archaic survival, irrelevant to the main purpose of the author's current work.

The interpretation which attributed this material about the beast to the period of Titus, also spoke of the expectations associated with Domitian's accession, including the view that his reign would see the irruption of "Nero Redivivus" in all his demonic excess. These expectations, although formulated some years previously, were still supremely relevant for an author producing his full-scale Apocalypse during the reign of Domitian, under the local circumstances indicated elsewhere in this investigation. There was no call to up-date the prophecy, to modify the tradition again, as had been done so often with apocalyptic writings in the past. The author writes from a conviction that the present circumstances show "the signs of the end", that the expectations now being realised in Domitian's reign show that these factors are fundamental to the working out of God's plan, and, in particular, that the more extravagant the blasphemous pretensions of the Imperial cult become, the nearer draws the irruption of the full power of Antichrist, and the final defeat of that power by God.

As John builds up his total presentation, he uses recognisable pictures drawn from the situation in Asia Minor to indicate the immediacy of his prophecy. But he also uses older formulations, traditional motifs to give depth to his portrayal and to indicate its perspectives. These motifs are applied skilfully, being reinterpreted where necessary, to develop the main themes of his prophecy. We have seen how the traditional materials of chapters 11 and 12 are used in this way.[65] Similarly John uses the beast, which, it is suggested, may well have been the author's own formulation (although on

traditional lines), presented in the first instance during Titus' reign. The immediate effects of using this imagery now without modification are: to reemphasise a previous prophecy, stressing the continuity of the prophet's message and the immediate relevance of its expectations in the current situation; to demonstrate again the principal theme of the working out of God's plan in numerous wigns in the past as well as the present; and to show how apprehensions about Domitian, formulated as a warning, are being substantiated in current circumstances, in which they are rapidly reaching the climax of their realisation.

Admittedly it is hypothetical to suggest that the author has spoken of the beast before and is now incorporating this prophecy within his present work. In justification it can at least be stressed that the formulation has an appropriateness on both occasions, for the reign of Titus, when this revelation of God's plan first was made known, and for the reign of Domitian, when there is every indication that this prophecy is approaching its complete fulfilment. One can only speculate about the original circumstances in which this prophecy was formulated; something can be gleaned from what has been said already about the influences and the variety of materials which contributed to its expression; perhaps with a more adequate appreciation of the Jewish environment which conditioned so much of the author's thinking, one may recognise the incentive to such a prophecy in the bitter feelings against Titus as the conqueror of Jerusalem.“

An Appendix on Revelation 13.18

It is no accident that a consideration of this enigmatic verse has been deferred to the end of this chapter. I would agree with Minear's criticism that "the obsession with decoding the numeral 666 often leads to a gross distortion of emphasis."[67] I have preferred to establish an interpretation of the beast on other grounds, and then see if this verse can corroborate my findings, rather than build a case for identity upon something which can only provide the shakiest of foundations, that is one out of many attempts to solve this numerical puzzle.[68]

The formula which introduces the number at 13.18 is closely paralleled at 17.9 with reference to the interpretation of the beast's seven heads. The special insight required for understanding such symbolism could be related to the spiritual gift of σοφία , corresponding to the gift of ἀποκάλυψις , mentioned in Ephesians 1.17 - "the power of apprehending and interpreting mysteries."[69] A similar introductory formula is also to be found in cabbalistic contexts.[70] The person endowed with appropriate understanding can calculate the meaning of the Beast's number; τὸν ἀριθμὸν τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ in 13.17 suggests at the outset that the device of gematria is involved.[71]

But even the introductory expression has presented problems of interpretation. Does ἀριθμὸς γὰρ ἀνθρώπου ἐστίν mean that "so far as the arithmetic goes, it is simple and intelligible, because it is human and not bestial"?[72] R. H. Charles thought that such a statement would be pointless; "for the writer to set down any other than an intelligible number would be highly absurd."[73] But Minear is prepared to render the Greek as "an ordinary human number",[74] and he cites a parallel expression in Rev. 21.17. However the force of this parallel suggests something quite different; although the use of human units of measurement conveys the idea of a man doing the measuring, it is actually an angel who does it; similarly although the imagery presents the form of a beast, the number of the beast is open to a human identification. This would support the argument that the number is that of a certain individual, an

emperor with whom the Beast was identified at a particular point in time.[75] Those theories can then be rejected which found concealed in the number a form of words referring to the Roman Empire (e.g. Λατεῖνος suggested by Irenaeus and ἡ λατίνη βασιλεία = 666 or ἡ ἰταλὴ βασιλεία = 616 from Clemen).

A variation in the number of the beast, from 666 to 616, is current at an early date (cf. Irenaeus 5.30.1). Irenaeus is certain that 666 (χξς) is the better reading, but the variant 616 (χιξ) established itself sufficiently to be attested by C, two cursives and Pseudo-Augustine following Tyconius. Such a variant can hardly have arisen from textual confusion of the numerals (ι for ξ); it is probably best explained as a consequence of the solution of the puzzle in terms of 'Nero Caesar'. In Latin the name Nero occurs without the final 'n' which it has in Greek. A Latin understanding of the puzzle would produce a total of 616.

The majority of solutions produced from patristic writers to modern scholars are conjectural and rank as little more than trial calculations to break the cryptogram. This is apparent even in Irenaeus' work (5.30.3). But there remains the possibility that some happy chance may produce the solution which John originally intended. It is for this reason that the range of suggestions should be assessed in the context of the author's thought. Some solutions can then be discarded as anachronistic curiosities, such as the identification with Napoleon mentioned by Tolstoy in 'War and Peace' chapter 78. The most fruitful line of investigation appears to be with solutions referring to Emperors of Rome.

In Greek the letters of Γάϊος Καῖσαρ total 616. The same figure is given by the letters of Καῖσαρ θεός , and Deissmann[76] suggested that this was the older secret number with which the Jews branded the Imperial cult (666 would then be a Christian harmonisation of the Jewish number to achieve a correspondence with 888 as the value ~~and~~ of the name Ἰησοῦς).[77] If we search for a solution that is directly applicable to the reading 666, Stanislas Giet[78] produces this figure as the total of the initial letters of the Greek names of

a list of Emperors from Julius Caesar to Vespasian. But he includes Galba and omits Otho and Vitellius, which is hardly justifiable;[79] and he is working with a particular procedure of numerical equivalents which, although paralleled in the Sibylline Oracles, is not specifically indicated by the context in Revelation. In fact, if our interpretation of 13.18a is correct, the singular noun ἀνθρώπου is against it.

If we concentrate on the period of the seven Emperors beginning with Nero, which was the focus of our investigation of the beast imagery, there are three possible solutions. Nero himself yields a total of 1005 from the Greek letters of his name, but if the Greek title is transliterated into Hebrew as נרון קסר then the sum of these letters is 666. For the author of the Apocalypse the use of Hebrew would present no problem (cf. 9.11, 16.16) and might be regarded as the appropriate language of apocalyptic, providing, in a Greek context, a suitably mystic aura. We have already referred to the esoteric use of gematria by the Rabbis; to follow this tradition would supply the means for a secret symbol, a special cryptogram; such circumstances would easily explain why the solution was lost at such an early stage. There is the objection that Caesar is normally transliterated as קיסר in the Talmud (=676); but the spelling קסר is also found, according to Jastrow's 'Talmudic Lexicon'; in any case it is permissable in Hebrew Gematria to disregard vowel letters or supply them at will.[80] A special virtue of this solution is the explanation it offers for the variant 616.

A second, highly ingenious solution was suggested by Ethelbert Stauffer,[81] namely that the calculation is based on the legend found on coins issued by Domitian. His full title in Greek - Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Δομετιανὸς Σεβαστὸς Γερμανικός[82] - could be abbreviated to A.ΚΑΙ.ΔΟΜΕΤ.ΣΕΒ.ΓΕ., which produces the total 666. Attractive though this theory is, G. B. Caird has drawn attention to a difficulty: "although each of these abbreviations by itself is well attested, there is no single coin on which all five occur together".[83] A superscription on the coinage would suit the theme of 13.17 admirably, but the author

could use such a device only if it was a feature of daily life for his readers.

A third solution goes back to Irenaeus' attempts to break the code, and his favoured suggestion τειτάν . This solution was revived by E. A. Abbott, but did not meet with R. H. Charles' approval.[84] As it stands it is not exactly an ἀριθμὸς ἀνθρώπου , but it can be construed as referring to any of the Flavian emperors,[85] each of whom bore the name, or to the Emperor Titus in particular. Abbott's argument, that Jewish hatred of Titus, whose name occurs in the Talmud in connection with profanity, cruelty and licentiousness,[86] could be transferred by Christians to Domitian, does support the suggestion made at the end of this chapter for the development of the beast imagery.[87] One difficulty is the ει diphthong when 'Titus' has a short 'i'; but Abbottpoints out that the Talmud transliterated τίτος by טיטוס[88] (perhaps there is a deliberate pun on טִיט meaning 'mud' 'mire' or 'slime'). The word τῑτᾶνες is used to represent the "Rephaim" or "giants" (2 Sam. 5.18,22, cf. Judith 16.7(6); variant 1 Chr. 11.15), it could carry with it, for both Greeks and Romans, the associations of rebellion against divine control and order. The Titans, like the giants, come from the pre-Olympian stage of Greek mythology; giants were mortal, Titans were sky-powers, but later writers tended to confuse them. This would not be inappropriate as an additional element in John's amalgam of mythological ideas; as a purely mythological element it is less, not more appropriate than Gunkel's reference to "primitive chaos" (תהום קדמוניה = 666);[89] but in association with the name Titus, in a context in which the Emperor Titus is important, this suggestion has a certain attractiveness.

It is impossible to make a final choice between these three that is not the arbitrary statement of personal preference. All three would suit the context of the interpretation set forward, which sees in the beast with seven heads the Imperial cult represented by the reigning Emperor, refashioned by Nero, and developed by Domitian in his reign of terror. But I would argue that this symbol makes better sense within such an interpretation than it could ever do in isolation. We are committed to a solution in terms of gematria,

even though the figure 666 may be open to further symbolic interpretations such as those propounded by Lohmeyer and Farrer in their commentaries.[90] John is not communicating in abstractions; in his work what may be the essence of diabolical power or simply the triangular number of the triangular number of eight, is "brought home" as an ominous reality in the critical situation in which he writes to the Churches.

Notes on Chapter 7

1. Farrer, Commentary p. 155.

2. The thesis of B. Murmelstein (Th. St. Kr. 101 (1929) pp. 447-57) that this beast is Herod, who comes from the land of Palestine, speaks Greek, bases his power upon Rome, and is the first to introduce into Palestine coins bearing the Roman eagle, has not met with much favour.

3. See pages 248, 250ff.

4. P.S. Minear 'The Wounded Beast' J.B.L. 72 (1953) pp. 93-101.

5. In an English concordance 'beast' can refer to the uses of ζῷον and κτῆνος. In Revelation the former is used exclusively of the four "living creatures" in the visions of God's throne in heaven - obviously a completely distinct concept - while the latter is confined to a single use in the sense of 'cattle' in the catalogue of 18.3.

6. e.g. Gen. 7.14,21; 8.1,17,19; 9.2; Hos. 4.3; cf. Acts 11.6; James 3.7; Rev. 6.8.

7. W. Foerster, Kittel TWNT. 3.133ff. (Eng.) cf. 'Die Bilder in Offenbarung 12f. und 17f.' Th.St.Kr. 104 (1932) pp. 279-310.

8. Sib.Or. 8.157.

9. Panegyricus 48.3.

10. Vit.Ap. 4.38. These particular examples of figurative usage do not by themselves amount to proof that the beast of Revelation has to be Nero, cf. R. Schutz 'Die Offenbarung des Johannes und Kaiser Domitian' 1933 pp. 8f. But see pages 227f.

11. E.W. Heaton 'The Book of Daniel' 1956; A.Bentzen 'Daniel' HAT 2.1952; H. Gunkel 'Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit' Göttingen 1895 pp. 29-82; 'Genesis' HKAT 1901 pp. 121ff; 'Zum religionsgeschichtlichen Verständnis des Neuen Testaments' 1903 pp. 38-64. cf. T.H. Gaster 'Thespis' 1950.

12. Text according to D. Winton Thomas 'Documents from Old Testament Times', 1958 pp. 129ff.

13. cf. Str. B. 4.1159f and G.F. Moore 'Judaism' II. 363ff. for further references; on the Gnostic use: cf. Origen Contra Celsum 6.25.35. (Ophite use of Leviathan).

14. H. Wallace 'Leviathan and the Beast in Revelation' Bib. Arch. 11 (1948) pp. 61-8.

15. cf. Str.B. 4. 1002f.

16. Foerster, Kittel TWNT 3. 134 (Eng.)

17. cf. H.H. Rowley 'Darius the Mede and the Four World Empires' 1959 (1935)

18. Foerster, Kittel TWNT. 3. 135 (Eng.)

19. Minear, art. cit. p. 99.

20. Minear, art. cit. p. 100.

21. Norman Snaith 'Studies in the Psalter' London 1934 p. 105. citing E. Feng 'Moses' p. 67.

22. See pages 314f.

23. See pages 230f.

24. Important studies concerned with the Imperial cult include: F. Altheim 'A History of Roman Religion' 1938; L. Cerfaux and J. Tondriau 'Le culte des souverains dans la civilisation gréco-romaine' 1957; M.P. Charlesworth 'Deus Noster Caesar' Class. Rev. 39 (1925) pp. 113-15; 'Some Observations on Ruler Cult, especially in Rome' HTR 28 (1935) pp. 5-44; 'The Virtues of a Roman Emperor' 1937; W.L. Knox 'Church and State in the New Testament' JRS 39(1949) pp. 23-30; E. Kornemann 'Zur Geschichte der antiken Herrscherkulte' Klio 1 (1901) pp. 51-146; A.D. Nock 'Sallustius. Concerning the Gods and the Universe' 1926; 'Studies in the Graeco-Roman Beliefs of the Empire' JHS 45(1925) pp. 84ff; 'Notes on Ruler-Cult I-IV' JHS 48(1928) pp. 21ff; 'Religious Developments from the close of the Republic to the Death of Nero' in C.A.H. 10 Ch. 15; 'Religious Developments from Vespasian to Trajan' Theology 1928; Gnomon 27(1955); HTR 45(1952); JRS 47(1957); 'Essays on Religion and the Ancient World' 1971; F. Pfister 'Die Religion der Griechen und Römer' Leipzig 1930; D.M. Pippidi 'Le numen Augusti - observations sur une forme occidentale du culte impérial' Rev. Et.Lat. 11 (1931) pp. 1-29; 'Recherches sur le Culte Impérial' 1939; H.W. Pleket 'An Aspect of the Emperor Cult-Imperial Mysteries' HTR 57 (1965) pp. 331-47; J.S. Reid 'Roman Ideas of Deity' JRS 6(1916) pp. 171-84; F.Sauter 'Der römische Kaiserkult bei Martial und Statius' 1934; K. Scott 'The Imperial Cult Under the Flavians' 1936; Fritz Taeger 'Charisma' 2 vols. Stuttgart 1957, 1960; W.W. Tarn 'Hellenistic Civilisation' 1930 pp. 44-52; L.R. Taylor 'The Divinity of the Roman Emperor' 1931 (with reviews in Class. Rev. 46(1932) and Gnomon 8(1932) by M.P. Charlesworth and A.D. Nock).

25. Annals 15.44.

26. Suetonius Lives, Josephus B.J. 4.9.2; Sib.Or. 5.35.

27. Swete, Commentary p. 164
On the superstition cf. A. Hallström 'Nero Redivivus' 1925, as well as other works on Nero mentioned below.

28. cf. Charles, Commentary I.161.

29. Apart from the primary sources of Suetonius, Tacitus and Dio Cassius, consult M.P. Charlesworth, ed. 'Documents illustrating the reigns of Claudius and Nero' 1939 and the following among secondary works: J.H. Bishop 'Nero' 1904; G. Charles-Picard 'Augustus and Nero' 1966; C.M. Franzero 'The Life and Times of Nero' 1954; B.W. Henderson 'The Life and Principate of the Emperor Nero' 1903; E.T. Klette 'Die

Christenkatastrophe unter Nero' 1907; Schumann 'Hellenistische und griechische Elemente in der Regierung Neros' 1930 pp. 21-34; Gérard Walter 'Nero' 1957; A.E.P.B. Weigall 'Nero Emperor of Rome' 1930; as well as the relevant chapters of Cambridge Ancient History Vol. 10. Unfortunately I have not had access to McGannon's 'Emperor Worship under Nero' Dissertation 1931 Western Reserve University (97pp of typescript).

30. Sib. Or. 4.119f, 137f.

31. Tacitus, Hist. 1.2; 2.8, 9; Dio Cassius, Hist. 66.15; Suetonius, Nero 57, 40.

32. Sib. Or. 5.361f.

33. Sib. Or. 8.88, 157; 5.29, 215ff.

34. Asc. Is. 4.2f; Sib. Or. 3.63ff. 2.167f.

35. Minear, art. cit. p. 96. Swete, Commentary p. 163.

36. Minear art. cit. p. 97.
It might be objected that Minear's whole line of argument assumes too great a simplicity and consistency on the part of Revelation.

37. Cf. Rom. 13.1ff.
But reference must also be made to 1 Peter 2.13 and 1 Tim. 2.2 - two passages which are in all probability later than the beginning of the persecution of the Church. W.L. Knox in 'Church and State in the New Testament' (JRS 39 1949, pp. 23-30.) argued that the violent contrast between hatred and enthusiasm for the Empire, found expressed in the N.T. and other contemporary literature, corresponded to a distinction between Palestinian and Hellenistic thought, where 'Palestinian' refers to the mental climate rather than to a locality or language. The same hatred of the Empire as a persecuting power is found in the Apocalypse and the Sibylline Oracles. Both are expressed in Greek "of a sort" but both are purely 'Palestinian' in their hope of a rapid establishment of the Messianic kingdom in which the Gentile rulers of the world will be rewarded according to their works. But the attitude elsewhere in the New Testament is 'Hellenistic' - "The Church simply took over the tradition of the saner and probably more influential elements of Hellenistic Judaism, which saw in the Empire the guarantee of peace and security." But when terms are defined as 'Palestinian' and 'Hellenistic' are, their function seems little more than that of labelling attitudes which are obviously different. They may be different because of differences of origin in the thought-world, but they could be different because the terms of reference are different. Because the author of I Timothy regards the Pax Romana as indispensible to the missionary work of the Church, this is not to say that he would be equally enthusiastic about Emperor Worship.

38. This would agree with what seems to be the consistent attitude of the Early Church, which usually maintained a 'Pauline' attitude even in times of persecution.

39. Charles, Commentary I.350. Minear art. cit. p. 97 has telescoped Charles' argument - the wounded head is identified with the wounded beast which is, as Bousset commented "the complete antitype" of the Lamb that was slain. Charles also suggests a further solution to

the difficulty; the "author is probably using here an earlier source referring possibly to Caligula" (cf. I.349).

40. pp. 97f note 11.

41. Tacitus, Ann. 13.8; Dio Cassius, Hist. 63.20.5.

42. A. Momigliano in Cambridge Ancient History Vol. 10 (1952) Chs. 21 p. 732.

43. Ann. 15.74.

44. Momigliano op. cit., p. 742.

45. Cf. Fergus Millar 'The Roman Empire and Its Neighbours' London 1967.

46. M. Rostovtzeff 'The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire' (1957), I.86.

47. For a more detailed consideration see pages 298f and 344ff.

48. Suetonius, Vespasian 23.

49. Minear art. cit. p. 97.

50. Minear, art. cit., pp. 98f.

51. See page 278.

52. Suetonius, Titus 1.

53. On the Emperors Titus and Domitian cf. the primary sources, in particular Suetonius and Dio Cassius; M. McCrum and A.G. Woodhead 'Select Documents of the Flavian Emperors including the year of Revolution. A.D. 68-96' Cambridge 1961; and the material contained within the relevant chapters of the Cambridge Ancient History (1954) Vol. 11.

54. Cf. Bauer (Arndt and Gingrich) p. 171.1; W. Grundmann, Kittel TWNT 2.21-5.
Cf. Mk. 8.31; 9.11; 13.7, 10; Lk. 24.7, 26; Jo. 20.9; Acts 3.21; 1 Cor. 15.25, 53; 2 Cor. 5.10; Rev. 1.1; 4.1; 22.6; cf. Dan. 2.28, 29, 45.

55. Swete, Commentary pp. 220f.

56. See page 278.

57. Cf. Suetonius, Domitian 12, 13, 37, 38; Tacitus, Agricola 2-3, 44-5; Dio Cassius, Epitome 67.14; Eusebius H.E. 3.17-20.
Cf. also Juvenal Sat. 4.38; Pliny Pan. 53; Auson. Monast. de Ord. xii imper. 11-12; Tertullian Apol. 5; De Pall. 4; Sib. Or. 5.218ff; Barnabas 4.4-5.

58. Cf. Mk. 13.20. On the use of the Synoptic Apocalyptic tradition by John see Chapter 4, especially pages 125ff, and L.A. Vos 'The Synoptic Traditions in the Apocalypse' 1965.

59. Possibly there is a special point in Nero Redivivus' being the eighth after a sequence of seven. Austin Farrer (Commentary p. 158)

suggested that the number 8 represented 'Resurrection', because the name 'Jesus' has a numerical significance of 888 (Orac. Sib. 1.324ff). Possibly this is a further feature of the deliberate Satanic parody of Christ provided by the Beast (6 = Good Friday; 8 = Easter day). Parallel to this is the thought, based on the numerical significance of the unit of a week in apocalyptic, that, just as Christ rose from the dead on the first day of the week, which is also the eighth day, as being the one immediately following the seven days of Holy Week, so the full power of the Beast is manifest in the eighth, following upon a sequence of seven. Because this full power is represented by the figure of Nero Redivivus, it also happens to be a specially significant and heightened repetition of the first member of the sequence of seven. Farrer also cites the use of the number in the context of Noah (1 Pet. 3.20f; 2 Pet. 2.5), with the significance of Resurrection.

60. The imagery used makes clear that heads and horns have different functions. Even H.B. Swete rejected the possibility that the ten horns represented the seven emperors with the addition of Galba, Otho and Vitellius, who had been omitted in the identification of the seven heads. It is impossible to achieve a reasonable division of ten horns between seven heads; a more hopeful suggestion lies in treating the ten horns as a group applicable to the beast as a whole, rather than to individual heads.

61. Irenaeus Adv. Haer. 5.26.1.

62. See page 289.

63. See page 185, note 201, and page 228.

64. See pages 104ff, 148ff.

65. See pages 234, 252.

66. Cf. Sulpicius Severus, Chronicle 2.30.6 (a fragment of Tacitus?): Titus reflects that to destroy the Jerusalem temple "would be an invaluable way of doing away with both the Christian and the Jewish religions, for, although mutually inimical, these two faiths had sprung from the same root . . . and, once the root was dug up, the stem would soon perish."

67. Minear, New Earth, p. 123.

68. For a survey of interpretations see M. Rissi '666' in 'Biblisch-Historisches Handwörterbuch' ed. Reicke and Rost (1962-6).

69. Cf. Swete, Commentary p. 174.

70. Cf. Sohar Chadash f. 40.3.

71. The name 'Gematria' appears to be Hebrew, perhaps by corruption from the Greek; the term first occurs in literature in the twenty-ninth of the thirty two hermeneutic rules of R. Eliezer b. R. Jose, the Galilean (c.200). In both Hebrew and Greek the letters of the alphabet were used as numerals and every letter had numerical value; this facilitated the conversion of a name into a number or 'vice versa'. While the Jewish Rabbis made use of Gematria as an esoteric method of Scriptural exegesis (e.g. Eliezer, Abraham's steward - Gen. 15.2 - must be worth all the servants of Abraham put together, because

Abraham had 318 servants - Gen. 14.14. - and the numerical value of 'Eliezer' is 318), "among the Greeks it seems to have been more of a parlour game" (Caird, Commentary p. 174). Deissmann ('Light' p. 276) shows from examples in the graffiti of Pompeii that the practice was current in Greek in the period of the New Testament, and was concerned with the coding of personal names in the form of numbers.

72. Swete, Commentary p. 175. cf. E.M. Bruins 'The Number of the Beast' Ned. Theol. Tijd . 23 (1969) pp. 401-7 for the theory that here is an allusion to the abacus on which a market overseer computed the amounts involved in buying and selling.

73. Charles, Commentary I. 365.

74. Minear, New Earth p. 258.

75. cf. Charles, Commentary I. 365.

76. A. Deissmann 'Light from the Ancient East' 1927. p. 277 n.1.

77. Sib. Or. 1. 324ff.

78. S. Giet 'L'Apocalypse et l'histoire' 1957 pp. 76ff. on analogy with Sib. Or. 5. 12-42.

79. See page 278.

80. cf. 'Gematria' article by Caspar Levias in Jewish Encyclopaedia (ed.Singer) 1903. Vol. 5. pp. 589f.

81. E. Stauffer in 'Coniectanea Neotestamentica' 11. (1947) pp. 237ff.

82. Latin - "Imperator Caesar Domitianus Augustus Germanicus".

83. Caird, Commentary p. 175.

84. E.A. Abbott 'Notes on New Testament Criticism' 1907 pp. 81ff; Charles, Commentary I. 367.

85. Abbott suggested that a vernacular use of the name to refer to the Flavian dynasty might have been taken up by John.

86. Abbott cites Beresh. Rab. on Gen. 2.1; R. Nathan on Aboth. 1.1. cf. Roman satirical use of name - Persius 1. 19-21.

87. See page 301.

88. Abbott p. 83 n. cites Levy 2. 154a. cf. Renan 'L'Antechrist' p.415 n.4.

89. i.e. Tiamat - cf. Gunkel 'Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit' 1895 p. 378.
cf. G.F. Moore J. Amer. Or. Soc. 1906. pp. 315ff.

90. E. Lohmeyer 'Die Offenbarung des Johannes' 1926/53. pp. 118-9; A. Farrer, Commentary pp. 158f.

Other interpretations:
a) 666 in every digit falls short of the perfect number (cf. Milligan, Baird lecture p. 328; 'Revelation' p. 235) cf. Philo P.A. 101, 124; Iren. Adv Haer. 5.28.2.
b) Contrast with 888 - see above, note 59. cf. Sib. Or. 1. 324ff. Also Valentinian use.
c) 6 as a Hebrew round number, cf. I Ki. 10.14.
According to Barnes, 666 was a definite reference that would be common property (// to "N or M")
d) Burkitt (Cambridge Univ. Reporter 1885-6 pp. 625f) following Beatus, suggested that χιϛ´ should be read, written more or less as a Chi-Rho symbol in reverse. There is no evidence however for the use of the Chi-Rho symbol as early as Domitian.

THE HARLOT BABYLON

The judgement of God upon the great harlot called Babylon, and her destruction, are described in Chapters 17 and 18. An interpretation of this imagery must involve not only an explanation of the details presented in the author's picture, but also a discussion of the relationship between the figures of the harlot and the beast; it must also be considered whether the author intended any contrast to be drawn between this and the other great woman figures of Revelation, the woman clothed with the sun, and the bride New Jerusalem.[1]

E. Stauffer describes the author as a "pitiless parodist" in the hate and scorn with which he treats self-glorified Rome. "A carnival procession sways past, the beauty parade of the great harlot sitting upon many waters, committing fornication with the kings of the earth, making the peoples of the earth drunk with the wine of her fornication, drunk with the blood of the saints. She sits upon a scarlet-coloured beast, arrayed in purple and decked with gold and precious stone and pearls, having in her hand a golden cup full of abominations and unclean things, and upon her forehead the mysterious name, Babylon the Great, the Mother of the Harlots and of the Abominations of the Earth."[2] The context of the book does seem to demand the application of this picture to Rome. The questions remain as to what aspect of Rome is being considered beneath this imagery, and who was the model for the vivid picture presented.

The first element in this picture to be isolated is the use of the noun πόρνη ('harlot') and the group of cognate words πορνεία, πορνεύω, πόρνος. This must be considered together with the other uses of these words in the book as a whole. In the letters to the seven churches there is a criticism of those who hold the teaching of Balaam, which sanctions the eating of food sacrificed to idols and the practice of immorality, (2.14),[3] and of the woman Jezebel who beguiles Christ's servants to practise immorality and eat food sacrificed to idols (2.20, 21).[4] The repetition

of the same terms in each case must be significant, though the word-order is varied. Here is a suggestion at the outset that there could be a fairly close connection between harlotry and idolatry. The basic story about Balaam contained in Numbers 22-24 is variously interpreted in the Old and New Testaments, in ways that are progressively less flattering. There seem to be at least two pictures of Balaam: one as a true prophet similar to Micaiah who waits for God and repeats his message whether welcome and pleasant or not; the other as an oracle-monger who obtains information from omens or the casting of lots, and is eventually over-mastered by the spirit of God. The latter picture (as found in Numbers 31.8, 16; Jos. 13.22;2Pet. 2.13-15) is the one adopted in Revelation; Balaam, defeated in his attempt to curse Israel, is the inspiration for the subsequent attempt by the Moabite women to seduce Israel into idolatry.[5] The original Jezebel, the wife of king Ahab of Israel (1 Ki. 16.31), favoured the cult of Baal in Israel and promoted it, persecuting the prophets of Yahweh. The writer of Revelation echoes the judgement of Jehu who said: "What peace can there be, so long as the harlotries and the sorceries of your mother Jezebel are so many?" (2 Ki. 9.22)[6] From what is known of this queen in the Old Testament 'harlotry' could certainly be understood in a figurative sense of idolatry; it may also be meant literally, of the sacral prostitution that was probably involved in the cult of Baal; but the Old Testament offers no evidence that would cast doubt on the queen's personal morality in sexual matters.

The connection between harlotries and sorceries in the quotation about Ahab's wife Jezebel (LXX πορνεῖαι καὶ φάρμακα) is reflected in the catalogues of evils and evildoers in Revelation 9.21 (φαρμακειῶν, πορνείας); 21.8 (πόρνοις, φαρμακοῖς); and 22.15 (φαρμακοὶ πόρνοι). Although the constituents of these lists and their order vary, these two elements are consistently in adjacent positions. The extent of the evil influence, the harlotry represented by Babylon, is indicated in the main

references in chapters 17 and 18. "All nations" are implicated: "the kings of the earth have committed fornication with her, and the merchants of the earth have grown rich with the wealth of her wantonness" (18.3 - cf. 17.2; 18.9). A similar idea is contained in Isaiah 23.17 where Tyre "will play the harlot with all the kingdoms of the world upon the face of the earth."[7] The laments of chapter 18 - "the kings of the earth . . . will weep and wail over her when they see the smoke of her burning" (18.9) - these laments can be compared with those of Ezekiel 26.16 ("the princes of the sea") and 27.30f. ("the mariners and all the pilots of the sea"). This is a very vivid way of expressing the extent of the harlot's influence, since those who are so distressed at her downfall betray the depth of their involvement in her practices. The variety of emotions expressed in Ezekiel's vision (particularly in 27.35, 36) show that grief is not the only reaction; this may well be true for Revelation's vision also, since not only do the kings of the earth weep and wail but some (the ten kings represented by the ten horns) are in a sense the cause of the harlot's downfall as they unconsciously play their role in God's plan. This aspect will be considered in more detail later.[8]

The group of Greek words cognate with πόρνη[9] are used in the Septuagint, with very few exceptions,[10] to translate the Hebrew root זנה ; a clear distinction is usually maintained between this word and the other Hebrew root נאף ("commit adultery") which is rendered by the Greek μοιχεύω. This distinction between prostitution and adultery is fundamental to both Greek and Semitic thinking; there is also a radical distinction between Semitic and Greek thought on prostitution, which may be influenced by the earliest contexts in which the respective words seem to have occurred. According to Liddell and Scott the word πόρνη probably comes from the verb πέρνημι because Greek prostitutes were commonly slaves purchased for the purpose. The Hebrew word זוֹנָה , on the other hand, seems originally to have been used, in the situation where women normally

married within the clan or tribe, for a woman whose husband was not of the same tribe (Judges 11.1; 16.1?).

In general the Greeks, apart from the Stoics, took a lenient view of prostitution and a variety of other sexual practices, regarding them as fulfilling as necessary a function for man as eating and drinking; they were reprehensible only when the structure of marriage was damaged or when they were carried to obvious excess, as, for example, Alcibiades was reputed to have done. The Hebrews were certainly not so tolerant, but prostitution was nonetheless practised from an early period of Old Testament history. The story of Judah and Tamar (Gen. 38.14ff) is at least evidence for the activity of prostitutes. But although it was practised, prostitution seems to have been despised. The strict religious opposition to sacral prostitution, a ritual practice which had probably infiltrated from the Canaanites, becomes an opposition to the general practice in Israel." But for our purposes the most significant feature of the Old Testament background is probably the development of the literal sense of the term into a figurative expression for the nation's unfaithfulness to Yahweh, Israel's failure to worship him as the one God. The use of this imagery is often coupled with an emphatic rejection of the literal practice of cultic prostitution. (e.g. Jer. 2.20; 3.6; Hos. 4.12-14). This could be an explanation of the growth of the metaphor, if very frequently the unfaithfulness to Yahweh involved the practice of, or the condoning of, sexual rites in the worship of other deities. The first statement of these developed ideas occurs in the book of Hosea, where the prophet's personal experience is presented as a sign of Yahweh's relationship with Israel. "Plead with your mother . . . that she put away her harlotry from her face . . . lest I strip her naked . . . and make her like a wilderness" (Hos. 2.2f). Later Isaiah exclaims of Zion "How the faithful city has become a harlot, she that was full of justice! Righteousness lodged in her, but now murderers" (Is. 1.21). And in the

sustained imagery of Ezekiel 16, Jerusalem is addressed by God in these words: "You trusted in your beauty, and played the harlot because of your renown, and lavished your harlotries on any passer-by." (16.15)

The harlotry of Israel as described in the Old Testament is twofold: it is a vivid expression for idolatry, involving necessarily the desertion of Yahweh and the true sanctuary; it is also a political disloyalty to Yahweh, when the nation fails to trust in Yahweh's providence but looks for support to Egypt, Assyria and other nations. Because of the close connection of politics and religion in Old Testament theology, these are but two aspects of a single attitude, a failure of whole-hearted trust in the one God who controls all. As well as a range of references to Israel in these terms, the imagery is applied to Tyre (Is.23.15f mentioned above), to Nineveh (Nahum 3.4), and to Samaria the "transgression of Jacob" (Micah 1.7. - a verse that may be a later addition). K. G. Kuhn makes a surprising comment on Is. 23.15f and Nahum 3.4 that "in these two passages the harlotry does not denote idolatry, as normally in the Old Testament, but the trading activity of the city."[12] This comment has more basis in Is. 23.18 where there is specific mention of "merchandise", "food and fine clothing"; but there is no need to restrict this language to its literal meaning. It can well represent a sustained metaphor when selling oneself and selling luxury goods are linked; in the future both "will be dedicated to the Lord" (23.18). The use of trading imagery appropriate for the subject does not preclude an understanding of harlotry in the sense of idolatry, of rejection of the Lord. In the same way the lament of the merchants in Rev. 18.11-19 is seen as supporting imagery within the total picture of Babylon the harlot.

Above all chapters 3 and 4 of Jeremiah are important because of the similarity of ideas to the passage in Revelation about the great Harlot. "You have played the harlot with many lovers; and would you return to me? says the Lord. By the wayside you have sat awaiting lovers

. . . you have polluted the land with your vile harlotry . . . yet you have a harlot's brow, you refuse to be ashamed . . . And you, O desolate one, what do you mean that you dress in scarlet, that you deck yourself with ornaments of gold, that you enlarge your eyes with paint? In vain you beautify yourself. Your lovers despise you; they seek your life. For I heard a cry as of a woman in travail, anguish as of one bringing forth her first child, the cry of the daughter of Zion gasping for breath, stretching out her hands, Woe is me! I am fainting before murderers." The harlot in Revelation 17 is described as dressed in purple and scarlet, bedecked with gold and jewels and pearls, and her name is written on her forehead. The painting of the eyes is not referred to at this point in Revelation.[13] The other important point of contact between this passage in Jeremiah and the woman in Revelation 17 is the idea that the harlot's lovers will turn upon her and seek to kill her. So the ten horns and the beast hate the harlot (Rev. 17.16). Perhaps the Old Testament passage is also significant for an understanding of why the harlot wears the mystical name 'Babylon' on her forehead. The usual explanation given is that public prostitutes in Rome were branded as such by wearing a label with their names on their brows, reference being made to Seneca and Juvenal.[14] That such an allusion could be made is certainly possible, but the case cannot be regarded as proved because of those other passages in Revelation which refer, outside the context of harlotry, to the wearing of a seal, a name, or a distinguishing mark (cf. 7.3; 13.16; 19.12). In the context of Jeremiah 3.3 the significance of the "harlot's brow" is in the nation's refusal to be ashamed. The original Hebrew refers to the forehead, while the Septuagint broadens the reference to the face; Kittel suggested an emendation which would be a parallel to Isaiah 48.4 "brow of brass" - a similar figure for a self-willed and brazen effrontery, So the harlot Babylon can be seen wearing boldly and shamelessly the sign of her depravity, in a way that might have reminded the author of the prostitutes in the streets of the city to which he was referring.

In the Greek writings of Later Judaism the literal use of the term πορνεία and its cognates has broadened to include sexual offences in general. But the association with idolatry is still reflected in the Wisdom of Solomon (14.12); sexual licence is a consequence of surrendering the true God (14.27). The expression of this basic connection is a major theme of Jewish apologetic (reflected in Romans 1.18-32). In the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs πορνεία is the first of seven evil spirits, which leads the soul away from God and towards idolatry. According to the Book of Jubilees, sexual licence is above all the sin of the heathen, so that marriage with them is impure; this impurity affects not only the individual but also the land, family, and people; there can be no pardon for this mortal sin. Philo sees πόρνη as the disgrace of mankind; in his allegorical interpretation the πόρνοι are polytheists.[15]

The connection between πορνεία and the eating of food sacrificed to idols, made twice in the letters to the seven churches (2.14, 20), recalls the terms of the Apostolic Decree recorded in the Acts of the Apostles (15.20, 29; 21.25) which appears to set minimum requirements for Gentile Christians in place of the Jewish regulations. They are to abstain from "what has been sacrificed to idols and from blood and from what is strangled and from unchastity."[16] While these references in the Apostolic Decree are usually understood in a literal sense as ritual ordinances concerned with food and festivals, it is not necessary to suppose that the similar connection of ideas, or perhaps echoes of the Decree, found in the letters to Pergamum and Thyatira must be understood and in the same exclusively literal way. Arndt and Gingrich[17] do classify the references in this way, but it seems more likely, from the immediate contexts of Balaam and Jezebel, and from the broader context determined by Babylon the Harlot, that the references in chapter 2, like the other references in the book, should be understood primarily in the figurative sense of idolatry. This could still leave open the possibility of a secondary implication in the context of the church's daily life, a reminder about the prescriptions for

Gentile Christians, which would relate day to day practice to the broader issue of idolatry, in the same way that the Old Testament usage had done.[18]

The same connection of thought between sexual sins and idolatry is made in the writings of Paul. In 1 Cor. 6.9 the "immoral" and the "idolaters" head the catalogues of "the unrighteous". The lesson of the old Israel in which idolatry and immorality are associated is cited as a warning in 1 Cor. 10.6-8. Also in a number of contexts in Paul πορνεία is listed alongside ἀκαθαρσία , a theme which also occurs in Revelation 17 and will be discussed subsequently.[19]

The principal conclusion which may be drawn from this survey of the Greek word and its cognates is the frequency with which some link is made between harlotry and idolatry; further this link is found expressly within Revelation itself (2.14, 20). We have seen how harlotry can be used in the Old Testament as a metaphor for idolatry; the similarity of imagery in Revelation strongly suggests that the idea is intended there also as a metaphor, rather than, or perhaps as well as, a literal statement. The author may well have found much to criticise in the sexual morality of Roman life, but the fact remains that the chief target, which he attacks in this book, is the idolatrous worship of the Emperor. And in the Old Testament he could find ready for use a vivid image of the idolatrous city or nation.[20]

The harlot, as we have seen, is given "a name of mystery: Babylon the great." (17.5) This name too fits in with the Old Testament background which has been examined. As Kuhn says: "The historic city and empire of Babylon were always depicted by the prophets as the ungodly power par excellence. Thus even after the fall of Babylon, Babel, as they saw it, represented for later Jewish readers of Scripture, and also for early Christians, the very epitome and type of an ungodly and domineering city."[21] Later Judaism commonly applied the title of Babel, and its reputation as an ungodly power, to Rome.[22] Both in the Old

Testament prophets and in later Judaism the name בָּבֶל was applied to the state as well as to the city of Babylon, the city epitomising the power of the state. The equation with Rome is subsequently understood with the same flexibility.[23] A confirmation within the New Testament for the application of the title 'Babylon' to Rome is provided by 1 Peter 5.13 - "She who is ἐν Βαβυλῶνι , who is likewise chosen, aends you" (of the churches in Asia Minor) "greetings; and so does my son Mark." Christian exegesis from an early date accepted this as a reference to the Church in Rome, and this is supported by the traditional association of Peter with Rome rather than Mesopotamia.[24] On this basis Schlatter deduced "not merely that Peter expects the destruction of Rome and sees it in the prophetic utterance against Babylon, but that the whole Church both in Rome and Asia Minor shared this view."[25]

The second group of ideas in this passage to be investigated are those concerning the cup, wine, and drunkenness. Beside the literal meanings of the word ποτήριον, there are figurative uses in the Old and New Testaments. J. L. Kelso summarised the Old Testament use:"It was symbolic of the kind of life experience which God the host pours out for his world. For the saints there was the cup of the blessings of God. For the wicked there was the wine cup of the wrath of God."[26] There are five Hebrew words which the Septuagint translated by ποτήριον : three are only used literally (אַגָּן , גָּבִיעַ , קָשֶׁה), a fourth (סַף) is only used once and then metaphorically, the fifth (כּוֹס), however, occurs in a literal sense 11 times and metaphorically 20 times. The metaphor of the cup may well have originated in the customs of table hospitality.

H. B. Swete suggested that it belonged to the royal banquet where the King sits among his guests (cf. Gen. 40.11f, Esther 1.7).[27] As a development from this,God as the host allots a portion of joy or suffering to men and nations.[28] L. Goppelt thinks that this alone is not an adequate explanation and refers to Babylonian art where a cup as the symbol of the

power of destiny is depicted in the hand of the deity. The contents of these cups ~~is~~ are usually identified as being the water of life.[29] The cup as the symbol of joy or salvation is found in Psalms 16.5; 23.5; 116.13, and of punishment and suffering in Psalms 11.6; 75.8; Isaiah 51.17-23; Jeremiah 25.15-28;[30] 49.12; 51.7; Lamentations 4.21f; Ezekiel 23.31-34; Habakkuk 2.16; Zechariah 12.2. Similar ideas to the latter group, without the actual mention of the word 'cup', are found in Job 21.20; Psalms 60.3; Isaiah 63.6; Obadiah 16.

It is hardly adequate, as C. E. B. Cranfield has pointed out,[31] to say that, in the Old Testament passages referred to in the second group, the metaphor merely denotes suffering. The predominant idea is that of God's punishment of human sinfulness. "In the hand of the Lord there is a cup, with foaming wine, well mixed; and he will pour a draught from it, and all the wicked of the earth shall drain it down to the dregs." (Ps. 75.8). Yahweh offers the cup and those to whom he gives it are powerless to refuse it. In the passage from Deutero-Isaiah there is an appeal to Jerusalem to rouse herself from the despair into which she has sunk. Her condition is due to Yahweh's having given her 'the cup of his wrath' to drink. But after the punishment of the exile comes the assurance that now Yahweh has taken his cup away from Jerusalem, and will instead give it to the tormentors who have trampled upon her. Other world powers were seen by the prophet as the agents of Yahweh's purpose, particularly in the punishment of his chosen people, but at the same time, should they overstep the mark, their arrogance would draw upon them the wrath and punishment of Yahweh. Very relevant to the imagery of Revelation is Jeremiah 51.7; "Babylon was a golden cup in the Lord's hand, making all the earth drunken; the nations drank of her wine, therefore the nations went mad. Suddenly Babylon has fallen and been broken; wail for her!" Here the oracle's reference is to the geographical Babylon which has been Yahweh's instrument in the punishment of other nations; now she herself has provoked Yahweh's

avenging wrath and will be laid low. The adjective 'golden' may well add the idea of Babylon's luxury; it does not affect the basic meaning of the cup symbolism which is expressed very concisely by identifying Babylon (the agent of God's wrath) with the cup which symbolizes God's wrath. This represents an extra stage of development beyond Is. 51. In Ezekiel 23 the cup which Jerusalem will drain is a "cup of horror and desolation . . . the cup of your sister Samaria' that is God's punishment for her lewdness and harlotry.

In later Judaism and Rabbinic exegesis there appears to be a tendency towards some harmonization of the various Old Testament concepts. The cup is a punishment for the peoples and for Israel; it is also a cup of grace after a period of punishment; a link is made with the ritual of Passover.[32] M. Black refers to the Fragment Targum on Genesis 40.23 for the expression "cup of death" which he regards as a restriction and presumably a weakening of the Old Testament metaphor.[33] This passage also supplies a parallel to the New Testament metaphor of 'tasting' death: "Now Joseph forsook the mercy from above . . . he put his trust in the flesh that passeth away, and in the flesh that tasteth the cup of death." But this may not prove entirely satisfactory as a narrowing of the Old Testament metaphor from the idea of wrath and punishment to the simple idea of suffering and death, which would furnish Black with a parallel for his exegesis of Mark 10.38f. and Mark 14.36, so that he need not accept the full force of the Old Testament passages. Although the Targum makes 'tasting the cup of death' parallel to 'passing away' this may only be justifiable in the context where "Joseph forsook the mercy from above"; the idea of punishment may still be intended, punishment for a trust misplaced in flesh rather than in God.

M. Black wrote, with reference to the major figurative references in the Synoptic Gospels (Mk. 14.36//s; Mk. 10.38//s.), that "we cannot assume that the Old Testament provides us with an exhaustive background for the New, even in the case of a metaphor so characteristically Hebraic." On

the other hand, in the absence of clear evidence of a later development or modification of such imagery after the Old Testament period, it is unwise to neglect the full force of the Old Testament material. It is perhaps natural to wish to restrict the meaning of the cup imagery in Jesus' prayer in Gethsemane to that of suffering and death. But, as Vincent Taylor remarks[34], the intensity of the prayer suggests that more is meant; there is no need to exclude the thought of divine judgement of sin, provided that it is recognised that the suffering is Messianic and that Jesus himself is not the personal object of the divine wrath. It is alien to the spirit of Jesus that he should shrink from a cup of personal suffering and death; nor is it merely the spiritual cup of the anguish of perfect love met by hate. Rather Jesus drinks the cup of God's wrath against sin, having to school himself to the necessity of redemptive suffering, involving the bearing of sin. C. E. B. Cranfield writes:[35] "In his identification with sinful men he is the object of the holy wrath of God against sin, and in Gethsemane as the hour of the Passion approaches the full horror of that wrath is disclosed." So Mk. 14.36 can be linked with the cry of dereliction on the Cross, marking the veritable descent into Hell of the sinless Son of God (cf. 2 Cor. 5.21; Gal. 3.13). As Luther said "No one ever feared death so much as this Man"; for no ordinary man has ever been called upon to bear this enormous burden, to drink the cup of God's wrath to the dregs.

In Mk. 10.39 Jesus says that James and John will indeed drink the cup that he drinks, and share in the same baptism. It must be asked whether the parallel with baptism qualifies the cup imagery or alters its meaning in this context. Some have argued, with W. L. Knox[36], that the reference to baptism is secondary; while the cup imagery is natural from the Old Testament use, the addition of baptism came as a deliberate allusion to the two sacraments when the cup was understood as a reference to the Eucharist. But, although baptism as a parallel to cup is not an Old Testament image, although, of course, the Old Testament does connect water with chaos and calamity, there are examples elsewhere in Greek literature

of the use especially of the verb βαπτίζω in the sense of overwhelming troubles.[37] So an image parallel to that of the cup is intelligible apart from a sacramental context. It has been asked whether this imagery is used as an expression of the prophecy of martyrdom, in which at least some of the historical accounts regard the two sons of Zebedee as sharing. If this is a reference to martyrdom it would mean, on the basis of exegesis of the Old Testament and Mk. 14, that the cup imagery is understood on two levels, the full strength of the metaphor for Jesus himself and a weakened sense for the disciples. In the context of Mark 10 there is a tension between the attitudes of disciples and of Jesus as the Master "sets his face" towards Jerusalem. The disciples think of Jesus' glorification at the spiritual centre of Judaism, Jesus thinks of the crisis which he knows that he must meet. So the cup can belong to the royal banquet, and be the cup of God's wrath which Jesus must drink for mankind; so the baptism can be the initiation into the new kingdom, and be the burden of human sin coupled with the judgement of God upon that sin. The disciples ask for a share in Christ's glory, and are told that they will indeed have a share in the divinely appointed tribulation through which one must pass. Largely because of the world's hostility to the disciples as to their Lord, the disciples will indeed have a share in drinking the cup of God's wrath, and in being baptised in the woes that arise from human sin. Their attitude will be that which Paul expressed in Colossians 1.24: "Now I rejoice in my sufferings for your sake, and in my flesh I complete what is lacking in Christ's afflictions for the sake of his body, that is, the church." It does not appear that the use of the imagery of baptism has affected the sense of the cup idea, but it is possible to see it supporting this idea in its fullest sense.

While it has been disputed whether these references in the Synoptic Gospels carry the full force of the Old Testament symbolism, when we turn to the Book of Revelation it is far less likely that anyone will be

disposed to question this, both because of the nature of the references and because of the great use which Revelation traditionally makes of the Old Testament. Broadly, there are three groups of references which apply the cup or wine imagery in different ways. In the first oase there are three passages where the cup refers to punishment by God, perhaps administered by a human agency. Anyone who worships the beast "shall drink the wine of God's wrath, poured unmixed into the cup of his anger" (14.10). The word ἄκρατος of unmixed wine is used figuratively of God's anger in full strength.[38] "And God remembered great Babylon, to make her drain the cup of the fury of his wrath." (16.19) In the command from heaven the people are exhorted to "render to her as she herself has rendered, and repay her double for her deeds; mix a double draught for her in the cup she mixed." (18.6) In the second category of references are those where the cup or wine imagery is closely linked with the harlotry of Babylon. "Fallen, fallen is Babylon the great, she who made all nations drink the wine of the wrath of her fornication." (14.8; 18.3). It is the great harlot "with the wine of whose fornication the dwellers on earth have become drunk." (17.2) She holds in her hand "a golden cup full of abominations and the impurities of her fornication." (17.4) Thirdly, because of the similarity of language, we must note those references to the winepress. The vintage gathered from the earth is cast into the great wine press "of the wrath of God." (14.19) The figure of the "Word of God" . . . "will tread the wine press of the fury of the wrath of God the Almighty" (19.15).

The wine harvest was an occasion for joyful festivities,[39] and the overflowing of the vats a sign of a rich blessing (Joel 2.24, Sirach 33.16). Thus when the Old Testament uses the imagery of the wine-press to depict the fearful horror of God's judgement the power of the metaphor is enhanced by the contrast (Is. 63.1-6; Jer. 25.30; Lam. 1.15; Joel 4.13). In Jeremiah, Yahweh's roaring from on high against the nations is

compared with the shout of those who tread the grapes; this general simile becomes a precise metaphor when, in Lamentations, "the Lord has trodden as in a wine press the virgin daughter of Judah." But the passage most echoed in Revelation is that from Isaiah about Yahweh's judgement over Edom: "I have trodden the wine press alone, and from the peoples no one was with me; I trod them in my anger and trampled them in my wrath; their lifeblood is sprinkled upon my garments, and I have stained all my raiment." By the same imagery the judgement is depicted in Revelation; in 19.15 the Messiah as judge possesses the features from Isaiah 63 of the Lord returning to annihilate his enemies. The winepress is linked with God's wrath in the symbolism for judgement. The connection with Old Testament imagery appears to be equally close in the first group of references mentioned above. Here is the cup of God's wrath, his punishment for human sin, which will be administered to the guilty, to the idolaters as well as to Babylon herself. But in the second group of references a different thought seems to be presented, whidh will merit more attention.

The great harlot holds in her hand a golden cup; we have already noted the relevance of Jeremiah 51.7 where Babylon herself is described as a golden cup in the Lord's hand. It may well be that the adjective is intended to convey the idea of wealth and luxury which seems equally appropriate to Rome and to the historical Babylon. This at laast is the external appearance, where the purpose of the imagery is, in contrast, to point to the less savoury aspects within (cf. Mt. 23.25//s). In Jeremiah 51, as we observed, the Old Testament cup symbolism is expressed succinctly by identifying Babylon, who is actually the agent of God's wrath, with the cup which represents God's wrath. It seems likely that the writer of Revelation made use of this particular reference, but he does not reproduce it, or apply it, in precisely the same way because he is at the same time blending in other Old Testament references, developing certain aspects of the idea.

Babylon is not now herself the cup, but she holds it as an identification symbol. But whatever the precise equation the effects are the same upon the nations. In view of the use of the image of harlotry alongside that of the cup in the context of Revelation, it is possible to say that the difference in the precise identification of the cup does not alter the balance of the expression in the least. As Babylon offers herself as a harlot to the nations, and her harlotry has an intoxicating effect (the expression of this idea being the contribution of the cup and wine imagery), so Babylon of old was offered as the maddening and intoxicating draught from the Lord's cup. What the passage from Jeremiah makes explicit is the control which God exercises over Babylon - the punishment which she measures out to the nations is ordained by him. But we shall see that this idea is also expressed in Revelation, although less directly.

From the list of references in the three groups mentioned above it might be deduced that 14.8-10 would be a significant passage for the understanding of the imagery as a whole (since it contains two references apportioned to two different groups), and so it appears. Firstly there is the problematic phrase "the wine of the wrath of her fornication" in 14.8 repeated in 18.3, and in 14.10 "the wine of the wrath of God". R. H. Charles considered that "the text as it stands combines two wholly disparate ideas" [40] and accordingly excised "of the wrath" (τοῦ θυμοῦ) from 14.8 and 18.3. The divergence of manuscripts at the latter point could point to an interpolated text, but equally well to a difficult text. The two ideas referred to are "the wine of fornication", mentioned in these precise terms in 17.2, which Babylon has made all nations drink: "This wine symbolises the intoxicating power, the corrupting influence of Rome." (Charles); and "the wine of the wrath of God" (14.10) which God gives Babylon and her allies to drink. If we grant that the introduction of the harlotry image in close connection with the cup symbol complicates the situation and opens the possibility of ambiguity in the treatment of the symbolism, neverthe-

less we are not necessarily justified, without good evidence, in excising the awkward words. It may well be, in view of the other passages in Revelation where the images of wine and drunkenness are employed, that the connotations of divine wrath and punishment cannot simply be removed by excising the words τοῦ θυμοῦ . Perhaps the passage is difficult because the author is trying to put over a whole complex of ideas in very few words.

How can θυμός be understood in 14.8 and 18.3? Whereas the word usually means anger, wrath, or rage, and, in particular in the Old Testament field of thought, the outpouring of God's wrath, it could also mean passion or strong feeling.[41] Some interpreters have therefore taken θυμός closely with wine and translated "the raging wine of her fornication". Others have taken it closely with fornication and render it, as the Revised Standard Version, "the wine of her impure passion". Both of these are possible translations, although one might share the doubt expressed in Bauer's Woerterbuch (Arndt and Gingrich)[42] whether one can establish a separate category for θυμός in these references when in all other cases the meaning 'anger' is probably the only one possible. Further these translations fail to take account of the context of 14.8; when the word occurs in both verse 8 and verse 10 it is reasonable to try to express the parallel in the translation, unless there are good arguments for its being used in two different senses, in the one context. One solution to this problem was suggested, and rejected, by R. H. Charles, later to be adopted by Austin Farrer.[43] The Septuagint uses θυμός in Deuteronomy 32.33 to represent the Hebrew with the special sense of 'poison': "For their vine comes from the vine of Sodom, and from the fields of Gomorrah; their grapes are grapes of poison, their clusters are bitter; their wine is the poison of serpents, and the cruel venom of asps." Babylon according to Jeremiah 51.7 is a cup from the Lord's hand to madden (or poison?) the nations. The connection of thought between

verses 8 and 10 is made by the allusion to Sodom and Gomorrah, suggested by the reference to Deuteronomy 32, and by the transition within verse 10 from wine of wrath to the punishment of fire and brimstone. If this is so, the thought connection seems rather complex and tortuous.

Let us consider what happens if we translate θυμός as 'wrath' in both verses, seeing if we can still apply the strict Old Testament sense of God's wrath. We then have, in 14.8, a mixed metaphor in which the wine of harlotry with which Babylon intoxicates the nations, becomes the wine of God's wrath for them. This is the way in which R. H. Charles explains the thought which motivated the 'interpolation': "The nations having drunk of the wine of the fornication of Babylon, have really therein drunk the wine of the wrath of God."[44] To a certain extent A. T. Hanson is right when he says that the phrase "the wine of the wrath" is used in a new sense here, justifying this by the assertion that "St. John the Divine never has any hesitation in using Old Testament language in a different sense if it suits his purpose."[45] But what has happened is not so much a redirecting of the imagery as an ambiguity brought about by the blending of imagery. There is no direct connection in the Old Testament between the cup and the harlot images; Jeremiah 51.7, however, with its reference to the golden cup that is Babylon offers the author of Revelation the starting point for his exposition (Rev. 17.4). It is because Babylon is a harlot, decked in all her gold and finery, that she has this intoxicating effect upon the nations. So far the contents of the cup, if considered at all, are merely intended as a metaphorical expression, the cause of the intoxication which results from addiction to prostitution as much as to drink. But Babylon, as well as being the harlot with all her allurements is also the one who administers the cup of wrath, and this aspect can be understood as fully in accordance with the Old Testament model. By her undoubtedly evil influence Babylon has involved all the nations in her destiny: "the wine of her fornication means the wrath process, whereby not only individuals but also whole nations are involved in the complex of sin and suffering -

which is the history of the Roman Empire." (A. T. Hanson). We have seen reason to regard the figure of Babylon in Jeremiah 51 as the agent of God's wrath, who is herself eventually brought low. A similar picture is represented here - we are concerned with the doom of Babylon as well as with the punishment of all who have sinned through her. Just as the prophet Jeremiah could describe himself as "full of the fury of the Lord . . . weary of holding it in" (Jer. 6.11) so even such an unsavoury character as Babylon can be regarded, it would appear, as a kind of 'vessel of wrath' in an active rather than a passive sense, a channel for divine judgement upon the nations (although, of course, in Babylon's case, she is also the object of that divine judgement). So the reference to wrath in 14.8, in an interpretation which justifies its existence and understands it in the traditional Old Testament sense specifically of God's wrath, completes, in effect, the parallelism with Jeremiah 51; as with the historical Babylon, the punishment meted out to the nations by her - which they experience through association with her - is ordained by God, is very much part of the cup of God's wrath. The advantage of this interpretation of the second group of references taken together is that the parallelism is maintained with the first and third groups which make use of the same imagery. Particularly is this important for the passage 14.8-10 since justice is done to the parallelism of the two references in verses 8 and 10. The second angel refers to the two stages in the process of God's judgement; the nations have been punished, now Babylon herself is to fall. Similarly the third angel draws a parallel situation in terms of the beast and its mark; those who come under the influence of the beast, and are guilty of idolatry, are likewise subject to the wrath and punishment of God, and we know too that the beast will eventually be destroyed.[46]

Before we leave the imagery of the cup, some consideration must be paid to the description of the contents of the vessel held by the woman (17.4). The two expressions used are βδελύγματα and τὰ ἀκάθαρτα . The root

meaning of βδέλυγμα is that which causes abhorrence; the word can have a particular application in the Bible to something which arouses God's wrath and is rejected by him. In the legalistic sections of the Old Testament the context is frequently cultic, referring to pagan things that are an abomination. The practices and customs of what is regarded as idolatry, and also the idols themselves, are called βδελύγματα[47]. Of special interest in the present context of Revelation are Jer. 13.27 - "I have seen your abominations, your adulteries and neighings, your lewd harlotries, on the hills in the field. Woe to you, O Jerusalem! How long will it be before you are made clean?"; and Deut. 23.18 - "the hire of a harlot" is an "abomination to the Lord your God." W. Foerster traces an extension in the meaning of the word within the later, prophetic, writings of the Old Testament, effectively making βδέλυγμα parallel to ἀνομία[48]. In the Wisdom literature this development leads to a point where the opposition to paganism disappears and the word simply denotes God's hostility to evil (Prov. 8.7; 11.1,20; 12.22; 15.8f,26). Foerster raises the question in his article whether, with the Torah references, there may be a natural aesthetic as well as a religious element in the meaning of the word when applied to the eating of certain animals, to incest, or to pagan ways of life. He concludes that "probably for the Old Testament, which recognises God as the creator of the world which is good, the two elements are inseparable on profounder theological reflection, so that even in respect of what is abhorrent the view of God is basic." The Septuagint uses the word βδέλυγμα most frequently to translate תּוֹעֵבָה, and fairly often for גִּלּוּל or גִּלֻּלִים; it is also used, relatively seldom, to render various Hebrew terms for idols (e.g. Is. 2.8,20; 17.8). These last have been quoted as examples of the Septuagint translators' misunderstanding of the Hebrew, or of a desire to replace technical terms; it would however be possible to see them as an indication that it was still intelligible to talk of idols as βδελύγματα, and, in fact, that this word with its specific

connotation would be more easily understood than a more abstruse word closer, literally, to the Hebrew.

In general the Old Testament usage seems to reflect Israel's obligation to separate itself from everything pagan. In contrast to this wealth of references, βδέλυγμα occurs only six times in the New Testament. This scarcity may, as Foerster suggests, reflect the reorientation of the conflict with paganism, a conflict loosed from its national and natural foundation. It is not surprising that what references there are seem to follow the Old Testament usage closely. Mk. 13.14//Mt. 24.15 quotes the expression "the abomination of desolation" from Daniel (9.27; 11.31; 12.11), where the reference is to the profanation of the Temple by Antiochus Epiphanes;[47] in the Synoptic Gospels the use of a masculine participle shows that an allusion to the figure of Antichrist is intended. Luke 16.15 seems to exemplify the later usage of the Wisdom literature, expressing the reaction of God to what is esteemed by man. But the usage in Revelation seems much closer to the general Old Testament usage, referring to those abominations that are linked with heathenism, all that is common, false, or abhorrent being excluded from the New Jerusalem (21.27). In the context of the harlot's cup of 17.4 and of the name of the harlot in 17.5, the particular evil of idolatry could well be conveyed, as it is with the similar imagery of Jeremiah 13.27.

When we turn to the other expression τὰ ἀκάθαρτα in Revelation 17.4, we discover that in this idea too there is some parallel with Jeremiah 13.27 ("How long will it be before you are made clean?"). In this language of 'clean' and ' unclean' the aspects of physical, cultic, and moral impurity are closely intertwined. Uncleanness is an unexpiated state which presents cultic difficulty. In its moral aspects it refers to the defilement of the soul by wrong-doing, or, more precisely, to sexual profligacy. In the Septuagint the word ἀκάθαρτος translates the Hebrew טָמֵא; this is more frequently used of cultic impurity, regarded as

a clinging infection (Lev. 5.3; 15.24; Ju. 13.7); sexual processes are a particular cause of defilement (2 Sam. 11.4; cf. Hos. 2.12; Lev. 20.21). Of special interest is the use of the word in connection with idolatrous cults (Jer. 32.34; Ez. 36.17; Ezra 6.21). F. Hauck (Kittel T.W.N.T. Vol. 3. p.427f. (Eng.)) argues for a development in meaning, parallel to that of βδέλυγμα , from the earlier intertwining of the ritual and moral aspects to a deepening, within the prophetic period, to an expression of the religious and moral inadequacy of unholy man before the holy God (Is. 6.5; Prov. 3.32; 6.16; 16.5; 20.10). It is interesting that as well as this process of broadening and deepening along moral lines, Hellenistic Judaism also maintained the cultic connection, and developed the term πνεῦμα ἀκάθαρτον for a demon (a term which only occurs in the LXX at Zech. 13.2).

The majority of these variations seem to be represented in the New Testament. Mt. 23.27 refers to a cultic impurity; the expression πνεῦμα ἀκάθαρτον occurs quite frequently (cf. Rev. 16.13). To judge from such passages as Acts 10.28 there is a growth away from Judaism when the distinction against what is profane or unclean ceases to have divine validity for the conduct of the community. The word is used of a moral impurity which excludes man from fellowship with God. Paul may well be making use of the Jewish view without its ritual significance when he describes as ἀκαθαρσία the absolute alienation from God in heathenism (Rom. 1.24).[50] In 1 Thess. 4., as in Eph. 4.19 and 5.3,5 ἀκαθαρσία refers especially to πορνεία and πλεονεξία "which is idolatry" (Eph. 5.5). The reference in Rev. 17.4 may be to a moralistic view of the sexual immorality of the Hellenistic world, with its commitment to natural desires, including, literally, fornication, rather than to God. But, as we have seen, the Old Testament use of the imagery of harlotry, as well as the possible applications of the words βδέλυγμα and ἀκάθαρτος in this special sense, make it more than likely that everything is used figuratively of idolatry, with its associations and practices, by an author whose principal

object of attack is the idolatry of the Roman empire. This is the fundamental sin on which the full measure from the cup of God's wrath is poured. The unsavoury contents of the luxurious and impressive cup held by the woman in her finery are the idolatrous practices with which Rome has perverted the world. In view of the exegesis of the imagery of the cup of wrath, it might have been expected that the cup would contain the divine wrath ready to be poured out. The explanation for this apparent inconsistency of symbolism is to be found in the full expression of these ideas in 14.8 discussed above. The Book of Revelation leaves its readers in no doubt that nothing, good or bad, happens outside God's knowledge or without a part to play in the divine plan. As we saw Babylon, in both testaments, had her role - through her harlotry, her incitements to idolatry, the sinfulness of paganism is revealed. At the same time, and by this same agency of Babylon, the judgement of God is made clear and the nations drink from the cup of his wrath. It is in these terms, with this blending of imagery in the double understanding of the cup symbol, that all references to Babylon's cup, wine, or leading of the nations into drunkenness, must be interpreted.

Finally, in this examination of the details of the picture of the harlot, we must turn to the other incidental features of her description. She is "seated upon many waters" (17.1), a phrase which recalls Jeremiah 51.13 - "O you who dwell by many waters, rich in treasures, your end has come, the thread of your life is cut." - which is a description of Babylon. A literal application to Rome is difficult, so that verse 15 explains the many waters as many peoples. It may well be that this quotation is applied because of the ideas, explicit in the context of Jeremiah, of apparent great wealth and security. Originally in the prophecy the reference may have been, as G. B. Caird suggests,[51] to the elaborate irrigation system on which Babylon's prosperity depended; in its present context it could refer to Rome's mercantile empire. We cannot exclude the possibility of an

allusion to the waters of evil and chaos, especially as the woman as well as being seated upon many waters is also sitting on a scarlet beast - the seven-headed beast from the sea. Such ideas - not necessarily mutually exclusive - may have influenced the author to employ this Old Testament allusion.

The woman is seated upon a scarlet-coloured beast, and is herself "arrayed in purple and scarlet". These two colours are found together in the Old Testament, for example in Exodus 25.4 in the description of the furnishings of the sanctuary. In Leviticus 14.4 scarlet-coloured material is listed among the means of making atonement. Scarlet and purple are the colours of particularly costly garments. David in his lament (2 Sam. 1.24) says: "Ye daughters of Israel, weep over Saul, who clothed you daintily in scarlet, who put ornaments of gold upon your apparel". For the prophets these colours were symbolic of ungodly and worldly luxury, represented by the extravagant attire of the daughters of Zion (Is. 3.23; Jer. 4.30). The link with ungodly and sinful conduct is also shown by the use of scarlet in a cultic context where it is the opposite to white wool (cf. Is. 1.18; also the unknown quotation in 1 Clement 8.3-4). The details of the cultic background are described in Joma 6.6,8; when the goat for Azazel was driven out a crimson strip was divided, one part being bound to a rock, the other being put between the horns of the goat. When the goat reached the wilderness the strip became white.[52]

In the New Testament there is a reference, in Hebrews 9.19, to the ratification with blood of the first covenant (with Moses) where scarlet wool is one of the items used. In Jesus' parable the rich man in his luxury wears πορφύραν καὶ βύσσον (Luke 16.19). In the Passion narratives there is probably an allusion to Roman custom; in Mk. 15.17 the Roman soldiers mock Jesus by dressing him in purple, and in Mt. 27.28 a scarlet cloak is used. Red is the colour of war, and a red mantle ('paludamentum') was the distinguishing mark of a general or an emperor on campaign outside

Italy. This could be the mockery of Jesus' Messianic claim, making use of a soldier's cloak; "according to the view of the soldiers, to be the king of the Jews Jesus must lead his hosts against the Roman cohorts".[53] The other uses of πορφύρα, πορφυροῦς and κόκκινος are in Revelation, in 17.4 and 18.16 describing the woman, the great city, and in 18.12 in the catalogue of merchandise. We can conclude from the last reference that these are luxury goods, in which the merchants did a good trade with Rome. In view of this context it seems most likely that at least a part of the meaning of this description of Babylon is the prophetic idea about worldly luxury and extravagance, which, of course, involves moral judgements. In contrast to ideas expressed later in the chapter, it should be noted that the woman and the beast do have this characteristic, of colour, in common. The dragon of chapter 12, and the beast of chapters 13 and 17, are not so closely bound by a common colour (πυρρός not κόκκινος is the adjective used in 12.3); but perhaps the close connection between these beasts established by the text, and the other characteristics which they do have in common, might act as a warning against making too much of a distinction between these two adjectives for 'red'. πυρρός is the colour of the second horse described in 6.4; there red is symbolic of war as the context shows, and that could well be an allusion to the Roman armies; the choice of the adjective is determined by the model for these horsemen in Zechariah 1 and 6, where the LXX uses πυρρός.[54] The choice of the word again in chapter 12 could similarly be due to the use of a different source.[55] If other factors like these determine the choice of the adjectives, there can be nonetheless a connection of thought between these passages where 'red' is an allusion to Rome; such a possibility remains whether this was the origin of the colour symbolism or not. Lohmeyer summarised the ideas about these colours thus: "It is a sign of luxury and rank. It is also the colour of Roman triumphs, of the flags of Roman horsemen, and of warriors and horses generally"[56] (in contrast to white which symbolises the

glory of heaven and the vanquishing of evil). In this colour contrast there could be something of the Old Testament cultic idea of the colours of good and evil. Otto Michel concludes that "only purple and scarlet fit the deeds of this woman, namely, licentiousness, seduction by the wine of unchastity, blasphemies, abominations, and murder of the saints."[57] But care must be taken not to interpret one idea so completely in terms of its context, that one fails to perceive any particular contribution which that idea may be making of itself.

In view of the importance of the Old Testament as the background to much of the imagery which we have considered, it seems likely that in this particular instance of the description of the harlot's finery, those passages such as Jeremiah 4.30 are what initially influenced the author. But such imagery would be considered especially appropriate because of its application to the current setting of Roman civilisation.[58] This is the special object of the author's attack; he would have agreed with the comments of the Elder Pliny: "moral corruption and luxury spring from no other source in greater abundance than from the genus shell-fish. It is true that of the whole of nature the sea is most detrimental to the stomach in a multitude of ways, with its multitude of dishes and of appetising kinds of fish to which the profits made by those who catch them spell danger. But what proportion do these form when we consider purple and scarlet robes and pearls!"[59] Purple dye was valued so highly by the Romans that it became for them the symbol of power and luxury; robes dyed wholly or partly in this colour were the insignia of office. The standard equipment of a Roman legionary of the first century A.D. included a rust-red cloak; a cavalry standard of this period was a purple banner with a gold fringe, surmounted by a gilt statue of victory. On departure for a campaign a general assumed a red mantle on the Capitol, and on his return exchanged it for a toga upon entering the city. In the period of the Empire the purple paludamentum of the emperor as commander-in-chief became a token of the imperial power. It was a purple mantle, embroidered with gold, that

was worn when celebrating a triumph. Against this background the colours of Revelation - purple, scarlet and fire-red - acquire special significance over and above the original connotations of their various sources.

Now that the various features in this imagery have been investigated in some detail, we must turn to the consideration of some general questions. Is it possible on the basis of the details examined to isolate any one figure as the model for the Seer's picture of the harlot? Among the possibilities are the Old Testament figure of Babylon - the personification of evil - to whom much of this imagery is applied; the Daughter of Zion who plays the harlot and revels in luxury; Jezebel, Ahab's queen to whom the Seer refers specifically earlier in the book; Cleopatra, whose path crosses with the leaders of Rome at a decisive stage in their history; or 'Roma' worshipped as the genius of the Roman Empire?

The symbolical name which John chooses for his picture of the ungodly power is Βαβυλών.[60] Like the other important features of this chapter, this treatment of the name most probably is taken from the Old Testament prophets. It is probable that when such a tradition of Babylon as the type of the ungodly power was kept alive, other features from the original Old Testament source of the tradition would be preserved with it. But it does not seem reasonable to argue, from this basis, in the way that R. H. Charles has done,[61] that one can therefore explain away difficult or awkward imagery in the later stages by saying that it is a survival from an earlier context, perpetuated by the processes of tradition, but without any relevant application in the present context. It seems incredible that any intelligent author should expand his work by incorporating details from the traditional picture when he has no desire to make use of them. It could be argued that the reference to 'many waters' in the description of the harlot was such a meaningless survival. This had a precise application to the historical Babylon which is unsuitable for Rome. But we saw reasons, set out above,[62] why the author may have chosen to perpetuate and reinterpret this particular feature of the

tradition. So we are concerned with a tradition about Babylon that outlasts and expands beyond the historical city and empire, that was applied in particular to the city and empire of Rome, a tradition with which other images and features were readily associated (not as meaningless perpetuations, but as valuable additions to the picture).

It has been noted above how the author's images are blended together.[63] They represent a mosaic of associated ideas from a quite restricted area of the Old Testament. Their present close association may well be the product of the author's reflection on these themes, but we cannot exclude the possibility of some such association at an earlier stage in the tradition. Since, according to the later Jewish view Babylon was the epitome of evil, it is natural that, sooner or later, the figure of Babylon should have gathered to itself the warnings anddenunciations, originally directed to other powers, but expressed in parallel terms to those directed to the historical Babylon. In this way the Old Testament references to Tyre, Nineveh, and Samaria have contributed to the picture of Babylon in Revelation.[64] Babylon, in that she has given her name to the harlot, has a strong claim to be the model as well as the label for the figure. This claim is not repulsed if one considers the contribution to Revelation's picture of Old Testament material that was not originally addressed to the historical Babylon, because of this real possibility of a collecting together of similar ideas into a common tradition, with the necessary blurring of the precise original applications, whether the bulk of this work was done by the author of Revelation, or by someone before him. The same process of amalgamation and reapplication can have taken place with the larger body of material relating to Israel's unfaithfulness to Yahweh (to which the important references in Jeremiah 3 and 4 belong). It seems better to regard this as a type of evil, namely idolatry, which is included within the epitome of evil, rather than attribute to the figure of the Daughter of Zion a more active and formative role, as the basic pattern for this imagery. In this latter event, by making Israel the epitome of evil, one is wrenching out of its total context one aspect of the Old Testament

ideas about Israel. A broader basis would be required if this were the mould for the harlot image; either a view is adopted that is more one-sided than the Old Testament ever seems to be, or the writer is more violently anti-Jewish than any interpreter of Revelation would be prepared to assert; both would present considerable problems when regarding chapter 17 in relation to the rest of the book, and chapter 12 in particular.

Ahab's queen Jezebel is undoubtedly the model of immorality and erroneous doctrine employed in the letter to the Church at Thyatira.[65] But there is no indication that this specific imagery influenced the author of Revelation further in his larger picture of the harlot. It represents a kindred feature in the Old Testament background, but can be described as no more than one stone in the building. If, then, it is right to see the harlot imagery as a composite product from the Old Testament, with details supplied by kindred features, but primarily influenced by the tradition of Babylon as the epitome of ungodliness, we must still raise the question whether there were particular features or circumstances in the historical setting of the Roman Empire, to which, in the view of the author, the application of the Old Testament imagery was especially appropriate?

"It may be just possible that John knew and had in mind the most notorious of all the Roman Empresses - Messalina".[66] It was rumoured that she used to serve as a prostitute at the public brothels.[67] "When even an empress stooped to this, is there any wonder that John thought of the city of Rome as a harlot?" But in our investigation of the background of the Old Testament imagery we saw reason to doubt whether Revelation was merely intended as a Christian moral judgement on Roman society:[68] the close connection between harlotry and idolatry seems to be a significant feature offering in the total context a definite clue to the author's purpose. Concerned as he may well have been by the moral decline of Rome, the full force of his attack centred on the idolatry of emperor worship, which, carried to its logical extent, was a

betrayal of the true God, and presented a dire threat to the existence of the Christian Church.

In such a context it may be more realistic to look for the contemporary influence on the author's imagery in the finery of the temple prostitutes of Asia Minor. These cult priestesses would be a familiar feature in the cities of Asia to which the letters to the seven churches are sent. How this contemporary illustration comes to be applied to the picture of Rome could be explained either by the persistent infiltration of these practices into Rome, so that reports of parallel immoral practices had reached the author and his readers from the capital, or, alternatively, by Rome's adoption of such practices, either by fostering them or merely by condoning them in the establishing of the cults of Roma and the emperors. The evidence is that in the area of Asia Minor, worship, as a token of respect, was offered to Rome and its representatives in the traditional forms of ruler-worship; the traditional practices were permitted by Rome in response to repeated requests; Rome had no need to consciously stimulate respect or inaugurate practices since the practices were there to be reapplied and used.[69]

There is however another historical figure whom E. Stauffer believes was the model for the author's portrait.[70] The queen Cleopatra would offer a precise historical reference rather than a vaguer reference to temple prostitutes, and has strong and significant associations with relevant religious ideas. W. Bousset[71] considered it possible that behind Revelation's picture of the harlot lay an older apocalyptic tradition of a woman associated with many waters (this is represented in Sib.Or.3.75-7; 5.18; 8.200). In the time of Beliar (which could be the time of the return of Nero), when "the threatened vengeance of the almighty God draws near . . . then the world shall be under the dominion of a woman's hands obeying her every behest . . . a widow shall reign over the whole world and cast both gold and silver into the godlike deep." The reference could well be to Cleopatra who has been

transformed in the mythological process into a demoniacal personage. The passage from Book 5 of the oracles ("Memphis hurled headlong by the wickedness of its rulers and of an untamable woman who fell upon the wave") refers to the desertion by Cleopatra's fleet at Actium.

Stauffer supported his identification with a number of parallels drawn to the text in Revelation 17. Cleopatra was "a legendary figure among the nations, the great mistress, enthroned upon many waters, playing at love with the kings of the earth, and intoxicating the world with the story of her loves." She described herself, as the evidence of coins shows, as "Queen of kings and kings' sons"; on the later coins she is depicted as the ageing goddess of love, laden with jewels. There is evidence of her luxurious living, of her regal magnificence and pomp, not only in Egypt, but with Antony in Ephesus and elsewhere. On the basis of the traditionally intense hatred of Cleopatra by the Jews, as demonstrated in the writings of Josephus, Stauffer argues that there was in existence an apocalyptic picture of Cleopatra, written as a piece of Jewish polemic, which has been transferred scornfully by John to Rome as Cleopatra's conqueror. In support of Stauffer's identification a further parallel can be traced between the woman "drunk with the blood of the saints and the blood of the martyrs of Jesus" (17.6) and the Roman tradition of Cleopatra's drunkenness.[72] W. W. Tarn explains that the story of her drinking to excess probably originated in a misunderstanding of the ring which she wore, with a figure of the goddess Drunkenness (Μέθη) engraved on an amethyst, the stone of sobriety.[73] A contemporary epigram explains the contradiction as meaning that on her hand Drunkenness itself had to be sober.[74] The wearing of the ring probably signified that she was an initiate of the worship of Dionysus.

The disadvantages of an identification with Cleopatra are in the necessity of constructing a bridge between the probable period of the composition of this passage in Revelation (which may be dated fairly precisely by the references to emperors in the symbol of the beast) and the age of

Julius Caesar, Antony, and Augustus when Cleopatra was closely connected with the history of Rome. In effect the establishment of the Principate under Augustus marked the end of the attempt to link the destinies of Cleopatra and Rome closely together. The question must therefore arise as to why a century later any author writing about the current situation as it affected the Christian Church should think it appropriate to use Cleopatra as the model for the harlot (Babylon/Rome) seated upon the imperial beast. There seem to be two weak links in the connection which Stauffer constructs. W. W. Tarn argues against the tradition of a generally intense hatred of Cleopatra by the Jews.[75] She was certainly unpopular with some Alexandrian Jews, perhaps because they as non-citizens had been excluded from a distribution of corn to the citizens of Alexandria during a famine, but this unpopularity was not general among Jews. The evil spoken of her by Josephus derives largely from the writings of Nicolaus, the learned Greek from Damascus, who, after her fall, had gone over to her enemy Herod; this attitude only represents what was current at Herod's court. This assessment of the situation casts some doubt on the likelihood of there being such a piece of Jewish polemic in general currency for John to use. Secondly we must ask why John should have transferred such a piece of Jewish polemic, if it existed, from Cleopatra to Rome.

There seems to be remarkably little evidence for Bousset's older apocalyptic tradition, to serve as a bridge over these years. One need not doubt that Cleopatra achieved a notoriety which outlived her, which may have given rise to new dread of a matriarchal state; but one must be careful not to extend such a tradition beyond the evidence. The reason for the application of any such tradition in the current context can scarcely be political; Cleopatra's ambitions of political association with Rome were certainly considerable, but from an historical point of view their ultimate significance was that they were unsuccessful, and the Roman Empire had followed a

quite different path from that with which Cleopatra had been linked. If not political then the reason could be moral or religious, provided that some tradition existed to give an immediacy and relevance to the description of Rome in terms of Cleopatra. Without the evidence of such traditions of Cleopatra as a symbol of licence and immorality, or closely connected with the practices of worship fostered in the Roman cult, the parallels in descriptions which Stauffer draws are hardly adequate proof because much of this material is already paralleled by Old Testament ideas. In this type of literature it is natural that the author should adopt material for his descriptions from the Old Testament and other traditional sources. If at the same time he wishes to apply his descriptions to a precise historical situation by means of historical allusions, it is intrinsically far more probable that he will select an historical parallel from his and his readers' immediate situation - Asia Minor towards the close of the first century A.D. - rather than go back a century to an era preceding that of the Empire, and cross the Mediterranean to Egypt, although the model he found there would without doubt be a notorious example for her own particular period. Such is the situation unless evidence can be produced for a strong tradition about Cleopatra, with an immediate reference to the current situation of the Roman Emperor cult, in Asia Minor towards the end of the first century A.D.

In this situation there can be no certainty but only a balancing of possibilities. One further suggestion remains to be examined before the respective advantages and disadvantages are finally weighed. We must weigh carefully the historical evidence for the cult of the goddess Roma within this period and geographical area. But before leaving Cleopatra there is one piece of evidence which supplies some kind of connecting link between the Egyptian queen and the Roman goddess. In the autumn of 34 B.C. Antony staged a Roman-style triumph in Alexandria (one of the few examples of such a triumph held outside Rome) after the conquest of Armenia. Cleopatra sat in state on a golden throne high above the people. This act was naturally

seen as a glorification of Cleopatra as if she was some kind of embodiment of the goddess Roma.[76]

The idea of a patron goddess Roma was not a Roman creation, but rather, as something foreign to Roman religion, was developed under Greek influence in the Hellenistic period.[77] It derived from the Greek tradition of individual patron deities of the city-states; in the Hellenized East the 'Fortune' of a city was worshipped in the local cult. As the sphere of Roman control and influence extended it was natural that districts accustomed to pay their respects to the 'Fortune' of the local centre of government should transfer their allegiance and worship to the conquering power; they could only acknowledge the existence of a power greater than their own and endeavour to propitiate it. Among the Italian allies and the dependent communities of Greece, as Franz Altheim expressed it, "there men recognised in the existence of the ruling city a divine element and therefore gave a religious form to their devotion to it."[78] In areas where ruler worship was traditional these cults would be transferred to the Roman generals and proconsuls. The goddess Roma probably achieved her important place in the cult offered to the new power of the Romans because of the practical consideration of her permanency in contrast to the Roman officers and magistrates who changed frequently.

Temples to Roma were soon erected in cities beyond the eastern boundaries of Greece - Smyrna had one as early as 195 B.C.[79] There the new rulers were worshipped, as the former kings had been, alongside the Fortune of the city they represented. Doubtless practical, political considerations permitted, and even fostered, this continuation of the Hellenistic ruler cult. The cult was celebrated in many centres with games and festivals called 'Romaia' (a summary of the evidence for these provided by inscriptions is to be found in Pfister's article in Pauly-Wissowa). Some of these festivals continued to be celebrated for a long time.

After the defeat of Antony and the confirmation of Octavian in power

leagues of cities in Asia and Bithynia requested permission to express their loyalty to the new rule of Octavian by erecting common temples to him. ~~The~~ This offer was accepted, but with the enforced condition, which had not always been made by earlier proconsuls, that no temple should be erected to him except in union with the goddess Roma. ("Templa quamvis sciret etiam proconsulibus decerni solere, in nulla tamen provincia nisi communi suo Romaeque nomine recepit. Nam in urbe quidem pertinacissime abstinuit hoc honore")[80]. The temple of Roma and Augustus at Pergamum was depicted on coins for general circulation in Asia. The two divinities were closely linked in the title of the quinquennial games, the 'Romaia Sebasta'. It is probable that leagues of cities in other eastern provinces were as speedily organised for cultic purposes. A sharp distinction seems to have been made between what was permitted for Roman and for foreign subjects. Roman citizens in Ephesus and Nicaea were allowed to erect shrines dedicated to Roma coupled with Divus Julius, but not with the reigning Emperor.[81] The worship of Roma and the Emperor was not restricted to the East; the combined cult was practised in the West at least at Lugdunum and Tarraco. But the cult of the city's goddess was not officially admitted to Rome itself until 118 A.D. when Hadrian dedicated a temple to Venus and Roma. There was no mention of Roma at the 'Parilia', the native feast celebrating the city's foundation; but by Hadrian's time the name 'Parilia' had been changed to 'Romaia'.

Alongside an emperor who reigned for as long as Augustus there was a tendency for Roma to be relegated to a subordinate position - the name does not figure so frequently in the titles of temples and priests. This may well be explained by the same hypothesis of practical considerations suggested for the rise of the cult. It is natural that when one man is in power over a very long period his personality assumes a greater importance than an idealised abstraction. But this is a restricted phase rather than an

ultimate decline. After Augustus "the veneration of the Emperor was no longer understood as the expression of the effect of a unique and personal greatness, but was applied to the institution of the principate as such."[82] So there follows a succession of personifications of abstract qualities, characterised as blessings from the Emperor ('Clementia Caesaris' etc.), Even in the later stages of the Empire the role of Roma remains important. In this name the greatness of the past can be incorporated; this expression could sum up the belief in the eternity of the city and the Empire, in its unique role as determined by fate, and contain within itself those traditional ideas that survived from the old religion. In Symmachus' speech before Valentinian II, Roma begs for respect: "Permit me to continue to hold to my ancestral belief, for I take my delight in it. Permit me to live after my own fashion, for I am a free woman. This religion has laid the circle of the earth at my feet, has beaten back Hannibal from my walls, the Gauls from the Capitol. Was I to be kept alive, only to be attacked in my old age? Whatever these desires that you present to me may be, it would be too late, it would be shameful to try innovations in my hoary age." [83]

Roma appears to be depicted in the sculpture at the east end of the Ara Pacis Augustae - although this section is not in a good state of preservation.[84] She is seated on a pile of armour, and faces a goddess with two children and attendants, on the other side of the entrance, who is some earth or mother goddess, perhaps Italia. The Gemma Augustea from Vienna depicts Augustus as an ageless god seated beside the goddess Roma, who wears a helmet. On one of the silver cups found at Bosco Reale illustrating the glorification of Augustus, Roma is depicted in the processional group, her left foot supported on a helmet; the spear she was resting on has been lost. On the left panel of the archway of Titus in Rome the Emperor is shewn in the triumphal chariot, with Victory at his side, escorted by allegorical figures of Rome and the Roman people. Roma is shewn in full panoply at the horses' head. In the sculptured friezes representing the exploits of Trajan from

the arch of Constantine, which may originally have decorated the Forum of Trajan, Roma welcomes the hero of the Dacian campaigns and Victory crowns him. Roma also figures on a relief that, it is suggested, belongs to the early period of Hadrian's principate; on the Arch of Trajan at Benevento; seated receiving a procession of captives and wagons laden with booty and trophies on the Arch of Septimius Severus; and on the keystone of the Arch of Constantine.

On the basis of inscriptions and of such illustrations in Roman art, it would seem reasonable to assume that there was an active cult of Roma throughout at least the first century of the imperial period. There may well have been fluctuations in the degree of popularity, and such fluctuations would seem likely to have some relation to the popular view of the reigning emperor, since the cults of Roma and the Emperor were closely associated at least in the older established temples of the East. We have seen that Asia Minor was among the first districts to establish a cult to Roma, doubtless agreeing enthusiastically to such an acceptable and logical adaptation of the traditional practices of ruler worship. It would seem highly significant in establishing a connection between the cult of Roma and the ideas of the Book of Revelation that among the cities to which John is writing the first three, Ephesus, Smyrna and Pergamum, are known to have had temples to the goddess Roma.

So is the author, in using the figure of the harlot Babylon, with all its Old Testament imagery, as a symbol for Rome, in fact making a definite reference to the goddess Roma, who was worshipped in the cities where his readers lived, and who was regarded as embodying all that Rome stood for and symbolising its power? If this was his intention, one might ask why he did not make the contemporary reference more explicit in the description of the woman, rather than relying so heavily in his description on the Old Testament material. At least one might expect a helmet, which seems to be a characteristic feature of the martial Rome. But the colour symbolism -

scarlet and purple - is appropriate, as we have seen, to a Roman military context, as well as signifying luxury. John describes what he is attacking in Old Testament terms; what he is attacking is Rome, and there are precedents in literature of the apocalyptic genre for the equation of Rome and Babylon which he employs: he describes Rome in terms of Babylon, using Old Testament descriptions of Babylon and of kindred evils such as Babylon represented. But this description in terms of the woman Babylon is especially appropriate because Rome was currently regarded as symbolised by a woman, her patron-goddess. From the point of view of the loyal Roman citizen, what John has done is to create a ghastly parody of the noble figure who stands for all that is best in Rome, its high ideals and renowned virtues, on which, at least according to the propaganda, the glorious age of the Empire has been founded. The significance of John's criticism would not escape anyone with a nodding acquaintance with the Jewish Scriptures.

One's confidence that the author is, in this figure, parodying the contemporary cult of Roma is increased by the intelligible explanation which this interpretation gives to the problem of the relation between the woman and the beast. Both the woman and the beast are attacked as evil by the author; they are closely related, as is shown by the way that the heads of the beast are seen as forming a seat for the woman. This is not merely a topographical reference, as might be deduced from Revelation 17.9, since the heads are also identified as seven kings or emperors. 17.3 reveals the woman, who is also "seated upon many waters" because of her description in terms of Jeremiah's Babylon, as "sitting on the scarlet beast." Closely related as these figures are, some clear distinction must be drawn between them, to account for their individual existence within this vision, and, in particular, to make sense of the destruction of the harlot by the ten horns of the beast and the beast itself. "And the ten horns that you saw, they and the beast will hate the harlot; they will make her desolate and naked, and devour her flesh and burn her up with fire; for God has put it into their

hearts to carry out his purpose, by being of one mind and giving over their royal power to the beast, until the words of God shall be fulfilled." (17.16-17). This imagery does not seem appropriate for the idea of civil war within the Empire, even if such a situation could be envisaged at the time of writing of the book. If the beast stands for all that is worst, all that is Antichrist - like in the power of Rome, with special reference to the cults of Emperor worship and its allied extravagances, and the woman is the patron-goddess of the city of Rome, this interpretation offers both the degree of connection and the element of conflict as the result of the relationship which the imagery of this chapter seems to require.

It has been argued elsewhere that the myth of Nero Redivivus is important for an understanding of the symbolism of the beast and its heads.[85] The assault on the woman, symbol of Rome, that is envisaged, is of Nero Redivivus and the hordes from the East under their captains, marching against the city, in accordance with the popular fears of the time. The character of Nero, the profound impression made by his public display, as well as the circumstances of his death, gave rise to the popular superstition. The mythology represented a bad dream which many expected to become an historical reality - Rome being overwhelmed by powers from the East incited by one of her own emperors, who had merely carried to extremes the imperial policy inaugurated by Augustus. In chapter 17 Rome is represented by Roma, patron-goddess and natural symbol of the city, Nero Redivivus by the beast with seven heads, and the leaders of the Eastern hordes by the ten horns of the beast. If the woman is identified as other than Roma, it is difficult to see how anything approaching an overall interpretation can be made. Cleopatra, however long her cult outlived her, does not fit into this historical setting of a century later. As the enemy of imperial Rome, representing the type of government of the Pharaohs, which Augustus defeated at Actium, Cleopatra can hardly represent Rome; she is closer in spirit to the eastern hordes of Nero, but obviously cannot be equated with them. However prominent

or notorious any wife of an emperor or other historical figure of Rome might become, it is hard to see how they could be a better symbol of the city than the city's own patron goddess.

Gilbert Charles-Picard, in his book 'Augustus and Nero - the Secret of Empire'[86], produces psychological explanations of how Nero came close to destroying the system of government that Augustus had created. This can be construed as a logical development of Nero's philosophy and attitude to life, rather than the traditional solution of a consequence of his insanity. There was at least a difference in degree in their attitudes towards the imperial cult. Augustus, as we have seen, was conservative in his approach and only allowed the dedication of temples to himself in the eastern areas of the Empire accustomed to ruler worship, and even then insisted that his name must be coupled with that of Roma. There is no evidence that Nero was so restrained, although he did refuse the offer of a temple at Rome to himself as 'Divus Nero', to be erected at public expense during his life-time.[87] Perhaps he thought this would be a bad omen, to anticipate the apotheosis which normally followed the death of the Princeps. There were precedents for some of Nero's other acts, such as calling April 'Neroneus'. "On the other hand, it cannot be denied that, as the reign proceeded, a tendency towards the deification of the Emperor as ruler of the world became more and more marked, even when allowance is made for the traditional element in the writings of poets and the decrees of the Greek communities."[88] Like Tiberius and Claudius he was called θεός on some coins of Asia Minor.[89] "Nero ended by going beyond precedent in the erection of a colossus of the Sun with his own features in front of the Golden House, in his representation with a radiate crown on coins, and in the depicting of himself driving a chariot among the stars on the hangings over the theatre in 66."[90]

According to Pliny the Elder, Nero was initiated into the 'banquets of the Magi' by King Tiridates, brother of the Parthian king, who in 66 came to pay homage to Nero and accept the crown of Armenia.[91] Franz Cumont concludes

from this that Nero had become a worshipper of Mithras, which would explain his conduct during the latter years of his reign on the grounds that he wanted to be regarded as the sun-king. Other scholars have challenged this interpretation because of its implication that Nero was a mystic. Suetonius, on the other hand, had denied him any real religious feeling: "He despised every religion, whatever it was, with the exception of the cult of the Syrian goddess. And he even came to disdain her, to the point of making water against her statue. Another superstition had taken hold of him, the only one he retained. An unknown plebeian had given him a statuette of a little girl that would save him from snares and dangers; this was just before the conspiracy (of Piso) was discovered, and he began to honour the statuette as though of a great deity, making sacrifices to it three times a day; he wanted people to believe that its warnings enabled him to know the future. A few months before his downfall he also took to reading the signs in the entrails, but without ever obtaining divine approval."[92] It is argued that Nero's aesthetic appreciations were given too much importance in his sense of values to leave room for piety. The ceremonial and setting of Tiridates' homage was a development of the artistic tastes displayed in the Golden House, and owed little to any Mithraic rites. The initiation mentioned by Pliny is explained by Suetonius simply as a recourse to Magian necromancy in an attempt to appease the ghost of Agrippina.

Whether Nero's motives were primarily aesthetic or pious, the history of this period leaves us in little doubt that his artist's approach - modernist and revolutionary in contrast to the conservatism of Augustus - importing, or condoning the import, of a wide variety of Greek and Eastern ideas, and exaggerating the traditions of the empire which pleased him, could so easily have been fatal to the structure established by Augustus. His fall broke decisively the widely-acclaimed Augustan Peace, and brought civil war and bloodshed to the Empire. The popular superstition about Nero Redivivus was built upon this historical reality and magnified it into a nightmare. As the

author of Revelation expresses it, there is strong criticism of both Rome itself and of the imperial cult with which the name and reputation of Nero is associated. The harlot Babylon is a bitter parody of Rome's patron-goddess. Perhaps, by the use of some Old Testament material relating to Israel's unfaithfulness to Yahweh, the suggestion might be conveyed that Rome too is not inherently evil, has had her chances, but not taken them. As it is, Rome, defiantly luxuriating, licentious and idolatrous, has worked for the destruction of others and is now to meet her own. This destiny, the working out of the wrath of God, is envisaged in terms of the Nero mythology; the end will be violent destruction at the hands of the invading hordes from the East which Rome has brought upon herself.

Notes on Chapter 8.

1. See pages 354f.

2. E. Stauffer 'Christ and the Caesars' 1955, p.188.

3. τὴν διδαχὴν Βαλαάμ, ὃς ἐδίδασκεν τῷ Βαλὰκ βαλεῖν σκάνδαλον ἐνώπιον τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραήλ, φαγεῖν εἰδωλόθυτα καὶ πορνεῦσαι.

4. διδάσκει καὶ πλανᾷ τοὺς ἐμοὺς δούλους πορνεῦσαι καὶ φαγεῖν εἰδωλόθυτα.

5. See above, Chapter 3, note 72.
ct. Num 22-24. with Dt 23.4f; Neh 13.2; Jos.24.10 - introducing the slur of taking money and Balaam's desire to curse; with Num 31.8.16; Jos. 13.22 - Balaam as an oracle-monger, implicated in Israel's involvement with Moabite women;
and with 2 Pet 2.13-16, Jude 11, Philo, Cher.32f; Conf.66,159; Mig.113, 115; Det.71; Quod Deus 53, 181, 183; Mut.202; Mos. 1.263ff.; Virt.34.

6. See above, Chapter 3, note 73.

7. The Greek here is ἐμπόριον , but πόρνη is used in verses 15,16. The Hebrew is זנה .

8. See pages 344ff.

9. Cf. F. Hauck/S. Schulz, Kittel TWNT 6. 579-95.

10. Gen.38.21,2; Dt 23.2,18; Prov.5.3.

11. Cf.Dt.23.18f. LXX.

12. K.G. Kuhn, Kittel TWNT. 1.515 n.11. (Eng).

13. Cf.2 Ki.9.30. Practically the last action of Jezebel before her death, when Jehu entered Jezreel, was to paint her eyes and adorn her head, presumably because she wished to be seen by Jehu in her finery.

14. Seneca, Rhet. Contr. 1.2.7; Juvenal, 6.122f.

15. Test. R.2.1; 3.3; 5.1,3; Test. Iss. 7.2; Test. S.5.3; Jub. 25.1; 30.10; 33.13,18; Philo, Leg.All.3.8.

16. Cf. B.W. Bacon 'The Apostolic Decree against πορνεία' Exp. 8th series. 7 (1914) pp.40-61; Kittel TWNT.6.592; C.K. Barrett 'Things Sacrificed to Idols' N.T.S. 11. (1965) pp.138-53.

17. p.700.

18. Cf.A.Satake 'Die Gemeindeordnung in der Johannes-apokalypse' 1966 p.45.

19. See pages 327f.

20. Mandaean parallels (cf.Lohmeyer 'Die Offenbarung des Johannes' 1926/53 p.142) are unnecessary.

21. K.G. Kuhn, Kittel TWNT 1. 515 (Eng).

22. Cf. 2 Bar. 11.1f.; 67.7; 2 Esdr.3.1f,28; Sib.Or.5.1 43, 157ff. Rabbinic passages - Str.B.3.816; Nu.r.7 on 5.2ff.; Midr. Ps.121 (ed. Buber, 507).

23. In Rabbinic writings רומי (=Ῥώμη) often means the empire rather than the city.

24. See the discussion in the commentaries of E.G. Selwyn (1947), J.N.D. Kelly (1969), E. Best (1969). C.H. Hunzinger, 'Babylon als Deckname für Rom und die Datierung des 1 Petrusbriefes' in 'Gottes Wort und Gottesland' (ed. H. Reventlow) Göttingen 1965 pp.65-77, asked why and when Jews came to describe Rome as Babylon. He points out that the description only occurs in the Jewish tradition after 70 A.D. and the destruction of the Temple. Prior to 70 other names (e.g. Edom) were used to describe Rome. The name Babylon was introduced after 70 A.D. to indicate Rome as the destroyer of the Temple, parallel to Babylon as the destroyer of the first Temple. It is unlikely that Jews borrowed this usage from the Christians; therefore Christian references including 1 Peter, or this passage within 1 Peter, are dated post 70 A.D.

25. A. Schlatter 'Die Geschichte der ersten Christenheit' 1926 p.303, cited by Kuhn.

26. I.D.B. Vol.1. pp.748f.

27. H.B. Swete 'The Gospel According to S. Mark' London 1898 (1909) p.236.

28. L. Goppelt Kittel TWNT 6. 148-58.

29. H. Gressmann 'Der Festbecher' in Sellin-Festschrift (1927) p.61.

30. On the cup of wrath as an idea derived from ancient ordeal procedures cf.J. Paterson in Peake's Commentary (1962) p.553.

31. C.E.B. Cranfield 'The Cup Metaphor in Mk.14.36 and Parallels' E.T.59 p.137.
Cf. J.G. Davies 'The Cup of Wrath and the Cup of Blessing' Theology 51 (1948) pp. 178-80.

32. Cf.Hab.Midr. 11.14f; Ps.Sol.8.15; j.Pes.10.37c; 5.25.

33. M. Black E.T. 59 p.195.

34. Vincent Taylor 'The Gospel According to St. Mark' 1952 p.554.

35. C.E.B. Cranfield 'The Gospel According to S. Mark' 1959 p.433.

36. W.L. Knox 'The Sources of the Synoptic Gospels' 2 vols. London 1953-7. Vol.1 p.71. cf. 'St.Paul and the Church of the Gentiles' (1939) p.135.

37. Cf. A. Oepke, Kittel TWNT 1.530 (Eng); and references in Liddell and Scott.

38. Cf. Jer 25.15f.; Ps 75.8; Ps.Sol.8.14: cf Aesch. Prometheus 678.

39. Cf. G. Bornkamm, Kittel TWNT 4.259-62.

40. Charles, Commentary II.14.

41. Cf. Plato Cratyl. 419E.
See F. Büchsel, Kittel TWNT 3.167-73 cf G. Stählin et al., Kittel TWNT 5.382-448.

42. p.366.

43. Charles, Commentary II.15; Farrer, Commentary p.163.

44. Charles, Commentary II.15.

45. A.T. Hanson 'The Wrath of the Lamb' 1957. Ch.7. p.1 61.

46. Cf. the use of φιάλη - see, above, page 173, and Charles, Commentary II.39, with reference to Is.51.17.

47. Cf. Dt.7.25; 12.31; 13.14; 17.4; 18.9; 20.18; 27.15; 29.17; 32.16; 1 Ki 11.5; 14.24; 21.26; 2 Ki 16.3; 21.2; 23.13; 2 Chr.15.8; 28.3; 33.2; 34.33; 36.14; 1 Esdr. 7.13; Mal.2.11 ; Is 44.19; Jer.13.27; 32.34; 44.22; Ezek. 5.11, 6.9.

48. W. Foerster, Kittel TWNT 1. 598 ff. (Eng).

49. Cf. N. Porteous 'Daniel' 1965 p.143; E.W. Heaton 'Daniel' 1956. pp.216f.

50. Cf. Rom.6.19; 2 Cor.6.17; 12.21.

51. Caird, Commentary p.213.

52. Cf. R. Press ZATW 10 (1933) pp.227-55.

53. A. Schlatter 'Kommentar zum Matthäusevangelium' 1929. p.778.

54. See pages 145, 157 ff.

55. See pages 243, 246 ff.

56. E. Lohmeyer 'Die Offenbarung des Johannes' 1926/53 p.138.

57. O. Michel, Kittel TWNT 3.812f. (Eng). cf. F. Lang, Kittel TWNT 6. 928-952.

58. Cf. E. Wunderlich 'Die Bedeutung der Roten Farbe im Kultus der Griechen und Römer' 1925.

59. Pliny H.N.9. 36-65, quotation from 53.

60. See pages 314f.

61. e.g. Charles, Commentary II.63.

62. See Pages 329f.

63. See pages 321f, 329.

64. See page 311.

65. See pages 307f.

66. W. Barclay 'The Revelation of John' in Daily Study Bible 2 vols. Edinburgh 1959 II.187f.

67. Juvenal, Sat.6.114-32.

68. See page 314.

69. Magie, Roman Rule: C.J. Cadoux 'Ancient Smyrna' 1938; see also bibliography in note 24, chapter 7 above. A related theme is explored by J. Spencer Kennard 'The Jewish Provincial Assembly' ZNTW 53 (1962) pp.25-51.
It is in this syncretistic context, where the Roman application is decisive, that any contribution to the figure of the Harlot made by the Mother-Goddesses Artemis and Cybele can be discussed. It is not easy to recognise distinctive elements whereby their particular contributions might be identified. For John's imagery a 'Roman' context is required, and it is likely that any influence would be mediated through the syncretism of the Roman period.
cf. L.R. Taylor in 'Beginnings of Christianity' Vol.5. Note 21 pp.251-6;
Dr. F. Miltner in Illustrated London News 1958 pp. 209, 221-3;
P. Touilleux 'L' Apocalypse et les cultes de Domitien et de Cybèle' Paris 1935.

70. E. Stauffer, op.cit. p.188.

71. W. Bousset 'Die Offenbarung Johannis' 1896. cf 'Antichrist Legend' 1896 p.62.

72. Plutarch, Ant.29; Horace, Odes 1.37.14; Propertius 3.11.56.

73. W.W. Tarn in Cambridge Ancient History Vol.10 (1952) Ch.2.p.38.

74. Anth. Pal. 9.752.

75. W.W. Tarn op.cit. pp. 35f.

76. Cf. Tarn op.cit. pp.79f. This action was also construed as an attempt to shift the imperial capital from Rome to Alexandria.

77. Cf. L.R. Taylor 'The Divinity of the Roman Emperor' 1931 pp.35ff.; F. Pfister article 'Ρωμαῖα in Pauly-Wissowa Second Series I A 1 1061ff. (1914).

78. F. Altheim 'A History of Roman Religion' 1938 Bk.4.

79. Tacitus, Ann.4. 56.1.
for tabulated evidence for the cults of Roma, and Roma and Augustus, see Magie, Roman Rule Vol.2. Appendix 3.

80. Suetonius, Augustus 52.

81. Dio Cassius 51.20.6-8; Tacitus, Ann.4.37.

82. F. Altheim op.cit. p.350.

83. Quoted by Altheim; cf. F. Solmsen, Zeitschr. f. Asthet. 26 p.158.

84. Cf. A.W. van Buren 'The Ara Pacis Augustae' JRS 3 (1913) pp. 134-41; cf. E. Strong in JRS 27 (1937) p.114; M.A. Momigliano 'The Peace of Ara Pacis' Journal of Warburg and Courtauld Institutes 5 (1942) pp. 228-31.

85. See especially pages 279ff.

86. G. Charles-Picard 'Augustus and Nero - the Secret of Empire' London 1966.

87. Tacitus, Ann. 15.74.

88. A.D. Nock in Cambridge Ancient History Vol.10 (1952) p.501.

89. Cf. E.A. Sydenham 'The Coinage of Nero. Reprinted from the Numismatic Circular, 1917-19 etc.' London 1920.

90. A.D. Nock op.cit.

91. Pliny H.N. 30.17 "Magos secum adduxerat, magicisque etiam cenis eum initiaverat." See chapter 4, note 122 above.

92. Suetonius, Nero 56.

THE NEW JERUSALEM

The significance of Jerusalem in the history and future expectation of the Israelite nation is given at least its due prominence by most Old Testament studies. There are, broadly speaking, three phases in the complex of ideas about Jerusalem: the historical reality of Jerusalem fulfilling the role of neutral capital for which David had chosen the city; then, after this heyday, the hopes that the city might achieve again its former glory - the this-worldly, national and political hopes of the prophets, and the other-worldly, universal and transcendent hopes of the apocalyptists. Such an analysis must of necessity be an over-simplified generalisation; the two complexes of future hope do not fall apart into these easy divisions, for they are often confused and blended together. But even if these divisions are somewhat artificial, it is helpful to be able to separate out the various expressions by their dominant idea, so long as one does not expect to find a neat line of development to link them in a chronological or thematic chain.

As Martin Noth has shown,[1] Jerusalem appealed to David as a suitable royal capital on account of its lack of any connection with any of Israel's tribal territory. "Jerusalem is not at all deeply rooted in the ancient tradition of Israel." It does not occur in the grand theme of the possession of the land promised to the fathers, or in the theme of the fulfillment of the promise in the occupation by Israelite tribes. Its capture was merely a private affair for David, by means of which he selected for himself a neutral place of residence between the clan groups. As a former Canaanite city-state with Canaanite sanctuaries the site might well have been suspect in the eyes of the exclusive devotee of Yahweh. It was turned into a national sanctuary by the establishment there of the Ark, which was of real significance to the tribes. In this way David intended to create a link between Jerusalem and the ancient tradition of Israel. This was an astute manoeuvre of questionable legitimacy, by which the cult became blended with the political arrangements of the Davidic monarchy. The Deuteronomic expression of the divine "election

of David and Jerusalem" would seem to represent the official attitude of the Davidic and Solomonic monarchy. Psalm 132 shows that it was not only the foundation of a sanctuary that was celebrated in Zion; Yahweh's choice of Zion is also seen as the foundation and confirmation of the Davidic dynasty, of Yahweh's covenant with David, the "lamp" which he promised him.[2] Zion is Yahweh's resting place and the throne of his anointed one: Psalm 110 shows how the throne of Yahweh and of his anointed are intimately associated.

The time of the Exile brings about a change which makes of Jerusalem a centre that is primarily religious and spiritual rather than political. As Fohrer expressed it, "The eschatologically induced enhancement of the regard for Jerusalem was facilitated by the fact that, after the overshadowing of the ark by the temple as the place of the presence of Yahweh, the temple building itself could be overshadowed by the sacred site of Jerusalem as the geographically secure and only valid cultic centre, so that the city with its holy hill could develop into a focal point for believing Israelites, both in Palestine and also in the Dispersion."[3] Here we are concerned with the originally independent tradition of the prophets about Zion as the mountain of God.[4] Isaiah and the Psalmist relate Yahweh's saving action to the defence of his holy mountain; kings and nations assemble against it but are dispersed in a panic-stricken rout.[5] It is easy to see how this tradition could inspire the conviction about Zion's inviolability, in which Isaiah refused to place his trust.[6] The descriptions of the mountain of God are frequently hard to reconcile with the actual geographical situation of Jerusalem; this is especially true of the feature of rivers and streams, supplying the water of blessing and life,[7] which seem to exceed the realities of Gihon and Rogel.[8] It is natural to see the influence of traditional mythology here.

"The hope of a restoration of Jerusalem is almost always an imminent eschatological hope, for during the exile the prophetic message, of <u>either</u> judgement on the sinful city <u>or</u> possible deliverance through radical conversion, was changed into a Before and After in time: first judgement and

then salvation. Since the destruction of Judah and Jerusalem was undoubtedly the judgement threatened by the prophets, there could only follow the age of salvation which, now that judgement is over, will be definitive and eternal and will involve the actualising of God's dominion. Then Zion-Jerusalem will be, and will remain, the city of this eschatological age of salvation." [9] This expectation, fostered by the interpretation given to the events of the Exile and of the Maccabean revolt, had been disappointed so often that it became not a little jaundiced in some circles long before the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 A.D.[10]

A significant theme of apocalyptic is the belief that "the usurped creation will be restored; the corrupted universe will be cleansed; the created world will be re-created."[11] Expression is given to the principle "that the End should in some way correspond to the Beginning: what the Creator willed and planned at the time of his creation of the world will reach its fulfilment in the last days when he will redeem his universe."[12] For this reason the idea of the return of Paradise is important, and it is in this context that an associated theme of the heavenly Jerusalem, designed by God at the beginning of creation, makes its appearance. One concept of Paradise has been formulated as the New Jerusalem, under the influence of a combination of historical and mythological factors.

The perspectives of apocalyptic presentations vary tremendously. Broadly, where, in the earlier writings, God's kingdom is to be established on this present earth, it is the old Jerusalem which is purified as a preparation for the coming of the Messianic kingdom (1 Enoch 10. 16-19, 25.1; Pss Sol. 17.25, 33) or as the setting for this temporary kingdom (2 Bar 29; 39-40; 72-74; 2 Esd. 7. 27-30; 12. 32-34; 13. 32-50). Even so there is a tendency for some writers to idealize the concept where the city is so purified as to be a new Jerusalem or an actual replacement of the old city (1 Enoch 6-36; 83-90; Test. Dan 5.12f). In other writings the earth is transformed, and sometimes the heaven too; God's eternal kingdom is in heaven, although there may be a temporary messianic

kingdom on earth as a climax to the present age. Then the new Jerusalem is God's creation in heaven, a counterpart of the earthly Jerusalem (Tobit 13.10ff, 14.5; Jub 4.26; 2 Bar 4.3; 32. 2-4; 2 Esd. 7.26, 8. 52-3; 10. 44-59; 13.36).[13] Heroes of the Old Testament, such as Abraham and Moses, have been allowed to see this heavenly Jerusalem (2 Bar 4. 4-5), and the apocalyptic seer claims to have been shown it in anticipation of the general revelation (2 Esd. 10.26f; Rev 21.2ff).

When apocalyptic writers have attempted to weave together into a single fabric the various strands of tradition concerning God's kingdom and the last things - including the varied concepts of an eternal earthly kingdom, a millennial kingdom, and an eternal reign in heaven - the result has not been entirely successful, nor does it follow any consistent pattern. What can be termed a compromise picture is achieved by a combination of the temporary earthly kingdom with the revelation of eternity in heaven. It may well be that what R.H. Charles regarded as incompetent editing at the end of the Book of Revelation, is in fact a confusion of ideas produced by the attempt to weld together a variety of traditions.

Strack-Billerbeck contains this comment at Revelation 3.12 on the description of the New Jerusalem as ἡ καταβαίνουσα ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ (cf. 21.2, 10): "Das vom Himmel herniederkommende Jerusalem wird in den Pseudepigraphen selten, in der älteren rabbinischen Literatur gar nicht und in den jüngeren kleinen Midraschim auch nur einige Male erwähnt."[14] An examination of the passages cited suggests that an explicit reference to the descent of New Jerusalem from heaven to earth may not be attested prior to the Book of Revelation itself.[15] This aspect could be an unexpressed assumption of these apocalyptic writers who combined traditional expectations about Jerusalem which were originally distinct;[16] it is certainly "taken as read" by many scholars, including R.H. Charles when he writes, "If it was believed that the heavenly Paradise had come down to earth to be Adam's abode, there could be no objection to the hope that the Heavenly City should come down to be the

abode of the Messiah."[17]

If it is true that the explicit reference to the descent of New Jerusalem is a distinctive contribution of the Book of Revelation, it is reasonable to ask whether it bears a special significance. To follow R. H. Charles' suggestion would be to make this into a reference to Adam typology: "If the heavenly Paradise could appear on earth for Adam, it was only natural that the heavenly Jerusalem should appear on earth for Christ - the Second and greater Adam."[18] H. B. Swete supplied a spiritual interpretation: "It is perhaps unnecessary to think of a future visible fulfilment ... What is primarily intended is doubtless the heavenly origin of the Church and her divine mission."[19] Preferable to either of these constructions is the interpretation which allows the literal eschatological sense of the imagery to stand,[20] and, following up the indications provided by the text itself, relates the description of the heavenly city of New Jerusalem as fulfilment to the promises made to those who conquer in the seven earthly and historical cities of Asia Minor.[21]

The heavenly Jerusalem of Revelation 21-2, as C. J. Hemer observed, "is set in implicit contrast with the imperfections of the seven actual earthly cities. The parallels are not in this case", in comparison with the relationship between the Letters and Revelation 1, "obtrusive or systematic; there are repeated echoes of the same images, promises developed in a larger context, particular opponents overcome and disabilities reversed."[22] Hemer draws special attention to three points where there are echoes in the imagery;[23] the promise φαγεῖν ἐκ τοῦ ξύλου τῆς ζωῆς, ὅ ἐστιν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ τοῦ θεοῦ in the Ephesian letter (2.7) which is resumed by the "paradise" imagery of the New Jerusalem, and in particular by the ξύλον ζωῆς of 22.2, 14. 19; "a grouping of rare words" - θεμέλιος, τετράγωνος and ἐνδώμησις - found in Rev. 21.16-19 and also "in a contemporary inscription of Smyrna describing a sacred τέμενος"(S.I.G.^{3} 996:30 of first century A.D. -τὴν ἐνδώμησιν τοῦ τεμένους καὶ θεμελίωσιν ἐν τετραγώνῳ); and thirdly the "visual impact of ... modern Alaşehir ... a town strikingly

τετράγωνος, and to its (Philadelphia's) church was made the promise of the coming of the new Jerusalem." (Rev. 3.12)

Further parallels are supplied by Paul Minear,[24] although he is reluctant to say more than that "the inheritance of the victors as spelled out in this vision" (the seven letters) "is wholly consistent with the promise given in the later chapters." His cross-references include: Smyrna, 2.11 cf 21.4 (and surely 21.8); Pergamum, 2.17 cf. 22.4 (although no parallel to μάννα or ψῆφον); Thyateira, 2.28 cf. 22.16; Sardis, 3.5 cf. 21.27 (and surely 20.15), 22.14; Philadelphia, 3.12 cf. 21.22, 22.4 as well as 21.2, 10; Laodicea, 3.21 cf. 22.3. Minear also notes "in that final vision the climactic occurrence of the formula itself as a succinct summary of all the promises of the book" - ὁ νικῶν κληρονομήσει ταῦτα (21.7). Much less convincing is what Minear says about the eight terms in 21.8, "five of which echo the deceptive threats in the seven cities: the cowards (2.10, 13), the disloyal (2.10, 13), the fornicators (2.14, 20), the idolators (2.14, 20), and finally the liars (deceivers and deceived) (2.2, 9, 20; 3.9)"

Throughout these parallels there is little indication of a close literary dependence; it is possible to envisage either the promises or the final vision being rewritten to take a much fuller account of the material in the other section. But the verbal correspondences are sufficient to suggest not so much a deliberately contrived literary connection as an actual relationship of ideas. It is for theological reasons that one would explain the apparent strict contradiction between 3.12 and 21.22 which would prove fatal to a theory of literary dependence. And the interpretation one would wish to defend, of the New Jerusalem as an eschatological fulfilment of promises made in a specific historical situation, demands just such a relationship of ideas as is visible in the text.

It is also instructive to examine the characterization of the three supposedly female figures to be found in the Book of Revelation: the woman clothed with the sun in chapter 12, the harlot Babylon in chapter 17, and the

New Jerusalem in chapter 21 who is "the Bride, the wife of the Lamb." We should not expect precise correspondences or parallels between three very different symbols. But in the same way as there can be a "polemical parallelism", which is devised intentionally, between the first horseman of Revelation 6 and the victorious figure of Christ in Revelation 19,[25] so there is abundant scope for contrasts between these three women. The woman who is Jerusalem could be said to represent a perfect, divinely ordained fulfilment, where her predecessors have demonstrated their inadequacies and falsehood.

The "bride adorned for her husband" is the antithesis of the prostitute, and both are identified with cities. Babylon the mighty city comes to judgement, made desolate and devoured by those who might have been expected to defend her (17.16); Jerusalem comes down from heaven to be the dwelling place of God with men (21.3). Israel through many vicissitudes of her history had held firm to an expectation of the glories of Jerusalem. In Revelation, Israel,who gives birth to Christ and the Church,waits in the wilderness for the vision of the city that is pure gold (12.6; 21.18). The expectation of the New Jerusalem throws into sharp contrast the incompleteness of Israel and the false hopes of Rome. It also expresses the incompleteness of the Christian Church in its manifestations as local communities such as the seven churches of Asia. The earthly communities are by no means identical with the heavenly Jerusalem, nor is there direct continuity between them.[26]

Akira Satake makes an interesting comparison between Ephesians 2.20, where the apostles and prophets are seen as the foundation of the world-wide earthly Church, "which grows into a holy temple in the Lord", and Revelation 21.14 according to which the twelve apostles alone are the foundations of the heavenly Jerusalem. The absence of a foundation of prophets is possibly explained by their continuing operations within the present communities; they are not regarded as belonging to the closed circle of the Great who serve as foundations for the future glorious manifestation. But this is to assume some sort of connection between these two passages, which is by no means proved.

It is important to observe the way in which a close relationship is expressed between the New Jerusalem and Christ. Jerusalem is the Bride and the Lamb is her husband (21.2, 10). This represents a final affirmation of the truth which is declared in Revelation 5, where only the Lamb is worthy to open the sealed book, and the total demonstration of God's purpose is indissolubly linked with Christ's sacrifice on the Cross. If, as we have suggested, the participle καταβαίνουσα is John's distinctive articulation of the natural connection between earthly and heavenly expectations of Jerusalem, then this Christological motif could be an additional reason for his choice of words. Just as the full revelation is inaugurated by Christ's self-sacrifice, so the final manifestation of new Jerusalem is made possible by Christ's Incarnation. A characteristically Johannine expression for Christ's manifestation (καταβαίνω used at Jo 3.13; 6.33, 38, 41, 42, 50, 51, 58) is now applied to the realisation of the hopes of New Jerusalem (Rev 3.12; 21.2, 10).

There is much more that could be said about the imagery of New Jerusalem; indeed there is material for a thesis by itself[27] in the development of these concepts from Old Testament beginnings, through the New Testament to St. Augustine's 'De Civitate Dei'. But enough has been said to show that this topic is not of primary relevance for the present study. What is from its origin a future expectation preserves this eschatological time-reference within John's Apocalypse. The Seer envisages an historical continuity from present events, through cosmic developments to the final judgement and manifestation of God's kingdom. To express the last stage of this process he is deeply indebted to traditional material, as we have seen, but he also contributes his own distinctive emphases. But there is little scope here for an interplay between traditional mythology and the historical background, simply because the image is, by definition, an expectation for the future. Historical elements appear only to emphasise the incompleteness of present realities in the earthly cities over against the perfection of God's heavenly city.

Notes on Chapter 9

1. M. Noth, 'Jerusalem and the Israelite Tradition', from 'Laws in the Pentateuch and Other Essays' 1966, p. 133.

2. Even after the death of Solomon, when the critical question concerns the attitude of the Northern tribes towards Jerusalem, and the narrative of 1 Kings "condemns the cultic schism of the tribes of Israel from Jerusalem, whereas it regards the political detachment from the Davidic monarchy as legitimate and justified", (Noth), the possibility of Israel's return is remote, but it seems as if the narrative reckons that in Jerusalem the Davidic monarchy still has a chance (1 Ki.11.36 - "Yet to his son I will give one tribe, that David my servant may always have a lamp" - or as Noth translates, a new break - the possibility of a new beginning - "before me in Jerusalem").

3. G. Fohrer-Kittel TWNT 7.305 (Eng).

4. G. von Rad 'The City on the Hill' in 'The Problem of the Hexateuch and Other Essays' 1966, pp. 232-42; also 'Old Testament Theology' Vol. 2, pp. 155-69 (Eng. 1965); cf. T. H. Robinson in S. H. Hooke 'Myth and Ritual' 1933, p. 180. Cf. also A. Causse, 'Le mythe de la nouvelle Jérusalem du Deutéro-Esaïe à la IIIe Sibylle' R.H.Ph.R. 18 (1938), pp. 377-414; 'De la Jérusalem terrestre à la Jérusalem céleste' R.H.Ph.R. 27 (1947), pp. 12-36; R. E. Clements 'God and Temple' 1965; N. W. Porteous 'Jerusalem/Zion: the Growth of a Symbol' in 'Living the Mystery' 1967, pp. 93-111; K. L. Schmidt 'Jerusalem als Urbild und Abbild' Eranos Jahrbuch 18 (1950), pp. 207-48.

5. Is. 2.2-4; 10.27-34; 14.24-27, 28-32; 17.12-14; 18.1-7; 28.7-22; 29.1-8; 30.27-33; 31.1-8. Pss. 46, 48, 76, 99, 102.12-22, 132.

6. cf. B. S. Childs, 'Isaiah and the Assyrian Crisis' S.B.T. II.3. 1967.
B. Albrektson, 'Studies in the Text and Theology of the Book of Lamentations', 1963.
2 Ki. 19.6-7, 21-34; Is. 1.4-9; 28.1-6; 29.1-8. Cf. Jer. 7.4; Ez. 10.

7. Ez. 47.1-12; Jl. 3.18; Zech. 14.8; Ps. 46.4; Is. 33.21.

8. 2 Ki. 20.20; Neh. 2.13.

9. Fohrer-Kittel TWNT 7.312-3 (Eng). Is. 54.11ff, 60ff; Ez. 40ff; Hagg. 2.7ff.

10. Cf. especially the variety of spiritual interpretations of the hope to be found in "sectarian" Judaism away from the Jerusalem "establishment". The first effects of the Fall of Jerusalem in 70 A.D. were undoubtedly devastating rather than reassuring for the traditional expectation, interpreted literally. Cf. 2 Esdras' struggle with the riddle of the destruction of Jerusalem - especially 9.26-10.59. It is too direct a connection, which does not do justice to the extent of John's vision and its Christian influences, to use the Apocalypse as an example of the Jerusalem hope in the years immediately following 70 A.D., and to write, as S.G.F. Brandon did, of "an insistent nostalgia" which "turned back his gaze to the past and limited his hopes to the re-establishment by God of an idealized Jerusalem" ('The Fall of Jerusalem and the Christian Church' 1951 p. 183).

11. D. S. Russell, 'The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic' 1964, p. 280.

12. Russell, op. cit., p. 282.

13. Cf. Hebrews 12.22; 11.10, 16; 13.14. "According to Jewish thought there exists a heavenly city, of which the present earthly Jerusalem is an inferior copy; and . . . in the future this heavenly city will in some way be manifested as the Jerusalem of the age to come. This complex dualism is characteristic of apocalyptic: and it is precisely this dualism (and not a Platonic dualism) which appears in Hebrews" (C. K. Barrett 'The Eschatology of the Epistle to the Hebrews' in Davies and Daube 'The Background of the New Testament and its Eschatology' 1956.)
Cf. Galatians 4.25f; Hermas Vis. 3; Sim. 9.

14. Strack-Billerbeck 'Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch' Bd. 3., p. 796.

15. Neither Enoch 90.29 nor 2 Bar. 4.3ff are relevant to the concept of the city "descending": it is not said in Enoch that the "new house" existed in heaven, and in Baruch there is nothing to indicate that the city "preserved with" God is destined for earth. None of the references in 2 Esdras (7.26; 10.54; 13.36) contain the explicit idea of a descent; the descriptions are consonant with the revelation of the heavenly city in heaven (cf. 8.52).

16. Cf. T. Holtz, 'Die Christologie der Apokalypse des Johannes' 1962, p. 192 and note 5.

17. Charles Commentary II 158.
It could also be asked what references there are to a belief in the descent of Paradise; the attested belief in the pre-existence of Paradise before the creation of the world is not identical. Either Paradise is in position and the earth created round it, and after Adam's fall it is raised to God; alternatively it is in heaven where Adam is shewn it (cf. 2 Bar. 4).

18. Charles Commentary II 161.
See previous note. While being dubious about the precise terms of this interpretation, one should not neglect the clearly expressed connection between the New Jerusalem as the Bride and the Lamb as her husband.

19. H. B. Swete, 'The Apocalypse of St. John', 1906, p. 277.

20. Cf. Feuillet L'Apocalypse, pp. 45f.
The present participle καταβαίνουσα can cover a future sense, in default of a future participle, but cannot by itself be unambiguously future. But in such a context the present tense may convey an appropriate sense of imminence. Insofar as traditional eschatology requires reinterpretation for the modern reader, the comment of G. B. Caird is valuable. While he interprets the participle "as an iterative present, denoting a permanent attribute of the new Jerusalem" (p.55) he says, "To the crack of doom Jerusalem can never appear otherwise than coming down out of heaven, for it owes its existence to the condescension of God and not to the building of men." (p. 271).

21. A significant theological contrast may also be drawn between New Jerusalem described as καταβαίνουσα and the recurring description of the Beast as ἀναβαῖνον (11.7; 13.1; 17.8) cf. page 227.

22. Hemer Letters, p. 41.

23. Hemer Letters, pp. 98f.

24. Minear New Earth, p. 61.

25. Cf. pages 151, 157.

26. Satake, 'Die Gemeindeordnung in der Johannesapokalypse', 1966, p. 25. (second conclusion), Cf. page 81.

27. Cf. William W. Reader, 'Die Stadt Gottes in der Johannesapokalypse' (Dissertation zur Erlangung des Doktorgrades - Theologischen Fakultät, Göttingen) 1971.

CONCLUSIONS

As was said in the Introduction, the main purpose of this study has been to investigate the possibilities of a relationship between the historical background of the Book of Revelation and its author's use of traditional mythological ideas. Let us go through the seven selected topics again and draw together the main lines of our conclusions.

In the investigation of the letters to the seven churches[1], where we drew extensively on the work of Sir William Ramsay and its subsequent vindication in C. J. Hemer's thesis, a visual summary was offered of the cumulative strength of the historical interpretation. The most significant feature of the letters combine together in this exegesis to present an intelligible picture of these cities and churches in Asia Minor at the end of the first century A.D. Although the majority of local allusions are to general characteristics relevant over a long period, there are a sufficient number of pointers to the reign of Domitian to make the traditional date a reasonable working hypothesis. We also saw evidence for the author's use of the Old Testament and other traditional themes, and his adaptation of them so that they might bear a specific application to the current situation of the churches.

The three sequences of Plagues[2] - seals, trumpets and bowls - show very clearly the author's debt to traditional material; his work indicates a further stage in the use of imagery which originated in Israel's historical or prophetic traditions. The seals are closely related to the apocalyptic tradition found in the 'Little Apocalypse' of the Synoptic Gospels, while the trumpets and the bowls represent developments in the Egyptian plagues tradition, emphasising in the first place the call to repentance and secondly the systematic punishment. In the sequence of seals there is a reapplication of the apocalyptic tradition to the new circumstances of the Church in the years following the Fall of Jerusalem; each of the first five seals relates to an issue of concern for the churches of Asia Minor in

the reign of Domitian. These historical elements are represented as part of the revelation of God's plan, a revelation inaugurated by the work of Christ in his life and death. The programme of apocalyptic expectation, modelled on the Synoptic tradition, is followed through by the Seer as he moves from an exposition of contemporary concerns, through the expectation of the cosmic woes, to the climax of judgement and vindication.

The episode of the Two Witnesses[3] represents a significant "interlude" within this total scheme. In a "flash-back" the author in Chapter 11 refers to the historical events of the Siege and Fall of Jerusalem (the forty-two months approximating to the period of the Flavian war from 67-70 A.D.) and depicts the earlier but related episode of the witness of Peter and Paul in Rome and their martyrdom - (the 1260 days covering the period from the fire of Rome in 64 A.D. to the martyrdom in 67/8 A.D.). The account combines historical references with traditional material, such as the imagery of Zechariah 4, expectations concerning Elijah and Moses, the theme of the beast and the Antichrist legend associated with Jerusalem and Rome. Observations can also be made about the way in which the historical and traditional material interacts: the martyrdom of Peter and Paul represents the foundation on which the author's deliberate association of Moses and Elijah is based; continuity and essential identity is established between Nero as the beast in this historical context of Revelation 11 and Nero Redivivus as the beast in chapters 13 and 17; the reinterpretation of the Antichrist tradition, and the historical activity of Peter and Paul, together justify the author's treatment of the symbolic "cities" in 11.8.

Attention was drawn, in the introduction[4], to the variety of theories about the mythological origins of the material in Revelation 12. My own theory[5] concerning the interpretation of this chapter recognises the likelihood that the imagery is derived either from one specific tradition (if a relationship can be established) or from a popular syncretism of traditions. Literary analysis by computer has also focussed attention on this chapter as the one

place in Revelation where it is most likely that the author has incorporated traditions in their original form. This makes it more important than ever to recognise the historical application of this material within John's overall scheme. With this imagery he establishes a broad historical perspective for the ultimate earthly manifestation of Antichrist. One can see that this is provoked by the circumstances of the birth of a male-child; in an unusual mythological guise John emphasises the centrality of the Incarnation and represents the essential relationship between the ideals of Israel and the contemporary phenomenon of the Christian church.

The mythological form of a beast with seven heads[6] underlies the characterisation of the dragon in Revelation 12.3 and also the picture of the beast from the sea in chapters 13 and 17. The identification of this second beast is presented as a riddle; the solution we propose takes due account of the historical references as well as the traditional formulation. The beast, fashioned from the imagery of Daniel and ultimately from creation mythology and the tradition of Leviathan, is to be understood in its new context in terms of the contemporary legend of Nero Redivivus; all this traditional material is applied in turn to the immediate circumstances of the worship of the Roman emperors. John is characterizing as Antichrist the aspect of imperial organisation most inimical to Christianity, the Imperial Cult under Nero's model which is a bestial parody of the true worship of God through Jesus Christ. It is Nero Redivivus and his Eastern host who, the author believes, will fulfil God's purpose in their destruction of Rome (17.16f). A suggestion is also made to reconcile the indications in this material of a date in the reign of Titus with the traditional Domitianic date attested elsewhere; the use of the author's own historical shaping of traditional elements in these two contexts would correspond to "Jewish" expectation and its approaching fulfilment.

In examining the beast we were considering one part of a total picture which also includes the image of the harlot Babylon.[7] Old Testament material

relating to Israel's unfaithfulness to Yahweh is an important element in the characterisation of this woman, and perhaps carries with it some of the original prophetic significance. It is applied to a new historical context in a way which illuminates the concept of Rome then current in Asia Minor. The patron-goddess Roma, worshipped in association with the Roman Emperor, had been readily accepted in this district as a means of perpetuating the tradition and practices of ruler-worship. The traditional character of Babylon as the epitome of an ungodly power, and the association of Babylon in this sense with Rome, as represented in later apocalyptic and other Jewish and Christian writings, complete the principal features of John's careful blend of history and tradition.

The final topic[8] that has been examined is the expectation of the New Jerusalem; this has the least immediate relevance to the theme of our study of all seven topics, and for that reason the treatment was brief. But even here the author's debt to traditional material, and his distinctive contribution to its development, can clearly be seen. The New Jerusalem remains a future expectation, and for that reason has only limited connection with the historical circumstances of the author's own time. But attention has been drawn to some points of correspondence and contrast between the heavenly Jerusalem and the earthly cities, and between the Bride, the Woman clothed with the Sun and the Harlot, all of which serve to emphasise the limitations of present realities over against the eschatological hope, and the reassurance of heavenly perfection and the fulfilment of promises for those who are victorious in the current situation.

It can be said with fairness, on the basis of this appraisal of the seven topics,[9] that what began as the possibility of a relationship between the historical background of the book and the author's use of traditional material has been substantiated and abundantly justified. But before we explore further the significance of such conclusions, a general word of caution needs to be expressed. The introductory chapter indicated some of the practical problems inherent in both the "zeitgeschichtlich" and

"traditionsgeschichtlich" methods of interpretation,[10] problems in working with incomplete data and in drawing out superficial relationships. The scope of research must be limited by the resources available. For these reasons I am conscious that in writing this concluding chapter I am effectively writing also an introduction to a much larger work, which will require the lifetime's endeavours of several scholars. In order to complete the appraisal of the relationship between history and tradition, ideally we should possess more historical data, and - more important still - we need a fresh clarification of the actual historical relationships between these antecedent traditions to which reference can be made.

This view of what is still required can be reinforced by a quotation from the recent impassioned book by Klaus Koch, 'The Rediscovery of Apocalyptic'. Koch says, "The efforts of Stuhlmacher and Strobel show clearly yet again how shaky is the ground which is generally presented as 'late Judaism' - and how urgently work needs to be done on the pre-Christian and non-Christian material. The Qumran discoveries especially have revived the question of whether, and how far, 'Judaism' really existed before A.D.70; and, if it did, whether that 'Judaism' was in any way a spiritual unity. How far can the positions held by religious historians, especially Bousset and Volz, still be adhered to? To what extent have the views of Moore or Strack-Billerbeck stood the test of time?"[11] What is true as far as Revelation is concerned, of the immediate background of apocalyptic and inter-testamental Judaism, is true also of the possible debt to thought forms and mythologies from further afield.

Meanwhile I rashly offer a few tentative general conclusions and comments on the basis of my work on Revelation. I want to consider the significance of the relationship between the historical background, and the use of traditional mythology in the book, and also to say something about the broader contexts of the book, such as the connections between the Apocalypse and apocalyptic, the Apocalypse and the New Testament, and the

Apocalypse and its function in the early Christian world.

The impression I have formed of the author of Revelation is of a creative literary artist expressing himself with material from a wide variety of sources. The combination of historical allusion and traditional imagery is therefore a deliberate and highly skilful achievement and not simply the unconscious product of the influences in a particular environment. This is not to exclude the real possibility of a genuine spiritual experience underlying this work, but rather to suggest that here we have that rare situation of a creative artist with the ability to translate his experience into words and communicate it effectively so as to do justice to the experience. It is reasonable to conclude that the application of traditional ideas to a particular historical context is partly due to the original spiritual experience localised in a man's mind, and that this basic association is developed into a substantial literary expression of the combination, by the skill of the author.

The author of Revelation seems to stand in the Old Testament tradition even in this special respect of combining history with traditional mythology. Ancient myths such as those of the creation were borrowed by Israel's early thinkers and applied as theological statements about Yahweh; such applications were characterised by restraint rather than elaboration. The assertion that "the God of Israel has no mythology"[12] is a misleading exaggeration; what should be said is that for Israel's faith, historical experience and reflections upon it, rather than the natural world, form the primary sphere of revelation, and so the story of past events takes precedence over nature myths.[13] But the myth becomes historicized and is used metaphorically to describe Yahweh's achievements in history[14] or used eschatologically to describe God's victory over his enemies on the Great Day to come.[15] The distinction between the historicization of myth and the mythical presentation of history appears as a question of the degree of emphasis in the work of individual writers.

Klaus Koch admits that "the picture language of the apocalypses is so noticeable and so curious that it stands out clearly from the normal framework of the literature of the time and suggests a particular linguistic training, perhaps even a particular mentality."[16] But he rightly emphasises that mythical images and richness of symbolism are by no means confined to strictly apocalyptic writings. For this reason the idea that the apocalyptists were deliberately "remythologizing the long-since demythologized religion"[17] belongs among the distortions and popular misapprehensions about apocalyptic, The intensive and esoteric use of imagery needs to be coupled with the understanding of history in any characterization of apocalyptic, and then the line of development, admittedly taken to the extreme, from Israel's historic and prophetic writings becomes apparent.

What the author of Revelation achieved was a supreme statement of this attitude of mind, incorporating a highly significant range of contemporary and traditional imagery with Israel's insight into the meaning of history and the apocalyptists' vision of what - or more accurately who - transcends history. Koch's statement of the essence of apocalyptic can be applied preeminently to the Book of Revelation: "apocalypse means not only the revealing of details. . . but the disclosure of possible participation in the final and unique, all-encompassing coming of God among men. An apocalypse is therefore designed to be 'the revelation of the divine revelation' as this takes place in the individual acts of a coherent historical pattern."[18] Nowhere is this better demonstrated, nowhere can the "continuous scarlet thread running through the whole" be seen more clearly than in the Plague sequences of Revelation and in particular the seven seals opened by the Lamb.

The relationships between the Apocalypse and apocalyptic, and between apocalyptic and prophecy are controversial in current scholarship. Revelation refers to itself as ἀποκάλυψις Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ (1.1), but this term should not be construed automatically as referring to the literary genre, for which scholars have used the names 'apocalypse' and more loosely

'apocalyptic' only within the last 200 years.[19] James Kallas posed the question sharply - 'The Apocalypse - an Apocalyptic Book?' - and established as a criterion the attitude towards suffering. If this criterion has been criticised subsequently and doubt cast on its validity as regards both Revelation and apocalyptic,[20] how much less satisfactory are other subjective criteria for separating Revelation from this literary genre.[21] The real fallacy in such arguments lies in the adoption of popular misapprehensions as a characterisation of apocalyptic, and this results in the drastic separation of apocalyptic from prophecy and the natural desire to retain Revelation on the side of prophecy.

But if we follow the predominantly British and American exegesis which maintains that apocalyptic represents a continuation or development of prophecy,[22] and accept for the most part Klaus Koch's characterization of the forms and ideas of apocalyptic, with his critique of popular misconceptions,[23] then we can cease to be purely defensive in our attitude to Revelation and offer a positive appraisal which can do justice to the author's use of imagery and his understanding of history within a single broad perspective of developing traditions. It is interesting to note the variety of reasons given for the argument, frequent in Continental scholarship, that there is a great gulf between prophecy and apocalyptic. For G. von Rad "the decisive factor . . . is the incompatibility between the apocalyptic literature's view of history and that of the prophets."[24] He could however comment on "the ability of the writers of apocalyptic literature to reduce history to the primary forces at work within it."[25] But what he describes as a "positively hybrid-seeming universal Gnosis",[26] characterised by determinism, makes one "ask whether such a conception is not indicative of a great loss of historical sensitivity, whether history has not been excluded from the philosophy which lies behind this gnostic idea of epochs that can be known and calculated, a philosophy which has dispensed with the phenomenon of the contingent."[27] Rudolph Bultmann speaks of "the dehistoricizing of history by apocalyptic",[28]

but for the different reason that "its end is determined by God and is not the organic close, the consummation of a course of development." Koch comments: "For Bultmann, therefore, it is the very contingent character of the end which makes him feel the lack of a historical mode of thought, whereas for von Rad the lack of contingency is decisive."[29] It becomes apparent that an influential factor in these discussions is the exegete's own understanding of history[30] and this tends to prevent an appreciation of the rather different understanding of the apocalyptist.

Klaus Koch refers to "the agonised attempts to save Jesus from Apocalyptic" and to "the great chorus of New Testament scholars who view apocalyptic of every kind with mistrust and discomfort, even when it appears in Christian guise, within the canon, in the book of Revelation."[31] Ethelbert Stauffer could write: "the world of apocalyptic ideas is the one in which the New Testament writers were really at home. This proposition provides the required indication of the place of Christianity in the history of religion."[32] But his is an unusual attitude in Continental scholarship of the period. W. G. Kümmel, who describes the chequered career of the Book of Revelation and the opposition it has faced over the centuries, concludes: "there still remains no doubt that the Apocalyptist is in danger of falsifying the message of God's goal with world history." "The theological task of exposition of the Apocalypse can be properly fulfilled only if the impropriety of these conceptions and symbols is expounded and maintained. Just as there is no reason to exclude the Apocalypse as a whole from the New Testament, so there is every reason to regard detailed theological criticism of this writing as indispensable."[33]

Questions of detail certainly can only be settled by detailed exposition, but what has been said in this present study about the broad lines of interpretation for the book might justifiably alleviate some scholarly discomfort. The Apocalypse declares its message within the framework of the New Testament. The relationship that has been examined between

the historical background and the use of traditional mythology can be set in the wider context of the role of mythology within the New Testament and early Christian Theology. The evaluation and interpretation of New Testament mythology which has been discussed extensively by scholars, especially since the work of Rudolph Bultmann, provides a critical perspective against which to examine John's "historical mythology", the form in which he chose to present his teaching about Christ and his Church. If the Book of Revelation requires "demythologizing" for the general reader, it is no different from the rest of the New Testament in this regard.

Where the New Testament speaks with many voices to the ears of modern scholarship, this does not necessarily mean that all the voices are raised in anger against one another. Different emphases and various points of view can provide ultimately a richer and more satisfying expression of complementary attitudes, representative of the Early Christian world in the same way as the diversity we accept in our own day. So, as we have observed,[34] John and Paul can speak of the authorities in their world, using rather different language, not because their situations are so radically different, but because they are speaking of different aspects - the political and the religious - of the relationship between Church and State. For these general reasons, we should recognise the voice of apocalyptic within the New Testament, and try to understand it in its context, rather than giving preference to some aspects and justifying our selectivity by the application of different labels. In this way we may be surprised by the richness of our discoveries and the essential harmony with what we already know.

For the Book of Revelation, we have been encouraged by the evidence to attempt an historical exegesis, to explain the text against the background of the contemporary circumstances, while recognising the influence of a range of already developed traditions. But one can say more about the conditions and potentialities of the book's temporal, geographical and linguistic environment? Can what has been established on the basis of

internal evidence be further clarified by other external evidence? For example, does what is known about the 'Sitz im Leben' of apocalyptic literature in the Old Testament and inter-testamental periods suggest the possibility of a similar setting and function for the Christian Apocalypse? Herein lies the problem of an absence of information and an abundance of theories which has already been mentioned. Klaus Koch's survey "indicates how completely obscure the sociological basis of the apocalyptic writings still is"[35], so that he can only suggest, as a working hypothesis, that "if we are to arrive at a historical perception of the background against which apocalyptic ideas grew up, as well as a serviceable and generally applicable concept of apocalyptic, we must start from the writings which were composed in Hebrew or Aramaic, or in which, at least, the Hebrew or Aramaic spirit is dominant."[36]

In our examination of the seven letters, the two witnesses, and the imagery of Revelation 12, we found reasons for resisting the view that the Christian Apocalypse is anti-Jewish in feeling.[37] John uses Jewish terminology, forms and traditions in his writing; he speaks of the Jews not merely as a type of the Christian Church, but also as a people who in principle still have a role to play in God's ultimate purposes. This suggests a situation within Christianity after the Fall of Jerusalem where there is intense sympathy for the traditions of Israel and correspondingly intense anger against those who were born Jews but have "sold their birthright" in collaboration with the blasphemies of the Imperial cult.

It is hard to see how one could go further in reconstruction without more evidence, and without the necessary clarification of the historical relationships between different traditions in Judaism and beyond. If the apocalyptic strand within Judaism is representative of a particular religious party, rather than of a mental attitude found in all parties, and this is developed as a cohesive and self-contained tradition,[38] perhaps transmitted through a community such as that at Qumran, then one might be justi-

fied in seeing the Book of Revelation as the product of that movement, transformed through contact with the Christian Gospel.

Notes on Chapter 10

1. Pages 70-114.

2. Pages 115-188.

3. Pages 189-234.

4. Pages 33f.

5. Pages 235-265.

6. Pages 266-306.

7. Pages 307-348.

8. Pages 349-356.

9. Page 38.

10. Pages 28 and 36f.

11. K. Koch, 'The Rediscovery of Apocalyptic' SBTII 22, 1972. quotation from p. 86. References to P. Stuhlmacher 'Gerechtigkeit Gottes bei Paulus' FRLANT 87, 1965. And A. Strobel, 'Kerygma und Apokalyptik' 1967.

12. G. Ernest Wright, 'The Old Testament Against its Environment' 1950 p. 26.

13. Cf. H. Frankfort in 'The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man' 1946, p. 363; Th. C. Vriezen 'The Religion of Ancient Israel' 1967, p. 44; H. Wheeler Robinson 'Inspiration and Revelation in the Old Testament', 1946; G. Ernest Wright 'The Old Testament Against Its Environment' SBT I.2 1950.

14. E.g. Is. 51.9-10.

15. E.g. Is. 27.1.

16. Koch op. cit., p. 27.

17. Koch op. cit., p. 27.

18. Koch op. cit., p. 33.

19. Cf. J. M. Schmidt, 'Die jüdische Apokalyptik. Die Geschichte ihrer Erforschung von den Anfängen bis zu den Textfunden von Qumran', 1969.

20. James Kallas, 'The Apocalypse - An Apocalyptic Book?' J.B.L. 86 (1967) pp. 69-81. Cf. B. W. Jones, 'More about the Apocalypse as Apocalyptic' J.B.L. 87 (1968), pp. 325-7.

21. Cf. the points raised in G. E. Ladd's 'The Revelation and Jewish Apocalyptic' Evan. Quarterly 29 (1957) pp. 94-100. Most recently, David Hill, in the first section of his article 'Prophecy and

Prophets in the Revelation of St. John' N.T.S. 18 (1972) pp. 401-18, depends on von Rad's distinction between prophetic 'Heilsgeschichte' and apocalyptic which has "little serious concern with those acts of God on which salvation was based." (p. 404).

22. Cf. H. H. Rowley 'The Relevance of Apocalyptic' 1944, 1955; S. B. Frost, 'Old Testament Apocalyptic' 1952 (ct. his article on 'Apocalyptic and History' in 'The Bible and Modern Scholarship' ed. J. P. Hyatt 1965 pp. 98-113); D. S. Russell 'The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic' 1964; C. K. Barrett, 'The New Testament Background: Selected Documents', 1956, p. 227. Cf. also O. Plöger, 'Theokratie und Eschatologie' WMANT 2, 1959; D. Rössler, 'Gesetz und Geschichte', WMANT 3, 1960.

23. Koch, op. cit., pp. 23-33.

24. G. von Rad 'Old Testament Theology' Vol. 2. 303 (Eng. 1965).

25. Op. cit., p. 305.

26. Op. cit., Bd. 2 318 (Fourth German edition).

27. Op. cit., Vol. 2.305-6 (Eng. 1965).

28. R. Bultmann 'Geschichte und Eschatologie' 1964, pp. 34f.

29. Koch op. cit., p. 140 note 39.

30. Cf. in turn, the use made of the apocalyptic concept of history in Systematic Theology by Wolfhart Pannenberg.

31. Koch op. cit., Chapter 6 and p. 63.

32. E. Stauffer, 'New Testament Theology' 1955, p. 21.

33. W. G. Kümmel, 'Introduction to the New Testament' 1966, p. 333.

34. Page 283, cf. also page 81.

35. "Every one of the groupings of the late Israelite period for which we have any evidence at all has been suggested as the 'Sitz in Leben' of the apocalyptic writings. Were the authors . . . obscure and simple people, far removed from the Jerusalem hierarchy and its theology (Bousset) . . . Or did they . . . belong to a small class of highly learned sages, who were also thoroughly familiar with the non-Israelite culture of their time? (Von Rad). Does the predominating East Aramaic element and the prevalence of Babylonian material in the book of Daniel suggest that we must look for the beginnings in the Babylonian Diaspora or further east in Persia? (Eissfeldt). Or was this a native Palestinian growth . . . Were the writers part of the Essene movement (Hilgenfeld), like the Qumran sect, . . . or did they belong to the Essene's forerunners, the Hasidim (Plöger)? . . . Was the Pharisaic lay movement . . . its matrix (Charles)? Or even the Zealots (R. T. Herford)?" Koch op. cit., p. 21.
Cf. Russell 'Method and Message', Ch. 1, pp. 15-35 ('The Milieu').
Koch (p. 34) draws attention to the problems in assigning particular writings to the Apocalyptic genre, and the special difficulty of being sure whether the Qumran movement is described accurately as an apocalyptic sect. Are the clearly apocalyptic writings - e.g. Book

of Mysteries (Q Myst), description of the New Jerusalem (1.2.5. QJN), Prayer of Nabonidus (4 Q Pr Nab), Pseudo-Daniel (4Q Ps Dan), and Melchizedek scroll (1 Q Melch) - the products of the sect or part of their library? Were the Qumran Covenanters "a cooled-down apocalyptic sect" (Russell 'Method and Message', p. 24 citing R. P. C. Hanson in 'A Guide to the Scrolls' ed. A. R. C. Leaney (1958) p. 64)?

36. Koch op. cit., quotations from pp. 22 and 23.

37. Cf. pages 100-3, 197, 201, 204, 265, and also 127f.

38. Cf. the reconstruction suggested by G. Bornkamm (Kittel TWNT 6 πρέσβυς pp. 669f) in terms of a Jewish Christian conventicle. "The setting of the concept of the congregation in Revelation is rather to be sought in specific conventicles of Jewish Christians who obviously preserved an ancient apocalyptic tradition which derived from Palestine and in the meantime had been further developed and assumed literary form."

BIBLIOGRAPHY

The Bibliography is presented under four headings:

A - Abbreviations

B - Commentaries on the Book of Revelation

C - Special Studies on the Book of Revelation

D - Related Studies - a select bibliography

Note on Bibliographical References

For clarity, inverted commas are employed in the footnotes for any title, whether of a book or an article; articles are distinguished by the additional reference to the periodical or collection from which they were taken.

For consistency, the Librarian has recommended that a similar practice be adopted in the Bibliography itself. Here also inverted commas are used throughout for the title of any book or article.

A - ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations are employed for works frequently cited:

Caird, Commentary = CAIRD, G.B. 'A Commentary on the Revelation of St. John the Divine' London. 1966.

Charles, Commentary = CHARLES, R.H. 'A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Revelation of St. John' 2 vols. Edinburgh. 1920.

Farrer, Commentary = FARRER, A.M. 'The Revelation of St. John the Divine' Oxford. 1964.

Feuillet, L'Apocalypse = FEUILLET, A. 'L'Apocalypse. Etat de la question' Paris. 1963.

Hemer, Letters = HEMER, C.J. 'A Study of the Letters to the Seven Churches of Asia with special reference to their local background' Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis. Manchester. 1969.

Magie, Roman Rule = MAGIE, D. 'Roman Rule in Asia Minor to the end of the third century after Christ' 2 vols. Princeton. 1950.

Minear, New Earth = MINEAR, P.S. 'I Saw A New Earth - An Introduction to the Visions of the Apocalypse' Washington. 1968.

Ramsay, Letters = RAMSAY, Sir W.M. 'The Letters to the Seven Churches of Asia and their place in the plan of the Apocalypse' London.1909.

Swete, Commentary = SWETE, H.B. 'The Apocalypse of St. John' London. 1909.

References to Biblical and extra-Biblical sources, journals and standard reference-works follow accepted practice in abbreviation.

B - COMMENTARIES ON THE BOOK OF REVELATION

ALLEN, C.H. 'The Message of the Book of Revelation' Nashville. 1939.

ALLO, E.B. 'L'Apocalypse de St. Jean' Paris. 1921.

BALDENSPERGER, G. 'L'Apocalypse' Paris. 1928.

BARCLAY, W. 'The Revelation of John'in'Daily Study Bible' 2 vols. Edinburgh. 1959.

BEASLEY-MURRAY, G.R. 'The Revelation' in 'The New Bible Commentary' ed. F. Davidson 2nd Ed. London. 1954.

BECKWITH, I.T. 'The Apocalypse of John' New York. 1919.

BEHM, J. 'Die Offenbarung des Johannes' Göttingen. 1949.

BENSON, E.W. 'The Apocalypse'. London. 1900.

BILLERBECK, P. and STRACK, H.L. 'Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch' Bd. 3. 788-857. München. 1954.

BOISMARD, M.E. 'L'Apocalypse' Paris. 1950.('Bible de Jerusalem' cf. 'Jerusalem Bible' London. 1966.)

BONSIRVEN, P.J. 'L'Apocalypse de St. Jean' Paris. 1951.

BOUSSET, W. 'Die Offenbarung Johannis' Göttingen. 1896.

BOWMAN, J.W. 'The Drama of the Book of Revelation' Philadelphia. 1955.

BRÜTSCH, Ch. 'Clarté de l'Apocalypse' Geneva. 1955. Abridged edition Paris. 1957, recasting of original of 1930.

BURNET, A.W. 'The Lord Reigneth' New York. 1947.

CAIRD, G.B. 'A Commentary on the Revelation of St. John the Divine' London. 1966.

CAMPS, G.M. 'L'Apocalypse' Commentaire des Moines de Montserrat XXII pp. 221-352. (originally published Montserrat/Barcelona). 1958.

CARRINGTON, P. 'The Meaning of the Revelation' London. 1931.

CARZOU, J.M. 'L'Apocalypse' Paris. 1959.

CASE, S.J. 'The Revelation of John - A Historical Interpretation' Chicago. 1919.

CERFAUX, L. and CAMBIER, J. 'L'Apocalypse de St. Jean' Paris. 1955.

CHARLES, R.H. 'A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Revelation of St. John' 2 vols. Edinburgh. 1920.

DU PLESSIS, J. 'Les derniers temps d'après l'histoire et la prophétie' vol. 2. Paris. 1937.

DÜSTERDIECK, F.H.C. 'Handbuch über die Offenbarung Johannes' 4th ed. Göttingen. 1887.

FARRER, A.M. 'The Revelation of St. John the Divine' Oxford. 1964.

FERET, H.M. 'The Apocalypse of St. John' Westminster. 1958.

FREY, H. 'Das Ziel aller Dinge. Das letzte Wort des Erhöhten an seine angefochtene Gemeinde' Stuttgart. 1953.

GELIN, A. 'L'Apocalypse' Paris. 1938.

GLASSON, T.F. 'The Revelation of John' Cambridge. 1965.

HADORN, W. 'Die Offenbarung des Johannes' Leipzig. 1928.

HÄRING, P. 'Die Botschaft der Offenbarung des Heiligen Johannes' München. 1953.

HARRINGTON, W.J. 'The Apocalypse of St. John' London. 1969.

HARTENSTEIN, K. 'Der wiederkommende Herr. Eine Schriftenreihe zur Erklärung der Offenbarung Johannes' Stuttgart. 3rd Ed. 1954.

HOLTZMANN, H.J. 'Briefe und Offenbarung des Johannes' 3rd Ed. Tübingen. 1908.

HOSKIER, H.C. 'The Complete Commentary of Oecumenius on the Apocalypse' Ann Arbor. 1928.

JOHNSON, J.B. 'A Commentary on the Revelation of St. John' 1904.

KAYLER, T.S. 'The Book of Revelation' New York/Oxford. 1957.

KEPLER, T.S. 'The Book of Revelation' New York. 1957.

KETTER, P. 'Die Apokalypse' 3rd Ed. Freiburg. 1953.

KIDDLE, M. 'The Revelation of St. John' London. 1940.

KRAEMER, R. 'Die Offenbarung des Johannes in überzeitlicher Deutung' 1930.

KRAFT, H. 'Die Johannesapokalypse' 1969.

LÄPPLE, A. 'Die Apokalypse nach Johannes. Ein Lesebuch der Christenheit' München. 1966.

LAYMON, C.M. 'The Book of Revelation' New York. 1960.

LILJE, H. 'Das letzte Buch der Bibel' 4th Ed. Hamburg. 1955.

LO BUE, F. 'The Turin Fragments of Tyconius' Commentary on Revelation' Cambridge. 1963.

LOENERTZ, R.J. 'Apocalypse of St. John' London. 1947.

LOHMEYER, E. 'Die Offenbarung des Johannes' Tübingen. (1926; revised 1953).

LOHSE, E. 'Die Offenbarung des Johannes' Göttingen. 1960.

LOISY, A. 'L'Apocalypse de Jean' Paris. 1923.

MILLIGAN, Wm. 'The Revelation of John' London. 1886.

MINEAR, P.S. 'I Saw A New Earth - An Introduction to the Visions of the Apocalypse' Washington. 1968.

MOFFATT, J. 'The Revelation of St. John the Divine' in 'The Expositor's Greek Testament' ed. W. Robertson Nicoll. 5. London. 1910. pp. 279-494.

NILES, D.T. 'As Seeing the Invisible' 'A Study of the Book of Revelation' London. 1962.

OMAN, J. 'The Book of Revelation' Cambridge. 1923.

PEAKE, A.S. 'The Revelation of John' London. 1919.

PESCHEK, J. 'Geheime Offenbarung und Tempeldienst. Eine Darstellung des Aufbaues der Apokalypse des heiligen Apostels Johannes samt Text und Erklärung' Paderborn. 1929.

PLANQUE, M. 'Introduction à l'Apocalypse' Paris. 1959.

POELLOT, L. 'Revelation' St. Louis. 1962.

PRESTON, R.H. and HANSON, A.T. 'The Revelation of St. John the Divine' London. 1949.

REISNER, E. 'Das Buch mit den sieben Siegeln' Göttingen. 1949.

RICHARDSON, D.W. 'The Revelation of Jesus Christ' Richmond. 1939.

RISSI, M. 'Alpha and Omega. Eine Deutung der Johannesoffenbarung' Basel. 1966.

RIST, M. 'The Revelation of St. John the Divine' Interpreter's Bible XII. Nashville. 1957.

ROHR, I. 'Der Hebräerbrief und die geheime Offenbarung des hl. Johannes' Bonn. 1932.

SCHICK, E. 'Die Apokalypse' Würzburg. 1952.

SCHLATTER, A. 'Die Briefe und die Offenbarung des Johannes' Stuttgart. 1950.

SCOTT, C.A. 'Revelation' Edinburgh. 1902.

SCOTT, E.F. 'The Book of Revelation' London.1939.

SICKENBERGER, J. 'Erklärung der Johannesapokalypse' Bonn. 1942. (1939).

SMITH, J.B. 'A Commentary on the Book of Revelation, A Revelation of Jesus Christ' Scottdale. 1961.

VON SPEYR, A. 'Apokalypse, Betrachtungen zur Geheimen Offenbarung' Wien.1950.

SPITTA, F. 'Die Offenbarung von Johannes' Halle. 1889.

SUMMERS, R. 'Worthy is the Lamb' Nashville. 1951.

SWEDENBORG, E. 'The Apocalypse Revealed' 2 vols. New York. 1949.

SWETE, H.B. 'The Apocalypse of St. John' London. 1909.

TORREY, C.C. 'The Apocalypse of St. John' New Haven. 1959.

TURNER, N. 'Revelation' in 'Peake's Commentary' London. 1962.

VISCHER, E. 'Die Offenbarung Johannes, eine jüdische Apokalypse in christlicher Bearbeitung' 1886.

WEISS, J. and HEITMÜLLER, 'Die Offenbarung des Johannes' 3rd Ed. Göttingen. 1919.

WIKENHAUSER, A. 'Die Offenbarung des Johannes' Regensburg. 1947.

ZAHN, Th. 'Die Offenbarung des Johannes' 2 vols. Leipzig. 1924-6.

C - SPECIAL STUDIES ON THE BOOK OF REVELATION

ALLO, E.B. 'A propos d'Apocalypse XI et XII' R,B. 31 (1922) pp.572-83.

AUNE, D.D. 'Ecclesiology in the Apocalypse' Ev. Quart. 38 (1966) pp. 131-49.

BACON, B.W. 'The Authoress of Revelation - A Conjecture' H.T.R. 23 (1930) pp. 235-50.

BADCOCK, F.J. 'The Feast of Tabernacles' J.T.S. 24 (1923) pp. 169-74.

BAILEY, J.W. 'The Temporary Messianic Reign' J.B.L. 53 (1934) pp.170-87.

BALDENSPERGER, W. 'Les Cavaliers de l'Apocalypse (Rev. 6. 1-8)' R.H.Ph.R. (1924)pp. 1-31.

BARCLAY, W. 'The Letters to the Seven Churches' London. 1957.

BEASLEY-MURRAY,G.R. 'Commentaries on the Book of Revelation' Theology 66 (1963) pp. 52-6.

BECK, D.M. 'The Christology of the Apocalypse of John' in 'New Testament Studies. Critical Essays in New Testament Interpretation' Nashville. 1942. pp. 253-77.

BEET, W.E. 'The Reconstruction of the Apocalypse: A Criticism' Exp. 9th Series (1925) pp. 339-57.

BEHM, J. 'Johannesapokalypse und Geschichtsphilosophie' Zeit für System. Theol. 2 (1924/5) pp. 323-44.

BIEDER, W. 'Die sieben Seligpreisungen in der Offenbarung des Johannes' T.Z. 10 (1954) pp. 13-30.

BINDLEY, T.H. 'Revelation XXII. 2' Exp. 9th Series 2 (1924) p. 381.

BIRDSALL, J.N. 'The Text of the Revelation of John' Ev. Quart. 33 (1961) pp. 228-37.

BLEEK, F. 'Lectures on the Apocalypse' tr. S. Davidson London. 1875.

BOISMARD, M.-E. '"L'Apocalypse" ou "Les Apocalypses" de Saint Jean' R.B. 56 (1949) pp. 507-41.

'Notes sur l'Apocalypse' R.B. 59 (1952) pp. 161-81.

'Rapprochements littéraires entre l'évangile de Luc et l'Apocalypse' in 'Synoptische Studien. Festschrift für A. Wikenhauser' München. 1953. pp. 53-63.

BOLL, F. 'Aus der Offenbarung Johannis - Hellenistische Studien zum Weltbild der Apokalypse' Leipzig/Berlin. 1914.r.p.1967.

BOLLIER, J.A. 'Judgement in the Apocalypse' Interpretation 7 (1953) pp. 14-25.

BORNKAMM, G. 'Die Komposition der apokalyptischen Visionen in der Offenbarung Johannis' Z.N.T.W. 36 (1937) pp. 132-49. Also in 'Studien zu Antike und Urchristentum. Gesammelte Aufsätze 2' München. 1959. pp. 204-22.

BOWMAN, J.W. 'The Revelation to John; its Dramatic Structure and Message' Interpretation. 9. (1955) pp. 436-53.

BOYD, W.J.P. 'I am Alpha and Omega (Rev. 1.8; 21.6; 22.13)' St. Ev. 2 (1964) pp. 526-31.

BRAUN, F.M. 'La Mère des Fidèles, Essai de théologie johannique' Paris. 1953. cf. Revue Thomiste 30 (1950) pp. 429-70; 31 (1951) pp. 5-68.

'La Femme Vêtue du Soleil' Revue Thomiste 35 (1955) pp. 639-69.

'Jean le Théologien' Paris. 1959.

BRETSCHER, P.M. 'Syntactical Peculiarities in Revelation' Concordia Theological Monthly 16 (1945) pp. 95-105.

BREWER, R.R. 'The Influence of Greek Drama on the Apocalypse' Anglical Theological Review 18 (1936) pp. 74-92.

'Revelation 4.6 and Translations Thereof' J.B.L. 71 (1952) pp. 227-31.

BROWN, S. 'The Hour of Trial (Rev. 3.10)' J.B.L. 35 (1966) pp. 308-14.

BROWNLEE, W.H. 'Messianic Motifs of Qumran and the New Testament' N.T.S. 3 (1956/7) pp. 12-30, 195-210.

'The Priestly Character of the Church in the Apocalypse' N.T.S. 5 (1958/9) pp. 224-5.

BRUINS, E.M. 'The Number of the Beast' Ned. Theol. Tijd. 23 (1969) pp. 401-7.

BRUN, L. 'Die römischen Kaiser in der Apokalypse' Z.N.T.W. 26 (1927) pp. 128-51.

'Übriggebliebene und Märtyrer in der Apokalypse' Th.St.Kr. 102 (1930) pp. 215-31.

BRUNK, M.J. 'The Seven Churches of Revelation Two and Three' Bib. Sacr. 126 (1969) pp. 240-6.

BRUNS, J.E. 'The Contrasted Women of Apoc. 12 and 17' C.B.Q. 26 (1964) pp. 459-63.

BRUSTON, C. 'La tête égorgée et le chiffre 666' Z.N.T.W. 5 (1904) pp. 258-61.

BÜCHSEL, F. 'Die Christologie der Offenbarung' Halle. 1907.

BUECHNER, F. 'The Final Beast' New York. 1965.

BULTMANN, R. 'Ist die Apokalypse die Mutter der urchristlichen Theologie?' 'Apophoreta' (E. Haenchen). Berlin. 1964. pp. 64-69.

BURCH, V. 'Anthropology and the Apocalypse' London. 1939.

BURNEY, C.F. 'A Hebraic Construction in the Apocalypse' J.T.S. 22 (1921) pp. 371-6.

'Christ as the APXH of Creation' J.T.S. 27 (1926) pp. 160-77.

BURROWS, E. 'The Pearl in the Apocalypse' J.T.S. 43 (1942) pp. 177-9.

CABANISS, A. 'A Note on the Liturgy of the Apocalypse' Interpretation 7 (1953) pp. 78-86.

CAIRD, G.B. 'On Deciphering the Book of Revelation' Exp. T. 74 (1962/3) pp. 13-15; 51-53; 82-84; 103-5.

CAMBIER, J. 'Les images de l'A.T. dans l'Apocalypse de Saint Jean' Nouvelle Revue Théologique Louvain. 77 (1955) pp. 113-23.

CARPENTER, J.E. 'Astrology in the Book of Revelation' Hibbert Journal 23 (1924/5) pp. 733-46.

CARRINGTON, P. 'Astral Mythology in the Revelation' Anglican Theological Review 13 (1931) pp. 289-305.

CERFAUX, L. 'La Vision de la Femme et du Dragon' E.T.L. 31 (1955) pp. 7-33.

'Le Conflit entre Dieu et le Souverain divinisé' Numen. Suppl. 4 (1959) pp. 459-70.

'L'Evangile éternel (Apoc. 14.6) E.T.L. 39 (1963) pp. 672-81.

CHAPMAN, J. 'The Seven Churches of Asia' Exp. 6th Ser. 9 (1904) pp. 257-63.

CHARLES, R.H. 'Studies in the Apocalypse, being lectures delivered before the University of London' Edinburgh. 1913.

'An Attempt to Recover the Original Order of the Text of Revelation 20.4-22' Proceedings of the British Academy 7 (1915/16) pp. 37-55.

'Lectures on the Apocalypse' (Schweich Lectures 1919) London. 1922.

'The Restoration of the Original Order of Chapters 20-22 of Revelation' The Bible and Modern Religious Thought I (1927) 16-22.

CHASE, F.H. 'The Date of the Apocalypse: the Evidence of Irenaeus' J.T.S. 8 (1907) pp. 431-5.

CLEMEN, C. 'The Revelation of John' Biblical World 34 (1909) pp. 91-103.

'Bolls Studien zur Offenbarung Johannis' Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum 18, 35 (1915) pp. 26-43.

'Die Bildlichkeit der Offenbarung Johannis' Festgabe für J. Kaftan. Tübingen. 1920. pp. 25-43.

'Die Stellung der Offenbarung Johannis im ältesten Christentum' Z.N.T.W. 26 (1927) pp. 173-86.

'Visionen und Bilder in der Offenbarung Johannis' Th.St.Kr. 107 (1936) pp. 236-65.

'Dunkle Stellen in der Offenbarung Johannis religionsgeschichtlich erklärt' Bonn. 1937.

COMBLIN, J. 'La Liturgie de la Nouvelle Jérusalem (Apoc. 21. 1-22.5)' E.T.L. 29 (1953) pp. 5-40.

'Le Christ dans l'Apocalypse' Tournai - Paris. 1965.

CONSIDINE, J. 'The Rider on the White Horse' C.B.Q. 6 (1944) pp. 406-22.

'The Two Witnesses - Apoc. 11.3-13' C.B.Q. 8 (1946) pp. 377-92.

COUNE, M. 'La Jérusalem céleste (Apo. 21.2-5) Commun de la dédicace des églises' Assemblées du Seigneur 91 (1964) pp. 23-38.

CRAMER, F. 'Die symbolische Zahl 666 in der Apokalypse 13.18' Theologie und Glaube 44 (1954) pp. 63ff.

DALLMAYR, H. 'Die sieben Leuchter - eine Reise in die Apokalypse' Köln. 1961.

DELLING, G. 'Zum Gottesdienstlichen Stil der Johannesapokalypse' Nov. Test. 3 (1959) pp. 107-37.

DEVINE, R. 'The Virgin Followers of the Lamb' Scripture 16 (1964) pp. 1-5.

DIBELIUS, M. 'Wer Ohren hat zu hören, der höre' Th.St.Kr. 83 (1910) pp. 461-71.

DILLERSBERGER, J. 'Das Weib und der Drache. Das zwölfte und dreizehnte Kapitel der Geheimen Offenbarung' Wort und Wahrheit 2 (1947) pp. 257-68.

DIX, G.H. 'The Seven Archangels and the Seven Spirits' J.T.S. 28 (1927) pp. 233-50.

DORNSEIFF, F. 'Die apokalyptischen Reiter' Z.N.T.W. (1939) pp. 196-7.

DOUGLAS, C.E. 'The Twelve Houses of Israel' J.T.S. 37 (1936) pp. 49-56.

DUBARLE, A.M. 'La Femme couronnée d'étoiles (Apoc. 12)' in 'A. Robert: Mélanges bibliques' Paris. 1957. pp. 512-18.

DU PLESSIS, J. 'Les Derniers Temps d'après l'histoire et la prophétie' Vol. 2. Paris. 1937.

EHRHARDT, A. 'Das Sendschreiben nach Laodizea' Ev.Th. 10 (1957) pp. 431-45.

FABRE, A. 'L'étoile du matin dans l'Apocalypse' R.B. 5 (1908) pp. 227-40.

'L'Ange et le Chandelier de l'Église d'Ephèse' R.B. 7 (1910) pp. 161-78; 344-67.

FANNON, P. 'The Apocalypse' Scripture 14 (1962) pp. 33-43.

FARRER, A.M. 'A Rebirth of Images - the Making of St. John's Apocalypse' Westminster. 1949.

FEUILLET, A. 'Essai d'Interprétation du Chapitre XI de l'Apocalypse' N.T.S. 4 (1958) pp. 183-200.

'Les Vingt-Quatre Vieillards de l'Apocalypse' R.B. 65 (1958) pp. 5-32.

'Le Messie dt sa Mère d'après le chapitre XII et l'Apocalypse' R.B. 66 (1959) pp. 55-86.

'Le chapitre X de l'Apocalypse - son apport dans la solution du problème eschatologique' in 'Sacra Pagina' Miscellanea Biblica Congressus Intern. Catho. de Re Biblica Vol. 2. Paris/Gembloux. 1959. pp. 414-29.

'Le Cantique des Cantiques et l'Apocalypse' Recherches de Science Religieuse 49 (1961) pp. 321-53.

'Les diverses méthodes d'interprétation de l'Apocalypse et les commentaires récents' Ami du Clergé (Langres) 71 (1961) pp. 257-70.

'L'Apocalypse. État de la question' Paris. 1963.

'Le Premier Cavalier de l'Apocalypse' Z.N.T.W. 57 (1966) pp. 229-60.

FIORENZA, E. 'The Eschatology and Composition of the Apocalypse' C.B.Q. 30 (1968) pp. 537-69.

FOERSTER, W. 'Die Bilder in Offenbarung 12f. und 17f.' Th.St.Kr. 104 (1932) pp. 279-310.

FORD, J.M. 'The Meaning of "Virgin"' N.T.S. 12 (1966) pp. 293-9.

FREUNDORFER, J. 'Die Apokalypse des Apostels Johannes und die hellenistische Kosmologie und Astrologie. Eine Auseinandersetzung mit den Hauptergebnissen der Untersuchung Franz Bolls - Aus der Offenbarung Johannis' Freiburg i.B. 1929.

FRINGS, J. 'Das Patmosexil des Apostels Johannes nach Apc. 1.9' Theologische Quartalschrift 104 (1923) pp. 20-31.

GAECHTER, P. 'Semitic Literary Forms in the Apocalypse and their Import' Th.S. 8 (1947) pp. 547-73.

'The Role of Memory in the Making of the Apocalypse' Th.S. 9 (1948) pp. 419-52.

'The Original Sequence of Apocalypse 20-22' Th.S. 10 (1949) pp. 485-521.

GIET, S. 'La "Guerre des Juifs" de Flavius Josèphe et quelques énigmes de l'Apocalypse' Revue des Sciences Religieuses 26 (1952) pp. 1-29.

'Les épisodes de la Guerre juive et l'Apocalypse' Revue des Sciences Religieuses 26 (1952) pp. 325-62.

'L'Apocalypse et l'Histoire, étude historique sur l'Apocalypse Johannique' Paris. 1957.

'Retour sur l'Apocalypse. A propos d'un ouvrage récent' Revue des Sciences Religieuses 38 (1964) pp. 71-92; 225-64.

GOPPELT, L. 'Heilsoffenbarung und Geschichte nach der Offenbarung des Johannes' Th.L.Z. (1952) pp. 513-22.

GRILLMEIER, A. 'Ihre Werke folgen ihnen nach (Offb. 14.13)' Geist und Leben 37 (1964) pp. 321-4.

GRY, L. 'Les chapitres XI et XII de l'Apocalypse' R.B. 31 (1922) pp. 203-14.

GUTZWILLER, R. 'Herr der Herrscher' Einsiedeln. Benziger. 1941.

HADORN, W. 'Die Zahl 666, Ein Hinweis auf Trajan' Z.N.T.W. 19 (1919-20) pp. 11-29.

HAHN, F. 'Die Sendschreiben der Apokalypse. Ein Beitrag zur Bestimmung prophetischer Redeformen' in 'Tradition und Glaube - das frühe Christentum in seiner Umwelt - Festgabe für K.G. Kuhn' 1971. pp. 357-94.

HALSON, B.R. 'The Relevance of the Apocalypse' St.Ev. 2 (1964) pp. 388-92.

HALVER, R. 'Der Mythos im letzten Buch der Bibel - eine Untersuchung der Bildersprache der Johannes-Apokalypse' Hamburg. 1964.

HARDER, G. 'Eschatologische Schemata in der Johannes-Apokalypse' Theologia Viatorum 9 (1963) pp. 70-87.

HARLE, P.-A. 'L'Agneau de l'Apocalypse et le Nouveau Testament' Études Théologiques et Religieuses 31, 2 (1956) pp. 26-35.

HARNACK, A. 'Die apokalyptischen Reiter (Erforschtes und Erlebtes)' 1923.

HARPOLD, C.J. 'Twelve Tribes of the Apocalypse or Roman Citizenship among the First Century Jews of Asia Minor' Ann Arbor. 1937.

HARRISON, W.K. 'The Time of the Rapture in the Revelation' Bib. Sacr. 115 (1958) pp. 201-11.

HAUGG, D. 'Die Zwei Zeugen - eine exegetische Studie über Apokalypse 11. 1-13' Münster, 1936.

HEMER, C.J. 'A Study of the Letters to the Seven Churches of Asia with Special Reference to their local Background' Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis. Manchester 1969.

HENDRIKSEN, W. 'More Than Conquerors' London 1962.

HERRMANN, L. 'La Vision de Patmos' Bruxelles, 1965.

HILL, D. 'Prophecy and Prophets in the Revelation of St. John' N.T.S. 18 (1972) pp. 401-18.

HILLERS, D.R. 'Revelation 13.18 and the Scrolls from Murabba'at' B.A.S.O.R. 170 (1963) p. 65.

HOARE, F.R. 'A New Proposal for Rearranging the Apocalypse' Irish Ecclesiastical Record 5th series. 40 (1932) pp. 373-81.

'The Plan of the Apocalypse' Irish Rosary (1932) pp. 362-8; 439-44; 536-43; 687-95; 770-7.

HODGES, Z.C. 'The First Horseman of the Apocalypse' Bib. Sacr. 119 (1962) pp. 324-34.

HOLTZ, T. 'Die Christologie der Apokalypse des Johannes' Berlin 1962.

HOLZINGER, K. 'Erklärungen zu einigen der umstrittensten Stellen der Offenbarung Johannis und der Sibyllinischen Orakel' Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien - philosophisch - historische Klasse 216,3 Wien/Leipzig. 1936.

HOMMEL, F. 'Die "zwei verschwundenen Götter" der Adapa-Legende und Apokalypse 11. 3-13' Mitteilungen der altorientalischen Gesellschaft 4 (1928/9) pp. 87-95.

HOPKINS, M. 'The Historical Perspective of Apocalypse 1-11' C.B.Q. 27 (1965) pp. 42-47.

HORT, F.J.A. 'The Apocalypse of St. John I - III' London 1861.

HOSKIER, H.C. 'Concerning the Text of the Apocalypse' 2 vols. London 1929.

HUBERT, M. 'L'architecture des Lettres aux sept Églises' R.B. (1960) pp. 349-53.

JAMES, M.R. 'The Apocalypse in Art' London 1931. (1927 Schweich Lectures).

JANZON, P. 'Nikolaiterna i Nya Testamentet och i fornkyrkan' Svensk Exegetisk Arsbok 21 (1956) pp. 82-108.

JEREMIAS, J. ' Ἂρ Μαγεδών (Apc 16.16)' Z.N.T.W. 31. (1932) pp. 73-7.

JONES, B.W. 'More about the Apocalypse as Apocalyptic' J.B.L. 87 (1968) pp. 325-7.

JORNS, K.-P. 'Das hymnische Evangelium. Untersuchungen zu Aufbau, Funktion und Herkunft der hymnischen Stücke in der Johannesoffenbarung' Gütersloh. 1971.

JOUON, P. 'Apocalypse 1.4' Recherches de Science Religieuse 21 (1931) pp. 486f.

JOURDAIN, E.F. 'The Twelve Stones in the Apocalypse' Exp.T. 22 (1910/11) pp. 448-50.

KALLAS, J. 'The Apocalypse - An Apocalyptic Book?' J.B.L. 86 (1967) pp. 69-80.

KAMLAH, W. 'Apokalypse und Geschichtbewusstsein' Göttingen 1931.

KARNER, K. 'Gegenwart und Endgeschichte in der Offenbarung des Johannes' Th.L.Z. 93 (1968) pp. 641-52.

KASSING, A. 'Die Kirche und Maria, Ihr Verhältnis im 12. Kapitel der Apokalypse' Düsseldorf 1958.

'Das Weib, das den Mann gebar (Apk. 12.13)' Benediktinische Monatschrift 34 (1958) pp. 427-33.

'Das Weib und der Drache' B.K. 15 (1960) pp. 114-6.

KETTER, P. 'Der römische Staat in der Apokalypse' in Festschrift für F.R. Bornewasser 1941 pp. 70-93.

'Die Apokalyptische Tempelmessung' Trierer Theologische Zeitschrift 52 (1941) pp. 93-9.

KLASSEN, Wm. 'Vengeance in the Apocalypse of John' C.B.Q. 28 (1966) pp. 300-11.

KNOPF, R. 'Die Himmelstadt' G. Heinrici. Neutestamentlichen Studien. Leipzig. 1914.

KÖHLER, L. 'Die Offenbarung des Johannes und ihre heutige Deutung' Zürich. 1924.

KOESTER, W. 'Lamm und Kirche in der Apocalypse' Festschrift für M. Meinertz 'Vom Wort des Lebens' Münster 1951 pp. 152-64.

KOHLHOFER, M. 'Die Einheit der Apokalypse gegen die neuesten Hypothesen der Bibelkritik verteidigt' Biblische Studien 7, 4. Freiburg 1902.

'Die eschatologische Inhaltseinheit der Apokalypse' B.Z. 10 (1912) pp. 46-61; 168-81.

KOSNETTER, J. 'Die Sonnenfrau (Apok. 12.1-17) in der neueren Exegese' in 'Theologische Fragen der Gegenwart' Festschrift für T. Innitzer. Wien. 1952. pp. 93-108.

KUHAUPT, H. 'Der neue Himmel und die neue Erde. Eine theologische Auslegung von Apk. 21.1-22.5' Münster 1947.

KÜMMEL, W.G. 'Der Text der Offenbarung' Th.L.Z. 82 (1957) pp. 249-54.

LADD, G.E. 'The Revelation and Jewish Apocalyptic' Ev.Quart. 29 (1957) pp. 84-100.

'Revelation 20 and the Millennium' Review and Expositor 57 (1960) 167-75.

'The Theology of the Apocalypse' Gordon Review 7 (1963/64) pp. 73-86.

LANGENBERG, H. 'Die prophetische Bildsprache der Apokalypse' Metzingen 1951/2.

'Schlüssel zum Verständnis der Apokalypse' Pt.1. Metzingen 1957.

LÄUCHLI, Samuel 'Eine Gottesdienststruktur in der Johannesoffenbarung' T.Z. 16 (1960) pp. 359-378.

LAWLOR, H.J. 'Hegesippus and the Apocalypse' J.T.S. 8 (1907) pp. 436-44.

LE FROIS, B.J. 'Eschatological Interpretation of the Apocalypse' C.B.Q. 13 (1951) pp. 17-20.

'The Woman Clothed with the Sun (Apc. 12) Individual or Collective?' Rome, 1954.

LEHMANN-NITSCHE, R. 'Der Apokalyptische Drache. Eine astralmythologische Untersuchung über Ap. Joh. 12' Zeitschrift für Ethnologie 65 (1933) pp. 193-230.

'Die magische Verfolgung in der Offenbarung' Zeitschrift für Ethnologie 67 (1935) pp. 75-8.

LEPSIUS, J. 'The Symbolic Language of the Apocalypse' Exp. 8th series 1 (1911) pp. 160-80; 210-30; 461-75; 504-19.

LÉVITAN, J. 'Une Conception Juive de l'Apocalypse' Paris 1966.

LOHMEYER, E. 'Das 12. Kapitel der Offenbarung Johannes' Th.Bl. 4 (1925) pp. 285-91.

'Die Offenbarung des Johannes 1920-1934' Th.R. 6 (1934) pp. 269-314; 7 (1935) pp. 28-62.

LOHSE, E. 'Die alttestamentliche Sprache des Sehers Johannes, textkritische Bemerkungen zur Apokalypse' Z.N.T.W. 52 (1961) pp. 122-126.

LUND, N.W. 'Chiasmus in the New Testament, a study in Formgeschichte' North Carolina. 1942.

LUTZ, M. 'Die grosse Stimme. Die Sendschreiben der Offenbarung des Johannes, Kapitel 1. 4-3.22' Göttingen 1937.

McNEILE, A.H. 'The Number of the Beast' J.T.S. 14 (1913) 443f.

MANTEL, A. 'Die Dienste der Engel nach der Apokalypse des Johannes' Bibel und Leben 2 (1961) pp. 59-65.

MARTIN, H. 'The Seven Letters' Philadelphia 1955.

MASSON, Ch. 'L'Évangile éternel de l'Apocalypse 14.6' K. Barth Festschrift: 'Hommage et reconnaissance' Paris 1946.

MAY, H.G. 'Some Cosmic Connotations of Mayim Rabbim, "Many Waters"' J.B.L. 74 (1955) 9-21.

MEINERTZ, M. 'Wesen und Bedeutung der Johannesapokalypse' B.K. 1 (1955) pp. 3-13.

MICHAEL, J.H. 'Har-Magedon' J.T.S. 38 (1937) p. 168ff.

'Why Don't We Preach the Apocalypse?' Exp.T. 49 (1937/8) pp. 438-41.

'The Apocalypse: A Review and Revision of Vischer's Theory' Exp.T. 59 (1947/8) pp. 200-3.

'A Vision of the Final Judgement (Apk 20.11-15)' Exp. T. 63 (1952) pp. 199-201.

MICHL, J. 'Zu Apk. 9.8' B.Z. 23 (1935/6) pp. 266-88; Bib. 23 (1942) pp. 192-3.

'Die Engelvorstellung in der Apokalypse des hl. Johannes' Pt 1 - 'Die Engel um Gott' München 1937.

'Die 24 Ältesten in der Apokalypse des hl. Johannes' München 1938.

'Die Deutung der apokalyptischen Frau in der Gegenwart' B.Z. 3 (1959) pp. 301-310.

'Selige Menschen in einer neuen Schöpfung nach Apokalypse 21. 1-5' B.K. 16 (1961) pp. 113-5.

MIESSES, M. 'Hebräische Fragmente aus dem jüdischen Urtext der Apokalypse des heiligen Johannes' Monatschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums 74 (1930) pp. 345-62.

MILLIGAN, W. 'The Church of Christ in the Apocalypse' Exp. 2nd series 6 (1883) pp. 37-54; 119-36; 215-32; 373-91.

MINEAR, P.S. 'Eschatology and History' Interpretation 5 (1951) pp. 27-39.

'The Wounded Beast' J.B.L. 72 (1953) pp. 93-101.

'The Time of Hope in the New Testament' S.J.T. 6 (1953) pp. 337-61.

'Christian Eschatology and Historical Methodology' in 'Neutestamentlichen Studien für R. Bultmann' Berlin 1957 pp. 15-23.

'The Cosmology of the Apocalypse' in 'Current Issues in New Testament Interpretation' ed. Klassen and Snyder. London 1962.

'New Starting Point' Interpretation 19 (1965) pp. 3-15.

'Ontology and Ecclesiology in the Apocalypse' N.T.S. 12 (1966) pp. 89-105.

'An Apocalyptic Adjective' Nov. Test. 12 (1970) pp. 218-22.

MOBERLY, C.A.E. 'Five Visions of the Revelation' London/Oxford 1909.

MOERING, E. 'Εγενόμην ἐν πνεύματι Th.St.Kr. 92 (1919) pp. 148-54.

MOFFATT, J. 'Wellhausen and Others on the Apocalypse' Exp. 7th series 7 (1909) pp. 224-41.

MOLNER, A. 'Apocalypse 12 dans l'interpretation hussite' R.H.Ph.R. 45 (1965) pp. 212-31.

MONTGOMERY, A. 'The Education of the Seer of the Apocalypse' J.B.L. 45 (1926) pp. 70-80.

MOWRY, L. 'Revelation 4-5 and Early Christian Liturgical Usage' J.B.L. ~~Vol.~~ 71 (1952) pp. 75-84.

MÜLLER, H.P. 'Die Plagen der Apokalypse - eine formgeschichtliche Untersuchung' Z.N.T.W. 51 (1960) pp. 268-278.

'Formgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zu Apok. 4f' Th.L.Z. 88 (1963) pp. 951f.

'Die himmlische Ratsversammlung. Motivgeschichtliches zu Apk. 5 1-5' Z.N.T.W. 54 (1963) pp. 254-67.

MÜLLER, M.W. 'Die Apokalyptischen Reiter' Z.N.T.W. 8 (1907) pp 290-316.

MUNCK, J. 'Petrus und Paulus in der Offenbarung Johannis - ein Beitrag zur Auslegung der Apokalypse' Copenhagen 1950.

MURMELSTEIN, B. 'Das Zweite Tier in der Offenbarung Johannis' Th.St.Kr. 101 (1929) pp 447-57.

MUSSIES, G. 'Antipas (Rev. 2.13)' Nov. Test. 7 (1964) pp. 242-4.

'The Morphology of Koine Greek as used in the Apocalypse of St. John' Leiden 1971.

NEWMAN, B. 'The Fallacy of the Domitian Hypothesis: Critique of the Irenaeus source as a witness for the Contemporary-historical approach to the interpretation of the Apocalypse' N.T.S. 10 (1963-4) pp. 133-139.

NIKOLAINEN, A.T. 'Der Kirchenbegriff in der Offenbarung des Johannes' N.T.S. 9 (1962/3) pp. 351-361.

'Über die theologische Eigenart der Offenbarung des Johannes' Th.L.Z. 93 (1968) pp. 161-70.

OLSSON, B. 'Der Epilog der Offenbarung Johannis' Z.N.T.W. 31 (1932) pp. 84-86.

OMAN, J. 'The Apocalypse' Exp. 9th series 4 (1925) pp. 437-52.

'The Text of Revelation, A Revised Theory' Cambridge, 1928.

O'ROURKE, J.J. 'The Hymns of the Apocalypse' C.B.Q. 30 (1968) pp. 399-409.

OZANNE, C.G. 'The Influence of the Text and Language of the Old Testament on the Book of Revelation' Thesis - Univ. Manchester, 1964.

PALLIS, A. 'Notes on St. John and the Apocalypse' Oxford 1926.

PAREZ, C.H. 'The Seven Letters and the Rest of the Apocalypse' J.T.S. 12 (1911) pp 384-6.

PEAKE, A.S. 'The Person of Christ in the Revelation of John' in 'Mansfield College Essays'. 1909. pp. 91-106.

PETERSON, E. 'Die himmlische Kultus in Kapitel 4 und 5 der Geheimen Offenbarung' Liturgisches Leben 1 (1934) pp. 297-306.

'Der Geist der apostolischen Kirche nach der Geheimen Offenbarung' Hochland, 33.1 (1935/6) pp. 1-10.

'Die Offenbarung und der Martyrer' in 'Zeuge der Wahrheit' Leipzig 1937 pp. 31-52.

PETERSON, E.H. 'Apocalypse: The Medium is the Message' Theology Today 26 (1969) pp. 133-41.

PÉTREMENT, S. 'Une Suggestion de Simone Weil à propos d'Apoc. 12' N.T.S. 11 (1965) pp. 291-6.

PIEPENBRING, C. 'Influences mythologiques sur l'Apocalypse de Jean' R.H.R. 85 (1922) pp. 1-15.

PIPER, O.A. 'The Apocalypse of John and the Liturgy of the Ancient Church' Church History 20 (1951) pp. 10-22.

PLUMPTRE, E.H. 'A Popular Exposition of the Epistles to the Seven Churches of Asia' 3rd Ed. London. 1884.

POIRIER, L. 'Les Sept Églises ou le premier septénaire prophétique de l'Apocalypse' Montreal 1943.

'L'Église dans l'Apocalypse' Montreal 1962.

POWER, E. 'A Pretended Interpolation in the Apocalypse (14.4.5)' Bib. 4 (1923) pp. 108-12.

PRIGENT, P. 'Apocalypse et Liturgie' Neuchâtel (Suisse).

'Apocalypse 12 - Histoire de l'Exégèse' Tübingen 1959.

RAMSAY, Sir W.M. 'The Letters to the Seven Churches of Asia and Their place in the plan of the Apocalypse' London 1909.

'Note on the Seven Churches of Asia by J. Chapman' Exp. 6th Ser. 9. (1904) pp. 263-5.

'The Date of the Apocalypse' Exp. T. 16 (1905) pp. 171-4.

'The Early Christian Symbol of the Open Book' Exp. 6th Ser. 6 (1905) pp. 294-306.

'The White Stone and the "Gladiatorial" Tessera' Exp. T. 16 (1905) pp. 558-561.

READER, W. 'Die Stadt Gottes in der Johannesapokalypse' Doctoral Dissertation Göttingen 1971.

REPP, A.C. 'Ministry and Life in the Churches' Concordia Theological Monthly 25 (1964) pp. 133-47.

RIFE, J.M. 'Literary Background of Revelation 2, 3' J.B.L. 60 (1941) pp. 179-82.

RIGAUX, P. 'La Femme et son Lignage dans Gen. 3. 14,15' R.B. 61 (1954) pp. 321-48.

RISSI, M. 'Zeit und Geschichte in der Offenbarung des Johannes' Zürich 1952.

'Das Judenproblem im Lichte der Johannesapokalypse' T.Z. 13 (1957) pp. 241-59.

'The Rider on the White Horse (A Study of Rev. 6. 1-8)' Interpretation 18 (1964) pp. 407-18.

'Die Erscheinung Christi nach Offenbarung 19. 11-16' T.Z. 21 (1965) pp. 81-95.

'Time and History - A Study on the Revelation' Richmond 1966.

(Transl. of 'Was ist und was geschehen soll danach' Zürich 1965).

'The Kerygma of the Revelation to John' Interpretation 22 (1968) pp. 3-17.

'The Future of the World - an exegetical study of Rev. 19.11-22.15' London 1972. (German - Basel 1966).

ROBERTS, R. 'The Tree of Life (Rev. 2.7)' Exp. T. 25 (1914) p.332.

ROBINSON, W. '"The First Resurrection" and "The Second Death" in the Apocalypse' Theology 46 (1943) pp.97-102.

ROHMER, J. 'L'Apocalypse et le sens chrétien de l'histoire' Rech. Sci. Rel. (1952) pp.265-70.

ROHR, I. 'Die apokalyptischen Sendschreiben in ihrer Bedeutung für die Verfassungsgeschichte' Theologische Quartalschrift 88 (1906) pp. 369-90.

'Zur Einheitlichkeit der Apokalypse' Theologische Quartalschrift 88 (1906) pp. 497-541.

'Schichten in der Apokalypse' Theologische Quartalschrift 89 (1907) pp. 321-65.

'Die Geheime Offenbarung und die Zukunftserwartungen des Urchristentums' Münster 1911.

ROLLER, O. 'Das Buch mit den sieben Siegeln' Z.N.T.W. 36 (1937) pp. 98-113.

RUDWICK, M.J.S. and GREEN, E.M.B. 'The Laodicean Lukewarmness' Exp. T. 69 (1957-8) pp. 176-8.

RUOTOLO, L.P. 'A New Apocalypse' Motive 27 (Dec. 1966) pp.21-36.

RUSSELL, E. 'A Roman Law Parallel to Revelation 5' Bib. Sacr. 115 (459-1958) pp. 258-64.

SANDAY, W. 'The Apocalypse' J.T.S. 8 (1907) pp. 481-99.

SANDERS, H.A. 'The Number of the Beast in Revelation' J.B.L. 37 (1918) pp.95-9.

SANDERS, J.N. 'St. John on Patmos' N.T.S. 9 (1962/3) pp. 75-85.

SATAKE, A. 'Die Gemeindeordnung in der Johannesapokalypse' Neukirchen 1966.

SATTLER, W. 'Das Buch mit sieben Siegeln' Z.N.T.W. 20 (1921) pp. 231-40; Z.N.T.W. 21 (1922) pp. 43-53.

SCHLATTER, A. 'Das Alte Testament in der Offenbarung Johannes' Gutersloh 1912.

SCHLIER, H. 'Vom Antichrist, zum 13. Kapitel der Offenbarung Johannis' Theol. Aufsätze Karl Barth zum 50 Geburtstag. 1936 pp. 110-23.

'Das Ende der Zeiten. Die Offenbarung des Johannes und die Geschichte' Wort und Wahrheit 5 (1950) pp. 885-97.

'Zum Verständnis der Geschichte nach der Offenbarung Johannes' in 'Die Zeit der Kirche' Freiburg 1956 pp. 265-74.

'Jesus Christus und die Geschichte nach der Offenbarung des Johannes' in 'Besinnung auf das Neue Testament' Exegetische Aufsätze und Vorträge II. Freiburg 1964. pp. 358-73.

SCHMID, J. 'Studien zur Geschichte des griechischen Apokalypse Textes' 3 vols. München 1955-6.

SCHMIDT, K.L. 'Aus der Johannesapokalypse, dem letzten Buch der Bibel' Basel 1944.

'Die Bildersprache in der Johannes-Apokalypse' T.Z. 3 (1947) pp. 161-77.

SCHRAN, R. 'Zu Apc. 22.2. Die Frage nach dem Standort das Lebensbaumes' B.Z. 24 (1938/9) pp. 191-8.

SCHRENK, G. 'Die Apokalypse des Johannes' in 'Die Weissagungen über Israel im Neuen Testament' Zürich 1951 pp. 37-61.

SCHÜRER, E. 'Die Prophetin Isabel in Thyatira, Offenb. Joh. 2.20' in 'Theologische Abhandlungen Carl von Weizsäcker zu seinem siebzigsten Geburtstage ... gewidmet' Freiburg 1892 pp. 39-58. Summary in Th.L.Z. 18 (1893) pp. 153-4.

SCHÜTZ, R. 'Die Offenbarung des Johannes und Kaiser Domitian' Göttingen 1933.

'W. Foersters Erklärung der Bilder in der Offenbarung des Johannes 12f. und 17f' Th.St.Kr. 105 (1933) pp. 456-66.

SCHWEIZER, E. 'Die sieben Geister in der Apocalypse' from 'Neotestamentica - Deutsche und englische Aufsätze 1951-1963' pp. 190-202.

SCOTT, R.B.Y. 'The Original Language of the Apocalypse' Toronto 1928.

SELWYN, E.C. 'The Christian Prophets and the Prophetic Apocalypse' London 1900.

SHEPHERD, M.H. 'The Paschal Liturgy and the Apocalypse' London 1960.

SICKENBERGER, J. 'Das Tausendjährige Reich in der Apokalypse' in Festschrift für S. Merkle. Düsseldorf. 1922. pp. 300-16.

'Die Johannesapokalypse und Rom' B.Z. 17 (1926) pp. 270-82.

'Die Deutung der Engel der sieben apokalyptischen Gemeinden' Römische Quartalschrift 35 (1927) pp. 135-49.

'Die Messiasmutter im 12. Kapitel der Apokalypse' Theologische Quartalschrift 126 (1946) pp. 357-427.

SILBERMAN, L.H. 'Farewell to ὁ 'Αμήν - a note on Rev. 3.14' J.B.L. 82 (1963) pp. 213-5.

SIMON, G. 'Die Enderwartung der Christenheit. Eine Auslegung von Offenbarung Johannis 20-22' Beth-El 29 (1937) pp. 66-74; 91-99; 123-132.

SKEHAN, P.W. 'King of Kings, Lord of Lords (Rev. 19.16)' C.B.Q. 10 (1948) p. 398.

SKRINJAR, A. 'Les sept Esprits (Apoc. 1.4; 3.1; 4.5; 5.6)' Bib. 16 (1935) pp. 1-24, 113-40.

'Ego sum α et ω ' (Apoc. 22.13; cf. 1.8; 21.6)' Verbum Domini 17 (1937) pp. 10-20.

SLATER, W.F. 'The Pauline "Mystery" in the Apocalypse' Exp. 8th series 1 (1911) pp. 129-48.

SMITH, C.E. 'The Purpose of the Apocalypse' Bib. Sacr. 78 (1921) pp. 164-71.

SMITH, C.R. 'The Three "Woes" of the Apocalypse' London Quarterly and Holborn Review 167 (1942) pp. 16-33.

SMITH, J.K. 'The Apocalypse of St. John and the Early Church' Journal of Bible and Religion 25 (1957) pp. 187-95.

SNYDER, J. 'A Reconstruction of an Early Cycle of Illustrations for Revelation' Vigiliae Christianae 18 (1964) pp. 146-62.

SPEIGL, J. 'Der Römische Staat und die Christen-Staat und Kirche von Domitian bis Commodus' Amsterdam 1970.

STÄHLIN, G. 'Siehe, ich mache alles neu (Apk. 21.5)' Ökumenische Rundschau 16 (1967) pp. 237-52.

STARITZ, K. 'Zu Offenbarung Johannis 5.1' Z.N.T.W. 30 (1931) pp. 157-70.

STAUFFER, E. 'Das theologische Weltbild der Apokalypse' Zeit. für System. Theol. 8 (1930) pp. 203-5.

'666' Coniectanea Neotestamentica (A Fridrichsen) XI (1947) pp. 237-41.

STEINMETZER, F.X. 'Das Froschsymbol in Offb. 16' B.Z. 10 (1912) pp. 252-60.

'Der apokalyptische Drache' Theologie und Glaube 28 (1936) pp. 281-90.

STOTT, W. 'A Note on the word KYPIAKH in Rev. 1.10' N.T.S. 12 (1965) pp. 70-5.

STRAND, K.A. 'Another Look at "Lord's Day" in the Early Church and Revelation 1.10' N.T.S. 13 (1967) pp. 174-81.

STRATHMANN, H. 'Siehe, ich mache alles neu! (Apk. 21.5)' Th. Bl. 13 (1934) pp. 97-102.

'Was soll die "Offenbarung" des Johannes im Neuen Testament?' 2nd Ed. Gütersloh 1947 (1934).

STROBEL, A. 'Abfassung und Geschichtstheologie der Apokalypse nach Kap. 17. 9-12' N.T.S. 10 (1963-4) pp. 433-445.

STUART, M. 'The White Stone of the Apocalypse. Exegesis of Rev. 2.17' Bib. Sacr. 1 (1843) pp. 461-77.

STUDERUS, R. 'Zum Aufbau der Apokalypse' Theologisch-praktische Quartalschrift. 111 (1963) pp. 29-35.

STUIBER, A. 'Amen' Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum 1 (1958) pp. 153-8.

SUMMERS, R. 'Revelation 20. An Interpretation' Review and Expositor 57 (1960) pp. 176-83.

SVOBODA, A. 'The Seven Churches of Asia' London 1869.

SYMES, J.E. 'The Johannine Apocalypse' Hibbert Journal 12 (1914) pp. 409-20.

TAIT, T. 'The Messages to the Seven Churches of Asia Minor' London 1884.

TAYLOR, W.S. 'The Seven Seals' J.T.S. 31 (1930) pp. 266-271.

THOMAS, R.L. 'The glorified Christ on Patmos' Bib. Sacr. 122 (487, 1965) pp. 241-7.

THOMPSON, L. 'Cult and Eschatology in the Apocalypse' Journal of Religion 49 (1969) pp. 330-50.

THÜSING, W. 'Die theologische Mitte der Weltgerichtsvision in der Johannesapokalypse' Trierer Theologische Zeitschrift 77. (1968) pp. 1-16.

'Die Vision des "Neuen Jerusalem" (Apk. 21.1-22.5) als Verheissung und Gottesverkundigung' Trierer Theologische Zeitschrift 77 (1968) pp. 17-34.

TORRANCE, T.F. 'Liturgie et Apocalypse' Verbum Caro XI. 41 (1957) pp. 28-40.

'Liturgy and Apocalypse' Church Service Society Annual of the Church of Scotland, May 1954.

'The Apocalypse Today' Grand Rapids 1959.

TORREY, C.C. 'Armageddon' H.T.R. 31 (1938) pp.237-50.

'The Apocalypse of John' New Haven 1958.

TOUILLEUX, P. 'L'Apocalypse et les cultes de Domitien et de Cybèle' Paris 1935.

TRENCH, R.C. 'Commentary on the Epistles to the Seven Churches in Asia' 3rd Ed. London 1867.

TRIBBLE, H.W. 'The Christ of the Apocalypse' Review and Expositor 40 (1943) pp. 167-76.

TRISTRAM, H.B. 'The Seven Golden Candlesticks' London n.d.

TRUDINGER, L.P. 'Some Observations Concerning the Text of the Old Testament in the Book of Revelation' J.T.S. 17 (1966) pp. 82-88.

TYCIAK, J. 'Maranatha. Die Geheime Offenbarung und die kirchliche Liturgie' Warendorf. 1947.

VAN BERGEN, P. 'Dans l'attente de la nouvelle Jérusalem' Lumière et Vie 45 (1959) pp. 1-8.

VAN EYSINGA, G.A. van den Berg 'Die in der Apk. bekämpfte Gnosis' Z.N.T.W. 13 (1912) pp. 293-305.

'Symbolisches in der Apokalypse Johannis' Acta Orientalia 2 (1924) pp. 163-82.

VAN GENNEP, A. 'Le Symbolisme ritualiste de l'Apocalypse' R.H.R. 89 (1924) pp. 163-82.

VANHOYE, A. 'L'Utilisation du livre d'Ézechiel dans l'Apocalypse' Bib. 43 (1962) pp. 436-76.

VAN UNNIK, W.C. 'A Formula Describing Prophecy' N.T.S. 9 (1963) pp. 86-94.

'Die geöffneten Himmel in der Offenbarungsvision des Apokryphons des Johannes' in E. Haenchen 'Apophoreta' Berlin 1964.

'Μία γνώμη - Apocalypse of John xvii. 13, 17' in 'Studies in John' presented to J.N. Sevenster(Suppl. Nov. Test. XXIV.) Leiden 1970.

VISCHER, E. and CORSSEN, P. 'Die Entstehung der Zahl 666' Z.N.T.W. 5 (1904) pp.84-8.

VÖGTLE, A. 'Mythos und Botschaft in Apokalypse 12' in 'Tradition und Glaube - das frühe Christentum in seiner Umwelt - Festgabe für K.G. Kuhn' 1971 pp. 395-415.

VÖLTER, D. 'Das Problem der Apokalypse' Freiburg/Leipzig 1893.

VOS, L.A. 'The Synoptic Traditions in the Apocalypse' Kampen 1965.

WALLACE, H. 'Leviathan and the Beast in Revelation' Bib. Arch. 11 (1948) pp. 61-8.

WATSON, E. and HAMILTON, B. 'Lumen Christi - Lumen Antichristi: the exegesis of Apoc. 11.5 and 13.13 in the Mediaeval Latin Fathers' Rivista di Storia e Literatura Religiosa II (1966) pp. 84-92.

WEBER, H.E. 'Zum Verständnis der Offenbarung Johannis' in 'Aus Schrift und Geschichte. Festschrift für A. Schlatter' Stuttgart. 1922 pp. 47-64.

WEBER, Max. 'Die apokalyptischen Reiter' Z.N.T.W. 8 (1907) pp. 290-319.

WELLHAUSEN, J. 'Skizzen und Vorarbeiten' 6. Berlin (1899) pp. 221f.

'Analyse der Offenbarung Johannis' Berlin 1907.

WIKENHAUSER, A. 'Ein weiterer Beleg für potamophoretos' B.Z. (1908) p. 171;(1909) p. 48.

'Der Sinn der Apokalypse des hl. Johannes' Münster 1931.

'Das Problem des tausendjährigen Reiches in der Johannes-Apokalypse' Römische Quartalschrift 40 (1932) pp. 13-25.

'Die Herkunft der Idee des tausendjährigen Reiches in der Johannes-Apokalypse' Römische Quartalschrift 45 (1937) pp. 1-24.

'Weltwoche und tausendjähriges Reich' Theologische Quartalschrift 127 (1947) pp. 399-417.

WINDISCH, H. 'Der Apokalyptiker Johannes als Begründer des neutestamentlichen Kanons' Z.N.T.W. 10 (1909) pp. 148-74.

WISHART, C.F. 'The Book of Day' New York 1935.

WOOD, P. 'Local Knowledge in the Letters of the Apocalypse' Exp. T. 73 (1961-2) pp. 263-4.

ZIELINSKI, T. 'Die griechischen Quellen der Apokalypse' Forschungen und Fortschritte 7 (1931) pp. 155-7.

'Les sources grecques de l'Apocalypse de saint Jean' in Festschrift G. Przychocki. Warsaw 1934.pp. 1-13.

ZIMMERMANN, H. 'Heilsgeschichte und Weltgeschichte in der Johannes-apokalypse' Bibel und Leben. 1 (1960) pp. 75-86.

'Christus und die Kirche in den Sendschreiben der Apokalypse' Festschrift, L. Jaeger: 'Unio Christianorum' Paderborn. 1962 pp. 176-97.

D - RELATED STUDIES. A SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

ALTHEIM, F. 'A History of Roman Religion' Book IV - The Augustan Age 1938.

ABBOTT, E.A. 'Notes on New Testament Criticism' 1907.

ANDERSON, J.K. 'Ancient Greek Horsemanship' 1961.

ANGUS, S. 'The Mystery Religions and Christianity' 1928.

ARUNDELL, F.V.J. 'A Visit to the Seven Churches of Asia, with an Excursion into Pisidia' London 1828.

BACON, B.W. 'The Apostolic Decree Against πορνεία' Exp. 8th series 7 (1914) pp. 40-61.

'The Gospel of the Hellenists' 1933.

BAILLET, M. 'Fragments Araméens de Qumran 2 - Description de la Jérusalem Nouvelle' R.B. 62 (1955) pp. 222-245.

BARON, S.W. 'A Social and Religious History of the Jews' 2nd Ed. 1952.

BARR, J. 'Old and New in Interpretation' London 1966.

BARRETT, C.K. 'The Gospel According to St. John' London 1955.

'The New Testament Background - Selected Documents' London 1956.

'The Eschatology of the Epistle to the Hebrews' in 'The Background of the New Testament and its Eschatology' ed. Davies and Daube 1956. pp. 363-393.

'Things Sacrificed to Idols' N.T.S. 11(1965) pp. 138-153.

'Jesus and the Gospel Tradition' London 1967.

BARTH, M. 'Der Augenzeuge' 1946.

BATES, G.E. 'Archaeological Exploration of Sardis' Monograph 1 - Byzantine Coins. 1971.

BAUER, W. 'Orthodoxy and Heresy in Earliest Christianity' 1971.

BAUMGARTEN, J. and MANSOOR, M. 'Studies in the New Hodayot (Thanksgiving Hymns) II' J.B.L. 74(1955) pp. 188-195.

BAUMSTARK, A. 'Trishagion und Qeduscha' Jahrb. f. Lit. 3(1923) pp. 18f.

BEAN, G.E. 'Aegean Turkey - an Archaeological Guide' London 1966.

'Turkey Beyond the Meander' London 1971.

BEASLEY-MURRAY, G.R. 'Jesus and the Future' 1954.

'A Commentary on Mark 13' 1957.

BENTZEN, A. 'Daniel' H.A.T. 2nd Ed. 1952.

BERKHOF, H. 'Christ the Meaning of History' London. 1966.

BETZ, O. 'Die Geburt der Gemeinde durch den Lehrer' N.T.S. 3 (1956/7) pp. 314-26.

'Das Volk Seiner Kraft - zur Auslegung der Qumran Hodajah III 1 - 18' N.T.S. 5(1958/59) pp. 67-75.

'Felsenmann und Felsengemeinde' Z.N.T.W. 48.(1957) pp. 49-77.

BEWER, J.A. 'A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Obadiah and Joel' Edinburgh. 1912.

BEZOLD, C. 'Astronomie, Himmelsschau und Astrallehre bei den Babyloniern'Heidelberg. 1911.

BEZOLD, C. and BOLL, F. 'Reflexe astrologischer Keilinschriften bei griechischen Schriftstellern! Heidelberg. 1911.

BIETENHARD, H. 'Die Freiheitskriege der Juden unter den Kaisern Trajan und Hadrian und der Messianische Tempelbau' Judaica 4 (1948) pp. 57-77; 81-108; 161-85.

'Die Himmlische Welt im Urchristentum und Spätjudentum' Tübingen. 1951.

'Das Tausendjährige Reich' Zürich. 1955.

BIRD, S.W.H. 'And Unto Smyrna' London. n.d.

BISHOP, J.H. 'Nero' 1964.

BLACK,M. 'The Christological Use of the Old Testament in the New Testament' N.T.S. 18.(1971) pp. 1-14.

BLAIKLOCK, E.M. 'Cities of the New Testament' London. 1965.

BOLL, F.J. etc. 'Catalogus codicum astrologorum Graecorum' Brussels. 1898. etc.

'Sphaera - Neue Griechische Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Sternbilder' Leipzig. 1903.

'Sternglaube und Sterndeutung. Die Geschichte und das Wesen der Astrologie' Unter Mitwirkung von Carl Bezold dargestellt von F. Boll. Leipzig/Berlin. 1926.

BONNET, H. 'Die Waffen der Völker des Alten Orients' Leipzig. 1926.

BOUSSET, W. 'The Antichrist Legend' London. 1896. tr. 'Der Antichrist' 1895.

'Die Religion des Judentums im Späthellenistischen Zeitalter' ed. H. Gressmann. 3rd Ed. 1926.

BRANDON, S.G.F. 'The Fall of Jerusalem and the Christian Church' 1951.

BRAUN, F.M. 'L'arrière-fond judaïque du quatrième évangile et la communauté de l'alliance' R.B. 62.(1955) pp. 29-31.

BRIGGS, C.A. and E.G. 'A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on The Book of Psalms' 2 vols. Edinburgh. 1906-7.

BRONGERS, H.A. 'Der Zornesbecher' in 'The Priestly Code and Seven Other Studies' (Oudtestamentische Studien XV) Leiden. 1969.

BROUGHTON, T.R.S. 'An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome' (edited Tenny Frank) Vol. IV - Pt 4 - Roman Asia.(1938) 1959.

'New Evidence on Temple States in Asia Minor' Cleman-Norton, ed. 'Studies in Roman Economic and Social History' Princeton. 1951. pp. 236-50.

BROWN, R.E. 'The Messianism of Qumran' C.B.Q. 19.(1957) pp. 53-82.

'The Gospel According to John' 2 vols. 1966.

BROX, N. 'Zeuge und Märtyrer' München. 1961.

BRUCE, F.F. 'The Dead Sea Scrolls and Early Christianity' B.J.R.L. 49 (1966) pp. 69-90.

'New Testament History' 1969.

BRUCE, I.A.F. 'Nerva and the "Fiscus Judaicus" ' P.E.Q. 96.(1964) 34-45.

BULTMANN, R. 'Das Evangelium des Johannes' Göttingen. 1941.

'History and Eschatology in the New Testament' N.T.S. 1 (1954) pp. 5-16.

'Primitive Christianity in its Contemporary Setting' London. 1956.

'Geschichte und Eschatologie' 1964.

BURKITT, F.C. 'Jewish and Christian Apocalypses' (Schweich Lectures 1913) London. 1914.

BUTLER, H.C. 'Publications of the American Society for the Excavation of Sardis' Part 1. 1910-14. Leiden. 1922.

CADOUX, C.J. 'Ancient Smyrna - a history of the city from the earliest times to 324 A.D.' Oxford. 1938.

CAIRD, G.B. 'Principalities and Powers' Oxford. 1956.

CALDER, Sir W. 'Smyrna as described by the Orator Aelius Aristides' in 'Studies in the History and Art of the Eastern Provinces of the Roman Empire' ed. W.M. Ramsey. Aberdeen. 1906. pp. 95-116.

'Philadelphia and Montanism' B.J.R.L. 7.(1922-3) pp. 309-54

'The New Jerusalem of the Montanists' Byzantion 6.(1931) pp. 421-5.

CAMBRIDGE ANCIENT HISTORY Vol. 10. 1952; Vol. 11. 1954.

CAMPBELL, L.A. 'Mithraic Iconography and Ideology' 1968.

CASE, S.J. 'The Millennial Hope' Chicago. 1918.

CASEY, R.P. 'Gnosis, Gnosticism, and the New Testament' in 'Background of N.T. and its Eschatology' - Studies in Honour of C.H. Dodd. pp. 52-80. Cambridge. 1956.

CAUSSE, A. 'Le Mythe de la nouvelle Jérusalem du Deutéro-Esaïe à la III^e Sibylle' R.H.Ph.R. 18.(1938) pp. 377-414.

'De la Jérusalem Terrestre à la Jérusalem céleste' R.H.Ph.R. 27 (1947) pp. 12-36.

CERFAUX, L. 'Témoins du Christ d'après le livre des Actes' Angelicum(1943) pp. 166-83; in 'Recueil Lucien Cerfaux' Gembloux. 1954. II.pp157-74.

CERFAUX, L. and TONDRIAU, J. 'Le Culte des Souverains dans la Civilisation Greco-Romaine' 1957.

CHAMBERLAIN, J.V. 'Another Qumran Thanksgiving Psalm. Further Elucidation of a Messianic Thanksgiving Psalm from Qumran' J.N.E.S. 14. (1955) pp. 32-41; 181-2.

CHAPOT, V. 'La Province Romaine Proconsulaire d'Asie depuis ses origines jusqu'à la fin du Haut Empire' Paris. 1904.

CHARLES, R.H. 'A Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life' Jowett Lectures. 1899/1913.

CHARLES-PICARD, G. 'Augustus and Nero - The Secret of Empire' London. 1966.

CHARLESWORTH, M.P. 'Trade Routes and Commerce in the Roman Empire' Cambridge. 1924.

'Deus Noster Caesar' Classical Review 39.(1925) pp. 113-5.

'Some Observations on Ruler-Cult, especially in Rome' H.T.R. 28.(1935) pp. 5-44.

CHARLESWORTH, M.P. 'The Virtues of A Roman Emperor' Raleigh Lecture. 1937.

'Nero - Some Aspects' J.R.S. 10.(1950) pp. 69ff.

CHARLESWORTH, M.P. (ED) 'Documents Illustrating the Reigns of Claudius and Nero' 1939.

CHRISTIE, W.M. 'The Jamnia Period in Jewish History' J.T.S. 26.(1925) pp. 347-64.

CLARK, K.W. 'Worship in the Jerusalem Temple after A.D. 70' N.T.S. 6 (1960) pp. 269-80.

CLEMENTS, R.E. 'God and Temple' 1965.

CLERC, M. 'De Rebus Thyatirenorum. Commentatio Epigraphica' Paris. 1893.

CONZELMANN, H. 'The Theology of St. Luke' London. 1960.

COOKE, G.A. 'A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Ezekiel' Edinburgh. 1936.

CRANFIELD, C.E.B. 'The Cup Metaphor in Mark 14.36 and Parallels' Exp. T. 59. p. 137.

'The Gospel According to St. Mark' 1959.

'Divine and Human Action - The Biblical Concept of Worship' Interpretation 12.(1958) pp. 387-98; reprinted in 'The Service of God' 1965. pp. 9-22.

CULLMANN, O. 'Early Christian Worship' London. 1953.

'Peter: Disciple, Apostle, Martyr' London. 1953.

CUMONT, F. 'Textes et Monuments figurés relatifs aux Mystères de Mithra' 2 vols. 1896-8.

'The Mysteries of Mithra' 1903.

'Astrology and Religion among the Greeks and Romans' New York. 1912.

'La fin du Monde selon les Mages occidentaux' R.H.R. 103.(1931) pp.29-96.

'Mithra en Asie Mineure' in 'Anatolian Studies presented to William Hepburn Buckler' ed. WM. Calder, J. Keil. Manchester. 1939. pp. 67-76.

DAHL, N.A. 'Christ, Creation and the Church' in 'Background of N.T. and its Eschatology' ed. Davies and Daube. 1956. pp. 422-43.

DANIELS, C. 'Mithras and His Temples on the Wall' Newcastle upon Tyne. 1962.

DAVIES, J.G. 'The Cup of Wrath and the Cup of Blessing' Theology 51 (1948) pp. 178-80.

'The Origin and Development of Early Christian Architecture' London. 1952.

DEHN, G. 'Urchristliches Gemeindeleben' Witten/Ruhr. 1954.

DEISSMANN, A. 'Bible Studies. Contributions chiefly from Papyri and Inscriptions to the History of the Language, the Literature and the Religion of Hellenistic Judaism and Primitive Christianity' 1903.

' Light from the Ancient Near East' 1911/27.

DELLING, D.G. 'Worship in the New Testament' London. 1962.

DES GAGNIERS, J. 'Laodicée du Lycos: Le Nymphée' Paris. 1969.

DIBELIUS, M. 'A Fresh Approach to the New Testament and Early Christian Literature' 1936.

'Rom und die Christen im ersten Jahrhundert':'Botschaft und Geschichte II'1956. originally published Heidelberg. 1942.

DIETERICH, A. 'Abraxas, Studien zur Religionsgeschichte des späteren Altertums' Leipzig. 1891.

DIX, G. 'The Shape of the Liturgy' 2nd Ed. 1945.

'Heavenly Wisdom and Divine Logos in Jewish Apocalyptic' J.T.S.(1925),pp1-12.

DODD, C.H. 'The Fall of Jerusalem and the "Abomination of Desolation" ' J.R.S. 37.(1947) pp. 47-54. Reprinted in 'More New Testament Studies' Manchester. 1968. pp. 69-83.

'The Johannine Epistles' 1946.

'The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel' Cambridge. 1953.

DRIVER, G.R. 'The Judaean Scrolls' Oxford. 1965.

DUGMORE, C.W. 'The Influence of the Synagogue upon the Divine Office' 1948. (1944).

'Lord's Day and Easter' O. Cullmann:'Neotestamentica et Patristica' Leiden. 1962. pp. 272-81.

DUPONT-SOMMER, A. 'La Mère du Messie et la Mère de l'Aspic dans un Hymne de Qumran' R.H.R. 147.(1955) pp. 174-88.

DURR, J. 'Die Stellung des Propheten Ezechiel in der Israelitischen-Jüdischen Apokalyptik' Münster. 1923.

EICHRODT, W. 'Ezekiel - A Commentary' London. 1970. From the German - Göttingen. 1955/6.

EISSFELDT, O. 'Baal Zaphon' Halle. 1932.

ELIADE, M. 'Images and Symbols' London. 1961.

FERGUSON, J. 'The Religions of the Roman Empire' 1970.

FESTUGIÈRE, A.F. 'Personal Religon among the Greeks' California. 1960.

FEUILLET, A. 'Le Fils de l'homme de Daniel et la Tradition Biblique' R.B. 60.(1953) pp. 170-202; 321-46.

FÖRSTER, W. 'Palestinian Judaism in New Testament Times' 1964.

FOWLER, W.W. 'The Religious Experience of the Roman People' (Gifford Lectures 1909-10) 1911.

FRANZERO, C.M. 'The Life and Times of Nero' 1954.

FREND, W.H.C. 'Martyrdom and Persecution in the Early Church (A Study of Conflict from the Maccabees to Donatus)' Oxford. 1965.

FRIEDLÄNDER, L. 'Roman Life and Manners' London. 1908-13.

FROST, S.B. 'Old Testament Apocalyptic - its origins and growth' 1952.

GAGÉ, J. 'Deux Dieux Cavaliers en Asie Mineure (d'après deux bas-reliefs inédits)' Mélanges de l'Ecole de Rome 1926. pp. 103-23.

GÄRTNER, B. 'The Temple and the Community in Qumran and the New Testament' 1965.

GASQUE, W.W. 'Sir William Ramsay: Archaeologist and New Testament Scholar' Michigan. 1966.

'Sir William Ramsay and the New Testament' St.Ev. 5. 1968. pp. 277-80.

GASTER, T.H. 'Thespis' 1950.

GASTON, L. 'Sondergut und Markusstoff in Lk 21' T.Z. 16.(1960) pp. 161 ff.

GERSHEVITCH, I. 'The Avestan Hymn to Mithras' Cambridge. 1959.

GINSBERG, H.L. ' The Fiscus Judaicus' J.Q.R.(1930) pp. 218 ff.

GINZEL, F.K. 'Die astronomischen Kenntnisse der Babylonier und ihre kulturhistorische Bedeutung' Klio 1.(1901) pp. 1-25; 189-211; 349-80.

GLASSON, T.F. 'Moses in the Fourth Gospel' 1963.

GOGUEL, M. 'Eschatologie et Apocalyptique dans le Christianisme Primitif' R.H.R. 109.(1932) pp. 381-434; 490-524.

'Les Nicolaïtes' R.H.R. 115.(1936) pp. 5-36.

'L'Église Primitive' Paris. 1947.

'The Birth of Christianity' 1963.

GOODSPEED, E.J. 'New Solutions of New Testament Problems' 1927.

'A History of Early Christian Literature' 1942.

GRAEF, H. 'Mary, A History of Doctrine and Devotion. Vol. 1 - From the Beginnings to the Eve of the Reformation' 1963.

GRANT, R.M. 'Gnosticism and Early Christianity' 1966 (1959).

GRANT, R.M. (ED) 'Gnosticism (An Anthology)' 1961.

GRAY, J. 'Archaeology and the Old Testament World' London. 1962.

GRELOT, P. 'L'eschatologie de la Sagesse et les Apocalypses Juives' A. Gelin 'A la Rencontre de Dieu' 1961. pp. 165-78.

GRESSMANN, H. 'Der Festbecher' in Sellin - Festschrift. 1927. pp. 55-62.

GUNKEL, H. 'Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit, eine religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung über Genesis I und Apokalypse Johannis XII' Göttingen. 1895.

'Zum religionsgeschichtlichen Verständnis des Neuen Testaments' Göttingen. 1903.

HALLSTRÖM, A. 'Nero Redivivus' 1925.

HANSEN, E.V. 'The Attalids of Pergamon' New York. 1947.

HANSON, A.T. 'The Wrath of the Lamb' London. 1957.

HANSON, R.P.C. 'The Liberty of the Bishop to improvise Prayer in the Eucharist' Vigiliae Christianae 15.(1961) pp. 173-6.

HARNACK, A. von 'The Mission and Expansion of Christianity in the first three centuries' tr. J. Moffat. London. 1908.

'The Sect of the Nicolaitans, and Nicolaus, the Deacon in Jerusalem' Journal of Religion ~~Vol.~~ 3.(1923) pp. 413-22.

HASLUCK, F.W. 'The "Tomb of St. Polycarp" and the Topography of Ancient Smyrna' A.B.S.A. 20.(1913-14) pp. 80-93.

'The Rise of Modern Smyrna' A.B.S.A. 23.(1918-19) pp. 139-47.

HAUFMANN, G.MA. and DETWEILER, A.H. 'Excavations at Sardis - information in Anatolian Studies' Vols. 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 16, 17.(1959-) ; and B.A.S.O.R. Vols. 154, 182, 186, 187.(1959-)

HEATON, E.W. 'The Book of Daniel' London 1956.

HENDERSON, B.W. 'The Life and Principate of the Emperor Nero' 1903.

HOGARTH, D.G. 'Excavations at Ephesus. The Archaic Artemisia' 2 vols. London 1908.

HOOKE, S.H. 'Alpha and Omega' London 1961.

HOOKE, S.H. (Ed.) 'Myth and Ritual. Essays on the myth and ritual of the Hebrews in relation to the culture pattern of the Ancient East' 1933.

'The Labyrinth. Further studies in the relation between myth and ritual in the Ancient World' 1935.

'Myth, Ritual and Kingship. Essays on the theory and practice of Kingship in the Ancient Near East and in Israel' 1958.

HOSKYNS, E.C. 'Genesis I-III and St. John's Gospel' J.T.S. 21 (1920) pp. 210-18.

HUNZINGER, C.H. 'Babylon als Deckname für Rom und die Datierung des 1 Petrusbriefes' in 'Gottes Wort und Gottesland' ed. H. Reventlow. Göttingen 1965 pp. 65-77.

INAN, J. and ROSENBAUM, E. 'Roman and Early Byzantine Portrait Sculpture in Asia Minor' London 1966.

JAMES, E.O. 'The Ancient Gods' London 1960.

JEREMIAS, A. 'Babylonisches im Neuen Testament' Leipzig 1906.

JEREMIAS, J. 'Golgotha' 1926.

JOHNSON, S.E. 'Laodicea and its Neighbours' Bib. Arch. 13 (1950) pp. 1-18.

'Early Christianity in Asia Minor' J.B.L. 77 (1958) pp. 1-17.

JONAS, H. 'The Gnostic Religion - The Message of the Alien God and the beginnings of Christianity' Boston 1958.

JONES, A.H.M. 'Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces' Oxford 1937.

JOUON, P. 'Les mots employés pour désigner "Le Temple" dans l'Ancien Testament, le Nouveau Testament, et Josèphe' Recherches de science religieuse XXV (1935) pp. 329-343.

JUGIE, M. 'La Mort et L'Assomption de la Sainte Vierge. Étude Historico-Doctrinale' Pt. 1. 'Holy Scripture and Patristic Tradition'. pp. 9-56 1944.

'Les Juifs dans L'Empire Romain (leur Condition juridique, économique et sociale)' 2 vols. Paris 1914.

KÄHLER, H. 'Pergamon' 1949.

KEANE, A.H. 'The Origin of the Babylonian Dragon Myth' Prologue to the English version of W. Bousset 'The Antichrist Legend' 1896.

KEIL, J. 'Ephesos, Ein Führer durch die Ruinenstatt und ihre Geschichte' 1955.

KENNARD, J.S. 'The Jewish Provincial Assembly' Z.N.T.W. ~~Vol.~~ 53 (1962) pp. 25-51.

KLETTE, E.T. 'Die Christenkatastrophe unter Nero' 1907.

KNIGHT, G.A.F. 'A Christian Theology of the Old Testament' London 1959.

KNOX, W.L. 'Church and State in the New Testament' J.R.S. 39 (1949) pp. 23-30.

KOCH, K. 'The Rediscovery of Apocalyptic' London 1972.

KOCH, P.R. 'Der Gottesgeist und der Messias' Bib. 27 (1946) pp. 241-268.

KOEP, L. 'Das himmlische Buch im Antike und Christentum' Bonn 1952.

KORNEMANN, E. 'Zur Geschichte der antiken Herrscherkulte' Klio 1. (1901)pp. 51-146.

KRAELING, C.H. 'Excavations at Dura-Europos. Final Report VIII - Pt.1. The Synagogue' New Haven 1956.

KROLL, J. 'Die Christliche Hymnodik bis zu Klemens von Alexandreia' 1921.

'Christ und Hölle' Leipzig/Berlin 1932.

KÜMMEL, W.G. 'Introduction to the New Testament' London 1966.

KUNTZ, J.K. 'The Self-Revelation of God' Philadelphia 1967.

LÄUCHLI, S. 'The Language of Faith' 1965.

LE CAMUS, E. 'Voyage aux Sept Églises de l'Apocalypse' Paris 1896.

LEIVESTAD, R. 'Christ the Conqueror' 1954.

LETHABY, W.R. 'The Earlier Temple of Artemis at Ephesus' J.H.S. 37 (1917) pp. 1-16.

LIETZMANN, H. 'Der Weltheiland' Bonn 1909.

LIGHTFOOT, R.H. 'History and Interpretation in the Gospels' London 1935.

LOHMEYER, E. 'Christuskult und Kaiserkult' Tubingen 1919.

McCRUM, M. and WOODHEAD, A.G. 'Select Documents of the Principates of the Flavian Emperors including the year of Revolution. A.D. 68-96' Cambridge 1961.

McFAYDEN, D. 'The Occasion of the Domitianic Persecution' A.J.T. 24 (1920) pp. 46-66.

McQUEEN, D.H. 'The New Jerusalem and Town Planning' Exp. 9th series 2 (1924) pp. 220-226.

MAGIE, D. 'Roman Rule in Asia Minor to the end of the third century after Christ' 2 vols. Princeton 1950.

MANSON, T.W. 'The Church's Ministry' 1948.

'Martyrs and Martyrdom' B.J.R.L. 39 (1956/7) pp. 463-484.

'Studies in the Gospels and Epistles' ed. M. Black 1962.

MARTIN, R.P. 'Worship in the Early Church' 1964.

MARTY, J. 'Étude des textes cultuels de prière contenus dans le Nouveau Testament' R.H.Ph.R. 9 (1929) pp. 234-268; 366-376;10(1930) pp. 90-98.

MELLINK, M.J. 'Archaeology in Asia Minor' A.J.A. 71 (1967) pp. 155-74 and 72 (1968)pp. 125-47.

MICHL, J. 'Der Weibessame (Gen. 3.15) in spätjüdischer und frühchristlicher Auffassung' Bib. 33 (1952)

MILBURN, R.L.P. 'The Persecution of Domitian' C.Q.R. (1945) pp. 154-64.

MILLAR, F. 'The Roman Empire and its Neighbours' London 1967.

MILTNER, F. 'Two new statues of Diana of the Ephesians: and other discoveries in the ancient city of Ephesus' Illustrated London News 1958 pp. 209, 221-223.

Ephesus. Information about excavations. Anatolian Studies 8 (1958)pp. 27-8; 9 (1959) pp. 22-4.

MINEAR, P.S. 'Images of the Church in the New Testament' London 1961.

MITTEN, D.G. 'A New Look at Ancient Sardis' Bib. Arch. 29 (1966) 36-38.

MOMIGLIANO, M.A. 'The Peace of the Ara Pacis' Journal of Warburg and Courtauld Institutes 5 (1942) pp. 228-231.

MOMMSEN, T. 'The Provinces of the Roman Empire from Caesar to Diocletian' 2 vols. trans. W.P. Dickson. London 1886.

MOULE, C.F.D. 'The Birth of the New Testament' London 1962.

'Worship in the New Testament' London 1961.

MOWINCKEL, S. 'He That Cometh - The Messiah Concept in the Old Testament and Later Judaism' Oxford 1956.

MÜLLER, U.B. 'Messias und Menschensohn in jüdischen Apokalypsen und in der Offenbarung des Johannes' Gütersloh. 1972.

MÜLLER, W. 'Die Heilige Stadt: Roma quadrata, himmlisches Jerusalem und die Mythe vom Weltnabel' Stuttgart. 1961.

MUNCK, J. 'La Vocation de l'Apôtre Paul' St. Theol. 1.(1947) pp. 139-40.

'Paul, the Apostles and the Twelve'

'The New Testament and Gnosticism' in 'Current Issues in New Testament Interpretation' ed. W. Klassen and G.F. Snyder. London. 1962. pp. 224-38.

MURDOCH, W.R. 'History and Revelation in Jewish Apocalypticism' Interpretation 21.(1967) pp. 167-87.

MURRAY, G. 'Five Stages of Greek Religion' 1925.

NEILL, S. 'The Interpretation of the New Testament 1861-1961' London. 1964.

NEUSNER, J. 'A Life of Rabban Yohanan ben Zakkai ca. 1-80C.E.' (Studia Post-Biblica) Leiden. 1962.

NOCK, A.D. 'Studies in the Graeco-Roman Beliefs of the Empire' J.H.S. 45 (1925) pp. 84ff.

'Sallustius: Concerning the Gods and the Universe' 1926.

'Notes on Ruler Cult I - IV' J.H.S. 48.(1928) pp. 21-43.

'Religious Developments from Vespasian to Trajan' Theology. 1928.

'Essays on Religion and the Ancient World' 2 vols. 1971.

NORDEN, E. 'Die Geburt des Kindes - Geschichte einer Religiösen Idee' Leipzig/Berlin. 1924.

NOTH, M. 'Exodus - A Commentary' London. 1962.

'Leviticus - A Commentary' London. 1965.

'Jerusalem and the Israelite Tradition' from 'Laws in the Pentateuch and other Essays' 1966. pp. 132-44.

'The Understanding of History in Old Testament Apocalyptic' from 'Laws in the Pentateuch' 1966. pp. 194-214.

OESTERLEY, W.O.E. 'The Jewish Background of the Christian Liturgy' Oxford. 1925.

OLMSTEAD, A.T. 'Could an Aramaic Gospel be Written?' J.N.E.S. 1. pp. 41-75.

OLMSTEAD, A.T. 'History of the Persian Empire' Chicago. 1948.

PARKER, H.M.D. 'The Roman Legions' Oxford. 1928.

PATTERSON, L. 'Mithraism and Christianity: A Study in Comparative Religion' Cambridge. 1922.

PÉPIN, J. 'Mythe et Allégorie' 1958.

PFISTER, F. 'Die Religion der Griechen und Römer' Leipzig. 1930.

PIPPIDI, D.M. 'Le "Numen Augusti" - Observations sur une forme occidentale du culte impérial' Revue des Études Latines 11.(1931) pp. 1-29.

'Recherches sur le Culte Impérial' 1939.

PLEKET, H.W. 'Domitian, the Senate and the Provinces' Mnemosyne 4.14 (1961) pp. 269ff.

'An Aspect of the Emperor Cult: Imperial Mysteries' H.T.R. 57.(1965) pp. 331-47.

PLÖGER, O. 'Theokratie und Eschatologie' W.M.A.N.T. 2. 1959.

PORTEOUS, N. 'Daniel - A Commentary' London. 1965.

'Jerusalem-Zion, the Growth of a Symbol': W. Rudolph: 'Verbannung und Heimkehr' Tübingen. 1961. pp. 235-52; also in: 'Living the Mystery' 1967. pp. 93-111.

RAMSAY, Sir W.M. 'The Historical Geography of Asia Minor' London. 1890.

'The Church in the Roman Empire before A.D. 170' London. 1893.

'The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia' 2 vols. Oxford. 1895.

'St. Paul, the Traveller and Roman Citizen' 1895.

'The Cities of St. Paul' London. 1907.

'Studies in the Roman Province Galatia' J.R.S. 14.(1924) pp. 179-84.

REICKE, B. 'Some Reflections on Worship in the New Testament' from 'New Testament Essays: Studies in Memory of T.W. Manson' ed. A.J.B. Higgins. Manchester. 1959. pp. 194-209.

REID, J.S. 'Roman Ideas of Deity' J.R.S. 6.(1916) pp. 171-84.

REINACH, S. 'La Mévente des Vins sous le Haut-Empire Romain' Rev. Archéologique 3rd Ser. 39.(1901) pp. 350-74.

RENAN, E. 'Histoire des Origines du Christianisme' Vol IV. 'L'Antéchrist' Paris. 1873.

RIESENFELD, H. 'Sabbat et Jour du Seigneur' in 'New Testament Essays: Studies in Memory of T.W. Manson' ed. A.J.B. Higgins Manchester. 1959. pp. 210-17.

ROBERT, L. 'Villes d'Asie Mineure' 2nd Ed. 1962. (1935)

'Études Anatoliennes' Paris. 1937.

'Les Gladiateurs dans l'Orient Grec' Paris. 1940.

ROBINSON, D.M. 'A new Latin economic edict from Pisidian Antioch' Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association. ~~Vol.~~ 55.(1924) pp. 5-20.

ROBINSON, J.A.T. 'On Being the Church in the World' London. 1960.

RORDORF, W. 'Sunday' tr. A.A.D. Graham. 1968.

ROSE, H.J. 'Ancient Roman Religion' 1948.

RÖSSLER, D. 'Gesetz und Geschichte' W.M.A.N.T. 3. 1960.

ROSTOVTZEFF, M. 'Notes on the Economic Policy of the Pergamene Kings' in 'Anatolian Studies presented to Sir W.M. Ramsay' Manchester. 1923. pp. 359-90.

'Some Remarks on the Monetary and Commercial Policy of the Seleucids and Attalids' in 'Anatolian Studies Presented to W.H. Buckler' Manchester. 1939. pp. 277-98.

'The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World' 3 vols. Oxford. 1941.

'The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire' 2 vols. 2nd ed. Oxford. 1957.

ROWLEY, H.H. 'Darius the Mede and the Four World Empires' 1959. (1935)

'The Relevance of Apocalyptic - A study of Jewish and Christian Apocalypses from Daniel to the Revelation' 1944/1955/1963.

RUSSELL, D.S. 'The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic' London. 1964.

SAUTER, F. 'Der römische Kaiserkult bei Martial und Statius' 1934.

SCHLATTER, A. 'Geschichte Israels von Alexander dem Grossen bis Hadrian' Stuttgart. 1925.

SCHLIER, H. 'Die Engel nach dem N.T.' Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft 6. (1959) pp. 43-56.

SCHMIDT, E.F. 'The Treasury of Persepolis and other Discoveries' Oriental Institute Communications - Chicago. No. 21. 1939.

SCHMIDT, J.M. 'Die jüdische Apokalyptik. Die Geschichte ihrer Erforschung von den Anfängen bis zu den Textfunden von Qumran' 1969.

SCHMIDT, K.L. 'Jerusalem als Urbild und Abbild' Eranos Jahrbuch 18.(1950) pp. 207-48.

SCHRAMM, T. 'Der Markus-Stoff bei Lukas: eine literarkritische und redaktionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung' Cambridge. 1971.

SCHUMANN 'Hellenistische und griechische Elemente in der Regierung Neros' 1930.

SCHWEIZER, E. 'Lordship and Discipleship' London. 1960.

'Church Order in the New Testament' London. 1961.

SCOTT, K. 'The Imperial Cult Under the Flavians' 1936.

SCOTT, R.B.Y. 'Behold, He Cometh with The Clouds of Heaven' N.T.S. 5. (1959) pp. 127-32.

SELLERS, O.R. 'Musical Instruments of Israel' Bib. Arch. 4.(1941) pp. 33-47.

SILBERMAN, L.H. 'Language and Structure in the Hodayot (IQH 3) J.B.L. 75 (1956) pp. 96-106.

SIMON, M. 'Retour du Christ':M. Goguel: 'Aux sources de la tradition chrétienne' Neuchâtel. 1950. pp. 247-57.

SIMONS, J. 'Jerusalem in the Old Testament' 1952.

SJÖBERG, E. 'Kirche und Kultus im Neuen Testament' from 'Ein Buch von der Kirche' hrsg. G. Aulén. 1950. pp. 85-109.

SMALLWOOD, E.M. 'Domitian's Attitude towards the Jews and Judaism' Cl. Phil 51 (1956) pp. 1ff.

SMYRNA 'Μουσεῖον καὶ Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς Εὐαγγελικῆς Σχολῆς' Smyrna. 1873-86. 7 vols.

SNAITH, N.H. 'Studies in the Psalter' London. 1934.

SOKOLOWSKI, F. 'A New Testimony on the Cult of Artemis at Ephesus' H.T.R. 58 (1965) pp. 427-31.

STALKER, D.M.G. 'Ezekiel - Introduction and Commentary' London. 1968.

STAUFFER, E. 'New Testament Theology' London. 1955.

'Christ and the Caesars' London. 1955.

STEIN, M. 'Yabneh and her Scholars' Zion n.s. 3.(1938) pp. 118ff.'

STENDAHL, K. 'The Called and the Chosen' in A. Fridrichsen: 'The Root of the Vine' N.Y. Philos. Lib. 1953.

STRONG, A. 'Roman Culture from Augustus to Constantine' London. 1907.

'Apotheosis and After-Life - Three Lectures on certain phases of Art and Religion in the Roman Empire' London. 1915.

STRUGNELL, J. 'The Angelic Liturgy at Qumran - 4 Q Serek Sirot 'Olat Hassabat' Vet. Test. Supplement 7.(1960) pp. 318-45.

SULMIRSKI, T. 'Les archers à cheval, cavalerie légère des anciens' Revue Internationale d'Histoire Militaire 3.(1952)

SYDENHAM, E.A. 'The Coinage of Nero' Reprinted from the Numismatic Circular 1917-19 etc. London. 1920.

TAEGER, F. 'Charisma' 2 vols. Stuttgart. 1957/60.

TARN, W.W. 'Hellenistic Civilisation' 1930.

TAYLOR, L.R. ' Artemis of Ephesus' in 'Beginnings of Christianity' Vol. 5. Note 21. pp. 251-56.

'The Divinity of the Roman Emperor' 1931.

TAYLOR, V. 'The Gospel According to St. Mark' 1952.

THOMPSON, J.A. 'Joel's Locusts in the Light of Near Eastern Parallels' J.N.E.S. 14.(1955) pp. 52-5.

TORREY, C.C. 'The Bilingual Inscription from Sardis' A.J.S.L. 34 (1917-18) pp. 185-98.

TURNER, N. 'Grammatical Insights into the New Testament' Edinburgh. 1965.

VAN BUREN, A.W. 'The Ara Pacis Augustae' J.R.S. 3.(1913) pp. 134-41.

VAN DER WOUDE, A.S. 'La Secte de Qumran' Recherches Bibliques 4 - Louvain. 1959.

VAN UNNIK, W.C. 'Dominus Vobiscum: the Background of a Liturgical Formula' from 'New Testament Essays: Studies in Memory of T.W. Manson' ed. A.J.B. Higgins. Manchester. 1959. pp. 270-306.

'The 'Gospel of Truth' and the New Testament' 1955.

'Clement 34 and the Sanctus' Vigiliae Christianae 5.(1951) pp. 204-48.

VERMASEREN, M.J. 'Der Mithrasdienst in Rome' Nijmegen. 1951. pp. 140-152- A Summary in English.

'Corpus Inscriptionum et Monumentorum Religionis Mithriacae' 2 vols. The Hague. 1956-60.

'Mithras, the Secret God' London. 1963.

VERMES, G. 'Scripture and Tradition in Judaism' Studia Post-Biblica. Leiden. 1961.

VERMEULE, C.C. 'Roman Imperial Art in Greece and Asia Minor' Harvard. 1968.

VOLZ, P. 'Die Eschatologie der jüdischen Gemeinde in neutestamentlichen Zeitalter' 1934.