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Angelomorphic Christology

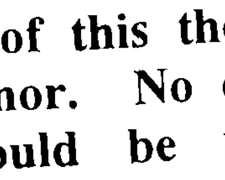
and

The Book of Revelation

by Matthias Reinhard Hoffmann

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Thesis submitted for the degree of PhD



The University of Durham

Department of Theology

2003

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Abstract

Despite the prominence of God and Christ, the Book of Revelation also displays an interest in angels. Certain passages of the Apocalypse (Apc 1:13-20; 14:6-20; 19:11-21) provide visions of Christ in which he is described in almost angelic categories. This thesis attempts to affirm Christ's identity in these passages (which has occasionally been challenged) and identifies such a portrait of Christ as a so-called angelomorphic Christology (which is defined after an assessment of material concerning angelomorphic and angel-Christology). Such a christological concept was deliberately employed by the author of Revelation. The assumption of a Jewish source as a *Vorlage* for Apc 14:6-20 is thus eliminated. Consequently, possible reasons for the inclusion of an angelomorphic Christology are provided: Angelomorphic Christology is not regarded as an isolated christological concept. In turn, the thesis compares angelomorphic Christology with the prominent Lamb Christology of Revelation (especially Apc 5; 14:1-5; 19:7-9). A comparison of these concepts reveals that both Lamb and angelomorphic Christology serve the purpose of contrasting different functions of Christ. The functions correspond with the implied perception of Christ by his followers on the one hand and his opponents on the other. Accordingly, Christ appears to be an eschatological juridical figure (described in angelomorphic patterns) to his opposition, while he is perceived as salvific redeemer (in form of the Lamb) by those who believe in him. Such a christological perspective draws on traditions from the Exodus narrative, namely the features of the Passover Lamb and the Destroying Angel. Further, an equality between God and Christ is established despite an angelomorphic portrait of

Christ: especially those passages describing Christ as the Lamb put him on par with God. But also within visions with an angelomorphic description of Christ, his status as superior to angels and as an equal to God is displayed.

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Parentibus

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August 2003 Matthias R. Hoffmann

Durham

Hoc est Christum cognoscere, beneficia eius cognoscere, non ... eius naturas, modos incarnationis contueri.

Philipp MELANCHTHON (1497-1560) - *Loci communes*, 1521

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Part A: Introduction

1. Introduction

1.1. The Problem

Apc 14

14 Καὶ εἶδον, καὶ ἰδοὺ νεφέλη λευκή, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν νεφέλην καθήμενον ὅμοιον υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου, ἔχων ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ στέφανον χρυσοῦν καὶ ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ δρέπανον ὀξύ.
15 καὶ ἄλλος ἄγγελος ἐξῆλθεν ἐκ τοῦ ναοῦ κράζων ἐν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ τῷ καθημένῳ ἐπὶ τῆς νεφέλης.

The Apocalypse of John displays a major interest in angels. This holds despite the author´s ultimate focus on God and Christ. Angels may be portrayed either as accompanying God and Christ (e.g. Apc 5:1-7; 5:11-13; 7:11; 8:1-5) or as acting independently (e.g. Apc 7:1-3; 8:6-13; 9:1-2; 10:1-3). But the distinction between Christ and angels is not always clear-cut and sometimes angelic and christological categories cannot be differentiated. The passage quoted above offers one of the sharpest examples of such overlapping categories. Angels are mentioned alongside a figure designated as "one like a son of man". The latter figure echoes the same designation applied to Christ in chapter 1:13. Therefore, the identity of this figure in Revelation 14:14 as Christ has often been taken for granted.

This identification, however, is not unproblematic: Firstly, can it simply been assumed that this figure is Christ and if so, why? Do specific features or functions attributed to "one like a son of man" reflect the author´s own christological perspective? Secondly, can one assume that the author has sharply distinguished between Christology and angelology, so that identity can be so clearly defined? After all. the author can draw on ideas normally found in angelophanic contexts when describing

Christ´s function and appearance, a feature which seems obvious in some passages (1:12-20; 10:6; 14:14; 15:6; 16:15; 19:11-20). Thirdly, if we are correct in noting the lack of a thoroughgoing attempt to differentiate between angels and Christ, is it possible to infer that the author of Apocalypse regarded Christ as an angel in some sense? If so, it has to be shown whether the author does this rather "carelessly" (assuming his ultimate attempt to distinguish Christ from other heavenly beings) or if in this apparent mixing we find an expression of his respective christological and angelological convictions. It is therefore important to compare theophanic and angelophanic traditions in the Hebrew Bible and early Jewish sources with the analogous statements on angels and Christ within the Apocalypse.

An analysis of an overlapping of christological and angelic categories by the author may probably not be carried through under the assumption that such a portrait of Christ is aberrant or unusual; such a view would simply impose on Revelation (and the NT) a more dogmatic understanding of Christology which has been predominant in western (Roman Catholic and Protestant) church traditions. If parts of the Christology in the Apocalypse seem to stand in tension with christological dogma, then the articulation of such an inconsistency is in itself little more than the product of a certain confessional belief and does not do justice to the special christological features preserved in the Apocalypse (see also section 2.2.9.).

Accordingly, the purpose of this thesis is to explore passages within Revelation where an angelic portrait of Christ is provided and to confirm (or deny) Christ's identity. Further, the given context of passages which contain a description of Christ in angelic terms or categories has to be examined. Such an analysis, together with a comparison of other christological features of the Apocalypse (as for instance with the prominent Lamb Christology) might demonstrate the author's awareness and intention to include a Christology which is indebted to angelic categories.

In addition, it will prove useful here to have a closer look at some of the important traditions in the Hebrew Bible (such as Dan 7:9.13; 9:2; Dan 10:5-6; Ezek 9:2; Ex 12:1-28) and early Jewish literature concerning angels which could have fed ideas found in the Apocalypse -or in the NT in general- (e.g. *4 Ezra*; *1 En.*; *2 Bar.*; *Test. Levi*) in order to find a possible common background against which such early Christologies were being formulated.

The present thesis also proposes to refer to some other early Christian texts (like *Shepherd of Hermas* [Sim. VII-IX], the *Pseudo-Clementines* [Rec. I-II], the *Ascension of Isaiah* [9-12] or Justin Martyr [*Apol.* I 6]) to prepare for a similar Christology to that presented in Apocalypse and, further, to assess the significance of texts offering similar christological concepts held in early Christianity. These and other sources reflect the fact that there was not a fixed system of expressing the belief in Christ for early Christians during the first two centuries. Although attempts were made in the church to impose uniform systems of Christology, diverse christological dogmas continued to persist after the fourth century.[1] We should not, therefore, be surprised if christologies that include angelic descriptions of Christ continued to find expression as, for instance, in Dionysius the Areopagite's *Hierarchy of Heaven*, especially chapter IV (5th century[2]).

Even nowadays the impact of angelological ideas on Christian belief (in general) has aroused attention. We find a good example of this increasing interest in angels and their importance for Christian belief in the systematic theological works by M. WERNER and W. HÄRLE. In a chapter on "Die Wirksamkeit Gottes" in his *Dogmatik* (1995) HÄRLE finds it necessary to include an excursus on angelology, presumably because of an increased interest in the subject during the twentieth century.[3] HÄRLE

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[1] Cp. also GRILLMEIER: *Christus*, passim, or KELLY: *Glaubensbekenntnisse*, passim.
[2] For the dating of Dionysius the Areopagite and the importance of the later Latin version cp. e.g. HEUSSI: *Kirchengeschichte*, 147.
[3] Cp. HÄRLE: *Dogmatik*, 296-300.

does produce evidence which presents angels as God´s messengers,[4] but wishes to express caution when it comes to angelology as such. He argues against any overemphasis on the importance of angels, and demands that angels and God be clearly distinguished. Hence he states that angels may in no way be the object of religious worship or veneration.[5]

In addition HARLE emphasizes that the *nature* of angels ought not be allowed to carry any weight when one attempts to understand their theological significance. On the contrary he maintains that the literature from the period of "Altprotestantismus" and "Lutheran Orthodoxy" had – in an attempt to reveal the essence of angels according to their nature – clouded their true meaning or even distorted it. According to HÄRLE the significance of angels is more to be rooted in relation to the *functional* expressions "message" and "encounter",[6] and presumably not in categories in which angels may be understood as analogous to God.

HÄRLE's discussion concerning angels picked up on categories which were being applied to Christology during the Protestant Reformation. The soteriological function could overshadow nature in attempting to formulate Christology. The classic formulation for this view was expressed by Philipp MELANCHTHON (1497-1560) in his *Loci communes* edited in 1521: *Hoc est Christum cognoscere, beneficia eius cognoscere, non ... eius naturas, modos incarnationis contueri* ("This is the way to understand Christ, to understand his good works, not ... his natures, to look at the mode of his incarnation").[7]

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[4] HÄRLE mainly points to an amount of biblical references and allusions to angels within the *Bekenntnisschriften der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Kirchen (BSLK)*. Cp. HÄRLE: *Dogmatik*, 297-298. Additionally the traditional interest in angels may be seen in liturgical praxis like the invocation of angels before the communion, the celebration of Michaelmas or even the naming of many churches after Michael. For the increasing interest in angels and their meaning for modern theology see also STUBBE: *Wirklichkeit*.

[5] Cp. HÄRLE: *Dogmatik*, 298.

[6] Cp. HÄRLE: *Dogmatik*, 298-299.

[7] Cp. MELANCHTHON: *Loci*, 22-23.

This statement most clearly expresses the Christology of the Reformation: Though adopting the doctrine of Christ's two natures from the old church without modifications, the reformers framed their christologies with existential and soteriological concerns in view. It is not Christology itself that is the focus of interest, but the *works* of Christ.[8] A consideration of their nature has not generally played an important role for the understanding of either Christ or angels in Protestant theology, and may not be a decisive factor for differentiating them from each other.

It is therefore surprising that, even in Protestant theologies, the opposite view could find expression.[9] Differences between the natures of Christ and angels are frequently discussed, especially in relation to categories such as "preexistence" or "being created". This becomes clear if we have a closer look at the history of research of matters of angel-Christology, especially the debates which have emerged as a result of the work of M. WERNER in his magnum opus *Die Entstehung des christlichen Dogmas* (1941).[10] The thesis of WERNER, as is well known, involved the claim that an angel-Christology was the oldest form of early Christianity´s way of expressing Christology. In attempts to refute the views of WERNER, a consideration of natures played a decisive role – an argument which drew on a medieval understanding of angelology, as instanced in the categorical system of Thomas Aquinas.[11] Scholars have asked whether one can safely concur with WERNER that these ideas are already expressed within the NT. Likewise, it has been assumed that the development of christological dogma in the church's history essentially came to an end at a certain time (Nicea) and that there subsequently was no need to dispute issues which had already been settled. This assumption is quite dubious (see the example of Dionysius mentioned above). Finally,

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[8] Cp. e.g. PÖHLMANN: *Dogmatik*, 194. See also SCHWÖBEL: "Christology", 118-119 on the relationship of the work and the person of Christ.
[9] Cp. the following discussion on WERNER, MICHAELIS and HARNACK in this thesis.
[10] WERNER: *Entstehung*, esp. 302-388.

the vehemence with which numerous scholars have sought to refute WERNER's thesis has, until recently, been accompanied by a categorical avoidance of relating Christ to angelic beings. Not only among WERNER's opponents, but also in discussion of Christology in general, any comparison of Christ and angels has frequently been considered taboo (see especially the arguments of WERNER's opponents).

A question arises as to whether there are *other* criteria for distinguishing Christ from the angels and whether we can find evidence in NT-literature in support of those conclusions without referring to differences in nature. Initially, however, it is necessary to have a closer look at the history of research concerning the relationship between angels and Christology in order to identify and subsequently avoid certain mistakes made up to now.

1.2. The History of Research

An overview of the history of research concerning the relation between Christology and angelology within the NT is presented in a number of recent scholarly discussions.[12] These overviews have tended to address the question of whether or not the NT documents preserve features of either an "angel" or "angelomorphic" Christology. What often goes ignored, however, are systematic-theological underpinnings of the problem which may be observed in the history of interpretation. Unfortunately, some recent treatments restrict themselves to describing other works in

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[11] Cp. e.g. *Summa theologiae*, I, Quest. 50-64 or partly the *Exposition of the Angelic Salutation (Ave Maria)*, where angels are described in metaphysical categories.

[12] Cp. e.g. CARRELL: *Jesus*, 1-13, STUCKENBRUCK: *Veneration*, 5-14, HORBURY: *Messianism*, 122-152, KNIGHT: *Disciples*, 75-78 or FLETCHER-LOUIS: *Luke-Acts*, 1-10.

chronological order of their publication rather than offering thoroughgoing discussions that consider the question of theological significance.[13]

The beginning of modern research concerning the importance of angels or other intermediary beings for Christology has been commonly associated with W. BOUSSET and his so-called *Religionsgeschichtliche Schule*. BOUSSET claimed *inter alia* that Jewish angelology played a formative role among religious-historical developments within Judaism which help explain the rise of early Christian worship of Jesus (1924). These developments involved a process of softening the "strict" monotheism - known, for example, through the Deuteronomistic history of the Hebrew scriptures - and included a growing interest in angels (and other "hypostatic" figures) in "Spätjudentum".[14]

BOUSSET's most thoroughgoing discussion of Judaism as the matrix for compromising forms of monotheism near the turn of the common era was largely based on a detailed study published by W. LUEKEN, one of his students, in 1898: *Michael. Eine Darstellung und Vergleich der jüdischen und morgenländisch-christlichen Tradition vom Erzengel Michael*.[15] LUEKEN, in turn, had no doubt been encouraged to address the significance of the archangel Michael (as well as that of other angelic figures) for Christology by BOUSSET's prior claim that early developments in Christology were probably indebted to contemporary Jewish ideas, especially those which were concerned with Michael.[16]

LUEKEN was probably the first to gather evidence pertaining to the possible influence of angelological ideas on Christology.[17] In addition, he dealt with further

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[13] See e.g. GIESCHEN: *Angelomorphic*, 7-25: GIESCHEN offers a valuable assessement of data, but does not reflect on the theological importance of the debate.
[14] Cp. BOUSSET; GRESSMANN: *Religion*, 302-357.
[15] LUEKEN: *Michael*.
[16] Cp. BOUSSET: *Antichrist*, 151.
[17] Cp. LUEKEN: *Michael*, 133-166.

angelological ideas[18] or categories[19] which are worthy of reconsideration in the current study of the Apocalypse and other NT passages in which such motifs occur.[20]

To his credit, LUEKEN remained cautious in the way he formulated his views. Among the primary sources he found what he considered to be sufficient evidence in early Christianity for the influence of Jewish beliefs about angels on three categories of Christology; these were references to Christ's (a) pre-existence (so 1 Cor 8:6; 11:3.7; 2 Cor 4:4; Col 1:15; Heb 1:6,8; *Shep. Herm.* Sim. IX 12:2); (b) earthly existence (e.g. in Origen, *Hom. in Ezek.* I 7 [to Ezek 1:1]); and (c) "post-existent" or exalted state (Phil 2:6-11; Heb 1:4, 2:16-18, 4:14-16, 7:25-27, 8:2, 9:11-12, 9:24, 10:10-14, and 13:15; 1 Pet 2:25 and 5:1-4; Justin Martyr, *Apol.* I 6; *Shep. Herm.* Sim. IX and Vis. VI; Novatian, *De Trin.* 11).[21]

BOUSSET, in taking LUEKEN's analysis as his point of departure, attempted to characterize the sort of Judaism that could foster widespread speculative ideas about angels. He concluded that the early Jewish interest in intermediary beings was due to "foreign" influences (in both thought and practice) which were threatening to undermine the strict Israelite monotheism of the pre-exilic and exilic periods. Only such external influences could make the worship of Christ an explicable phenomenon.[22] For BOUSSET there was an unbroken line of continuity between "Spätjudentum" and the early Christian devotion to Christ.

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[18] Cp. LUEKEN: *Michael*, 52-56: LUEKEN offers some material here on the early Jewish idea of nature-angels and the connection of angels to a certain kind of element. This investigation seems to be most interesting for further comparisons with the angel having charge of the fire in Apc 14:18 or the angels related to earth, water and air in Apc 16:8-15. See also YARBRO COLLINS: "Tradition", 565.

[19] Cp. LUEKEN: *Michael*, 30-32 and 91-100: Here LUEKEN provides some motifs of Michael as a highpriest. See also the increasing interest in the angelic category of highpriesthood, e.g. in: FLETCHER-LOUIS: *Luke-Acts*, 118-129 and 214.

[20] E.g. the idea of the Christology of Heb as one opposing a veneration of Christ as an angel. See LUEKEN: *Michael*, 145.

[21] Cp. LUEKEN: *Michael*, 163-166.

[22] Cp. BOUSSET; GRESSMANN: *Religion*, 469-524: BOUSSET sees esp. Hellenism, Diaspora Jewism and Persian ideas being responsible for this development.

This aspect of BOUSSET's religious-historical reconstruction has, of course, not gone without criticism.[23] One recent scholarly discussion which rejects his ideas is that of L. W. HURTADO. Despite his insistence that Jewish ideas help explain a number of conceptual christological developments arising from the Palestinian Jesus movement, HURTADO nevertheless maintains that there was an essential discontinuity between these and the practice of worshiping Christ among early Jewish Christian communities.[24]

It is not the ultimate purpose of this thesis to deal with the problems relating to a continuity or discontinuity and consequently this receives only brief mention here.[25] However, it should be noted that the studies of BOUSSET and LUEKEN, in paving the way for further analysis, have not outworn their importance for current research. The same may be said of the less well known publication of F. J. DÖLGER (1910), who derived the connection between angelology and Christology from second century Gnostic sources which, in turn, relied on earlier traditions.[26]

However, at the turn of the twentieth century, the association of angelic figures and emerging Christology was not treated as a solely historical concern, that is, in relation to the question of *how* Christology developed at an early stage. Systematic-theological concerns were also in play. A. HARNACK, in his *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte* (1909, 4th ed.), reached a conclusion which dismisses the theological

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[23] The same may be said of LUEKEN's work, as is already the case, e.g. in BARBEL: *Christos*, 339-340: In the appendix of the reprint of his book, BARBEL refers to LUEKEN's focus as being set too narrowly to get more valuable results.

[24] Cp. HURTADO: *God*, 3-9 and esp. 24-27. Cp. also HURTADO: "Mean", 348-368 and HURTADO: "Monotheism", 3-26.

[25] For a full description of this conflict of continuity and discontinuity cp. STUCKENBRUCK: *Veneration*, 5-14.

[26] Analogous to LUEKEN (and to some extent to BOUSSET as well) F. J. DÖLGER has collected some material which took the offspring of angel-christological ideas into account, considering the roots to be in Gnosticism. Cp. DÖLGER: *Ichthys*, 273-297. DÖLGER mainly referred to *Shepherd of Hermas* (Vis. V 2; Sim. VIII-IX), Justin Martyr (*Apol.* I 6), Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.*), Tertullian (*De carne Christi, De trin.*), Origen (*Ctr. Celsum, De princ.*), Lactantius (*Institut. div.*), Methodius (*Symp.* 1-3), Philo of Alexandria (*De somn.* 1.239; *De conf.* 146; *De cher.* 27f; *De migr.* 102), *Or. Sib.* 8:456-473, *Pistis Sophia* (11-12), *Pseudoevangelium Jacobi* and the *epistula apostolorum* (of uncertain date, but possibly mid-second century C.E.).

import of Christ being designated as an angel. He argued that the christological use of the title "angelus" in early Christian literature is to be understood as a description of *function*, not of *nature*.[27] Similarly, F. CAVALLERA has subsequently claimed that the "heresy" of Christ as an angel according to his *nature* ought simply to be eliminated from the history of development of doctrine.[28] Such a convenient distinction runs up against the emphasis on soteriology originally expressed among the early Reformers (see above). Thus, from a systematic theological point of view, the precise way in which Christology can be related to angelology bears further exploration.

It is conspicuous that little of the research carried out near the turn of the twentieth century - for example that of LUEKEN, BOUSSET, and DÖLGER - was being picked up in contemporary studies which referred to the relationship between Christ and angels in the Apocalypse of John. Such is, for instance, the case in the treatment by F. BÜCHSEL about Christology in Revelation (1907) whose statement on the issue is rather meagre: there is at best a dubious proximity as far as a connection of Christ and angels is concerned. He found himself unable to draw any more conclusions.[29] R. H. CHARLES, who was thoroughly familiar with the then known Jewish literature of the Second Temple period, was able to go a little further in his observations (1920). However, though acknowledging the influence of angelology on the representation of Christ in the Apocalypse, he nevertheless emphasized that Christ is nowhere actually designated "angel" on any level of the tradition.[30]

Until the 1940s - for a period of some twenty years - this topic was largely ignored, and references to angelological roots of Christology were mostly downplayed

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[27] See HARNACK: *Dogmengeschichte*, 204-205 n. 4. HARNACK gives evidence for the designation of Christ as an angel and further states that some Christians probably understood this as a description of Christ's nature. This misinterpretation, however, vanished at the advent of the doctrine of the logos.
[28] Cp. CAVALLERA: "Christ-Ange", 56-59, who refers to the view of HARNACK.
[29] Cp. BÜCHSEL: *Christologie*, 27.
[30] Cp. CHARLES: *Revelation* I, 259. CHARLES dissociates the phrase ἄλλος ἄγγελος in 14:15 from the figure resembling "one like a son of man" in verse 14 by translating it as "another, an angel" (as in verses 6, 8, 9,15,17,18), not as "another angel" (so CHARLES: *Revelation II*, 12-26).

in importance. For instance. according to F. LOOFS (1932) "... die dogmengeschichtliche Bedeutung der Verbindung der Christologie mit der Engellehre [ist] nicht zu überschätzen."[31]

A more serious study which acknowledges the significance of angelology was published in an article by A. BAKKER (1933).[32] On the basis of a passage in the *Antiquities* of Josephus in which the activity of Jesus is described (18.63-64, the so-called *Testimonium Flavianum*), BAKKER identifies an early Jewish Christian tradition which equated Christ with angels. She correlated this tradition with other tendencies in the NT which warn against worshipping angels or mistaking Christ for an angel, e.g. in Hebrews 1-2,[33] Colossians 2:18, and Apc 19:10 or 22:8.[34] In particular, she considered Hebrews to be of importance because of its "anti-docetic" polemic.[35]

With the publication of M. WERNER's thesis on the development of the Christian dogma (1941), the history of research on the connection of christological and angelological ideas probably reached its climax. WERNER believed that a so-called Jewish Christian *Engelchristologie* was the oldest form of Christology of Early Christianity.[36] He sought to justify his thesis by discussing texts that involve messianic eschatological figures such as an angelic "Elect One" or "Son of Man" in the *Similitudes* of *1 Enoch* 37-71.[37] He also tried to recover evidence for the representation of Christ as an angel in NT texts as well. In his opinion the belief that Christ is an angelic being is

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[31] LOOFS: *Theophilus*, 125 n. 1.
[32] Cp. BAKKER: "Christ", 255-265.
[33] Cp. also WINDISCH: *Hebräerbrief*, 17, who influenced BAKKER in this idea. For a more recent discussion see KARRER: *Hebräer*, 134.
[34] Cp. BAKKER: "Christ ", 258-259.
[35] Cp. BAKKER: "Christ", 262-263: BAKKER compares Heb to texts that reflect the insignificance of human needs for angel-like beings, e.g. Tob 6:6 (and the remarkable differences of the text of ℵ to the other variants, explicitly excluding the angel from eating), Tob 12:19 or in contrast Lk 24:37-43 in order to prove her thesis.
[36] WERNER: *Entstehung*. (See for his position also the abbreviated version of *Entstehung*.)
[37] Cp. WERNER: *Entstehung*, 303-321.

assumed by the Gospels and Paul's writings.[38] In particular, he focused on Paul's use of the title κύριος (probably in misapprehension of its meaning as a substitute of the tetragrammaton[39]). WERNER observed that the designation κυριοί refers frequently to angels in apocalyptic literature and argued that therefore Christ himself, as κύριος, may be understood as an angel.[40] WERNER argued further that traces of an angel-Christology lay behind Arianism and, because of association with the "heresy", was banished afterwards.[41] WERNER's thesis caused quite a stir and was contradicted almost immediately and vehemently by W. MICHAELIS (1942).[42]

MICHAELIS' furious response to WERNER was an attempt to disprove every single argument that had been used in favour of the existence of an angel-Christology in earliest Christianity. Though his work was, unfortunately, conducted as a vigorous polemic, MICHAELIS was nonetheless essentially correct in his refusal of WERNER's proposal. The material presented by WERNER is hardly enough to justify the assumption of an angel-Christology existing as a kind of "mainstream Christology" in early Christianity or even in Arianism.[43] He also accuses WERNER for having constructed this notion in order to serve his larger thesis of a so-called *Verwandlungsschema* ("scheme of transformation") which he derived from the transformation of Enoch in *1 Enoch* 71 and related to the Gospels (e.g. to Mk 9:2-10)

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[38] Cp. WERNER: *Entstehung*, 304-305: WERNER made his assumptions mainly on the basis of the "Son of Man"-title and conclusions on his hierarchical position. His comparison of the use of the "Son of Man" in early Jewish writings, such as *1 Enoch* 46:3, and his superior position above the *other* angels (as described in *1 En.* 46:1) led him to the result that the same idea must have been reflected in the Gospels (e.g. in Mk 8:38; Mt 16:27; Lk 9:26; Mt 13:41-42; Mk 13:26ff). He found this scheme of Christ being described as having an exalted position above *other* angels similarly reflected by Paul's writings (e.g. in Phil 2:6-9; 1 Cor 15:28). It is noteworthy that WERNER does not refer to this possibility in relation to the Apocalypse of John.

[39] Cp. e.g. HENGEL: *Christology*, 380.

[40] Cp. WERNER: *Entstehung*, esp. 307-310. WERNER believed that κύριος in 1 Cor 8:6 had to be understood in angelic dimensions, and therefore Christ was described in angelic features.

[41] Cp. WERNER: *Entstehung*, 371-388.

[42] MICHAELIS: *Engelchristologie*. The subtitle, *Abbau der Konstruktion Martin Werners*, reveals the main intention of his work.

[43] Cp. MICHAELIS: *Engelchristologie*, *passim*, esp. 162-186.

and in some degree also to Paul (e.g. to 1 Cor 15:51-52).[44] This was completely rejected by MICHAELIS, who pointed out that neither *1 Enoch* nor any of the other texts appealed to by WERNER reflect an understanding of transformation that may be used as a basis for Christology.[45] Beyond this, MICHAELIS provided further plausible reasons for rejecting WERNER's thesis as a whole. He argued that the preconditions WERNER cites as proof for an angel-Christology in the NT and early Christianity are simply incorrect – that is, the hypothesis of a fixed hierarchy of angels (and the use of "angelos" to denote an angel from a low category),[46] the understanding of κύριος as a title for angels,[47] and an understanding of transformation which brings the earthly Jesus dangerously close to docetic ideas.[48]

For the most part, contours for the debate concerning angel-Christology have been derived from the disputes of MICHAELIS[49] and WERNER.[50] At the same time, J. BARBEL devoted substantial research to the angelos-title and its importance for Christology in early Christianity and in the early church without finding much evidence for warranting the assumption of a significant angel-Christology during this era.[51] Unfortunately, his valuable scholarly research was barely noticed and dismissed by WERNER[52] because of BARBEL's rejection of the existence of an angel-Christology.

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[44] Cp. WERNER: *Entstehung*, 313-321. The idea of "scheme of transformation" is very important for WERNER, for he assumed it to be the general solution of Paul (and early Christianity in general) to deal with the problem of pre-existent (or heavenly) Christ on the one hand, and the earthly Christ on the other hand. Both of those aspects were combined by the belief of Christ's transformation. For him the easiest way of achieving such a combination was in the identification of Christ as an angel.

[45] Cp. MICHAELIS: *Engelchristologie*, 93-114.

[46] Cp. MICHAELIS: *Engelchristologie*, 21-34.

[47] Cp. MICHAELIS: *Engelchristologie*, 70-79, and also the meaning of κύριος according to Paul, 61-70.

[48] Cp. MICHAELIS: *Engelchristologie*, 104-114, esp. 108-109.

[49] Cp. MICHAELIS: "Engelchristologie", 288-290.

[50] Cp. e.g. WERNER: "Auffassung", 33-62 and WERNER: "Angelus", 62-70.

[51] BARBEL: *Christos*.

[52] Cp. WERNER: "Angelus", 67 n. 30. WERNER accuses BARBEL of generally not paying attention to the importance of the messianic figures according to early Jewish sources. This was admitted by BARBEL himself, though he doubted that his research on this topic might have confirmed WERNER's thesis. According to him not every messianic figure would be angelic in character, cp. BARBEL: *Christos*, 347.

and because BARBEL had only regarded as relevant what WERNER deemed to be a limited number of Christian sources from the first to the early fourth centuries.[53]

Only a few scholars supported WERNER`s thesis entirely (such as F. SCHEIDWEILER[54]), while the majority of contemporary scholars were either very cautious with his proposal (such as W. KÖHLER[55] or G. KRETSCHMAR[56]) or categorically rejected his ideas (such as O. CULLMANN[57], F. FLÜCKIGER[58], G. KITTEL[59] and W.G. KÜMMEL[60]).

As has already been stated, the problem of using *nature* as a category to differentiate Christ from angels is encountered in the disputes between MICHAELIS and WERNER. The latter`s rather careless use of the term "creature" in referring to Enoch because of his "election" by God[61] caused MICHAELIS to deal with this problem in great detail, giving it more attention than it warrants in terms of the problem as outlined above. His argument, in essence, was that WERNER's definition of "election" is too narrow and that to identify a given figure as an "elected being" is an issue quite apart from whether that individual is a "creature".[62]

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[53] Cp. BARBEL: *Christos*, 181-311. BARBEL mainly focused on early Christian sources, e.g. *Shep. Herm.* (Vis. III 4, Sim. VII 3, Sim. IX 3; Sim. X 3), *Asc. Isa.*, Origen (*Ctr. Celsum, In Is. Hom.*), Justin Martyr (*Apol.* I 6, *Dial.*), Methodius (*Symp.*), Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.*, *Excerpta Theod.*), Lactantius (*Institut. div.*), Irenaeus (*Adv. haer.*), Tertullian (*Adversus Marcionem, De Carne Christi*) or Novatian (*De Trin.*).

[54] Cp. SCHEIDWEILER: "Engelchristologie", 126-139, who based most of his assumptions on writings of Novatian.

[55] Cp. KÖHLER: *Dogmengeschichte*, 6. The importance of WERNER's ideas is admitted up to some extent, though reviewed as being rather constructed, following the critique of MICHAELIS.

[56] Cp. KRETSCHMAR: *Trinitätstheologie*, 221-222, who stresses the influence of angelology on trinity, not only on Christology.

[57] Cp. CULLMANN: *Christus*, passim.

[58] Cp. FLÜCKIGER: *Ursprung*, 60-71. FLÜCKIGER mainly interpreted WERNER's ideas of eschatology.

[59] Cp. KITTEL: "ἄγγελος", 84. KITTEL insisted that an identification of Christ as an angel is totally out of question.

[60] Cp. KÜMMEL: *Urchristentum*, 111. KÜMMEL rejected WERNER`s thesis, because there were no source materials in early Christianity (or early Jewism) which especially advocated the idea of Christ being an angel.

[61] Cp. WERNER: *Entstehung*, 303. The idea of election is of larger importance for WERNER`s thesis and especially for his idea of the *Verwandlungsschema*, because this enabled him to equate the "Son of Man" in *1 En.* with Christ. Accordingly, WERNER definitely saw a background in *1 En.* for Christology.

[62] Cp. MICHAELIS: *Engelchristologie*, 16-17 and 40.

The problem of "creature-terminology" became even more obvious in the discussion of the meaning of 1 Corinthians 15:28.45-46. WERNER's proposal concerning the understanding of Christ as a creature - which he derived from 1 Corinthians 15:45[63]- led MICHAELIS to conduct a detailed exegesis of this passage in order to refute this idea. He argued that WERNER was overemphasizing the meaning of ἐγένετο as an act of creation in this passage and, accordingly, had been led to the wrong conclusions.[64] Similarly, he argued against an understanding of Colossians 1:15-18 as evidence for an angel-christological notion of Christ as the firstborn of creatures: Christ is not represented *as* a creature, but is strongly *contrasted* with other creatures.[65] More generally, MICHAELIS stressed the importance of *Schöpfungsmittlerschaft* and *Offenbarung* as appropriate categories for underlining the difference between Christ and angels according to their nature ("*wesensmäßig*") and not abolishing it.[66]

Other scholars have followed MICHAELIS' mode of argument, linking a description of Christ as an angel with the notion that Christ is being identified as a creature. C. ROWLAND (1985), for example, has not concurred with the existence of an angel-Christology but instead has suggested that one "... speak of angelomorphic christology in the earliest period. This kind of description in no way implies that Christ was identified entirely with the created order."[67] Similarly, R. BAUCKHAM (1981) has wanted to draw a clear line between God and *creatures*, considering the term worship to be a signal for such a distinction: only God may be worshipped, not the creatures, so not even angels are to be worshipped.[68]

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[63] Cp. WERNER: *Entstehung*, 305.
[64] Cp. MICHAELIS: *Engelchristologie*, 36-42.
[65] Cp. MICHAELIS: *Engelchristologie*, 54-61.
[66] Cp. MICHAELIS: *Engelchristologie*, 61. For him, the fact that Christ is the subject of revelation does not blur the difference between angels and Christ according to their nature, but rather makes them distinguishable.
[67] ROWLAND: "Man", 100.
[68] Cp. BAUCKHAM: "Worship", 322 and 329. Cp. also BAUCKHAM: *Climax*, 118-120 and 148-149.

Naturally MICHAELIS offered other criteria for making a distinction between Christ and angels as well - for instance Christ's *function*[69] or the problem of *subordination*[70]- but here a question arises as to what extent such criteria rest on presuppositions which reflect a rather contemporary way of expressing a dogmatic point of view. It is doubtful that such christological considerations can be generally assumed for NT texts, or if the early Christian way of describing Christ has to be thought of in more simplified terms. Such observations are probably worth considering in addition to the principles of Christology set out by those Protestant scholars mentioned above, trying to distinguish Christ from the angels.

It is also noteworthy that MICHAELIS and WERNER addressed the issue of angelological ideas influencing the Christology of the NT only by implying an angel-Christology as such. The possibility of an existence of an angelic or angelomorphic Christology was not yet raised. Accordingly, it has to be emphasized that MICHAELIS' rejection of WERNER was far too categorical in that he completely denied any traces of an angel-Christology within the NT. This view determined the direction of research for at least the four next decades.

On the one hand MICHAELIS' strict refusal of admitting even traces of an angel-Christology is still to be found, for example in the opinion of J. D. G. DUNN (1980).[71] On the other hand it took at least two decades until the connection of angelology and Christology was again taken into account. J. DANIÉLOU played a key role in reopening discussion on this subject. Significantly, he proposed that the influence of angelic descriptions on Christology could be considered apart from any claim that this necessarily amounts to an angel-Christology (1964). Instead, he referred

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[69] Cp. e.g. MICHAELIS: *Engelchristologie*, 155.
[70] Cp. e.g. MICHAELIS: *Engelchristologie*, 167. Both of those terms are of importance in the discussion of the meaning of the "One like a Son of Man" in Apc 14:6-20 in order to distinguish him from the angels, as to be shown.

to an "angelomorphic Christology" and defined this as a description which draws on imagery applied to various angelic beings.[72]

Furthermore, DANIÉLOU was the first to draw attention to the difficulty of using "creature-terminology" in order to distinguish Christ from angels, as this reflects a way of thinking that belongs to the era of Arianism.[73] Nevertheless, he continues to make use of the term "creature" himself, while charging WERNER with having limited Christ's status to that of a creature.[74] Accordingly, though denying WERNER's ideas, he accepted WERNER's terms and categories. However, his idea of an angelomorphic Christology was now being taken seriously and would be further developed by R. N. LONGENECKER (1970).[75]

Many scholars have followed the ideas of DANIÉLOU and LONGENECKER by adopting the concept of an angelomorphic Christology, or have at least recognised the possibility that Christology has been influenced by angelic categories. Various features have been emphasized by different scholars; for example J.-A. BÜHNER, who argued for a dependence of the Christology of John's Gospel on angelic traditions, analogous to Tobit, has described Christ in terms of "One who has been sent" (1977).[76]

Beyond this, an increasing interest in features ascribed to intermediary figures in early Jewish literature may be observed, as in the works of M. BARKER (1992) investigating the "Angel of the Lord"-Tradition.[77] Similarly, J. E. FOSSUM concentrates on the hypostasized Divine Name and the Angel of the Lord, mainly basing his research on Samaritan and Jewish concepts of intermediary beings (1985).[78]

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[71] Cp. DUNN: *Christology*, 156-158. It should be mentioned, however, that DUNN gave up his rather strict position and considers this topic to be of more importance in the 2nd edition of this title, cp. DUNN: *Christology*, XXIV-XXVI.
[72] Cp. DANIÉLOU: *Christianity*, 117-146, esp. 146.
[73] Cp. also BARBEL: *Christos*, 349-350, who argues similarly.
[74] Cp. DANIÉLOU: *Christianity*, 118 n. 3.
[75] Cp. LONGENECKER: *Christology*, 26-32.
[76] Cp. BÜHNER: *Gesandte*, esp. 118-180.
[77] Cp. BARKER: *Angel*, passim.
[78] Cp. FOSSUM: *Name*, passim.

An equivalent approach is taken by C. A. GIESCHEN in order to illuminate *Angelomorphic Christology* (1998). having a particular interest in the idea of *hypostases*.[79]

An influence of *hypostases* on Christology may be assumed in general, but it is not always clear if such concerns have been adopted consciously or are rather simply paralleled by a similar christological framework. Some scholars are less inclined to acknowledge that an existence of *hypostatic* figures in early Jewish thought played a formative role in the development of early christologies.[80]

In addition to R. BAUCKHAM and C. ROWLAND, who have already been mentioned above, other scholars have focused their investigations on angelomorphic traditions within the Apocalypse. In particular, these include P. CARRELL, who argues that Christ's description as an angel-like being is only "temporary" (1997)[81], and L. T. STUCKENBRUCK who stresses the importance of angels and the prohibition of veneration for the development of Christology within a monotheistic framework (1995).[82] Similarly J. KNIGHT has studied the importance of angelology for the Christology in the *Ascension of Isaiah* (1996): KNIGHT defines an angelomorphic Christology as a description of Christ that contains language and imagery derived from Jewish angelology which, at the same time, acknowledges that Christ was distinguished from angels and not an angel himself.[83]

Further insight into the influence of angelology and its impact on Christology has more recently been provided by D. D. HANNAH (1999). In his work HANNAH

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[79] Cp. GIESCHEN: *Angelomorphic*, esp. 36-45 and 70-123.
[80] Cp. e.g. BAUCKHAM: *God*, 5 n. 4.
[81] Cp. CARRELL: *Jesus*, esp. 191-192 and 224-226. CARRELL stresses the importance of Christ's "temporary" angel-like status, for this would help avoid the assumption of an "ignorant" or even "subordinated" Christ (in Apc 14:14-20) who is in need of instructions by angels. However, CARRELL fails to give any evidence for this idea. Instead, he seems to have imposed a contemporary, dogmatic-theological explanation which ought not be assumed to have existed as a christological feature for the author of the text.
[82] Cp. STUCKENBRUCK: *Veneration*, esp. 270-273.
[83] Cp. KNIGHT: *Disciples*, 18-19.

focuses on traditions concerning the angel Michael and a possible influence on Christology in early Christianity.[84] Further, the significance of an angelomorphic Christology has also been acknowledged by S. VOLLENWEIDER who regards angelology as a preparation for aspects of Christology which are worked over in order to emphasise the special character of Christ, thus establishing a high Christology in general.[85]

It is not only Christology that is considered to be angelomorphic but also soteriology, as proposed by C. H. T. FLETCHER-LOUIS in his work on *Luke-Acts* (1997). He adopts a broad definition in order to make a "specifically human direction" for the term "angelomorphic" possible.[86] Accordingly, he managed to find various angelomorphic traditions in Luke and the sources used by him, like an angelomorphic humanity (for example in Dan 7-12 or Acts 17:28ff)[87], angelomorphic communities (for instance in 1QS, 4Q400-407, 4Q491, 4Q511 35, the *History of the Rechabites* or the *Testament of Job*)[88] or angelomorphic soteriology (for example in Lk 15:7-10, Lk 15:11-32, Acts 6:15 or Acts 7:53)[89]. Even a high priest may be considered angelomorphic (as for instance in Eccl 50:1-21, Diodurus Siculus' *Bibliotheca Historica*, the *Letter of Aristeas* and possibly in the *Book of Watchers* in *1 En.* 1-36).[90]

Obviously the understanding of the term "angelomorphic" as used by FLETCHER-LOUIS is quite fluid - deductive and inductive at the same time, and does not focus on the author's use of tradition or their understanding of the use of certain imagery. Rather, the term's meaning depends on a more generalized point of view. Formal parallels become decisive in order to determine whether a certain idea is angelomorphic or not. Accordingly, one idea can be interpreted as being angelomorphic

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[84] See HANNAH: *Michael*, passim.
[85] Cp. VOLLENWEIDER: "Monotheismus", 21-44, esp. 34-41.
[86] Cp. FLETCHER-LOUIS: *Luke-Acts*, 14 n. 64.
[87] Cp. FLETCHER-LOUIS: *Luke-Acts*, e.g. 30-31 and 205-215.
[88] Cp. FLETCHER-LOUIS: *Luke-Acts*, e.g. 184-205.

and so, correspondingly, other traditions can be interpreted in the same way - in some cases without even mentioning any angelic imagery.

A tendency for dealing with sources and interpreting them in terms of angelology can be seen, for example, in FLETCHER-LOUIS' interpretation of *History of the Rechabites*: The celibate status of the Rechabites reported in this text and their designation as "earthly angels" (5:3-4; 7:10) have led him to the conclusion that this description has to be interpreted as an angelomorphic human community.[91] Accordingly, for him, this way of describing a community allows for a better understanding of Luke's soteriology depicting Christian society in similar terms – this means Luke's description has to be interpreted as angelomorphic.[92] Apart from the problem of seeing a background for Luke's gospel in the *History of the Rechabites*, such a procedure does not take sufficient account of Luke's own use of materials or traditions. The assumption of a shared world view in which angelic and human categories could be fluid, however appropriate it might be, ought not to be confused with the particular ideas expressed by individual authors.

This raises the question as to whether it is the *author's* understanding of employing traditions which makes an idea angelomorphic in character or not. It is probably important if an author consciously derives imagery from traditions. Accordingly, it is significant to what extent and maybe if his way of composing an angelomorphic description possibly copes with the ability of his readers to understand this idea.

FLETCHER-LOUIS' concept of angelomorphisms is so general as such that it can be used as pattern against which to examine almost every text. However, it is likely

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[89] Cp. FLETCHER-LOUIS: *Luke-Acts*, e.g. 72-107.
[90] Cp. FLETCHER-LOUIS: *Luke-Acts*, e.g. 118-129.
[91] Cp. FLETCHER-LOUIS: *Luke-Acts*, 199-204. He bases his conclusion on similarities between some texts.
[92] Cp. FLETCHER-LOUIS: *Luke-Acts*, e.g. 221.

that neither a general pattern nor a single uniform concept of adopting angelomorphic traditions may have existed. Rather, a given author's particular way of adopting traditions may differ accordingly from text to text. Thus we cannot assume the idea of angelomorphism to be uniform in character.

It should be obvious by this point that there is no agreed working definition for the term "angelomorphic", but rather that the interpretation of its meaning is dependant on the approach chosen: the more extended the definition becomes, the more angelomorphic traditions are to be found. The lack of a clear definition is apparent here, the term can be used in a very flexible way.

It should also be apparent that within the history of research many conclusions have been advanced with dogmatic considerations in mind, as shown through the example of the "creature-terminology" (see above). This is also visible in the process of the above mentioned disputes: the arguments used are related to the history of doctrines (notably the first disputes are to be seen only among scholars of history of doctrines), and closer observations of NT facts follow as a logical consequence. Therefore it has to be asked whether this course of the disputes has determined from the outset the more recent discussion concerning the connection between angelology and Christology, or if criteria of the NT have been taken into account seriously enough.

The need for further studies in the Christology of Revelation seems apparent. Accordingly, the aim of the present thesis is to determine the type of Christology that characterises the Apocalypse and to observe especially its connection to angelology. Any contemporary attempt to describe the author's own way of integrating angelology with Christology should avoid (or at least be aware of) dogmatic presuppositions, as shown above. The history of research regarding the studies on angelology and Christology has shown that a dogmatic understanding - in most cases - underlies the analysis and assessment of angelomorphic or "angel" Christology. In the present thesis,

other means of distinguishing Christ from angels (e.g. functional-soteriological and narrative-contextual aspects) shall be explored. It should also prove helpful to determine the tradition-historical background which gave rise to this special kind of Christology.

1.3. The Problems of Definitions

Since the absence of a clear working definition of the expression "angelomorphic" has become apparent, it seems necessary to define this expression for further studies on the Apocalypse and the question whether or not angelomorphic elements are present in this writing. A promising start for such a definition has to be based on the integration of two other expressions that are somehow related to the term "angelomorphic", namely the terms "divine" and "angelic". A definition of these two words seems especially helpful, because both were essentially used in earlier attempts to establish an appropriate understanding of the expression "angelomorphic" as will be demonstrated in this section (cp. immediately below). A definition of "angel Christology" should also be made at this stage. A closer look at some previous attempts at defining the expression "angelomorphic" demonstrates the correlation of all mentioned terms and their dependency on each other.

For instance, the definition for "angelomorphic" provided by DANIÉLOU explains the expression as a representation

> "*... by means of the imagery of various angelic beings.*".[93]

Such a definition seems simplistic, but at the same time it offers a reasonable solution. However, the question remains open with regard to what an angelic being actually is; a definition of an angel or angelic being thus still has to be made. Similarly, the definition by KNIGHT lacks clarity, since he defines angelomorphic descriptions as

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[93] Cp. DANIÉLOU: *Christianity*, 146.

"... *analogies with the angels despite the attribution of divinity* ..."[94]

and contrasts sharply between an angelomorphic Christology and the so-called Angel Christology - literally implying a presentation of Christ as an angel - as postulated by WERNER.[95] This definition also leaves open the question of what constitutes an angel or angelic being. Furthermore, it remains to be asked what constitutes a divine being, and whether a divine status rules out the possibility of an angelic status altogether or allows for an occasional understanding of "divine" angels.[96]

A somewhat more precise definition is finally provided by FLETCHER-LOUIS who interprets "angelomorphic" as

"... *wherever there are signs that an individual or community possesses specifically angelic characteristics or status, though for whom identity cannot be reduced to that of an angel.*"[97]

This definition, in turn, builds on his understanding of what an angelic being is:

"... *the constellation of characteristics and motifs which commonly occur across a broad spread of Jewish texts from the Second Temple and early rabbinic periods.*".[98]

Although both definitions, taken together, may seem specific at first sight, some clarifications are to be made in this case as well. For instance, it needs to be specified what can be defined as "commonly" applied characteristics or motifs of an angelic nature.

Another weakness of FLETCHER-LOUIS' definition lies in the temporal restriction he provides. A limitation of angelic ideas to Second Temple and rabbinic writings is not necessarily consequent, since imagery concerning angels underlies changes in that period and is not standardised. Further, writings from other periods or

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[94] Cp. KNIGHT: *Disciples*, 142.
[95] Cp. KNIGHT: *Disciples*, 76 and 183.
[96] See for a similar critique FLETCHER-LOUIS: *Luke-Acts*, 14 n.64.
[97] Cp. FLETCHER-LOUIS: *Luke-Acts*, 14-15.
[98] Cp. FLETCHER-LOUIS: *Luke-Acts*, 15.

later Christian writings can also be held responsible for a development of angelological ideas.

On the other hand, the definition provided by FLETCHER-LOUIS is amorphous: if an angel is considered to have *all* "characteristics and motifs which commonly occur", almost any being related to heaven would be subject to an interpretation as having an angelic status. Such a definition appears far too broad and unspecific. Certain attributes or functions, as well as the possible designation of a figure as an angel, should be taken into account for a reasonable and limited interpretation of a figure as angelic.

For HANNAH the concept of an "angelomorphic Christology" is phenomenological. For him the expression refers to

> "*visual portrayals of Christ in form of an angel*".[99]

However, such a definition is too limited as it excludes any form of angelomorphic Christology but a descriptive element of an appearance. Such aspects like functions or the context by which a figure might appear angelomorphic are not taken into account.

Further definitions of the terms such as "angelic", "angelomorphic", "angel Christology" and "divine" have been proposed by GIESCHEN. He attempts to arrive at definitions for the words that do not neglect the interrelationship between them. With this in view, GIESCHEN first defines an angel as:

> "*a spirit or heavenly being who mediates between the human and divine realms*".[100]

Secondly he concludes the definition for "angelomorphic" as

> "*... an inclusive adjective which describes a phenomenon that has the variegated form and functions of an angel, even though the figure may not be explicitly identified as an angel.*".[101]

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[99] Cp. HANNAH: *Michael*, 13.
[100] Cp. GIESCHEN: *Angelomorphic*, 27.
[101] Cp. GIESCHEN: *Angelomorphic*, 27-28.

An angelomorphic Christology, therefore, is

"... *the identification of Christ with angelic form and functions ... whether or not he is specifically identified as an angel*"

in contrast to an "angel Christology", which is an

"*explicit identification of Jesus Christ as an angel*".[102]

GIESCHEN builds his definition on the work of ROWLAND, who interprets an angelomorphic Christology as a description of Christ which

"*in no way implies that Christ was identified entirely with the created order*".[103]

It should by now be apparent that definitions of "angelomorphic" depend on the definition of "angelic" and what an angel actually is, probably as well as on a definition of "divine". Therefore, a definition of angels has to be established first.

(1) "Angels" and "Angelic"

The concept of angels in the Hebrew Bible and the adaptation of angelological ideas in the New Testament literature apparently has its roots in the motif of a messenger sent by God in order to communicate his messages to the people. Therefore, GIESCHEN's proposal of an angel as a "heavenly being who mediates between human and divine realms" seems an appropriate suggestion for a definition, which we may generally agree to. However, since all the functions of angels are not always clear cut in terms of simply mediating between those realms, we need to be more precise here: Since angels are generally subordinate to God we may consider them as heavenly servants of God who do his bidding either in heaven itself, or they take responsibility to make his will known on earth functioning generally as messengers and God's servants. In description they might even reflect God's glory, but their power is certainly limited and subject to God's will. A general definition for an angel in biblical writings could therefore be:

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[102] Cp. GIESCHEN: *Angelomorphic*, 28.

"An angel is a heavenly intermediary being, who is in service of God and functions as a messenger or servant."

Further, an angel is generally designated as such. The adjective "angelic" conclusively relates to figures who share these attributes of an angel, possibly but not necessarily implying that the figure thus described represents an angel.

(2) "Divinity" and "Divine"

"Divinity" is best defined in a very general way as a term describing the status of God. The expressions "divinity" and "divine" are commonly understood in contrast to "angels" and "angelic". If we understand a concept of divinity exclusively as describing God and attributes related to him, such a distinction seems to be appropriate. In turn, we should attempt to identify the criteria which express a degree of divinity. GIESCHEN proposes a catalogue for the criteria of divinity consisting of (1) a Divine Position, (2) a Divine Appearance, (3) Divine Functions, (4) the Divine Name and (5) the Divine Veneration.[104] However, these criteria seem questionable, since many features within descriptions of God are subject to change and might also be applied to angels or similar minions of God. A sitting posture of God as an expression of his divinity as assumed by GIESCHEN may indeed be found in certain traditions. But, as GIESCHEN admits himself, portraits of God or those surrounding him as standing may also be found. (See section 3.1.3.2. for a more thorough discussion on this problem in Revelation.) Moreover, the possibility of deriving divine status from a description of appearance or size must be questioned. Though GIESCHEN provides evidence for descriptions of size or appearance of divine figures, it may certainly not be assumed that elements of such a depiction can be found everywhere. For instance, descriptions of Christ in New Testament literature do not follow a general pattern of portraying God. On the contrary, one might wonder where descriptions of God are found and where those descriptions

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[103] Cp. ROWLAND: "Man", 100.

play an elemental role in Christophanies. Similarly, a name as clearly divine feature may be present in certain descriptions, but one might doubt if a concept of divine names is a standardized common feature in a wide range of texts. Moreover, the expression "divine name" may be misleading, since most names of angels in early Jewish texts end on "-el" (e.g. Michael, Raphael, Yahoel, Uriel) alluding to God.[105] Can all those names be identified as divine? Angels would then be divine figures as well. And can one argue that these names are simply derived from God's name in order to express God's unique status? In that case most titles given for instance to Christ relating him to God (e.g. son of God) would have to be interpreted likewise.

A similar problem occurs if veneration is interpreted as an exclusive means to ascribe divinity to certain figures: In the recent past some scholars, such as HURTADO,[106] BAUCKHAM,[107] VOLLENWEIDER[108] or GIESCHEN[109] (and to some extent FLETCHER-LOUIS[110]) have assumed that worship and veneration (especially 'cultic' veneration) are a means of ascribing divinity to Christ in contrast to angels where such a reference is generally absent. Such an interpretation is - as partially admitted by these scholars - not without challenge, since references to veneration or even worship of angels can be found. Examples for veneration of angels have been provided for instance by STUCKENBRUCK.[111] HURTADO's argument of a 'cultic' veneration as the means for distinguishing Christ from angels or other heavenly beings and thus maintaining a straightforward monotheism (drawing a line between angelic and divine) also has other flaws. Weak points in HURTADO's argument include a too narrow definition for "worship" and the neglect of possible developments in early Jewish traditions

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[104] Cp. GIESCHEN: *Angelomorphic*, 30-33.
[105] See also VOLLENWEIDER: "Monotheismus", 28-29.
[106] Cp. HURTADO: *God*, passim (for instance 11-13), "Monotheism", 3-26, or "Mean", 348-368.
[107] Cp. BAUCKHAM: *Theology*, 58-63, *Climax*, 133-140, and *God*, 34-35.
[108] Cp. VOLLENWEIDER: "Monotheismus", 30.
[109] Cp. GIESCHEN: *Angelomorphic*, 33.
[110] See for instance FLETCHER-LOUIS: *Luke-Acts*, 15.

concerning angels and their veneration.[112] Despite the theory of worship being the decisive factor in order to set Christ apart from subordinate heavenly beings which may in contrast not be worshipped, it seems important for the current definition of divinity that the criteria of worship lacks precision in general. Added to which, the overlap created by evidence of angels being worshipped seems to contradict the assumption that worship is the decisive factor for keeping the line between divine and non-divine. Therefore, it is difficult to regard worship as an exclusive means to establish the distinction between divine and non-divine. Nevertheless, since worship is rejected by angels in certain traditions[113] it may well be worth keeping "worship" in mind as a means to distinguish angels from God and those who are in ultimate proximity to him (e.g. Christ). In other words, early Jewish and later Christian writers might generally have addressed the topic of worship in order to keep a line between angels (or similar heavenly beings) and God. Maybe such a division has been expanded to Christ without necessarily implying a fully developed understanding of a divine status of Christ.

An even more helpful means of expressing a divine status in early Jewish or Christian writings might have been established by ascribing certain functions to God and maybe other figures one wished to present as on par with him. However, the criteria of functions may not be entirely without overlaps: angels might occasionally be portrayed with functions which are commonly reserved for God, such as taking care of the created cosmos, protection of the righteous, punishing evil or answering prayers.[114] Other features, though, are rather exclusively ascribed to God, as for instance (A) the creation of the world (a feature which is rarely shared, as for instance by Wisdom in Proverbia 3:19; 8:22-31; Wisdom of Solomon 9:9 *or Ben Sirach* 24:3-7). (B) salvific or

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[111] Cp. STUCKENBRUCK: *Veneration*, 51-204, and "Refusal", 679-696. See for honour given to angels as a cultic practice HORBURY: *Messianism*, 121.
[112] Cp. STUCKENBRUCK: *Veneration*, 49-50, and "Monotheism", 70-89.
[113] Cp. for instance BAUCKHAM: "Worship", 322-341, or STUCKENBRUCK: *Veneration*, 270-271.
[114] Cp. GIESCHEN: *Angelomorphic*, 32.

redemptive deeds like absolving sins, causing general salvation for Israel or pronouncing eschatological judgement, and finally (C) holding the dominion over the earth and the entire creation. Such features are generally absent when references to angels are made: A creation by angels or even just the participation of angels in creation is excluded. Salvation is also caused exclusively by God, though it it might be carried out by angels (e.g. in Num 20:16; Ex 23:20-23 or Tob[115]); the angels only reflect God's will and obey his command. Similarly, the power to reign over the earth is God's very privilege. Angels might share some powers, but only if granted by God. Mostly angels only have control over a certain restricted area of creation, never the entire world. Moreover, angels might even struggle to gain such power (e.g. the fallen angels in *1 En.*), but in no scenario in early Jewish literature or the New Testament do they gain control of the earth. The dominion of God and his clearly superior rank to angels is often reflected in the postures by which God is described in contrast to angels. While God is often portrayed as sitting or throned, angels are often described as standing (see for a more thorough discussion section 3.1.3.2.).[116]

In the current discussion a concept of "divinity" has been subject to the contrast with angelic categories. If a generally accepted concept of divinity with a common view may be assumed at all, one might question whether or not this concept would necessarily imply a deliberately created contrast to one of angelic categories. If not, it could be possible to provide evidence for divine beings possessing angelic attributes without reducing their status to that of an angel. However, since "divinity" within the frame of a monotheistic view seeks to emphasise God's uniqueness, the contrast with

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[115] An identification of Christ in the Gospel of John as divine might then at first glance seem problematic, since John draws heavily on angelic categories for his christological concept, especially the description of Christ as being sent by his father; cp. BÜHNER: *Gesandte*, passim. However, a divine classification of Christ in John is warranted elsewhere by the close connection between Christ and God (described as his "father"). Also Christ's preexistence which is emphasised hints at a divine character.

[116] See for the criteria for divinity provided also VOLLENWEIDER: "Monotheismus", 28-31.

other heavenly or exalted beings which might be challenging God's unique status seems a logical consequence.

Nevertheless, a definition for divinity may not simply be based on a definition via negations, i.e. to say that divinity is what is not angelic. In turn, one must investigate where God is explicitly set apart from other categories (e.g. angelic), and what actually forms the unique character of God. As a result, certain features may be extracted, such as those just mentioned.

Conclusively, we may summarise divinity as a somewhat artificial expression for describing the characteristics of God with a special focus on emphasising his uniqueness. Such unique status may be expressed by ascribing certain functions to a figure which might then be identified as divine. A major significance for identifying a divine figure by functions lies in (1) a participation in the creation, (2) a salvific meaning and (3) dominion over the earth. Other features, such as (A) the position (or posture) of a figure, (B) the appearance, (C) the name or (D) worship or veneration bear less significance, since overlaps with figures which have clearly no divine meaning might exist. Still, these other features can be helpful, since they provide a means for identifying a status as being equal to God's.

A further feature which may help to identify a certain figure's divinity might be expressed by certain *temporal* aspects being ascribed: One of God's characteristics often alluded to is his eternity. Another figure sharing this aspect might be considered divine as well. Notions concerning an eternal character of divine figures might possibly be alluded to by a preexistent character or by an application of formulas as in Isaiah 41:4 (i.e. for instance the *Dreizeitenformel* as used in Revelation). Similarly, a divine status might also be expressed by ascribing to figures the prerogative to operate in past, present and future.[117]

[117] See for such a proposal DAVIS: "Agents", 479-503.

However, the definition made above raises the question of whether or not it coincides with an underlying concept of monotheism. In early Judaism a very unique status of God can almost be taken for granted. A notice of divinity for other figures might therefore be rare, if it exists at all. In early Christianity, though, monotheism might possibly have been compromised by an upcoming significance of Christ and the holy Spirit. It must therefore be kept in mind that a "uniqueness" (as assumed for an indication of divinity) would then have to be accepted for one or two more figures within the process of a trinitarian (or binitarian) development.

In general, the attempt to define divinity illustrates part of the problem how angels, angelomorphic beings and divine beings can be clearly kept apart from each other. The discussion concerning definitions of divine, angelic and angelomorphic may contribute to the following studies concerning the Apocalypse of John in so far as some aspects just mentioned might be present in this writing. Therefore, the forthcoming arguments will also provide a close look at criteria (some of which were just mentioned) which help to relate God, Christ and angels to each other, and at the question which of the criteria are used in order to eventually set them apart.

Final consideration should be given to the term "equality which we have employed above and which shall be used in the thesis in relation to shared status between God and a divine figure. This concept requires further clarification, since in the thesis below we shall focus on whether in Revelation Christ is subordinated to or placed on par with God. If we keep in mind the particularity of the seer John's Christology, it would be misleading to understand "equality" (or equal status) between God and Christ in an absolute sense. On the contrary, this expression should be neither unnecessarily delineated nor overly generalised. Accordingly, the term shall be applied below when the seer is thought to express a certain proximity between God and Christ, in which Christ is placed on the "divine" side (see above) without strictly being identified with

God per se. In addition, the so called "subordinate" Christology passages (e.g. the vision in Apc 5 where Christ receives the scroll from God or Apc 14 where Christ receives a command from an angel) do not necessarily reflect an emphasis on Christ's subordinate status per se; their interpretation depends on what one makes of what the auhor actually wished to demonstrate through such details.

(3) Angelic Christologies

Based on the definitions established for "angels" and "divinity", we may now continue to shed more light on various concepts of angelic Christologies. Following the suggestion of HANNAH we may define all those forms of Christologies as angelic which are indebted to some degree to angelological ideas. Accordingly, the expression "angelic Christology" serves as a general "umbrella term" for those forms of talking about Christ which apply references to Christ normally ascribed to angels.[118] These Christologies can be subdivided further into two other groups, namely into (A) an angel Christology and (B) an angelomorphic Christology.

(3a) Angel Christology

The meaning of an angel Christology is relatively easy to define as a christological concept which regards Christ as an angel or, more broadly, as an angelic being. (Such a concept includes a portrait of Christ as incarnation of an angel or an exaltation of his status to that of an angel.)[119] A concept of an angel Christology has been assumed for instance for the New Testament by WERNER (as shown above). In a pure form it may have been preserved rarely, as in the Elkasaites' writings witnessed by Epiphanius (*Pan.* 19.4.1-2) or Hippolytus (*Haer.* 9.13.2-3).[120]

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[118] Cp. HANNAH: *Michael*, 12-13.
[119] See also HANNAH: *Michael*, 12, KNIGHT: *Disciples*, 183, and GIESCHEN: *Angelomorphic*, 28.
[120] Cp. KNIGHT: *Disciples*, 167-168, or LUTTIKHUIZEN: *The Revelation of Elchasai*.

(3b) Angelomorphic Christology

Compared to the definition which can be supplied for an angel Christology, a definition for an angelomorphic Christology seems to be more difficult to provide. Part of the difficulties which occur for a definition of what is actually "angelomorphic" have already been mentioned above. When a first approach, namely an explanation of angelomorphic Christology as a description of Christ in μορφή (form) of an angel, can be taken for granted, it still begs the question whether this way of portraying Christ implies an upgrade or a reduction of his status. In other words, once an angelomorphic status of Christ is established one must elaborate if his status is either divine (i.e. still equal to God despite the use of imagery commonly applied to subordinate servants) or subordinate (by making him appear as subordinate). One may even assume that both options are generally possible, since some early Christian texts (such as the *Ascension of Isaiah*) describe Christ in an angelomorphic and subordinate context while other texts refer to Christ as a divine being who is also portrayed in angelomorphic contexts (which may have to be confirmed for the Apocalypse of John). Even descriptions of God himself might occasionally be slightly angelomorphic (as possibly in Gen 16:7-14; 21:17-18; Ex 3:2-4:17 or Judg 6:11-27).[121] Therefore, one can say at the current stage of the discussion that an angelomorphic description does not necessarily deprive Christ (or maybe a similarly important figure) of his divinity or reduces his status to that of an angel.[122]

A further point for a working definition of an angelomorphic Christology needs clarification, namely by what means an angelomorphic description of Christ can be established. As quoted above, HANNAH proposes an angelomorphism of Christ as being represented by visual means. Though an angelomorphic description by a reference

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[121] Cp. FLETCHER-LOUIS: *Luke-Acts*, 15.
[122] Cp. HANNAH: *Michael*, 13. See similarly FLETCHER-LOUIS: *Luke-Acts*, 14-15, and KNIGHT: *Revelation*, 163-164.

to Christ's appearance is certainly a logical explanation, the proposal excludes further possibilities by which Christ can be portrayed using the way angelic imagery is employed. We may therefore propose further means that let Christ appear in a way which might be agreed to as angelomorphic. As emphasised by FLETCHER-LOUIS, the angelic aspect of a description can be rooted in characteristics and motifs, i.e. in traditions.[123] Therefore, one should consider that an angelomorphic description might constitute of other means of reference to the angelic world which can have roots in traditional material. For instance, an angelomorphic portrait might be established by ascribing angelic functions (i.e. functions commonly attributed to angels) to a figure which is not described as an angel per se. An example of one such angelomorphic description is preserved in Wisdom of Solomon 18:15-19 where Wisdom itself takes over functions of the Angel of Death from the Exodus narrative. A further example is provided by the Gospel of John, where Christ is described as one being sent by his father, a description which is indebted to the portrait of Raphael in the Book of Tobit.

Besides relating an angelomorphic description to traditional material (as in the case of alluding to visual or functional aspects), a further way of ascribing an angelomorphic status to a figure appears to be possible: Even if a figure is not related to angels by either visual or functional aspects, an angelomorphic status of the figure can still be achieved by an author by relating it to angels by context. This means, even without clear allusions to a traditional way of describing angels, that the figure may be angelomorphically depicted by relating it to angels in the given context of a passage. For instance, one may interpret Apc 14:14 as such a reference to an angelomorphic Christ, since Christ is mentioned along with six other angels, and an angel following his description is introduced as "another angel" (see section 2.2.2. for a more thorough

[123] Cp. FLETCHER-LOUIS: *Luke-Acts*, 15.

discussion). Paul's notion in Galatians 4:14 that he has been welcomed "God's angel. as Jesus Christ" might also be interpreted as an angelomorphic understanding of Christ.[124]

We may summarize the meaning of an angelomorphic description as a means of portraying a figure by relating it to the angelic world without implying that it actually represents an angel. A reference to divinity or non-divinity of the so-described figure is not made in a general statement, since humans, Christ and even God himself can be described in such a way. Therefore, an angelomorphic Christology can be defined as the branch of Christology which describes Christ by relating him to angels without implying either an angelic or an explicitly divine status. The status of Christ, may it be subordinate to God or on par with God, has to be derived from the context of the whole writing which contains an angelomorphic description of Christ. The means of relating Christ to angels may vary and can draw on traditional material such as (A) a reference to Christ's appearance employing attributes commonly attested to angels or (B) a reference to functions which are traditionally angelic, or a description can also draw on (C) the context to relate Christ to angelic ideas.

In the following study we shall now attempt to investigate whether the definitions made above can be assumed to be correct by applying them to the concept of the Apocalypse of John. The focus of the forthcoming chapters will be the outline of the author's Christology, especially as regards Christ's relationship with angels and with God.

[124] See for a discussion GIESCHEN: *Angelomorphic*, 315-325.

Part B: Analysis of the Christology of the Apocalypse

2. The Christology of Apc 14

2.1. Christology of the Apocalypse and its Connection to Angels

The introduction on the history of research provided in chapter 1 concerning the connection of Christ and angels and angelic figures has made apparent that a distinction between Christ and angels in NT texts and Early Christian literature was repeatedly made under dogmatic assumptions.[1] Some of these assumptions may be traced to christological doctrines of the third century CE, that is, to ideas which might actually not be reflected by these early documents. Furthermore, it can be observed that dogmatic concerns are becoming a decisive factor in studies which focus on the Apocalypse of John itself, even when those dogmatic concerns might be presupposed on a basis not reflected in Revelation.

Firstly it should be examined how closely Christ is related to the angels appearing with him within the Apocalypse in order to make further statements on the distinction made between them. There are three main passages to take into account for working out the relationship between Christ and angels: Apc 1:7-20, 14:6-20 and 19:11-21. Within these passages, more than others (as for instance Apc 5:1-14), Christ is most closely related to angels and described in (almost) angelic categories. Further, it has to be examined if these passages are the only important chapters in the Apocalypse that have to be looked at for demonstrating angelic christological features of Revelation, as

[1] Dogmatic assumptions have been identified in section 1.2. in publications by MICHAELIS, BAUCKHAM, ROWLAND and CARRELL.

it has been done in most works concerning this area of research.[2] Indeed there may be other texts which do not actually describe Christ in angelic terms. but which are also important to understand the concept and meaning of the Apocalypse's Christology and Christ's proximity to angels.

Furthermore, one has to ask whether these passages have to be treated separately from other christological ideas of the Apocalypse or whether the author might have planned all the christological features of his work carefully, so that one has to observe the overlap of angelology and Christology in light of the whole work.

To start with, it is probably appropriate to look at the christological features of Apc 14:6-20, chiefly because this passage contains the most interesting christological ideas of Revelation's author which, in turn, may shed light on descriptions of Christ in other chapters of the Apocalypse. The potential significance of Apc 14:6-20 has often been neglected or simply been overlooked. Contributions to the Christology of the Book of Revelation generally seem to focus on the Lamb Christology and to centre then on observations made on Apc 5:1-14. This can be seen in various commentaries and works on the Apocalypse or on the topic of NT Christology: J. D. G. DUNN for instance barely mentions the importance angelomorphic Christology might have, as noticed before. H. KRAFT does not acknowledge any Christology in Apc 14:14-20 and reduces the meaning of the one like a son of man to that of an angel.[3] KRAFT's research on the Lamb, however, is much more in-depth.[4] Some other scholars focus on the description of Christ given in chapter 1 of Revelation.[5]

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[2] Cp. CARRELL: *Jesus*, passim, or GIESCHEN: *Angelomorphic*, 245-269, both focussing on chapters 1, 14 and 19 and neglecting a connection between the Lamb Christology and the angelic description of Christ.

[3] Cp. KRAFT: *Offenbarung*, 197.

[4] Cp. KRAFT: *Offenbarung*, 107-110.

[5] See for a summary STUCKENBRUCK: *Veneration*, 22-41.

2.2. The Christological Features of Apc 14

2.2.1. The Interpretive Problem of Apc 14:6-20

Apc 14:6-20 provides a detailed vision of the coming of "one like a son of man" being accompanied by angels. This figure is linked closely to these angels, as will be discussed immediately below. Accordingly one might have to give special attention to the angelological features and ideas that are present when this prominent figure is described. A further problem to consider is the question whether Apc 14:1-5 is relevant for the christological description in verses 6-20 or if the vision of the Lamb and his followers and the following vision of judgement of the world should be treated separately.

But, first of all, who is the ὅμοιον υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου in Apc 14:15 who appears without any further names or titles? Can one assume that this figure is Christ? And if Christ is really meant in this passage, is he described clearly enough and sufficiently prominently so that no further title or name was necessary to identify him unambiguously? If the author did not deem further designations for the figure, then it is possible that he assumed a familiarity with his language among his readers who presumably would not have queried the figure's identity. This applies also to the eschatological scenario of the passage as a whole; the author may have assumed that his readers knew the traditions underlying the vision and that they would therefore have been in a position to understand the vision as a manifestation of Christ's coming and divine judgment of the world.

A close relation of the "one like a son of man" with the angels which appear in the vision of Apc 14:6-20 is quite obvious. (We may also say this about the "one like a

son of man" in the opening vision of Revelation, because in Apc 1:7-20 the same figure is closely related to angels by means of terminology which will be dealt with more explicitely in section 5.2.1.) Accordingly it has to be examined whether he can be Christ or if he is rather an angel,[6] or alternatively if he has features of Christ *and* an angel. Notably this question is rather important in relation to Revelation`s dogmatic value as well, because according to M. LUTHER it is "rechter Prüfstein" for the biblical scriptures "ob sie Christum treiben oder nicht."[7]

2.2.2. The Problem of the Phrase ἄλλος ἄγγελος

On closer inspection of Apc 14:6 the description of the first angel as ἄλλος ἄγγελος attracts attention because there is no obvious antecedent for the word ἄλλος. The word ἄλλος could be related to an angel that was described previously in another context - the angel in Apc 10:1 (ἄλλον ἄγγελον ἰσχυρόν) might be a possible solution then[8] - or the phrase might be related to the angels mentioned later on in chapter 14. In the latter case the "other angel" would then have to be explained best as a "stylistic device" for introducing a new angel.[9] Many exegetes, as for instance J. WEISS, W. BOUSSET or R. H. CHARLES have tried to avoid the difficulty of explaining this phrase by interference in the text. J. WEISS believed that one has in retrospect of Apc 8:13 to assume an ἄλλον ἀετόν ("another eagle") in Apc 14:6, because of the same way

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[6] Cp. for instance CASEY: *God*, 142: CASEY regards the expression "one like a son of man" as attributed to Christ only once, namely in Apc 1:13. In Apc 14:14 he assumes an application of this expression to an angel. Cp. for an interpretation of the one like a son of man as an angel also CASEY: *Son*, 142-150, RITT: *Offenbarung*, 77-78, COPPENS: "Fils", 229 and KIDDLE: *Revelation* , 274-277.

[7] Cp. *WA* 7, 384, l. 27-29.

[8] Cp. CHARLES: *Revelation II*, 21. SWEET relates the ἄλλος ἄγγελος to Apc 14:9 instead, cp. SWEET: *Revelation*, 231. The lack of an obvoius reference is quite conspicious here, because in other passages within Revelation the reference to an ἄλλος ἄγγελος is less ambiguous, as in Apc 7:2 (related to 7:1) or 8:3 (related to 8:3).

[9] Cp. VAN SCHAIK: "Ἄλλος", 225 and AUNE: *Revelation 6-16*, 823-824.

of using ἄλλον here.[10] This view is rather unlikely because of the further enumeration of angels in the following verses as second and third angel in verses 8 and 9.[11] and also because of a lack of any textcritical evidence for this proposal. A deletion on basis of textcritical evidence of the word ἄλλον as assumed by W. BOUSSET because of "insurmountable difficulties" of the text's content[12] is also hard to justify. The absence of ἄλλον is witnessed by some variants ($\mathfrak{P}^{47}$, ℵ* and others), but the text *containing* ἄλλον is much better testified (ℵ^2, A, C, P and others). The latter variant also provides the lectio difficilior.[13] In addition, one may easily explain the creation of a variant without ἄλλον by the above mentioned difficulty of interpreting the reference of this word.[14] R. H. CHARLES tried to overcome this difficulty in verse 6, as well as in verse 15, by proposing to translate the phrase "another one, an angel" here.[15] Consequently the problem of having to find a reference to ἄλλον would be avoided then. Probably the best solution in this case is to interpret the term ἄλλος ἄγγελος as a compositional device that draws attention to each new figure as it is introduced in the narrative.[16] The advantage of this proposal is that it avoids doubtful interferences in the given text in order to explain a missing reference of the word ἄλλος.

More important for Christology is the description of the angel in verse 15 as ἄλλος ἄγγελος because this term affects the interpretation of the son of man figure in verse 14. Just how to account for the occurrence of ἄλλος ἄγγελος has been subject to

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[10] Cp. WEISS: *Offenbarung*, 96: WEISS considered an eagle to be much more appropriate because of its ability to fly, and also because there was no real counterpart for the angel in verse 6. Cp. also KRAFT: *Offenbarung*, 192-193 and SWEET: *Revelation*, 224. For the tradition-historical use of the eagle in the Apocalypse see also PARK: *Offenbarung*, 187-196.

[11] Cp. HOLTZ: *Christologie*, 130, n. 2.

[12] Cp. BOUSSET: *Offenbarung*, 383, esp. n. 2. In other words, BOUSSET wants to avoid regarding the one like a son of man as an angel.

[13] Surely the use of ἄλλον provides the lectio difficilior, because the reference of this word has to be explained.

[14] Cp. also HOLTZ: *Christologie*, 130, n. 2.

[15] Cp. CHARLES: *Revelation II*, 21-23. CHARLES delays this problem, though, proposing this solution in his discussion on verse 18, because he wants to eleminate verses 15-17 as an interpolation.

[16] Cp. LOHMEYER: *Offenbarung*, 121 and HOLTZ: *Christologie*, 130, n. 2.

debate. A possible explanation for this phrase has therefore been assumed as a major *crux interpretum* of the text. The essential problem of this expression is how to identify the antecedent for ἄλλος. If the term refers to a single subject, then in this context it could point to one of two figures. The first antecedent which comes to mind is the son of man-like figure in the previous verse (verse 14) who, however, is not explicitly designated as an angel. The other possibility would be to find a reference back to one of the other angels, namely the one mentioned in verse 9.[17] In the former case, the son of man-like figure would have to be regarded as an angel, who is similar to the angels in verses 17 and 19-20; a correlation between a son of man and angels is also provided in contemporary Jewish traditions.[18] In particular, the idea of classifying the "one like a son of man" as an angel, according to the above mentioned reference, has been regarded as very problematic and unlikely. Consequently it is rather assumed that changes in this passage have been made, demoting the "one like a son of man" to an angel afterwards.[19]

Recalling CHARLES´ solution to the problem of avoiding a straightforward identification of the "one like a son of man" with an angel has been considered by M. BARKER. She proposes that the author's translation ἄλλος ἄγγελος be understood as a mistranslation of a purported Hebrew or Aramaic *Vorlage* behind the Apocalypse. She assumes that אחר was the underlying adjective which the author misinterpreted due to the range of possible translations for this term. She notes that in Hebrew or Aramaic אחר, in addition to meaning "another", also carries the sense of "afterwards". Accordingly, one would have to regard the phrase ἄλλος ἄγγελος to mean "an angel

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[17] Cp. VAN SCHAIK: "Αλλος". But this possibility is also dependent on the question if Apc 14:6-20 is originally an independent literary unit or not, cp. MÜLLER: *Messias*, 195 for this question.
[18] Cp. MÜLLER: *Messias*, 195-196. The question concerning the background of this tradition is also important for the question of a literary unity of this passage Apc 14:6-20, as to be shown.
[19] Cp. BOUSSET: *Offenbarung*, 388: ἄλλος was added to the word ἄγγελος because the messianic character of the son of man like was not understood.

afterwards", as the different angels introduced by this expression represent, in any case, a single angel, namely the "angel of the Lord".[20]

The proposals of both CHARLES and BARKER are hardly convincing. Given their respective dogmatic concerns, they have imported a problem into the passage of Apc 14 which is extraneous to the text.[21] Accordingly, the translation of ἄλλος ἄγγελος as "another angel" (which, in turn, is identified with the son-of-man-like figure) should be preferred. After all, the function of the "one like a son of man" remains strikingly parallel to the activities attributed to the angels in verses 17 and 19.[22]

It is impossible to eliminate ἄλλος under the assumption of textcritical aspects because there is no textcritical evidence that the term ἄλλος was ever omitted. There is no way, therefore, to circumvent the identification of "one like a son of man" with an angel,[23] independent of other concerns such as his identity or hierarchical position.[24] If in verse 6, as we have seen, the expression is to be understood less in relation to an antecedent than as a stylistic device, then the possibility presents itself that the same may apply here.[25] Thus the numerous discussions which question the identification of the "one like a son of man" with an angel seem, on consideration, to represent a *crux interpretorum* rather than a *crux interpretum*.[26] The connection between the son of man figure and the angels in this passage is rather obvious; no text- or tradition-historical

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[20] Cp. BARKER: *Revelation*, 145: BARKER regards the tradition of a single angel of the Lord also to be present in the Apocalypse. (cp. also BARKER: *Angel*, passim.) Subsequently for BARKER there is obvoiusly no further christological problem present in Apc 14.

[21] In case of BARKER's proposal it also remains unclear whether there is a matrix that contains a construction including אחר and מלאך which could have been translated into Greek in order to make her hypothesis probable.

[22] Cp. MÜLLER: *Messias*, 195-196.

[23] Cp. MÜLLER: *Messias*, 196.

[24] For many commentators this is reason enough to consider a Jewish background in this verse. This question will be dealt with in more detail later on in the present thesis. Especially for MÜLLER the idea of a Jewish background became very important, insomuch that he subsequently considered Apc 14:6-20 to be no literary unit. Cp. for the thought of a Jewish scheme in this verse also: AUNE: *Revelation 6-16*, 842 and additionally COPPENS: "Fils", 229, CASEY: *Son*, 148-149 and MÜLLER: *Messias*, 196-197.

[25] The formulation ἄλλος ἄγγελος is used quite often within the Apc (as will be shown later on) and seems to be a device somehow favoured by the author; even in the small passage Apc 14:6-20 it is used 6 times.

explanations satisfactorily resolve what some interpreters have perceived as theological problem.[27]

Another issue with regard to the mentioning of the one like a son of man is the probability that he is subordinated to the angels. The angel in verse 15 gives the one like a son of man the command to send out his sickle and harvest the world. The ostensive subordination of the figure in verse 14 to the angels due to the order of the angel in verse 15 has been considered unlikely by most commentators, because the angel giving out orders to the one like a son of man is coming out of God's temple and would accordingly represent God's will.[28] Concerning these observations, one should avoid interpreting the given passage from a dogmatic perspective, especially if it relates to Christology. Apc 14:6-20 should not be interpreted by assuming a dogmatic understanding - which seems the "correct" one in the context of modern theological debate. Furthermore, the notion that verse 15 implies a subordinate role of Christ should be avoided, as it suggests that the content of the Apocalypse anachronistically draws upon christological themes which did not become important until the 3rd century CE. This kind of dogmatic presupposition is apparent in the work of P. CARRELL. He wants to explain the subordinate tendencies and a seemingly ignorant Christ by assuming a temporary angelic nature of Christ in this passage of the Apocalypse.[29]

2.2.3. The Significance of Daniel 7:13

For further research on the christological features of Apc 14:6-20, the attributes given to the one like a son of man in verse 14 are obviously of major importance; they

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[26] This means the whole discussion is more or less a problem that is not present in the text as such, but rather a problem that is in mind of those who discussed this issue.
[27] Cp. STUCKENBRUCK: *Veneration*, 241.
[28] Cp. MÜLLER: *Offenbarung*, 270 or AUNE: *Revelation 6-16*, 842. See for this discussion also BEALE: *Revelation*, 772-773.

might explain whether this figure is Christ as he is typically described in early Christian sources, or if he is rather an angel. First of all it has to be determined which attributes allow for an understanding of the figure as Christ. A central key for further determination is the adaptation in Apc 14:14 of the tradition of the Son of Man's coming from Daniel 7:13, which is also clearly present in Apc 1:7-16.[30] It seems rather important for the discussion of this issue to clarify some observations from the passage from the linguistic perspective.

Firstly, the formulation ὅμοιον υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου is somewhat conspicuous, because following the word ὅμοιος a construction in dative case should be expected. The rather unusual syntactical connection here, where an accusative is used instead, might mislead one to regard the expression as a solecism.[31] This proposal, though, is not the only possibilty. One may also assume that ὅμοιος and ὡς are synonymous within the Apocalypse. This could then reflect the various possibilities for a translation of the Aramaic כ in this work. This means that ὡς could probably be an equivalent translation for כ, because the use of ὅμοιος completely overlaps ὡς in use and syntactical construction.[32] At this point it has to be asked which text and tradition the author of the Apocalypse used for his version of narrating the coming of the Son of Man. In the Old Greek versions of this specific passage from the text of Daniel the formulation ὡς υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου is used in all cases for the description of the Son of Man. Therefore this term does not give further evidence for the dependence of the Apocalypse on a specific Old Greek source. To help identify the probable source used by the author of Apocalypse, a

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[29] Cp. CARRELL: *Jesus*, 191-192 and 224-226.
[30] The character of Dan 7:13 as a messianic key role is also reflected in *1 En.* 37-71, *4 Ezra* 13, *Apc. Abr.* 10:1-4 and *Asc. Isa.* 4:1-2. Cp. also SLATER: *Community*, 77-85.
[31] Cp. BLASS; DEBRUNNER: *Grammatik*, 112-114.
[32] Cp. YARBRO COLLINS: "Influence", 104-105.

table below simultaneously compares versions of Daniel 7:13[33] and Apc 1:13 and Apc 14:14.[34]

Figure 1: Comparison between the OG Daniel Traditions of Daniel 7:13 with MT and Apc 1,7.13;14:14

Apc 1:7.13	Apc 14:14	θ'	88; SyH	o'	CP 967	MT
(12) εἶδον	καὶ εἶδον	ἐθεώρουν ἐν ὁράματι τῆς νυκτὸς	ἐθεώρουν ἐν ὁράματι τῆς νυκτὸς	ἐθεώρουν ἐν ὁράματι τῆς νυκτὸς	ἐθεώρουν ἐν ὁράματι τῆς νυκτὸς	חזה הוית בחזוי לילי
7 Ἰδοὺ ἔρχεται	καὶ ἰδοὺ	καὶ ἰδοὺ	καὶ ἰδοὺ	καὶ ἰδοὺ	καὶ ἰδοὺ	וארו
μετὰ τῶν νεφελῶν	νεφέλη λευκή, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν νεφέλην νεφέλη λευκή, καὶ	μετὰ τῶν νεφελῶν	ἐπὶ τῶν νεφελῶν	ἐπὶ τῶν νεφελῶν	ἐπὶ τῶν νεφελῶν	עם וארו
ὅμοιον υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου	ὅμοιον υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου	ὡς υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου ἐρχόμενος καὶ ἕως τοῦ παλαίου τῶν ἡμερῶν ...	ὡς υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου ἤρχετο καὶ ὡς παλαιὸς ἡμερῶν ...	ὡς υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου ἤρχετο καὶ ἕως παλαιοῦ ἡμερῶν ...	ὡς υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου καὶ ὡς παλαιὸς ἡμέρω(ν) ...	כבר אנש הוה ועד עתיק ימיא ...
(equation of one like a son of man and the ancient of days by adaption of Dan 7:9 in verse 14)						

It is noteworthy that some of the Old Greek traditions include what seems like an identification of the Son of Man with the Ancient of Days (SyH, 88, CP 967) by using the word ὡς in the formulation ὡς υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου, while other Ancient Greek variants lack this identification. Instead, they express a certain direction the Son of Man is going to here by the use of the preposition ἕως and a following genitive (θ',o'). Such an identification of the Son of Man and the Ancient of Days may also be implied by the

[33] The meaning of the Sigla used in the table are: θ' = Version of Theodotion, 88 =Version of Codex Chisianus, SyH =Version of Syro-Hexapla, o' = Version of Origin and CP 967 = Version of Cologne Papyrus 967. For the significance of CP 967 in the context of discussions concerned with the different versions of Daniel see ROCA-PUIG: "Codice", 3-18 and CATHCART: "Daniel", 37-41.

use of imagery in Apc 1:13-20. In this case the identification is achieved by combining the attributes of the Son of Man and the attributes of the Ancient of Days from Daniel 7:9. Accordingly, it has to be asked if the author of the Apocalypse was aware of a Daniel tradition that identified the Son of Man as the Ancient of Days and if this tradition might have influenced the description in Apocalypse.[35] Linguistic evidence, though, seems to indicate that the author of the Apocalypse generally knew about the MT (or at least a text similar to the MT). The appearance of the Son of Man figure is described by the verb εἶδον in Apc 1:12 and 14:14, while the Old Greek versions describe this scenario by using ἐθεώρουν. The use of ὅμοιος instead of the ὡς of the Old Greek versions can only be seen in the two passages of the Apocalypse. A further reason to regard the MT of Daniel 7:13 as the background for the Apocalypse is provided by the description of the clouds in Apc 1:7 because of the use of different prepositions in front of νεφελῶν. The description μετὰ τῶν νεφελῶν is an exact translation of the aramaic עם ענני,[36] while the preposition ἐπί in the Old Greek traditions of Daniel can easily be explained as a scribal mistake (עם is mistaken for על).[37] A correlation of the Old Greek versions of Daniel 7 and the two given passages in Apc is only indicated by the identification of the Son of Man and the Ancient of Days, as already mentioned. But one must not entirely exclude the possibility of assuming the author's own work by making this identification. On the other hand it could also be possible that the Old Greek traditions of Daniel (which have to be dated rather late) might have been influenced by Christian traditions in general, or even by the

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[34] Cp. also STUCKENBRUCK: "Son ", 268-276.

[35] Cp. BEALE: "Apocalypse", 542: BEALE was tempted to regard an LXX tradition being responsible for the creation of the Apocalypse text in this case. Cp. also ROWLAND: "Vision", 2. and ROWLAND: "Man", 106-107: ROWLAND assumed that there was a common exegetical tradition within *the Apocalypse of Abraham, Joseph and Aseneth* and in the Revelation of John, for there is an identification of the Son of Man and the Ancient of Days preserved in all of the mentioned texts.

[36] It has to be acknowledged, though, that the translation as μετὰ τῶν νεφελῶν is also present in θ'.

[37] Cp. YARBRO COLLINS: "Tradition", 540-541.

tradition of the Apocalypse itself. At least the fact that a change from ἕως to ὡς and the resulting identification of the Son of Man as the Ancient of Days may not only be a scribal mistake[38] but can also have theological motivations is quite probable.[39] More conclusively, the MT or an Old Greek translation being very similar to the MT can be assumed to be known by the author of the Apocalypse.[40]

The assumption of the MT as the matrix for the Apocalypse in this case is also supported by the observation on the "flying angel" in Apc 14:6, which is also only witnessed by the MT and θ' in Daniel 9:21: The angel's ability to fly in verse 6 - he is described as πετόμενος[41] - is conspicuous, because elsewhere only seraphim and cherubim (cp. Isa 6:2) seem to be capable of flying; sometimes angels are described as "standing in heaven" as in 1 Chronicles 21:16. There is also a remarkable parallel in 4Q530 col. iii where the Giant Mahaway is flying by using his hands as wings (בידוהי ופרח).[42] In Apc 14:6 this attribute is given to an ἄγγελος.[43] The tradition of flying *angels,* though, seems to be rare,[44] and is therefore to be found only occasionally. as for instance in *1 Enoch* 61:1;[45] *2 Enoch* 3-4; 16:7-8; *3 Enoch* 9:3 (*3 En.* 21:1-3); *3 Enoch* 22-25, and also in Daniel 9:21 (MT and θ') where Gabriel is portrayed as flying. It may only be assumed that the idea of a flying angel in Apc 14:6 is probably dependent on an early tradition such as Daniel 9:21 MT.[46]

In comparison to Daniel 7:13 there are a number of other changes to be noticed in the description of the one like a son of man. First of all, one can perceive an obvious

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[38] This is assumed by PACE JEANSONNE: *Translation*, 96-99.
[39] Cp. STUCKENBRUCK: *Veneration*, 215-216, "Son", 273-276, HORBURY: *Christians*, 137 and LUST: "Septuagint", 62-69.
[40] Cp. also YARBRO COLLINS: "Tradition", 541.
[41] Cp. KRAFT: *Offenbarung*, 192: Kraft considered that πετόμενος has to be interpreted as "to come fast".
[42] Cp. for this parallel STUCKENBRUCK: *Giants*, 128-134.
[43] Angels with wings only appear in later traditions, as for instance in Tertullian *Apol.* 22,8 or *1 En.* 61:1. Cp. for this AUNE: *Revelation 6-16*, 823-824.
[44] Cp. KRAFT: *Offenbarung*, 192.
[45] See also MICHL: "Engel", 69.

change of number: in Apc 14:14 the one like a son of man comes with a single cloud. Second, the cloud is also described as white (λευκή), probably representing a heavenly colour.[47] The specification of a single white cloud as the Son of Man's seat is rather unusual and cannot be found in other descriptions of a Son of Man.[48] The coming on a cloud is also reminiscent of Apc 10:1 which reports the appearance of an angel with a cloud - but in this case the angel is rather wrapped in the cloud and not sitting on it. Third, the son of man-like figure in Apc 14 is bearing a golden crown. This idea is not present in Daniel 7:13. A golden crown may let a messianic bearer appear as a king, as for instance in *Midrash Psalm* 21:4,[49] or it could be an angelic feature as in *Joseph and Aseneth* 14:9; *2 Enoch* 14:2 [A]; *3 Baruch* 6:2.[50] Further, it might be interpreted in later developed texts as a juridic feature of Christ (as in *Apc. Petr.* 1), but this phenomenon might not be judged as a specific christological feature in the Apocalypse. The crown can also be found in different contexts in the Apocalypse (e. g. Apc 2:10; 4:4),[51] whereas the horseman on the white horse in Apc 6:2 (who also bears a golden crown) possibly builds an analogy to Christ in Apc 19:11-20. In this passage Christ is described as riding a horse and bearing a diadem. On the level of the text of the Apocalypse, the bearing of a crown might also represent a christological feature. (The crown seems to denote eschatological honour and, as such, occurs frequently in apocalyptic texts.[52])

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[46] Cp. for the development of the concept of flying angels also the detailed survey in MACH: *Entwicklungsstadien*, 185-190.

[47] Cp. PARK: *Offenbarung*, 262-263: The cloud might be derived from Ezek 30:3 where the day of the Lord is described as the day of the cloud. Accordingly, the presence of the cloud in Apc 14:14 might stress the juridical functions Christ has in Apc 14. Cp. also MICHAELIS: "λευκός", 256.

[48] A *formal* analogy, though, is given in Vergil's *Aeneid* 9.638-40, where Apollo is reported to come on a cloud's throne. Additionally Apollo is also "sitting" on the throne as in Apc 14, while the Son of Man in Dan 7:13 is described as "coming". A literary connection between Vergil's *Aeneid* and Apc 14 can hardly be assumed though. Cp. STUCKENBRUCK: *Veneration*, 242, n. 111. Cp. for a traditional use of a cloud as a means of transportation ALLISON: *Abraham*, 213.

[49] Cp. MÜLLER: *Messias*, 196. Cp. also 4Q369 *'Prayer of Enosh'* 1 col. ii 1-12 where a Davidic figure has the "crowns of heavens and the glory of the clouds". Though the crown is not golden here, a messianic character of this passage seems obvious. Cp. FLETCHER-LOUIS: *Luke-Acts*, 197.

[50] Cp. ALLISON: *Abraham*, 341.

[51] Cp. for the following also: STUCKENBRUCK: *Veneration*, 242-243, n. 111and BEALE: *Revelation*, 770.

[52] Cp. GRUNDMANN: "στέφανος", 626.

Fourth, in contrast to Daniel 7:13, the son of man-like figure bears a sharp sickle in Apc 14:14. This attribute might be due to another Hebrew Bible tradition which the author of the Apocalypse has adapted here, namely the harvest in Joel 4:13. In this case the author would have combined the motif of the harvest and of the coming of the Son of Man. The assumption of a combination from Daniel 7:13 with another OT tradition in *this* passage of the Apocalypse seems even more plausible if one compares Apc 14 with the other passages within the Apocalypse mentioning the son of man-like figure. Each of the other passages describing the one like a son of man also has an additional OT text attached to the Danielic tradition: In Apc 1:7 - without actually mentioning, but clearly referring to the Son of Man – Daniel 7:13 is combined with Zechariah 12:10-14,[53] in Apc 1:13 with Daniel 7:9 and Daniel 10:5,[54] and in Apc 14:14 with Joel 4:13. A further explanation for the presence of a sickle might be an interpretation as a symbol for death, similar to *Testament of Abraham* 4:11 [Rec. A], where Michael carries a "sickle of death".[55] The sickle as a symbol for death and destruction might hint at an identification of Christ with the Destroyer as in the Exodus tradition (see section 3.1.2.5. below). Fifth, the description of the one like a son of man as "sitting" can be explained by the assumption of the use of the Joel tradition, because Joel 4 also includes a scenario of judgement. Notably in Joel 4:12 God is judging in the valley of Jehoshaphat while he is "sitting".[56] Possibly the description of the one like a son of man as "sitting" could additionally express a certain increase of power and therefore represent his enthronement.[57] The sickle can probably be interpreted as a sign representing a certain juridical function of the one like a son of man which becomes rather obvious by the

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[53] Cp. for this also SCRIBA: *Theophanie*, 200-201 and YARBRO-COLLINS: "Tradition", 536-547.
[54] Cp. ROWLAND: *Heaven*, 101.
[55] Cp. ALLISON: *Abraham*, 145.
[56] Cp. VAN SCHAIK: "Ἄλλος", 223, n. 16 and MÜLLER: *Offenbarung*, 270.
[57] Cp. MÜLLER: *Messias*, 196 and HOLTZ: *Christologie*, 130, n. 1: HOLTZ is interpreting the throning of the One like a son of man as a possibility for a clear identification with Christ. Additionally the "throning" can possibly be regarded as a sign of juridical grandheur, cp. for this: SCHNEIDER: "κάθημαι", 445.

following description of the scenario of the harvest in Apc 14:15-20: The depiction continues to be very reminiscent of Joel 4. Indeed, it is also possible that the author of the Apocalypse picked up a similar tradition as in *1 Enoch* 69:27, where the enthronement of the Son of Man and his function as judge are combined.[58] In case of Apc 14 this presupposes the bearing of a sickle as a juridical attribute of the one like a son of man (which is a feature absent in *1 En.*). A literary dependence on *1 Enoch* cannot be verified, but at least the author´s knowledge of such an apocalyptic tradition might be possible. An adaptation of a tradition depicting the one like a son of man as in Daniel 7:13 and additionally a description of him with a sickle cannot be verified either. Moreover, the white cloud and the golden crown mentioned in Apc 14 are probably not to be traced back to a single tradition, though MÜLLER rightly assumes a similar description of the Son of Man figure as in *1 Enoch* 46:1 along with a similar terminology as in *4 Ezra* 13:3. The description in Apc 14 is probably best explained as a rather free adaptation of Daniel 7:13, combined with an interpretation like the one found in *4 Ezra* 13.[59]

2.2.4. Doubts Concerning Apc 14:6-20 as a Literary Unit

So far we have only focused on the ideas and motifs that the author of Revelation combined or adapted into his narrative setting of the vision in chapter 14. It became apparent that some of these motifs and ideas are rather important for the author's christological concerns. But also the question of whether Apc 14:6-20 is a literary unit or not is decisive for what kind of angelological stamp this chapter has.

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[58] Cp. also for the following: YARBRO COLLINS: "Tradition", 564.

[59] Cp. MÜLLER: *Messias*, 196: MÜLLER presumes a "free useage" of Dan 7:13. Therefore MÜLLER proposes that one should regard Apc 14 as connected to the general idea of the Son of Man tradition. While there is a messianic idea at the centre of *4 Ezra* 13, the Son of Man tradition in Apc 14 is highlighted by angelological ideas.

Before going into more detail here, the structure and composition of Apc 14:6-20 should be observed more carefully.

2.2.4.1. The Structure of Apc 14:6-20

On the level of its narrative structure, Apc 14:6-20 may be divided into two main units. These are (1) the announcement of judgement (verses 6-13) and (2) divine judgement itself (verses 14-20), which is described in metaphors of a harvest.[60] These two blocks are interrupted by an address to the reader (verse 12) which is connected with a beatitude for the martyrs (verse 13).

In the announcement of judgement a central role is apparently played by angels, who clearly function as messengers. The appearance of the three angels is structured around their introduction through the expression ἄλλος ἄγγελος, which is in each instance combined with the use of an ordinal number. Each of these angels has a distinct message to proclaim.

The description of the scenario of the judgement over the world (Apc 14:14-20) is structured around the appearance of angels. In this scene the angels are also introduced by the term ἄλλος ἄγγελος, though here they are no longer counted by ordinal numbers. In addition the angels do not appear one by one any more; instead they are introduced by an interlocking chain of commands: Each angel gives a command to another specific angel or angelic figure. The passage Apc 14:14-20 is initiated by the appearance of the one like a son of man on a cloud, who is followed by three angels, each of whom is introduced as an ἄλλος ἄγγελος.

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[60] For such a division see for instance LAMBRECHT: "Structuration", 98.

2.2.4.2. Demarcation of Apc 14:6-20

The topic of the announcement of the judgement and its execution presents a structured unit as such, so generally Apc 14:1-5 seems to be not too important for further investigation of Apc 14:6-20 (with the exception of mentioning the Lamb, as will be discussed in section 2.3.). The following vision, which begins at Apc 15:1. is even less important for research on Apc 14, because Apc 15:1 formally initiates a new section (καὶ εἶδον ἄλλο σημεῖον).

2.2.4.3. Problems Concerning a Literary Unity in Apc 14:6-20

The relevance of whether Apc 14:6-20 forms an independent literary unit becomes clear if we examine the diametrically opposed views of T. HOLTZ and U. B. MÜLLER. Concerning the proposal to exclude certain verses from the passage Apc14:14-20 as belonging to a separate unit HOLTZ remarked: "Gegen eine Ausscheidung spricht die offenbar bewußte Gliederung des Abschnittes 14:6-20 durch die mit ἄλλος gekennzeichneten Engel, die mit dem Menschensohn in der Mitte die Zahl Sieben ergeben."[61] Accordingly, for HOLTZ it is possible to understand and interpret this passage in its entirety. A christological appreciation of the one like a son of man is for HOLTZ assured by the equality of the designation ὅμοιον υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου in Apc 14:14 with its occurence in 1:13, since this strange construction (with ὅμοιος) only occurs in these two passages within the Apocalypse. The difference of the figure's position in Apc 14:14 in contrast to Daniel 7:13 (the one like a son of man is described as "sitting", not as "coming", in the Apocalypse) leads HOLTZ to the conclusion that the motif of enthronement actually reflects the work of the author. This divergence from

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[61] HOLTZ: *Christologie*, 129.

Daniel 7:13 indicates for HOLTZ that the figure described in Apc 14:14 possesses an obvious significance and must therefore be none other than Christ, who is clearly contrasted with the angels.[62] HOLTZ further argues that the one like a son of man is closely linked to the angels by the consistency of Apc 14:6-20. Three angels are mentioned before and after his appearance, all of them introduced regularly with the term ἄλλος. Accordingly Christ is in their centre making the number of seven complete. So whilst he seems to be one of the angels on the one hand, on the other his middle position and his special equipment clearly highlight his importance and superiority to the angels. Christ, therefore, is standing between the world of the angels and the world of God, as similarly reported in Apc 1:12-16.

The opposite opinion is declared by U.B. MÜLLER. For him the special way of distinguishing two acts of three verses within Apc 14:6-20 results in regarding verses 14-20 as a separate unit from verses 6-11, which describes three angels announcing judgement. He subsequently rejects the view of HOLTZ as a deliberate attempt to have seven prominent figures acting together, and correspondingly to make a special statement about the one like a son of man.[63] Accordingly MÜLLER regards the Son of Man tradition in Apc 14:14 as one that is not inherently Christian. He argues that the Gospels describe the Son of Man differently than Revelation. Whereas the Gospels use the expression the "Son of Man" as a title, the Apocalypse does not assume it to have "a technical" christological meaning. The use of ὅμοιος (or ὡς) is inexact and merely indicates a visionary description of a mythical judgement figure. Furthermore, an identification of the one like son of man with Christ would not be indicated per se. This identification is only possible when one draws into consideration Apc 1:13-20, but there Apc 14 would have been deliberately adapted by the author again. And a second eschatological judge besides Christ would not cope with early Christian thoughts.

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[62] Cp. for the understanding of "sitting" as "enthronement" SCHNEIDER: "κάθημαι", 444-445.

MÜLLER concludes that one should regard Apc 14:14-20 as a Jewish source that has not been changed at all by any Christian tradition.[64]

It is apparent that different views of regarding the unity of Apc 14:6-20 will lead to different results with respect to its christological features. On the one hand we have the opinion of HOLTZ who regards Apc 14:6-20 as a unit which has been deliberately composed by the author of Revelation in order to make clear christological statements: Christ is positioned among angels, but also clearly distinguished from them. MÜLLER. on the other hand, decides that Apc 14:6-20 is not a coherent unit and regards verses 14-20 as having a different origin than verses 6-11. Whereas the latter descend from a Christian writer, the former derive from an early Jewish source which has not undergone any Christian redaction. Consequently, verses 14-20 bear no trace of Christology, nor do they contain any christological implications. The Son of Man within this passage is therefore for MÜLLER an angel.

Notably MÜLLER's thesis has not been challenged so far, neither by HOLTZ himself, who published his work before MÜLLER, nor by anybody else. Can his idea of an early Jewish source within Apc 14 be as clearly demonstrated as he assumes? An analysis of the language of this passage and of stylistic and syntactical devices seem to indicate that the passage is a unit and reflects the author's own framework. It is noteworthy, in this context, that neither MÜLLER nor HOLTZ have conducted such an analysis for their research.

2.2.4.3.1. Is Apc 14 a Literary Unit?

We have briefly noted verses 12-13 which occur between the two major blocks of material in 14:6-20 (verses 6-11 and 14-20 respectively). Verses 12-13 are normally

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[63] MÜLLER: *Messias*, 192-193.

regarded as being part of the announcement of the judgement: the unity of this passage is barely disputed.[65] Accordingly, most commentators regard it as necessary to structure the entire chapter 14 in three blocks (verses 1-5; 6-13; 14-20).[66] But the question of whether these three blocks form a textual unit or not is answered in various ways. There are chiefly two points of view in the recent discussions on this issue: For some scholars the discrepancy of verses 6-11 and 14-20 seems to be very obvious. They conclude that Apc 14:6-20 cannot be a unit (for instance MÜLLER).[67] Only an "*innerer Zusammenhang*" is admitted due to preservation of the general topic of judgement, especially in verses 7 and 15.[68] Moreover additional arguments set against the unity of the given passage have been considered. Those arguments do not seem to be very convincing. It has been doubted especially that verses 14-20 themselves form a literary unit, either because verses 14-16 and verses 17-20 have been regarded as a doublet with the same content[69] or because the verses 15-17 have been regarded as an interpolation.[70] Attempts to deny the literary connection within verses 14-20, however, can easily be explained by recognising the influence of OT texts on this passage or with the difficulties of understanding this passage, which would otherwise occur[71] (as will be shown later on). MÜLLER in particular has argued against the thesis of a literary independence of Apc 14 – as mentioned above – by assuming that Apc 14:6-20 would be a piece of a Jewish source.[72] A written source or tradition as a *Vorlage* for Apc 14 is nevertheless hard to prove. Only the general background of early Jewish apocalyptic traditions may definitely be assumed. A final decision on whether MÜLLER's

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[64] Cp. MÜLLER: *Messias*, 193.
[65] Cp. for the unity of Apc 14:6-13 for instance GIESEN: *Johannesapokaypse*, 230.
[66] Cp. e.g. LOHSE: *Offenbarung*, 86-87, MOUNCE: *Revelation*, 275-277, KRAFT:*Offenbarung*, 191-195 or VAN SCHAIK: "Ἄλλος", 217.
[67] Cp. MÜLLER: *Messias*, 195 n. 33; MÜLLER emphasizes that the unity of verses 14-20 is so strong that verses 6-11 have to be regarded as a seperate unit (cp. MÜLLER: *Messias* 192).
[68] Cp. MÜLLER: *Offenbarung*, 266.
[69] Cp. WELLHAUSEN: *Offenbarung*, 24.
[70] Cp. CHARLES: *Revelation II*, 18-24.
[71] Cp. HOLTZ: *Christologie*, 129-130.

hypothesis is correct has to be delayed; further evidence for the problem of the unity of Apc 14 has to be worked out by investigating the linguistic details and vocabulary used of the entire Apocalypse. So far MÜLLER's thesis has been rejected by those who would refer generally to "einheitlichen Sprachgebrauch der ganzen Apokalypse", as stated for example by E. LOHSE. However, LOHSE does not go on to conduct the analysis required to demonstrate his point.[73]

Furthermore, the difference between the two blocks is surely present. As noted, in Apc 14:6-11 the narration is set by three numbered angels followed by a message announcing judgement, while verses 14-20 are structured "in zwei Dreierakte" which describe the acting of the one like a son of man and angels according to more hierarchical elements.[74] Despite this difference, the thesis of two clearly distinguished units within Apc 14 (verses 6-11 und verses 14-20)[75] cannot be sustained. Against this is, firstly, the observation that Apc 14:6-20 is a unit consciously structured around the author's use of the designation ἄλλος ἄγγελος (i.e. in verses 6.8.9.15.17.18). Secondly, the angels in this section would, together with the one like a son of man, add up to the number seven[76], and could thus be the intentional arrangement of the author.[77] (This view affects the christological understanding of the text, which was already mentioned.)[78] Thirdly, a connection between verses 7 and 15 is obvious, for both describe the coming of judgement in similar terms (verse 7 ἦλθεν ἡ ὥρα τῆς κρίσεως – verse 15 ἦλθεν ἡ ὥρα θερίσαι).[79] This similarity does not only consist of the topic of judgement, but is also a linguistic one. Fourthly, the continous description of the angels

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[72] Cp. Müller: *Messias*, 193-195.
[73] Cp. LOHSE: "Menschensohn", 85, n. 8.
[74] Cp. MÜLLER: *Messias*, 192-193.
[75] Cp. MÜLLER: *Messias*, 192-195, esp. 195, n. 33.
[76] Cp. for a traditional scheme of seven angels which might be also present in Revelation for instance SEGAL: *Powers*, 187 n. 9 and BARBEL: *Christos*, 192-212. See for the scheme of seven angels also MICHL: "Engel", 77-78, RABENAU: *Tobit*, 193, MOORE: *Tobit*, 271 and SCHÄFER: *Rivalität*, 22-23.
[77] Cp. HOLTZ: *Christologie*, 129.
[78] Cp. also MÜLLER: *Messias*, 193.
[79] Cp. MÜLLER: *Offenbarung*, 266.

as ἄλλος ἄγγελος – though without counting them from verse 15 onward – seems to make the assumption of a literary unit more plausible. These observations do not constitute sufficient evidence in themselves. Further and more comprehensive attention is needed on the vocabulary used in this passage. (For a short analysis of linguistic phenomena in Apc 14:6-20 see Appendix 1.)

2.2.4.3.2. Linguistic Observations to Apc 14:6-20

For dealing with the vocabulary it is useful to concentrate on verses 14-20, which have especially been doubted as belonging to the first part of the vision in Apc 14. Of course, it is not possible to present all the linguistic details and all the vocabulary material given in this passage; the section to follow will focus selectively on material that is of particular relevance.

a) Verse 14

καὶ εἶδον, καὶ ἰδού

These words in this form are quite common within the Apocalypse (εἶδον 45x and ἰδού 26x). Accordingly, it is important to look at the formulation in order to draw further conclusions. The very same expression occurs another four times in Revelation in the description of the apocalyptic horsemen (Apc 6:2; 6:5; 6:8 and in Apc 14:1). In addition there are a number of similar formulations within the Apocalypse. In Apc 19:11, for instance, there is a rather similar expression: καὶ εἶδον τὸν οὐρανὸν ἠνεῳγμένον καὶ ἰδού ἵππος λευκὸς καὶ ὁ καθήμενος ἐπ᾽ αὐτόν ... . The phrase καὶ

εἶδον, καὶ ἰδού, though, is not directly linked here and is instead in a nearly chiastic position.[80]

The approximate formulation εἶδον, καὶ ἰδού (without the καί at the beginning) can be found twice more in Apocalypse outside chapter 14; namely in Apc 4:1 and 7:9. It seems therefore safe to conclude that the phrase καὶ εἶδον, καὶ ἰδού is indeed attributable to the author of Revelation, especially where the phrase functions to introduce a vision, whether at the beginning or at a new stage.[81]

<u>νεφέλη</u>

The word νεφέλη is present within Apocalypse 7 times, 4 of which are in Apc 14:14-16. In Apc 1:7 the coming of of the one like a son of man is also described as an arrival on a "cloud", but in this case with the plural of νεφέλη. It is not entirely clear how this observation has to be judged: Without a doubt the matrix of the tradition from Daniel 7:13 is in the background. But in the Danielic traditions (MT and Greek versions) the plural form νεφελῶν is exclusively used. Does the mere difference in number provide enough reason for us to suppose that the author has adopted another tradition in Apc 1 or 14? There is probably not enough evidence to warrant such an assumption. One argument drawn into consideration is concerned with how the one like a son of man is described as coming. In Daniel 7:13 this event is described as the Son of Man simply coming with clouds, while in Apc 14 the son of man-like figure is portrayed as "sitting", which seems unlikely on more than one cloud.[82] Further, the term νεφέλη in other visions is also used in the singular form in Apc 14. In Apc 11:12, the ascension of the two witnesses is also described with a single cloud, as is the description

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[80] Another similarity between Apc 14:14 and Apc 19:11 is very obvious. In both verses an apparently important figure is decribed as "sitting" (καθήμενος) on "white" (λευκός) means of locomotion, in chapter 14 this is represented with a cloud, in chapter 19 with a horse.

[81] Cp. for the use of εἶδον as an introductory expression for visions within the Apocalypse PEZZOLI-OLGIATI: *Täuschung*, 38-41 and 190-191. See for the use of the expression in the Apocalypse also FIEDLER: *Formel*, 74-81.

of the angel in chapter 10. In the latter passage the angel, who is also described as an ἄλλος ἄγγελος, is wrapped in a single cloud (περιβεβλημένον νεφέλην). Additional minor convergences between the angel in Apc 10 and the one like a son of man in Apc 14 are obvious. The angel is portrayed with certain attributes, which do not match those of the figure in Apc 14, but those attributes in the angelophany are related to the angel in the same way and with very similar formulations as they are related to the one like a son of man in the vision of Apc 14. The angel has a rainbow on his head (ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ) instead of a crown and a booklet in his hand (ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ) instead of a sickle. Even the introduction of the vision beginning with the formulation καὶ εἶδον is strikingly similar. Such conformities may support the assumption that the description of visions containing a *single* cloud are typical for the author and hence represent his style.

ὅμοιον υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου

This expression can only elsewhere be found in Apc 1:13. This single overlap hardly allows us to draw further conclusions as such, because it cannot be proven whether the author used a tradition which contained this expression, or if this is his very own way of translating the Aramaic expression כבר אנש out of Daniel 7:13. The problem concerning which tradition of Danielic material was used by the author and the possibility of this phrase being the author's own stylistic device (and therefore being the author's interpretation of this vision) has often been discussed.[83] Still, it is impossible to draw conclusions through linguistical observations, which will allow the assumption of John's authorship in this case.

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[82] Cp. AUNE: *Revelation 6-16*, 380.
[83] Cp. STUCKENBRUCK: "Son", 268-276 and *Veneration*, 211-218.

ἔχων ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ στέφανον χρυσοῦν

A phrase or expression using the very same vocabulary is not present in the other parts of the Revelation, but one may easily find similar constructions that contain other word material. For instance, the expression ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ is also part of the angelophany in Apc 10:1.

The vocabulary for "crown" (στέφανος) occurs eight times in Revelation. In Apc 12:1 the crown is a decoration for the head (ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτῆς στέφανος). In two other passages the crown is also described as "golden", namely in Apc 4:4 where the 24 elders are wearing such crowns and in Apc 9:7 where the cricket-like creatures wear something on their heads like gold wreaths (ἐπὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς αὐτῶν ὡς στέφανοι ὅμοιοι χρυσῷ), probably to indicate certain strength.[84]

The combination of the colours gold and white might also have a certain meaning and may be an analogy the author deliberately worked out. The portrait of the one like a son of man sitting on a *white* cloud carrying a *golden* crown in chapter 14 might be a deliberate allusion to Apc 1:13-20, where the very same figure has *white* hair and carries a *golden* belt. This combination of colours is also very reminiscent of Apc 4:4 where the 24 elders are depicted as carrying *white* robes and *golden* crowns. However, it is also possible that this combination can be explained by the author's reliance on certain traditions. (See Appendix 5 for more details.) Vocabulary used in this phrase and also the syntax seem, after this comparison, to indicate that Apc 14:14 was composed by the author of the entire work.

[84] Cp. AUNE: *Revelation 6-16*, 532.

δρέπανον ὀξύ

The description of a "sharp sickle" is only found in Apc 14:14-20. The word "sickle" occurs 6 times in Revelation, but the attribute "sharp" is only given four times. This observation might at first sight indeed indicate that this passage is not the author's original framework, but the rare use of the expression δρέπανον which is mainly a tool for harvesting[85] is probably limited to this passage because of the unique setting of this vision. Nowhere else in the Apocalypse could such terminology have been expected. One finds a description of judgement in metaphors of a harvest, which is a unique feature within the Apocalypse. Similarly the δρέπανον is also used in Joel 4:10 (LXX).

b) Verse 15

ἄλλος ἄγγελος

As mentioned in section 2.2.4.1., the expression ἄλλος ἄγγελος is used six times within chapter 14 of Revelation. This observation has been considered as proof for taking the literary unity of chapter 14 for granted. The rather widespread further use of this expression in other chapters in the Apocalypse seems to indicate that ἄλλος ἄγγελος is indeed a formulation commonly used by the author of the entire writing. The expression is also found in Apc 7:2; 8:3; 10:1; 18:1.

κράζων ἐν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ

The construction using the dative φωνῇ μεγάλῃ appears on eleven other occasions within the Apocalypse, namely in Apc 5:2; 5:12; 6:10; 7:2; 8:13; 10:3; 14:7.9.18; 19:17. The preposition ἐν is preposed to this construction in some cases of the given material, as in Apc 5:2; 14:7.9; 19:17.

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[85] It is possible that the word δρέπανον could allude to a sickle-shaped sword, which was common in the ancient Middle East. Cp. YADIN: *Warfare*, 206-207. But a use of δρέπανον in this sense seems not very appealing in this context, as the scenario describes rather a harvest than a battle. Still, this might explain the forthcoming portraits of Christ having a sword as a judge in the history of arts.

Moreover, the connection of φωνῇ μεγάλῃ along with the verb κράζω is common in Revelation and can be found in other passages as well, as for instance in Apc 6:10; 7:2; 7:10; 10:3 and again in 19:17. Accordingly one may also regard this construction as the author's own words and stylistic way of expressing himself.

θερίζω / θερισμός **and** ξηραίνω / ἐξηράνθη

These words are limited to chapter 14 of the Apocalypse, and exclusively to verse 15. Similar to the case of "sickle" one may most likely assume that terms like θερίζω and θερισμός are only mentioned here, because the description of judgement takes place in metaphors of a harvest.

Also the rather limited use of the term ξηραίνω probably has to be explained by the metaphors of harvest expressed within chapter 14. At least the word occurs one more time within the Apocalypse, namely in Apc 16:12. But there the use of ξηραίνω is rather different, meaning "to dry" in that case. It seems feasible to attribute the infrequency of the word and its varying meanings to the harvest motif again.

ἦλθεν ἡ ὥρα

The expression ἦλθεν ἡ ὥρα is present two more times in the Revelation, in Apc 14:7 and Apc 18:10. The impression that Apc 14:6-11 and 14:14-20 establish a literary unit because of this linguistically and syntactically identical unit is strengthened by this further proof of the very same expression in another occasion.

c) Verse 16

ἔβαλεν ... ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν

The use of the preposition ἐπί connected with the verb βάλλω can also only be found in this verse. In other descriptions of the Apocalypse the direction of the

"throwing" is always explained by the preposition εἰς, as for instance in Apc 8:5; 12:4; 18:21; 20:3. Strikingly, the verb βάλλω is most often used in connection with angels.

This divergence of the usual application of βάλλω ... εἰς is probably best explained by the fact that verse 16 does not depict the *throwing* of the sickle towards the earth, but to *laying it on* the earth. The expression is also used in this way in Luke 9:62. It remains problematic then that in verse 19 the harvest is portrayed with the expression ἔβαλεν ... εἰς τὴν γῆν. Here, the angel is obviously throwing the sickle. One may assume that the use of the preposition in this case might have been influenced by the following description in verse 19, ἔβαλεν εἰς τὴν ληνόν, which has possibly adjusted the preposition in the angel's action.

ὁ καθήμενος

This nominalized participle occurs – with varying cases, numbers or genders – 27 times in total in the entire document. Therefore it seems very likely that this resembles a formulation which is commonly and deliberately used by the author himself.

d) Verse 17

ἐκ τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ

The motif of the temple being placed in heaven is also mentioned elsewhere in the Apocalypse. It also occurs in Apc 11:19 and Apc 15:5. In both cases the placement of the temple is described with the dative-construction ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, which also permits us to assume the hand of the author for this portrayal being present.

e) Verse 18

τὸ θυσιαστήριον

The altar of burnt offering (τὸ θυσιαστήριον) is mentioned 8 times in Revelation. Accordingly one may also consider this expression to derive from the author's hand rather than finding evidence for an additional or independent source. It is obvious that in verse 18 the θυσιαστήριον is used in connection with the reference to the temple as in the other occurences of this word. In some cases the altar is also connected with "fire", as for instance in Apc 8:3-5. This observation is not very surprising as the altar is used for burnt offerings. The connection of the angel coming out of this altar for burnt offering is also reminiscent of the scenario concerning the anouncement of Samson's birth in Judges 13:1-25. The archangel Gabriel ascends to heaven in the flames of the altar of burnt offerings (Judg 13:20) after he has anounced the birth of Samson. One might consider the narration in Judges as a background for this special image of the angel with power over the fire coming out of such an altar in Apc 14.

ἐξουσία ἐπί

This expression is also used occasionally outside of chapter 14, as in Apc 2:26; 6:8; 11:6 (where interestingly the two witnesses have power over the "water", which is also a kind of analogy to the power over "fire" in Apc 14:18), and also in Apc 13:7 and 16:9. Accordingly one might ascribe this expression to the author's style as well.

τρύγησον τοὺς βότρυας τῆς ἀμπέλου τῆς γῆς, κτλ.

Most of the words in this verse are exclusively used in chapter 14. But here also the use of harvest metaphors is probably responsible for material which is uncommon, and not used elsewhere in Apocalypse. Influences from Hebrew Bible passages, especially Joel 4, seem very apparent here.

f) Verse 19

ληνὸς τοῦ θυμοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ

The "wrath of God" is naturally a very common topic in Revelation, as in 14:10; 15:1; 15:7; 16:1. In connection with the winepress of wrath this expression can only be found in Apc 19:15. Therefore, it can be assumed that the imagination of treading the winepress has been adapted by the author himself, following Isaiah 63:2.

g) Verse 20

ἄχρι τῶν χαλινῶν τῶν ἵππων

This description is entirely unique in the Book of Revelation as is the vocabulary χαλινός. "Horses" are often mentioned within the Apocalypse's narrative, we find the word sixteen times altogether. The specification of the height of the outflowing blood ("up to the horses' bridles") can hardly be explained by the author's use of language, nor by the motif of harvest.

2.2.4.3.3. Conclusions from the Linguistic Observations

It has become increasingly obvious that there are numerous coincidences and analogies between the linguistic material if Apc 14:6-20 and the entire text of the Revelation. Most of the expressions are not only present in the isolated chapter 14, but also notably often – sometimes slightly different – in the entire Apocalypse. In most cases it is possible to trace the use of the expressions from chapter 14 back to the author's style. Therefore one can surely assume that the vision presented in chapter 14 derives from the same author as the rest of the writing. In addition, this indicates the literary unity of Apc 14:6-20.

Admittedly, there are also certain phrases and expressions, which cannot be explained as typical stylistic devices of the author or as his favourite vocabulary. In most of those cases it remains possible to ascribe the rare word to certain traditions from the Hebrew Bible providing and sharing the motif of a harvest. Those traditions were adapted in the given passage of the Apocalypse.

It is therefore very interesting to take a closer look at the traditions that have influenced chapter 14 and to clarify whether those traditions might provide additional proof for the hypothesis that Apc 14:6-20 represents a single literary unit.

2.2.5. Hebrew Bible Traditions within Apc 14

2.2.5.1. Annotation to the Sources of the Apocalypse

A very general statement which can be made concerning the source material of the Revelation is: "Als 'Quelle' hat dem Seher das AT gedient "[86], as P. VIELHAUER remarked. This is indeed an observation that can easily be applied to the entire Apocalypse in general and to Apc 14:6-20 in particular. The question of a *direct* literary connection is not raised though, because quotations are not present in Apc 14:6-20. Instead, there are merely similarities to other traditions, for instance a number of images and allusions, and the sharing of a common apocalyptical world view.

Major parts of the influential literature come from the prophetic writings of the Hebrew Bible; especially Jeremiah, Isaiah and Joel have to be mentioned here. But also a proximity to early Jewish apocalyptic material is obviously present within the Apocalypse, as for instance to *4 Ezra*, *1 Enoch* or *2 Baruch*.

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[86] Cp. also to the following: VIELHAUER: *Literatur*, 501 and EZELL: *Revelation*, 20. See further for the strong influence of prophetic literature on Revelation MOYISE: *Revelation*, 15 and for a survey of Danielic material in Revelation see BEALE: *Daniel*, passim.

2.2.5.2. Adaptation of Traditions within Apc 14:14-20

Since the number of texts from the Hebrew Bible or comparable early Jewish traditions the author draws on in this passage is rather large, it is best to focus on those traditions which contribute to the question of whether Apc 14:6-20 is a unit or not.

When regarding the linguistic aspects of the given passage and comparing it to the rest of the Apocalypse, it becomes apparent that especially the description of this vision in metaphors of a harvest seems unique. This observation can be traced back to the use of very special traditions within this description: Hapaxlegomena, other divergences from the style of the entire work and some motifs may be explained by the assimilation of Joel 4:12-16. The double description of a harvest as seen in Apc 14 is influenced by Joel 4:13, since this OT vision also describes a twofold harvest, namely a grain and a wine harvest. The assumption of a doublet within Apc 14 – due to the presence of this doubled description of harvest – can therefore be turned down.

The adaptation of Joel's vision can also be found in the description of the one like a son of man. In his function as a judge he is portrayed as "sitting" in Apc 14, which is notably also the case with God, who is judging the nations "sitting" in the valley of Jehoshaphat. This portrayal of the son of man figure might indeed indicate an exaltation of the one like a son of man, who is not only sitting, but rather enthroned.[87]

The assumption that the carrying of the sickle is an expression of the one like a son of man's power as a judge is further confirmed by the following description of events in Joel 4. It might also be possible that Apc 14 contains a tradition similar to that of *1 Enoch* 69:72 – a tradition that also gives a description of a son of man, combining the

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[87] Cp. MÜLLER: *Messias*, 196 and HOLTZ: *Christologie*, 130, n. 1: HOLTZ interprets the enthronement of the one like a son of man as a possibility for clearly identifying him as Christ.

enthronement and the function as a judge.[88] Additionally, the description of the place by the expression ἔξωθεν τῆς πόλεως in Apc 14:20 can probably be explained with the assimilation of Joel 4:16 where the town is interpreted as Jerusalem.[89]

T. HOLTZ, though, rightfully pointed out that the words ἦλθεν ἡ ὥρα θερίσαι in Apc 14:15 have no analogy in the description of the harvest in Joel 4:13.[90] A possible explanation for this extension could be that these words have been adopted from Isaiah 51:33. Thus the metaphor which has been adopted from Joel into Apc 14:15 might have been enlarged by the additional explanation from Isaiah.[91] It is possible that the same Hebrew vocabulary for "harvest" (קציר) in both verses has led to the adoption of this additional material from Isaiah 51:33.[92] The description of (treading) the great wine press in Apc 14 is also present in Joel 4:13. The tradition of the wine press has been extended by the description of God treading it in wrath from Isaiah 63:2-6. The amounts of blood shed, reaching up to the horses' bridles, is not uncommon in descriptions of eschatological judgement. One can find a very similar description in *1 Enoch* 100:3 where horses are walking in blood up to their nostrils. The author of Revelation might have deliberately taken into account a similar description, which he then added to his own vision.

Another aspect worth noting is the mentioning of the angel with authority over fire. This particular angel's coming out of the altar can be easily explained: The martyrs' prayers beneath the altar, in which they pray for God's judgement (Apc 6:9-11), are brought before God by an angel with smoke of the incense (Apc 8:3-5). For this reason it is understandable that an angel connected to fire is answering the martyrs'

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[88] Cp. also for the following YARBRO COLLINS: "Tradition", 564.
[89] Cp. ROLOFF: *Offenbarung*, 156 and MÜLLER: *Offenbarung*, 271.
[90] Cp. HOLTZ: *Christologie*, 131.
[91] Cp. FEKKES: *Isaiah*, 195.
[92] Cp. VAN SCHAIK: "Ἄλλος", 222-223.

prayers in Apc 14.[93] A relation between fire and angels acting in an eschatological description of judgement is not only presented in Apc 14:18, it can be observed in other apocalyptical texts as well, as for instance *1 Enoch*. In *1 Enoch* 54:1-2 "the mighty ones of the earth" are thrown into an abyss of fire. Furthermore, it might be relevant for the understanding of Apc 14:18 to keep in mind the "angel of water" in Apc 16:5 as well. It is possible that the two angels from Apc 14:18 and 16:5 who are both related to elements are remnants of a schema that used to combine four angels with the four different elements. One may find a hint to this schema in *1 Enoch* 60:14-66:2.[94] (For a more thorough discussion of this hypothesis see Appendix 2.)

Besides the description of the harvest itself one can find another motif in Apc 14:15-19 that deserves further attention, namely the temple in verses 15 and 17 which is placed in heaven (ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ). The temple is the place of God's dwelling and the location from where orders are given and God is worshipped by the angels in this vision.[95] This heavenly temple, though, cannot be assigned to concrete traditions in the Hebrew Bible: Though the idea of the temple as being the dwelling place of God is generally attested by the Hebrew Bible[96], the location of this temple in heaven is not present within these writings. A similar tradition can only be found in *Testament of Levi* 5:1 or 18:6. A literary dependence of the Apocalypse from this text, though, may hardly be assumed, because the dating of *Testament of Levi* is not without doubt.[97] Assuming the destruction of the Jerusalem Temple about 70 CE has led to speculation concerning the heavenly temple: Instead of the destroyed real and earthly temple in Jerusalem people might then have referred to a visionary or heavenly alternative.[98] Such a

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[93] Cp. MÜLLER: *Offenbarung*, 270 and YARBRO COLLINS: "Tradition", 566.
[94] Cp. YARBRO COLLINS: "Tradition", 566. See further YARBRO COLLINS: "Angel", 374-379 and BETZ: "Apokalyptik", 391-409.
[95] Cp. Michel: "ναός", 893 and BRIGGS: *Temple*, 99-100.
[96] Cp. Ps 11:4; 18:7; Isa 1; Hab 2:20; Mic 1:2-3.
[97] Cp. BECKER: *Patriarchen*, 23-24. Cp. also KUGLER: *Patriarchs*, 21-38 and 47-56.
[98] See for the problem of dating also the discussion in YARBRO COLLINS: *Crisis*, 64-69.

development is possibly preserved in the *Gospel of Thomas* (Logion 71).[99] Traces of the idea of the temple in heaven might also be found in the vision in Apc 4 and 5, where the heaven is depicted as God's throne room.[100] Here the entire heaven might resemble God's temple.[101] In the *Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice* similar visions are employed in order to describe Heaven as the Temple:[102] Heaven is referred to as "temple" (היכל) in 4Q400 1 col. i 13, "debir" (דביר) in 4Q403 1 col. ii 13, "tabernacle" (משכן) in 4Q403 1 col. ii 10, "sanctuary" (מקדש) in 4Q405 23 col. ii 11 and "holy place" (קודש) in 4Q400 1 col. i 14; the impression of Heaven as the Temple is thus enhanced by certain architectural features.[103]

Notably, in the New Jerusalem in the Apocalypse there is no more need for a New Temple (Apc 21:22) as the Temple is then represented by God and the Lamb themselves.[104] The lack of the Temple in the New Jerusalem is consequently arranged alongside the heavenly Temple: The author of Revelation first alludes to a heavenly

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[99] Cp. DECONICK: *Voices*, 117-118.

[100] Cp. also DECONICK: *Voices*, 117. See for temple language and problems attached to the Temple in Revelation STEVENSON: *Power*, 1-6. For the Heavenly Temple see 4.

[101] Cp. for this also ESKOLA: *Messiah*, 213 and 265-257. Cp. also AUNE: *Revelation 1-5*, 284.

[102] Cp. ESKOLA: *Messiah*, 256 and LEE: *Jerusalem*, 105 and 251. The similarity between the descriptions of apc 4-5 and *The Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice* is probably rooted in a shared traditon from the Hebrew Bible, as both texts reflect the vision from Ezek 1. Cp. for Ezekielian background in *The Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice* for instance STEGEMANN: *Qumran*, 141.

[103] Cp. DAVIDSON: *Angels*, 237-238.

[104] A similar idea is presented by DÖPP: *Deutung*, 308: The loss of the Jerusalem Temple resolves in the hope of a new heavenly Jerusalem alongside with the temple duties. The New Jerusalem, though, is partially visualised without a temple, as in Apc 21:22. Still, categories of the Temple are present in these descriptions. The observation made by DÖPP appears to be correct: The apparent contradiction that one faces the hope for a new temple in Apc 14 and then a New Jerusalem *without* the Temple being mentioned becomes reasonable by the assumption that cultic elements and duties that normally refer to the duties in the temple are then connected to the heavenly Jerusalem. Thus, the New Jerusalem becomes a surrogate for the lost Temple in Jerusalem. However, it can hardly be decided if the loss of the temple is genuinely a problem of early Christians, or if it is rather a problem of early Judaism and the motif of a lost temple has been adapted by the author of Revelation. It is clearly evident at least that the destruction of the temple is also an important issue in later Christian writings, especially concerning the death of Jesus with the destruction of the temple as a punishment of the Jews. Cp. for the later development of the motiv of the destruction of the temple DÖPP: *Deutung*, passim. Cp. for the meaning of the Temple and the appearance in Revelation as significant for the readers of the Apocalypse also STEVENSON: *Power*, 3. Cp. further RISSI: *Future*, 52-86, BRIGGS: *Temple*, 96-103, MATERA: *Christology*, 212-213, ULFGARD: *Future*, 86-88 and MALINA: *Jerusalem*, 25-66. Cp. for the Heavenly Temple as a substitute for the destroyed Jerusalem Temple also LEE: *Jerusalem*, 105. For the heavenly duties and cultic significance after the loss of the Temple in rabbinic literature see EGO: "Diener", 361-384.

Temple, which is already present, and then expresses its redundance, as God and Christ will dwell among their people in the eschatological endtime anyway. Indeed, the lack of the temple is so explicit in the Apocalypse (Apc 21:22) that one might assume polemic against the hope of a new Temple to be preserved here.[105] Such a polemical reference indeed highlights the significance of Christology, since the Christian community is expected to centre its beliefs around Christ (and God), not around the evanescent Temple.

In other early Jewish texts dealing with the Temple in a new Jerusalem, this concept as preserved in Revelation is never present. Occasionally an extant vision or detailed description of the New Jerusalem is given or the Temple is mentioned: In *4QFlor* (4Q174) a "human temple" (מקדש אדם) occurs, but the implication and translation are not quite clear.[106] In contrast to Revelation, the *Temple Scroll* of Qumran exclusively focusses on the eschatological Temple, only paying little attention to the city and clearly distinguishing Jerusalem from the Temple.[107] Therefore, the descriptions provided by the Apocalypse and the *Temple Scroll* seem to be diametrically opposed.[108] Some Aramaic fragmentary groups of the Qumran writings entitled the *Description of the New Jerusalem*[109] share some parallels with the description of the Heavenly Jerusalem in Apc 21:9-22:9,[110] an interest in a heavenly Temple – despite a

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[105] Cp. SANDERS: *Jesus*, 86.
[106] Cp. TILLER: *Commentary*, 48.
[107] Cp. *11QTemple* col. xlvi 9-11. Cp. for this also TILLER: *Commentary*, 44. For possible parallels between *11QTemple* and Apc 21-22 see also WILCOX: "Tradition", 213-214.
[108] Notably, the *Temple Scroll* and the Apocalypse share elements of the description of the Temple: In Apc 4-5 and in the *Temple Scroll* the holiness of the areas surrounding God are understood as concentric, i.e. the degree of proximity to God decides the holiness of the place. Cp. for the "Auffassung von der konzentrischen Heiligkeit" in the *Temple Scroll* MAIER: *Tempelrolle*, 12. Also in 4Q405 7 7 a division of heaven into 7 different holy areas seems to correspond with the holy areas of the Temple. Cp. NEWSOM: *Sabbath*, 42-43 and DAVIDSON: *Angels*, 238. See for God as the centre of the concentric circles also the analysis on Apc 4 in section 3.1.1.
[109] The so called *Description of the New Jerusalem* (DNJ) consists of 1Q32, 2Q24 (*2QNew Jerusalem*), 4Q554 (*4QNew Jerusalem*^{a}), 4Q555 (*4QNew Jerusalem*^{b}), 5Q15 (*5QNew Jerusalem*) and 11Q18 (*11QNew Jerusalem*). Cp. AUNE: "Qumran", 627-630, esp. n. 30.
[110] For a detailed list of parallels between 5Q15 and Apc 21:9-22:5 see WILCOX: "Tradition", 212-213.

focus on the city of the New Jerusalem - in these fragments,[111] though, marks a major difference with the Apocalypse here as well.[112]

Another description of God's heavenly dwelling place can be found in *1 Enoch* 14:10-25. This passage seems to reflect a division of the Temple into two parts as in 1 Kings 6:14-19, distinguishing between an outer sanctuary (1 Kgs 6:14) and the Holy of Holies (1 Kgs 6:19): *1 Enoch* 14 also mentions two houses in heaven, the outer house (*1 En.* 14:10-14) and the inner house (*1 En.* 14:11-25). An analogy between heavenly and earthly Temple seems to be obvious here.[113]

The closest parallel to Revelation might be the vision of the New Jerusalem preserved in *1 Enoch* 90:29-36. The *Animal Apocalypse* metaphorically described the restoration of Jerusalem and its inhabitants (sheep) being in proximity to God. The reason for the lack of the Temple in this vision might be rooted in a deliberate idealization of Israel's times in the desert where a temple was not necessary in the camp.[114]

If we summarize the observations made on phrases and words from Apc 14:14-20 which have no analogy in the rest of the Apocalypse, we can in most cases easily justify missing analogies by adoptions of certain Old Testament (or partially early Jewish) traditions. In some cases the traditions lying in the background even confirm a unity of Apc 14:6-20. One can especially see this in the author`s use of two Jeremiah allusions in Apc 14:8 and 14:15: Jeremiah 51:7 mentions Babylon as the cup that makes all the nations drunk as in Apc 14:8; in Apc 14:15 a description of the "time of harvest" is given, as in Jeremiah 51:33. Thus Apc 14 is following the "chronological order" of

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[111] Cp. AUNE: "Qumran", 630-639, REICHELT: *Apokalypse*, 203-206 and SIM: *Jerusalem*, 64-67. For the relationship between the city Jerusalem and the Temple cp. García Martínez: *Qumran*, 180-213.
[112] In case of 5Q15 see WILCOX: "Tradition", 212-213.
[113] Cp. ROWLAND: *Heaven*, 83.
[114] Cp. TILLER: *Commentary*, 47-51.

Jeremiah, which links the two passages of Apc 14 much closer together.[115] Similarly one has to regard the allusions to Jeremiah 25:29 in Apc 14:6 and Jeremiah 25:30 in Apc 14:18. The author aspires to link the passage together more closely here as well.

Finally, we can also find a tradition that seems to parallel the entire passage Apc 14:6-20 that is worth mentioning: We might assume the existence of a *formal* analogy of this passage to Ezekiel 9:2, because there we are also, as in Apc 14, provided with a vision of six heavenly beings accompanied by a figure that obviously has a somewhat higher status attested to him ("a man clothed in linen").[116] This scenario clearly corresponds with the vision from Apc 14 and its description of six angels accompanying the one like a son of man. It may therefore be considered as a further argument for the literary unity of the whole passage given in Apc 14.

2.2.6. Summary of the Observations

By means of all the arguments provided, it should have become apparent that Apc 14:6-20 is very likely to be a literary unit which derives from the hand of one and the same author. This conclusion may be verified by the corresponding use of syntax and vocabulary from Apc 14 which appears in the entire writing. The observations on traditions that were integrated in Apc 14 confirmed the assumption of a literary unit, because divergences from the author's typical language could be explained by the adoption of these traditions. In addition, some traditions in particular helped to confirm the impression that we are dealing with a textual unit in Apc 14:6-20, because allusions

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[115] The same result is presented by VAN SCHAIK: "Ἄλλος", 222-223.
[116] Cp. STUCKENBRUCK: *Veneration*, 244, n. 116 and similarly NORELLI: *Ascensio*, 504.

could be found that either cover the entire passage (Ezek 9) or that are partially present in Apc 14:6-13 and 14:14-20.[117]

This result allows for further conclusions, since we could make plausible that this passage in Apc 14 has been written and designed by Revelation's author himself. Therefore, we may now relate both passages in Revelation that provide a vision of the coming of the one like a son of man who is accompanied by angels, namely Apc 14:6-20. and Apc 1:7-20. This relation allows for further conclusions on how the prominent son of man-like figure may be identified: The one like a son of man in Apc 14 can be interpreted as Christ by means of a parallel observation of Apc 1:7 and 1:13-20 for the following reasons:

- In Apc 1:7 the prominent figure is described using a terminology that is made up of two traditions from the Hebrew Bible, namely as one who is coming on clouds, as in Daniel 7:13, and as one whose piercing is mourned by all the nations, as in Zechariah 12:10-14. A connection of these two Hebrew Bible texts may otherwise only be found in a context that surely refers to Christ (cp. Mt 24:30; *Apc. Petr.* 6; *Gosp. Petr.* 6-7).
- The self revelation in Apc 1:18, "I am the Living One; I was dead and behold I am alive for ever and ever!", clearly refers to Christ's resurrection.[118]

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[117] This assumption might have even more weight if one considers BØE's thesis that the Gog and Magog cycle from Ezek 38-39 is most likely present in the Apocalypse as a kind of program directly achieving a link with the Apocalypse's readership; cp. BØE: *Gog*, passim. An additional link that might be well recognised by his readers is possibly inserted in case of Apc 14, which means that the readership of Revelation must have had knowledge of the concept of Ezek, and, must furthermore have had insight into the way that the author of Revelation adopted traditions from Ezek as prophecies that become real by the appearence of Christ. *If* the author carefully considered a concept of the Gog and Magog cycle from Ezek, it seems to be only logical that he chose another tradition, in case of chapter 14 the tradition from Ezek 9, to allude to a tradition that is well known to his readership. For a connection between passages from Apc and Ezek cp. further LUST: "Order", 179-183 and RUIZ: *Ezekiel*, 226-539.

[118] Cp. for this also MCDONOUGH: *YHWH*, 221 and OEGEMA: *Hoffnung*, 117-118.

These reasons provide enough evidence to regard the one like a son of man in Apc 14 as Christ in his role as an eschatological judge of the final judgement. whose importance is further stressed by some additional attributes.

This type of a Son of Man's appearance as being accompanied by angels is also reflected in other New Testament writings, as for instance in Mark 13:24-27 and Matthew 24:29-31 (or similarly Mt 25:31). In case of the parallel provided by Matthew 24, it is also interesting that the angels use trumpets in order to gather the son of man`s elected ones from the four winds. This description of the coming of the son of man is very reminiscent of the visions of the trumpets, which are played by angels in Apc 8:1-9:15 and Apc 11:15-19. (It might also be speculated that the signal of the trumpet in Apc 9:13-15, which releases four angels from the Euphrates, somehow mirrors Matthew 22:31 insofar as the number four and angels which are loosely connected to elements are mentioned in both passages.) In any case, it can be reasonably argued that the tradition of the son of man's appearance together with angels in scenarios showing eschatological judgement is not unheard of in New Testament writing, but is actually quite widespread. Therefore, it can be assumed that similar thoughts are integrated in the Apocalypse of John, probably in order to show the prominence of the son of man like figure.

It should also have become apparent that the author is almost constantly repeating his ideas and the traditions he uses for the descriptions of his visions. The author's way of adapting traditions and also certain vocabulary indicates the author's deliberate attempt to communicate with his readership that would certainly recognise the imagery used in a given context. In conclusion, there is very little in chapter 14 that cannot at the same time be found elsewhere in the Apocalypse. This emphasizes the importance, therefore, of analysing the narratological and literary context of the

Apocalypse – as it has been done - in order to determine the significance of the images and characteristics used.

2.2.7. An Angel-Christology in Apc 14:6-20?

It needs to be clarified first of all that Christ is not designated as an angel anywhere within Apocalypse 14, nor elsewhere in the text. Nevertheless, some conspicuous facts in this passage cannot be denied: As already mentioned in section 2.2.2., it is noteworthy that the description of the one like a son of man in verse 14 is followed by the introduction of an ἄλλος ἄγγελος who appears in verse 15. This may, as already discussed, be explained by the author's use of this term as a stylistic device. Still, this formulation remains misleading to some extent. The ambiguity caused by this term is exacerbated by the command given by an angel to the one like a son of man in verse 15 despite possible explanations offered in the exegesis,[119] and therefore it could seem possible to regard the one like a son of man (who is Christ) simply as an angel. Similarly the parallel structure of verses 15-16 (an angel gives a command to the one like a son of man) and verses 17-19 (an angel gives a command to another angel) along with the already mentioned function of the receiver of each command enhances the impression of an angel-christology, or at least traces of it.[120] If we look elsewhere in the Apocalypse, attention focuses most immediately on Apc 1:13-16 in order to examine whether the description there of the one like a son of man provides any further evidence for the existence of an angel-Christology within the Apocalypse. Next to the statements that indicate an identification of the one like a son of man with Christ and the already mentioned equivocation of this figure with the ancient of days (i.e. God) from Daniel

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[119] Cp. STUCKENBRUCK: *Veneration*, 243: Giving the explanation that the angel has the authority to give commands still leaves open the question why an angel then would have to adopt the role of an intermediator.

7:9 one also finds features taken from Daniel 10:5. This must arouse attention, because Daniel 10 features an angelophany.[121]

These observations become even more conspicous when one realises how carefully the author otherwise distinguishes Christ from the angels in his writing. Christ is generally described with special grandeur and insignia: he carries attributes normally only attested of God (Apc 1:14.17-18), and he alone is worthy to open the sealed book (Apc 5:2-5) while angels are, by contrast, not to be worshipped (Apc 19:10: 22:8-9).[122] Why, then, is this supremacy of Christ over the angels not continued in Apc 14:14? Why does he seem to have been ranked among the angels?

In addition to these observations, one might also consider the appearence of the angel in Apc 10:1 as noteworthy. This angel is apparently very similar to Jesus as described in Apc 1 and Apc 14: He is dressed in a white cloud (cp. 14:14; 1:7), his face is shining like the sun (cp. 1:16) and his feet are like fiery pillars (cp. 1:13).

A more thorough research on the "Mighty Angel" from chapter 10 might be helpful for a better understanding of this figure and also for its interpretation, which varies strongly in recent publications.

2.2.8. Apc 10:1 and its Relevance for Christology

At first glance one may indeed find evidence that seems to support an understanding of the "Mighty Angel" as Christ, allowing for the assumption of the presence of an angelomorphic Christ in Apc 10:1.[123] This vision in Apc 10 – placed between the visions of the sixth and the seventh trumpet - gives a report on "another

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[120] Cp. also the arguments provided by STUCKENBRUCK: *Veneration*, 243-244.
[121] Cp. YARBRO COLLINS: "Tradition", 549-550, GUNDRY: "Angelomorphic", passim and ROWLAND: "Vision", 1-7 for the importance of this angelophany.
[122] Cp. for this KARRER: *Johannesoffenbarung*, 149, STUCKENBRUCK: *Veneration*, 257-261 and DUNN: *Christology*, 156.

mighty angel" who is descending from heaven. This angel is remarkably dressed in a cloud, has a rainbow above his head and his face is shining like the sun. Moreover, his feet are like pillars of fire. The role of this particular angel in Apc 10:1-11 is limited to announcing the end of time and giving the βιβλαρίδιον to John. As has already been mentioned, the description of this mighty angel being "clothed with a cloud" is reminiscent of the description of the son of man like being, who comes sitting on a cloud in Apc 14:14. Similarly the son of man figure comes on "clouds" in Apc 1:7. The change from singular to plural in Apc 1 may have various reasons, as has already been discussed. It has been argued by R. H. GUNDRY that this grammatical change does not necessarily imply a difference in personal identity;[124] singular and plural vary throughout the whole New Testament literature (as for instance in Mk 13:26 and Mt 24:30 the cloud appears in a singular form, in Lk 21:27 it is in plural).[125] Notably, the description of the son of man-like figure's coming is, of course, also described with reference to a cloud, namely in Apc 1:7 (with the plural form νεφελῶν) and, with an alternation in numbers, also in Apc 14:14 (with the singular form νεφέλη).

GUNDRY argues even further that the well-known use of clouds as a theophanic symbol and the "mighty angel" being described as "clothed in a cloud" would support the assumption of the angel's deification in Apc 10. Generally one might agree to the idea that the clouds in description of epiphanies are of importance and stress the appearing figure's dignity. But it seems too generalised to assume a theophany or a divine character of an appearing figure each time the appearance is described as a "coming on clouds". The possibility that a non divine figure, as for instance an angel, might be described must not be excluded entirely. In turn, the discussion about the

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[123] An identification of the angel being Christ has first been argued by Victorinus of Pettau (*Comm. in Apoc. 10*), see for instance STUCKENBRUCK: *Veneration*, 230 n. 70.
[124] Cp. GUNDRY: "Angelomorphic", 663-664.
[125] Cp. also GUNDRY: "Angelomorphic", 664: GUNDRY also deals with the clouds' change of numerus in ascension descriptions. In Thess 4:17 the clouds catching up the saints are plural form, while the cloud

change in numbers of the cloud might of course contribute to the discussion about christophanies: In case of Apc 1:7 and Apc 14:14 the change of numbers for the cloud does not indicate a change of the person described, as already discussed in the chapter on the author's use of language. But this discussion is not really relevant for the possibility of an angelomorphic Christology in Apc 10:1, because the angel's description as dressed with a cloud does not provide an argument *in favour* of a christological perspective. It is probably the "coming" as such that is more relevant in New Testament writings in order to stress the appearing figure's dignity, or even more, this figure's divinity. Wherever events with a clearly epiphanical character are reported within the New Testament and a cloud is mentioned alongside, one may indeed assume to encounter either a Theophany[126] or a Christophany (as for instance in Mk 13:26, clearly referring to Dan 7:13).[127] It needs to be stressed, though, that in case of the Christophanies it seems to be the term "coming" that indicates the epiphanical character of a given passage.[128] The cloud as a clearly christological feature that stresses divinity – as GUNDRY assumes in the case of the angel in Apc 10:1 – should then be present as a device in other NT literature. (Jewish contemporary literature is of course irrelevant for the discussion whether a cloud indicates an epiphany or not in the given context.) Apparently, though, an epiphanical context can only be approved when a given scenario is also concerned with a certain figure's *coming*, in most cases the coming of the son of

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in which the two witnesses ascend to heaven in Apc 11:12 is singular, as also in the description provided in Acts 1:9-11.

[126] This kind of description of God speaking out of a cloud is naturally not unusual, if one considers for instance the descriptions of God speaking out of the burning bush in Ex 3:4 or acting in a pillar of cloud in Ex 13:21-22.

[127] In almost all cases the combination of "coming" and "cloud" has to be regarded as a reference to Dan 7:13.

[128] The emphasis on Jesus in the New Testament as a "coming one" whose divine character is deliberatley stressed by NT authors might already be visible in Mk 1:7-8 par. It is definitely the "coming" of the son of man that is emphasised by the gospel writers, not the cloud or similar features, as for instance the garment. Cp. for instance Mk 13:26 par; Mk 14:62 par (also mentioning the cloud; see further BEASLEY MURRAY: "Apocalyptic", 424-426), and also Mk 9:9-13 par in contrast: The important feature that is emphasised seems to be the "coming", the clouds are rather an additional feature. A cloud alone, therefore, does not necissarily indicate an epiphany. Cp. for the significance of the expression "coming"

man, which is then closely related to the tradition in Daniel 7:13. Also, GUNDRY assumes the rainbow in the description of the "Mighty Angel" to be an indicator for an angelomorphic Christology. He bases this assumption on the fact that the rainbow is also present in the description of God's throne in Apc 4:3, and the fact that Christ is sitting on the same throne in Apc 3:21 and 22:1-3. At this point the assumption of an angelomorphic Christology would need more evidence than that provided by GUNDRY so far. GUNDRY actually briefly mentions Ezekiel 1:26-28 as a parallel for Apc 10:1, but without further commenting on it. This striking parallel definitely deserves more attention, though: Notably the description of God in Ezekiel 1:26-28 contains features that are both found in Revelation as well. These are namely the fiery appearance of God's lower body as paralleled by Christ's description in Apc 1:15 (or 2:18) - where Christ's legs are similarly fiery in appearance – and also the rainbow that is used, albeit in a more metaphorical sense, to describe God's glory in Apc 4:3. The rainbow is, of course, very reminiscent of the face of the angel in Apc 10:1. It seems therefore possible that the author deliberately used an allusion to Ezekiel 1:26-28 in Apc 1:15 *and* Apc 10:1 in order to make certain statements about the mighty angel, or Christ respectively. Accordingly, the author might have wished to express a certain divine status of the angel in Apc 10, if he seems to refer so clearly to the tradition in Ezekiel 1:28. As the author of Revelation does so in two instances, namely in Apc 4:3 (referring to God) and in Apc 10:1 (referring to the mighty angel), a deliberate connection can be assumed.[129] Then, indeed, the angel from chapter 10 and Christ may be interpreted as similar beings, or it might even be assumed that Christ *is* the very same angel from Apc 10:1. More evidence than this assumption above would still be needed, though, in order to prove a

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also MCDONOUGH: *YHWH*, 214-217. For the Apocalypse the significance of the expression "coming" has been demonstrated by COMBLIN: *Christ*, 51-54. See further HOHNJEC: *Lamm*, 50-51.

[129] Cp. also GIESCHEN: *Angelomorphic*, 256-260 for a christological interpretation of the angel in Apc 10. GIESCHEN also sees the similarities of shared traditions as evidence for allowing for the conclusion of regarding the mighty angel as Christ and facing an angelomorphic Christology in Apc 10.

christological interpretation of the mighty angel in Apc 10. GUNDRY's proposal that other traditional elements might strengthen the idea of an angelomorphic Christology's presence in Apc 10 have therefore to be considered more thoroughly. GUNDRY finds other traditions used within the Apocalypse strikingly similar; for instance the description of Christ's face as shining "as the sun" (ὡς ὁ ἥλιος) in Apc 1:16 is paralleled by the description of the angel's face in Apc 10:1. The author is using the same vocabulary, and only minor differences between these two descriptions of faces can be seen.[130] GUNDRY concludes therefore that the similarity of the description of Jesus' and the angel's face favours an identification of the angel from Apc 10 with Jesus.[131]

Furthermore, GUNDRY argues that the description of the angel's feet "as pillars of fire" (ὡς στῦλοι πυρός) recalls the description of Jesus' feet from Apc 1:15 (ὅμοιοι χαλκολιβάνῳ ὡς ἐν καμίνῳ πεπυρωμένης) and some degree also Apc 2:18 (though without the ὡς-phrase).[132] Again GUNDRY assumes that this correspondence of descriptions may favour an identification of the mighty angel with Jesus. Even further arguments might be brought forward for strengthening the assumption of an angelomorphic Christology in case of Apc 10. The angel shouts with a voice as loud as a lion's (Apc 10:3). The connection of Jesus with a lion is already present in Apc 5:5: The Lamb is the lion of the tribe of Judah.[133] Admittedly the lion's voice of the angel does per se not seem to be a very christological feature, especially because it is not a common epiphanical attribute. Still, this presence of another parallel could be taken into

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[130] In Apc 10 the author uses the word πρόσωπον while ὄψις is used for the description in Apc 1. Cp. also GUNDRY: "Angelomorphic", 664. GUNDRY assumes further that the omission of the face "shining" (φαίνει κτλ.) in Apc 10 might be deliberateley done by the author in expectation of his readership memorizing Apc 1:16.

[131] Cp. GUNDRY: "Angelomorphic", 664.

[132] Cp. GUNDRY: "Angelomorphic", 664.

[133] Cp. KNIGHT: *Revelation*, 82. KNIGHT notably argues against any connection between Christ and the angel in Apc 10, the angel does not even have a divine character for him. According to him, the angel rather bears something of the visual majesty of God without suggesting that this angel is a divine being.

account as an argument in favour of an existence of angelomorphic Christology in Apc 10.

Altogether at least four traditions concerning the angel in Apc 10:1 also have a christological reference within the Apocalypse. It is questionable, though, that enumerating parallels of traditions shared between Christ and the mighty angel provides enough evidence alone in order to justify the assumption of an existing angelomorphic Christology in Apc 10. Observations solely based on parallels can lead to invalid assumptions. It is crucial to recognise the entire context of the vision in Apc 10 as well in order to make attempts to identify the prominent angel in verse 1. Likewise, observations based on the epiphanical traditions alone may not be the only features that help the readership of this passage to understand the meaning of this obviously powerful angel. For instance, M. BARKER also emphasises the importance of the cloud, the face like the sun and the rainbow, and concludes that the angel has to be regarded as Jesus who is described in terminology of the high priest, similar to traditions in *2 Enoch* 22:9-10 or *Jesus Sirach* 50. She derives this identification from a combination of Apc 5:2 and 10:1: By identifying the angel in 5:2 (regarding this angel to be sitting on a throne and thus giving him some divine status) as the very same angel from Apc 10:1[134] she comes to the conclusion that other features have to be connected as well. Accordingly, the angel from Apc 5:2 (being identical to the mighty angel from 10:1) can also be identified as the figure in 4:2-3, because it is sitting on the throne as well. Moreover, the lamb took the scroll in Apc 5:7 and then became transfigured by being anointed. In Apc 10 now, Jesus is to be seen in his form as a high priest.[135] BARKER tries to strengthen her argument by referring to a mistranslation of the term ἄλλος again. As mentioned

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KNIGHT also refers to incorporated elements ot theophanies within this vision, but he does not provide any arguments concerning why an identification of this specific angel with Christ is impossible.

[134] For an identification of the mighty angel in Apc 10:1 with the angel in Apc 5:2 see also BERGMEIER: "Buchrolle", 235-242. For BERGMEIER's arguments see also BOUSSET: *Offenbarung*, 307.

[135] Cp. BARKER: *Revelation*, 180-182.

before regarding Apc 14:15, she also argues that the term was a mistranslation from the original Hebrew term אחר and should have been translated as "after", not as "another".[136] Accordingly, for BARKER, no second mighty angel exists in the Apocalypse, but only the one mentioned in Apc 5:2.[137] It is apparent that too much focus on traditions and parallels as provided in the entire Apocalypse *alone* are not helpful for fully understanding the vision in Apc 10. Even more, it might lead to the danger of completely misunderstanding the angel`s meaning and attributing him far too much power.

A similar attempt of regarding a connection between Apc 5 and 10 has been launched by R. BERGMEIER, though he focuses on redactional and source critical possibilities: BERGMEIER assumes that John used the vision in Ezekiel 1:1-3:3 and the text concerning the scroll in Daniel 12:4-9 as *Vorlage*; BERGMEIER, though, calls in entirely different arguments than BARKER. He considers the visions in Apc 5 and 10 to be doublets originating from the Ezekielian tradition. According to BERGMEIER, this *Vorlage* was reworked by John, who expanded the single vision from Ezekiel to two scenarios: He creates a vision of his own vocation (with angelological elements as preserved in Apc 10) in Apc 1 already (including a Christophany with angelophanic elements as in Apc 10), so the actual vision of vocation in Apc 10 needed to be altered by John.[138] Apc 5 also had influence on the composition of Apc 10: John probably inserted a (genuinely Christian) vision of the "scroll" in chapter 5 before the "original" vision in chapter 10. Accordingly, the formerly closed scroll from chapter 5 is described

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[136] See also the discussion in section 2.2.2. for BARKER's arguments concerning the varying interpretations of the term ἄλλος ἄγγελος and its importance for the christological understanding of the one like a son of man.

[137] Cp. BARKER: *Revelation*, 181. BARKER's results concerning the mighty angel in Apc 10:1 are not surprising: In her study *The Revelation of Jesus Christ* only one angel seems to exist. She draws on the results from her own study *The Great Angel*, where also only one angel, namely the angel of the Lord, exists and manifests himself as being the Lord himself. Cp. BARKER: *Angel*, passim.

[138] Cp. BERGMEIER: "Buchrolle", 240 and STUCKENBRUCK: *Veneration*, 231 n. 71 for reasons. BERGMEIER attempts a reconstruction of a considerable original concept of Apc 10, integrating elements from Apc 5. See BERGMEIER: "Buchrolle", 238-240.

as opened in Apc 10, because "the time has come". These redactional changes result also in a description of the mighty angel as very powerful, because the functions of two angels originally present have to be attributed to one angel now, as the other angel is already mentioned in Apc 5:2.[139] Thus, BERGMEIER's idea may help to explain the connection of traditionally divine and angelic motifs in the description of the strong angel: The angel in Apc 10 appears to be "overloaded" with attributes because all elements of a rather glorious description are ascribed to this angel here.[140]

Against such christological interpretations as BARKER's based on the above mentioned theophanical features, it can also be argued that some of their elements are also visible in other passages (outside the Apocalypse), where they clearly have no christological reference. For instance, the rainbow on the head of the prominent figure can also be found in *Apocalypse of Abraham* 11:3. Similarly the description of the "face shining like the sun" is not an uncommon feature, as it is also present in *Apocalypse of Zephaniah* 6:11 and some other writings. (See *Excursus Two: The Face like a Sun as an Angelomorphic Feature of Christ* for more details.) The case of the description of the feet with an appearance of fire is also not only given in a context that might be considered to have a christological meaning, as one can find this kind of epiphanical feature also in *Joseph and Aseneth* 14:9 or in a very reminiscent form in Daniel 10:6 and *Apocalypse of Zephaniah* 6:11 (or Ezek 1:27 and 8:2, as already mentioned).[141] Admittedly, there are a number of theophanic elements paralleling the features of the epiphany in Apc 10 – GUNDRY assuming that this angel has almost a divine status as a reason for an exaltation of the mighty angel.[142] Nevertheless, the importance of such features seems to be less valuable in view of the parallel angelophanic elements that Apc 10 also reflects.

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[139] Cp. BERGMEIER: "Buchrolle", 240-241.
[140] Cp. STUCKENBRUCK: *Veneration*, 231 and BERGMEIER: "Buchrolle", 241.
[141] Cp. for this also CARRELL: *Jesus*, 132.

In fact, the strong similarity of theophanic and angelophanic traditions elswhere have been taken into account as an argument against a christological interpretation of Apc 10. J. D. G. DUNN, for instance, argued that similarities in description (the descent from heaven wrapped in a cloud, a rainbow over the head, the face like the sun and the legs like pillars of fire) are due to a comparatively limited range of symbolism available to John for his attempt to decribe a heavenly being of overwhelming power.[143] As a matter of fact, there would necessarily be an overlap of characteristics and features in the description of epiphanic visions. It is questionable, though, if the only possible solution is to consider the author of Revelation to be constrained by a limited pool of traditions, while he seems to be a rather creative writer otherwise.

Generally, the key for understanding the author`s intention seems to be rather a matter of identifying and understanding the distribution of these features within the Apocalypse as a whole, especially when certain distinguishable patterns emerge thereby. In other words, the literary setting cannot be ignored. P. CARRELL therefore rightfully assumed that the figure in Apc 10 lacks some kind of sovereignty: While this figure here is not speaking alone, but is instead supplemented by a voice from heaven and swears by God,[144] Christ is speaking for himself, for instance saying the more sovereign "I am" in Apc 1:17-20.[145] Certainly it can be argued that the function of the angel in chapter 10 is rather limited.[146]

CARRELL's arguments might add to an understanding of a non-christological description of an angelophanic vision as such. A more relevant hint towards an angelic

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[142] CP. CARRELL: *Jesus*, 132-139.
[143] Cp. DUNN: *Christology*, 156.
[144] Cp. CARRELL: *Jesus*, 136-137: It has to be admitted that the rather subordinate impression one should have because the voice from heaven is speaking cannot be assumed to be an argument for an angelic interpretation of the figure in Apc 10 on ist own. This very same feature is notably also present similarly in Apc 14:15.
[145] Cp. CARRELL: *Jesus*, 136-137. CARRELL further assumes that the figure in Apc 10 therefore clearly has to be understood as an ἄγγελος and definetely not as Christ, as this term is never used of Christ in the Apocalypse. CARRELL furthermore points out that the lack of a refusal tradition is noteworthy in Apc 10: John does not fall down in awe or attempt to worship the figure in Apc 10.

interpretation – without any christological elements – may be gained from the literary setting of the Apocalypse: The figure in Apc 10 plays an important role in a chain of events that the author may well have set up deliberately. R. BAUCKHAM tries to demonstrate that Apc 10 corresponds to the chain of revelation which is already presented in Apc 1:1. The revelation – the main content of the book – is given from God to Christ and is then given to John via an angel. (This chain is also alluded to in Apc 22:6.) Accordingly, the angel in Apc 10 might simply be the angel who supposedly is a necessary link within this same chain of revelation again. From Apc 10 on then, the main content of the prophetic revelation is given to John.[147]

A more appropriate and careful solution for the identification of the mighty angel in Apc 10:1 than GUNDRY's is offered by HANNAH.[148] According to him, the "limited pool of metaphors and images" means that many descriptions of visions may sound very familiar. Nevertheless, this should not lead to wrong conclusions. These similarities between angels and Christ are not great enough to make them almost indistinguishable from each other.[149] A solid parallel between the angel in Apc 10 and Christ in Apc 1 is provided by the description of the face as shining like the sun. Otherwise, John lifts up whole phrases with little alteration if he wishes to express identical characters, as for instance when identifying Christ from the opening vision with the Leader of the heavenly armies. (Apc 1:14 corresponds to Apc 19:12 and 1:16 to 19:15.) HANNAH therefore concludes that it is far more crucial to pay attention to the text of Revelation itself in order to identify a heavenly being, than just basing the decision on imagery alone.[150] This is why the unambiguous Christophanies in Apc 1

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[146] Cp. STUCKENBRUCK: *Veneration*, 232.
[147] Cp. BAUCKHAM: *Theology*, 81-82.
[148] Cp. HANNAH: *Michael*, 182-183.
[149] Cp. also STUCKENBRUCK: *Veneration*, 231-232.
[150] Cp. HANNAH: *Michael*, 153.

and 19 are so important. These passages are the most appropriate points of departure for sorting out and analysing angelomorphic features of John's Christology.

Moreover, the following procedure is misleading: one identifies the 'son of man' in Apc 14 as angelomorphic Christology at work and uses this to go back and identify the 'strong angel' in Apc 10 as an angelomorphic Christophany as well. This is circular reasoning.

Accordingly, it is questionable to think that the description of the 'strong angel' hints at an angel-Christology.

2.2.9. Angelomorphic or Angel-Christology?

It therefore remains that Christ is not explicitly labelled as an angel in the Apocalypse; indeed, the one like a son of man figure is even set apart from the angels: In the order of appearing figures he is placed precisely in the midst of the angels and, in addition, he is described with attributes given only to him and never to the angels in chapter 14.[151]

Thus at most *traces* of an angel-Christology can possibly be found in the Apocalypse.[152] Considering the position of angels in terms of a hierarchy, it is clear that all angelic beings are generally in a somewhat subordinate position to God. Angels in Revelation only carry out tasks given to them by God and act as his messengers, or else carry out the tasks given to them in final judgement. Christ's position seems generally to be a different one in the Apocalypse as the author of Revelation has generally placed Christ on a par with God, as can for instance be seen in Apc 1:14 (a possible symbolic identification of the one like a son of man and ancient of days) and in Apc 1:17-18. (Christ is described as "the first and the last"). Tendencies towards a subordination

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[151] Cp. KARRER: *Johannesoffenbarung*, 148 and STUCKENBRUCK: *Veneration*, 244.

Christology do not generally reflect the Apocalypse author's point of view (see chapters 3., 4. and 5. of this thesis). If he was aware of such views, they were not deliberately retained.[153]

Subsequently, it remains questionable whether it is appropriate to assume an angel-Christology because traces of angelic categories have been applied to Christ. It seems preferable to speak of an angelomorphic Christology, because an application of angelomorphic terms to Christ does not necessarily imply that Christ is an angel who is ontologically distinguished from God.[154] In this context it has to be remembered that angels must probably not be interpreted here as creatures as was done by later Christian writers.[155] In any case, it is apparent that Apc 14 (and also Apc 1:13-20; 19:11-21) embodies some kind of tension, which may most likely be caused by the problem of preserving a straightforward kind of monotheism, referring to God as the one in command of all things and responsible for the way the judgement on earth is carried out on the one hand,[156] while describing Christ as a very important figure on the other.[157] The importance of Christ is rather obvious in the entire work, especially when Christ is labelled as Lamb along with all the power attributed to him. (More on this feature will have to be explained in the forthcoming analysis in section 3.)

A possible explanation for an inclusion of an angelomorphic Christology in Revelation - despite the fact that Christ is normally clearly distinguished from the angels and the tendency to even avoid any veneration of angels as in Apc 19:10 and 22:8-9 - is the assumption that the author based his ideas on a well known tradition. This special tradition might have been known among his readership or audience. By

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[152] Cp. BAUCKHAM: "Worship", 338, n. 42.
[153] Cp. KARRER: *Johannesoffenbarung*, 148-149.
[154] Cp. ROWLAND: "Man", 100.
[155] Cp. e.g. Thomas Aquinas: *Summa Theologica*, 123-396 (STh I, 50-64).Cp. also the introduction of this thesis for further details.
[156] Monotheistic phraseology can more clearly be found in Apc 14:4, cp. for this STUCKENBRUCK: *Veneration*, 262.
[157] Cp. KARRER: *Johannesoffenbarung*, 149.

integrating such a tradition into the Apocalypse the author may have been attempting to gain his readership's or audience's attention more effectively. At the same time he was also able to subtly indicate that a worship of angels is to be avoided.[158]

We thus identify an early christological idea preserved within Apc 14:6-20 which may have become a factor in later dogmatic disputes.[159] We thus have to emphasise the fact that the passages in Revelation that might preserve such a christological idea are not directly mentioned in any sources we can access for research on the history of christological disputes. Still, Apc 14 may have *contributed* to the idea of an angelic feature of Christ in general and the identification (and equation) of Christ as being an angel in particular. Accordingly, this means that we distinguish between the author's intention and the text`s *Wirkungsgeschichte*.[160] (For a possible *Wirkungsgeschichte* of Apc 14 on the development of christological ideas see Appendix 3.)

However, we cannot suppose that the author of Apc 14:6-20 wished to communicate a christological idea that would have been controversial for and disputed among his readers. The text as it stands might have been regarded as attesting a straightforward angel-Christology which, in the context of debate, would have been branded as "heretical".[161] It should be emphasised, though that an interpretation of passages from the Apocalypse as an inherent angel-Christology would be anachronistic. The angelomorphic depictions of Christ provided in some passages indicate an early means of describing Christ in terms of traditions often linked with angels. A reason for such descriptions can only be given on the basis of a non-standardised character of Christology during the early Christian era. Consequently, we cannot assume that the

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[158] Cp. STUCKENBRUCK: *Veneration*, 272, BAUCKHAM: "Worship", passim and KARRER: *Johannesoffenbarung*, 147-149.
[159] YARBRO COLLINS: "Tradition", 568.

author would have been thought to express an "incorrect" portrayal of Christ, because angelic categories were not being entirely excluded. An interpretation of passages elsewhere that show traces of angelic material in descriptions of Christ as a fully developed angel-Christology bears the stamp of later christological decisions and disputes of the fourth century. In other words, an angelomorphic description of Christ might exist in pre-Nicene times (without possessing a rather doubtful character), while an understanding of such a christological concept (as preserved in the Apocalypse) as an angel-Christology would be an anachronistic imposition based on a later development in church history. The angelomorphic Christology, as preserved in Apc 14, probably arose at a very early stage in the development of forthcoming christological disputes concerning the "nature of Christ". At the end of this dispute, after the results of Nicea and Constantinople,[162] we find a rather "demythologised form" of a trinitarian God, more or less without angelic features at all.[163] The nature of these christological and theological disputes suggests that Christology and the relationship between God and Christ was not uniform. For the Apocalypse – as for NT literature in general - one may surely not assume the trinitarian model that was settled at the Council of Nicea; rather an underlying *proto-trinitarian deep structure* reflected in Christian worship and proclamation can be found.[164] Such proto-trinitarian thoughts and their christological implications were then brought to full expression in Nicea in correspondence with the New Testament; possibly, though, not in full congruence with *all* nuances of theological

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[160] For a thorough research on the use and understanding of the Apocalypse in church history see MAIER: *Johannesoffenbarung*. The study focuses on events and characters after the Councils of Nicea and Constantinople, christological disputes are therefore not part of this work.

[161] Cp. for this also KRETSCHMAR: *Trinitätstheologie*, 222.

[162] By the introduction of the term *homoousion* the ontological relation between the Son and God the Father and their sharing in being is expressed. Cp. for instance GUNTON: *Trinitarian*, 8-9. Cp. for the results of the Councils of Nicea and Constantiople further KELLY: *Glaubensbekenntnisse*, passim, HEUSSI: *Kirchengeschichte*, 96 and HÄRLE: *Dogmatik*, 384-405.

[163] Cp. for angelic categories rejected in the Councils of Nicea and Constantinople BEYSCHLAG: *Dogmengeschichte*, 77 and KRETSCHMAR: *Trinitätstheologie*, passim, esp. 219-223. Cp. for this discussion also DANIÉLOU: *Christianity*, 117-146, esp. 117-119 and "Trinité", 5-41.

[164] Cp. SCHWÖBEL: "Christology", 127.

(and christological) aspects that the New Testament has to offer. Possible angelomorphic aspects of Christology which may be preserved in NT literature were clarified by the *homoousios*[165] of the Nicene Creed in a way which is not entirely adequate in terms of the various authors' different conceptions. Accordingly, we cannot postulate a straightforward linear development of Christology from NT literature, including all different aspects of Christology without compromising certain aspects, to the way the disputes were resolved in the Councils. One might agree that New Testament literature contains the source of the development of Christology, which is then finally formulated in the Nicene theology. An assumption of absolute conformity with all concepts of NT Christology seems doubtful, however, as a fully divine Christology[166] is not necessarily reflected in all passages of New Testament writings. As for the Apocalypse, for instance, the questions whether God and Christ share one identity, and whether the possibility of Christ's subordination (or also angelic status) are preserved here, have not yet been answered satisfactorily.

The relation between Nicene theology and NT Christology ought not to be understood as a discrepancy, but as a matter of a world of ideas that are not explicitly mentioned within the New Testament writings. New Testament concepts form a solid base of Nicene theology, but the concept of these fourth century formulations are preserved in *proto-trinitarian deep structure* and not in the philosophical language[167]

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[165] Cp for this KELLY: *Glaubensbekenntnisse*, 240-259 and HÄRLE: *Dogmatik*, 342.

[166] Cp for the terminology and the assumption of such a "fully divine Christology" or the "Christology of divine identity" BAUCKHAM: *God*, 45-79.

[167] The terminology in Nicene theology is undebatably influenced by Greek philosophy, as for instance Porphyr (*De abstin. 1,19*) or Plotinus (*Enn. 4,7,10*), as demonstrated by KELLY: *Glaubensbekenntnisse*, 242-243. BAUCKHAM proposes an underlying Jewish scheme that is already present in NT writings which allows for an assumption of Nicea resisting against Greek categories: In other words, for BAUCKHAM the full divinity of Jesus is already guaranteed in NT literature and the Creed formulated in Nicea was an attempt to preserve a fully developed Christology of such degree against influences of Greek philosophical ideas. (cp. BAUCKHAM: *God*, 77-79.) BAUCKHAM's assumptions appear to be far too simplistic: He bases his ideas on observations made on a few selected passages from the New Testament, namely Phil 2:5-11 and passages from John (Joh 3:14-15; 8:28 and 12:32-34, all dealing with the Son of Man who has to be "lifted up") and Revelation (passages with the *Dreizeitenformel* and Apc 5:13), which he reads against the background of Isa 40-55. This limited field of passages can on the one hand hardly be regarded as representative for all different christological concepts preserved by NT

that forms the dogmas of the Councils of Nicea or Constantiople, and which is later made explicit by the Cappadocian Fathers.[168] Christian Theology in the first four centuries, though, is not in deficit because of a lack of a fully developed trinitarian concept.[169] In the words of HÄRLE, the trinitarian concept is "... ein nachträgliches Reflexionsprodukt, das die Rede von Gott (und zwar vom dreieinigen Gott) schon voraussetzt und sich auf sie bezieht. Sie *expliziert* etwas, das *implizit* im *rechten* Reden von Gott bereits enthalten ist."[170] Within the boundaries of development of these above mentioned theological concepts lies also the development of christological concerns. Angelomorphic Christologies, as have been preserved by the Apocalypse or certain other NT writings, stand at the beginning of such a development. Still, these Christologies which drew on angelic categories should not be regarded as the main concept of writings that preserve them, as they could be integrated entirely in the process of establishing the Trinitarian doctrine.[171] Later writers or groups, however, might have put far more emphasis on the angelic categories, and an assumption of a fully developed angel Christology therefore seems to be justified here. For instance, an angel Christology or even an angel Pneumatology[172] is certainly theologically far more

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literature. On the other hand, BAUCKHAM neglects the fact that not all christological aspects, or rather all theological concepts in the NT, share a single world view that put God and Jesus on par without any doubts. Furthermore, certain aspects of christological significance, as for instance Christologies that certainly draw heavily on angelic categories as in the Gospel of John (cp. SCHNACKENBURG: "Vater", 275-291, MÜLLER: "Menschwerdung", 62-66, BÜHNER: *Gesandte*, 138-152 and 191-261 and GIESCHEN: *Angelomorphic*, 270-293.), the Apocalypse (cp. for instance GIESCHEN: *Angelomorphic*, 245-269.), and possibly Colossians (cp. GIESCHEN: *Angelomorphic*, 343-346, ARNOLD: *Syncretism*, 90-101 and also HARNACK: *Ausbreitung*, 252 n. 1.) do not necissarily allow for an implication of Jesus' full divinity in every NT passage. A clear demarcation of Christ and angels is achieved in Nicea (cp. for this also KRETSCHMAR: *Trinitätstheologie*, 222-223.). Finally, BAUCKHAM does not acknowledge the process of canonisation for his assumption at all. In early Christian texts a fully developed divine Jesus can surely not be so generally assumed as possibly in the canonised passages he is dealing with.

[168] Cp. for the influence of the Cappadocian Fathers on the concept of the Trinitarian doctrine SCHWÖBEL: "Christology", 131-137 and ZIZIOULAS: "Doctrine", 44-60.

[169] Cp. HÄRLE: *Dogmatik*, 386.

[170] HÄRLE: *Dogmatik*, 386.

[171] As the Council of Nicea represents a turning point for establishing a clear cut demarcation between God and angels (cp. KRETSCHMAR: *Trinitätstheologie*, 223.), texts that feature an overly angelic concept would hardly be underlying the Nicene Theology.

[172] See for angel pneumatological concepts in the *Shepherd of Hermas* or the *Ascension of Isaiah* GIESCHEN: *Angelomorphic*, 220-225 and 231-236 and "Spirit", 790-803 and MOXNES: "Angel", 49-56.

important in Ebionite or Elchasaite circles,[173] and possibly also for very late theological abstracts like the writings of Dionysus the Areopagite (cp. *Hier.* IV 181 D).

As it should have become apparent that the angelomorphic concept of Christology in the Apocalypse has to be set at a rather early state of development of a Christology in the making, it is logical to return to the question on how and by which titles and attributes Christ is depicted in Revelation. Firstly, we shall now investigate the question of whether or not the expression "one like a son of man" from Apc 14:14 and 1:13 may be regarded as a christological title and what christological significance this expression bears.

2.2.10. Possible Christological Titles in Apc 14:6-20

It has become apparent that the expression ὅμοιον υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου clearly refers to Christ. However, the question whether this phrase has to be understood as a christological title, i.e. as the son of man in the synoptic traditions,[174] has not been answered yet. The υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου in the Gospels does not have the same features as the one like a son of man in the Apocalype (Apc 1:7-18; 14:6-20 and possibly 19:11-21). In synoptic writings the son of man is not exclusively an eschatological figure (cp. for instance Mk 13:24-27; Lk 21:36; Mt 24:29-31; Mt 25:31-46), but is also described as a suffering and earthly figure (cp. for instance Mt 9:6; 17:12; Lk 9:56; Lk 18:31).[175]

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[173] Cp. for this KRETSCHMAR: *Trinitätstheologie*, 222. The Jewish-Christian groups with angel-christological interests were identified by Epiphanius (*Pan.* 30.3.1-6) and Hippolytus (*Ref.* 9.13.1-3). Cp. STUCKENBRUCK: *Veneration*, 138-139 n. 238 and KNIGHT: *Disciples*, 167-170. For more material on the identification of these groups and traditions they depend on see LUTTIKHUIZEN: *Elchasai*, passim.

[174] Notably, a son of man designation plays only a major role apart from the synoptic tradition in the fourth Gospel, Act 7:56 and in Apc 1:12-20 and 14:14. Cp. BECKER: *Jesus*, 251-252.

[175] Cp. HAHN: *Hoheitstitel*, 23-42 or BECKER: *Jesus*, 249-275 for further explanations on the understanding of the son of man and Jesus. Cp. also KARRER: *Christus*, 288-289. Cp. for a distinction of different son of man aspects in Luke FLETCHER-LOUIS: *Luke-Acts*, 225-250. Cp. for the use of the Son of Man terminology in the Gospels also HENGEL: *Christology*, 387 and KINGSBURY: *Christology*, 176-179.

One has to be cautious, though, with regard to the interpretation of the Son of Man in the Gospels as a two-fold figure (heavenly and earthly). On the one hand, the Gospel writers surely *did not distinguish clearly* between the Son of Man sayings about a present suffering Son of Man and those concerned with the Son of Man's eschatological functions (for instance, as a judge). On the other hand, differences in the adaptation of Son of Man traditions in the Gospels might vary.[176]

In Mark's Gospel, the emphasis may be regarded as consisting more of the suffering Son of Man. The concept of the Messianic secret might explain this emphasis: If Jesus' true identity has to be revealed, the focus on the suffering Son of Man seems only natural. The earthly Jesus is slowly being perfected through suffering. Accordingly, the Son of Man sayings in Mark can not be grouped in purely present and purely future sayings.[177]

Luke does not appear to have elaborated a distinctive Son of Man Christology in his Gospel; he is rather faithful to his sources. A specifically Lukan Son of Man Christology, according to C. COLPE, does not exist.[178] One notable difference to Mark, though, may be discerned in Luke's adaptation of Q. In Mark, the Son of Man sayings emphasise the might of Jesus, while in Luke (who uses Q as one of his sources) the lowliness of the Son of Man is also emphasised: he is the homeless (Lk 9:58) and despised (Lk 12:10) one.[179]

Matthew uses Son of Man traditions of his sources with slight variations, and also fashions new sayings in relation to these sources. Thus he accomplishes a synthesis

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[176] See e.g. HAHN: *Hoheitstitel*, 13-46. Cp. further POKORNÝ: *Christologie*, 46-49.
[177] Cp. COLPE: "υἱός", 465. See for the use of "Son of Man" in Mk also KINGSBURY: *Christology*, 166-179.
[178] Cp. COLPE: "υἱός", 458-459.
[179] Cp. VIELHAUER: *Literatur*, 322-323.

of the different nuances concerning the Son of Man. Jesus, who is constantly equated with the Son of Man, is suffering, exalted, and a future judge at the same time.[180]

By contrast, the son of man like figure in the Apocalypse is depicted in exclusively eschatological categories. This does not mean that the author did not know the synoptic traditions concerning the son of man, the contrary might actually be the case.[181] However, the Old Testament traditions were probably again determinative for his emphasis on the eschatological son of man figure in the Revelation. As in the Mark 13:26 par the tradition from Daniel 7:13 lies clearly in the background of the son of man;[182] the twice used expression ὅμοιος (instead of ὡς) and the missing article is reminiscent of the Danielic background, as we observed before (section 2.2.3.). A major reason for not regarding the one like a son of man as a christological title therefore appears to be the lack of the article – without determination the υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου should not be regarded as a formal designation.[183] In the same way the description in Apc 14:6-20 (and also the description in Apc 1:12-18) is a vision, as is Daniel 7:13, and since the material that is described is somewhat blurred by the apocalyptic visionary style, one should probably not assume that the term ὅμοιον υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου is a christological title.[184] The use of the term ὅμοιον in Apc 1:13 and 14:14 is also reminiscent of the language of Philippians 2:7 where Christ is described as ἐν ὁμοιώματι ἀνθρώπου.[185]

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[180] Cp. COLPE: "υἱός", 461 and LUZ: *Matthew*, 112-116.
[181] On the influence of the Jesus sayings on the Apocalypse, see YARBRO COLLINS: "Tradition", 536-568. See further SCHÜSSLER FIORENZA: "Apokalypsis", 123.
[182] Cp. for a Danielic background of the Son of Man in the Gospel traditions also CASEY: *God*, 53.
[183] Cp. DUNN: *Christology*, 90 and MÜLLER: *Messias*, 197. HENGEL questions the designation of the Son of Man to be a title as such and rather proposes to regard the term as a veiled codeword. Cp. HENGEL: *Christology*, 387.
[184] Cp. STRECKER: *Theologie*, 551-552 for the observations made on the one like a son of man in comparison to the synoptical Son of Man. STRECKER excludes the possibility that one like a son of man is used as a title in Revelation, as the Danielic traditions in the background are part of a vision with the nature of blurring what it reports. The author of Revelation rather attempted to depict the supernatural and special elements of the revealed exalted figure. Cp. Also CASEY: *God*, 142. CASEY regards the Gospel title "Son of Man" to be entirely absent in the Apocalypse. See also SCHÜSSLER FIORENZA: "Apokalypsis", 123.
[185] The terminology in Phil 2:7 is apparently very similar to Apc 1:13 and 14:14, but it is rather impossible to infer a related Christology in those two different NT writings. Phil 2:5-11 has a christological concept that seems to be based on a notion of Adam Christology. This kind of Christology

These passages taken together might reflect a more widespread use of the word ὅμοιος in early Christian writings as a way of describing Christ in terms of a statement of confession, or as an apocalyptic circumlocution of referring to Christ (*apokalyptischer Umschreibungsstil*).[186] Further evidence for this assumption, however, can admittedly not be given, because Apc 1 and 14 and Philippians 2 are the only references in the New Testament that preserve an expression describing Christ in terms of human similitude.[187] The circumlocution in Apc 1:12-18 and Apc 14:6-20 might accordingly be a means of visualising Christ either as a representative of God (the first and the last one),[188] or respectively as a figure who functions as a judge.[189] This rather general use of the expression ὅμοιον υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου, then, would indicate a description of Christ that does *not* refer to him by *title*, a much clearer reference would otherwise definitely have been made. The author of the Apocalypse seems to avoid the title and instead fashioned the expression for describing Christ in an apocalyptical manner, probably in order to qualify the son of man for an audience which was not entirely familiar with such a designation.[190] On the surface, Apc 1:13 and Apc 14:14 therefore only describe one *like* a son of man, which does not indicate the use of a title.[191] Nevertheless, it

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can definetely not be considered to be present in Apc 1 and 14. Cp. for this also DUNN: *Christology*, 114-121, esp. 115.

[186] Cp. CULLMANN: *Christologie*, 193 n. 1. Cp. also MÜLLER: *Offenbarung*, 269.

[187] The terminology of a "human similitude" might indicate some concealed form of an epiphanical tradition. Cp. for this VOLLENWEIDER: "Monotheismus", 36 and "Metamorphose", 107-131.

[188] The function of the one like a son of man as God's representative can be derived from Isa 41:4 and 44:6 where a similar terminology is used in order to refer to God. Cp. AUNE: *Revelation 1-5*, 101.

[189] Cp. KARRER: *Christus*, 302. KARRER puts the emphasis of his observation on Apc 1:12-18, but the use of ὅμοιον υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου has definetely to be regarded as identical in Apc 14:6-20.

[190] Cp. SCHÜSSLER FIORENZA: "Apokalypsis", 122-123, against MÜLLER: *Theologiegeschichte*, 44: MÜLLER assumes that John emphasises the concept of a son of man, which would indicate a dependence on early Christian traditions. The fact that the expression "one like a son of man" only occurs twice, each time as a circumlocution, does not justify such an assumption. It is more appropriate to regard the use of the expression ὅμοιον υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου as being deliberately avoided. See for the use of the expression being in deficit also LOHSE: "Menschensohn", 86. However, even if the concept of a son of man in the Apocalypse might be deliberatley downplayed, one might still assume the use of the expression ὅμοιον υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου as such as being rather highlighted. The significance of this expression does not depend on the question whether a title is used or not. Cp. similarly ROWLAND: "Vision", 1.

[191] Cp. DUNN: *Christology*, 91. SCHÜSSLER FIORENZA: *Offenbarung*, 69 and MÜLLER: *Offenbarung*, 83-84 and 269. Cp. also HAHN: *Hoheitstitel*, 13ff: HAHN only refers to *the* Son of Man as a title. KRAFT does not ask the question whether a christological title is present or not at all, because he considers that the writer of Apc 14:15 does not regard the heavenly figure in verse 14 as Christ but rather

remains obvious that the importance of the one like a son of man is stressed in both passages.[192] The circumlocution probably functions less as a title. but rather as a means of associating Christ with a certain function.

One should not entirely forget the fact that other features relevant for the concern of Christology and christological titles are found in Apc 14:6-20. Other names or titles, though, seem to be less important for the discussion of christological matters.[193] For instance, one finds only the name Ἰησοῦς in verse 12 (as in Apc 1:9; 12:17; 17:6; 19:10; 20:1; 22:16.20.21), not the full designation Ἰησοῦς Χριστός (as in Apc 1:1.2.5).[194] The fact that the name is mentioned here is probably rather irrelevant for further discussion, because it is simply mentioned without elaboration or emphasis.[195] Moreover, in Apc 14:13 the phrase ἐν κυρίῳ arouses some minor attention: The expression unambiguously relates to Christ, but the use here is, again, lacking in any special emphasis.[196] Thus one may not infer anything that has a bearing on the author's Christology. The only other feature next to the ὅμοιον υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου that is relevant in terms of discussing the author's christological focus therefore seems to be the Lamb mentioned in verse 10.[197] The fact that the Lamb is mentioned here seems to indicate that Apc 14:6-20 as a section should be related to Apc 14:1-5 more closely than

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as an angel. (cp. KRAFT: *Offenbarung*, 197.) KRAFT's conclusion would automatically exclude the assumption of a christological title. In contrast to the observations made by other scholars, LOHSE regards the term ὅμοιον υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου as a lengthened form of a christological title, cp. LOHSE: *Offenbarung*, 46.

[192] Cp. e.g. KNIGHT: *Revelation*, 106, KARRER: *Christus*, 302.

[193] Cp. CASEY: *God*, 141-142: According to CASEY John preferred to express Jesus' exaltation and lorship by means of riotous profusion of assertions and images, rather than titles in general.

[194] The phrase καὶ τὴν πίστιν Ἰησοῦ does not emphasise the importance of Jesus. Therefore a christological implication of the mentioning of Jesus' name is doubtful. It is more likely that the phrase "and maintaining faith in Jesus" resemles a parallelism to "those who keep the commands of God". A striking parallel for this can be found in 1QpHab col. viii 1-3, where "the doers of Law" are paralleled by "fidelity to the Teacher of Righteousness". The phrase καὶ τὴν πίστιν Ἰησοῦ in Apc 14:12 seems to be a gloss, anyhow, because πίστις is not a typical term used in the Revelation. Elsewhere, it is only used in Apc 2:13 and 19. Cp. AUNE: *Revelation 6-16*, 839-840. Cp. for the use of the full title DE JONGE: "Expression", 267-281.

[195] Cp. BOUSSET: *Offenbarung*, 386.

[196] Cp. HAHN: *Hoheitstitel*, 123, n. 2.

[197] It is noteworthy that commentators barely refer to the mentioning of the Lamb in this verse of Revelation.

has been assumed thus far. This, in turn, may raise a question about the degree to which Lamb Christology and the description of Christ as human-like are interrelated.

2.3. The Relationship between Apc 14:1-5 and Apc 14:6-20

The juridical son of man like figure, which we identified as Christ, contrasts in function with the Lamb in Apc 14:1-5. It seems noteworthy that in Apc 14:6-20 we find the description of the figure of Christ seated in judgement after a setting that mentions the Lamb in Apc 14:1.4, in which the Lamb is not explicitly identified as the one like a son of man. In turn, it is almost certain that Christ is to be identified as the one like a son of man, even if this identification is not made very explicitly, as has been argued above (see section 2.2.6.). There is little doubt that the Lamb also refers to Christ, though it seems noteworthy that Christ is referred to as a Lamb in Apc 14:1-5 and then, without further explanation or introduction, as one like a son of man in Apc 14:6-20. So first of all it has to be examined whether or not the same author was at work at both passages in view. Like Apc 14:6-20, Apc 14:1-5 certainly preserves the style and vocabulary present elswhere in the Book of Revelation. The phrase καὶ εἶδον, καὶ ἰδού in Apc 14:1, for instance, can be found identically in Apc 14:14.

It is easy to find more expressions and vocabulary in Apc 14:1-5 that cope with either Apc 14:6-20 in particular or with the entire writing in general.[198] For instance, the expression ἐπὶ τῶν μετώπων (+αὐτῶν) can also be found in Apc 7:3 and 22:4. and moreover in Apc 14:9 (though here the singular form αὐτοῦ is used). Another expression that hints at the author's specific language is ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ in Apc 14:2. because the very same expression can be found very often within other passages of

[198] See AUNE: *Revelation 6-16*. 803-818.

Revelation.[199] More evidence for the author's own language in Apc 14:1-5 is provided by the use of the expression ὑδάτων πολλῶν, which is not only found in Apc 14:2, but also in Apc 1:15 and 19:6, and additionally in Apc 17:1, although here without reference to the voice (φωνή). Further evidence is provided by the expression ἤκουσα φωνήν in Apc 14:2 which occurs another ten times[200] in the Apocalypse, and also the description of "in front of the throne" ἐνώπιον θρόνου occurs nine more times, though without the definite article.[201] Especially the description of Christ as Lamb (τὸ ἀρνίον) has to be regarded as a stylistic feature of the author's vocabulary. This expression can be found twenty-nine times within Revelation[202] and only once (Apc 13:11) does it not refer to Christ.[203]

Conclusively, it can be stated that despite some minor differences of the content of the passages Apc 14:1-5 and 6-20, it cannot be denied that both passages are at least slightly linked and have a common origin, namely the writer of the Apocalypse.

It seems to be agreed that the *meaning* of the Lamb is clear,[204] because the Lamb is already introduced in Apc 5:6 and 5:9 as "slaughtered" and also as "purchasing with its blood" (Apc 5:9). These metaphors refer to the concept of Christ's atonement.[205] The power of the Lamb and its accession to the throne are therefore the logical consequence:

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[199] Cp. Apc 3:12; 8:10; 9:1; 10:1.4.8; 11:12; 13:13; 14:13; 16:11.21; 18:1.4; 20:1.9; 21:2.10.
[200] This expression is also present in Apc 1:10; 5:11; 6:6-7; 9:13; 10:4; 12:10; 18:4; 19:1.6.
[201] This reference to the throne can also be found in Apc 1:4; 4:5.6.10; 7:9.11.15; 8:3 and 20:12.
[202] The lamb as referring to Christ is mentioned in Apc 5:6.8.12.13; 6:1.16; 7:9.10.14.17; 8:1; 12:11; 13:8; 14:1.4.10; 15:3; 17:14; 19:7.9; 21:14.22.23.27 and 22:1.3.
[203] BAUCKHAM assumes the occurences of christological titles to follow a deliberate pattern of the author: The title Christ occurs seven times in the composition, the title Jesus fourteen times and the Lamb 28 times. Cp. BAUCKHAM: *Climax*, 34-35.
[204] It still remains quite difficult to decide on how ἀρνίον can be best translated. A translation as "lamb" emphasises Christ's function as a redeemer, a translation as "ram", though, would more clearly refer to his ruling character. Cp. also HOLTZ: *Christologie*, 39-41. The linguistical use of the term in the LXX, Josephus, Philo, John 21:15 und 2 Clem 5:2-4 seems to confirm that the translation as "lamb" is the more favourable option. Cp. also MÜLLER: *Offenbarung*, 160, SCHÜSSLER FIORENZA: *Priester*, 268-270 and JEREMIAS: "ἀρνίον", 344-345. See for the philological probability of a translation as "lamb" also HOFIUS: "Ἀρνίον", 272-281. The translation of ἀρνίον as "ram" is preferred by STUHLMACHER: "Lamm", 529-542. Cp. similarly BÖCHER: *Kirche*, 40-41: BÖCHER occasionally favours the translation as ram, because the power of the ἀρνίον has to be taken into consideration in passages where the Lamb's character of a leader is due to be emphasised. See for the discussion of the different translations also STRECKER: *Theologie*, 555.

It is *due* to the fact that Christ has revealed himself as a dignitary of divine status by his own death in atonement that he now receives worship in the vision of the Lamb in the throne room in Apc 5. The redeemer's death, therefore, is a pre-condition for the heavenly functions and tasks.[206] Accordingly, the Lamb is assigned a certain divine status and a correspondingly powerful position. The functions of the Lamb are, however, more ambiguous. (Therefore, functions of the Lamb and those given to Christ elsewhere have occasionally been conflated.[207]) It might be inappropriate at this point to deal with all the important features of the Lamb, because more than christological concerns may have been in the author's mind when he describes scenarios that feature the Lamb. (Further christological issues concerning the Lamb will be discussed in sections 3.1. and 3.2. below.) One might agree for the sake of the argument that the Lamb has a dual role in the Apocalypse, namely the Lamb's character as a victim – this is especially emphasised in Apc 5:6.9.12; 7:14; 12:11 – and the Lamb's additional role a military leader or a sovereign, who, as one sitting on the throne, shares being worshipped alongside God, as can be seen in Apc 5:12-13 or Apc 7:9-17.[208] Numerous traditions, at least, that possibly influenced John's way of describing the Lamb seem to confirm that the author had various aspects in mind which he wished to communicate to his readership. John's description of the Lamb throughout the Revelation could refer to it as (1) the daily or *tamid* burnt offering (as in Ex 19:38-46);[209] (2) the passover sacrifice and its symbolic character for the liberation of Israel (as for instance in Ex 12:1-20; Deut 16:1-8; Num 9:2-5; 2 Chr 30:1-27); (3) a military ruler (as for example in *1 En.* 89:45-46, or similarly in *Test. Jos.* 19:8); and (4) the death of the innocent

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[205] Cp for instance JEREMIAS: "ἀρνίον", 344-345, AUNE: *Revelation 1-5*, 371, MÜLLER: *Offenbarung*, 160-162 or HOLTZ: *Christologie*, 37 and 47-50.
[206] Cp. also MÜLLER: *Offenbarung*, 161.
[207] A conflation of the Lamb's functions as redeemer and victim can be seen, for instance, with the role as an eschatological leader with tasks of judgement as in Apc 14:14-20. Cp. for this MÜLLER: *Offenbarung*, 161.
[208] Cp. for this also AUNE: *Revelation 1-5*, 368-373.

suffering servant of God (as in Isa 53). Because several different aspects can be recognised in the Lamb's description, it can be assumed that the author wished to convey to his readership a wider range of ideas concerning the meaning of the Lamb by deliberately conflating the traditions mentioned above. John probably meant to evoke various images (as for instance innocence, suffering, obedience and rule) in his readers' minds with which he wanted them to identify themselves.[210]

If one may assume that the Christology within the Apocalypse is carefully considered by the author and accordingly referring to Christ by different titles or designations deliberately in certain passages, Christ's functions in general may surely be regarded as interconnected.[211] Thus it should not be entirely ignored that the author probably had certain intentions in mind by describing Christ as a Lamb in some cases, while he gives a completely different report about Christ in other visions, like, for instance, Christ's angelomorphic appearance in Apc 14 where he is attributed as an eschatological judge. More insight might be gained by comparing Lamb Christology and an angelomorphic Christology as provided in Apc 14:6-20, in order to demonstrate a connection of the Lamb's functions and those of an angelomorphic Christ, and also to find out about the author's intention for giving two obviously very contrasting descriptions of Christ in his writing. It appears appropriate to compare those two features at first where they contrast with one another. A comparison between Apc 14:1-5 and Apc 14:6-20 thus seems the best first approach, because the mention of the Lamb and the description of Christ in angelic categories stand very close together.

At first, it has to be examined whether those two passages with the different concepts of Christology were put in opposition randomly or deliberately by the author. Accordingly, it should be examined whether the passage Apc 14:1-5 is somehow

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[209] Cp. for this also KARRER: *Christus*, 105. However, an interpretation of the Lamb as daily offering ignores the uniqueness of Christ's sacrifice. Cp. HOLTZ: *Christologie*, 46.
[210] Cp. for this the forthcoming commentary by STUCKENBRUCK: *Revelation*, 35.

connected to Apc 14:6-20, or whether it has an independent source or ideological origin. An analogy between these passages is provided, though, especially by the verses 12-13, because there the description of the harvest of the earth is interrupted, and the text centres unexpectedly on the community. This is very reminiscent of Apc 14:1-5. Consequently, the meaning of verses 12-13 can hardly be interpreted detached from their relation to the very same community. In Apc 14:12 the reader or the Christian community is directly exhorted to keep God's commandments and remain faithful to Christ. The faithfulness is expressed by a call to endurance.[212] Such a feature seems to be specifically Christian as this kind of pacifism is rather unknown in Jewish material, where armed revolts against oppression are more common.[213] The imperative γράψον in verse 13 is not given a single object, it is concerned with the following beatitude.[214] The beatitude in verse 13 stresses the meaning of the warning provided in verse 12.[215] The seer receives his legitimation by having the beatitude mediated to him by the voice coming out of heaven. This beatitude is paranetic (*paränetisch*) in character:[216] All those facing a martyr's death in the eschatological prosecution shall be comforted.[217] The prophetic spirit confirms this beatitude with a promise of eschatological peace for the martyrs, which may function as a deliberate counterpart to the eternal punishment[218] of those worshipping the beast in Apc 13.[219] The reason for the peace of the martyrs ("their works follow them") being the eschatological reward may be explained on the basis of tradition: Parallels for good works as a reason for a reward in the face of final

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[211] Cp. also OEGEMA: *Hoffnung*, 114-123.
[212] Cp. further SCHOLTISSEK: "Mitteilhaber", 198-199 and LOHSE: *Ethik*, 120-121. See for this also SMITH: "Revelation", 107-108.
[213] Cp. KRAYBILL: *Cult*, 201.
[214] Cp. KRAFT: *Offenbarung*, 195.
[215] Cp. also for the following passage: MÜLLER: *Offenbarung*, 268.
[216] Cp. MÜLLER: *Messias*, 190.
[217] Cp. MÜLLER: *Offenbarung*, 268.
[218] The eternal punishment as depicted in Apc 14:11 also has traditional backgrounds, since a similar portrait of such an eternal punishment can also be found in *1 En.* 10:13 and 13:2.
[219] Cp. KRAFT: *Offenbarung*, 194-195.

judgement may also be found in early Jewish material.[220] such as *4 Ezra* or also *Pirke Aboth* 6:9-10. In both sources the following of the works in eschatological judgement is present.[221] In the mishnaic material the reference to the works bears a positive meaning: Knowledge of the Law and good works will accompany a man at his "departure".[222] In *4 Ezra* we find more occurences of the works: *4 Ezra* 7:35 mentions good and evil works and their opposite manifestations in an eschatological reward; elsewhere in *4 Ezra* the works are only depicted in the positive way of referring to them as "treasure" which is piled up in front of God (*4 Ezra* 7:77)[223] or as a reason for eschatological reward (*4 Ezra* 8:33).[224] A parallel can also be found in Christian literature: In *Apocalypse of Peter* 6 the deeds of humans stand separately before those who performed them in final judgement; here people will be punished or rewarded according to their deeds. Matthew 6:19-20 can probably be interpreted in light of such traditions.[225]

Undoubtedly Apc 14:12-13 originates from the author himself. The existence of a beatitude in verse 13 adds special weight here, because beatitudes are a relatively common feature in the entire writing and seven other beatitudes are integrated. Accordingly, the beatitude in verse 13 should not be considered as a gloss.[226]

The description of the Lamb and its followers in Apc 14:1-5 should be interpreted as a deliberately chosen device of the author in order to underscore the confrontation between the followers of the Lamb on the one side, and the followers of the beast on the other.[227] The ideas and images mentioned in Apc 14:1-5 and 11-13

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[220] See LOHSE: *Ethik*, 82: According to LOHSE the tradition of the good works being important in the eschatological judgement is not specifically of Jewish origin; Mt 7:2 and James 2:13 also reflect on the good works and their significance.

[221] Cp. for this Müller: *Offenbarung*, 269 and LOHMEYER: *Offenbarung*, 123: LOHMEYER regards the idea of "following works" as a concept where the works are either "weighed" (Job 31:6; Prov 16:2; 21:2; Ps 62:9 or Dan 5:27) or are "kept" (*2 Bar.* 14:12; *4 Ezra* 7:77).

[222] Cp. for further parallels in rabbinic material STRACK/BILLERBECK: *Offenbarung*, 817.

[223] The reference to good works as treasure is also very reminiscent of Mt 6:19; 12:35 and 19:21.

[224] Cp. for this also AUNE: *Revelation 6-16*, 839.

[225] See LOHMEYER: *Offenbarung*, 123.

[226] Cp. AUNE: *Revelation 6-10*, 798. For the use of beatitudes in Revelation cp. also LAMBRECHT: "Exhortation", 276-278.

[227] Cp. for the discussion of antithetic imagery also HIRSCHBERG: *Israel*, 195-200.

correspond to each other. Both passages distinctly refer to the "reception of the name": in Apc 14:11 the reception of a name is related to the name of the beast, in verse 1, on the other hand, the followers of the Lamb receive the name of the Father and the Lamb itself on the forehead.[228] (Correspondingly, the author contrasts the "presence of the beast" in Apc 13:14 with the "presence of the Lamb" in Apc 14:11.[229]) Also the expression παρθένοι suggests a deliberate effort of the author to indicate the difference of the two opposing groups: The παρθένοι in Apc 14:4 have to be interpreted metaphorically as the people of God who do not represent male people only but men and women alike; the reference that they "have not polluted themselves with women" indicates a refusal to participate in the Emperor Cult, as Babylon (=Rome)[230] is depicted as whore in Apc 14:8 (and also in Apc 17:2.5).[231] The author's use of the expressions drinking from her wine (Apc 14:8) and drinking from God`s wine of wrath (Apc 14:10) is constructed correspondingly. The varying status of both groups, i.e. followers of the lamb and followers of the beast, is then consequently reflected in the coming judgement: Those who venerate the beast have to anticipate the eternal punishment, the followers of the Lamb may instead hope for the Lamb`s protection and presence.

(The reference to the Lamb is not unproblematic here, since the parataxis by καί might infer equality between angels and Lamb. However, this reference to the Lamb

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[228] The reception of the name of "the Lamb and his Father" reveals an important feature of the relationship between God and the Lamb, namely the Lamb being the Son of God. Cp. MATERA: *Christology*, 209.

[229] Cp. SWEET: *Revelation*, 227.

[230] An identification of Babylon as a symbol for Rome is confirmed by allusions in early Christian and Jewish writings after the Jewish war (e.g. *2 Bar.* 67:7; *Or. Sib.* 5:143.159; 1 Petr 5:13). Cp. further COURT: *Myth*, 142.

[231] Cp. for a metaphorical use of παρθένοι SCHÜSSLER FIORENZA: *Offenbarung*, 111 against the understanding of an ascetic ideals as assumed for instance by BLACK: *Origins*, 84: BLACK considers a parallel motif as in Essenic writings. (See similarly BÖCHER: *Kirche*, 51.) SCHÜSSLER FIORENZA's arguments are rather striking, though, as celibacism is not an ideal that the author of Revelation consequently praises. See for an understanding of παρθένοι as the faithful followers of Christ who do not attend the Emperor Cult also SATAKE: *Gemeindeordnung*, 39-47 and JÖRNS: *Evangelium*, 124-125. Cp. similarly for a metaphorical understanding ROWLAND: *Revelation*, 120.

might represent a gloss, probably inserted in order to establish a *parallelismus membrorum.*[232])

Further evidence for the theory that the author *deliberately* designed antithetic imagery[233] in the description of the different situation both groups are about to face is provided by the adoption of harvest metaphors in both reports. In Apc 14:15-19 the judgement of the earth is portrayed as a twofold harvest of earth by the one like a son of man and angels. This harvest represents God's judgement of the earth, though it might not be very clear at first sight. There are good reasons for such an assumption: Initially the announcement of a judgement to come in Apc 14:6-11 provides an obvious reason for this interpretation of the harvest; especially the angel's declaration in verse 7 which is repeated similarly in verse 15 as an announcement for judgement[234] makes this plausible. Also the vocabulary in Apc 14:19 should support the interpretation of the harvest as God's judgement, because the sudden appearance of a "great winepress of God's wrath" can hardly be regarded as a device that is used in a normal harvesting process. Indeed, whenever the metaphor of harvest occurs in the Hebrew Bible and in early Jewish literature, it is closely associated with (if not a representation of) eschatological judgement.[235] Following the command to begin the wine harvest in verse 18, the remark concerning the treading of the great winepress of wrath is probably influenced by the report about the final judgement in Jeremiah 25:30.[236]

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[232] Cp. SPITTA: *Offenbarung*, 149. See for a similar problem concerning Apc 6:16 section 3.1.2.3.

[233] The author's device of describing the opposing groups and their leaders should preferably be labelled as "anti-imagery" rather than "dualistic". The term anti-imagery or antithetical imagery expresses the author's deliberate wish to display opposing ideas and groups in general. As FREY convincingly demonstrated, a classification of passages as "dualism" needs far more precision because different dimensions of dualistic thoughts have to be distinguished. Cp. for the difinition of "dualism" FREY: "Dualistic", 275-335, esp. 280-285 and CHARLESWORTH: "Dualism", 389-418.

[234] The assumption that Apc 14:7 and 14:15 correspond here presupposes the unity of Apc 14:6-20, though. In turn, it should have become apparent before that the idea of a unity can hardly be neglected.

[235] The harvest metaphor for descriptions of judgement can, for instance, also be found in Isa 27:12, *4 Ezra* 4:28, *2 Bar.* 70:2 or Joel 4:12-13.

[236] Cp. KRAFT: *Offenbarung*, 199.

The portrayal of the entire harvest in Apc 14:15-20, though, shows some remarkable characteristics which might help to identify a certain matrix as a background for the seer's report. To begin with, it is to be observed that the entire image given in Apc 14:15-20 portrays a twofold harvest on earth, namely a harvest of grain (14-17) and a harvest of wine (18-20). This twofold description of the harvest has led to some speculation on how the different phases of the harvest are to be interpreted.

2.3.1. The Twofold Harvest and its Meaning for Christology

Before dealing further with the relationship between the passages Apc 14:1-5 and 6-20, it is necessary to define the meaning of the twofold harvest. Some scholars regard the doublet as two distinguishable situations of God's judgement, namely a judgement of unbelievers on the one side, and the gathering of the Christian believers on the other.[237] A better explanation for the phenomenon of a twofold harvest has, however, been overlooked, namely that it is an adaptation of the eschatological harvest terminology from Joel 4:12-13. In Joel 4:13 a twofold harvest is also present – without a distinction of the meaning of the harvest. The harvest in this Hebrew Bible passage refers to a total judgement without salvation.[238] Certain scholars have tried to argue that

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[237] This view is taken by HOLTZ: *Christologie*, 133-134, SCHÜSSLER FIORENZA: *Judgement*, 113-114 and LOHMEYER: *Offenbarung*, 125-126. See for a brief outline of the problem of interpreting the twofold harvest also BORING: *Revelation*, 170-172 and PRIGENT: *Commentary*, 451.

[238] Cp. MÜLLER: *Offenbarung*, 269-270, LOHSE: "Menschensohn", 85, YARBRO COLLINS: *Apocalypse*, 105, BEALE: *Revelation*, 772-776, CHARLES: *Revelation II*, 21-26 and FEKKES: *Isaiah*, 193. The description of the harvest as a twofold harvest of grain and wine seems to correspond to the MT, while the LXX describes a twofold wine harvest (cp. HOLTZ: *Christologie*, 133, n. 2). The assumption of an Old Greek variant as the background for the version present in Apc 14 cannot be entirely excluded, though. Cp. YARBRO COLLINS: "Tradition", 565. A rather unorthodox view on how the grain harvest can be interpreted is provided by SCHLATTER: *Offenbarung*, 232. SCHLATTER finds salvific and juridical aspects in the description of Apc 14:14-16: According to him, the scenario has to be regarded as judgement for the followers of the beast and, at the same time, as salvation for the Christian community. SCHLATTER might be right in his assumption as such; final judgement can indeed mean salvation for the Christian community, because judgement coincides with the elimination of powers opposing God and his community. SCHLATTER, though, formulates his arguments far too vaguely by assuming the harvest as a metaphorical harvest of sin and obedience. (By interpreting the harvest in such a metaphorical way, SCHLATTER also has to regard the vintage in a more positve way, including salvific aspects, than the

the two different parts in the description of the harvest have two distinct meanings, namely that the grain harvest, in contrast to that of the wine, has to be considered as a gathering of the faithful people.[239] Notably, the influence of Joel 4 on Apc 14 has nowhere been denied. The interpretation that Apc 14 alludes to a gathering of the faithful is based on the premise that the author deliberately interpreted the two parts of the harvest differently himself. A connection with Mark 13:27, for instance, has been considered. This connection has been regarded as rather vague by scholars who argue in favour of a gathering of faithful Christians.[240]

A more elaborate concept of the twofold harvest, of which the grain harvest has to be interpreted as salvation, has more recently been proposed by R. BAUCKHAM. According to him, the vision of the harvest consists of the grain harvest (the harvest of the world) and the grape harvest (vintage of the earth). BAUCKHAM rightfully assumes that this narration is based on Joel 3:13 (4:13 MT). He then further concludes that John saw more in this passage than just a twofold harvest of the wicked nations, namely grain harvest and grape harvest.[241] BAUCKHAM regards the grape harvest as a rather negative image of God's judgement on the unrepentant nations. BAUCKHAM produces much the same arguments as have been given in section 2.2.5. for the argumentation for the unity of Apc 14: The "great wine press of the wrath of God" echoes "the wine of wrath of her (=Babylon's) fornication" in Apc 14:8 and "the cup of

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context would allow. Cp. SCHLATTER: *Offenbarung*, 232-233.) He also neglects distinct descriptions of Christ with different meanings in the Apocalypse and, therfore, the possibility that Christ is described in juridical terminology in Apc 14:14-20, while his significance for salvation might rather be reflected in terms of a Lamb Christology, as will be discussed in sections 2.3. and 3. below.

[239] There is no homogenous interpretation concerning which part of the harvest has to be interpreted as a gathering, though. REISNER: *Buch*, 140, assumes the wine harvest as a gathering, while LOHMEYER: *Offenbarung*, 129, HOLTZ: *Christologie*, 133-134, SCHÜSSLER FIORENZA: *Offenbarung*, 113-114 and BORNKAMM: "Komposition", 212, regard the gathering to be the one which is carried out by the one like a son of man. CAIRD, in contrast, regards both parts of the harvest as a gathering. (cp. CAIRD: *Revelation*, 191-192). See similarly BORING: *Revelation*, 171-172. For a rather different approach on how to interpret the harvest see HANSON: *Lamb*, 173-175: HANSON interprets the double harvest in light of Jesus' crucifixion; the judgement for him is the judgement of the cross.

[240] Cp. HOLTZ: *Christologie*, 134 and BORNKAMM: "Komposition", 212, n. 13.

[241] Cp. BAUCKHAM: *Climax*, 290. Cp. for the following discussion also BAUCKHAM: *Theology*, esp. 94-104.

the wine of wrath of God poured undiluted into the cup of his anger". The use of very similar terms leads BAUCKHAM to the correct (and mostly undisputed) conclusion[242] that the treading of the winepress can only be regarded as God's judgement on the nations.[243]

However, in the case of the grain harvest, BAUCKHAM attempts to argue against a juridical character of this aspect of the harvest: He assumes instead that – similar to the imagery of vintage – the image of the grain harvest has an antecedent, namely the 144,000 who have been ransomed from humanity as first fruits (Apc 14:4).[244] He concludes:

> "The first fruits were the first sheaf which was taken from the harvest before the rest was reaped, and which was then offered to God as a sacrifice (Lev 23:9-14). The connection between the first fruits of 14:4 and the reaping of the whole harvest in 14:14-16 would be obvious to any Jew, who was unlikely to be able to use the image of the first fruits without implying a full harvest of which the first fruits are the token and pledge (cf. Rom 8:23; 11:16; 16:5; 1 Cor 15:20, 23; 16:15)."[245]

From here BAUCKHAM deduces that the martyrs, who are redeemed *from* all the nations, are offered to God as the first fruits *of* all the nations. Accordingly, the image of grain harvest had to be an image of gathering of the converted nations, not a negative image of judgement.[246] It is not surprising that BAUCKHAM regards Apc 14:14-16 as a

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[242] The proposal by REISNER: *Buch*, 40 seems not convincing at all regarding the vocabulary and allusions used in Apc 14.
[243] Cp. BAUCKHAM: *Climax*, 291.
[244] Cp. BAUCKHAM: *Climax*, 291: BAUCKHAM argues that the phrase concerning the first fruits in Apc 14:4 recalls Apc 5:9. But instead of the Lamb ransoming people from every nation by sacrificing itself in Apc 5, the followers of the Lamb are now to be a sacrifice themselves in Apc 14.
[245] BAUCKHAM: *Climax*, 291-292. Cp. also CAIRD: *Revelation*, 191-195, esp. 194 for the same argument. CAIRD adds the argument that the term ἔξωθεν τῆς πόλεως is used in analogy to Jesus' crucifixion. Accordingly the death "outside the city" bears a salvific aspect for CAIRD. The major weakness of this argument, though, is the traditional background of this description of the place for God's judgement: The same location is, for instance, given in the *Vorlage* in Joel 4.
[246] Cp. BAUCKHAM: *Climax*, 292-293.

gathering, which he attempts to establish by an interpretation of martyrs as first fruits. thus interpreting the grain harvest as a gathering in a universal sense: It is one of BAUCKHAM's central concepts for interpreting the entire Book of Revelation that the focus of John is his interest to convert the nations.[247] Indeed, BAUCKHAM manages to put some strong arguments forward in order to make his concept of a "Conversion of Nations", i.e. the gathering of all nations into God's kingdom, appear plausible in Apc 14: He argues that the grain harvest is described in a rather limited sense as reaping only. In contrast, the harvest of grapes consists of two actions, the gathering of grapes and the treading of the winepress. These latter actions are made even more explicit in the Apocalypse, as they correspond with the gathering of the kings of the earth and their armies in Apc 16:12-24 and the judgement of the nations in 19:15.[248] For the vintage, in turn, no corresponding action is present, though it could – according to BAUCKHAM – have been easily added, if the author had wished to convey a juridical message here as well. Threshing and winnowing, though, are absent in the vintage. If the author wanted to make a juridical statement here, he could have mentioned threshing (as in Jer 51:33; Mic 4:12-13; Hab 3:12; Mt 3:12; Lk 3:17) or the chaff of the harvest being blown away (as for instance in Ps 1:4; 35:5; Isa 17:13; 29:5; Dan 2:35; Hos 13:3; Mt 3:12; Lk 3:17). Alternatively, judgement could have been symbolised by the gathering of the grain into the barns, while the weed or the chaff are burned (as in Mt 3:12; 13:30; Lk 3:17). Because of the absence of any of these possible additions, BAUCKHAM concludes that the author deliberately did not want the message of Apc 14:14-16 to be understood as negative judgement.[249] In line with his concept of the "Conversion of the Nations".

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[247] Cp. for this aspect BAUCKAHM: *Climax* (Chapter on *The Conversion of Nations)*, 238-337 and also *Theology*, 80-108.

[248] Cp. BAUCKHAM: *Climax*, 293: Apc 19:15 echoes Apc 14:19 and explains the identity of the one treading the winepress in Apc 14:20. Cp. also BAUCKHAM: *Theology*, 96.

[249] Cp. BAUCKHAM: *Climax*, 293-294 and *Theology*, 96-97. (BAUCKHAM numbers his arguments slightly different in both given references and takes his statement concerning the first fruits as being the harvest of all nations into account as an argument in favour of regarding the grain harvest as a gathering as well.)

BAUCKHAM emphasises that reaping as such is not a natural image of judgement[250] (with the exception of Hos 6:11), but would rather be the positive image of bringing people into God's kingdom.[251]

As another argument in favour of the grain harvest having a positive meaning, BAUCKHAM points out that this part of the harvest is conducted by the one like a son of man. The fact that the grain harvest is performed by a more prominent figure, namely Christ, and not simply by an angel, also leads BAUCKHAM to the conclusion that this part of the harvest must have a positive meaning: Christ is receiving the nations into his kingdom, as also in his *Vorlage* in Daniel 7:13-14 the Son of Man receives "dominion and glory and kingship over all peoples, nations and languages".[252]

At first glance, BAUCKHAM's arguments in favour of the concept of converting the nations are indeed striking. A considerable number of arguments can be mustered, though, that call into question BAUCKHAM`s interpretation:

1) Both reports concerning the harvesting of the earth, the harvest of grain in Apc 14:14-16 and the vintage in Apc 14:17-20, allude to Joel 3:13 (4:13 MT). This passage in the Hebrew Bible deals only with a situation of judgement; nothing here points to a salvific aspect within this harvest process.[253] The correspondence of Apc 14:14-16 with Apc 14:17-19 and the parallel structure with Joel 4:13[254] (where no hint for the assumed gathering is given), and also the distinct character of Apc 14:15 as an

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[250] A possibility of regarding negative elements to be present in the grain harvest exists, though: The angel who has power over the fire can be considered to be reminiscent of the fire into which the weeds (=evil ones) are thrown. Cp. for this idea VOS: *Traditions*, 146-152 and YARBRO COLLINS: "Tradition", 563.

[251] As for instance in Mk 4:22 and John 4:35.38. Cp. BAUCKHAM: *Climax*, 293-294 and ***Theology***, 96-97.

[252] Cp. BAUCKHAM: *Climax*, 294 and *Theology*, 97-98. See for a similar list of arguments in favor of a positive interpretation of the grain harvest also AUNE: *Revelation 6-16*, 802-803.

[253] Cp. AUNE: *Revelation 6-16*, 802 and BEALE: *Revelation*, 774.

[254] Cp. also SÖDING: "Lamm", 98 n. 42: The tradition-historical background of Joel 4 (and also *1 En.* 48:9) excludes the possibility of a gathering of faithful people.

announcement for judgement, leave little doubt that the twofold harvest does not describe a gathering in one of its parts, but rather a total judgement.[255]

2) Furthermore, the actual harvest in Apc 14:15-19 is only described very briefly. In verse 16 ἐθερίσθη ἡ γῆ is shortly announced. In verse 19 the description is slightly more detailed; depicting the harvest of wine and the throwing of the grapes into the winepress of wrath. The more explicit portrayal of the harvest of wine in comparison to the rather briefly mentioned grain harvest can be explained by the fact "daß den Schlußversen aus rein formalen Gründen eine größere Breite des Ausdrucks zukommt".[256] This rather tightly formulated account concerning the entire harvest in Apc 14:14-20 can once more be attributed to the author. The seer might deliberately have given a vague description in Apc 14, whereas the more detailed account is still to come in Apc 19:11-21. Accordingly, the account in Apc 14 can be interpreted as a visionary anticipation of circumstances still to come.[257]

3) The instrument which is used for the harvest is a "sharp sickle" (δρέπανον ὀξύ). The identical tool is used in both parts of the harvest, Apc 14:14 and 17, which indicates that not gathering, but rather punishment and judgement are in the author's view here.[258]

4) The phrase ἦλθεν ἡ ὥρα θερίσαι ("the hour for harvest has come") in Apc 14:15 clearly corresponds with ἦλθεν ἡ ὥρα τῆς κρίσεως ("the hour of judgement has come") in Apc 14:7. This connection strongly hints at a juridical character of the grain harvest as well.[259]

5) The harvest of either grain, grapes or olives is commonly used as a metaphor for divine judgement, as for instance in Isaiah 17:5; 18:4-5; 24:13; Jeremiah 51:33;

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[255] Cp. MÜLLER: *Offenbarung*, 270.
[256] MÜLLER: *Messias*, 193.
[257] Cp. MÜLLER: *Offenbarung*, 270 and BORNKAMM: "Komposition", 210-222. The assumption of a visionary anticipation in Apc 14 can also be doubted, though. Cp. MÜLLER: *Messias*, 193.
[258] Cp. AUNE: *Revelation 6-16*, 802 and 842.

Hosea 6:11; Joel 3:13 (4:13 MT); Micah 4:12-13; Matthew 13:24-30. 36-43; Mark 4:29; *4 Ezra* 4:28-32; *2 Baruch* 70:20. Occasionally, part of the harvest might admittedly have a salvific character, as the threshing floor in Matthew 3:11-12. However, the harvest as preserved in Joel 3:13 (4:13 MT) was also understood negatively (i.e. as judgement), which can be seen in a traditional Jewish exegesis of the Joel passage in *Midrash Psalm* 8:1.[260]

6) An interpretation of the grain harvest as a gathering is problematic, despite the fact that a salvific character of the harvesting action (or at least a part of such an occurence) can be present in other Christian literature, such as Mark 13:26-27 (=Mt 23:30-31); 1 Thessalonians 4:16-17; 2 Thessalonians 2:1. A literary connection between Apc 14:14-16 and Mark 13:26-27 cannot be proven satisfyingly[261] and the topic of this kind of gathering is otherwise strikingly absent from Revelation. A passage that seems to deal with the parousia of Christ in Revelation is Apc 19:11-21, but here we only encounter a scenario describing an eschatological war, not some kind of gathering. Moreover, the martyrs in heaven in Apc 7:9-17 are there because they died, not because they were gathered.[262] Thus the event of a gathering is never depicted; only the reunification of God's people as a *fait accomplit* may be seen in the Apocalypse.[263]

In conclusion, the assumption of a gathering of the faithful in Apc 14 is hardly convincing. A positive meaning of the vision of these two harvests cannot be deduced in view of the massive arguments that indicate an eschatological judgement only. The twofold harvest is therefore best understood as a more hendiadys-like vision of judgement eradicating earth, root and branch.

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[259] Cp. MÜLLER: *Messias*, 194, BEALE: *Revelation*, 774 and AUNE: *Revelation 6-16*, 802.
[260] Cp. AUNE: *Revelation 6-16*, 802 and 843.
[261] Cp. VAN SCHAIK: "Ἄλλος", 224. Against VOS: *Traditions*, X. See for the weaknesses of the assumption of Gospel influences on Apc 14 also YARBRO COLLINS: "Tradition", 562-567.

2.3.2. Harvest Metaphors and Antithetical Imagery in Apc 14:1-20

It should be emphasised that, crucially, the entire portrayal of the harvest aims for a description of a total annihilation of those who worship the beast. In contrast to this, a further harvest metaphor can be found in Apc 14:1-5, namely the description of the followers of the Lamb as "first fruits" in verse 5. Here, the assumption of a gathering - as considered by some scholars for the account on a twofold harvest in Apc 14:15-17 - seems to be more justified.[264] The followers of the Lamb are depicted as being relatively safe, because they are "purchased from among men"[265] - in contrast to those who worship the beast.

Apc 14:1-5 also provides another minor detail deserving attention, which supports the assumption of some kind of deliberate "anti-image" to chapter 13. Not only is a clear distinction between the followers of the beast and those of the Lamb stressed; in addition, the different "terrain" on which the leaders of the two opposing groups are standing may be relevant. The Lamb is referred to as standing on a mountain (ἑστὸς ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος) in Apc 14:1, namely Mount Zion. In contrast, the beast is described as "coming out of the sea" in Apc 13:1. If one can assume that this automatically implies that the beast is possibly standing on sand (which seems rather natural on the shores of the sea) and the Lamb is standing on a rock (Mount Zion), the author might wish to express another contrast between beast and Lamb here. This assumption is even more likely if it is also taken into account here that the dragon is already discribed as standing on the

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[262] Apc 7:4-8, though, could be construed as a gathering, but it shares no motifs with texts as 1 Thess 4:16-17. Cp. AUNE: *Revelation 6-16*, 802

[263] As for instance in Apc 14:1-5 or symbolically in Apc 21:12. Cp. AUNE: *Revelation 6-16*, 802.

[264] Cp. BARKER: *Revelation*, 242 and YARBRO COLLINS: "Tradition", 565.

[265] For this reason the assumption made by BARR: *Tales*, 130, that the vocabulary of grain and wine could represent a metaphorical allusion to the last supper does not seem convincing. Such a metaphorical explanation is rather out of the question, because soteriological aspects can hardly be derived from a scene that definitely describes a total judgement. Cp. also KRAFT: *Offenbarung*, 195-196: Wine and grain might at first sight be reminiscent of last supper, but this association has to be disproved, because grapes and grain, or bread and wine respectively, are basic and elementary food.

beach in the previous verse (Apc 12:18). This inauguration of the vision is therefore part of the major antithetical imagery the author attempts to display. Subsequently, this distinction of the "fundament" of the two leaders might be the author's device to depict a weakness of the beast and its followers, as they are just standing on sand, while the Lamb itself and the followers are gathering on the rock.[266] Maybe the author had Mt 7:24-29 in mind and alluded to this passage, which his readers would have easily recognised.[267]

It is not just the image of building a house on sand (or on rock, respectively) that has to be considered as a parable for wrong or right leadership (as in the gospel tradition), naturally featuring the rock as image for stable leadership and the sand for an unstable leadership. It is also the other vocabulary, as for instance the forces of nature (winds and water), directed against the two different houses (parallel to the various forces of nature directed against people dwelling on earth in the Apocalypse) that confirm an assumption of an allusion to Matthew 7:24-29. Similarly the "great fall" (Mt 7:27) of the man building on sand (paralleled for instance in Apc 14:8 and the fall of Babylon) can be interpreted as reflecting such an allusion. Admittedly, the passage in Apc 13 does only imply that the beast is walking on sand (or on the beach).[268] The anti-image that can be seen in Apc 13 and 14 consists of the Sea (as a symbol for Chaos and evil) and Mount Zion (a symbol for God's presence and kingdom).[269]

The assumption of anti-imagery in Apc 13 and 14 in order to accomplish a clear distinction between followers of the Lamb and the worshippers of the beast finds further support, though. The acceptance of the sign of Lamb or beast respectively is a clear

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[266] Simultaneously, the dragon's position by the sea might be alluded to in Apc 21:1 where the sea is no more in contrast to the New Jerusalem. Cp. also MCEWAN HUMPHREY: *Cities*, 110.
[267] Cp. for this idea also SCHÜSSLER FIORENZA: *Judgement*, 181-186 and MOUNCE: *Revelation*, 264.
[268] The previous report in Apc 12:18, though, seems to confirm this assumption, as has been mentioned.
[269] Cp. for instance STEVENSON: *Power*, 295-296.

means of keeping a sharp distinction between the two groups.[270] One might also assume that the reaction of the crowds towards their respective religious leaders differs: In Apc 14:3 the followers of the Lamb sing the "new song", which probably expresses confidence in their leader. In Apc 13:3, on the other hand, the people wonder about the beast. The different groups are contrasted by their characteristics as well: The followers of the Lamb are shown in a way that stresses their faithfulness and integrity, for "no lie is found in their mouth" and they are "without fault" (Apc 14:5). As a contrast, Apc 13 depicts deceit and duplicity by which the beast leads its followers astray (Apc 13:8.14) and influences the people to disobey God's commands (Apc 13:14).[271]

More evidence for an anti-imagery between the two passages is provided by SCHÜSSLER FIORENZA, who stresses the importance of the actions of the elected ones in Apc 14:1-5, which is a decision made by the elected during their lives. The "consistent resistance" (ὑπομονή) of the elected, as depicted in Apc 13:10, which is reflected again correspondingly in Apc 14:12-13, is a precondition that has to be made voluntarily in order to recieve the eschatological salvation (i.e. being with the Lamb on Mount Zion). The worshippers of the beast, on the other hand, are threatened with eternal punishment (Apc 14:11). The author probably wishes to accentuate not *only* the differences between the followers of the beast and the followers of the Lamb, but also the fact that a deliberate decision has to be made in one's lifetime in order to belong to the Lamb.[272] This strategic function of Apc 14:1-5 is not only achieved by contrasting the two groups in Apc 13 and 14, but it is also made clear by its explicit interpretation in Apc 14:4-5 (the followers of the Lamb are described as "first fruits"), the corresponding

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[270] For a sociological survey on different groups in Revelation see YARBRO COLLINS: "Outsiders", 187-218.
[271] Cp. ROWLAND: *Revelation*, 120.
[272] Cp. SCHÜSSLER FIORENZA: *Judgement*, 187-192.

angelic proclamations in Apc 14:6-11, and the warnings and blessings in Apc 14:12-13.[273]

The Lamb and the beast are contrasted with one another in order to show the superiority of the Lamb. Both Lamb and beast share a throne: While the Lamb shares the throne with God (Apc 3:21; 22:1-3 and in a modified description also in Apc 5), the beast shares the throne with Satan (Apc 13:14). Furthermore, the description of the deadly wound of one of the beast's heads as ἐσφαγμένος in Apc 13:4 is very reminiscent of the wounded Lamb in Apc 5:6 and may reflect the resurrection of Christ, alluding to the Nero redivivus.[274] The remaining appearance of Lamb and beast might be regarded as a contrast as well, because in both descriptions the horns and eyes are mentioned. The numbers of horns (and maybe of the eyes as well) seem to be relevant, in order to enhance the power attributed to the Lamb.[275]

Thus it is obvious that Christ is present amongst his followers (i.e. the Christian community) in the form of a Lamb; whilst in the following scenario, where he functions as a judge, he is given an angelomorphic shape. The community of Christians recognises Christ as their saviour and redeemer. As a logical consequence, the community on the one hand regards Christ as the Lamb, and on the other, the worshippers of the beast cannot see Christ as a Lamb, because they are unable to recognise Christ's importance and his status as redeemer. Accordingly the author describes Christ in his function of an eschatological judge as one like a son of man (in angelomorphic categories); he is regarded as the judge who brings total havoc and destruction.[276] This image is achieved by the harvest metaphors in Apc 14. The followers of the Lamb are already redeemed and brought to God as first fruits. The

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[273] Cp. SCHÜSSLER FIORENZA: *Judgement*, 189 and HAYS: *Vision*, 179.
[274] Cp. SCHÜSSLER FIORENZA: *Offenbarung*, 106. Notably, the same Greek term has been used in both instances for describing the wound.
[275] Cp. for a full discussion of the appearance of Lamb and beast and the possibility of interferences in those descriptions KRAFT: *Offenbarung*, 110.

followers of the beast, though, are threatened by a forthcoming twofold harvest, a vision of total judgement and elimination.

These two different descriptions of Christ are probably set up by the author in order to reflect the different views of Christ as they seem consistent for followers of the beast and followers of Christ: The vision of Christ as a Lamb and its meaning as redeemer can only be understood by the Christian community, while the followers of the beast will only perceive Christ as a judge in form of the one like a son of man.

[276] For the focus on the one like a son of man as a juridical figure see COMBLIN: *Christ*, 56-61. In contrast, the Lamb is the shepherd of the community. Cp. COMBLIN: *Christ*, 31-34.

3. Lamb Christology in Relation to Angelomorphic Christology

3.1. Christological Aspects in Apc 4-5?

At first sight it might be peculiar to take the throne room vision provided in Apc 4:1-11 into consideration in dealing with a christological question. In addition, by treating this passage as a contiguous counterpart to Apc 5:1-14,[1] one finds that both chapters are inextricably linked:[2] they share the setting of the heavenly throne-room, where first God (Apc 4) and later the Lamb (Apc 5) are worshipped under similar conditions.[3] The vision of worshipping elders and living beings in Apc 4:4-8 and Apc 5:14 establishes an *inclusio*, which further supports the unity of Apc 4:1-5:14.[4] However, one can state even more. It is indeed for *christological* reasons that both throne-room visions should be treated together, because the relationship between God and the Lamb is reflected here. E. SCHÜSSLER FIORENZA explains Apc 4:1-5:14 on the basis of the central theological question: "Who is the true sovereign of the world?".[5] The throne-room vision already gives an answer to this question. According to John, the true ruler is God, who is described in Apc 4 as sitting on the heavenly throne and receiving the worship of heavenly beings and the 24 elders. In Apc 5, though, it is also the Lamb which receives worship by angels and elders; the Lamb does in fact even seem to share God's throne (Apc 5:6). If the Lamb is therefore put on par with God in this respect, as we can assume here, the importance of a joint examination of Apc 4 along with Apc 5 becomes more obvious. The Lamb and God are thus of analogous

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[1] See for instance KNIGHT: *Revelation*, 58: KNIGHT mainly focuses on the shared throne-room topic in chapters 4 and 5 in order to link them together.

[2] The vision in Apc 4 presupposes the vision of the Lamb in Apc 5. This fact alone does actually provide enough reason to regard both chapters as connected and, therefore, Apc 4:1-5:14 should be examined together. Cp. MÜLLER: *Offenbarung*, 150. See further MOUNCE: *Revelation*, 116-117 (though without reasons given). See for the connection of Apc 4 and 5 also LAMBRECHT: "Structuration", 90-91.

[3] Cp. STUCKENBRUCK: *Revelation*, 33 and HOHNJEC: *Lamm*, 36.

[4] Cp. SLATER: *Community*, 173.

significance for the author. This is at first glance carried through in the transference of expressions from one chapter to the other. The christological impetus of Apc 5 evolves out of the preceding vision of God sitting in his throne-room in Apc 4: The "seven spirits of God" which are presented in visible form as "seven flaming torches" in Apc 4:5, for instance, become a physical feature attributed to Christ, who has "seven horns and seven eyes which are the seven spirits of God" in Apc 5:6.[6] Accordingly, this example encourages us to take a closer look at why both God and the Lamb are placed together in the parallel visions, and in what ways the Lamb Christology has acquired a particular importance.

3.1.1. Christological Aspects in Apc 4

The vision of God in Apc 4 consists of four narrative sections, namely the ascent of John to heaven (Apc 4:1-2a), a description of God's throne-room (Apc 4:2b-6a), a description of those who surround God's throne (Apc 4:6b-8a), and the heavenly worship of God (Apc 4:8b-11).[7] Even before contrasting these different parts of the vision with Apc 5, it is possible to encounter christological evidence by observations based solely on Apc 4: The report concerning John's ascent to heaven features a detail that arouses attention for the christological concept of the Apocalypse. The ascent as such is mediated by "the first voice which I heard speaking with me as a trumpet" (ἡ φωνὴ ἡ πρώτη ἣν ἤκουσα ὡς σάλπιγγος) in Apc 4:1. This phrase is very reminiscent of the phrase "I heard a loud voice as a trumpet" (ἤκουσα ... φωνὴν μεγάλην ὡς σάλπιγγος) used in Apc 1:10. The "loud voice" in the opening vision of the Apocalypse

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[5] See also for the following SCHÜSSLER FIORENZA: *Offenbarung*, 79-84.
[6] Cp. STUCKENBRUCK: *Revelation*, 33-34.
[7] The given division basically follows the one provided by KRAFT: *Offenbarung*, 94-102. Apc 4:1-2a has to be excluded from the actual vision of the throne-room, though, because this ascent is not part of the vision as such, but rather an introduction. For a similar sub-division of Apc 4:1-2a see also

is most likely attributed to Christ.[8] Subsequently, the voice in Apc 4:1 has to be interpreted as Christ's voice as well.[9] It may be argued that verse 1b represents an editiorial verse of the author; it is possibly integrated in order to link the vision starting in Apc 4 to Apc 1:9-20.[10] But regardless of the question of whether or not this verse has to be interpreted as a redactional gloss, in its present form verse 1 preserves an image of Christ that overlaps with that of an *angelus interpres*.[11] The portrait of Christ in chapters 4-5 is thus twofold: on the one hand, in Apc 4:1b Christ is perceived by John as an angelic mediator, while on the other hand he is envisioned as a Lamb in Apc 5. The Lamb is, in turn, superior to angels since he is powerful enough to open the seals of the book (Apc 5:5; 6:1); the same cannot be achieved by the angels (Apc 5:2-3, including "the strong angel"). The Lamb is, in addition, also included in the worship of God (Apc 5:9-14). This varied representation of Christ – like the angelomorphic Christ in Apc 14:14-20 – might be the result of the author's wish to communicate his ideas to a readership which has a certain affinity for angels. By portraying Christ in this way, while drawing on an angelology with which his readers were well acquainted, the author could emphasise that Christ must be regarded as more than simply an angel.[12]

Another reason for this twofold description of Christ in chapters 4-5 might be the concept of different perspectives when Christ is perceived: The author might have wished to convey the idea that Christ can only be seen as a Lamb by his followers in

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STUCKENBRUCK: *Revelation*, 31. For a more complex division of the entire chapter see AUNE: *Revelation 1-5*, 274-275.

[8] Cp. for instance BOUSSET: *Offenbarung*, 243.

[9] There seems to be little doubt that Christ is the speaking subject in Apc 1:10-11. AUNE attempts to provide a counterargument for relating the voice in Apc 1:10 to Christ. He considers instead the existence of a "second voice" in Apc 1:17-20 which is referring to Christ. Apc 1:10 is for him nothing but a voice of an interpreting angel. AUNE concedes that his argument has the weakness that two different speakers cannot be distinguished on basis of Apc 1:9-20. Cp. for this AUNE: *Revelation 1-5*, 282. The "first voice" can, in turn, not be related to any other subject than Christ, as Apc 1:12 makes clear: In verse 12 John turns around to see the origin of the voice and sees the one like a son of man (i.e. Christ) speaking to him.

[10] See for this theory for instance AUNE: *Revelation 1-5*, 282.

[11] See also Apc 17:1; 21:9-10; 22:1.6.8 and the similar throne visions in *1 En.*, 71:5-10; *2 En.* 20:3-22:3; *Apc. Abr.* 15:2-18:14 and *3 En.* 1:6-12. Cp. for this STUCKENBRUCK: *Revelation*, 31-32.

[12] Cp. for this STUCKENBRUCK: *Revelation*, 31-32 and *Veneration*, 272. Cp. also KARRER: *Johannesoffenbarung*, 169-186.

heaven. The seer, therefore, perceives Christ in a more angelomorphic way while he is still on earth – accordingly the designation of Christ as a Lamb is absent in chapters 1-3. In heaven, after his ascent in Apc 4:1, he can then see Christ in his true shape, namely as the Lamb which is the saviour. This concept would cope with the observations made above (in section 2.3.) concerning the different portraits of Christ in Apc 14:1-5 and 6-20 as well as with the conclusions of different perspectives with analogous designations for Christ.

After the ascent to heaven[13] John visualises the throne-room[14] and the one sitting on the throne. The description provided of God, though, is rather brief. The form or appearance of God himself is not commented on; the description takes place instead through an analogy to precious stones and their colours.[15] In contrast to the author's apparent reluctance to provide a report or vision of God's appearance[16] and careful

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[13] It is noteworthy that John introduces the ascent with the remark of the door opening in heaven. The phrase as such reminds of Ezek 1:1, but in this passage the open door is not mentioned; it is the heaven opening in this Hebrew Bible passage. John follows this passage later in Apc 19:11. In Apc 4 John therefore seems to employ some kind of technical terminology. A similar use of language can, for instance, be observed in the Ethiopic version of *Asc. Isa.* 6:9 where the narrator hears that a door is opened in heaven. Cp. GRUENWALD: *Mysticism*, 63.

[14] This vision of the throne-room is probably rooted in the concept of Jewish Merkavah Mysticism. See for this concept and the possibility of Merkavah Mysticism in Apc 4 also GRUENWALD: *Mysticism*, 42-69, AUNE: *Revelation 1-5*, 278-279 and HALPERIN: *Chariot*, passim. Notably this vision in Apc 4 is a first person singular report of heavenly ascent, which otherwise in New Testament literature is only present in 2 Cor 12:1-10. Probably the vision in Ezek 28, which also features a first person singular report, has influenced the scenario of the heavenly ascent in Apc 4. Cp. KNIGHT: *Revelation*, 59. For the influence of Jewish scriptures on Apc 4 see also STUCKENBRUCK: *Revelation*, 32, HANNAH: "Vision", 80-81. Cp. also ESKOLA: *Messiah*, 212-213. However, ESKOLA emphasises the influences of Ezekiel too much, nearly neglecting the influences of Isa 6 or other passages on this vision in Revelation.

[15] Cp. KNIGHT: *Revelation*, 59.

[16] Cp. CAIRD: *Revelation*, 63, GRUENWALD: *Mysticism*, 64, MOUNCE: *Revelation*, 120 and also MÜLLER:*Offenbarung*, 83 and 144: A vision of God might result in death (cp. Gen 32:21; Judg 6:22-23; 13:22; Dan 10:5-6). Accordingly even John falls down like being dead in Apc 1:17. This reluctance of depicting God can also be seen in *Apc. Abr.* 16:3. Cp. KNIGHT: *Revelation*, 59. The sight of God elsewhere (Isa 6:5) causes the seer awe, which provides another reason, that John had to describe God only in terms of shimmering and shining light. Cp. KRAFT: *Offenbarung*, 96. Cp. for the avoidance of anthropomorphisms in Apc 4 also HALPERIN: *Chariot*, 89: An even stricter attempt of avoiding *any* anthropomorphic description of God can for instance be seen in the Targum to Ezek 2:9-10. John avoids speculations concerning God's appearance in Apc 4:2 moving away from the *Vorlage* Ezek 1:26-28. Such a trend might be continued in the *Apc. Abr.* 18 where even less anthropomorphisms are employed. Cp. for this ROWLAND: *Heaven*, 84-87.

avoidance of anthropomorphic categories.[17] the author does not hesitate to give a detailed report about Christ's appearance (as for instance in Apc 1:12-16 or even Apc 5:6). The author almost gives the impression that he is attempting to compensate for his reluctance in describing God by providing even more detailed images of Christ. Remarkably, the author even draws on vocabulary and traditions that normally refer to God.[18] Christ therefore becomes a visible image of God.[19] In chapters 4 and 5 a good example for God becoming a more visible aspect as Christ is preserved: The seven torches in front of God's throne which represent God's seven spirits in Apc 4:5 become physically manifested and embodied in the Lamb's seven eyes and horns in Apc 5:6.

After the opening of the vision, the subsequent sections of Apc 4 seem to confirm that the author is attempting to describe Christ in a more detailed manner than God himself. God is regarded as unapproachably powerful; however, Christ is the protagonist and donator of salvific gifts[20] on the one hand, and the figure which carries out the eschatological judgement on the other.[21] Within Apc 4 we do not find any other ideas of christological concerns as such, though. Only God himself is mentioned in

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[17] One might only find references to God's hand in Apc 5:7 and his voice coming from the throne in 16:17, which indicates a certain amount of indirectness, avoiding to attribute God's voice in a direct anthropomorphic way. Cp. BAUCKHAM: *Theology*, 42-43.

[18] Christ's appearance in Apc 1:12-16, for instance, features a visible voice as in Ex 20:18, head and hair being white as in Dan 7:9 (cp. also GOLDINGAY: *Daniel*, 165.), or the seven stars in the right hand, which might resemble an epiphanical feature of God (cp. KRAFT: *Offenbarung*, 46.). Cp. for this AUNE: *Revelation 1-5*, 90-100, MÜLLER: *Offenbarung*, 84, MATERA: *Christology*, 205-206 and KRAFT: *Offenbarung*, 45-47. Further descriptions of Christ also reflect attributes given to God in the Apoclaypse itself: The description of God in Apc 1:8 is mirrored by Christ being attributed "the first and the last" in Apc 1:18. Cp. KRAFT: *Offenbarung*, 48. The terminology of Apc 1:8 describing God as "the one who is and who was and who will come" should be regarded as a re-interpretation of Ex 3:14. Cp. for this SÖDING: "Lamm", 78-82.

[19] Cp. KNIGHT: *Revelation*, 59.

[20] The description of Christ as the bringer of salvific gifts compromises VOLLENWEIDER's categories for distinguishing God from angels: VOLLENWEIDER regards salvation as one of the aspects for a clear distinction of God from any angels. Cp. VOLLENWEIDER: "Monotheismus", 30: God is regarded as responsible for distributing salvific gifts, though angels might be instructed to perform acts of salvation. In the vision in Apc 4 and 5, however, it becomes obvious that salvation is performed by Christ (who is also depicted in angelomorphic terminology within the Apocalypse). A general and clear-cut distinction as considered here by VOLLENWEIDER seems too strict as Christ is the one who actively performs acts of salvation. Cp. for this also BACKHAUS: "Vision", 46.

[21] Cp. for this consideration also BACKHAUS: "Vision", 46: BACKHAUS identifies Christ as the protagonist of Revelation, because he is the acting person in the apocalyptical drama, while God, though being described as very powerful, does not move or act.

chapter 4:2-11: In verse 2 he is described as "sitting on the throne",[22] followed by a vague portrait that depicts God in terms of coloured precious stones.[23] Christologically this colour scheme seems to be rather irrelevant: God`s description as resembling jasper and carnelian does not correspond with the colours given in the descriptions of Christ in Apc 1:13-16 and Apc 14:14. The dominant colours there are white and gold; the elements of Christ's description, though, derive from theophanies and angelophanies. The 24 elders in Apc 4:4 are described in the same colour scheme as Christ (also having white garments and golden crowns). Therefore, the author might have wished to distinguish God clearly from any angelic categories that Christ or the elders share.[24]

The throne of God (verse 3) is surrounded by a rainbow, a feature which occurs again in the angelophany in Apc 10:1.[25] Since the possibility of a christological interpretation of the strong angel in Apc 10 has been sufficiently eliminated (see section 2.2.8.), a christological concern can therefore not be deduced from the description of the

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[22] The expression "the one sitting on the throne" is used representative for God's name itself, cp. HOLTZ: "Apokalypse", 256-257.

[23] The colours John uses are a combination which can also be found in the Hebrew Bible (Ezek 28:13) and classical literature (Plato: *Phaidon* 110c-d). This combination of colours, though, can probably not be interpreted as certain aspects of God's character: Such an attempt would neither acknowledge the mytsical nature of the given vision, nor would it cope with the reluctance to describe God in human terms elsewhere. Cp. also KNIGHT: *Revelation*, 59, KRAFT: *Offenbarung*, 96 and similarly MOUNCE: *Revelation*, 120-121. For an attempt of interpreting the precious stones see GLONNER: *Bildersprache*, 176-178: GLONNER interprets the stones as a visible display for God's invisible reign. His attempt to identify the colour scheme red and green as a representation of Egyptian religious symbols, ascribing the judging God in Apc 4 the elements of fertility (represented by green, ascribed to Uto in Egyptian religion) and Chaos (represented by red, the colour of Seth). Such a connection between ancient Egyptian religion and John's writing can barely be established.

[24] The use of precious stones in describing God's throne is not a completely unknown concept: In the throne-vision in Ezek 1:26-28 precious stones are also mentioned. Even in the angelophany in Dan 10:5-6 precious stones might be encountered, but the colour of the stones in the vision of God in Apc 4 cannot be explained satifactory here. Notably, though, the precious stones from this vision can later be seen in the description of the heavenly Jerusalem in Apc 21:11-19. Cp. AUNE: *Revelation 1-5*, 285. Cp. further THOMPSON: *Revelation*, 50-51 and 86. See SATAKE: *Gemeindeordnung*, 150 for a possible astrological background of the 24 elders. (According to MICHL the elders have to be interpreted as transformed figures from the Hebrew Bible, cp. MICHL: *Ältesten*, 92-116.) SATAKE, though, considers the possibility of a tradition like 1 Chr 25:9-31 in the background of Apc 4 more likely. An angelic identity for the 24 elders cannot be excluded due to the attributes they are described with. Cp. MOUNCE: *Revelation*, 121-122. It is noteworthy that the elders do occasinally take over the part of an *angelus interpres* (Apc 5:5; 7:13). Cp. also SATAKE: *Gemeindeordnung*, 147.

[25] Cp. ROWLAND: *Heaven*, 102.

rainbow surrounding the throne.[26] The rainbow emphasises the power attributed to God,[27] and functions as a device that stresses the image of God as the focus of concentric circles surrounding him. The circles are made up by the rainbow, then the living creatures (verse 6), followed by the 24 thrones with the 24 elders sitting on them (verse 4).[28] This same image is later expanded in Apc 5:6, where the Lamb is then also integrated into the centre of the concentric circles, surrounded by angels.[29]

Further images obviously increase the emphasis which John wants to ascribe to God by a display of overwhelming power. For instance John describes lightning, voices and thunder as emanating from the throne (Apc 4:5), an image that is reminiscent of the plague tradition from Exodus 9:23[30] and 28 and of Exodus 19:16-17 and might already allude to a forthcoming judgement.[31] The Sea of Glass adds to the description of an overwhelmingly powerful setting in God's Temple.

More evidence of God's power is reflected by the heavenly worship. The 24 elders and four living creatures worship (Apc 4:8-11) and praise God as the one "who was and who is and is the One who comes" (verse 8) and also as the "creator of all things"[32] who is worthy of praise for this reason (verse 11).[33] In a way that is

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[26] The rainbow is an element known from the throne vision in Ezek 1:27-28. This allusion can similarly be found in 4Q405 20-22 col. i 10-11. Cp. AUNE: *Revelation 1-5*, 285. Cp. for Ezek 1:27-28 as *Vorlage* also HALPERIN: *Chariot*, 89 and ESKOLA: *Messiah*, 212.

[27] Cp. GLONNER: *Bildersprache*, 179-180, MICHL: *Engelvorstellungen*, 20-23 and RENGSTORF: ἶρις, 341: The rainbow emphasises God's glory according to the *Vorlage* in Ezek 1:27-28. Similarly, the angel in *Apc. Abr.* 11:3 is described as rather important by the image of a rainbow surrounding his head. It is possible that the author of Revelation wished to convey information concerning God's size (and thus also express power, namely by an enormous size). Cp. for this idea also GUNDRY: "Angelomorphic", 664, n. 11 and LENSKI: *Revelation*, 312.

[28] Apc 5:11 (and 7:11) complement this impression, as a host of angels is also surrounding God's throne, which by this description apparently becomes the immobile centre of the cosmos. Cp. AUNE: *Revelation 1-5*, 286 and similarly STUCKENBRUCK: *Revelation*, 32. Cp. also SATAKE: *Gemeindeordnung*, 144-145, HALPERIN: *Chariot*, 88-93, CHARLES: *Revelation I*, 115-116 and GLONNER: *Bildersprache*, 176. A similar description of God occurs in *1 En.* 14:8-25 where God - depicted as extremely bright – is surrounded by Cherubim and his heavenly hosts. The tradition from Ezek 1 and 10 is probably in the background here as well. Cp. DAVIDSON: *Angels*, 315.

[29] Cp. HENGEL: *Christology*, 150-151, KRETSCHMAR: *Offenbarung*, 35, BAUCKHAM: *Theology*, 33 and *God*, 62.

[30] Cp. GLONNER: *Bildersprache*, 180-181.

[31] Cp. BAUCKHAM: *Climax*, 202-203.

[32] The notion of God as creator can be interpreted as a criterion which unmistakably differentiates God from angels. Cp. VOLLENWEIDER: "Monotheismus", 29: VOLLENWEIDER regards creation as God's

reminiscent of the connection between Apc 1:4.8 and 1:17-18. Apc 4:8 might be taken to imply a certain parity between God and Christ.[34] The phraseology applied to both God (Apc 1:4.8; 4:8) and Christ (Apc 1:17) may provide evidence – though not very transparent – of an angelomorphic Christology: The designation of God as "the one who is and who was and who comes" is most likely a deliberate circumscription for God's name corresponding with his name in Exodus 3:14.[35] In Exodus 23:21, however, God's name is also linked with that of an angel; in this Hebrew Bible passage God's name is attested to be "in" the angel[36] indicating that God was present by having his name dwell in this particular angel.[37] Early Jewish writings, such as *Exodus Rabbah* 32:4 or *b. Sanhedrin* 38b, reflect on the power that is attributed to this particular angel in Exodus 23:21: In *Exodus Rabbah* 32:4 the angel apparently has the power of forgiving sins.[38] In *b. Sanhhedrin* 38b the angel is even sensed to be a threat towards monotheism as such because the angel (named *Metatron* here) might possibly even be found worthy of

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distinct own privilege - with very few exceptions of angelic presence during creation (cp. for the topic of assistance during creation also FOSSUM: *Name*, 211-213 for evidence). VOLLENWEIDER's argument is probably correct. It does, however, not seem adequate to regard the designation of God as creator as an explicit distinction of God and angels in case of Apc 4:11.

[33] The acclamation that God is worthy of praise and also the address "Our Lord and God" as the response to the *trishagion* in Apc 4:8 probably reflects the customs of the Roman imperial cult. God is declared worthy of praise because he is the creator of all things. As the creator God is ruler, which reflects political and religious terminology. Cp. for this THOMPSON: *Revelation*, 58.

[34] The expression "who was and who is and is the One who comes" is reminiscent of Apc 1:4.8. Cp. for instance STUCKENBRUCK: *Revelation*, 32-33. Cp. for the correspondence between 1:4.8 and 1:17-18 also KRAFT: *Offenbarung*, 48. See for the similarities of the expressions pointing at a parity between God and Lamb also MATERA: *Christology*, 205. Cp. also MCDONOUGH: *YHWH*, 220-222: MCDONOUGH argues in favour of a clear distinction between God and Christ, though. It is questionable whether a distinction is so obviously clear here. Surely, the author of Revelation wishes to stress identification of God and Christ in phrases that are as similar as the tri-partite formulas more than he wishes to emphasise differences.

[35] Cp. KRAFT: *Offenbarung*, 31. Cp. also JÖRNS: *Evangelium*, 26-28 and LE DÉAUT: *Pascale*, 335. A use of the *Dreizeitenformel* corresponding to Ex 3:14 seems to fit best in the theological concept of the author of the Apocalypse. It might be complemented here that according to Ex 3:14 the last sequence of the *Dreizeitenformel* has been slightly changed in Apc 4:8; instead of a form of "to be" (for instance ὁ ἐσόμενος) the author used ὁ ἐρχόμενος. This might be an intentional change in order to point at the eschatological coming of God. See for this similarly JÖRNS: *Evangelium*, 27 and HOLTZ: "Apokalypse", 247-248. Remarkably, parallels of the *Dreizeitenformel* applied to gods with three forms of εἶναι can be found in non Christian literature, for instance in Pausanias (*Descr.* X,12) or Plutarch (*De Iside* 9). Cp. AGOURIDIS: *Αποκαλυψη*, 82.

[36] See for the concept of God's name and the angel in Ex 23:21 NEEF: "Ich", 54-75 and VOLLENWEIDER: "Monotheismus", 28-29.

[37] Cp. HANNAH: *Michael*, 21.

[38] See for the discussion of *Exod. Rab.* 32 also SEGAL: *Powers*, 71-73.

worship.[39] If we may assume that the author of the Apocalypse was aware of *both* Exodus traditions and the mentioned discussions concerning this angel from Exodus 23, it seems possible that Apc 1:4.8, 4:8 and Apc 1:17 do not only refer to the equivalence of God and Christ.[40] It is also possible to infer an angelomorphic aspect of Christology in these designations. The reference in Apc 1:17 and Apc 19:12[41] would then mean that the author regards Christ as the angel mentioned in Exodus 23:21.

Further christologically important observations can only be inferred by comparing Apc 4 with Apc 5. On its own Apc 4 does not allow for further conclusions concerning the Christology of the Revelation. The above discussion, however, confirms the impression that although God is described as all-powerful, God is at the same time not the one who acts. The role of God in Apc 4 is rather limited and passive. God sits on the throne and receives worship, and the doxologies referring to God's actions in the past focus on what can now be seen as results.[42] What God is doing in the present or what is anticipated that God will do has yet to be seen.

3.1.2. Christological Aspects in Apc 5

3.1.2.1. The Significance of the Lamb

Since the Lamb is mentioned in Apc 5 alongside God it is only logical that even more christological material is conveyed in the following vision in Apc 5. Accordingly, more insight into John's christological concept may be gained by observations of Apc 5

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[39] See for a full discussion of the midrashic literature and the implications STUCKENBRUCK: *Veneration*, 68-72. See also SEGAL: *Powers*, 68-71.
[40] Cp. for this also SEGAL: *Powers*, 212: "The process of transferring divine names and titles to Jesus is especially characteristic of the Revelation of John where the identification of the Christ with the tetragrammaton is even more obvious." SEGAL quotes Apc 22:11-13 as an example here.
[41] Cp. for this GIESCHEN: *Angelomorphic*, 253.

alone, but also by the comparison of chapters 4 and 5. Such a comparison would moreover reveal additional information for the understanding of the relationship of God and Christ, and therefore for the Christology of the entire Revelation.

The vision in Apc 5 basically consists of three main elements: The Problem of opening the sealed Scroll (Apc 5:1-5), Christ being comissioned as the Lamb (Apc 5:6-7), and the Worship of the Lamb alongside God (Apc 5:8-14).[43] It is not only the sequences concerning the Lamb, though, as one might expect, which are christologically relevant. Interesting features that help to gain insight into the author's christological concept may already be found in the introductory verses.

The passage that deals with the problem of the scroll which can apparently not easily be opened already hints at a discrepancy between God's rule in heaven and the execution of his plans concerning the world as his creation. The description of the scroll suggests that God needs a mediator to have the scroll opened and the seals concealing it broken. It is not considered that God might open the scroll himself.[44] The opening of the vision seems to confirm – as we have already assumed – that God is depicted in a rather passive way again. God is depicted rather briefly in Apc 5; he is holding the scroll in his right hand (5:1) until the Lamb takes it from him (5:7). Similar to Apc 4 God is worshipped (alongside the Lamb) at the end of chapter 5. In contrast to God, the figure who can and will open the seal appears to be described in more detail. As it is the Lamb who is worthy to open the seals, Christ (as the Lamb) is portrayed as having the necessary qualifications to do so, thus emphasising his importance and his dignity. The impression of a deliberate description that stresses Christ's importance can be confirmed by investigating the other features concerning the scroll and its opening in

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[42] Cp. for God's passivity in Apc 4 also BORING: "Christology", 707-718. BORING regards the reason for God (or Christ in other passages) being passive as a matter of the Apocalypse's narrativity, i.e. alternating narrative levels.
[43] Cp. for this division STUCKENBRUCK: *Revelation*, 34-36.
[44] Cp. AUNE: *Revelation 1-5*, 347 and STUCKENBRUCK: *Revelation*, 34.

Apc 5:1-5: The vocabulary used for the scroll throughout Apc 5 is τὸ βιβλίον. In Apc 10:2 the strong angel is also depicted with a book, though the vocabulary there differs: it is a βιβλαρίδιον, i. e. the grammatical diminutive version of a book, which the angel is holding. Possibly the author wished to express an increased importance of the Lamb:[45] it is the Lamb and not the angel from chapter 10 which reveals the eschatological prophecy. Therefore, the βιβλίον might be an intended enhancement of the βιβλαρίδιον that the angel is holding.[46]

The Lamb also seems to be superior to angels, as the angel asking who is worthy of opening the scroll in Apc 5:2 is obviously not worthy to open the scroll himself.[47] The entire liturgical scene in 5:2 has the sole purpose of indicating that no one except for the Lamb can actually open the scroll.[48] The inability of any other being to open the scroll is further reflected in verse 3: no one "in heaven or under the earth" can open the scroll. Possibly the author wishes to emphasise that it is exclusively the Lamb`s power to open the scroll[49] in order to avoid any angelic speculations concerning the Lamb. In the Hebrew Bible and early Jewish writings often angels were described being prosecutors and keepers of the heavenly books for judgement that contained knowledge of human behaviour.[50] In Apc 5:2-3, though, the author emphasises that no one else, not even an angel, can open the scroll. Not only is the superiority of the Lamb therefore expressed, but also the affiliation of the Lamb with angels is explicitly excluded.

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[45] It is rather conspicuous that the strong and tall angel from Apc 10 is holding the smaller scroll, while the Lamb, a figure that one would assume to be rather small, holds the "bigger" scroll. One might ask whether this rather ironic description represents a deliberate paradox.

[46] Cp. BERGMEIER: "Buchrolle", 241.

[47] See for the importance of this angel in Apc 5:2 also BERGMEIER: "Buchrolle", 241.

[48] Cp. for this also KRAFT: *Offenbarung*, 105 and MÜLLER: *Offenbarung*, 154. The presence of the angel in Apc 5:2 has probably to be explained exclusively by his function: His only purpose is to ask the question of who is worthy to open the scroll. Cp. MÜLLER: "Ratsversammlung", 256-257.

[49] The vision in Apc 5:1-5 probably follows a scheme similar to 1 Kgs 22:19-22; Isa 6:1-10; Dan 7:9-14: Three points may be considered to reflect such a traditional scheme, namely A) The question to those present in the vision, B) the apory of those present and C) the answering for the question and the investment of a figure worthy of a certain task. Cp. for this MÜLLER: "Ratsversammlung", 254-267.

[50] Evidence for the prosecuting angels having scrolls or books with the deeds of humans can for instance be seen in Dan 7:10 or *1 En.* 89:61-90:22. Cp. for this also SCHÄFER: *Rivalität*, 30-31.

The scroll is representative of a vision of judgement, but unlike other passages dealing with a scroll or a book in judgement, such as 1 *Enoch* 90:17-20, Daniel 7:9-10 or 4Q530 col. ii 7-8 where the books are immediately opened,[51] in Apc 5 the Lamb is just taking the scroll; the scroll remains sealed untill Apc 6:1. The fact that John is weeping in Apc 5:4 might hint at the delay in opening the scroll. In contrast to *1 Enoch* 47:3-4 where the holies rejoice over the immediate opening of the book, in Apc 5:4 the opening of the scroll is obviously delayed, and the reaction of the seer is consequently expressed as weeping. Accordingly, the vision in Apc 4-5 should be interpreted as unfolding a judgement scenario, but it does not contain a vision of judgement as such. Judgement is prepared in this part of Revelation, the actual judgement starts taking place in the following chapter (Apc 6:1) with the breaking of the seals.[52]

Another detail that stresses the importance and worthiness of the Lamb is the saying made by one of the elders in Apc 5:5, where Christ – before being introduced as the Lamb – is addressed as the Lion of the tribe of Judah[53] and the root of David in verse 5. The messianic expectation which is expressed here seems to be deliberately reversed: The strong lion becomes a slain lamb.[54] These designations attributed to Christ recall Hebrew Bible and Jewish messianic traditions which anticipate the coming of a political messiah who will act in favour of Israel by conquering and triumphing over Israel's enemies and judging its opponents.[55] The political and religious language

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[51] See for 4Q530 col. ii 7-8 and the proximity and differences with Dan 7:9-10 STUCKENBRUCK: *Giants*, 119-123.

[52] Cp. similarly JÖRNS: *Evangelium*, 39-40.

[53] The author expresses some interest in the tribe of Judah again in Apc 7:5, where he mentions this tribe as the first one. Cp. also JÖRNS: *Evangelium*, 49 n. 134.

[54] See also SLATER: *Community*, 167.

[55] The designations of Christ in Apc 5:5 are analogous to Hebrew Bible passages, such as Gen 49:9 and Isa 11:1, or Jewish literature (e.g. *Pss. Sol.* 17:1-42; 4Q285 5 4; 4Q252 col. v 3-4 and 4Q161 col. iii 18). Cp. for this STUCKENBRUCK: *Revelation*, 34, HORBURY: *Christians*, 133, SCHÜSSLER FIORENZA: *Priester*, 271-272 and AUNE: *Revelation 5:1-5*, 350-351. Cp. for the frequent useage and the importance of the "Shoot of David" and traditions from Gen 49 and Is 11 also LICHTENBERGER: "Messianic", 9-20, and OEGEMA: "Expectations", 53-82: In Qumranic writings the "Shoot of David" will not come alone, though, he is accompanied by an eschatological "Teacher of the Torah" (דורש התורה) in *4QFlorilegium* 11 (4Q174) and in *4QPatriarchal Blessings* (4Q252). (cp. for this LICHTENBERGER: "Messianic", 11-12.) In 4QpIsa[a] (4Q161) Isa 11:1-5 is quoted and interpreted as the

of Apc 5:5 by which Christ is alluded to here also emphasises the important role he is playing.[56] Notably, John changed the tradition from Isaiah 11:1.10: He reinterprets the root of Jesse to the root of David. Thus, the Lamb determines what constitutes the lineage of David, David does not in turn constitute Jesus' importance.[57] The same tradition is ascribed to Christ again in Apc 22:16, but there it is connected with Christ being attributed as "the Morning Star".[58] The identification of Christ as the Lion is also reminiscent of the description of the mighty angel roaring like a lion in Apc 10:3. As demonstrated in section 2.2.8., though, this similarity does not provide enough evidence for the assumption that the angel in chapter 10 should be identified as Christ. The author also uses the term ὥσπερ for the description of the angel`s voice. Accordingly he is probably using an analogy in Apc 10:3 which just expresses a certain similarity and can therefore be interpreted as a device of circumlocution.

A similar kind of circumlocution can also be seen in Apc 5:6 where the Lamb is finally introduced.[59] Here the Lamb is described as "standing in the middle of the throne", amongst the four living beings and the elders, and also "as if it was slaughtered" (ἑστηκὸς ὡς ἐσφαγμένον). The use of the circumlocution ὡς ἐσφαγμένος hints at Christ's salvific death – though the cross is not mentioned[60] – and represents a

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Shoot of David's rise in the end of days, when God will support him with the Torah, a throne of glory, a holy crown and coloured robes. (cp. OEGEMA: "Expectations", 56-57.) Also in *Blessings* 1QSb (1Q28b) col.'s ii 22-v 29 associations with Gen 49:9-10 referring to the lion and Isa 11:2 can be discerned. (cp. OEGEMA: "Expectations", 58-59.) Cp. for this also PARK: *Offenbarung*, 165-170, SCHIMANOWSKI: *Liturgie*, 197-203 and BAUCKHAM: *Climax*, 180-182 and 214. Cp. for the significance of David as mediator and messianic figure also DAVIS: "Agents", 484, HORBURY: *Messianism*, 50 and CASEY: *God*, 42-43. A messianic figure represented by a lion can also be found in *4 Ezra* 12:31-32. Cp. also CHARLESWORTH: "Christology", 244.

[56] Cp. THOMPSON: *Revelation*, 58. See similarly ESKOLA: *Messiah*, 213.

[57] Cp. also KARRER: "Stärken", 406.

[58] The reference to Christ as "the Morning Star" might resemble an allusion to another passage from the Hebrew Bible with a messianic meaning, namely the star of Jacob in Num 24:17. See for this MALINA: *Revelation*, 249 and MOORE: "Jesus", 82-91. Cp. also BEALE: *Revelation*, 1146. See for the meaning of Christ as "the Morning Star" further BOLL: *Offenbarung*, 48.

[59] Cp. MÜLLER: *Offenbarung*, 156.

[60] A theology of the cross, though, is not present in the Apocalypse: The cross itself is not dealt with or interpreted. It is mentioned in Apc 11:8 as a cipher for describing a place. The death of Jesus is relevant for John, the cross is not. Cp. KARRER: "Stärken", 406 and *Johannesoffenbarung*, 310-311.

typical device in the seer's visions.[61] There is little doubt that the term ἐσφαγμένος refers to Christ's sacrificial death.[62] John's focus, though, is not on the crucifixion as a historic event; the outcome of Jesus' death has cosmological importance for two reasons: (1) The fact that the Lamb is characterised as slaughtered explains why it has the power to open the scroll; the Lamb is worthy and therefore has an exalted position, because it has overcome (Apc 5:5) and has redeemed the people by its blood. Its sacrificial death – depicted as being slaughtered in the vision of the throne room in Apc 5[63] – denoted the redemption by its blood.[64] (2) In addition, Jesus' violent death marks a starting point for understanding his own death and the conflicts in the world.[65] This description of Jesus' death is modelled after the tradition of the Passover Lamb according to Exodus 12 (and to some extent also Isa 53:7).[66] The salvific effect of the lamb's blood, though, does not consist in the forgiving of sins in the Exodus story, but rather in the preservation of God's people from death commissioned by a revenging angel of death following the tradition in Exodus 12.[67] One might raise the question here whether the narrative in the Apocalypse is following the Exodus tradition.

3.1.2.2. Christ as the Passover Lamb from Exodus

A number of features throughout Revelation seem to correspond to Exodus 12: The connection of lamb and Passover, a salvific effect of the lamb's blood and the

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[61] Cp. KARRER: "Stärken", 407.
[62] The term ἐσφαγμένος probaly reflects Jesus' death on the cross, cp. KNIGHT: *Revelation*, 63 and SÖDING: "Lamm", 89-90.
[63] See also Apc 5:12; 13:8.
[64] See for instance BACKHAUS: "Vision", 47.
[65] Cp. also STUCKENBRUCK: *Revelation*, 35. Cp. further STUCKENBRUCK: "Setting", 29-30.
[66] Cp for instance AUNE: *Revelation 1-5*, 353, LE DÉAUT: *Pascale*, 333, COMBLIN: *Christ*, 22-31, SÖDING: "Lamm", 89 and BAUCKHAM: *God*, 61-62. According to SCHÜSSLER FIORENZA a connection between the Lamb and the suffering servant from Isa 53 is not very probable, because unlike the expression δοῦλος the expression ἀρνίον never occurs with the extension τοῦ θεοῦ in the Apocalypse. Cp. for this SCHÜSSLER FIORENZA: *Priester*, 268-269.
[67] Cp. similarly PITTMAN: "Angel", 25.

punishment of God's (and his people's) opponents from Exodus 12 may possibly be reflected within the settings of the Apocalypse.

The concept of Christ as a passover lamb is generally not unknown in NT or early Christian literature, as can for instance be seen in 1 Corinthians 5:7, 1 Peter 1:19[68] or Justin Martyr's writing (*Dial.* 111:3). In the Gospel of John, especially, this connection between Christ and Passover is made very explicit: Christ is designated as "the Lamb of God"[69] in the Gospel of John 1:29 and 36.[70] Further, as is well known, the passion narrative is altered by John in a way that Christ (in John 19:14) is crucified exactly at the time of the Passover lamb`s slaughter in the temple (on 14 Nisan).[71] This feature of Christ representing the Passover Lamb is also present in Revelation. Here it consists of two visible features, namely the description of a Passover Lamb and the politically motivated feature of the lion. This combination is not entirely unique in Christian literature. The Lamb is portrayed in the political terminology describing it as lion (and hinting at an understanding of a political Messiah) and in sacrificial terms. Such a combination can also be found in *Testament of Joseph* 19:8-9, where a similar twofold messianic figure is depicted.[72] As Apc 5 provides the earliest known

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[68] For the possibility of a connection between John's Lamb Christology and Pauline and Post-Pauline traditions see SCHÜSSLER FIORENZA: "Apokalypsis", 123-124. See also MÜLLER: *Theologiegeschichte*, 46 and HOLTZ: *Christologie*, 44-47.

[69] The vocabulary for the "Lamb" in Joh differs from Revelation though: In Joh the lamb is labelled as ἀμνός not ἀρνίον as in the Apocalypse. In Joh the ἀμνός receives the additional attribute τοῦ θεοῦ which is not present in the Apocalypse (cp. also the next footnote). Cp. for the different words used for the Lamb and a messianic interpretation of ἀρνίον also SCHÜSSLER FIORENZA: *Judgement*, 96, YARBRO COLLINS: *Apocalypse*, 40, SÖDING: "Lamm", 88-89, FREY: "Verhältnis", 346, GUTHRIE: "Christology", 404-405, KARRER: *Christus*, 105, KALMS: *Sturz*, 240-241, HEINZE: *Johannesapokalypse*, 241-289 (esp. 271-289), BÖCHER: "Verhältnis", 293-295 and *Kirche*, 3. The expression ἀρνίον, though, is a unique feature of Revelation. In other NT literature it can only be found in Joh 21:15 with an ecclesiological meaning. Cp. SÖDING: "Lamm", 88 n. 22. See also PARK: *Offenbarung*, 74-84.

[70] The expression is most likely pre-johanine material. Cp. BECKER: *Johannes 1-10*, 96-97 and SCHÜSSLER FIORENZA: *Judgement*, 96.

[71] Cp for this AUNE: *Revelation 1-5*, 353 and BECKER: *Johannesevangelium 11-21*, 686. Cp. for Passover and Exodus traditions in Joh LE DÉAUT: *Pascale*, 324-332.

[72] Cp. GUTHRIE: "Christology", 400-401. GUTHRIE, however, assumes *Test. Jos.* 19:8-9 to be an early Jewish apocalyptic influence. Similarly, a Christian redaction is rejected by KOCH: "Lamm", 87-88. (cp. further BÖCHER: *Kirche*, 40-41.) It seems rather obvious, though, that this given passage is of Christian origin. Cp. SCHÜSSLER FIORENZA: *Judgement*, 95. Cp. also KUGLER: *Patriarchs*, 21-25 and 31-38 for Christian influence and the dating concerning the *Test. Jos.* in general. See for Christian influences in

combination of both of these messianic terms applied to one single messiah it is very probable that this represents a creative achievement of Revelation's author.[73]

The description of Christ as a lion has to be regarded as an attribution of messianic kingship to the Lamb;[74] similar parallels for such a political designation for a ruler can (for instance) be found in Deuteronomy 33:20-22 for Gad and Daniel or 1 Maccabees 3:4 for Judas Maccabeus.[75] Simultaneously, the portrait as Lamb could hint at a political character of this messianic figure as well: The Lamb could be understood as an apocalyptic ram figure, as in *1 Enoch* 89:45-48, a scene from the Animal Apocalypse, where David and Solomon are depicted as sheep prior to their crowning and then as rams after their enthronement.[76]

Despite this political analogy, the interpretation of the Lamb as the Passover Lamb is the favourable explanation, as the meaning of the Lamb's bloodshedding as redemption is also explained. Also, the portrait of Christ by two very different aspects (Lamb and lion) is metaphorically very sharp,[77] and therefore rather seems to indicate two different messianic concepts attributed to Christ:[78] He is a political *and* a soteriological figure at the same time and not just a political figure described in metaphors that basically exclude each other.[79]

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the *Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs* also DE JONGE: "Influence", 193-246. See for the Christian influence on *Test. Jos.* 19:1-7 KUGLER: *Patriarchs*, 83: "In an allusion to Jesus, Joseph reports a vision in which the twelve tribes, symbolized by deer, are attacked and dispersed, but are delivered by a combative lamb, born of a virgin of Judah (19:1-5)." The combination of Jesus' birth narration and his depiction as a Lamb (as in the Apocalypse) are evident here. Cp. also JEREMIAS: "Lamm", 216-219 and MÜLLER: *Offenbarung*, 161.

[73] Cp. JOHNS: *Lamb*. See similarly PITTMAN: "Angel", 24.

[74] Cp. SÖDING: "Lamm", 112.

[75] Cp. ESKOLA: *Messiah*, 214 n. 190. In apocalyptic literature the lion may as well represent certain figures or groups who punish Israel, as for instance *1 En.* 89:55-66. Cp. TILLER: *Commentary*, 32-36. Such an identification can however not be applied in case of Apc 5, because no proper juridical aspect is attributed to the lion here.

[76] Cp. ESKOLA: *Messiah*, 213-214. Cp. also TILLER: *Commentary*, 310-314 and SWEET: *Revelation*, 124.

[77] Cp. similarly HAYS: *Vision*, 174.

[78] Against ESKOLA: *Messiah*, 214, who argues that the two characters in Apc 5:5-6 are not sharply contrasted.

[79] Cp. also HOHNJEC: *Lamm*, 39-40.

Through the Lamb's (i.e. Christ's) death, the people of God are enabled to struggle against a world of evil powers (Apc 5:9-10; 14:1-5; 19:1-10), with the outcome that they are saved from the threatening nations. Revelation reflects on the tradition of the Passover night as a kind of rebirth of God's people in the events of the Exodus.[80] The resulting event of redemption apparently takes place, respectively, in Exodus 12 and Apc 5:9 by the Lamb's slaughter and the shedding of its blood. The soteriological aspects in both passages are then quite analogous and might even support the hypothesis of Christ's different descriptions being dependent on the view of varying circles: For the *believers* God provides salvation in both passages (by eliminating the opposing forces) and is therefore perceived as a just redeemer who is with his people; whereas from the perspective of the *opponents* God is a fearsome destroyer, though his true intention is not understood.

3.1.2.3. The Description of Christ as a Function of Perspective

In Revelation, Christ is understood only by his followers.[81] In heaven he is seen as the Lamb and redeemer (Apc 5:6-14), as he is by his true followers who are assembled with him on Mount Zion (Apc 14:1-5). At the same time, however, Christ is perceived as the angelomorphic judge by those who oppose God (as seen in Apc 14:14-20 or 19:11-21). Admittedly, an assumption that the descriptions of Christ are a consequence of different perceptions (i.e. by his followers understanding who Christ really is and by his opponents who do not realise his purpose and true power)[82] has

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[80] Cp. SÖDING: "Lamm", 89.

[81] See for a similar consideration HOLTZ: *Christologie*, 31.

[82] See for a similar concept of changing perspectives (related to Apc 6 and the first of the four horsemen) TAEGER: "Hell", 369-389, especially his conclusion 389. TAEGER distinguishes the different perspectives concerning the victorious horseman in Apc 6:2: To the inhabitants of the earth, the first horseman has a darker appearance than the other horsemen (Apc 6:3-8) while the true "servants of God" perceive him as a figure resembling the light side. TAEGER's consideration is especially interesting for

some weaknesses: (1) If Christ is perceived as a judge by those who oppose him, it is rather strange that John regards him as an angelomorphic judge in Apc 1:7-20. It could be argued, though, that John himself is still standing on earth and has – due to a rather unrevealed and blurred vision of Christ – still a dubious perception, and thus considers Christ to be a more juridical figure. The seer`s perception then drastically changes after his ascent (Apc 4:1) in Apc 5:6 when he sees Christ as the Lamb. (2) In Apc 6:16 the Christ is perceived as a Lamb by the opposing kings of the earth. This assertion, however, is not straightforward. For example, one could argue that this verse might be considered a redactional addition to the text, since the role of the Lamb as a judge and the mentioning of its wrath are rather uncommon themes in the Apocalypse.[83] Also, a textcritical problem occurs for Apc 6:17 that might support the view of a direct link between verse 16 and verse 17, thus supporting the assumption of a redactional addition: Apc 6:16 refers to the kings of the earth hiding "from the face of the one sitting on the throne and the wrath of the Lamb" (ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ καθημένου ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ὀργῆς τοῦ ἀρνίου). In Apc 6:17 several textcritical witnesses (א, C and 1611) refer to the wrath of God *and* the Lamb in the plural form (τῆς ὀργῆς αὐτῶν). Some other witnesses (namely A, 𝔐, sa^{ms}, bo and Prim) offer another variant (αὐτοῦ), referring to the wrath of God only. This variant with the singular form αὐτοῦ would be a continuation of verse 16, connecting verses 16 and 17.[84] Accordingly, the wrath of the Lamb in verse 16 could then indeed be interpreted as a redactional change. However, two major witnesses, ℵ and C, indicate that the text featuring the plural form αὐτῶν is better supported.[85] More weight is added to the notion of regarding αὐτῶν as

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this discussion, as he does not totally exclude a christological understanding of the first horseman. (cp. TAEGER: "Hell", 380.)

[83] Cp. for this argument AUNE: *Revelation 6-16*, 420-421. For bibliographical evidence of a rather peaceful role of the Lamb cp. CHARLES: *Revelation I*, 182-183.

[84] Cp. MÜLLER: *Messias*, 166 and AUNE: *Revelation 6-16*, 420. Notably AUNE takes the Variant with the singular form αὐτοῦ for granted.

[85] See for the textcritical evidence also AUNE: *Revelation 6-16*, 386.

the original reading by the use of Isaiah tradition: Maybe the author formed a *parallelismus membrorum* as in Isaiah 2:10.19.21; 13:13[86] and therefore refers to God and the Lamb in Apc 6:16.[87] In any case it is noteworthy that although John refers to God's wrath in other passages (11:18; 14:10; 16:19; 19:15). he only refers to God's (and not the Lamb's) wrath, possibly reflecting the author's standard description.[88] The mentioning of the Lamb, in turn, seems to be rather clumsy, as the wrath of the Lamb is not portrayed elsewhere.[89] The twofold mentioning of the wrath in verses 16 and 17 might therefore be a doublet.[90]

Apparently, not all doubts for either solution can be eliminated entirely; in any case, the fact that the Lamb is perceived by the kings of the earth remains disturbing for a hypothesis that strictly relates descriptions of Christ to different aspects for the different perceivers. If we assume that the author was careful and fully aware of his use of traditions, it seems sensible to ascribe the mention of the Lamb's wrath in Apc 16:16 to the author following the tradition from Isaiah 2 and 13. And as the Lamb is the central figure in this chapter, one might well consider the option that the reference to the Lamb originates from the author.[91]

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[86] Cp. JÖRNS: *Evangelium*, 96: The expression "hide from the face of the one sitting on the throne ... because the day of his wrath has come" is well known in the Hebrew Bible, for instance in Hos 10:8; Joel 2:11; Nah 1:6; Zeph 1:14-15 and Mal 3:2. In Apc 6 the expression receives a christological importance by the addition of the Lamb's wrath instead of referring to God.

[87] See also STUCKENBRUCK: *Revelation*, 41-42: " The reference to *them* has resulted from the introduction of a statement about Christ into the second half of Isaiah 2:10 (LXX- "from the fear of the Lord and from the glory of his strength"), while the meaning of "the Lord" is applied to God on the throne." Cp. also MÜLLER: *Offenbarung*, 175.

[88] Cp. MÜLLER: *Offenbarung*, 175. However, MÜLLER's assumption that the variant only referring to God's wrath offers the *lectio difficilior* is inconsistent, because he considers the version with the singular as being more in line with the author's language at the same time. JÖRNS rightfully assumes that both versions (singular or plural) have no antecedent in the Hebrew Bible, and one might therefore consider the singular variant to be possibly the *lectio difficilior*. Cp. JÖRNS: *Evangelium*, 96.

[89] Against BÜCHSEL: *Christologie*, 27-28, who conflates different christological categories in order to establish a stringent view of Christ's wrath as a common topic of the Apocalypse.

[90] Cp. JÖRNS: *Evangelium*, 96.

[91] Cp. CHARLES: *Revelation I*, 182-183.

However, the phrase ἀπὸ τῆς ὀργῆς τοῦ ἀρνίου probably contains a deliberate paradox,[92] as wrath is not characteristic for a lamb. The expression "the wrath of the Lamb" is not used *propria persona*, but by the inhabitants of the earth, who do not understand the salvific deeds of Christ. Their perception of Christ reflects a complete misunderstanding: love and forgiveness represented by the Lamb and its sacrificial death are perceived as avenging judgement by people to whom lies and deception have become second nature. The author does not attempt to reveal his own theological aspect or christological matters in Apc 6:16, but rather wants to demonstrate a misunderstanding by underscoring a delusion the (unfaithful) people on earth believe in.[93] This consideration does not only cope with an assumption of different descriptions of Christ as a function of perspective; indeed, it would seem to support such a theory. The use of the expression "the wrath of the Lamb" therefore makes a misunderstanding of the Lamb's meaning in perspective of inhabitants of the earth very explicit to the audience of Revelation; the purpose of the Lamb is not understood by people on earth at all, and therefore they only perceive judgement, not salvation.[94] The response of the inhabitants of the earth is lament – something which may also correspond with the Exodus tradition. After the killing of the firstborn there was "a great cry in Egypt" (Ex 12:30), while there was no more lament among the Israelites, and possibly the author is alluding here to the crying out of the Egyptians.[95]

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[92] See also SWETE: *Apocalypse*, 93.

[93] Cp. for the discussion of the expression ἀπὸ τῆς ὀργῆς τοῦ ἀρνίου as a paradox that indicates a misunderstanding of the inhabitants of the earth CAIRD: *Revelation*, 90-93. See similarly HANSON: *Lamb*, 169-170. HANSON regards the term "the wrath of the Lamb" as metaphorical description for the consequences of the rejection and crucifixion of Jesus.

[94] See for the idea of the "inhabitants of the earth" (representing the unbelievers) having a different view of a figure (here the first horseman in Apc 6) than the people of God TAEGER: "Hell", 389.

3.1.2.4. Further Evidence for John's Use of Exodus Traditions

More evidence is needed here if one is to accept that the Exodus tradition is preserved in various passages within Revelation, and especially in the visions in Apc 4-5: A first observation which might further affirm that John had the Exodus traditions in mind for his narrative setting could be based on the description of the Sea of Glass in Apc 4:6. To some extent, the depiction of this Sea of Glass can be explained with reference to Ezekiel (Ezek 1:22), where the firmament in God's throne room is portrayed as having "the colour of ice".[96] In combination with Apc 15:2-3, where people who were victorious over the beast are singing the Song of Moses next to the Sea of Glass, an Exodus tradition becomes a likely source.[97] According to Exodus, Moses and the Israelites, after crossing the Red Sea, sang a song praising the Lord for his help (Ex 14:30-15:1).[98] The Song of Moses in Apc 15:3-4 should make apparent that the Sea of Glass resembles a heavenly counterpart of the Red Sea, which is symbolic for the salvation of the faithful and the destruction of God's opposition. This parallel between Exodus and the Apocalypse becomes more apparent in the description of the Sea of Glass in Apc 15:2-4:[99] The Sea here is intermingled with fire (Apc 15:2), reminiscent of the lake of fire in Apc 14:9-11, representing the place of punishment for those who oppose God and worship the beast. Accordingly, the Sea of Glass indicates salvation for the faithful, while it also alludes to the lake of fire in Apc 14 and so represents the

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[95] This is even more explicit in *1 En.* 89:20, where the hyenas (representing the Egyptians) lament, while the Israelites (depicted as sheep) remain silent. Cp. TILLER: *Commentary*, 283.

[96] Further parallels for the Sea of Glass might be provided by *1 En.* 14:9-11 and Ex 24:10; see for further details ROWLAND: *Heaven*, 219-221.

[97] For the author's deliberate attempt to connect Apc 4-5 and 15 see also SPITTA: *Offenbarung*, 69.

[98] It can be argued that the tradition from Gen 1:7 concerning the waters above the firmament is in the background here, cp. for this CHARLES: *Revelation II*, 117-118 and STRACK/BILLERBECK: *Offenbarung*, 798-799. In light of the New Song which is sung in Apc 15 and its cosmological dimension parallel to that of Ex 15 an allusion to this part of the Exodus narrative seems to be more reasonable here. See for the importance of the Hymn in Ex 15 and its cosmological significance at Israel's earliest period of her history HANSON: *Apocalyptic*, 300-301.

punishing of those threatening God`s own people. similar to the Red Sea in the Exodus narrative.[100]

3.1.2.5. Christ as the Destroying Angel from Exodus?

Moreover, in Exodus 12:1-33 the tenth and final plague is carried out by God. The punishment of the enemies of God`s people is a feature which is prominent throughout the Apocalypse. In Exodus 12:23, though, the task of killing the firstborn is taken over by "the Destroyer" who is controlled by God. This passage wielded fundamental influence on later texts and developed into a tradition of a destroyer angel carrying out killing missions, warriors' tasks or actions of judgement for God,[101] as is reflected in Genesis 3:24; Numbers 22:21-38; Joshua 5:13-15; 2 Samuel 24:16-17 (1 Chr 21:15-16); 2 Kings 19:35 (Isa 37:33-37); Ezekiel 9:1-11; Wisdom of Solomon 18:15[102] or maybe *Testament of Abraham* 17:5 [Rec. A], where an angelomorphic Death is labelled as a destroyer (λυμαίνων).[103]

We may now ask if the tradition of the destroying angel from Exodus 12:23 was a concept which the author of the Apocalypse was aware of and related to Christ. The assumption of such a tradition in Revelation is not inappropriate, as two other passages from the New Testament probably also identify the destroyer angel from Exodus in a christological way:

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[99] See for the connection of the Lamb (representing the Passover Lamb) and the Exodus Typology from Apc 15 also SCHÜSSLER FIORENZA: *Judgement*, 95-96. Cp. also BAUCKHAM: *Theology*, 71, MEALY: *Years*, 75 and LE DÉAUT: *Pascale*, 335.

[100] See for this also HALPERIN: *Chariot*, 93-95 and KNIGHT: *Revelation*, 108-109.

[101] Cp. MEIER: "Destroyer", 456-458.

[102] Cp. GIESCHEN: *Angelomorphic*, 64, see also n. 35. Cp. also ALEXANDER: "Demonology", 332-334: In Ex 12 the text refers to a "destroyer" (המשחית), in 2 Sam and 1 Chr – holding a sword in hands in the latter – the same figure is depicted as "destroying angel" (המלאך המשחית). In 4Q511 the term משחית is notably used in order to refer to a demon.

[103] Cp. ALLISON: *Abraham*, 340.

(1) Such an allusion to Christ representing the destroying angel from Exodus 12 is probably preserved in 1 Corinthians 10:1-10:[104] The presence of Christ in Paul's typological reference to events after the Exodus reflects indirectly on Christ as the "destroyer" (ὀλοθρεύων). As the *Vorlage* for verse 10, Numbers 16:41-50 (LXX) does not mention the destroyer,[105] the reference to this figure is rather surprising here. As the other events from the narrative after the Exodus are also interpreted typologically in light of Christ's presence,[106] an assumption of the identification of the destroyer as Christ cannot be entirely excluded. Textcritical problems of 1 Corinthians 10:9 and the reference to Christ (τὸν Χριστόν) within at least reflect on the christological problems connected with an understanding of Christ as the punisher of Israel in the desert: A rather substantial amount of variants read τὸν κυρίον and some few read τὸν θέον instead of τὸν Χριστόν. Probably a theological difficulty concerning an interpretation of Christ as the destroyer - and therefore an angelic figure - was perceived in these witnesses.

(2) A very similar interpretation of Christ as the destroyer, following the tradition from Exodus 12, might possibly also be present in Jude 5-6.[107] This passage depicts the salvation of Israel and the punishment of those not believing executed by the "Lord". As in the previous example, a textcritical problem occurs here as well which could distinctly point to an understanding of the executing figure as Christ. A number of textcritical witnesses read Ἰησοῦς in verse 5 rather than κύριος. (The variant reading

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[104] Cp. for this GIESCHEN: *Angelomorphic*, 325-328.

[105] A reference to the destroyer is made in *Tg. Ps-J.* Num 17:11, though. Cp. GIESCHEN: *Angelomorphic*, 328 n. 40. One might assume that referring to the destroyer was not an entirely unusual way of interpreting certain passages from the Hebrew Bible. Possibly Paul drew on such traditions that describe events after the Exodus.

[106] Cp. also ELLIS: "Χριστός", 168-173 or BECKER: Paulus, 42-43. Cp. for the typology in 1 Cor 10 and its purpose HAYS: *Echoes*, 95-102.

[107] Cp. for a christological interpretation of the destroyer in Jude 5-6 HANNAH: *Michael*, 139-142. FOSSUM: *Image*, 41-69, "Kyrios", 260-287 and GIESCHEN: *Angelomorphic*, 328. Cp. further OSBURN: "Jude", 107-115.

θεός instead is not very well attested.)[108] The attestation for Ἰησοῦς would hint at an understanding of Jesus as the punishing destroyer. Whether Ἰησοῦς or κύριος is the original reading is not entirely decisive, as the title κύριος most likely refers to Christ anyway.[109] Accordingly, the account in Jude 5 could also hint at a christological interpretation of the destroyer. In both given examples, though, the identification of Christ as the destroyer depends on textcritical evidence and an identification of a punishing force in Numbers 16:41-50 (LXX) as the destroyer in the background. Therefore, it is worth exploring whether elements of this tradition are reflected in the narrative setting of Revelation as well. A positive result would indicate further angelomorphic features of Revelation's Christology.

A correspondence of actions of punishment between Exodus 12:23 and the Apocalypse is evident. In line with the tradition concerning the angel of death, both Exodus and Revelation derive the punishment more immediately from angelic forces (i.e. not from God himself). In Exodus 12 the destroyer angel is the one carrying out the killing of the firstborn. In passages in the Apocalypse we see angels carrying out God's judgement, as for instance in Apc 15:5-16:21. It is probably not the ordinary angels which the author of Revelation had in mind when he tried to relate the events from the Exodus narration to his own vision of God's judgement. The tenth and last plague in Exodus 12 corresponds to the final judgement of the earth *after* the other plagues are carried out by angels, namely to the description of the eschatological judgement in Apc 14:6-20 and 19:11-21. The figure carrying out this judgement is apparently Christ, though, which means that Christ is here taking over functions of the destroying angel.

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[108] Ἰησοῦς probably represents the *lectio difficilior* here. Cp. for the textcritical evidence also FOSSUM: *Image*, 67-69, BAUCKHAM: *Jude*, 309, KELLY: *Jude*, 309 and HANNAH: *Michael*, 140.
[109] Cp. HANNAH: *Michael*, 140.

We may conclude that John deliberately transferred two major features from the Exodus narrative to Christ: his being the destroying angel,[110] but also the Passover Lamb.

3.1.2.6. The Destroyer in Apc 9:11

At this point, it is worthwhile to mention that the Apocalypse explicitly refers to an angel of destruction, namely the angel from Apc 9:11. This particular angel is noteworthy as he represents one of the only angels in Revelation who is mentioned by name. (The only other angel referred to by name is Michael in Apc 12:7. Satan might possibly be understood as an angel in Apc 12:4-9, too.[111]) Angels are rarely named in the Apocalypse, and it is unclear if John simply has no interest in designating angels with names, or if he intends by this omission to place a special emphasis on those he does name.

The angel of the Abyss (ἄγγελος τῆς ἀβύσσου), from Apc 9:11 is named Ἀβαδδών and Ἀπολλύων, and this designation suggests christological concerns here. The name Ἀβαδδών probably only occurs elsewhere in 4Q280 10 col. ii 7 as referring to an angel's name.[112] Generally, this designation represents the kingdom of the dead (as in Prov 15:11; Job 26:6; 28:22; 31:12; Ps 88:12), death itself (Job 28:22), a poetic parallelism to Sheol (Prov 15:11; 27:20; Job 26:6; 1QH col. xi 16-19), the grave (Ps 88:11[88:12 MT]), the abyss (4Q504 = *4QDibHam*^{a} 7 8) or even a place of destruction (Job 26:6; 28:22).[113] The Hebrew expression אבדון is often translated as ἀπώλεια

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[110] The assumption that Christ takes over functions from the destroying angel of Exodus is probably also alluded to in Apc 2:23, where Jesus threatens to beat the children of Jezebel to death.

[111] Cp. HANNAH: *Michael*, 127 n. 22.

[112] See for the text KOBELSKI: *Melchisedek*, 43-44. See also DAVILA: *Liturgical*, 47-48.

[113] See AUNE: *Revelation 6-16*, 534, MOUNCE: *Revelation*, 191, LOHSE: *Offenbarung*, 60, CARRELL: *Jesus*, 23 and KNIGHT: *Revelation*, 79. Cp. further for the use of this expression in Qumran literature DAVILA: *Liturgical*, 62.

(Prov 15:11; Ps 87:12; 28:22 LXX)[114] which is also reflected in the Greek name Ἀπολλύων this angel receives in the Apocalypse. This angel also brings plagues (in form of locusts) to the inhabitants of the earth.

One might ask if this angel, designated as a destroyer, resembles Christ, especially as he is additionally labelled as king (βασιλεύς), a title that often refers to Christ in Revelation (e.g. Apc 17:14 or 19:16). Further, the angel from 9:11 may be seen as resembling the fallen star in Apc 9:1[115] and might therefore be the same figure as the angel in verse 11 who possesses the keys to the Abyss.[116] Likewise, Christ is in possession of the keys of death and Hades in Apc 1:18 (cp. also Apc 3:7, where Christ has the keys of David). Taken together, these features may lead us to the conclusion that Christ should be identified with this angel - but this is unlikely, and a better suggestion is that the angel represents Satan, or even alludes to Domitian or another Roman emperor (Nero) as one of Satan's minions.[117] This is further supported by some other minor details mentioned in Apc 9:1-11. The power of the angel (represented by a star) is described as limited in Apc 9:2, he "is given" (ἐδόθη) his powers, probably indicating a divine passive in order to show that the powers are given to this angel by God.[118] In contrast, Christ is never attributed with divine powers in such a passive way, he actively takes the scroll from God (Apc 5:7). The passive ἐδόθη is never used for portraying

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[114] Cp. AUNE: *Revelation 6-16*, 534.

[115] A connection between falling stars and fallen angels can be found elsewhere, as for instance in *1 En.* 18:13-16, 21:3-6, 80:6, 86:1, 88:1-3 and 90:24 and possibly also *Jub* 8:3. See for this MACH: *Entwicklungsstadien*, 175-176, esp. n. 162.

[116] Cp. for this conclusion KRAFT: *Offenbarung*, 142 and SWEET: *Revelation*, 167. Occasionally the identification of the angel from Apc 9:11 representing the fallen star from 9:1 has been neglected (cp. AUNE: *Revelation 6-16*, 534, MÜLLER: *Offenbarung*, 195, MOUNCE: *Revelation*, 191) and the angel was identified as the angel in Apc 20:1 who has the keys to Hades as well. Such identification is problematic, though, as the angel in Apc 20 represents an agent of God who willingly follows God's orders, while the figure in Apc 9 is only permitted to use his powers. See similarly CAIRD: *Revelation*, 117-118 and KRAFT: *Offenbarung*, 255.

[117] Apolyon might represent Domitian , who – according to Aischylos, *Agam.* 1082– liked to identify himself as Apollo (cp. SCHÜSSLER FIORENZA: *Offenbarung*, 94 and CAIRD: *Revelation*, 120) or Nero (cp. AUNE: *Revelation 6-16*, 535): Nero probably regarded himself as an incarnated Apollo as well (cp. SWEET: *Revelation*, 170). See for this also GUNDRY: "Angelomorphic", 672 n. 34.

Christ. One might even consider that this expression is deliberately not applied to Christ, as the Son of Man from Daniel 7:14 "is given" (ἐδόθη) dominion by God. It seems that John carefully avoided the application of this term for Christ. In turn, the expression ἐδόθη is applied to minions of God whom certain power is given, as for instance the horsemen in Apc 6:2.4.8, the angels in Apc 7:2 and 8:3 or even the seer himself in Apc 11:1. Similarly, God's opponents are given their power by God's permission (Apc 13:5-15).

Also the smoke which is released by the angel seems ineffective, as it basically has only the effect of darkening the sun – a similar, yet more powerful plague has already been reported in Apc 8:12. The smoke that ascends from the pit is reminiscent of the smoke from the altar in Apc 8:3-4 which ascends to God with the prayer of the Saints. However, the smoke in Apc 8 has cosmological significance (asking for justice[119]) and is responded to by God; the smoke in Apc 9 seems therefore almost as a parody thereof, because it has only a limited effect on earth. Even the locusts appearing out of the smoke might add to the impression that the angel in Apc 9:11 represents merely a parody: The Angel of the Abyss is labelled as the king of the locusts. Such a reference is strange, because locusts are commonly known to have no king, as is reflected, for instance, in Proverbs 30:27.[120]

Further, the twofold explanation of the angel's name in Apc 9:11 might point to the author's attempt to establish this angel as a parody of Christ: The angel's name is represented as "Destruction" in Hebrew ("Abaddon") and Greek ("Apollyon"). The explanation of the angel's name is reminiscent of the multilingual inscription on Jesus' cross, where the designation "The King of the Jews" is written in Latin, Hebrew and

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It is interesting to see a parallel of punning statements in the Apocalypse and 1 Cor. In 1 Cor 1:10 Paul also mentions the Destroyer (labelling him as ὀλεθρεύων instead of Apolyon) and creates plays on words concerning the faction of Apollo (1 Cor 1:18-19 and 3:4-6). See SWEET: *Revelation*, 170.

[118] See for instance GUNDRY: "Angelomorphic", 672.

[119] See also KRAFT: *Offenbarung*, 134-135.

Greek (John 19:20). In Apc 9:11 the Latin name might be deliberately omitted in order to concentrate on the pun regarding Nero's (or Domitian's) claim to represent Apollo.[121]

A christological interpretation of the angel in Apc 9:11 is also problematic because the plague caused by this angel is neither very important to the author (notably, it is described only very briefly compared to the visions of judgement in Apc 14 and 19, where Christ's actions are portrayed in much detail), nor would Christ be designated as a fallen star as in Apc 9:1. Instead, Christ is named as the morning star in Apc 22:16, which also might reflect John's attempt to establish the angel of Apc 9 as a parody of Christ.

The ownership of keys as such does also not represent a christological feature. Within the Apocalypse keys are referred to four times. Twice it is surely Christ who has the keys (Apc 1:18 and 3:7), another two times it is the angels from Apc 9 and Apc 20:1. It seems that the keys which are attributed to Christ in Apc 1:18 have their significance derived from Christ's death and his resurrection.[122] It might be the same keys being alluded to in Apc 3:7, emphasising the power of Christ. Therefore, the keys of the angels do not seem to bear this same significance for John.[123] In any case, the keys are clearly distinguished from each other by different expressions (and numbers). In Apc 1:18 Christ is holding the κλεῖς τοῦ θανάτου καὶ τοῦ ᾅδου, while the angels have the singular κλεὶς τοῦ φρέατος τῆς ἀβύσσου (Apc 9:2) or τὴν κλεῖν τῆς ἀβύσσου (Apc 20:1). The angels' keys - having the power to open the Abyss and the underworld - represent some minor power which is traditionally attributed to angels. Such power might for instance be reflected in the *Apocalypse of Zephania* 6:5. Here the angel Eremiel is in charge of the Abyss and Hades. However, even if we accept Christ's

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[120] In Amos 7:1 (LXX) the concept of a leader of the locusts is known, however. Cp. for instance AUNE: *Revelation 6-16*, 534-535.
[121] Cp. GUNDRY: "Angelomorphic", 672 n. 34.
[122] Cp. STUCKENBRUCK: *Veneration*, 220, against GUNDRY: "Angelomorphic", 673, who assumes that the key in Apc 20:1 allows for an understanding of the angel with the key as a angelomorphic Christ.

superiority regarding the keys, a certain rivalry between the satanic angel in Apc 9 and the apparently good angel (who is binding the dragon representing Satan) in Apc 20. The explanation for those two opposing angelic beings owning the same key seems rather simple: the key (along with a certain amount of power) is given to the satanic angel in Apc 9. In Apc 12 the archangel Michael is victorious in battle against Satan and his angels. He is, therefore, probably also the angel in Apc 20:1-2 who - remaining unnamed here - binds Satan and takes over the possession of the key over the Abyss.[124]

It is important not to make too much of the fact that the angel in Apc 9 is referred to as a king, as God's opponents are often described in this way (e.g. Apc 1:5; 6:15; 17:2.18; 18:3.9; 19:19; 21:24). Accordingly, the destroying angel does not compete with Christ in any way. Christ bears more attributes of the destroying angel from Exodus and possesses more power than the angel from Apc 9:11. A christological meaning unfolds only insofar as the angel of the Abyss probably serves as a parody.

3.1.2.7. The Arrangement of the Plagues in the Apocalypse

John follows the Exodus tradition to a certain extent[125] and also maintains the especially violent punishment of God's earthly opposition as the last act of retribution. Generally, John has divided the plagues into two categories: He refers to the plagues as (1) heavenly phenomena; as for instance (a) thunder and lightning (Apc 8:5; 16:18). (b)

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[123] See for this also STUCKENBRUCK: *Veneration*, 239: The key in Apc 3:7 represents an image of hope, while the key of the angel in Apc 20:1 rather resembles a tool of punishment.

[124] See for this also KRAFT: *Offenbarung*, 255 and similarly HANNAH: *Michael*, 127-128.

[125] John mentions seven of the ten plagues from Exodus in his writing; allusions to only seven out of the ten plagues from Ex can also be seen in Ps 78:44-51; 105:28-36; Amos 4:6-13; *Artapanus* 3.27:27.33; 3 *Bar.* 16:3 [Greek]; Wisd. Sol. 11-18. This may be significant for Revelation, as an interest in the number seven is also reflected elsewhere within the Apocalypse (e.g. seven bowls of wrath poured out by seven angels in Apc 15-16, the seven seals in Apc 5-8, the seven trumpets in Apc 8-11 or the seven figures in Apc 14:6-20). (Cp. for the importance of the number seven also KNIGHT: *Revelation*, 148-149.) In some other writings the original concept from Ex was copied more slavishly and nine or ten plagues are alluded to, as for instance in *Ezek. Trag.* 133-148; *Jub.* 48:5; *Ps-Philo* 10:1; Josephus *Ant.* 2.293-314; *Apc. Abr.* 30:3-8 and Philo *De vit. Mos.* 1.96-142. One could suppose that the theological interest reflected here is focused on the Exodus and the plagues as historic and, therefore, changes were generally avoided.

hail and fire (mixed with blood) (8:7), (c) comets (6:13: 8:8.10). (d) a darkening of the sun, moon and stars (6:12-13; 8:12), (e) the moon turning to blood (6:12) and (f) hailstones (16:20). Alongside this, he refers to plagues as (2) terrestrial phenomena like (a) earthquakes (8:5; 16:18), (b) water turning to blood (8:9; 16:3-4). (c) famines (6:6.8) and (d) wild animals (6:8).[126] The order of the plagues from the Exodus narrative is altered slightly by John, who uses the traditions concerning the plagues independently. However, the origin of the description of the plagues can still be traced back to Exodus traditions.[127] The Exodus traditions of the plagues correspond with the Apocalypse as follows: Exodus 7:17-24 with Apc 11:6; 16:3; 8:8. Exodus 8:3 with Apc 16:13. Exodus 9:8-11 with Apc 8:7; 16:21, Exodus 10:12-15 with Apc 9:3 and Exodus 10:21 with Apc 16:10.[128]

3.1.2.8. The Presentation of Magic in Exodus and the Apocalypse

It might be interesting to mention at this point that it is not only the plagues themselves from Exodus which the author of the Apocalypse adopts. He also follows his *Vorlage* from the Exodus narrative regarding the causes of the plagues. They are brought about by means which can almost be classified as a use of magic: the role of the mediator of the plagues is limited to the use of an item (for instance a trumpet in Apc 8-9) or the use of a magic substance (for instance the bowls which are metaphorically filled with God's wrath in Apc 15-16).[129] The use of this kind of magic results at first

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[126] Cp. for this subdivision of the plagues (with minor differences) AUNE: *Revelation 6-16*, 418-419. See for the meaning and the different aspects of plagues in Revealtion and Greco-Roman prodigies AUNE's Excursus on *Ancient Prodigies and the Plagues of Revelation* in: *Revelation 6-16*, 416-419.

[127] Cp. for the plague traditions and the alterations from the Exodus tradition also MÜLLER: *Offenbarung*, 189-196 and 278-284.

[128] Cp. LE DÉAUT: *Pascale*, 334. See similarly THOMPSON: *Revelation*, 51: THOMPSON regards the plagues to be particularly reflected in the "bowls of wrath".

[129] In the Exodus narrative magic is often caused by a person's hand (Ex 9:22; 10:12; 10:21) or a staff (Ex 9:23 and 10:13). Cp. MÜLLER: "Plagen", 273-275. A staff is also mentioned frequently in the

glance in destruction only. However, attention should be given to the way in which the outcome of the plagues is described. Often, the result is portrayed in a way that reminds of creation rather than destruction, because the result of the plague is described with the verb form ἐγένετο (as for instance in Apc 6:12: 8:1.7.8.11: 16:2.3.4.18.19). This expression may be an allusion to the language of creation as in Genesis 1:3, whereas ויהי from the creation narrative resembles ἐγένετο. One can find this special use of ἐγένετο furthermore in several passages in the Apocalypse quoting the Exodus narrative (as for instance Apc 8:7.8; Apc 16:2.3.4.10).[130] Perhaps the author of Revelation deliberately preserved such a motif of applying magic in the tradition of the plagues. By adopting the description of a form of magic expressing a degree of powers normally found in a creation context, the author does not simply follow the traditions from the Exodus narrative, but instead reveals more about his opinion concerning magic and simultaneously unveils another partial aspect of christological concern. As in the Exodus plagues, John describes those who initiate the plagues as mediators of God's will, therefore using magic which becomes legitimized by God. In Exodus, the miracles are normally performed by Moses and Aaron,[131] whilst in the Apocalypse, it is angels (and to some extent also Christ, e.g. Apc 6:12) performing the magic. Accordingly, the role of the Lamb might initially appear rather similar to the role of the angels, causing destruction in order to perform God's will.[132] Here, the angels are obviously subordinated to Christ, as their actions follow a chain of events initiated by Christ (for instance, in Apc 8:1-2 the opening of the seventh seal is followed by the action of the seven angels playing the trumpets). It is noteworthy that the Lamb shares a feature of

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Apocalypse, but one should not assume a connection with magic here, because the staff is more a means of beating the opponents (Apc 2:27; 12:5 and 19:15) than causing magical events.

[130] See for the discussion concerning magic as a motif in the Apocalypse and Exodus MÜLLER: "Plagen", 268-278, esp. 272-277.

[131] Cp. MÜLLER: "Plagen", 273-277.

[132] See also MÜLLER: "Plagen", 271: MÜLLER defines the roles of the Lamb and the angels in the visions of plagues as identical.

angels in the passages concerning the plagues: such a similarity might make the notion of Christ representing the destroying angel more plausible.

The use of Exodus traditions in Revelation also sheds light on the author's general opinion concerning the use of magic. The understanding of the use of magic seems to be positive in the passages where the angels (and occasionally the Lamb) employ magical powers for destruction. In turn, other passages in Revelation give evidence for a more negative understanding of magic. Apc 9:21 mentions the use of magic (φαρμακεία) amongst other evil deeds that humans do not turn away from. Similarly φαρμακεία is the means by which Babylon seduces the people of the earth in Apc 18:23. Further, in Apc 21:8 and 22:15 the magicians (φαρμακοί) are labelled as those who will be eternally punished and excluded from the New Jerusalem.[133] Accordingly, in these passages the author defines magic and pharmacy as anti-divine powers.[134] Such an interpretation copes with a rather negative understanding of passages from the Hebrew Bible where pharmacy or magic is mentioned. For instance, the cure for diseases - often a punishment from God - is caused by God alone (e.g. Num 12:9-15; 1 Kgs 13:4-6). Such a view becomes especially apparent in Exodus 15:26, where God is depicted as Israel's physician.[135] Also 1 Samuel 28:3-25 depicts Saul's attempt to use the powers of the witch of En-Dor as redundant and useless. Further, magic and magical rituals are most clearly rejected in Deuteronomy 18:9-14 and Ezekiel 13:17-23.[136] In Exodus 22:17 and Leviticus 20:27 the use of magic is even described as punishable by death.[137] In Early Jewish literature, pharmacology can also be considered as evil. For instance, in *1 Enoch* 7-8 pharmacology (and astrology) is taught to humans

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[133] For "sorcery" as a part of catalogues of sins see also AUNE: *Revelation 17-22*, 1130-1131.
[134] Further use of magic employed by anti-divine forces might possibly be seen in Apc 16:13-14, where the signs performed by the false prophet and the beast and the dragon might allude to demonic possession. Cp. STANTON: "Magician", 174.
[135] Cp. KOLLMANN: "Tobit", 289-291 and STUCKENBRUCK: "Tobit", 258-259.
[136] Further evidence for an understanding that cure can only come from God can be found in Deut 7:15; 1 Kgs 13:6; 2 Chr 7:14; 16:12; Ps 41:4; 103:3. See for this STUCKENBRUCK: "Tobit", 259.

by the fallen angels. In contrast to such a refusal. the use of magic in the above mentioned passages from the Apocalypse which deal with the plagues from Exodus is depicted more positively. The simple explanation that can be given for the twofold description of magic within the Apocalypse lies within God's legitimation: The magic used by those opposing God is naturally depicted as evil, whilst the angels cause magical destruction in God's name; consequently, such use of magic had to be portrayed positively. Accordingly, it seems to be only the magic permitted by God himself which is considered to be acceptable, other kinds of pharmacy and magic are portrayed pejoratively, opposed to God. Although descriptions of magic in connection with the tradition of the plagues are rarely seen,[138] assessing magic positively as long as it is permitted by God is not a unique feature at all. One can clearly find traces of such a concept in order to make magic or pharmacology acceptable in early Jewish literature, such as Tobit or Jesus Sirach. In Jesus Sirach 38:1-15 the pharmacology for healing purposes is legitimized as being part of God's creational order.[139] An even more detailed portrait of magic and pharmacology being acceptable can be seen in Tobit, where the archangel Raphael – sent by God himself – teaches humans to use fish organs to create medicine (Tob 6:3-9), heart and liver for an eye disease (Tob 11:11-12), and also to use the gall of the fish in a magic ritual for dispelling the demon Asmodeus (Tob 8:2-3). It is also Raphael who apparently uses magic and binds the same demon (Tob 8:3) within this narration.[140] Similarly, pharmacology is regarded positively in *Jubilees* 10:7-14, where angels teach humans the use of healing herbs on God's behalf. These passages, visible also in the Apocalypse, preserve an image of magic that is positive.

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[137] See also KOLLMANN: "Tobit", 290 n. 4. See for a rejection of the medical profession as such also FITZMYER: *Tobit*, 137.

[138] See MÜLLER: "Plagen", 276.

[139] See for the discussion also WOLFF: *Anthropologie*, 211-220.

[140] Cp. for a positive understanding of magic in Tobit (and also in Sir.) KOLLMANN: "Tobit", 289-299. Notably KOLLMANN investigates the use of pharmacology in the BA text of Tobit, where pharmacology is not referred to with Greek expressions. References are rather found in the S text. See for this STUCKENBRUCK: "Tobit", 258-269, esp. 263-264.

because magic is understood as being taught by God or one of his mediators.[141] This magic is notably not labelled as magic by John. In contrast, it is clear that the expression φαρμακεία represents bad magic in relation to those who participate in the economic system of Rome (i.e. Babylon).[142]

3.1.2.9. Conclusion for the Use of Exodus Traditions in the Apocalypse

It should be apparent by now that there is little doubt about the significance of Exodus traditions for the author of Revelation: We may certainly assume the author's deliberate adaptation of these traditions in order to depict a new eschatological exodus in his own writing.[143] Thus, the consideration of Christ (in form of the Lamb) representing the destroying angel from Exodus 12 fits in well in this framework. The

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[141] A positive kind of magic might accordingly have been considered in case of Apc 2:17 where Christ distributes a white stone with a new name to those who overcome. Cp. AUNE: "Magic", 481-501.

[142] In NT literature magic may be understood positively when it is not labelled as magic, but rather as a phenomenon within Christian community, while it is labelled as negative magic when it functions rhetorically to vilify opponents; for this understanding in relation to Acts, see GARRETT: *Demise*.

[143] Cp. for the eschatological exodus BAUCKHAM: *Theology*, 70-72: BAUCKHAM sees the eschatological exodus in the Apocalypse reflected in (1) the image of Jesus as the Lamb, representing him as the Passover Lamb who has ransomed a people (also drawing on the words of the Sinai covenant in Ex 19:5-6), (2) the Sea of Glass which is modelled after the Red Sea in the Exodus tradition, (3) the plague traditions from Ex, (4) allusions to the Exodus narratives in Apc 11:6, where the activity of the two witnesses is modelled on Moses and the plagues, (5) the reference to Egypt as one of the prophetic names of the great city in Apc 11:8 and (6) the reference to Balaam as a false Prophet leading God's people astray in Apc 2:14 (cp. for the reference to Balaam also LE DÉAUT: *Pascale*, 333). Also the description of God's throne which is flanked by cherubim in Ex 25:18-22 corresponds with Apc 4 (cp. BAUCKHAM: *Theology*, 33). Further, the protection in the desert granted to the woman with the child in Apc 12:1-6 recalls the miraculous salvation of the Israelites (Ex 19:4, cp. Deut 32:11) in the desert. Cp. LE DÉAUT: *Pascale*, 335. Further, the turning of people into priests in Apc 1:6 and 5:10 might reflect Ex 19:6 being in the background. Cp. SCHÜSSLER FIORENZA: *Priester*, 108 and JOCHUM-BORTFELD: *Offenbarung*, 156-165. Apc 18:4 also seems to formulate the concept of a new Exodus in Revelation; cp. THEISSEN: *Religion*, 245. The use of the term πρωτότοκος referring to Jesus in Apc 1:5 might be reminiscent of Ex 12:12 at first sight, but whether Christ is actually compared to the firstborn of Egypt involves too much speculation: The term πρωτότοκος is used with a rather positive meaning, and a connection to the firstborn who are eliminated by a plague seems therefore to be remote. Finally, also the lack of a new Temple in the New Jerusalem in Apc 21:22 might hint at motifs of the Exodus narrative in the background: Similar to the Israelites' camp in the desert (where God is continually present on the ark of covenant), the New Jerusalem is in no need for a Temple as God is immanent. Cp. for this idea (concerning the Animal Apocalypse) TILLER: *Commentary*, 45-51. As the Exodus traditions are so dominant in Revelation it is possible to interpret certain descriptions in the Apocalypse in light of these traditions in the background: For instance, the angel's legs that are like fire in Apc 10:1 might be a reminiscence of Ex 14:19.24, or the angel's feet on earth and sea could be an allusion to Ex 20:11. Cp. for this MOUNCE: *Revelation*, 202-203 and AUNE: *Revelation 6-16*, 555-556. For a summary of Exodus traditions in the Apocalypse see also ULFGARD: *Future*, 35-41.

special final task is carried out by prominent figures in Exodus and Revelation: In Exodus the destroyer (sharing a certain proximity with God) is the bringer of the final plague. In Revelation, though, it is Christ who carries out God's judgement in Apc 14:6-20 and 19:11-21. However, in both Apc 14 and 19 Christ is also described in an angelomorphic way (see chapters 2. and 4. of this thesis). By being allowed to share both angelic and divine traits, he may be understood in relation to the angel-like destroyer of the Exodus tradition who, in turn, bears a strong association with Israel's God. In the vision in Apc 14:6-20 the judging Christ is accompanied by six angels. Similarly in Ezekiel 9:1-11, a vision that is most likely influenced by the tradition of the Destroyer angel,[144] the destruction of Jerusalem is carried out by six angels and a prominent angelic figure. This tradition from Ezekiel has probably influenced the vision in Apc 14; the six accompanying angels in particular can be explained on this basis (see section 2.2.5.2.). An assumption of the presence of elements of the destroyer angel in the Apocaypse seems more plausible in view of two destroyer angel traditions that have possibly influenced Apc 14.

Certain features in the description of the final judgement might correspond to descriptions of the Destroying angels, making the case for destroying angel traditions within Revelation more probable. For instance, the "sickle", which is the harvesting tool in Apc 14:15-20 from the tradition of Joel might - according to GIESCHEN - possibly represent the "sword" from traditions concerned with the Destroyer angel.[145] Similarly, by his ability to harvest the entire earth with a single strike of his sickle, we may infer

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[144] Cp. GIESCHEN: *Angelomorphic*, 66 and 125-126 n. 3.

[145] Cp. GIESCHEN: *Angelomorphic*, 251. The argument GIESCHEN provides here is not unproblematic: In the traditions that have probably influenced Apc 14:14-20, namely Ezek 9:1-11 and Ex 12, a sword is not mentioned.

that the harvesting figure in Apc 14:16 is of enormous size. something consistent with destroying angel traditions.[146]

It might also be tempting to regard the command of the angel directed to the one like a son of man in Apc 14:15 as a tradition reflecting God's control over the destroyer as in the Exodus tradition. However, except for the difficulty of proving this admittedly vague connection to be an adaptation of material from the Exodus narrative, the description of God controlling Christ would indicate a certain degree of subordination. One might wonder if the author of the Apocalypse wishes to communicate a Christology which so openly puts Christ in a subordinate position. More research on Apc 5 can possibly illuminate whether John was trying to express a certain subordinate tendency of Christ or if he was attempting to relate Christ and God by equal status.

3.1.3. Status and Features of the Lamb

3.1.3.1. The Lamb and the Throne

An important feature which should be helpful in order to determine the Lamb's status and shed light on the author's intention of equation (or possibly subordination) is the Lamb's position in relation to the throne. As such the Lamb's position on the throne indicates a certain dignity already. However, other figures in the visions in Apc 4 and 5 are also described as sitting on thrones. It needs to be asked, then, whether the description of the other figures differs notably enough in order to establish a clearly emphasised position of the Lamb. The following considerations about the meaning of the Lamb on the throne and its exact position, as well as the question whether there is a

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[146] Cp. GIESCHEN: *Angelomorphic*, 32 and 251. Also this argument is barely convincing on its own. If the author was concerned with demonstrating an enormous size of the one like a son of man he could have used more self explanatory features in order to indicate this figure's size.

clear-cut distinction between the Lamb and the heavenly beings or not are important here.

Firstly, it has to be examined what the author intended to express when he mentioned the Lamb and its position "between the throne and the four living beings" (ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ θρόνου καὶ τῶν τεσσάρων ζῴων) in Apc 5:6. Scholars apparently disagree whether the whole scenario has to be interpreted (1) as an *Enthronement*, (2) as a *Commission* in a Heavenly Court or (3) as an *Investiture*.[147] An understanding of Apc 5 as an Enthronement of the Lamb, following an ancient Egyptian pattern, is based on the assumption that the vision contains the three parts in the traditional Egyptian scheme.[148] These sequences are (a) *Erhöhung* ("Elevation"), (b) *Präsentation* ("Presentation") and (c) *Inthronisation* ("Enthronement"). It is possible to refer to this three-stage enthronement scheme in Apc 5, interpreting the prediction of the elder about the Lamb in verse 5 as *Elevation*, the appearance of the Lamb in verse 6 and the conferment of power (by taking the scroll) in verse 7 as the *Presentation* of the new ruler. The homage paid by the heavenly beings in verses 8-13 could then represent the *Enthronement*.[149] But evidence for the existence of such a scheme in Revelation is not entirely convincing. As with arguments for the presence of this enthronement ritual in other NT literature (for instance Mk[150]), it is unlikely that an Egyptian Enthronement scheme would have been adopted in NT literature without any connections. Also, it is important to realise that the scheme is a rather anachronistic reconstruction of an ancient ritual.

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[147] For a good overview on the History of Research on this topic cp. AUNE: *Revelation 1-5*, 332-338.
[148] The three-part scheme of the ancient Egyptian Enthronement goes back to NORDEN's research: NORDEN attempted to relate this scheme to Vergil (*Eclogues* 4), but also mentioned NT literature (namley Tim 3:16) as a possible parallel. Cp. NORDEN: *Geburt*, 116-128.
[149] Exactly this interpretation of events from Apc 5 according to the ancient enthronement scheme has, for instance, been undertaken by HOLTZ: *Christologie*, 28-29.
[150] Cp. for instance VIELHAUER: *Literatur*, 344-345: VIELHAUER interprets Mk in light of the Egyptian Enthronement ritual and interprets Mk 1:11 as *Adoptionsformel*, Mk 9:7 as *Proklamation* and Mk 15:39 as the *Akklamation*. As similar traces for this scheme in NT literature he identifies 1 Tim 3:16, Hebr 1:5-13 and also Apc 5. (See n. 24.)

and the author of Revelation might not have reconstructed such a scheme as it has since been synthesized.[151]

Apc 5 might also be interpreted in light of the assumption of the Lamb's *Commission* in the Heavenly Court. A basic element of commission, namely the commission in response to a question – as reflected by Hebrew Bible texts (1 Kgs 22:1-38; Isa 6:1-13) – is also present in Apc 5:2, where the angel asks who would be worthy to open the scroll.

The attempt to regard Apc 5 as *Investiture*, though, seems to be more appropriate, as the focus is not on single features which might represent elements of ancient rituals only, but rather on various traditions that may have influenced this vision: By the combination of traditional material from Daniel 7 (investiture of the one like a son of man) and Ezekiel 1-2 (motif of the sealed scroll) the author forms a scene of investiture centering around the Lamb's reception of the scroll. The reception of the scroll in verse 7 signifies the following reception of praise in verse 12. The basis of the Lamb's investiture is his sacrificial death.[152] By assuming an investiture in Apc 5, the presence of elements of a commission are not denied. These elements from 1 Kings 22 and Isaiah 6 are also present in Apc 5, but they do not represent the central theme of this vision. As a term, *investiture* describes the character of Apc 5 best as it refers (unlike *enthronement*) to an act of establishing someone's power, which he already possesses informally.[153] An *investiture* of the Lamb therefore also allows for a conclusion concerning Christ's status. The focus of Apc 5 is certainly on displaying Christ's significance. Any tendency to ascribe a subordinate position is not implied by the vision of God giving him the scroll.

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[151] Cp. also AUNE: *Revelation 1-5*, 334 and 336.
[152] Cp. for a detailed research on the traditional backgrounds AUNE: *Revelation 1-5*, 336-338.
[153] Cp. AUNE: Revelation 1-5, 336. See for this discussion also SCHIMANOWSKI: *Liturgie*, 219-229.

Secondly, it must be asked where the Lamb is actually placed during and after the investiture. The location given in Apc 5:6 seems to be rather unclear: the Lamb is ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ θρόνου καὶ τῶν τεσσάρων ζῴων. A translation of this expression seems to indicate that the Lamb is simply standing between the four heavenly beings and the throne, which so far has only been depicted with God sitting on it. It is possible that a translation can express a greater proximity between God on the throne and the Lamb: For instance, the phrase ἐν μέσῳ could also refer to an area which is also occupied by objects, and could thus be translated as "among, with", by which the Lamb would be located closer to the throne.[154] Such an attempt, however, does not seem to be entirely satisfying. If the author wished to express greater proximity, he could have described the Lamb's position as being "on the throne" (cp. 3:21b). In addition, Apc 5:7 clearly describes the Lamb as "coming and taking" (ἦλθεν καὶ εἴληφεν) the scroll, which seems to indicate a certain distance from the throne before. The fact that the Lamb is slightly remote from God's throne and not depicted as "sitting" in Apc 5:6 becomes less disturbing in the light of other occurrences within the Apocalypse, when the throne is described as being shared between God and Christ: In Apc 3:22, for instance, God and Christ (after vindicating) are portrayed as sitting on the throne together.[155] The expression "at the right hand" from the Psalm 110 tradition commonly known in NT literature[156] is missing here;[157] in its place, a description of the communality of the throne between God and Christ is given.[158] Possibly the omission of the expression "at the right hand" hints at a further christological development, hence the communality of

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[154] Cp. AUNE: *Revelation 1-5*, 351-352 for possible translations of ἐν μέσῳ.
[155] See for a connection between Apc 3:21 and 5:6 also LEE: *Jerusalem*, 248.
[156] Cp. HENGEL: *Christology*, 119-225 and "Erhöhung", 43-73, STUCKENBRUCK: *Veneration*, 128-129 n. 208 and KNIGHT: *Disciples*, 130-133 for the significant role that Ps 110 plays in Early Christian understanding of Christ's exaltation. Cp. further: MARKSCHIES: "Sessio", 252-317.
[157] The absence of the theologoumenon of Christ's exaltation is strikingly rarely alluded to in Revelation, despite the session at the right hand of God being a very common feature elsewhere in NT literature. Cp. AUNE: *Revelation 1-5*, 263.
[158] Cp. HENGEL: *Christology*, 134.

Father and exalted Son, who shares his throne with other vindicators.[159] is emphasised instead.[160] Similarly the sharing of the throne is also expressed in other passages in Revelation: In Apc 7:9-10 the throne and he who sits on it and the Lamb are mentioned together in one sentence again. Also in Apc 7:17 the Lamb is described as τὸ ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ θρόνου, guiding the 144,000 (similar to Apc 14:1-5). To a certain extent a proximity between Lamb and throne is expressed here.[161] The communual sharing is expressed even more distinctly in Apc 22:1, where the river of the water of life goes forth ἐκ τοῦ θρόνου τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀρνίου. It is also a shared throne of God *and* the Lamb which will be in the heavenly Jerusalem (καὶ ὁ θρόνος τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀρνίου ἐν αὐτῇ ἔσται) coming down to the new earth (Apc 22:3). The common throne substitutes for the temple in this new eschatological Jerusalem. God and the Lamb reign and are worshipped together on this one throne (Apc 22:3-5).[162] The sharp distinction of describing only God as sitting on the throne in Apc 4-5 becomes less emphasised until the distinction is nearly dissolved in Apc 22:3. On the one hand the paratactical arrangement of God and the Lamb (connecting them by the word καί) in Apc 22 does not entirely eliminate the distinction between the sitting father and the standing son given in Apc 4-5, but it expresses a unity (by the sharing of the throne) on the other hand.[163] The sharing of the throne might be interpreted as reminiscent of an exaltation of Christ to God's right hand side,[164] despite the fact that the "sitting at the right of God" is not explicitly mentioned. In Apc 5:7 one might find an allusion to the "sitting at the right", though: The Lamb is taking the scroll ἐκ τῆς δεξιᾶς τοῦ καθημένου ἐπὶ τοῦ

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[159] The sharing of the throne by Christ and those who are victorious is probably also expressed in Apc 20:4; cp. for this DE JONGE: "Expression", 276-279. See for the *symbasileia* representing a common topic in NT literature also THEISSEN: *Religion*, 85-86.
[160] Cp. HENGEL: "Erhöhung", 43. See for a salvific meaning of Apc 3:21 GIESEN: *Johannesapokalypse*, 41.
[161] Cp. HENGEL: *Christology*, 151.
[162] Cp. HENGEL: *Christology*, 151. See for this also DE JONGE: "Expression", 279.
[163] Cp. SÖDING: "Lamm", 113-114.
[164] See also SÖDING: "Lamm", 110.

θρόνου. It can thus be assumed that the Lamb is placed at the right hand side of God[165] after (or when) he takes the scroll from God. Taking this position in perspective, the Lamb is then - according to the use of the tradition from Psalm 110:1 - placed in an exalted position. In Apc 5, however, Christ is portrayed as standing rather than sitting. The position of Christ at the right might therefore be coincidental. It is possible that the author attempted to avoid a description of Christ sitting at the right hand side in order to avoid a conception that is too anthropomorphic.[166] But if this is the case, why specify that the scroll is taken from the *right* hand (ἐκ τῆς δεξιᾶς, sc. χειρός)?

3.1.3.2. The Standing Posture of the Lamb

Notably, only God is sitting on the throne in Apc 4:2 and also in Apc 5:6-7, whilst the Lamb is standing. This tendency of differentiation between God sitting and the Lamb's position, though, seems to be compromised according to the content of Apc 3:22; the communual sharing of the throne becomes defined more precisely between chapters 5 and 22.[167] It also becomes more distinct that Christ is closer to God's throne than the four living beings or the 24 elders of the throne room vision: The living beings are ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ θρόνου καὶ κύκλῳ τοῦ θρόνου, while Christ is standing ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ θρόνου καὶ τῶν τεσσάρων ζῴων καὶ ἐν μέσῳ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων. It is also evident that the Lamb is closer to the throne than the elders,[168] as the elders are either portrayed as κύκλοθεν τοῦ θρόνου in Apc 4:4 or ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ in Apc 11:16. A subordinate

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[165] Cp. for such a position SÖDING: "Lamm", 90.
[166] Cp. for this assumption HENGEL: *Christology*, 151. Notably HENGEL considers the conception of a bisellium as too anthropomorphic here, while AUNE assumes exactly this double throne as the common seat for God and the Lamb (cp. AUNE: *Revelation 1-5*, 262). As BACKHAUS rightfully points out, this assumed concept might solve the problem of the seating facility of God and the Lamb, but not the theological problem connected with it. Cp. BACKHAUS: "Vision", 44 n. 111.
[167] Cp. HENGEL: *Christology*, 151, SCHIMANOWSKI: *Liturgie*, 215-217 and SÖDING: "Lamm", 113.
[168] Cp. KNIGHT: *Revelation*, 64.

position of the living beasts to Christ is also indicated by their glorification of the Lamb alongside God.[169]

It arouses attention, though, that the Lamb is not depicted *on* the throne in Apc 5:6 or 5:13. It is either depicted as standing ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ θρόνου (verse 6), or mentioned paratactically after God who is sitting on the throne (verse 13). The author might have tried to avoid a direct statement which would have depicted God and the Lamb next to each other on the throne in Apc 5. Still, the author definitely wished to portray the Lamb's location in the immediate vicinity of God, as has been demonstrated in section 3.1.3.1. above. One might go further in interpreting the proximity between God and the Lamb as closer still: it is evident in Apc 5:6 that the Lamb is "in the middle of the throne" and also "in the middle of the four living beings".

The problem of determining the Lamb's position as near the throne and not *on* the throne might be eliminated by regarding the four living beings as part of the throne: The description of the heavenly throne matches the description of the throne of the king of Israel given in 1 Kings 10:18-20.[170] This golden and ivory throne is composed of parts that resemble certain animals: the two armrests are two lions, the backrest features bulls' heads, the footstool was probably shaped like a bull as well, and the stairs leading to the throne were flanked by lions.[171] The description of the four living beings is slightly reminiscent of the image given of the king's throne here. Two of the cherubim-like beings[172] from Apc 4:7 surely match some of the animals that resemble part of the king's throne, namely the first living being representing a lion (τὸ ζῷον τὸ πρῶτον ὅμοιον λέοντι) and the second being in the shape of a bull (τὸ δεύτερον ζῷον ὅμοιον μόσχῳ). John is surely following his *Vorlage* from Ezekiel 1:10 here, as the description

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[169] Cp. HENGEL: *Christology*, 151.
[170] See for this discussion also GLONNER: *Bildersprache*, 175.
[171] Cp. for this METZGER: *Gottesthron*, 298-365.
[172] The four living beings in Apc 4-5 are combined out of the seraphim from Isa 6:2 and the cherubim from Ezek 1:5-14. (Cp. for instance BAUCKHAM: *Theology*, 33.)

of the four beings is very similar to the tradition in the Hebrew Bible.[173] In Ezekiel 1:10-26, though, the four cherubim are portrayed in a way that allows for them to actually form part of God's throne (i.e. the wheels).[174] Maybe John alludes to a combination of such a throne imagery from 1 Kings and Ezekiel. Possible analogies for John's description of God as ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ τὸν θρόνον - with the identification of the throne as being the cherubim - are preserved in Psalm 18:11 where God is depicted as על־כרוב, or for instance in 1 Samuel 4:4 where God is described as sitting on the cherubim (ישב הכרובים).[175] Another possible tradition for the throne as John describes it might be the description of the mercy-seat according to Exodus 25:17-22 and 37:6-9. Here cherubim are evidently part of God's mercy-seat.[176] Evidence for the cherubim as being part of the throne rather than just surrounding it also occurs in Josephus' writings[177] and rabbinic[178] and gnostic[179] material. The living beings in Apc 4 might therefore not only surround the throne, but also be part of the throne.[180] The phrase κύκλῳ τοῦ θρόνου would refer to the beings surrounding the throne as parts attached to it. In this case, the Lamb would not just be in the middle of the throne and the four beings, but the Lamb's location could also be defined as being positioned

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[173] John alters the order of the appearing beings, cp. also AUNE: *Revelation 1-5*, 298-299. Moreover, while in Ezek the fact that the four living beings have four faces is emphasised, no such structure of the faces is made explicit in Revelation. One may assume, though, that the description of these beings being "full of eyes" in Apc 4-5 and other literature (*3 En.* 9:4-5; 22:9; 25:2-6; 26:6; *2 En.* 22:2) derives from an exegesis of 1 Ezek 1:5-10. Cp. DECONICK: *Voices*, 143. The number of wings of the living beings is also altered from four to six, following the tradition from Isa 6. Cp. GRUENWALD: *Mysticism*, 68-69 and ROWLAND: *Heaven*, 223. See further BOLL: *Offenbarung*, 36-39.

[174] Cp. for instance MICHL: "Engel", 62-63.

[175] See similarly GLONNER: *Bildersprache*, 175. Cp. for similar references SCHÄFER: *Rivalität*, 19-20.

[176] Cp. for this also HALL: "Throne", 609-612.

[177] Cp. Josephus *Ant.* 3.137.

[178] Cp. for the living beings as part of the throne for instance *Midrash Song of Songs* 3:10 and parallels in *Midrash Psalm* 103, *Tanchuma (B)* בשלח 14 and *Exod. Rab.* 23. Cp. for this also STRACK/BILLERBECK: *Offenbarung*, 799-800. The living beings were also constituent parts of the throne in *Pirqe R. El.* 4.

[179] A similarity to Apc 4 can be seen in the *Nag Hammadi* writing *On the origin of the world* (formerly called the *Untitled Writing*): In this writing Sabaoth creates a throne upon a chariot called "Cherubin" with forms of a lion, a bull, an eagle and a man and angels surrounding the throne. Cp. for this also FOSSUM: *Name*, 303-304.

within the space of the throne, or rather on the throne.[181] The Hebrew Bible passages dealing with descriptions of God's throne might not generally allow for an interpretation that sees the Cherubim resembling his throne, though: The way God's throne is depicted in 1 Kings 6 makes it rather clear that it was understood as floating above the cherubim.[182] The cherubim could therefore not have been part of the throne in the passage of 1 Kings. This negative result does not necessarily exclude an understanding of a cherubim throne in Apc 4 entirely, because God is not depicted above the cherubim here. The portrait of the relationship between the four living beings and the throne is not depicted with precision in Apc 4:6, as the position of the beings is ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ θρόνου καὶ κύκλῳ τοῦ θρόνου. Only the close proximity of the four living beings to the throne can be derived from this description. Whether they are actually part of the throne or just surrounding it can hardly be decided on the basis of Apc 4:6. As the beings are worshipping God (Apc 4:8-9; 5:8) they are definitely entities that do not entirely merge together with the throne. In any case, more significance is attributed to the Lamb than to the beings, as his position is even closer to the throne.[183]

Another feature deserving attention is the description given of the Lamb as "standing" (ἑστηκός) in Apc 5:6. A reasonable explanation of the depiction of the Lamb as standing would be an interpretation referring to Christ's resurrection.[184] Such an explanation would similarly correspond with verse 5: when the Lamb is coming to the throne, it is not simply taking over its task, it already "has taken" (εἴληφεν) the βιβλίον, indicating by the use of the present perfect that the actual taking of the scroll is an already completed action the result of which can now be seen - the Lamb is therefore

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[180] For such an interpretation see HALL: "Throne", 609-613. This interpretation is also discussed in CARRELL: *Jesus*, 142-144. See similarly BAUCKHAM: *Theology*, 42: BAUCKHAM considers that the living beings "belong to God's throne". See similarly ESKOLA: *Messiah*, 214.
[181] Cp. HALL: "Throne", 609-612.
[182] Cp. METZGER: *Gottesthron*, 309-366.
[183] Cp. also CHARLES: *Revelation I*, 118-124. See also CARRELL: *Jesus*, 144.
[184] Cp. AUNE: *Revelation 1-5*, 352-353, KISTEMAKER: *Revelation*, 206, SWETE: *Apocalypse*, 77, SÖDING: "Lamm", 89-90 and PITTMAN: "Angel", 25.

taking the place at the throne (Apc 7:17) as opposed to the four living beings or other beings in the throne room.[185] Further evidence that the Lamb's portrayal as standing refers to Christ's resurrection can be found in Apc 11:11. The two witnesses here are clearly resurrected, and the same verb (ἵσταμαι) is used in order to describe the event.[186] Admittedly, the description in Apc 11 is much less ambiguous, as the spirit of life returns to them and they then stand up on their feet. Theologically, the concept of resurrection in Apc 11 does not cope with Christ's resurrection, as the witnesses come to life again after three and a half days.[187] Assuming an allusion to Christ's resurrection in Apc 5:6, the portrayal of Christ as standing may still seem rather odd, especially in view of traditions preserved in the Hebrew Bible or early Jewish writings where God is depicted as sitting while his heavenly court is standing, for instance in 1 Kings 22:19; 2 Chronicles 18:18; Isaiah 6:2; Jeremiah 23:18.22; Daniel 7:10; *1 Enoch* 14:22; *2 Baruch* 21:6; 48:10; *Testament of Abraham* 4:5; 8:1; 9:7; 15:11; 16:3 [Rec. A]; *Testament of Levi* 2:10, or even in the Apocalypse itself (as in 7:9.11; 8:2).[188] Also Israelite priests or worshippers are often depicted as standing before the Lord, for instance in Deuteronomy 10:8; 17:12; 18:5.7; 1 Samuel 1:26; Ps 24:3; 134:1; 135:2; Jeremiah 7:10; 15:1.19; 1 Esdras 8:90; Judith 4:14 or Maccabees 7:36.[189] Finally, angels are also described in a standing posture before God's throne, as can be seen in Daniel 7:9-10.13;[190] *1 Enoch* 71:8; *2 Baruch* 21:6; 48:10 and *4 Ezra* 8:21.[191] In these traditions the depiction of people standing around God probably indicates a certain degree of

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[185] Cp. KARRER: "Stärken", 408-409.
[186] See similarly HOHNJEC: *Lamm*, 46-47: HOHNJEC regards ἑστηκός to be etymologically identical to the NT term for resurrection (ἀνάστασις).
[187] Cp. for the differences in the concepts of resurrection MÜLLER: *Auferstehung*, 50-51, esp. n. 163.
[188] Cp. for this and also for further early Jewish traditions reflecting on the heavenly court standing in God's throne room AUNE: *Revelation 1-5*, 352.
[189] See for this AUNE: *Revelation 1-5*, 352.
[190] See for the παρεστηκότες in Dan 7:13 (being introduced as παρειστήκεισαν in Dan 7:10) as angels in a judgement situation also SCRIBA: *Theophanie*, 36-37.
[191] Cp. MICHL: "Engel", 70. The angel of destruction can also be depicted as standing, as for instance in 1 Chr 21:15-15. For a general assumption that angels have to stand before God see also VOLLENWEIDER: "Monotheismus", 29.

subordination. One might ask whether the portrait of a standing Christ might not contrast with the description of the 24 elders, who are sitting on their thrones surrounding God.[192] Given the prominence associated with the sitting position, it might seem at first sight that the 24 elders are superior to the Lamb, as they are the ones sitting on thrones while the Lamb has to stand. The Lamb could then even be interpreted as an angelomorphic depiction of Christ, as the standing posture often applies to angels, as just demonstrated. Further, certain rabbinic writings (*Gen. Rab.* 65:21[193] or *j. Ber.* 2c) might support such a view as they express an interest in the standing posture of angels. The angels' standing posture is explained on the basis that they have no joints, which demonstrates their inability to sit.[194] It has also been argued that 4Q405 20 col. ii-21-22 seems to distinguish certain angels who may sit, whilst other angels have to stand.[195] However, it seems doubtful to put Apc 5:6 in line of this discussion, as the terminology concerning sitting or standing is subject to changing situations in other traditions: in Isaiah 3:13, for example, God (and not an angel) is standing as he is judging; in *Testament of Abraham* 11:4-11 [Rec A] the position of the judging Adam alters from sitting to standing.[196] In *Apocalypse of Peter* 6 Christ and the angels are depicted as sitting when the eschatological judgement takes place. It is obvious that a sitting or standing posture respectively is probably not a uniform means of identifying angels (or similar subordinate beings) throughout early Jewish and Christian writings. Neither can it be interpreted as a clear means of differentiating Christ and angels. Therefore, one

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[192] The identity of the 24 elders can probably not be clarified without a doubt. Cp. for thorough discussions about the variety of possible interpretations concerning these elders the Excursus *The twenty-four elders* in AUNE: *Revelation 1-5*, 287-292, MICHL: *Ältesten*, passim, SCHÜSSLER FIORENZA: *Priester*, 284 n. 199 and SATAKE: *Gemeindeordnung*, 137-150. Their description as sitting on thrones allows only for an understanding of their high rank in the heavenly hierarchy.

[193] See also FLETCHER-LOUIS: *Glory*, 344.

[194] See for this GRUENWALD: *Mysticism*, 66-67, esp. n. 137. See further SCHIMANOWSKI: *Liturgie*, 218.

[195] Cp. FLETCHER-LOUIS: *Glory*, 344 for the discussion. Cp. also DAVILA: *Liturgical*, 145-146: It is possible that only the lesser angels are not allowed to sit, while the thrones mentioned in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* suggest that the more important angels may be allowed to do so.

[196] See for this also MUNOA: *Powers*, 50-51.

should doubt that the Apocalypse follows traditions where angels or angel-like beings are so drastically differentiated from other beings that they cannot sit. Such a distinction between angelic beings who can and who cannot sit could not be underlying the description of Christ in Apc 5:6, since he is actually depicted as sitting in Apc 14:14. Following these observations, the standing posture of the Lamb would not necessarily imply a subordinate position, if a judgement situation would be in view in this vision at all.

Given the close proximity to God's throne in the portrait of the Lamb, a subordinated Christ does not appear to be the image the author wishes to express in Apc 5.[197] On the contrary, the portrait of the standing Lamb (i.e. Christ) has a rather remarkable parallel in Acts 7:56 where the Son of Man is perceived by Stephanus as also standing at the right of God.[198] An explanation of the description of Jesus as the standing Son of Man - in contrast to the often used tradition of Jesus sitting at the right hand side of God - and the implication that the standing posture is an attempt to limit the status of Jesus here[199] is not convincing. In Luke 22:69 the Son of Man is taking his seat; therefore a limited status of the Son of Man can hardly have been Luke's intention.[200] Analogously, the Lamb is portrayed as sharing God's throne in the Apocalypse, so the establishment of a limited status of the Lamb is similarly out of the question for Revelation.

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[197] Christ is rather associated with the throne. See for this also KNIGHT: *Revelation*, 64 and 161-162.

[198] See also SWETE: *Apocalypse*, 77.

[199] See for such an argument ROWLAND: *Heaven*, 368-370. Parallel to his argument concerning Act 7:56 ROWLAND emphasises the standing posture of the Lamb as well. For him the Lamb's importance is expressed by death and redemption. Cp. ROWLAND: *Heaven*, 426 and 516 n. 72.

[200] Cp. for this also FLETCHER-LOUIS: *Luke-Acts*, 246-248 and AUNE: *Revelation 6-16*, 803. Christ's posture as standing in Act 7 might be influenced by the following scenario in Act 8 referring to Simon Magus who is also referred to as the Standing One. Cp. FLETCHER-LOUIS: *Luke-Acts*, 248 n. 8. Cp. for the concept of Simon Magus as the Standing One FOSSUM: *Name*, 112-129, esp. 124 n. 148. Cp. also GIESCHEN: *Angelomorphic*, 31. COLPE attempted to explain the standing Son of Man in Act 7:56 on the assumption of a different tradition that Luke adapted. Cp. COLPE: "υἱός", 462. This explanation does, however, not take Lk 22:69 into account, which indicates that Luke knew the tradition of the sitting Son of Man. The standing Son of Man could in the given scenario well be interpreted as interceding for Stephen, like a defendant at a court. Cp. for this proposal also GRUNDMANN: "στηκω", 650 and FLETCHER-LOUIS: *Luke-Acts*, 247.

Likewise, the description of high ranking heavenly figures as either standing or sitting gives the impression of interchangeability elsewhere in other early Jewish or early Christian writings. For instance, in 1 *Enoch* 49:2 the Son of Man is depicted as standing, while he is portrayed as sitting in 1 *Enoch* 51:3 and 55:4. In *Ascension of Isaaiah* Christ's posture changes from standing (*Asc. Isa.* 9:35) to sitting (*Asc. Isa.* 11:32).[201] Obviously, the features of either standing or sitting in descriptions of exalted figures are functional terms. It appears to be wrong to regard the postures as typically representative features of certain heavenly beings, be it christological, angelic, or angelomorphic. The meaning of the postures have to be derived from the context.[202]

An interpretation of the standing Lamb as a feature which represents Christ as a defendant (of his followers) in a court situation might be enticing. Such an interpretation could be rooted in Daniel 12:1 where Michael, the defendant and intercessory angel of Israel, is also portrayed as standing (ἑστηκώς).[203] Parallels for an understanding of the Lamb as a heavenly defendant might also be found in Samaritan writings: the *Memar Marqua* seems to offer a lot of minor parallelling features compared to the Apocalypse, as for instance a certain interest in the staff of Moses in *Memar Marqua* I.3, possibly alluded to in Apc 12:5 and 19:15. In the same passage, the Great Name of God (probably inscribed in the staff here) is mentioned, reminiscent of the name of the figure in Apc 19:12-16. Of further interest in the Samaritan material are references to Moses as standing, especially *Memar Marqua* V.2, where the depiction of Moses as standing before God and pleading for Israel might be regarded as an interesting parallel, as Moses becomes exalted and transformed into an angelic

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[201] The Christology of the *Ascension of Isaiah* is deeply subordinate in general. In *Asc. Isa.* 9:27-39 the Beloved One and the Spirit are standing, probably in homage to God. In *Asc. Isa.* 11:32-33, though, they are described as seated. The latter description is most likely dependant on 1 Pet 3:22. Cp. KNIGHT: *Disciples*, 63.

[202] See similarly GRUNDMANN: "στήκω", 647. Against FLETCHER-LOUIS: *Luke-Acts*, 247, who regards the standing posture of the Son of Man as appropriate for an angelomorphic being.

intermediator.[204] The parallels offered might at first sight lead to a conclusion of a similar concept of an angelomorphic Christ as an intercessor or defender in Apc 5:6. It seems, however, that these possible allusions are too widely spaced in the Apocalypse in order to demonstrate with any force that John has used such a concept. Furthermore, the standing posture of the Lamb in Apc 14:1 would not correspond with Moses in the Samaritan passages.

Assuming features from a court scenario would cope with the two different portraits in Apc 14. The juridical son of man like figure would be sitting and judging his opponents in Apc 14:14, while the Lamb would be standing as the defendant of his followers – such an interpretation copes well with the notion of Christ being depicted according to the perspective of his followers and opponents.

The only feature in Apc 5 that might be reminiscent of a courtroom or judgement situation seems to be the the standing posture of the Lamb (and possibly the sitting posture of God and the 24 elders). One might ask, therefore, if this provides enough evidence for assuming a description of judgement of any kind in Apc 5.

The analogy between the standing Lamb in Apc 5:6 and 14:1 allows for a more convincing consideration than any courtroom or judgement situation involving standing angels or angel-like beings. In Apc 14:1, the Lamb is standing on Mount Zion, the place where God's eschatological kingdom will be established. Therefore, the portrait of the standing Lamb in Apc 14:1 hints at the Lamb as an eschatological Davidic Messiah, a warrior-like Messiah who is gathering his followers and about to face his enemies in battle.[205] Such an interpretation would be in line with certain traditions: in Psalm 2:6 God sets his king upon Zion, the holy hill, from where the king will conquer his

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[203] Cp. for Michael as Israel's intercessor for instance SCHÄFER: *Rivalität*, 29-30 and LUEKEN: *Michael*, 13-30. See for the concept of angels participating in court also MACH: *Entwicklungsstadien*, 255-257, MICHL: "Engel", 88 and SCRIBA: *Theophanie*, 36 n. 108.

[204] Cp. for the thorough discussion of the Samaritan texts FOSSUM: *Name*, 112-129. See also FLETCHER-LOUIS: *Glory*, 146-148.

enemies (verses 8-11). This passage is further interpreted messianically in *Psalms of Solomon* 17:21-25.[206] The closest parallel for the vision in Apc 14:1-5 is preserved in *4 Ezra* 13:29-50.[207] Apc 14:1 is almost literally mirrored in *4 Ezra* 13:35: *Ipse autem stabit super cacumen montis Sion* (But he will stand on the top of Mount Zion). It is probable that the passage from *4 Ezra* and Apc 14:1-5 share a common source or tradition.[208]

The function of the Lamb in Apc 14:1-5 and other passages might also shed some light on the question of why the Lamb is depicted as standing. In Apc 14:4, the followers of the Lamb are described as οἱ ἀκολουθοῦντες τῷ ἀρνίῳ ὅπου ἄν ὑπάγῃ. Such terminology could allude to the Lamb as a shepherd who is leading its people - a task that naturally involves a standing posture. Indeed, one can see some prominence of shepherd terminology[209] being applied to the Lamb or Christ respectively: In Apc 7:17 the Lamb is explicitly labelled as a shepherd, being ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ θρόνου (as in Apc 5), leading (ποιμανεῖ) its followers to the water (cp. Ps 23). Notably the Lamb is not referred to as sitting here despite being positioned in the middle of the throne. Also in Apc 12:5 Christ is referred to in similar terminology: he shall lead (μέλλει ποιμαίνειν) all nations with an iron staff (ἐν ῥάβδῳ σιδηρᾷ). The same expressions reoccur in Apc 19:15 (ποιμανεῖ αὐτοὺς ἐν ῥάβδῳ σιδηρᾷ) where they are applied to Christ again. In this vision, though, Christ is depicted as sitting on a white horse (Apc 19:11). Therefore, a vision of Christ as a standing shepherd might not seem to be consequently arranged

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[205] Cp. AUNE: *Revelation 6-16*, 803-804 and KISTEMAKER: *Revelation*, 400.

[206] Notably, Apc 19:11.15 refers to following verses of these passages, namely Ps 2:9 or *Pss. Sol.* 17:26-27 respectivley. One might get the impression that the author deliberately refers to these traditions again, in order to demonstrate that Apc 19 is a continuation of Apc 14.

[207] See for the messianic concept and the gathering in *Pss. Sol.* 17 and *4 Ezra 13* also HORBURY: *Messianism*, 55.

[208] Cp. for this AUNE: *Revelation 6-16*, 803. See for a slightly different view AUNE: "Qumran", 644 n. 89: "The close parallels between Rev 14:1-5 and *4 Ezra* 13:25-50 (which narrates the eschatological assault of the nations on Mount Zion and describes the Son of the Most High, the Man from the Sea, who will destroy them with fire) suggests the original content of the fragment in Rev 14:1-5."

[209] For shepherd imagery see also GUTHRIE: "Christology", 404, CASEY: *God*, 142, COMBLIN: *Christ*, 31-34, BÖCHER: *Kirche*, 3-5 and KNIGHT: *Revelation*, 128.

throughout Revelation. Still, the sitting position of Christ in Apc 19 should perhaps not be considered as disturbing an arrangement of shepherd imagery applied to Christ, as he is also treading the great winepress of wrath in Apc 19:15, which could not be done while riding. Since the function of Christ is juridical in chapter 19, a sitting posture – as already seen in Apc 14:14 – is not very unusual. The passages reflecting on shepherding ἐν ῥάβδῳ σιδηρᾷ indicates a rather juridical meaning of shepherd imagery in Revelation. A look at the other passages where the Lamb is described as a shepherd might confirm that they implicitly refer to a standing posture.

The phrase ποιμανεῖ αὐτοὺς ἐν ῥάβδῳ σιδηρᾷ also occurs in Apc 2:27, though here it does not refer to Christ, but to those who overcome (ὁ νικῶν). Accordingly, in Apc 2:27 a promise is made to those who overcome, but it is Christ who is depicted in fulfillment of this promise in Apc 19:15 (and Apc 7:17 and 12:5). It is noticeable that regarding the enthronement promised to the νικῶν in Apc 3:21, Christ is depicted as the one who achieved such a position in Apc 5:6 or 7:17. Supposedly, the author portrayed Christ typologically as the one who fulfills the promises in analogy to Apc 1:5, where Christ is called the πρωτότοκος (cp. Rom 8:29).

The shepherd imagery applied to Christ as the Lamb seems peculiar at first, as it is the Lamb who is the shepherd. However, such a description can also be seen in the *Animal Apocalypse.* For instance, in *1 Enoch* 89:45 David is described as a ram that is leading the sheep (i.e. Israel); *1 Enoch* 89:48b depicts Solomon as a ram shepherding the flock of Israel. Another parallel for such imagery can be found in Joh 10:11-16 where Jesus is described as the good shepherd. Probably this parallel is the passage closest to shepherd imagery used in the Apocalypse. A standing posture is unfortunately not mentioned in any of the above parallels, so it can only be assumed that the standing posture of the Lamb derives from such imagery.

In Apc 5 though, the focus is on the sacrificial Lamb which is standing ὡς ἐσφαγμένον (as slaughtered). However, the analogy of the Lamb depicted as standing in two instances with a slightly different impetus allows for the conclusion that the author wanted to express that the Lamb is victorious *because* of his sacrifice: The Lamb - described with varying expressions between sacrificial and military terminology[210] - is the *victor quia victima*.[211] In such a context the standing posture of the Lamb could indeed be interpreted as a concealed device of alluding to Christ's resurrection.

A rather simple approach for identifying the standing posture of Christ in Apc 5:6 would be to consider the situation circumstantially: as the Lamb approaches God's throne in order to receive the sealed scroll out of his hand, it seems rather natural that he is standing before he is coming (ἦλθεν) and taking the scroll in verse 7.[212] But again, this interpretation of the standing Lamb does not correspond with Apc 14:1.

Therefore, the explanation presented above appears to be the preferable solution for the problem of the standing Lamb: the Lamb's standing posture refers to its warrior-like messianic character which is only fully comprehensible by its suffering and own sacrifice. An echo of Christ's resurrection might also have been intended with this statement; the whole expression ἑστηκός ὡς ἐσφαγμένον probably resembles the author's deliberate attempt to emphasise Christ's death (ἐσφαγμένον) and resurrection (ἑστηκός) paradoxically.[213]

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[210] Cp. similarly BAUCKHAM: *Climax*, 215. BAUCKHAM regards the different attributes in Apc 5:5-6 as a tension between military violence and national interests (which remain unfullfilled) and a victory against evil by means of sacrifice (which is fullfilled by the sacrifice of Jesus). The victory of the Lamb might reflect on military and sacrificial categories simultaneously. Cp. also MÜLLER: "Ratsversammlung", 255 n. 7: The emphasis on the victory of the Lamb indicates that being victorious is essential for the worthiness of the Lamb in order to be proclaimed as a kingly leader.

[211] See similarly SLATER: *Community*, 169.

[212] Cp. for this idea MÜLLER: *Offenbarung*, 156. See similarly SCHIMANOWSKI: *Liturgie*, 217-219 and BEALE: *Revelation*, 350.

[213] Cp. HOHNJEC: *Lamm*, 45 and similarly SCHÜSSLER FIORENZA: *Priester*, 270-271. See further *Excursus One: Paradoxes in the Apocalypse as means of describing Christ*.

The term ὁ ἑστώς could possibly also express an aspect of resurrection, as might be parallel to the *Pseudo-Clementines* (e. g. reflected in *Hom. II.22*). The "Standing One" in the *Clementina* probably means "the Eternal One" or "the Living One". In Philo God is also referred to as the "Standing One", because he is immutable and unchangeable (*De somn.* 2.221-230). People approaching God therefore also

In any case, one should hesitate to ascribe subordinate tendencies to the Lamb in Apc 5 because of the standing posture. As we have seen, it is more suitable to confirm that the picture of the standing posture contributes to the very powerful image of the Lamb which the author of Revelation attempts to represent.

Excursus One: Paradoxes in the Apocalypse as Means of Describing Christ

Statements with a paradoxical character occur frequently within the Apocalypse,[214] particularly in the seven letters to the churches in Asia. In Apc 2:9, for instance, Smyrna is addressed as being poor and rich at the same time. Apc 2:10 continues by offering believers a paradoxical reward: they can receive the Crown of Life for being faithful until their deaths. Similarly, the letter to Sardes begins with a paradox accounting for this community as being simultaneously dead and alive (Apc 3:1).[215] Further evidence for paradoxes can be found in Apc 3:15 where Laodicea is said to be neither cold or hot, and in Apc 3:17 where the same community is described as being rich but poor. The opening vision in chapter 1 might moreover provide evidence for the author's use of paradoxes: in Apc 1:12 the narrator John turns around to see the voice talking to him.[216]

Along with these obvious paradoxes one might also find some paradoxes in depictions of Christ. We have already mentioned some descriptions with paradoxical statements concerning Christ, as the Lamb being "standing as slaughtered" in Apc 5:6, the paradoxical character of the "wrath of the Lamb" in Apc 6:16, or also the supposedly small Lamb with the βιβλίον (Apc 5:8) as opposed to the strong angel in Apc 10:2 with the βιβλαρίδιον. The depiction of Christ being the Lamb bearing a mortal wound and at the same time the Lion "who has conquered" in Apc 5:5-6 is probably the

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have to be a "Standing One" (*De post. Caini* 27). Cp. for a more detailed discussion of these passages FOSSUM: *Name*, 120-121. It has also recently been argued that an interest in an intermediary Moses can be seen in some Qumran writings: FLETCHER-LOUIS has attempted to demonstrate the deification of Moses in 4Q374. (cp. FLETCHER-LOUIS: *Glory*, 136-141, "Angelomorphic", 292-312 and "Deification", 236-252. The fragmentary character of the manuscript, however, does not warrant FLETCHER-LOUIS' assumption; cp. for this DAVILA: "Ascents", 472-473.) For 4Q377 1 recto col. ii FLETCHER-LOIUS proposes the existence of an angelic Moses who is depicted as standing, showing his immutability. As evidence for this proposal he offers rabbinic writings (*Aboth de R. Nathan* A 12:2; 37:2; *Gen. Rab.* 8:11; 14:3; *b. Hag.* 16a; *Pirqe R. El.* 46) where the standing posture indicates an angelic interpretation (cp. FLETCHER-LOUIS: *Glory*, 146-148, esp. n. 24.). He also offers evidence for an understanding of standing as a symbol of immutability, as Aristobulus (frag. 2, 9-12 in Eusebius *Praep. Evang.* 8.9.38-8.10.17) and certain writings of Philo (*De somn.* 221-230 and possibly *De sac. Abeli et Caini* 8-10 and *De post. Caini* 27-29). See for a thorough discussion also SEGAL: *Powers*, 170-175. A connection between these parallels and 4Q377 as assumed by FLETCHER-LOUIS might be considered possible, but cannot be proven with certainty. Also in *Gosp. Thom.* 18 the standing posture might be interpreted in light of immortality or immutability. See for this DECONNICK: *Seek*, 91. Admittedly, all these parallels are too vague and remote from John's theological concept to warrant such a use of tradition in Revelation.

[214] Cp. for this discussion also THOMPSON: *Revelation*, 48-49.

[215] Cp. for this also AUNE: *Revelation 1-5*, 122.

[216] Cp. also ROWLAND: *Revelation*, 59.

most paradoxical image used to describe Christ.[217] Apc 5. concerned with Christ being victorious by his death on the cross, describes another major paradox. (A similar deliberate conflation of such imagery can be found in a reference to the cross, which is labelled the "tree of life" in Apc 2:7 and - alluding clearly to Deut 21:22-23 - Apc 22:2-3.[218]) Notably, the author employs paradoxical imagery for the description of the pseudoprophet by labelling him as lamb and dragon at the same time in Apc 13:11.[219] Moreover, the beast, resembling a parody of Christ, bears paradoxical features as it is recovering from an apparently mortal wound (Apc 13:3.12).

It seems worth asking whether the author continues the tendency of employing deliberately paradoxical descriptions for Christ elsewhere. We do indeed find evidence for more paradoxes being applied to Christ. In Apc 1:18 a rather obvious example for this can be seen. Here, Christ is the one who "was dead" and "is alive" The same depiction of Christ is present in Apc 2:8. However, this paradox might simply reflect on early Christian traditions of Christ's resurrection. Still, such a statement has to be accounted for as being paradoxical in character. Some other paradoxical expressions are used to refer to Christ in the following passages as well, as for instance Christ's depiction as "the first and the last one" in Apc 1:17 and 2:8 (cp. also Apc 22:13), and also in Apc 3:7 where Christ is holding the keys of David, enabling him "to open what nobody can shut and to shut what nobody can open". The blood of the Lamb and its salvific effect is also portrayed in a paradoxical way, as in Apc 7:14 it is surprisingly said to wash and whiten the clothes of believers. It should have become apparent that paradoxes are a common device of the Apocalypse's author, whose tendency to apply such constructions to Christ can clearly be seen. Indeed, Christ seems to be described as a paradox in the entire Apocalypse. According to our observations, Christ is portrayed according to two perspectives, namely as the Lamb (a Passover Lamb) for the believers, and the angelomorphic judge (an Angel of Death) for the non-believers. Such imagery can be defined as somehow paradoxical as well, as it appears odd that Christ is depicted as a cruel judge and caring leader of his community simultaneously. It can also be considered a paradox that Christ functions as a destroyer while he has the status of a co-creator in Apc 5 (see section 3.2.4. for this discussion). This paradox is reflected exactly in the shepherd imagery provided in Revelation (see section 3.1.3.2.). On the one hand Christ is the Lamb functioning also as shepherd for his people, but at the same time Christ is also "shepherding" his opponents ἐν ῥάβδῳ σιδηρᾷ.

It can be concluded that paradoxes play a major role for the seer in his way of describing Christ. He defines and explains Christ paradoxically as unexplainable, and thus comprehensible only through paradoxes.

3.1.3.3. The Horns and the Eyes of the Lamb (Apc 5:6)

Further attributes of the Lamb indicate its superiority over the 24 elders or the four living beings who are also present around the throne. The seven horns attributed to the Lamb should also demonstrate the significant role the Lamb plays in Apc 5. In early

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[217] Cp. also SCHMIDT: "Bildersprache", 169.
[218] Cp. THOMPSON: *Revelation*, 48-49.
[219] Cp. SCHÜSSLER FIORENZA: *Priester*, 270 n. 126.

Jewish literature and the Hebrew Bible we find portraits of certain prominent figures who are described having a horn in order to symbolically indicate their might. For instance, in *1 Enoch* 90:9 (probably) the Maccabees are depicted as horned lambs.[220] Similarly, in *1 Enoch* 90:37 a messianic military leader is depicted as a white bull with large horns. A further parallel of a messianic conception for the horns in Apc 5:6 might be found in 1QSb col. v 26, where the Prince receives a blessing that his horns (קרניכה) may be like iron. Also in Numbers 23:22; Deuteronomy 33:17; Jeremiah 48:25; Psalm 18:1-3; Psalm 22:22; Daniel 7:20-21 and 8:3-4 horns are referred to as symbols that reflect a certain amount of their bearer's power.[221] The Lamb in Apc 5:6 is therefore correspondingly portrayed as extremely powerful, as it has seven horns.

The imagery of the seven horns is complemented by seven eyes that are also attributed to the Lamb. This description is (as has been mentioned in section 2.3.2.) connected to God's description in Apc 4:5. Here the vision corresponds with Zechariah 4:2-10.[222] In Zechariah 4:2 the Prophet has a vision of the seven lamps of fire, probably representing the menorah of the Temple, similar to the seven torches of fire in Apc 4:5 that are placed in front of God`s throne. Zechariah 4:10 identifies those lamps as the seven eyes of God, probably indicating God`s omniscience (as can be seen for instance in 2 Chr 16:9; Job 28:10; Ps 34:15; 139:16).[223] These lamps or the seven spirits respectively most likely represent a group of seven angels in front of God`s throne (as

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[220] The identification of the lambs as the Maccabees is not entirely certain, as verse 9 might also allude to the Hasidim. Cp. TILLER: *Commentary*, 354-355. See also BEALE: *Revelation*, 351.

[221] Cp. MÜLLER: *Offenbarung*, 156, AUNE: *Revelation 1-5*, 353. Cp. also MOUNCE: *Revelation*, 132-133, LOHSE: *Offenbarung*, 44, KISTEMAKER: *Revelation*, 207, YARBRO COLLINS: *Apocalypse*, 41 and KNIGHT: *Revelation*, 64.

[222] For the image of the seven spirits and the seven eyes and also for the four living beings, LOHSE assumes shades of astralmythological traditions in the background. Cp. LOHSE: *Offenbarung*, 44. This possibility might not be entirely dismissed, though it seems that these passages in Apc 4-5 can be more easily explained on the basis of traditions from the Hebrew Bible which are rather visible and not as remote as the astralmythological traditions. The traditions in the background of Apc 4:5 are Zech 4:10 combined with Is 11:2 (LXX), cp. KRAFT: *Offenbarung*, 110. Ezek 1:13 provides another parallel that might be in the background in Apc 4:5. Cp. ROWLAND: *Heaven*, 224. Cp. for influences of Hebrew Bible passages also HEMER: *Letters*, 142. See also FEKKES: *Isaiah*, 107-110 for the influence of Zech 4 and a discussion on a possible influence from Isa 11:2.

for instance in Tob 12:15[224]), as certain early Jewish writings similarly designate angels as spirits. The expression "spirit" is used, for instance, in *Jubilees* 1:25; 2:2; 15:31-32 or *1 Enoch* 61:12.[225] The occurence of angels being designated as spirits is admittedly not very common. In Qumranic writings, though, the expression "spirit" is more commonly used for designating angels. Angels are represented as spirits in 4Q403 1 col. ii 10; 4Q405 14-15 col. i 4; 4Q405 19ABCD 4; 4Q405 24 2, they are the רוחות אלוהים in 4Q403 1 col. i 43; 1 col. ii 8,9; 4Q404 5 5; 4Q405 20 col. ii 21-22 11; 4Q405 23 col. i 9-10, and also 4Q405 23 col. i 8-9 indicates that "holy angels" and "spirits of God" are being used synonymously.[226]

Even in New Testament writings a designation of angels as spirits is known: in Hebrews 1:14 angels are called λειτουργικὰ πνεύματα, corresponding with the same designation in verse 7.[227] This passage supports the claim that angels are sometimes described as spirits in New Testament literature. Therefore, also the "seven spirits of God" in Apc 3:1, 4:5 and 5:6 may be identified as seven angels standing before God, in analogy with Apc 8:2.[228] It is even possible to identify these seven angels with the group of angels in Apc 15:5-8 and Apc 16:1-21 as well, because their description

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[223] See also AUNE: *Revelation 1-5*, 353-354.

[224] The specification of seven angels being before God is shared by the different versions of Tobit. Vaticanus and Alexandrinus (BA) on the one hand, and Sinaticus (S) on the other. In BA Raphael is additionally designated as one of the seven "holy" angels (εἷς ἐκ τῶν ἑπτὰ ἁγίων ἀγγέλλων). Angels in BA are described as "holy angels" between "holy ones" and *the* "holy One", which might possibly stress their intermediary tasks. (cp. similarly DESELAERS: *Tobit*, 185 and FITZMYER: *Tobit*, 296.) The description of God as the "holy One" in Tob 12:15 BA is probably a reference to Is 6:1-3 (see also GROSS: *Tobit*, 46.); as the same passage from Isa is underlying Apc 4-5, one might assume that Revelation is closer to the BA version of Tobit. For a connection of Tob 12:15 and Apc 1:4 and 3:1 cp. also GROSS: *Tobit*, 46 and MOORE: *Tobit*, 271.

[225] Cp. for this AUNE: *Revelation 1-5*, 34 and 353-354.

[226] Cp. for a full list of "angels" being represented as "spirits" in Qumran NEWSOM: *Sabbath*, 25. Apparently "spirit" is the most common designation for angels in Qumran. Cp. for this also DAVIDSON: *Angels*, 241 and 252 and AUNE: *Revelation 1-5*, 34-35. See for the designation of angels and demons as spirits ALEXANDER: "Demonology", 331-353.

[227] See for this LANE: *Hebrews 1-8*, 32.

[228] See AUNE: *Revelation 1-5*, 35. See also MICHL: "Engel", 114 and MOORE: *Tobit*, 271.

matches the statement concerning the seven spirits in Apc 5:6 which God sends out into the whole world.[229]

Another hint for an angelic interpretation of the spirits in Apc 4:5 and 5:6 can be derived from the parallel in Tobit 12:14-15. Here the angel Raphael is announcing in verse 14 that he was sent from God (ἀπέστειλέν με ὁ θεός in BA and ἀπέσταλκέν με ὁ θεός in S). The same Greek verb refers to the spirits that are sent out (which are ἀπεσταλμένοι here) in Apc 5:6. The reference to sending the spirits out almost certainly indicates that an angelic understanding of the spirits in Apc 5:6 is favourable.

Some scholars have assumed that the seven spirits represent the Holy Spirit, because they are mentioned in a rather "trinitarian" salutation in Apc 1:4-5a,[230] but such an interpretation seems too close to a trinitarian concept[231] and does not acknowledge the early Jewish material and the passage from Hebrews 1:14 that indicates the probability of the spirits representing angels. A decision on whether these seven spirits represent angels or the Holy Spirit is not entirely crucial for the understanding of the Lamb's significance here. It has been demonstrated, however, that an interpretation of the spirits as angels is very appropriate. Like God having power over the spirits, Christ now receives command over these seven spirits in Apc 5:6. The attributes (seven horns and seven eyes) given to Christ also ensure the impression of the Lamb as overwhelmingly powerful and wise,[232] as it shares features with God.[233]

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[229] Cp. GIESCHEN: *Angelomorphic*, 264.
[230] Cp. for instance BAUCKHAM: *Theology*, 110-115, KISTEMAKER: *Revelation*, 207, HEMER: *Letters*, 142-143, HOHNJEC: *Lamm*, 49-50 or BECKWITH: *Apocalypse*, 424-427. See similarly SPITTA: *Offenbarung*, 66.
[231] See for the problem of identifying the seven spirits also KRETSCHMAR: *Offenbarung*, 34-35.
[232] Possibly the seven horns represent Christ's power, while the seven eyes embody wisdom. Cp. HARRINGTON: *Revelation*, 84-85. See similarly CAIRD: *Revelation*, 75: CAIRD regards the horns and the eyes as an expression for indicating omniscience and omnipotence. See further SCHIMANOWSKI: *Liturgie*, 229-231.
[233] See YARBRO COLLINS: *Apocalypse*, 41.

3.2. The Christology in the Hymnic Parts of Apc 4-5

3.2.1. The Reaction of the Elders and the Angels

The tendency of the Lamb's superiority over the other figures, namely the four living beings, the elders and other angels in the vision in Apc 4-5, is further evidenced by the hymnic material in these chapters, and also by the reactions of these figures as the Lamb takes the scroll.

A clear-cut distinction is apparent between the Lamb and the other beings surrounding the throne in the vision in Apc 5. Their reaction to the Lamb`s investment reflects their subordinate position. The 24 elders and the four living beings fall down before the Lamb and worship it (Apc 5:8), and the myriads of angels join the scene of worship by praising the Lamb (Apc 5:11-12). Further, the entire creation, all beings in heaven, on earth, on and in the sea, join this praising (Apc 5:13). This scene of worship in Apc 5 does not only indicate the Lamb's superiority over the beings witnessing its investment,[234] the sequence of these beings worshipping the Lamb also expresses the Lamb's relation to God, as Apc 4 offers a parallel structure of God being worshipped. The four living beings worship God (Apc 4:8-9) by praising him, followed by the 24 elders who put their crowns before God (Apc 4:10-11). In contrast to this explicit form of worship, such veneration by God's creation seems to be absent in Apc 4. However, an implicit form of integrating the creation is present in Apc 4:11, as God is referred to as the creator of all things for which he is praised. More clearly God's worship by creation is expressed in the hymnic part of Apc 5:13, where God and Lamb are praised together.

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[234] See also CARRELL: *Jesus*, 144: The Lamb is superior to the 24 elders and the four living beings, as they acclaim Jesus in song and bow down before him (Apc 5:8; 5:12).

Provisionally, these observations seem to confirm an equality of the Lamb and God, as both share the worship of the elders, the four living beings, and the creation. Notably angels are not mentioned as worshipping God, which must arouse some suspicion. In similar heavenly scenarios angels (sometimes reciting hymns) are regularly mentioned, as in 1 Kings 22:19; Daniel 7:10; *1 Enoch* 47:3.[235] One can only assume that the author deliberately wanted to express the expanding circle of worshippers in increasing detail only once in Apc 5 and therefore did not repeat fully the scenario in Apc 4. An omission of the angels in Apc 4 may be explained as having been taken up by the presence of the angels in Apc 5:11.[236] (Also, angels are included in a vision of worshipping God in Apc 7:11.) But then it remains problematic why the angels should be mentioned as praising the Lamb alone whilst they are not said in the text to be worshipping God. Perhaps the author wanted to stress the superiority of the Lamb over angels here; as the status of God, who is assumed to be far superior to the angels, needs no demonstration at this point. In the hymnic material itself one can indeed find further clues for the Lamb's superiority over the other angels, elders and the four living beings, and also more statements concerning an equality of Lamb and God. Strikingly, the hymnic material in Apc 5 is more extended and deals with the Lamb in much more detail than with God in Apc 4.

3.2.2. The Relation between God and the Lamb in the Hymnic Parts

A parallel display of the hymnic material – divided into the passages dealing with God (Apc 4:8.9.11), with the Lamb (Apc 5:9-10.12), and with both the Lamb and

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[235] Cp. also GRUENWALD: *Mysticism*, 33 and AUNE: *Revelation 1-5*, 363.
[236] Cp. AUNE: *Revelation 1-5*, 363. The description of the multitude of angels reflects traditions such as Dan 7:10 or *1 En.* 14:22. Cp. MOUNCE: *Revelation*, 137, SWEET: *Revelation*, 131 and KNIGHT: *Revelation*, 65.

God (Apc 5:12) – demonstrates the author's interest in describing the power of the Lamb in detail.

Figure 2: Display of Hymnic Material from Apc 4 and 5

Apc 4:8.11 Hymn praising God	Apc 4:9 God	Apc 5:9-10 Lamb	Apc 5:12 Lamb	Apc 5:13 Lamb+God
ἅγιος, ἅγιος, ἅγιος κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ὤν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος	...			
		ἄξιος εἶ	ἄξιόν ἐστιν τὸ ἀρνίον τὸ ἐσφαγμένον	τῷ καθημένῳ ἐπὶ τῷ θρόνῳ καὶ τῷ ἀρνίῳ
ἄξιος εἶ λαβεῖν τὴν δόξαν καὶ τὴν τιμὴν καὶ τὴν δύναμιν	δώσουσιν ... δόξαν καὶ τιμὴν καὶ εὐχαριστίαν	λαβεῖν τὸ βιβλίον	λαβεῖν τὴν δύναμιν καὶ πλοῦτον καὶ σοφίαν καὶ ἰσχὺν καὶ τιμὴν καὶ δόξαν καὶ εὐλογίαν	ἡ εὐλογία καὶ ἡ τιμὴ καὶ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος
	...	καὶ ἀνοῖξαι τὰς σφραγῖδας αὐτοῦ		
	εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων			εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων
ὅτι σὺ ἔκτισας τὰ πάντα καὶ διὰ τὸ θέλημά σου ἦσαν καὶ ἐκτίσθησαν		ὅτι ἐσφάγης καὶ ἠγόρασα τῷ θεῷ ἐν αἵματί σου ἐκ πάσης φυλῆς καὶ γλώσσης καὶ λαοῦ καὶ ἔθνους καὶ ἐποίησας αὐτοὺς τῷ θεῷ ἡμῶν βασιλείαν καὶ ἱερεῖς καὶ βασιλεύσουσιν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς		

The limited hymnic materials used to describe the power of God should not, however, lead one to infer that this is not of ultimate concern: Apc 4:8 describes God as κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ, a phrase that bears no analogy in the passages describing the Lamb. In the background of this passage one can clearly recognise Isaiah 6:3:[237]

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[237] Isa 6:3 is also quoted in *1 En.* 39:12. Cp. MÜLLER: *Offenbarung*, 146-147, AUNE: *Revelation 1-5*, 304-305 and JÖRNS: *Evangelium*, 24-26. God is adressed with a singular title ("Lord of Spirits") here, so

however, the author has slightly changed the matrix for his version of the hymn, as he inserted three titles referring to God as (a) κύριος, (b) ὁ θεὸς and (c) ὸ παντοκράτωρ, instead of the יהוה צבאות in the MT or κύριος σαβαωθ in Isaiah 6 (LXX). The extended use of titles applied to God is not only a means of underscoring God's power by titles, but corresponds as well with the introduction of Apc 4:8 and with the *Dreizeitenformel* from the second part of the hymn: God is also addressed by a threefold ἅγιος and by ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος. Accordingly, God is acclaimed by three pairs of expressions in Apc 4:8, possibly in order to emphasise God's power and perfection. The passage in verse 8 might underline God's nature according to the *Dreizeitenformel*, in which John is particularly interested.[238] In Apc 4 the significance of this formula might even be highlighted by the author's use of different tempora. The use of the aorist in Apc 4:1-2a, the setting of Apc 4:2b-8a in the present tense and the description of 4:9-10 in future tense might also correspond with the phrase ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος.[239]

The three pairs of three acclamations in Apc 4:8 and the corresponding use of tempora may be schematised as follows:

Figure 3: <u>Scheme of Apc 4:8</u>

	1	2	3
1 2 3 ------ Apc 4 : Tempus	ἅγιος, κύριος ὁ ἦν ------ 1-2a aorist	ἅγιος, ὁ θεὸς καὶ ὁ ὢν ------ 2b-8a present	ἅγιος ὁ παντοκράτωρ, καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος. ------ 9-10 future

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the verison of *1 En.* is closer to Isa 6. Cp. for the influence of Hebrew Bible passages on Apc 4:8 and other passages featuring the *trishagion* also THOMPSON: *Revelation*, 57.

[238] In early Jewish material one may find parallels for an interpretation of the *trishagion* as three aspects of God: *Tg. Isa.* 6:3 interprets the three holies as alluding to God being holy in heaven, on earth and in eternity. Even closer to Apc 4:8 is an example from the hekalot literature, where God was king, is king and will be king for eternity. Cp. AUNE: *Revelation 1-5*, 307 and for the latter parallel SCHÄFER: *Synopse*, 62. In the Apocalypse, though, the author focuses on the eschatological coming of God, as the third part of the *Dreizeitenformel* clearly indicates. Cp. JÖRNS: *Evangelium*, 27-28. This concept of a threefold description of God seems, therefore, to be a unique feature of the Apocalypse.

[239] Cp. similarly JÖRNS: *Evangelium*, 29. See further SCHIMANOWSKI: *Liturgie*, 144-147.

Generally, the *Dreizeitenformel* is also present in descriptions of Christ (Apc 1:17-18), as has been demonstrated above (see section 3.1.1.). Notably, though, such an equation of God and the Lamb is not present in Apc 4-5. The formula describing God as the one who was, who is, and who comes is probably the only phrase connecting Christ and God in Apc 4:8. On its own the entire verse is a theological reflection on God's immense power and might. In the following sequences that contain hymnic material the author of the Apocalypse reveals more on the relation between God and the Lamb.

3.2.3. The Prerogatives in the Hymnic Parts

Apc 4:9 contains elements of a hymn, though it is provided in *oratio obliqua*. The four living beings give God δόξαν καὶ τιμὴν καὶ εὐχαριστίαν which takes place εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Both phrases recur in the following hymns in Apc 4 and 5, albeit with a notable variation in the first phrase. The objects which the four living beings give (δώσουσιν) to God are presented in Apc 4:11 again, but here they are described as the objects which God takes (λαβεῖν). Furthermore, they are not the same elements of worship, because εὐχαριστίαν is altered to τὴν δύναμιν. Similar doxological elements are also present in the hymnic parts concerned with the Lamb in Apc 5:12. These elements are even increased rather impressively here, as no less than seven are listed here, namely τὴν δύναμιν καὶ πλοῦτον καὶ σοφίαν καὶ ἰσχὺν καὶ τιμὴν καὶ δόξαν καὶ εὐλογίαν. In the following hymn, in turn, God and the Lamb are praised together and ἡ τιμὴ καὶ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος are given to them. At first sight, the application of these elements might simply reflect a certain similarity of the words used, but following the object of veneration the changes might imply the author's intention here. One may consider that the description of the Lamb's praise listing seven predicates in order to display its worthiness might correspond with Apc 5:6 where the

Lamb has seven eyes and seven horns. An interest in the number seven, however, is also reflected in descriptions of God: The seven torches of fire resembling the seven spirits are burning in front of his throne; also in Apc 7:12 the doxology addressing God features seven objects.[240] Therefore, the distribution of the predicates of doxologies in pairs of seven or three cannot simply be dependent upon whether it is God or Christ who is worshipped. The occurence of seven doxological elements does not automatically entail an address to Christ, as three of those elements are not exclusively featured in doxologies for God. As the hymn in Apc 5:13 praising God and the Lamb mentions four doxological elements, it should be apparent that there is no correspondence between a given number of elements and a given recipient. The only observation that can be made concerning the number of predicates of a doxology in Revelation is the variation of three (Apc 4:9.11), four (Apc 5:13), or seven objects (Apc 5:12; 7:12). Accordingly, the author implies that the Lamb and God have an equal status, as both are attributed three or seven ascriptions in the doxologies, while they share four objects[241] when they are praised together in Apc 5:13.

A minor difference that occurs when the various prerogatives are listed is the use of articles in front of the descriptions. Occasionally the entire group of predicates only receives one article (Apc 5:12), while in the other doxologies they receive either an individual article each (Apc 4:11 and 5:13) or no article at all (Apc 4:9). However, such an observation cannot help us in distinguishing the prerogatives given to God from those ascribed to the Lamb. In the lists of prerogatives with an article for each attribute,

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[240] As the doxology to God also includes seven prerogatives it cannot be deduced that the Lamb is more powerful than God. See for this also SLATER: *Community*, 171-172. However, one might assume that the number of seven prerogatives is deliberately composed. Cp. PETERSON: *ΘΕΟΣ*, 321.

[241] The number of four prerogatives might also reflect on the author's interest in this number, as can also be seen in the description of the four living beings (Apc 4-5), the four angels in the four corners of the world (Apc 7:1), or the cubic from of the New Jerusalem. Cp. further PETERSON: *ΘΕΟΣ*, 244 and 250.

more emphasis is probably given to the individual object than in cases where just a single article is present.[242]

The objects within the doxologies that are given to God and the Lamb respectively show a certain variation as well. Previous attempts to identify the predicates have occasionally led to grouping them into sections containing a certain meaning. For instance, the predicates in Apc 5:12 can be devided into two sections: the first four predicates (τὴν δύναμιν καὶ πλοῦτον καὶ σοφίαν καὶ ἰσχύν)[243] could then refer to the powers the Lamb received in order to reign, while the following three (τιμὴν καὶ δόξαν καὶ εὐλογίαν) give reasons for the Lamb being worshipped.[244] Such an understanding would be consistent with Apc 11:17, where gratitude is expressed because God took his might and reigns. The vocabulary used in Apc 5:12, therefore, might hint at the investment of the Lamb and the Lamb receiving the powers as the ruler of the world, similar to God in Apc 4:11.[245] However, we are obliged to deal more thoroughly with the prerogatives in the doxologies in order to see whether they confirm this kind of equality being expressed here:

A) It is noteworthy that "glory" (δόξα) and "honor" (τιμή) as a pair are included in each of the passages above containing a hymn. In Revelation δόξα refers to God in three passages (Apc 4:11; 7:12; 19:1), and one more time to God and the Lamb together (Apc 5:13). In all occurrences τιμή is used simultanously.[246] Both expressions also occur together in other New Testament and early Christian writings, as in Romans 2:10; 1 Timothy 1:17; Hebrews 2:7.9; 3:3; 2 Peter 1:17; *1 Clement* 45:8 and 61:1-2. Also in the LXX both expressions are frequently used together, as can be seen for instance in Psalms 8:6; 28:1; 95:7; Job 40:10; 2 Chronicles 32:33 or 1 Maccabees 14:21. They

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[242] See also MORRIS: *Revelation*, 99 and SLATER: *Community*, 172.
[243] For a connection of these expressions and their meaning see also DELLING: "Johannesapokalypse", 111-113. See further BEALE: *Revelation*, 364-365.
[244] Cp. for this suggestion for instance LOHSE: *Offenbarung*, 45, MOUNCE: *Revelation*, 137, MORRIS: *Revelation*, 98, SLATER: *Community*, 172 and DELLING: "Johannesapokalypse", 111-112.

probably resemble a hendiadys-like construction in Revelation.[247] The other expressions in the doxologies might therefore deserve more attention.

B) In Apc 4:9 εὐχαριστία is given to God alongside δόξα and τιμή, which is an object that is exclusively attributed to God in the Apocalypse (4:9; 7:12). It is questionable, though, if one might imply the Lamb`s inferiority because thanksgiving is not attributed to it. As JÖRNS observed, the expression εὐχαριστία is probably present in both passages in Revelation in order to reflect gratitude: In Apc 4:9 a forthcoming judgement is expected, while in Apc 7:12-15 the gratitude is uttered by those who face God's salvation in front of his throne.[248] Accordingly, we may interpret the thanksgiving only being given to God out of the context from Apc 4-5. It should be added that the expression εὐχαριστία is probably used synonymously with εὐλογία (Apc 5:13 and 7:12) as the latter term also describes offering praise.[249] Accordingly, the act of thanksgiving in the hymns does not emphasise a more important status of God compared to the Lamb.

The prerogatives applied to Christ (i.e. the Lamb) in Apc 5 are, in turn, similar to those applied to God elsewhere, and one can only observe a slight change in vocabulary between the doxologies concerned with God on the one hand and with the Lamb on the other:

C) "Wisdom" (σοφία), for instance, is given to the Lamb in Apc 5:12, but it is also used in a hymnic context concerning God in Apc 7:12. This prerogative is probably an attribute that was considered appropriate for the Lamb in the vision concerning its investment. The attribute as such is often regarded as a gift from God to a king.[250]

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[245] Cp. MÜLLER: *Offenbarung*, 148.
[246] See for the use of "glory" and "honor" (and "power") also SCHIMANOWSKI: *Liturgie*, 167-168.
[247] Cp. for this AUNE: *Revelation 1-5*, 365-366 and JÖRNS: *Evangelium*, 33.
[248] See JÖRNS: *Evangelium*, 33 and MÜLLER: *Offenbarung*, 148.
[249] See also DELLING: "Johannesapokalypse", 111 and JÖRNS: *Evangelium*, 53.
[250] Cp. BRETTLER: *God*, 55-56 and AUNE: *Revelation 1-5*, 365.

D) "Wealth" (πλοῦτος) is notably not used in connection with God in the Apocalypse, but the author probably uses the expression in association with kingship in Apc 18:17, albeit with a negative meaning. This prerogative is, however, included in one of Philo's writings, amongst three other expressions occuring in Apc 5:12: πλοῦτος, δόξα, τιμή and ἰσχύς are mentioned in *De ebrietate* 75. The similarity between Philo and the prerogatives in Apc 5:12 might indicate a significance for these qualities.[251] Furthermore, references to wealth can also be seen in the doxology to God in 1 Chronicles 29:11-12 and, referring to Christ, in 2 Corinthians 8:9 (πλούσιος ὤν).[252] Presumably, the wealth attributed to the Lamb here emphasises its importance, and simultanously distinguishes the "true wealth" (i.e. Christ) from the wealth of the kings of the earth.

E) "Praise" (εὐλογία) occurs three times in the Apocalypse, exclusively referring to God (Apc 5:13; 7:12) or the Lamb (Apc 5:12). One can therefore conclude that grandeur is attributed equally between God and the Lamb by this expression.

F) "Power" (δύναμις) is also attributed to God (Apc 4:11; 7:12; 11:17 and 19:1) and the Lamb (Apc 5:12). This expression probably also serves to describe God and the Lamb as being on a par: In Apc 4:9 δύναμις describes the power of God as the creator, the Lamb that receives the same attribute in Apc 5:12 therefore participates in God's power.[253]

It has been argued that "glory and power" would constitute a *Leitmotiv* throughout Revelation's liturgical passages as well (similar to δόξα and τιμή), attributing God and Jesus as true sovereigns of the world as opposed to the Emperor's Cult.[254] However, such an assumption is probably too superficial as δύναμις does not occur in every passage which contains doxological material in Revelation (as e.g. Apc

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[251] Cp. AUNE: *Revelation 1-5*, 365.
[252] See SWETE: *Apocalypse*, 81.
[253] Cp. JÖRNS: *Evangelium*, 53.

4:9 or also Apc 5:13 where κράτος is used instead of δύναμις). Still, the use of δόξα in combination with δύναμις in Apc 4:11 attracts some attention as both prerogatives also occur at the end of the Lord's Prayer in *Didache* 8:2 (also including the *Ewigkeitsformel* εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας). Presumably, the combination of δόξα and δύναμις was a common doxological expression for referring to God's glory and strength in early Christian circles, though we cannot speak of a fixed expression here: ἰσχύς and especially κράτος are similar expressions used synonymously in doxologies, as will be demonstrated in the following two sections.

G) "Might" (ἰσχύς) could resemble a synonym for δύναμις,[255] used for the Lamb (Apc 5:12) and God (Apc 7:12). In the Hebrew Bible the expression עז ("strength") is frequently used to describe God's kingship, as can be seen in Exodus 15:2.13; Isaiah 19:4; 45:24; 1 Chronicles 16:27-28; Psalms 62:12; 59:18; 93:1. Less commonly, the expression also resembles a privilege that God grants a king (1 Sam 2:10; Ps 28:8).[256] One might therefore conclude that ἰσχύς is indeed a predicate that might indicate the Lamb's investment with the attributes of kingship, similar to δύναμις, σοφία and πλοῦτος.[257] Notably though, the expression is reminiscent of the description of the strong angel in Apc 10:1 or the angel in Apc 5:2, who are both described as ἰσχυρός. It might therefore be worth asking if the author clearly distinguished angelological, christological and theological categories in these passages, as similar expressions are shared by God, the Lamb and angels. However, an assumption of angelic categories applied to the Lamb seems rather unjustified: the use of ἰσχύς is limited to God and the Lamb, while the angels are described with the adjective ἰσχυρός. We may conclude that

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[254] Cp. for this proposal KRAYBILL: *Cult*, 221.
[255] Cp. BRETTLER: *God*, 57-68.
[256] Cp. AUNE: *Revelation 1-5*, 365 and BRETTLER: *God*, 63-64.
[257] See also MÜLLER: "Ratsversammlung", 255.

the power of the strong angels is defined by the application of ἰσχύς to God or the Lamb, not vice versa.

H) In Apc 5:13 four prerogatives are mentioned, amongst which τὸ κράτος represents a new element in the hymnic material in Apc 4-5. It has occasionally been considered that the fourfold doxology in verse 13 represents the fourfold division of creation (πᾶν κτίσμα ὅ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ ὑποκάτω τῆς γῆς καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης) in the same verse.[258] Such an interpretation of the four prerogatives does not appear to be very likely in light of the varying number of objects in similar doxologies in the Apocalypse. However, the order in which the objects appear in Apc 5:13 is very similar to comparable doxological material throughout Revelation.[259] It is likely that κράτος was added by the author together with the *Ewigkeitsformel* εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων: In Apc 1:6, κράτος (together with δόξα) is also present, followed by an abbreviated version of the *Ewigkeitsformel* εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. (This doxology might again hint at a rather flexible use of terminology in order to express God's or Christ's strength, as κράτος or δύναμις are apparently used alternately.) The widespread use of κράτος together with εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας in early Christian circles is additionally testified by 1 Timothy 6:16; 1 Peter 4:11 and 5:11. Also in Jude 25; *1 Clement* 64; 65:2[260] and *Martyrdom of Polycarp* 20:2 κράτος is used in connection with the *Ewigkeitsformel*, they are, however, separated from each other by other predicates. Another striking parallel for the phrase ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων being part of a doxology can be found in *Apocalypse of Sedrach* 16:10.

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[258] See for instance MOUNCE: *Revelation*, 138 and DEICHGRÄBER: "Gotteshymnus", 53 n. 3. In Apc 5:3 the cosmos is divided into three sections only. Cp. AUNE: *Revelation 1-5*, 348 and 366.

[259] Cp. AUNE: *Revelation 1-5*, 366.

[260] *1 Clem* 64 and 65:2 provide interesting parallels to Apc 5:13, as both passages from *1 Clem* share details with the passage from Apc: In *1 Clem* 65:2 a throne is mentioned among the prerogatives of the doxology, which is also present in Apc 5:13 addressing God and the Lamb. *1 Clem* 64 also features four doxological elements of which three (δόξα, κράτος and τιμή) are present in Apc 5:13; εὐλογία has in turn been replaced with μεγαλωσύνη. One might ask whether Apc 5 and *1 Clem* are based on similar traditions.

Similarly, *Testament of Abraham* 20:15 [Rec. A] features "glory and power" together with the *Ewigkeitsformel*.[261]

Within the Apocalypse we find two more expressions reminiscent of κράτος in Apc 5:13, namely κρατῶν in Apc 2:1 (applied to Christ) and παντοκράτωρ (applied to God) in Apc 4:8. (Other occurences of derivates of the expression in Apc 2:13-15; 2:25; 3:11 and 7:1 are not pertinent to this discussion.) At first sight, it is already obvious that God and Christ do not only share this attribute in Apc 5:13, but similar expressions are attributed to them in other passages of Revelation. The nuances outside Apc 5, though, might be interesting: In Apc 4:8 God is not simply attributed as κράτος, but his power is described in an even increased form as the παντοκράτωρ.[262] Such a statement concerning Christ is not present in the Apocalypse. So it might seem that God is described as slightly more powerful.

Christ, in turn, is described as the one "holding the stars in his right hand" (Apc 2:1). The word κρατῶν does not only mean "holding" in this context, but bears the meaning of "having power over". The stars which Christ is holding have before been identified as the seven angels of the seven communities (Apc 1:20). It seems, therefore, that Christ is attributed a certain amount of power over the angels,[263] as in Apc 5:6, where Christ is described as having power over the seven spirits.[264] As has been shown, this very same power is attributed to God as well (Apc 4:5). Accordingly, both God and Christ have a large amount of power attributed to themselves in the Apocalypse, a power which certainly sets Christ apart from the angels as being more powerful. God's

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[261] See also AUNE: *Revelation 1-5*, 49.

[262] The word παντοκράτωρ seems to be rather specific for the Apocalypse, as it occurs only one more time in other New Testament writings (2 Cor 6:18) and otherwise only in the Apocalypse, here mainly in liturgical texts as Apc 4:8; 11:17; 15:3; 16:7 and 19:6. See THOMPSON: *Revelation*, 55.

[263] Cp. STUCKENBRUCK: *Veneration*, 233.

[264] It seems possible that John also expressed christological concerns (i.e. Christ's position in contrast to that of angels) in terms of astrological ideas; this idea might be reflected in Apc 1:20, where Christ is holding the seven stars who represent seven angels, or also in Apc 22:16, where Christ himself is addressed as "the Morning Star". This concept possibly being in the background of John's Christology and angelology is examined more thoroughly in Appendix 4.

power is further emphasised as being the παντοκράτωρ and creator. This special attribute is not applied to Christ. Still, in Apc 5:13 God and Christ are attributed the doxological κράτος which allows for an interpretation of equal power of both of them.

I) The object τὸ βιβλίον in Apc 5:9 is, of course, not a doxological predicate as such, but since it is inserted in verse 9 in the same manner as the doxological predicates in Apc 4:11 and 5:13 it seems worth investigating whether further intentions of the author might be derived from here. Notably, the doxologies in Apc 4:11, 5:9 and 5:13 are all introduced with ἄξιος and a form of εἶναι followed by the infinitive λαβεῖν.[265] (This construct in Apc 5:9-10 replies to the question raised in Apc 5:2 and the reaction of the seer in 5:4 correspondendly: The question τίς ἄξιος ἀνοῖξαι τὸ βιβλίον καὶ λῦσαι τὰς σφαγῖδας αὐτοῦ; is answered in the same style: ἄξιος εἶ λαβεῖν τὸ βιβλίον καὶ ἀνοῖξαι τὰς σφαγῖδας αὐτοῦ.) The introduction with ἄξιος and a form of εἶναι cannot be understood without the following infinitive (λαβεῖν[266]) and its attached accusative objects as ἄξιος is not used absolutely; only the entire construction (ἄξιος and εἶναι and infinitive and accusative object/s) defines the content and reason of worthiness.[267] Accordingly, the entire construction has to be interpreted as the praise; therefore, the description of the Lamb taking over the scroll has to be regarded as praiseworthy for the author: It is not just the scroll as such that is taken, but the functions of the Lamb as a messianic figure, similar to the attributes that are attested to God in the hymns as an eschatological figure.

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[265] See for a list of these elements also THOMPSON: *Revelation*, 58. In Apc 4:11 and 5:9 the doxology is introduced by ἄξιος εἶ (in the *du-Stil*). Lamb and God are therefore adddressed with the same expression, which represents a further hint that the author wanted to put them on par. In Apc 5:12 the introduction of the doxology changes slightly: Here the Lamb is addressed in the 3. Person singular with ἄξιόν ἐστιν. See for the change of person also AUNE: *Revelation 1-5*, 309-310 and NORDEN: *Theos*, 143-166.

[266] The infinitive λαβεῖν is present in the three doxologies in Apc 4:11, 5:9 and 5:12 corresponding with the ἄξιος in the introductory part of each doxology. In Apc 4:9 the impetus lies more on the four living beings. Consequently the verb in verse 9 is a form of δίδωμι. In 5:2 and 4 the infinitives are ἀνοῖξαι and λῦσαι focusing on the question who can open the scroll.

[267] Cp. JÖRNS: *Evangelium*, 49.

We may summarize that most of the predicates within the doxologies do not seem to distinguish God and the Lamb from each other, but rather express an equal status of both of them in general. Some elements in the lists of prerogatives in the hymns may vary, but the author seems not to aim at a subordination of the Lamb.

3.2.4. The Worthiness of God and the Lamb

The tendency to express an equation of God and Lamb is further found in Apc 4:11, Apc 5:9-10 and Apc 5:13, as the reason for being worthy of receiving doxological honors or the scroll, respectively, is constructed in a parallel fashion. For both God and Lamb, the reason for receiving these objects is provided in the subordinate clauses in Apc 4:11 and 5:9 starting with ὅτι. In Apc 5:12 the reason for the Lamb's worthiness is not given with a subordinate ὅτι-clause, but with the participle τὸ ἐσφαγμένον which most likely should be read as ὅτι ἐσφαγμένος ἐστιν.[268] Another parallel feature shared by God and the Lamb can be derived from a comparison of Apc 4:11 and Apc 5:9-10. The reason for God receiving the doxological honors is clearly given in the creation (σὺ ἔκτισας τὰ πάντα).[269] Such a statement is, as mentioned above, not applied to Christ.[270] Instead, Christ's salvific deeds (i.e. redeeming people for God and making them to be a kingdom and priests for God[271]) are displayed in a very similar manner in Apc 5:9-10.

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[268] Cp. similarly SWETE: *Apocalypse*, 81 and JÖRNS: *Evangelium*, 53.

[269] See for the significance of creation also Apc 10:6, where the angel's oath is reflecting God as creator, or Apc 14:7. Cp. HOLTZ: "Apokalypse", 248-249.

[270] It might be of christological concern here that Christ is called ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς κτίσεως τοῦ θεοῦ in Apc 3:14. Such a statement might appear to express a certain subordinate status of Christ, if ἀρχή is simply translated as "beginning" (cp. John 1:2-3). However, other translations ("ruler","cause") are possible as well. The expression ἀρχή might also have been employed parallel to πρωτότοκος which is synonymously used for ἀρχή in 1 Col 1:18. Cp. AUNE: *Revelation 1-5*, 256. We might complement that the use of ἀρχή in Apc 3:14 probably corresponds to the expression πρωτότοκος in Apc 1:5, indicating a tendency of the author to apply predicates to Christ which express his special status in a timely sense: he is described as being at the earliest stage of creation. Accordingly, no subordinate, but rather an exalted status is implied here. By addressing Christ as ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς κτίσεως τοῦ θεοῦ the concept of creation and Christology are closely related with each other. Cp. also HOLTZ: "Apokalypse", 249.

[271] See for a differentiation between kingdom and priesthood AGOURIDIS: *Αποκαλυψη*, 85. Because of Christ's deeds people are established as coregents on earth, participating in Christ's reign. See also

Christ is not the creator here, but instead he is honored ἐσφάγης καὶ ἠγόρασα and ἐποίησας. Remarkably, all references to reasons for doxological praise are given in the second person singular, which underlines the parallel structure of these statements. Also, the means of their achievement is described and set in parallel: God arranged his creation by his will (διὰ τὸ θέλημά σου) while Christ redeems by his blood (ἐν αἵματί σου). Furthermore, creation takes place in three steps, a) σὺ ἔκτισας τὰ πάντα, b) διὰ τὸ θέλημά σου ἦσαν and c) καὶ ἐκτίσθησαν. Similarly, the salvation by Christ's deed is described in three steps, a) ἐσφάγης, b) καὶ ἠγόρασα[272] and c) καὶ ἐποίησας αὐτούς. This parallel clearly underlines that John elaborated an equal status of God and the Lamb in this verse, attributing creator-like actions to both of them. The threefold action of both of them might also be considered to correspond with an occasionally expressed threefold creation (Apc 5:3 or 10:6) in the Apocalypse[273] and could therefore also bring Christ nearer to a status of a quasi-creator. The division of the cosmos in the Apocalypse is, however, not very strict throughout the writing. The universe might be described as being divided into four (Apc 5:13 or 14:7), three (Apc 5:3 or 10:6), or even only two sections (Apc 10:5, 12:12, 14:6 or 21:1). Therefore, not too much weight should be given to possible parallels between cosmology and the elements from doxologies, as already demonstrated above in the case of Apc 5:13.

The fact that John employs another parallelism might add to the impression of Christ and God acting as "creators": In Apc 4:11, God's act of creation points to the consequence of his action. His creation is also taken into view in the third person plural as ἦσαν καὶ ἐκτίσθησαν, though the latter verb in passive. Similarly Christ's

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SCHOLTISSEK: "Mitteilhaber", 192-194. SCHÜSSLER FIORENZA: *Priester*, 168-290 and JOCHUM-BORTFELD: *Offenbarung*, 156-165.

[272] The image of the Lamb "purchasing" the people probably goes back to a tradition of redeeming prisoners of war. See HOLTZ: *Christologie*, 65-68. Cp. also SCHÜSSLER FIORENZA: *Priester*, 280-281 and SWEET: *Revelation*, 130.

[273] A three partite division of creation similar to Apc 5:13 might also be present in Phil 2:10. Cp. for this also SCHIMANOWSKI: *Weisheit*, 334.

benevolent action of self sacrifice is considered in Apc 5:10 using a third person plural form (καὶ βασιλεύσουσιν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς). Therefore, one can infer a parallel message from both given passages: God is praised because he acted as creator, while Christ receives praise for making people as priests for God, who will reign on earth. Accordingly, both God and the Lamb acted in favour of humankind. Despite the fact that their actions are different, they have both acted positively on behalf of the created order. We might even interpret Christ's salvific deed as a new creation: Christ is clearly not involved in the act of creation as such, but the parallel setting of God creating the world and Christ making humankind into new priests and kings on God's earth might suggest that John wanted both actions to be understood similarly.[274] Christ's self sacrifice and its outcome might therefore allow for the conclusion that the redeemed people from all nations resemble a new people or even a new kind of creation, analogous to God's initial creation. More emphasis is put on Christ's role in a new creation in Apc 21 where the New Jerusalem comes down from heaven into the newly created world (Apc 21:2). This Jerusalem is simultaneously God's (and the Lamb's) dwelling place and the Lamb's bride, indicating the rather intimate relationship of God and Christ once more.[275] Accordingly, God and the Lamb receive a very similar form of praise. In the following hymn in Apc 5:13 it is notably the entire creation (πᾶν κτίσμα) which is praising God and the Lamb together.

Another detail in the doxology in Apc 5:9-10 deserving attention is the subdivision of the justification for praising Christ. The reason for the doxology is arranged in three parts which are marked by the three verbs in verses 9-10. The verbs divide the act of salvation into a) ἐσφάγης - victory over death (*Sieg über den Tod*), b)

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[274] See for the parallel setting of creation and salvation in Apc 4:11 and 5:9-10 also THOMPSON: *Revelation*, 58-59. See similarly MATERA: *Christology*, 206-207. The assumption of a connection between salvation and creation is further supported by the use of the expression ποιέω in Apc 1:6 and 5:10, because this term points to an understanding of creation as also present in Apc 21:5. See for this JOCHUM-BORTFELD: *Offenbarung*, 164-165.

ἠγόρασα - redemption (*Erlösung*), and c) ἐποίησας - glorification (*Verherrlichung*).[276] It has been suggested that this division was not only inserted by John for aesthetic reasons, but it might also represent a theological concept: Rom 8:30 constitutes a possible analogy for a tripartite scheme as preserved in Apc 5:9-10.[277] More important for our study is the consideration that the author used a tripartite division as in Apc 4:8 once more. In Apc 1:5c-6a such a distribution of Christ's salvific deeds in three acts (being described with three verbs) can be found.[278] It can only be assumed, though, that the author empolyed three verbs in Apc 5:9-10 in order to allude to another tripartite scheme he also used in Apc 4:8, repeating the ἅγιος three times. As the author might have used the expression ἄξιος three times as well, possibly in order to allude to the *trishagion*,[279] an assumption of the repeated use of tripartite arrangements - alluding similarly to God and the Lamb - could be more likely.

The expression ἄξιος[280] used as an attribute might be worth further consideration, as a theological interest may underlie the use of this expression.[281] It is obvious that ἄξιος is used not only in reference to God[282] (Apc 4:11), but also applied to the Lamb (Apc 5:9 and 12). Accordingly, the Lamb is once more represented in similar terms as God himself.[283] This equality is further paralleled by the same style of addressing the one who is worthy of praise: twice the form of ἄξιος (followed by a form of εἶναι)[284] and the infinitive λαβεῖν enclose the address of the object of the praise.

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[275] Cp. MATERA: *Christology*, 212. See also JOCHUM-BORTFELD: *Offenbarung*, 207.
[276] See for such a division KRAFT: *Offenbarung*, 113.
[277] Cp. KRAFT: *Offenbarung*, 113.
[278] See LÄUCHLI: "Gottesdienststruktur", 362 n. 9 and RUSAM: *Formeln*, 58.
[279] Cp. KRAFT: *Offenbarung*, 113.
[280] See for a detailed discussion on ἄξιος JÖRNS: *Evangelium*, 56-76. See also ROOSE: *Zeugnis*, 72-76.
[281] Apparently the use of ἄξιος applied to God and the Lamb here is at an early state of development in Christian literature. Cp. DEICHGRÄBER: "Gotteshymnus", 50-51.
[282] The expression ἄξιος might even have been understood as a synonym for the name of God, as JÖRNS has demonstrated: Aquila translated God's name שדי in Gen 17:1 as ἄξιος καὶ ἱκανός. A connection between Aquila's translation and the use of ἄξιος in Revelation can, however, not be established. See JÖRNS: *Evangelium*, 56 and 63.
[283] See also KNIGHT: *Revelation*, 65, VAN UNNIK: "Lamb", 445-461 and GUTHRIE: "Revelation", 401.
[284] Cp. for a parallel structure also SLATER: *Community*, 171.

namely God (ὁ κύριος καὶ ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν) in Apc 4:11 and the Lamb (τὸ ἀρνίον τὸ ἐσφαγμένον) in Apc 5:12.[285] It may also be assumed that both God and the Lamb are brought closer by blending religious and political language in their descriptions: God is referred to in religious language as creator on the one hand, on the other hand the scene reflects his kingship in political language as God sits on the throne. Further, the 24 elders acclaim God's kingship by presenting him their crowns, which might reflect a customs of the Roman imperial cult. Such political language might further be visible in the acclamation "worthy are you" and in the address "Our Lord and God" (ὁ κύριος καὶ ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν) which corresponds to the acclamation used in the imperial cult (*dominus et deus noster*). Similarly, Christ is depicted in a conglomerate of religious and political language; the description of his sacrificial death reflects on religious aspects, while Christ's depiction as "Lion of the tribe of Judah" and "Root of David" in Apc 5:6 mirrors the political language of Israel.[286] Such use of combined political-religious language applied to God *and* the Lamb might represent another hint at an equal status of both figures, which the author of Revelation may have deliberately designed.

3.2.5. The Application of the *Ewigkeitsformel* to God and the Lamb

The use of the *Ewigkeitsformel* τος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων in Apc 4-5 and even in the entire Apocalypse also seems to support the thesis that similar significance is attributed to God and the Lamb. In the entire Apocalypse this expression is used thirteen times, and in most passages it refers to God and Christ: in Apc 1:6 and 1:18 the *Ewigkeitsformel* refers to Christ exclusively, while in Apc 4:9.10, 7:12, 10:6 and 15:7

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[285] In Apc 5:13 such an equal status is not achieved by attributing to worthiness, but here God and the Lamb are addressed together (τῷ καθημένῳ ἐπὶ τῷ θρόνῳ καὶ τῷ ἀρνίῳ).

[286] Cp. for this the detailed discussions on the expressions ἄξιος and ὁ κύριος καὶ ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν concerning political language of the Roman imperial cult AUNE: *Revelation 1-5*, 309-312 and

only God is mentioned in connection with this expression; whereas in Apc 5:13. 11:15 and 22:5 God and Christ are referred to together with the formula. (The other passages including the *Ewigkeitsformel*, Apc 14:11, 19:3 and 20:10. do not mention God or Lamb, but instead refer to the duration of punishment for those who oppose God.) [287] Apparently, God and Christ must have been similarly important for John as he equally adds the *Ewigkeitsformel* to descriptions of both of them. Notably. in Apc 1:18. 4:10. 10:6 and 15:7 John also emphasised God's or Christ's eternal life as a quality they have in common with this same expression. The expression is also used in order to indicate an eternal reign of God and Christ together (Apc 11:15 and Apc 22:5) and further stresses an equal status for both of them.

3.3. Conclusion

Accordingly, the entire construction of the hymnic parts in Apc 4 and 5. which has been demonstrated to be set highly in parallel, indicates that the author generally wished to put God and the Lamb on par. Equal status is ascribed to God and Lamb by certain attributes (for instance sharing the seven eyes as stated in Apc 4-5, thus also sharing the control over the seven spirits). Further, the Lamb is associated paradoxically with wrath, a feature that is normally reserved for God in Hebrew Bible passages (for instance in Num 11:1; Ps 2:5; Isa 54:8; 63:3 or Jer 21:5). Similarly. the Lamb has taken over the function of a shepherd which is normally performed by God himself (as in Ezek 34 or Ps 23). Moreover, the proximity of the Lamb to God's throne (Apc 5:6: 7:16-17 and 22:1-5) indicated equality between God and Lamb. Both of them share

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THOMPSON: *Revelation*, 58-59 and (excluding the use of "*dominus et deus noster*" under Domitian's reign) 105-107.

[287] Such an assumption is further supported by the author's use of the expression ὁ ζῶν: The *Ewigkeitsformel* often occurs with a form of ὁ ζῶν being either applied to Christ (Apc 1:18) or to God (Apc 4:9-10; 10:6; 15:7). Cp. RUSAM: *Formeln* , 57.

worship, and occasionally they are even worshipped together (Apc 5:13 and 7:12). Within many passages of the Apocalypse the elements of praises and doxologies given to God and the Lamb correspond well with each other and therefore indicate equality between God and Lamb rather than ascribing subordinate tendencies to the Lamb.[288] Occasionally passages of Apc 4-5 also demonstrated Christ's superiority over angels as well. Despite such similarites between God and the Lamb some minor differences between them can be mentioned. God is described as being rather passive in these chapters of the Apocalypse. At first sight his actions appear to be limited to sitting, as he is only described as ὁ καθήμενος (e.g. Apc 4:3; 4:9; 5:7) indicating his role as judge, or as letting the Lamb take the sealed scroll from him (Apc 5:7). A reason for such a limited description of God is probably the author's avoidance of anthropomorphisms. The hymnic material also focuses on God and his act of creation, which - next to judgement - has to be acknowledged as God's major role in the Apocalypse.[289] On the other side we have the Lamb as the more active figure, approaching God's throne, taking the scroll and bringing salvation to the people by self-sacrifice. The following sequence (Apc 6) will also describe the Lamb opening the scroll's seals[290] and shepherding its followers (Apc 7:17 and similarly Apc 14:1-5). It has been argued that "... the lamb is carefully distinguished from God ..." and that "... God is precisely what this figure (i.e. the Lamb) is not".[291] The observations we have made above contradict such a judgement. The Lamb is described in terms that make him appear to be close to God and function as his more active counterpart and representative. It seems that the Lamb is almost described as a mouthpiece of God himself.[292] Further, the amount of

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[288] Cp. for the equality of God and the Lamb also the passage on *Gleichheit des Lammes mit Gott dem Vater* by HOHNJEC: *Lamm*, 150-154.

[289] See similarly the Excursus by JÖRNS on *Gottes Handeln in der Apocalypse* in: *Evangelium*, 42-43.

[290] Performing the opening of the scroll's seal represents Christ as God's executor. Cp. BORING: "Christology", 708.

[291] CASEY: *God*, 142.

[292] See similarly BORING: "Christology", 707: BORING attests that God is defined by Christ, and their voices tend to blend together. See similarly HOLTZ: "Apokalypse", 251 and BÖCHER: *Kirche*, 3.

powers and attributes God and the Lamb have in common (as has been demonstrated) and the communal worship and sharing of the throne supports an understanding of the Lamb as possessing divine status.[293] Subordinate tendencies of the Lamb are practically nowhere to be found. Whether such tendencies continue within descriptions that depict Christ in his role as a heavenly judge has still to be elaborated in the following sections of the present thesis.

[293] Cp. similarly SCHIMANOWSKI: *Liturgie*, 21; against CASEY: *God*, 142.

4. The Christology in Apc 19

4.1. The Structure and Unity of Apc 19

Apc 19 consists of three sections: 1) the vision of the heavenly service (resembling a celebration of God's just judgement and the Fall of Babylon) in Apc 19:1-10,[1] 2) the vision of the eschatological messianic warrior figure (the rider sitting on the white horse) in Apc 19:11-16, and 3) the visions of the defeat of the pseudoprophet and the kings of the earth in Apc 19:17-21. The latter two sections are more closely linked as they report on the outcome of the eschatological battle of the rider on the white horse, both in visionary style.[2] In turn, there seems to be a discrepancy between Apc 19:1-10 and the following sections, as the chapter is introduced with a service in heaven and the celebration of Babylon's downfall; at first glance the following visions might not seem a very appropriate continuation of this introduction, as an eschatological battle is reported there. Certain observations, however, are helpful to confirm that these two sections are linked together.

4.1.1. Inner Unity of Apc 19:1-21

A first argument for the unity of Apc 19 as a whole arises from antithetical imagery within the chapter. Apc 19:7-9 refers to the "wedding feast of the Lamb" which is apparently set parallel with the feast of the birds on the dead bodies of the kings of

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[1] For a thorough analysis of Apc 19:1-8 see KENNEL: *Hymnen*, 225-264.
[2] Cp. for the patterns of visions in Apc 19 also SCHÜSSLER-FIORENZA: *Offenbarung*, 128. SCHÜSSLER-FIORENZA subdivides Apc 19:17-21 into two sections, namely Apc 19:17-18 and 19-21, marked by the expression καὶ εἶδον.

the earth in Apc 19:17-21.[3] The author possibly draws on the rather cruel image of the birds eating their cadaverous food as contrast to the vision of the wedding feast of the Lamb, which resembles the victory over exactly the same evil forces serving as food for the birds now.[4] For both of these descriptions the same term (δεῖπνον) is employed. Such imagery also corresponds to the major topic of judgement which is alluded to in Apc 19:1-10 and 19:11-21, as Apc 19:1-10 described the celebration over the judgement and downfall of Babylon (especially visible in verse 2), while Apc 19:11-21 gives a more detailed report concerning the actual judgement vision. Therefore, Apc 19:1-10 can possibly be understood as a kind of foreword for the following passages.[5]

We may further assume that the author of Revelation deliberately maintained a connection between Apc 19:1-10 and 11-21 by other allusions within both passages. For instance, one can see the dominance of the topic of blood imagery in both passages. In Apc 19:2, vengeance is announced for the murder of God's servants and the spilling of their blood. Apc 19:13 correspondingly describes the rider of the white horse dressed in a garment stained with blood. However, it is unclear whose blood is alluded to in the latter description, it could be a reference to either the blood of the martyrs or the blood of God's opposition which is now spilled in the judgement scenario.

The correspondence of allusions to pure linen might also add to the impression of Apc 19 as a unit, because pure linen given to the Lamb as a wedding dress in Apc 19:8 is mirrored by the white and pure linen worn by the heavenly host in Apc 19:14. Some of the vocabulary employed in chapter 19 might allow for deducing a deliberate connection between Apc 19:1-10 and 11-21. For instance, the expressions δίκαιαι in Apc 19:2 and δικαιώματα in Apc 19:8 seem to be alluded to by the expression δικαοσύνῃ in verse 11. Similarly, the expressions ἀληθιναί (verse 2) and ἀληθινοί

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[3] See for the feast of the birds as a *Gegenbild* to the wedding of the Lamb also ROOSE: *Zeugnis*, 207.
[4] Cp. also STUCKENBRUCK: *Revelation*, 92.
[5] Cp. for this also MEALY: *Years*, 63 and MÜLLER: *Offenbarung*, 319.

(verse 9) correspond with the same word ἀληθινός in Apc 19:11. The expression οἱ λόγοι ... τοῦ θεοῦ in Apc 19:9 seems to be mirrored by the expression ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ in Apc 19:13. The same expression might also suggest a connection between Apc 19:10 and Apc 19:13: in Apc 19:10, a reference to the "testimony of Jesus" (μαρτυρία Ἰησοῦ) is made, followed by a designation for the rider as ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ in Apc 19:13. Notably, a combination of both expressions occurs frequently in Revelation (Apc 1:2.9; 20:4, cp. Apc 6:9). Therefore, it is possible that these two expressions are related in Apc 19.[6] Finally, one may also consider that the terminology of Apc 19:5 and 19:18 seems to be in correspondence, as in both verses one finds an allusion to "the small and the big ones": Apc 19:5 describes God's servants with this expression (οἱ μικροί καὶ οἱ μεγάλοι) while the same phrase is used for God's enemies in Apc 19:18 (with the Genitive form μικρῶν καὶ μεγάλων). [7]

An allusion to a passage from the Hebrew Bible provides further evidence for the unity of Apc 19:1-10 and 11-21: The topic of the wedding of the Lamb in Apc 19:7-9 and the narration concerning the warriorlike rider in Apc 19:11-21 might reflect on a shared matrix in the background of both passages, namely Psalm 45:2-5. It is possible that John deliberately alluded to this passage when he composed chapter 19.[8]

Another observation that might add a little more evidence for the assumption that Apc 19:1-10 and 11-21 should be read together can be derived from allusions to a further Hebrew Bible passages in both sections. Apc 19 generally follows the order of Isaiah 61-63, as the bride imagery in Apc 19:8 represents a quote form Isaiah 61:10.

This salvific passage is followed by allusions to Isaiah 63:1-3 in Apc 19:13 (where the

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[6] Cp. ROOSE: *Zeugnis*, 207-217. The weakness of ROOSE's argument is the fact that the "words of God" are referred to already in Apc 19:9. However, the expressions "testimony of Jesus" and "word(s) of God" occur each two times in Apc 19:9-13, which might represent an ABBA structure of this passage. This could reflect on a deliberate composition. For the connection between "testimony of Jesus" and "word(s) of God" see also STUCKENBRUCK: *Revelation*, 91.

[7] The expression also occurs in Apc 11:18; 13:16; 20:12. See further ROOSE: *Zeugnis*, 207.

[8] Cp. for this MEALY: *Years*, 64-65.

garment of the heavenly rider is soaked with blood like God's garment in the corresponding Isaiah passage), and also by the allusion in Apc 19:15 to the treading of the great wine press of wrath from Isaiah 63:3. Therefore, the author apparently kept the general outline from his Isaiah *Vorlage* dealing with salvific aspects followed by visions of judgement and wrath.

4.1.2. Unity of Apc 19:1-21 through Comparison with Apc 14

Similarities can be found between the setting of Apc 14 and Apc 19. Both chapters report a judgement scenario in visionary style, both involving a high ranking heavenly figure with a rather prominent role, namely the one like a son of man in Apc 14 and the heavenly rider in Apc 19.[9] Notably, both times the figure is not referred to by a name. In both chapters the author moreover metaphorically alludes to the judgement as a harvest. The prominence of harvest metaphors in Apc 14 has been thoroughly discussed above (see section 2.3.). In Apc 19:15 the author again uses the same metaphor as in Apc 14:19-20 and identifies the one treading the winepress as the rider on the white horse (i.e. Christ). Further details of Apc 14:6-20 correspond with Apc 19:11-21, as for instance the means of locomotion upon which the heavenly figure is sitting (the white cloud in Apc 14:14-15 and the white horse in Apc 19:11.21), the crown (a single crown in Apc 14:14 and multiple crowns in Apc 19:12), and the sword-like instrument (namely a sharp sickle in Apc 14:14-16 which is echoed as a sword in Apc 19:15.21).

Not only the figure carrying out God's judgement is set parallel, though, also the punishment for those who accept the sign of the beast (Apc 14:9-11; 19:20) corresponds between the two visions. In Apc 14:10, the punishment for the followers of the beast is

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[9] See similarly OEGEMA: *Hoffnung*, 118.

the same as in Apc 19:20, as it consists of fire and sulphur both times: Fire and sulphur as such in Apc 14, and in Apc 19 a fiery pit burning with sulphur (λίμνην τοῦ πυρὸς τῆς καιομένης ἐν θείῳ).

The duration of the punishment for those who accepted the sign of the beast as eternal (εἰς αἰῶνας αἰώνων) is reflected in Apc 19:3, where the smoke rises up for eternity (ὁ καπνὸς αὐτῆς ἀναβαίνει εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων). The expression "her smoke" (ὁ καπνὸς αὐτῆς) most likely alludes to the smoke of the destroyed Babylon mentioned in Apc 18:9.18.[10]

Further, Apc 14:1-5 and Apc 19:1-10 share a similar composition, and both of them contain a salvific focus,[11] while the following sections (Apc 14:14-20 and Apc 19:11-21 respectively) concentrate on the elimination of God`s opposition. For instance, the introduction begins in a location which is rather remote from the following judgement scene; in Apc 14:1 on Mount Zion, in Apc 19:1 in heaven. Both opening scenes mention a crowd of people who are apparently present, namely the 144,000 sealed Ones in Apc 14, who are mirrored by the voice of the multitude in Apc 19:1.6. Chapter 19 even seems to report the scenario provided in Apc 14 more clearly, as the song of the 144,000, which is performed by the voice of the multitude "like a voice of many waters and a voice like thunder" in Apc 14:2 and Apc 19:6.[12] This song is only referred to in Apc 14, in Apc 19. However, two songs are explicitly described, namely Apc 19:1-3 and 19:6-7.[13] Notably, the 24 elders and the four living beings are not included in the group which sings the new song in front of God in Apc 14:3, whilst they are amongst those who perform the praise to God in Apc 19:4. This detail in Apc 19 also hints at the gradual unfolding of the story from Apc 14: Apc 19 appears to be a

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[10] Cp. AUNE: *Revelation 17-22*, 1026.
[11] Cp. also SÖDING: "Lamm", 99.
[12] Cp. MCEWAN HUMPHREY: *Cities*, 113-114.
[13] Cp. for these analogies between Apc 14 and Apc 19 JÖRNS: *Evangelium*, 124-125. See also BORNKAMM: "Komposition", 211-212 and AUNE: *Revelation 6-16*, 795.

detailed version of Apc 14, which is rather proleptic in character. The relation between Apc 14:1-5 and 19:1-8 and between Apc 14:6-20 and Apc 19:11-21 is a relation of prolepsis and actual event. The full meaning of what is alluded to in Apc 14 is at last unfolded entirely in Apc 19.[14] Along with this, the destruction of Babylon the Great which is foreshadowed in Apc 14:8 is finalised in Apc 19:1-2.[15]

Regarding these analogies, it might be no coincidence that in both Apc 14 and 19 we find small sections which do not entirely relate to the content of these chapters. As has been argued above (see section 2.3.), the events of Apc 14:12-13 interrupt the scenario and, somewhat suddenly, appeal to a situation within the Christian community. Similar to this interpolation, we find the interpreting angel's rejection of worship in Apc 19:9-10. As in Apc 14:13 before, verse 9 includes a makarism, which does not quite seem to fit into the given context of judgement. Other features of Apc 14:13 and Apc 19:9 are strikingly similar, as A) both verses exhibit an introductory formula beginning with καί and followed by a form of the verb λέγειν (λεγούσης in Apc 14:13 and λέγει μοι in Apc 19:9), B) both verses share the command to write (γράψον)[16], which is immediately followed by C) a beatitude (μακάριοι). The statements of the beatitude are D) strikingly similar again as both beatitudes are directed to an elect group of people who are described by a nominalized participle (οἱ ἀποθνήσκοντες in Apc 14:13 and οἱ κεκλημένοι in Apc 19:9). The group is further identified by participation in Christianity and belief in Christ, as the group is closely related to Christ himself: the addressed ones are those who "died in the Lord" (ἀποθνήσκοντες ἐν κυρίῳ in Apc 14:13) or who are invited to the wedding feast of the Lamb (τοῦ γάμου τοῦ ἀρνίου in Apc 19:9). Furthermore, the beatitudes are even continued similarly. In both cases E) a second

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[14] See JÖRNS: *Evangelium*, 124, MÜLLER: *Offenbarung*, 328, LOHSE: "Menschensohn", 210-214 and MEALY: *Years*, 70.
[15] Cp. MEALY: *Years*, 74-75.
[16] See for the order to write also RUIZ: *Ezekiel*, 506-507: The order occurs mostly in the seven letters to the churches, otherwise it occurs in Apc 14:13, 19:9 and 21:5.

introductory formula is added (λέγει τὸ πνεῦμα in Apc 14:13 and λέγει μοι in Apc 19:9), which is F) followed by a further statement.[17] The parallels between Apc 14:13 and Apc 19:9 are therefore immense, and have to be regarded as a deliberate achievement of the author. We may assume that the author interpolated Apc 19:9-10 for a similar reason as Apc 14:12-13 before. When we consider that John interpolated a beatitude in Apc 14 in order to convey a certain message to his readership, we are probably allowed to assume the existence of a similar phenomenon in Apc 19 as well. The messages the author inserts into both judgement scenarios are somewhat similar insofar as a reward for correct behaviour (i.e. being a follower of Christ and not of the beast) seems to be promised. The reward is relief of the strains within life (Apc 14:13) and the invitation to the Lamb's wedding (Apc 19:9), which (according to Apc 21) represents a life in the vicinity of God and the Lamb. As in Apc 14:13 before, the beatitude aims at comforting the readership of the Apocalypse from their current distress.[18]

In addition to such a message the author inserts another detail in Apc 19:10. The first person narrator (i.e. John himself) attempts to worship the angel who conveys the beatitude to him. This attempt is drastically refused by the angel. Accordingly, in Apc 19:10 John not only promises the eschatological reward to his readership, he also conveys the message that angels must not be worshipped. Like the beatitude itself, the angel's refusal of John's worship does not quite fit into the context of the rest of the scenario of Apc 19, which deals with a vision concerning the eschatological judgement of the world. The full meaning of this refusal of angelic worship (also present in Apc 22:8-9) is best explained in terms of christological and angelogical concerns, discussed in the following section.

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[17] Cp. for this also AUNE: *Revelation 17-22*, 1031-1032.
[18] See similarly PARK: *Offenbarung*, 113-114.

The parallels between Apc 14 and Apc 19 are altogether striking: the vocabulary and setting of both visions are stunningly parallel. and we even managed to demonstrate that Apc 19 is a continuation of what has been narrated proleptically in Apc 14.

4.1.3. Unity of Apc 19:1-21 through Comparison with Apc 1

Apc 1 offers a number of apparent parallels to Apc 19 (and conclusively to Apc 14). The majority of these parallels consist of nearly identical attributes and features shared by the rider on the white horse in Apc 19 and Christ in Apc 1. Both times a vestment is attributed to the figure (Apc 1:13; Apc 19:13). his eyes are like fiery flames (Apc 1:14; Apc 19:12), and out of his mouth comes a sharp sword (Apc 1:16; Apc 19:15.21, cp. also Apc 2:16). Further, as in Apc 14:14, the figure appears on a white cloud (Apc 1:7.13), which we already identified above (see section 2.2.4.3.2.) as a feature reminiscent of the description of riding the white horse (Apc 19:11.21). As in Apc 14:14, the vision concerning the heavenly figure is opened by the expression εἶδον in Apc 19:11. However, the frequent use of the same word in other visions is not necessarily significant for considering similarities between Apc 1 and 19 overall. The use of another order to write (γράψον) in Apc 1:19 only marks a minor parallel which does not add much weight to the current discussion. In Apc 1 the order to write stands on its own, and is not followed by a beatitude as in Apc 19:9 or 14:13.

A parallel that possibly contributes more to the current discussion is the lack of a designation for the heavenly judge, because (as in Apc 14) this prominent figure in Apc 19:11.21 is not referred to by name. but instead simply as a heavenly rider or. in the case of Apc 1 and 14. as "one like a son of man". Further. the designation as ὁ ἄρχων τῶν βασιλέων τῆς γῆς in Apc 1:5 recalls chapter 19 once more; where. in Apc 19:16.

we find the designation βασιλεὺς βασιλέων καὶ κύριος κυρίων for the rider on the white horse.[19]

A further parallel between chapters 1 and 19 might be provided by the use of the expression μαρτυρία Ἰησοῦ within both chapters (two times in Apc 19:10 and in Apc 1:2 with the addition Χριστοῦ). In all mentioned occurrences, this expression is provided in the sections before the actual vision of Christ takes place. An even stronger link between Apc 1 and 19 might be the content of Apc 1:1, where the revelation of Christ is conveyed to the seer John by an angel. Apparently, Apc 19:1-10 follows exactly this same chain of events and has the vision revealed to John by an angel.

At the same time, it needs to be mentioned that Apc 19:10 displays a major difference from chapters 1 and 19: whereas the act of worship by John is clearly interdicted in Apc 19:10, the same act (i.e. falling down to the revealer's feet) is accepted by Christ in Apc 1:17-18. The reason for this contrast will have to be provided at a later stage of this discussion, as it probably contributes to the identification of the author's christological concerns throughout his writing.

The overall structure of Apc 1 does not contribute to arguments in favour of a holistic understanding of chapter 19. Still, the fact that parallels between chapters 1 and 19 exist may provide some evidence that Apc 19 should be interpreted with regard to both passages (Apc 19:1-10 and 11-21) together.

4.1.4. Unity of Apc 19:1-21 through Comparison with Apc 4-5

Fewer parallels can be seen between Apc 4-5 and Apc 19, perhaps the most striking being the hymnic material in both passages. In the doxologies in Apc 19, similar attributes are mentioned which are also connected to either God or the Lamb in

[19] Cp. also YARBRO COLLINS: *Apocalypse*, 135.

Apc 4 and 5. For instance, God is given the prerogatives ἡ σωτηρία καὶ ἡ δόξα καὶ ἡ δύναμις in Apc 19:1. Once more the glory is given to God in Apc 19:7. As we have listed above (see section 3.2.3.) in detail, ἡ δόξα is given to God in Apc 4:8.9.11 and - together with the Lamb - in 5:13 as well. The Lamb alone also receives the glory in Apc 5:12. Notably, the combination of δόξα and δύναμις is only paralleled in Apc 5 when given to the Lamb. It is again the Lamb who is given an item once more: instead of taking a book as in Apc 5, in Apc 19:8 the Lamb receives a pure and shining garment. It has to be admitted, however, that features from the doxological parts of Apc 4-5 are mostly reflected in Apc 19:1-10. Accordingly, these observations can only be of value for research on the relationship between God and the Lamb in chapter 19. Therefore, evidence for a deliberate attempt of John to link Apc 19:1-10 and 11-21 more closely together cannot be given on the basis of parallels between Apc 4-5 and 19.

Similarly, the occurrence of some other parallels has to be evaluated: As already in Apc 4:8 God is referred to as παντοκράτωρ in Apc 19:15. The 24 elders and the four living beings who are worshipping God and God's throne are also mentioned in Apc 19:4-5. As these features which are also present in the vision of Apc 4-5 are exclusively described in Apc 19:1-10, arguments for the unity of Apc 19:1-21 cannot be derived.

Two other noteworthy similarities between Apc 4-5 and Apc 19 are, firstly, the vision in Apc 4 being introduced by the seer's perception of an open door in heaven (Apc 4:1). In Apc 19:11 it is then the entire heaven which is seen opened by John.[20] One may ask whether we can assume the character of the vision in Apc 4:1 to be proleptic, as in Apc 14. It is also noteworthy that the vision of the open heaven takes place within the vision describing the heavenly horseman, and not at the introduction of the scenario as in Apc 4:1. Secondly, we find a reference to the Lamb in Apc 19:7-9. At first glance, the appearance of the Lamb appears not to be emphasised very strongly. However, we

[20] See also AUNE: *Revelation 17-22*, 1052-1053 or BOE: *Gog*, 246.

might consider the possibility that the author wanted to mention the Lamb in God's vicinity – not unlike Apc 5. The reference to the Lamb in the opening sequence of chapter 19 may allow for conclusions concerning the relationship between God and Lamb, which we will have to examine thoroughly in the forthcoming section about the christological concerns of Apc 19.

4.1.5. Summary

Generally, the discussion provided above has made apparent that the two sections of Apc 19, namely verses 1-10 and verses 11-21 should best be regarded and read together. Evidence for this assumption is derived from numerous parallels between both sections of Apc 19, and from parallel settings and expressions from various other passages of the Apocalypse. Christological significance might therefore be deduced by further comparisons of both passages from Apc 19 hereafter.

4.2. The Christology of Apc 19

4.2.1. A Christological Interpretation of Apc 19:11-21?

As in Apc 14:6-20, the first question for dealing with the Christology of Apc 19 must be: Who is the heavenly figure on the white horse in Apc 19:11-21? Can we assume without a doubt that the author referred to Christ in this passage? If so, the figure in Apc 19 must be obviously associated with Christ, so that the readership can easily identify this person with Christ. It is noteworthy that the author – as in Apc 14:14-15 before – apparently avoided naming this figure explicitly as Christ. A reference to Christ's name appears again to have been avoided. It rather seems that the

name of the figure is once more referred to by a circumlocution. In Apc 19:16 the name of the rider on the white horse is provided: He is the "king of kings and the Lord of lords" (βασιλεὺς βασιλέων καὶ κύριος κυρίων). However. this designation already hints at Christ as the heavenly horseman, as it is used more often for Christ in NT literature. For instance, 1 Timothy 6:15 attributes a very similar designation to Christ (ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν βασιλευόντων καὶ κύριος τῶν κυριευόντων).[21]

For the discussion of how the figure in Apc 19:16 has to be identified. it also needs to be emphasised that the similarity of the designation from Apc 19:16 seems to be closely related to Apc 1:5, where Christ receives a very similar title.[22] Further. the same designation as in Apc 19:16 is attributed to the Lamb (i.e. Christ) before in Apc 17:14. Admittedly, the designation in Apc 17:14 might represent a redactional interpolation in order to link the Lamb and the heavenly rider from Apc 19.[23] However, it is noticable that at least on the final revision of the Apocalypse an equation of the Lamb and the rider on the white horse has been established. Apparently this designation in Apc 19:16 alone seems to be sufficient evidence that the prominent figure from Apc 19:11-21 would have been clearly understood as Christ by the Apocalypse's readership. More evidence for such an identification can easily be derived by comparison with other passages from within Revelation.

For instance, other references to a name within Apc 19:11-21 seem to indicate the identification of the rider on the white horse with Christ. Firstly, in Apc 19:12 the rider is attributed to have "a name inscribed that no one knows but he himself" (ἔχων ὄνομα γεγραμμένον ὃ ὀυδεὶς οἶδεν εἰ μὴ αὐτός). This mysterious name most likely alludes to God's name, namely the tetragrammaton as it is probably reflected in the prayer of Baruch in *Paralipomena Jeremiae* 6:13. *1 Enoch* 69:14 or by Philo (*De vit.*

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[21] Phil 2:9-11 might also be comparable in this context. See KNIGHT: *Revelation*. 128-129. ROWLAND: *Revelation*. 145 and MOUNCE: *Revelation*. 353. See further HANNAH: *Michael*. 143-144.
[22] Cp. also SCHÜSSLER FIORENZA: *Offenbarung*. 128.

Mos. 2.114*)*.[24] But more importantly for the current discussion, this unknown name corresponds with passages from the Apocalypse as well. In Apc 2:17 a new name, which is unknown to all but the bearer, is promised to the faithful. (As we have noted in section 3.1.3.2., what is promised to the faithful in Apc 2-3 is often attributed to Christ in later passages of Revelation. For instance the promise to sit at God's right is later fulfilled by Christ in Apc 5 and especially Apc 21-22. The promise of the new name and the name of Christ in Apc 19:12 might therefore also be used correspondingly.) Similarly, in Apc 3:12 the faithful are promised Christ's new name. This also hints strongly at the name given to Christ in Apc 19:12.

A further "name" is attributed to Christ in Apc 19:13: Here Christ is designated as "the word of God" (τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ). This designation can be found elsewhere in the Apocalypse (Apc 1:2.9; 6:9; 20:4, and in the plural form in Apc 17:19 and 19:9). In these other occurrences the expression refers to the word of God as a "gospel", though, while in Apc 19:13 the expression refers to Christ as the returning Lord.[25] A similar designation for Christ as the λόγος also occurs, as is well known in John 1:1 and similarly in 1 John 1:1. However, it appears that not too much weight should be given to this parallel, as the λόγος is qualified by the genitive addition τοῦ θεοῦ. Such an additional qualification is not used in the Gospel of John.[26] So at the current stage of this discussion we can only state that the name given to the rider in Apc 19:13 does not by itself allow for an identification as Christ.

The way the rider is named in Apc 19:11 might contribute to an identification of this figure as Christ: The rider on the white horse is labelled as ἀληθινός in verse 11. Such a designation recalls Apc 3:7 and 14 where the same expression is used in the self-

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[23] See AUNE: *Revelation 17-22*, 953 and MÜLLER: *Messias*, 166.
[24] Cp. AUNE: *Revelation 17-22*, 1056 and CULLMANN: *Christologie*, 322.
[25] Cp. AUNE: *Revelation 17-22*, 1058.

descriptions of Christ.[27] Accordingly, such a reference in Apc 19:11 would have been easily understood by the Apocalypse's readership as an allusion to Christ.

As all features now mentioned concerning the name of Christ also reveal details of Christ's relationship with God, we will have to come back to a thorough discussion on some of the features in a forthcoming section of this thesis. Nevertheless, some certain features need to be unfolded now in order to demonstrate that the rider from Apc 19 most likely has to be identified as Christ.

Such an identification of the rider should be apparent by a closer look at the description which is given to the rider's appearance. The eyes of the figure in Apc 19:12 are described as "eyes like fiery flames" (ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτοῦ ὡς φλὸξ πυρός), and in Apc 19:15 (and 19:21) a sword comes forth from his mouth (ἐκ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ ἐκπορεύεται ῥομφαία ὀξεῖα). These descriptions are reminiscent of Christ's description in the opening vision, where Apc 1:14 (cp. Apc 2:18) and Apc 1:16 provide a nearly identical portrait.[28] (The latter feature most certainly also recalls the portrait of Christ in Apc 14, where Christ is attributed a sharp sickle. The sickle probably resembles the sword of Apc 1 and 19. Since the focus of Apc 14 is a vision of judgement in harvest metaphors, the sword has been described as a sickle in the appropriate harvest terminology.) Also the diadems which are worn by the rider in Apc 19:12 seem to support the view that the rider has to be regarded as Christ, because in Apc 14:15 the one like a son of man (whom we identified as Christ in section 2.2.6.) similarly wears a golden crown. These features in chapters 1 and 14 which recur in Apc 19 would have definitely been understood as allusions to Christ by the readership of the Revelation.

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[26] See also AUNE: *Revelation 17-22*, 1058-1059 and CARRELL: *Jesus*, 216. See further PRIGENT: *Commentary*, 544. See for the word in John 1:1-18 and Revelation also GIESCHEN: *Angelomorphic*, 254-255 and MÜLLER: "Wort", 314.

[27] Cp. SLATER: *Community*, 213, MÜLLER: *Offenbarung*, 326 and PRIGENT: *Commentary*, 542.

[28] Cp. MEALY: *Years*, 65-66 and MATERA: *Christology*, 212.

Some other features still deserve attention for supporting the identification of the horseman as Christ: Firstly, the rider is described as ruling the people with an iron staff (ποιμανεῖ αὐτοὺς ἐν ῥάβδῳ σιδηρᾷ) in Apc 19:15. Such imagery would possibly also have recalled the description of shepherd imagery attributed to the Lamb, mentioned for instance in Apc 7:17 and 12:5. A minor difference, however, is marked in Apc 19 by the fact that the act of shepherding in verse 15 does not so much represent an act of taking care of the flock, but rather a juridical picture of fight and judgement. Nevertheless, we might consider the multiple use of shepherd imagery applied to Christ in similar terminology as another indication that readers of the Apocalypse would most certainly have identified the figure from Apc 19:15 as Christ.

Further, the rider's horse itself represents a noticeable feature which may help to assure the rider's identity as Christ as well. In Apc 1:7 and 13 and also in Apc 14:14-15 the christophanies are opened with a vision of Christ on a white cloud. Accordingly, the author displayed a number of features which connect chapters 1, 14 and 19 with each other: Firstly, the figure (i.e. Christ) is portrayed as sitting (καθήμενος) in two of the mentioned passages (Apc 14:14-15 and Apc 19:11 and 21). Secondly, the means of locomotion is described with the heavenly colour white in the same passages. The object the figure is seated on is a cloud in Apc 1:7.13 and Apc 14:14-15. It seems that the author has changed the cloud to a horse in Apc 19 because a description of a rider emphasises the military character of the situation in Apc 19 more appropriately.[29] One might ask whether the description of Christ as riding on the horse also represents a deliberate allusion to the rider of the white horse in Apc 6:2.[30] Attributes given to both

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[29] Cp. also PARK: *Offenbarung*, 46-49. The white horse of the rider is also a symbol of victory, while the other horses in Apc 19:18-19 are symbols of the defeat of the rider's opposition on earth. A similar identification of the horse as a means for stressing the rider's significance has been proposed by ROLOFF: *Offenbarung*, 185: He assumes that the horse has been introduced in Apc 19 in order to enhance the rider's significance in contrast to Zech 9:9 (Mk 11:1ff; John 12:14ff) where Jesus is just riding a donkey.

[30] Cp. CULLMANN: *Christ*, 161 and TAEGER: "Hell", 380. For a non-christological interpretation of Apc 6:1-8 see RISSI: "Rider", 403-418.

riders, though, do not seem to correspond with each other very well. Moreover, a chain of events is narrated in Apc 6 which includes three more riders.[31] Surely, such a feature is missing in Apc 19. The possibility of an analogy between the two riders of Apc 6:2 and Apc 19 therefore appears slightly remote.[32] Anyhow, as the horseman in Apc 6:2 bears no apparent signs of representing Christ, the discussion on a relationship between these two riders seems redundant, because no christological features which might help to identify the rider in Apc 19 as Christ can be derived here.

Another interesting feature in the context of identifying the rider in Apc 19 might be the reference to this figure as the one who is treading the great winepress of God's wrath. This feature is also mentioned in Apc 14:19-20. The reappearance of this image in Apc 19:15 certainly allows for an identification of both figures as Christ. However, a christological interpretation has to be derived from chapter 19, and not from Apc 14 where the figure remains unnamed. As Apc 19:15 constitutes a reference back in the text of Revelation, the identity of the one treading the winepress cannot be considered as argument for the identification of the rider in Apc 19 as Christ.

The reference to the rider's garment being stained with blood (ἱμάτιον βεβαμμένον αἵματι) in Apc 19:13 might have had an effect on the readers in order to identify the rider as Christ, because the reference to blood in the Apocalypse often alludes to Christ's death of atonement within the entire writing (e.g. Apc 1:5; 5:9; 7:14; 12:11),[33] but such an understanding of this passage is something of an imposition. The blood on the rider's garment can also have an entirely different meaning: a divine warrior who comes in order to judge and destroy. This could, for example, have been a traditional understanding as reflected in certain Hebrew Bible passages (Isa 63:1-3).

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[31] See for instance KRAFT: *Offenbarung*, 246-247. See for this also BOE: *Gog*, 247.
[32] The possibility of an identification of the horseman in Apc 6:2 and the rider in Apc 19 can, however, not be entirely eliminated. Cp. for the possibility of an equation PRIGENT: *Commentary*, 539, SWEET: *Revelation*, 283 or TAEGER: "Hell", 369-389.
[33] See AUNE: *Revelation 17-22*, 1057.

Therefore, the allusion to the bloodstained garment might only have favoured an understanding of the rider as Christ amongst the readership; however, evidence for an identification with Christ is not provided without a doubt.[34]

A final argument in support of identifying the rider from Apc 19 as Christ can be derived from the parallel setting of chapters 14 and 19. In both chapters, Christ is addressed as the Lamb in the opening parts of the vision (Apc 14:1-5; 19:7-9); then, rather abruptly, another figure appears in order to judge the world. In Apc 14 evidence could clearly be provided that the figure who appears on the white cloud there would have definitlely been understood as Christ by Revelation's readers. Similarly, the readership would certainly have identified the rider as Christ as well, because after introducing the Lamb in Apc 19:7 the new figure in Apc 19:11-21 bears similar attributes as the one like a son of man from Apc 14 (and also from Apc 1).

Subsequently, it should have become apparent that the rider on the white horse from Apc 19:11-21 can be identified as Christ as the Lord who is returning. From this point further christological issues from chapter 19 (such as the relationship between God and Christ within this chapter, Christ's relationship with angels, and the relation between Christ as the rider and Christ as the Lamb) can therefore be concluded.

4.2.2. The Relationship between God and Christ in Apc 19

4.2.2.1 The Names Attributed to Christ

As noted above in this chapter, certain mysterious names have been given to Christ in chapter 19. Occasionally, these names have been identified as those which

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[34] See for the possible interpretations of the blood BOE: *Gog*, 248-251.

have been assigned to God in other contexts, or directly alluded to God or his name elsewhere. This rather superficial statement needs to be illuminated further at this stage.

The first name which is attributed to Christ as the white rider in Apc 19 is probably[35] his designation as "faithful and true" (πιστὸς καὶ ἀληθινός) in verse 11. Parts of this name are referred to throughout the Apocalypse, partially alluding to Christ (as πιστός in Apc 1:5 and 2:13, ἀληθινός in Apc 3:7, or both parts in Apc 3:14), while in other occurrences they are simply used in order to exhort followers to be faithful (Apc 2:10; 17:14). More significantly, πιστὸς καὶ ἀληθινός are also adjectives which are assigned to God's words (Apc 21:5) and God's revelation as such (Apc 22:6).[36] (Also, God's judgements are described as ἀληθιναί in Apc 19:2.) Thus, it can be concluded that the adjectives πιστὸς καὶ ἀληθινός commonly relate to God and the Lamb in the Apocalypse.[37] From this rather simplistic observation we could already derive a certain proximity between God and Christ in chapter 19. Both share a character which is true and/or faithful. For God, these objects are an expression of how he acts (as for instance his judgement is just and true), while Christ embodies truth and faithfulness. This way of relating Christ and God is possibly continued in the following description of Apc 19:11. Here Christ is said to judge and fight with righteousness (ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ). Correspondingly, God's judgements are - using a similar Greek word - also just (δικαιαί) ones in Apc 19:2. Apparently, the correspondence also consists of the activity of judging. Accordingly, in Apc 19:2 and Apc 19:11 another analogy between

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[35] It has to be mentioned that the question of whether we deal with a designation here or not depends on the decision of a textcritical problem in Apc 19:11: In some manuscripts of the text (for instance the Codex Alexandrinus) the expression καλούμενος is not mentioned alongside the reference πιστὸς καὶ ἀληθινός. The version without καλούμενος might be the shortest version, and may therefore be considered the original one (cp. MÜLLER: *Offenbarung*, 326), but at the same time it seems that Codex Sinaiticus (and the majority of other Koine manuscripts) explain the content of the verse more appropriately (cp. for this SLATER and the literature he quotes in: *Community*, 212, esp. n. 11).

[36] See for this also RUIZ: *Ezekiel*, 509-510 and SLATER: *Community*, 212-213.

[37] For a distribution of these adjectives in occurences where other objects (as the community) or God and the Lamb are referred to see SLATER: *Community*, 213-214. For an interesting interpretation of πιστὸς καὶ ἀληθινός see also KRAFT: *Offenbarung*, 247: KRAFT assumes the existence of a gematrical

God and Christ is expressed: both share the function of being judges in the scenario of Apc 19.

Another reference to Christ's name is provided in Apc 19:12. This time, the character of the name is quite mysterious, because it is simply stated that the name is unknown to anybody but the bearer himself (ὄνομα γεγραμμένον ὃ οὐδεὶς οἶδεν εἰ μὴ αὐτός). This unknown nature of the name arouses attention. As briefly mentioned above (see section 4.2.1.), earlier passages in Revelation also refer to such an unknown and secret name (cp. Apc 2:17; 3:12). Therefore, the readers of the Apocalypse might already have certain associations in mind when reading this name. However, the actual secret name is nowhere explicitly revealed in the Apocalypse. It is probably not the author's intention that the secret name as such is unveiled – an equation with one of the many names attributed to Christ within the Apocalypse, or even within this passage of chapter 19 seems not very likely.[38] The significance of this name in Apc 19:12 lies within its secrecy.[39] In turn, the fact that the name is unknown is a most relevant concept behind this feature, as it might recall the fact that God's name is unknown and secret as well. We might therefore interpret the name in Apc 19:12 as a possible allusion to God's secret name which is commonly manifested in the tetragrammaton.[40] Such an assumption allows for an important conclusion for analysing the relationship between God and Christ. Once more they are related closely together by Revelation's author,[41] as

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phenomenon in these words. He regards the expressions as a translation of the Hebrew version for Amen, which gematrically has the same value as Adonai.

[38] Cp. also GIESCHEN: *Angelomorphic*, 253 n. 32 and especially MÜLLER: *Offenbarung*, 327 and KRAFT: *Offenbarung*, 248.

[39] For an interesting suggestion see SLATER: *Community*, 215-216: SLATER compares the concept of the unrevealed name in Revelation with the concept of the messianic secret in Mark's Gospel. Indeed, such a comparison seems suitable.

[40] Cp. also PRIGENT: *Commentary*, 542, HANNAH: *Michael*, 144-145 or GIESCHEN: *Angelomorphic*, 253. As already mentioned in section 4.2.1., a possible parallel for such an understanding of the secret name might be provided in *Par. Jer.* 6:13 and Philo's *De vit. Mos.* 2.114 (cp. AUNE: *Revelation 17-22*, 1056).

[41] See for a similar conclusion with different arguments SLATER: *Community*, 214-216: SLATER excludes the possibility of an analogy between Christ's secret name and the tetragrammaton. He rather derives the connection between Christ's and God's name from the context of the Apocalypse, namely the names of God and Christ mentioned in Apc 14:1.

they share a secret name which also reveals their common, but simultaneously veiled, true being.

The next name given to Christ in Apc 19:13 probably also contributes to the discussion concerning the relationship between God and Christ. In verse 13 Christ is called "the word of God" (τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ). This designation on its own already indicates a connection between God and Christ, as the genitive τοῦ θεοῦ qualifies Christ here. Therefore, we can most certainly regard this name as an indication for a manifestation of God in Christ. The expression "the word of God" occurs in other passages of the Apocalypse as well (cp. Apc 1:2.9; 6:9; 17:7; 19:9; 20:4), but in none of these passages is the expression indicated to be a name. The reference to "the word of God" as a name in Apc 19:13 is probably indebted to certain traditions. We have already expressed doubts concerning a similar concept for such a name as preserved in John 1:1 (see section 4.2.1.). Another tradition, however, might have been more influential on Apc 19:13, namely one preserved in Wisdom of Solomon 18:15-19.[42] Similar to Apc 19, Wisdom of Solomon 18, also (1) personifies the word of God, (2) describes it with military motifs while (3) attributing the word as bearing a sword (Apc 19:15.20; Wisd. Sol. 18:15-16), and (4) causes the downfall of God's opposition.[43] Despite these striking contextual analogies, it seems most interesting here to emphasise that the author of the Apocalypse probably adopted this concept, as in Wisdom of Solomon 18, in order to stress that Christ – in the shape of the word of God – is a manifestation of God.

Interestingly, the designation of Christ as "the word of God" opens two possibilities of wordplay. Firstly, the reference to the expression λόγος in Wisdom 18

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[42] Though the parallel to Wisd. Sol. 18 in Apc 19 is closer, it is still possible that Apc 19 preserved an echo of John 1, cp. for this DUNN: *Christology*, 247.

[43] Cp. SLATER: *Community*, 217, MÜLLER: *Offenbarung*, 329 and AUNE: ***Revelation*** *17-22*, 1058-1059. The tradition from Wisd. Sol. 18 in the background of Apc 19 might also have angelological implications (cp. GIESCHEN: *Angelomorphic*, 253-254 or with another assumed background

might be a play on words (or even a mistranslation) derived from the corresponding Hebrew term דבר. Naturally, this Hebrew term means "word", but the consonants alone could also mean "pestilence". Such a personification of this disease is not inappropriate for three reasons:

1) The context of Wisdom of Solomon 18 refers to the slaying of Egypt's firstborn as preserved in Exodus. Therefore, a personification of pestilence could indeed also be the acting figure of this passage.[44] At the same time, a personified pestilence would also fit into the context of Apc 19, because – as we have shown in section 3.1. – Christ could represent the destroying angel from Exodus in the Apocalypse. (We will therefore have to deal with this possibility in the following section of this thesis as well.)

2) A personification of pestilence as a messenger of God has also another parallel, namely in 1 Chronicles 21:14-16 where the Angel of the Lord (having a sword in his hand) brings a plague to Israel.[45]

3) Similarly, an error of translation occurs in Habakkuk 3:5 (LXX), where the Hebrew דבר from the MT (referring to pestilence) has apparently been translated as λόγος.[46] Therefore, a confusion of the Hebrew expression seems more likely.

Similar to the mistranslation idea offered above, another play on words should be briefly taken into consideration. It could be assumed that the author of the Apocalypse aimed at another play on words between Aramaic and Greek translation for the expression λόγος based on the Aramaic root אמר. The Aramaic word could

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CARRELL: *Jesus*, 212-213) which will be dealt with in the following section on *The Relationship between Christ and Angels* in this chapter.

[44] Cp. AUNE: *Revelation 17-22*, 1058 and MÜLLER: *Offenbarung*, 329.

[45] See MÜLLER: *Offenbarung*, 329 and AUNE: *Revelation 17-22*, 1058.

[46] Cp. also AUNE: *Revelation 17-22*, 1058-1059.

obviously be translated as "word", but the same term also means "lamb".[47] If the author really intended to insert such an ambiguity deliberately, the significance of the name "word of God" would be enormous. This name then would not only link Christ with God in terms of a personification of himself, but also the entire Lamb christology would be related even more closely to God. However, it can hardly be proven that John had such a concept in mind when he created this passage in Apc 19. A corresponding expression, as for instance τὸ ἄρνιον τοῦ θεοῦ, is not present in the Apocalypse. Therefore, assumptions concerning the Aramaic-Greek play on words remain highly speculative.

The fourth name for Christ in Apc 19 is his designation as "king of kings and the Lord of lords" (βασιλεὺς βασιλέων καὶ κύριος κυρίων), written on his garment and his thigh[48] in Apc 19:16. Traditionally, this designation is given to God in various Hebrew Bible and early Jewish passages, as is reflected for instance in Deuteronomy 10:17; Ezekiel 26:7; Daniel 2:37; Daniel 4:37 (LXX); Ezra 7:12; Psalm 136:2; 2 Maccabees 13:4; 3 Maccabees 5:35; *1 Enoch* 9:4; 63:2; 84:2; 1QM 14:16; 4Q491 or 4Q381.[49] (As we have mentioned in section 4.2.1., similar names have also been attributed to Christ in NT literature.)

Therefore, we can deduce that Christ and God are meant to be equated in the Apocalypse once more, because Christ receives a name in Apc 19:16 which is normally reserved for God. By receiving such a name, Christ is apparently put on par with God in

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[47] Cp. for such a discussion concerning 1 *En.* 90:38 TILLER: *Commentary*, 386-388, CHARLES: *Revelation II*, 452 and LINDARS: "Lamb", 485. A similar phenomenon, namely the interchangeability of "lamb" and "word", works in Hebrew, when a corruption of the word is assumed. Only the first Hebrew letter distinguishes a lamb (טלה) from a word (מלה). See also TILLER: *Commentary*, 386.

[48] The locations where the name is written have led to speculations concerning the location's significance. Cp. for instance AUNE: *Revelation 17-22*, 1062-1063, CAIRD: *Revelation*, 246-247 or KRAFT: *Offenbarung*, 250-251. Important christological issues can probably not be derived from the location, though. A discussion of the location's meaning can therefore be neglected here. The simplest explanation might be to regard the καί as an explanation (similar to a *waw explicativum*): The name is written on the garment, namely on the piece that covers the thigh. See similarly MOUNCE: *Revelation*, 356.

[49] See for these passages and a thorough discussion of them MÜLLER: *Offenbarung*, 328, KARRER: *Christus*, 165-166 and esp. AUNE: *Revelation 17-22*, 953-955.

this verse again.[50] Here the Christology bears signs of an enhanced Christology.[51] Accordingly, with the reception of this name, Christ's power is described as impressive.

Alongside the equal status of God and Christ in Apc 19:16 another feature of the Apocalypse deserves attention in the current discussion. The same name given to Christ in Apc 19:16 also refers to the Lamb in Apc 17:14. Subsequently, the rather simple conclusions can be made that A) the Lamb is naturally to be identified as the same figure as in Apc 19 (i.e. Christ), and that B) Lamb and God also share a similar status.[52] (Such an observation copes well with the results we have obtained concerning Apc 4 and 5.) It is not entirely clear whether the reference to the name "king of kings" constitutes a redactional problem (i.e. a later interpolation in order to relate the Lamb and the rider on the white horse with each other). Anyhow, at least the double reference indicates the uniqueness and probably the consistency of the Christology of the Apocalypse's final written stage.[53]

We can summarize that the different names which Christ received in Apc 19 generally confirmed a rather close relationship between God and Christ.[54] The emphasis in Apc 19 (similar to Apc 5) seems to be an equation of God and Christ, as far as the names by which the latter is designated are concerned. It has to be said at the same time that the parallel from Wisdom of Solomon 18 might also raise the question of whether or not angelological concerns are in the author's mind at the same time. Now we will have to continue examining the relationship between Christ as rider and as Lamb and God in the whole of Apc 19.

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[50] Cp. similarly POKORNÝ: *Christologie*, 77-78.
[51] See also AUNE: *Revelation 17-22*, 1063.
[52] A further feature which might be derived from this name is dependent on the connection between Apc 19:10 (the "testimony of Jesus") and the reference to the name "word of God" as combined elsewhere in the Apocalypse (see section 4.1.1.). Such a correspondence has mainly significance for the understanding of prophecy and its importance for the Christian community. See for a thorough discussion ROOSE: *Zeugnis*, 207-217, especially 214-216.
[53] See for unity and consistency of Apc 17:14 and 19:16 also SLATER: *Community*, 220.

4.2.2.2. Relationship between God, Lamb, and Rider

In this section, the relationship between God and Christ will be analysed more closely. Since Christ is depicted in two different images, namely the rider on the white horse and the Lamb, these different depictions are worth taking into consideration as well.

The overall structure of Apc 19 is reminiscent of the narrative layout of Apc 4 and 5. In Apc 19:1-10 the emphasis seems to be clearly on God (as in Apc 4), whereas in the following section in Apc 19:11-21 Christ is at the centre of the narration (as in Apc 5). Reminiscent of the liturgical parts of Apc 4, Apc 19:1-10 describes God mainly in references to doxologies. God receives similar prerogatives as in the doxologies of Apc 4 and 5, as for instance ἡ δόξα in Apc 19:1 and 7. The same predicate has been received by God several times in Apc 4 (Apc 4:9.11), and together with Christ in Apc 5:13. The same doxological element is, as has been noted in section 3.2.3., also attributed to Christ alone in Apc 5:12. Similarly, the prerogative ἡ δύναμις given to God in Apc 19:9 is also among those elements received by Christ in Apc 5:12. The prerogative ἡ σωτηρία is exclusively given to God in Apc 19, but Christ is probably not entirely out of view when this expression is employed here, since it occurs in Apc 7:10 (cp. Apc 12:10) as well. The expression σωτηρία possibly alludes to the salvific deeds of God and (via God) Christ simultaneously. The application of these prerogatives to both God and Christ already hints at a close connection between them.

Despite the fact that the prerogatives are shared by God and Christ throughout Revelation, it is obvious that the doxologies mainly refer to God. On the other hand, the following description of the judgement deals in more detail with Christ. Again, as in Apc 4 and 5, it seems that God in Apc 19 is rather passive, apparently playing a role in

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[54] Cp. further MÜLLER: "Wort", 312-325.

Apc 19:1-8 where he does not act as such. Instead, he is only referred to in liturgy and worship. He is praised for the judgement of Babylon and for taking revenge for his servants (Apc 19:1-3), and for conquering his kingdom (Apc 19:6).[55] In Apc 19, these actions of God are, however, simply mentioned in praises; the actions as such do not seem to be depicted. It may be assumed that God was deliberately not depicted as acting, similar to Apc 4-5, in order to avoid a portrait of God which depicts him too anthropomorphically. The deeds of God are answered by worship and praises.

The Lamb is also briefly portrayed in Apc 19:7-9, but not described in much detail, simply in two references to its wedding. Both occurences are set in a situation which deals with the Christian community, as the event of the wedding apparently provides enough reason to be celebrated by the community or to be addressed in the beatitude of verse 9. The role of the Lamb here is therefore similar to Apc 14:1-5, as the salvific aspect of Christ is the central motif in both passages.

In Apc 19:5 a minor problem occurs which might have christological significance. In verse 5 a voice originating from the throne exhorts God to be praised. It is not quite clear, though, who the speaker on the throne actually is. Occasionally, the voice from Apc 19:5 has been identified as Christ's voice, because Christ is associated with the throne in Apc 3:21 and 5:6 as well.[56] If this were the case, further christological interest could be assumed in Apc 19. Christ would again be in the vicinity of God's throne in this scenario. However, Christ can probably not be considered to be the one from whom the voice originates. Firstly, the Lamb (and also God) never speaks directly in the Apocalypse.[57] Further, it would seem strange if Christ would refer to God as "our

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[55] Cp. also Apc 11:15-17 where Christ is notably included in claiming the eschatological kingdom. In Apc 19 Christ is not explicitly mentioned as coregent in verse 6.
[56] Cp. KNIGHT: *Revelation*, 125 and BEALE: *Revelation*, 930.
[57] Cp. KRAFT: *Offenbarung*, 243.

God" and not as "my God".[58] Therefore, a hidden christological feature appears unlikely.

In ostensible contrast, Christ seems to take over the rather active part again in Apc 19:11-21. In this vision Christ is not simply referred to, he is described as an active figure. His actions ("fighting", "judging", "treading the winepress", etc.) are portrayed in detail, as is his appearence. Unlike God's depiction, a portrait of Christ is not shunned here. A number of predicates attributed to Christ parallel features which have been mentioned in previous chapters of the Apocalypse (e.g. Apc 1 and 14). Still, the features that can be seen here are not all christological in origin. For instance, the description of Christ as a just judge – also paralleled by the description of God's just judgements in Apc 19:2 – reflects the use of Isaiah 11:4-5 or Psalms 9:8; 72:2 and 96:13 as a *Vorlage*.[59] In these passages from the Hebrew Bible God is described as a just judge. Accordingly, God and Christ share the feature of such a judge, which further stresses an equation of God and Christ in Apc 19. A similar tendency of expressing such an equation can also be seen in the following description of Christ bearing a blood stained vestment (Apc 19:13) and as the one treading the winepress of wrath (Apc 19:15). These descriptions seem to reflect a depiction in Isaiah 63:1-3, and possibly also in Joel 4, where God is the acting and judging figure. Similarly, the features of the sword coming out of Christ's mouth and the staff for punishing the nations resemble such a divine attribute: The weapon coming forth from Christ's mouth is again reminiscent of God's description in Isaiah 11:4.[60] Here, it is a staff coming forth from the mouth. The vision in Apc 19 possibly combines motifs from Isaiah 11:4 (a weapon from the mouth), Psalm 2:8-9 (a staff to rule the nations), and maybe Isaiah 49.2 (a

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[58] Cp. MOUNCE: *Revelation*, 343.
[59] See also AUNE: *Revelation 17-22*, 1053.
[60] Cp. SWEET: *Revelation*, 283.

mouth as a sword). Parts of these descriptions, namely the weapon coming out of Christ's mouth by which he is judging the people. also express Christ's status as divine.

As in Apc 4 and 5, Apc 19 provides an image of God and Christ as equals who share attributes and power. The more active role played by Christ here recalls Apc 4 and 5. Again it seems that Christ is a divine representative of God who is not subordinate but rather an equal.

4.2.2.3. The Worship and the Wedding

Despite the equality we tried to affirm above, we must take notice of the features that seem to represent a parting line between God and Christ. In Apc 19:1-10, it can be noticed that it is apparently only God who is worshipped by the figures surrounding the throne. This initially seems to contradict what was expressed before in Apc 5, where Christ received worship alongside God. On the other hand, Christ's role in the liturgical section in Apc 19:1-10 seems to be rather limited. He is only briefly mentioned in Apc 19:7 and 9. These different foci might suggest a tension between the imagery of the wedding and the actual worship of God.

However, both of these observed features taken together might still imply a deeper christological concern than is visible at first sight. Firstly, it has to be stated that the reference to the Lamb in Apc 19:7 is closely connected to Apc 19:6 as the messages of both verses are set in parallel to each other. Both verses are introduced by the exhorting voice in verse 6. Unlike the previous "hallelujahs" in Apc 19:1.3.4 which point back to the destruction of Babylon, the same expression is connected with the Lamb's wedding and God taking over the rule of the earth.[61] The structure of verses 6 and 7 moreover seems to link them together, as the expression "hallelujah" ("praise

[61] Cp. also MOUNCE: *Revelation*, 346.

God") corresponds to the exhortations from verse 7. In both cases the reason to fulfil the order is provided by the expression ὅτι.[62] The reason to praise and celebrate is given both times by a verb in the aorist. Accordingly, one can regard Apc 19:6-7 as a unit.

So we may conclude that two events of similar significance are described here: the beginning of God's kingdom and also the wedding of the Lamb. Both events are closely connected, Apc 19:7 being a continuation of what has been announced in Apc 19:6.[63] The context of verses 6-7 is also closely related to Apc 19:1-5 by the fourfold use of "hallelujah" and the same use of the expression ὅτι, which gives reason for the praise in Apc 19:1-3 and 6-8. Both sections feature two ὅτι clauses, the second one, being subordinated to the first, specifying the first one.[64] Similarities between the choruses in Apc 19:1-3 and 6-8 do not end here. The first ὅτι clause provides the general motive for the praise (the righteousness of God's judgement in Apc 19:2 corresponding to God's establishment of his reign in Apc 19:6); the second ὅτι clause states a particular reason for the praise (namely the judgement of the great prostitute Babylon in Apc 19:2 and analogically the wedding of the Lamb in 19:7). Both subordinated ὅτι clauses also feature a female figure (the great prostitute in verse 2 and the bride in verse 7) and a specification of what this figure is doing (corruption of the earth in verse 2 and preparing herself in verse 7). A divine response is given to the actions of both figures as well (avenging of blood in verse 2 and permission to dress in pure linen in verse 8).[65]

It is of particular interest here that the Lamb's wedding (second ὅτι clause in verses 7-8) represents a specification of the announcement concerning the establishment of God's reign (first ὅτι clause in verse 6). Christ appears to be declared as the key figure for establishing God's eschatological reign.[66] Accordingly, the coming of God's

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[62] See also JÖRNS: *Evangelium*, 154 and DEICHGRÄBER: *Gotteshymnus*, 57.
[63] Cp. KNIGHT: *Revelation*, 125.
[64] Cp. RUIZ: *Ezekiel*, 494.
[65] Cp. RUIZ: *Ezekiel*, 495-496.
[66] Cp. also RUIZ: *Ezekiel*, 499.

kingdom receives a christological focus – any further statement concerning Christ or a worship of the Lamb would have been redundant in the narrative structure of this vision. Christ's overwhelmingly powerful status needs no further enhancement here.

Also, if Apc 19:7 has been regarded as a logical consequence, or at least as a continuation of what has been reported in verses 1-6 so far, verse 7 does not introduce an entirely new topic. Apc 19:1-6 describes God's judgement and the beginning of his reign. Similarly, a new aeon is starting for the community, symbolized by the image of the Lamb's bride.[67] More importantly, a new task has started for Christ, namely his role as bridegroom. Such a role probably hints at a function as protector. Notably, the role of bridegroom was traditionally filled out by God, as is reflected in a number of texts from the Hebrew Bible (for instance in Isaiah 61-62; Hosea 2:14-20 and especially Isaiah 54:5-8).[68] Accordingly, in Apc 19[69] Christ once more fills out a position which is traditionally reserved for God. From this observation it cannot only be deduced that Christ is equal to God because he acts in a position which is normally attributed to God, but one can also see where Apc 19 (in its preserved condition) places the emphasis. The focus here is not on a discrepancy between God (as the one who is worshipped on the one hand) and the Lamb (who is not worshipped but fulfills a role in the image of the wedding), as such a discrepancy would not seem suitable in the Apocalypse, where elsewhere (Apc 5 and 21-22) the worship of Christ is subject. Rather, the emphasis seems to be on the the new era which starts after the destruction of Babylon and on the roles of God, Christ, and the community. God's arrival is celebrated as the wedding of the Lamb with the community.[70] Their roles become intertwined here in Apc 19. Therefore, God is portrayed as the sovereign, Christ as the protector and redeemer of the

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[67] Cp. for instance AUNE: *Revelation 17-22*, 1029-1030.
[68] Cp. also BEALE: *Revelation*, 941-943 or CAIRD: *Revelation*, 234.
[69] A similar portrait is also provided in other NT literature, as for instance Mk 2:19-20 (Mt 9:15; Lk 5:35) and Eph 5:25-32.
[70] Cp. KRAFT: *Offenbarung*, 244.

Christian community (depicted as the bridegroom). and the community (described as bride) as the faithful who may dwell in the presence of God and the Lamb. This picture becomes much clearer in Apc 21-22 where the image of the wedding and the bride is continued.

The portrait of Christ as the Lamb and also the wedding banquet as such are only briefly described in Apc 19. In contrast to this compact depiction, the role of Christ as the rider on the white horse is provided in much more detail. The short description of Apc 19:7-9 probably results out of the much more detailed description of the following events. In fact, from Apc 19:11 on the events of Apc 19:1-9 seem to be rehearsed: Apc 19:1-5 describes the fall of Babylon, which as such has not been depicted in the Apocalypse. (In Apc 18 the fall of Babylon is proclaimed, but it does not actually take place there.[71] Apc 18 notably reports the incident in future tense.) However, the judgement is described with considerable detail in Apc 19:11-21, and further in Apc 20. Similarly, the wedding is only briefly mentioned in Apc 19:7-9 (and to some extent in Apc 18:23). A detailed portrait of the wedding follows later in Apc 21-22. One might therefore assume that Apc 19:1-9 has a somehow proleptic character; what is stated in this hymnic part becomes more clearly visible in the following sections in Apc 19:11-22:5: judgement of the world and the destruction of Satan (as alluded to in Apc 19:6) are explicitly narrated again in Apc 19:11-20:15, where a new creation and the new kingdom of God and the Lamb are described In Apc 21-22:5.[72] Therefore, the events in Apc 19:1-9 are most likely described rather briefly in order to leave room for the detailed portrait which is about to follow.[73]

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[71] See also JÖRNS: *Evangelium*, 144.

[72] Cp. JÖRNS: *Evangelium*, 144-158. An impression of a certain unity within the passage Apc 19:11-22:5 can almost certainly be concluded from the Gog and Magog traditions from the Ezekiel background (Ezek 38-39). See for a thorough discussion BØE: *Gog*, 235-382. (For Hebrew Bible traditions in Apc 21-22 see MATHEWSON: *Heaven*, passim.)

[73] Cp. KRAFT: *Offenbarung*, 244.

To summarise, it can be said that the Lamb's status is equal to that of God. The equality is especially emphasised by the image of the Lamb's wedding. For narrative reasons it was probably not felt necessary to further stress the Lamb's power in worship language.

4.2.2.4. The Rider and the Lamb

As it has been demonstrated, the figures of the Lamb and the rider on the white horse have to be identified as one and the same person, namely Christ. However, one might wonder why the author of the Apocalypse addressed Christ as the Lamb in Apc 19:7-9 and then rather abruptly changed the title to the rider sitting on the white horse. Such a change of title is not entirely uncommon in the Apocalypse; the same phenomenon has already been observed in the discussion concerning Apc 14:1-5 and 6-20, where at first Christ is portrayed as Lamb and subsequently described as one like a son of man. We might assume a similar reason here as for the change in Apc 14: the setting of both chapters is very similar, as both times a description of the Lamb is followed by the portrait of Christ as a judge, who then receives another designation. A similar structure is probably not a mere coincidence. Once more, the change of the reference to Christ depends on the different situations and more importantly on the people involved in the particular scenario. What we have demonstrated above (section 2.3.) for Apc 14:1-5 can clearly be repeated for Apc 19:1-10. In both passages, Christ is described as the Lamb because the focus of the narration lies on his role as a protector of the Christian community. This has been obvious for Apc 14 where Christ as the Lamb gathers the true believers on Mount Zion. Similarly, the Lamb is distinctly related to the community in Apc 19:7-9 and also in the following section drawing on the same image in Apc 21. Here this close relationship is depicted in imagery of a wedding. The

Lamb is depicted as the bridegroom, the community as the bride. The following scenarios (Apc 14:6-20 and 19:11-21, and to some extent also Apc 20) deal with the judgement of God's opposition on earth. As with Apc 14, for Apc 19 the division of the description of Christ seems to be rooted in his varying functions and therefore also in the eyes of those by whom Christ is perceived in the different settings. In the eyes of the community, Christ is a redeemer and a shepherding figure. This is portrayed by designating him as the Lamb, who gathers the community and protects it. In contrast, Christ is depicted as a judge in Apc 19:11-21 (and Apc 14:6-20). As eschatological judge he is depicted as the one who eliminates those who oppose God and his community. Such a depiction in the Apocalypse is either provided in a metaphorical way in Apc 14 (employing the image of a harvest) or it may be a description that is more drastic. Apc 19:11-21 therfore employs a more transparent means of portraying the judgement in military language. The elimination of the kings of the earth is depicted as a cosmological battle. Within this vision Christ is portrayed as "judging and fighting in justice" (Apc 19:11).[74] He is the owner of royal names (Apc 19:16) and designated as ruler (Apc 19:15). Features such as the sword (Apc 19:15.21) and the riding of a horse (Apc 19:11.21) and the notion of him as the leader of the heavenly armies supplement a depiction of Christ as an eschatological warrior-like judge and messianic king. In the depiction of the battle, Christ is shown as the one who destroys those opposing him and God. Clearly, the caretaking character of a Lamb is unsuitable here. In addition, John also wanted to demonstrate that the true character of Christ has only been understood by those he is addressing, namely the Christian community. In his narrative, the opposing people perceive Christ as the eschatological judge. Again, the different situations define how Christ is perceived; he is rightfully perceived as the eschatological leader of his community which is displayed in his role as the Lamb. The opponents and nonbelievers

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[74] The justice of judgement and war is in contrast to the beast's injustice in Apc 11:7 and 13:7. cp.

regard him only as a judge, representing their entire misunderstanding of his significance and power.[75] An apparent discrepancy between the Lamb (Apc 19:7-9) and the roles in the following section (Apc 19:11-21) seems therefore be a stylistic device of John in order to display righteousness of Christ's followers on the one hand side and a complete misunderstanding of the followers of the beast on the other.

This misunderstanding as a central motive for an identification of Christ within the Apocalypse might also be expressed by drawing on angelic categories for describing Christ, as the following section of this thesis will attempt to demonstrate.

4.2.3. An Angelomorphic Christology in Apc 19?

4.2.3.1. Christ and the Angels in Apc 19

It is apparent thus far that the emphasis of Apc 19 most likely lies on an identification of Christ and God or at least on the expression of a very equal status of both of them. A closer look at Apc 19 also reveals that certain features of Christ within this chapter also draw on angelological material and describe him with attributes that are reminiscent of angelophanies.

One of these features which deserves to be examined more closely is Christ's role as a military leader in Apc 19:11-21. This role is commonly attributed to Michael[76] in early Jewish texts (such as *Test. Dan* 6:5; *2 En.* 22:5; 33:9-10: *3 Apc. Bar.* [Greek] 11:4; *Apc. Esdr.* 4:24 and in both recensions of the *Testament of Abraham*).[77] Possibly, also *Joseph and Aseneth* 14:8 and 15:12 identifies Michael as the leader of the heavenly

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SWEET: *Revelation*, 282.
[75] See similarly also SLATER: *Community*, 221.
[76] See also GIESCHEN: *Angelomorphic*, 256.
[77] Cp. MICHL: "Engel", 244, CARRELL: *Jesus*, 207 and MACH: *Entwicklungsstadien*, 250, esp. n. 378.

army.[78] These passages might reflect an interpretation of passages from the Hebrew Bible, such as Joshua 5:14-15 or Daniel 10:13.21: 12:1.[79] Occasionally, the role of the angelic leader of heavenly armies is also attributed to other angels, as, for instance, Phanael in *3 Apocalypse of Baruch* [Greek] 2:6; 10:1.[80] One might wonder whether Christ received an angelic attribute by his description of the leader of the heavenly armies in Apc 19. Also, the army which is led here, dressed in white linen, might be reminiscent of an angelic host (similar to Mk 8:38; 13:27; Mt 25:31).[81]

But also God himself can be designated as leader of the heavenly forces, as he is portrayed, for instance, in Exodus 15:3, Deuteronomy 7 and 10 or Psalm 68. Therefore, the image of the leadership of the armies from heaven is not purely an angelic attribute, it has also be considered to be divine.[82]

However, the reference to Christ as the leader of the heavenly army is in tension with another angelic feature from within the Apocalypse, namely with Apc 12:7, where Michael plays the role of the military leader of a heavenly host. (An angelomorphic interpretation of the role as military leader seems therefore to be more likely for the Apocalypse.) One might certainly consider that Michael's role in the Apocalypse is a rather limited one: he is referred to by name only once and also the victory he achieves seems to be partial - Satan still has power (Apc 12:12) after the battle in heaven is won. By contrast, Christ's role is apparently far more important in Revelation. This is not only reflected by the greater number of references to Christ, but it is also given emphasis by characterising Christ's victory as a final one (Apc 19:11-20:10). It seems therefore, that Christ's victory (by sacrificial death) is regarded as the crucial victory.

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[78] Cp. GIESCHEN: *Angelomorphic*, 129-131. However, the figure remains unnamed in these passages, cp. CARRELL: *Jesus*, 207.
[79] See for instance MACH: *Entwicklungsstadien*, 250, HANNAH: *Michael*, 38-40 or LUEKEN: *Michael*, 27.
[80] See MACH: *Entwicklungsstadien*, 250 n. 378.
[81] See GIESCHEN: *Angelomorphic*, 256.
[82] Cp. CARRELL: *Jesus*, 207.

which is mirrored by Michael's partial victory in heaven.[83] A contrast between Michael and Christ in Revelation seems to be a device in order to demonstrate that Christ is the more significant figure in the plot. However, we cannot deny at this stage of the discussion that Christ receives angelomorphic features in Apc 19 by controlling the heavenly army.

Further angelomorphic attributes are given to Christ in Apc 19. One might possibly regard the portrait of Christ as a rider to represent an angelic feature, because angels are occasionally depicted as riders as well. Such a description of angelic figures can be found in 2 Maccabees 3:1-40, where Heliodorus' attempt to steal the treasury of the Temple is prevented by an angel-like rider and his company.[84] However, the notion of the rider in this passage does not really provide a parallel to Apc 19. Some minor similarities between both texts do exist: in 2 Maccabees and in Apc 19 the riders are not explicitly labelled as an angel. In both occurences, the angelic figures are depicted as riders with weapons (swords) carrying out God's judgement, but here the similarity ends. The figure in 2 Maccabees is not leading an army, and Christ does not share any other features of this rider in Apc 19. It would be an invalid inference to assume that the description of a prominent figure riding was angelomorphic, solely because of a single parallel where the rider cannot even be clearly identified as an angel.[85]

A feature that certainly deserves more attention in the current discussion is the reference to Christ's secret name in Apc 19:12. The feature of a secret name can also be found in passages referring to angels, as for instance in *1 Enoch* 69:13-29 Michael is in possession of such a secret name.[86] Further evidence for the secret name as a possible angelic feature is also provided by Judges 13:17-18, where the angel of the Lord refuses

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[83] See for this HANNAH: *Michael*, 127-129 and CAIRD: *Revelation*, 156.
[84] Cp. CARRELL: *Jesus*, 205-206, BARKER: *Revelation*, 304 and MACH: *Entwicklungsstadien*, 243.
[85] Angelic horsemen are also mentioned *Hekhalot Rabbati* 15:8-16:2, *Massekhet Hekhalot* 4 and *Sepher ha-Razim* 2:132. A relationship between these passages and Apc 19 would be hard to establish, though.
[86] Cp. HANNAH: *Michael*, 145 and CARRELL: *Jesus*, 212-213.

to reveal his secret name.[87] At the same time one must not entirely forget that the unrevealed name or an angel's name can be a device for connecting an angel with God's power. In Genesis 32:29, for instance, we might find evidence that an unrevealed name addresses a divine being which is not explicitly an angel. More importantly, an angel can also be a bearer of God's name, as in Exodus 23:21. Also Metatron (*3 En.*) and Jaoel (*Apc. Abr.* 11) are explicitly referred to as angels who bear God's name.[88] Therefore, the application of a secret name to Christ in Apc 19 might be evaluated as an angelomorphic feature.

The parallel with the angel from Exodus 23 is worthy of further exploration, since the portrait of Christ as the warrior-like judge also recalls the image of Wisdom of Solomon 18:15-16. It seems very likely that both of these passages appear connected in Apc 19, as both of them allude to the slaying of the firstborn of Egypt. Such a connection is apparent in the case of the angel from Exodus 23 who has a similarly secret name as Christ in Apc 19:12; both this angel and Christ carry out God's punishment against God's opposition. The same task is also reflected in Wisdom of Solomon 18, where the word of God punishes Egypt with his sharp sword and brings death to those who oppose God. It seems sensible to assume that the names establish a link of traditions in Apc 19. The functions and names from the acting figures of Exodus 23 and Wisdom of Solomon 18 were combined, and accordingly Christ received two mysterious names (namely "the name only known to himself" in verse 12 and "Word of God" in verse 13) together with the angelic function of the angel of the Lord from Exodus 23 which is also reflected by Wisdom of Solomon 18. The sword which is

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[87] See also AUNE: *Revelation 17-22*, 1055.
[88] See VOLLENWEIDER: "Monotheismus", 28.

carried by Christ and the description of the eschatological battle portrays Christ truly as an angel of death and a destroyer.[89]

The description of the sword which is wielded by Christ could at first glance be interpreted as an angelomorphic attribute. One could rightly point out a number of passages from the Hebrew Bible where angels are wielding swords, for instance Numbers 22:21-38, Joshua 5:13-15, 2 Samuel 24:16-17, 1 Chronicles 21:15-16, 2 Kings 19:35, Isaiah 37:33-37 or the aforementioned passage from Wisdom of Solomon 18:15-15.[90] Also *1 Enoch* 88:2, 88:90 or *Testament of Levi* 5:3 (where angels give away swords and subsequently humans receive their weapons by supernatural means) might be linked to the motif of angels bearing swords. However, God can be described as having a sword as well, seen, for example, in Deuteronomy 32:40-42 and 33:29 (cp. Judg 7:20). Also, God can be the one who gives humans a sword, as can be seen in *1 Enoch* 90:19. One cannot, therefore, clearly distinguish here between a clearly angelomorphic or a genuinely divine attribute. Also, the sword in Apc 19:15.21 (and 1:16) is further qualified as coming out of Christ's mouth. The sword could be used as a symbol or a metaphor for tongue, i.e. the sharp judging word. Since speech is frequently compared to a sword (or a dagger) – as in Isaiah 49:2; Psalms 52:2; 57:4; Wisdom of Solomon 18:15-16; 4Q436; *Ahiqar* 100b (2:18); Ephesians 6:17 and Hebrew 4:12 – such a context is probably also referred to in Apc 19.[91] Still, the contextual parallel to Wisdom of Solomon 18 (and also Ex 23) leaves room for an assumption of the sword being an angelomorphic feature in Apc 19.

One might ask whether or not the portrait of Christ as fighting (πολεμεῖ) in Apc 19:11 could possibly be interpreted as an angelomorphic feature, as Michael and other angels are often described in a military image as fighters. Such imagery is, for instance,

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[89] See for an identification of Christ as the destroying angel from Exodus also section 3.1.2.5. in this thesis.
[90] See GIESCHEN: *Angelomorphic*, 253 n. 29. Cp. also MACH: *Entwicklungsstadien*, 250-251

provided by Daniel 10:13-20 and even in Apc 12:7. However, the assumption that this is an angelomorphic feature is not persausive. Firstly, God can be depicted as waging war against his (or his people's) opponents, as indicated by 2 Chronicles 20:15; Isaiah 31:4 and Zechariah 14:3. Fighting is therefore not only an angelomorphic feature, but also a divine one. Secondly, it seems problematic to identify the fighting action in Apc 19 as a general angelic function, because angels fulfill numerous tasks in eschatological scenarios. Therefore, the description of Christ as fighting in Apc 19 need not represent an angelomorphic feature. However, the most interesting observation concerning an angelomorphic Christology is the fact that Christ is carrying out tasks which Michael and his angels normally perform (i.e. the battle against Satan and God's opposition). The major element of Christ's description in Apc 19 which may be interpreted as an angelomorphic feature therefore seems to be the identical task of Michael and Christ. As we have assumed above, Christ's role seems to be far more important to the author than Michael's. Still, it is noteworthy that Michael and Christ are set parallel.

A final detail provided in Christ's description might also be interpreted as element of an angelomorphic portrait of Christ in Apc 19: Similar to Apc 1:14 his eyes are also described as "like a burning flame" (ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτοῦ ὡς φλὸξ πυρός) in Apc 19:12. (Apc 2:18 also provides a similar description using the expression φλόγα instead of φλόξ.) There seems to be little doubt that these descriptions of the glowing eyes derive from the vision in Dan 10:6 where Gabriel is also portrayed with glowing eyes.[92] Accordingly, the description of Christ's eyes in line with the vision of Daniel 10:6 seems to support the assumption that angelic categories are attributed to Christ in Apc 19. Such features are naturally not attributed to God within the Apocalypse, because of the author's tendency to avoid applications of such anthropomorphic nature to God. One may therefore consider that angelic features of an anthropomorphic background within

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[91] See AUNE: *Revelation 1-5*, 98-99 and *Revelation 17-22*, 1060-1061.

the Apocalypse are those we can most certainly define as angelomorphic features of Revelation's Christology. More on these features will have to be said in the following chapter on Apc 1.

Three more minor features are worth mention in this discussion, namely Christ's garment (Apc 19:13 and 16), the diadems on his head (Apc 19:12) and the white colouring of the horse (Apc 19:11). The garment as such might not provide further evidence in favour of an angelomorphic interpretation of Christ in Apc 19. The garment (ἱμάτιον) is described as stained in blood (βεβαμμένον αἵματι) in verse 13, and in verse 16 the mysterious name is written on it (ὄνομα γεγραμμένον). A garment is also referred to in Daniel 10:5 (and this description of an angel is again adapted in Apc 1)[93] and in the description of an angelic figure in Ezekiel 9:2; however, the features of the garment in Apc 19:13-16 seem to be rather unique. Presumably, the focus in Apc 19 is on the blood and the name written on the garment, rather than the fact that Christ wears such a garment. Also, the tradition that apparently underlies the description of the blood-stained garment is Isaiah 63:1-3, where God is the acting figure with blood on his garment. The passage might show a messianic interpretation in Apc 19.[94] An angelomorphic attribute, though, is not as clearly provided by this feature in Apc 19 as in Apc 1. In Apc 1 the emphasis is not on the garment's attributes; and so, in contrast to Apc 19, the parallel setting of Christ and angels in Apc 1 allows for a conclusion of an angelomorphic attribute. Possibly the author attempted to link Apc 1 and 19 closer together by alluding to different Hebrew Bible passages (i.e. Dan 10:5-6, Ezek 9:2 within Apc 1 and Isa 63:1-3 in Apc 19) which all mention the garment. In light of the close connection between Apc 1 and Apc 19, an angelomorphic interpretation of the garment cannot be ruled out. The fact that the same image as in Apc 1:13 is also used

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[92] See GIESCHEN: *Angelomorphic*, 247.
[93] See also ROWLAND: "Vision", 1-2.
[94] Cp. AUNE: *Revelation 17-22*, 1057.

in Apc 15:6 (despite different vocabulary) seems to hint at an understanding of garments as angelomorphic features of Revelation's Christology.[95] Similarly, the garment (ἱμάτιον) is also worn by the angel-like 24 elders in Apc 4:4. An angelomorphic interpretation of the garment could therefore only be derived from a tradition-historical background. However, the prominence of the garment motif in the Apocalypse, worn by Christ and angels on the one hand side and by the members of the community (Apc 3:4-5.18, 6:11 and also Apc 19:8) and the martyrs (Apc 7:13-14) on the other, makes it nearly impossible to distinguish where a specifically angelic understanding of the clothing might be in view.[96] The motif of wearing garments is certainly not an angelomorphic feature in the Apocalypse. We are probably best advised to regard only those passages as featuring an angelomorphic description, where an exclusive and tradition-historical parallel to an angelophany is present, i.e. Apc 1:13 (paralleled by Apc 15:6).

With respect to the diadems, several things need to be made clear: Firstly, the term only occurs three times in the Apocalypse, twice to refer to either the dragon (Apc 12:3) or the beast (Apc 13:1). In addition, similar to the dragon and beast, crowns are ascribed to the locusts in Apc 9:7. Only once are the διαδήματα attributed to Christ (Apc 19:12). It seems, therefore, problematic to regard the diadem as an *angelic* feature at all. Apparently, the author just wished to contrast God's opposition (i.e. dragon and beast) once more with Christ by again employing anti-imagery.[97] Such an interpretation is persuasive because the diadems of dragon and beast are numbered (reflecting a certain strength) whilst Christ has an unspecified number of diadems.[98] Accordingly, the diadems attributed to Christ simply express his superior power over dragon and beast.

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[95] See for this STUCKENBRUCK: *Veneration*, 226-228.
[96] See for the different applications of the garments also GRUENWALD: *Mysticism*, 65.
[97] Cp. for this assumption KRAFT: *Offenbarung*, 248 and LOHSE: *Offenbarung*, 78-79.
[98] See also MOUNCE: *Revelation*, 353.

However, we may possibly also derive an angelological concern from the reference to the diadems in Apc 19. In other passages in the Apocalypse, crowns are mentioned as decorations. Occasionally, these crowns are worn by angelic figures, such as the 24 elders in Apc 4:4 and 10 and even by the angelomorphic Christ in Apc 14:14. Accordingly, one may ask whether diadems, crowns, or similar decorations for the head might represent an angelic feature in the Apocalypse. This is probably not the case as the crown can be found in descriptions of various figures. In Apc 2:10 and 3:11 the crown represents a symbolic reward for the community, in Apc 12:1 it is worn by the woman and in Apc 9:7 by the locusts. In these descriptions a specific angelic interest is hardly in view. In Apc 6:2 one of the horsemen receives a crown. Like Christ in Apc 19, he also rides a white horse. (Whatever decision might be made on the identity of this rider from Apc 6 is not crucial for the current discussion.) However, the overall employment of the crown as a motif in the Apocalypse probably indicates that crowns and diadems are generally given to the those who are victorious (Apc 2:10; 3:11; 12:1; 14:14; 19:12) in contrast to those who only appear to be strong (Apc 6:2; 9:7; 12:3; 13:1). In any case, they are not attributed to angels. Therefore, it cannot be concluded that crowns or diadems are an exclusively angelomorphic feature of the Apocalypse.

Similarly, the white colour of the horse in Apc 19:11 should not be evaluated as angelomorphic feature of the rider. Certainly, the colour can be found in christophanies which are indebted to angelophanies (Apc 1:14; 14:14; 19:11). However, garments and robes are elsewhere described as being white like garments of the community (Apc 2:17; 3:4-5; 3:18; 7:9.13), of the angel-like 24 elders (Apc 4:4), and the heavenly army (Apc 19:14). Further, white is applied to horses not only in the description of Christ in Apc 19:11, but also in non-christological (or non-angelological) contexts as in Apc 6:2; 19:14. The throne in Apc 20:11 is also depicted as white. Accordingly, a simple angelomorphic interpretation of the colour white seems to be out of question. It seems

that this colour either relates the described objects with heaven and sometimes also with judgement and victory.[99] (More on the colour white will have to be said in the chapter on Apc 1, and in Appendix 5.)

A potential parallel for Christ's description in angelic categories in *3 Enoch* might be promising, because some of the elements which are attributed to angels there seem to match with Apc 19. In *3 Enoch* 17:8, a certain group of angels (the 72 princes of kingdoms corresponding to the 72 nations of the world) are crowned with kingly crowns (cp. the diadem in Apc 19:12 and the crown in Apc 14:14). They wear special garments (cp. Apc 19:13.16), ride horses (like Christ in Apc 19:11-21), and hold a sceptre (cp. the staff in Apc 19:15). Further, like Christ in Apc 19:14, they are accompanied by heavenly armies. The number of parallels between the angels in *3 Enoch* and Apc 19 seems to be rather impressive. However, the dating of *3 Enoch* – written centuries after the Apocalypse – indicates that an influence of the angelological concepts on Apc 19 is entirely out of question. It can only be assumed that the author of *3 Enoch* created his own angelological concept which coincidentialy matches the description of Christ in Apc 19, or that both passages draw on similar material for their representations. Such passages might involve Daniel 10:5-6 (for the garment), Psalm 2 (for the staff/sceptre), or Daniel 10:13.21; 12:1 (for the leadership of a heavenly army). Admittedly, an identification of possible background texts in *3 Enoch* 17:8 remains speculative, as the use of the imagery employed here is far too common to uncover certain traditions as exclusive *Vorlagen*. Nevertheless, we might regard *3 Enoch* as a valuable parallel of Apc 19, which demonstrates that the predicates given to Christ in Apc 19 are elsewhere understood as angelic prerogatives. Therefore, the assumption of angelomorphic attributes being employed in the Christology of Apc 19:11-21 is further

[99] Cp. PARK: *Offenbarung*, 262-265.

supported by the parallel display of some of the same attributes given to the 72 angels in *3 Enoch*.

4.2.3.2. The Role of the Angels in Apc 19

4.2.3.2.1. The Angel in Apc 19:17

Having investigated the question of whether or not Christ has angelomorphic attributes in his description from Apc 19, it is worth asking what role angels play in this vision and how they relate to Christ. At first sight it might be tempting to analyse such an inquiry very briefly, because angels are not often mentioned. Only Apc 19:17 explicitly refers to an angel; standing in the sun (ἕνα ἄγγελον ἑστῶτα ἐν τῷ ἡλίῳ) and inviting the birds to God's feast. However, more on angels is expressed in Apc 19 than it seems at first glance. Despite the angel in Apc 19:17 two more notions in the entire chapter seem to be concerned with angels, namely the refusal of worship in Apc 19:9-10 and possibly also the portrait of the heavenly army in Apc 19:14.

Regarding the angel from Apc 19:17, only a few things can be said with respect to the author's christological concerns. The angel is certainly not a prominent angel, as he is simply described as "one angel" (ἕνα ἄγγελον), and there is nothing to relate him to any previously mentioned in the Apocalypse. An identification with Christ is also definitely out of question, because he bears none of the attributes which would make such an identification possible. The only detail which arouses attention is the reference to his position "in the sun" (ἑστῶτα ἐν τῷ ἡλίῳ). Such a description might be reminiscent of the angel from Apc 10, whose face is shining like the sun. Similarly, Christ's face is portrayed as shining like the sun in the opening vision in Apc 1:16. In

Apc 1 and 10, though, the description has a more epiphanical character alluding to the angel's or Christ's brightness.

A further detail of the angel from Apc 19:17 that might be interpreted as relevant for the Christology of the Apocalypse is the angel's posture: he is "standing" (ἑστῶτα) like the Lamb in Apc 5:6 (ἑστηκός). However, as demonstrated above (see section 3.1.3.2.), the standing posture in the Apocalypse cannot be interpreted as an exclusively angelological feature. Also, a link between this angel and the Lamb (in order to proof for an angelomorphic feature of the Lamb) can hardly be established on the basis of one minor detail like the posture.

In Apc 19:17 no proper description is provided for the angel. He is depicted similarly to the eagle in Apc 8:13 or the angel in Apc 14:6 ("in midheaven"). These figures are messengers, either giving a message to those on earth (as with the eagle and the angel from Apc 14 from midheaven) or to the birds (from the sun, i.e. an even higher position than midheaven). The change of position – from midheaven to the sun - could possibly be arranged according to the audience of the message: By analogy to the message given to those on earth from a position from midheaven, the birds are spoken to from an even higher place.[100]

But aside from this rather speculative explanation, the position of the angel standing in the sun in Apc 19 is not entirely unknown: Angels closely associated with the sun can be found in Hellenistic writings[101] and in a number of early Jewish texts, such as *2 Enoch* 11:4, *3 Apocalypse of Baruch* [Greek] 6:2; 7:4, *Sepher ha-Razim* 2.148.[102] A similar concept has also been preserved in *Ascension of Isaiah* 4:18. Although some other texts describe angels' faces in in terms of a sun, such passages seem not to be relevant in the current context, but certainly are relevant in the following

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[100] For another possible interpretation of the midheaven see Appendix 4.
[101] For evidence see MICHL: "Engel", 57.
[102] Cp. AUNE: *Revelation 17-22*, 1063 and MICHL: "Engel", 71.

chapter on Apc 1 and the description of Christ's face shining like the sun. Generally, the author seems to take some interest in angels being somehow connected with stars or planets. It is worth asking if such a connection also reflects details of the author's Christology. (For a more thorough discussion of this issue, see Appendix 4.)

4.2.3.2.2. Angels as Part of the Heavenly Army in Apc 19:14

In Apc 19:14 the heavenly army which is following Christ into final battle is briefly referred to as riding on white horses and dressed in white pure garments. This passage does not refer to angels explicitly. Within the context of the Apocalypse, though, it is probable that this heavenly army has to be identified as consisting of angels, parallel to Michael's army in Apc 12:7. Admittedly, the way the army is described does not in itself warrant such an identification. However, it seems likely, because of Hebrew Bible traditions (such as Gen 32:1-2 or Josh 5:14-15 and maybe Dan 8:11),[103] that the army can be regarded as an angelic force. If this identification is permissible, despite its weaknesses, Apc 19:14 can be regarded as another passage giving evidence for Christ's superiority over angels, because the angels follow Christ into battle as their leader.

4.2.3.2.3. The Angel in Apc 19:9-10

One of the passages with more significance for the author's christological conception is the passage dealing with the angel refusing to be worshipped by John in Apc 19:9-10. A christological concern of this passage is, of course, not very apparent at first sight, because Christ is not emphasised in these verses. The acting figures are

[103] See also AUNE: *Revelation 17-22*, 1059.

limited to John himself attempting to worship an angel, and the angel who in response to John's action refuses to be worshipped. But before this passage will be analysed further and the christological implications that may be hidden in this passage dealt with, it seems appropriate to compare Apc 19:9-10 briefly with Apc 22:8-9, where a very similar scenario can be found. Both Revelation passages share the following elements: (1) The first person singular narrator (i.e. John) falls down, (2) before the angel's feet in order to (3) worship him, but (4) the angel responds by (5) requesting not to be worshipped, stating (6) that he is a fellow servant (6) along with John's brothers (7) giving a further description of the faithfulness of the mentioned group finishing with (8) the command to worship God.[104] Both passages also share a similar structural setting, dealing with the punishment of Babylon (Apc 17:1-19:10) and the New Jerusalem (Apc 21:9-22:9).[105] The major difference between Apc 19:10 and the parallel in Apc 22:8-9 is the explanation following the the statement that the angel considers himself as a fellow servant along with John's brothers. In Apc 19:10 the angel puts himself on par with the seer and his "brothers who hold the testimony of Jesus" (καὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν σου τῶν ἐχόντων τὴν μαρτυρίαν Ἰησοῦ), wheras in Apc 22:8-9 the angel's position is defined by a comparison to (1) the seer himself, (2) his brothers, the prophets (καὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν σου τῶν προφητῶν) and (3) "those who keep the words of this book" (καὶ τῶν τηρούντων τοὺς λόγους τοῦ βιβλίου τούτου). The emphasis on the prophets in Apc 22:8-9 probably results from the author's need to legitimise himself and his message of Revelation in the eyes of the Christian community he is addressing.[106] One might actually wonder which version of the angel refusing to be worshipped represents the original version. Other differences between Apc 19:9-10 and 22:8-9 do exist, which may appear as inconsistencies between both given passages: (1) in Apc 19:9 the speaker

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[104] For a synopsis of Apc 19:10 and 22:8-9 see AUNE: *Revelation 17-22*, 1037.
[105] See for a detailed synopsis of the similarities between these passages in Apc 17:1-19:10 and 21:9-22:9 STUCKENBRUCK: *Veneration*, 247.

is not clearly identified, (2) the conclusion of Apc 19:10 ("these words are true") seem to be more suitable for a final vision (as for instance Apc 22:8-9) rather than a penultimate vision, and (3) John's second attempt to worship the angel in Apc 22:8 appears to be a repeated mistake.[107] It seems that the number of inconsistencies increases if one assumes Apc 19:10 to be a secondary version of the angel's refusal to be worshipped.[108] Therefore, it can be concluded that Apc 19:10 was probably used as a source for Apc 22:8-9.[109] Deciding which version of the refusal is the "original" is not crucial for christological concerns, though, and misses the point of the author's intention. The double use of the refusal tradition[110] within the Apocalypse serves not merely to underline the author's own prophetic message, but to emphasise the importance of God – who is clearly referred to as the one who must be worshipped – in contrast to angels. The double use indicates the significance that this topic has for the author.[111] Assuming both versions of the refusal are relevant for the author (despite some apparent inconsistencies) allows these passages to unfold their meaning in the context of the Apocalypse.

For Apc 19:9-10 alone a christological interest is already quite apparent, because a theological interest is related with a christological message in Apc 19:10b as in verses 7 and 9 before.[112] Therefore, it can be concluded that the author wished not only to make a statement expressing angelological concerns (i.e. to downplay angels by having them refuse worship), but also to stress Christ's importance by addressing the

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[106] Cp. STUCKENBRUCK: *Veneration*, 253-255.
[107] See STUCKENBRUCK: *Veneration*, 250.
[108] Cp. for this STUCKENBRUCK: *Veneration*, 250 n. 129.
[109] See AUNE: *Revelation 17-22*, 1037 and KRAFT: *Offenbarung*, 278.
[110] See for the use of the refusal tradition STUCKENBRUCK: *Veneration*, passim and "Refusal", 679-696.
[111] Cp. STUCKENBRUCK: *Veneration*, 255-256. ROOSE's view that Apc 19:10 and 22:8-9 are exclusively focussing on the authority of the entire Revelation (Cp. ROOSE: *Zeugnis*, 205.) seems to be too narrow minded.
[112] Cp. STUCKENBRUCK: *Veneration*, 250 n. 129.

significance of the "testimony of Jesus" in Apc 19:10b.[113] The angel's role seems therefore not only be limited in relation to God – who is the one to whom worship must be offered – but also to Christ, as having the "testimony of Jesus" equals the speaking angel and the seer.

Despite this rather obvious christological message in Apc 19:10b, a further conclusion concerning the relation between Christ and angels in the Apocalypse can be derived: Apc 19:9-10 introduces the scenario of John throwing himself at the feet of the revealing angel in order to worship him. Obviously, this attempt to worship the angel is turned down by proclaiming the reception of worship as God's exclusive privilege. (The same procedure recurs in Apc 22:8-9.) As mentioned, this scenario is introduced rather abruptly and does not as such fit into the given context without difficulties. One passage in the Apocalypse, however, must arouse suspicion in this context; namely the somewhat similar scenario in Apc 1. Here the seer falls down at the feet of the angelomorphic Christ. It is not entirely surprising that in this vision John's attempt to worship Christ in such a way is not turned down. In fact, whereas Christ is represented in Apc 1:7-20 in terminology which relates to angels, on the other hand Christ seems – as we have frequently observed now – superior to angels in the entire writing. One might therefore ask whether or not the author wished to express some christological concern by the dual refusal tradition (Apc 19:10 and 22:8-9) in relation to the angelomorphic Christ in the opening vision who accepts worship without hesitation.

It might be helpful here to ask for the order of composition regarding the opening vision in Apc 1and the later following section where worship of angels is refused. Some evidence for regarding Apc 19 being composed before Apc 1 is probably provided by the reference to the sword (ῥομφαία) mentioned in Apc 1:16 and 19:15. Notably, both of these occurences introduce a sword anarthrously, i.e. without the

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[113] Against ROOSE: *Zeugnis*, 204, who exclusively interprets Apc 19:10 by theological means.

application of a definite article. However, in each of the following passages which relates Christ with a sword, a definite article is provided for the "sword" (ἡ ῥομφαία), as can be seen in Apc 2:12 (here referring to the double edged sword, τὴν ῥομφαίαν τὴν δίστομον), 2:16 and 19:21. Such a distribution of the articles for the "sword" is somewhat conspicuous, as it seems correct to introduce the sword without an article in Apc 1:16 and then use an article for the following passages which refer to the same sword in Apc 2:12 and 2:16. In Apc 19:15, though the same sword is then referred to without an article as if a new sword would be introduced, followed by the expected return of the article in verse 21. The distribution of articles and especially the missing article in Apc 19:15 alone suggests Apc 19 was composed at an earlier stage than Apc 1. Additionally, it can be assumed that the context where the swords are mentioned also make it rather plausible that Apc 19 must have been composed before the opening vision of Christ in Apc 1: The setting of Apc 19 and its apocalyptic context – probably drawing on material from Isaiah 11:4 – is a more appropriate passage to mention the sword coming forth from Christ's mouth than Apc 1:16 or Apc 2:12.16.[114]

This assumption regarding the compositional state of Apc 19 being before Apc 1 could also explain the rather abrupt introduction of the scenario provided by Apc 19:9-10. As we have already observed above, the author seems not only to express angelological concerns related to his theology in this passage, but also a christological interest. The process of relating theology, angelology and even Christology in Apc 19:9-10 might have caused the above mentioned inconsistencies and also could have created an impression of introducing such thoughts rather abruptly as Apc 19:1-10 deals with the triumph of God. Introducing angelological (and christological) concerns might therefore appear to be disturbing at first sight. However, the christological concern in Apc 19:9-10 which is per se not very transparent might actually even be enlarged by the

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[114] See for the same conclusion AUNE: *Revelation 1-5*, 98 and *Revelation 17-22*, 1060. See further

contrasting situation in Apc 1. It is possible that the topic of the angel who refuses to be worshipped directly relates to Apc 1 where, by contrast, Christ permits the act of worshipping him (despite an angelic appearance). A combination of these passages provides the readership of the Apocalypse then with two clear messages, namely (1) the theological concern that angels – being subordinate to God – must not be worshipped, and (2) that the apparently exclusive privilege of God to be worshipped does not exclude Christ from receiving such worship. Especially the fact that Apc 19:10 refers to God *alone* being worthy of receiving worship must arouse suspicion when related to Apc 1. If Apc 19:10 (and Apc 22:8-9) are examined on their own regarding the sharp contrast between God and angels stated here, it is clear that the author wished to express a distinct and unique character of God as being the one who has to be worshipped (in contrast to angels). Taking the Christ's acceptance of worship by in Apc 1 into account, we may assume that the author wanted to resolve another conflict as well. Not only does a comparison between Apc 1 and 19 allow for the conclusion that Christ, even if portrayed angelomorphically, is worthy of worship. The characterisation of worship as God's exclusive privilege also strongly hints at putting God on par with Christ or even at an equation of Christ and God, who according to Apc 1 and 19 (and also Apc 5:6-14) may then both be worshipped. We may therefore conclude that the christological implications of Apc 19 are especially highlighted by a comparison with Apc 1. The underlying christological concerns of Apc 19 are then unfolded more transparently in Apc 1 which was probably written at a later stage than Apc 19.

However, such a conclusion is not entirely without difficulties. An equation of God and Christ and their equal status results in a clear cut distinction between God and Christ on the one hand side and angels on the other hand side. Given such a sharp contrast between angels and God and Christ, it is certainly peculiar that the author

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FEKKES: *Isaiah*, 117.

elsewhere presents an angelomorphic portrait of Christ, namely in Apc 1, 14 and also in Apc 19 itself. As we have said above (see section 2.3.2), such an apparent contradiction of a clear distinction between angels and Christ and an angelomorphic representation of Christ at the same time might be the result of a deliberately created conflict. By such means the author is able to convey that, for him, Christ (and God) is clearly superior to angels, but at the same time he could have appealed to a readership which held angels in high regard by providing an angelomorphic description of Christ. Accordingly, the significance of angels is drastically downplayed, as their power and importance are limited in comparison with Christ. The author might have tried a subtle approach in order to address readers who had respect for angelic powers (and maybe even considered angels worthy as recepients of worship). Besides the prominence of angels in the plot of Revelation, even Christ is described with attributes which are traditionally used in portraits of angelic figures. Such a description of Christ maintains a clear cut division between Christ (along with God) and angels. Simultaneously, by means of an angelic description, Christ absorbs the significance angels might have held in certain communities. By this subtle approach Christ becomes the one who represents all those angelic powers which might have been important for a certain part of John's readership, and, at the same time, Christ is shown to be far superior than any angel could ever possibly be: he is the one who – along with his prominent role in the Apocalypse – may also be worshipped. Such a conception seems to underline the presence of a rather high Christology in the Apocalypse.

4.3. Conclusion

The study of the whole of chapter 19 contributes significantly to an understanding of John's Christology. It has been demonstrated that the interpretation of

the entire chapter (i.e. Apc 19:1-10 and 11-21) together assists in delineating a perspective for the Christology underlying the Apocalypse as a whole. Christ emerges as the key figure throughout. Even if one focuses on exclusively christological features in Apc 19 (i.e. looking at Christ isolated from God or angels), his crucial role is apparent. He is the active figure of Apc 19[115] who displays immense powers by judging the world and waging war against the anti-divine opposition. Also the identification of Christ as the Lamb in Apc 17:14, mirrored in the portrait of Christ as the judge in Apc 19:16, sheds light on the author's conception of Christology; the redemptive meaning of Christ as the Lamb is given the same weight as his role as judge. The display of these different functions is probably the result of two different perspectives which the author implicitly addressed; the Christian community itself is given a full understanding of Christ as a saviour while the opposition regards Christ as a destructive power. Still, Christ's juridic activities have salvific meaning for the Christian community, as portrayed in wedding imagery.

However, the entire significance of John's christological concept in Apc 19 can only be understood by making comparisons between Christ and God and Christ and angels. Such comparisons demonstrate the author's awareness of differentiating between the divine and the angelic, while highlighting Christ's powers and importance for certain purposes. In relation to God, Christ is described as an equal. Such equality is not only reflected in the shared reception of worship (as a comparison with the opening vision in chapter 1 made transparent), but is further, and more openly, displayed by Christ's description with divine attributes and names. The clear emphasis on equality between God and Christ excludes any interpretation that seeks to establish a subordinate position of Christ towards God.

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[115] See also MATERA: *Christology*, 211.

Christ's relation to angels is portrayed in a dual way: On the one hand side, Christ is clearly superior to angels, which is reflected in his relationship with God (as being equal) and also by attributes applied to Christ. The leadership over an angelic host, his powers, significance for the community, and possibly even the relation of Christ with angels expressed by allusions to astronomy demonstrate Christ's status as far superior to angels.

Certain imagery and traditions employed by the author have been identified as supporting an angelomorphic interpretation of Christ in Apc 19. Other elements provided in the description of Christ remained unclear as regards an assumed angelomorphic Christology as they did not strictly allow for an exclusive interpretation as angelic imagery (in turn, they might occasionally be interpreted as divine attributes as well). Still, their presence in Apc 19 might have been influential amongst some readers for regarding Christ as an angelomorphic figure.

The resulting contradiction between Christ's equal status with (A) God and his superiority over angels and (B) his portrait which draws on angelic categories could be best explained on basis of a deliberately created model of Christology, defining Christ as a divine being who remains angelic solely in his description in order to appeal to a certain readership which held some respect for angelic beings. Nevertheless, the angelic features in Christology serve to enhance, and not detract, from Christ's status.

5. The Christology in Apc 1

5.1. The Structure and Unity of Apc 1

The Christology of the Apocalypse unfolds with the narrative. The initially rather blurred visions become more clear and understandable in the progression of John's message. Therefore, it makes sense to deal with christological details of Apc 1 after observing the Christology of John in chapters where the interest in Christ and the way in which he is described is central (e.g. Apc 5, 14 and 19).

A first step for a christological interpretation of Apc 1, then, is to analyse the structure of this chapter and define what might be christologically relevant. From here, further insight may be gained on how the author prepared to provide his views concerning Christology and Christ's relation to angels and God throughout his writing.

Chapter 1 falls into three sections; Apc 1:1-3 (the introduction), Apc 1:4-8 (the prescript), and 1:9-20 (the commission of John).[1] The prescript can be subdivided into verses 4-6 (the actual prescript) and verses 7-8 (which announce the eschatological coming of Christ). Already it seems obvious that a division of Apc 1 cannot be absolute because certain verses correspond with information provided in other passages. For instance, Apc 1:7-8 is part of the prescript, but it also relates to Apc 1:9-20 because both passages deal with the second coming of Christ in a rather enigmatic language. A division of Apc 1 should therefore be regarded as being made on assumptions regarding formal aspects of the text, rather than as a strict division of contextual units.[2]

We have further reason to assume that the author has linked Apc 1 as a whole together. The chain in which the revelation is announced to proceed in Apc 1:1-2 is

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[1] See for such a commonly accepted division of Apc 1 for instance MÜLLER: *Offenbarung*, 65, or STUCKENBRUCK: *Veneration*, 209-211.

strictly reflected in Apc 1:4.9. Also, the expression "the testimony of Jesus" (μαρτυρια Ἰησοῦ) used in Apc 1:2 and 9 seems to link the passages closer together. It can also be observed that a certain christological interest seems to hold together the three mentioned structural units: In each of the three sections a christological concern is detectable, in Apc 1:1-4 Christ is part of the chain of revealing what is about to happen, in verse 4-6 Christ is given praise by listing his deeds (followed by a cryptical allusion to the forthcoming appearance as in Apc 1:13), and from verse 13 onwards a rather detailed description of Christ's appearance is provided. Also Apc 1:5 and 1:17-18 seem to link the entire chapter together, as the description of Christ as the firstborn of the dead in verse 5 (πρωτότοκος τῶν νεκρῶν) is mirrored in verses 17-18, where Christ is the First and the Last One (ὁ πρώτος καὶ ὁ ἔσχατος) and "was dead and is alive" (ἐγενόμην νεκρὸς καὶ ἰδοὺ ζῶν εἰμι). As the narrative proceeds, Christ becomes more and more the focus of the events described. It seems that God is nearly fading out of the narrative as events proceed, as he is hardly mentioned after verse 8. At this stage it could almost be assumed that Apc 1 is rather christocentric in its description of the events. Therefore, it is possible that, for the author, theological concerns have to be expressed in christological messages; or, in other words, an appropriate way for John to talk about God is to talk about Christ.

In line with the way the author unfolds his story here, we may assume that the main concern of Apc 1 is an outline of the author's Christology. This can of course be verified by numerous allusions to passages of Apc 1 elsewhere in the entire Apocalypse. Accordingly, it seems appropriate to demonstrate how and where the author established links between Apc 1 and other sections from Revelation.

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[2] Cp. also SLATER: *Community*, 87.

5.1.2. Parallels between Apc 1 and Apc 2-3

The vast numbers of allusions to Apc 1 within Apc 2 can barely be denied. Especially the attributes given to Christ in Apc 1:13-20 are referred to in each of the verses from Apc 2-3 which introduces a new message to another of the seven communities,[3] but references to other passages from Apc 1 are also clearly made. Occasionally, the wording varies slightly between the parallel references to Christ: sometimes in Apc 2-3 the material from Apc 1 is even extended. It is useful here to list the christological references from Apc 1 which are mentioned in Apc 2-3 again in a table in order to demonstrate the author's intention to connect Apc 1 and 2-3.

Figure 4: Table of References to Christological Attributes from Apc 1 in Apc 2-3

	Apc 2/3	Resembled in Apc 1	Difference
2:1	holding the seven stars	1:20	-
2:1	walking between the lampstands	1:12-13	περιπατῶν in 2:1 is unique
2:8	the first and the last	1:17	-
2:8	having been dead, being alive	1:18	minor: change of tempus
2:12	having the sword	1:16	-
2:16	out of the mouth	1:16	reference to mouth delayed
2:18	eyes like fire	1:14	-
2:18	feet as burnished bronze	1:15	-
3:1	having the seven stars and spirits	1:20	reference to spirits only in 3:1
3:7	having the keys of David	1:18	keys for Hades in Apc 1:18
3:14	the faithful witness	1:5	-

It can be clearly seen that only minor differences between the christological references in Apc 1 and 2-3 exist.[4] Some of these differences can easily be explained as the author's attempt to link the following sections in the Apocalypse to his introduction: the reference to the spirits (πνεύματα) in Apc 3:1 (which is absent in Apc 1:20) could be a device to link the introduction to Apc 5:6 where the Lamb is described as having authority over these same spirits.

The other differences between christological references in Apc 1 and Apc 2-3 cannot be explained so easily. The description of Christ as walking (περιπατῶν) between the lampstands, absent in Apc 1:20, might depend on the context of Apc 2:1. Such a reference to Christ is a reminder (or maybe even a warning) to the readership that Christ is present in their communities. The relationship between Apc 1:18 and 3:7 is less clear. A connection between these two verses may certainly be assumed,[5] because both times the "key" (κλείς) is mentioned.

The description of the key (as the "key of David") in Apc 3:7 draws on Isaiah 22:22;[6] a Hebrew Bible background for the keys of Death and Hades cannot be found. One might speculate whether or not a link between these two keys might be established as they both have power over certain domains (i.e. the underworld and spirits). Such an understanding of the key could probably underlie the Key of David,[7] but evidence for this concept for Apc 1:18 cannot be provided.[8] Therefore, the link between both verses is only established rather loosely by simply alluding to the key as such.

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[3] See for a close connection between Apc 1 and Apc 2-3 also FARRER: *Images*, 192, and HEMER: *Letters*, 31. HEMER, who concentrates on 1:9-20, ignores 1:1-8.
[4] See also SLATER: *Community*, 108-112.
[5] Cp. AUNE: *Revelation 1-5*, 103.
[6] See also KRAFT: *Offenbarung*, 80.
[7] The key of David could allude to Solomon and might therefore possibly represent his power over spirits. Cp. for this KRAFT: *Offenbarung*, 80.
[8] However, it is interesting that in certain early Jewish writings (*b. Taan.* 2a, *Gen. Rab.* 73:3, *Deut. Rab.* 7:6, and *Midrash Psalm* 78:5) the ownership of keys for the revival of the dead is God's privilege, which is not shared with angels. (Cp. for this evidence AUNE: *Revelation 1-5*, 103.) One might consider that Christ was attributed such a key in Apc 1:18 in order to clearly distinguish him from angels as being far superior by receiving divine attributes. Such a conclusion is of course disproved by the presence of the angel in Apc 20:1 with exactly those keys.

The other differences that have been listed above are minor and can therefore be considered to be not important for the current discussion. Generally, a connection between Apc 1 and Apc 2-3 by means of alluding to christological features from the opening vision can be attested. Notably, this connection is achieved exclusively by allusions to christological features from Apc 1. The fact that the echoes of christological features in Apc 2-3 are not just limited to elements from the actual Christophany (Apc 1:13-20) but extend to other parts from Apc 1 (i.e. Apc 1:5 and 12) also underscores the unity of Apc 1 as such.

5.1.3. Parallels between Apc 1 and Apc 4-5

The number of obvious parallels between Apc 1 and Apc 4-5 does not seem enormous, but some features might be worth mentioning briefly. For instance, Apc 4-5 might possibly be regarded as a structural parallel to Apc 1, because both times one can observe a transition of the focus of the narrative from God to Christ. In Apc 1 the focus is first on God before the Christophany deals in much detail with Christ's appearance in Apc 1:13-20; similarly the emphasis shifts from God to Christ (in form of the Lamb) from Apc 4 to 5.[9] Christ's significance in Apc 5 is – amongst a number of other features – also stressed by his role as the one who made inhabitants of the earth to priests for God (Apc 5:10), repeating exactly what has been expressed above in Apc 1:5.[10] Notably, the underlying scheme of Exodus traditions within Apc 5 is thus already alluded to in Apc 1, since Apc 1:5 and 5:10 are based on the tradition from Exodus concerning a priestly kingdom (Ex 19:6).[11] Apc 1 appears to resemble a kind of

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[9] Cp. similarly HEMER: *Letters*, 31.
[10] See for the relationship between Apc 1:5 and 5:10 also ULFGARD: *Future*, 44-45.
[11] Cp. KNIGHT: *Revelation*, 35.

christological programme or preparation which unfolds in the following chapters of the Apocalypse.

5.1.4. Parallels between Apc 1 and Apc 14

The parallels between Apc 1 and Apc 14 are, compared to the already mentioned passages of Revelation, rather obvious. Firstly, many of the elements from the Christophany in Apc 1 are repeated in Apc 14:14-15: Christ is addressed with the same designation here as in Apc 1:13, namely as the "one like a son of man" (ὅμοιον υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου). The use of this designation is limited to Apc 1 and Apc 14, therefore a deliberate connection seems probable. Also, the sharp sickle which is attributed to Christ in Apc 14:14-16 might be reminiscent of the sharp sword wielded by Christ in Apc 1:16. A feature that definitely deserves attention is the reference to the cloud in Apc 14:14-15. The white cloud is not mentioned in the actual Christophany in Apc 1:13-20, but it is alluded to rather enigmatically in Apc 1:7. As christological features of Apc 1:7 and 1:13-20 are combined in Apc 14 it may be deduced that a wholistic interpretation of Apc 1 is intended by the author.

5.1.5. Parallels between Apc 1 and Apc 19

In Apc 19 a number of parallels to Apc 1 can also be found. Most of these parallels are christological features from Apc 1:13-20, as for instance the garment (Apc 1:13; 19:16), eyes like a fiery flame (Apc 1:14; 19:12), or the wielding of a sword (Apc 1:16; Apc 19:15.21). In addition, the white cloud from Apc 1:7 might be reflected by the white horse in Apc 19:11.

However, it is not only these features from the Christophany, but also structural elements within Apc 1 and Apc 19 that correspond with each other: The "testimony of Jesus", for instance, is mentioned in the passages preceding the actual Christophany in both chapters (Apc 1:2.9; Apc 19:10). In either occurrence (Apc 1:2 and 19:19) the "word of God" and the "testimony of Jesus" are connected as parallel statements, appealing to the faithfulness of readers and eventually including them in the forthcoming salvific process (cp. Apc 1:9; 6:9; 12:17; 14:12 and 20:4).[12] Furthermore, the designation given to Christ in Apc 19:16 seems to be alluded to in Apc 1:5, and even the chain in which the revelation proceeds, provided in Apc 1:1, is followed precisely in Apc 19. Another minor feature that deserves some attention is the presence of doxological material in Apc 19:1-8 and the macarism connected with the order to write in Apc 19:9. These details are not exactly present in Apc 1 as such. However, one might find material in Apc 1 that corresponds with these elements. In Apc 1:19 the order to write down the revealed events is given, a macarism is missing though. A proper doxology is also absent in Apc 1: in Apc 1:4-8 the predications given to God are *formelhaft*, but not hymnic per se.[13] However, verses 5-6 probably contain doxological material.[14] One might speculate here that the opening vision presents some cryptic allusions in a rather *formelhaft* language, partially even doxological, which is unfolded fully in the following chapters of Revelation, namely Apc 5, 14:1-5 and 19:1-8. Accordingly, observations on Apc 19 also seem to confirm that Apc 1 as a whole was composed so as to correspond with later chapters of Revelation.

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[12] Cp. further DEHANDSCHUTTER: "Witness", 283-288, and SLATER: *Community*, 89.
[13] See JÖRNS: *Evangelium*, 20-21, and MÜLLER: *Offenbarung*, 70-71, against LÄUCHLI: "Gottesdiensstruktur", 359-378.

5.1.6. Underlying Hebrew Bible Traditions

The use of Hebrew Bible traditions within Apc 1 also seem to confirm the unity of this chapter. The most apparent tradition which underlies Apc 1 is derived from Daniel 7:13, a vision concerning the coming of the Son of Man. This vision is clearly alluded to in Apc 1:13 (including the similar designation "one like a son of man"), but the coming of Christ in Apc 1:7 also echoes Dan 7:13. Accordingly, the same description from one single Hebrew Bible tradition seems to connect the introduction of Apc 1 with the Christophany provided in Apc 1:13-20.

Similarly, a tradition from Daniel 2:28 (θ') links the introduction and Christophany more closely together, namely the reference to "what will happen soon" in verses 1 (ἃ δεῖ γενέσθαι ἐν τάχει) and 19 (ἅ μέλλει γενέσθαι μετὰ ταῦτα).[15] The slightly different expressions employed in both verses might depend on the context in which the allusion to Daniel 2 is made: in Apc 1:1 the allusion very generally appeals to the situation of the Apocalypse as a whole; the author intends to show what – according to him – will shortly happen. In contrast to this general statement, Apc 1:19 is more specific, as the current situation (καὶ ἃ εἰσίν) and the future (ἃ μέλλει γενέσθαι μετὰ ταῦτα) are both referred to. This announcement seems to reflect the structure of Revelation, as the present situation (καὶ ἃ εἰσίν) is addressed in the Letters to the seven Churches in Apc 2-3 and the future – the things which are about to come (ἃ μέλλει γενέσθαι μετὰ ταῦτα) – are described in the following chapters 4-22.[16] Therefore, it might be concluded here that Hebrew Bible traditions in Apc 1 also support the assumption of Apc 1 as a preliminary chapter which prepares the reader of the

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[14] See MÜLLER: *Offenbarung*, 70,and DEICHGRÄBER: *Gotteshymnus*, 34.
[15] Cp. BEALE: *Daniel*, 290-291.
[16] See also HEMER: *Letters*, 31. The phrase ἃ μέλλει γενέσθαι μετὰ ταῦτα from Apc 1:19 is notably mirrored by ἃ δεῖ γενέσθαι μετὰ ταῦτα in Apc 4:1, making such an identification of this expression as a structural element even more likely. See for the use of the Dan 2:28 tradition also FEKKES: *Isaiah*, 127.

Apocalypse to understand the following content and helps to realise the unfolding of the author's christological concerns.

5.1.7. Summary: Character and Composition of Apc 1

Our analysis of Apc 1 so far has made transparent that this chapter plays a major role in introducing concerns of the entire Apocalypse, as well as preparing the readership for the author's christological message. The connection between Apc 1 and chapters 2-3, 4-5, 14 and 19 and the use of Hebrew Bible traditions within Apc 1 also indicated that this chapter is best understood as a unit. A holistic interpretation of Apc 1 further supported an interpretation of this chapter as a nearly programmatic outline for the entire Apocalypse. In Apc 1, the focus of the narrative seems to make a shift from God to Christ – something seen again in later chapters (for instance Apc 4-5). An even more condensed account is Apc 1:19, which contains the total structure of Revelation in miniature.

The character of Apc 1 as a general introduction to Revelation does not necessarily mean that this chapter was written as the first stage of Revelation's composition. On the contrary, the amount of parallels between Apc 1 and other chapters of the Apocalypse help to identify the introduction as a composition which was written after Apc 4-22; it seems more plausible that the general statements of Apc 1 were not prescriptive but reflective, used to address the forthcoming passages of Revelation as they were already written. (The use of the sword metaphors in Apc 1 and 19 supports such an assumption, see section 4.2.3.2.3.) Apc 2-3 was probably written after Apc 1, because the changes that have been made in the Seven Letters to the communities, especially in the christological reflections, are better explained as based on Apc 1 than as material the Christophany was derived from. Consequently, Apc 2-3 was also

composed after Apc 4-22, as many allusions in the Seven Letters prepare for the following narrative, for instance the reward offered to those who overcome which is almost everywhere given to Christ as the victor in Apc 4-22. Such an application of the offered rewards to Christ might therefore reflect the author's view that Christ is the first one who overcomes and receives the rewards offered in Apc 2-3 as the first individual (cp. Apc 1:17). If one may further assume that Apc 1:5 and its message that Christ is the firstborn of the dead (πρωτότοκος τῶν νεκρῶν) and Apc 1:17, which explicitly designates Christ as the First (ὁ πρώτος), are analogous with Apc 2-3, which regards Christ as the first one to receive the promised rewards, then Apc 2-3 seem to presuppose Apc 1.

Apc 1 is also crucial for an understanding of the author's Christology, as the following passages of this thesis will attempt to demonstrate. At this stage of the discussion it can only be verified that Christology in Apc 1 appears to be a major issue of the author, as the focus of the narrative changes from God to Christ within this chapter. Moreover, the relationship between first Christ and God, and then Christ and angels in the entire Apocalypse is probably already outlined in Apc 1.

5.2. The Christology of Apc 1

So far only the characteristics of Apc 1 that offer a possible outline for the author's christological concept and the unity of this chapter have been dealt with. As a logical consequence, it now has to be examined how Christology is conceptualised in Apc 1 and how Christ is related to God and to angels within this chapter. The relation between Christ and God or angels respectively may be expressed within chapter 1 or in the following narrative of the Apocalypse: the somewhat blurred description of Apc 1 is not necessarily self-explanatory as a whole, but it is unveiled in the following passages

of the Apocalypse (similar to Apc 14 which is made more transparent in chapter 19). For instance, certain attributes and prerogatives ascribed to Christ are repeated in later chapters. Moreover, designations (e.g. one like a son of man) and certain elements of the narrative (e.g. the reference to Christ in terms of a judge or the worship of Christ) are referred to again in later visions in a more understandable way. In other words, certain elements of Apc 1 do not only correspond with other christological features of the Apocalypse, but these features can be understood solely in light of Apc 1, and vice versa.

5.2.1. A Christological Interpretation of Apc 1:9-20?

The first question one should address for an analysis of the Christology which is preserved in Apc 1 is how far Christ is actually the one being referred to. In Apc 1:1-8 Christ is clearly designated as Ἰησούς Χριστός each time he is mentioned (Apc 1:1.2.5). However, in Apc 1:9-20 and already in Apc 1:7 the description of Christ is rather enigmatic. The acting figure, presumably Christ, is only once designated as "one like a son of man". Elsewhere a designation is absent and this character is only referred to in the third person singular. At first sight, one might wonder whether or not Apc 1:9-20 deals with christological concerns at all. It seems very clear, though, that this passage from Apc 1 provides a vision of Christ. Such an identity can almost certainly be taken for granted due to the predicates that are attributed to Christ here which are given to him elsewhere in the Apocalypse, as for instance his eyes being like fiery flames (Apc 1:14 and 19:12) or the sword coming forth from his mouth (Apc 1:16; 19:15). The designation of Christ as the one who "was dead and is alive again" in Apc 1:18 also strongly hints at an identification of this figure as Christ. A similar reference can also be found in Apc 1:5, where it is clearly applied to Christ. The identification is further

warranted by Apc 1:7 where Christ is referred to by a conflation of the two Hebrew Bible traditions from Daniel 7:13 and Zechariah 12:10, similar to Matthew 24:30 (as already indicated in section 2.2.6.). Accordingly, the identification of the one like a son of man being Christ seems to be certain.[17]

5.2.2. The Relationship between God and Christ in Apc 1

So far, the relationship between God and Christ in Apc 1 has only been characterised in terms of narrative in this current discussion. We have observed that the focus of narrative apparently shifts from God to Christ. Naturally, this is not everything that can be said about Christology and theology concerning Apc 1. The author of Revelation defines Christology by means of relating God and Christ with each other.

First features of God and Christ which correspond with each other can already be found within Apc 1. For instance, in Apc 1:2 the expressions "Word of God" (λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ) and "testimony of Jesus" (μαρτυρία Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ) are mentioned together. The connection of these expressions by the word καί seems to be paratactical. Therefore, the statement of Apc 1:2 concerning the offspring of the revelation which is about to be reported seems already to express a certain equality between God and Christ: The message of Revelation is the word of God, as it has its origin in God and it is also the testimony of Jesus, because Jesus himself witnesses the content (see also Apc 22:20).[18]

Further details concerning the relationship between God and Christ in Apc 1 can be derived by the analysis of the *Dreizeitenformel* within this chapter. The *Dreizeitenformel* occurs for the first time in the Apocalypse in Apc 1:4 and then in Apc 1:8, and it is both times exclusively applied to God himself. God is presented as the One

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[17] See for a thorough discussion YARBRO COLLINS: "Tradition", 536-547.

who is (ὁ ὤν), who was (ὁ ἦν) and who comes (ὁ ἐρχόμενος). Additionally, in Apc 1:8 God is described as τὸ ἄλφα καὶ τὸ ὦ and also as παντοκράτωρ. Parts of these divine attributes are also ascribed to Christ. For instance, the first prerogative given to God in Apc 1:8 recurs almost identically in Apc 1:17. This time Christ receives a self-designation as "the first and the last one" (ὁ πρῶτος καὶ ὁ ἔσχατος). Such a designation resembles the prerogative given to God in Apc 1:8, represented by the first and last letters of the Greek alphabet. The deliberate use of these obviously parallel designations once more suggests an equal status between God and Christ. The other features which are mentioned in Apc 1:8 might also be mirrored in descriptions of Christ. God's designation as almighty (παντοκράτωρ) does admittedly not have a directly corresponding christological feature within Apc 1. Possibly, though, Apc 1:5 (and accordingly also Apc 19:16) provides a parallel for this designation of God, as Christ is also described in terminology of a ruler, namely the "Lord of the kings on earth" (ὁ ἄρχων τῶν βασιλέων τῆς γῆς). Accordingly, these designations also seem to be a deliberate parallel indicating an equal status of God and Christ.

A feature which points even more obviously at the equality shared by God and Christ can be deduced by the use of the *Dreizeitenformel*. In Apc 1:17-18, the rewording of the three elements of the expression ὁ ὤν καὶ ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος seems to refer to Christ's resurrection. Similar to God, Christ refers to himself (ἐγώ εἰμι) using three different prerogatives, namely (1) ὁ πρῶτος (2) καὶ ὁ ἔσχατος and (3) ὁ ζῶν. Further, the aspects of time from the *Dreizeitenformel* as applied to God are preserved in the christological self-designation in Apc 1:17-18. God's character in Apc 1:4.8 is described throughout time, referring to past (ὁ ἦν), present (ὁ ὤν) and future (ὁ ἐρχόμενος). Such an order can also be found in the christological parallel in verse 18, where Christ is portrayed in a similar manner. Here Christ is probably depicted in past

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[18] Cp. for this also MÜLLER: *Offenbarung*, 67.

(ἐγενόμην νεκρός), present (ζῶν εἰμι) and possibly future (ἔχω τὰς κλεῖς τοῦ θανάτου καὶ τοῦ ᾅδου)[19] as well. Similarly, following the use of the *Dreizeitenformel* in Apc 1:4 applied to God, the attributes of Christ in Apc 1:5-7 might possibly follow the scheme of time again. Within Apc 1:5 Christ is the faithful witness (present), the firstborn of the dead (resurrected in the past) and the ruler of the kings of the earth (probably also an interpretation of his future reign). However, the sequence from Apc 1:5-7 parallels even more strikingly the *Dreizeitenformel* as it is applied to God. In verse 5 the author provides a summary of various aspects of Christ, namely the faithful witness and the one who has risen from the dead and who is Lord of the earthly kings. This entire verse seems to provide a description of the present, while – analogous to the use of aorist forms – the redemption from sins and making the believers into priests happened in the past. The announcement of Christ's return in Apc 1:7 not only parallels God's coming by the use of the future tense, but especially by the use of the same word (ἔρχομαι) for coming. These similarities between God and Christ can be made more transparent in a table.

Figure 5: <u>The Application of the *Dreizeitenformel* to God and Christ in Apc 1</u>

	Apc 1:4.8	**Apc 1:17-18**	**Apc 1:5-7**
Present	ὁ ὤν	ζῶν εἰμι	ὁ μάρτυς, ὁ πιστός (Apc 1:5)
Past	ὁ ἦν	ἐγενόμην νεκρός	ἐποίησεν (Apc 1:6)
Future	ὁ ἐρχόμενος	ἔχω τὰς κλεῖς	ἔρχεται (Apc 1:7)

We may therefore maintain that the use of the *Dreizeitenformel* in Apc 1 helps to support an assumption that God and Christ are portrayed as equals in this chapter as well. Further evidence that the author put God and Christ on par can be provided. The

[19] Christ's possession of the keys can probably be interpreted as a feature which resembles a reference to

salutation in Apc 1:4-8, for instance, does not come from God alone, but also from Christ. Again, theological and christological contents are connected with a paratactical καί. This connection also strongly hints at an understanding of God and Christ as equals. The material which is provided in the salutation might allow for further conclusions. God is mentioned first, but this should not be misunderstood as a hint of a subordinate position of Christ who is referred to afterwards, since the significance of Christ is clearly underlined in Apc 1:5-7 by attributing power to him in much detail. It is also noteworthy that the reference to the seven spirits in front of God's throne in Apc 1:4 (and also in Apc 4:5) receives a christological meaning in Apc 5:6 later on in the narrative. Therefore, the author seems to have set up a relationship between God and Christ in Apc 1 which focuses on putting God and Christ on par rather than on separating or distinguishing them from each other. Christ's significance in this relationship is not only expressed by a description of attributes which he shares with God, but also very directly by referring to God as father of Christ in Apc 1:6.

One might wonder whether or not Christ actually receives divine attributes in Apc 1, because traditional material used in this chapter hints at an adaptation of theophanical material in the Christophany. For instance, in Apc 1:10 John describes hearing Christ's voice like a trumpet behind him (ἤκουσα ὀπίσω μου φωνὴν μεγάλην ὡς σάλπιγγος). This description recalls Ezekiel 3:12, where the seer hears God's voice behind him as loud as an earthquake. Accordingly, God's voice and Christ's voice may be equated in Apc 1:10. Such an equation is also made plausible by an echo of Exodus 19:16, a theophany with loud voices and the powerful sound of a trumpet.[20]

A major argument for traces of a divine identity of Christ in Apc 1 might be provided by the description of Christ's hair in Apc 1:14: The portrait of the one like a

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the future, as the keys for the underworld will be used in the events which are about to come in the narrative of the Apocalypse.

[20] Cp. YARBRO COLLINS: "Tradition", 552.

son of man having white hair (κεφαλὴ αὐτοῦ καὶ αἱ τρίχες λευκαὶ ὡς ἔριον λευκὸν ὡς χιών) might allow for an association of this figure with God as preserved in Daniel 7:9. Here, the "ancient of days" has garments white as snow and his head is pure as wool. Accordingly, one could consider that a divine character of Christ is deliberately construed in Apc 1.[21] However, in this case an exclusively divine character of Christ cannot be deduced from this description. Firstly, *Apocalypse of Abraham* 11:2 describes Iaoel with the same feature.[22] Also *Joseph and Aseneth* 14:8-9 and *1 Enoch* 46:1 feature an angelic figure which has white hair like the son of man figure in the Apocalypse. Even the text of Daniel 7 itself might have undergone deliberate changes, thus interpreting the ancient of days as the one like a son of man.[23] Therefore, an angelic understanding of such a description in Apc 1 seems very likely.[24] The application of divine attributes in angelological contexts can probably be evaluated as being a development in Jewish angelology[25] which was then adopted in early Christian writing as well. Such a combination of attributes in an angelological portrayal is not exclusively present in Apc 1, but might, for instance, also be found in *The Martyrdom of Perpetua and Felicitas* (*Mart. Perp.* 4:2).[26]

We might therefore conclude that various elements of the narrative in the opening vision in Apc 1 indicate once more that the author wished to put Christ and God on par. However, hints for angelic attributes with which Christ is provided can also be located in this vision. A closer look at other possible angelic features of Christ should therefore be undertaken.

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[21] See for such a consideration HOLTZ: *Christologie*, 121-122, MICHAELIS: "λευκός", 253, or HANNAH: *Michael*, 152.
[22] Cp. YARBRO COLLINS: "Tradition", 551-552, and GIESCHEN: *Angelomorphic*, 249.
[23] See for a brief discussion of the Danielic background and the possible identification of the ancient of days as the son of man figure section 2.2.3. See for a very thorough discussion of different texts of Dan 7, which probably deliberately identify the ancient of days as one like a son of man, STUCKENBRUCK: *Veneration*, 213-216, and "Son", 268-276.
[24] Cp. STUCKENBRUCK: *Veneration*, 218-219, and ROWLAND: *Heaven*, 101-103, and "Man", 101-107.
[25] Cp. STUCKENBRUCK: *Veneration*, 219.

5.2.3. An Angelomorphic Christology in Apc 1?

Some of the attributes and features by which Christ is described in Apc 1 seem to reflect on angelic categories. In Apc 1:14-16 especially, angelic features are obviously applied to Christ; the one like a son of man receives different attributes from the angelology in Daniel 10:5-6 and also in Ezekiel 1-9. These features from the Hebrew Bible are, for instance (1) the long garment (ἐνδεδυμένον ποδήρη) as in Daniel 10:5-6 and Ezekiel 9:2, (2) being girded with a golden girdle (περιεζωσμένον πρὸς τοῖς μαστοῖς ζώνην χρύσαν) as in Daniel 10:5, Ezekiel 9:2 or *Apocalypse of Zephaniah* 6:12, (3) having eyes as a flame of fire (οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτοῦ ὡς φλὸξ πυρός) as similarly in Daniel 10:6, (4) having feet like burnished bronze (οἱ πόδες αὐτοῦ ὅμοιοι χαλκολιβάνῳ ὡς ἐν καμίνῳ πεπυρωμένης) as Daniel 10:6 (LXX), (5) speaking with the voice of many waters (ἡ φωνὴ αὐτοῦ ὡς φωνὴ ὑδάτων πολλῶν) as also in Daniel 10:6.[27]

Some of these features are also applied to angels within the Apocalypse itself. For instance, the description of Christ being "clothed" (ἐνδεδυμένον) is reflected in Apc 15:6 where the seven angels are also clothed (ἐνδεδυμένοι). However, instead of the robe (ποδήρη) which is attributed to Christ, these angels wear "pure bright linen" (λίνον καθαρὸν λαμπρόν). Also the golden belt with which Christ is girded in Apc 1:13 is mirrored in the description of the seven angels in Apc 15:6.[28] A somewhat similar description of angelic beings is preserved in Apc 4-5 where the 24 elders, dressed in white and having golden wreaths (Apc 4:4), perform priestly tasks (Apc 4:10-11; 5:9,

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[26] Cp. also MUNOA: *Powers*, 74-75.
[27] Cp. STUCKENBRUCK: *Veneration*, 211-213.
[28] Cp. STUCKENBRUCK: *Veneration*, 226-228.

and also in Apc 7:12; 11:17; 19:4).[29] This specific kind of clothing worn by Christ and angels (white garment and golden belt) might therefore reflect on priestly categories as such, similar to Exodus 28:4 or Daniel 10:5.[30] In turn, the 24 elders in Apc 4 are also reminiscent of angelic beings, because they present the incense with golden censers before Jesus in Apc 5:8. Therefore, one could assume that the partially priestly functions, especially the white clothing and the golden items held by certain figures, represent an angelomorphic feature for the author. At this point it is worth investigating whether or not the combination of the colours gold and white could be a means of representing an angelomorphic feature attributed to Christ. Since we find both colours in christologically and angelologically motivated passages of the Apocalypse, this question deserves some attention. (See Appendix 5 for further discussion of this issue.)

Besides some obvious features widely attested for angelic figures, Christ also possesses certain other functions and attributes which are commonly associated with angels. The key for Death and Hades (ἔχω τὰς κλεῖς τοῦ θανάτου καὶ τοῦ ᾅδου) which Christ has in Apc 1:18 seems to resemble an angelic feature, since in Apc 20:1 it is an angel who is in control of keys for the Underworld (ἔχοντα τὴν κλεῖν τῆς ἀβύσσου). Accordingly, within the Apocalypse the ownership of these special kinds of keys might be a symbol which is probably understood as an angelic feature. One could almost infer then that the angel in Apc 20:1 can be identified as Christ.[31] However, against such an identification it could be argued that the angel from Apc 20 bears no other signs or features which would support a christological interpretation of this figure. Nevertheless it is apparent that the feature of owning the keys for Death and the Underworld *within* the Apocalypse seems to hint at an angelic character of Christ in the opening vision when compared with Apc 20.

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[29] Cp. GRUENWALD: *Mysticism*, 64-65.
[30] See SLATER: *Community*, 97-100. See further SATAKE: *Gemeindeordnung*, 144-150.
[31] See for such a proposal GIESCHEN: *Angelomorphic*, 250.

Another feature of Christ in Apc 1 which hints at an angelomorphic interpretation might possibly be the portrait of his voice "like the sound of many waters" (ἡ φωνὴ αὐτοῦ ὡς ὑδάτων πολλῶν) in Apc 1:15b. Such a voice can traditionally represent a means by which angelic or angel-like figures are described (as can be seen in *Apc. Abr.* 17:1; 18:2).[32] In the case of Apc 1:15 this voice is used in the Christophany as an attribute of the one like a son of man, thus the voice might be understood as an angelomorphic feature. This assumption is further supported by the use of the expression ἡ φωνὴ αὐτοῦ ὡς ὑδάτων πολλῶν in other passages in the Apocalypse itself. On first sight, the expression recurs in Apc 14:2 and also similarly in Apc 19:6, both contexts in which the "voice like many waters" is not explicitly applied to angels or angelic beings per se. However, in both incidents the voices are probably related to those who participate in an act of worship that could be readily associated with angels. In Apc 14:2 the voice which can be heard is of those who are "redeemed out of the world", a condition which is only related to Christ (i.e. the Lamb) in so far as he is the one who made this possible by his sacrifice.[33] Similarly, a reference to the "voice like many waters" is made in Apc 19:6, probably also a scene which describes an act of a somewhat angelic worship. Notably, this reference is also made in the part of Apc 19:1-10 which is related to Christology, i.e. the theme of the wedding of the Lamb (as has also been discussed in section 4.2.2.3.).[34] Therefore, it can be concluded that the expression φωνὴ αὐτοῦ ὡς ὑδάτων πολλῶν has an angelological character for the author.[35] At the same time, however, through means of narrative, the expression seems deliberately connected with christological concerns. Thus the overall impression of the

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[32] Cp. STUCKENBRUCK: *Veneration*, 219 and 225.
[33] Cp. STUCKENBRUCK: *Veneration*, 222-224.
[34] Cp. STUCKENBRUCK: *Veneration*, 224-225.
[35] An interesting aspect which might support an angelic interpretation of the "sound of many waters" has been mentioned by BAUCKHAM: *Climax*, 387: In Hebrew the phrase "many waters" (מים רבים) has the same numerical value in gematry as the phrase "the angel Gabriel" (המלאך גבריאל).

employment of the tradition of the "voice like many waters" in the Apocalypse seems to confirm an angelomorphic character of Christ speaking with such a voice in Apc 1:15.

A further attribute ascribed to Christ in the vision of Apc 1 is the appearance of his face as "shining like the sun in full strength" (ἡ ὄψις αὐτοῦ ὡς ὁ ἥλιος φαίνει ἐν τῇ δυνάμει αὐτοῦ). As such, elements from this description reappear in angelological contexts elsewhere in the Apocalypse.

Excursus Two: The Face like a Sun as an Angelomorphic Feature of Christ

The description of Christ's face as shining like the sun is not unique in the Apocalypse. The strong angel from Apc 10:1 also shares such a depiction, since he is similarly described as τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ ὡς ὁ ἥλιος.[36] As we have said above (see section 2.2.8.), terminology in epiphanical visions might be limited and therefore repeated in descriptions of God, angels or Christ. For instance, the Great Glory in *1 Enoch* 14:20 or Ezekiel 1:27 is described in similar terminology, a direct reference to a *face* shining like the sun is missing though.[37] A description of an Egyptian goddess who is called "Face like a Sun" is also provided in so-called hermetic literature.[38] However, one may doubt that the author of Revelation was aware of such traditions as used in this astrological context. In a christological context such a reference to a sun-like face is made in the narrative concerning the transfiguration of Christ in Matthew 17:2 and also in *Apocalypse of Peter* 2, where Christ is shining seven times as bright as the sun. Also the righteous ones can be described by referring to their bright faces radiating like the sun or stars (cp. Jude 5:31[39] or *4 Ezra* 7:97, *Test. Job.* 31:5, *b. Ber.* 17a, Dan 12:3, *1 En.* 38:4, *2 Bar.* 51:3 and Mt 13:43,[40] *Apc. Petr.* 6-7 [Gr]; 15 [Eth] or possibly *1 En.* 104:2). Especially for angels or angel-like figures the description as shining and radiating seems to be widespread. Angels can have an overall appearance like a sun, which is reflected in *Testament of Abraham* 12:5 and 13:1 [Rec A]. *Testament of Abraham* 16:6 [Rec A] also describes Death appearing like an angel looking like the sun.[41] Evidence for the reference to a sun-like face in angelophanies can be found in *Joseph and Aseneth* 14:9, *2 Enoch* [Rec. J and A] 1:5, 19:1-2[42] or *Apocalypse of Zephaniah* 6:11.[43] One may assume that the radiance of the angels or angelic beings with such a shining face resembles a reflection of God's glory as vividly reported in Ezekiel 1 or *1 Enoch* 14.

How is one to interpret the evidence provided within an epiphanical context? Is Christ possibly depicted as an angel with a christological attribute or is Christ's portrait drawing on angelological features? Probably, the most important evidence for an

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[36] See also AUNE: *Revelation 1-5*, 99.
[37] Cp. GIESCHEN: *Angelomorphic*, 249-250, and GRUENWALD: *Mysticism*, 64.
[38] For the evidence cp. BOLL: *Offenbarung*, 51-53.
[39] See LOHSE: *Offenbarung*, 22, STUCKENBRUCK: *Veneration*, 213, and MÜLLER: *Offenbarung*, 85.
[40] Cp. AUNE: *Revelation 1-5*, 99.
[41] See for the interpretation of this passage MACH: *Entwicklungsstadien*, 179-180.
[42] Cp. for the cosmological functions of angels in the hymn of *2 En.* 19 also SCHÄFER: *Rivalität*, 25-26.
[43] See also GIESCHEN: *Angelomorphic*, 250, ALLISON: *Abraham*, 94 and 117, and AUNE: *Revelation 1-5*, 99.

interpretation of 1:16 derives from Revelation itself, namely from Apc 10:1, 16:8 and possibly also 19:17 where angels are associated with the feature of a face like a sun (Apc 10), or are at least connected with the sun by having power over it (Apc 16) or being near it (Apc 19). Also, the use of the attribute of the face as shining like the sun is not widely attested in New Testament literature. Evidence in the New Testament is limited to Matthew 17:2, where Christ's face is shining like the sun[44] and his garments turn white, whereas in the other synoptic Gospels a reference to Christ's face is notably absent. Therefore, one can hardly argue that the connection of sun imagery with a reference to Christ's face would be widespread within early Christianity. In turn, one might wonder if the notion in Matthew 17:2 might resemble an almost angelomorphic feature of Christ. In regards to Apc 1:16, such a feature of Christ seems to be very likely concerning the similar references and contexts where the sun is mentioned within the Apocalypse itself.

The use of such an angelic attribute applied to Christ in Apc 1:16 might also raise another question. While certain other features used in the description of Christ in Apc 1 occur again in Apc 14 and 19 (for instance the coming on some means of locomotion or carrying a tool of destruction), the depiction of Christ's face as shining like the sun seems to be unmatched in following christophanies. At first glance only the angel in Apc 10 shares a description of the sun-like face. However, such a perception might be misguided. The development of angelological descriptions regarding angels as wearing crowns or wreaths might in turn have been influenced by the description of angelic figures with faces comparable to the sun. This assumption becomes plausible when one takes *Testament of Abraham* 7:2-9 [Rec. A] into consideration: Here Abraham is compared to a sun which has been taken away from Isaac so that only the rays would be left. Such a description connects a sun-like appearence with the aura-like portrait of a wreath.[45] The connection between sun and a crown or wreath emitting an aura can further be seen in *2 Enoch* 14:2-3, where the crown of the sun when it sets is taken by angels, in *Apocalypse of Zephaniah* 6:11, where the angel's face is shining like rays of the sun, and *Joseph and Aseneth* 5:6, 14:9, where angelic figures wear ray-like crowns.[46] The aura of the shining face can, in other strings of this development, also manifest itself in a rainbow above the angelic figure's head (as in *Apc. Abr.* 11:2 or in the Apocalypse itself as in Apc 10:1) or in the radiance of a diadem (as in Clement of Alexandria's *Strom.* V 77 or probably also Apc 19:12).[47]

One may ask now whether or not the author of the Apocalypse was aware of the connection between these different ways of representing a shining appearance by different metaphors which traditionally have the same offspring by alluding to a certain radiance of a portrayed angelic figure. Since the author ascribes some of these light-metaphors to Christ in the Apocalypse, one may possibly assume a certain awareness of a connection between these features: Christ might accordingly have received the angelomorphic attribute of his face radiating like the sun in Apc 1:16, followed by an analogous vision where he is depicted as wearing a crown (Apc 14:14) and another, more detailed vision where he is wearing diadems. It is fascinating in this context that in the process of unfolding the somewhat blurred sequel of visions starting from Apc 1, followed by Apc 14:6-20 and finally by Apc 19:11-21, the focus on representing Christ

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[44] See for Mt 17:2 and Apc 1:16 also SWEET: *Revelation*, 72. SWEET regards the appearance of Christ's face as shining like the sun as an allusion to the Sunday on which the event of Christ's transfiguration supposedly took place. See also FARRER: *Images*, 60. One might wonder whether or not the reference to the sun (ἥλιος) might also be a deliberate pun in order to allude to Elias (Ἠλίας) who is also mentioned in the transfiguration narrative.

[45] Cp. MACH: *Entwicklungsstadien*, 198.

[46] Cp. also MACH: *Entwicklungsstadien*, 181 and 198-202.

[47] See for this also RENGSTORF: "ἶρις", 339-342, and MACH: *Entwicklungsstadien*, 203.

in metaphors of crowns and wreaths actually shifts from the more angelic light-metaphor in Apc 1 to the more ambiguous crown in Apc 14[48] and from there to the more royal and probably less angelic description of portraying Christ with diadems. In the progress of the narrative Christ therefore appears to become increasingly royal and, at the same time, he seems to lose his more ambiguous angelomorphic character. The fact that the author regards such sun-like appearance as an angelic feature becomes clear in the preceding narrative as well, since it can be found in clearly angelic contexts (Apc 10:1, maybe also the woman in Apc 12:1) or in contexts which even ascribe the wreath to anti-divine powers (Apc 9:7, 12:3). Therefore, even if one does not agree to the shift of imagery as a means to dissociate Christ from angels in the preceding narrative of the Apocalypse, it should have become apparent that the description of Christ's face as shining like the sun is an angelomorphic feature.

In terms of functions, Christ also makes an angelomorphic appearance in Apc 1, since the way he acts in the opening vision could lead to the conclusion that Christ represents an *angelus interpres*. Such an identification of Christ is presumably rooted in the very opening in Apc 1:1 where Christ is at first glance reminiscent of such an interpreting angel. An assumption like this would then depend on the interpretation of the expression διὰ τοῦ ἀγγέλου αὐτοῦ. One might infer that this expression refers to Christ as God's messenger.[49] This identification of Christ as an angel is weak, though, since in later passages in the Apocalypse (e.g. Apc 17:1) the revelation is indeed transmitted by angels.[50] However, Christ's angelomorphic appearance as an *angelus interpres* in Apc 1 may not have to be entirely dismissed since he performs the task of an interpreting angel. In Apc 1:10 the seer himself is addressed by the voice "like a trumpet" which explains to him parts of the vision he is just receiving. This explanation continues in Apc 4:1. Such explanations are normally given by an *angelus interpres*, an angel who interprets a vision to a receptionist. Accordingly, a function which seems to be angelic in character is applied to Christ here. An angel as the means to explain to the seer the vision he is receiving is commonly known in Early Jewish or Hebrew Bible

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[48] The feature of Christ wearing the wreath could be either explained as an angelic feature or as a symbol that Christ has overcome by self-sacrifice and is now in Apc 14 consequently portrayed as a victor with a στέφανος as alluded to in Apc 2:10.
[49] See for instance SCHMITT: "Interpretation", 262.
[50] See for a more thorough discussion CARRELL: *Jesus*, 119-120.

material (for instance in *Jub.* 1:27; *Jos. Asen.* 14:14; *Asc. Isa.* 6:13; *4 Ezra* 4:1; *1 En.* 1:2; 21:5; 43:3; 72:1; Dan 8:15; Zech 1:10-11; 2:2; 2:7-8; 4:1-6; 5-6:8; or also in 5Q15 and 1QH col. xviii 23[51]). Christ's role as interpreting angel in Apc 1:11-20 (and also later in Apc 4:1, as demonstrated in section 3.1.1.) becomes especially apparent because, within the Apocalypse, angels with the very same function are introduced in a similar manner and fulfil exactly the same task, as can be seen in Apc 17:1; 21:9-10; 22:1.6.8.[52]

We may therefore conclude at this stage that Christ is not only described in terminology which is usually (in Hebrew Bible and Early Jewish passages) applied to angels, as is for instance visible in the description of his appearance, but Christ's functions also hint strongly at a somewhat angelic character of Christ within Apc 1. However, the question whether Christ's role in chapter 1 might be reduced to that of an angel can only be rhetorical in nature. Since an equal status between God and Christ has been established above, Christ's status in Apc 1 can hardly be limited to that of an angel. The overall impression one receives from chapter 1 hints at a description of Christ as divine, since he apparently has an equal status to that of God. On the other hand, the means of describing Christ in the opening vision also draws heavily on angelic categories. The author not only employs traditional material which is reminiscent of angelic features within the portrait of Christ he presents in Apc 1, but he also attributes functions to Christ which elsewhere (either traditionally or even within the context of the Apocalypse itself) describe the activity of angels. Accordingly, the author combines Christ's divinity with the portrait of an angelomorphic Christ.

It is remarkable that the seer himself sees Christ in angelomorphic appearance in the opening vision. So far, we have identified an angelomorphic portrait of Christ as

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[51] See also CARRELL: *Jesus*, 120, SCHÄFER: *Rivalität*, 10-18, and MACH: *Entwicklungsstadien*, 142-144.
[52] Cp. STUCKENBRUCK: *Revelation*, 15 and esp. 31.

part of an implied misunderstanding of Christ. The angelomorphic description possibly served the author to demonstrate that such a perception fails to understand Christ's ultimate meaning as salvific figure (a role ascribed to the Lamb). Surprisingly, in Apc 1 John describes himself as perceiving Christ in angelomorphic form. The same angelomorphic terminology is then taken up in the messages to the Christian communities in Apc 2-3. However, one can hardly assume that John wished to depict himself (or the seven communities in Asia minor) as part of God's opposition. Probably John wished to express a growing understanding of Christ and his ultimate meaning in the following process of revelation which he, and therefore also the communities, experience. Accordingly, the seer perceives Christ as a juridical figure in Apc 1 (and 2-3), and Christ's meaning as redeemer becomes then unveiled in later passages (Apc 5, 7, 14:1-5 and 19:7-9).

John's christological concept unfolds in Apc 1 as a conglomerate of divine and angelomorphic attributes, while keeping a subtle but distinct border between Christ and angels. A full understanding of this very special Christology provided in Apc 1 can only be achieved by taking a closer look at the relationship between Christ and angels in this same chapter.

5.2.4. The Relationship between Christ and Angels in Apc 1

The use of certain features and attributes concerning the angelomorphic Christ on the one hand and angels on the other allows for a deduction of their relationship to each other. Already in the opening verse Apc 1:1, a first hint concerning this relationship is provided: here it is possibly Christ who has the revelation transmitted to John via "his angel" (διὰ τοῦ ἀγγέλου αὐτοῦ). Admittedly, the pronoun αὐτοῦ cannot certainly be related to Christ alone, it could allude to God himself. A connection to Christ, or at least

a connection that implicitly includes Christ in this pronoun, is more than likely, though, since Apc 22:16 (ἔπεμψα τὸν ἄγγελόν μου) makes use of such an image as well.[53] If we may indeed assume that Christ can be included in the interpretation of αὐτοῦ in Apc 1:1, a certain power of Christ over angels is expressed here: Christ seems to be more powerful than angels since he is either in direct command of them or at least included in a chain of command which sets him above angels.

Such superiority of Christ above the angels is, in turn, almost certainly reflected in the description provided in Apc 1:16.20. In this part of the vision Christ is depicted holding the seven stars in his right hand (ἀστέρας ἑπτά), which are then in verse 20 identified as the seven angels (ἄγγελοι) of the seven communities. As we have attempted to demonstrate above (see section 3.2.3.) the description of these angels held in Christ's right hand (ἔχων ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ) expresses a subordinate position of the angels towards Christ. This description of Christ in direct command of angels can be evaluated as an explicit statement of his superior status.

Christ's superior and somewhat extraordinary status in Apc 1 is also further stressed by certain other features which are employed in his portrayal. This emphasis can be derived from attributes and imagery exclusively used in the description of Christ, whereas such imagery is avoided or at least simply absent in descriptions of angels. For instance, the extraordinary position manifests itself in the resurrection which is clearly alluded to in Apc 1:18 in Christ's self-designation "I was dead and behold, I am alive." In verse 7 one might also assume the existence of an enigmatic allusion to the resurrection and Christ's death on the cross in form of the conflation of traditional material from Daniel 7 (the coming on clouds) and the lament for Christ's death (according to the tradition from Zech 12:10). Both references taken together accordingly

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[53] Cp. also CARRELL: *Jesus*, 120. The use of the pronoun αὐτοῦ might be deliberately ambiguous, referring to both Christ and God. Therefore, the feature of sending the angel is not only attributed to Christ in Apc 22:16, but also to God in Apc 22:6.

refer to Christ's return after his death. In Apc 1:5, a reference to Christ's resurrection is more obvious, since he is called the firstborn of the dead (πρωτότοκος τῶν νεκρῶν ὁ ἄρχων τῶν βασιλέων).

At the same time the author ascribes another feature to Christ which would also be quite unusual for a description of an angelic being, namely the redemption of God's people by blood. Such imagery is traditionally unknown or unheard of in scenarios describing angels. Accordingly, the author stresses once more Christ's significance and the importance of his benevolent deeds (i.e. redeeming by self-sacrifice) and therefore raises Christ's status certainly above that of an angel. This kind of significance is further reflected in linking Christ and God in a father-son relationship in Apc 1:6.

Regarding the relationship between Christ and angels, an even more significant statement is made in Apc 1:17. Here, Christ – who has just been described in angelomorphic terminology – receives worship from John, who falls down at his feet. This part of the vision is reminiscent of Apc 19:10 and 22:8 where John is attempting to worship angels. Whilst the angels refuse such an act of worship (explicitly reserving the privilege of being worshipped to God alone), in Apc 1:17 no such action takes place. On the contrary, Christ is not depicted as attempting to interdict John's worship, he actually receives it and permits the worship. Christ is thus portrayed in such a way that it is suitable for him to receive worship, underscoring once more his equal status with God. Simultaneously, the superior status of Christ over angels is made apparent in the context of the three worship scenarios in Apc 1:17; 19:10; 22:5.

It may therefore be concluded that – despite some obviously angelomorphic elements in the description of Christ provided in the opening vision – Christ's status as both equal to God and far superior to angels is already alluded to in Apc 1. However, the author allows Christ's ultimate position to appear slightly ambiguous through the use of angelomorphic categories. The full significance of Christ unfolds within the

narrative as a whole, especially in Apc 19 and 22. It might be interesting at this point of the discussion to see whether parts of the opening visions are employed again in order to demonstrate this superiority of Christ towards angels.

5.3. The Unfolding of the Relationship between God, Christ and Angels

The significance of Apc 1 concerning Christology, theology and angelology with regard to the author's interests should not be underestimated. As we have demonstrated, Apc 1 as a whole bears witness to the author's understanding of Christology with regard to its relationship to angelology as well as theology. The character of chapter 1 as a preliminary work which was probably written after the composition of Apc 4-22 reveals details concerning the significance of christological aspects in contrast to angelological ideas. The difference between Christ (who is closely associated with God) and angels (who are portrayed as servants of God) manifests itself in the portrait which is provided of Christ and angels. Descriptions of Christ often relate him with God, thus marking (A) the equality of Christ and God by ascribing similar functions and attributes to them. Another means of associating Christ with God (which at the same time marks the subordinate position of angels) is preserved by (B) the author's focus on the question of who may be worshipped. Only a few similarities can in contrast be seen in (C) scenarios describing Christ or angels which mostly maintain the distinction between angels and God or Christ. However, (D) occasionally Christ apparently adopts angelic or angelomorphic features when the author considers it appropriate in the given context.

(A) Concerning the *equality between God and Christ* a number of occurrences within the Apocalypse have already been mentioned. In Apc 1 Christ bears certain attributes which associate him with God, as for instance the white hair in Apc 1:14. However, such means of relating Christ with God is not without doubt (as indicated in

section 5.2.2.) and is barely the main focus of attention for the author in order to relate Christ with God. In turn, the author uses other features. i.e. angelomorphic or anthropomorphic imagery, in order to describe Christ. However. these features are never attributed to God. On the contrary, anthropomorphic features are clearly avoided in visions describing God. Conclusively, anthropomorphic or angelomorphic features are certainly not a device consciously employed by John to ascribe to Christ divine prerogatives.

While such means of establishing a close relationship between Christ and God by describing their appearance remains doubtful. certain other patterns within chapter 1 allow for the conclusion of equality between Christ and God. A clearer means of connecting God and Christ has been identified above: In Apc 1:2 the expressions "Word of God" (λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ) and "testimony of Jesus" (μαρτυρία Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ) correspond with each other by the paratactical connection (with the word καί) which is achieved there. Such a tendency of connecting God and Christ (or the Lamb) paratactically can be identified elsewhere in the Apocalypse. For instance, Apc 6:16 describes a vision of the inhabitants of the earth attempting to avoid the face of God and the wrath of the Lamb. Even if we consider the addition of the Lamb in Apc 6 as a gloss (see section 3.1.2.3.), more examples of a paratactical connection between God and Christ can easily be provided: In Apc 5:13 and 7:10 a doxology is made to the one sitting on the throne (i.e. God) and the Lamb. Similar to this inclusion of Christ in receiving divine honours, he is also paratactically included in God's future reign in Apc 11:15 and 12:10. A tendency to connect God and Christ with the word καί is continued in Apc 21:22-23 and 22:3, where the Lamb is also found in the New Jerusalem sharing God's throne and the power to reign. The statements from Apc 1:6 and 5:10 that Christ has made people priests of God is also extended with a paratactical inclusion of Christ

in Apc 20:6, where people are made priests of God *and* Christ. By being priests of God, people are automatically also priests of Christ, and vice versa.[54]

A similar means of putting God and Christ on par in the Apocalypse is the author's tendency not to apply plural verb forms or pronouns to God and Christ. In Apc 11:15, God and Christ are addressed by a verb form in singular (βασιλεύσει), in other passages a singular form of a pronoun is referring to both of them (e.g. αὐτοῦ αὐτῷ in Apc 22:3-4 or Apc 1:1). The absence of plural verb forms or pronouns referring to both God and Christ together also indicates that Christ and God share an equal status for the author of Revelation. The communual sharing of singular pronouns or verbs which address them as a pair stresses this view and also maintains a monotheistic tendency by avoiding any possibility of identifying Christ as a second God.[55]

Some other factors which attribute a certain divine status to Christ (as opposed to a subordinate one) have to be taken into account here. We argued in our introduction that a divine status of a figure can be constituted by (1) a participation in creation, (2) a salvific meaning, (3) dominion over the earth, and to some extend also (4) the position (and posture), (5) the appearance, (6) possession of a divine name and, finally, (7) a temporal aspect alluding to eternity. Therefore, most of these features should be mirrored in the Apocalypse if a divine status of Christ is actually in view. (Since the topic of worship has a major role in Revelation, its significance for Christ's role and a divine status will be dealt with separately).

(1) Participating in the creation is a feature which is not explicitly ascribed to Christ in the Apocalypse. However, one might possibly find traces that Christ is associated with creation, since he receives worship of all created beings in Apc 5:13. A close association with creation is found in the fact that the action of Christ to make

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[54] Cp. for this SÖDING: "Lamm", 110-116.
[55] Cp. BAUCKHAM: *Climax*, 139-140, "Worship", 331, and *Theology*, 60-61.

people new priests and kings on God's domain is set in parallel with God's act of creation in Apc 5 (see section 3.2.4.).

(2) A salvific meaning of Christ in Apc 1 and other passages in the Apocalypse can hardly be denied. Apc 1:5-6 in particular emphasises the salvific significance of Christ, since he is the one who makes people God's priests and redeems by his blood. The same image is repeated in Apc 5:6-10. The motif of blood being shed by Christ may further be alluded to in Apc 12:11 or 19:13. Moreover, Christ's status as judge has salvific meaning as he eradicates those who oppose God and his community on earth. Such a representation of Christ as judge is alluded to not only in Apc 1:7-16, but further in Apc 14:14-20 and Apc 19:11-21.

(3) The power to reign over the earth is not God's exclusive privilege in the Apocalypse, it is also shared by Christ. A royal meaning of Christ is stated directly in Apc 1:5 (where Christ is the Lord of the kings of the world) and further in Apc 19:15-16. Other imagery of Christ as a ruler is related to his position on (or at least near) God's throne. As we have already stated, the content of the Apocalypse unfolds slowly from Christ being located near God's throne in Apc 5:6 to a point where he becomes a co-regent who sits on the same throne together with God in Apc 22:1. The rulership of the earth (and the New Jerusalem) is therefore also a feature shared by God and Christ.

(4) Not much can be said concerning position and posture of God and Christ in Revelation. In contrast to God whose position is almost restricted to heaven (e.g. Apc 4-5), Christ is often related to heaven (e.g. coming from heaven in Apc 1:7; 14:14; 19:11, or being in the heavenly temple in Apc 5:6-13), but he can be depicted acting on earth as well (e.g. Apc 14:1). However, the position does not appear to be emphasised by the author in order to achieve a distinction. References to Christ acting on earth can most likely be interpreted as allusions to his earthly life.

Similarly, the posture of Christ is not emphasised throughout Revelation. In Apc 1, it is not described at all. In some following passages Christ is then portrayed varyingly, either sitting (Apc 14:14-15; 19:11-21) or standing (Apc 14:1). As has been argued above (section 3.1.3.2.), the different descriptions of the posture depend on the context in which they are made. Statements which seem to be deliberately aimed at demonstrating an equal status of God and Christ are represented by throne-imagery. With the possible exception of Apc 5:6 (see section 3.1.3.2.) an equal status of God and Christ is emphasised by the description of a shared throne (e.g. Apc 7:10-12; 22:1).

(5) Descriptions of the appearance of God or Christ provided in Revelation cannot be evaluated at first sight as a feature which both of them share. Since God's appearance is not portrayed in Revelation and anthropomorphic categories and descriptions are deliberately avoided, equality between God and Christ can hardly be expressed by such means. However, even despite the absence of corresponding portraits of God and Lamb, the author makes at least one statement concerning the appearance of Christ which hints at an equality with God: Apc 5:6 describes the Lamb as having seven eyes representing the same seven spirits which God commands in Apc 1:4. The overall emphasis concerning the equal status of God and Christ in Revelation, however, seems to be on shared functions (as for instance, both being represented as judges, rulers or having creative powers).

(6) References to certain names might also represent a means by which a similar status of God and Christ is established. An association of Christ with God by name becomes especially visible in Apc 19:11-16. Here, Christ receives three different names. In Apc 19:11 he is called Faithful and True (cp. Apc 1:5), in Apc 19:13 he is even more directly associated with God since his name is "word of God" (cp. Apc 1:2). The closest link between God and Christ established by name is preserved in Apc 19:16, where

Christ's name is unknown but to himself. The secret name is (as has been argued in section 4.2.1.) probably an allusion to the tetragrammaton.

(7) The expression of a degree of equality between God and Christ also becomes very apparent by ascribing an equal temporal aspect to both of them, namely the repeated use of patterns from the *Dreizeitenformel* in the introductory chapter, which is then employed in other visions in Revelation. The recurring use of the phrase in Apc 1:8; 1:17; 21:6 and 22:13 in a somewhat chiastic arrangement (concerning the themes of parousia and new life)[56] addresses God and Christ. Since the connection of the phraseology from the *Dreizeitenformel* is exclusively employed when statements about God or Christ are made (and is nowhere connected to angels) the equality between God and Christ is apparently prepared in Apc 1 already.

A preexistent status of Christ cannot be derived without a doubt from the Apocalypse. In Apc 1:5 Christ is the πρωτότοκος τῶν νεκρῶν (firstborn of the dead). A preexistence of Christ is not stated per se,[57] but it can also not be dismissed entirely,[58] especially since Christ is the ἀρχὴ τῆς κτίσεως τοῦ θεοῦ in Apc 3:14. A temporal statement about Christ stressing his special status within creation seems not unlikely here.[59]

A further hint that the author wanted to allude to Christ's preexistence can be found in Apc 13:8. Here the worshippers of the beast are characterised as those whose name is not written in the book of life of the Lamb which was slaughtered. However, the syntax of this verse provides the difficulty of how the expression ἀπὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου is related to the rest of the sentence. Grammatically it would be possible to regard the reference "before the foundation of the world" as explanation of either the Lamb being *before* the foundation of the world, or the names being written in the book

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[56] Cp. BAUCKHAM: *Theology*, 56-58.
[57] Cp. KNIGHT: *Revelation*, 34.
[58] Cp. AUNE: *Revelation* 1-5, 38-39.

of life from the foundation of the world. Taking into account the parallel from Apc 17:8 (which has a slightly different emphasis and lacks the expression ἀπὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου), the text preserved in Apc 13:8 leaves the impression of having been reworked in order to make the Lamb appear as being slaughtered before the foundation of the world. (cp. also the parallel in 1 Pet 1:20.)[60] Since the preserved text from Apc 13:8 interprets the Lamb as predestined to die before the creation of the world, a preexistent character of Christ can be assumed in this passage. The reference to the predestination of Christ having to die *before* the foundation of the world might then even be a cornerstone for the author's Christology. Christ's salvific death which is bound to happen before the world's existence demonstrates that God and Christ are clearly in control of the world despite the chaos it is in.[61]

So far, most of the features and prerogatives we have discussed clearly relate Christ to the divine side. Only the appearance and the posture of Christ does not entirely match descriptions provided of God. In turn, the syntax within the Apocalypse helped to establish the impression of an equal status shared by God and Christ. Still, some other similarities and dissimilarities have to be observed before a final decision concerning a divine status of Christ should be made.

(B) A special role is played by the question of *who may and who may not be worshipped* in the Apocalypse. This question apparently has major significance for the author, since reference to rightful and wrong worship can be found throughout the Apocalypse. On the side of those who must not be worshipped are certainly the beast and the dragon in Apc 13. They (and those who follow them) are subject to divine judgement (Apc 19-20). With the explicit rejection of worship to God's opposition comes a general statement directed against idolatry. Worshipping idols is polemically

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[59] Cp. AUNE: *Revelation* 1-5, 256.
[60] Cp. for more detail AUNE: *Revelation 6-16*, 746-748, and STUCKENBRUCK: *Revelation*, 62.
[61] See similarly SWEET: *Revelation*, 211-212.

attacked by a description of idols as not being capable of seeing, hearing or walking (Apc 9:20), possibly implying a contrast to God (or maybe the risen Christ) who is alive as demonstrated in the repeated application of the *Dreizeitenformel*. In Apc 9:20 the worship of evil spirits is also dismissed at the same time.

A second group which may very obviously not be worshipped in the Apocalypse are the angels: twice the author employs the motif of angels refusing to be worshipped (namely Apc 19:10 and 22:9). Both times the angels explicitly refer to worship as God's very own privilege. The employment of the refusal tradition in these two passages of the Apocalypse does not only demonstrate that – at least for the author – angels must not be worshipped. In comparison with the opening vision from Apc 1, a statement concerning the relationship between God and Christ is also made in this refusal. Because of the explicit refusal of worship by angels, the scenario in Apc 1:17 where Christ permits the very same act of worship to himself, Christ is apparently not regarded as an angel by John. The act of worship, only allowed to be received by God elsewhere in the Apocalypse, is here expanded to be a suitable act of veneration towards Christ, who is therefore clearly on the divine side despite his angelomorphic appearance. Other passages in Revelation also allow for this conclusion. For instance, Apc 5:13 emphasises the shared worship of God *and* the Lamb (though the Lamb is possibly connected to some angelic ideas; see sections 3.1.1. and 3.1.3.2.). Further, the parallel setting between Apc 4 and Apc 5 supports the impression of unity and equality of God and Lamb by praising God for his creation (Apc 4:11), while Christ receives the same kind of worship, also employing the ἄξιος-formula in Apc 5:9 for his salvific achievement. A similar tendency to regard Christ as an equal to God can also be observed in Apc 7:10.

Therefore, it can be concluded that the question of who may be worshipped in the context of the Apocalypse is overtly answered: idolatry and worship of the beast are

equally condemned. Angels must not be worshipped either, which is shown in the angelic refusal of such acts of veneration by John. Worship must be given to God and also to Christ, even if he is portrayed as angelomorphic or otherwise connected to angelic categories. Accordingly, the emphasis on the question of the recipients of worship also reveals an equal status shared by God and Christ. Worship then also marks the line between Christ as a divine being and angels as non-divine. Such a result raises another question, though, namely whether or not worship is the only category by which a clear cut distinction between Christ and subordinate angels is established in Revelation.

(C) In Apocalypse, one may regard God and Christ on the one hand and angels on the other as *strictu sensu* distinct from one another. Such a *distinction* is reflected clearly, not only by the prohibition of angels receiving worship but also in the display and distribution of attributes and functions. A number of differences are already apparent or at least alluded to in Apc 1. For instance, in addition to the notion of worship being received by Christ (Apc 1:17), which already distinguishes him from the angels in Revelation, he is also described as superior because he is in control of them (Apc 1:16-20). Further demonstrating his significance and uniqueness, Christ accumulates attributes and functions in Apc 1 which are not ascribed to angels in Revelation: In verse 5 he is the true witness and the firstborn of the dead (i.e. he rose from death, further alluded to in Apc 1:18), he is the one who redeems from death (maybe also alluded to by the possession of the keys in Apc 1:18) and who has made people God's priests in a creator-like act. The tendency to apply an overwhelming amount of similar attributes to Christ continues throughout the writing. For instance, he is described as the chosen one who is worthy to open the scroll in Apc 5, whereas angels who are present in this scenario are incapable of doing so. In the same vision his redemption is also set parallel with God's act of creation, as mentioned above (section

3.2.4.). The salvific meaning of Christ's death is further stressed in Apc 7:13-17 where the blood of the Lamb has the power to wash the clothes of God's people. Another display of unique powers of Christ is set in Apc 19 where Christ as the Lamb receives glory in wedding imagery, marking his return as a major eschatological event (Apc 19:7-9). Also the following vision concerning the judgement of the earth by Christ in form of a heavenly warrior emphasises his unique character compared to that of the angels as he bears divine names.

Another statement concerning Christ which deserves attention is the reference to God being the father of Christ. A relationship between God and Christ as father and son is remarkable, since such honour is certainly not ascribed to angels in Revelation. One might comment on the difference between Christ and angels here with reference to Hebrews 1:5; a passage which has a theology (and especially a Christology) which is very close to that of the Apocalypse.

Moreover, the other attributes mentioned are nowhere given to angels or angel-like beings (like the 24 elders) in the Apocalypse. On the contrary, angels are clearly subordinate to God (and to Christ), doing his bidding. Such subordinate status is already reflected in Apc 1:1 where God sends his angel to reveal the things that are about to happen. Christ's superiority is also alluded to in Apc 1 since he controls angels (represented by stars) by holding them in his hand (Apc 1:16-20). Apc 2-3 also reflects on a subordinate character of angels; they are recipients of Christ's messages and subject to commands and critique. In Apc 4-5 and 7 the tendency of ascribing a subordinate character to angels is continued. Angels (and angelic beings) offer worship to God and to the Lamb, but they do not receive any themselves. A worship of angels is explicitly prohibited (by the angels themselves) in Apc 19 and 22, while in an obvious contrast the same form of worship is accepted by Christ in Apc 1. In Apc 8-9 and 14-16 angels carry out juridical tasks initiated by God. The mighty angel in Apc 10 testifies

what he is announcing in God's name, also expressing God's superiority. Even a superficial glance at the entire Apocalypse provides overwhelming evidence for the apparent subordinate status of angels compared to God and Christ. However, in certain contexts Christ is portrayed ambiguously close to angels.

(D) Despite all the above mentioned similarities shared by God and Christ, one cannot neglect *that Christ also has features that associate him with the angelic world.* Such descriptions can be categorised by varying levels of angelomorphic Christology as we established in the introductory chapter of the present thesis. An angelomorphic description of Christ mostly draws on traditional material, i.e. either (1) visual or (2) functional, occasionally an angelomorphic Christology is also established by (3) the context in which Christ is represented.

(a) An angelomorphic Christology is established by visual means in Apc 1 already. Here Christ's appearance is portrayed by alluding to various traditions which deal with angelophanies. As shown above, most of the features ascribed to Christ are derived from angelological contexts such as Daniel 7:9.13; 10:5-6; Ezekiel 1; 9 or Judges 5:31.[62] A similarly apparent display of angelomorphic features attributed to Christ can be identified in Apc 14:14-20 where Christ is portrayed by allusion to Daniel 7:13 again. Moreover, the crown worn by Christ (similar to the elders in Apc 4) and the possession of a sickle (like the angels in Apc 14:17-19) hint strongly at a description of Christ which is deliberately arranged to let his appearance seem angelomorphic. Some of the features which have been used for an angelomorphic description of Christ's appearance before are repeated in Apc 19, such as eyes like fiery flames (verse 12) or holding a sword (verse 15).

A feature employed in the Christophany in Apc 1 also occurs in the description of the mighty angel from Apc 10. As we have argued (section 2.2.8.), not a lot of

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[62] Cp. STUCKENBRUCK: *Veneration*, 211-213.

evidence for an understanding of this particular angel representing Christ can be provided. However, the description of Christ (Apc 1:15) and that of the angel (Apc 10:1) refer to their feet being like pillars of fire. Such an angelomorphic feature of Christ is therefore not only provided by an allusion to Daniel 10:5-6 but also by a parallel within the context of Revelation.

A final element worth mentioning is a somewhat parallel description of Christ and angels as stars: Angels are portrayed as stars being held by Christ in Apc 1:16-20. Surprisingly, Christ then designates himself as the morning star in Apc 22:16. Whether or not the description of Christ and angels as stars reflects on a distinction (i.e. Christ being superior, since he is portrayed as the brightest star; see Appendix 4), a shared metaphorical way of describing them is apparent.

(b) Another means to present Christ in angelomorphic features draws on functions. For instance, in Apc 1:18 (and similarly in 3:7) Christ is in possession of the special keys opening the gates to Death and Hades. In Apc 20:1 it is suddenly an angels who controls the Abyss with similar keys. More functional angelomorphisms can be found in a combination of Apc 1:10 and 4:1 where the speaker, apparently Christ, talks with the voice of the trumpet and explains forthcoming events to the seer in the manner of an *angelus interpres*. In Apc 5 we find further evidence for Christ being described as angelomorphic by ascribing him certain functions, namely an association of Christ with the Angel of Death (the Destroyer) from the Exodus tradition and possibly also his standing position. (The latter becomes questionable in the forthcoming development of the Apocalypse's plot, though, since the proximity of Christ to the throne leads to a description of Christ sitting with God on the throne together.) In Apc 14:6-20 the sharing of functions is displayed as well; Christ (Apc 14:14-15) and the angels (Apc 14:16-19) carry out the same task of harvesting the earth. Apc 19:14 also indicates that

angelomorphic functions have been ascribed to Christ. since he is the leader of the heavenly army here, a role which has been given to Michael in Apc 12:7 before.

(c) A third way of applying angelomorphic categories to Christ in the Apocalypse is by a given context. However, the application of contextual angelomorphic features to Christ is limited in Revelation. In Apc 14:6-20 we might find two examples for an angelomorphic Christology established by the given context. In Apc 14:15 an angel is designated as "another angel" just after Christ has been mentioned in the previous verse. Such a description of the narrative sequence might have been deliberately set up in order to relate Christ to the angels mentioned before, in other words he may have been depicted as angelomorphic. Such an interpretation does not only seem likely just on the basis of the functional angelomorphism (Christ performing the same task as the angels in Apc 14:15-19), but also on the capability of the angel in Apc 14:15 to give Christ the command to harvest the earth. A subsequent impression that Christ is subordinate to this angel makes Christ appear angelomorphic by context once more.

5.4. Conclusion

We have interpreted Apc 1 in the light of its significance for preparing the Apocalypse's readers for the relationship between God, Christ and angels. Such an approach is justified since this is one of the central aspects of the narrative of Apc 1. The interest in outlining the relationship between God, Christ and angels is reflected in corresponding passages and sections where Christ. God or angels are related to each other. The significance of certain statements regarding Christology (or theology and angelology respectively) can only be understood with a holistic approach to the work. For instance, an explicit reference to Christ accepting worship (while just being portrayed angelomorphically) might not be surprising as such. The worship scene

accumulates significance in the narrative progress achieved by the author, though. The importance of Christ being worshipped *despite* an angelomorphic description demonstrates the author's concept of Christology, since in Apc 19:10 and 22:8-9 angels prohibit to be worshipped themselves. Instead the author lets the angels acclaim the right to be worshipped as God's privilege. By the apparent contrast of these visions the author not only expresses that Christ is more than an angel and may therefore be worshipped, he even puts him on par with God, since the exclusive right of God to be worshipped is now obviously shared by Christ. This equality between God and Christ is further reflected in the visions of Apc 4 and 5 where angels worship God *and* Christ without receiving any form of veneration themselves. As we have demonstrated, the author has a certain interest to demonstrate the question of who may and who may not be worshipped in his writing. Apc 1 displays an early answer to this question by making the claim of Christ being worthy of receiving worship. Apc 5 qualifies further reasons for Christ's worthiness as a recipient of worship. Other passages, such as Apc 9, 19 and 22, clarify who may not be worshipped.

On the basis of establishing major issues of theology, Christology and angelology Apc 1 can accordingly be considered as a preliminary work of the author of Revelation in which he introduces God's and Christ's extraordinary status, and angels as servants of God and Christ. Further, the author demonstrates an awareness of issues he deals with in the forthcoming chapters of his writings. For instance, the identity of the one like a son of man in Apc 14 as being Christ is warranted by the detailed description of this figure provided in Apc 1:7-20. Similarly, the same description allows for an identification of the figure from Apc 19:11-21, the heavenly horseman, as Christ.

Despite the significance that Christ apparently has for the author and which he already arranges to be apparent in his opening vision one must not neglect that Christ has also clearly angelomorphic features in this sequence. In comparison with the focus

on Christ as an equal to God elsewhere in Revelation a description of Christ in analogy to that of an angel seems disturbing, especially since angels in Revelation are clearly subordinate to God. Within Apc 1 a solution for this problem is not provided or alluded to, possible reasons for the author to describe Christ within the frame of such an analogy must be elaborated within the limits of the entire writing.

Further, it may be asked whether the author wishes to express a subordinate status of Christ.[63] Since the tension between a subordinate and an equal status between Christ and God is also not explicitly explained on the basis of Apc 1 alone, more reason to solve the problem with a holistic approach to the Apocalypse is provided. This approach prevents from leading to a conclusion of a general subordination based on occasional hints, when the Apocalypse taken as a whole seems to aim at expressing an equal status.

Finally, in the present thesis we have so far attempted to shed light on different ways of portraying Christ in the Apocalypse. We have to summarize now whether the different portrayals of Christ are still connected or have to be regarded individually.

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[63] See for such a proposal for instance KNIGHT: *Revelation*, 164.

Part C: Conclusion

6. Conclusion

We have demonstrated that the author of the Apocalypse employed different ways of expressing christological concerns. Representations of Christ are far from being simplistic and unified, though; so how can we characterise the author's way of telling us his views concerning Christ? Where and for what reasons are Lamb Christology or angelomorphic Christology employed? We may summarise the results brought forward in this thesis by addressing some questions on how certain aspects of Christology are reflected in the Apocalypse.

6.1. Different Aspects of Christology in Revelation?

At first sight one can certainly ascribe various christological concepts to the author of the Apocalypse. In Apc 1 Christ appears as the angelomorphically portrayed eschatological figure, features which recur in Apc 2-3, 14 and 19. However, in Apc 5 a different way of describing Christ becomes apparent, since he is suddenly portrayed in the image of a Lamb. Such imagery is repeated in Apc 6-7 and in Apc 14:1-5 and 19:7-9. It has been proposed that the main christological images of the Apocalypse consist of representations of Christ as the "one like a son of man", or Divine Warrior, and as the Lamb.[1] One might surely agree to such a subdivision of christological intersection. However, one must not ignore the fact that the different means of portraying Christ are also closely connected. As we have demonstrated in this thesis, the descriptions of Christ as a son of man like figure and his portrayal as an eschatological warrior are

intrinsically linked with each other. The one like a son of man from Apc 1 and 14 and the warrior-like figure from Apc 19 share traditional material by which they are described; material which lets each of the descriptions of Christ appear angelomorphic. It might therefore appear redundant to attempt to separate these aspects of Christology from each other in the Apocalypse. One might wonder if one should accordingly understand the Christology of Revelation in terms of a polarity between an angelomorphic portrayal of Christ and the other description which focuses on Lamb imagery. Such a way of regarding the Christology of Revelation is not entirely unjustified. As we have argued, the portrayal of Christ as the Lamb in Apc 5 (and also in Apc 19) is not completely unconnected to angelic categories. For instance, Christ is described as reminiscent of the Angel of Death in the Apocalypse, following the Exodus tradition, while he is also the Passover Lamb in Apc 5. (We have identified such means of talking about Christ as a deliberate device of the author to portray Christ in paradoxes.) Moreover, Christ might be attributed with possible angelomorphic features while he is characterised as the Lamb, for example as being in a standing posture in proximity of God's throne in Apc 5, or even taking over the function of an *angelus interpres* in Apc 4. A connection between the different christological concepts might thus be accomplished. In Apc 19, statements concerning Christ as the Lamb (7-9) are linked with a vision of Christ as eschatological and partially angelomorphic figure (11-21). Since Christ is portrayed as a very active and enormously powerful figure in control of his community, possessing an equal status to God, one must ask why the author employs an almost antithetical image of Christ in angelomorphic categories in certain parts of his writing.

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[1] See for instance SLATER: *Community*, passim.

6.2. A Reason for Employing an Angelomorphic Christology in Revelation?

If we consider the presence of an angelomorphic Christology in the Apocalypse we have to ask where and for what reasons the author wished to integrate such a christological concept in Revelation. We have identified certain passages in the Apocalypse which put a major emphasis on an angelomorphic portrayal of Christ, namely Apc 14:6-20, Apc 1:7-20 (and 4:1) and Apc 19:11-21. In all of these passages Christ bears attributes or is ascribed functions which connect him with angelological categories by means of influence of traditional materials or contexts.

Despite one possible overlap (i.e. the standing posture of the Lamb in Apc 5:6) the author keeps the application of angelomorphic imagery strictly apart from descriptions of Christ as the Lamb. Taking this polarity in view, we have been searching for reasons as for why the author applied these two different aspects of Christology in his writing. Since the varying Christologies are employed on separate occasions, we have been able to deduce that the application of Lamb Christology on the one hand, and an angelomorphic Christology on the other, represents most likely a portrait of Christ according to two major *functions*. These functions reflect on the implied perception of Christ. To those who see him without totally understanding his salvific meaning he appears as an angelomorphic juridical figure. In contrast, to those who have (or gain) insight into Christ's significant nature, which is – also according to MELANCHTHON – his benevolence and his salvific role in history, Christ appears as the Lamb. In this facet of depicting christological concerns, Christ is portrayed as the one who is with his people (i.e. the Christian community), shepherding and taking care of them.

Such a distribution, deliberately implying a christological perception depending on an inside- or outside-group phenomeneon, becomes especially apparent in the visions in Apc 14 and 19. The almost dualistic tendency is openly displayed by a

sudden change of Christ's functions in Apc 14. Christ is explicitly ascribed the salvific functions of the Lamb in verses 1-5, where he is taking care of his followers, while he is judging and harvesting the opposition of God and his people in verses 14-20.

Similarly, a change of functions is taking place in Apc 19. At first, Christ is described as the Lamb, which has a major significance for the Christian community. The relationship between Christ and his followers is portrayed through wedding imagery, placing Christ in the role of the groom, and the community as the bride (Apc 19:7-9). In Apc 19:11, Christ's role changes dramatically to that of an eschatological warrior with angelomorphic features, carrying out the destruction of the anti-divine forces.

The use of imagery applied to the two different perspectives of Christology does probably not have the single aim of showing the two different implied interpretations of Christ by Christians and opponents alone. The two Christologies expressing understanding and misunderstanding of Christ might even have an antecedent in the Exodus narrative. In Exodus the followers of God are saved by the blood of the Passover Lamb, while the Egyptians (the opposition of God's chosen people) are punished by the Destroyer. We have demonstrated that the author of the Apocalypse might have adopted this tradition from the Hebrew Bible into his version of a new Exodus. The author applied similar features to Christ, making him appear as the salvific Passover Lamb for God's people and the angelomorphic Destroyer of God's opposition.

The angelomorphic description of Christ in the introductory chapters (1-3) differs from the clearcut distinction which is marked by the use of insider and outsider language. The seer himself also mis-perceives Christ as a juridical angelomorphic figure. It is by an act of ongoing revelation that John (along with the seven communities) is able to see Christ as the salvific Lamb (e.g. in Apc 5, 7, 14 or 19). Such a technique of unveiling Christ's true meaning piece by piece is not unique for John:

similarly, the somewhat blurred and abstract vision from Apc 14:6-20 is explained more specifically in Apc 19:11-21.

Besides the attempt to employ a Christology which reflects varying implied perceptions of Christians and opponents, and the use of imagery from the Exodus tradition which was almost metaphorically applied to Christ, a third reason for the presence of an angelomorphic Christology in the Apocalypse exists. Since angels have a prominent role in Revelation we may assume that they were highly regarded amongst its readership. Given such a prominence, the christological concerns elaborated by John appear to be an attempt to highlight Christ's significance, especially his role as a redeemer. In contrast to this significance, angels only perform minor tasks. However, a readership with high regard for angels (or maybe even an almost angelic understanding of Christ) might be appeased by a christological concept which incorporates Christ in angelomorphic features. This approach of the author appeals to a readership with an angelological interest and subtly "corrects" the interest in angels towards an even more significant Christ.

6.3. A Subordinate Christology in Revelation?

Given the prominence of an angelomorphic Christology in the Apocalypse, one might wonder whether the Christology in this writing might be generally indebted to a somewhat subordinate portrait of Christ, or if the author might have wished to emphasise an equal status of God and Christ. As we have tried to demonstrate in this thesis, the focus of the author is clearly on putting God and Christ on a par. This tendency can be seen throughout the Apocalypse, especially in Apc 1, 4-5, 7, and 19, where Christ is explicitly worshipped alongside God or at least connected intrinsically with the divine world. Only occasionally an impression of a somehow subordinate

Christology may arise. For instance the standing posture of Christ in Apc 5:6 might lead to a conclusion of a subordinate position. However, as we have tried to demonstrate, such a conclusion would not be without doubt, since the standing posture can easily be explained by circumstance or traditions. Moreover, elsewhere in the Apocalypse Christ is sharing the throne with God (Apc 7:10-12, Apc 22:3).

A further crux for the Christology of Revelation is the angelic command given to Christ in Apc 14:15. Here an angel appears to be superior to Christ, since he can command him to harvest the world with his sickle. Attempts to deny the ostensive subordination of Christ appear to be unreasonable: an indication of subordinate Christology in this vision might be due to a perception of doctrines in contemporary theology, although the author himself may not even have wished to downplay the significance of Christ here at all. On the contrary, the author might have had various reasons for the angel's command (e.g. adoption of traditional material) which resulted in an interpretation of Christ being subordinate. Moreover, the status of Christ as being subordinate has no major significance for two reasons. (1) Christ is perceived by the implied opposition (since Christ appears as the destructive juridical figure eliminating God's opponents here), hence this description of Christ forms part of a partially misunderstood perception of Christ. (2) As we have demonstrated, almost everywhere else in the Apocalypse the author emphasises Christ's significance, his superiority over angels and his equal status with God. Accordingly, a single reference to a subordinate Christ can hardly be a major part of the author's Christology.

6.4. How Elaborate is the Christology of Revelation?

We have demonstrated that the Christology of Revelation is vital for understanding the author's theology. Christ and God are not only on a par, Christ is

even represented as the active figure while God – despite his undisputed significance – appears to be more passive. One might almost consider the theology of the Apocalypse as christocentric. However, God's almighty powers are nowhere found to be compromised.

Occasionally a preexistent character of Christ in the Apocalypse has been disputed.[2] Certain passages (Apc 1:5; 3:14; 13:8) seem to indicate, though, that the preexistence of Christ cannot be easily dismissed. Christ's role as that of a figure with an almost similar role as that of God as creator, namely the parallel act of making people priests of God (Apc 1:6; 5:10), confirms the assumption of a preexistence of Christ.

The theology of Revelation may probably not be considered as close to a trinitarian theology, though, since the role of the Spirit appears to be limited. A venerable character is not ascribed to the Holy Spirit, he is not worshipped or described in much detail. The formula of Apc 1:4 referring to the seven spirits might at first sight appear trinitarian. As we have argued, however, an interpretation of these spirits as angels seems more likely. The focus of the Apocalypse lies clearly with theological and christological concerns.

Generally, we may therefore characterise the Christology of Revelation as complex and elaborate. Especially the equal status shared by God and Christ hints at an advanced, possibly even a so-called High Christology. The way in which the Christology is arranged often shows the readership Christ's significance by some obvious traits of Christology. For instance, Christ may openly be described as the first and the last or the one who was dead and is alive. His interpretation as Destroyer and Passover Lamb – employing a similar paradox – is less obviously displayed. Such hidden traits of Christology and the amount of passages in which christological (and

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[2] See for instance KNIGHT: *Revelation*, 164.

sometimes theological or angelological) concerns are related with each other does not only underline the complexity of Revelation's Christology. We may assume that the writing might have been targeted at an audience who would not only use the text for the purpose of reading (or hearing) it at services; the complexity suggests that the main purpose of the Apocalypse was contemplative reading of the text.

6.5. Further Possible Topics for Research

Since this thesis has a major emphasis on the relationship between angelomorphic Christology and Lamb Christology in the Apocalypse, our results are consequently limited to the questions raised in this connection. It may be promising to continue this study regarding other christological concerns within Revelation, and raise the question how these aspects are related to angelomorphic and Lamb Christology. Another feature which deserves more attention is the notion of the rider on the white horse in Apc 6. Since this figure shares elements of the the description of Christ provided in Apc 19:11.21, further research on his identity and relevance might be rewarding. Moreover, the role of the Spirit and the way he is connected in the christological and theological concept might be worth further investigation.

The development of the Christology as it has been preserved in Revelation may also be reflected in other Christian writings. It might be worthwhile comparing this special Christology to other concepts of Christology in the New Testament in order to examine whether or not the aspects as they are elaborated in Revelation are unique. A comparison of other texts that preserve similar christological ideas may not only reveal something about christological features of Revelation, but also the extent to which one may speak of different kinds of a so-called "angelomorphic Christology". For instance: Hebrews 1-2, the Gospel of John, Colossians 2:18, or Galatians 4:14 have all been

considered to contain an "angelomorphic" or "angel Christology" by various scholars. Sometimes even a shared world-view has been assumed for the different authors of the mentioned texts. In turn, it may be rewarding to show that there are different kinds of "angelomorphic" Christologies which were formulated within the context of different theological issues and thus arose for distinguishable reasons (as demonstrated for Revelation in this thesis).

Similarly, it might be interesting to compare the special Christology of the Apocalypse with later Christian writings (such as the works of Justin Martyr, *Ascension of Isaiah* or the *Shepherd of Hermas*) in order to see if Revelation possibly influenced later texts in their understanding of an angelomorphic Christology.

Appendices

Appendix 1

Clarification of Linguistical Phenomena within Apc 14:6-20

a) Verse 9

Within verse 9 the preposition ἐπί is used twice, but with alternating cases in each instance (ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου αὐτοῦ.... ἐπὶ τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ). This kind of change of case after the preposition ἐπί occurs elsewhere in the Apocalypse (e.g. Apc 5:1; 8:3; 12:1-3; 13:1). The shift in case is noteworthy in Apc 13:16, because the same vocabulary is used here, though the cases of the substantives are exchanged: ἐπὶ τῆς χειρὸς αὐτῶν ... ἢ ἐπὶ τὸ μέτωπον αὐτῶν. This change of cases might therefore be interpreted as a stylistic framework by the author. KRAFT considered rhythmical reasons for this change,[1] in contrast to LOHMEYER, who assumed the reason for the change would be achieving a consonance.[2] The change of case bears no relevance for the content; the meaning of the verse is not altered by the preposition ἐπί.[3] This is also reflected by textcritical evidence: few variants confirm a double use of ἐπί with a genitive case in both instances (ἐπὶ τῆς χειρὸς αὐτοῦ), which indicates that a text with changing cases was not very likely to have been misunderstood.

b) Verse 19

The construction τὴν ληνὸν...τὸν μέγαν in verse 19 is conspicuous, because the feminine word ληνός is connected with a masculine adjective, though ληνός could notably also have been used in a masculine form. One might assume a solecism here, a grammatical phenomenon very common in the entire Apocalypse: a masculine form dislodges a

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[1] Cp. KRAFT: *Offenbarung*, 194.
[2] Cp. LOHMEYER: *Offenbarung*, 122.
[3] Cp. BLASS; DEBRUNNER: *Grammatik*, 186.

feminine form and subsequently leads to grammatical incongruence.[4] Another solution has been proposed by BORNKAMM; he suggested that the change of gender might indicate an allusion to the Gehinnom[5] - but this is speculative, as KRAFT rightfully pointed out.[6]

Even textcritical evidence is not strong enough to warrant changing τὸν μέγαν to a grammatically correct form (τὴν μεγάλην or τοῦ μεγάλου).[7] Accordingly, the assumption of having a solecism here seems to be more likely, especially since there are more solecisms present within Apc 14:6-20 (as for instance in verse 12 where οἱ τηροῦντες is related to τῶν ἁγίων, or in verse 14 where ἔχων is related to the accusative form of the one like a son of man).[8] As solecisms are generally very common and widely distributed within the Apocalypse (e.g. Apc 3:12; 4:1; 5:12; 10:2; 11:4; 11:15; 19:6; 21:9; 21:14), we may be dealing with a stylistic device of the author.[9] This observation adds weight to the literary unity of the passage. More relevant observations can be made by comparing the vocabulary and language of Apc 14:6-20 with the entire text.

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[4] Cp. BLASS; DEBRUNNER: *Grammatik*, 112-113.
[5] Cp. BORNKAMM: "ληνός", 262.
[6] Cp. KRAFT: *Offenbarung*, 199.
[7] Cp. also KRAFT: *Offenbarung*, 199.
[8] Cp. BLASS; DEBRUNNER: *Grammatik*, 112-113.
[9] Cp. for the discussion of the grammatical problem in Apc 14:19 also BEALE: *Revelation*, 779-780.

Appendix 2

Angels and a Schema of Four Elements in Revelation?

The idea of the existence of a schema combining angels with four elements in the Apocalypse, as suggested by YARBRO COLLINS or BETZ, appears promising at first glance. Moreover, one might even be tempted to identify further angels described in the Apocalypse as being part of such a schema: The link between the angel and fire in Apc 14:18 (cp. also Apc 8:3-5) and also the connection between the angel in Apc 16:5 and the element water[1] (possibly also in Apc 9:14) is quite obvious,[2] since the elements are explicitly referred to. Moreover, in case of Apc 16:5 the angel is closely aligned with his element by the use of the genitive case specifying the appropriate element (i.e. ἀγγέλου τῶν ὑδάτων). One could possibly even infer the existence of further angels that are connected with "classical" elements.[3] For instance, the angels described in Apc 7:1 are in control of the winds (κρατοῦντας τοὺς τέσσαρας ἀνέμους), and consequently appear to embody angels of wind and air.[4] (The angels from Apc 7 are reminiscent of the angels mentioned in Mk 13:27 and Mt 24:31.[5]) These angels might reflect a traditional schema where angels in charge of certain elements or certain areas of the world respond to God.[6] One possible candidate for an angel of earth would be the angel in Apc 16:2 whose action of emptying the first bowl affects the earth. The presence of an angel of earth might also be given if the angel in Apc 10:2-8 is to be understood as

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[1] Cp. BARR: *Tales*, 131: BARR regards, without further explanation, the "angel of water" as a "guardian spirit". This thought might generally cope with the idea of an assumed schema of angels being aligned to elements. BARR's thesis of a connection between this "angel of water" and the nymphs of Greek traditions, though, tends to be rather vague.

[2] Cp. YARBRO COLLINS: "Tradition", 566 and MÜLLER: *Offenbarung*, 280.

[3] Cp. also MOUNCE: *Revelation*, 155.

[4] Cp. MÜLLER: *Offenbarung*, 176-177 and MICHL: "Engel", 114-115.

[5] See BÖCHER: "Engel IV", 597.

[6] Cp. also BETZ: "Apokalyptik", 391-409 and MÜLLER: *Offenbarung*, 280.

responsible for the element earth, since he is – at least partially, with his left foot – standing there (ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς).

However, a first difficulty for the presence of such a schema is encountered here as well. The angel in Apc 10 is not actually depicted as being in charge of earth. Moreover, he is not even exclusively associated with one single element (earth), but also equally with water, because his right foot is standing on the sea (πόδα αὐτοῦ τὸν δεξιὸν ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης). Similarly, a clear connection between the angels in 7:1 to a single element has to be questioned. These angels are in control of the winds, but they are positioned on the four corners of the earth and have the power to do harm to earth and sea. Since, in addition to the winds, sea and earth are associated with them, a schema of angels in control of distinct areas of God`s creation as indicated by a certain element would be hard to establish here as well. This is not unlike the sequence of angels in Apc 16:1-17, which is somewhat problematic if certain angels are made responsible for one element: Apc 16:1-2 refers to an angel who is affecting the earth (τὴν γῆν) with his bowl, verses 3-4 mentions two angels executing powers over sea (θάλλασσαν) and rivers (ποταμούς), angels which are therefore apparently attached to the element of water. In verse 5 "the angel of waters", one of the two latter angels, is then depicted alone as responsible for the realm of water. A third angel with power over water, namely the river Euphrates, then appears in verse 12. Moreover, an angel who pours his bowl into the sun causing it to burn the people on earth is described in this vision. But, unlike the angel in Apc 14:18 (and 8:3-5), he does not have direct control over the fire.

Altogether, the portrait of angels provided in the vision of Apc 16 refers to no less than five angels who have some power over elements, with three of them executing their juridical tasks by means of water. Any schema of one angel controlling one element is clearly absent. As should be apparent, it is moreover hard to align angels

straightforwardly with the control of a single element: some angels, as the mighty angel from Apc 10, are related to two elements. Angels connected to the air are also not only to be found in Apc 7:1. The angel flying in midheaven in Apc 14:6 might also be taken into account as linked to air and heaven. In Apc 16 the focus seems to be on the entire creation, i.e. land, water, rivers and the heaven including the celestial bodies as the area which is affected by God's wrath and the bowls poured out by the angels.[7] In the other visions where a schema of angels and elements could be assumed as well, the emphasis is not so much on the elements as on the angels and the task they fullfill.

A consideration of traditional material concerning angels in connection with elements might also shed further light on the possibility of a link between angels and elements. Generally, the connection of angels and elements is not unheard of in early Jewish, rabbinic and New Testament literature: Especially in Enochic literature a connection of angels and elements or natural phenomena can often be found. In *1 Enoch* 6, 8 and 69 angels' names are apparently linked with natural phenomena, namely Ramiel (angel of thunder), Danel (angel of smoke), Ananel, Ezeqeel or Neqael (angel of clouds), Baraqel (angel of lightning), Batarel (angel of rain) and Arameel (angel of earth).[8] A similar list of angels' names and their responsibiltiy for elements or natural forces is also preserved in *3 Enoch* 14:4. Besides a simple allusion to elements and nature by the angels' names, such a connection is more openly displayed in *1 Enoch* 60:16-22 where angels are responsible for the sea, hail, snow, dew, thaw and rain. A further angel in control of water can also be found in *1 Enoch* 61:10; 66:2; another angel is connected with the fountains (*1 En.* 65:8). "Angels of Heaven" are referred to in *1 Enoch* 97:2[9], though this reference probably addresses the different areas of heaven to which angels are distributed rather than an elemental image. In *2 Enoch* 5 and 6 angels

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[7] See similarly MÜLLER: *Offenbarung*, 278-281.
[8] Cp. SCHÄFER: *Rivalität*, 26 n. 92.
[9] See also MICHL: "Engel", 70.

watch over the chambers of snow, ice, clouds and thaw. In *Jubilees* 2:2 angels are also portrayed as being in charge of fire, wind, clouds, darkness, snow, hail, thunder and lightning, cold and heat.[10] Some other spirits are labelled "spirits of his creatures which are in heaven and on earth".

In *Jubilees* 1-2 angels are closely connected with "spirits". One might wonder whether or not these spirits resemble represent spirits or even angels themselves.[11] Such a connection between angels and powers described as στοιχεῖα may also be assumed in case of Galatians 4:3 and 9. These powers may be identical to the angels mentioned in Galatians 3:19, therefore establishing another example for a possible link between elements and angels in the New Testament.[12] A certain proximity between angels and στοιχεῖα could maybe also be assumed for Colossians 2:18-20[13] where a "worship of angels" (θρησκεία τῶν ἀγγέλων) is dimissed, as are the "powers of the world" (στοιχείαι τοῦ κόσμου).[14]

Further examples of angels being more obviously linked to elements can be found. Often angels are connected to the element of fire. For instance, in Judges 6:20 the angel of the Lord vanishes in the fire of a burnt offering to God. Mostly, the angels have the form of fire, as for instance in 4Q403 1 col. ii 9,[15] or in discussions concerning the content of Psalm 104:4 (as *Exod. Rab.* 25:86a, *Sepher ha-Razim* 6:3-8, *1 En.* 17:1, *2 En.* 29:3; *2 En.* 1a [A] or Heb 1:7[16] and *4 Ezra* 8:21-22).[17] Maybe Psalm 104 was also a *Vorlage* for *3 Enoch* 15 where Enoch himself is transformed into fire, indicating the

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[10] Cp. for this SCHÄFER: *Rivalität*, 26-27 and LUEKEN: *Michael*, 53.
[11] Cp. MICHL: "Engel", 65.
[12] See for a more thorough discussion also SCHWEIZER: "Elements", 455-468 and esp. STUCKENBRUCK: *Veneration*, 104-107. Cp. also MICHL: "Engel", 65 and ARNOLD: *Syncretism*, 183-185.
[13] See for more details on the nature of the so called "Colossian error" STUCKENBRUCK: *Veneration*, 111-119, MACH: *Entwicklungsstadien*, 294, ARNOLD: *Syncretism*, 190-194 and FRANCIS: "Humility", 109-134.
[14] Cp. further KURZE: στοιχείαι, 335-337.
[15] See NEWSOM: *Sabbath*, 229 and 235.
[16] See also LANE: *Hebrews 1-8*, 28-29.
[17] Cp. AUNE: *Revelation 1-5*, 295.

angelic state into which Enoch is transfigured. Angels can also be generally associated with fire as in Pseudo-Philo *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum* 38:3 (Nathaniel being in charge of fire), *2 Enoch* 1:5 (angels emitting fire from their mouths), *3 Enoch* 36:2 (portraying angels bathing in fire) or Gabriel in *3 Enoch* 14:3-4, *Midrash Psalm* 117 or *Sanhedrin* 88b. Sometimes they control fire as a means of executing judgement (e.g. PsPhilo *Ant. Bibl.* 15:5; 4 Macc 7:11; *Tg. 1 Kgs.* 19:11; *Test. Abr.* 12 [Rec. A]).[18]

Similar to angels having the form of fire, they can also be described as having the form of wind. Normally a description of a form of fire is followed by the attribute of a form of wind or air (1QH 1:10-11 or *Exod. Rab.* 25:86*a*, *Pirqe R. El.* 4, *4 Ezra* 8:22, Heb 1:7) following the tradition based on Ps 104.[19] (Demons can also be in power of winds as can be seen in *Test. Sol.* 22-23.) Also in terms of responsibility angels can be connected to the air (e.g. in *3 En.* 14:3, *Tg. 1 Kgs.* 19:11, *Gosp. Barth.* 31-36) or to heaven (e.g. *4 Ezra* 6:41).

An angel connected to water cannot just be found in Enochic writings or the Apocalypse, John 5:4 also gives evidence for such an angel. (This verse is only included in some New Testament Codices, such as A, K, L, Δ or f^{13}.) Here healing powers are provided for ill people by an angel moving the water of a pool. Since the narrative describes the healing of a man who has been ill for 38 years and failed to be healed by the water, one might assume that this passage – despite the conflict concerning the healing on the Sabbath - serves also to demonstrate Jesus' healing powers (which are instantaneous) as superior to the angelic powers.

Angels associated with the earth can rarely be found in traditional material, maybe *1 Enoch* 61:10 might reflect on angels and a connection to the earth. But besides

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[18] Cp. also MICHL: "Engel", 65-94. See for later cabbalistic writings describing a connection between angels and elements, especially fire and water, LUEKEN: *Michael*, 52-55. Especially LUEKEN's reference to a cabbalistic passage (*Sohar Num.* Col. 417) is interesting, since a schema of 4 angels being connected to 4 elements is actually preserved here. However, this writing does not contribute to this discussion as it has to be dated very late.

the fact that angels are only very vaguely connected to earth here, the context does not allow for earth to be interpreted as an element here, since the dualism between heaven and earth is emphasised in the given passage. Such a connection between earth as an element and angels is generally not widely attested, if at all. Other angels are connected with all sorts of elements or natural phenomena in other passages of early Jewish writings. For instance, angels are associated with light in *Testament of Job* 4:1, or, in rabbinic literature, with wind (*Tg. 1 Kgs.* 19:11), earthquakes (*Tg. 1 Kgs.* 19:11), the sea (*b. Baba bathra* 74b; *p. Pesachim* 118b; *Midr. Gen. Rabba* 10:7d), the darkness (*Midr. Pesqitha Rabbathi* 20:95a), rain (*3 En.* 14:3), hail (*3 En.* 14:3; *Midrash Psalm* 117), lightning, thunder, snow, sun, moon and stars (*3 En.* 14:3), water (*Midrash Lament.* 2:2) and iron (*Midrash Lament.* 2:2, cp. *1 En.* 65:8).[20]

An angel of the invisible things is moreover preserved in Pseudo-Philo (*Ant. Bibl.* 27:10). A consideration concerning a connection between such an angel and the Aristotelian element "æther" is doomed to be mere speculation, since no evidence for this interpretation can possibly be provided. However, the material preserving the motif of angels being appointed over elements and natural phenomena provided above and the speculation concerning the angel of a realm of invisible things might raise two important questions: (1) Can one even assume a schema of 4 elements neglecting the classical Aristotelian view of 5 elements? And (2) can the assumption of a schema of 4 angels being connected to the four classical elements be established on basis of the material observed?

(1) The attempt to establish a model of four angels and their connection to "the four elements" (earth, fire, water and air)[21] seems to neglect certain aspects of a classical concept of what an element represents: Certainly, earth, wind, fire and water

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[19] Cp. similarly AUNE: *Revelation 6-16*, 451.
[20] Cp. MICHL: "Engel", 86-87 and 94.
[21] YARBRO COLLINS: "Tradition", 566.

are considered to be the four major elements in Greek philosophical abstracts in a development from Anaxagoras to Empedocles. However, the number of στοιχεῖαι after the Presocratics is alternating, especially since the impact of aristotelic philosophy. In the metaphysical writings of Aristotle a further element is added, namely the æther. One might therefore wonder if aristotelic thoughts (concerning the fifth element) would be entirely absent from the traditions of angels and their responsibility for elelements if the presence of four elements from Greek philosophy is considered to have had an impact on Jewish and Christian writings. In other words, the assumption of only four elements from Greek philosophy having an influence on a traditional schema for no apparent reason neglects the possibility of a fifth element. An exclusion of æther for an assumed impact of Greek philosophy on an assumed schema without any reason seems inappropriate.

At the same time, the weakness of an assumption of "the four elements" and their link with angels might be based on presupposition of latter discussions on such a connection. In early Jewish and Christian documents the presence of a schema of the four elements being aligned to four angels could not be established without a doubt. Even the existence of remainders of such a tradition in early Jewish and Christian writings seems questionable. However, a development of aligning angels to the four elements must have taken place. The influence of earlier Greek philosophy on those Jewish and Christian writings up to the third Century CE cannot be sufficiently proven. Nevertheless, in later cabbalistic[22] or other occult and esoteric writings a fixed schema allocates the four elements to varying angels.[23] However, for the current discussion it is

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[22] See for evidence the collection of cabbalistic texts gathered by KNORR VON ROSENROTH: *Kabbala.*

[23] For instance in the occult 16th century writing *De Occulta Philosophica* II:7 by Heinrich Cornelius AGRIPPA connects Michael with fire, Raphael with air, Gabriel with water and Uriel with earth. A similar connection is also made in an alchemical illustration, Ripley's wheel, in *Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum* (1652). Further, a distribution of elements and angels can be seen in *Calendarium Naturale Magicum* (1620), where Raphael represents fire, Michael the air, Gabriel water and Uriel earth. (Even in literature one might find examples for a connection between angels and elements: In SHAKESPEARE's

only relevant to acknowledge that a schema of four angels with their appointment of four elements has been developed. The starting point of this development is by no means a traditional schema of this distribution in traditional early Jewish or Christian writings as such, though. The number of four angels might have been derived at a later time from a schema of four archangels (*1 En.* 9:1, *Apc. Mos.* 40, *Apc. Esdr.* 6:2), four throne angels (Ezek 1:5-26), or four angels being held responsible for the four directions (or the four corners of the world, like the angels in Apc 7:1[24]) or seasons (*1 En.* 82:10, *Jub.* 2:2). Into such a schema a *constructed* responsibility for these angels over four major elements might then fit well.

(2) The appointment of angels for controlling certain elemental powers or the view that angels are made of certain elements can certainly be established by the amount of passages provided above. However, it should have become apparent at the same time that such traditional material does certainly not allow for a simplistic view of angels' limited control of only 4 traditional elements (namely fire, water, air and earth). On the contrary, angels have been considered to be responsible for all kinds of other elements or natural phenomena as well, such as light, thunder and lightning, iron and other substances or occurences which cannot be directly linked to fire, water, earth or air. Moreover, almost none of the passages dealing with angels and corresponding elements – with a possible exception of *1 Enoch* – refers to four angels related to the four classical elements. Most of the time, only one or two elements are directly related to angels, in many cases depending on the traditions based on Ps 104 connecting angels with fire and wind. This observation makes the assumed existence of a schema of angels being connected to four traditional elements already appear quite unlikely. Even in case of *1 Enoch* an assumption of such a schema seems to be too constructed for two more

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The Tempest Ariel is labelled as a wind-spirit.) These distributions apparently lack the background of early Jewish and Christian tradition. More examples from esoteric and freemasonic writings might probably exist.

reasons: Angels in *1 Enoch* are not related to the four elements as such, though links between angels and elemental forces are widely dispersed in this writing. However, the connection provided by the author of *1 Enoch* is by no means part of a schema where angels are linked to so called classical elements, since (A) certain elements such as air or earth are not ascribed to the control of angels, elements which are even barely present in this writing and (B) other angels seem to overlap being in charge of what could be considered as elements, barely providing a very exclusive portrait of angels assumed to be part of a "traditional schema" (i.e. next to an angel of water, other angels are portrayed as being associated with hail, rain, dew or other forms of water). The impression one may get from the employment of a portrait of angels and their powers over certain natural forces in *1 Enoch* is twofold. Apparently, in most occurences, angels who have control over elements or natural forces simply seem to reflect on how God's will is performed in his creation. Angels therefore either carry out God's natural order by watching over these forces,[25] or they use them with divine permission in order to carry out his will in judgement (i.e. for instance punishment with fire). A specific interest in angels and an emphasis on them controlling only certain powers limited to those who might elswhere represent 4 classical elements cannot be derived here. The focus appears in turn to be on God (and his servants) as being in power of all things. The interest of cosmological concerns outrules a specific interest in limited elemental speculations.

Similarly, it also seems absurd to assume a schema of four elements and angels being in charge of them in *The Book of Jubilees*. Firstly, angels are responsible for various tasks and natural forces in this writing, a clear schema of four elements and four angels aligned with them is not elaborated. Secondly, a clear connection of angels and the elements earth and air would have to be constructed from certain spirits in *Jubilees*

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[24] Cp. AUNE: *Revelation 6-16*, 450.

2:2. However, such an identification cannot be warranted from the text. Finally, it would be surprising to find a schema of four elements - probably derived from Greek philosophy - preserved in a Jewish writing which so openly opposes Hellenistic ideas.

Also in other passages mentioned above, a connection between angels and a limited pool of only four elements cannot be observed. Occasionally angels are described as being in charge of a vast numbers of elements (or other natural phenomena), not necessarily including all of the four classical elements of fire, air, earth and water (e.g. *2* and *3 En.*). In other writings the control of angels over elemental forces is limited and reduced to an elect number. The number of elements ascribed to angels nowhere matches an even four (or five) as one might find in Greek philosophical writings. A connection between these Greek and early Jewish writings is, in addition, also almost impossible to prove in most cases. Therefore, the existence of a schema of four angels appointed to four elements remains an assumption which cannot be given undoubtful evidence. Most examples of angels and their powers concerning natural forces rather seem to represent a means of expressing God's government of his creation which is reflected by his servants, the angels, who are put in charge of certain areas. Thus, the connection of angels and elements is used to indicate God's power in all areas of creation. Such an image of God's will carried out throughout his creation is then probably also preserved in the Apocalypse, especially in Apc 16, where numerous angels with power over water are present. Despite this mainly cosmological concept of angelology, one can also see in the background certain traditions of some of the passages listed above. Especially the tradition based on Ps 104 and later explanations of this Hebrew Bible text have heavily influenced descriptions of a connection between angels and elemental powers, namely fire and wind. This tradition might also have been

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[25] See similarly GRÖZINGER: "Engel III", 587.

adopted in the Apocalypse, where angels are – as indicated above – aligned to fire (Apc 8:3-5, and more evidently in Apc 14:18) and to winds (Apc 7:1).

Since the connection between angels and elemental forces in general is nevertheless a traditional concept that has been preserved in the Apocalypse, certain traditional traits of angels have also been adapted: the function of angels as God's servants, which is not only visible by their commission but also in the limitations imposed on the areas of their activity. Moreover, while angels are only concerned with certain areas of creation, Christ's achievement of salvation for the whole world is emphasised (cp. 3:14 and 13:8). Indeed, one might compare the setting of the Apocalypse with the contrast between the angels' limited powers and Christ's universal powers in Hebrews 1:5-14, where such a distinction between Christ and angels is expressed on a similar basis.[26]

[26] Cp. similarly LANE: *Hebrews 1-8*, 23-33.

Appendix 3

Wirkungsgeschichte of Apc 14

A direct influence of the angelomorphic Christology of Revelation on an emerging angel-Christology in later Christian writings can hardly be established. A hint that the Christology of the Apocalypse might have been influential in the region of Asia Minor has possibly been preserved in writings of Justin Martyr: In *Apologia* I 6:2 Christ is related to angels, notably by the words ἄλλων ... ἀγγέλων,[1] similar to Apc 14:15. More explicit designations for Christ as an angel can be found in *Apologia* I 63:19 and *Dialogus* 34:2; 127:4.

A certain proximity between the christological concepts of Revelation and the *Shepherd of Hermas* can also be observed: A prominent figure in the latter text is the "Son of God" (cp. Apc 1:6) who is referred to as an angel (e.g. in Sim. VII 1:2; VIII 1:2; Mand. V 1:7). Despite the use of the "Son of God" title, which might tempt to regarding this prominent figure as Christ, surprisingly, an identification as the angel Michael is made (Sim. VIII 3:3). Possibly, the author of the *Shepherd of Hermas* failed to integrate angelological and christological traditional material without avoiding any conflict.[2] Such an emphasis on angelological ideas in this writing is certainly indebted to early Jewish concepts of angelology.[3] This strong link almost begs the question whether or not a well organised christological concept is present in the *Shepherd of Hermas*.[4] However, the angelic figure seems to be depicted in a way which distinguishes him

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[1] Cp. BARBEL: *Christos*, 50-51. For a close connection between Revelation and Justin Martyr see KRETSCHMAR: *Trinitätstheologie*, 213 n. 8.
[2] Cp. GRILLMEIER: *Christus*, 152.
[3] Cp. BROX: *Hermas*, 491.
[4] Cp. for this proposal STAATS: "Hermas", 100-108.

from traditional Jewish descriptions of Michael.[5] Some similarities between Revelation and the *Shepherd of Hermas* might exist (e.g. the identification of the "Son of God" as an angel), but the differences between the two christological concepts are apparent: While Christ in Revelation is given angelomorphic characteristics, it is not clear in *Shepherd of Hermas* if Michael retains his own identity or has been coalesced into Christ himself,[6] that is, whether this angelic being has been absorbed into Christology.[7] A further feature marks the differences between Revelation and *Shepherd of Hermas*: the latter does not contain a refusal of worship by an angel. Unlike Revelation, therefore, *Shepherd of Hermas* does not make an effort to distinguish clearly between the status of Christ on the one hand and the status of a prominent angel on the other.

Another document containing an angelomorphic Christology is *Ascension of Isaiah*. However, a direct influence of Revelation on this Apocalypse cannot be assumed, since evidence for a parallel christological structure between both texts is meagre. Analogous to Revelation, the Christology of *Ascension of Isaiah* is indebted to Jewish angelology.[8] Especially the depiction of Christ as a heavenly being analogous to angels in Apc 1:13-14 and 14:14 is reminiscent of the presentation of Christ in *Ascension of Isaiah* 9:27 [E].[9] The use of christological titles in both apocalypses might also be considered similar: The description of Christ as a Lamb on the one hand, and as an angelomorphic juridical figure on the other (see below), corresponds with a twofold portrait of Christ in *Ascension of Isaiah*, where Christ is the "Beloved One" in a more messianic sense, while he is designated as "Son" or "Jesus" in relation to the earthly

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[5] Cp. GRILLMEIER: *Christus*, 153, GIESCHEN: *Angelomorphic*, 214-228 and HANNAH: *Michael*, 187-192.
[6] Cp. BAKKER: "Christ", 257-258.
[7] Cp. DENKER: *Petrusevangelium*, 106-107.
[8] Cp. KNIGHT: *Disciples*, 146, NORELLI: *Ascensio*, 483-487, SIMONETTI: "Note", 185-209 and PESCE "Presupposti", 13-76.
[9] Cp. KNIGHT: *Disciples*, 142-143.

Christ.[10] However, a dependency of *Ascension of Isaiah* on Revelation cannot be assumed on the basis of these parallels.

The influence of Revelation, though, might be seen in later recensions of *Ascension of Isaiah*, namely in the "old Latin" versions. While the longer and probably original recension preserved in Ethiopic (E) describes an almost docetic birth narrative, starting with the introduction "et ego vere vidi", the Slavic (S) and second Latin (L^2) recensions refer briefly to one like a son of man who exists in the world without being recognized.[11] The cicumlocution of Christ as being one like a son of man reminds of Apc 1:13 and 14:14. A table of the various traditions can help to identify the probable influence of Revelation here:

Figure 6: <u>Comparison between the Latin versions of Daniel 7:13; Apc 1:12-13; 14:14; *Ascension of Isaiah* 11:2:</u>

			***Asc. Isa.* 11,2**	
Dan 7:13	**Apc 1:12-13**	**Apc 14:14**	**L^2**	**S**
Aspiciebam	viderem	et vidi et ecce	Et vidi	Et ecce vidi
... et ecce...	...	...		
quasi	similem	similem	similem	similem ut
filius hominis	Filio hominis	Filio hominis	filii hominis	filium hominis
...	...	...	...	...

The similarities between the Latin text of Apc 14 and the S and to some extent the L^2 version of *Ascension of Isaiah* are striking, since the vocabulary employed is almost identical.[12] A possible influence of the Latin Daniel 7:13 recension seems

[10] Cp. KNIGHT: *Disciples*, 154-155 and GIESCHEN: *Angelomorphic*, 238-239.
[11] Cp. KNIGHT: *Disciples*, 66.
[12] For the dependence of S and L^2 on Apc 1:12-13 and 14:14 see also NORELLI: *Ascensio*, 536-537. However, NORELLI neglects the strong influence of the Latin tradition of Revelation on these versions.

unlikely, because the main verb and the circumlocution of the Son of Man title differs from S and L^2.

A similar concept as the angelomorphic Christology from Revelation can be found in *Apocalypse of Peter* 6. Here Christ is portrayed similarly ambiguous to the description given in Apc 1:7-20 and 14:14. Christ is accompanied by angels who seem to share his status (sitting at his right on the same throne). An influence of Revelation on *Apocalypse of Peter* and the Christology within is apparent: As in Apc 1 and 14 two visions of Christ's return are provided in the *Apocalypse of Peter* 2 and 6. Also the features and attributes mentioned in the two visions are almost identical. Christ is coming on a cloud, is accompanied by angels, has a crown, he is shining like the sun and has a juridical function. Further, the people moan at his arrival (*Apc. Petr.* 2; cp. Apc 1:7; Mt 24:30). Moreover, the works of the people are significant for the process of judging them (*Apc. Petr.* 6, cp. Apc 14:13); the means of punishment is fire (*Apc. Petr.* 6; Apc 14:10). These combined features are elsewhere only present in Revelation. Dan 7 can therefore not be the tradition in the background of *Apocalypse of Peter* 2 and 6. Accordingly, we may almost certainly assume that the Christology of the *Apocalypse of Peter* is indebted to the concept of the Apocalypse of John.

An influence of the angelomorphic Christology of Revelation has also possibly been preserved in a fragment of the lost writings of Irenaeus of Lyons. In Fragment LIII[13] Christ is designated as "Angel between angels" which is reminiscent of Apc 14:6-20. He is also the "Shepherd of those who are saved" as in Apc 14:1-5 and 7:17. The following description of Christ as "Bridegroom of the Church" recalls Apc 19:7-9. However, since other references to Christ in this passage are made from Hebrew Bible traditions, the influence of Revelation's Christology on Irenaeus' writing cannot be established with certainty.

Other early Christian texts describe Christ in angelomorphic or angelic categories. For instance, in the *Pseudo-Clementines* Christ is ascribed the role of an archangel and becomes identified with Michael (see e.g. *Rec.* II:42). However, similarities between this writing and Revelation do probably not exist; the angelomorphic Christology from the *Pseudo-Clementines* is derived from traditions about the Angel of the Lord.[14]

Similarly, other early Christian authors describe Christ in angelomorphic features, as for instance possibly in *Gospel of Thomas* (Logion 13)[15] or in *Gospel of Peter* 10.[16] In other patristic literature Christ is also occasionally referred to as angelic being, e.g. Lactantius (*Institut. div.* IV.14.17-18), Methodius of Olympus (*Symp.* 3.4), Clement of Alexandria (*Paid.* 1.7), Origen (*De Princ.* I 3.4), Novatian (*De Trin.* 19)[17] or – depending on the tradition of the Angel of the Great Counsel – Hippolytus of Rome (*Comm. in Dan.* 1-3), Origen (*Comm. on Joh.* 1.277).[18] Eusebius (*Praep. Evang.* 7.5), Victorinus of Pettau interpreting Apc 10 christologically (*Comm. in Apoc. 10*) or Dionysius the Areopagite (*Hier.* IV 181 D). At times, authors even warn of an angelic understanding of Christ, as is reflected in Tertullian (*De Carne Christi* 14.5). In Arrian circles, Christ might also have been interpreted as angelic being, as witnessed by Athanasius (*Orat. contra Arianos* 1.56). However, in none of the passages mentioned above a connection to the Christology of Revelation can be established. Christ is either understood as angel only insofar as he functions as a messenger, or insofar as he represents the Angel of the Great Counsel (e.g. derived from Isa 9:6 LXX).[19]

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[13] For the text see GIESCHEN: *Angelomorphic*, 192 n. 11 and ROBERTS; DONALDSON: *Fathers*, 1.577.
[14] Cp. GIESCHEN: *Angelomorphic*, 210.
[15] Cp. KARRER: *Johannesoffenbarung*, 148 n. 44.
[16] Cp. DENKER: *Petrusevangelium*, 102-106.
[17] Cp. SCHEIDWEILER: "Engelchristologie", 126-139.
[18] Cp. further TRIGG: "Angel", 35-51.
[19] See for a very thorough discussion of the above mentioned passages and further patristic literature BARBEL: *Christos*, 50-192 and 335-338. See also GIESCHEN: *Angelomorphic*, 189-199.

Appendix 4

Angels, Stars and Planets – a Meaning for Christology?

A connection between angels and astronomy is, of course, not only present in Apc 19:17 where the angel is standing in the sun, but also in a number of other passages within the Apocalypse. For instance, in Apc 1:20 (and also in Apc 2:1) angels are explicitly identified as stars. These stars are notably held in Christ's right hand (Apc 1:16). One might wonder whether or not this feature of the angels being held indicates a certain degree of subordination of angels towards Christ. The reference to the stars, which are then immediately unveiled as angels, as being held by Christ seems to propose that these angels are indeed subordinated to Christ. A further hint for this assumption is the fact that the angels (represented by stars in Apc 1:20-2:1) are additionally mentioned as angels of the community in Apc 2-3. Each of the seven communities addressed apparently has an its angel responsible for his community. In turn, Christ is responsible for all the communities, which can be seen not only because he gives the command to address all the angels in Apc 2-3, but also because his responsibility is even further expressed in the imagery of the wedding in Apc 19-21. Other features which will be examined now seem to favour the interpretation that John possibly also related Christ and angels with each other by imagery derived from astronomical traditions.

In general, a connection between angels and stars (or occasionally planets) is widely attested. Angels can either be angels of certain stars, as in *1 Enoch* 72:1-3; 74:2; 75:3; 82:7-8; *2 Enoch* 4; 19:2, or the stars themselves can represent angel-like beings, as

in *1 Enoch* 18:13; 21:3.[1] In the *Greek Magical Papyri* an equation of stars and angels can also be found (*PGM* I.72;[2] VII.796-801; XIII.144-47; XIII.449-453).[3]

A connection of angels and stars in the Apocalypse is provided in the description of the Angel of the Abyss (Apc 9:11) who is described as a fallen star in Apc 9:1. The portrait of an angel as a fallen star gives evidence that the myth of the fallen angels – as for instance in 1 *Enoch* 18:13; 21:6 - has been preserved in the Apocalypse. It should be emphasised here that the other falling star in the Apocalypse (Apc 8:10-11) is not necessarily an angel. In turn, the phenomenon of this particular star can be explained exclusively on astronomical grounds: The star's name Ἄψινθος ("Vermouth") and its poisenous effect on earth might be an allusion to the plant ἀρτεμισία, of which vermouth is a species ("Artemisia Absinthium"), and its connection with the constellation of Scorpio.[4] The description of this falling star as a burning torch might also reflect a traditional description for a comet: A comet named Torch is, for instance, also mentioned in writings of *Nechepso-Petosiris*.[5] An angelological concern therefore seems to be out of question in 8:10-11.

The image of the fallen star as representing a fallen angel might have further implications in the Apocalypse. A sharp contrast to such imagery might have been provided deliberately in Apc 22:16, where Christ is described as the "morning star" (ὁ ἀστήρ ὁ λαμπρὸς ὁ πρωϊνός). Such a reference certainly recalls Hebrew Bible passages with a messianic meaning as Numbers 24:17 or Isaiah 60:3.[6] A messianic interpretation

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[1] Cp. MICHL: "Engel", 71, LUEKEN: *Michael*, 55-56 and MACH: *Entwicklungsstadien*, 178-179.
[2] This text is reminiscent of Mt 2:1-12 where the three wise men follow the star to Bethlehem. However, the angelophany occurs here in Mt 2:19 after the vision of the star. Therefore, angelological concerns appear not to be connected directly with an astronomical phenomenon in Mt 2. The appearance of the star seems to represent an interpretation of Num 24:17, probably similar to Apc 22:16, but not linked to angelology by Matthew. See DAVIES and ALLISON: *Matthew*, 234-235.
[3] *PGM* XIII.144-47, and similarly *PGM* XIII.449-453, are in analogy to Apc 1:20, because the stars are similarly revealed as angels, cp. AUNE: *Revelation 1-5*, 167.
[4] See for this explanation BOLL: *Offenbarung*, 41-42.
[5] See for this material MALINA: *Revelation*, 283-284. A connection between the Apocalypse and this particular text cannot be established, though.
[6] Cp. KRAFT: *Offenbarung*, 281.

seems even more likely in light of Christ's self-description as ἡ ῥίζα καὶ τὸ γένος Δαυίδ in Apc 22:16. This designation, already attributed to Christ in Apc 5:5 (together with an allusion to Genesis 49:9), supports a messianic interpretation of the designation of Christ as a morning star.[7] Despite the clearly messianic meaning of such a designation of Christ, a deliberate contrast to the angel from Apc 9 might have been intended at the same time: As the angel in Apc 9, Christ is associated with a star as well. In contrast to the fallen angel, though, Christ receives a special designation, namely that of the morning star (i.e. the Venus). A connection between angels and the morning star can also be found in Job 38:7 where the Sons of El (ἄγγελοι) praise God along with all morning stars.[8] Further, the morning star also appears at the beginning of an angelophany in *Joseph and Aseneth* 14:2. Especially a reference in *3 Enoch* 21:4 provides an interesting parallel, since in this passage some angelic creatures are not only described as emitting brightness like the morning star, but are furthermore attributed crowns (cp. Christ in Apc 14:14; 19:12) and a face shining like a sun (cp. Apc 1:16). (Elsewhere, we find the designation as a morning star applied to Mordecai in *Tg. Esth.* 10:3.) This feature as such might therefore hint at an angelomorphic understanding of the relation between angels and stars in the Apocalypse, now applied to Christ. However, it seems exaggerated to regard this feature simply as an angelomorphic aspect of Christology. Christ does, in turn, represent far more than an angel in Apc 22:16, because he is said to be in command of angels (Apc 22:16a), and he is also the brightest of the stars, which further hints at a superior position.[9] Perhaps one may even consider the designation of Christ as the morning star in Apc 22 as a deliberate attempt to contrast Christ with the angel in Apc 9. As has been noted in section 3.1.2.6., the fallen

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[7] Num 24:17 and Isa 11:1-10, together with Gen 49:10-11, probably form a group of messianic proof-texts, which have been adopted by early Christians. See also AUNE: *Revelation 17-22*, 1226-1227. See further HORBURY: *Messianism*, 92-93 and MOORE: "Jesus", 82-91.

[8] In some LXX writings of Job 9:7 stars and angels are also connected, cp. for this MACH: *Entwicklungsstadien*, 182.

angel of Apc 9 may represent a parody of Christ who is not a fallen angel. Instead, he is labelled as the brightest star, namely the morning star. It is noteworthy that Isaiah 14:12 refers to the morning star as fallen. Though John would certainly have known this Hebrew Bible passage, an allusion to it seems out of question as he would not have designated Christ as a fallen star.[10] It has been considered that the Venus was a common symbol for victory and power in antiquity,[11] but no proper evidence for this theory has been given. The prominence of the Venus in the Middle East[12] is probably more significant for the author's choice to attribute it to Christ. The Venus - along with sun and moon - was considered to be one of the biggest celestial bodies. As sun and moon were darkened before in the narrative of the Apocalypse (Apc 6:12; 8:12) and even described as redundant in the New Jerusalem (Apc 21:23), the designation of the morning star seems a rather logical choice of John. This also corresponds with the reference to God and the Lamb as lamps in the New Jerusalem in Apc 22:5.

Further attempts have been made of connecting Christ in the Apocalypse with astronomical phenomena. For instance, the appearance of Christ as a horseman in Apc 19 has been considered to represent a comet called "Horseman" which is mentioned in *Nechepso-Petosiris* (frag. 9).[13] This comet is identified as the Venus, which could lead one to think of a connection between Christ being the Venus represented as a horseman in Apc 19 and the same designation in Apc 22:16. Such an assumption, though, can hardly be established. Despite the fact that it is rather doubtworthy that John knew such a passage where the Venus is represented by a horseman, no further parallels of attributes between Christ in Apc 19 and the Venus in *Nechepso-Petosiris* can be

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[9] The designation of the morning star is possibly a metaphor for the divine light emmitted by Christ as in John 8:12, cp. BOLL: *Offenbarung*, 48.
[10] See also HOLTZ: *Christologie*, 157 and BOLL: *Offenbarung*, 47.
[11] See LOHSE: *Offenbarung*, 32. HEMER: *Letters*, 125-126 and HOLTZ: *Christologie*, 158.
[12] See for this MALINA: *Revelation*, 249-250 and BOLL: *Offenbarung*, 48.
[13] See for this attempt to establish a connection between Christ and a star MALINA: *Revelation*, 225-226.

observed. Therefore, one can certainly dismiss the speculative assumption of an astronomical interpretation of Apc 19.[14]

Another attempt of finding such a connection between astronomy and Christ has been undertaken in the case of the Lamb: The reference to Christ as the Lamb in Apc 5 (and following passages) has been interpreted as an allusion to the constellation Aries (derived from the Greek expression ἄρης or the Phoenician *Taleh*).[15] The evidence for such an interpretation is thin, though, as a connection between the Lamb's features and astronomical interests cannot be established without a doubt.[16] Moreover, rather questionable passages (i.e. passages with a rather late date or no visible connection to the Apocalypse) have to be considered in order to assume a link between astronomy and the Lamb. And finally, it needs to be said that the attempt to connect Lamb imagery to astronomy completely neglects the *Vorlagen* from the Hebrew Bible.

Similarly, the attempt of regarding the angel-like 24 elders from Apc 4 as an astronomical feature has to be dismissed: Their number might be derived from 24 stars in Babylonian astrology,[17] but one cannot assume such a knowledge in the Apocalypse. Additionally, an influence from the Hebrew Bible (e.g. 1 Chr 23) is again not taken into consideration. In other words, the number of 24 elders might possibly be rooted in astrological backgrounds, but the author of the Apocalypse was certainly not aware of this.

An identical conclusion probably has to be repeated in case of the 4 living beings surrounding God's throne in Apc 4: The descriptions of the beings might have originated in babylonian astrological concepts[18] and may have led to the description of those beings as lion, eagle, ox and man. But again, we can certainly not assume that

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[14] Against MALINA: *Revelation*, 225-226.
[15] See for this interpretation MALINA: *Revelation*, 101-104 and BOLL: *Offenbarung*, 44-47.
[16] For a rejection of BOLL's arguments see also FREUNDORFER: *Astrologie*, passim.
[17] Cp. BOLL: *Offenbarung*, 35-36 and MALINA: *Revelation*, 93-97 for this proposal.
[18] See BOLL: *Offenbarung*, 36-38 and MALINA: *Revelation*, 97-100.

John was aware of this concept, as he probably adapted this idea from the Ezekielian *Vorlage* (Ezek 1:5-14) anyhow.

At this point, it may also be relevant to discuss briefly the meaning of the expression "midheaven" (ἐν μεσουρανήματι) which occurs three time in the Apocalypse (Apc 8:13, 14:6 and 19:17). It has been argued that the use of this expression can possibly also be traced back to astronomical backgrounds of the Apocalypse. The expression "midheaven" apparently has some prominence in texts referring to astronomical concerns, as is for instance expressed in Firmicius Maternus' *Mathesis* 3.1.17-18.[19] As two of the occurences of ἐν μεσουρανήματι in Revelation are related to angels (namely in Apc 14:6, and more subtile in Apc 19:17), one might wonder whether or not the author deliberately connected astronomy and angelology here. The answer to this question is rather simple as the author nowhere directly relates the mentioned angels with corresponding stars. Therefore, an astronomical concern does not appear to be in the author's mind in the given passages. Again, one can assume that the "midheaven" might have an astronomical background, especially in Apc 8:13,[20] but it remains questionable if a link between angels and stars is in view in the author's composition of Apc 14:6 or Apc 19:17.

A final feature that may be worth examining in the current discussion is the description of angels from Apc 16, where an angel is pouring his bowl out over the sun (Apc 16:8). Notably, another angel pours his bowl out over a planet, namely the angel in Apc 16:2 who directs his actions against the earth. A deliberately constructed connection between angels and planets can be almost certainly denied, though, because both angels are part of a chain of seven plagues directed against the earth. The other five angels who perform their task are not connected with any astronomical motifs.

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[19] See for discussions of this text and its meaning for astronomy BOLL: *Offenbarung*, 38-39 (concerning the meaning of "midheaven" in Apc 8:13 and 19:17) and MALINA: *Revelation*, 102 (concerning the position of Aries).

Moreover, nothing in Apc 16 warrants an identification of these angels with the planets. rather their actions are directed against them. Therefore, an assumption of the angels from Apc 16:2 and 8 being deliberately associated with astronomy would appear to be very unreasonable.

We may summarize the above as follows: Angels are frequently mentioned alongside stars or even planets. However, a deliberate attempt of the author to associate or even identify angels with those stars cannot be generally attested. In most cases attempts to establish a link between angels and stars remains questionable, especially since assumed connections could be better explained on the basis of Hebrew Bible passages which have probably influenced certain images in the Apocalypse. Astronomical concerns may have influenced those passages of the Hebrew Bible (or are perhaps just parallel to their content), but under no circumstances can a connection between these older (e.g. Babylonian) concepts and Revelation be proven.

The reference to angels in Apc 1:20-2:1 might be an exception to this, because here an identification of these angels as stars is explicitly made. This statement also had significance for the concept of the author's Christology: The angels are clearly subordinated to Christ not only here, but possibly also through the reference to Christ as the morning star in Apc 22:16, since Christ receives the predicate of the brightest and most important stars of all. The notion of Christ and angels in connection with stars does therefore not seem to aim at astronomical concerns of the author, but rather at a christological and respectively angelological concept, which – in a rather metaphorical way – demonstrates the author's view on Christ's superiority over angels.

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[20] Cp. BOLL: *Offenbarung*, 38-39 and AUNE: *Revelation 6-16*, 535.

Appendix 5

The Colours White and Gold in the Apocalypse

Since the colours gold (χρυσός) and white (λευκός) are often mentioned in the Apocalypse in a context that is apparently reminiscent of angels - for instance in Apc 4:4 where the 24 elders wear white robes and golden wreaths, or also in Apc 14:14 where Christ is coming on a white cloud also possessing a golden crown - one might wonder whether or not the combination of white and gold in the Apocalypse might reflect an element with angelomorphic connotations.

Accordingly, it might be worth investigating the possibility of the existence of a colour scheme of white and gold as an angelomorphic feature on the basis of other early Jewish and early Christian writings featuring this combination of colours, and also on basis of the Apocalypse itself.

In early Jewish writings and Hebrew Bible, an association of angels with the colour white may certainly be established. Often angels are portrayed as being clothed in linen, as for instance in Ezekiel 9:2-11; 10:2; Daniel 10:5; 12:6.[1] More explicitly, an association of angels with white can be seen in *Testament of Levi* 8:2 and 2 Maccabees 11:8,[2] or in *1 Enoch* 71:1 and *2 Enoch* 1:5; 22:8[3]. However, clothing of angels is not exclusively portrayed as white. An angel can occasionally be depicted wearing garments of other extraordinary colours, as for instance the crimson garment of Yahoel in *Apocalypse of Abraham* 11:2.

As a possible reminiscence of white angelic clothes, white garments could have been given to initiates in Qumran as reflected in 1QS col. iv 7-8 or in Josephus' *Bellum*

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[1] Cp. MICHL: "Engel", 69 and MACH: *Entwicklungsstadien*, 58.
[2] See also AUNE: *Revelation 1-5*, 293 and MICHL: "Engel", 69.
[3] Cp. MICHL: *Ältesten*, 21.

Judaicorum 2:123.137.[4] Against an overall angelic interpretation of white garments, it seems exaggerated, though, to regard white clothing as an exclusively angelic feature. Adaptation of the motif of certain figures or groups wearing white clothing indicates a participation in the heavenly world, maybe even an exaltation, but not necessarily a transfiguration of a figure into an angel. It has to be stressed that the white germent might be an optional feature of angels, but it is not cumpulsoraly present in scenarios which report angelic appearances, in some scenarios the figures bearing white garment are moreover clearly men.[5]

The New Testament literature seems to confirm that garments of angels are portrayed as white, as for instance Mark 16:5; Acts 1:10;[6] Matthew 28:3 or John 20:12.[7] Furthermore, such a tradition might be preserved in the Apocalypse itself, for example in Apc 1:14; 19:14.[8] Therefore, it is at first glance tempting to regard the colour white as an angelic attribute, or even to think that mention of the colour denotes an angelomorphic context. However, such a specific interpretation of white is doubtful for several reasons: Firstly, this colour can be applied in a non-angelic context in the Apocalypse, as for instance the stone in Apc 2:17[9], the horse of the rider in Apc 6:2 or God's throne in Apc 20:11. Moreover, "white" functions generally as an expression referring to cleanness or purity; as such, it is often applied to clothing as is reflected in Apc 3:4.5.18; 6:11; 7:9.13-14. Certainly, the white garment attributed to the 24 elders in Apc 4:4 does not exclude the possibility that they can be understood as angelic beings.[10]

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[4] Cp. FLETCHER-LOUIS: *Luke-Acts*, 186 and AUNE: *Revelation 1-5*, 293.
[5] See also SATAKE: *Gemeindeordnung*, 142.
[6] Cp. FLETCHER-LOUIS: *Luke-Acts*, 40.
[7] See also MICHAELIS: "λευκός", 255. A connection between the appearance of Stephanus as an angelic figure in Act 6:15 and 7:55 has also been taken into consideration, cp. MACH: *Entwicklungsstadien*, 59 and FLETCHER-LOUIS: *Luke-Acts*, 96-98. Such a consideration remains doubtful, since the radiance of Stephanus' face is not explicitly described. A connection between clothing and a possible angelic character of Stephanus can certainly not be established, since the garment of Stephanus is not described.
[8] For an angelic interpretation of the heavenly host in Apc 19:14 see SATAKE: *Gemeindeordnung*, 141-142 and section 4.2.3.2.2. of this thesis.
[9] The colour of the stone in Apc 2:17 probably also alludes to purity and righteousness; cp. SLATER: *Community*, 129.
[10] See GRUENWALD: *Mysticism*, 65.

but such an interpretation seems unlikely for the contexts where members of the Christian communities are promised a white garment.[11] Here the garments certainly function to indicate the special status of those who follow Christ, linking them to the heavenly world.[12] The specific detail attributed to these garments is accordingly their bearers' deed to overcome. But also Christ's salvific deed is reflected since the garments are washed in the Lamb's blood.[13] Therefore, one might agree to regard the white garments mentioned in the Apocalypse as a metaphorical representation of the purity of the eschatological community in Apc 3 and 6-7. Occasionally, as in Apc 4:4 and 19:14, an angelic interpretation, or at least a close association, of the figures presented by means of wearing white clothing is also possible.

In other passages of the Apocalypse, the colour white might also indicate juridical powers, as can be seen in Apc 14:14 where Christ is coming on a white cloud. The reference to the white cloud, the portrait of Christ sitting on it, and especially the other features (i.e. Christ bearing a sickle and numerous other harvest metaphors) have to be interpreted almost certainly as juridical features of Christ. Since the judgement described in Apc 14 is an eschatological event, it appears logical to regard the colour as a symbol for a connotation of Christ with heaven.[14] Such an assumption can be supported with the presence of a white throne in Apc 20:11. The throne, elsewhere not specified with details concerning the colour, is unexpectedly described as white in Apc 20. In this eschatological vision of judgement the author stresses the radiance emitted by God and his throne, giving evidence of his own understanding of the white colour as a suitable attribute for eschatological-juridical and heavenly visions.[15] At the same time, it is notable that this shared feature of God and Christ as eschatological judges sitting on

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[11] See also MICHAELIS: "λευκός", 255.
[12] See for this interpretation als ULFGARD: *Future*, 1-85 and SATAKE: *Gemeindeordnung*, 140.
[13] Cp. SATAKE: *Gemeindeordnung* , 140-141.
[14] See similarly PARK: *Offenbarung*, 263. Cp. similarly for an interpretation of white as heavenly colour allowing for identifying the horseman from Apc 6:2 as Christ CULLMANN: *Christ*, 160-161.

a white "seat" (the white cloud for Christ in Apc 14. the horse in Apc 19 and the throne for God in Apc 20) actually seems to stress once more the equality between God and Christ. Therefore, a subordinate angelic interpretation of the colour white attributed to Christ (as one might easily assume) already appears to be unlikely.

Similar to the colour white, it might at first glance be intriguing to construe the colour gold as a typical angelic feature, since references are occasionally made to golden items held or worn by angels. For instance, gold in connection with angels can be seen in 2 Maccabees 3:25 and *2 Enoch* 1:5 [A]. In the Apocalypse the colour gold is also present in scenarios which reflect on the presence of angelic beings, except for the 24 elders in Apc 4 or the angelomorphic son of man like being in Apc 14, for instance in Apc 5:8 (the elders having golden bowls full of incense), Apc 8:3 (an angel with a golden censer), Apc 15:6 (the angels having golden girdles), Apc 15:7 (the angels having golden bowls), or the figure in Apc 21:15 (with a golden measuring rod). In the Christophanies of Apc 1 and 14, the colours white and gold might even appear to be linked together and would appear to represent an angelomorphic element in the description of Christ provided: In Apc 14:14 Christ is coming on a white cloud having a golden wreath on his head. In Apc 1:7-15 Christ is also coming on the cloud, having moreover white hair, and his feet are depicted as burnished bronze (χαλκολιβάνῳ ὡς ἐν καμίνῳ πεπυρωμένης). The latter attribute might not seem to allude to the golden colour in a very obvious way, though it may refer to it indirectly: Either the expression χαλκολιβάνῳ directly reflects on the character of the metal gold as a shiny alloy of gold and brass,[16] or it could be interpreted in light of its occurrence in the message to Laodicea (Apc 3:18). In the message, the author enjoins on the community to buy gold (from Christ) that is refined in the fire and also white clothes to wear. This exhortation

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[15] Cp. similarly PARK: *Offenbarung*, 265 and MICHAELIS: "λευκός", 256.
[16] Cp. MOUNCE: *Revelation*, 51. See for more detailed discussions of this expression AUNE: *Revelation 1-5*, 96 and HEMER: *Letters*, 111-117.

could also reflect on the description of Christ's feet in Apc 1:15 where the feet are described as gold-bronze (χαλκολιβάνῳ), which is notably further classified as "burning in a furnace" (ἐν καμίνῳ πεπυρωμένης). The radiance being emitted here might not simply be a metaphorical description drawing on imagery from a metalurgical refinery process, but it may even represent an allusion to a purifying refinement. Similar to the tendency of describing the promises to the true believers as being already fullfilled in Christ, it could be possible that the purification-process which is expected of the community in Laodicea in Apc 3:18 is alluded to as an event which has already happened to and by Christ. Further evidence for imagery of purifying gold is also preserved in the description of the New Jerusalem which is built of pure gold (χρυσίον καθαρόν) in Apc 21:18.21. Apparently, the dwelling place of the new community is also expected to be purified, which is depicted in refinement imagery. One might wonder whether or not the description of golden censer, as reflected in Apc 5:8 and 8:3 (and maybe even in Apc 15:7), also vaguely alludes to the theme of gold purified by fire. A somewhat more transparent connection of the elders in Apc 4-5 and the angels in Apc 15 with the topic of purity is also established on the basis of their priestly functions. In other words, the golden instruments or items held in these passages of Revelation might allude to the priestly function of certain figures (e.g. the 24 elders or the angels in Apc 15), and thus imply a pure status of these figures anyhow, since priests are traditionally portrayed as pure and clean (cp. Lev 21). Christ might share such priestly functions in Apc 1 as well. Moreover, Christ, bearing priestly attributes himself, is also the one explicitly making the people to priests by purchasing them with his blood (Apc 1:5; 5:8). Christ's blood also cleanses the garments of the people in Apc 7:14. The colours white and gold therefore seem to be connected with the themes of purity and priesthood. In any case, an assumption of the description of the feet in Apc 1 as an angelomorphic

feature can probably not be established on basis of the somewhat hidden presence of the colour gold.

The overall employment of the attribute "gold" in the Apocalypse also seems to exclude further possible evidence of it being a clearly angelomorphic attribute. For instance, the seven lampstands (Apc 1:12.20; 2:1) are identified as the communities John is addressing. An angelomorphic element is not apparent in this vision. Similarly, the golden Altar of God in Apc 9:13 clearly lacks a connection to angelic imagery. The fact that gold is not necessarily interpreted as angelomorphic or even as heavenly attribute is rather obvious in Apc 9:20 where idols (which are golden) are drastically rejected by the author. Even anti-divine powers can be portrayed with this attribute, as the dramatic scenarios in Apc 9 and 17-18 demonstrate: In Apc 9:7 the locust-warriors wear gold-like wreaths. These figures do however not leave the impression that they are angelic beings at all. The non-angelomorphic character of gold as a colour is emphasised more strongly in Apc 17:4 and 18:12.16 where the Great Whore Babylon (i.e. Rome) is attributed with gold. Here, the golden jewelry is applied to Babylon as a means of indicating the unclean character of a personified anti-divine power. The fact that gold is used here in order to show the impure character of Babylon becomes most apparent in Apc 17:4, where the golden cup of Babylon is filled with abominable things and the filth of her impureness (ἔχουσα ποτήριον χρυσοῦν ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτῆς γέμον βδελυγμάτων καὶ τὰ ἀκάθαρτα τῆς πορνείας αὐτῆς). The other details of the description of the way Babylon is dressed also add up to such an impression: In contrast to the clear and pure garments of the followers of Christ, Babylon is dressed in purple and scarlet, depicting her as an image of splendor, luxury and impurity.[17] Along with the description of Babylon's apparent wealth and the pompous way of dressing, an accusation of the Roman economical system is also made. This subtle kind of critique is

[17] Cp. MOUNCE: *Revelation*, 310-311 and BAUCKHAM: *Climax*, 354-357.

hidden in Apc 18:12. Gold and other precious goods named in a catalogue of trading goods represent typical Roman luxuries. Such wealth is – for being part of a system belonging to the Roman emperor cult – drastically rejected by John who gives these items a very negative connotation.[18]

Therefore, it cannot simply be argued that the colour gold reflects an angelomorphic feature or even a heavenly feature as such. The application of the colour gold in the Apocalypse is twofold: it is mainly a means to distinguish purity (on the side of the followers of Christ) and impurity (on the side of Babylon and anti-divine powers) from each other. Gold imagery can also be employed for heavenly and angelic beings (e.g. the 24 elders in Apc 4:4 or the angels in Apc 15:6-7). However, these features also seem to hint at an understanding of gold as a marker for purity since it is apparently exclusively pure figures who are described as bearing golden equipment.

An understanding of the two colours white and gold, even when taken together, cannot be interpreted as an image for alluding to angelomorphic features, since such an understanding depends on the circumstance in which the colours are employed by the author. Such context is – as demonstrated – not exclusively related to angelic material. Moreover, within the context of angelic figures being described, the two colours are not continuously mentioned together. They are linked only in very few occurences (e.g. Apc 1, Apc 4 or Apc 15). In these passages the focus seems to be on the exalted status of the figures described,[19] and does not appear to represent an angelic nature per se. In the other traditions mentioned where angels are described, white and gold do not occur together either. A traditional scheme of applying these colours distinctly to angels in order to describe an angelic feature is therefore unlikely. A primarily angelomorphic feature provided by the reference to these colours can accordingly hardly be derived.

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[18] Cp. BAUCKHAM: *Climax*, 350-371. See for the topic further KRAYBILL: *Cult*, passim.
[19] Cp. similarly SATAKE: *Gemeindeordnung*, 144.

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All abbreviations used in the bibliography are taken from those provided in: Siegfried M. Schwertner, *Internationales Abkürzungsverzeichnis fürTheologie und ihre Grenzgebiete (IATG²)* (Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter, ²1992). Underlined portions of titles are the abbreviations are used in the thesis.