

THE USE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT IN THE BOOK OF REVELATION

BY

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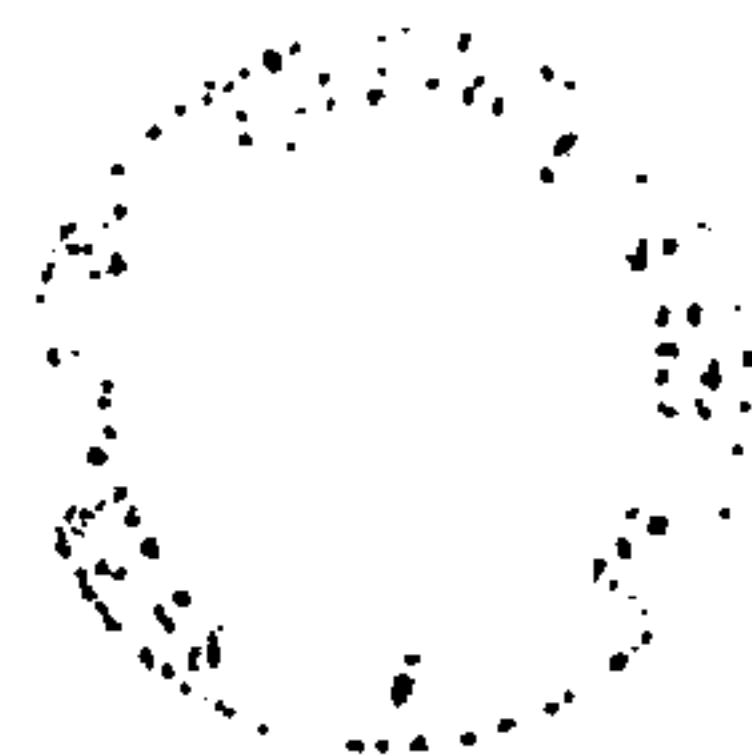
A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF ARTS
OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF BIRMINGHAM
FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Theology
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November 1993.

SYNOPSIS

The aim of this thesis is to explore the relationship between the new context that John provides for his allusions and their context in the OT. For example, did John choose scriptures to meet the needs of the recipients or did his meditation on the scriptures give him an unique insight into their situation? This is first explored in relation to Ramsay's theory that local knowledge of the seven churches led John to particular scriptures (ch.2), and the opposite view of Beale, that Revelation is a midrash on Daniel (ch.3). Ch.4 shows that John has followed Ezekiel to a considerable degree and in something like the same order. Nevertheless, there are also major discontinuities, such as his denial of the very thing (temple) that Ez 40-48 is all about. To do justice to this requires an interactive model and we develop this in two ways. Firstly, we look at the use of the OT at Qumran (ch.5), including a look at some 'allusive' texts like Revelation. Secondly, we use the literary concept of intertextuality to explore how texts relate to their subtexts (ch. 6). Ch.7 then looks at the question of whether John is dependent on Greek or Semitic sources for his allusions and comes to conclusions that challenge the prevailing consensus. We finish with a brief epilogue where we consider the significance of our study for the book of Revelation and for other 'Use of the OT' studies.



Total Number of Words = 77,000

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MAIN ABBREVIATIONS

- Barclay The Revelation of John, W.Barclay, Daily Study Bible, Revised, 2 Vols, Edinburgh: Saint Andrew Press, 1976.
- Bauckham The Climax of Prophecy. Studies on the Book of Revelation, R.Bauckham, Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1993.
- B.C.E. Before the Common Era (C.E.).
- BDB A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament, eds. F.Brown, S.R.Driver, C.A. Briggs, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975.
- Beasley-Murray The Book of Revelation, G.R.Beasley-Murray, New Century Bible Commentary, Revised Edition, London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1981.
- BHS Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia, eds. K.Elliger & W.Rudolph, Stuttgart, 1977.
- Boring Revelation. Interpretation. A Bible Commentary for Teaching and Preaching, Louisville: John Knox Press, 1989.
- Caird The Revelation of St.John the Divine, G.B.Caird, Black NT Commentary, 2nd Edition, London: A & C Black, 1984.
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- Davidson The Analytical Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon, B.Davidson, London: Bagster, 1956.
- DJD Discoveries in the Judaean Desert
- Eccl. Hist. The Ecclesiastical History, Eusebius, Penguin Edition: The History of the Church, London, 1989.
- ed(s). Editor(s)
- ET English Translation.
- Farrer The Revelation of St. John the Divine, A.Farrer, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964.
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- Karrer, M. Die Johannesoffenbarung als Brief, FRLANT 140, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986.
- Kiddle The Revelation of St. John, M.Kiddle, Moffatt NT Commentary, London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1940.
- KJV Authorized Version (King James) 1611.
- Krodel Revelation, G.A.Krodel, Augsburg Commentary on the NT, Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1989.
- Lambrecht L'Apocalypse johannique et L'apocalyptique dans le Nouveau Testament, ed. J.Lambrecht, Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1980.
- LXX The Septuagint Version
- Moffatt Revelation of St John the Divine, Expositor's Greek Testament V, London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1910.
- Moulton A Grammar of New Testament Greek. 1.Prolegomena, J.H.Moulton, 3rd Edition, Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1949.
- Mounce The Book of Revelation, R.H.Mounce, New International Commentary on the NT, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1977.
- MS(S) Manuscript(s)
- MT Masoretic Text
- NA26 Novum Testamentum Graece, eds. Aland, Black, Martini, Metzger, Wikgren. 26th Edition, Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelstiftung, 1979.
- NEB New English Bible 1970
- Rahlfs Septuaginta. Id est Vetus Testamentum graece iuxta LXX interpretes, ed. A.Rahlfs, 2 Vols, Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1935.
- Ramsay The Letters to the Seven Churches of Asia and Their Place in the Plan of the Apocalypse, W.M.Ramsay, London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1904.
- Rissi The Future of the World: An Exegetical Study of Revelation 19:11-22:5, M.Rissi, London: SCM, 1972 (ET of Die Zukunft der Welt: Eine exegetische Studie über Johannesoffenbarung 19.11-22.5, Basel: Friedrich Reinhardt, 1966).
- Ruiz Ezekiel in the Apocalypse: The Transformation of Prophetic Language in Revelation 16,17-19,10, Jean-Pierre Ruiz, Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1989.
- RSV Revised Standard Version 1952/71.

Sweet	<u>Revelation</u> , J.P.M. Sweet, TPI NT Commentaries, London: SCM, 1990.
Swete	<u>The Apocalypse of St. John</u> , H.B.Swete, 3rd Edition, London: Macmillan, 1911.
<u>TDNT</u>	<u>Theological Dictionary of the New Testament</u> (ET of G.Kittel's <u>Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament</u> , 10 Vols, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964-76.
Vermes	<u>The Dead Sea Scrolls in English</u> , ed. G.Vermes, 3rd Edition, London: Penguin, 1990.
Würthwein	<u>The Text of the Old Testament</u> , E.Würthwein, London: SCM, 1980 (ET of <u>Der Text des Alten Testaments</u> , 4th Edition, Stuttgart, 1973).
Ziegler	<u>Vetus Testamentum Graecum</u> , Societatis Litterarum Gottingensis, editum Vol 13-16, J.Ziegler: Isaias (1939) Duodecim Prophetae (1943) Ezechiel (1952) Susanna-Daniel-Bel et Draco (1953) Ieremias,Baruch,Threni,Epistula Ieremiae (1957)

JOURNALS

<u>BA</u>	<u>Biblical Archaeologist</u>
<u>BASOR</u>	<u>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</u>
<u>Bib</u>	<u>Biblica</u>
<u>BR</u>	<u>Biblical Research</u>
<u>BZ</u>	<u>Biblische Zeitschrift</u>
<u>CBQ</u>	<u>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</u>
<u>ExT</u>	<u>Expository Times</u>
<u>HTR</u>	<u>Harvard Theological Review</u>
<u>Int</u>	<u>Interpretation</u>
<u>JBL</u>	<u>Journal of Biblical Literature</u>
<u>JJS</u>	<u>Journal for Jewish Studies</u>
<u>JSJ</u>	<u>Journal for the Study of Judaism</u>
<u>JSNT</u> (Supp)	<u>Journal for the Study of the New Testament</u> (Supplement)
<u>JSOT</u> (Supp)	<u>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</u> (Supplement)
<u>JSP</u> (Supp)	<u>Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha</u> (Supplement)
<u>JTS</u>	<u>Journal of Theological Studies</u>

<u>NovT (Supp)</u>	<u>Novum Testamentum (Supplement)</u>
<u>NRT</u>	<u>La nouvelle revue théologique</u>
<u>NTS</u>	<u>New Testament Studies</u>
<u>RB</u>	<u>Revue biblique</u>
<u>RivB</u>	<u>Rivista biblica</u>
<u>SBLMS</u>	<u>Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series</u>
<u>SJT</u>	<u>Scottish Journal of Theology</u>
<u>SNTSMS</u>	<u>Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series</u>
<u>VT</u>	<u>Vetus Testamentum</u>
<u>ZNW</u>	<u>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft</u>

Textual Sigla

A	Codex Alexandrinus
B	Codex Vaticanus
Q	Codex Marchalianus
88	Codex Chisianus
967	Chester Beatty Papyrus
Syh	Syrohexapla

Texts Cited

BIBLE	Quotations taken from RSV.		
Greek NT	"	"	" NA26
Greek OT	"	"	" Rahlfs
MT	"	"	" BHS
DSS	"	"	" Vermes
Pseudepigrapha	"	"	" Charlesworth
Targum	"	"	" The Aramaic Bible, Wilmington: Michael Glazier.

Footnotes

For reasons of space, footnotes will give the following Bibliographical information: Author, Title, Place of Publication, Date of Publication. Full details can be found in the Bibliography.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

During the early part of this century, studies on the use of the Old Testament (OT) in the New Testament (NT) focused on parallels found in Rabbinic works.¹ This was of value as it showed that the NT authors did not operate in a vacuum but were part of a continuous tradition of interpreting Scripture. Unfortunately, the date of these sources (several centuries after the Christian era) meant that there was always the possibility that they were not representative of how things were in the NT period. The discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls (DSS), however, changed all this.² Now it was possible to make comparisons with a collection of writings that spanned the NT period and even used some of the same texts.³ Interest revolved around three areas:

1. Text-form of the Quotations.

Why is it that some quotations agree exactly with the MT or LXX whilst others are very different? Was it lapse of memory on the part of the author or were there a number of different text-traditions in circulation? The question is made particularly interesting by the fact that some of these differences are crucial to the author's argument. Did the author choose the text that best suited his argument or did he actually modify an existing text so that it said what he wanted it to say?⁴

2. Respect for context

There has been much debate as to whether the authors (NT and DSS) were interested in the original context of their quotations.⁵ Part of the

1. J.Bonsirven, Exégèse rabbinique et exégèse paulinienne, Paris, 1939; W.D.Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism. Some Rabbinic Elements in Pauline Theology, (1948), 4th Edition, London, 1981. A. Schlatter, Das Alte Testament in der Johanneischen Apokalypse, BFCT 16:6, Gütersloh, 1912.

2. For a brief introduction, see Y.Yadin, The Message of the Scrolls, With a new Introduction by J.H.Charlesworth, New York, 1992.

3. For example, the use of 2Sam 7:14 in 2Cor 6:18, Heb 1:5, Rev 21:7 and 4QFlor 10-11.

4. For a recent study, see C.D.Stanley, Paul and the Language of Scripture. Citation Technique in the Pauline Epistles and Contemporary Literature, SNTSMS 74, Cambridge, 1992.

5. See my article, "Does the NT Quote the OT Out of Context", Anvil (forthcoming).

'argument from prophecy' was that the new movement was able to give the true meaning of scripture and this ability was thought to originate with the founder:

Then he opened their minds to understand the scriptures, and said to them, "Thus it is written, that the Christ should suffer and on the third day rise from the dead (Lk 24:45f).

and God told Habakkuk to write down that which would happen to the final generation, but He did not make known to him when time would come to an end. And as for that which He said, *That he who reads may read it speedily*: interpreted this concerns the Teacher of Righteousness, to whom God made known all the mysteries of the words of His servants the Prophets (1QpHab 7:1-5).

Such a view contrasts sharply with the historical consciousness of our own age. For example, many of the interpretations offered in the NT depend on the hearer/reader knowing about the coming of Christ, the birth of the church and the inclusion of the Gentiles. They are meanings that the ancient people could not possibly have given to the texts. Grollenberg says:

As already becomes clear in Matthew's prologue, the first Christians were not concerned with what the authors of the ancient text had wanted to say. That is something that we moderns ask about. They inferred the meaning of the ancient text from the events brought about by God in which they themselves were involved.⁶

On the other hand, it must surely be maintained that these beliefs did not arise in a vacuum but in minds that had already been significantly moulded by the Scriptures. Borgen says:

Since the Old Testament was the thought-world in which Jesus, the disciples and the other first Christians lived, and since the Old Testament was woven into the very fabric of Jewish institutions and Jewish ways of life, it therefore determined the theological issues raised to a large extent, either negatively or positively.⁷

6. L.Grollenberg, Unexpected Messiah, London, 1988, p.7.

7. P.Borgen, "Response", NTS 23, 1976/7, p.68.

3. Exegetical Methods of the Author

In the face of the above, attempts were made to try and understand the principles or techniques used by the author in order to move from text to interpretation.⁸ Was the author free to make the text mean whatever he liked or were there rules (like the Rabbinic middôt) that governed such exegesis? It might be thought that the claim to divine inspiration would rule out the use of fixed methods of exegesis but this is not necessarily the case. The author still had to persuade others to accept his interpretations.

With all this interest and activity, it is somewhat surprising that Schlatter's work (1912) remained the only scholarly book on John's use of scripture until 1984.⁹ Trudinger¹⁰ (1963) and Ozanne¹¹ (1964) both produced dissertations on the language of John's allusions but these were never published. Articles appeared in Italian,¹² French¹³ and German¹⁴ but very little was published in English.¹⁵ As Beale says in his Festschrift article:

8. See G.J.Brooke, Exegesis at Qumran. 4Q Florilegium in its Jewish Context, JSOT Supp 29, Sheffield, 1985 (Hereafter, Brooke).

9. G.K.Beale, The Use of Daniel in Jewish Apocalyptic Literature and in the Revelation of St. John, Lanham, 1984 (Hereafter, Use of Daniel).

10. L.Trudinger, The Text of the Old Testament in the Book of Revelation, Boston University, 1963 (Hereafter, Trudinger).

11. C.G.Ozanne, The Influence of the Text and Language of the Old Testament on the Book of Revelation, University of Manchester, 1964 (Hereafter, Ozanne).

12. A.Lancellotti, "L'Antico Testamento nell'Apocalisse", RivB 14, 1966, pp369-384; A.Gangemi, "L'utilizzazione del Deutero-Isaia nell'Apocalisse di Giovanni", Euntes Docete 27, 1974, pp109-144; B.Marconcini, "L'utilizzazione del T.M. nelle citazioni Isaiane dell'Apocalisse", RivB 24, 1976, pp113-136; G.Deiana, "Utilizzazione del libro di Geremia in alcuni brani dell'Apocalisse", Lateranum 48, 1982, pp125-137. I am indebted to Ruiz, pp78-90, for his review of Italian scholarship.

13. M.E.Boismard, "'L'Apocalypse' ou 'Les Apocalypses' de St. Jean", RB 56, 1949, pp507-541; J.Cambier, "Les images de l'Ancien Testament dans l'Apocalypse de Saint Jean", NRT 77, 1955, pp113-122; A.Vanhoye, "L'utilisation de livre d'Ézéchiël dans l'Apocalypse", Bib 43, 1962, pp436-476.

14. E.Lohse, "Die alttestamentliche Sprache des Sehers Johannes", ZNW 52, 1961, pp122-126.

15. The first to appear was Trudinger's summary of his thesis, "Some Observations Concerning the Text of the Old Testament in the Book of Revelation", JTS 17, 1966, pp82-88. A short book appeared in 1972 by F.Jenkins (The Old Testament in the Book of Revelation, Grand Rapids, 1972) but this was for a popular audience. In the early eighties, there were articles by Lust and Goulder (see Bibliography).

in comparison with the rest of the NT, the use of the OT in the Apocalypse of John has not been given a proportionate amount of attention.¹⁶

The main reason for this neglect is to do with John's particular use of the OT. Works like the Gospels or Paul's major epistles are easily compared with the Damascus Rule (CD), the Habakkuk peshar (1QpHab) or the Florilegium (4QFlor) because they all contain explicit OT quotations.¹⁷ The book of Revelation, however, never uses introductory formulae to introduce its OT references but weaves its words and phrases into its own composition. The index of allusions and quotations in the back of GNT reveals that Revelation contains more OT allusions than any other NT book but does not record a single quotation.¹⁸

It is for this reason that whilst our study will look at the three issues just mentioned, it will also try to develop a method which is more appropriate to an allusive text like Revelation. This will begin in an inductive way by drawing various conclusions from John's use of the OT in the seven letters (ch.2), his use of the book of Daniel (ch.3) and his use of the book of Ezekiel (ch.4). This will lead us to a general question - how do texts interact with their subtexts? We will then explore this question in two ways. In chapter five, we consider the use of the OT in the Dead Sea Scrolls. We will look at seven texts, chosen to illustrate the variety of uses of the OT at Qumran, including a number of allusive texts like Revelation. In chapter six, we consider the literary phenomenon of 'intertextuality'. We begin with the observation that poetry is almost entirely 'intertextual', using words and phrases to call up memories of other texts (and experiences). We then look at the work of Hollander¹⁹ and

16. "Revelation", It is Written: Scripture Citing Scripture, Cambridge, 1988, p.318.

17. The first works to use the material from the DSS were on Matthew (Stendahl) and Paul (Ellis).

18. GNT, pp897-911. See the graphs that I have produced on p.44.

19. J.Hollander, The Figure of Echo: A Mode of Allusion in Milton and After, Berkeley, 1981.

Greene²⁰ as they seek to elucidate the interaction between text and subtext in Milton and Renaissance poetry, respectively. Some of these insights have been applied to the Pauline epistles by Richard Hays²¹ and we will find them illuminating for our study of Revelation.

Previous studies on John's use of the OT have been aware that we are dealing with allusions rather than quotations but try to get around this by distinguishing between allusions that are 'possible' and those that are 'certain'.²² The aim has been to avoid the sort of subjectivity that Sandmel²³ has called 'parallelomania', by dealing with a smaller group of allusions that can more or less be treated as quotations. This is clearly of value since the resulting conclusions will be based on data that the majority would accept, rather than the speculative suggestions of the individual scholar. However, it cannot be the complete solution for as with any work of art, it is often the subtle nuances that separate it from other members of the genre. After all, we would not expect a music critic to limit his or her comments to the loudest instruments in the orchestra! Literary and aesthetic criteria are now regularly used in biblical scholarship to supplement historical study but 'Use of the OT in the NT' studies have largely remained within the historical-critical paradigm. This thesis offers one way of breaking out of this and viewing an author's use of the OT as a literary as well as an historical phenomenon.

20. T.M.Greene, The Light in Troy: Imitation and Discovery in Renaissance Poetry, Yale, 1982.

21. R.B.Hays, Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul, Yale, 1989.

22. Thus J.Fekkes, Isaiah and Prophetic Traditions in the Book of Revelation: Visionary Antecedents and their Development, Ph.D Dissertation, University of Manchester, 1988, distinguishes between allusions that are 'certain or virtually certain', 'probable or possible', and 'unlikely or doubtful'. By restricting his analysis to the first group, Fekkes hopes to gain some objectivity for his results. Trudinger, despite the absence of introductory formulae, believes that he can isolate a group of accurate allusions which deserve to be called 'quotations'. His criterion is when we have: 'word combinations in a form in which one would not have used them had it not been for a knowledge of their occurrence in this particular form in another source' ("Observations", p.84.) See further, J.Paulien, "Elusive Allusions: The Problematic Use of the OT in Revelation", BR 33, 1988, pp37-53.

23. S.Sandmel, "Parallelomania", JBL 81, 1962, pp1-13.

We begin our study of John's use of the OT by looking at the 'Letters to the seven churches' (Rev 2-3). This is particularly interesting because many scholars believe that their images were chosen for their relevance to the local churches. On the other hand, it is clear that many of the images derive from the OT and some have already occurred in the inaugural vision (Rev 1:12-18). This gives us a unique opportunity for asking which has priority, the OT context or the contemporary situation? Ramsay²⁴ and Hemer²⁵ argue that John's desire to allude to local conditions led him to particular texts. For example, the metal industry at Thyatira led John to 'smelting' texts like Dan 10:5f ('eyes like flaming torches...legs like the gleam of burnished bronze'), which were then used to construct the vision (even though the vision comes first in Revelation). Farrer,²⁶ however, believes that the vision was conceived first (it is clearly an amalgam of OT texts) and forms the basis for the Seven Letters (they are clearly not 'real' letters).

John's use of Daniel offers a similar challenge. Does he use only those parts of the book that fit in with his own prophetic vision or has his own vision been influenced by the book of Daniel? Beale²⁷ argues that certain chapters of Revelation (1, 4-5, 13, 17) are a midrash on Dan 7 and that John meets the needs of the recipients by locating their situation within the prophetic scheme of that book. Other scholars believe that his use of other texts, such as Ezekiel and Isaiah, show that he has a standpoint outside of the book of Daniel and uses various texts in order to express his own viewpoint. As well as examining these theories, we will begin to formulate some of the techniques used by John in his handling of OT texts.

24. C. Hemer, The Letters to the Seven Churches of Asia in their Local Setting, JSNT Supp 11, Sheffield, 1986.

25. W.M.Ramsay, The Letters to the Seven Churches of Asia and Their Place in the Plan of the Apocalypse, London, 1904.

26. A.Farrer, The Revelation of St.John the Divine, Oxford, 1964, pp70-86.

27. Use of Daniel, p.277.

Our fourth chapter is on John's use of Ezekiel and is mainly concerned with hermeneutical questions. In particular, the extensive parallels between key sections of the two books (eg. Rev 19-22 and Ez 37-48) are coupled with extensive differences. The latter have caused Vogelgesang²⁸ to call Revelation an 'anti-apocalypse'. He believes that John applies a consistent hermeneutical strategy (which he calls 'democratization') to the book of Ezekiel, stripping it of its particularistic elements and making it accessible to all. On the other hand, Ruiz looks to a number of 'hermeneutical imperatives' that are embedded in the text and are designed to force the reader to actively engage in a 'dialogue with the text and with the texts within the text.'²⁹ This provides the agenda for our chapters on the Dead Sea Scrolls (ch.5) and Intertextuality (ch.6).

In chapter seven, we look at the language of John's allusions, where it will be argued that 'differences from the LXX' are more about John's particular use of scripture than about the source of his allusions. It is not impossible that John preferred Semitic sources but as yet, no criteria have been suggested that are sufficiently sensitive to distinguish between what Charles³⁰ calls a 'loose' or 'free' rendering of a Hebrew text and an 'influence' of the LXX. This is why we have chosen to deal with this topic last, whereas the more logical order would have been to start with it.

Finally, we close with a brief epilogue, where we discuss the relevance of our conclusions for books other than Revelation.

28. G.Vogelgesang, The Interpretation of Ezekiel in the Book of Revelation, Ph.D Dissertation, Harvard University, Cambridge Ma, 1985.

29. Ruiz, p.520.

30. Charles, Vol 1, pp1xviii-1xxxi.

CHAPTER 2: THE USE OF SCRIPTURE IN THE SEVEN LETTERS

One of the intriguing questions about John's apocalypse concerns the seven letters which form its introduction. On the one hand, they appear to be real correspondence dealing with particular problems in the communities (the lukewarmness at Laodicea, for example). On the other hand, they are obviously meant to be read by all the churches for most of themend with the refrain: 'He who has an ear to hear, let him hear what the Spirit says to the churches'. Further, the blessing pronounced on both reader and audience in 1:3 ('Blessed is he who reads aloud the words of the prophecy, and blessed are those who hear'), along with the book's ending at 22:18 ('I warn every one who hears the words of the prophecy of this book') imply that the whole book is to be read from beginning to end. In view of this, most commentators think that the letters were composed as a unit and were never sent individually to the respective churches.¹

If this is so, the question is raised as to whether the details in the letters actually reflect John's knowledge of the seven churches or are simply a literary device to address the whole church. In favour of the latter is the fact that John addresses precisely seven churches, just as the book goes on to describe seven seals, seven trumpets and seven bowls. When this is coupled with the fact that outside the letters it is the universal church that is centre stage, with no further mention of individual congregations, the conclusion appears to be that the seven churches are intended to represent the whole church. However, this does not necessarily mean that the letters are fictitious. It is possible that having conceived the scheme of 'sevens', John then used seven actual

1. A notable exception to this is Charles, Vol 1, pp43-7, who believed that the letters were originally written to the individual congregations and later edited by the same author to apply to the universal church.

congregations to fulfil his plan.² Nevertheless, it must be said that one would certainly have a very different view of Paul's letters if one thought that he sat down to compose a certain number of letters according to a pre-determined plan.

Another point is the definite way that John speaks of 'the seven churches that are in Asia' (1:4). One might suppose from this that these were the only churches in Asia but we know both from Acts and Paul's letters that this was not the case. Alternatively, we might think that these were the leading churches of Asia but again this does not seem to be true. Thyatira (which receives the longest letter) is a very insignificant place whilst Colossae, Troas and Magnesia have been passed over. Lastly, it might be suggested that these are the seven churches which were under John's oversight but since they cover such a wide area, it is hard to imagine how this came about. In particular, the letter to the Colossians shows that a close relationship existed between that church, the author of the canonical letter and the church at Laodicea (Col 4:13f). How could it be that John's oversight extends from Ephesus to Laodicea but does not include either Colossae or Hierapolis? We are thus led to the conclusion that the definite nature of the address to 'the seven churches' is intended to be representative and means something like 'to the Church in all its fullness and diversity'.

On the other hand, if the seven churches simply represent the universal church, it is strange that the various errors mentioned in the letters are scarcely differentiated. One could see the usefulness in a sort of 'typology of errors', but the error of the Nicolaitans, Jezebel and her followers and those who are said to follow the teaching of Balaam, are

2. Milligan says: 'The Seer selects such particular churches of Asia and such special features of their condition as afford the best illustration of that state of God's kingdom in the world which is to be the great subject of his prophetic words', The Book Of Revelation, London, 1889, p.36.

much the same thing (inciting fornication and idolatry).³ Further, thanks to the pioneering work of Sir William Ramsay, most commentators accept that the letters do show some knowledge of the various places being addressed. For example, the Laodiceans are exhorted to buy the sort of gold that will really make them rich, white garments to cover their nakedness and salve to anoint their eyes (3:18). Ramsay provided external evidence to show that Laodicea was known for its banking, its woollen industry and its medical school which specialized in ophthalmics.⁴ This would be something of a coincidence if John had no knowledge of Laodicea. To Thyatira, the only one of the seven known to have had a guild of coppersmiths, the divine speaker is described as having eyes 'like a flame of fire' and feet like 'burnished bronze'. The actual word rendered 'burnished bronze' is χαλκολίβανος (χαλκός = copper, λίβανος = frankincense) which is usually taken to designate some sort of alloy. The word is otherwise unattested and Ramsay conjectured that it was probably a local product of Thyatira. If this is the case, it is significant that it also occurs in John's inaugural vision of the Son of man, before we arrive at the seven letters. Ramsay's view of the seven titles that begin each of the letters is this:

As to the brief description of the Divine Author, which is prefixed to each of the Seven Letters, there is a special appropriateness in each case to the character or circumstances of the Church which is addressed.⁵

Ramsay also offers an answer for why John addresses these particular seven churches. As a result of his own expeditions, he discovered that each of the cities lies on a trade route. A messenger coming from Patmos would arrive at Ephesus and moving North would come

3. Farrer, p.83, says: 'the ingenuity of commentators racking the text to establish the difference of spiritual type as between seven churches is largely misplaced. There is some difference in degree of merit or demerit, but the virtues praised or vices rebuked in all are much the same.'

4. Ramsay, p.416.

5. Ramsay, p.198.

first to Smyrna and then up to Pergamum. If he then turned and descended in a South-Easterly direction, he would come to Thyatira, Sardis, Philadelphia and finally Laodicea, where the route back to Ephesus would be due West. Though often called a circular route, its shape is more like that of a triangle (Ephesus, Pergamum, Laodicea) with the other cities acting as stopping off points. Ramsay further conjectured that each of the seven places operated a secondary route allowing for the efficient dissemination of information throughout this part of Asia. Thus the reason that John addressed 'the seven churches' is that they formed the seven postal districts for this part of Asia.⁶

Ramsay's influence is important for our study because his positive evaluation of John's historical knowledge went hand in hand with his negative evaluation of his use of scripture. It was axiomatic for Ramsay that all of John's symbols and metaphors derive from his intimate knowledge of local culture. He recognizes, of course, that most of the book is filled with apocalyptic images and allusions to scripture but insists that:

the Seven Letters are a truer index to the writer's character than any other part of the Apocalypse, because in these letters he is in closer contact with reality than in any other part of the book.⁷

Allusions to scripture, which he considered to be almost absent from the letters, are part of the 'apocalyptic machinery' which unfortunately engulfed John in the latter part of the book. Thus the description of the flaming eyes and bronze feet have nothing to do with Daniel's vision but were suggested by Thyatira's metal industry. Possession of the key of David, 'who opens and no one shall shut, who shuts and no one opens'

6. The view that the order of the letters corresponds to the route taken by the messenger is accepted by most modern commentators, eg. Sweet, p.78; Caird, p.28; Mounce, p.76; Krodel, p.94, who says the suggestion is 'as good as any'; also in the Ph.D dissertation of L.C.Tengbom, Studies in the Interpretation of Revelation Two and Three, Hartford Seminary Foundation, 1976, p.101.

7. Ramsay, p.277.

(Rev 3:7) is simply a metaphor for the 'open door' of missionary opportunity (as used by Paul), whilst the sword of his mouth is particularly apt for Pergamum because it was the seat of the imperial authority. His position is clearly seen in his comments about the promise of 'hidden manna' given to the church at Pergamum:

The allusion to the "hidden manna" is one of the few touches in the Seven Letters derived purely and exclusively from the realm of Jewish belief and superstition. It is not even taken from the Old Testament; but is a witness that some current Jewish superstitions acquired a footing in the early Christian Church.⁸

Ramsay is often quoted in commentaries for showing that John had real knowledge of the seven congregations.⁹ However, his position was not that John had recent news of what was happening in the congregations and was therefore responding to the known needs of the recipients. Rather, John's familiarity with the history and geography of each of the places gave him an intuitive knowledge concerning the state of each of the churches. Thus he says about the letter to Smyrna:

He had thought himself into harmony with the natural influences which had made Smyrna what it was, and which would continue to mould its history; and from this lofty standpoint he could look forward into the future, and foretell what must happen to Smyrna and to the Church (which to him was the one reality in Smyrna).¹⁰

The church at Smyrna, he says, is inevitably 'dead yet alive' because this is the spirit of Smyrna. It was destroyed in the 6th century B.C.E. and lay dormant for three centuries until it was refounded. The memory of this remains in the city's collective unconscious so that all institutions in Smyrna, including the church, necessarily partake of it. This is why John has the speaker address them with the title, 'The words of the first and the last, who died and came to life', concerning which:

8. Ramsay, p.308.

9. For example, in the works mentioned in Note 6.

10. Ramsay, p.278.

All Smyrnaean readers would at once appreciate the striking analogy to the early history of their own city which lies in that form of address.¹¹

Thus it is incorrect to think that Ramsay represents the rationalist 'real letter' approach (i.e. responding to known needs) as opposed to the 'apocalyptic seer'. Ramsay's view is just as 'mystical' as those who imagine John seeing into the future through 'trance-like' visions, but is arrived at in a different way. For Ramsay, meditation on the history and geography of the places allowed John 'to think himself into harmony with the natural influences' that make a place what it is. From this, he was able to discern what state the church must be in and write accordingly.¹² He fully realized that the modern mind would find such a view difficult to accept but insists that if we wish to understand John's letters, we must be willing to enter into his thought world.

Ramsay's plea is somewhat ironic considering his unwillingness to take John's use of the OT seriously. Given the fact that John describes his visionary experiences in terms of OT theophanies, it is far more likely that the scriptures provided the inspiration to see into his reader's situation than the 'natural influences which had made Smyrna what it was'. Before we show this to be the case, we will first give a summary of the main OT allusions found in the seven letters.

OT Allusions in the Seven Letters

1. Τάδε λέγει

John begins each of the seven letters with this old demonstrative pronoun. It was widely used in classical Greek to comment on earlier authorities but was becoming rare in the Koine. The exception to this is

11. Ramsay, p.269.

12. This has been noted by J.Ramsey Michaels, Interpreting the Book of Revelation, Grand Rapids, 1992, p.37, who says: 'At times his search for realism leads him to confuse the congregations addressed with their cities.'

the LXX, where it occurs some 250 times to introduce oracles and divine speech. The effect on the reader would be something like an English person hearing 'Thus saith the Lord', a phrase made prominent by its use in the King James Version of the Bible. Hill¹³ says the author's intention in using what is otherwise an obsolete expression is clearly to place himself at one with the OT prophets. Krodel¹⁴ quotes 2 Chron 21:12-15 as the closest OT parallel:

And a letter came to him from Elijah the prophet, saying, "Thus says the LORD, the God of David your father, 'Because you have not walked in the ways of Jehoshaphat your father, or in the ways of Asa king of Judah, but have walked in the way of the kings of Israel...behold, the LORD will bring a great plague on your people, your children, your wives, and all your possessions, and you yourself will have a severe sickness...'"

2. Titles

After the prophetic $\tau\acute{\alpha}\delta\epsilon$ λέγει, each letter has a specific description of the speaker. For Ephesus and Sardis, it is the imagery of 'holding the seven stars', which occurred in the opening vision (1:16). For the other five letters, it is a recognizable OT allusion, which in most cases has already occurred in ch. 1. As we have noted, Ramsay thinks that priority should be given to their occurrence in the letters but we will later show this to be untenable.

To the angel of the church in Smyrna write: 'The words of the first and the last, who died and came to life.

I am the first and I am the last; besides me there is no god (Is 44:6 cf. 48:12).

To the angel of the church in Per'gamum write: 'The words of him who has the sharp two-edged sword.

He made my mouth like a sharp sword (Is 49:2).

13. D.Hill, "Prophecy and Prophets in the Revelation of St. John", *NTS* 18, 1971/2, p.415.

14. Krodel, p.99, who also mentions Jer 29:1-23 and 2 Baruch 78-87. Aune believes that both the OT and the form of Imperial Edicts have contributed to these 'paraenetic salvation-judgment' oracles. As well as his book Prophecy in Early Christianity and the Ancient Mediterranean World, Grand Rapids, 1983, see his article, "The Form and Function of the Proclamations to the Seven Churches (Revelation 2-3)", *NTS* 36, 1990, pp182-204.

To the angel of the church in Thyati'ra write: 'The words of the Son of God, who has eyes like a flame of fire, and whose feet are like burnished bronze.

his eyes like flaming torches, his arms and legs like the gleam of burnished bronze (Dan 10:6).

To the angel of the church in Philadelphia write: 'The words of the holy one, the true one, who has the key of David, who opens and no one shall shut, who shuts and no one opens.

And I will place on his shoulder the key of the house of David; he shall open, and none shall shut; and he shall shut, and none shall open (Is 22:22).

To the angel of the church in La-odice'a write: 'The words of the Amen, the faithful and true witness (ὁ μάρτυς ὁ πιστός), the beginning of God's creation.

The God whose name is Amen (Is 65:16 NEB).

ὁ μάρτυς ἐν οὐρανῷ πιστός (Ps 88:38 LXX).

3. Promises

Each of the letters closes with a promise to the one who overcomes (νικάω). To the church at Thyatira it is the very definite allusion to the Messianic promise of Ps 2:8-9:

He who conquers and who keeps my works until the end, I will give him power over the nations, and he shall rule (ποιμανεῖ) them with a rod of iron, as when earthen pots are broken in pieces (Rev 2:26-27).

I will make the nations your heritage, and the ends of the earth your possession. You shall break (ποιμανεῖς) them with a rod of iron, and dash them in pieces like a potter's vessel (Ps 2:8-9).

This statement of Messianic rule (used again at 12:5 and 19:15) clearly looks forward to the millennial rule of ch. 20. To suggest that it began life as a reference either to iron or perhaps pottery is absurd. The psalm was important in the early church¹⁵ and is very important to John. Why he has chosen to give it as a promise to Thyatira is not clear but we can hardly believe that John first thought of it because of some fact peculiar to that place.

15. According to the tables in NA26, p.752, allusions to Ps 2 are found in Matthew, Luke, John, Paul and Hebrews. An allusion to Ps 2:2 is also found in Rev 11:15, 17:18 and 19:19.

For Ephesus, Smyrna and Pergamum it is interesting that the promises have roots in the OT (tree of life, second death, hidden manna) but have all undergone developments in later Jewish tradition (superstition as Ramsay would call it). The tree of life has only the briefest mention in the OT. It is described in Gen 2:9 as being in the midst of the garden, along with the tree of the knowledge of good and evil. Initially, it is only the latter that is forbidden, but after the couple have disobeyed God we read the words:

"Behold, the man has become like one of us, knowing good and evil; and now, lest he put forth his hand and take also of the tree of life, and eat, and live for ever" - therefore the Lord God sent him forth from the garden..and..placed the cherubim, and a flaming sword which turned every way, to guard the way to the tree of life (Gen 3:22-24).

It was inevitable that these mysterious words would be taken up by later writers. Thus in the Testament of Levi we read (not surprisingly) that it will be a priest of Levi who takes away the flaming sword and allows the saints to partake of the tree (18:9-12). In 1 Enoch 24-25, no mortal can touch the tree until after the judgment. Then, it will be transposed to the temple of God and the elect will eat of it. However, judging from Rev 22:2, it is Ez 47 that has most influenced John for both speak of the tree (trees in Ezekiel) as supplying fruit every month, whilst the leaves provide healing (Rev 22:2, Ez 47:12). Whether this means that the promise to the Ephesian church is purely eschatological is open to debate.

The term 'second death' does not actually occur in the Hebrew of the OT or the LXX but appears in the Aramaic Targum of certain verses in Deuteronomy and Isaiah. It is an extension of the idea of Sheol in order to allow a particular fate for the wicked. Thus:

"Surely this sin will not be forgiven you until you die the second death," says the LORD God of hosts (Tg Is 22:14).

Their retribution is in Gehenna where the fire burns all the day. Behold, it is written before me: "I will not give them respite while they live, but theirs is the retribution of their sins; I will hand over their bodies to the second death (Tg Is 65:6).

Thirdly, we have already seen how the promise of the 'hidden manna' is described by Ramsay as 'Jewish superstition'. In 2 Macc 2:4ff we read that before the temple was destroyed, Jeremiah took the golden pot of manna along with other treasures and hid them. The belief then arose that they would reappear in the Messianic age. The fact that John speaks of the 'hidden manna' may suggest that he has this in mind. Alternatively, other texts are witnesses to the general belief that the 'manna miracle' would be repeated in the age to come. Thus Baruch 29:8 reads:

The treasury of manna will come down again from on high, and they will eat of it in those years.

Borgen¹⁶ has shown that a homiletic tradition based on Ex 16 probably underlies the 'bread of life' discourse in Jn 6. As an example, he cites the following midrash:

As the first Redeemer caused manna to descend, as it is stated, 'Because I shall cause to rain bread from heaven for you' (Ex 16:4), so will the latter redeemer cause manna to descend.

It is interesting that John's gospel imagines this to be already fulfilled (Jesus is the bread of life and Christians feed on him) whereas here, it is a future promise to the one who overcomes.

The promise to Sardis consists of the assurance that the faithful will not be blotted out of the book of life. The actual idea of a 'book of life' has a long history but the use of ἐξλείφω may point to Ex 32:32:¹⁷

16. P.Borgen, Bread from Heaven, NovT Supp 10, Leiden, 1965.

17. Though Hemer, p.148, notes that ἐξλείφειν was the usual word for the erasure of names from the civic register.

But now, if thou wilt forgive their sin - and if not, blot me, I pray thee, out of thy book which thou hast written.

The promise to Philadelphia is rather more obscure. It says:

He who conquers, I will make him a pillar in the temple of my God; never shall he go out of it, and I will write on him the name of my God, and the name of the city of my God, the new Jerusalem which comes down from my God out of heaven, and my own new name (Rev 3:12).

As Charles notes, the image of being a pillar is found elsewhere in the NT (Gal 2:9), in Clement (5:2), in Judaism (Exod. rab.2), and indeed in most languages. In view of the explicit use of Is 22:22 at the beginning of the letter, however, Charles¹⁸ suggests that John may have Eliakim in mind, who was to be 'like a peg in a sure place..And they will hang on him the whole weight of his father's house' (Is 22:23-24). In order to explain the phrase 'write on him the name of my God', Charles appeals to a custom where:

the provincial priest of the imperial cultus at the close of his year of office..erect(s) his statue in the confines of the temple, inscribing on it his own name and his father's, his place of birth and year of office.¹⁹

This explanation is repeated in Kiddle²⁰ and Moffatt²¹ but Hemer²² points out that there was no provincial temple at Philadelphia until much later. He favours the view²³ that it is an allusion to Ex 28:36-38, where a plate of pure gold is engraved with the words, 'Holy to the Lord' and fixed to Aaron's turban.

Finally, the promise to the church at Laodicea is that the faithful will sit with Christ on his throne. It is not clear if there is an OT allusion

18. Charles, Vol 1, p.91. So also Sweet, p.104 and cautiously, Mounce, p.121.

19. Charles, Vol 1, p.91.

20. Kiddle, pp53-4.

21. Moffatt, p.369.

22. Hemer, p.166.

23. Hemer, p.166.

here or not. Matthew records the tradition that Jesus promised the disciples that they would sit on thrones:

"Truly, I say to you, in the new world, when the Son of man shall sit on his glorious throne, you who have followed me will also sit on twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel (Mt 19:28).

John shows his acquaintance with this tradition when he says in Rev 20:4:

Then I saw thrones, and seated on them were those to whom judgment was committed.

Charles²⁴ regards this as an allusion to the scene in Dan 7:9 and if this is the case, it is possible that John had it in mind when writing the letter to Laodicea.

4. Description of Errors

John describes the false teachers in Pergamum by saying that they are holders of the 'teaching of Balaam'. This OT character appears in quite a favourable light in Num 22-24 but later tradition concentrated on the statement of Num 31:16, that it was Balaam's counsel that caused the plague in which the 24,000 Israelites died. He was nick-named 'Balaam the wicked' and reckoned as one of the seven heathen prophets who opposed Moses.²⁵ It is this negative portrait that is found in 2Tim 3:8, 2Pet 2:15, Jude 11 and here in Revelation, where John says that he taught Balak to 'put a stumbling block before the sons of Israel, that they might eat food sacrificed to idols and practice immorality' (2:14). It is also possible that the phraseology 'hate the works of the Nicola'itans, which I also hate' is modelled on Ps 139:21, which reads, 'Do I not hate them that hate thee, O Lord?'

24. Charles, Vol 2, p.182.

25. See G.W.Coates, "Balaam: Sinner or Saint", BR 18, 1973, pp21-29.

Secondly, John's opponents in Thyatira are followers of a woman called Jezebel, 'who calls herself a prophetess and is teaching and beguiling my servants to practice immorality and to eat food sacrificed to idols' (Rev 2:20). Now it is possible that this woman just happens to be called Jezebel (in which case John would have found it most appropriate) but in view of the reference to Balaam (guilty of the same crimes) and the importance of the Elijah motif elsewhere in the book (Rev 11:6ff), it is probable that John is comparing this female opponent with Elijah's great antagonist (1Ki 21:25ff).²⁶

As for the Nicolaitans, it is unclear who they were. Irenaeus imagined them to be followers of Nicolaus, one of the seven mentioned in Acts 6, but Clement of Alexandria attempted to refute this.²⁷ Charles²⁸ repeats a previous suggestion that it may be a word play, since the Greek $\nu\iota\chi\alpha\ \lambda\alpha\omicron\nu$ means much the same as the Hebrew Bala'-'am, namely 'he who consumes the people'.

5. Other Allusions

In Rev 2:10, the church at Smyrna are warned that some may be thrown into prison and be tested and 'for ten days you will have tribulation'. Many commentators take this to mean 'a short period of time' or as Kiddle²⁹ puts it, 'a week or so'. Ford³⁰ tentatively suggests that there may be an allusion to Dan 1:12-14, where Daniel and his friends are tested with a vegetarian diet for ten days, or to Gen 24:55, where Rebekah's family ask that she remains with them for that period. The latter seems unlikely but the importance of the book of Daniel to John makes the former a possibility.

26. So Mounce, p.102; Beasley-Murray, p.90; Sweet, p.94.

27. Irenaeus, Haer., 1.26.3; 3.11.1; Clement of Alexandria, Strom., 2:20.

28. Charles, Vol 1, pp52-53. Sweet, p.89, Note t, agrees that John was probably aware of this etymology.

29. Kiddle, p.28.

30. Ford, p.395.

The church at Pergamum is given three promises. The first is the hidden manna, which we have already discussed. The second is a white stone, which appears to allude to a local custom though there is no consensus as to what it was. Mounce³¹ says that at least a dozen explanations have been offered. The third is that 'a new name' will be written on this stone 'which no one knows except him who receives it'. It is not clear if this is to be connected with the particular function of the stone or a more general reference to a change of character. Sweet³² mentions Is 62:2 and 65:15, where we read the promises, 'you shall be called by a new name which the mouth of the Lord will give' and 'his servants he will call by a different name'.

The warning to the followers of Jezebel is almost all taken from scripture. It reads:

I will strike her children dead (ἀποκτενῶ ἐν θανάτῳ). And all the churches shall know that I am he who searches mind and heart (ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ ἐρευνῶν νεφροὺς καὶ καρδίας), and I will give to each of you as your works deserve (δώσω ὑμῖν ἕκαστῳ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα ὑμῶν) (Rev 2:23).

The first phrase is most striking. The KJV renders it literally ('I will kill her children with death'). Charles³³ notes that behind the word θανάτος lies the Hebrew 'deber', meaning pestilence. He therefore translates, 'But her children I will slay with pestilence'. In favour of this rendering is the fact that the same phrase (ἐν θανάτῳ) occurs later in Rev 6:8, where it undoubtedly has this meaning:

And I saw, and behold, a pale horse, and its rider's name was Death, and Hades followed him; and they were given power over a fourth of the earth, to kill with sword and with famine and with pestilence (ἐν θανάτῳ) and by wild beasts of the earth.

31. Mounce, p.99. See also Hemer, pp96-102.

32. Sweet, pp90-91.

33. Charles, Vol 1, p.72 & Vol 2, p.392.

This fourfold threat is based on a number of passages in Ezekiel (5:17, 6:11f, 7:15, 14:21, 33:27) where in various combinations, sword, famine, pestilence and beasts are to be the instruments of God's wrath. However, it is Ez 33:27 which offers a particular parallel to Rev 2:23, for the passive Hebrew construction ('by pestilence they will die') was rendered by the LXX 'by pestilence I will kill' (θανάτῳ ἀποκτενῶ). If John has taken this phrase from the LXX,³⁴ it is possible that he no longer intends the meaning 'pestilence' (which would not suit the context of a small group of heretics) but is using it as a powerful and evocative expression of judgment.

The second phrase ('I am he who searches mind and heart') was initially taken by Charles³⁵ to be from Jer 11:20, which reads, 'O Lord of hosts, who judgest righteously, who triest the heart and the mind'. The Hebrew, here rendered 'mind', is in fact 'kidneys' (LXX = νεφρός), which John also uses (the only use of νεφρός in the NT and perhaps evidence for John's knowledge of the LXX). However, Charles later noticed that Jer 17:10 not only offers a parallel to this phrase ('I the Lord search the mind and try the heart') but goes on to say 'to give to every man according to his ways, according to the fruit of his doings', thus offering a parallel to the third phrase in Rev 2:23.

Rev 3:9 is interesting in that the promise to Israel (Is 45:14, 60:14) that one day, all foreigners will come and bow down before them is here applied to the church's Jewish antagonists:

Behold, I will make those of the synagogue of Satan who say that they are Jews and are not, but lie - behold, I will make them come and bow down before your feet, and learn that I have loved you.

34. We will consider the evidence for John's use of the LXX in Chapter 7.

35. Charles, Vol 1, p.72, with his revised opinion on p.lxix, Note 2. He says that Jer 17:10 is the only place in the OT where these two ideas are combined. He also notes that John's use of διδόναι instead of the more usual ἀποδιδόναι (Prov 24:12, Ps 61:13) points to Jer 17:10 (though only if John is dependent on the LXX).

It might be thought that this is an obvious example of taking a text out of context but Beale is probably correct in describing this as an 'inverted' use of scripture:

This reversal of Isaiah's language is most likely attributable to a conscious attempt to express the irony that the submission which unbelieving ethnic Jews hoped to receive from Gentiles, they themselves would be forced to render to the church.³⁶

The last phrase of Rev 3:9 ('and learn that I have loved you') comes from a different text (Is 43:4) and Ozanne says that this:

give(s) us a glimpse into the mind of our author. He was evidently so conversant with the text of the OT, that one verse immediately suggested to him others on the same theme.³⁷

The proud description in Rev 3:17 ('I am rich, I have prospered, and I need nothing') was thought by Charles³⁸ to come from Hos 12:8: ('I am rich, I have gained wealth for myself'). Ozanne³⁹ also adds Zech 11:5 ('Blessed be the Lord, I have become rich').

In Rev 3:19, the church at Laodicea is warned, 'Those whom I love, I reprove and chasten'. This is usually traced to Prov 3:12 ('the Lord reproves him whom he loves') and is also quoted in Heb 12:5-6. It is interesting that John uses the more emotive φιλέω than the LXX's ἀγαπάω and Ozanne endorses Charles' view that this can only be deliberate and is a 'touching and unexpected manifestation of love to those who deserve it least among the Seven Churches.'⁴⁰

Lastly, the Laodicean letter ends with the promise, 'Behold, I stand at the door and knock' (Rev 3:20). Sweet says this consists of 'several interlocking allusions' and cites references to the parousia (Mk 13:29,

36. Beale, "Revelation", p.330.

37. Ozanne, p.95.

38. Charles, Vol 1, p.96.

39. Ozanne, p.96.

40. Ozanne, p.96, quoting Charles, Vol 1, p.99.

James 5:9), the bridegroom in the synoptic parables (Lk 12:35f, Mt 25:1f) and the Song of Songs 5:2 ('I slept, but my heart was awake. Hark! my beloved is knocking').⁴¹

Thus contrary to Ramsay, the seven letters do contain a considerable number of OT allusions and the chart below is a summary of those listed in Charles, Swete and the footnotes of the Greek New Testament.⁴²

List of Allusions in the Seven Letters

<u>Rev</u>		
2:6	μισεῖς τὰ ἔργα τῶν Νικολαϊτῶν ἃ κἀγὼ μισῶ	οὐχὶ τοὺς μισοῦντάς σε κύριε ἐμίσησα (Ps 138:21).
2:7	ἐκ τοῦ ξύλου τῆς ζωῆς ὃ ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ..	τὸ ξύλον τῆς ζωῆς ἐν μέσῳ τῷ παραδείσῳ (Gen 2:9; cf. Ez31:8).
2:8	ὁ πρῶτος καὶ ὁ ἔσχατος	ἐγὼ πρῶτος καὶ ἐγὼ ἔσχατος (Is 48:12 θ'; cf. Is 44:6).
2:10	ἔξετε θλίψιν ἡμερῶν δέκα	Πείρασον δὴ τοὺς παῖδάς σου ἡμέρας δέκα (Dan 1:12 θ').
2:12	ὁ ἔχων τὴν ῥομφαίαν τὴν δίστομον τὴν ὀξεῖαν	ἔθηκεν τὸ στόμα μου ὡσεὶ μάχαιραν ὀξεῖαν (Is 49:2).
2:14	ἐδίδασκεν..φαγεῖν εἰδωλόθυτα καὶ πορνεῦσαι	ἐβεβηλώθη ὁ λαὸς ἐκπορνεῦσαι.. καὶ ἔφαγεν..θυσιῶν (Num 25:1f).
2:16	πολεμήσω μετ'αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ ῥομφαίᾳ τοῦ στόματός μου	ἔθηκεν τὸ στόμα μου ὡσεὶ μάχαιραν ὀξεῖαν (Is 49:2).
2:17a	δώσω αὐτῷ τοῦ μάννα	ἔβρεξεν αὐτοῖς μάννα φαγεῖν καὶ ἄρτον οὐρανοῦ ἔδωκεν (Ps 77:24).
2:17b	ἐπὶ τὴν ψῆφον ὄνομα καινόν	τὸ ὄνομά σου τὸ καινόν (Is 62:2 cf. Is 65:15).
2:18	ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ ὡς φλόγα πυρὸς καὶ οἱ πόδες αὐτοῦ ὅμοιοι χαλκολιβάνῳ	ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτοῦ ὡσεὶ λαμπάδες πυρὸς ..τὰ σκέλη ὡς ὄρασις χαλκοῦ στίλβοντος (Dan 10:6 θ').
2:20	τὴν γυναῖκα Ἰεζάβελ	Ἰεζαβελ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ (1Ki 20:25; cf. 1Ki 16:31).
2:23a	ἀποκτενῶ ἐν θανάτῳ	θανάτῳ ἀποκτενῶ (Ez 33:27).

41. Sweet, p.109.

42. Charles, Vol 1, pp1xviii-lxxxii; Swete, Ch 13; GNT footnotes.

2:23b	ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ ἐρευνῶν νεφροὺς καὶ καρδίας	ἐγώ κύριος ἐτάζων καρδίας καὶ δοκιμάζων νεφροὺς (Jer 17:10; cf. Jer 11:20; Ps 7:10).
2:23c	δώσω ὑμῖν ἐκάστω κατὰ τὰ ἔργα ὑμῶν	ἀποδώσεις ἐκάστω κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ (Ps 61:13; cf. Prov 24:12).
2:26f	δώσω..ἐξουσίαν..ἐθνῶν καὶ ποιμανεῖ..ἐν ῥάβδῳ σιδηρᾷ ὡς τὰ σκεύη τὰ κεραμικὰ συντρίβεται	δώσω..ἔθνη τὴν κληρονομίαν σου.. ποιμανεῖς..ἐν ῥάβδῳ σιδηρᾷ ὡς σκεῦος κεραμέως συντρίψεις αὐτούς (Ps 2:8f).
3:5	οὐ μὴ ἐξαλείψω τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῆς βίβλου τῆς ζωῆς	ἐξάλειψον με ἐκ τῆς βίβλου σου (Ex 32:32) ἐξαλειφθήτωσαν ἐκ βίβλου ζώντων (Ps 68:29; cf. Dan 12:1, Is 4:3).
3:7	ὁ ἔχων τὴν κλεῖν Δαυὶδ ὁ ἀνοίγων καὶ οὐδεὶς κλείσει καὶ κλείων καὶ οὐδεὶς ἀνοίγει	δώσω τὴν κλεῖδα..Δαυεὶδ καὶ ἀνοίξει καὶ οὐκ ἔσται ὁ ἀποκλείων καὶ κλείσει καὶ οὐκ ἔσται ὁ ἀνοίγων (Is 22:22 θ'; cf. Job 12:14).
3:9a	ἦξουσιν καὶ προσκυνήσουσιν ἐνώπιον τῶν ποδῶν σου	πορεύσονται..παροξυνάντων.. προσκυνήσουσιν ἐπὶ τὰ ἵχνη τῶν ποδῶν σου (Is 60:14 θ'; cf. Is 45:14, 49:23).
3:9b	ἐγώ ἠγάπησά σε	κἀγώ σε ἠγάπησα (Is 43:4).
3:12a	τὸ ὄνομα τῆς πόλεως	τὸ ὄνομα τῆς πόλεως (Ez 48:35).
3:12b	τὸ ὄνομα μου τὸ καινόν	τὸ ὄνομά σου τὸ καινόν (Is 62:2 etc).
3:14b	ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς κτίσεως τοῦ θεοῦ	κύριος ἔκτισέν με ἀρχὴν ὁδῶν αὐτοῦ εἰς ἔργα αὐτοῦ (Prov 8:22).
3:17	λέγεις ὅτι πλούσιός εἰμι καὶ πεπλούτηκα	εἶπεν Εφραιμ Πλὴν πεπλούτηκα (Hos 12:9).
3:19	ἐγώ ὅσους ἐὰν φιλῶ ἐλέγχω καὶ παιδεύω	ὄν γὰρ ἀγαπᾷ κύριος παιδεύει (Prov 3:12).
3:20	Ἴδου ἔστηκα ἐπὶ τὴν θύραν καὶ κρούω· ἐὰν τις..ἀνοίξῃ τὴν θύραν	κρούει ἐπὶ τὴν θύραν "Ἀνοίξόν μοι (Song 5:2).

In his book, The Letters to the Seven Churches of Asia in their Local Setting (1986), Colin Hemer has undertaken a re-evaluation of Ramsay's work. His intention is both to bring Ramsay up to date and to see whether his arguments are still cogent (or were cogent in the first place). He agrees that Ramsay very much neglected the influence of the OT on John

and declares his own intention to do justice both to it and to the contemporary situation. Nevertheless, it is clear where he thinks the priority should be:

It is essential..to recognize the pervasive Old Testament influence on the mind of the writer while focusing more particularly on the application to the needs of the churches in their Gentile environment.⁴³

He criticizes commentators for failing to distinguish the conceptual priority of the letters from the vision of chapter one. Just because John has chosen to narrate the vision before the seven letters, it does not mean that the OT allusions came first and were then applied to the various letters as appropriate. Both contexts must be considered, he says, but:

the setting in a letter is usually the right starting-point if the evidence permits.⁴⁴

This was also the view of Ramsay:

From this appropriateness it follows that the complete description of the Divine Author, which is made up of those seven parts, is logically later than the parts, though it comes first in the book.⁴⁵

According to Lindars:

The place of the Old Testament in the formation of New Testament theology is that of a servant, ready to run to the aid of the gospel whenever it is required, bolstering up arguments, and filling out meaning through evocative allusions, but never acting as the master or leading the way, nor even guiding the process of thought behind the scenes.⁴⁶

43. Hemer, p.210.

44. Hemer, p.17.

45. Ramsay, p.198.

46. "The Place of the OT in the Formation of NT Theology", NTS 23, 1976/7, p.66.

On the other hand, Austin Farrer argued that the description of the son of man in Rev 1:12ff, like the rest of Revelation was 'conceived in the very words which it is written down'.⁴⁷ He then proceeds to show how the seven letters are an exposition of the inaugural vision. He notes, for example, that the titles found in the first four letters work their way back through the vision:⁴⁸

Ephesus	(stars/lamps)	=	1:20	Christ's command
Smyrna	(first/last)	=	1:17	Christ's self-description
Pergamum	(sword)	=	1:16	Christ's attributes
Thyatira	(feet/eyes)	=	1:14b-15a	Christ's person

This is significant because John often divides his 'sevens' into a 'four' and a 'three'. For example, the first four seals introduce the four coloured horses (6:1-8), but then the scheme is dropped and the last three are separately enumerated. Similarly with the trumpets, where the last three are set apart from the first four by being called the 'three woes' (9:12). Farrer thus proposes that the seven letters form two expositions of the vision of chapter one. The first consists of the letters to Ephesus, Smyrna, Pergamum and Thyatira, which work their way backwards through the vision. The second set returns to the 'seven stars' of 1:20 and picks up on what was omitted in the first exposition.

Sardis	(seven stars)	=	1:12,20	Christ's command
Philadelphia	(key of David)	=	1:18	Christ's self-description
Laodicea	(witness)	=	1:5	Christ's attributes

Thus Farrer offers a purely literary theory for the creation of the seven letters, with little reference to actual churches existing at the time.

47. Farrer, p.24.

48. Farrer, pp70-86. Further, he believes that these 4 'types' are the basis of the 4 numbered 'sevens' in Revelation (letters, seals, trumpets, bowls). The errors in these types (seen most clearly in the first 4 letters) are false apostles, false synagogue, false prophet/king and harlot. Farrer maintains that these are the key themes of the letters (false apostles), seals (false synagogue), trumpets (false prophet/king) and bowls (harlot). He says: 'St. John used the four message-types as texts for exposition in the four parts of his book, much as he used the four parts of the Christ vision in chapter i as texts for the messages in ii-iii.' (p.83-4). Sweet, p.78, calls this a 'brilliant exposition' in terms of its pattern, though his exposition seeks to do more (cont)

A third view is the one denied by Hemer but held by many commentators, namely, that John applied the most relevant part of the vision to the individual churches. Thus for Mounce, the fact that the letters are:

integrally related to the vision in chapter 1 follows from the fact that in the introduction to each letter the writer (Christ) identifies himself by means of a descriptive phrase taken from the vision and appropriate for the specific church.⁴⁹

We will thus begin our study on John's use of scripture by asking which of the following hypotheses does most justice to the evidence of the seven letters:

1. The view of Hemer and Ramsay that local conditions led to the various OT texts, which were then combined to create the vision of Rev 1:12ff.
2. The view of Farrer that the vision of Rev 1:12ff came first and that the seven letters are an exposition of that vision.
3. The view of Mounce and others that John applied the most relevant parts of the vision to the particular circumstances of each church.

We will begin with those titles which have a parallel with the descriptive part of the vision in Rev 1:13-16 (Ephesus, Pergamum, Thyatira, Sardis). We will then consider the titles to Smyrna and Philadelphia, which have parallels with the words of the visionary figure (Rev 1:17-18), along with the title to Laodicea, which looks back to the introductory greeting (Rev 1:5). We will then assess which of the three hypotheses does most justice to the facts and conclude by making some initial observations about John's use of the OT.

justice to the historical allusions, for 'it is in fact clear that John had intimate pastoral knowledge of each congregation and was dealing with actual situations in each place' (p.77). How it is possible to combine both a literary and historical explanation for the letters is never made clear.

49. Mounce, p.83 (underlining mine). Boring, p.88, says: 'At the beginning of each letter is a christological affirmation taken from the attributes of the Christophany'.

The Titles of the Divine Speaker

According to Ramsay, it is the metal industry of Thyatira which prompted John to describe the speaker as having 'eyes like a flame of fire' and 'feet like burnished bronze', whilst the presence of the imperial power at Pergamum adequately explains his possession of the 'sharp two-edged sword'. Ephesus, he says, whilst not the official capital,⁵⁰ is the most important place and so the title given to the divine author signifies sovereignty ('holding the seven stars in his hand'). From these three titles, Ramsay believes the vision of Rev 1:13-16 was constructed:

clothed with a long robe and with a golden girdle round his breast; his head and his hair were white as white wool, white as snow; his eyes were like a flame of fire, his feet were like burnished bronze, refined as in a furnace, and his voice was like a sound of many waters; in his right hand he held seven stars, from his mouth issued a sharp two-edged sword, and his face was like the sun shining in full strength.

Sweet⁵¹ agrees that a reader in Thyatira might have spotted an allusion to their metal industry in the vision and adds that those in Laodicea might have done the same concerning the reference to 'wool'. He does not, however, suggest that these local allusions were sufficient to generate the vision. The strongest evidence for this position lies in the word χαλκολίβανος in Rev 1:15 and 2:18. The word is unknown before its appearance in Revelation and Ramsay was of the view that it was the name given to a local product from Thyatira's metal industry. Hemer supports this:

The product, I suggest, was known there as χαλκολίβανος, which I conjecture to be a 'copulative compound', literally rendered 'copper-zinc', λίβανος being an unrecorded word, perhaps peculiar to the trade, for a metal obtained by distillation, and so derived from the verb λείβω.⁵²

50. There is some confusion over whether Ephesus or Pergamum was the official capital at this time. Ramsay assumes it was Pergamum (followed by Barclay, p.87) but Hemer, pp82-3, says the evidence remains ambiguous.

51. Sweet, p.72, 93, 108.

52. Hemer, p.116 (underlining mine)

Now since the Hebrew of Dan 10:6 was rendered χαλκοῦ στίλβοντος by Theodotion and χαλκός ἐξαστράπτων by the LXX, it is quite possible that John has used χαλκολίβανος in order to catch the attention of those living in Thyatira.⁵³ Indeed, Hemer says:

It is reasonable to think that the change from the phrase in Dan.10.6 was deliberate.⁵⁴

The evidence for Ramsay's other two suggestions is somewhat weaker. In regards to the two-edged sword, Ramsay believes the point is to show that the author:

wields that power of life and death, which people imagine to be vested in the Proconsul of the Province.⁵⁵

The image is continued in the body of the letter, where the church is given the warning:

Repent then. If not, I will come to you soon and war against them with the sword of my mouth (Rev 2:16).

This is interesting because 'sharp two-edged sword' and 'sword of my mouth' are combined in the inaugural vision:

from his mouth issued a sharp two-edged sword (Rev 1:16b).

Thus either the words from the vision have been used to generate both the title ('sharp two-edged sword') and the warning ('sword of my mouth') or these two have been combined to generate this part of the vision. At any rate, the relevance to Pergamum is affirmed by Ford:

the attribute of the sword to the speaker of the prophecy is significant because he is addressing the seat of authority in the Roman administration.⁵⁶

53. This is not assuming that John was following one of these Greek versions. The same argument could be used for why John chose to render the Hebrew with χαλκολίβανος. The relationship between the two Greek versions is complex and will be discussed in ch.7.

54. Hemer, p.111.

55. Ramsay, p.293.

56. Ford, p.399.

The third title which Ramsay thinks is explained by the particular place is the attribute of 'holding the seven stars in his hand'. We have seen that this occurs in the vision and prepares for the seven letters. Its origin is disputed but Ramsay claims that it stems from the importance of Ephesus:

Ephesus, as in practical importance the leading city of the Province Asia, might be said in a sense to be the centre, to be in the midst of the Seven Churches; and the Divine figure that addresses her appropriately holds in His hand the Seven Stars, which "are the Seven Churches". The leading city can stand for the whole Province, as the Province can stand for the whole Church.⁵⁷

The weakness of this as an explanation is that it is also used in the title to Sardis:

"And to the angel of the church in Sardis write: 'The words of him who has the seven spirits of God and the seven stars (3:1).

If its use for Ephesus is because it was the leading city, how can it also apply to Sardis, which by Ramsay's own admission, was a city in decay? This is the weakest part of Ramsay's thesis, for if John's intimate knowledge of the cities is the inspiration for the titles, why should he give two cities the same title, especially as:

No city of Asia at that time showed such a melancholy contrast between past splendour and present decay as Sardis.⁵⁸

Ramsay offers two reasons. The first is because Sardis is so dead that only the Spirit, in all its plenitude, can revive it. The second is because an expression of power is suitable to a place which was once a great city. However, this is clearly a case of special pleading. We have been told that an expression of power is suitable for Ephesus because it

57. Ramsay, p.238.

58. Ramsay, p.375. However, Hemer, p.134, says: 'The city long retained a considerable commercial prosperity derived from its advantageous position..The days of its royal and military splendour were certainly gone and its civic pretensions unreal, but Ramsay's portrait of it as a city in decay is not justified'.

is the leading city. Now we are being told that it is suitable for Sardis because it was once a great city. If we combine this with the fact that he says the sword is particularly relevant for Pergamum because it is the capital (he thinks), whilst the promise to Thyatira ('to rule the nations with an iron rod') is particularly apt because it was the 'least fitted by nature and by history'⁵⁹ to do so, it is difficult to escape the impression that Ramsay would be able to accommodate any combination of titles and promises in order to support his thesis. J.Ramsey Michaels says:

One has the feeling that Ramsay's summary of each city's history is shaped by what he already knows of the prophetic message directed to each congregation.⁶⁰

Ramsay's difficulty is that he wants to say too much. We may agree with him that the sword would be a poignant image to address the inhabitants of Pergamum but when we see John using this image for the great battle of Rev 19, we can hardly imagine that these verses were generated by the desire to make a local allusion:

From his mouth issues a sharp sword with which to smite the nations, and he will rule them with a rod of iron; he will tread the wine press of the fury of the wrath of God the Almighty (Rev 19:15).

And the rest were slain by the sword of him who sits upon the horse, the sword that issues from his mouth; and all the birds were gorged with their flesh (Rev 19:21).

John's book opens with a vision of Christ, where one of the images is that 'from his mouth issued a sharp two-edged sword'. After the seals, trumpets and bowls, it draws to a close with a vision of his return, also with the image of the sword from his mouth, but now elaborated with the words, 'to smite the nations'. Thus whilst it may be admitted that the image may have been applied to Pergamum, it is very difficult to accept that it originated there. When this is combined with our comments about

59. Ramsay, p.333.

60. Ramsey Michaels, p.38.

the title to Ephesus, the evidence for Ramsay's position comes down to the use of χαλκολίβανος in Rev 1:15 and 2:18. This can hardly be called persuasive, given that it is only Ramsay's conjecture that it is a local product of Thyatira. It is possible that the word originated with John, λίβανος being added to χαλκός to indicate colour, for example.⁶¹ Further, even if we were to accept that it is a local product, Ramsay's position still does not follow. All it would mean is that when John was drawing on Dan 10:5f for his description of the risen Christ, he changed one of the words in order to prepare for the letter to Pergamum. It is possibly evidence that John's vision is a product of OT meditation and knowledge of the contemporary situation but hardly that the seven letters were conceived first. Indeed, Hemer's comment that John deliberately changed the wording of Dan 10:6 surely implies that he was previously following it, otherwise talk of change is meaningless. A comparison of the two texts shows that this is quite probable:

Rev 1:13b-16

clothed with a long robe and with a golden girdle round his breast; his head and his hair were white as white wool, white as snow; his eyes were like a flame of fire, his feet were like burnished bronze, refined as in a furnace, and his voice was like the sound of many waters; in his right hand he held seven stars, from his mouth issued a sharp two-edged sword, and his face was like the sun shining in full strength.

Dan 10:5-6

a man clothed in linen, whose loins were girded with gold of Uphaz. His body was like beryl, his face like the appearance of lightning, his eyes like flaming torches, his arms and legs like the gleam of burnished bronze, and the sound of his words like the noise of a multitude.

61. The Hebrew consonants 'lbn' refer to something 'white' or 'bright'. Mounce, p.79, Note 41, suggests the second word could be from κλίβανος (furnace). He also quotes Hort's view that the metal might be the colour of frankincense (amber) and is to be equated with what the ancients called *electrum*. The Syriac takes it to be a metal from Lebanon.

With the exception of the face, which comes last in John's vision, both descriptions follow the same order. First is the clothing, which is divided into a linen or ordinary garment, followed by a garment of gold. John then gives a description of his hair whilst Daniel describes his body. They both then describe the flaming eyes, followed by the legs of bronze (Daniel includes 'arms'). Then comes a description of his powerful voice, though they use different metaphors (φωνή ὑδάτων πολλῶν, φωνή ὄχλου). Swete⁶² believed that John's sojourn on Patmos made the 'waters' metaphor more appropriate than the sound of a multitude but it should be noted that John does use the 'multitude' metaphor later in the book (19:6).

We can see from the above that a good case can be made for John's use of Daniel's vision, especially as his response to it is recorded in similar terms to Dan 10:9-12:

When I saw him, I fell at his feet as though dead. But he laid his right hand upon me, saying, "Fear not (Rev 1:17).

and when I heard the sound of his words, I fell on my face in a deep sleep with my face to the ground. And behold, a hand touched me and set me trembling on my hands and knees..Then he said to me, "Fear not, Daniel (Dan 10:9-12).

However, having established the general similarity between the visions, we must now look more closely at the differences. We can group these into the following categories:

1. OT Allusions

And lo, the man clothed in linen (ποδήρης), with the writing case at his side (Ez 9:11).

and one that was ancient of days took his seat; his raiment was white as snow, and the hair of his head like pure wool (Dan 7:9).

And when they went, I heard the sound of their wings like the sound of many waters, like the thunder of the Almighty..(Ez 1:24).

62. Swete, p.18.

And behold, the glory of the God of Israel came from the east; and the sound of his coming was like the sound of many waters (Ez 43:2).

He made my mouth like a sharp sword (Is 49:2).

"So perish all thine enemies, O Lord! But thy friends be like the sun as he rises in his might." (Jd 5:31).

2. Other Additions

'refined as in a furnace'.

'in his right hand he held seven stars'.

3. Omissions

'Uphaz'.

'His body was like beryl'.

'arms'.

4. Changes

'round his breast'/'loins'.

'γαλκολίβανος'

1. OT Allusions

One of the strongest arguments against Ramsay's theory is that it is clear that the vision of Rev 1:12ff is a cluster of scripture references. Thus, whatever the starting point, whether the vision of Dan 10:5f or a set of local references, John's method was to weave them into a mosaic of scripture.⁶³ Hanson comments:

his use of scripture here is very subtle: the various attributes, words and actions of the risen Christ are drawn from descriptions of angels, from the mysterious 'son of man' figure in Daniel 7, and from descriptions of God himself.⁶⁴

63. This is also true of the Parousia vision in Rev 19:15, where the 'sharp sword' is combined with Is 11:4 ('smite the earth') and Ps 2:9 ('break them with a rod of iron').

64. Hanson, p.168. He counts 14 allusions in 7 verses and says that there is hardly a NT passage to match it. Boring, p.83, says: 'Since John is not thinking metaphysically, this combining of angel-language and God-language in his portrayal of Jesus is not problematical: both serve to express the transcendent glory of the exalted Christ.'

Kiddle says:

Where John departs from Daniel's description, it is largely to emphasize Christ's divinity by ascribing to Him attributes previously associated with God.⁶⁵

This is not strictly true since Ez 9 refers to an angel and Is 49:2 concerns the servant of the Lord. Hanson is nearer to the mark in describing John as taking phrases from various OT figures and applying them to Christ. It is like a musician who sets off various instruments in order to produce a full sound. Caird says:

He constantly echoes the Old Testament writings (without ever actually quoting them), partly because this was the language which came most naturally to him, partly because of the powerful emotive effect of familiar associations, and partly no doubt because his vision had actually taken its form, though not its content, from the permanent furniture of his well-stocked mind.⁶⁶

Caird offers three reasons here for John's extensive use of the OT. Firstly, it is the language that came most naturally to him. Beale⁶⁷ says that there is 'general acknowledgement that the Apocalypse contains more OT references than any other NT book' and this can be seen from the charts on the next page.⁶⁸ It is also interesting that the pattern of John's usage is different from that of Matthew, Romans and Hebrews. Thus as well as saying that the language of scripture came naturally to him, we should add that this was particularly so with the prophets.

Secondly, Caird suggests that John uses scripture for its emotive effect. On the inaugural vision, he declares:

65. Kiddle, p.15. Beale has a different view. He thinks that Rev 1 is modelled on Dan 7 and that John moved to Dan 10 by association. We shall discuss this in our next chapter.

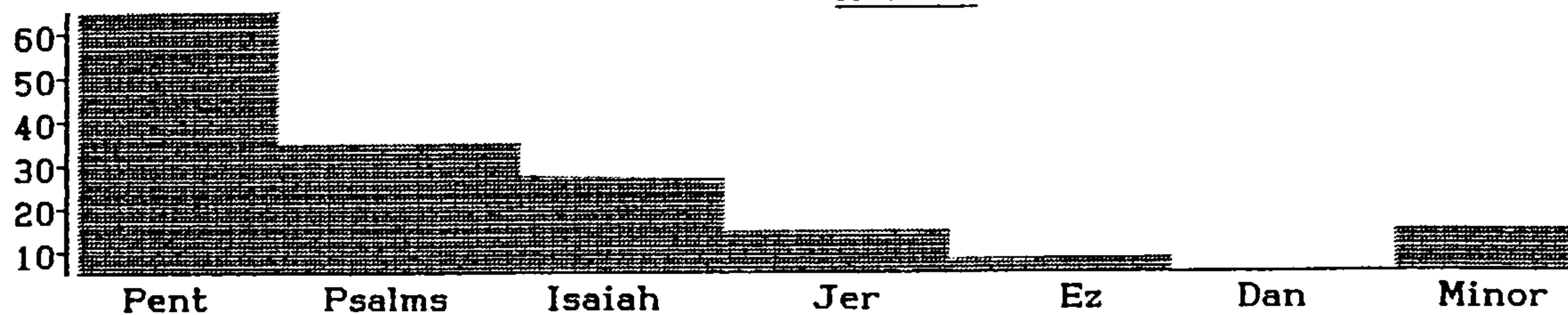
66. Caird, p.74

67. Beale, "Revelation", p.318.

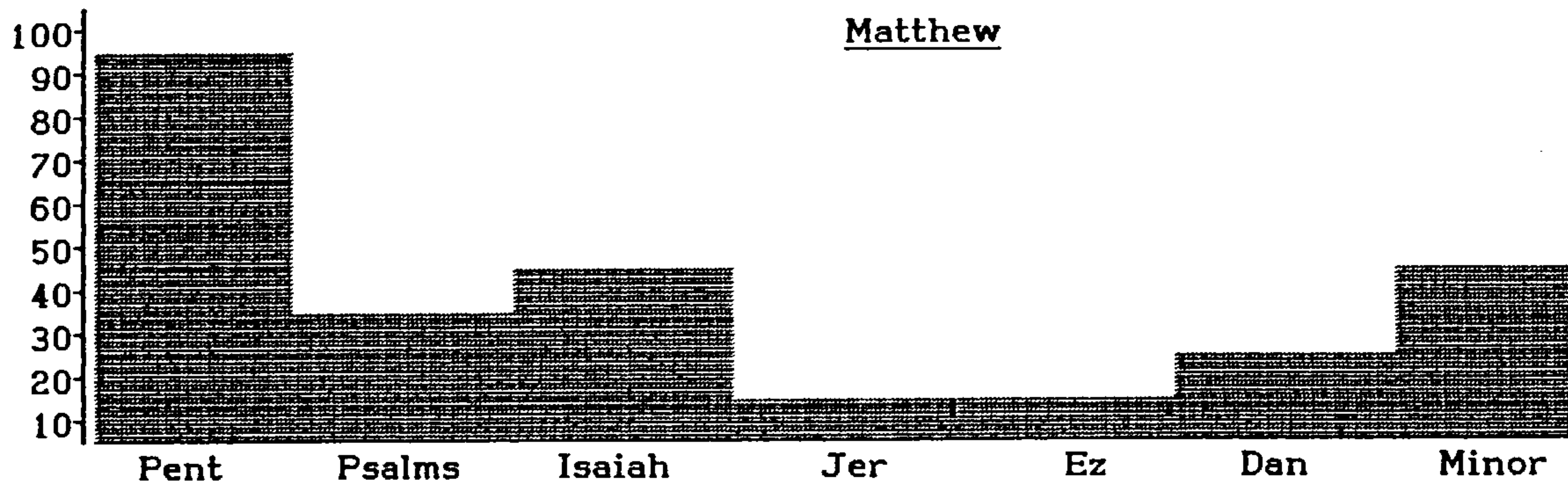
68. The charts are compiled from the list of quotations and allusions in the back of GNT. They are of limited value since they represent the total number listed (itself a subjective affair) without considering the number of words. Thus the graph for Hebrews would look different if its quotation of Jer 31 in ch. 8 took into account its length (over 130 words), rather than counting it as a single quotation. Nevertheless, it is hoped that the graphs convey something of the extent and distribution of the allusions in Revelation.

Number of Quotations and Allusions in Certain NT Books

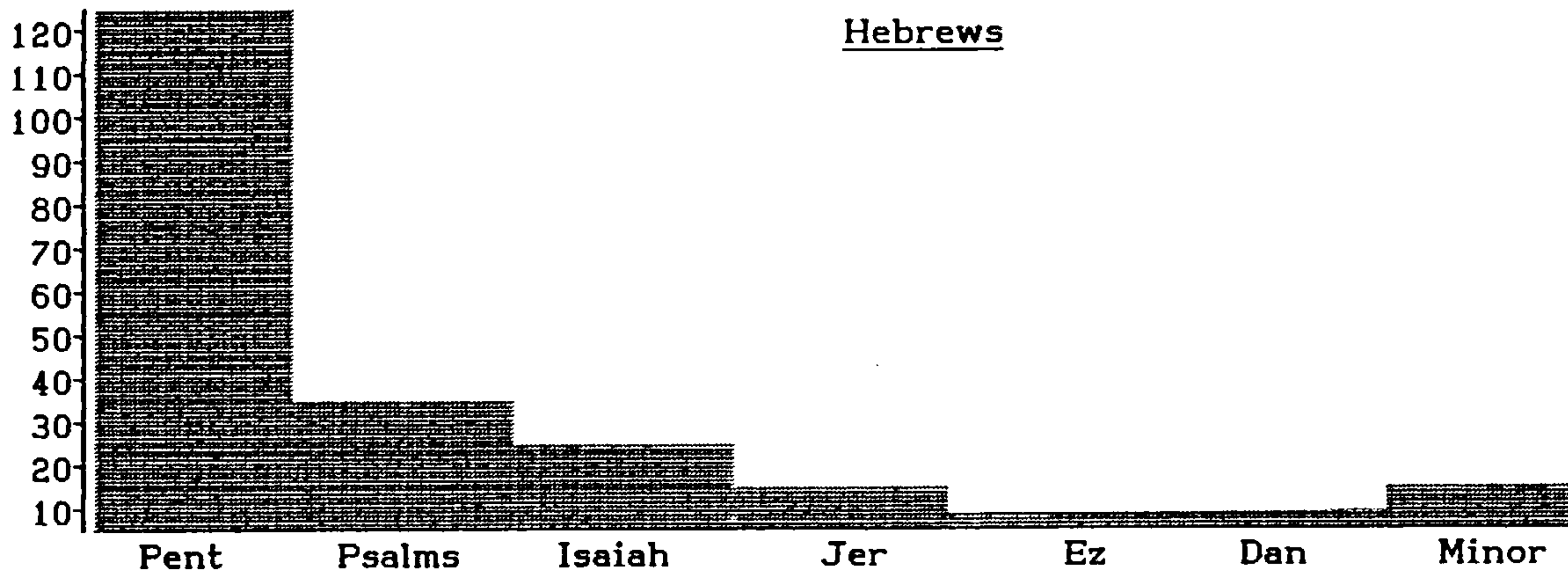
Romans



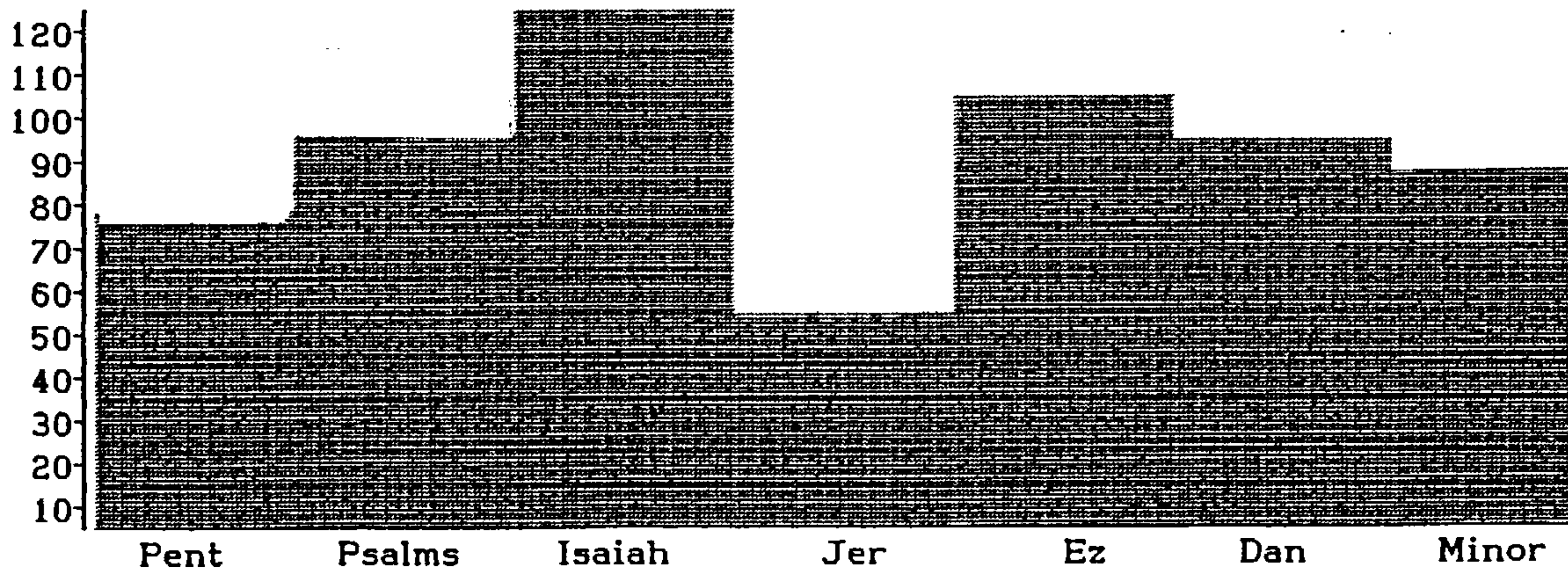
Matthew



Hebrews



Revelation



This is not photographic art. His aim is to set the echoes of memory and association ringing. The humbling sense of the sublime and the majestic which men experience at the sight of a roaring cataract or the midday sun is the nearest equivalent to the awe evoked by a vision of the divine.⁶⁹

For this reason, Caird believes it is unnecessary to compile a list of OT allusions for this would be to 'unweave the rainbow'.⁷⁰ This is correct in the sense that the whole is greater than the parts but on the other hand, our appreciation of the vision can only take place if we familiarise ourselves with the parts.

Thirdly, Caird suggests that the vision had 'actually taken its form..from the permanent furniture of his well stocked-mind.' The suggestion is that visionary experience is not 'wholly out there' but must have points of contact with the visionary's personality. A modern parallel might be the utterances which take place in a Pentecostal church, which are often delivered in the phraseology of the King James Bible. This could be taken as evidence that the utterances are not from God but minds that have been influenced by the text of this great Bible. However, there is no need to insist that these are mutually exclusive explanations. To examine John's literary artistry with the OT does not deny that visionary experience (as he himself claims) is also involved.⁷¹ As Farrer says, 'Revelation reads like a fresh and continuous scriptural meditation, conceived in the very words in which it is written down.'⁷²

Caird qualifies his third suggestion by saying that it was the form, rather than the content, which owes so much to the OT. The reason for this seems to be to safeguard the genuinely Christian nature of the book. The OT may have given John a language to express himself but it could

69. Caird, pp25-6. 70. Caird, p.25.

71. See D.E.Aune, Prophecy in Early Christianity and the Ancient Mediterranean World, Grand Rapids, 1983; L.Hartman, Prophecy Interpreted, Coniectanea Biblica, NT Series 1, Lund, 1966.

72. Farrer, p.24.

not have told him about the death and resurrection of Christ, for example.

Fiorenza has a similar concern:

(John) does not interpret the OT but uses its words, images, phrases, and patterns as a language arsenal in order to make his own theological statement or express his own prophetic vision. He adapts or borrows whole OT sequences as patterns for his original compositions but never refers to the OT as authoritative Scripture.⁷³

We will discuss the implications of this 'qualification' at a later stage. At present, we simply wish to note that both scholars acknowledge John's indebtedness to the 'words, images, phrases, and patterns' of the OT.

2. Other Additions

As well as augmenting Daniel's vision with OT allusions, John makes two other additions. The first is his description that the feet were like burnished bronze, 'refined as in a furnace' (ὡς ἐν χαμίνῳ πεπυρωμένης).⁷⁴ There are several explanations for this. Sweet⁷⁵ thinks that it is an allusion to the 'fiery furnace' of Dan 3:4-6:

"You are commanded, O peoples, nations, and languages, that when you hear the sound of the horn...you are to fall down and worship the golden image that King Nebuchadnezzar has set up; and whoever does not fall down and worship shall immediately be cast into a burning fiery furnace (Theodotion: χάμινον τοῦ πυρός τὴν χαιομένην)."

In support of this, we could mention the following. Firstly, we have already mentioned the possibility that the 'ten days' of Rev 2:10 could be an allusion to Daniel's time of testing (so Ford). Secondly, John may be alluding to this same verse in Rev 13:15, where the image of the beast is given power to 'cause those who would not worship the image of the beast

73. "Apokalypsis and Propheteia", Fiorenza, p.135.

74. This is the reading of AC and printed by NA26. It is one of a number of solecisms where concord between noun and adjective or noun and participle has been neglected (Charles, Vol 1, p.cliii, lists 20 examples). The variant readings appear to be attempts to correct this (εκ χαμίνου, πεπυρωμενω, πεπυρωμενοι).

75. Sweet, p.72. Also Beale, Use of Daniel, p.161.

to be slain.' Thirdly, the expression 'peoples, nations, and languages' is used frequently in Revelation (5:9, 7:9, 11:9, 13:7, 14:6), though always with a fourth term and never in the same order. Thus it is possible that John is setting the scene of his book by alluding to the fiery furnace of Daniel.

Another possibility is that John wishes to allude to the smelting industry of Thyatira. The inclusion of χαλκολίβανος and the explicit mention of ἐν καμίνῳ could mutually support one another. On the other hand, if there is a link with one of the letters, the letter to Laodicea is the most likely, with its exhortation (3:18) to buy 'gold refined by fire' (χρυσίον πεπυρωμένον ἐκ πυρός). More generally, it could be that John simply uses 'smelting' imagery in order to heighten the impact of the words.⁷⁶ Thus in 9:17, the riders of the horses 'wore breastplates the colour of fire' and the angel of 10:1 has 'legs like pillars of fire'.

The second addition ('in his right hand he held seven stars') undoubtedly makes way for the seven letters since 'the mystery of the seven stars which you saw in my right hand...are the angels of the seven churches' (1:20). There is no consensus as to the origin of the image. Charles⁷⁷ cites Bousset's suggestion that they make up the constellation of the Bear but then insists that John would have written τοὺς ἑπτὰ ἀστέρας if he had had this or any other specific reference in mind. For Charles, there are seven stars simply because he wants to write to seven churches (itself inspired by the sacredness of the number 'seven').⁷⁸

76. G.R.Driver, "Ezekiel's Inaugural Vision", *VT* 1, 1951, pp60-62, suggests that the 'smelting imagery' in Ez 1 (and subsequently in Daniel) derives from the exiles' experience of smelting furnaces in Babylon. Consequently, it could be argued that 'smelting imagery' is part and parcel of such visions and need have no link with a particular furnace in a particular place.

77. Charles, Vol 1, p.30.

78. Charles, Vol 1, p.30. Mounce, p.79, is similar: 'The number of stars is determined quite simply by the number of churches to which the Apocalypse is addressed. There is no need to search for a mythological or astrological background'.

Caird suggests the image derives from the seven-branched candelabra in Zechariah's vision. He says:

Once again John is asserting that the church is the new Israel, the true people of God, but with this difference: whereas Israel was represented by a single candelabra with seven lamps, the churches are represented by seven separate standing lamps; for according to the teaching of the New Testament each local congregation of Christians is the church universal in all its fulness.⁷⁹

However, he goes on to say that the 'stars which symbolize the angels are no doubt also the seven planets, pictured as a necklace of glittering jewels hanging from the hand of the Son of Man.'⁸⁰

3. Omissions

Though John expands Daniel's vision to include mention of his head and hair, mouth and face and the possession of the seven stars in his right hand, he omits the references to his body and arms. The latter is perhaps understandable in that he wishes to give a specific reference to the right hand but it is unclear why he omitted mention of the figure's body (σῶμα). It is possible that he took the reference ('like tarshish': RSV 'beryl') to be a reference to the place of origin (Tarshish) and omitted it for the same reason that he omitted 'Ophaz'. On the other hand, this does not explain why he did not replace it with some other reference. In the light of the change from 'loins' to 'breast' (see below), perhaps he avoided this area of his body.

4. Changes

We have discussed at length the change to χρυσολίβανος and have nothing to add to that. In regards to the golden girdle, some scholars think its position is of some significance. Mounce notes that six

79. Caird, p.24.

80. Caird p.25. Sweet, p.71, says: 'The seven planets were a symbol of heavenly dominion, and *in his right hand he held seven stars* would be read both as a contemptuous dismissal of imperial pretensions, and as a bold assertion of the cosmic significance of the congregations of humble and persecuted people whom the *seven stars* represent'.

out of the seven occurrences of ποδήρης in the LXX are associated with the attire of the high priest, and goes on to say:

This, plus the fact that high girding ("at the breasts") denotes the dignity of an important office, suggests that this part of the description as well is intended to set forth the high-priestly function of Christ.⁸¹

Summary

We began this study by asking which of three hypotheses best explains the relationship between the titles of the divine speaker in the seven letters and the inaugural vision. So far, we have not found the theory of Hemer and Ramsay convincing, since:

1. It fails to explain why such contrasting cities as Ephesus and Sardis share the same title.
2. The suggestion that χαλκολίβανος is a product of Thyatira's metal industry is only a speculation. The first occurrence of the word in Greek literature is here and it may be that John coined it himself.
3. The use of 'sword' in the inaugural vision (Rev 1) and Christ's parousia (Rev 19) gives it an importance that makes it unlikely that it originated as a local allusion. Further, in both cases, it is part of a mosaic of scripture references, which adds to the evidence that it is itself an allusion to scripture.
4. It is based on the assumption that local allusions are more important than John's use of the OT. Yet in order to move from local allusions to the description in Rev 1, the hypothesis has to assume that these local allusions immediately generated scripture texts which were then combined with other scripture texts. This does not prove that John began with the scripture texts but it shows that they were more important to John than Ramsay and Hemer are willing to acknowledge.

The view of Farrer will be discussed after we have looked at the two titles which have parallels not in the description of the risen Christ (1:13-16) but the words that follow (1:17-18). Its strength lies in the fact that it is able to offer an explanation for why Ephesus and Sardis share the same title (where Ramsay and Hemer are particularly weak). It also seeks

81. Mounce, p.78. Charles, Vol 1, p.28, quotes Josephus, Ant.iii.7.2: ποδήρης χιτών...ὃν ἐπιζώννυται κατὰ στήθος ὀλίγον τῆς μασχάλης ὑπεράνω τὴν ζώνην περιάγοντες.

to do justice to the evident literary skill that has gone in to Rev 1-3. However, it does have a number of weaknesses which will be considered a little later.

The view that the inaugural vision is a scriptural composition is accepted by many commentators. Similarities with Dan 10:5f suggest that this was the base text or *Vorbild* but the additions and changes show that John was not interested in simply copying Daniel. Rather, by the use of particular words and phrases, it appears that John was intending to 'set the echoes of memory and association ringing'.⁸² For example:

<u>καὶ ἐν μέσῳ τῶν λυχνιῶν</u>	Zech 4:2	(ἐπὶ τὰ <u>λύχνοι</u>)
<u>ὅμοιον υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου</u>	Dan 7:13	(ὡς <u>υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου</u>)
<u>ἐνδεδυμένον ποδήρη καὶ</u>	Ez 9:11	(ἐνδεδυκῶς τὸν <u>ποδήρη</u>)
<u>περιεζωσμένον πρὸς τοῖς</u>	Dan 10:5	(<u>περιεζωσμένη</u>)
<u>μαστοῖς ζώνην χρυσᾶν.</u>	Dan 10:5	(ἐν <u>χρυσίῳ</u>)
<u>ἢ δὲ κεφαλὴ αὐτοῦ καὶ</u>	Dan 7:9	(<u>θριξ τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ</u>)
<u>αἱ τρίχες λευκαὶ ὡς ἔριον</u>	Dan 7:9b	(ὡσεὶ <u>ἔριον καθαρὸν</u>)
<u>λευκὸν ὡς χιῶν καὶ</u>	Dan 7:9a	(ὡσεὶ <u>χιῶν λευκὸν</u>)
<u>οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτοῦ ὡς φλόξ πυρός</u>	Dan 10:6	(<u>λαμπάδες πυρός</u>)
<u>καὶ οἱ πόδες αὐτοῦ ὅμοιοι</u>	Dan 10:6	(<u>καὶ οἱ πόδες - LXX</u>)
<u>χαλκολιβάνῳ</u>	Dan 10:6	(<u>χαλκοῦ στίλβοντος</u>)
<u>ὡς ἐν καμίνῳ πεπυρωμένης</u>	Dan 3:5f	(<u>κάμινον τοῦ πυρός</u>)
<u>καὶ ἡ φωνὴ αὐτοῦ</u>	Dan 10:6	(<u>καὶ ἡ φωνή</u>)
<u>ὡς φωνὴ ὑδάτων πολλῶν,</u>	Ez 1:24	(ὡς <u>φωνὴν ὑδάτος πολλοῦ</u>)
<u>καὶ ἔχων ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ</u>	?	
<u>ἀστέρας ἑπτὰ</u>	?	
<u>καὶ ἐκ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ</u>	Is 49:2	(<u>στόμα μου ὡσεὶ</u>
<u>ῥομφαία δίστομος ὀξεῖα ἐκπορευομένη</u>	Is 49:2	<u>μάχαιραν ὀξεῖαν</u>)
<u>καὶ ἡ ὄψις αὐτοῦ ὡς ὁ ἥλιος</u>	Ju 5:31	(ὡς <u>ἔξοδος ἡλίου - B</u>
<u>φαίνει ἐν τῇ δυνάμει αὐτοῦ.</u>	Ju 5:31	(ἐν <u>δυνάμει αὐτοῦ</u>)

If John's method was to accomplish his purposes by using the 'powerful effect of familiar associations', it is quite possible that local allusions could be a part of this. We cannot accept the view of Hemer and Ramsay that the local allusions generated the vision but that does not mean that they are simply an afterthought (as the phrase 'taken from the

82. Caird, pp25-26. Since John wrote in Greek, our first question has to be whether his choice of words is sufficient to suggest an allusion to previous (Greek) texts where these words occur. This is not to assume that John used Greek texts - only to point out that it will be much more difficult to show how Greek words and phrases are intended to evoke particular Semitic texts. We will discuss this in ch.7

vision' might imply). It could be that John used a variety of sources to create this 'powerful effect' (eg. scripture, local history, actual circumstances of the churches, imperial pretensions). We will return to this after we have considered the rest of the titles.



The Words of the Risen Christ

After John's description of the 'one like a son of man', he falls down as if dead. The figure then touches him and says:

"Fear not, I am the first and the last, and the living one; I died, and behold I am alive for evermore, and I have the keys of Death and Hades (Rev 1:17-18).

These words have parallels with two of the other titles used in the seven letters:

"And to the angel of the church in Smyrna write: 'The words of the first and the last, who died and came to life (Rev 2:8).

"And to the angel of the church in Philadelphia write: 'The words of the holy one, the true one, who has the key of David, who opens and no one shall shut, who shuts and no one opens (Rev 3:7).

It is to be noted that the parallel with the title to Philadelphia only consists of the single word 'key' and some commentators deny that there is any link between them. Thus Mounce says that John appears to have exhausted what he wanted to take from 1:12ff and now looks to other sources 'to present Christ as the Davidic Messiah with absolute power to control entrance to the heavenly kingdom.'⁸³ On the other hand, Krodel says:

The key of David links with and supplements the image of the keys to Hades and Death (1:18). Accordingly, Jesus holds not only the keys to the realm of death but also to the realm of God's eschatological salvation.⁸⁴

Ramsay was of the view that the passage in Is 22:22 was suggested by the suitability of the 'open door' metaphor to Philadelphia. As 'gateway' to the Phrygian land:

83. Mounce, p.116. Boring, p.88, after stating that the titles come from 1:9-20, says: 'When these are exhausted, John supplements them with attributes that are particularly appropriate to his theology or to the church he is addressing.'

84. Krodel, p.137.

Philadelphia must have been pre-eminent among the Seven Cities as the missionary Church. We have no other evidence of this; but the situation marks out this line of activity as natural, and the letter clearly declares that the Philadelphian church acted accordingly.⁸⁵

Ramsay admits that we have no actual evidence for this but even it were true, it is hard to accept his further point that the 'open door' metaphor suggested Is 22:22, which then led to the use of 'key of David' in the title and 'keys of Death and Hades' in the vision. If we are looking for a direction of dependence, Krodel's suggestion is much more likely, namely, a movement from 'keys of Death and Hades' ('Death and Hades' also occurs at 6:8, 20:13,14) to the 'key' mentioned in Is 22:22 ('key of the house of David').⁸⁶ This was then applied to the church at Philadelphia, both as a title and as part of the promise ('pillar in the temple of my God').⁸⁷ Why John applied temple imagery to the church at Philadelphia rather than any of the other churches is unclear. Farrer, of course, believed that this was part of the second exposition of the vision:

Sardis	(seven stars)	=	1:12,20	Christ's command
Philadelphia	(key of David)	=	1:18	Christ's self-description
Laodicea	(witness)	=	1:5	Christ's attributes

This would undoubtedly be more convincing if the title to Laodicea was taken from the vision rather than the introductory greeting. For example, he could have used the long robe, the golden girdle, the white hair, the voice or the face shining like the sun.⁸⁸ A possible answer to this is that the letter to Laodicea is special in that it is the last of the seven letters and forms the conclusion to the first section of John's book (Rev 1-3). It is therefore understandable that the reference goes back to

85. Ramsay, p.406. Tengbom, p387, says: 'The church seemingly had a wide open opportunity for missionary activity and it did not fail in carrying out the Lord's great commission.'

86. As Ozanne, p.95, says: 'one verse immediately suggested to him others on the same theme.'

87. Hemer, p.161, thinks that Is 60 is the prominent passage, with Ez 48 and Is 22 also in mind. Significantly, he says: 'The writer is apparently applying Isa. 60 creatively to the situation of the church in Philadelphia.'

88. A point made by Mounce, p.116, Note 18.

the introductory greeting (forming an inclusion) rather than the vision.

Ramsay makes a similar point about the promise to Laodicea:

Now, when it is remembered that the Seven Letters were not real letters, intended to be sent separately to Seven Churches, but form one literary composition, it becomes evident that an epilogue to the whole is needed.⁸⁹

However, if this is the correct explanation of the title 'faithful witness', it means that the only connection between the titles in these three letters and the inaugural vision is the single word 'key'. It hardly qualifies, therefore, as a second exposition of the vision.

Lastly, we turn to the letter to Smyrna. We have already noted that Ramsay thinks the title 'died and came to life' (which he prefers to translate 'died and yet lived') is particularly apt for Smyrna:

All Smyrnaean readers would at once appreciate the striking analogy to the early history of their own city which lies in that form of address.⁹⁰

Once again, however, it is difficult to accept that this is the inspiration behind the words of the vision:

I am the first and the last, and the living one; I died, and behold I am alive for evermore (1:17b).

This sentence appears to be a deliberate juxtaposition of an OT title for God ('first and last') and Christian testimony to the resurrection ('I died, and behold, I am alive for evermore').⁹¹ If this is so, it is not difficult to see how this might have been changed to the third person and used in the letter:

89. Ramsay, p.431. So also Bauckham, p.6.

90. Ramsay, p.269.

91. Charles, Vol 1, p.32, thinks that the phrase 'I am alive for evermore' may be influenced by the description of God in Dan 4:31, 12:7. Another example of such a juxtaposition is Rev 5:5f, where the 'Lion of the tribe of Judah' is identified with the 'slain Lamb' of Christian tradition. This use of the OT will be discussed in ch. 6.

ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ πρῶτος καὶ ὁ ἔσχατος
καὶ ὁ ζῶν⁹²
καὶ ἐγενόμην νεκρὸς
καὶ ἰδοὺ
ζῶν εἰμι εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων

Τάδε λέγει ὁ πρῶτος καὶ ὁ ἔσχατος
ὃς ἐγένετο νεκρὸς
καὶ ἔζησεν.

On the other hand, it is difficult to accept that such a reference to God's eternity/Christ's death and resurrection derives from an allusion to Smyrna's history. It is possible that the inhabitants of Smyrna would see a special significance in the words but highly unlikely that this is the origin of such an overtly theological statement.⁹³ Thus nothing in the titles to Philadelphia and Smyrna adds to the evidence for the thesis of Ramsay and Hemer, which can now be dismissed.⁹⁴

We turn then to Farrer's hypothesis. We have seen that the second group of titles hardly warrants the description of a second exposition of the vision, for the only link is the single word 'key'. There are also other difficulties with accepting his hypothesis. For example, whilst it is true that both the seals and the trumpets divide into a 'four' and a 'three', the position of the 'He who has an ear' clause in the letters suggests a pattern of 'three' followed by 'four':⁹⁵

92. This phrase is omitted by a few MSS, possibly because of the parallel in 2:8.

93. Hemer, p.76, says: 'we must recognize that in fact Smyrna had a more nearly continuous history than Ramsay and his followers have allowed.' He also regarded Ramsay's rendering 'died and yet lived' as 'unnecessarily pedantic' (p.61).

94. L.L.Thompson, The Book of Revelation. Apocalypse and Empire, Oxford, 1990, p.203, offers this summary: 'Hemer's work represents one way of trying to relate the language of the Book of Revelation to a social setting. He assumes that the language is transparently referential and that a major task of the social historian is to find the references in the social situation. To do that, Hemer must sometimes search through a wide range of literary, epigraphic, and numismatic sources; and after such a search, the connections often remain very tenuous.' C.H.H.Scobie, "Local References in the Letters to the Seven Churches", NTS 39, 1993, pp606-624, seeks to defend Hemer from Prigent's claim that there are no local references in the letters but is clear that 'it is not being claimed that the local references furnish the *origin* of the terms in question' (p.621).

95. Bauckham says: 'This clear structural difference between the first three and the last four messages is ignored by Farrer in his unconvincing attempt to find subtler indications of a 4 + 3 structure in the seven messages', Bauckham, p.10. Milligan, pp33ff, suggests that the 'three' and 'four' represent 'the divine' and 'the world' respectively. Thus whilst the first three have their problems, they are not trafficking with the world like the last four. However, this seems quite arbitrary. For example, the condemnation of the church at Philadelphia does not appear to be any more severe than to Pergamum. Aune, Early Christian Prophecy, p.278, says: 'no satisfying explanation has been given for this variation.'

Ephesus...
He who has an ear...
To him who conquers (Τῷ νικῶντι)

Thyatira...
He who conquers (καὶ ὁ νικῶν)
He who has an ear...

Smyrna...
He who has an ear...
He who conquers (Ὁ νικῶν)

Sardis...
He who conquers (Ὁ νικῶν)
He who has an ear...

Pergamum...
He who has an ear...
To him who conquers (Τῷ νικῶντι)

Philadelphia...
He who conquers (Ὁ νικῶν)
He who has an ear...

Laodicea...
He who conquers (Ὁ νικῶν)⁹⁶
He who has an ear...

Further, it is by no means definite that the titles to Ephesus and Sardis are intended to look back to 1:20. It could be that one or other of them looks back to the first mention of 'seven stars' in 1:16:

καὶ ἔχων ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ
ἀστέρας ἑπτὰ..(1:16)

Τάδε λέγει ὁ κρατῶν τοὺς (2:1)
ἑπτὰ_ἀστέρας ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ αὐτοῦ

ἑπτὰ_ἀστέρων οὓς εἶδες
ἐπὶ τῆς δεξιᾶς μου (1:20)

Τάδε λέγει ὁ ἔχων...καὶ (3:1)
τοὺς ἑπτὰ_ἀστέρας

In favour of both titles looking back to 1:20 is the word order ἑπτὰ ἀστέρας. Also in favour of 2:1 looking back to 1:20 is the omission of χειρὶ. On the other hand, the title in 2:1 agrees with 1:16 in its use of ἐν (rather than ἐπὶ) and αὐτοῦ (instead of μου), whilst 3:1 agrees with its use of ἔχων. The use of κρατέω in 2:1 has no parallel in Rev 1 though it is frequent in the letters (2:1,13,14,15,25, 3:11). Thus it is by no means clear that the use of the title 'seven stars' is supposed to point back to 1:20. It is equally possible that it points back to 1:16 or indeed to both.

Lastly, the biggest obstacle to accepting Farrer's hypothesis is that it offers a purely literary explanation for the seven letters, whereas most commentators are prepared to accept at least some of the local allusions

96. As Aune, "Form and Function", pp193ff, notes, there are in fact three syntactical constructions used. The first is the use of the dative Τῷ νικῶντι δώσω αὐτῷ (2:7,17). The second is the nominative ὁ νικῶν used as a subject of the verb (2:11, 3:5). The third is the same participle but used as a Nominative Absolute (2:26, 3:12,21). He says that no satisfactory explanation has been offered for these variations.

proposed by Ramsay and Hemer.⁹⁷ Thus Farrer's hypothesis is to be rejected for the following reasons:

1. It is unclear that the titles to Ephesus and Sardis are intended to point back to 1:20 rather than 1:15.
2. If we are looking for signs of structure, the position of the 'He who has an ear' clause suggests a 'three-four' rather than the 'four-three' that Farrer requires.
3. The last three titles are hardly a second exposition of the vision when the only link is the single word 'key'.
4. Few scholars can accept that the letters contain no references to local conditions.

This leaves our third hypothesis, that John took from the vision what was most relevant to the individual churches. In favour of this view is the following:

1. It allows us to see the vision as primarily a scriptural composition, as most commentators accept.
2. It allows us to accept the existence of at least some local allusions in the letters.
3. It agrees with the order of the book, where the vision comes first and the seven letters follow.
4. It explains why the relationship between vision and titles is imperfect. John took from the vision what was most relevant but was not governed by any predetermined plan. If 'faithful witness' was what he wanted to say to Laodicea, it was of no concern that this did not appear in the vision.⁹⁸
5. It offers a credible view of the composition of the letters, where the rhetorical effect is deliberately enhanced by using allusions to scripture, local history, actual circumstances of the churches and imperial pretensions. It also sets up a network of cross-references within the Book of Revelation itself (in particular, titles to Rev 1, promises to Rev 19-22).⁹⁹

97. For example, Barclay, Caird, Charles, Court, Ford, Krodel, Mounce, Sweet, Tengbom.

98. We have already noted Mounce's comment that by the time he got to the letter to Philadelphia, he had exhausted what he wanted to take from the vision and so went to Is 22:22 (see Note 82). Charles, Vol 1, p.26, says: 'It seems to have been the intention of our author to connect each of the Seven Letters with a special title. But this intention was carried out only partially and in a superficial manner..'. This is part of his argument that they were not originally composed for their present setting. Hemer, p.13, says: 'Often our text seems to derive from a meditation combining two or three scriptural passages and applying mingled reminiscences of them all to the present need of a recipient church.'

99. The latter point is especially emphasized in the work by J.Webb Mealy, After the Thousand Years. Resurrection and Judgment in Revelation 20, JSNT Supp 70, Sheffield, 1992. He says on p.13: 'context in Revelation consists of a system of references that progressively build up hermeneutical precedents in the text, precedents that precondition the meaning of each new passage in highly significant ways.'

Its weakness is that the phrase 'taken from the vision' suggests a rather mechanical process whereby the vision came first and was then ransacked for possible allusions to the churches. This is probably what Hemer is arguing against, for when he is not being polemical, he can speak of John 'applying Isa. 60 creatively to the situation of the church in Philadelphia'¹⁰⁰ or even that:

our text seems to derive from a meditation combining two or three scriptural passages and applying mingled reminiscences of them all to the present need of a recipient church.¹⁰¹

This appears to suggest two processes. Firstly, there is an 'intertextual' process whereby texts suggest other texts by some form of association. This is not necessarily related to the 'relevance' of these texts to particular needs in the first instance. They are generated by common words, similar images or phrases, common ideas and no doubt a host of undefinable connections that exist in the author's mind. Secondly, certain combinations of words stayed in the mind ('mingled reminiscences') because of their particular appropriateness to the needs of the churches. In other words, what we are talking about is an interaction in John's mind between various OT texts and the needs of the churches. Of course, we do not have access to John's mind and cannot be sure that the book of Revelation is an accurate expression of it.¹⁰² Nevertheless, we have been able to show that two positions are untenable:

1. That John started with a set of local allusions which then suggested various OT allusions.
2. That John started with the vision and then composed a set of letters as an exposition or expositions of it.

100. Hemer, p.161.

101. Hemer, p.13.

102. This is why literary critics speak of the 'implied author', since it is the text that we have before us, not the mind of the author.

Having ruled out these two extremes, the chapters that follow will seek to explore this interaction by looking at John's use of Daniel (ch.3) and Ezekiel (ch.4). All agree that these two books have been very influential on the structure and language of Revelation but opinions differ on how this is to be explained. Did John's situation govern his interpretation of these books (as the quote from Lindars¹⁰³ would seem to suggest) or did these books inform or guide his interpretation of the situation? We turn first to John's use of Daniel.

103. See on p.33.

CHAPTER 3: JOHN'S USE OF DANIEL

According to Charles¹, John alludes to twenty-seven different verses in Daniel and these are drawn from eight of its twelve chapters. The distribution is as follows:

Dan 2 (4)	Dan 7 (11)
Dan 3 (1)	Dan 8 (1)
Dan 4 (2)	Dan 10 (3)
Dan 5 (1)	Dan 12 (4)

It can be seen from this that by far the most allusions come from Dan 7, a chapter quoted elsewhere in the NT.² With the exception of Dan 5:23 and 8:10, the remaining verses are either to do with the Nebuchadnezzar material (Dan 2-4) or the description and words of the interpreting angel (Dan 10,12). We will thus look at John's use of Daniel under four headings:

1. Nebuchadnezzar material (2:28,29,35,45; 3:6, 4:30, 4:34).
2. Vision of the 'beasts' and the 'one like a son of man' (Dan 7:3, 6,7,8,9,10,13,21,22,25,26).
3. Interpreting Angel (10:5,6,9; 12:1,4,7,9).
4. Dan 5:23 and 8:10.

1. John's Use of the Nebuchadnezzar Material (Dan 2-4)

In the second chapter of Daniel, the author tells how Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, had a distressing dream which none of his magicians or wise men could interpret. The dream consisted of a great image:

The head of this image was of fine gold, its breast and arms of silver, its belly and thighs of bronze, its legs of iron, its feet partly of iron and partly of clay (Dan 2:32-33).

1. Charles, Vol 1, pp1xviii-1xxx. Ozanne, pp66-81, adds 3:4,7,29; 7:2,20; 8:2; 9:21. In addition to these, GNT includes 1:12,14; 2:47; 6:26; 7:14,18,24,27; 8:26; 9:6,10; 10:13,21; 11:36.

2. GNT lists Mt 24:30,26:64, Mk13:26,14:62, Lk21:27 as quotations and Mt19:28, 28:18, Lk1:33, 21:8, Jn12:34, 1Cor6:2 as allusions.

The dream continued by telling how the feet of iron and clay were broken to pieces by an uncut stone, followed by the bronze, silver and gold parts, so that not a trace of them could be found. Finally, the stone which struck the image became 'a great mountain and filled the whole earth'. The king was greatly troubled and summoned his magicians and wise men to tell him not only the interpretation but also the dream itself. When this proved impossible, the king gave orders that they should all be slain, including Daniel and his friends. In order to avert this crisis, Daniel requests an audience with the king and claims that he is able to give the interpretation. This is granted and at the appointed time, Daniel says to the king:

"No wise men, enchanters, magicians, or astrologers can show to the king the mystery which the king has asked, but there is a God in heaven (θεὸς ἐν οὐρανῷ) who reveals (ἀποκαλύπτων) mysteries (μυστήρια), and he has made known to King Nebuchadnezzar what will be in the latter days (ὃ δεῖ γενέσθαι ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν) (2:27-28).

Daniel then proceeds to describe Nebuchadnezzar's dream to him, along with its interpretation. The various parts of the image represent a series of kingdoms, starting with Babylon. Nebuchadnezzar himself is the golden head (v37). After him will come two inferior kingdoms (silver, bronze) and then a fourth kingdom which will 'break and crush' the others (v40). The 'feet partly of iron and partly of clay' is given a more complex interpretation. The iron represents strength because 'iron breaks to pieces and shatters all things' (v40). The clay means that the kingdom will be brittle (v42). The combination of the two elements represents inter-marriage but since iron and clay do not properly mix, it will be a divided kingdom. Then:

the God of heaven will set up a kingdom which shall never be destroyed, nor shall its sovereignty be left to another people. It shall break in pieces all these kingdoms and bring them to an end, and it shall stand for ever (Dan 2:44).

Daniel concludes by declaring that 'a great God has made known to the king what shall be hereafter' (μετὰ ταῦτα replacing ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν in Theodotion). The king is overwhelmed at this and commands that offerings be made to Daniel, confessing that:

Truly, your God is God of gods and Lord of kings, and a revealer of mysteries (Dan 2:47).³

The book of Revelation is also concerned with the revelation of mysteries. It opens with the words:

The revelation (ἀποκάλυψις) of Jesus Christ, which God gave him to show to his servants what must soon take place (ὃ δεῖ γενέσθαι ἐν τάχει) (Rev 1:1).

The use of both ἀποκάλυψις⁴ and ὃ δεῖ γενέσθαι points to a conscious dependence on Daniel, especially as the explanation given in Rev 1:20 involves the disclosure of a μυστήριον:

As for the mystery (μυστήριον) of the seven stars which you saw in my right hand...the seven stars are the angels of the seven churches and the seven lampstands are the seven churches.

That being so, it is of note that John does not follow either the ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν of Dan 2:28 or the μετὰ ταῦτα of 2:45. Instead, he uses the expression ἐν τάχει, from which Ford deduces that the 'crisis appears more urgent in Revelation than in earlier apocalyptic literature'.⁵ Beale is more specific:

3. Trudinger, p.135f, cites this verse and Deut 10:17 as the sources of the epithet, 'Lord of lords and King of kings' in Rev 17:14. On the other hand, G.K.Beale, "A Reconsideration of the Text of Daniel in the Apocalypse", *Bib* 73, 1986, p.540, thinks that the Septuagint text of Dan 4:37 is the source. He points out that this is the only OT text where both phrases are found together (κύριος τῶν κυρίων καὶ βασιλεὺς τῶν βασιλέων). He also notes that this phrase is completely lacking in both the MT and Theodotion of this verse.

4. Charles, Vol 1, p.5, says: 'In Theodotion's rendering of Daniel the verb ἀποκαλύπτειν is used exactly in the sense of the noun ἀποκάλυψις in the title (of John's book).'

5. Ford, p.373.

What Daniel expected to occur in the distant future - the defeat of cosmic evil and ushering in of the kingdom - John expects to begin in his own generation, and perhaps has already been inaugurated.⁶

The importance of the phrase ἃ δεῖ γενέσθαι, with John's addition of ἐν τάχει, is further emphasized by its repetition at the end of the book:

"These words are trustworthy and true. And the Lord, the God of the spirits of the prophets, has sent his angel to show his servants what must soon take place (ἃ δεῖ γενέσθαι ἐν τάχει) (Rev 22:6).

Thus the book of Revelation begins and ends with a modified allusion⁷ to Dan 2. In between these two references, there are two other places where John alludes to this important phrase. In Rev 4:1, John is invited to "Come up hither, and I will show you what must take place after this" (ἃ δεῖ γενέσθαι μετὰ ταῦτα). This form agrees exactly with the wording of Dan 2:45 (Theodotion). The other reference is Rev 1:19, where John is told to 'write what you see, what is and what is to take place after this'. The Greek is slightly different here (ἃ μέλλει γενέσθαι) and may reflect the diction of Is 48:6.⁸ Thus not only does the phrase occur at the beginning and end of John's book, it also occurs at important transitions in the text and can be used to divide the book into four sections:⁹

- | | | |
|----|-----------------------------------|-------------|
| 1. | Introduction and inaugural vision | (1:1-18) |
| 2. | The seven letters to the churches | (1:19-3:22) |
| 3. | Apocalyptic visions | (4:1-22:5) |
| 4. | Conclusion | (22:6-21) |

6. "Revelation", p.329.

7. Trudinger believes that the expression, even though it only consists of three words, is sufficiently distinctive to be called a quotation. On his analysis, Revelation contains 9 quotations from the book of Daniel, along with 13 allusions.

8. So Swete, p.cxliv, Moffatt, p.347.

9. Beale, Use of Daniel, p.277, sees this as important evidence for his view that the 'contents of the whole book are to be conceived of ultimately within the thematic framework of Daniel 2.' For a different view, see W.C.Van Unnik, "A Formula Describing Prophecy", NTS 9, 1963, pp86-94. More recently, Beale, "The Interpretative Problem of Rev.1:19", NovT 34, 1992, pp360-387, offers a survey of 6 different ways of relating the three-fold structure of Rev 1:19 to the contents of the whole book, whilst attempting to show the superiority of his own view expressed in Use of Daniel.

In Rev 20:11, a vision of the great white throne and him who sits on it is followed by the statement that 'earth and sky fled away, and no place was found for them' (καὶ τόπος οὐχ εὐρέθη αὐτοῖς). These exact words are found in Theodotion's translation of Dan 2:35:¹⁰

then the iron, the clay, the bronze, the silver, and the gold, all together were broken in pieces, and became like the chaff of the summer threshing floors; and the wind carried them away, so that not a trace of them could be found (καὶ τόπος οὐχ εὐρέθη αὐτοῖς).

Another significant use of the Nebuchadnezzar stories comes in Rev 13:15, where anyone who will not bow down and worship the image of the beast will be slain. This is the same threat that the 'peoples, nations and languages' faced in Dan 3 and that Daniel's three friends emerged victorious:

when you hear the sound of the horn, pipe, lyre...you are to fall down and worship the golden image that King Nebuchadnezzar has set up; and whoever does not fall down and worship shall immediately be cast into a burning fiery furnace (Dan 3:5-6).

We saw in our last chapter that some commentators¹¹ take the phrase 'refined as in a furnace' (Rev 1:15) to be an allusion to this verse. This remains a possibility but almost all scholars recognize the reference in 13:15.¹² Opinions differ, however, as to its implications for the setting of John's book. Charles¹³ cites Pliny's letter to Trajan (10.96) to the effect that shortly after John's time, failure to worship the Emperor's image was a capital offense. Indeed, according to Eusebius:

10. A similar phrase occurs in Rev 12:8 (οὐδὲ τόπος εὐρέθη αὐτῶν) referring to the dragon and his angels. Charles notes the allusion to Dan 2:35 but offers no comment. It is mentioned in NA26 but not GNT. Ozanne, p.77, recognizes it but his comments are aimed at discounting it as evidence for John's use of a Greek text. He says: 'The variation between αὐτοῖς and αὐτῶν in Rev 12:8 (though not in 20:11) indicates that no direct reference was made to Theod.' Such is his determination to show that John only used Semitic sources!

11. Sweet, p.72; Beale, Use of Daniel, p.161.

12. eg. Ozanne, Trudinger, Beale, Charles, Sweet, Caird, Mounce, Krodel.

13. Charles, Vol 1, p.361. For a different conclusion, see F.Gerald Downing, "Pliny's Prosecutions of Christians: Revelation and 1 Peter", JSNT 34, 1988, pp105-123.

Many were the victims of Domitian's appalling cruelty. At Rome great numbers of men distinguished by birth and attainments were for no reason at all banished from the country and their property confiscated. Finally, he showed himself the successor of Nero in enmity and hostility to God (Eccl. Hist. 3:17).

Indeed, so brightly shone at that time the teaching of our faith that even historians who accepted none of our beliefs unhesitatingly recorded in their pages both the persecution and the martyrdoms to which it led (Eccl. Hist. 3:18).

The same emperor ordered the execution of all who were of David's line, and there is an old and firm tradition that a group of heretics accused the descendents of Jude - the brother, humanly speaking, of the Saviour - on the ground that they were of David's line and related to Christ Himself (Eccl. Hist. 3:19).

That John wrote at a time of extreme persecution has been repeated in countless commentaries but an increasing number of scholars have doubted whether this is correct. Even in Eusebius, there are signs that it might be exaggerated. Thus Tertullian is quoted as saying that Domitian 'almost equalled Nero in cruelty' but then goes on to add:

but - I suppose because he had some common sense - he very soon stopped, even recalling those he had banished (Eccl. Hist. 3:20).

In the story about the descendents of Jude, far from being executed as relations of Jesus, Eusebius records that 'Domitian found no fault with them, but despising them as beneath his notice let them go free and issued orders terminating the persecution of the Church' (Eccl. Hist. 3:20). Thus the evidence of Eusebius is deeply ambiguous. The rest of the evidence comes chiefly from Tacitus, Suetonius and Dio Cassius but according to Krodel:

they had an ax to grind and they ground it with vengeance after Domitian's death. As persons of senatorial or equestrian rank whose influence Domitian had diminished in the interest of the empire, they lost no time maligning him in every conceivable way once he was dead.¹⁴

14. Krodel, p.36f. He goes on to state that even Domitian's detractors had to admit that he had his good points. Thus Suetonius (Domitian 8.2) admits that he was actually a competent and social-minded administrator. Thompson, p.159, says: 'Domitian was no more and no less insistent on divine prerogatives than other emperors and, so far as one can tell, he did not change in any fundamental way the social expressions of imperial religion.'

A close reading of Revelation also casts doubt on a background of intense persecution. Indeed, according to the letters, only one person is specifically mentioned as having lost his life (Rev 2:13: Antipas), whilst the problem in many of the churches is laxity and lukewarmness. Sweet says:

The letters to the churches suggest that persecution was occasional and selective, and that the chief dangers were complacency and compromise.¹⁵

This has led A.Y.Collins to adopt the phrase 'perceived persecution'. She points out that a person's response to persecution is not necessarily an accurate guide to its actual intensity. Thus Revelation:

was indeed written in response to a crisis, but one that resulted from the clash between the expectations of John and like-minded Christians and the social reality within which they had to live.¹⁶

Collins agrees that a 'crisis' prompted the writing of the book but not one that was obvious from external conditions. It was only evident through the author's angle of vision and the purpose of Revelation is to share that angle of vision with his readers:

The book of Revelation is not simply a product of a certain social situation, not even a simple response to circumstances. At root is a particular religious view of reality, inherited in large part, which is the framework within which John interpreted his environment.¹⁷

Collins also suggests that John's purpose was not only to point out the 'problem' to those who were blind to it (in the author's view). He also wished to offer a solution or in her words, a 'catharsis'. By entering into the symbolic world of the apocalypse, the reader is urged to take his or her frustrations, disappointments and anger and project them on to the larger screen of God's battle with Satan. Drawing on depth psychology,

15. Sweet, p.26.

16. A.Y.Collins, Crisis and Catharsis. The Power of the Apocalypse, Philadelphia, 1984, p.165. See also A.Y.Collins, "Vilification and Self-definition in the Book of Revelation", HTR 79, 1986, pp308-320.

17. Crisis and Catharsis, p.106f.

she argues that this projection or transfer of destructive emotions brings about a 'catharsis', rather like a Greek tragedy. This then leads to more healthy responses such as commitment, faith and moral determination. If this is so, then John's allusions to Daniel are not because John's readers face the same fate but in order to see their situation in the light of the larger struggle.¹⁸

Before we leave John's use of the Nebuchadnezzar material, there are two further allusions noted by Charles. The first is the phrase 'Babylon the great' (Βαβυλῶν ἡ μεγάλη) in Rev 14:8:

Another angel, a second, followed, saying, "Fallen, fallen is Babylon the great (Βαβυλῶν ἡ μεγάλη) (Rev 14:8).

"Is not this great Babylon (Βαβυλῶν ἡ μεγάλη), which I have built by my mighty power as a royal residence and for the glory of my majesty?" (Dan 4:30).

In this same episode (4:34), Nebuchadnezzar confesses 'I blessed the Most High, and praised and honoured him who lives for ever' (Theodotion: τῷ ζῶντι εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα). Charles lists this as the source of Rev 1:18 (ζῶν εἰμι εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων), though he also mentions Sir 18:1 and 1Enoch 5:1. Trudinger considers it close enough to be a quotation.

2. John's Use of Dan 7

According to the lists in Charles, John's use of Dan 7 occurs mainly in Rev 1, 11, 13 and 20. For Rev 1, we saw in our last chapter how John combines phrases from Dan 7 with Dan 10 and other scriptures to produce his composite description of the 'one like a son of man'. Before that, he combines an allusion to Dan 7:13 with Zech 12:10,12, a combination also found in Matt 24:30:

18. Caird, p.177, says: 'Like Nebuchadnezzar's decree, the threat of the second monster expresses the demand of the state for total submission, but it does not necessarily imply total martyrdom.'

Behold, he is coming with (μετὰ) the clouds, and every eye will see him, every one who pierced him; and all tribes of the earth (πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαὶ τῆς γῆς) will wail (κόψονται) on account of him (Rev 1:7).

Then will appear the sign of the Son of man in heaven, and then all the tribes of the earth (πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαὶ τῆς γῆς) will mourn (κόψονται), and they will see the Son of man coming on (ἐπι) the clouds of heaven with power and great glory (Matt 24:30).

The use of the phrase πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαὶ τῆς γῆς by both John and Matthew (LXX: ἡ γῆ κατὰ φυλάς φυλάς) points to a literary connection between them and Swete believed that they both go back to a testimony source.¹⁹ Charles, on the other hand, believed that John is dependent on Matthew for the combination but has rendered the OT texts for himself, stating that John 'keeps more closely to Daniel and Zechariah and reproduces their text more fully'.²⁰

Moving on to Rev 11, Charles found three allusions to Dan 7. The first is in v2, where the time reference for the trampling of the city is given as forty-two months (Dan 7:25). The second and third are both found in v7, where the beast is introduced:

And when they had finished their testimony, the beast that ascends (ἀναβαῖνον) from the bottomless pit (ἀβύσσου) will make war upon them (ποιήσει μετ' αὐτῶν πόλεμον) and conquer (νικήσει)²¹ them and kill them (Rev 11:7).

And four great beasts came up (ἀνέβαινον) out of the sea...As I looked, this horn made war (ἐποίησε πόλεμον) with the saints, and prevailed (ἴσχυσεν) over them (Dan 7:3,21).

This use of Dan 7 is much expanded in Rev 13, where John describes the persecuting power (Rome) as a beast coming up out of the sea. It has ten horns and seven heads. It is like a leopard but has the feet of a bear and the mouth of a lion. Dominion is given to it and it is allowed to

19. Swete, p.9. Justin (Dial. 14:8) speaks of Jesus' second coming 'ἐπάνω τῶν νεφελῶν', where 'ὄψεται ὁ λαὸς ὑμῶν καὶ γνωριεῖ εἰς ὃν ἐξεκέντησαν'. See further, Karrer, pp121-125.

20. Charles, Vol 1, p.19. Similarly, Ozanne, p.87.

21. Charles, Vol 1, p.286, claims that John's use of νικήσει shows that he is independent of the Greek versions which both use ἰσχύω. However, since νικήσει is a favourite of John's, this hardly follows.

exercise this authority for forty-two months. With its mouth it speaks haughty words (στόμα λαλοῦν μεγάλα), uttering blasphemies against God and making war with the saints (ποιῆσαι πόλεμον μετὰ τῶν ἁγίων). For a time, it even prevails over them. Daniel says:

And four great beasts came up out of the sea..The first was like a lion and had eagles' wings...a second one, like a bear...another, like a leopard...and dominion was given to it...After this...a fourth beast...it had ten horns (Dan 7:3-7).

"Then I desired to know the truth...concerning the ten horns.. and the other horn...which had eyes and a mouth that spoke great things...As I looked, this horn made war with the saints, and prevailed over them (Dan 7:19-21).

As for the ten horns, out of this kingdom ten kings shall arise, and another shall arise after them...He shall speak words against the Most High, and shall wear out the saints...and they shall be given into his hand for a time, two times, and half a time (Dan 7:24-25).

Verbal links include the rising from the sea (ἀναβαίνω, θάλασσα), the appearance of the beast(s) (πάρδαλις, ἄρκος, λέων), the ten horns (χέρια δέκα), the dominion given to it (δίδωμι, ἐξουσία), a mouth speaking haughty words ('στόμα λαλοῦν μεγάλα') and its making war with the saints (ποιέω, πόλεμος, ἅγιος). Thematic links include the fact that the beast prevails for 3½ years (42 months = time, times and half a time)²² and that he speaks blasphemies against God. Perhaps of even greater importance is the fact that both Daniel and John use this beast imagery to describe a succession of kings, though John postpones the interpretation until Chapter 17:

And the ten horns that you saw are ten kings who have not yet received royal power, but they are to receive authority as kings for one hour..they will make war on the Lamb, and the Lamb will conquer them (Rev 17:12,14).

22. The Aramaic of Dan 7:25 uses the dual to speak of 'time, two times, and half a time' (see also Dan 12:7). In Rev 11:2, the holy city is trampled for 42 months. In the next verse, the two witnesses are given power to prophesy for 1260 days. In Rev 12:6, the woman is given safety for 1260 days, which in 12:14 has become 'time, and times, and half a time' (καιρὸν καὶ καιροῦς καὶ ἡμισυ καιροῦ). Charles, Vol 1, p.330, calls this a mistranslation since the dual is rendered by a simple plural. However, this is also the rendering of Theodotion and LXX, though Charles thinks the expression had become proverbial and is not evidence for John's use of either of these versions. So also Ozanne, p.77. Finally, in Rev 13:5, the beast is given power for 42 months. The duration is clearly meant to link these episodes together, though it is harder to explain the variation in expression (months, days, days, times, months).

As well as these verbal and thematic links, Beale thinks there are structural parallels also. Thus both the beast from the sea (13:1-10) and the beast from the earth (13:11-18) are introduced in the following manner:

1. The origin of the beast is described (v1a, v11a).
2. Its appearance is described (v1b-2a, v11b).
3. Authority is given to it (v2b, v12).
4. It deceives the world into false-worship (v4,8 v12b-15).

Beale calls this pattern (presentation, commission, effects) an 'authorization scheme' and believes it is modelled on Dan 7, where it is not only used for the beasts but also for the 'one like a son of man', where the effects are not false worship but the glory that he deserves:²³

behold, with the clouds of heaven¹ there came one like a son of man,² and he came to the Ancient of Days and was presented before him. And to him was given dominion and glory and kingdom,³ that all peoples, nations, and languages should serve him⁴ (Dan 7:13-14).

Nebuchadnezzar's dream (Dan 2) was interpreted as standing for a series of kingdoms, usually taken to be those of Babylonia, Media, Persia and Greece, with the latter dividing into the rival Diadochi (Ptolemies and Seleucids). Most commentators accept that Dan 7 follows a similar scheme,²⁴ with the four beasts (lion, bear, leopard, fourth with iron teeth, crushing feet and ten horns) also representing successive kingdoms. John's description begins as if he intends to describe Daniel's fourth beast ('I saw a beast rising out of the sea, with ten horns') but then takes features from the other three beasts and in particular, from the little horn that 'made war with the saints and prevailed over them'. Krodel says:

23. Beale, Use of Daniel, pp246ff. This is part of his thesis that certain key chapters of Revelation (1, 4-5, 13, 17) are modelled on Dan 7. We will discuss this after our initial survey.

24. J.J.Collins, Daniel. With an Introduction to Apocalyptic Literature, The Forms of the Old Testament Literature XX, Grand Rapids, 1984, p.80, says: 'In view of the sequence of kingdoms presupposed throughout the book, the four kingdoms must be identified as Babylonian, Median, Persian, and Greek.' On the other hand, K.Hanhart, "The Four Beasts of Daniel's Vision in the Night in the Light of Rev. 13:2", NTS 27, 1981, pp576-581, argues from Rev 13:2 that they are contemporaneous rather than successive powers.

John was not interested in portraying the sequence of oppressive empires from the Babylonians to the Hellenistic states, but in evocative images he presented the nature of the empire of the last days in its opposition to God and his people. As the beast, this empire has assumed all the bestial features of the four animals in Daniel.²⁵

Finally, Charles believed that the judgment scene of Rev 20 was influenced by Dan 7. Parallels include the combination of the many thrones (Rev 20:4, Dan 7:9) with the single throne upon which God sits (Rev 20:11, Dan 7:9), the opening of books (plural) and the statement that judgment (κρίμα) was given (δίδωμι) to the saints (Rev 20:4, Dan 7:22):²⁶

As I looked, thrones were placed and one that was ancient of days took his seat...his throne was fiery flames..the court sat in judgment, and the books were opened..and judgment was given for the saints of the Most High, and the time came when the saints received the kingdom (Dan 7:9,10,22).

Then I saw thrones, and seated on them were those to whom judgment was committed..Then I saw a great white throne and him who sat upon it..and books were opened..And the dead were judged by what was written in the books (Rev 20:4,11,12).

3. John's Use of the Angelic Vision and Interpretation (Dan 10,12)

As we saw in our last chapter, John's inaugural vision is based on Dan 10:5-6 and supplemented by verses from Is 49:2, Ez 1:24/43:2, Dan 7:9 and Jd 5:31. We also saw how his response to the vision is similar to Daniel's, though slightly less detailed. According to Charles, Daniel's vision of the angel has also affected the description of the seven angels in Rev 15:6, which are said to be 'robed in pure bright linen, and their breasts girded with golden girdles' (ένδεδυμένοι λίνον καθαρὸν λαμπρὸν καὶ περιεζωσμένοι περὶ τὰ στήθη ζώνας χρυσᾶς).

25. Krodell, p.249. A different approach is found in 4Ezra 12-13, where the fourth beast is interpreted as the Roman Empire. See further, "Nero and the Beast", Bauckham, pp384-452.

26. See Mealy, pp102-189; T.F.Glasson, "The Last Judgment in Rev. 20 and Related Writings", NTS 28, 1982, pp528-539.

We can summarize John's use of Dan 12 under three headings. The first is the way that Rev 10:5-6 is modelled on Dan 12:7. Charles²⁷ says that these are the only two places in all the Bible where we have this combination of raising the hand and swearing to God:

The man clothed in linen, who was above the waters of the stream, raised his right hand and his left hand toward heaven; and I heard him swear by him who lives for ever...(Dan 12:7).

the angel whom I saw standing on sea and land lifted up his right hand to heaven and swore by him who lives for ever (Rev 10:5-6).

As to the content of what is sworn, the language owes something to Amos 3:7 ('Surely the Lord God does nothing, without revealing his secret to his servants the prophets') but the use of τελέω shows that the Daniel passage is still in mind:

swear by him who lives for ever that it would be for a time, two times, and half a time; and that when the shattering of the power of the holy people comes to an end all these things would be accomplished (συντελεσθῆναι) (Dan 12:7b).

swore by him who lives for ever...that there should be no more delay, but that in the days of the trumpet call to be sounded by the seventh angel, the mystery of God, as he announced to his servants the prophets, should be fulfilled (ἐτελέσθη) (Rev 10:6b-7).

The second heading is the notion of sealed and unsealed books. Daniel is told to 'shut up the words, and seal the book until the time of the end' (12:4). In contrast, John is specifically told:

Do not seal up the words of the prophecy of this book, for the time is near (Rev 22:10).

We have here the same heightening of eschatological expectation as we saw in Rev 1:1, 22:6, where ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν is replaced by ἐν τάχει. Swete²⁸ comments that the angel's instruction is 'exactly the reverse

27. Charles, Vol 1, p.263.

28. Swete, p.304.

of that which is given to Daniel', whilst Charles expands this to cover other works:

As contrasted with Jewish Apocalypses, such as Daniel..1 Enoch.. 2 Enoch etc., which were not to be divulged till distant generations, our Apocalypse is to be made known by the Seer to his contemporaries.²⁹

Thirdly, John's use of the 'book of life' may owe something to Dan 12:1, especially in those verses (3:5, 20:15) where he uses the feminine βιβλος.³⁰ Also in Dan 12:1 is the statement that there will be a time of trouble 'such as never has been since there was a nation till that time' (οἷα οὐ γέγονεν ἀφ' οὗ γεγένηται ἔθνος ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἕως τοῦ καιροῦ ἐκείνου). Swete³¹ cites this as the source of Rev 16:18, where the earthquake is 'such as had never been since men were on the earth' (οἷος οὐκ ἐγένετο ἀφ' οὗ ἄνθρωπος ἐγένετο ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς).

4. John's Use of Dan 5:23 and 8:10

Dan 5:23 comes from the 'writing on the wall' incident in the time of Belshazzar. Daniel rebukes the king for using the vessels from the Temple and for praising the gods of 'silver and gold, of bronze, iron, wood and stone, which do not see or hear or know'. A similar list appears in Rev 9:20, along with the remark that such things 'cannot either see or hear or walk'.

In Dan 8:10, we read of a 'little horn which grew exceedingly great toward the south, toward the east and toward the glorious land' and even 'cast some of the stars down to the ground and trampled on them'. John does not take up this 'historical survey' but utilizes the phraseology for the great red dragon's attempted conquest:

29. Charles, Vol 2, p.221.

30. The reading of Theodotion. Ozanne, p.81, believes it is purely stylistic, but Charles, Vol 1, p.84, notes that Dan 12:1 is the only place in the OT where the expression is not confined to temporal blessings.

31. Swete, p.cl.

And another portent appeared in heaven; behold, a great red dragon, with seven heads and ten horns, and seven diadems upon his heads. His tail swept down a third of the stars of heaven, and cast them to the earth (Rev 12:3-4).

SUMMARY

1. Models of Composition

John appears to have modelled a number of his visions on various episodes in Daniel. We saw in our last chapter how the inaugural vision is an expanded version of Dan 10:5-6. We have now seen how the 'beast from the sea' in Rev 13 draws much of its imagery and phrases from the beasts and little horn of Dan 7. Beale has also drawn attention to the structural parallels between the two chapters. More minor 'models' are:

Rev 10 - Figure raising hand and swearing	Dan 12
Rev 12 - Dragon's revenge	Dan 8
Rev 13 - Worship or die	Dan 3
Rev 20 - Judgment scene	Dan 7
Rev 22 - Command not to seal	Dan 12

2. Use of Imagery and Language

As well as using parts of Daniel as models of composition, John draws on the language of Daniel to enhance the effect of his composition. The relationship between the two contexts varies. In most cases, some sort of parallel can be detected but the use of Dan 2:35 in Rev 20:11 appears to be quite arbitrary:

Rev 1 - What must soon take place	Dan 2
Rev 1 - He who lives for ever	Dan 4
Rev 9 - Idols of gold and silver	Dan 5
Rev 14 - Babylon the Great	Dan 4
Rev 16 - Such as had never been seen..	Dan 12
Rev 20 - No place was found for them	Dan 2

3. Interweaving Texts

In almost all of the above examples, John's use of Daniel is closely connected with his use of other scriptures. Thus Rev 1:7 is a composite quotation of Dan 7:13 and Zech 12:10,12. The inaugural vision combines

references to Dan 7 & 10, Ez 1 & 43, Is 49 and Jd 5. The figure raising his hand and swearing is based on Dan 12:7 but also draws on Amos 3:7. The judgment scene, like the throne vision in Rev 4-5, draws on a number of OT passages (Ez 1, 1Kings 22, Is 6) and the epithet 'Babylon the Great' prepares for an extensive use of Ezekiel and Jeremiah in Rev 17-18. The most exclusive use of Daniel occurs in Rev 13, where the main source is Dan 7, though allusions to other texts can still be recognized.³²

4. Use of Dan 2:28f as Structural Marker

As well as John's use of the language of Daniel, there is clearly a special use of the phrase ἃ δεῖ γενέσθαι in Rev 1:1, 1:19, 4:1, 22:6. As we have seen, these can be used to divide the book into four major sections.³³

5. Heightened Eschatological Outlook

In at least two instances, John modifies the language of Daniel in order to heighten the eschatological awareness of his readers. In Rev 1:1 and 22:6, the phrase ἃ δεῖ γενέσθαι is followed immediately by ἐν τῷ χεῖρ and a few verses later by ὁ γὰρ καιρὸς ἐγγύς (1:3, 22:10). Secondly, in distinction to Daniel, who is told to 'seal the book until the time of the end' (12:4), John is told not to seal it 'for the time is near' (ὁ γὰρ καιρὸς ἐγγύς). This heightening of eschatological expectation is of course commonplace in the NT writings (Mk 1:15, Rom 13:11, 1Cor 7:29).

These five 'uses' of Daniel suggest a dialectical relationship between the text of Daniel and John's situation, for it would appear that:

1. Certain texts like Dan 7 have affected the way that he perceives the role of the state (cf. Rom 13, for a different view).

32. Charles, Vol 1, pp1xviii-1xxx1, cites Ps 68:29, Is 53:7, Jer 15:2.

33. As we will see shortly, these are not the only clues to the structure of Revelation. Many scholars consider the two scrolls (Rev 5, 10), which draw on Ez 2-3, as equally important.

2. Certain texts like Dan 10 have affected the way that he perceives the person of Christ (even the resurrection appearances are some way off the sort of description found in the inaugural vision).
3. Certain texts like Dan 2-4 have affected the way that he perceives the situation of his readers/hearers.
4. On the other hand, the interweaving of Daniel with other OT texts shows that John has a standpoint which is outside of the book of Daniel.
5. The heightened eschatological outlook, as in the rest of the NT, is associated with the death and resurrection of Christ. In other words, John's situation has affected how he reads the book of Daniel.
6. John sometimes uses the words of Daniel in quite a different context (eg. Dan 2:35, Rev 20:11) and thus appears to be minimally influenced by the Danielic context.

GREGORY BEALE

The scholar who has written the most about John's use of Daniel is Gregory Beale.³⁴ Beale accepts that John has used Daniel in a variety of ways but thinks that an overall strategy can be discerned. For example, he believes that certain key chapters of Revelation, namely Rev 1, 4-5, 13 and 17, are a midrash on Dan 7 and that John's intention is that his readers should see their situation as the fulfilment of the tribulation predicted by Daniel. For Rev 1, Beale takes a different view of the inaugural vision to the one we arrived at in our last chapter. He claims that it is modelled on Dan 7:9-10 ('hair like pure wool', 'stream of fire'), which then led to Dan 10:5f by association (the chapters are closely linked) and hence to other scriptures. He describes this process as the operation of a sort of 'hermeneutical magnet', whereby other scriptures are drawn in by catch words or common themes.³⁵ He supports this view of the inaugural vision by noting that Rev 1:7 ('Behold, he is coming with

34. His Cambridge dissertation (1980) was subsequently published as The Use of Daniel in Jewish Apocalyptic Literature and in the Revelation of St. John (1984) and has been followed by a number of articles:

1985 - "The Origin of the Title 'King of Kings and Lord of Lords' in Revelation 17.14".

1986 - "A Reconsideration of the Text of Daniel in the Apocalypse".

1988 - "Revelation" in It is Written: Scripture Citing Scripture.

1992 - "The Interpretative Problem of Rev. 1:19".

35. Use of Daniel, p.174.

the clouds') is a clear allusion to Dan 7:13, whilst Rev 1:12 speaks of 'one like a son of man'. He closes with a list of parallels between Rev 1:4-20 and Dan 7:9-28:³⁶

<u>Rev</u>	<u>Dan</u>	<u>Parallel</u>
1:4	7:9a	God enthroned
1:4	7:10b	Heavenly beings around the throne
1:4	7:13-14	Dominion of Christ/Son of man
1:6,9	7:18,22,27a	Saints constituted/given a kingdom
1:7a	7:13	Son of man coming with the clouds
1:11	7:10	Book associated with judgment
1:12-16	7:9-10	Description of a heavenly figure
1:17a	7:15	Seer's reaction
1:17-20	7:16ff	Interpretation of the Vision

In order to do the same for Rev 4-5, Beale must refute the consensus view that these chapters are modelled on Ezekiel's throne vision. He attempts to do this by showing that there are a number of features in common with Dan 7 which cannot be derived from Ezekiel, such as the opening of books (Rev 5:2f; Dan 7:10), the approach of a divine figure (Rev 5:7; Dan 7:13f), the mention of people from every 'tribe and tongue and people and nation' (Rev 5:9; Dan 7:14) and the reign of the saints over the kingdom (Rev 5:10; Dan 7:18).³⁷ This is an impressive list and shows that Dan 7 has been a significant influence in the composition of Rev 5. Beale, however, wishes to say more than this. He stresses the fact that John portrays the Lamb as approaching the throne and concludes from this that John intends the reader to see the death and resurrection of Jesus as the fulfilment of Daniel's vision:³⁸

36. Use of Daniel, p.172.

37. Use of Daniel, p.183.

38. Use of Daniel, pp227-228.

and he went and took the scroll from the right hand of him who was seated on the throne...and the twenty-four elders fell down...and they sang a new song, saying, "Worthy art thou to take the scroll and to open its seals, for thou wast slain and by thy blood didst ransom men for God from every tribe and tongue and people and nation,³⁹ and hast made them a kingdom (βασιλείαν) and priests to our God, and they shall reign on earth." (Rev 5:7-10).

and he came to the Ancient of Days and was presented before him. And to him was given dominion and glory and kingdom (βασιλεία), that all peoples, nations, and languages should serve him; his dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away (Dan 7:13b-14a).

We have already seen that Rev 13 is based on Dan 7 and few would dispute this. Beale wishes to argue the same for the 'harlot' chapter (Rev 17), where most commentators would see dependence on Isaiah, Jeremiah and Ezekiel.⁴⁰ On the other hand, there is the interpretation of the ten horns, which has been held over since Rev 13:

And the ten horns that you saw are ten kings who have not yet received royal power, but they are to receive authority as kings for one hour..they will make war on the Lamb, and the Lamb will conquer them (Rev 17:12-14).

Beale argues that Rev 17 shares the same structure as Dan 7 (vision + seer's reaction + interpretation), as well as having numerous parallels with Rev 13, where all scholars recognize the dependence on Dan 7:⁴¹

13:1	17:3	Beast with seven heads and ten horns
13:1	17:8	Comes up from the Sea/Abyss
13:7a	17:14	Makes war (allusion to Dan 7:21)
13:7b	17:15	Peoples, tongues, nations
13:8	17:8	Book of life
13:18	17:9	This calls for wisdom..
13:2,4,7	17:12f	Authority given to Beast
13:7-8	17:8,14	Ironic use of Dan 7

Along with this 'midrashic' use of Dan 7, Beale argues that the use of ἄ δεῖ γενέσθαι at 1:1, 1:19, 4:1 and 22:6 is intended to show that Revelation

39. John uses a similar formula at 7:9, 11:9, 13:7 and 14:6, though never in the same order. The interesting thing about the usage here is that Theodotion uses the triple form λαοί, φυλαί, γλώσσαι whilst the LXX uses ἔθνη. It is possible that John's four-fold formula stems from a combination of both these versions. See further, Bauckham, pp326-337.

40. Charles, Vol 1, pp1xviii-lxxxii, lists: Is 23:17, 49:26, Jer 28:7, 28:13, Ez 23:29, 40:1f.

41. Use of Daniel, p.267.

is to be interpreted within the framework of Dan 2 and its parallel apocalyptic chapters:

if this allusion in Rev. 1:1 is understood by John in the light of the eschatological context of Daniel 2 - and there is good reason to believe that this is the case - then he may be asserting that the following contents of the whole book are to be conceived of ultimately within the thematic framework of Daniel 2 (and probably its parallel apocalyptic chapters).⁴²

Finally, Beale suggests that the composition of the eschatological discourse in Mk 13 offers a parallel to the book of Revelation. Drawing on the work of Lars Hartman,⁴³ who sees a 'midrashic substrate' behind the discourse, Beale suggests that John made use of the same material but developed it in new ways, particularly by drawing in other scriptures.⁴⁴

Ruiz offers this summary of Beale's position:

Reduced to its fundamental assertion, Beale's hypothesis holds that Revelation presents a midrash of Daniel which has much in common with the Synoptic Apocalypse. As such, Revelation relies on references to Dan 2,28-29.45 as structural markers in the development of a presentation which focuses on the actualization of Dan 7.⁴⁵

ASSESSMENT

Beale has shown that Dan 7 has been a significant factor in the composition of Revelation but his overall position is open to criticism. For example, his attempt to show that Rev 1, 4-5, 13, 17 are all modelled on Dan 7 is forced. This is particularly evident for Rev 4-5. By showing that Dan 7 has been an important influence on Rev 5 and arguing that Rev 4 and 5 must be taken together, he seeks to refute the consensus view that Rev 4 is modelled on Ez 1 by providing a list of parallels:⁴⁶

42. Use of Daniel, p.277.

43. Prophecy Interpreted, p.207.

44. Use of Daniel, p.288.

45. Ruiz, p.118.

46. Use of Daniel, p.181f.

<u>Rev</u>	<u>Dan</u>	<u>Parallel</u>
4:1	7:9	Introduction to vision
4:2a	7:9a	Throne(s) in heaven
4:2b	7:9b	God on the throne
4:3a	7:9c	God's appearance
4:5	7:9d-10a	Fire before the throne
4:4b,6b-10	7:10b	Throne attendants

However, this is really a sleight of hand for if we set out the relevant descriptions, we can see that they have very little in common, apart from both being throne visions:⁴⁷

As I looked, thrones were placed and one that was ancient of days took his seat; his raiment was white as snow, and the hair of his head like pure wool; his throne was fiery flames, its wheels were burning fire. A stream of fire issued and came forth from before him; a thousand thousands served him..(Dan 7:9-10).

At once I was in the Spirit, and lo, a throne stood in heaven, with one seated on the throne! And he who sat there appeared like jasper and carnelian, and round the throne was a rainbow that looked like an emerald. Round the throne were...twenty-four elders, clad in white garments..From the throne issue flashes of lightning (Rev 4:2-5).

The same is true of his treatment of Rev 1. We can acknowledge that the use of Dan 7:13 in Rev 1:7,12 and Dan 7:9 in Rev 1:14 is a significant use of this chapter but his list of parallels is exaggerated. Thus the clearest allusion in Rev 1:4 is to Ex 3:14 (LXX: ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ ὄν) and perhaps also Zech 4:10 (seven eyes/spirits). Neither Charles, GNT^{nor} NA26 see any allusion to Dan 7 in this verse. Similarly with Rev 1:6 (ἐποίησεν ἡμᾶς βασιλείαν, ἱερεῖς), where the obvious allusion is to Ex 19:6 (Theodotion: βασιλεία ἱερεῖς) rather than Dan 7. Neither is the parallel between the command to write to the churches (Rev 1:11) and the opening of the books of judgment (Dan 7:10) very convincing. We have seen that John's judgment scene (Rev 20:4) owes something to this verse but hardly here. Lastly, Beale cites the parallel between the seer's reaction to the vision and Dan 7:15. However, the parallel that we have already cited (Dan 10:9-12) is much closer:

47. We will see in our next chapter that Rev 4 owes most to Ez 1 and Is 6.

As for me, Daniel, my spirit within me was anxious and the visions of my head alarmed me (Dan 7:15).

When I saw him, I fell at his feet as though dead. But he laid his right hand upon me, saying, "Fear not (Rev 1:17).

and when I heard the sound of his words, I fell on my face in a deep sleep with my face to the ground. And behold, a hand touched me and set me trembling on my hands and knees..Then he said to me, "Fear not, Daniel (Dan 10:9-12).

In other words, the two main allusions in Rev 1:7,12 hold good but the rest of Beale's list is a rather obvious case of special pleading.

Secondly, it is a very big step to move from the observation that John employs the prophetic formula ἄ δεῖ γενέσθαι at 1:1, 1:19, 4:1 and 22:6 (ἄ μελλει γενέσθαι in 1:19) to the view that he wants the whole book to be understood within the thematic framework of Dan 2. One can acknowledge that these are important markers in the book without declaring that they are the only ones. Just as important, for example, are the two books of Rev 5 and 10 (which might be the same). The unsealing of the first book (βιβλίον) leads to the various judgments of Rev 6-9. In Rev 10, however, another book is mentioned (βιβλαπίδιον), which John has to consume. He is then told that he must 'again prophesy about many peoples and nations and tongues and kings' (Rev 10:11). As a result, D.L.Barr suggests a three-fold division of the book:⁴⁸

Rev 1-3	Jesus comes to his church in salvation and judgment.
Rev 4-11	He enables the work of cosmic worship to persist.
Rev 12-22	He overthrows the work of the evil one.

Fiorenza⁴⁹ goes for a more complicated analysis. She agrees that the two scrolls mark off sections of the book but sees a parallel between the beginning (inaugural vision and letters) and the end (vision of the Lamb

48. D.L.Barr, "The Apocalypse as a Symbolic Transformation of the World: A Literary Analysis", *Int* 38, 1984, pp39-50.

49. "The Composition and Structure of Revelation", Fiorenza, pp159-180.

and the fulfilment of the promises in the new Jerusalem). She thus offers a concentric structure:

A	1:1-8
B	1:9-3:22
C	4:1-9:21; 11:15-19
D	10:1-15:4
C ¹	15:1, 5-19:10
B ¹	19:11-22:9
A ¹	22:10-22:21

Another factor is the way that both the seventh seal and the seventh trumpet are open-ended and therefore include the rest of the book. The seventh bowl (16:17-21) does not follow this pattern but Lambrecht thinks that it forms the introduction to the Babylon vision (Rev 17-18) and therefore functions in a similar way. He thus offers a plan of Revelation based on three open-ended sevens:⁵⁰

A	4-5	Introductory Vision
B	6-7	Six seals Intercalation (7)
<u>C</u>	8-22:5	<u>Seventh seal and Trumpets</u>
A ¹	8:1-6	Introduction (seventh seal)
B ¹	8:7-11:14	Six Trumpets Intercalation (10:1-11:13)
<u>C¹</u>	<u>11:15-22:5</u>	<u>Seventh Trumpet and Bowls</u>
A ²	11:15-16:1	Introduction Seventh Trumpet Intercalation (12-14)
B ²	16:2-16	Six Bowls (Intercalation)
<u>C²</u>	<u>16:17-22:5</u>	<u>Seventh Bowl and Completion</u> Seventh Bowl (16:17-21) Babylon (16:17-19:10) Final Judgment (19:11-20:15) New Jerusalem (21:1-22:5)

Each of these suggestions has some merit and shows that the occurrence of ἃ δεῖ γενέσθαι at 1:1, 1:19, 4:1, 22:6 is only one of the

50. "A Structuration of Revelation 4:1-22:5", Lambrecht, pp77-104. The complexity is highlighted in Bauckham's study ("Structure and Composition", Bauckham, pp1-37), where he shows that John has used at least 3 compositional techniques: Linguistic markers to divide the text; repetition to bind sections together; numerical schemes which may or may not have structural significance (eg. the 7 Beatitudes).

factors to be taken into consideration. To suggest that John intends the whole of his book to fit into the thematic framework of Dan 2 goes well beyond the evidence. Indeed, we will show in our next chapter that the book of Ezekiel has been more influential than Daniel in determining the overall structure of Revelation.

Thirdly, Beale is open to criticism in his designation of Revelation as a 'midrash' on Daniel. For example, we have seen that the actual parallels with Dan 7 have been greatly exaggerated, especially in Rev 1 and 4. Those that remain are convincing but hardly warrant the title 'midrash'. Also, from a literary point of view, it is doubtful if this is the right term to use anyway. Addison Wright says:

Only if the audience's attention is focused on the prior text and if the new composition exists for the sake of the old text can the work be called a midrash. The borrowing, adaptation and transformation of older material in such a way that the older material merely contributes to the new work as a source is not midrashic.⁵¹

Thus in her review of Beale's book, Collins accuses him of treating Daniel as an 'object' of interpretation rather than the 'means' for producing his own creative composition.⁵² The latter is by no means impossible but it is a position to be demonstrated rather than assumed. In particular, the presence of a significant number of allusions to other books makes it very unlikely. Ruiz says:

By qualifying Revelation's use of Daniel as midrashic, and in describing Daniel's influence as dominant, Beale fails to credit John with sufficient autonomy with respect to the sources from which he drew material...The sort of mechanical adherence to the Daniel model which Beale proposes denies John due mastery over his own work, and this is unacceptable.⁵³

51. "The Literary Genre Midrash", *CBQ* 28, 1966, p.444.

52. *JBL* 105, 1986, pp734-735. On even more tenuous evidence, Beale calls Rev 14 a 'midrash' on Dan 4 ("Reconsideration", p.542). However, it is interesting that in his Festschrift article (1988), p.325, he says: 'the *Vorbilder* are utilized as a lens through which past and present eschatological fulfilment is understood (cf. Revelation 1; 4-5). It is not always clear whether or not these OT prototypes are the means or the object of interpretation, and perhaps there is an oscillation between the two.' This suggestion of mutual influence will be taken up in ch.6, where we consider the literary phenomenon of 'intertextuality'.

53. Ruiz, p.121.

Fiorenza, though not specifically mentioning Beale, says:

The hope of the Christian community does not find its legitimization and certainty in the occurrence of the final events according to an exactly prophesied plan, in which the end can be determined because it is the final section of a continuous line of apocalyptic history.⁵⁴

All of John's images, allusions and story world, she says, are harnessed to meet the need of the harassed Christians. She calls it a 'fitting response' to their socio-political situation and notes that:

Exegetes and theologians still have to discover what artists have long understood: the strength of the language and composition of Rev. lies not in its theological argumentation or historical information but in its evocative power inviting imaginative participation.⁵⁵

In conclusion, whilst Beale has shown that the influence of Daniel on Revelation is greater than is commonly recognized (eg. Rev 5), his attempt to provide an overall explanation for this is unconvincing. On occasions, he hints at a more dialectical understanding, as when he echoes the words of Lindars:

The place of the OT in the formation of thought in the Apocalypse is both servant and a guide: for John the Christ-event is *the* key to understanding the OT, and yet reflection back on the OT context leads the way to further comprehension of this event and provides the redemptive-historical background against which the apocalyptic visions are better understood.⁵⁶

The place of the Old Testament in the formation of New Testament theology is that of a servant, ready to run to the aid of the gospel whenever it is required, bolstering up arguments, and filling out meaning through evocative allusions, but never acting as the master or leading the way, nor even guiding the process of thought behind the scenes.⁵⁷

54. "History and Eschatology in Revelation", Fiorenza, p.49.

55. "Research Perspectives on the Book of Revelation", Fiorenza, p.22.

56. "Revelation", p.333 (Underlining mine, Italics [*the*] his).

57. "The Place of the OT", p.66. Underlining mine.

In his later work (1988), he appears to have acknowledged the criticisms about his use of 'midrash' and 'fulfilment' and speaks of the OT as providing 'literary prototypes' and John's 'possible indirect fulfilment' (whatever that might mean).⁵⁸ However, in his latest article (1992), the presence of ἃ δεῖ γενέσθαι in 1:1 still prompts the words:

if this allusion in Rev. 1:1 is understood by John in the light of the eschatological context of Daniel 2, then he may be asserting that the following contents of the whole book are to be conceived of ultimately within the framework of Daniel 2 (and probably its parallel apocalyptic chapters).⁵⁹

58. "Revelation", p.329.

59. "Interpretative Problem", p.368.

CONCLUSIONS

In our last chapter, we rejected the view of Hemer and Ramsay that local conditions led John to particular scriptures. It is possible that they affected the process (eg. γάλλολιβανός) but is totally inadequate as an explanation for the particular texts used by John. In this chapter, we have seen how John is indebted to the book of Daniel but must reject Beale's view that Revelation is to be 'conceived of ultimately within the framework of Daniel 2 (and probably its parallel apocalyptic chapters)'. Both views are one-sided, assuming that one context (local or OT) is able to swallow up the other, instead of allowing a genuine interaction. Beale is correct when he says that OT texts are 'used as a lens through which past and present eschatological fulfilment is understood'⁶⁰, but needs to do justice to the other side of the interaction, namely that Revelation is a fresh composition which has used Daniel as one of its significant sources. As we have already quoted:

By qualifying Revelation's use of Daniel as midrashic, and in describing Daniel's influence as dominant, Beale fails to credit John with sufficient autonomy with respect to the sources from which he drew material...The sort of mechanical adherence to the Daniel model which Beale proposes denies John due mastery over his own work, and this is unacceptable.⁶¹

This point can best be illustrated by giving an account of John's use of Ezekiel, which has not only influenced certain chapters of Revelation but is a stronger candidate for supplying the overall structure of the book. To this, we now turn.

60. "Revelation", p.325.

61. See p.83.

CHAPTER 4: JOHN'S USE OF EZEKIEL

If John's use of Daniel is mainly from its central chapter, his use of Ezekiel is much more varied. Charles found allusions to chapters 1,2,3,7,8,9,14,23,26,27,33,37,39,40,43,47,48 and others have added to this.¹ We will begin our study by looking first at John's use of the final chapters of Ezekiel (Ez 37-48), followed by his use of the opening chapters (Ez 1-3). We will then look at three further uses from the central sections of the book (9, 16/23, 26-27) and consider the theories of Boismard² and Goulder³ as to why these major uses appear in the same order in the book of Revelation. Moving on from these structural parallels, we will then consider the hypothesis of Vogelgesang⁴ that a single hermeneutical strategy underlies all these uses of Ezekiel, before drawing our own conclusions. Firstly then, we turn to John's use of Ez 37-48.

One of the most controversial aspects of the book of Revelation in the early church was its teaching on the millenium.⁵ After the series of devastating plagues that form the bulk of the visions, the book seems to come to a climax in chapter nineteen, where we read:

And I saw the beast and the kings of the earth with their armies gathered to make war against him who sits upon the horse and against his army. And the beast was captured, and with it the false prophet who in its presence had worked the signs by which he deceived those who had received the mark of the beast and those who worshipped its image. These two were thrown alive into the lake of fire that burns with sulphur. And the rest were slain by the sword of him who sits upon the horse, the sword that issues from his mouth; and all the birds were gorged with their flesh (Rev 19:19-21).

1. Charles, Vol 1, pp lxxviii-lxxxii. A.Vanhoye, "L'utilisation de livre d'Ézéchiél dans l'Apocalypse", *Bib* 43, 1962, pp473-6, adds chapters 16,41 as certain and 4,5,21,24,31,38 as probable.

2. M.E.Boismard, "'L'Apocalypse' ou 'Les Apocalypses' de St. Jean", *RB* 56, 1949, pp507-541.

3. M.D.Goulder, "The Apocalypse as an Annual Cycle of Prophecies", *NTS* 27, 1981, pp342-367.

4. J.M.Vogelgesang, The Interpretation of Ezekiel in the Book of Revelation, Ph.D Dissertation, Harvard University, Cambridge Ma, 1985.

5. Mealy, p.91, says: 'Ancient sources reveal that the meaning of the 'millenium' (Rev. 20.1-10) has been disputed virtually from the time Revelation was written'.

This accounts for two of the great adversaries, along with all the human kings and armies.⁶ The third, the dragon, is dealt with in the verses that follow. First, he is bound (20:2). Then he is thrown into a bottomless pit (20:3a), which is shut and sealed (20:3b). This allows the people of God to be free of persecution and deception so that they can be:

priests of God and of Christ, and they shall reign with him a thousand years (Rev 20:6b).

However, it is at this point that John introduces something which is not present in any other NT writing - a resurgence of evil:

And when the thousand years are ended, Satan will be loosed from his prison and will come out to deceive the nations which are at the four corners of the earth, that is, Gog and Magog, to gather them for battle; their number is like the sand of the sea (Rev 20:7-8).

The peculiar thing about this is that it assumes the presence of rebellious nations at the four corners of the earth, whereas Rev 19:21 reports that all such people have been destroyed. Where did they come from? One suggestion is that they are not human enemies (which have all been destroyed) but demonic.⁷ In support of this, one could take the expression, 'at the four corners of the earth' to be a picture of evil spirits coming up from the underworld. However, if this were the case, we would not expect John to refer to them as 'the nations', especially in the light of Rev 21:16, where the 'glory and the honour of the nations' is brought into the new city. Nor would we expect Satan to have to go out and deceive them, since they belong to his domain anyway.

6. 'The sense of these words is as plain as it is consistent with the pattern leading up to them: no one survives the confrontation with the returning Christ.', Mealy, p.91.

7. Mealy, p.42, cites Fiorenza, Wikenhauser, Lohse, Kraft and Pohl as holding this view.

A different view is that the enemies are the disembodied spirits of those slain in Rev 19:21.⁸ We know that Rev 19:21 does not describe their final end since Rev 20:15 says that if 'any one's name was not found written in the book of life, he was thrown into the lake of fire.' Having lost the battle in their earthly life, does John narrate a further battle as disembodied spirits before being consigned to the lake of fire? Caird remarks:

The myth of Gog enshrines a deep insight into the resilience of evil. The powers of evil have a defence in depth, which enables them constantly to summon reinforcement from beyond the frontiers of man's knowledge and control. However far human society progresses, it can never, while this world lasts, reach the point where it is invulnerable to such attacks.⁹

Mealy's¹⁰ view is similar except that he cannot accept the co-existence of resurrected saints and disembodied (that is, unresurrected) enemies. He therefore suggests that the release of Satan in Rev 20:7 coincides with the release and resurrection of those slain in 19:21. Satan's confinement 'that he should deceive the nations no more' (Rev 20:3b) can not mean that Satan is removed from the scene and 'the nations' are left, for Rev 19:21 makes it clear that no one survives the parousia. Mealy thus interprets Rev 20:3b as meaning that Satan is imprisoned in the same place as the disembodied spirits and is thus seen to be as helpless as they are. When he is released after the millenium to make war on the (resurrected) saints, the disembodied spirits are resurrected but immediately fall into league with Satan to do battle with the saints:

8. Rissi, p35,says: 'Satan entices the ghostly nations of the dead, and the demons, 'innumerable as the sand of the sea', from the four corners of the earth where the underworld manifests itself, in order to make war on the resurrected ones.'

9. Caird, p.257. Though the quotation is suggestive, Caird does not hold the view being discussed here.

10.Mealy, pp124-5, says: "By conspicuously plotting the release of Satan from the underworld and the resurrection of the unrepentant at the same time, John is encouraging his readers to expect for the release of the unrepentant from the prison of Hades to issue in their resurrection and punishment with Satan, after the pattern of Isa.24.21-22: 'They will be gathered together like prisoners in the dungeon, and will be confined in prison; and after many days they will be punished'. In other words, just as Satan and the wicked were punished together at the parousia and imprisoned together for the duration of the millenium, so presumably they will be released and punished together 'after the thousand years are completed'."

And they marched up over the broad earth and surrounded the camp of the saints and the beloved city; but fire came down from heaven and consumed them, and the devil who had deceived them was thrown into the lake of fire and sulphur where the beast and the false prophet were, and they will be tormented day and night for ever and ever (Rev 20:9-10).

Those who took this sequence of events literally and looked forward to a millennial reign with Christ were branded heretics in 431 C.E. The spiritual interpretation of Tyconius and championed by Augustine, whereby the millenium was a symbol of the church age, became the orthodox view and 'chiliasm' (the belief in a literal reign of 1000 years) was thereafter confined to sects and minority groups.¹¹ However, before this time, it seems that many Christians thought this view was perfectly orthodox. Thus Justin said:

I and others who are right-minded Christians at all points, are assured that there will be a resurrection of the dead, and a thousand years in Jerusalem, which will then be built adorned and enlarged as the prophets Ezekiel and Isaiah and others declare.¹²

The interesting thing about this quotation is that not only does he accept the millennial reign, which he places in Jerusalem, but he imagines it to be 'built adorned and enlarged' as the OT prophets predicted. Thus in Ez 37, the revival of the dry bones, the reunited kingdom and the messianic reign are all followed by a final battle with Gog of Magog (Ez 38-39). Only then do we find the description of the new Temple in the new City (Ez 40-48). Ezekiel's order is:

Ez 37a	Revival of dry bones
Ez 37b	Reunited kingdom with Messianic king reigning
Ez 38-9	Final battle against Gog of Magog
Ez 40-8	Vision of the New Temple in the New City

Ezekiel does not specifically say that the reunited kingdom was to last a thousand years but he does envisage a resurgence of evil after the

11. See R.L.Wilken, "Early Christian Chiliasm, Jewish Messianism and the Idea of the Holy Land", *HTR* 79, 1986, pp298-307.

12. *Dial.Trypho*, 80 - quoted in Barclay, Vol 2, p.189.

restoration of the dry bones. Indeed, as Kuhn¹³ noted in his article in Kittel's dictionary, the order of events in Rev 20-22 is substantially modelled on Ez 37-48. There are also a number of specific parallels. For example:

1. Both use the names Gog and Magog. In Ez 38:2, the Hebrew text speaks of 'Gog of the land of Magog' but the LXX rendering (γωγ καὶ τὴν γῆν τοῦ Μαγωγ) is indicative of a tendency that is found later in certain Rabbinic works (eg. Aqiba in Edujoth 2:10, Ber 7b) and the Targums (Ex 40:11, Num 11:26, Deut 32:39) to treat these as the names of two heathen leaders.
2. In both, fire from heaven comes down and destroys Gog and his followers (Rev 20:9; Ez 38:32).
3. Both describe a gorging by the birds (Rev 19:17f; Ez 39:17f). The birds are first summoned and then commanded to eat of the flesh of kings, of mighty men, of horses and their riders. In Ezekiel, this refers to Gog and his armies but John utilises it in his description of the first battle. It is possible that this change in order may have been suggested by different text forms of Ezekiel, since in the earliest Greek MS (967) and in the Würzburg Codex of the Old Latin, Ch 37 follows Ch 38-39.¹⁴
4. Both John and Ezekiel are taken to a high place where they are shown a vision of a new city (Rev 21:10; Ez 40:2).
5. Both see a figure with a measuring rod (κάλαμος) who measures the dimensions of the city/temple (Rev 21:15; Ez 40:5). There are walls, gates and foundations. It is square, with three gates on each side.
6. Both state that the new City (Rev 21:22) or Temple (Ez 43:2) is filled with God's glory.
7. Both describe the healing properties of the tree(s) of life, bearing its fruit each month (Rev 22:2; Ez 47:12).

How are we to understand this? Is it a question of fulfilment, as Beale argued for Daniel? Is John telling his audience to keep faith with the ancient prophecies for their fulfilment is coming soon? Or is he trying

13. K.G.Kuhn, "Γωγ καὶ Μαγωγ", *TWNT* 1, pp789-791.

14. So J.Lust, "Ezekiel 36-40 in the Oldest Greek Manuscript", *CBQ* 43, 1981, pp517-533. Mealy finds this an unlikely solution: 'The integral setting for the battle of Ezek.38 is the peaceful age after the exile, and the dry bones and messianic kingdom section in Ezek.37 does not properly parallel the judgment of the non-elect in Rev.20.11-15, but rather the resurrection of the saints for the messianic age in 20.4-6. To cut and paste Ezekiel to match Revelation, one would want to see something like chs. 36-39-37-38-40.' (Mealy p.131, Note 1). However, Lust's point is not so much that John follows the order found in these early MSS but that they show that the order was fluid and hence open to various interpretations.

to show how the new revelation fits in with the old? We will see later that Vogelgesang thinks it is part of an overall strategy to 'democratize' Ezekiel's visions and make them accessible to all. However, before we consider this theory, we will look at the other passages where John has utilized major sections of Ezekiel.

After the seven letters (Rev 2-3), John says that he saw an open door in heaven (Rev 4:1). He then describes what he saw:

he who sat there appeared like jasper and carnelian, and round the throne was a rainbow that looked like an emerald..and before the throne there is as it were a sea of glass, like crystal. And round the throne, on each side of the throne, are four living creatures, full of eyes in front and behind: the first living creature like a lion, the second living creature like an ox, the third living creature with the face of a man, and the fourth living creature like a flying eagle..day and night they never cease to sing, "Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord God Almighty, who was and is and is to come!" (Rev 4:3-8).

There are a number of throne visions in the OT (eg. 1Kings 22, Is 6, Dan 7) and John has probably drawn on all of them. In particular, the song of the creatures is undoubtedly taken from the song of the seraphim in Is 6. However, the most striking parallels are with Ezekiel's vision, where the four creatures are also called 'living beings' (ζῶα) and have the faces of a man, a lion, an ox and an eagle:

And from the midst of it came the likeness of four living creatures..As for the likeness of their faces, each had the face of a man in front; the four had the face of a lion on the right side, the four had the face of an ox on the left side, and the four had the face of an eagle at the back (Ez 1:5,10).

There is an interesting coincidence of language with respect to the location of the creatures. Ezekiel first describes a cloud from the north, bright and gleaming with 'fire flashing forth continually' (1:4). He then says, 'And from the midst of it came the likeness of four living creatures' (LXX: ἐν τῷ μέσῳ..τεσσάρων ζῴων). John's Greek is similar (ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ

θρόνου..τέσσαρα ζῶα - Rev 4:6), except that he is referring to the throne, not the cloud. We thus have the confusing picture of the living creatures being in the midst of the throne. A possible explanation is that if they are supporting the throne, part of them might be under it and part of them around it. However, John does not say that the creatures support the throne and 'underneath' is hardly more accurate a rendering of ἐν μέσῳ than the RSV's 'on each side'. Sweet¹⁵ suggests it might be an Hebraism for 'between', whilst Brewer¹⁶ has tried to explain it by reference to the Greek theatre, stating that it refers to the space between the stage (throne) and the chorus (elders). He notes that at Ephesus, the theatre had twelve marble seats, which might be in John's mind. Charles,¹⁷ on the other hand, believed it to be the work of a careless editor. The original, he thinks, read καὶ κύκλῳ τοῦ θρόνου τέσσαρα ζῶα, but a later editor, wishing to make the allusion to Ezekiel's vision more explicit, added ἐν τῷ μέσῳ from the LXX (just as some cursives of the LXX add καὶ κύκλῳ τοῦ θρόνου, probably from the Apocalypse).

Other parallels with Ezekiel's vision are the mention of a bow (Ez 1:28), the crystal sea (Ez 1:22) and the curious expression 'full of eyes' (Ez 1:18), which in Ezekiel's vision, are associated with the wheels ('ophannim'). There are also a number of differences. Charles¹⁸ lists six:

1. John has four creatures, each with a different face. Ezekiel has four creatures, each of which has four faces. Further, the faces are given in a different order in Revelation.
2. John's creatures have six wings (as in Is 6) not four.
3. John's throne is not supported by the creatures and is stationary. There is no mention of wheels.

15. Sweet, p.120. He says: 'An accurate picture is not, of course, important.'

16. R.R.Brewer, "Revelation 4:6 and Translations Thereof", *JBL* 71, 1952, pp227-231. See also R.G.Hall, "Living Creatures in the Midst of the Throne. Another Look at Revelation 4:6", *NTS* 36, 1990, pp609-613.

17. Charles, Vol 1, p.118.

18. Charles, Vol 1, pp119-120.

4. John's creatures sing God's praises (as in Is 6) whereas Ezekiel's are silent (though movement of the wings is like thunder and the sound of many waters - a feature to be exploited in later merkabah mysticism).
5. John says the creatures are 'full of eyes'. In Ezekiel, it is the wheels that are 'full of eyes' (though in Ez 10:12, the cherubim are said to be full of eyes but this is thought to be a corruption).
6. In John, the creatures move about and act as intermediaries between God and the other angels.

John's vision is much shorter than Ezekiel's and so some simplification (points 1,3) is to be expected. This is the opposite of the Targum, which goes on to say that each of the faces had four faces, and each of these sixteen faces had four wings, making a total of 256 wings for the four creatures.¹⁹ Points 2 and 4 show that John is combining Ezekiel's vision with Is 6 (as in Apoc.Abraham 18), especially the song:

"Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord God Almighty, who was and is and is to come!" (Rev 4:8b).

"Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of hosts; the whole earth is full of his glory." (Is 6:3).

In 2Enoch 21:1, the cherubim and seraphim also stand before the throne and sing:

Holy, holy, holy is the Lord God of Sabaoth: heavens and earth are full of thy glory.

However, in 1Enoch 39:12, the 'Trisagion' is aimed at the 'Lord of spirits' and continues 'He filleth the earth with spirits'. Charles comments:

Here as in our text the writer has modified the trisagion to suit the main purpose of his Apocalypse.²⁰

19. The desire to have 256 wings may come from gematria, since that is the value of the consonants r n u (to sing). See S.H.Levey's edition of the Ezekiel Targum, Wilmington, 1987.

20. Charles, Vol 1, p.126.

Point 5 is interesting. John omits mention of the wheels but utilizes the description 'full of eyes' for his creatures. One cannot put this down to simplification since it has resulted in a rather confusing phrase (γέμοντα ὀφθαλμῶν ἔμπροσθεν καὶ ὀπίσθεν). How a creature can have the face of a man (or any of the other animals) and have eyes 'in front and behind' is not clear. As Beasley-Murray says, the result is an 'impossible visual image but comprehensible as a symbol'.²¹ Point 6 receives no further comment from Charles. Thus in summary, John's use of Ezekiel's vision involves abbreviation, some recasting and some expansion, particularly under the influence of Is 6. We will see in our next chapter that there are texts from Qumran that have a similar interest in Ezekiel's vision.

Before that, we continue with the three parallels found in the central sections of the two books. The first is the sealing of the saints in Rev 7:2-3, which appears to be modelled on Ez 9:4-6:

Then I saw another angel ascend from the rising of the sun, with the seal of the living God, and he called with a loud voice to the four angels who had been given power to harm earth and sea, saying, "Do not harm the earth or the sea or the trees, till we have sealed the servants of our God upon their foreheads." (Rev 7:2-3).

And the Lord said to him, "Go through the city, through Jerusalem, and put a mark upon the foreheads of the men who sigh and groan over all the abominations that are committed in it...slay old men outright, young men and maidens, little children and women, but touch no one upon whom is the mark" (Ez 9:4-6).

Later tradition identified this sealing either with baptism, the laying on of hands or the marking of the cross. Beasley-Murray²² says that given Paul's use of σφραγίζειν (2Cor 1:22, Eph 1:13, 4:30), along with the fact that the Hebrew text of Ez 9:4 speaks of marking with a 'Tau' (which was written in cruciform shape in ancient times), this interpretation was almost

21. Beasley-Murray, p.117.

22. Beasley-Murray, p.143, Note 1.

inevitable. Nevertheless, it seems more likely that John's meaning is closer to Ezekiel's, namely that God's people are to be given a special mark to protect them from the approaching slaughter.²³ The two main questions that arise with John's use of this tradition are the identity of those protected (144,000) and their relation to the great throng of Rev 7:9, and what exactly are they protected from? In regards to the first, most commentators think that the 144,000 and the great throng refer to the same group of people but opinions differ on whether this is a symbol of the whole church (Swete, Beasley-Murray, Sweet) or just the martyrs (Charles, Caird, Kiddle). The opinion of Victorinus that the 144,000 represents Jewish Christians is not widely held today.

As to the danger, it does not appear to be protection against physical attacks as they have already had to endure the effects of the first six seals. Neither is it likely to be death, since Revelation consistently portrays martyrdom as the way to victory. Charles²⁴ insists that it can only be a protection against the satanic forces that are about to be unleashed (9:1f), though if this is the case, it is not clear why the sealing does not immediately precede this, since the trumpets that follow the sealing bring disasters that are remarkably similar to the effects of the first six seals. One further point of interest is that the sealing episode is followed by an angel reaching into the altar and hurling fire onto the earth:

Then the angel took the censer and filled it with fire from the altar and threw it on the earth (Rev 8:5).

23. Ford, pp116-7, says that to the prophet's contemporaries, 'seal' would have connoted:

1. Branding of cattle or slaves to denote ownership.
2. A mark denoting ownership by a god.
3. A mark denoting a prophet (1 Ki 20:41, Zech 13:6, Is 44:5).
4. A phylactery denoting devotion to Yahweh.
5. The seal of circumcision.
6. The seal stamped on the human soul.

24. Charles, Vol 1, p.196.

A similar thing happens in Ezekiel:

And he said to the man clothed in linen, "Go in among the whirling wheels underneath the cherubim; fill your hands with burning coals from between the cherubim, and scatter them over the city." (10:2).

The second parallel in the middle section of the two books is the description of the great harlot in Rev 17, which draws mainly on the description of Jerusalem in Ez 16,23. Ford²⁵ cites this as evidence that John is referring to Jerusalem rather than Rome but few commentators have found this convincing. Here are some of the parallels:

Rev 17:1	The city is called a Harlot (Ez 16:15f)
Rev 17:2	She was world-famous (Ez 16:15,25,29)
Rev 17:4a	She wore jewels and fine linen (Ez 16:13)
Rev 17:4b	She holds a cup of abominations (Ez 23:31f)
Rev 17:6	She is guilty of shedding blood (Ez 16:38, 23:45)

John interrupts this description by giving the interpretation of the heads and horns of the beast on which she sits. The seven heads are seven hills (17:9) and also seven kings (17:10), five of whom have fallen, one is presently reigning and one is to come. The ten horns also stand for kings (17:12) who will give their authority to the beast (17:13) and make war on the Lamb (17:14). Some commentators (eg. Charles) have found this dual interpretation artificial and suggest that it is the work of a later redactor. Whether this is so or not, the book returns to the theme of the Harlot and describes her destruction in terms which are very similar to those of Ez 16:39 and 23:22-29:

And the ten horns that you saw, they and the beast will hate the harlot; they will make her desolate and naked, and devour her flesh and burn her up with fire (Rev 17:16).

they shall strip you of your clothes and take your fair jewels, and leave you naked and bare (Ez 16:39).

..shall be devoured by fire. They shall also strip you of your clothes and take away your fine jewels...and they shall deal with you in hatred...and leave you naked and bare (Ez 23:25-9).

25. Ford, p.283.

The third parallel in the middle sections of the two books is the lament over the fall of Babylon in Rev 18, which is based on a similar lament for Tyre in Ez 26-27. Charles²⁶ found the following four allusions to these chapters:

<u>Rev</u>	<u>Ez</u>
And the merchants of the earth weep and mourn for her, since no one buys their cargo any more, cargo of gold, silver, jewels and pearls, fine linen, purple..and slaves, that is human souls (ψυχὰς ἀνθρώπων) (18:11-13).	Tarshish trafficked with you because of your great wealth of every kind; silver, iron, tin and lead...they exchanged the persons of men (ψυχὰς ἀνθρώπων) Edom trafficked with you.. purple, embroidered work, fine linen (27:12-16).
What city was like the great city? (18:18)	Who was ever destroyed like Tyre in the midst of the sea? (27:32)
And they threw dust on their heads, as they wept and mourned (18:19).	wail aloud over you, and cry bitterly. They cast dust on their heads and wallow in ashes; (27:30).
and the sound of harpers and minstrels, of flute players and trumpeters, shall be heard in thee no more; (18:22).	And I will stop the music of your songs, and the sound of your lyres shall be heard no more (26:13).

Vanhoye²⁷ adds a number of other allusions, such as the particular distress of the sailors and those who make their living from the sea (Rev 18:17-18, Ez 27:28-30) and the comment that her destruction will be so complete that she will never be found again (Rev 18:21b, Ez 26:21).

Ruiz says this reappropriation of Ezekielian material can be described under three interrelated headings: simplification, rearrangement and reintegration.²⁸ The most obvious simplification is that John omits the

26. Charles, Vol 1, p.lxxv, who believes they are all taken from the Hebrew text.

27. Vanhoye, p.447.

28. Ruiz, pp427ff. In contrast, Bauckham, p.350, says: 'No doubt it was Ezekiel's list which suggested the idea of such a list to John, but it can have contributed little more than the idea of a list of cargoes. It is true that a number of items of merchandise are common to both lists, but no more than would be practically inevitable in any two lengthy lists of items traded in the ancient world. Each list also has a significant number of items which do not occur in the other.'

names of the various trading partners (Tarshish, Javan, Tubal, Meshech, Beth-togarmah, Rhodes, Edom, Judah etc.) and condenses the products into two verses. As to rearrangement, there appears to be some attempt to systematize, with products listed under jewelry, clothes, building materials, tools, aromatics, food and livestock. However, John has not simply abbreviated since under aromatics, he has *κιννάμωμον*, *ἄμωμον*, *θυμίαμα*, *μύρον* and *λίβανον*, whereas Ezekiel only has *μύρον*. Under reintegration, Ruiz suggests that the list has been arranged to coincide substantially with the description of the harlot in 17:4, by which John:

binds the metaphors of Prostitute and Babylon together by mediating between 17,4 and 18,16, where Woman and City are decked out identically.²⁹

We have now considered five examples of what Vanhoye³⁰ called 'utilisations d'ensemble', that is, major sections of Revelation which derive their inspiration from major sections of Ezekiel. What is of particular interest is that these sections occur in the same order in both works and so it looks as though the structure of Ezekiel has been a major influence on John's book:

Rev 4	Throne/creatures/eyes/bow/crystal	Ez 1
Rev 7-8	Marking/scattering of fire	Ez 9-10
Rev 17	Punishment of the Harlot city	Ez 16,23
Rev 18	Lament over the fallen city	Ez 26,27
Rev 20-22	Revival, reign, battle, new Jerusalem	Ez 37-48

Boismard noticed this and developed a source-theory to account for both these agreements and the sections in between. Firstly, he included the sealing incident (Rev 7) into a larger section (Rev 6-9), which he entitled 'Prophecies against the pagans'. This, he believes, is dependent

29. Ruiz, p.440.

30. Vanhoye, p.462.

on the first half of Ezekiel (3-24), though not always in order. He gives the following parallels:³¹

Rev 6:8	Sword, famine, plague, beasts	Ez 5:16 etc
Rev 7:1	Reference to the corners of the earth	Ez 7:2
Rev 7:2-8	Marking of God's people	Ez 9:4-6
Rev 8:1-2	7/6 angels with destructive weapons	Ez 9:1-3
Rev 8:5	Hurling of fiery coals	Ez 10:2-7
Rev 8:7-12	Plagues	Ez 5:12-14
Rev 8:13,9:12	Woe/end has come	Ez 7:5,25

This leaves two main sections of Revelation unaccounted for, namely, the inaugural vision and seven letters (Rev 1-3), and Rev 10-16. The first is considered to be a later addition to the work and so is discounted. The second is said to comprise of two parts. The main section consists of Rev 12-16 and forms a dipytch with Rev 4-9:³²

<u>Rev</u> 4-5	God shares dominion with the Lamb who was slain	<u>Rev</u> 12-13	Satan shares dominion with the beast healed of its mortal wound
7:2-8	144,000 marked with the seal of God.	14:1-5	144,000 marked with the names of God and Lamb
7:9-17	Vision of the blessed in heaven	15:2-4	Those who sing the hymn of Moses/Lamb
6:12ff	Fate of the impious	14:9f	Fate of those who worship the Beast
8-9	7 Trumpets	16	7 Bowls

Boismard argues from this that the author had at his disposal two texts (hence the title of the article "'L'Apocalypse' ou 'Les Apocalypses' de St.Jean"). Unlike past source theories, Boismard does not think that they are the work of someone other than the author for they are similar in both style and diction. However, he does think that they were based on different scriptures. Thus Text 1, which consists of Rev 4-9 and most of

31. Boismard, pp530-2.

32. We here follow the translation offered in Ruiz, p.29.

17-22 is based on Ezekiel. Boismard calls it an 'imitation' of Ezekiel and a 'servile' one at that.³³ Its purpose was to combat idolatry. Text 2 consists mainly of Rev 12-16, along with certain parts of 17-22, for example, 19:11-20 and 21:1-8. It is largely based on Daniel with Joel in a supporting role. It is concerned with persecution rather than idolatry. As for the remaining chapters, Boismard considers Rev 5 to be an independent composition, whilst Rev 10-11 is distributed between the two sources (Text 1: 10:1,2b,5-7; 11:14-18 Text 2: 10:2a,3-4,8-11; 11:1-13,19).³⁴

This division into sources has not won much support. Ruiz³⁵ summarizes the objections of Brekelman and Vanni whilst adding some of his own. For our purposes, it is sufficient to mention the following. Firstly, the Daniel inspired material is much more extensive than Boismard's Text 2. For example, in Charles' lists, we find the following:³⁶

<u>Rev</u>		<u>Dan</u>
5:11	angels numbering myriads of myriads and thousands	7:10
9:20	idols of gold and silver and bronze and stone..	5:23
10:5f	lifted up his right hand...and swore	12:7
19:6	like the the voice of a great multitude	10:6
20:4	I saw thrones and seated on them	7:9
20:15	not found written in the book of life	12:1
21:27	only those who are written in..book of life	12:1
22:10	Do not seal up the words..for the time is near	12:10

Secondly, the Ezekiel inspired material in Revelation is not confined to his Text 1. In particular, Boismard selects verses from Rev 10 so as to obtain an introduction for his Text 2:

He had a little scroll open in his hand..and called out with a loud voice, like a lion roaring; when he called out, the seven thunders sounded. And when the seven thunders had sounded, I was about to write, but I heard a voice from heaven saying, 'Seal up what the seven thunders have said, and do not write it down..Then the voice which I had heard from heaven spoke to me again, saying, 'Go, take the scroll which is open in the hand of the angel who is standing on the sea and on the land.' So I went to the angel and told him to give me the little scroll; and he said to me, 'Take it and eat; it will be bitter to your stomach, but sweet as honey in your mouth..

33. Boismard, p.532. 34. Boismard, pp510-12. 35.Ruiz, pp38-54. 36. Charles, Vol 1, pplxviii-lxxxiii.

As Ruiz³⁷ notes, Boismard calls this prologue 'traditional enough' but he fails to point out that it is as much modelled on Ezekiel as anything in his Text 1. In this case, it is Ez 3:3:

And he said to me, "Son of man, eat this scroll that I give you and fill your stomach with it." Then I ate it; and it was in my mouth as sweet as honey.

Other passages in Text 2 that appear to be inspired by Ezekiel are 18:22 ('sound of harpers...shall be heard in thee no more'), 19:11 ('Then I saw heaven opened'), 19:17f ('Come, gather for the great supper') and 21:3 ('Behold, the dwelling of God is with men'). Thus there are Daniel-inspired passages outside of Text 2 and Ezekiel-inspired passages outside of Text 1. This brings us to our third objection, namely that it fails to do justice to John's use of the OT. In particular, one of the techniques that is emerging from our study is the way that John interweaves different texts to produce a new composition. We have seen this supremely in the inaugural vision where Hanson counts 14 allusions in 7 verses. It is also present in Rev 4 where John combines allusions from Isaiah and Daniel along with the base text in Ezekiel. Indeed Vanhoye says:

Il est rare que l'Apocalypse se contente de puiser à une seule source; en générale, elle fusionne plusieurs textes et fait souvent preuve d'un sens admirable des affinités qu'ils ont entre eux.³⁸

Boismard is correct in noting that Revelation contains clusters of material where Ezekiel seems to have been a special influence but he is wrong to confine it to these. On the other hand, it is questionable that Ezekiel and Revelation can be put into a one-to-one correspondence, as Goulder attempts. Rejecting a literary solution as 'rather bookish and implausible',³⁹ Goulder suggests that John's inspiration has come from the

37. Ruiz, p.51.

38. Vanhoye, p.467.

39. Goulder, p.349.

weekly readings of Ezekiel in the context of worship. He notes that John himself says his visions came to him 'on the Lord's day' (1:10) and that he intended his work to be read aloud to the congregation (1:3). Goulder thus attempts to work out a correspondence between the twenty-two chapters of Revelation and the forty-eight of Ezekiel. Using the two throne visions (Rev 4, Ez 1) as the fixed point, he arrives at the following chart:⁴⁰

40. Goulder, pp353-354, given here without the exact chapter divisions.

The Apocalypse, Ezekiel, and the Jewish Christian Year

<u>Rev</u>	<u>Theme</u>	<u>Ez</u>	<u>Calendar</u>
1	Risen Christ	43a	PASSOVER
2a	Ephesus	43b	
2b	Smyrna	44	
2c	Pergamum	45	
2d	Thyatira	46	
3a	Sardis	47	
3b	Philadelphia	48	
3c	Laodicea		
4	Throne-vision	1	PENTECOST
5a	Scroll, Lion	2	
5b	Lamb as slain	3	
6a	4 Seals	5	
6b	Martyrs	6	
6c	Earthquake	7	
7a	144,000 sealed	8-9	
7b	Multitude	10	
8a	Incense, altar	11	
8b	4 Trumpets	12	
9a	Locust-scorpions	13	
9b	Lion cavalry	14	
10a	Angel of oath	15	
10b	Little scroll	16	
11a	2 Witnesses	16	
11b	7th Trumpet	17	
12a	Woman and Dragon	18	NEW YEAR ATONEMENT TABERNACLES
12b	Michael and Dragon	19	
12c	Woman in wilderness	20	
13a	Beast from the Sea	21	
13b	Beast from the land	22	
14a	Lamb and 144,000	23	
14b	Cup of wrath	23	
14c	Harvest and vintage	24	
15a	Bowl angels	25	
15b	Glory in Temple	26	
16a	3 Bowls	27	
16b	2 Bowls	28	
16c	7th bowl	29	DEDICATION
17a	Babylon the Harlot	30	
17b	Mystery Expounded	31	
18a	Fallen is Babylon	32	
18b	Lament over Babylon	33	
19a	Lamb's Bride	34	
19b	Rider on White Horse	35	
19c	Armageddon	36	
20a	Resurrection and Millenium	37	
20b	Gog and Magog	38	
20c	Last Judgment	39	
21a	New Jerusalem	40	
21b	City, walls, gates	40	
22a	God's glory, River of Life	41	
22b	Come!	42	

Goulder acknowledges that such a scheme is purely hypothetical but finds it amazing that such a linear progression should correspond with the main Christian feasts (see chart). However, there are also enormous problems. For example, Goulder follows Boismard and others in seeing Ez 37-39 as the inspiration behind Rev 20 and this parallel is easily arranged by dividing Rev 20 into three sections (v1-6, 7-10, 11-15). After this, it becomes more difficult. Boismard saw the whole of Ez 40-48 as the inspiration behind Rev 21-22 but Goulder has to utilize only Ez 40-42, leaving the remaining chapters (43-48) to carry over (as it were) to the inaugural vision and seven letters (Rev 1-3). To make this seem plausible, he notes that the phrase 'like the sound of many waters' occurs in Ez 43:2 and Rev 1:15 (though its occurrence in Rev 14:2, 19:6 makes this insignificant), whilst reference to the name of the city in Ez 48:35 would fit the promise to the church at Philadelphia (3:12), whose inhabitants were to have the name of God and the name of the city inscribed on them (the most likely understanding of the $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu$). Unfortunately, this expediency means losing two of the most prominent parallels between Ezekiel and Rev 21-22, namely the river of life (Rev 22, Ez 47) and the twelve gates which bear the names of the twelve tribes (Rev 21, Ez 48).

Secondly, whilst the sealing/marking of the saints falls approximately in the right position (taking Ez 8 and 9 together), the same is not true of either the Harlot chapters (Ez 16,23 = Rev 17) or the Tyre/Babylon lament (Ez 26-28 = Rev 18). On Goulder's arrangement, these two chapters of Revelation were inspired by Ez 30-33, whereas Ez 16, 23, 26, 27 correspond to Rev 11a, 14ab, 15b and 16a respectively. It is not being unkind to say that chance alone might have been expected to produce more overlap than this.

A further factor against such a linear scheme of readings is the observation of Vanhoye⁴¹ that John sometimes uses a passage more than once ('double utilisation'). For example, we have already noted that Ezekiel's throne-vision is followed by the command to eat a scroll:

a hand was stretched out to me, and, lo, a written scroll was in it..it had writing on the front and on the back..eat this scroll..Then I ate it; and it was in my mouth as sweet as honey (Ez 2:9-3:2).

As Goulder notes, John's throne-vision is also followed by the mention of a scroll (Rev 5:1) and there is a correspondence in that John's scroll is also written 'within and on the back'. However, John's main use of this incident is in Rev 10, where 'another mighty angel' says:

"Take it and eat; it will be bitter to your stomach, but sweet as honey in your mouth." (Rev 10:9).

The majority of scholars have assumed that this is a different scroll from that of Rev 5 because John calls it a βιβλαρίδιον. However, this is probably not to be pressed (cf. ἀρνίον, θηρίον). The sealed scroll of Rev 5 has been opened (Rev 6-8) and is now given to John to digest.⁴²

Another example cited by Vanhoye⁴³ is John's use of the measuring incident in Ez 40f. In Ezekiel, this is a literary device, both to add realism to the vision, and to record the various dimensions of the Temple and its environs. In Rev 11:11, the function is much closer to the sealing episode:

Then I was given a measuring rod like a staff, and I was told: "Rise and measure the temple of God and the altar and those who worship there, but do not measure the court outside the temple; leave that out, for it is given over to the nations, and they will trample over the holy city for forty-two months (Rev 11:1-2).

41. Vanhoye, p.462.

42. Bauckham, pp243-266, argues strongly that they are the same scroll. The calamities of Rev 6-8 are not the contents of the scroll but are attendant on its opening. Now it is opened (10:1), the angel is able to make its contents known to John, as described in Rev 1:1 (God - Jesus - Angel - John - Servants).

43. Vanhoye, p.463f.

Here, John is told to do the measuring himself and what he measures is promised safety. The function is thus quite different from Ez 40f, though its focus is similar, namely, the temple and its environs. However, the incident is given a second hearing in Rev 21:15f, where this time it is the angel who does the measuring and its function is very close to that found in Ezekiel, namely to add realism to the vision and record the dimensions of the new city. The major difference is that the measuring does not concern the temple because John's city does not have one.

For these reasons, Goulder's theory of a linear correspondence between Revelation and Ezekiel is untenable. John has used Ezekiel to a remarkable degree and in something like the same order but his method is much more complicated than a lectionary theory allows. Nevertheless, the agreements do call for an explanation. John's readers are addressed by someone who reports a throne vision like Ezekiel's and is commissioned to prophesy by eating a scroll. In his visions of destruction, he speaks of God's people being protected by a seal whilst the persecuting power is called Babylon. Its destruction is described under the themes of 'harlot' and 'exploiting city' with a dirge-like lament from all who profited by her. He then describes a battle where God's enemies are destroyed, the birds gorge on the remains and the saints come back to life. Then comes the final battle against Gog and Magog, who are destroyed by fire, making way for the final vision, the new Jerusalem. The city is measured, the gates contain the names of the twelve tribes and the tree of life provides healing for the nations. If a lectionary theory is inadequate, what else can we suggest?

The most obvious explanation is that John has taken on the 'persona' of Ezekiel. Through meditation and study (of which there are ample precedents), John has absorbed something of the character and mind of

the prophet. This is why he can make so many allusions to the book without ever actually quoting it. Fiorenza⁴⁴ uses this fact to draw a distinction between using its 'words, images, phrases and patterns' for his own compositions and treating the book as authoritative scripture. In part, this is correct though it should be noted that this does not imply that John is any more distant from Ezekiel than those who do quote it. It is possible that he does not quote it as scripture because he does not see it as an external source. He has taken on the mind of Ezekiel and writes 'in the spirit' (ἐν πνεύματι).

Further support for such a hypothesis might come from the following. Firstly, adopting the part of an ancient worthy is standard practice for those who wrote apocalypses. Such works are invariably pseudonymous and claim, quite explicitly, that they actually come from the said person (eg. Enoch). Most commentators have pointed out that Revelation differs from this tradition by specifically declaring its authorship and this is quite correct. Attempts to see 'John' as a pseudonym for the apostle have not gained much support.⁴⁵ Nevertheless, it is possible that John's ἐν πνεύματι makes a similar claim, though in a somewhat different way. Not only are many of John's visions modelled on Ezekiel, he himself seems to see a similarity between his experiences and those of Ezekiel:

And in the Spirit he carried me away to a great, high mountain, and showed me the holy city..(Rev 21:10).

and brought me in the visions of God into the land of Israel, and set me down upon a very high mountain, on which was a structure like a city opposite me (Ez 40:2).

44. "Apocalypsis and Propheteia", Fiorenza, P.135.

45. See F.D.Mazzaferri, The Genre of the Book of Revelation from a Source-Critical Perspective, Berlin, 1989, pp3-4, who cites R.Dunkerley, "The Five Johns", LQHR 30, 1961, pp292-298, as one of the few scholars who holds this position. Mazzaferri does not find it convincing.

Secondly, meditating on the book of Ezekiel for the purpose of achieving ecstatic visions is also well documented. Whilst forbidden in some circles, there existed in Judaism a form of mysticism known as the 'merkabah', the Hebrew word for chariot. Ezekiel's description of God's throne speaks of wheels and moving across the heavens. In merkabah mysticism,⁴⁶ these descriptions were used to achieve trance-like visions and heavenly transportation. John is much more restrained but Rev 4:1f bears some resemblance to such visions:

After this I looked, and lo, in heaven an open door! And the first voice, which I had heard speaking to me like a trumpet, said, "Come up hither, and I will show you what must take place after this". At once I was in the spirit, and lo, a throne stood in heaven...

Thirdly, John's teaching of a resurgence of evil under the leadership of Gog and Magog is not found in any other NT writing but appears to be taken from Ezekiel or traditions based on it. What is the explanation of this? Farrer says:

The chief moral significance of the millenium in St. John's book, is the special promise it makes to the martyr.⁴⁷

Kiddle is similar:

There is no doubt whatever that John saw its fitness in the unique reward it gave to the martyrs.⁴⁸

Nevertheless, this does not explain why John used a tradition which runs counter to all other NT teaching. Kiddle does not think that John's use of scripture is uncritical, for he says:

The prophecies are the unrefined gold now poured into the crucible of his souring imagination and fashioned into his own visions.⁴⁹

46. The classic study is G.Scholem, Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism, New York, 1954. For a brief introduction, see J.Dan, "The Religious Experience of the *Merkavah*", Jewish Spirituality. From the Bible Through the Middle Ages, ed. A.Green, London, 1989, pp289-307.

47. Farrer, p.206.

48. Kiddle, p.391.

49. Kiddle, p.xxvii.

The question still remains as to why John's 'souring imagination' thinks of a millenium followed by a resurgence of evil? It does not seem to have occurred to any other NT writer and has been the cause of much controversy ever since. Farrer⁵⁰ gives three reasons for why John may have included it. Firstly, there was already in existence (2Pet 3:8) a speculation based on Gen 1 and Ps 90:4 that history would last 6000 years followed by a millennial rest. Given John's liking for 'sevens', it is not difficult to imagine this speculation appealing to him. Secondly, John is clearly basing his last chapters on Ezekiel and Ezekiel speaks of the restoration of the dry bones, a final battle and only then, the new Jerusalem. Thus according to Farrer, one explanation for its inclusion is simply that he found it in Ezekiel. Caird agrees though he adds that this does not sufficiently explain why John chose to use it. There was a great variety of traditions which he could have drawn from, including the direct translation of the martyrs to heaven. The fact that he speaks of a millenium must be because it was an 'indispensable element in his vision of the future'.⁵¹ Farrer's third reason is that it also gives John the chance to fit other prophecies into his scheme. However, Farrer does not find this a compelling reason, for in his view, John was not unduly worried about consistency.

Thus the claim that John has taken on the 'persona' of Ezekiel has something to be said for it. However, we must now consider its weaknesses. Firstly, it must be asked how this can be reconciled with his extensive use of Daniel and other books like Isaiah?⁵² Has he taken on their 'persona' as well? There would perhaps be an answer to this if we could accept Beale's view that one text acts as the 'Vorbild' whilst others are brought in by association but neither Daniel nor Ezekiel can be said

50. Farrer, p.204.

51. Caird, p.251.

52. For John's use of Isaiah, see J.Fekkes, Isaiah and Prophetic Traditions in the Book of Revelation: Visionary Antecedents and their Development, Ph.D Dissertation, University Of Manchester, 1988.

to act in this way throughout Revelation. Indeed, it is possible that parts of Revelation are based on sequences of the minor prophets:⁵³

<u>Rev</u>	<u>Theme</u>	<u>Parallel</u>	<u>OT</u>
8:6-13	4 Trumpets	Fire/sun/moon	Joel 2
9:1-12	Locust-scorpions	Smoke, locusts	Joel 3
9:13-21	Lion cavalry	Lions, fire (horses)	Amos 1-2
10:1-7	Angel of oath	Mystery revealed to the prophets.	Amos 3

The presence of so many OT traditions in Revelation undoubtedly weakens the argument that he has particularly adopted the 'persona' of any one of them and we have already seen how Vanhoye can only find rare instances where John's allusions seem to come from a single source. His explanation for this is instructive:

Jean excelle à trouver les textes qui se complètent ou se corrigent mutuellement de façon à exprimer avec plus de fidélité l'accomplissement chrétien.⁵⁴

As an example of this, he cites Rev 19:17-21, which is unquestionably based on the 'gorging' of Ez 39. In Ezekiel, the meal is explicitly called a 'sacrifice' (39:17) but Vanhoye says that John does not wish to follow this for the idea is repugnant to him. He thus sets the incident in the context of the 'feast provided by God', as found in passages like Is 25:6, and so, by alluding to more than one scripture, he is able to arrive at the meaning which he wishes to impart.

This leads on to a more far-reaching criticism, namely, that John's use of Ezekiel is by no means a simple taking over of his ideas and themes. For example, whilst we have already pointed out a number of similarities between John's description of the New Jerusalem and Ez 40-48, we have not so far mentioned the differences (as we did with John's use of Ez 1). On this, Vogelgesang says:

53. Goulder, p.362.

54. Vanhoye, p.467.

John made detailed use of Ezek 40-48 in constructing the new Jerusalem vision. Yet a greater contrast with that vision, where seven of nine chapters describe this temple, its ordinances and its priests, and the glory of God dwelling therein, cannot be imagined.⁵⁵

John draws extensively on Ez 40-48 to describe his vision of the new Jerusalem but explicitly denies the existence of the very thing that these chapters revolve around. John did not see a temple in his city for 'its temple is the Lord God the Almighty' (Rev 21:22). Vogelgesang thinks this is because a Temple is a very inadequate symbol for what John is trying to say:

one of the reasons a temple is a poor image for the presence of God in the New Jerusalem is that it is a particularistic institution, separated from all the other nations and set apart, which is the direct antithesis of what John intends here.⁵⁶

Whether it is the 'direct antithesis' of what John is trying to say may be debated but Vogelgesang's thesis merits attention. He notes, for example, that John does not simply omit the 'Temple' material but transfers it to his city.⁵⁷ Thus whilst Ezekiel says:

As the glory of the Lord entered the temple by the gate facing east, the Spirit lifted me up, and brought me into the inner court; and behold, the glory of the Lord filled the temple (Ez 43:4-5),

John says:

And the city has no need of sun or moon to shine upon it, for the glory of God is its light (Rev 21:23).

According to Vogelgesang,⁵⁸ this change is part of a consistent hermeneutical strategy on John's part. He calls it 'democratization', that is, the taking of what is particular, local and ethnic and giving it universal expression. In his Festschrift article, Beale⁵⁹ listed this as one of seven

55. Vogelgesang, p.77.

56. Vogelgesang, p.85.

57. We saw a similar thing with the 'full of eyes' material, which was not discarded but applied to the creatures.

58. Vogelgesang, pp131ff.

59. "Revelation", p.327.

ways that John uses scripture but Vogelgesang sees it as the major hermeneutical strategy behind John's work. For example, the glory of God is not to reside in a temple, which is located in a specific place, but in a city of gigantic proportions (roughly equal to the known world of John's day). John's city is accessible. It is not situated on a mountain and its gates are left open. It does have walls, but these are not intended to keep people out, as can be seen from their small size (144 cubits) in comparison with the size of the city (over two million square miles). It is also indicated by the fact that the gates are kept open. Further, John takes over the paradise imagery of the tree of life but does not place it in a secluded garden but has it in the middle of the street:

Then he showed me the river of the water of life, bright as crystal, flowing from the throne of God and of the Lamb through the middle of the street of the city (Rev 22:1-2)

Vogelgesang is here drawing on Georgi who claims that Revelation is the only 'apocalypse' which focuses on the 'city'. Rome is recognized as a world trade centre, especially in luxury goods and:

despite his attack on Rome, John confirms urban life at the end of the book in a really monstrous fashion. The future world is portrayed as one huge city, and this as Babylon redeemed.⁶⁰

Ezekiel looked forward to a time when the tribes will be united under a Davidic king (37:24), shall dwell in the land of their fathers (37:25) and God will make his dwelling with them:

My dwelling place shall be with them; and I will be their God, and they shall be my people. Then the nations will know that I the Lord sanctify Israel, when my sanctuary is in the midst of them for evermore (Ez 37:27-28).

John uses much of this but with significant changes. Firstly, when alluding to the first part in Rev 21:3 ('I will be their God and they shall

60. D.Georgi, "Who is the True Prophet?", *HTR* 79, 1986, p.125.

be my people'), John uses the plural λαοὶ (so XA and accepted by NA26) instead of the singular λαός. Secondly, John makes it quite clear that the nations are not just spectators but are fully part of the city:

By its light shall the nations walk; and the kings of the earth shall bring their glory into it, and its gates shall never be shut by day - and there shall be no night there; they shall bring into it the glory and the honour of the nations (Rev 21:24-26).

This point is also indicated by the addition that John makes to Ez 47:12. Ezekiel says that the leaves of the trees are for healing but John writes that 'the leaves of the tree were for the healing of the nations' (Rev 22:2b).

A further aspect of this 'democratization' leads Vogelgesang⁶¹ to describe Revelation as an 'anti-apocalypse' (again following Georgi). Most apocalypses, he says, describe visions in order to exalt the seer and give authority to the book. John, on the other hand, is seeking to counter this tendency. Thus he opens with a declaration of solidarity:

I John, your brother, who share with you in Jesus the tribulation and the kingdom and the patient endurance (Rev 1:9).

Secondly, the expression he uses to introduce the throne vision (ἐγενόμην ἐν πνεύματι) is also used in the introduction when he was 'in the spirit on the Lord's day'. Vogelgesang⁶² concludes from this that the throne vision is not some esoteric experience only open to the chosen few. Rather, it is no different from being 'in the spirit on the Lord's day', which he takes to mean participating in ordinary church worship. Further, the result of the throne vision, namely the contents of Rev 4-22, are not placed on a higher level than the messages to be delivered orally to the congregations. Both are the result of being 'in the Spirit' and both are the 'word of God'.

61. Vogelgesang, pp281ff.

62. Vogelgesang, pp170ff.

Finally, Vogelgesang⁶³ follows Georgi in describing the new Jerusalem as 'Babylon redeemed' (see above). He claims that such an idea would be totally unthinkable for Ezekiel but the clear parallels between Rev 17-18 and Rev 21-22 show that this is John's intention. The gold and jewels that decked the great harlot (17:4) have become the foundations of the walls of the new city (21:19f). Ruiz,⁶⁴ however, believes this to be a fundamental misunderstanding of these chapters. It is correct that a parallelism exists between the 'Babylon' chapters (Beast-Harlot-Babylon) and the Jerusalem chapters (Lamb-Bride-Jerusalem) but the link is more one of replacement than appropriation. Babylon is not to be redeemed, it is to be destroyed and even though his new city is of enormous proportions, John still envisages some to be outside it.

Ruiz⁶⁵ is also critical of Vogelgesang's use of the word 'democratization'. When it is being used in the sense of 'universalization', there can be little complaint. John's use of Ezekiel undoubtedly involves a broadening of perspective and an extension of its promises to every 'nation, tribe and tongue'. It is also true that John is not trying to exalt himself by describing his visions. He even records two incidents where he made a fool of himself and attempted to worship an angel. In this sense, one can agree with Vogelgesang when he says:

Patterns typical of esoteric apocalyptic traditions are broken and transformed to become non-esoteric. That is, institutions and forms which in apocalyptic literature are intended to reveal secrets to a privileged few are democratized so that the vision and the message are genuinely revealed to all, and are capable of being understood by "anyone who hears the words of the prophecy of this book".⁶⁶

However, when all is said and done, John is confident that he has seen visions and heard the word of God and the resulting message is not open to discussion:

63. Vogelgesang, p.126f.

64. Ruiz, p.167.

65. Ruiz, p.169.

66. Vogelgesang, p.277.

I warn every one who hears the words of the prophecy of this book: if any one adds to them, God will add to him the plagues described in this book, and if any one takes away from the words of the book of this prophecy, God will take away his share in the tree of life and in the holy city (Rev 22:18-19).

Neither is it clear whether Vogelgesang thinks that 'democratization' forms the purpose of John's work or is simply incidental to it. In other words, is John seeking to combat fellow prophets and mystics who are leading the communities astray by their esotericism or addressing the socio-political situation which the readers find themselves in? Thus Ruiz⁶⁷ finds it surprising that in his long discussion of Rev 20-22, Vogelgesang does not mention either the Imperial cult or the destruction of the Temple in 70 C.E. as possible reasons for why John's city does not contain a temple.

Nevertheless, Vogelgesang has usefully stressed the fact that despite the impressive similarities between Revelation and Ezekiel, the differences are no less so. In fact, the differences make John's use of Ezekiel even more startling for had he wished to do so, he could have employed texts with 'words, images, phrases and patterns' that would be more in line with his purposes (presumably). By firmly making the reader think of Ezekiel's visions, only to confront him or her with drastic changes, forces the reader to stop and ask what is going on. Ruiz thinks this is precisely John's purpose and is in line with certain key statements in the book itself:

This calls for wisdom: let him who has understanding reckon the number of the beast, for it is a human number, its number is six hundred and sixty-six (Rev 13:18).

This calls for a mind with wisdom: the seven heads are seven mountains on which the woman is seated (Rev 17:9).

67. Ruiz, p.168.

Such statements have often been considered in isolation but the challenge to understand is a characteristic of the book, as is the command to remain attentive to the spirit (2:7,11,17,29 etc.). Ruiz thinks that the 'atypical Greek' serves a similar function, obliging the interpreter to pause and 'consider the uniqueness of the text which confronts him or her'.⁶⁸ He says:

The idiosyncratic Greek of Revelation often serves precisely this function: it stops the reader in mid-course with a signal that the familiar conventions of ordinary discourse are suspended. It is not simply a matter of inelegant composition or incompetence in Greek on the author's part, but of conscious and intentional difficulties placed before the reader as obstacles to confound an ordinary reading of the text.⁶⁹

He also notes that the frequent hymnody, as well as the specific blessing promised for reader and hearers in Rev 1:3, show that the community's liturgy is the 'privileged locus' for the reception of John's work. This, he says, is the kernel of truth in Goulder's lectionary hypothesis. The 'crescendo of heavenly song envelops the readers-as-hearers to include them as participants in the swelling tide of praise'.⁷⁰ By including these hymnic passages and doxologies, the community experiences in its worship the victory set forth in John's book:

With 19:1-10 John offers the churches a vantage point from which to understand and appropriate chaps. 17 and 18. That vantage point is their own liturgical experience, indicated from the outset (Rev 1:3) as the privileged setting for the interpretation of the book's prophetic words.⁷¹

68. Ruiz, p.224.

69. Ruiz, p.220. Ruiz is not the first to suggest that John's solecisms are deliberate. A.Y.Collins, Crisis and Catharsis, p.47, put forward the view that they are part of John's protest against the establishment. Beale, "Revelation", p.332, thinks John was trying to produce a 'biblical effect', whilst a number of scholars follow Charles, Vol 1, p.cxlili, who claims that whilst 'John writes in Greek, he thinks in Hebrew'. See S.Thomson, The Apocalypse and Semitic Syntax, SNTSMS 52, Cambridge, 1985, and for a critique, S.E.Porter, "The Language of the Apocalypse in Recent Discussion", NTS 35, 1989, pp582-603. Ruiz seems to imply that the purpose of the solecisms is to cause the reader to 'suspend' an ordinary reading of the text. However, it would be difficult to maintain that the major solecisms (eg. 1:5,10,15,20; 2:27; 4:4 etc.) all act in this way, though a good case can obviously be made for 1:5. If true, his theory can only be taken in general terms.

70. Ruiz, p.523.

71. Ruiz, p.524.

These three things then, the imperatives to understand and be attentive, the unusual Greek and the liturgical setting are all important factors for understanding John's message. What John offers, according to Ruiz, is his own prophetic transformation of Ezekiel and other key texts:

the author of Revelation recognized the already metaphorical discourse of Ezekiel, refashioned it into compelling, new metaphorical discourse, and presented it to the interpreting community of the church.⁷²

On the side of the hearers/readers, they are invited to 'reappropriate biblical metaphors through the lens of Revelation itself.'⁷³

This is the opposite of Beale's view that the OT texts are 'used as a lens through which past and present eschatological fulfilment is understood'.⁷⁴

However, Ruiz is not aiming to be one-sided for he goes on to say:

the author of Revelation manifests acute sensitivity to the cumulative power of words. He knows that words never lose meanings, that they gather more meanings over time, and that their old meanings can be reawakened.⁷⁵

In other words, the reader is confronted with two contexts and each affects the other. The context in Ezekiel has chronological priority for it had already affected the minds of his readers. This corresponds to Caird's 'permanent furniture of his well-stocked mind.'⁷⁶ Into this situation came John's work, a work closely modelled on parts of Ezekiel but with some surprising differences. The reader is caught in a dilemma. Much of the book sounds familiar yet he or she is constantly having to wrestle with the 'literary landmines' buried in the text. John has not offered an interpretation of Ezekiel as a finished product. This is the truth of

72. Ruiz, p.225.

73. Ruiz, p.223.

74. "Revelation", p.325.

75. Ruiz, p.223. The statement that 'words never lose meanings' is unfortunate. It is clear from the history of language that words do lose their meanings, which is why meaning can never be determined from etymology alone. However, I take it that Ruiz intends this phrase to be interpreted in the light of what follows, that old meanings can be reawakened.

76. Caird, p.74.

Fiorenza's comment that John does not interpret Scripture. Rather, by utilizing much of its structure and language, he has bound the two works together to form a complex set of interactions. As John Collins says:

Mythological allusions, like biblical allusions, are not simple copies of the original source. Rather they transfer motifs from one context to another. By so doing they build associations and analogies and so enrich the communicative power of the language.⁷⁷

Some of the incidents might come under the category of typology. God seals the saints against the satanic forces, just as he sealed/marked the faithful in Jerusalem before sending in the destroyer. However, the vision of the new city is a complex mixture of similarities and differences which have to be thought out. The reader is not expected to create a synthesis and then retire from the exegetical task. The specific declaration, 'This calls for a mind with wisdom' (17:9), does not end when one has deduced that the beast is Rome. That is perfectly obvious (in the opinion of most scholars) and the symbolism of the seven hills is hardly meant to hide it should the book fall into the wrong hands. What is required of the reader is to think out the implications of calling Rome a Beast and be ready to act upon it (if necessary, by giving one's life). As the divine speaker says in the seven letters, 'He who has an ear to hear, let him hear what the spirit says to the churches'. John's use of Ezekiel involves the reader in an hermeneutical challenge.

The nature of this challenge can be fruitfully explored using the literary concept of 'intertextuality'. The term was first coined by Julia Kristeva⁷⁸ in 1966 and refers to the way that texts interact with their subtexts. In biblical Studies, it has been used by Richard Hays in his

77. J.J.Collins, The Apocalyptic Imagination. An Introduction to the Jewish Matrix of Christianity, New York, 1984, p.16.

78. "Word, Dialogue and Novel", now included in T.Moi, The Kristeva Reader, Oxford, 1986. Kristeva builds on the work of Mikhail Bakhtin and his 'conception of the 'literary word' as an *intersection of textual surfaces* rather than a *point* (a fixed meaning), as a dialogue among several writings: that of the writer, the addressee (or the character) and the contemporary or earlier cultural context' (Kristeva Reader, p.36).

excellent book, Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul, (Yale, 1989) and will be the subject of our sixth chapter. However, before we attempt to use modern literary theory to understand an ancient text, it is important that we try and locate John's use of the OT in the exegetical practices of his own age. This could mean a survey of the use of the OT by other NT authors but this is a field that has been well covered.⁷⁹ Instead, we will take a fresh look at the Dead Sea Scrolls, of which material is still being published.⁸⁰ Like John, the community owed much of its self-understanding to its scriptural heritage, whilst it seems clear that their particular situation has led to some very specific interpretations. It therefore offers important comparative material for understanding John's use of Scripture. We cannot hope to be comprehensive in this survey and will limit ourselves to seven texts, taken from a variety of sources. We will then consider some of the theories offered by Qumran scholars to explain the use of scripture in the Dead Sea Scrolls, before drawing some conclusions of our own. We turn then to the use of the OT at Qumran.

79. Of particular note are the works of Stendahl and Gundry on Matthew, Freed, Guilding and Reim on John, Ellis, Hays and Stanley on Paul. For comparisons between NT authors, see the Bibliography for works by Dodd, Lindars and Hanson.

80. Including an interesting work called '4Q Second Ezekiel' (eds. J.Strugnell & D.Dimant, RevQ 13, 1988, pp45-58) which 'reworks Ezekielic material in a manner different from other Qumranic works such as the *Temple Scroll* and the *Songs of the Sabbath sacrifice*' and 'combines characteristics of genres which up to now we have usually come across only in separate works' (p.47, 57).

CHAPTER 5: THE USE OF THE OT AT QUMRAN

The texts discovered in the caves of Qumran are both numerous and varied. Vermes groups the non-biblical scrolls under four headings. Firstly, there are the rules, including the Community rule (1QS), the Damascus rule (CD), the War Scroll (1QM, 4QM) and the Temple Scroll (11QT). Secondly, there are Hymns, Liturgies and Wisdom Poetry, for example the Thanksgiving Hymns (1QH), the Apocryphal Psalms (11QPs^a) and the Songs for the Holocaust of the Sabbath (4Q400-407, 11Q5-6). His third category is Biblical Interpretation, including the Genesis Apocryphon (1QapGen), commentaries on Isaiah (4Q161-4), Hosea (4Q166-7), Micah (1Q14), Nahum (4Q169), Habakkuk (1QpHab) and the Psalms (4Q171, 4Q173), a Midrash on the Last Days (4Q174 or 4QFlor), a Testimonia (4Q175 or 4QTest) and a work about the Heavenly Prince Melchizedek (11QMelch). Lastly, Vermes prints a few horoscopes (4Q186, 4QMessAr) under the heading Miscellanea.

We will begin our study with a passage known as the 'Amos-Numbers Midrash', found in the A-text of the Damascus Document:

1. CD 7:14-21

I will exile the tabernacle of your king and the bases of your statues from my tent to Damascus (Amos v,26-7). The Books of the Law are the tabernacle of the king; as God said, I will raise up the tabernacle of David which is fallen (Amos ix,11). The king is the congregation; and the bases of the statues are the Books of the Prophets whose sayings Israel despised. The star is the Interpreter of the Law who shall come to Damascus; as it is written, A star shall come forth out of Jacob and a sceptre shall rise out of Israel (Num.xxiv,17). The sceptre is the Prince of the whole congregation, and when he comes he shall smite all the children of Seth (Num.xxiv,17).

In this midrash¹, two texts from Amos (both concerning the 'tabernacle' as our author reads it) are linked with the 'star' or 'sceptre' of Num 24:17. Though our author does not quote it, Amos 5:26 speaks of the 'star-god' and this may have led him to the Numbers passage. The bulk of the midrash consists of various identifications:

Tabernacle	=	Books of the Law
King	=	Congregation
Bases of the statues	=	Books of the Prophets
Star	=	Interpreter of the Law
Sceptre	=	Prince of congregation

The presentation shows some variety, with 'Books of the Law' mentioned before 'Tabernacle' (unlike the other four) and 'star' before Num 24:17 is actually quoted. Bruce² notes that the author's exegesis often seems to depend on a play on words:

1. 'Tabernacle' (sukkath) instead of 'Sakkuth' (a name for the planet Saturn), which then provides the link (gēzērâ šāwâ) with the 'sukkath' of David in Amos 9:11.³
2. 'Bases' (kannē) instead of 'Kaiwan' (also a name for Saturn).
3. 'Tent' (mē'ohōlî) instead of 'Beyond' (mēhālē'āh)⁴

To us, the various identifications appear to be arbitrary but there may be a rationale behind them. For example, Brooke⁵ points out that the final letters of 'Sakkuth' and 'Kaiwan' might have led the author to the identifications of 'law' and 'prophets'. Alternatively, the use of anagram might have led צלמיִם to be read as מליִציִם, which can mean 'interpreters' (and hence prophets). The equation of 'king' and

1. Text in C.Rabin, The Zadokite Documents, Oxford, 1954. The relationship between Text A and Text B is complex. For a brief summary of views, see G.J.Brooke, Exegesis at Qumran. 4Q Florilegium in its Jewish Context, JSOT Supp 29, Sheffield, 1985, pp302-304.

2. F.F.Bruce, Biblical Exegesis in the Qumran Texts, London, 1960, pp37-8. See also his article: "Biblical Exposition at Qumran", Gospel Perspectives, Vol 3, Sheffield, 1983, p.90.

3. Interestingly, the LXX renders σκηνην τοῦ Μόλοχ and this is the form quoted in Acts 7:43.

4. Rabin, p.29, thinks this is a genuine textual variant rather than a midrashic substitution since the 'author would surely have retained the lē- which supported his interpretation'.

5. Brooke, p.307.

'congregation' remains a puzzle, though the Aramaic root 'mlk' can mean 'to take counsel'. Though it does not appear that John alludes to Amos 9:11, it is interesting that Rev 22:16 speaks of the 'root and the offspring of David, the bright morning star'. The exact origin of 'bright morning star' is unclear but most commentators agree that 'star' is ultimately derived from Num 24, as in the Damascus Document. Bruce summarizes the use of scripture in CD 7:

So, by reason of coincidence in wording or similarity in subject-matter, a whole catena of biblical texts is viewed as presenting the origin, history and prospects of the community.⁶

2. 1QH Col 3 Lines 6-10 (Vermes Hymn 4)

- 6 They caused [me] to be
like a ship on the deeps of the [sea],
7 and like a fortified city
before [the aggressor],
[and] like a woman in travail
with her first-born child,
upon whose belly pangs have come
8 and grievous pains,
filling with anguish her child-bearing crucible.
- 9 For the children have come to the throes of Death,
and she labours in her pains who bears a man.
For amid the throes of Death
she shall bring forth a man-child,
and amid the pains of Hell
10 there shall spring from her child-bearing crucible
a Marvellous Mighty Counsellor;
and a man shall be delivered from out of the throes.

Because of the state of the scroll, it is difficult to tell where one hymn ends and another begins. Vermes calls this Hymn 4 but on Holm-Nielsen's⁷ reckoning, it is Hymn 5. Modelled (it would appear) on the biblical psalms, these hymns contain a wealth of biblical allusions.

6. "Biblical Exposition at Qumran", p.91.

7. S.Holm-Nielsen, Hodayot. Psalms from Qumran, UNIVERSITETSFORLAGET 1, AARHUS, 1960.

According to the lists in Holm-Nielsen⁸, the majority of these allusions come from the Psalms (about 150 different verses, many of which appear more than once) and Isaiah (about 120). There is a much smaller number from the Pentateuch (about 40) and about 20 each from Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Job and Proverbs. Thus the distribution is more like the book of Revelation than any of the other NT documents. This particular passage draws on a number of the 'travail' texts in the OT, as the following shows:

- Is 13:8 Pangs and agony will seize them;
they will be in anguish like a woman in travail.
- Jer 4:31 For I heard a cry as of a woman in travail,
anguish as of one bringing forth her first child.
- Mic 2:10 Arise and go, for this is no place to rest; because of
uncleanness that destroys with a grievous destruction.
- Is 37:3 children have come to the birth,
and there is no strength to bring them forth.
- Is 66:7 Before she was in labour she gave birth;
before her pain came upon her she was delivered of a son.
- Is 9:6 For to us a child is born, to us a son is given;
and the government will be upon his shoulder,
and his name will be called "Wonderful Counsellor ...

In the first part of the hymn, birth-pangs appears to be one of a number of metaphors for suffering ('ship in a storm', 'city under siege') but as the psalm progresses, the messianic overtones become more pronounced ("Wonderful Counsellor") and Brownlee⁹ suggests that we have here a parallel to Rev 12:

And a great portent appeared in heaven, a woman clothed with the sun...she was with child and she cried out in her pangs of birth, in anguish for delivery...she brought forth a male child, one who is to rule all the nations...Then the dragon was angry with the woman, and went off to make war on the rest of her offspring, on those who keep the commandments of God and bear testimony to Jesus (Rev 12:1,2,5,17).

8. Holm-Nielsen, pp354-359.

9. W.H.Brownlee, "Messianic Motifs of Qumran and the New Testament", NTS 3, 1956/7, p.25. See also R.D.Aus, "The Relevance of Isaiah 66:7 to Revelation 12 and 2 Thessalonians 1", ZNW 67, 1976, pp252-268.

If the hymn is talking about the 'nativity of the Wonderful Counsellor', as Brownlee calls it, then the author appears to be identifying with the 'pregnant mother'. Brownlee says:

the author may have felt that in a peculiar way it would be through his sufferings (though not without reference to the Community) that the Messiah would be born.¹⁰

The parenthesis indicates Brownlee's awareness that the more natural understanding of the 'virgin mother' is the community (as in Rev 12) rather than an individual (as in Mt 1:23). Further, Holm-Nielsen points out that the parallel between the children coming to the throes of death and the mother giving birth 'amid the throes of death', shows that we are dealing with a plurality of persons. Thus the psalm represents:

the sufferings sustained at the time by the community, and in particular by their leader, the "Teacher of Righteousness", with the idea that these sufferings were warnings of the dawn of the Messianic era. Thus the psalm is interpreted eschatologically, but not directly of the Messiah.¹¹

Before leaving this text, it is worth noting that as well as the general dependence on 'travail' texts, Holm-Nielsen believes that the author has chosen particular words to suggest particular texts. For example, the only occurrence of the Niphal participle of נָרַץ ('grievous pains') in the OT is Mic 2:10, where it is also found in conjunction with חָבַל. In line 7, מְבֹרָא (firstborn) probably suggests Jer 4:31, whilst the specification that it is a 'man-child' (as in Rev 12:5) points to Is 66:7. John's expression for this is unusual (ἔτεκεν υἱὸν ἄρσεν) and may show knowledge of the LXX (ἔτεκεν ἄρσεν). The significance of this for the language of John's allusions will be discussed in chapter seven.

10. "Messianic Motifs", p.25.

11. Holm-Nielsen, p.63.

The [cheru]bim prostrate themselves before him and bless. As they rise, a whispered divine voice [is heard], and there is a roar of praise. When they drop their wings, there is a [whispere]d divine voice. The cherubim bless the image of the throne-chariot above the firmament, [and] they praise [the majes]ty of the luminous firmament beneath his seat of glory. When the wheels advance, angels of holiness come and go. From between his glorious wheels there is as it were a fiery vision of most holy spirits. About them, the appearance of rivulets of fire in the likeness of gleaming brass, and a work of...radiance in many-coloured glory, marvellous pigments, clearly mingled. The spirits of the living 'gods' move perpetually with the glory of the marvellous chariot(s). The whispered voice of blessing accompanies the roar of their advance, and they praise the Holy One on their way of return.

Like John's throne vision in Rev 4, this passage relies heavily on Ez 1,10. The movable throne is now specifically called a throne-chariot ('merkabah') and is attended by cherubim (cf. Ez 10:3). There seems to be a particular interest in the praise offered by the cherubim and the sound made by their wings (cf. Ez 1:24). There is mention of a firmament (Ez 1:23), moving wheels (Ez 1:15f 'ophannim') and rims (Ez 1:18 'galgallim'). In amongst the wheels is fire (Ez 1:4), the appearance of which is like 'gleaming brass' ('hashmal'). Carol Newsom says:

the text of Ezekiel's vision has been transformed in the twelfth Sabbath Shirot in the interest of describing celestial praise. More specifically, the passage in question uses and exegetically transforms the text of Ezekiel in order to answer the implicit question, 'How does the chariot throne itself praise God?'¹³

Newsom believes that the point of departure for this exegesis was Ez 3:12-13, where according to Halperin, the original reading כְּרוֹם כְּבוֹד

12. Text first published by J.Strugnell, "The Angelic Liturgy at Qumran", *VT* Supp 7, 1960, pp318-345. Now available in a critical edition by C.Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice: A Critical Edition*, Harvard Semitic Studies 27, Atlanta, 1985.

13. "Merkabah Exegesis in the Qumran Sabbath Shirot", *JJS* 38, 1987, p.19. Already in the LXX there appears to be speculation about this praise. So the LXX of Ez 1:23 speaks of the 'fluttering' of their wings (αἱ πτέρυγες αὐτῶν ἐκτεταμέναι πτερυσσόμεναι) and the coming of the glory of God in Ez 43:2 is like the 'sound of many repeating' (φωνὴ διπλασιαζόντων πολλῶν) instead of the MT's 'sound of many waters'. See D.J.Halperin, "Merkabah Midrash in the Septuagint", *JBL* 101, 1982, pp351-363. The Targum, as well as expanding the number of wings of the four creatures to 256, also glosses Ez 1:24: 'as they went, the sound of their words were as though they were thanking and blessing their Master, the everliving King of the worlds..'. In Rev 4, the creatures specifically sing the trisagion of Is 6.

was changed to כַּבֹּד כְּבֹד not by copyist error but deliberate exegesis.¹⁴ If this is correct, then it was an early change for it is supported by the LXX and MT. Newsom thinks that our author shows knowledge of both readings, for the text says that the cherubim 'bless as they lift themselves up' (her translation). With respect to the sound generated by the wings, Ezekiel says it is like the:

- a. sound of many waters, like the thunder of the Almighty, a sound of tumult like the sound of a host (1:24)
- b. sound of a great earthquake (3:12)
- c. voice of God Almighty when he speaks (10:5)

However, our author calls it a 'whispered divine voice' (Vermes) or 'sound of divine stillness' (Newsom), which seems to be derived from 1Kings 19:11-12, where God is not in the earthquake but the 'still small voice'. It is the use of 'earthquake' in Ez 3:12 that provides the link with 1Kings 19 (gēzērâ šāwâ) and Newsom¹⁵ says that our author is consciously 'correcting' the statement of Ez 3:12.

There is an interesting parallel here to John's use of these traditions. In the inaugural vision, as we saw in ch.2, John appears to be following (and augmenting) Dan 10:5-6, but when he comes to the description of the voice 'like the noise of a multitude', he substitutes 'like the sound of many waters'. Swete¹⁶ suggested this was because of John's sojourn on Patmos but a more likely solution is his desire to link up with these texts in Ezekiel (and thus to the description of God's glory in Ez 43:2). This is indicated by his further use of these metaphors in 14:2 and 19:6. In 14:2, there is a voice from heaven which is like the 'sound of many waters and like the sound of loud thunder'. It is also like the sound

14. Halperin, p.356.

15. "Merkabah Exegesis in the Qumran Sabbath Shirot", p.26.

16. Swete, p.18.

of 'harpers playing on their harps', though it is not clear what element of the playing is in mind. Then in 19:6, Daniel's expressions comes first (ὡς φωνὴν ὄχλου), followed by the other two expressions:¹⁷

Then I heard what seemed to be the voice of a great multitude, like the sound of many waters and like the sound of mighty thunderpeals..

After speaking of the sound of the wings, Ez 3:12-13 mentions the sound of the 'wheels beside them'. Newsom believes that the author of the 'Shirot' now attempts to elucidate how the wheels ('ophannim') produce their sound. This is done by declaring that the movement of the wheels is accompanied by a corresponding movement of 'holy angels'. Drawing on the language of Ez 10, where the man 'clothed in linen' was told to 'go in among the whirling wheels', Newsom says:

The novel picture thus generated by the exegetical activity of the author of the Shirot is that of fiery angelic beings who habitually move back and forth with the movement of the ophannim.¹⁸

There then follows a description of these fiery spirits, mostly drawn from Ez 1,10, though Newsom thinks that 'rivulets of fire' probably comes from Dan 7:9-10. We have seen how John also draws on both of these texts, where hair 'as white as white wool' (Rev 1:14) is a clear reference to Dan 7:9 but the use of ποδήρης (1:13) probably points to Ez 10:2 (LXX).¹⁹ Finally, after a further reference to the movement of the spirits, our author is now able to draw the required conclusion:

The whispered voice of blessing accompanies the roar of their advance, and they praise the Holy One on their way of return.

17. Thus the argument of Charles, Vol 1, p.lxix and p.29, that John must be using the Hebrew text of Ez 43:2 ('sound of many waters') because the LXX says something quite different ('sound of many repeating') is quite fallacious. In order to maintain this, he would first have to show that John is definitely intending to quote from Ez 43:2 and no other text. Considering the complexity indicated above, this is going to be extremely difficult and Charles does not even try. We will discuss this and the methodological issues involved, in ch. 7.

18. "Merkabah Exegesis in the Qumran Shirot", p.26.

19. So Hanson, p.167.

'he will build a house for my name' is understandably omitted since the emphasis of the document is that the house will not be built by human hands. The second phrase 'come forth from your body' speculates on the origins of the Messiah which is generally avoided at Qumran. Finally, the first phrase 'When your days are fulfilled and you lie down with your fathers' ties the text to its original temporal context. Brooke concludes:

What was formerly in scholarship described as a scribal error is now to be seen as the correct use of a valid exegetical technique.²¹

We have already seen how John uses abbreviation in connection with the throne vision (Rev 4) and the list of merchandise in Rev 18. Another example is the use of Ez 39:17-20 in Rev 19:17-18:

Then I saw an angel standing in the sun, and with a loud voice he called to all the birds that fly in midheaven, "Come, gather for the great supper of God, to eat the flesh of kings, the flesh of captains, the flesh of mighty men, the flesh of horses and their riders, and the flesh of all men, both free and slave, both small and great." (Rev 19:17-18).

"As for you, son of man, thus says the Lord God: Speak to the birds of every sort and to all the beasts of the field, 'Assemble and come, gather from all sides to the sacrificial feast which I am preparing for you, a great sacrificial feast upon the mountains of Israel, and you shall eat flesh and drink blood. You shall eat the flesh of the mighty, and drink the blood of the princes of the earth - of rams, of lambs, and of goats, of bulls, all of them fatlings of Bashan. And you shall eat fat till you are filled, and drink blood till you are drunk, at the sacrificial feast which I am preparing for you. And you shall be filled at my table with horses and riders, with mighty men and all kinds of warriors,' says the Lord God (Ez 39:17-20).

Judging by what he retains, John's chief interest in the passage appears to be the classes of people involved in the slaughter. This is confirmed by his own expansion 'free and slave, both small and great'. As to what he omits, he does not call it a 'sacrificial feast', he does not mention drinking blood and apart from the horses, he does not include the animals. This latter is probably due to his desire to

21. Brooke, p.112.

concentrate on the human participants of the battle. The omission of blood might be because he has already made use of the 'spilt blood' image in the harvesting of Rev 14 and we have already noted Vanhoye's opinion that the reason John does not call it a 'sacrificial feast' is because:

Jean répugnait sans doute à conserver le nom de sacrifice pour désigner l'exécution des jugements divins contre le monde pécheur.²²

Returning to our passage in the Florilegium, the transfer to Amos 9:11 was probably suggested by the similarity between 'I will raise up your seed' and 'I will raise up the tent' (gězērâ šāwâ). In fact the quotation (as in CD 7) uses the same form of the verb as found in 2Sam 7:12 (וְהָקִימְתִּי) and may have its origin in the connection of these two passages. Further, Knibb²³ suggests that the author is playing on the similarity between the word 'booth' (sukkâh) and 'branch' or 'bough' (sôkâh). Brooke summarizes:

So, in sum, 4Q Flor 1:10-13 describes the royal family aspect of בֵּית as punned in 2Samuel 7, and reflects the Qumran expectation of the Davidic King-Messiah, accompanied by the eschatological Interpreter of the Law, through whom God's proper rule will be restored and who will save Israel.²⁴

22. Vanhoye, p.469.

23. M.A.Knibb, The Qumran Community, Cambridge, 1987, p.261.

24. Brooke, p.139.

5. 11QMelch 2-10²⁵

And concerning that which He said, In [this] year of Jubilee [each of you shall return to his property (Lev.xxv,13); and likewise, And this is the manner of release:] every creditor shall release that which he has lent [to his neighbour. He shall not exact it of his neighbour and his brother], for God's release [has been proclaimed] (Deut.xv,2). [And it will be proclaimed at] the end of days concerning the captives as [He said, To proclaim liberty to the captives (Isa.lxi,1). Its interpretation is that He] will assign them to the Sons of Heaven and to the inheritance of Melchizedek; f[or He will cast] their [lot] amid the po[r]tions of Melchize]dek, who will return them there and will proclaim to them liberty, forgiving them [the wrong-doings] of all their iniquities.

And this thing will [occur] in the first week of the Jubilee that follows the nine Jubilees. And the Day of Atonement is the e[nd of the] tenth [Ju]bilee, when all the Sons of [Light] and the men of the lot of Mel[chi]zedek will be atoned for. [And] a statute concerns them [to prov]ide them with their rewards. For this is the moment of the Year of Grace for Melchizedek. [And h]e will, by his strength, judge the holy ones of God, executing judgement as it is written concerning him in the Songs of David, who said, ELOHIM has taken his place in the divine council; in the midst of the gods he holds judgement (Psalms lxxxii,1).

The words of the opening text 'In this year of Jubilee' could come from either Lev 25:13 or 27:24, but in view of the use made of Lev 25 in the rest of the text, the former is preferable. This is then linked with the Sabbatical year of Deut 15:2, probably through the common use of ἀφεσις in the LXX.²⁶ An explanation is then introduced, which Fitzmyer²⁷ restores 'Its meaning for the end of days' (cf. Vermes 'it will be proclaimed at the end of days') and concerns 'the captives'. The supporting text is missing but from the lines that follow, it appears to have been Is 61:1, facilitated, according to Fitzmyer,²⁸ by the common use of d=rōr (release) in Lev 25 and Is 61.

25. Text is conveniently found in the article by M. de Jonge & A.S. Van der Woude, "11Q Melchizedek and the New Testament", *NTS* 12, 1965/6, pp301-326. Also with restorations and commentary, J.A.Fitzmyer, "Further Light on Melchizedek from Qumran Cave 11", *JBL* 86, 1967, pp25-42. The connected text offered by Vermes (despite the use of brackets) disguises the fact that we are dealing with the restoration of 13 fragments, resulting in many lacunae. On average, about one half of each line has to be restored, though Lines 9-10 are quite well preserved.

26. So Fitzmyer, p.33, and M.de Jonge, p.304. The Hebrew text of Lev 25:13 says: 'In this year of Jubilee', but the LXX rendering ἐν τῷ ἔτει τῆς ἀφέσεως σημασίῃ shares the word ἀφέσεως with Deut 15:2 (καὶ οὕτω τὸ πρόσταγμα τῆς ἀφέσεως).

27. Fitzmyer, p.34

28. Fitzmyer, p.34.

The interpretation that follows is difficult to understand due to the fragmentary nature of the text. It is clear that it is to do with Melchizedek (written here as two words) but is he the intended subject of 'proclaim to them liberty, forgiving them [the wrong-doings] of all their iniquities'? The first expression picks up Is 61:1, though Fitzmyer also cites Jer 34:8 and Lev 25:10 as possibilities. The second expression probably comes from Dan 9:24 ('Seventy weeks of years are decreed concerning your people and your holy city, to finish the transgression, to put an end to sin, and to atone for iniquity..') in view of the use made of this passage in the lines that follow. M.de Jonge and A.S.van der Woude²⁹ admit the possibility that Melchizedek might be the intended subject of these words but declare that certainty is impossible.

In the second paragraph, however, Melchizedek's exalted status is affirmed through the application of Ps 82:1. The original appears to mean that God (ELOHIM) presides over the 'gods' in the divine council, but here, ELOHIM applies to Melchizedek. Fitzmyer³⁰ thus translates 'Elohim has taken his stand in the assembly of El, in the midst of gods he gives judgment.' He says, somewhat tentatively:

These quotations imply that he is *somehow* God's agent for the execution of divine judgment on man in this year of jubilee. Depending on how strictly and literally these OT quotations are to be applied to him, Melchizedek *seems* to enjoy a status among or even above such heavenly beings as "the holy ones of God" (q=dōšē'El).³¹

The book of Revelation also applies texts that were originally associated with God to another figure. For example, in the inaugural vision (Rev 1:14), the description of God in Dan 7:9 ('hair of his head like pure wool') is applied to Jesus. In v17, the words of Is 44:6 ('I am the first and I am the last') are put into his mouth and in 19:16, the

29. M.de Jonge, p.306; Likewise Fitzmyer, p.34.

30. Fitzmyer, p.37.

31. Fitzmyer, p.30 (Italics mine).

rider of the white horse is called 'King of kings and Lord of lords' (see Deut 10:17, Dan 2:47 and the LXX text of Dan 4:27). According to Newman,³² John was aided in this process by the way that Dan 7 had already used Ez 1 to describe two figures, namely, the 'one that was ancient of days' and the 'one like a son of man'. Newman³³ thinks that the reason this did not constitute a breach with monotheism was that it did not involve worship of such figures. If this is true, then it is significant that Revelation not only applies such attributes to Jesus but also portrays him as sharing in the adoration and praise of God.

"To him who sits upon the throne and to the Lamb be blessing and honour and glory and might for ever and ever!" And the four living creatures said, "Amen!" and the elders fell down and worshipped (Rev 5:13b-14).

32. C.C.Newman, Paul's Glory-Christology, NovT Supp 69, Leiden, 1992, pp92-99.

33. Citing Hurtado as his authority, Newman, p.98, says: 'Jews were quite willing to clothe God's vice-regents with divinity; what Jews were unwilling to do, however, was to give worship to these special agents as God.' See further, "The Worship of Jesus", Bauckham, pp118-149.

6. 1QpHab 6:12-7:5³⁴

I will take my stand to watch and will station myself upon my fortress. I will watch to see what He will say to me and how [He will answer] my complaint. And the Lord answered [and said to me, 'Write down the vision and make it plain] upon the tablets, that [he who reads] may read it speedily (ii,1-2)...and God told Habakkuk to write down that which would happen to the final generation, but He did not make known to him when time would come to an end. And as for that which He said, That he who reads may read it speedily: interpreted this concerns the Teacher of Righteousness, to whom God made known all the mysteries of the words of His servants the Prophets.

The commentary on Habakkuk was one of the first discoveries at Qumran and offers interpretations ('pesharim') on the first two chapters of the biblical book. The omission of the third chapter might be because the first two chapters circulated independently or simply that it did not serve the author's purpose.³⁵ According to Knibb, it is the 'best preserved and in many ways the most important of the Qumran biblical commentaries...primarily...for the very full illustration it provides of methods of biblical exegesis employed by the Qumran community.'³⁶ It is for this reason that we will take two examples from this text.

In the above passage, the biblical text occurs at the bottom of column 6 and has to be restored in three places. The final restoration is helped by the repetition of the words in the 'pesher' ('he who reads it may read it speedily'), though not without ambiguity, since the verb 'to run' (taken figuratively by Vermes to mean 'speedily') appears above the line in a different hand. There is also dispute as to its meaning. Vermes takes it figuratively but Brownlee³⁷ claims that such a use is unattested.

34. Text in M.Burrows, The Dead Sea Scrolls of St.Mark's Monastery, Vol 1, New Haven, 1950. For commentary, see W.H.Brownlee, The Midrash Pesher of Habakkuk, SBLMS 24, Missoula, 1979.

35. The final column of the scroll only consists of four lines so it is not a case of the last chapter being lost. Some Scholars had already argued that the third chapter of Habakkuk was a later addition and the evidence of 1QpHab could be used to support this. In support of the unity of the book, Haak points to the presence of Hab 3 in the Greek minor prophets scroll found at Nahal Hever. He also points out that none of the extant pesharim are of complete books. See R.D.Haak, Habakkuk, VT Supp 44, Leiden, 1992, pp1-10.

36. Knibb, p.221.

37. Midrash Pesher, p.108.

He prefers to take it literally of a herald who runs to proclaim his message. Haak agrees but insists on a more specific meaning:

The emphasis is not on the fact that the reader *may* run, but rather that the message of judgment is to be so clear that the reader *will* run in terror.³⁸

The first part of the 'pesher' (presumably on Hab 2:1) is lost at the bottom of column 6 but what remains at the top of column 7 is well preserved and gives us a number of clues as to the community's understanding of prophecy. Firstly, the words of Habakkuk are said to apply to the 'final generation', even though Habakkuk was told by God to make them plain. The verb here (*bā'ēr*) can mean 'engrave' and this would fit with what follows ('upon the tablets'). However, most scholars take it in the sense of Deut 1:5 ('Moses undertook to explain this law') and render it something like 'make it plain upon tablets' (RSV). Nevertheless, our author believes that there was something incomplete about this and adds 'but He did not make known to him when time would come to an end.' Brownlee translates 'but the fulness of that time He did not make known to him', commenting:

It was not mere chronological knowledge which Habakkuk lacked, such as when the consummation would come or how long the period of the last days would last...but it was an understanding of the specific events to which his words made veiled and enigmatic allusions.³⁹

In the light of the next line about God making known the mysteries to the Teacher, this is no doubt correct. However, it may also be the case that the community were very concerned about the time of the end and so Vermes' translation might be right. As to making known 'all the mysteries of the words of His servants the Prophets', we are reminded of John's claim in Rev 1:1-3. Both passages allude to Amos 3:7, possibly combined

38. *Habakkuk*, p.56 (Italics his).

39 *Midrash Pesher*, p.110.

with a reference to the 'mystery' of Dan 2:19f (definite in Revelation), as a way of claiming authority for their respective interpretations (see also Rev 10:5-7). The parallel is denied by Fiorenza because she insists that John does not interpret Scripture but Bauckham is prepared to acknowledge it.⁴⁰

1. 'did not make known to him when time would come to an end'

However this phrase is translated, it goes against the emphasis in Hab 2:2 that God was going to make his reply clear. Brownlee says:

Such an interpretation would contradict the presuppositions of Qumrân; for if the meaning had been written with full clarity, the ingenious interpretations of Qumrân would be an imposition. Consequently, the text had to be made to say just the opposite.⁴¹

In answer to this, he mentions the possibility that our author might have read (or deliberately punned) bā'ēr ('make empty') instead of bā'ēr ('make plain'), a suggestion also found in Knibb.⁴²

2. 'he who reads may read it speedily/run'

The original copyist omitted the verb yārûṣ, giving the meaning 'for the sake of one who reads it', which might have been taken to mean the Teacher of Righteousness. Silberman⁴³ offers further possibilities. Firstly, he notes that in the Babylonian Talmud (Sanhedrin 34 a), Jer 23:29 is interpreted by taking pṣṣ ('shatter') to mean 'interpret', on the basis that 'just as the rock is split into many splinters, so also may one Biblical verse convey many teachings'. If our verb is taken from rṣṣ ('crush') rather than rūṣ ('run'), there may be an analogous usage in our text. Secondly, Silbermann notes that auditory word plays abound in this commentary, so

40. Bauckham, p.262, Note 32, says that Fiorenza denies the parallel (Fiorenza, p.136) because she 'entirely misunderstands and misinterprets Revelation's use of the Old Testament'.

41. Midrash Peshar, p.109.

42. Knibb, p.233.

43. L.H.Silberman, "Unriddling the Riddle: A Study in the Structure and Language of the Habakkuk Peshar (1QpHab.)", RevQ 3, 1961/2, pp344f.

that our author may have been influenced by the Aramaic *trš*, which can mean 'interpret'. Brownlee⁴⁴ adds a further suggestion that our author may have read *yārīš* instead of *yārūš* (the two letters are almost indistinguishable in the scrolls), which in the hiphil can mean 'to arrange subjects for debate'. He further adds that this might have led to a pun on *yālīš* ('to interpret') which is used of the Teacher in 4Q Pss^a i,27.

3. 'to whom God made known all the mysteries'

We have already noted that this is an allusion to Amos 3:7 and probably Dan 2:18f as well. Brownlee⁴⁵ suggests a connection between *rūš* ('run') and *rāz* ('mystery') and like Bruce⁴⁶ before him, illustrates the use of *rāz* by quoting a number of texts from the Thanksgiving hymns, one of which is 1QH 4:27-29:

And through me Thou hast illumined the faces of many and Thou hast become mighty infinitely, for Thou hast made known to me Thy wondrous mysteries, and by Thy wondrous secret Thou hast wrought mightily with me.

44. Midrash Peshar, p.111.

45. Midrash Peshar, pp111-112.

46. Biblical Exegesis, pp18-19.

7. 1QHab 8:3-10

Moreover, the arrogant man seizes wealth without halting. He widens his gullet like Hell and like Death he has never enough. All the nations are gathered to Him and all the peoples are assembled to Him. Will they not all of them taunt him and jeer at him saying, 'Woe to him who amasses that which is not his! How long will he load himself up with pledges?' (ii,5-6) Interpreted, this concerns the Wicked Priest who was called by the name of truth when he first arose. But when he ruled over Israel his heart became proud, and he forsook God and betrayed the precepts for the sake of riches.

1. Relation of Hab 2:5-6(MT) and Text Quoted

The text quoted by our author differs from the MT in several respects. The most important is the reading hōn ('wealth') instead of the MT's hayyayin ('wine'). As wealth forms one of the main themes of the interpretation ('for the sake of riches'), it is easy to think that our author deliberately made the change, especially as the following word appears to have gained a 'yod'. However, it is commonly recognized that 'wine' is a difficult reading and it may be that the original did read 'wealth' (so Jerusalem Bible) or as Brownlee⁴⁷ suggests hawwān ('presumptuous'). Haak⁴⁸ suggests an original of hywn ybgd ('mire') to account for the MT's hyyn bwgd and the scroll's hwn ybgwd. It is therefore unclear whether our author is exploiting a variant, changing the text or indeed preserving an ancient reading.

2. Relation between Text and Interpretation

Whatever stood in the author's *Vorlage*, the quotation in the scroll speaks of 'wealth' and that, according to our author, is the reason why the Wicked Priest 'forsook God and betrayed the precepts'. Brownlee⁴⁹ suggests that our author is trying to show that the Wicked Priest has failed the criteria for taking office found in Ex 18:21 ('Moreover choose

47. Midrash Peshet, p.132.

48. Habakkuk, p.61.

49. Midrash Peshet, p.135.

able men from all the people, such as fear God, men who are trustworthy and who hate a bribe'). He also suggests a connection between 'taunt him' (māšāl) and 'ruled over Israel' (māšal bëyiśrā'ēl). In an excursus, he notes that even modern lexicographers are unsure whether to list the meanings under different roots and our author probably thought he was simply utilizing different meanings of one and the same word.⁵⁰

Perhaps the most significant relation between text and interpretation is how our author took this to be about the 'Wicked Priest'. This is the first mention of this character since 1:13, where the title is probably to be inferred. Commenting on Hab 1:4 ('For the wicked surround the righteous'), the only words of the 'pesher' which have survived are '...is the Teacher of Righteousness'. Vermes restores 'The wicked is the Wicked Priest, and the righteous is the Teacher of Righteousness'. However, the next verse of Habakkuk starts 'Look among the nations' and this signals the beginning of a long treatment of the author's political foes, the 'Kittim'. It is therefore understandable that the 'Wicked Priest' fades into the background and so the question to ask is what was it about Hab 2:5-6 that led to his re-introduction? According to Haak,⁵¹ Hab 2:5 marks the beginning of five woe oracles:

- | | | |
|----|---------|---|
| 1. | 2:5-7 | The insatiable appetite and its results |
| 2. | 2:8-10 | The plunder of nations/peoples |
| 3. | 2:11-13 | The one building by wickedness |
| 4. | 2:14-17 | Covering and uncovering |
| 5. | 2:18-20 | The ineffectiveness of the idols. |

The Wicked Priest is made the subject of the first four but does not appear in the fifth. This might be because 2:18-20 specifically mentions idols and our author could not resist a jibe at the 'nations which serve

50. Midrash Pesher, pp143-4. It is unclear in BDB (p.605) whether it is listing 3 roots or 3 categories.

51. Habakkuk, pp20-22. These divisions do not coincide with the occurrence of hōy (v6,9,12,15,19) as with former studies. Haak argues that these divisions make better sense of the material and hence the author of Habakkuk must have broken with the tradition to begin a woe oracle with hōy.

stone and wood' (13:1-2). On the other hand, one might have expected the description 'teacher of lies' to be applied to the Wicked Priest. Nevertheless, it is worth pointing out that there is an interesting division in the author's interpretation of Habakkuk, with the Kittim being the subject of the 'Chaldean oracles' (exception at 2:8) and the Wicked Priest the subject of the 'woe oracles' (exception at 1:4). Despite the strangeness of some of the author's exegesis (to the modern reader), this at least shows some contextual awareness.⁵² Finally, we should mention Slomovic's⁵³ suggestion that 'Priest' was suggested by reading כִּי הַרְךְ as one word with 'yod' and 'wah' transposed.

3. Relation between Interpretation and Historical Events

In our discussion of CD 7:14-21, we ended with a quotation by Bruce to the effect that the author found in the biblical texts the 'origin, history and prospects of the community'. We will now consider this in more detail with respect to the Wicked Priest. We might put the question in this way: Where does the portrait of the priest derive from, the biblical text, an actual person or persons, or a combination of both? With respect to the former, we have already mentioned how the author might have derived 'wealth', 'rule', 'wicked' and 'Priest' from the Biblical text. Slomovic⁵⁴ suggests that the rest of the 'peshar' can be derived from the text via passages such as Is 48:8 ('For I knew that you would deal very treacherously'), Is 5:14 ('Sheol has enlarged its appetite and opened its mouth beyond measure') and Prov 30:15-16 ('Three things are never satisfied..Sheol').

52. Fekkes makes the same point about Revelation. Thus although John combines texts in his visionary descriptions, he does not use Daniel to describe the harlot-Babylon nor Isaiah to describe the eschatological enemy (p.99). The thrust of his thesis is that John's allusions to Isaiah fall into 4 categories: Visionary descriptions, Christological titles, Eschatological judgment and Eschatological salvation, and that this corresponds to the major sections of Isaiah used by John (eg. Is 6, 11, 60, 65).

53. E.Slomovic, "Toward an Understanding of the Exegesis in the Dead Sea Scrolls", *RevQ* 7, 1969, pp14-15.

54. Slomovic, pp14-15. As Brooke notes, p.333, some of his other suggestions (1Chron 5:2, Ex 15:2) seem a bit far-fetched but he endorses his general approach, p.290, 'the overall presentation of material by Slomovic would seem to provide sufficient evidence in support of an understanding of 1QpHab 8:3-13 such as he outlines.'

On the other hand, the expression 'called by the name of truth when he first arose'⁵⁵ has been taken as primary evidence for the identity of the Priest:

we must look for a priest who was acceptable to the Pious of Qumran as far as the earlier part of his life is concerned, which must therefore by necessity have antedated the rift between the Hasmonean dynasty and the Qumran community.⁵⁶

According to van der Woude, the only person who fits the bill is Judas Maccabaeus. As son of Mattathias, he was highly regarded for his part in the revolt and for the purification of the Temple in 164 B.C.E. However, 1Macc goes on to narrate his plundering of foreign nations and van der Woude thinks that the description in 1Macc 6:18-27 corresponds so closely with the 'pesher' that the identification is almost certain.⁵⁷

Vermes,⁵⁸ on the other hand, thinks the allusions point to a High Priest and suggests Jason, Menelaus, Alcimus, Jonathan or Simon as possibilities (given his chronological framework). The first three, however, were Hellenizers and can therefore be dismissed. Of the remaining two, he thinks Jonathan is to be preferred because Simon was murdered by his son-in-law rather than at the hands of the army. Other scholars suggest Menelaus, Jannaeus or Hyrcanus 2. The variety of solutions could be because of the paucity of the evidence but it might be that we are not so much dealing with historical allusions, as biblical stereotypes.

55. The phrase is not without its difficulties and Brownlee, Midrash Pesher, pp134-138, cites 9 different proposals for translating the first part, of which the first is his own: Called by the NAME of Truth/Had a name for being true/Was considered a member of the Truth party/Summoned against the name of truth/Called in the cause of truth/Called by the right title/Called by the true title/Called by his real name/Called by a trustworthy name. Brownlee renders the second phrase 'at the beginning of his rule' but notes other proposals: at the beginning of his ministry/au commencement de son office/when he first took office as chief priest.

56. A.S. Van der Woude, "Wicked Priest or Wicked Priests? Reflections on the Identification of the Wicked Priest in the Habakkuk Commentary", JJS 33, 1982, p.353.

57. 'we may confidently accept' are his exact words, p.355. It should be noted that Van der Woude does not believe that all the references to the Wicked Priest refer to Judas. Indeed, his theory is that they refer to a succession of people, beginning with Judas and ending with Alexander Jannaeus.

58. Vermes, pp23-35.

ANALYSIS

One of the first to offer a summary of the use of the OT at Qumran was William Brownlee. In the Sept 1951 edition of The Biblical Archaeologist, Brownlee summarized what he called the 'hermeneutical principles or presuppositions' of the Habakkuk scroll. In his estimation, there were thirteen:⁵⁹

1. Everything the ancient prophet wrote has a *veiled, eschatological meaning*.
2. Since the ancient prophet wrote cryptically, his meaning is often to be ascertained through a *forced, or abnormal construction of the Biblical text*.
3. The prophet's meaning may be detected through the study of the *textual or orthographic peculiarities* in the transmitted text. Thus the interpretation frequently turns upon the special readings of the text cited.
4. A *textual variant*, i.e., a different reading from the one cited, may also assist interpretation.
5. The application of the features of a verse may be determined by *analogous circumstance*, or by
6. *Allegorical propriety*.
7. For the full meaning of the prophet, *more than one meaning* may be attached to his words.
8. In some cases the original prophet so completely veiled his meaning that he can be understood only by an *equation of synonyms*, attaching to the original word a secondary meaning of one of its synonyms.
9. Sometimes the prophet veiled his message by writing one word instead of another, the interpreter being able to recover the prophet's meaning by a *rearrangement of the letters in a word*, or by
10. The *substitution of similar letters* for one or more of the letters in the word of the Biblical text.
11. Sometimes the prophet's meaning is to be derived by *the division of one word into two or more parts*, and by expounding the parts.
12. At times the original prophet concealed his message beneath abbreviations, so that the cryptic meaning of a word is to be evolved through *interpretation of words, or parts of words, as abbreviations*.

59. W.H.Brownlee, "Biblical Interpretation among the Sectaries of the Dead Sea Scrolls", BA 14, 1951, pp60-2 (Italics his).

13. *Other passages of scripture* may illumine the meaning of the original prophet.

As Brooke⁶⁰ notes, the weakness of this presentation is that it confuses 'hermeneutical principles' with 'exegetical techniques'. Thus his first principle is more like a general attitude towards prophecy, whilst the rest oscillate between the methods used by the prophet to encode the message (8,9,11,12), the author's subsequent attitude to the text (2,3,7) and the specific techniques required to decode it (4,5,6,8,9,10,11,12,13). In principles 8,9,11 and 12, the exegetical techniques used by the author are said to correspond to the cryptic techniques used by the prophet, whilst in principles 4,5,6,7 and 13, there are no such parallels. Does this mean that certain exegetical techniques, such as abbreviations, word splitting and exploiting synonyms are ways of getting at the prophet's meaning, whilst variant readings, allegory and other scriptures are used to get at the secret meanings referred to in 1QpHab 7:1-5? The examples cited by Brownlee would suggest not, since abbreviations, word splitting and use of synonyms are also used to get at the secret meanings. We are therefore left to wonder why principles 8,9,11 and 12 are said to correspond to the cryptic techniques of the prophet, whilst others do not receive such justification.

Further, it is unclear what Brownlee means by a '*forced, or abnormal construction of the text*'? Is it specifically referring to those techniques which were not intended by the prophet (textual variants, use of allegory, other scriptures) or is it a general comment about the whole enterprise? The wording of principle 2 suggests the latter but this seems

60. 'It is necessary, firstly, to distinguish clearly between hermeneutical principles or presuppositions and exegetical techniques. Brownlee initially confused the two by defining his first hermeneutical principle as "Everything the ancient prophet wrote has a *veiled eschatological meaning*," the rest of the principles he outlines more or less closely approximate exegetical techniques that the commentator may have used', Brooke, p.283.

at odds with principles 8,9,11 and 12, where the author's techniques simply correspond to those of the prophet. As Brooke says:

it is unfortunate that the words "forced" and "abnormal" were used, for the exegesis was surely an attempt through normative and accepted techniques to understand the meaning of the text and many of the basic teachings of Habakkuk come through in the Qumran pesher.⁶¹

In Brownlee's later work on 1QpHab, he adds to these hermeneutical principles a list of purposes for which he believes the pesher was written. These are:⁶²

1. To vindicate the Righteous Teacher against his enemies.
2. To vindicate the followers of the Teacher against their opponents.
3. To strengthen the faith and endurance of the Teacher's adherents.
4. To warn the wavering of the dangers of apostasy.
5. Through learning and obedience to prepare the way of Yahweh in the Wilderness of Judea.
6. To instruct the Community regarding the future.

If we accept that our author set about his task with these six purposes in mind, then to a limited extent, we can see why he took the biblical text in the way that he did. However, it does not answer the question of whether the author simply used the text of Habakkuk as a vehicle for his own ideas, or whether the author's ideas were affected by the biblical text? We shall return to this question a little later.

Another early attempt to analyse the use of scripture at Qumran was by F.F.Bruce.⁶³ After discussing the use of 'raz' and 'pesher' in Daniel, he then turned to the Habakkuk commentary and listed three principles of interpretation, followed by four ways that these principles were put into operation:⁶⁴

61. Brooke, p.284.

62. Midrash Pesher, pp35-36.

63. Biblical Exegesis in the Qumran Texts, London, 1960.

64. Biblical Exegesis, pp9-10,18.

Principles of Interpretation

1. God revealed His purpose to His servants the prophets, but His revelation (particularly with regard to the time when His purpose would be fulfilled) could not be understood until its meaning was imparted to the Teacher of Righteousness.
2. All the words of the prophets had reference to the time of the end.
3. The time of the end is at hand.

Methods

1. The biblical text is atomized so as to bring out its relevance to the situation of the commentator's day; it is in this situation, and not in the text, that logical coherence is to be looked for.
2. Variant readings are selected in such a way as will best serve the commentator's purpose.
3. Where a relation cannot otherwise be established between text and the new situation, allegorization may be used to this end.
4. Biblical prophecies of varying date and reference are reinterpreted so as to apply to the end-time introduced by the ministry of the Teacher of Righteousness, and in some degree to the career of the Teacher himself.

Bruce's emphasis is very firmly on the new situation controlling the exegesis of the text. The author was determined to find what he wanted to find and if he could not do this by legitimate exegesis, then allegory would do just as well. Brownlee's eschatological meaning is stated in three interlocking principles, whilst the four methods include 'atomization' (splitting the text into isolated words and then modifying it), use of variant readings (e.g. 'wine' to 'wealth' in 1QpHab 8:3) and allegory (e.g. the equation 'Lebanon = council of community' in 1QpHab 12:1f). Reinterpretation is not so much a fourth method as a summary of the whole process whereby ancient texts are taken to refer to contemporary events.

One of the weaknesses of this position is that it does not explain the particular choices made by the author in his interpretations. For example, why did he take some texts to apply to the Kittim, others the Wicked Priest or Liar, whilst a text on idols (Hab 2:18) serves as a warning against idols! We can agree that the commentator came to the text with the mindset that it spoke to his own generation and circumstances, but we must surely allow that the text had some influence over his interpretations. For example, did the commentator intend to speak of the Kittim as 'quick and valiant in war' (1QpHab 2:12-13) and found Habakkuk's description of the Chaldeans ('bitter and hasty nation') a convenient peg to hang it on? Or did the words of Habakkuk influence our author's description of the Kittim, as Brooke⁶⁵ has argued?

Despite the titles of the two early works just considered, both derived their hermeneutical principles from a study of 1QpHab. A broader approach came from Fitzmyer,⁶⁶ who considered the forty-two passages in CD (30), 1QM (5), 4QFlor (4) and 1QS (3) which contain explicit OT quotations. After discussing the formulae used to introduce these quotations, Fitzmyer grouped them into four categories:

1. Literal or Historical - where the OT is quoted in the same sense in which it was intended by the original writers.
2. Modernization - where the OT text, which originally had a reference to some event in the contemporary scene at the time it was written, nevertheless was vague enough to be applied to some new event in the history of the Qumran sect.
3. Accommodation - where the OT text was obviously wrested from its original context, modified or deliberately changed by the new writer in order to adapt it to a new situation or purpose.

65. G.J.Brooke, "The Kittim in the Qumran Pesharim", Images of Empire, ed. L.Alexander, JSOT Supp 122, Sheffield, 1991, p.143.

66. J.A.Fitzmyer, "The Use of Explicit Old Testament Quotations in Qumran Literature and in the New Testament", NTS 7, 1960/1, pp297-333.

4. Eschatological - where the OT text expressed a promise or threat about something to be accomplished in the *eschaton* and which the Qumran writer cited as something still to be accomplished in the new *eschaton* of which he wrote.

In his first category, Fitzmyer found seven examples (all from CD) of OT texts which were quoted as an authority still in force. For example, in CD 9:2, the author quotes Lev 19:18 ('You shall not take vengeance or bear a grudge against the sons of your own people') as still having validity in the community. Fitzmyer says that 'there is no perceptible change in the meaning of the text which is cited.'⁶⁷ The long list of Sabbath regulations in CD 10-12 are introduced by a quotation from Deut 5:12 ('Observe the Sabbath day to keep it holy'). The author specifies that this is 'from the moment when the sun's orb is distant by its own fulness from the gate (wherein it sinks)', which is an addition to the biblical text, but Fitzmyer nevertheless concludes that 'C.D. here quotes the Deuteronomic decalogue in the same sense in which it was originally intended'.⁶⁸ Fishbane also discusses this quotation but makes more of the addition than Fitzmyer. He says:

Clearly, this citation from the Decalogue (Deut 5:12) has been adduced to justify sectarian rules concerned with determining the onset of the Sabbath day. The matter is not considered in the Mikra. But now, by determining that one should 'guard' the onset of the Sabbath by beginning it when the sun is the distance of its own orb from setting, and relating that customary procedure to Deut 5:12, Mikra is used to support the ruling.⁶⁹

Though Fitzmyer is right to point out that there is a class of quotations which show considerable contextual awareness, it is doubtful if any ancient text can be incorporated into a new composition without a 'perceptible change in the meaning'. As Michael Worten and Judith Still state in their introductory essay on 'Intertextuality':

67. "Explicit Quotations", p.307.

68. "Explicit Quotations", pp307-308.

69. M.Fishbane, "Use, Authority and Interpretation of Mikra at Qumran", MIKRA: Text, Translation, Reading and Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity, ed. M.J.Mulder, Philadelphia, 1988, p.348.

every quotation distorts and redefines the 'primary' utterance by relocating it within another linguistic and cultural context.⁷⁰

This is of course true of the ancient scriptures themselves. We have no access to the original context of the Sabbath command. Instead we have several literary contexts (Ex 20, Deut 5) provided by the authors or compilers of these works and, as is well known, they each give a different motivation for keeping the sabbath. When this same command is incorporated in CD, it receives yet another context which affects how it will be read and understood. Our discussion, therefore, is not about the proper or improper use of scripture but the relationship between different literary contexts.

With regard to Fitzmyer's second and third categories, he admits that it is hard to draw a clear distinction. 'Modernization' is somewhat like typology though he prefers not to use that term. He believes it is illustrated by the theory espoused in 1QpHab 7:1-5 whereby the 'words in Habakkuk's oracle transcend the immediate reference of his own day and in the light of the charismatic interpretation of the Righteous Teacher they are now referred to a situation in the time of the Qumran sect.'⁷¹ For example, the use of Amos 9:11 in CD 7:15-16, though he thinks it is based on a misunderstanding of Amos 5:26, 'is seen to be verified in the sect's renewed reverence for the Law.'⁷² By allegorizing 'tabernacle' to mean 'Books of the Law', the text of Amos 9:11 is 'modernized'. He says:

In most cases the situation itself already existed and it was enhanced with special meaning because of a similarity or an analogy which they saw between it and some Old Testament situation. There is little doubt that they believed that their own history was guided by the hand of God and that these similarities or analogies were somehow intended by him.⁷³

70. M.Worten & J.Still, "Introduction", Intertextuality: Theories and Practices, Manchester, 1990, p.11.

71. "Explicit Quotations", p.310.

72. "Explicit Quotations", p.312.

73. "Explicit Quotations", p.315.

The chief difference between 'Accommodation' and 'Modernization' appears to be the question of legitimacy. With 'modernized' texts, there is some 'similarity' or 'analogy' with the new situation which legitimizes the enterprise. With 'accommodated' texts, they are simply 'wrested' from their original context and 'modified or deliberately changed' so as to fit the new situation. This category largely corresponds to Bruce's analysis of 1QpHab, with its 'atomizing' approach to the texts, its use of allegory and its exploitation of textual variants. In the light of the quotation from Worten and Still, however, we must regard this more as a question of degree than kind. All quotations distort because they have been relocated. In some cases, there is an easily discernible connection between the old and new contexts; in others, that connection is difficult (for us) to spot and may lie in the 'orthographic peculiarities' of the text. For purposes of description, we can speak of 'literal', 'modernized' or 'accommodated' texts, but we must realize that this is simply our perceptions as to what connections are reasonable and what appear as far-fetched. The ancient author would no doubt have seen it differently.

Fitzmyer's fourth category is 'eschatological' texts. These are texts which expressed a threat or a promise (usually to their contemporaries) which the Qumran writer applied to a situation still to be accomplished. For example, the threat in Hos 5:10 ('The princes of Judah have become like those who remove the landmark; upon them I will pour out my wrath like water') is used as a threat against the apostates of the author's day (CD 8:2-3). The threat of Is 7:17 ('The Lord will bring upon you...such days as have not come since the day that Ephraim departed from Judah') is 'reaffirmed by the Qumran author as something to come true in the *eschaton* awaited by them.'⁷⁴ The marking of the foreheads in Ez 9:4 ('in

74. "Explicit Quotations", p.326.

the time of the first visitation') is to happen again in the coming visitation (CD 19:11-12). Fitzmyer also places in this category the quotation of Amos 9:11 in 4QFlor 1:11-13, which is 'an expression of his Messianic hope, that Yahweh will yet save Israel by raising up the fallen hut of David in the end of days.'⁷⁵

Fitzmyer⁷⁶ argues that this use of scripture marks a difference between the Qumran literature and the NT. The NT authors, he says, are mainly concerned to show how the OT has been fulfilled in Christ and the events that followed, whereas the Qumran community looked forward to a future deliverance. However, it is a characteristic of the book of Revelation that much of the OT usage is also applied to future conflicts and a final deliverance. For example, apart from the throne vision in Rev 4, the five blocks of Ezekiel are all used of future events (sealing, harlot, fallen city, new Jerusalem).⁷⁷ Many of the uses of Daniel concern things yet to happen:⁷⁸

And the ten horns that you saw are ten kings who have not yet received royal power, but they are to receive authority as kings for one hour...they will make war on the Lamb, and the Lamb will conquer them (Rev 17:12-14),

and one of the uses of the OT in the seven letters (Rev 2-3) is to give a series of promises to those who overcome.⁷⁹ The backward glance is not missing from Revelation, as we can see from 1:5-6 ('freed us from our sins by his blood and made us a kingdom, priests to his God'). Nevertheless, such uses of scripture are less numerous than those that are given a future orientation.

75. "Explicit Quotations", p.329.

76. "Explicit Quotations", p.329.

77. At least in the story line of the book. There is of course debate as to how this story line relates to ordinary chronological time. See J.M.Court, Myth and History in the Book of Revelation, London, 1979, pp1-19.

78. See Ch 3.

79. See Ch 2.

We have so far looked at the use of the OT at Qumran with respect to quotations and commentary (peshar). Fishbane⁸⁰ categorizes these uses in a number of ways. Firstly, he divides the quotations as to whether they precede or follow the point being made. These are then subdivided into further categories, as follows:

PRECEDE

Legal citations
Non-legal citations
Prophetic citations

FOLLOW

Pseudepigraphic form
Pesherite form
Anthological form
Explicatory form

We do not need to say anything further about those that precede the point being made or the pesherite and explicatory forms. However, what Fishbane calls Pseudepigraphic and Anthological deserves a mention. His example of the Pseudepigraphic form is the Temple scroll, where 'related but different legal texts are variously integrated into thematic units, with their differences harmonized and exegetical innovations interpolated throughout.'⁸¹ For example, 11QTemp 11-29 is a block of laws to do with cultic festivals, based largely on Num 28-29 but with various other texts (notably Lev 23) interwoven. Though the attentive reader will recognize Num 28-29 as the base text, the author has in fact produced a new composition, even though he claims it is the Law of God. Fishbane says:

In the *Temple Scroll*, therefore, the reader confronts the text as a *new* Tora, even while perceiving the biblical base around which the sources and innovations were integrated. One may confidently surmise that this was the very hope and intent of the author.⁸²

Though this concerns legal material, we can see parallels here with John's reuse of biblical material. Many of the visions (throne, beasts from the sea, new Jerusalem) are clearly based on OT prototypes but have been reworked, largely with the help of other scriptures, to form new

80. "Use, Authority and Interpretation", pp348-356.

81. "Use, Authority and Interpretation", p.350

82. "Use, Authority and Interpretation" p.351.

authoritative compositions. The reader is urged to contemplate the base texts (Ez 1, Dan 7, Ez 40f) whilst simultaneously appreciating the new composition and its differences (e.g. the lack of a Temple in Rev 21-22). We will consider this interaction in more detail in our next chapter.

The anthological form is related to the above but deals more with the mechanics of combining verses or parts of verses. One example of this is the phylacteries found at Qumran where verses from Ex 13, Deut 6 and Deut 11 are combined with other texts, including the Decalogue. In 11QTemp 66:8-9, a law concerning seduction (Ex 22:15) and a law concerning rape (Deut 22:28-9) have been combined into a single formulation:

When a man seduces a virgin who is not betrothed, but is suitable to him according to the rule, and lies with her, and he is found out, he who has lain with her shall give the girl's father fifty pieces of silver and she shall be his wife. Because he has dishonoured her, he may not divorce her all his days.

Fiorenza⁸³ speaks of John's use of the OT as 'anthological' and notes that this is a use it shares with both Qumran and other apocalyptic writings. Her aim is to draw a distinction between uses of the OT that focus on the text (exegesis, homily) and an 'anthological' style that is closer to genuine prophecy. However, we need to distinguish between the mechanics of combining texts and the ideology that may lie behind it. Thus Fiorenza goes on to quote Patte (with approval):

This "anthological" style is not focused on Scripture itself. Once again Scripture is only a language. And indeed in any given part of the broad framework, the apocalyptic teaching cloaked in this "anthological" style is structured by events of the contemporary (sic) history of the author.⁸⁴

83. "Apokalypsis and Propheteia", Fiorenza, p.136.

84. "Apokalypsis and Propheteia", p.136; quoting D.Patte, Early Jewish Hermeneutic in Palestine, SBL Dissertation Series 22, Missoula, 1975, p.172.

How much of this is true of either the Qumran literature or the book of Revelation can only be determined in individual cases, not by labelling works 'anthological' because of the way they combine texts. In particular, it is hard to imagine John or the authors of the Qumran literature agreeing that 'Scripture is only a language'. The allusive style may appear to have less contextual awareness than explicit quotations but that does not mean it has become 'only a language'. Fishbane discusses the 'Reuse of Biblical Language' under three headings:

1. Mikra as Model for Language

Biblical language is used throughout the Qumran literature but is 'especially evident in the paraenetic sections of the *Damascus Document*, the prayers of the *Hodayot* collection, and the discursive narrative of the *War Scroll*.⁸⁵ We have already seen an example of this in 1QH 3:6-10, which not only combines a number of 'travail' texts but also uses particular words in order to 'echo' specific passages. Fishbane says:

The interweaving of passages from all the compositions of ancient Israel not only creates a thick archaic texture, dramatizing the biblical inheritance and character of the sect; but these passages also generate a network of intertextual associations that give special resonance to the sectarian compositions. In fact, the implicit citations embedded in these texts produce a tableaux of interlocking allusions: a *new biblical composition*.⁸⁶

2. Mikra as Model for Composition

Fishbane distinguishes between major and minor uses here. For the latter, he cites the expansion of the Priestly Blessing (Num 6:24-6) found in 1QS 2:2-3:

May He bless you *with all good*
and preserve you *from all evil!*
May He lighten *your heart with life-giving wisdom*
and grant you *eternal knowledge!*
May He raise His merciful face towards you *for everlasting bliss!*

85. "Use, Authority and Interpretation", p.356.

86. "Use, Authority and Interpretation", p.356.

For the former, he states that the book of Deuteronomy has exerted an influence on the structure of the Damascus Document. Both open with a paraenetic review of the national past (Deut 1-11, CD 1-8), beginning various subsections with the words 'now hear' (e.g. Deut 4:1, 6:4, 9:1; CD 1:1, 2:1, 3:14). This is then followed by a corpus of laws (Deut 12-26, CD 9-16) though CD does not follow this with a list of blessings and curses (Deut 27-28).

3. Mikra as Model for Practices or Procedures

Under this heading, Fishbane notes that scripture is used to authorize various practices. For example, the strategy for the eschatological battle is modelled on the 'deployment of the tribes around the portable ark in the wilderness'.⁸⁷ Further, the recitation of curses and blessings mentioned above, not only uses and reuses material from Num 6, it also has two groups of cultic officers to recite them, as in Deut 27:9-26 and Josh 8:33-4.

87. "Use, Authority and Interpretation", p.359.

Conclusions

Much of the work done on the use of the OT at Qumran has been based on the explicit quotations and the pesharim (especially 1QpHab). This has naturally led to an analysis of the exegetical methods used by the authors and some of these (abbreviation, combining texts, referring texts to new subjects) have parallels in the book of Revelation, even though there are no explicit quotations. We have also noted the structural influence of certain scriptures on particular compositions (e.g. Deut 1-26 on CD 1-16) which forms at least a partial parallel with John's use of Ezekiel. Indeed, if we replace the word 'Tora' in Fishbane's description of the Temple Scroll, with something like 'scripture', we can agree that:

the reader confronts the text as a *new Tora*, even while perceiving the biblical base around which the sources and innovations were integrated. One may confidently surmise that this was the very hope and intent of the author.⁸⁸

We have also touched on the allusive use of scripture in the *Hodayot* and the *Shirot*, where we found parallels both in content (birth of Messiah, praise surrounding the throne) and technique (using particular words to echo specific texts). Fishbane⁸⁹ speaks of passages generating a 'network of intertextual associations' and in our next chapter, we seek to explore the effect of this on the reader. Is it simply a question of using 'biblical language' or is there more to it than that? The answer is clearly vital for an understanding of John's use of Scripture and we will begin by looking at some modern theories of how allusive texts function. We will then seek to apply some of these to the book of Revelation.

88. "Use, Authority and Interpretation", p.351.

89. "Use, Authority and Interpretation", p.356.

Biblical critics are not the only people interested in studying the effect of allusions in a piece of literature. T.S.Eliot said of the poet that:

not only the best, but the most individual parts of his work may be those in which the dead poets, his ancestors, assert their immortality most vigorously.¹

He complains that poets have become obsessed with originality and to 'dwell with satisfaction upon the poet's difference from his predecessors'.² Originality is not the only or even the best criteria for art. Brower says of Pope:

Through allusion, often in combination with subdued metaphors and exquisite images, Pope gets his purchase on larger meanings and evokes the finer resonances by which poetry (in Johnson's phrase) "penetrates the recesses of the mind".³

This getting a 'purchase on larger meanings', evoking 'finer resonances' and penetrating 'the recesses of the mind' is a good description of the allusive use of scripture found in the book of Revelation and some of the Qumran writings. Since the article by Julia Kristeva,⁴ it is often discussed under the rubric of 'intertextuality'. Hollander says:

The reader of texts, in order to overhear echoes, must have some kind of access to an earlier voice, and to its cave of resonant signification, analogous to that of the author of the later text.⁵

He notes that this 'cave of resonant signification' can be lost to a community so that the allusion or echo is no longer heard. As an example,

1. T.S.Eliot, Selected Essays, 3rd Edition, London, 1951, p.14.

2. Selected Essays, p.14.

3. R.Brower, Alexander Pope: The Poetry of Allusion, Oxford, 1959, p.viii; quoted in Hays, Echoes of Scripture, p.18.

4. See on p.119, Note 78. For a useful introduction to Intertextuality, see Intertextuality: Theories and Practices, eds. M.Worten & J.Still, Manchester, 1990.

5. J.Hollander, The Figure of Echo: A Mode of Allusion in Milton and After, Berkeley, 1981, p.65.

he cites the words of Lincoln: 'Fourscore and seven years ago, our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty'. This is not usually considered to be an allusive text but to one who is attuned to the resonances of the Bible, the two phrases 'brought forth' and 'conceived in' will bring to mind the creation story and its exegetical developments. Hollander sketches the implied contrasts:

*"Whereas in the beginning, at Our Father's command, the earth brought forth grass...a mere fourscore and seven years ago our forefathers brought forth on this piece of earth a new nation"..and "Whereas man is conceived in sin, this nation was conceived in liberty."*⁶

As Hollander notes, most people would not have recognized these echoes for themselves but once pointed out, they greatly enhance one's appreciation of the speech. The difficulty in detecting such echoes is that the actual evidence can be extremely slight:

The fragmentations and breakings-off of intertextual echo can result in pieces of voice as small as single words, and as elusive as particular cadences.⁷

As an example of the latter, he considers two lines drawn from Empson ('Missing Dates') and Tennyson ('Tithonus'):⁸

The waste remains, the waste remains and kills

The woods decay, the woods decay and fall

Here is an example where none of the significant words are echoed but there appears to be a sort of tuneful correspondence:

This rebound gives back neither word nor phrase, but instead a kind of cadence, involving phonemic and semantic elements, locked in a syntactic and metrical pattern.⁹

6. Figure of Echo, p.66. He adds: 'The rhythm of "fourscore...forth" makes us notice the ellipsis of "fore (-fathers)," but that ellipsis itself makes the forebears into secular forms of *pater noster*.'

7. Figure of Echo, p.88

8. Figure of Echo, p.96.

9. Figure of Echo, p.96.

Thus one aspect of a criticism attuned to allusions and echoes is to point out the 'cave of resonant signification' so that others are enabled to 'listen in'. In regard to the book of Revelation, we have seen that there is no shortage of books and articles that point out the wealth of OT material contained in its pages. Swete¹⁰ listed some 278 verses or phrases which contain an allusion to a particular OT text. Charles¹¹ went further and tried to categorize them according to their affinity to the Greek or Hebrew forms of the OT. Since then, other scholars have not only listed such allusions but have attempted to class them according to the 'volume' of the echo. Thus Beale¹² proposes a division between 'clear', 'probable' and 'possible' allusions. The first, he says, is when the wording is almost the same as the source, it has the same general meaning as the OT context and it could not reasonably have come from anywhere else. The second is where the wording is less close but it contains an idea which is uniquely traceable to that text. The third, Beale suggests, is better referred to as an 'echo', where both the wording and the ideas are of a more general nature. Vanhoye¹³ distinguishes between 'Utilisation certaine' and 'Contacts littéraires', which in turn are divided into 'fidèle' or 'libre' in the first case and 'plus probants' and 'moins probants' in the second.

However, a criticism attuned to such allusions and echoes must do more than simply point out their presence for an allusion is not simply a footnote to a previous work. By absorbing words used in one context into a new context or configuration, a metaphorical relationship is established. As Davidson¹⁴ says:

the work alluded to reflects upon the present context even as the present context absorbs and changes the allusion.

10. Swete, ppcxl-cliii.

11. Charles, Vol 1, pplxviii-lxxxii.

12. "Reconsideration", p.543.

13. Vanhoye, pp473-476.

14. H.Davidson, T.S.Eliot and Hermeneutics. Absence and Interpretation in the Waste Land, Louisiana, 1985, p.117.

At one level, of course, all language is allusive. Each word has a history and that history is expanded when it is used again in a new work. The meaning of a word depends on its previous contexts and yet each new use adds a context to its range of possibilities. However, we are not so much concerned with the general allusiveness of all language but the effect of alluding to particular texts. Hays says:

The twofold task of a criticism attuned to such echoes, then, is (a) to call attention to them so that others might be enabled to hear; and (b) to give an account of the distortions and new figuration that they generate.¹⁵

At the end of chapter four, we suggested that John's use of Ezekiel involves both continuity and discontinuity. The reader 'hears' the OT text but its meaning is affected by the new context or configuration. For Fiorenza, the new context speaks so loudly that despite modelling whole sections of his work on parts of the OT, she insists that John:

does not interpret the OT but uses its words, images, phrases, and patterns as a language arsenal in order to make his own theological statement or express his own prophetic vision.¹⁶

However, the very act of referring to another text is to put it in some sort of correspondence or relationship with the new material. As Beale says:

the very act of referring to an OT text is to place it in some comparative relationship to something in the NT.¹⁷

The task of intertextuality is to explore how the source text continues to speak through the new work and how the new work forces new meanings from the source text. Hays, in describing Hollander's use of the term 'metalepsis', says that:

15. Echoes of Scripture, p.19.

16. "Apokalypsis and Prophetela", p.135.

17. "Revelation", p.326.

Allusive echo functions to suggest to the reader that text B should be understood in light of a broad interplay with text A, encompassing aspects of A beyond those explicitly echoed...(it)...places the reader within a field of whispered or unstated correspondences.¹⁸

In his seminal work on the place of the OT in the development of NT theology, C.H.Dodd¹⁹ argued that Paul's references to scripture are not limited to the actual words quoted but bring in the whole context of that part of scripture. It was this that led him to his grand claim that these passages, together with their application to the 'gospel facts', form the 'substructure of all Christian theology and contains already its chief regulative ideas'. Hays agrees that the significance of Paul's allusions extends beyond the actual words quoted but is searching for a more sophisticated way of describing this:

the most significant elements of intertextual correspondence between old context and new can be implicit rather than voiced, perceptible only within the silent space framed by the juncture of two texts.²⁰

For example, in his discussion of Rom 1:16f, Hays says that despite great differences of interpretation, all parties assume that Paul employs Hab 2:4 as a proof-text with complete disregard for its original setting. However, when it is remembered that Habakkuk is concerned about the apparent injustice of God's ways (theodicy), it may be that Paul has listened to Habakkuk more than the critics have:

By showcasing this text - virtually as an epigraph - at the beginning of the letter to the Romans, Paul links his gospel to the Old Testament prophetic affirmation of God's justice and righteousness.²¹

Of course, the contexts are very different. Habakkuk is worried about the military domination of the Chaldeans, whilst Paul's concern is

18. Echoes of Scripture, p.20.

19. C.H.Dodd, According to the Scriptures, London, 1952, p.127.

20. Echoes of Scripture, p.155.

21. Echoes of Scripture, p.40.

the 'apparent usurpation of Israel's favored covenant status by congregations of uncircumcised Gentile Christians'.²² The analogy, he says, is off-centre and hence metaphorical:

When a literary echo links the text in which it occurs to an earlier text, the figurative effect of the echo can lie in the unstated or suppressed (transumed) points of resonance between the two texts.²³

Previous studies of Paul's use of scripture have concentrated on his explicit quotations and have therefore been of limited use for students of Revelation. Hays, however, whilst taking his cue from the quotations, seeks to unearth the 'unstated or repressed points of resonance' contained in the text. For Hays, Paul's faith:

is one whose articulation is inevitably intertextual in character, and Israel's Scripture is the "determinate subtext that plays a constitutive role" in shaping his literary production.²⁴

This is a contrast to the comment of Sanders²⁵ that what Paul says in his own words is a more reliable guide than what he says by way of allusion. If our purpose in reading Paul's letters is to extract information or doctrine, then the presence of OT allusions is no doubt a complicating factor. As we have already noted, 'every quotation distorts and redefines the 'primary' utterance by relocating it within another linguistic and cultural context.'²⁶ However, for Hays, the presence of allusions is precisely what draws the reader into Paul's letters:

Echoes linger in the air and lure the reader of Paul's letters back into the symbolic world of Scripture. Paul's allusions gesture toward precursors whose words are already heavy with tacit implication.²⁷

22. Echoes of Scripture, p.40.

23. Echoes of Scripture, p.20.

24. Echoes of Scripture, p.16.

25. E.P.Sanders, Paul, the Law and the Jewish People, London, 1983, p.22.

26. M.Worten & J.Still, "Introduction", p.11.

27. Echoes of Scripture, p.155.

It is not that Paul is being deliberately obstructive by interlocking his words with a distinguished predecessor, it is that his message requires it. As Hays says, Paul's articulation is 'inevitably intertextual in character' for it is vital to involve the reader in the source text if he is to make himself understood. From the point of view of our study of Revelation, his study of 2Cor 3 is especially illuminating. Firstly, Paul introduces the figure of Moses as a 'foil against which to commend the candor and boldness of his own ministry'.²⁸ The reader is led to expect a completely negative verdict of religion under the old covenant but v16 introduces a turn as dramatic as the one mentioned in that verse ('but when a man turns to the Lord the veil is removed').

Initially, the implication seems clear. The generation of Moses was unable to see clearly but those who have responded to Paul's preaching have had the veil removed. However, the mention of 'veil' reminds Paul that Moses did in fact remove his veil when he entered God's presence. Thus Moses is both a contrast to ministry under the new covenant and a witness to it:

The rhetorical effect of this ambiguous presentation is an unsettling one, because it simultaneously posits and undercuts the glory of Moses' ministry..Since Paul is arguing that the ministry of the new covenant outshines the ministry of the old in glory, it serves his purpose to exalt the glory of Moses; at the same time, the grand claims that he wants to make for his own ministry require that the old be denigrated.²⁹

Hays calls this a dissimile. Paul begins by saying what his ministry is not like but then uses the negated material to add further dimensions to his main claim. Heb 12:18f is another example:

28. Echoes of Scripture, p.147.

29. Echoes of Scripture, p.132-133.

For you have not come to what may be touched, a blazing fire, and darkness, and gloom, and a tempest, and the sound of a trumpet, and a voice whose words made the hearers entreat that no further messages be spoken to them (Heb 12:18-19).

Since the writer declares that Christians have not come to things like this, we might wonder why we are being given so much detail about it. However, with these descriptions still ringing in our ears, the author warns in v25:

See that you do not refuse him who is speaking. For if they did not escape when they refused him who warned them on earth, much less shall we escape if we reject him who warns from heaven.

Thus it turns out that the fearsome images have a positive function after all, even though the passage began with a negation. Hays notes that the same thing has been observed of Milton:

Milton repeatedly denies the beauty of countless pagan paradises in comparison with Eden, while tacitly employing their strong legendary associations to enhance and embellish its incomparable perfections.³⁰

The relevance of this to our fourth chapter should now be apparent. John draws extensively on Ezekiel and in something like the same order but his use of the material is sometimes to place it in direct antithesis to what he himself wants to say. For example, John draws on the temple chapters of Ez 40-48 whilst denying the existence of the very thing that these chapters are about. As Vogelgesang said:

John made detailed use of Ezek 40-48 in constructing the new Jerusalem vision. Yet a greater contrast with that vision, where seven of nine chapters describe this temple, its ordinances and its priests, and the glory of God dwelling therein, cannot be imagined.³¹

30. Echoes of Scripture, p.142. The quotation is by G.Lord, Classical Presences in Seventeenth-Century English Poetry, Yale, 1987, pp40-41.

31. Vogelgesang, p.77.

Vogelgesang's conclusion was that this is part of a consistent strategy by John to 'democratize' Ezekiel's vision and to combat the esotericism of the traditions based on it. What is particular, local and ethnic is to be given universal expression and what is esoteric and the possession of a privileged few is to be made available to all who have 'ears to hear'. As we saw in chapter four, this position is certainly open to criticism but it does provide a strong challenge to those who dwell mainly on the similarities between the two works. The differences are just as notable. Thus whilst much of the book sounds familiar, the reader is constantly being challenged to think again. John does not offer an interpretation of Ezekiel as a finished product. Rather, by utilizing much of its structure and language, he has forced the two works into mutual interaction. We might now compare this with the description of Paul's use of scripture by Hays:

the dissimile in 2Cor. 3:12-4:4 allows Paul to appropriate some of the mythical grandeur associated with the Sinai covenant - particularly the images of glory and transformation - even while he repudiates the linkage of his ministry to that covenant.³²

In a similar way, John 'appropriates much of the mythical grandeur' of Ezekiel's temple, 'particularly the images of glory and transformation', 'even while he repudiates' the existence of a temple in the new Jerusalem. Hays describes the effect of Paul using dissimile in these words:

Rhetorically, the act of positing a dissimile and then lavishly developing it has a backlash effect: by distancing his ministry from Moses, Paul paradoxically appropriates attributes similar to those that he most insistently rejects; connotations bleed over from the denied images to the entity with which they are discompared.³³

32. Echoes of Scripture, p.142.

33. Echoes of Scripture, p.142.

The phrase 'connotations bleed over' is a useful one even when we are not specifically dealing with dissimile. By incorporating allusions into his work, John has created a new figuration whereby the old words are given a new context and principally derive their meaning from that. This is why Fiorenza³⁴ is so insistent that 'John does not interpret the OT but uses its words, images phrases..to express his own prophetic vision'. Nevertheless, we must ask whether the old context is so easily silenced. Is it not true, at least for some of the allusions, that 'connotations bleed over' and affect John's meaning? As Davidson says:

the work alluded to reflects upon the present context even as the present context absorbs and changes the allusion.³⁵

In order to explore this further, we will consider a text that offers very different meanings depending on the weight given to the OT context. The text is Rev 1:5a, where grace and peace are said to come:

from Jesus Christ the faithful witness (ὁ μάρτυς ὁ πιστός), the first-born of the dead (ὁ πρωτότοκος τῶν νεκρῶν), and the ruler of kings on earth (ὁ ἄρχων τῶν βασιλέων τῆς γῆς).

Charles offered Ps 89:27,37 (LXX: 88:28,38) as the source of the allusion and declared that 'our author appears to have had the LXX before him'.³⁶ The phrase 'faithful witness' is found in Prov 14:5 ('A faithful witness does not lie') whilst in Is 55:4, David is said to have been made a 'witness to the peoples, a leader and commander' (Swete³⁷ cites both of these). However, it is the occurrence of both 'firstborn' and 'kings of the earth' in Ps 88:28 (LXX) that convinced Charles that 'faithful witness' (ὁ μάρτυς ὁ πιστός) most likely comes from the LXX of Ps 88:38 (ὁ μάρτυς ἐν οὐρανῷ πιστός). Verse 28 reads:

34. "Apokalypsis and Propheteia", p.135.

35. T.S.Eliot and Hermeneutics, p.117, and hence the meaning of an allusive text 'is in the tension between its previous contextual definition and its present context.'

36. Charles, Vol 1, p.14. The implication of this for the language of John's allusions will be discussed in our next chapter.

37. Swete, p.6.

And I will make him the first-born (πρωτότοχον), the highest of the kings of the earth (βασιλευσιν τῆς γῆς).

Thus the psalm appears to be the inspiration for all three titles in Rev 1:5a and as a consequence of this, both Swete and Charles take John's words to be references to power. Charles says we must take πρωτότοχος in its secondary sense of 'sovereignty' and notes that there is evidence that God himself was called 'first-born of the world'. He thus paraphrases Rev 1:5a: 'the true witness of God, the *sovereign* of the dead, the ruler of the living'.³⁸ Swete says the words ὁ ἄρχων τῶν βασιλέων τῆς γῆς:

stand appropriately at the head of a book which represents the glorified Christ as presiding over the destinies of nations.³⁹

He also says that the threefold title μάρτυς...πρωτότοχος...ἄρχων 'answers to the threefold purpose of the Apocalypse, which is at once a Divine testimony, a revelation of the Risen Lord, and a forecast of the issues of history'.⁴⁰ Caird, however, sees it quite differently. He agrees that the source text is Ps 89 but claims that 'by two small adjustments he has given a profoundly Christian application to the words of scripture'.⁴¹ Christ is indeed 'king' but that kingship is not based on the exercise of royal power but must be understood in the light of his earthly suffering. This is clearly indicated, says Caird, by John's addition τῶν νεκρῶν, which makes it certain that πρωτότοχος is a reference to the resurrection. We could also point out that its use in Col 1:18 ('He is the head of the body, the church; he is the beginning, the firstborn from the dead, that in everything he might be pre-eminent') points in the same direction (though Caird does not mention this). Christ is king but it is a kingship won by passing through suffering and death, so that for Caird:

38. Charles, Vol 1, p.14.

39. Swete, p.7.

40. Swete, p.7.

41. Caird, p.16. The same point is made by J.Casey, Exodus Typology in the Book of Revelation, Ph.D Dissertation, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1981, p.138f.

firstborn, instead of being an honorific title, is the guarantee that others will pass with him through death to kingship.⁴²

According to Caird, the titles were chosen because they express the pastoral aims of the book, not out of any desire to apply Ps 89 to Christ:

His friends are called to bear the costly witness of martyrdom, trusting that in his death Christ has been a faithful witness to God's way of overcoming evil; to look into the open jaws of death, remembering that he has risen as the firstborn of many brothers; to defy the authority of Imperial Rome in the name of a ruler to whom Caesar himself must bow.⁴³

Two things can be said of this. Firstly, it is not at all clear that connotations of royal power (v27) and cosmic stability (v37) are quite as out of place as Caird imagines. The psalm speaks of God's anointed (v20) whose throne will be established forever (v29 cf. Rev 3:21). It promises that his horn will be exalted (v24 cf. Rev 5:6) and that God's faithfulness (v1,2,5,8,14,24,33,49) and his steadfast love shall be with him (v24 cf. Rev 1:5, 3:14). Finally, the psalm ends with the cry 'How long, O Lord?' (v46 cf. Rev 6:10). In view of these parallels (we are not suggesting they are anything more), it would be precarious to argue that the connotations of power and stability from v27,37 would be entirely unwelcome to John. It would also be precarious to argue that these would not meet the needs of the recipients. To those facing death (the background assumed by Caird), the assertion that Christ is 'Sovereign of the dead' would be extremely relevant, albeit in a different way from what Caird suggests.

Secondly, even if it is agreed that John's meaning is quite different from the psalm, this does not mean that the psalm has been silenced. As Hays⁴⁴ puts it, 'connotations bleed over from the denied images to the

42. Caird, p.17.

43. Caird, p.16.

44. Echoes of Scripture. p.142.

entity with which it is discompared'. There is no denying that a Christian will read into words like 'firstborn' and 'faithful witness' connotations that were not present in the psalm. This is to be expected for 'words gather more meanings over time'.⁴⁵ Nevertheless, providing the reader has access to the 'cave of resonant signification'⁴⁶ (in this case Ps 89), the words will continue to evoke the messianic descriptions and these will interfere with a straightforward reading of the text. Further, since John makes it clear that he has Ps 89 in mind, it is reasonable to suppose that this is not entirely unwelcome to him. That is not to say that our discussion of the effect of intertextual echo is limited to John's conscious intention. There is no reason to assume that John thought out all the possibilities of bringing Ps 89 into a relationship with the living Christ. Nevertheless, the fact that he did so means that:

The twofold task of a criticism attuned to such echoes, then, is (a) to call attention to them so that others might be enabled to hear; and (b) to give an account of the distortions and new figuration that they generate.⁴⁷

As we noted earlier, there are many books and studies that draw the reader's attention to John's OT allusions and so go some way to retrieving the 'cave of resonant signification'. Very few, however, make any contribution to Hays' second task, namely, to 'give an account of the distortions and new figuration that they generate'. Most commentators are either content to point out the allusion or are at pains to show how John means something different to the OT author. Few have asked the question of how the OT text continues to speak to the reader or how its presence makes any difference to John's meaning. Of the studies that we have so far reviewed, Ruiz comes closest to taking this element seriously. He does not use the term 'intertextuality' in his study but he speaks of 'inner-

45. Ruiz, p.223.

46. See on p.157.

47. See on p.160.

biblical exegesis' and argues for an 'interactive' understanding of metaphor. Too many studies, he says, have been wedded to a narrow substitution theory of metaphor and have thus been inadequate to deal with the rich metaphorical language of Revelation.⁴⁸ As we have already noted, he says that John 'manifests acute sensitivity to the cumulative power of words' and that words 'gather more meanings over time'.⁴⁹ John has taken up texts from Ezekiel (amongst others), which are themselves rich in metaphorical expression and refashioned them into 'compelling, new metaphorical discourse', which he then offers to the 'interpreting community'.⁵⁰ Ruiz thus agrees with Hays that the role of the reader is an active one:

To the extent that the "interpreting subject" engages in an active reading of John's book, he or she engages in a dialogue with the text and with the texts within the text.⁵¹

As an example of his approach, we will look at his exegesis of the seventh bowl (Rev 16:17-21). Swete only listed one allusion (Dan 12:1) in this section though he mentions other verses in his commentary. Charles added Jer 32:15 and Ex 9:24, whilst the Greek New Testament also mentions Is 66:6, Ex 19:16-19, Est 1:1, Ps 75:8, Is 51:17,22 and Jer 25:15. The passage reads:

The seventh angel poured his bowl into the air, and a loud voice came out of the temple, from the throne, saying, "It is done!" And there were flashes of lightning, voices, peals of thunder, and a great earthquake such as had never been since men were on the earth, so great was that earthquake. The great city was split into three parts, and the cities of the nations fell, and God remembered great Babylon, to make her drain the cup of the fury of his wrath. And every island fled away, and no mountains were to be found; and great hailstones, heavy as a hundredweight, dropped on men from heaven, till men cursed God for the plague of the hail, so fearful was that plague.

48. Ruiz, p.222.

49. Ruiz, p.223.

50. Ruiz, p.225.

51. Ruiz, p.520.

Ruiz begins by noting how the cultic atmosphere of v17 links this section with the rest of the bowls (16:1-16).⁵² He then draws attention to Is 66:6 ('Hark, an uproar from the city! A voice from the temple! The voice of the Lord, rendering recompense to his enemies!'), which was not recognized by Swete or Charles but according to Ruiz, is 'clearly discernible' in v17.⁵³ The effect of this allusion, he says, is to 'suggest that what follows will concern retributive judgment'.⁵⁴ The allusion to Dan 12:1 ('a time of trouble such as never has been since there was a nation') marks this out as eschatological judgment. This is confirmed by the text itself and its setting for it is the seventh bowl (completeness), an announcement (γέγονεν) is made and stress is laid on the word 'great' (seven times in five verses). Thus both the verses themselves and the OT allusions show that we are dealing with the 'eschatological manifestation of God's wrath'.⁵⁵

The descriptions that follow allude both to the Sinai theophany (Ex 19:16-18) and the seventh Egyptian plague (Ex 9:18-26). He quotes with approval Bauckham's suggestion that the reason John ends the bowl series with 'hail' is so as to conclude the series with an allusion to Sinai. This is part of an '*Endzeit als Urzeit*' dynamic whereby 'God's redemptive acts in the future are portrayed on the model of his past acts'.⁵⁶ However, Ruiz finds a more satisfying parallel in Ez 38. Since this has not commonly been recognized, he offers four reasons for its acceptance. First, God's action against Gog is described as a manifestation of his wrath (Ez 38:18, Rev 16:19). Second, both speak of an earthquake (Ez 38:19, Rev 16:18). Third, both describe the effect of the earthquake on the mountains (Ez 38:20, Rev 16:20) and fourth, both mention hail (Ez 38:22, Rev 16:21). Ruiz does not say at this point how the recognition of this allusion (if

52. Ruiz, p.258. 53. Ruiz, p.259. 54. Ruiz, p.259. 55. Ruiz, p.262. 56. Ruiz, p.262f; drawing on R.Bauckham, "The Eschatological Earthquake in the Apocalypse of John", *NovT* 19, 1977, p.224.

accepted) changes John's meaning but he concludes his exegesis of 16:17-21 by declaring that it is important in view of the more explicit mention of Gog in 20:8.⁵⁷ He also notes that there is a significant difference between the two passages. In Ez 38:23, we read that the effect of the disasters is a manifestation of God's holiness which will be acknowledged by the nations. In Rev 16:21, the result is not acknowledgment but blasphemy.

Ruiz summarizes:

Rev 16,17-21 represents an original crystallization of this material, reappropriating the Exodus plagues, the Sinai theophany and its tradition, and the Gog of Magog oracles from Ezekiel.⁵⁸

For the city splitting into three parts, Ruiz mentions that some commentators have pointed to Zech 14:3-5.⁵⁹ He himself is not convinced of this and mentions two differences between the passages. Firstly, in Rev 16:18, the split is caused by the earthquake but in Zech 14:4, the Mount of Olives divides because the Lord stands on it. Secondly, in Rev 16:19, the splitting is part of God's sentence on his enemies but this is not strictly so in Zechariah. Nevertheless, Ruiz calls this possible allusion 'intriguing' and says:

At the very least, the comparison highlights the eschatological tone of 16,19, framing it in terms of God's ultimate intervention on behalf of his people against their enemies.⁶⁰

The title 'Babylon the great' comes from Nebuchadnezzar's boastful words in Dan 4:27. Ruiz⁶¹ says 'it is quite possible that the use of the Daniel-inspired formula...draws along with it the irony of Dan 4:27', though he does not elaborate. The expression occurs in the statement that 'God remembered great Babylon'. The RSV uses an active verb here but the Greek is ἐμνήσθη ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ. Ruiz notes that Swete pointed out

57. Ruiz, p.281.

58. Ruiz, p.264.

59. Ruiz, p.268. He cites Farrer, Sweet and Ford as holding this view.

60. Ruiz, p.269.

61. Ruiz, p.271.

that the passive verb is found in Ez 3:20; 18:22,24; 33:16(A) and says that these texts 'bring to light one of the several dimensions of this verb, namely, the presence of human conduct (both righteous and sinful) before God.'⁶² He acknowledges that Ford has argued for a cultic meaning of this passage but thinks that the OT background of *μυμνήσχομαι* shows that the primary connotation is forensic rather than cultic.⁶³

Babylon's punishment is that God will make her 'drain the cup of the fury of his wrath'. Wine is not mentioned in this verse but in 14:10, it is the 'wine of God's wrath, poured unmixed into the cup of his anger'. The image is a common one in the OT (Ps 75:9; Jer 25:15, Hab 2:15f, Ez 23,31,33, Is 51:17, Zech 12:2) but Ruiz claims that the central passage is Jer 25:15 (LXX=32:15).⁶⁴ The LXX differs from MT in that 'wine of wrath' appears as 'unmixed wine', though this might be evidence of a pre-MT Hebrew text. Interestingly, a similar difference occurs in Ps 75:9 (LXX=74:9). Ruiz dismisses the suggestion by Ford that we should look to the 'ordeal by bitter water' (Num 5:12-31) for the background since there is an important parallelism with Rev 19 (the Lamb's wedding feast), which suggests a 'feasting' metaphor here rather than a 'poison' one:

While the banquet to which the saints are invited rewards their fidelity, the cup from which Babylon is forced to drink contains God's wrathful response to the sinful fruits which her own cup contains.⁶⁵

Finally, Ruiz comments on the disappearing islands and mountains. His main point is its parallel with the opening of the seals in Rev 6. In regard to OT allusions, he notes that this is a commonplace in apocalyptic (As.Mos 10:4, 1En 1:6). However, for Ruiz, the main feature is the way that it foreshadows texts which are to play an important part in the

62. Ruiz, p.272.

63. Ruiz, p.272.

64. Ruiz, p.274.

65. Ruiz, p.278.

chapters that follow. Thus the 'trembling islands' of Ez 26:18 are 'particularly significant in the light of the profound influence of Ezek 26-28 on Rev 18'.⁶⁶ Similarly, the collapse of the mountains in Ez 38:20 is 'important in view of the subtle echoes of the Gog tradition in Rev 16:17-21 and the explicit mention in 20:8'.⁶⁷ His conclusion is that 'it would be hard to overstate the weight of OT influence at each turn in these verses'.⁶⁸

Thus according to Ruiz, a straightforward reading of Rev 16:17-21 is affected (or distorted) in the following ways:

1. Is 66:6 suggests the calamity concerns retributive judgment and prompts us to take the phrase 'God remembered great Babylon' in the sense of 'remembered her evil deeds'. The title 'great Babylon' echoes Dan 4:27 and drops a hint that one of these deeds was pride.
2. Dan 12:1 suggests this is eschatological judgment. The allusion to Zech 14, if present, suggests this is God's 'ultimate intervention on behalf of his people'.
3. The allusions to Sinai and the seventh plague suggests that the end is to be like the beginning. People will not repent but like Pharaoh, they will harden their hearts and bring more destruction upon themselves.
4. The subtle allusion to Ez 38 is in preparation for the major use of that passage in Rev 20.

The first three of these are to do with how the source text continues to speak to the reader and this operates in a number of ways. Firstly, they bring with them certain connotations, such as retribution or pride, which are not otherwise present (or explicit). Secondly, these connotations actually influence the way other parts of the narrative are read. For example, 'God remembered great Babylon' could mean no more than the fact that whilst God was busy demolishing the cities, he did not forget to include Babylon. However, with the connotations of retribution

66. Ruiz, p.281.

67. Ruiz, p.281.

68. Ruiz, p.281.

from Is 66:6 and pride from Dan 4:27, not to mention the biblical background of μμνήσχομαι, the reader is more inclined to see this as Babylon getting her just deserts (at last). Indeed, the greatest intertextual echo in this passage is probably the name 'Babylon', with its long history of pride (tower of Babel), exile and oppression. As Brueggemann says:

In the OT, the theological struggle concerning public power and divine purpose remains focused on the reality, memory, experience, and symbolization of Babylon.⁶⁹

Brueggemann speaks of 'spillover' to describe this ability of a text to move 'beyond its intended or ostensive meaning to other meanings', and he claims that this is not just to do with 'wilful, imaginative interpreters'. It is also 'rooted in the metaphors and images themselves, which reach out in relentless sense making.'⁷⁰

Thirdly, as well as adding 'ambience' to the reading, the allusions to Sinai and the plagues may be pointing to a particular view of God and history. John is not explicit about this but his presentation may be acting as the vehicle for a particular theological outlook.

The fourth point mentioned above is more difficult to assess. Ruiz says that in the light of the large-scale use of Ez 26-28 in Rev 18 and Ez 38-39 in Rev 20, 'it would be hard to overstate the weight of OT influence at each turn in these verses'.⁷¹ He does not, however, say what this influence is. His meaning appears to be that the reader is prepared for the large scale uses by these preliminary allusions so that Rev 20 echoes both Ez 38 and Rev 16:17-21. This both binds the narrative

69. W.Brueggemann, "At the Mercy of Babylon: A Subversive Rereading of the Empire", JBL 110, 1991, p.13.

70. "At the Mercy of Babylon", p.20

71. Ruiz, p.281.

together and reinforces the importance of Ez 38 (and 26-28) in the book as a whole. As Hays says:

Allusive echo functions to suggest to the reader that text B should be understood in light of a broad interplay with text A, encompassing aspects of A beyond those explicitly echoed...(it)...places the reader within a field of whispered or unstated correspondences.⁷²

At the end of his exegetical studies, Hays describes four different ways that a text can make use of a previous text. These are taken from Thomas Greene's work on Renaissance poetry and are described by Hays in the following way:⁷³

1. *Sacramental imitation.* (Or "reproductive imitation.") The poem venerates a precursor by imitating it with slavish precision.
2. *Eclectic imitation.* (Or "exploitative imitation.") The poem mingles allusions to various texts and traditions, without binding itself in a determinative fashion to any one subtext.
3. *Heuristic imitation.* The poem "singles out one text as its putative genesis and it defines itself through its rewriting, its 'modernizing', its *aggiornamento* of that text....The poem becomes a kind of *rite de passage* between a specified past and an emergent present." The result of this strategy is that heuristic imitations "*distance themselves* from the subtexts and force us to recognize the poetic distance traversed."
4. *Dialectical imitation.* The poem engages the precursor in such a way that two symbolic worlds are brought into collision so that each is vulnerable to criticism and interpretation by the other. "And just as heuristic imitation involves a passage from one semiotic universe to another, so dialectical imitation, when it truly engages two eras or two civilizations at a profound level, involves a conflict between two *mundi significantes*." If the poem succeeds, it presumably achieves a synthesis of the two worlds, but the genius of dialectical imitation is to produce the synthesis within the text of a literary work that *sustains* the tension between worlds rather than resolving it.

Hays does not suggest that all of Paul's OT allusions are of the last category, though he does not think any belong to the first. An example of

72. Echoes of Scripture, p.20.

73. Echoes of Scripture, pp173-4; drawing on T.M.Greene's, The Light in Troy: Imitation and Discovery in Renaissance Poetry, Yale, 1982, pp16-19, 37-53.

the second is the use of Ps 19:4 ('their voice goes out through all the earth') in Rom 10:18 ('But I ask, have they not heard? Indeed they have; for "Their voice has gone out to all the earth..."). There is no indication, says Hays, that Paul has wrestled seriously with the Psalm text. He has simply 'appropriated (its) language to lend rhetorical force to his own discourse, with minimal attention to the integrity of the semiotic universe of the precursor.'⁷⁴ Nevertheless, Hays says it is wrong to dismiss this, as some do, as mere 'prooftexting'. Paul is not seeking to prove that the Jews have had the chance to hear the gospel on the basis of Ps 19:4. Rather, in Greene's phrase, it gives him a 'vocabulary of a second and higher power' with which to assert that they have heard it.⁷⁵

Galatians is the book that most easily fits into Greene's third category. Texts about Abraham and Moses are taken up in order to prove the doctrinal propositions which Paul insists are vital for the Christian faith. His is the correct interpretation and he hardly wants to leave room for the text to come back at him. Nevertheless, Hays says there are signs that Paul is not entirely happy with this (Gal 3:21, 5:6, 6:15) and the reworking of some of the material in Romans may indicate that this mode of allusion was primarily because of the exigencies of the situation.⁷⁶

According to Hays, Greene's 'dialectical imitation' is the best way of understanding texts like Romans and 2Cor 3. The difference between this and the 'heuristic' model is that the latter 'seeks to overcome the estrangement between past and present by positing a diachronic resolution of the intertextual tension.'⁷⁷ The dialectical strategy, however, rejects this and leaves the two contexts in tension:

74. Echoes of Scripture, p.175.

75. Echoes of Scripture, p.175, quoting Greene, Light of Troy, p.39.

76. Echoes of Scripture, p.175.

77. Echoes of Scripture, p.175.

The word of Scripture is not played off as a foil for the gospel, not patronized as a primitive stage of religious development, not regarded merely as a shadow of the good things to come. Paul's urgent hermeneutical project, rather, is to bring Scripture and gospel into a mutually interpretive relation, in which the righteousness of God is truly disclosed.⁷⁸

Paul achieves this, says Hays, by two major strategies. Firstly, it is achieved by his allusive use of scripture, which 'leaves enough silence for the voice of Scripture to answer back'. Paul does not fill in all the 'intertextual space with explanations' but 'encourages the reader to listen to more of Scripture's message than he himself voices. The word that Scripture speaks where Paul falls silent is a word that still has the power to contend against him.' In fact, Hays asks whether the climactic conclusion of Rom 11:26 ('all Israel will be saved') is not a case of Scripture gaining the upper hand.⁷⁹

Paul's other way of achieving 'dialectical imitation' is by refusing to limit himself to a narrow 'Christocentric fulfilment' model of the OT. By looking to broader themes such as 'God's purpose to raise up a worldwide community of people who confess his sovereignty and manifest his justice',⁸⁰ Paul makes space for the scriptures to speak. We might compare this with Beale's attempt to show that John's key hermeneutical strategy is that Christ's death and resurrection is the fulfilment of Dan 7. Though this leads to some valuable insights, its narrow focus means that the voice of scripture is forced into what Hays calls 'premature closure'.

Hays uses these categories to summarize his exegetical studies of Paul. Are they of help in summarizing our studies of Revelation? Greene's first category is remarkably similar to Boismard's comment that part of Revelation is a 'servile imitation' of Ezekiel.⁸¹ We have shown that

78. Echoes of Scripture, p.176.

80. Echoes of Scripture, p.177.

79. Echoes of Scripture, p.177.

81. "L'Apocalypse", p.532.

John's use of Ezekiel is a good deal more subtle than that description implies, though as Hays says about Rom 11:26, there may be times when scripture has got the upper hand. John's teaching on the millenium may be a case in point.

Greene's second category seems a reasonable description of the passage we have just been looking at. Rev 16:17-21 combines allusions from Exodus, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Daniel and Zechariah without 'binding itself in a determinative fashion to any one subtext'. As Fiorenza puts it, John uses the 'words, images, phrases and patterns' of the OT to 'express his own prophetic vision'.⁸² Nevertheless, we have seen how the allusions continue to speak to the reader and add connotations and a certain 'ambience' to the reading. As Brueggemann puts it, they 'spillover' and search for new figurations. They do not dictate John's meaning, as if he had no control over his materials, but they do affect a reading of the text.

Heuristic imitation is a good description of Caird's approach to the use of Ps 89 in Rev 1:5a. By fastening on a given text (Ps 89) and then changing it, Caird thinks that John makes it clear that his understanding of Messianic power is different to that of the psalmist. The psalm becomes, in Greene's words, a 'kind of *rite de passage* between a specified past and an emergent present'. The clash between the psalmist's view of the Messiah and one based on knowledge of Christ's earthly suffering allows the reader to perceive the 'poetic distance traversed'. In short, Caird says that John offers us a 'profoundly Christian application' of scripture and not a mere reproduction.⁸³ However, as we have already stated, it is by no means certain that such expressions of messianic power

82. "Apokalypsis and Propheteia", p.135.

83. Caird, p.16.

would be as unwelcome to John as Caird suggests. The words of Hays, in our view, are equally applicable to John, that:

the word of Scripture is not played off as a foil for the gospel, not patronized as a primitive stage of religious development, not regarded merely as a shadow of the good things to come.⁸⁴

This leads on to Greene's fourth category, 'dialectical imitation', where the work 'engages the precursor in such a way that two symbolic worlds are brought into collision so that each is vulnerable to criticism and interpretation by the other'. The author avoids bringing the interaction to premature closure but leaves the contexts in tension. We have seen how Hays regards this as a good description of some of Paul's exegesis. It is also a good description of John's use of scripture, as we shall now demonstrate, beginning with the inaugural vision of Rev 1:12ff.

In our second chapter, we examined the hypothesis of Ramsay and Hemer that the letters have priority over the vision and that the latter was constructed from the former. Our conclusion was that this is very unlikely and that a much better explanation was that John modelled his vision on Dan 10:5-6, supplemented by descriptions of his hair (Dan 7:9), face (Jd 5:31) and mouth (Is 49:2), from which, certain key phrases were applied to the seven churches. We quoted Kiddle as saying:

Where John departs from Daniel's description, it is largely to emphasize Christ's divinity by ascribing to Him attributes previously associated with God.⁸⁵

This is not entirely accurate since Jd 5:31 concerns the 'friends of God' and Is 49:2 is a description of the 'Servant'. More appropriate was Hanson's comment:

84. Echoes of Scripture, p.176.

85. Kiddle, p.15.

the various attributes, words and actions of the risen Christ are drawn from descriptions of angels, from the mysterious 'son of man' figure in Daniel 7, and from descriptions of God himself.⁸⁶

On the other hand, the person being described was not unknown to the readers. They already had a conception of who Jesus was (and is) and what attributes he possesses. This was derived from whatever traditions had come down to them and their own personal and corporate experience. The vision would not, therefore, have been read in a vacuum but would be interpreted in the light of present knowledge. For example, the shining face and bright clothes might have been read in the light of the transfiguration tradition:

And he was transfigured before them, and his face shone like the sun, and his garments became white as light (Matt 17:2).

Nevertheless, it is doubtful if John's evocative descriptions would simply be absorbed into an already existing conception of Christ. The images are too strong to be silenced and retain the power to contend against such a simple reading. Indeed, there is evidence that John wishes to promote this dialectical state of affairs. For example, in Rev 1:17-18, the visionary figure says 'I am the first and the last, and the living one; I died, and behold I am alive for evermore'. Here a title of eternal existence ('first and last') is combined with the statement 'I died'. To quote Greene, 'two symbolic worlds are brought into collision so that each is vulnerable to criticism and interpretation by the other'.⁸⁷ How can the sovereign being who is addressed as 'first and last' die? Or how can the martyr who dies so that others might live, live forever? John does not resolve these but by placing them side by side, he encourages the mutual interpretation of one by the other.

86. Hanson, p.168.

87. Light in Troy, p.45.

This is further illustrated in Rev 4-5, where praise and adoration are offered first to God and then to the Lamb:

"Worthy art thou, our Lord and God, to receive glory and honour and power, for thou didst create all things, and by thy will they existed and were created." (Rev 4:11).

"Worthy art thou to take the scroll and to open its seals, for thou wast slain and by thy blood didst ransom men for God from every tribe and tongue and people and nation... (Rev 5:9).

In the first, God is offered praise for being the creator and sustainer of all the universe, whilst in the second, such praise goes to the Lamb for being slain (and hence ransoming people from every tribe, tongue, people and nation). John does not explain how these two fit together and avoid polytheism.⁸⁸ He simply leaves them side by side. A similar tension exists in John's presentation of the Messiah. In Rev 5:5, he calls him the 'Lion of the tribe of Judah' and the 'Root of David', both traditional titles stemming from Gen 49:9 and Is 11:10 respectively. However, he then goes on to speak of a Lamb 'standing as though it had been slain':

"Weep not; lo, the Lion of the tribe of Judah, the Root of David, has conquered, so that he can open the scroll and its seven seals." And between the throne and the four living creatures and among the elders, I saw a Lamb standing, as though it had been slain (Rev 5:5-6).

Now apart from the obvious clash that Jesus is described both as a Lion and a Lamb, we would appear to have two quite different conceptions of the Messiah side by side. John Sweet says:

the Lion of Judah, the traditional messianic expectation, is reinterpreted by the slain Lamb: God's power and victory lie in self-sacrifice.⁸⁹

88. We have already seen how Melchizedek is called 'Elohim' in 11QMelch, apparently with no need to defend monotheism. If this is because it did not involve worship of the secondary figure, as Newman suggests, (Paul's Glory-Christology, pp92-3), then John would appear to be going one stage further. See further, "The Worship of Jesus", Bauckham, pp118-149.

89. Sweet, p.125.

This gives one direction of influence. The traditional expectation is reinterpreted by the slain Lamb. Caird goes further, stating that this verse is the key to John's use of the OT, as if he were saying to us:

'Wherever the Old Testament says "Lion", read "Lamb".' Wherever the Old Testament speaks of the victory of the Messiah or the overthrow of the enemies of God, we are to remember that the gospel recognizes no other way of achieving these ends than the way of the Cross.⁹⁰

Here is a more explicit description of Caird's understanding of John's use of scripture. We suggested in our discussion on Rev 1:5a that he was using a sort of hermeneutic of replacement. Now it is stated unambiguously. When the OT reads "Lion", we are to read "Lamb", and when it speaks of the 'overthrow of the enemies of God, we are to remember that the gospel recognizes no other way of achieving these ends than the way of the Cross.' What is this if not an hermeneutic of replacement? The reader is not asked to wrestle with the tension of how the Messiah can be both Lion and Lamb but simply has to substitute one idea for the other. By alluding to the Lion of Gen 49:9, John distances himself from such views and reminds his readers that the Christian knows no other Messiah than the slain Lamb.

On the other hand, J.M.Ford points out that in the animal symbolism of the apocalypses, the Messiah was represented both by a Lion and a Lamb. They are not contrasting figures, as if one represented 'raw power' whilst the other stood for more subtle ways of achieving its ends. Neither is the Lamb necessarily associated with sacrifice. In this regard, she refers to Test. Joseph 19:8:

90. Caird, p.75, and quoted with approval by Sweet, p.125, Boring, p.110, Bauckham, p.179. Boring says: 'It is as though John had adopted the familiar synagogue practice of "perpetual Kethib/Qere," whereby a word or phrase that appears in the traditional text is read as another word or phrase: "wherever the tradition says 'lion,' read 'Lamb.'...Every event of apocalyptic violence in chapters 6-19 must be seen as *derived from* the scene of chapters 4-5.' (p.110,118). Bauckham, p.183, is more nuanced, recognizing that the 'hopes embodied in the messianic titles of Revelation 5:5 are not dismissed by the vision of the Lamb'. Nevertheless, he concludes that 'by juxtaposing these contrasting images, John forges a symbol of conquest by sacrificial death, which is essentially a new symbol.'

And I saw that a virgin was born from Judah, wearing a linen stole; and from her was born a spotless lamb. At his left there was something like a lion, and all the wild animals rushed against him, but the lamb conquered them, and destroyed them, trampling them underfoot.

Ford maintains that there is nothing in the book of Revelation which compels us to depart from this picture.⁹¹ The Lamb of Rev 5 has seven horns, indicating power, and seven eyes, a symbol of omniscience. In the next chapter, those who suffer the calamities set loose by the Lamb cry out:

"Fall on us and hide us from the face of him who is seated on the throne, and from the wrath of the Lamb; for the great day of their wrath has come, and who can stand before it?" (Rev 6:16-17).

The picture does not change when the confederacy of kings in Rev 17:14 confront the Lamb:

they will make war on the Lamb, and the Lamb will conquer them, for he is Lord of lords and King of kings, and those with him are called and chosen and faithful.

Ford thus concludes that John's use of the title 'Lamb' is thoroughly consonant with the 'apocalyptic, victorious, and destroying lamb' known to tradition. Few scholars have agreed with this but it does show how 'loudly' the old context continues to speak if one has 'ears to hear'. On the one hand, we have Caird and others who see the slain Lamb in Rev 5 as the interpretive key to the whole book (and the whole of the OT!). On this view, Revelation becomes one of the most profoundly Christian works in the NT, reinterpreting the divine glory in the light of the cross of Christ. On the other hand, there has always been a suspicion (and in some cases, more than a suspicion) that Revelation is little more than a thinly disguised Jewish work.⁹² Thus Ford believes that the bulk of Revelation comes from the followers of John the Baptist (cf. the title 'Lamb of God'

91. Ford, p.30f. However, it may be that this verse is a Christian interpolation.

92. Eg. Bultmann, Theology of the New Testament, Vol 2, London, 1955, p.175.

in Jn 1:29) which has been given a Christian framework by the addition of Rev 1-3 and the concluding verses (22:16-17a, 20-21). This can be detected because these additions:

display a higher Christology than chs. 4-22 and promise unheard of rewards to those who are faithful to Christ - even a place with him beside his Father.⁹³

A less extreme view is that of Rowland. He claims that the throne vision of Rev 4 'shows no evidence at all of Christian influence, and, treated in isolation, it is evident that it is entirely Jewish in its inspiration'.⁹⁴ However, he believes this is a deliberate strategy by John in order to show the difference that Christ's advent has made:

the author obviously intends a deliberate contrast between the description of the divine court in Revelation 4 and the transformation which has taken place as the result of the exaltation of the Lamb.⁹⁵

Hurtado⁹⁶ has contested the view that Rev 4 shows no signs of Christian influence but the point remains. The general impression that these two chapters give is undoubtedly one of contrast. In regards to Greene's categories, one can ask two questions of this:

1. Does John intend a resolution of the tension so that Rev 5 represents the 'true' picture?
2. Irrespective of what John may or may not have intended, does the text offer such a resolution or does the OT context still have the power to contend against it?

The fact that Revelation can be taken as profoundly Christian or essentially Jewish (depending on what is thought to be its hermeneutical key) strongly suggests that the answer to the second question is that the tension is unresolved. Scholars will differ as to how 'loudly' they will

93. Ford, p.56.

94. C.Rowland, The Open Heaven, London, 1982, p.222.

95. The Open Heaven, p.222.

96. L.W.Hurtado, "Revelation 4-5 in the Light of Jewish Apocalyptic Analogies", JSNT 25, 1985, pp105-124.

hear the old and what effect it has on their reading of the text. In Ford's case, she thinks that there is nothing that compels us to depart from the 'apocalyptic, victorious and destroying lamb' found in tradition. Caird, on the other hand, says that wherever we read of the 'overthrow of God's enemies', we are to remember that the 'Gospel recognizes no other way of achieving these ends than the way of the Cross'. Both of these are overstatements, assuming that one side of the tension is able to 'swallow-up' the other without remainder. Ford does not consider the impact (on the original reader or on the modern reader) of the finished work but gives a theology of the sources, as she understands them. Caird goes to the other extreme, explaining how the different parts of the book can all be understood as deeply Christian, providing one starts with the right hermeneutical key. However, as much as the modern Christian might wish to see all the calamities described in the seals, trumpets and bowls as symbolic for Christ's non-coercive self-sacrifice, it has to be said that this is not how it reads to most people. Thus our answer to the second question is that the text, as we have it, preserves the tension rather than resolving it. He who is called 'first and last' has died and the slain Lamb is none other than the Lion of Judah. John does not explain how these can be true without involving contradiction.

What of the first question? Is there evidence that John intended to promote this dialogical tension? Before commenting on this, it is worth pointing out that much of today's literary criticism no longer views authorial intention as decisive for the meaning of a text. We have no access to the author's mind and even if we did, how he intended his text to 'work' is not the same thing as how the actual text does work with particular readers (cf. Ford and Caird). If our conclusion is that the text as we have it cannot 'properly' be read as 'heuristic imitation' but leaves certain tensions unresolved, this conclusion is not affected by knowing

what John's intentions were (even if we had some access to them outside of the text).

Nevertheless, to say that the meaning of a text is not dictated by authorial intention is not to say that John's purposes are of no interest to us. We are bound to be interested in whether the interpretations we have offered are a figment of our imagination or bear some relation to what John was intending to achieve. In this regard, we assume that the author implied by the text bears some relationship to the real author, though we acknowledge that they are not identical. The question remains then as to whether there is evidence that the author intended this dialogical state of affairs or is it a quirk of certain 20th century readers?

We saw at the end of our last chapter that Ruiz claimed to have found three 'hermeneutical imperatives' in Revelation that confound a straightforward reading of the text. These were the imperatives to understand and be attentive, the unusual Greek and the liturgy as the privileged locus for interpretation.⁹⁷ We can now add a fourth, the deliberate juxtaposition of two *mundi significantes* in such a way that the tension between them is sustained rather than resolved. John does not attempt to explain how the 'first and last' can die or how the Messiah can be both Lion and Lamb. He does not tell us why his vision of the new city is so carefully modelled on Ezekiel 40-48, whilst denying the very thing that these chapters are all about. As Vogelgesang said:

John made detailed use of Ezek. 40-48 in constructing the new Jerusalem vision, yet a greater contrast with that vision, where seven of nine chapters describe this temple, its ordinances and its priests, and the glory of God dwelling therein, cannot be imagined.⁹⁸

97. Ruiz, p.220ff.

98. Vogelgesang, p.77. A further example is Rev 7:4,9, where the 144,000 are apparently identical to the 'great multitude which no man could number'.

Nevertheless, the Ezekiel text has not been silenced but still speaks powerfully to the reader. Indeed, despite Vogelgesang's comment, it is fairly easy to pass over John's denial (Rev 21:22a), placed as it is between the detailed description of the walls and their foundations (21:17-21) and the nations bringing their glory into it (21:24-27). It has been the contention of this chapter that the commentator must reckon with a two-way process whereby 'the work alluded to reflects upon the present context even as the present context absorbs and changes the allusion'.⁹⁹ We will now summarize the results of this chapter.

CONCLUSION

Previous studies on John's use of the OT have concentrated on what John has done to the text in order to meet the needs of his readers. They have concentrated on what they believed to be John's purposes rather than ask what effect an allusion has on a reading of the text. At the end of chapter 4, we saw that John's use of Ezekiel involved both continuity and discontinuity. The similarities led Goulder to his lectionary hypothesis whilst Vogelgesang interpreted the differences to be a deliberate contrast on John's part. Ruiz, on the other hand, tried to do justice to both by positing a metaphorical relationship between old and new contexts, stating that:

to the extent that the "interpreting subject" engages in an active reading of John's book, he or she engages in a dialogue with the text and with the texts within the text.¹⁰⁰

Our contribution has been to show how the literary concept of 'intertextuality' can also be used to illuminate John's use of

99. Davidson, p.117.

100. Ruiz, p.520.

scripture. It is not so much applying a method as asking certain types of questions and pondering particularly poignant phrases like 'connotations bleed over'.¹⁰¹ Its premise is a very simple one, namely that if an allusion points the reader to something outside of the text, it inevitably sets up a relationship between the two contexts. The task of the interpreter then is to give an account of how these two contexts affect one another or as Hays puts it, 'the distortions and new figuration that they generate'.¹⁰² In this respect, we may question Fiorenza's claim that 'John does not interpret the OT but uses its words, images, phrases and patterns...to express his own prophetic vision'.¹⁰³ We would agree that John does not set out to offer a particular interpretation of the OT and in this sense, she is correct. On the other hand, the reader of John's book will look at the OT in quite a different light to one who has not read it, so that it does function in an interpretive way after all. For example, who can doubt that the reader of Revelation would be able to read Ezekiel's description in Ez 40-48 without thinking of John's vision. If he or she is attending carefully to Ezekiel's text, this will not necessarily be intrusive but it will nevertheless be present. By modelling much of his work on Ezekiel, both works travel through history together (unless a community emerges that has no contact with one or the other). Indeed, it can even happen that the later text becomes so well known that the earlier text appears to be based on it. Thus Bloom says of 'Paradise Lost':

In Milton's grand metaleptic reversal, the account of Creation in Genesis has become a Midrash upon Milton.¹⁰⁴

As we saw on p.44, Revelation is the only NT book that significantly

101. Echoes of Scripture, p.142.

102. Echoes of Scripture, p.19.

103. "Apokalypsis and Propheteia", Fiorenza, p.135.

104. H.Bloom, The Breaking of the Vessels, Chicago & London, 1982, p.84. Worten & Still, "Introduction", p.7, say: 'Every literary imitation is a *supplement* which seeks to complete and supplant the original and which functions at times for later readers as the pre-text of the 'original'.'

alludes to the book of Ezekiel. For many Christian readers, this is the main reason that chapter after chapter of measurements and ordinances (Ez 40-48) still retains any interest. However, for some readers of Revelation, seemingly sub-Christian ideas such as the millenium and a resurgence of evil have somehow become acceptable on the basis that John was following Ezekiel. As Justin said:

I and others who are right-minded Christians at all points, are assured that there will be a resurrection of the dead, and a thousand years in Jerusalem, which will then be built adorned and enlarged as the prophets Ezekiel and Isaiah and others declare.¹⁰⁵

This is an indication of the bond that exists between the two works. Both might have been destined for obscurity but each has helped the other in its fight for survival. Bloom observes of the Priestly writer:

The Priestly Author has swept away by his own breath the enormous wars against the abyss and its creatures that God fights and wins, victories celebrated throughout the Psalms, the Prophets, Job and other biblical texts. By a magnificent ellipsis of tradition, the Priestly Author has strengthened the creative force of the divine by making that force transcend its traditional opponents to the point where they have vanished wholly.¹⁰⁶

On the other hand, now that science proposes quite different theories about the creation of the world, many have found the significance of Gen 1 to lie precisely in its use of the older creation stories. Though lost to generations of readers, archaeology has brought to light the transumed material and given new significance to a narrative which was being threatened with extinction.

The book of Revelation contains over 200 allusions to the OT. It can profitably be studied by asking how John weaves these allusions into his

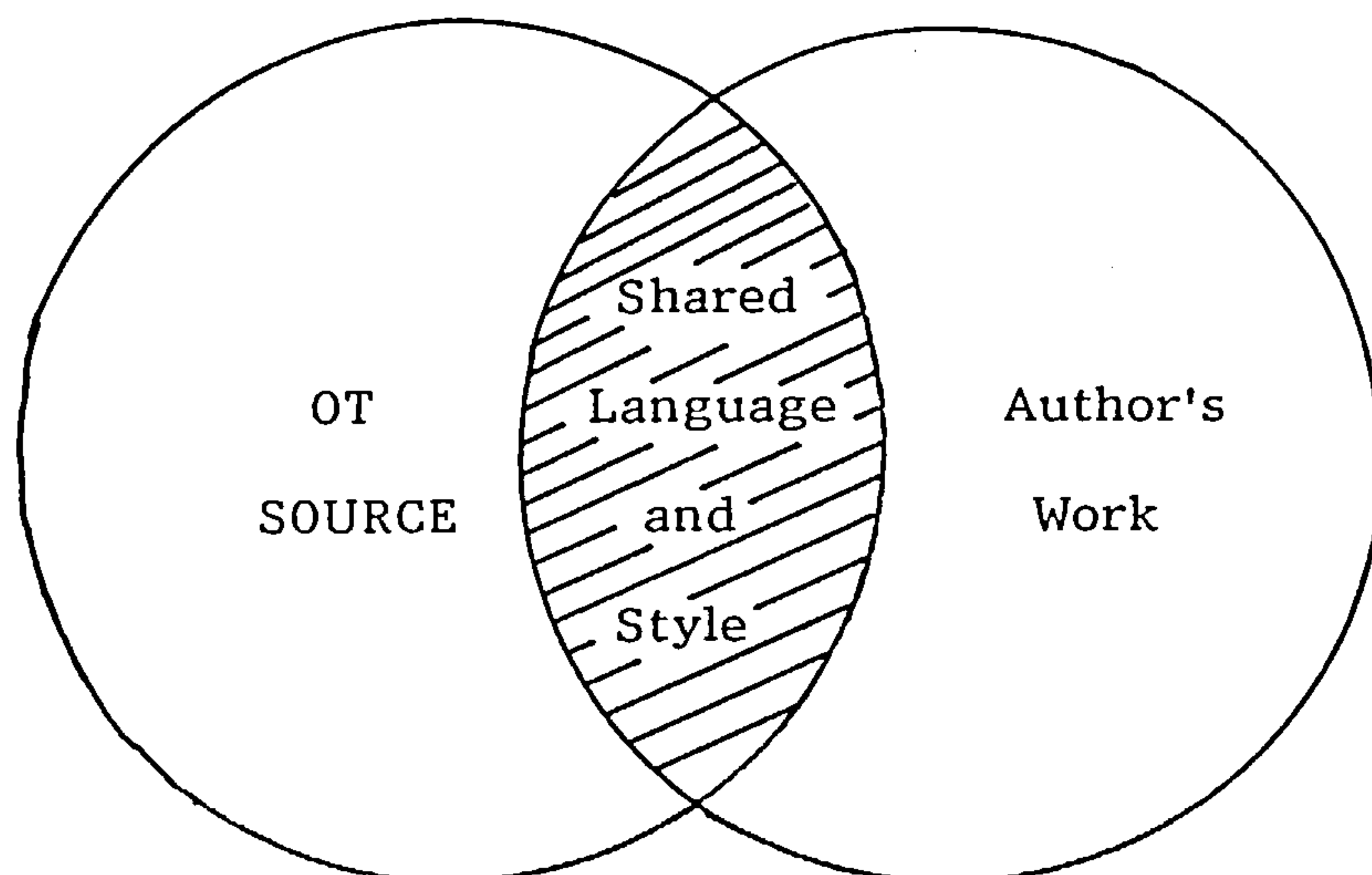
105. See on p.90.

106. Bloom, pp16-17.

composition in order to meet the needs of his readers. However, one of the ways that he does this is apparently to force his readers to enter into a 'dialogue with the text and with the texts within the text.'¹⁰⁷ To offer an analogy, reading the book of Revelation is a bit like listening to a radio that has been incorrectly tuned. The listener hears several 'voices' which interact with one another. The effect with the radio is usually annoyance since the various 'voices' have no connection with one another. But the effect on the reader of Revelation is much more constructive because the 'voices' are related to one another and build up to a crescendo of 'interlocking allusions'. As Eliot said of the poet:

not only the best, but the most individual parts of his work may be those in which the dead poets, his ancestors, assert their immortality most vigorously.¹⁰⁸

The power of John's work is not that he breaks off from his own style in order to quote a past authority but works in the overlap between the OT source and his own composition. This is the power of the Apocalypse.



107. Ruiz, p.520.

108. Selected Essays, p.14.

We saw in our last chapter that in order for the reader/hearer to appreciate the allusions in a text, they must have access to what Hollander calls the 'cave of resonant signification'.¹ To complete our study of John's use of the OT, we must now ask what texts were available in the first century to provide this 'cave of resonant signification'.

1. Greek texts

Though suspicion rightly attaches to the letter of Aristeas² regarding the origin of the LXX, quotations by Philo, NT writers and Josephus show that a Greek translation of the Hebrew scriptures was widely available in the first century C.E.. The extant witnesses to this text date from the second century C.E. and much energy has gone into trying to determine the original form of this text for each biblical book.³ However, it is also clear that certain writers had access to other Greek versions, whether revisions of an original LXX text⁴ or alternative translations.⁵ In the book of Daniel, for example, the old LXX text (sometimes referred to as o') appears to have been a rather loose translation and was therefore revised at an early date. One such revision evidently proved popular since it has displaced the LXX text in almost all of the extant MSS (until recently, o' was only known in one Greek manuscript [88] and a Syriac translation [Syh]. The discovery of the Chester Beatty Papyrus [967] now gives an early witness to it). In Origen's Hexapla, a copy of this revised translation appears in the 'Theodotion' column and one might conclude from this that

1. The Figure of Echo, p.65.

2. See H.B.Swete, Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek, Cambridge, 1902; S.Jellicoe, The Septuagint and Modern Study, Oxford, 1968; H.M.Orlinsky, "The Septuagint: The Oldest Translation of the Bible", Essays in Biblical Culture and Bible Translation, New York, 1974, pp363-382; E.Würthwein, Der Text des Alten Testaments, Stuttgart, 1973 (ET: The Text of the Old Testament, London, 1980).

3. For example, the Göttingen Series. In some books, such as Ezekiel, it would appear that the task was divided between several translators. See H.St.J.Thackeray, A Grammar of the OT in Greek according to the Septuagint, Cambridge, 1909; N.Turner, "The Greek Translators of Ezekiel", JTS 7, 1956, pp12-24.

4. The majority view.

5. A view associated with Paul Kahle.

he was its author. This cannot be so, however, for there is evidence both from the Church Fathers and from the NT itself, that it was known at a much earlier period than this. For example, in Dial. 31, Justin includes a lengthy quotation of Dan 7:9-14. Most of this follows the LXX text but there are also clear references to readings which appear in Theodotion:⁶

	<u>Theodotion</u>	<u>LXX</u>	<u>Justin</u>
10b	χίλιαι χιλιάδες <u>ἐλειτούργουν αὐτῷ</u>	χίλιαι χιλιάδες ἐθεράπευον αὐτὸν	χίλιαι χιλιάδες <u>ἐλειτούργουν αὐτῷ</u>
11b	τὸ κέρας ἐκεῖνο ἐλάλει ἕως ἀνηρέθη τὸ θηρίον	τὸ κέρας ἐλάλει καὶ <u>ἀπετυμπανίσθη</u> τὸ θηρίον	τὸ κέρας λαλεῖ καὶ <u>ἀπετυμπανίσθη</u> τὸ θηρίον
12a	καὶ <u>τῶν λοιπῶν</u> <u>θηρίων ἢ ἀρχῆ</u> <u>μετεστάθη</u> καὶ μακρότης ζωῆς ἐδόθη αὐτοῖς	καὶ τοὺς κύκλω αὐτοῦ ἀπέστησε τῆς ἐξουσίας αὐτῶν καὶ <u>χρόνος</u> ζωῆς ἐδόθη αὐτοῖς	καὶ <u>τὰ λοιπὰ</u> θηρία <u>μετεστάθη</u> <u>τῆς ἀρχῆς</u> αὐτῶν καὶ <u>χρόνος</u> ζωῆς τοῖς θηρίοις ἐδόθη

The conclusion must either be that the historical Theodotion used this version as the basis of his own or that his name somehow became attached to it. The more difficult question is whether this is true for books other than Daniel. The allusion to Ex 19:6 in Rev 1:6 may be evidence that it is. In the majority of MSS, the reading is βασιλειον ἱεράτευμα, and this is the form in which it is quoted in 1Peter 2:9. However, in Rev 1:6, John writes καὶ ἐποίησεν ἡμᾶς βασιλείαν ἱερεῖς τῷ θεῷ, which agrees with the rendering found in Theodotion and Symmachus (βασιλεία ἱερεῖς). Charles cites this, as well as John's allusions to Is 22:22, 48:12, 60:14 and Jer 10:7 and says:

one or more of these might be coincidences, but it is highly improbable that all five are. Hence we have good grounds for concluding that there existed either a rival Greek version alongside ο' from pre-Christian times or a revised version of ο', which was revised afresh by Theodotion and circulated henceforth under his name.⁷

6. Taken from H.B.Swete, Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek, p.421f.

7. Charles, Vol 1, p.lxvii.

Further evidence of revisions comes from the discovery of the Minor Prophets Scroll at Nahal Hever (R). Comparison with the reconstructed LXX text of Ziegler reveals a number of 'shared translation equivalents which are rare, unusual or even unique within the LXX as a whole.'⁸ For example:

Jo 2:5	נגרשתי	ἀπῶμαι (hapax translation)
Jo 4:1	רעה	λύπην
Mi 1:6	הגרתי	κατασπάσω
Mi 4:8	עפל	αὐχμώδηω (hapax)
Na 3:12	בכורים	σκοπούς/σκοπ[οῖς] (hapax)
Ha 1:10	רזנים	τύραννοι (hapax)
Ha 1:10	יצבר	βαλεῖ
Ha 1:15	העלה	ἀνέσπασε/ἀνέσπασεν (hapax)
Ha 2:5	יהיר	ἀλαζών (rare)
Za 1:14	קרא	ἀνάκραγε

From these and other examples, E.Tov deduces that:

(1) R depends on the LXX, as is shown by those special (unusual, idiosyncratic) renderings of the LXX which for some reason were left untouched by R.

(2) R revises the LXX in a certain direction.⁹

Thus whilst the versions of Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion were produced in the second century, it is clear that the process of translation and revision was an ongoing process and that a number of Greek texts were around in the first century. Indeed, it is quite possible and even probable that these later versions preserve readings from texts that are no longer extant.

8. E.Tov, *DJD* 7, Oxford, 1990, pp104-105.

9. *DJD* 7, p.103.

2. Hebrew Texts

We saw in Ch. 5 that the text quoted in the Habakkuk commentary does not always conform to the Masoretic text. This might be because the interpretation has already been included in the text or more probably, the author's text differs from the later MT.¹⁰ In the recently published 4QDana^a, Ulrich discovers 21 variants in the fragment containing Dan 2:19-33:¹¹

	<u>Dan</u>	<u>4QDan</u>	<u>MT</u>
1.	2:20	רבא	Absent
2.	2:21	משנא]	מהשנא
3.	2:22	וידע	ידע
4.	2:23	לאלה	אלה
5.	2:23	ונהי---	וגבורתא
6.	2:24	על [אריו]ד	על על אריוד
7.	2:24	ופשר]ה	ופשרא
8.	2:24	אחור	אחורא
9.	2:25	באת]בהלה	בהתבהלה
10.	2:25	יהודיא	יהוד
11.	2:26	בלטאשצר	בלטשאצר
12.	2:27	חרטמים	חרטמיזן
13.	2:28	ומהודע	והודע
14.	2:28	מ]לכא	Absent
15.	2:29	אנת	אנתה
16.	2:30	יתירא	Absent
17.	2:30	לי גלי	גלי לי
18.	2:31	אנת	אנתה
19.	2:31	לרב חזוה יתירא	רב וזיוה יתיר
20.	2:32	רישה	ראשה
21.	2:33	ומנהוין	ומנהוין די

10. C.D.Stanley suggests between 2-4 of the 59 variations from MT might be explained this way, whilst 'fourteen appear to reflect the use of a different Hebrew text', Paul and the Language of Scripture. Citation Technique in the Pauline Epistles and Contemporary Literature, SNTSM 74, Cambridge, 1992, p.297, n.13. F.J.Morrow, The Text of Isaiah at Qumran, Catholic University of America, 1973, discusses 250 of what he calls 'meaningful variants' in the Isaiah texts and quotations. See also S.Talmon, The World of Qumran From Within, Jerusalem, 1989.

11. E.Ulrich, "Daniel Manuscripts from Qumran. Part 1: A Preliminary Edition of 4QDana", BASOR 268, 1987, pp17-37.

Perhaps the most interesting variant is the presence of 'mem'¹² as the last visible letter in line 12. After the 'end of days' formula in Dan 2:28, the LXX text has βασιλεῦ, εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα ζῆθι, before continuing, τὸ ἐνύπνιον καὶ τὸ ὄραμα τῆς κεφαλῆς σου ἐπὶ τῆς κοίτης σου τοῦτό ἐστι. Both the MT and Theodotion move straight to the 'Your dream and the visions of your head' clause and one might have deduced from this that βασιλεῦ, εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα ζῆθι is a typical LXX expansion (taken from 2:4). However, Ulrich proposes that the most likely implication of the 'mem' is that 4QDan^a also had the 'King, live for ever' clause, thus providing a suitable *Vorlage* for the LXX. He therefore suggests:¹³

1. The original text was simplyמלך על משכבך
2. The formula מלך לעלמין חיי was added in one text tradition to which 4QDan(a) and the 'Vorlage' of the LXX were heir.
3. מלך לעלמין חיי was added in another text tradition to which MT (and Theodotion) was heir.
4. The two additions were already conflated prior to Origen's Hexapla.

Whether this was so or not, it shows the complexity that exists between the various Greek versions and the Hebrew text. At the very least, we must posit a Hebrew Text A, the *Vorlage* behind the LXX, which was then revised (B') on the basis of a Hebrew Text B, which somehow became associated with Theodotion (possibly as a revision based on another Hebrew Text C). Of the quotations in the DSS, Stanley says:

As might be expected from the diversity of biblical manuscripts found at Qumran, the quotations studied here follow no single strand within the Hebrew textual tradition. While many passages follow the Masoretic text, agreements with the LXX and even the Samaritan Pentateuch are common.¹⁴

12. Ulrich says the 'mem' is quite clear and must be followed by a letter that does not enter the bottom right quadrant. Since this could be 'lamed', the case is strengthened that this text contained 'king'.

13. Ulrich, p.26.

14. Stanley, p.304.

3. Aramaic Targums

IT IS KNOWN THAT IN POST-EXILIC JUDAISM HEBREW ceased to be spoken as the common language and was replaced by Aramaic, which had become the official written language of the western Persian empire. Hebrew was of course still understood and used in intellectual circles, especially among theologians. But for the larger part of the Jewish community it became necessary to combine the usual Scripture lessons, which were read in Hebrew in the synagogue, with a translation into Aramaic. The translating was called *targem*, the translator *turgeman(a)* or *meturgeman(a)*, and the translation *targum*. Since the need was felt at an early date, the custom must be old and certainly pre-Christian. The Jewish tradition associating it with Ezra (cf. Neh. 8:8) may well be correct.¹⁵

So Würthwein opens his chapter on the Aramaic Targums. In order not to compete with the Hebrew text, they remained oral for many centuries and some, such as the Isaiah Targum, clearly show signs of anti-Christian polemic. Nevertheless, a copy of the Targum of the book of Job has been discovered at Qumran and for many, the Aramaic Targums would be the principle source of their scripture knowledge.¹⁶ We have already noted that the theme of the 'second death' is not found in the MT or LXX but appears in the Targum's of Isaiah and Deuteronomy.¹⁷ This is not to say that John used these versions - only to record the fact that he could not have obtained the idea from the texts we know as MT and LXX. Hanson¹⁸ has noted a number of examples where certain NT interpretations were previously considered fanciful only to be discovered in one of the Targums. Though appeal to the Targums must be cautious (due to the late date of their final form), it must be acknowledged that a writer's memory of scripture might well have been influenced by the regular reading and exposition of scripture in the synagogue.

15. Würthwein, p.75.

16. See Aramaic Texts from Qumran, Vol 1, (eds. B.Jongeling, C.J.Labuschagne, A.S.Van Der Woude), Leiden, 1976; M.McNamara, Targum and Testament: Aramaic Paraphrases of the Hebrew Bible: A Light on the New Testament, Grand Rapids, 1972.

17. See pp23-24. See also the discussion of 'Kingdom of Priests' in McNamara, pp148-159.

18. See A.T.Hanson, Studies in Paul's Technique and Theology, London, 1974.

We have argued that John chooses words and phrases in order to call attention to certain OT texts, the effect of which is to cause an interaction between different contexts. One of the ways that we have been able to spot this is that John's wording is sometimes very close to known Greek MSS. For example:

1. The first part of Rev 1:7 (Ἴδου ἔρχεται μετὰ τῶν νεφελῶν) and the anarthrous use of υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου in 1:12 points to Dan 7:13 (ἰδοὺ μετὰ τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ὡς υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου - Theodotion).
2. The description of the hair (Rev 1:14) in the inaugural vision (ἔριον λευκὸν ὡς χιῶν) points to the description of the Ancient of days in Dan 7:9, whose garment is like χιόνα and his hair like ἔριον λευκὸν καθαρὸν (LXX).¹⁹
3. The promise to the church in Ephesus in Rev 2:7 (φαγεῖν ἐκ τοῦ ξύλου τῆς ζωῆς, ὃ ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ τοῦ θεοῦ) and Gen 2:9 (τὸ ξύλον τῆς ζωῆς ἐν μέσῳ τῷ παραδείσῳ).
4. The unusual expression in Rev 2:23 (καὶ τὰ τέχνα αὐτῆς ἀποκτενῶ ἐν θανάτῳ) and the LXX of Ez 33:27 (καὶ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς σπηλαίοις θανάτῳ ἀποκτενῶ).
5. The promise to the church at Thyatira in Rev 2:27 (καὶ ποιμανεῖ αὐτοὺς ἐν ῥάβδῳ σιδηρᾶ ὡς τὰ σκεῦη τὰ κεραμικὰ συντρίβεται) and Ps 2:9 (ποιμανεῖς αὐτοὺς ἐν ῥάβδῳ σιδηρᾶ, ὡς σκεῦος κεραμέως συντρίψει αὐτούς).
6. The phrase in Rev 3:9 (ἐγὼ ἠγάπησά σε) and the LXX of Is 43:4 (κἀγὼ σε ἠγάπησα).
7. The use of ἃ δεῖ γενέσθαι μετὰ ταῦτα in Rev 4:1 and Theodotion's version of Dan 2:45 (which agrees exactly).
8. The odd expression in Rev 4:6 (Καὶ ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ θρόνου καὶ κύκλῳ τοῦ θρόνου τέσσαρα ζῶα) and the LXX of Ez 1:5 (καὶ ἐν τῷ μέσῳ ὡς ὁμοίωμα τεσσάρων ζώων), though Ezekiel is speaking about the cloud rather than the throne.²⁰
9. The time reference in Rev 12:14 (καιρὸν καὶ καιροὺς καὶ ἡμισυ καιροῦ) and the Greek versions of Dan 7:25, 12:7. The Hebrew uses the dual.
10. The use of στόμα λαλοῦν μεγάλα in Rev 13:5 and the Greek versions of Dan 7:8.

19. This is the reading of Rahlfs and is supported by 967, 88, Syh. Ziegler goes against these 3 witnesses and prints the readings found in Justin: χιόνα λευκήν for his garment and ἔριον καθαρὸν for his hair.

20. Charles, Vol 1, p.118, accepts the dependence on the LXX but believes it is the work of a careless redactor, who wanted to make the allusion to Ezekiel more explicit.

11. Whilst various commentators have pointed to a number of texts to explain Rev 17:14 (ὅτι κύριος κυρίων ἐστὶν καὶ βασιλεὺς βασιλέων), Beale notes that Dan 4:37 (LXX) is the closest parallel (κύριος τῶν κυρίων καὶ βασιλεὺς τῶν βασιλέων).²¹
12. The fate of the harlot in Rev 17:16 (καὶ τὰς σάρκας αὐτῆς φάγονται) and Is 49:26 (καὶ φάγονται οἱ θλίψαντές σε τὰς σάρκας αὐτῶν).
13. The use of καὶ τόπος οὐχ εὐρέθη αὐτοῖς in Rev 20:11 and Theodotion's version of Dan 2:35 (exact agreement).

Examples not previously mentioned are (LXX text follows Rahlfs):

14. The use of Gen 49:11 in Rev 7:14b:²²

πλυνεῖ ἐν οἴνῳ τὴν στολὴν αὐτοῦ
καὶ ἐν αἵματι σταφυλῆς τὴν
περιβολὴν αὐτοῦ.

καὶ ἔπλυναν τὰς στολάς αὐτῶν
καὶ ἐλεύκαναν αὐτάς ἐν τῷ αἵματι
τοῦ ἄρνιου.

15. The use of Is 7:14 (ἰδοὺ ἡ παρθένος ἐν γαστρὶ ἔξει) and Is 26:17 (ἡ ὠδίνουσα ἐγγίζει τοῦ τεχεῖν καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ ὠδίνι αὐτῆς ἐκέκραξεν) in Rev 12:2:

she was with child (ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχουσα) and she cried out in her pangs of birth (καὶ κράζει ὠδίνουσα), in anguish for delivery (τεχεῖν).²³

16. The unusual Greek in Rev 12:5 (ἔτεκεν υἱὸν, ἄρσεν) and Is 66:7:

Before she was in labour she gave birth (ὠδίνουσαν τεχεῖν); before her pain came upon her she was delivered of a son (ἔτεκεν ἄρσεν).²⁴

17. The phrase in Rev 12:12 (εὐφραίνεσθε [οἱ] οὐρανοί) and the acclamation in Is 49:13 (εὐφραίνεσθε οὐρανοί).²⁵

18. The use of 2Kings 1:10 (κατέβη πῦρ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ κατέφαγεν αὐτόν) in Rev 20:9 (κατέβη πῦρ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ κατέφαγεν αὐτούς).

19. The description of the new heaven and earth in Rev 21:1 (Καὶ εἶδον οὐρανὸν καινὸν καὶ γῆν καινὴν) and Is 65:17 (ἔσται γὰρ ὁ οὐρανὸς καινὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ καινὴ).²⁶

As Hollander notes, the 'fragmentations and breakings-off of intertextual echo can result in pieces of voice as small as single words'.²⁷

21. "Reconsideration", p.540.

22. Categorized by Charles, Vol 1, p.lxxix, as showing LXX influence.

23. Charles, Vol 1, p.320, observes that the neuter is peculiar and says: 'Yet we find it in the LXX, Isa.lxvi.7, ἐξέφυγε καὶ ἔτεκεν ἄρσεν.'

24. Categorized by Charles, Vol 1, p.lxxix, as showing LXX influence.

25. Categorized by Charles, Vol 1, p.lxxviii, as showing LXX influence.

26. Categorized by Charles, Vol 1, p.lxxix, as showing LXX influence.

27. Figure of Echo, p.88.

Thus in John's use of Dan 10:5f, the choice of ποδήρης may well turn the reader's attention to Ezekiel's vision (Ez 9:2,11).²⁸ The change to the feminine βιβλος in Rev 20:15 (βιβλίον is his usual word for the 'book of life') may be due to its occurrence in Theodotion's rendering of Dan 12:1,²⁹ whilst the promise 'I will not blot (ἐξαιρέσω) his name out of the book of life' (Rev 3:5) may be an allusion to Ex 32:32.³⁰ A fourth example is John's change from θυσία (Ez 39:17) to δεῖπνον in Rev 19:17, which according to Vanhoye,³¹ represents a change of image from Ezekiel's 'sacrifice' to Isaiah's 'feast of God'.

Finally, we must reckon with the possibility that some of the words in the allusion have been modified so as to facilitate the interaction that John desires. Stanley concludes his study of the Qumran materials in this way:

Reasons for adapting the wording of the text vary from passage to passage. The most common concern seems to be to insure conformity between the language of the biblical text and the interpretation/application given to it in its new literary context. In these cases, the biblical wording has been adapted to reflect the sense in which the author wishes his readers to understand the verse in question, i.e. the interpretation is embedded in the very wording of the quotation. In other places, the community's broader ideology and practice has led to a molding of the biblical text, as in the various attempts to avoid mentioning the divine name or ascribing certain activities to the deity. Adjustments intended to fit the citation to the grammar of its new context or to create a smoother literary product are also encountered. Other reasons for altering the wording of a text include clarifying the original referent of a term rendered vague by its transfer to a new context; creating a more idiomatic rendering of a particular biblical verse; and improving the rhetorical impact of a given passage.³²

Stanley believes this applies to a fairly small number of passages (see note 10) but there is no doubt that John does conform texts to his own vocabulary and style.

28. So Hanson, p.167.

29. So Charles, Vol 1, p.lxxx.

30. Categorized by Charles, Vol 1, p.lxxviii, as showing LXX influence.

31. Vanhoye, p.469f.

32. Stanley, p.306.

1. The use of Is 6:3 ("Ἅγιος ἅγιος ἅγιος κύριος σαβαωθ) in Rev 4:8 (ἅγιος ἅγιος ἅγιος κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ). John never uses σαβαωθ but παντοκράτωρ is one of his favourite ways of referring to God (1:8, 4:8, 9:6, 9:15, 11:17, 15:3, 16:7, 16:14, 21:22).³³
2. The use of Dan 7:21 (ἐποίει πόλεμον μετὰ τῶν ἁγίων καὶ ἴσχυσεν πρὸς αὐτούς) in Rev 11:7 (ποιήσει μετ' αὐτῶν πόλεμον καὶ νικήσει αὐτούς). Though John does use ἰσχύω in 12:8, there is not much doubt that John wants this passage to interact with his extensive use of νικάω throughout Revelation (2:7,11,17,26; 3:5,12,21; 5:5; 6:2; 11:7; 12:11; 13:7; 15:2; 17:14; 21:7).
3. The use of Ez 48:31 (καὶ αἱ πύλαι τῆς πόλεως...βορρᾶν...ἀνατολᾶς... νότον...θάλασσαν) in Rev 21:12f (ἔχουσα πυλῶνας...ἀνατολῆς...βορρᾶ...νότου ...δυσμῶν). John does not use πύλη but πυλῶν occurs 6 times in Revelation.
4. The reference to 'that ancient serpent...the deceiver of the whole world' in Rev 12:9 probably alludes to Gen 3:13 ('the serpent beguiled me'), but John uses his favourite πλανᾶω (2:20, 12:9, 13:14, 18:23, 19:20, 20:3, 20:8, 20:10) rather than the LXX's ἀπατάω.

We have also seen that John sometimes uses some unusual words instead of words found in previous texts. For example, the use of χαλκολίβανος in Rev 1:15, 2:18, possibly in order to form a link with the metal workers of Thyatira and the diminutive βιβλαρίδιον in 10:2,9,10.

H.B.Swete

At the beginning of this century, these and other agreements led Swete to the following conclusions concerning the language of John's allusions:³⁴

1. The familiar phraseology of the LXX can be seen everywhere in Revelation. The author's mind is soaked in it.
2. Textually, this is generally closest to the Alexandrian version of the LXX.
3. The influence of the LXX can also be seen by the presence of some of its peculiar renderings.
4. Though the style of Revelation makes it likely that the author knows Hebrew, instances of a direct use of the Hebrew Scriptures are almost all susceptible to other explanations.

33. The title παντοκράτορος θεοῦ has been found on an inscription in the Jewish synagogue at Sardis. See P.Trebilco, Jewish Communities in Asia Minor, SNTSMS 69, Cambridge, 1991, p.45f.

34. Swete, ppcxl-clviii.

The main support for these views was simply the listing of some 278 phrases or verses from Revelation with the corresponding verses from the LXX or other Greek texts. This was presumably supposed to show that its phraseology was indeed everywhere. As to following its 'peculiar renderings', Swete only offered one example. In Rev 11:18, the elders proclaim the reign of the Lord God. The response of the nations is given in these words: καὶ ἐβασίλευσας καὶ τὰ ἔθνη ὠργίσθησαν. Swete cites the LXX of Ps 98:1 (Hebrew 99:1) as the source of this allusion which reads: κύριος ἐβασίλευσεν, ὀργιζέσθωσαν λαοί. Why this is a 'peculiar rendering' is that the Hebrew verb means 'tremble' rather than 'anger'. Now it is true that it can sometimes have the connotation of 'tremble with anger' but the parallel clause ('let the earth quake') shows that this is not the case here. If John is thinking of a Hebrew text, it is something of a coincidence that he chooses the peculiar ὀργίζω, just as the LXX translators did.

Other examples are tucked away in the commentary, the most famous being John's use of ποιμαίνω in his allusions to Ps 2:8 (see above). It is generally agreed that this rendering arose because the LXX translators took the Hebrew consonants to be from the verb meaning 'shepherd' or 'rule' rather than one meaning 'crush' or 'smash'. Again, it would be something of a coincidence if John has done likewise without knowledge of the LXX.

As to the many differences from the LXX, Swete suggested that John 'has either rendered independently, or has used another version, or possibly a text of the LXX different from that which is found in our MSS.'³⁵ He acknowledges that forms like Ἀβαδδών (9:11) and Ἀρμαγεδών (16:16) probably imply a knowledge of Hebrew but is sceptical about John's direct use of a Hebrew text.

35. Swete, p.clv.

John's Use of Hebrew Texts

Does John choose a form of words that would suggest to the readers a Hebrew text? There is obviously a difficulty in deciding this since the two languages have quite different structures. However, there are a few examples where John's word order could suggest this:

1. Rev 10:10 = Ez 3:3

As can be seen below, John's description of swallowing the scroll could be seen as an allusion to the Hebrew text of Ez 3:3 (MT), though the LXX is not very different (καὶ ἔφαγον αὐτήν, καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ στόματί μου ὡς μέλι γλυκάζον).

וַאֲכַלְתִּי	=	καὶ κατέφαγον αὐτό
וְהָיָה	=	καὶ ἦν
בְּפִי	=	ἐν τῷ στόματί μου
כַּדְבַּשׁ לְמַתּוּק	=	ὡς μέλι γλυκὺ

2. Rev 18:1 = Ez 43:2b

John's simple expression agrees with the MT but the LXX is more complex (καὶ ἡ γῆ ἐξέλαμπεν ὡς φέγγος ἀπὸ τῆς δόξης κυκλόθεν).

וְהָיָה	=	καὶ ἡ γῆ
הִאֲרָה	=	ἐφωτίσθη
מִכְבוֹד	=	ἐκ τῆς δόξης

3. Rev 18:19 = Ez 27:30

John agrees with the word order of the MT and his use of *χοῦν* might indicate a deliberate allusion to the Hebrew text (LXX has *γῆν*).

וַיַּעַל	=	καὶ ἔβαλον
עֵפֶר	=	χοῦν
עַל	=	ἐπὶ
רִאשֵׁיהֶם	=	τὰς κεφαλὰς αὐτῶν

Other examples can be cited where the agreement with the Hebrew text is less precise but where the LXX text is either divergent or missing altogether.

4. Rev 7:14 = Ez 37:3

This is cited by Vanhoye as one of his four 'citations presque exactes'.³⁶ The words are missing from the LXX.

ואמר אדני יהוה = καὶ εἶρηκα αὐτῶ. κύριέ μου,
אתה ידעת = σὺ οἶδας

5. Rev 18:21 = Ez 26:21

Another of Vanhoye's 'citations presque exactes'. The words are missing from the LXX text of Ez 26:21.

וחבקשי ולא תמצאי = καὶ οὐ μὴ εὕρεθῃ
עוד לעולם = ἔτι

6. Rev 19:11 = Is 11:4

This would be stronger if John agreed with the word order of the Hebrew but the LXX has a novel reading here.

ושפט בצדק = καὶ ἐν δικαιοσύνη κρίνει
LXX = κρινεῖ ταπεινῶ κρίσιν

We have already noted that the phrase 'like the sound of many waters' (ὡς φωνὴ ὑδάτων πολλῶν) is similar to Ez 1:24 (ὡς φωνὴν ὕδατος πολλοῦ) and probably represents a deliberate change from Daniel's 'sound of a multitude'. On the other hand, the Hebrew of Ez 1:24 (and 43:2) is plural, so that John's Greek could be seen as a direct translation.

36. Vanhoye, pp449ff.

Not all of these examples are entirely convincing but taken together, they do suggest that John sometimes made allusion to a Hebrew text. Swete is correct in saying that they are 'susceptible to other explanations' but then that is always going to be the case when dealing with allusions rather than quotations.

The Growth of a Consensus

Though we have indicated that John probably had access to a Hebrew text, a consensus has been developing that suggests that John always used a Hebrew text and that agreements with Greek texts are 'susceptible to other explanations'. Thus Hanson can say:

Of all the writers of the New Testament, John the Divine is the one who seems to be most at home with the Hebrew text of the bible, and the least attached to the LXX.³⁷

Sweet is similar:

It appears that he normally had in mind the Hebrew text rather than the Greek translation called the Septuagint (LXX), but he shows knowledge of both the Greek interpretation of the Hebrew represented by the LXX and the Aramaic interpretation used in the synagogue.³⁸

Neither of these scholars actually deny that John has used Greek texts but they want to insist that the Hebrew text was primary. Others have been willing to go further. Mazzaferri, for example, is happy to quote Ozanne to the effect that the 400 or more OT allusions in the book of Revelation are cited 'almost without exception from the original Hebrew and Aramaic of the OT'.³⁹ Vogelgesang does not even think it is worth discussing:

In the absence of evidence to the contrary, it will be assumed that John utilized a text-type of Ezekiel similar to HT.⁴⁰

37. Hanson, p.170.

38. Sweet, p.40.

39. Mazzaferri, p.44, quoting Ozanne, p.2.

40. Vogelgesang, p.22. (Here HT stands for 'Hebrew Text', without specifying its nature). The consensus is also supported by Fekkes, pp5-6; B.Marconcini, "L'utilizzazione del T.M. nelle citazioni Isaiane dell'Apocalisse", *RivB* 24, 1976, pp113-136; A.L.Lancellotti, "L'Antico Testamento nell'Apocalisse", *RivB* 14, 1966, pp369-384.

The origins of this consensus can be traced to the work of Charles. If Swete attempted to show that the many similarities with the LXX showed that John was dependent on that version, Charles argued that the numerous differences from the LXX show that John was not dependent on that version:

John translated directly from the O.T. text. He did not quote from any Greek Version, though he was often influenced in his renderings by the LXX and another later Greek Version, a revised form of the o' (i.e. the LXX), which was subsequently revised and incorporated by Theodotion in his version.⁴¹

Like Swete, Charles acknowledged that the evidence consists of both agreements and disagreements but made the latter his starting point, not the former. The differences, says Charles, make it certain that John was not normally dependent on the LXX, whereas the similarities can be explained by speaking of the LXX's 'influence'. The issue may seem rather arbitrary but where Charles has the edge over Swete is in his presentation of the evidence. Charles divided the allusions into four categories. The first consists of those allusions which he considers to come directly from the Hebrew text (or Aramaic in Dan 2-7). The point of placing the LXX next to these verses was not to illustrate the similarities, as in Swete, but to highlight the differences.

The second class were allusions that were also made from the Hebrew but show some signs of influence from the LXX. The Hebrew text remains primary but some of John's renderings have been influenced by his knowledge of the LXX. He says:

An examination of the passages based on the O.T. makes it clear that our author draws his materials directly from the Hebrew (or Aramaic) text, and apparently never solely from o' or any other version.⁴²

41. Charles, Vol 1, p.lxvi.

42. Charles, Vol 1, p.lxvi.

The key word here is 'solely'. Charles includes about forty references in this category, which might be seen as a considerable body of evidence for John's use of the LXX. However, he insists that its use is secondary to his use of the Hebrew text. In seeking to render a Hebrew phrase, John has sometimes been influenced by his knowledge of the LXX but the Hebrew text remains primary. On no occasion, according to Charles, does John begin with a LXX text.

His third category is similar to the second, except the influence appears to come from a Greek version other than the LXX. This is mainly in the book of Daniel, though he also cites examples from Exodus, Isaiah and Jeremiah.

His fourth category is simply called 'echoes' and consists of various allusions like the mention of Jezebel in Rev 2:20 or the description of the new Jerusalem as foursquare (Rev 21:16). These allude to OT people or events but do not point to particular verses. They can be important for exegesis, but make little contribution to the question of the actual text-form used by John.

The main argument used by Charles to support this analysis is that differences from the LXX imply John's independent use of a Hebrew text. For example, John's use of $\nu\iota\chi\acute{\alpha}\omega$ instead of $\iota\sigma\chi\acute{\upsilon}\omega$ shows that it is an 'independent rendering of Dan.vii.21'.⁴³ John's use of $\alpha\tilde{\iota}\rho\omega$ instead of $\upsilon\psi\acute{\omicron}\omega$ in Rev 10:5f shows that 'our author did not use the Versions but the Hebrew of Daniel, which he rendered freely to suit his purpose'.⁴⁴ His choice of $\epsilon\tilde{\xi}\alpha\lambda\epsilon\iota\phi\omega$ (Rev 7:17) instead of the LXX's $\acute{\alpha}\phi\alpha\iota\rho\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ in Is 25:8 means that 'we must here again maintain our author's independence of the LXX'.⁴⁵

43. Charles, Vol 1, p.286.

44. Charles, Vol 1, p.263.

45. Charles, Vol 1, p.217.

Another argument is that absence of the words in the original LXX text implies John's knowledge of the Hebrew. For example, the source of the title ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ πρῶτος καὶ ὁ ἔσχατος is thought to be either Is 44:6 or 48:12. However, the LXX appears to have rendered 'last' by μετὰ ταῦτα in Is 44:6 and εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα in 48:12. If this was the only Greek text known to John (Theodotion has ἐγὼ πρῶτος καὶ ἐγὼ ἔσχατος for Is 48:12), then it clearly points to his use of a Hebrew text. Similarly with Is 60:14, where the significant words προσκυνήσουσιν ἐπὶ τὰ ἴχνη τῶν ποδῶν σου, which would offer a parallel to Rev 3:9 (προσκυνήσουσιν ἐνώπιον τῶν ποδῶν σου) are only found in the margin of Q (and hence absent from the LXX known to Origen). Again, if this is the only Greek text known to John, then it points to his use of a Hebrew text.

A third example is the use of Is 22:22 in Rev 3:7. It is clear from the 'opening and closing' clauses, along with the idea of the 'key of David', that Is 22:22 is the source text:

'The words of the holy one, the true one, who has the key of David, who opens and no one shall shut, who shuts and no one opens (Rev 3:7).

And I will place on his shoulder the key of the house of David; he shall open, and none shall shut; and he shall shut, and none shall open (Is 22:22).

Most of the LXX MSS have something similar to this but the evidence of Q suggests that the original reading of the LXX was:

καὶ δώσω τὴν δόξαν Δαυὶδ αὐτῷ καὶ ἄρξει καὶ οὐκ ἔσται ὁ ἀντιλέγων.⁴⁶

If this was the only Greek text known to John, then clearly it cannot be the source of Rev 3:9.⁴⁷

46. So Rahlfs.

47. It is perplexing that Charles should appeal to this type of argument in his commentary since he states in his introduction (p.lxvii) that John's agreements with Theodotion's version of Is 22:22, 48:12 and 60:14 cannot be explained as coincidence but show that such a version must have been in circulation in John's time!

A third argument is those few occasions where John does actually come closer to the MT than the LXX. We have already noted the 'many waters' of Rev 1:15, the 'illuminated earth' of Rev 18:1, the 'dust on their heads' of Rev 18:19 and 'judging with righteousness' (Rev 19:11). Charles has a couple of further examples which are worth mentioning. Firstly, he thinks that Rev 12:4 ('His tail swept down a third of the stars of heaven, and cast them to the earth') is based on what is said about the little horn in Dan 8:10:

It grew great, even to the host of heaven; and some of the host of the stars it cast down to the ground, and trampled upon them.

The allusion does not appear in the lists of Swete and is not particularly close. Nevertheless, Charles points out that the MT uses a hiphil form to say that the horn 'caused' the stars to fall, whereas the Greek versions either use a passive construction (LXX: καὶ ἐρράχθη ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν) or a partitive subject (Theodotion: καὶ ἔπεσεν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἀπὸ τῆς δυνάμεως τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἄστρον). Charles calls these Greek versions 'wholly divergent' and claims that John is giving his own independent rendering of the Hebrew.⁴⁸

Another example is the use of the 'tree of life' imagery in Rev 22:2, which most commentators consider to be based on Ez 47:12:

on either side of the river, the tree of life with its twelve kinds of fruit, yielding its fruit each month; and the leaves of the tree were for the healing of the nations (Rev 22:2).

on both sides of the river, there will grow all kinds of trees for food. Their leaves will not wither nor their fruit fail, but they will bear fresh fruit every month, because the water for them flows from the sanctuary. Their fruit will be for food, and their leaves for healing (Ez 47:12).

48. Charles, Vol 1, p.319.

The LXX differs from the Hebrew in a number of respects, two of which are relevant to John's usage. Firstly, it does not speak of bearing fruit every month but simply putting forth its early crop (τῆς καινότητος αὐτοῦ πρωτοβολήσει). Secondly, instead of declaring the tree's leaves to be for healing, it speaks of the tree's ascent (ἀνάβασις) being for healing, possibly through a misreading of the consonants. Unless John knew a Greek text which was closer to the MT than this, these differences suggest that he was using a Hebrew text.

A fourth argument used by Charles is to do with the nature of John's Greek. We have already had cause to mention the many solecisms in the book. Charles believes that some of the peculiarities can be explained by positing an underlying Hebrew text. For example, in Rev 10:1, John says the figure descending from the heavens has legs like 'pillars of fire'. This translation disguises the fact that the Greek text uses the word πόδες (feet), which makes the description ('pillars') inappropriate. The explanation offered by Charles is that John is drawing on the Hebrew text of Dan 10:6. Since the Hebrew can mean both 'feet' and 'legs', John is assuming (incorrectly) that the Greek is likewise.⁴⁹

In Rev 21:27, John says of the city that 'nothing unclean (χοινὸν) shall enter it, nor anyone who practices falsehood'. Since those who can enter are described as 'those who are written in the lamb's book of life', Charles thinks it is incongruous that John should use the neuter rather than a reference to persons and suggests the error may have arisen by using a Hebrew text, since נְמִנִים could be rendered by either.⁵⁰

Thirdly, in Rev 18:22, we have a list of musicians, namely harpers, flute players and trumpeters. Amongst them we have the word μουσικῶν,

49. Charles, Vol 1, p.259. This argument is completely mitigated by the fact that the LXX uses πόδες.

50. Charles, Vol 2, p.174.

which is surprising since the other terms are all specific rather than generic. Charles believes that the best explanation for such a confusion is that John (or someone before him) is following a Hebrew text, since only a single 'yod' would separate 'songs' (rendered by μουσικά in the LXX) and 'singers'.⁵¹

Vanhoye (1962)

The next to take up the issue of the language of John's allusions was Vanhoye. He begins by examining the eight texts⁵² which are most favourable to John's use of the LXX. He concludes:

En résumé, il nous apparaît qu'aucun des indices invoqués en faveur d'une utilisation du texte grec d'Ézéchiél ne s'impose de façon incontestable.⁵³

He then looks at the three texts which he considers to be 'citations exactes' (Rev 1:15, 10:10, 18:1) and the four that qualify as 'citations presque exactes' (Rev 7:14, 11:11, 18:19, 18:21). He compares these with modern editions of the MT and LXX (which he assumes were close to what John would have used) and concludes that all seven point to John's independent use of the Hebrew text.

Trudinger (1963)

The language of John's allusions was the subject of a dissertation by Trudinger, a summary of which appeared in JTS.⁵⁴ Trudinger divides the task into what he calls 'quotations' (he finds 53) and allusions (63). Since the quotations offer the best evidence for determining John's OT text, we will confine our attention to these. Like Swete and Charles,

51. Charles, Vol 2, p.109f. This is an odd argument since the relevant LXX text (Ez 26:13) contains the word μουσικάν.

52. These are: Rev 1:13 = Ez 9:11; Rev 2:7 = Ez 31:9; Rev 6:8 = Ez 5:12; Rev 9:21 = Ez 43:9; Rev 10:9 = Ez 2:8f; Rev 11:11 = Ez 37:5,10; Rev 11:13 = Ez 38:19ff; Rev 22:1 = Ez 47:1.

53. Vanhoye, p.460.

54. L.Trudinger, The Text of the Old Testament in the Book of Revelation, Boston University, 1963; "Some Observations Concerning the Text of the Old Testament in the Book of Revelation", JTS 17, 1966, pp82-88.

Trudinger recognises that the evidence consists of both similarities and differences. For example, he registers John's affinity with Greek versions in the following verses:⁵⁵

- 1:1 ἃ δεῖ γενέσθαι 'follows the LXX'.
1:4 ὁ ὢν 'taken from the LXX of Exodus 3:14'.
1:6 βασιλείαν ἱερεῖς 'appears to follow Theodotion and Symmachus'.
2:7 παραδείσῳ 'undoubtedly follows the LXX'.
3:7 κλειῖν Δαυίδ 'shows considerable affinity with the more literal Greek translations'.
7:17 πᾶν δάκρυον The πᾶν 'would seem to argue strongly for dependence here upon one of the Greek O.T. versions'.
12:14 καιρὸν καὶ καιροῦς 'appears to be dependent upon the LXX or the Theodotion version'.
13:5 στόμα λαλοῦν μεγάλα 'follows the LXX and Theodotion exactly'.
15:4 δοξάσει τὸ ὄνομά 'coincides exactly with that of the LXX version'.
20:9 κατέβη πῦρ 'familiar with the phraseology of the LXX version'

There is a slight tendency to minimize the value of this evidence with comments like 'itself a straightforward translation of the Aramaic'⁵⁶ or 'not against the reading of the Hebrew'⁵⁷, but Trudinger is willing to acknowledge 'the presence of some references to the O.T. which clearly owe their textual origin to the LXX'.⁵⁸ However, he is more impressed with the differences between John and the Greek versions. For example, the difference between Rev 1:5 (ὁ πρωτότοκος τῶν νεκρῶν καὶ ὁ ἄρχων τῶν βασιλέων τῆς γῆς) and Ps 88:28 (πρωτότοχον θήσομαι αὐτόν, ὑψηλὸν παρὰ τοῖς βασιλευσιν τῆς γῆς) shows that John has 'little affinity with any of the Greek O.T. versions'.⁵⁹ With respect to the title 'first and last' in Rev 1:17,

55. References: 1:1 (42), 1:4 (43), 1:6 (46), 2:7 (53), 3:7 (59), 7:17 (68), 12:14 (76), 13:5 (77), 15:4 (81), 20:9 (90).

56. Appended to his comment on 1:1.

57. Appended to his comment on 20:9.

58. Trudinger, p.174. 59. Trudinger, p.45.

Trudinger admits that John may have known a text of Is 44:6 like the later Aquila, Symmachus or Theodotion but nevertheless feels that the 'fuller ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ πρῶτος...in Revelation seems to argue against these words being a direct use of the Aquila, Symmachus or Theodotion traditions'.⁶⁰

Along with Charles and Vanhoye, he cites the differences between John and the LXX text of Ez 27:23, 27:29, 47:12 as evidence of John's independence from that version and repeats the argument about νικάω and ἰσχύω in his use of Dan 7:21. An interesting variation on this 'argument from difference' is when the quotation only contains a few words. For example, many commentators agree that the source of the imagery concerning the revival of the two witnesses in Rev 11:11 is Ez 37:5,10:

But after the three and a half days a breath of life (πνεῦμα ζωῆς) from God entered them (εἰσῆλθεν ἐν αὐτοῖς), and they stood up on their feet (ἔστησαν ἐπὶ τοὺς πόδας αὐτῶν), and great fear fell on those who saw them (Rev 11:11).

Behold, I will cause breath to enter you (εἰς ὑμᾶς πνεῦμα ζωῆς), and you shall live...So I prophesied...and the breath came into them (εἰσῆλθεν εἰς αὐτοὺς τὸ πνεῦμα), and they lived, and stood upon their feet (ἔστησαν ἐπὶ τῶν ποδῶν αὐτῶν), an exceedingly great host (Ez 37:5b,10).

At first glance, the agreements with the LXX (πνεῦμα ζωῆς, εἰσῆλθεν, ἔστησαν, πόδας αὐτῶν) might be considered evidence for John's use of that version and Charles categorizes it as showing LXX influence.⁶¹ He points out that the MT of Ez 37:5,10 uses two clauses to express 'breath entering' and 'life returning', whereas the LXX combined them in 37:5 with the expression εἰς ὑμᾶς πνεῦμα ζωῆς.⁶² He also notes that ἔστησαν⁶³ is not

60. Trudinger, p.52.

61. Charles, Vol 1, p.lxxviii.

62. Charles, Vol 1, p.290. However, he lessens the impact of this by noting that Cornill and others have suggested that the LXX reading may be evidence of a pre-MT Hebrew text and 'the writer may have had this reading before him'. Vanhoye, p.459, seeks to lessen its significance by noting that John is fond of such genitival constructions ('tree of life', 'water of life', 'crown of life') and so no significance can be attached to it.

63. Charles, Vol 1, p.lxxviii, Note 2, says that ἐστάθην (8:3, 12:18) is John's usual aorist of ἵστημι.

John's normal usage and may be due to its presence in the LXX.

Trudinger only cites Ez 37:10 and says:

The snippets of O.T. text here quoted are small enough for it to be presumed that, had the writer of Revelation known the text in the LXX version, he would have quoted it with accuracy.⁶⁴

Trudinger also seeks to show John's use of the Targums. Thus in Rev 1:4, whilst acknowledging that $\acute{\omicron} \tilde{\omega}\nu$ shows knowledge of the LXX of Ex 3:14, he thinks that the 3-fold formula ($\acute{\omicron} \tilde{\omega}\nu \kappa\alpha\iota \acute{\omicron} \tilde{\eta}\nu \kappa\alpha\iota \acute{\omicron} \tilde{\epsilon}\rho\chi\acute{\omicron}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$) is best explained by reference to the Targum on Deut 32:39.⁶⁵ In Rev 18:22, John speaks of 'harpers' ($\chi\iota\theta\alpha\rho\omega\delta\omicron\iota$), whereas the LXX and MT of Ez 26:13 refer to the instrument itself ('harps'). This is explained, says Trudinger, by the reading found in the Targum ניגון כינור ('playing of your harps'). Thirdly, in Rev 21:3, Trudinger claims that neither the MT or LXX of Ez 37:27 satisfactorily explains John's use of $\sigma\chi\eta\nu\acute{\omicron}\omega$.⁶⁶ The best explanation, he says, is John's knowledge of the Targum of this verse (or Lev 26:12), which reads: ואשרי שכינת

Like Charles then, Trudinger acknowledges a number of affinities with the Greek texts but gives priority to Semitic sources. He claims that the agreements with the LXX are of a striking kind, having what he calls a 'byword' or 'slogan-like' quality about them.⁶⁷ He deduces from this that John has learnt various set phrases from the LXX or even from a 'Testimony' book and occasionally uses them in his own translations. He is not, however, quoting the LXX but making use of some of its stock

64. Trudinger, p.74. Other examples are:

Rev 4:8 = Is 6:2,3: 'If the writer had been quoting from the LXX, then why would he not have used the LXX phraseology for "each had six wings"?' (p.61).

Rev 7:16 = Is 49:10: 'Did the writer of Revelation, knowing the LXX text and using it as a basis, deliberately choose synonyms for several of the words, in order to effect the appearance of independence' (p.67).

Rev 11:18 = Ps 115:13: 'Had he been familiar with the LXX version of this O.T. passage, however, it is almost certain that he would have repeated its phraseology' (p.75).

65. So also Charles, Vol 1, p.10, who also lists such Greek texts as $\text{Ze}\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma \tilde{\eta}\nu$, $\text{Ze}\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma \tilde{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\iota\nu$, $\text{Ze}\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma \tilde{\epsilon}\sigma\sigma\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$. However, as Ford notes (p.377), this still does not explain John's use of $\acute{\omicron} \tilde{\epsilon}\rho\chi\acute{\omicron}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$.

66. Trudinger, p.92.

67. Trudinger, p.174.

phrases. On the other hand, Trudinger stresses that none of the 9 quotations from Daniel actually go against the MT and of the 44 taken from the rest of the OT, only 3 of them can properly be said to go against it (and these are in agreement with the Targum).⁶⁸ He concludes, therefore:⁶⁹

1. The writer is informed chiefly by the Hebrew Scriptures.
2. The Hebrew text followed is similar to the MT in the same way that 1QIsa^a might be said to be similar to it.
3. He knew and made use of the Targums.
4. He was familiar with many phrases from the Greek versions though probably not with the LXX as a whole.
5. He was probably familiar with some OT passages as they appeared in early Christian 'testimonia'.

68. His analysis of the 44 is as follows:

23	agree with MT/Tg against LXX
6	agree with MT against Tg/LXX.
1	agree with MT/LXX against Tg
3	follow LXX exactly but not against MT
3	follow LXX closely but not against MT
3	follow Tg against MT/LXX
4	follow Tg against LXX but not decisively against MT
1	agrees with Symmachus.

69. Trudinger, p.175.

Ozanne (1964)

Ozanne sets out to show that the differences between John and the Greek versions show quite conclusively that he is not making use of these versions but drawing directly on Semitic sources. After some introductory material, he divides his work into two parts; allusions to the book of Daniel and allusions to the rest of Scripture. We will limit our comments to his first section.

Ozanne finds 26 allusions to the book of Daniel, almost in complete agreement with Charles. His method is quite simple. Firstly, he sets out the relevant texts: Revelation; MT of Daniel; LXX and Theodotion of Daniel. He then notes the similarities and differences and argues that the differences (Diff Gk) show that John has not used the Greek texts, he points out where John is similar to MT (Agree MT) and how similarities with the Greek versions can be otherwise explained (Otherwise explained):

<u>Rev</u>	<u>Dan</u>	<u>Diff Gk</u>	<u>Agree MT</u>	<u>Otherwise Explained</u>
1:1	2:28			Yes
1:7	7:13	Yes		Yes
1:13	7:13		Yes	
1:13	10:5	Yes		
1:14	7:9		Yes	
1:14	10:6			Yes
1:15	10:6	Yes		Yes
1:18	12:7			
4:1	7:6	Yes		
5:9	3:7			Yes
5:11	7:10	Yes		
9:17	8:2		Yes	Yes
9:20	5:23			
10:5	12:7	Yes		
12:8	2:35	Yes		Yes
12:14	7:25		Yes	
13:1	7:3			
13:5	7:8			Yes
13:7	7:21	Yes		
13:15	3:6			
16:18	12:1			Yes
19:6	10:6			Yes
20:4	7:22	Yes		Yes
20:12	7:10	Yes		
20:15	12:1			Yes
22:10	12:4			

His approach can be illustrated by reproducing his first (Rev 1:1 = Dan 2:28) and third (Rev 1:13 = Dan 7:13) examples:⁷⁰

1:1: ἃ δεῖ γενέσθαι ἐν τάχει (= 22:6)

Dan 2:28: מִנָּה דִּי לְהוּרָה בְּאַחֲרֵית יוֹמֵינָא

LXX and Theod: ἃ δεῖ γενέσθαι ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν

For the first three words Rev agrees with the LXX and Theod, but the Aramaic could hardly be translated otherwise...The phrase ἐν τάχει seems to interpret the Aramaic, as if to say that the end of days had now arrived.

1:13: ὅμοιον υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου

Dan 7:13: כְּבַר אִנְשׁ

LXX and Theod: ὡς υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου

That we have here a quotation from the MT of Dan 7:13 would seem undeniable. Our author has by-passed the Greek versions...A reference to the kaph veritatis is indicated by the unique grammar of the expression.

70. Ozanne, pp66-67 (Reproduced with permission).

ASSESSMENT

It is not difficult to show that Ozanne's position is maintained by extensive special pleading. For example, instead of showing that Rev 4:1 (ἄ δεῖ γενέσθαι μετὰ ταῦτα) agrees exactly with Dan 2:45 (Theodotion), he takes Rev 1:1 (ἄ δεῖ γενέσθαι ἐν τάχει) and says of the first three words that 'the Aramaic could hardly be translated otherwise'.⁷¹ Similarly, he passes over Rev 20:11 (καὶ τόπος οὐχ εὐρέθῃ αὐτοῖς), which agrees exactly with Dan 2:35 (Theodotion), whilst the similar οὐδὲ τόπος εὐρέθῃ αὐτῶν in Rev 12:8 receives the comment:

The variations between αὐτοῖς and αὐτῶν in Rev 12:8 (though not in 20:11) indicates that no direct reference was made to Theod.⁷²

If the variation between αὐτοῖς and αὐτῶν in Rev 12:8 or ἐρχόμενος and ἔρχεται in Rev 1:7 is sufficient to show John's non-use of these Greek texts, then what about the difference between John's ἐν τάχει in Rev 1:1 and the Aramaic of Dan 2:28. The same logic would surely indicate that John would have spoken about the 'last days' if he had had this text in mind. However, in this case, Ozanne says, 'The phrase ἐν τάχει seems to interpret the Aramaic, as if to say that the end of days had now arrived.'⁷³ Thus it would appear that differences from the Greek versions (however small) imply their non-use, whilst differences from the Hebrew/Aramaic can be explained as interpretative changes.

This is reminiscent of Charles. We have already noted that John's use of νικάω, αἴρω and ἐξαλείφω (in his allusions to Dan 7:21, 12:7 and Is 35:8) are treated as evidence for his independence from the Greek texts. Differences from the Hebrew text, however, are taken as evidence that

71. This is clearly nonsense. A wide range of possibilities are open to a translator, including in this case the choice of verb (γίνομαι), construction (δεῖ + Infinitive), way of expressing the indefinite subject (neuter plural relative pronoun) and word order.

72. Ozanne, p.77.

73. Ozanne, p.66.

John used the 'Hebrew of Daniel, which he rendered freely to suit his purpose'.⁷⁴ This is well illustrated in his treatment of Rev 17:16, which he believes is based on certain phrases from Ez 23:25-29:

And the ten horns that you saw, they and the beast will hate the harlot; they will make her desolate and naked, and devour her flesh and burn her up with fire (Rev 17:16).

They shall seize your sons and your daughters, and your survivors shall be devoured by fire. They shall also strip you of your clothes...and they shall deal with you in hatred, and take away all the fruit of your labour, and leave you naked and bare, and the nakedness of your harlotry shall be uncovered (Ez 23:25b,26a,29).

<u>MT</u>	<u>LXX</u>	<u>Rev</u>
ועשו אותך בשנאה (v29)	καὶ ποιήσουσιν ἐν σοὶ ἐν μίσει	μισήσουσιν τὴν πόρνην
והפשיטוך את בגדיך (v26)	ἐκδύσουσίν σε τὸν ἱματισμόν σου	ἡρημαμένην ποιήσουσιν αὐτὴν καὶ γυμνήν
ולקחו כל יגיעך ועזבוך ערם ועריה (v29)	καὶ λήψονται πάντας τοὺς πόρους...καὶ ἔση γυμνή καὶ ἀσχημονοῦσα	
תאכל באש (v25)	πῦρ καταφάγεται	κατακαύσουσιν ἐν πυρί

In the first phrase, John uses a simple expression (μισήσουσιν τὴν πόρνην) instead of the convoluted one found in both MT and LXX. In the second phrase, John agrees with MT and LXX on 'naked' but uses ἡρημώω instead of 'bare' (MT) or 'ashamed' (LXX), possibly from Hos 2:5f (ἐκδύσω αὐτὴν γυμνήν...καὶ θήσομαι αὐτὴν ὡς ἔρημον).⁷⁵ In the third phrase, he uses

74. Charles, Vol 1, p.263.

75. So Ruiz, p.361, who also mentions Ez 26:19 (ὅταν δῶ σε πόλιν ἡρημαμένην) and Jer 34(41):22, which also speaks of burning with fire (κατακαύσουσιν αὐτὴν ἐν πυρί...καὶ δώσω αὐτὰς ἐρήμους).

'burn' instead of the 'devour' of MT and LXX,⁷⁶ perhaps because he thought it was more appropriate ('burn with fire' instead of 'consumed with fire'), perhaps to point to another text, such as Jer 34:22 or Lev 21:9,⁷⁷ or perhaps to avoid a clash with the 'devour' of the intervening allusion.⁷⁸ It is clear from this that John only takes what he wants from Ezekiel, makes various changes and weaves in other texts in order to enrich the effect on the hearer/reader. Charles, however, takes it as evidence that he:

must have had Ezek. xxiii.25-29 before him, but not the LXX. He reproduces the thought but not the form of the Hebrew.⁷⁹

One might reasonably ask what this is supposed to mean? Unless there was some similarity between the thought of Ez 23:25-29 and Rev 17:16, we would not be considering it as the source of the allusion. It is the general similarity between the passages that has persuaded many commentators⁸⁰ that it was in John's mind. However, in terms of whether it offers evidence for John's use of Greek or Semitic texts, it is clear from the above that it does not. Indeed, if we wished to be mischievous, there is nothing stopping us reversing Charles' judgment and saying that John reproduces the thought but not the form of the LXX.

Returning to Ozanne, we can see from the chart that there are numerous examples where similarities with the Greek versions have to be 'otherwise explained'. On the other hand, the agreement in Rev 1:13 with the MT of Dan 7:13 (two words!) leads to the comment:

That we have here a quotation from the MT of Dan 7:13 would seem undeniable.⁸¹

76. *ενπρησουσιν εν πυρι* in A.

77. Ruiz, p.363, suggests Lev 20:14, 21:9; Josh 7:15.

78. In his commentary, Charles suggests Ps 27:2, Mic 3:3 and 2 Kings 9:36 as its source, but rather strangely, Is 49:26 appears in his lists (but is not mentioned in the commentary).

79. Charles, Vol 2, p.73.

80. Eg. Ford, p.292; Mounce, p.318; Sweet, p.262.

81. Ozanne, p.67.

The reason for this confident statement is the unusual grammar of the phrase. Elsewhere in Revelation, we can see that John knows full well that ὅμοιος should be followed by a dative (eg. 1:15, 2:18, 4:3,6,7). Here and in Rev 14:14, however, the case of the following word is unchanged, effectively making ὅμοιος the direct equivalent of ὡς. Charles says:

That our author knew quite well that ὅμοιος was followed by the dative is shown by his universal usage outside these two passages, which stand alone in all literature in making ὅμοιος as the absolute equivalent of ὡς alike in *construction* and *meaning*.⁸²

Like the ἀπὸ ὃ ὤν of Rev 1:4, it is clear that this is not a case of grammatical blunder but of 'conscious and intentional difficulties placed before the reader as obstacles to confound an ordinary reading of the text'.⁸³ Whether it also implies that John has the Aramaic text in mind is more debatable, especially in the light of Rev 14:14, where the 'one like a son of man' is sitting ἐπὶ τὴν νεφέλην (as in the LXX text of Dan 7:13). Charles⁸⁴ dismisses this since καθήμενον could hardly be followed by anything else but this surely misses the point. If John only knows an Aramaic text which speaks of 'coming with the clouds', where does his picture of a 'seated' figure come from? The answer to this may well be Matthew's Gospel, since Mt 24:30 combines Dan 7:13 with Zech 12:10 (as in Rev 1:7) and Mt 26:64 speaks of the 'Son of man seated at the right hand of Power, and coming on the clouds of heaven' (υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καθήμενον ἐκ δεξιῶν τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ ἐρχόμενον ἐπὶ τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ). Whether John has been influenced by this (Greek) text of Matthew or the LXX of Dan 7:13 or some other text or tradition, it is hard to agree with Ozanne that 'a quotation from the MT of Dan 7:13 would seem undeniable'.⁸⁵

82. Charles, Vol 1, pp36-37.

83. Ruiz, p.220.

84. Charles, Vol 1, p.lxxx, Note 1.

85. Ozanne, p.67. That Rev 1:13-14 shows evidence of John's knowledge of the LXX text of Daniel is affirmed by Beale, "Reconsideration", p.542 and C.Rowland, "The Vision of the Risen Christ in Rev. 1:13ff: The Debt of an Early Christology to an Aspect of Jewish Angeology", *JTS* 31, 1980, pp1-11.

Charles noted that the time reference in Rev 12:14 (χαίρων καὶ χαίρους καὶ ἡμῶν χαίρου) is based on Dan 7:25 or 12:7, including an agreement with the Greek versions (χαίρους), which was strictly a mistranslation (the original being a dual).⁸⁶ Trudinger acknowledged that it 'appears to be dependent'⁸⁷ on the Greek versions though he also adds that it could be John's own translation. Ozanne is more definite:

Since the text of Rev agrees exactly with the MT of Dan 7:25, there is no need to assume influence from the Greek versions.⁸⁸

Ozanne admits that χαίρους is 'strictly a mistranslation' but quotes Charles to the effect that it is a 'mistranslation that had secured a prescriptive right by reason of its ambiguity'.⁸⁹ Thus instead of acknowledging a 6-word agreement⁹⁰ with a Greek text, including its mistranslation, Ozanne states that it 'agrees exactly with the MT' and hence 'there is no need to assume influence from the Greek versions'.

On the other hand, Ozanne claims that Rev 9:17 (εἶδον...ἐν τῇ ὀράσει) corresponds exactly with the MT of Dan 9:21 (two words!), since the LXX uses ὀράματι and Theodotion omits the phrase altogether.⁹¹ However, as Ozanne himself admits, this is a common expression in Daniel and Theodotion does render 9:21 with ὃν εἶδον ἐν τῇ ὀράσει. It hardly constitutes evidence for John's preference for Semitic texts.

We could go on but these examples are sufficient to show that the hypothesis that John's allusions are taken exclusively from Semitic texts is incorrect. In order to maintain it, numerous agreements with the Greek versions have to be dismissed as insignificant, great significance must be

86. Charles, Vol 1, p.330.

87. Trudinger, p.76.

88. Ozanne, p.77.

89. Ozanne, p.77, quoting Charles, Vol 1, p.330.

90. Dan 12:7 (LXX). Dan 7:25 (Theodotion) is identical except that the terms are in the genitive because they follow ἕως.

91. Restored in Hexaplaric and Lucianic MSS.

attached to the differences (despite the fact that most of these differences are also true of the MT) and much has to be made of the relatively minor agreements with the MT. It is clearly a case of special pleading and like Swete's earlier view that John exclusively used Greek texts, should be dismissed. The evidence points to John's knowledge and use of both Greek and Hebrew texts.

We now turn to a more subtle question: Is it possible to make a distinction between John's use of Greek and Hebrew texts? We have seen that Charles spoke of John's 'use' of the Hebrew but described the LXX as being an 'influence':

John translated directly from the O.T. text. He did not quote from any Greek Version, though he was often influenced in his renderings by the LXX and another later Greek Version, a revised form of the σ' (i.e. the LXX), which was subsequently revised and incorporated by Theodotion in his version.⁹²

Trudinger says that in the quotations which most clearly show knowledge of the LXX, the phrases appear to be of a striking nature, 'quotable quotes', having a 'byword' or 'slogan-like' quality about them. In this way, he tries to distinguish between John's familiarity and use of Semitic texts and his incomplete knowledge of the LXX.⁹³ Sweet declares:

It appears that he normally had in mind the Hebrew text rather than the LXX, but he shows knowledge of both the Greek interpretations of the Hebrew represented by the LXX and the Aramaic interpretation used in the synagogue.⁹⁴

Even Ruiz, who expresses some caution about the results of such studies, nevertheless concludes:

92. Charles, Vol 1, p.lxvi.

93. Trudinger, p.174.

94. Sweet, p.40.

While Lust's findings suggest that the text form issue merits further detailed examination, the data examined indicate John's independent familiarity with a Hebrew text of the OT books to which he refers, a familiarity which does not exclude an acquaintance with the Greek.⁹⁵

Can such a distinction be maintained? The burden of proof must surely lie with those who seek to maintain it for according to Charles, even those allusions made directly from the Hebrew text are:

*hardly ever literal quotations: in any case the words carry with them a developed and often different meaning.*⁹⁶

Is it possible to distinguish between the use of a Hebrew text which is 'hardly ever literal' and the use of a Greek text which is merely an 'influence'? The nature of John's use of the OT makes it highly unlikely for the allusions seldom continue for more than a few words before being conformed to the narrative or fused with other texts. As Vanhoye says:

*Il est rare que l'Apocalypse se contente de puiser à une seule source; en générale, elle fusionne plusieurs textes et fait souvent preuve d'un sens admirable des affinités qu'ils ont entre eux.*⁹⁷

As we have seen, the data to be explained consists of both similarities and differences. The former must be considered primary for it is the similarities with a given text that suggest we are dealing with an allusion. Trudinger speaks of 'quotations', which is when we have:

*word combinations in a form in which one would not have used them had it not been for a knowledge of their occurrence in this particular form in another source.*⁹⁸

Now strictly speaking, this criterion only has relevance to Greek texts since John is writing in Greek. None of his word combinations appear

95. Ruiz, p.178.

96. Charles, Vol 1, p.lxviii.

97. Vanhoye, p.467.

98. "Observations", p.84.

in Hebrew texts because they do not contain Greek words (in any combination). However, as we saw earlier, a case can be made that some of John's word combinations could be seen as emulating the word order of a Hebrew text, though they are few in number. The logical outcome of applying such a definition would be to show John's use of the LXX or other Greek texts. Trudinger also wishes to use the argument of similarity to show that John has been influenced by the Targums, since on a few occasions, they contain a word or phrase that is closer to John than the corresponding text in LXX or MT. This is certainly a case of special pleading for if such minor agreements with the Targum (despite enormous differences) is sufficient to show John's use of these versions, then the much more substantial agreements with the LXX would make his use of that version a certainty.

However, Trudinger does not draw this conclusion, because he places more emphasis on the differences. As he says on Rev 11:11:

The snippets of O.T. text here quoted are small enough for it to be presumed that, had the writer of Revelation known the text in the LXX version, he would have quoted it with accuracy.⁹⁹

The same could be said for the Hebrew text. If John had a text similar to the MT in front of him, then he has 1) used the compound πνεῦμα ζωῆς 2) placed it before the verb 3) added ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ 4) ignored the final clause:

<p><u>Ez 37:10 (MT)</u> וַתָּבוֹא בָהֶם הַרוּחַ וַיַּחֲיֶינָהוּ וַיַּעֲמֵדוּ עַל רַגְלֵיהֶם חֵיל גָּדוֹל מְאֹד מְאֹד</p>	<p><u>Rev 11:11 (NA26)</u> πνεῦμα ζωῆς ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ εἰσῆλθεν ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἕστησαν ἐπὶ τοὺς πόδας αὐτῶν</p>
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99. Trudinger, p.74.

However, Trudinger's key argument is that John's rendering is not decisively against the Hebrew text, whereas his use of ἐν αὐτοῖς and τοὺς πόδας goes against the LXX's εἰς αὐτοὺς and τῶν ποδῶν. This is the fundamental point that unites Charles, Trudinger and Ozanne. If John had a Greek text in front of him, then any differences (however small) imply a conscious decision to go against it. As Trudinger asks of Rev 7:16:

Did the writer of Revelation, knowing the LXX text and using it as a basis, deliberately choose synonyms for several of the words, in order to effect the appearance of independence?¹⁰⁰

On the other hand, differences from known Hebrew texts can easily be explained as 'free renderings' and do not constitute a departure from the Hebrew. Thus in Trudinger's analysis of the 53 quotations, some 36 are said to go against the LXX but only 3 against the MT (and these agree with the Targum).¹⁰¹ The obvious implication is that possession of Semitic sources can explain John's quotations in a way that the Greek texts cannot.

However, we must ask what Trudinger means when he speaks about 'going against' a text. In the case of Greek texts, this can refer to a change in word order, use of a synonym, different form of the verb, different construction and a host of other things. Going against a Hebrew text, however, means a form of words that could not possibly be considered as even a 'loose' or 'free' rendering of the Hebrew. The problem with this is that if John's words diverge this much from a given text, it would hardly qualify as being the source of the allusion. The method is inherently biased towards sources in other languages because it so easily accommodates differences. If it were applied to the Pauline epistles, the differences from the LXX (several hundred) would be weighed

100. Trudinger, p.67.

101. See on p.214, Note 64.

against the fact that he is seldom very far from the MT. However, this is contrary to Stanley's recent study which suggests that the close agreements with the LXX, especially its peculiar or unusual readings, clearly marks this out as Paul's main source.¹⁰²

The main implication of John's differences from known Greek texts is to do with his use of the OT, not the language of his sources. Criteria used to determine whether an author has used Greek or Hebrew sources must assume that the author breaks from normal usage in order to adopt a form of words found in another text. Since we have shown that John rarely does this but fuses texts together and weaves the result into his own composition, there is very little data on which one can apply the criteria. This is clearly seen when one commentator argues that a given allusion acts as evidence for John's use of a Hebrew text, whilst others do not even acknowledge the allusion.¹⁰³ As the diagram on p.191 indicates, the genius of John's use of the OT lies in the intersection where the words are both John's and those of his source. It is possible that the form of words will sometimes suggest a Hebrew text but by and large, the allusion will have to 'work' on the level of the Greek text.

CONCLUSION

The evidence presented at the beginning of this chapter suggests that John knew and used Greek and Hebrew sources. Attempts by Swete (Greek) and Ozanne (Hebrew) to show an exclusive use of one or other requires extensive special pleading and should be rejected. The more subtle question as to whether John's use of Hebrew texts is in some way different from his use of Greek texts is much more difficult to answer.

102. Stanley, pp70ff.

103. For example, Charles argues that Rev 12:4 is closer to the Hebrew of Dan 8:10 but Ozanne does not even consider it to be an allusion.

Trudinger's criteria of 'going against a text' sounds convincing but in reality, decides the issue beforehand. This is particularly true with a text like Revelation where the allusions are 'hardly ever literal'.¹⁰⁴ The criteria are simply not sensitive enough to decide between a 'free' or 'loose' rendering of a Semitic text and an 'influence' from the LXX (or other Greek text). On the available evidence, therefore, we conclude that John knew and used both Greek and Semitic sources but the question of whether he preferred one to the other must remain open.

104. Charles, Vol 1, p.lxviii.

EPILOGUE

The development of an interactive model in this thesis came as a response to the nature of the book of Revelation. Its allusive use of scripture is not easily contained within traditional source-criticism but demands a broader approach. As Collins¹ says about 'mythological allusions', they are not simply 'copies of the original source' but serve to 'transfer motifs from one context to another.' Our study has shown some of the ways that this can happen in a reading of John's text. It also has implications for books other than Revelation and we close by highlighting three areas.

1. Respect for Context

We noted in our introduction that 'respect for context' was one of the keenly debated issues in 'Use of the OT' studies. Grollenberg takes the view that the NT authors had no interest in what the text meant to the original author. Rather, they read the OT in the light of the 'events brought about by God in which they themselves were involved'.² Bruce says a similar thing about the Dead Sea Scrolls.³ Others have emphasized the opposite view, that the authors were serious exegetes, using prescribed methods to get at the 'true' meaning of the text.⁴ However, the quotation from Worten and Still puts the matter in a different light:

every quotation distorts and redefines the 'primary' utterance by relocating it within another linguistic and cultural context.⁵

If we take this as our starting point, we can see that the either/or option is misconceived. Every quotation is out of context because it has been relocated. It cannot possibly mean the same thing as it did in its old

1. Apocalyptic Imagination, p.16.

2. Unexpected Messiah, p.7.

3. Biblical Exegesis, pp9-18.

4. Brooke, Exegesis at Qumran, p.44.

5. "Introduction", Intertextuality: Theories and Practices, p.11.

context because most of the factors that affect interpretation have changed. A more constructive approach would be to ask how the two contexts might be related and what is the effect of creating a bridge between them? As we said on p.150:

All quotations distort because they have been relocated. In some cases, there is an easily discernible connection between the old and new contexts; in others, that connection is difficult (for us) to spot and may lie in the 'orthographic peculiarities' of the text. For purposes of description, we can speak of 'literal', 'modernized' or 'accommodated' texts, but we must realize that this is simply our perceptions as to what connections are reasonable and what appear as far-fetched. The ancient author would no doubt have seen it differently.⁶

As an example, consider the catena of Rom 3:10-18.⁷ To an earlier generation of commentators, Paul cites these verses because they demonstrate the universality of sin.⁸ This is what he says he is going to demonstrate in 3:9, and what he believes he has demonstrated in 3:19f. Paul's point, then, is the same as the quotations and hence context is respected. However, in 1962, Edgar wrote:

The verses Paul adduces in Rom 3 to prove the universality of sin, do not, in their original contexts, refer to all men, but in most cases to the wicked, the enemies of Israel.⁹

This leads in two directions. Firstly, there are those like Grollenberg who believe that the ancient authors had no interest in the original context. Käsemann, for example, describes the catena as a florilegium and then says that florilegiums are all about:

6. The categories were those of Fitzmyer, "Explicit Quotations".

7. See my article, "The Catena of Rom 3:10-18", ExT (forthcoming).

8. Eg. Barrett, p.69, says: 'Paul has already (i.18 - ii.29) brought the charge against Jews and Greeks; but he would not have it regarded as merely an intellectual analysis of the moral life of the first century. Far more important than any such analysis is the fact that this is the verdict of Scripture.'

9. S.L. Edgar, "Respect for Context in Quotations from the O.T.", NTS 9, 1962, p.56.

taking a sentence out of context, weaving together passages with different thrusts, and inserting an interpretation into a particular citation.¹⁰

Secondly, there are those that acknowledge that the verses are taken out of context but argue that this is part of Paul's hermeneutical strategy. Dunn says:

it needs to be stressed that the point of the catena is not simply to demonstrate that scripture condemns all humankind, but more precisely to demonstrate that scriptures which had been read from the presupposition of a clear distinction between the righteous and the unrighteous..in fact condemned all humankind as soon as that clear distinction was undermined.¹¹

However, it is worth asking whether the dominant theme of the citations, namely that God makes a distinction between the righteous and the wicked, is quite so unwelcome to Paul as these approaches suggest. It is clear that he wants to undermine the equation that righteousness means Jews and wickedness means Gentiles but that does not mean that God no longer distinguishes between righteousness and wickedness (cf. Rom 6:13). Indeed, the twin themes that God blesses the righteous (1:17, 2:7, 2:10) and punishes the wicked (1:18ff, 2:8, 3:10ff) are central to these early chapters. In the language of our interactive model, Paul activates and re-activates these 'voices' (blessing and punishment) until he is ready to bring them into dialogue with the 'voice' of the gospel (3:21ff). He is not aiming to 'silence' them, since it is imperative that the gospel is seen in the light of God's righteousness (and vice versa). Thus rather than debating whether Paul respects the OT context or not, a more fruitful approach would be to trace the effects of this interaction through the rest of the book.

10. E.Käsemann, Commentary on Romans, Grand Rapids, 1980, p.86. Stanley, pp97-98, says: 'a line that attributes the behaviour of the people under discussion to their "foolishness" is left out...presumably because it conflicts with Paul's emphasis on the moral culpability of those who act in the manner described'.

11. J.D.G.Dunn, Romans (1-8), Dallas, 1988, p.151.

We have seen numerous examples where it could be argued that John takes verses out of context. For example, the promise to the church at Philadelphia that the Jews will 'come and bow down before your feet' (Rev 3:9) has been reversed. Isaiah actually says:

The sons of those who oppressed you shall come bending low to you; and all who despised you shall bow down at your feet; they shall call you the City of the Lord, the Zion of the Holy One of Israel (60:14).

It is clear, however, that this is not simply carelessness on John's part. He could have expressed it in his own words but by alluding to Isaiah in this way (also 45:14, 49:23), John accesses a 'vocabulary of a second and higher power'.¹² The words come to him highly charged and hence ready to interact with the new context. Beale says:

This reversal of Isaiah's language is most likely attributable to a conscious attempt to express the irony that the submission which unbelieving ethnic Jews hoped to receive from Gentiles, they themselves would be forced to render to the church.¹³

This is probably correct but it is not the end of the matter. The most fundamental thing is that John has built a bridge between two contexts, thereby setting in motion an interaction that continues to reverberate throughout the whole book. Finding ways of describing this is far more significant than debates about taking texts out of context.

2. The Rôle of the Reader

Most 'Use of the OT' studies belong to Source and Redaction criticism. They are interested in how a particular author has used the OT in order to meet the needs of the recipients. For example, deviations from MT or LXX (unless alternative text-forms can be proved) are explained in

12. Greene, Light of Troy, p.39.

13. "Revelation", p.330. For the case that John disregards the OT context, see L.A.Vos, The Synoptic Traditions in the Apocalypse, Kampen, 1965.

terms of the 'intention' of the author. However, this emphasis on the author's 'intention' has been largely abandoned in NT study and replaced by a focus either on the text itself or on the rôle of the reader. This has been both for practical (we have no access to the author's 'intention') and theoretical reasons (meaning is not a 'given' but has to be 'created' by the reader). However, as we have shown in this thesis, there is no reason why 'Use of the OT' studies should be limited to the historical-critical paradigm. By utilizing past texts, the author has produced a fresh composition which invites the reader to participate:

The writer assigns meaning to his own context and in interaction with other texts he shapes and forms his own text. The reader, in much the same way, assigns meaning to the generated text in interaction with other texts he knows...A writer does not weave a web of meanings that the reader merely has to follow, but he selects and orders values and presents them to the reader as a text. The reader reacts to the offer and enters into a dialogue with the possibilities the text has to offer him.¹⁴

In the same volume of essays, Vorster compares a 'Redaktionsgeschichte' approach to 'Use of the OT' to one based on notions of 'Intertextuality':

First of all it is clear that the phenomenon text has been redefined. It has become a network of references to other texts (intertexts). Secondly it appears that more attention is to be given to text as a process of production and not to the sources and their influences. And thirdly it is apparent that the role of the reader is not to be neglected in this approach to the phenomenon of text.¹⁵

Each of these points suggests fruitful avenues of research. The first suggests that the reader is not addressed by a single voice (such as a single narrator) but a plurality of voices. How these are 'heard' and what the reader makes of them will differ from person to person. Secondly, the significance of an allusion or quotation is not limited to the specific

14. Ellen van Wolde, "Trendy Intertextuality", Intertextuality in Biblical Writings, ed. S.Draisma, Kampen, 1989, p.47.

15. W.Vorster, "Intertextuality and Redaktionsgeschichte", Intertextuality in Biblical Writings, ed. S.Draisma, Kampen, 1989, p.21.

source used. For example, an allusion to Is 6 is a gateway into all such 'throne visions', past, present and future. The use of infancy narratives in Matthew and Luke not only suggests particular OT texts (such as Is 7:14) but makes use of the general 'intertext' of 'birth stories' (in which we all participate). Thirdly, the meaning of a text emerges through the interaction of text and reader. This was highlighted in ch.6, when we saw how the application of different 'hermeneutical keys' led to very different interpretations of Revelation. It is also highlighted by Fiorenza, when her introductory section on 'Social Location' is not about first century Asia but the 'social location' of readers:

Competing interpretations of Revelation are not simply either right or wrong, but they constitute different ways of reading and constructing socio-historical and theo-ethical meaning. What is appropriate in such a rhetorical paradigm of biblical scholarship is not detached value-neutrality, but an explicit articulation of one's rhetorical strategies, interested perspectives, ethical criteria, theoretical frameworks, religious presuppositions, and sociopolitical locations for critical public discussion.¹⁶

3. Biblical Stereotypes and Historical Allusions

During the course of this thesis, we have seen several examples where it is unclear whether certain phrases are to be taken as historical references or allusions to the OT. For example, in chapter two, we saw how phrases like 'flame of fire' and 'burnished bronze' are taken by

16. E.S.Fiorenza, Revelation. Vision of a Just World, New Edition, Edinburgh, 1993 (Fortress, 1991), p.3. This emphasis on polyvalence is criticised by A.C.Thiselton, New Horizons in Hermeneutics, London, 1992, p.506: 'What is problematic about current notions on intertextuality is *not the huge scope* of the boundaries which have been enlarged, but the transposing of horizons of understanding into *matrices which generate an infinite chain of semiotic effects.*' Thiselton's concern is understandable, though infinite variety does not necessarily imply a reductionist position. On a musical analogy, each person in an orchestra brings with them a host of factors that affect the playing of their instrument. The implication of this for the performance is that the possibilities would appear to be infinite. Nevertheless, few people will think they have heard Beethoven's fifth symphony when the musicians were attempting to play the ninth. It should also be noted that we are not attempting to declare historical study bankrupt (though some scholars would). Historical questions are valid and can only be answered by historical methods. However, it is increasingly recognized that such methods do not have a monopoly on what constitutes the 'meaning of a text'. The point we are making is simply that 'Use of the OT' studies have so far stayed within the historical-critical paradigm but there is no reason why this should continue to be so.

Ramsay and Hemer to refer to Thyatira's metal industry. On the other hand, most scholars agree that when composing the inaugural vision (Rev 1:12-18), John had Dan 10:5f in mind (which includes the phrases 'flaming torches' and 'burnished bronze'). In chapter five, we saw how some scholars use the descriptions of the 'wicked priest' to try and identify him with a known individual, whilst others think they derive from the biblical text itself. The matter is of some importance since it affects:

1. Historical Reconstructions. Very often we know next to nothing about the circumstances of an ancient document. Historical allusions, if they exist, are sometimes the only evidence there is.
2. The Author's Exegesis. Was it a serious attempt to interpret a text or a 'reading in' of one's own history?
3. Interpretation. Much of the Bible is 'history-like' but is it to be taken literally? Did Matthew really believe that people came to life and walked into Jerusalem (Mt 27:52f) or is this his way of saying something about the significance of Jesus' death?

Nevertheless, it has seldom received the theoretical treatment that it deserves. Callaway observes:

when one searches the secondary literature for concrete arguments justifying the use of statements in the pesharim to reconstruct historical episodes involving members of the Qumran community and their enemies, one comes away rather perplexed, for a defense of this central assumption - that the pesharim is a source of historical information about a particular historical community - can hardly be found.¹⁷

In our discussion of the 'seven letters', we were greatly helped by the fact that a number of the allusions occur earlier in the inaugural vision. As most scholars accept that this is a scriptural composition, it is very difficult to accept that the allusions began life as historical references and were only later used to construct the vision. Even so, we

17. P.R.Callaway, The History of the Qumran Community, JSP Supp 3, Sheffield, 1988, p.136.

had to acknowledge that John's knowledge of the metal industry might have been responsible for his use of χαλκολίβανος. We summarized our study in these words:

This appears to suggest two processes. Firstly, there is an 'intertextual' process whereby texts suggest other texts by some form of association. This is not necessarily related to the 'relevance' of these texts to particular needs in the first instance. They are generated by common words, similar images or phrases, common ideas and no doubt a host of undefinable connections that exist in the author's mind. Secondly, certain combinations of words stayed in the mind ('mingled reminiscences') because of their particular appropriateness to the needs of the churches. In other words, what we are talking about is an interaction in John's mind between various OT texts and the needs of the churches.¹⁸

It is readily agreed that this does not take us very far. Nevertheless, it is a useful reminder that whether priority is given to the biblical text or local circumstances, the process was probably a two-way one. For example, the references to the Kittim in the DSS clearly have a definite group of people in mind (probably the Romans) and this must have affected the way that the community read the scriptures (it is part of what they bring to the interpretative task). Further, since the words of the peshar frequently differ from the words of the lemma (eg. 'quick and valiant in war' instead of 'bitter and hasty nation'), it is possible to argue that the author has the contemporary foe in mind. On the other hand, Brooke has shown that in the vast majority of cases, the wording of the peshar can either be derived from the lemma by standard exegetical techniques or from a text that can be related to it. Thus differences from the lemma are not necessarily evidence for reconstructing the history of the Romans. It could be that by the use of recognized exegetical techniques, the author believed that he had discovered a fresh source of information about the Romans. Brooke says:

18. See on p.58.

We can learn little or nothing of the history of the Qumran community from these texts, and little enough about the Romans. Rather, the image of empire is controlled by biblical and non-biblical texts used intricately to show that the words of Habakkuk and others speak directly, if not always in great detail, to the author's contemporary and eschatological generation.¹⁹

Thus the interactive approach that we have developed in response to the Book of Revelation can profitably be used in other areas. Not all interactions will be significant. Sometimes one side of it will be so dominant that the other is negligible. Nevertheless, it is usually worth asking if the less dominant side has anything to contribute. It may be that traditions of interpretation have forced it into premature closure.

FINAL CONCLUSION

John's method is not to quote scripture but to weave its 'words, images, phrases and patterns' into his own composition. Indeed, on many occasions, the language of the allusions is barely distinguishable from his own style and vocabulary.²⁰ The argument of this thesis is that this requires a more interactive approach than traditional 'Use of the OT' studies have followed. It is not attempting to devalue such studies. Focusing on one side of the interaction can often highlight areas that might be missed in a more general study. The emphasis of Ramsay and Hemer on the local context and Beale on Daniel were both important in determining the need for a new approach. Likewise with Ezekiel. The significant parallels noted by Vanhoye and Goulder had to be related to

19. G.J.Brooke, "The Kittim in the Qumran Pesharim", Images of Empire, ed. L.Alexander, JSOT Supp 122, Sheffield, 1991, p.159.

20. See on p.191. It would be interesting to compare the style and vocabulary of those verses where most scholars recognize an OT allusion to those that appear to be free of such allusions (though this would be very difficult to decide). My guess is that they would be very similar, either because these texts have been very influential on the development of John's style, or because his compositional technique involves conforming the allusions to his own style and vocabulary. For example, in the lists of allusions on pp31-32, words in Rev 2 that do not appear elsewhere in Revelation are: παραδείσω, μάννα, ψῆφον, Ιεζάβελ, έραυνδν, νεφρούς, κεραμικά, συντρίβεται. A similar number of 'hapax' words can be found in the intervening verses (1-5, 9, 11, 13, 15, 19, 21-22, 24-25): κεχοπίακες, πτωχείαν, Αντιπάς, διακονίαν, κλίνην, μοιχεύοντας, βαθέα, βάρος, πλήν.

the significant differences highlighted by Vogelgesang. This led us to writers such as Hollander and Greene, who have explored such interactions with respect to Milton and Renaissance poetry. Our particular judgments about how this affects the reader are certainly open to further clarification but the need for an interactive approach is clear. As Ruiz says:

to the extent that the "interpreting subject" engages in an active reading of John's book, he or she engages in a dialogue with the text and with the texts within the text.²¹

21. Ruiz, p.520.

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