

Andrews University

Digital Commons @ Andrews University

Dissertations

Graduate Research

1987

Allusions, Exegetical Method, and the Interpretation of Revelation 8:7-12

Jon Paulien
Andrews University

Follow this and additional works at: <https://digitalcommons.andrews.edu/dissertations>



Part of the [Biblical Studies Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Paulien, Jon, "Allusions, Exegetical Method, and the Interpretation of Revelation 8:7-12" (1987).
Dissertations. 123.
<https://digitalcommons.andrews.edu/dissertations/123>

This Dissertation is brought to you for free and open access by the Graduate Research at Digital Commons @ Andrews University. It has been accepted for inclusion in Dissertations by an authorized administrator of Digital Commons @ Andrews University. For more information, please contact repository@andrews.edu.



Seek Knowledge. Affirm Faith. Change the World.

Thank you for your interest in the

**Andrews University Digital Library
of Dissertations and Theses.**

*Please honor the copyright of this document by
not duplicating or distributing additional copies
in any form without the author's express written
permission. Thanks for your cooperation.*

INFORMATION TO USERS

While the most advanced technology has been used to photograph and reproduce this manuscript, the quality of the reproduction is heavily dependent upon the quality of the material submitted. For example:

- Manuscript pages may have indistinct print. In such cases, the best available copy has been filmed.
- Manuscripts may not always be complete. In such cases, a note will indicate that it is not possible to obtain missing pages.
- Copyrighted material may have been removed from the manuscript. In such cases, a note will indicate the deletion.

Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, and charts) are photographed by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps. Each oversize page is also filmed as one exposure and is available, for an additional charge, as a standard 35mm slide or as a 17"x 23" black and white photographic print.

Most photographs reproduce acceptably on positive microfilm or microfiche but lack the clarity on xerographic copies made from the microfilm. For an additional charge, 35mm slides of 6"x 9" black and white photographic prints are available for any photographs or illustrations that cannot be reproduced satisfactorily by xerography.

Order Number 8725225

**Allusions, exegetical method, and the interpretation of
Revelation 8:7-12**

Paulien, Jon, Ph.D.

Andrews University, 1987

Copyright ©1987 by Paulien, Jon. All rights reserved.

U·M·I
300 N. Zeeb Rd.
Ann Arbor, MI 48106

PLEASE NOTE:

In all cases this material has been filmed in the best possible way from the available copy. Problems encountered with this document have been identified here with a check mark .

1. Glossy photographs or pages _____
2. Colored illustrations, paper or print _____
3. Photographs with dark background _____
4. Illustrations are poor copy _____
5. Pages with black marks, not original copy _____
6. Print shows through as there is text on both sides of page _____
7. Indistinct, broken or small print on several pages
8. Print exceeds margin requirements _____
9. Tightly bound copy with print lost in spine _____
10. Computer printout pages with indistinct print _____
11. Page(s) _____ lacking when material received, and not available from school or author.
12. Page(s) _____ seem to be missing in numbering only as text follows.
13. Two pages numbered _____. Text follows.
14. Curling and wrinkled pages _____
15. Dissertation contains pages with print at a slant, filmed as received _____
16. Other _____

University
Microfilms
International

Andrews University
Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary

ALLUSIONS, EXEGETICAL METHOD, AND THE
INTERPRETATION OF REVELATION 8:7-12

A Dissertation
Presented in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Philosophy

by
Jon Paulien
June 1987

ALLUSIONS, EXEGETICAL METHOD, AND THE
INTERPRETATION OF REVELATION 8:7-12

A dissertation
presented in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree
Doctor of Philosophy

by
Jon Paulien

APPROVAL BY THE COMMITTEE:

Kenneth A. Strand
Faculty Advisor: Kenneth A. Strand
Professor of Church History

William H. Shea
William H. Shea, Professor
of Old Testament

Hans K. LaRondelle
Hans K. LaRondelle, Professor
of Theology

Richard M. Davidson
Richard M. Davidson, Associate
Professor of Old Testament
Exegesis

Adela Yarbro Collins
Adela Yarbro Collins, Professor
of New Testament
University of Notre Dame

Gerhard F. Hasel
Gerhard F. Hasel, Dean
SDA Theological Seminary
22 June 1987
Date approved

© Copyright 1987, Jon Paulien
All Rights Reserved

ABSTRACT

ALLUSIONS, EXEGETICAL METHOD, AND THE
INTERPRETATION OF REVELATION 8:7-12

by

Jon Paulien

Faculty Adviser: Kenneth A. Strand

ABSTRACT OF GRADUATE STUDENT RESEARCH

Dissertation

Andrews University

Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary

Title: ALLUSIONS, EXEGETICAL METHOD, AND THE INTERPRE-
TATION OF REVELATION 8:7-12

Name of researcher: Jon Paulien

Name and degree of faculty adviser: Kenneth Strand, Ph.D.

Date completed: June, 1987

This dissertation attempts to overcome a significant obstacle to the development of a comprehensive exegetical method that can enable an interpreter to unlock the meaning of such difficult apocalyptic passages as Rev 8:7-12.

The first chapter utilizes a survey of previous research to explore four issues whose resolution is vital to the interpretation of the book of Revelation: (1) the sources of the Apocalypse, (2) how the Revelator used them, (3) the language and text tradition of the Old Testament that he used, and (4) the nature and location of

his allusions to earlier literature. The literature survey indicates that a major obstacle to the accurate interpretation of Revelation is the lack of an objective method for evaluating the allusions to prior literature that characterize the book.

Chapter II opens with a brief outline of a comprehensive exegetical method for the study of the Apocalypse. The bulk of the chapter focuses on a proposed method that can enable interpreters to more objectively evaluate the allusions in Revelation. Through a painstaking analysis of the verbal, thematic, and structural parallels to the Old Testament in Rev 8:7-12, the process of evaluating proposed allusions to the Old Testament is clearly demonstrated. The results of that analysis have implications for many of the issues raised by the literature survey of Chapter I.

Chapter III offers an interpretation of Rev 8:7-12 in the light of the comprehensive method outlined at the beginning of Chapter II. The imagery of the passage is compared to its context, to the author's sources, and to the overall structure of the Apocalypse. Relevant insights from the first two chapters are incorporated. The resulting interpretations help to illuminate the basic meaning structures of the first four trumpets.

DEDICATION

To My Wife Pam:

who for richer or for poorer (definitely poorer!),
in prosperity or adversity (this is prosperity?),
in sickness and in health (can't complain),
has continued to forsake easier paths and remained
the right one for me.

To 4-yr-old Tammy:

who patiently sacrificed her father to a cause she
was too young to understand, but too sweet to
complain about.

To baby Joel:

our "angel boy," conceived and born in the course
of this dissertation, who has never once cried at
night because the good Lord knew we just couldn't
take one more ounce of pressure.

And to my Lord Jesus:

who knows all about strain and pressure yet has
continued to forsake easier paths to provide our
lives with everything that truly matters.

How could I ever find words to thank you all?

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	1
------------------------	---

Chapter

I. A SURVEY OF LITERATURE CONCERNING MAJOR ISSUES IN THE EXEGESIS OF THE APOCALYPSE	10
The Problem of Sources	11
The Revelator's Originality	11
The Importance of the Old Testament	12
An Apocalyptic Book	17
Setting in Asia Minor	32
The Christian Traditions	38
The Old Testament Canon and Non-Canonical Literature	44
How John Used the Old Testament	49
First-Century Exegetical Practices	55
Midrash	57
Targumic exegesis	60
Typological exegesis	61
Israel and the Church	65
The "Finale of the Biblical Symphony"	66
Contextual interpretation	67
Summary	70
Old Testament Language and Text Tradition Used by John	72
The Revelator's Native Language(s)	73
The Language of John's Old Testament	75
The Text Tradition Behind the Old Testament of Revelation	79
The Masoretic text type	80
The early Greek versions	81
The Aramaic targums	84
The Greek "Barbarisms" in the Apocalypse	91
Specialized Studies in the Text Background of the Apocalypse	94
Summary	100

The Problem of Allusions	100
Earlier Attempts to Produce a Method for Determining Allusions	106
Summary and Conclusion	118
APPENDIX TO CHAPTER I	121
II. METHOD AND THE STUDY OF THE OLD TESTAMENT BACKGROUND TO THE BOOK OF REVELATION	155
The Proposed Method	156
Basic Exegesis	157
Structure	159
The Old Testament	160
The New Testament	161
The Proposed Method in Previous Literature	163
A Method for Determining Allusions	165
The Nature of Influence	169
Echoes in the Apocalypse	175
Direct Allusions in the Apocalypse	177
Internal Evidence	179
Verbal parallels	179
Thematic parallels	182
Structural parallels	184
Summary of criteria	185
External Evidence	187
Classification of Direct Allusions	190
Summary of Method	193
Testing the Proposed Method	195
Excursus on Previous Research into the Seven Trumpets of Revelation	197
The General Background of the Seven Trumpets	203
The Meaning of Trumpets	203
Old Testament usage	203
General Greek usage	204
The meaning of trumpets in the LXX	205
The trumpets in Early Judaism	210
The meaning of trumpets in the New Testament	216
The use of trumpets in Rev. 8-11	221
Some Other Old Testament Sources	229
Creation	229
The Exodus	230
Jericho	231
The book of Joel	232

Analysis of Allusions to the Old Testament in Rev 8:7-12	234
The First Trumpet	236
The textual situation	236
The commentators' suggestions	236
Other allusions	245
Echoes	247
The Second Trumpet	252
The textual situation	252
The commentators' suggestions	252
Other allusions	257
Echoes	259
The Third Trumpet	263
The textual situation	263
The commentators' suggestions	263
Other allusions	275
Echoes	276
The Fourth Trumpet	285
The textual situation	285
The commentators' suggestions	285
Other allusions	293
Echoes	293
A Concluding Evaluation	297
John's handling of the Old Testament	297
The importance of the targums	299
The work of the ten representative commentators	300
The importance of "echoes"	305
 III. INTERPRETING THE TRUMPETS	 307
Exegesis of the Seven Trumpets in Their Context	309
Prologue--Rev 8:2-6	309
Rev 8:2,6	309
Rev 8:3-5	311
Rev 8:7-11:18	324
The larger picture	324
The trumpets in detail	325
The Structural Setting of the Seven Trumpets	334
Relation to the Seven Seals	334
Relation of the Trumpets to the Rest of the Book	336
The Three Series of Plagues	340
The Trumpets in Their Structural Setting	343
The General Old Testament Background to the Trumpets	344
The General New Testament Background to the Trumpets	347
The General Apocalyptic Background to the Trumpets	349

The Nature of the Seven Trumpets	352
The Time Span of the Trumpets	352
Judgments on the Wicked	354
The Trumpets and History	357
The Symbolic Nature of the Trumpets	362
The First Trumpet	365
Parallels in Contemporary	
Literature	366
Parallels in Revelation	368
Hail and fire	368
"Thirds"	369
Greenery	370
Summary of the Old Testament	
Background	371
New Testament Parallels	375
Interpretation	378
The Second Trumpet	381
Parallels in Contemporary	
Literature	381
Parallels in Revelation	382
Summary of the Old Testament	
Background	384
New Testament Parallels	386
Interpretation	387
The Third Trumpet	389
Parallels in Contemporary	
Literature	389
Parallels in Revelation	394
Summary of the Old Testament	
Background	395
New Testament Parallels	398
Interpretation	400
The Fourth Trumpet	406
Parallels in Contemporary	
Literature	406
Parallels in Revelation	407
Summary of the Old Testament	
Background	408
New Testament Parallels	411
Interpretation	414
Conclusion	417
CONCLUSION	421
BIBLIOGRAPHY	434

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AB	Anchor Bible
ANRW	<u>Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt</u>
B.C.E.	Before Common Era (= BC)
BETL	Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Théologiarum Lovaniensium
C.E.	Common Era (= AD)
CNT	Commentaire du Nouveau Testament
IDB	<u>Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible</u>
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LXX	Septuagint (Ancient Greek Old Testament)
MS(S)	Manuscript(s)
MT	Masoretic text
NASB	New American Standard Bible
NEB	New English Bible
NIDNTT	<u>New International Dictionary of New Testament Theology</u>
NIV	New International Version
SNT	Supplements to <u>Novum Testamentum</u>
SNTSMS	Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series
TDNT	Kittel's <u>Theological Dictionary of the New Testament</u>
UBS	United Bible Societies

For abbreviations of the titles of ancient literary works (such as the Bible and the Pseudepigrapha), and for a guide to the transliteration of Greek and Hebrew in this dissertation, please see the following Preface.

PREFACE

This dissertation has evolved considerably over the last ten years. The first seeds were planted in a Fall 1974 class in Biblical Eschatology by Dr. Hans LaRondelle at Andrews University. He demonstrated that Revelation could not be properly interpreted without a careful examination of its sources. In subsequent years I found myself vexed over the problem of how to understand the seven trumpets of Revelation. I gradually came to envision a dissertation interpreting the trumpets along the lines LaRondelle suggested.

The more I studied the trumpets and read the literature on Revelation, however, the more I became concerned about the lack of systematic method in the study of the book. By the time I presented my proposal in July 1984, I boldly envisioned a two-headed dissertation that would address the question of exegetical method for the interpretation of the Apocalypse in such a way as to allow for a definitive interpretation of the trumpets as well. The passage of time has seen the issue of method take center stage and the interpretation of the trumpets assume a secondary role. Thus, in its present form, this study should be judged primarily on the effectiveness of the

method for apocalyptic interpretation, rather than on whether or not the reader agrees with the various details of interpretation outlined in Chapter III.

Abbreviations of the Bible and the Apocrypha follow the Andrews University Standards for Written Work. These should be largely self-evident. Other ancient literary works such as the targums and the documents collected in Charlesworth's Old Testament Pseudepigrapha are abbreviated according to the style utilized by Andrews University Seminary Studies. Transliteration of Greek and Hebrew has also followed the style of Seminary Studies. For the reader's convenience, a transliteration guide is supplied on the page following this Preface.

In the dissertation a full reference to another's work is generally given only in the first footnote where that work appears. An exception to this is that works mentioned first in the Introduction receive a full reference once again in the body of the text so that readers who choose to skip the Introduction can locate first references without difficulty.

I feel intellectually indebted to a number of people. Dr. Kenneth Strand has long stressed that the structure of Revelation is critical to the book's interpretation. Dr. Hans LaRondelle has underlined the Christ-centered nature of the Revelator's perspective. Dr. Adela Yarbro Collins has, particularly through her written works, helped me to see the cruciality of the author's

intention in any understanding of Revelation. Dr. Douglas Waterhouse, also of Andrews University, has richly stimulated my thinking with regard to the symbolism of Revelation and its ancient Near-Eastern setting.

A number of secretaries have made untiring contributions to my recent researches. I would especially like to name JoAnne Bushner, Jan Higgins, Stephanie Merling, Lorie Speegle, Marva Kelly, and Selene Peck. Three students in particular, Mike Aufderhar, Chris Ederesinghe, and Roger Lucas have helped to open new avenues of thought. Librarians Nancy Vyhmeister and Marley Soper have been particularly generous in their provision of research assistance.

A number of individuals, in addition to these, have particularly distinguished themselves in their provision of needed encouragement and, in some cases, have even found avenues of financial support when they were most needed. I would be remiss if I did not mention the names of Drs. Ivan Blazen, Raoul Dederen, Fritz Guy, Gerhard Hasel, and Abraham Terian, and also Al Coley, a priceless friend.

My final tribute goes to my parents who taught me the value of financial sacrifice, hard work, and worthy causes. Having combined forty-four years of faithful partnership with successful parenting, they deserve recognition that far exceeds the title "Ph.D."

TRANSLITERATION GUIDE

Hebrew Consonants

כ = k	ט = d	י = y	ס = s	ר = r
ב = b	ה = h	ק = k	ש = sh	שׂ = sh
בּ = b	ו = w	כּ = k	פ = p	שׁ = sh
ג = g	ז = z	ל = l	פּ = p	ת = t
גּ = g	ח = h	מ = m	צ = s	תּ = t
ד = d	ט = t	נ = n	ק = q	

Hebrew Vowel Pointings

ֿ = a	וְ, וּ (vocal shewa) = e	וּ = o
ָ = ā	ֵ, ם = ē	וֹ = o
ִ = a	ִ = i	וִ = o
ֶ = e	וֶ = i	וֵ = u
ֵ = ē	וֹ = o	וֹ = ū

Greek

α = a	ζ = z	λ = l	π = p	φ = ph
β = b	η = ē	μ = m	ρ = r	χ = ch
γ = g	θ = th	ν = n	σ, ς = s	ψ = ps
δ = d	ι = i	ξ = x	τ = t	ω = ō
ε = e	κ = k	ο = o	υ = u	

INTRODUCTION

In recent years much progress has been made in the study of the book of Revelation. We have a better understanding of the social, political, literary, linguistic, and theological backgrounds than was the case a few decades ago. However, my examination of more than 2,000 books, articles, essays, dissertations, monographs, and other sources indicates that the subject of exegetical method, as applied to the Apocalypse, has not received the thorough study it deserves. Various aspects of method have been examined, but a comprehensive overall approach to the book seems to be lacking; this in spite of the fact that the Apocalypse, of all the Biblical books, is probably the most susceptible to misinterpretation. As L. D. Melton has stated:

The crucial question for understanding Revelation is the methodological one. Perhaps in no other book are one's presuppositions and methodology so important in determining his perception of the book's meaning.¹

The traditional canons of exegesis are insufficient when applied to the more difficult sections of the

¹Loyd Dale Melton, "A Critical Analysis of the Understanding of the Imagery of City in the Book of Revelation" (Ph.D. dissertation, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1978), p. xi.

book. While exegesis, in the usual sense of the term, enables one to understand what the writer of Revelation said, the wild profusion of imagery often leaves one at a loss as to what he meant.¹ Thus, a comprehensive approach to the book of Revelation would be a major contribution to its understanding.

There are, however, serious problems facing anyone who wishes to develop a comprehensive exegetical approach to the Apocalypse. For one thing, while commentators generally agree that the author of Revelation used imagery drawn from a variety of sources,² there is no unanimity on the extent of such borrowing, the relative importance of the various sources to the author, or the interrelationships these source areas may have already had with each other when John became aware of them. Is Revelation primarily a collage of Old Testament reminiscences? Or is the primary source of the book's imagery to be found in Jewish apocalyptic literature? Or even in the everyday environment of the Roman Province of Asia? To what degree is the author in harmony with the theology of early Christianity, especially as witnessed to in the rest of the New Testament?

¹Rudolf Halver, Der Mythos im letzten Buch der Bibel (Hamburg-Bergstedt: Herbert Reich Evangelische Verlag, 1964), p. 7.

²Including the Old Testament, contemporary Christian traditions, apocalyptic and other Jewish sources, and the pagan environment of Asia Minor. Cf. Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, The Apocalypse (Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1976), p. 12.

The problem of sources becomes even more acute when special attention is given to the Old Testament. Commentators are in virtual agreement on the importance of the Old Testament to the author of Revelation. Nevertheless, L. A. Vos is correct when he points out that the role of the Old Testament in Revelation has been "woefully neglected" in the literature.¹ A. Feuillet agrees with this assessment when he writes: "It seems now that this deliberate use of the Old Testament, which the Apocalypse author makes, should be studied more carefully than has been the case so far."² If Revelation is saturated with Old Testament allusions, the author's mind will never be fully probed until Old Testament insights are consistently employed in the exegetical process.

Deeper study into the relationship between the Apocalypse and the Old Testament raises further issues. Since the Revelator rarely, if ever, quotes the Old

¹Louis Arthur Vos, The Synoptic Traditions in the Apocalypse (Kampen: J. H. Kok, 1965), p. 16. Cf. Ray F. Chester, "A Study of the Relationship of Certain Symbols of the Apocalypse to the Old Testament" (M.A. thesis, Eastern New Mexico University, 1952), p. 2; Pierre Prigent, L'Apocalypse de Saint Jean, CNT, vol. 14 (Lausanne: Delachaux et Niestlé, 1981), p. 367; Ugo Vanni, "L'Apocalypse johannique. Etat de la question," in L'Apocalypse johannique et l'Apocalyptique dans le Nouveau Testament, ed. J. Lambrecht (Gembloux: Leuven University Press, 1980), pp. 31, 45. For a recent example of gross neglect of the Old Testament background in the interpretation of Revelation, see the material on the seven trumpets in James A. Blevins, Revelation (Atlanta, GA: John Knox Press, 1984).

²André Feuillet, The Apocalypse, trans. Thomas E. Crane (Staten Island, NY: Alba House, 1965), p. 79.

Testament, it is surprising that scholars of Revelation have not developed a standardized method for ascertaining how and where John alludes to the Old Testament.¹ Many questions also remain with regard to the language and text tradition of the Old Testament which provided the source text for his allusions. And even if one could ascertain the source of all allusions to the Old Testament in Revelation, one would still have to clarify how John used his source material.

Developing a comprehensive exegetical method for the study of the book of Revelation will not, therefore, be an easy task, but the difficulty of the book and the plethora of conflicting interpretations demand that the effort be made. As a safeguard against the kind of subjectivity in approach mentioned above, this study seeks to understand the book in terms of the author's

¹This is readily seen when one examines various lists of allusions to the Old Testament in the Apocalypse. Westcott and Hort's list of more than 400 allusions to the Old Testament is clearly incomplete. Nevertheless, according to Vos (p. 18), the 25th edition of Nestle's text considers 60 of these questionable or non-existent. Even more interesting is the fact that the 3rd edition of the United Bible Societies' Greek text is far more rigid in its selection of Old Testament allusions than is the 1st edition. (Compare the list given in Kurt Aland et al., eds., The Greek New Testament, 1st ed. [Stuttgart: Württemberg Bible Society, 1966] with the list in Kurt Aland, et al., eds., The Greek New Testament, 3rd ed. [New York: United Bible Societies, 1975].)

While many more examples could be cited, these illustrate the chaos that currently exists in the matter of determining at what point the author of the Apocalypse is alluding to the Old Testament. See the Appendix to Chapter I for further illustrations from my own research.

original intent.¹ A comprehensive exegetical method for the book of Revelation must be appropriate to the material being studied, and should allow the book to speak for itself and unlock its own secrets.² These goals can only be met by a careful examination of the linguistic phenomena of the book.

My focus on the original setting arises from the text. The Apocalypse was initially addressed to a specific audience: seven churches in the Roman province of Asia (1:4,11; 22:16).³ The Greek of Rev 1:3 implies that the original readers of Revelation were intended to understand its basic message without difficulty.⁴ If so, the best method for interpreting Revelation is one that helps us understand the book, as far as is possible today,

¹Werner Georg Kümmel, Introduction to the New Testament (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1975), p. 473; Jack Weir, "Analogous Fulfillment," Perspectives in Religious Studies 9 (1982):70.

²Graeme Goldsworthy, The Lion and the Lamb: The Gospel in Revelation (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 1984), p. 15; Adela Yarbro Collins, Crisis and Catharsis: The Power of the Apocalypse (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1984), pp. 19-20. The search for a "fuller meaning" is fraught with so many pitfalls that it is best undertaken after a careful examination of the original setting.

³It is equally clear, of course, that the author conceived the book to be of universal import (1:3; 22:7,18,19).

⁴G. B. Caird, A Commentary on the Revelation of St. John the Divine (New York: Harper and Row, 1966), p. 6; Robert H. Mounce, The Book of Revelation, New International Commentary to the New Testament, vol. 17 (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1977), p. 39.

in the way the original readers would have understood it.¹ It should tune our ears to the meanings they would have taken for granted, and enable us to participate in the vision of the book's author.²

How would the original readers and hearers have approached the book?³ No doubt they would have perceived its similarities with the Old Testament and would have attempted to understand the book's symbols in the light of the Old Testament background. They would also have been aware of at least some of the apocalyptic literature which has recently become more accessible to us. They would have sought to apply the message of Revelation to the contemporary situation of their time and place. But above all they would have sought to understand the Apocalypse in terms of their relationship with its author and the teachings he had delivered to them in the past. Today's readers are obviously at a great disadvantage here. However, by comparing the book with contemporary Christian literature (especially the New Testament), we gain considerable insight into the author's perspective.

The main purpose of this dissertation is to develop a comprehensive method for the study of Revelation which is based on an inductive analysis of the text. As

¹Caird, p. 6; Melton, pp. 237-238.

²Schüssler Fiorenza, The Apocalypse, p. 13.

³Much of the following paragraph is based on A. L. Farris, "Preacher's Use of the Book of Revelation," Canadian Journal of Theology 3 (1957):103.

frequently is the case in an inductive approach, the evidence relating to the Apocalypse tends to resist methodological systematization. Thus, it is necessary to clarify what obstacles must be overcome in order to develop a method and to suggest solutions to those obstacles. The resulting method can be tested by applying it to a specific passage.

The first chapter, therefore, outlines in considerable detail the main obstacles to the development of a comprehensive exegetical method for the study of the Apocalypse. Its purpose is to clarify the sources of Revelation and how its author used them. Recent advances in the study of Jewish apocalyptic and the exegetical practices of early Christians are highlighted. It becomes evident that the problem of determining when and how the author of Revelation alludes to previous literature is perhaps the major problem hindering successful interpretation of the Apocalypse. The seriousness of the problem is underscored by the Appendix to Chapter I, which highlights the lack of systematic method exhibited by even the finest critical scholars over the last hundred years as they have sought to evaluate proposed allusions.

The second chapter begins with a brief statement of the general parameters of a comprehensive exegetical method for Revelation. Then, an objective method for determining when and where John is alluding to the Old Testament is outlined. This method for determining

allusions was developed by combining an analysis of the Old Testament background of the Apocalypse with a survey of methods utilized in the study of English literature. Because of its difficulty, Rev 8:7-12 is selected to provide a demonstration of how the proposed method works to unlock the meaning of an apocalyptic text.

Chapter III offers an interpretation of Rev 8:7-12 in the light of the comprehensive method outlined at the beginning of Chapter II. The imagery of the passage is compared to its context, to the author's sources, and to the overall structure of the Apocalypse. Relevant insights gained from the research outlined in the first two chapters are incorporated. Although the interpretation focuses on Rev 8:7-12, it is conscious of the unified role the trumpets play in the book of Revelation.

The Conclusion summarizes the results of the previous three chapters, notes some of the strengths and limitations of the dissertation, and explores the implications for further research.

This dissertation is limited in many respects. Although focusing on method, it by no means provides a definitive study of method. It does provide a survey of previous literature on the topic and suggests solutions to some thorny problems. But the final product needs refinement through further research in cooperation with specialists in a number of areas.

Although the proposed method for evaluating the allusions in Revelation has implications for every area of literary criticism, space limitations preclude exploring the allusions to Jewish apocalyptic, pagan literature and ideas, and the New Testament in any detail. The Old Testament background of Rev 8:7-12 is rich enough to demonstrate the usefulness of the proposed method.

In summary, this dissertation proposes a more objective exegetical approach to the Apocalypse, an approach that is built on the textual evidence of the author's intention. This proposed method is demonstrated through the interpretation of a vexingly difficult apocalyptic passage, Rev 8:7-12.

CHAPTER I

A SURVEY OF LITERATURE CONCERNING MAJOR ISSUES IN THE EXEGESIS OF THE APOCALYPSE

The basic task of this chapter is to lay the groundwork for a comprehensive exegetical method that can clarify the original intention of the author of Revelation when he wrote such difficult passages as the seven trumpets. In so doing, we explore four major issues whose resolution is vital to the development of such a method. This exploration combines a survey of previous attempts to clarify these issues with my own research.

The four issues to be addressed in this chapter are (1) the sources of the Book of Revelation, (2) the Revelator's use of those sources, (3) the language and text tradition of the Old Testament that he utilized, and (4) the problem of evaluating allusive references to source literature. In a sense, these four issues are truly one; they all relate to how the author of Revelation interacted with his literary and social environment to produce his book. Nevertheless, it is helpful, in developing an exegetical method for the Apocalypse, to

break this larger issue down into four parts so that its various aspects can be clarified.

The Problem of Sources

The first issue to be addressed relates to the sources from which the author of Revelation drew his imagery. It is generally conceded that he made use of imagery drawn from the Old Testament, contemporary Christian traditions, apocalyptic and other Jewish sources, and the pagan environment of Asia Minor.¹ What is less clear in the literature is the extent of such borrowing, the relative importance of the various sources to the author, and the interrelationships the sources may have already had with each other when John became aware of them.

The Revelator's Originality

Before exploring John's direct use of sources, it should be asked whether the Apocalypse is an original composition or a repackaging of earlier Christian and/or Jewish apocalyptic works. Though it has been fashionable at times to use one's literary-critical skill to ferret out supposed literary sources,² recent literature has convincingly demonstrated that the book is a compositional

¹Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, The Apocalypse (Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1976), p. 12.

²Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, The Book of Revelation: Justice and Judgment (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1985), p. 20. See, e.g., the work of Bousset, Charles, Lohmeyer, Völter, and Massyngberde Ford.

unity.¹ Thus, while the author no doubt was influenced by sources (even some whose existence may be unknown to us), we can safely assume that John generally selected his sources directly and placed them intentionally in their present setting in the Apocalypse.

The Importance of the Old Testament

We begin our examination of the sources of Revelation by addressing the importance of the Old Testament to the author's purpose. Although the New Testament as a whole is powerfully influenced by the Old Testament,² no book of the New Testament is as saturated with the Old as is the Apocalypse.³ Revelation cannot be

¹See, e.g., James Charlesworth, The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha and the New Testament, SNTSMS, no. 54 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), p. 87; Schüssler Fiorenza, Book of Revelation, pp. 16-20; Leonard Thompson, "The Mythic Unity of the Apocalypse," in Society of Biblical Literature 1985 Seminar Papers, ed. Kent Harold Richards (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1985), pp. 13-28; Adela Yarbro Collins, Crisis and Catharsis: The Power of the Apocalypse (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1984), pp. 31, 55.

²Helmut Koester, Introduction to the New Testament, 2 vols. (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1982), 1:111; Barnabas Lindars, "The Place of the Old Testament in the Formation of New Testament Theology," New Testament Studies 23 (1976):60; D. Moody Smith, Jr., "The Use of the Old Testament in the New," in The Use of the Old Testament in the New and Other Essays, ed. James M. Efird (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1972), p. 25.

³Hildegard Gollinger, Das "grosse Zeichen" von Apokalypse 12 Stuttgarter Biblische Monographien, no. 11 (Würzburg: Echter KBW Verlag, 1971), p. 16; Charles C. Torrey, The Apocalypse of John (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1958), p. 3; Louis Arthur Vos, The Synoptic Traditions in the Apocalypse (Kampen: J. H. Kok, 1965), p. 36. Pierre Lestringant (Essai sur l'unité de la révélation biblique [Paris: Editions "Je Sers," 1942], p.

understood without continual reference to the Old Testament.¹ As H. Kraft has stressed:

We can say in a general way, that until we have succeeded in laying out the Old Testament source for an apocalyptic prophecy, we have not interpreted that passage. The author never invents by himself. His prophecies find their justification in that they arise out of Old Testament prophecy. He considers himself to be the continuer and the final interpreter of Old Testament prophecy.²

When reading the book of Revelation one is plunged fully into the atmosphere of the Hebrew Scriptures.³ The Apocalypse is "a perfect mosaic of passages from the Old Testament."⁴ In the words of W. Milligan:

The book is absolutely steeped in the memories, the incidents, the thought, and the language of the

148) suggests that one-seventh of the substance of the Apocalypse is drawn from the words of the Old Testament.

¹E. W. Bullinger, The Apocalypse (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1935), p. 5; Ray F. Chester, "A Study of the Relationship of Certain Symbols of the Apocalypse to the Old Testament" (M.A. thesis, Eastern New Mexico University, 1952), p. 2; Austin Farrer, A Rebirth of Images (Gloucester, MA: Peter Smith, 1970), pp. 7, 17; Henricus M. Féret, The Apocalypse of St. John (Westminster, MD: The Newman Press, 1958), p. 27; A. Feuillet, "Le Messie et sa mère d'après le chapitre XII de l'Apocalypse," Revue biblique 66 (1959):55; Rudolf Halver, Der Mythos im Letzten Buch der Bibel Theologische Forschung, vol. 32 (Hamburg-Bergstedt: Herbert Reich Evangelischer Verlag, 1964), p. 17; William G. Scroggie, The Great Unveiling (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1979), p. 22.

²Heinrich Kraft, Die Offenbarung des Johannes Handbuch zum Neuen Testament, vol. 16a (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1974), p. 16.

³Henri Stierlin, La vérité sur L'Apocalypse (Paris: Editions Buchet/Chastel, 1972), p. 55.

⁴William Milligan, Lectures on the Apocalypse (London: MacMillan and Company, 1892), p. 76; cf. Peter Morant, Das Kommen des Herrn (Zürich: Thomas-Verlag, 1969), p. 19.

church's past. To such an extent is this the case that it may be doubted whether it contains a single figure not drawn from the Old Testament, or a single complete sentence not more or less built up of materials brought from the same source.¹

While Milligan has probably overstated his case, the widespread use of Old Testament language in Revelation does indicate that the Old Testament is a major key to unlocking the symbols of the book.² Since the intended audience was thoroughly familiar with the law and the prophets, allusions to the Old Testament provided a means of "decoding" the message of Revelation which was not available to the outsider.³

In the study of a book as thoroughly dependent on the Old Testament as the Apocalypse is, to limit oneself to a superficial examination of the Old Testament background usually results in a distortion of the book's meaning.⁴ Only by a thorough and comprehensive comparison

¹Milligan, Lectures, p. 72.

²Pierre Prigent, "L'étrange dans l'Apocalypse: une catégorie théologique," Lumière et vie 31, no. 160 (1982), pp. 49-50.

³Edyth Armstrong Hoyt, Studies in the Apocalypse of John of Patmos, 4th ed. (Ann Arbor, MI: Edwards Brothers, 1953), p. 7; cf. Eugenio Corsini, The Apocalypse, Good News Studies, vol. 5, trans. Francis J. Moloney (Wilmington, DE: Michael Glazier, 1983), p. 33; Lindars, "The Place," p. 65.

⁴Vanni and Vos feel that such superficiality is all too common in even scholarly works on Revelation. See Ugo Vanni, "L'Apocalypse johannique. Etat de la question," in L'Apocalypse johannique et l'Apocalyptique dans le Nouveau Testament, BETL, vol. 53, ed. J. Lambrecht (Gembloux: Leuven University Press, 1980), pp. 31, 45; Vos, p. 16. Cf. Chester, p. 1; Pierre Prigent, L'Apocalypse de Saint Jean, CNT, vol. 14 (Lausanne: Delachaux et

of a passage in Revelation with its Old Testament antecedents is it possible to understand the nuances of meaning that the Old Testament context brings into the passage.¹

What portions of the Old Testament are particularly utilized in Revelation?² It is no surprise that heavy use is made of the prophets, especially Daniel, Ezekiel, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Zechariah.³ But there is

Niestlé, 1981), p. 367.

¹R. H. Charles, Studies in the Apocalypse (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1913), pp. 118-120; cf. Lestringant, p. 148. The following quotation by Vanni (p. 31) underlines the point: "Pour orienter la connaissance du milieu religieux de l'Apocalypse vers une exégèse adéquate du texte, il faut encore résoudre le problème du rapport précis de l'Apocalypse et de l'Ancien Testament. Il ne suffit pas d'affirmer le principe d'une présence de l'Ancien Testament dans l'Apocalypse ou encore de se contenter d'une énumération des attestations de l'Ancien Testament dans l'Apocalypse, comme l'a fait W. Dittmar." Examples of a fairly thorough examination of the Old Testament background to a given passage in Revelation include the essays by J. E. Bruns, "The Contrasted Women of Apocalypse 12 and 17," Catholic Biblical Quarterly 26 (1964):459-463; Adela Yarbro Collins, "History of Religions Approach to Apocalypticism and the 'Angel of the Waters,'" Catholic Biblical Quarterly 39 (1977):367-381; Karl August Eckhardt, Der Tod des Johannes als Schlüssel zum Verständnis der Johanneischen Schriften (Berlin: Walter De Gruyter, 1961), pp. 58-72; Michèle Morgen, "Apocalypse 12, un targum de l'Ancien Testament." Foi et vie 80, no. 6 (1981), pp. 63-74; J. M. Rife, "The Literary Background of Revelation II-III," Journal of Biblical Literature 60 (1941):179-182; R. B. Y. Scott, "Behold He Cometh with Clouds," New Testament Studies 5 (1958-59):127-132; and R. L. Thomas, "The Glorified Christ on Patmos," Bibliotheca Sacra 122 (1965):241-247.

²See the interesting outline in John M. Court, Myth and History in the Book of Revelation (London: SPCK, 1979), pp. 33-34.

³Thomas Linton Leishman, The Interrelation of the Old and New Testaments (New York: Vantage Press, 1968), p.

also a heavy use of the Psalms,¹ and of imagery related to the Exodus experience,² the cultus, and the covenant.³ In other words, every major aspect of Israel's past is in a sense relived in the Apocalypse. From Eden to Exodus to Exile to future restoration hope, the whole history of Israel is represented in Revelation, with special emphasis on the periods characterized by miraculous activity.⁴

How do we reconcile the impression, on the one hand, that the Apocalypse is a literary composition based on Old Testament themes and vocabulary, with the author's claim, on the other hand, that the descriptions are drawn from a visionary experience?⁵ What appears to have

279; Allen McNicol, "Revelation 11:1-14 and the Structure of the Apocalypse," Restoration Quarterly 22 (1979): 193-202; D. Moody Smith, p. 62.

¹Henry M. Shires, Finding the Old Testament in the New (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1974), pp. 174-175. Informal surveys indicate to me that there are more total allusions to the Psalms in Revelation than to any other Old Testament book with the exception of Isaiah.

²Roger Le Déaut and Joseph Lécuyer, "Exode," in Dictionnaire de spiritualité (1961), 4:2:1972.

³W. H. Shea, "The Covenantal Form of the Letters to the Seven Churches," Andrews University Seminary Studies 21 (1983):72-74; K. A. Strand, "A Further Note on the Covenantal Form in the Book of Revelation," Andrews University Seminary Studies 21 (1983):251-264; C. Vanderwaal, Hal Lindsay and Biblical Prophecy (St. Catharines, Ont.: Paideia Press, 1978), pp. 126-127.

⁴Corsini, pp. 33-34; Ferrell Jenkins, The Old Testament in the Book of Revelation (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1972), p. 71.

⁵According to the preface (1:1-3) the author wishes the reader to understand that this work is a message revealed by God rather than one that he worked up himself. The idea of divine revelation is repeatedly

happened is a blend between the two. While the author doubtless had visionary experiences, what he wrote down is clearly also the product of theological interpretation and reflection.¹ The Old Testament had become absorbed until it was part of him. No doubt he knew it virtually by memory.² Thus, a comprehensive method for Revelation must call for careful attention to the Old Testament roots of a given passage.

An Apocalyptic Book

Our brief remarks on the importance of the Old Testament background raise the question of the relationship between the Apocalypse and the apocalyptic writings of its time. Both John and the apocalyptists functioned within the heritage and tradition of the Old Testament

mentioned in the book (1:10-20; 2:7,11 etc.; 4:1; 10:11; 17:1-3; 19:9,10; 22:6-10). The Apocalypse describes its author as a prophet and his work as a prophecy, with authority equal to that of Scripture (1:3,10,11; 10:8-11; 19:10; 22:6-10,16,18,19). The "words of this prophecy" are to be obeyed (1:3). Their authority is so complete that not a word is to be added or subtracted (22:18,19).

¹G. K. Beale, The Use of Daniel in Jewish Apocalyptic Literature and in the Revelation of St. John (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1984), p. 8; Lars Hartman, Prophecy Interpreted, Coniectanea Biblica, New Testament Series, no. 1, trans. Neil Tomkinson (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells, 1966), pp. 83, 102-106; Jürgen Roloff, Die Offenbarung des Johannes, Zürcher Bibelkommentare NT, vol. 18 (Zürich: Theologischer Verlag, 1984), p. 21; cf. André Olivier, Apocalypse et évangiles (Saint Maurice: En Vente Chez L'Auteur, cité "La Thé-baine," 1960), p. 39.

²Vernard Eller, The Most Revealing Book of the Bible (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1974), p. 34; Morant, p. 20.

prophets while giving a message fitted to the needs of their audience.¹

As in other apocalyptic works, the reader of Revelation is not facing ordinary prose.² In the Apocalypse an eagle speaks, locusts ignore vegetation, a great red dragon chases a woman through the sky, and a lion is transformed into a lamb who ends up conquering everything. Stars represent angels and lampstands symbolize churches (1:20), horns are mountains and kings (17:9), waters are people and nations, etc. (17:15), and fine linen represents the righteousness of the saints (19:8). This is certainly a radically different use of language from what one normally finds in the rest of the New Testament.³ The Apocalypse is so figurative that the reader needs to guard against being overly literal in its interpretation.⁴ In fact, in Revelation there is often a symbolic transformation where things mean the opposite of what one would expect in real life. The lion is a lamb, death is a

¹D. S. Russell, The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1964), pp. 88, 184, 187; Schüssler Fiorenza, Book of Revelation, p. 170. Cf. p. 16, n. 5.

²Schüssler Fiorenza (Book of Revelation, p. 23) suggests that Revelation must be interpreted as a work of poetry.

³Halver, p. 156.

⁴Philip Mauro, The Patmos Visions (Boston, MA: Scripture Truth Depot, 1925), p. 23.

victory, and the victim is the victor.¹ Such symbolic transformation can also be seen in the way Revelation utilizes Old Testament sources.²

The assertions of dispensationalists, who see the book as primarily literal in intent, are, therefore, to be rejected. There is no question that the Apocalypse has many things which are intended to be taken literally (the seven churches, Christ, John, war, and death, to name some) but the clear statement at the beginning (1:1)³ and the phenomena of the book indicate that apocalyptic symbolism is a primary language tool used in the book.⁴

A symbol is any description intended to represent something other than what it commonly designates.⁵ Thus,

¹David L. Barr, "The Apocalypse as a Symbolic Transformation of the World: A Literary Analysis," Interpretation 38 (1984):41-42.

²Kenneth A. Strand, "Some Modalities of Symbolic Usage in Revelation 18," Andrews University Seminary Studies 24 (1986):39-43. For example, Strand points out that language, which in the Old Testament prophets applied only to Judah, is applied to Babylon in Rev 18. Strand calls this literary technique "dramatic inversion."

It should be mentioned that the symbolism in Revelation is packaged in a way quite different from its usage in the Old Testament (with the exception of Daniel and a few other "apocalyptic" sections).

³Cf. the use of sēmainō in Acts 11:28; John 12:33; 18:32; and 21:39. In each case the word refers to a cryptic saying or action that points to a future event.

⁴Compare Hoyt, p. 59, with Scroggie, pp. 56-62.

⁵Kenneth A. Strand, The Open Gates of Heaven, 2nd ed. (Ann Arbor, MI: Ann Arbor Publishers, 1972), p. 25. Cf., for example, the definition offered by the third edition of Webster's New International Dictionary of the English language, Unabridged: "Something that stands for or suggests something else by reason of relationship,

by their very nature, a symbol expresses a double intentionality.¹ There is a literal intention; the primary meaning the term has in a literal and manifest sense in everyday life. Then there is a second intention; the literal points beyond itself analogically to a second meaning that is evident only in relation to the first meaning.² In the words of P. Wheelwright:

In this more special sense a "symbol" is not just anything that has meaning, it is that which carries a hidden or less obvious or more transcendent meaning in addition to the surface one.³

Since there is an inexhaustible depth of meaning in the very vagueness of the analogical process, the same symbol can mean different things in different contexts.⁴ Such multiplicity of meaning makes symbolic language a more flexible tool for the portrayal of reality than ordinary

association, convention or accidental but not intentional resemblance."

A symbol should be distinguished from a type. A type has a temporal aspect, it has a historical reference that prefigures something to come. On the other hand, a symbol is more timeless in nature. The meaning of the type is often unclear without interpretation while the meaning of the "second intention" of a symbol is latent in the obvious, literal meaning. Nevertheless, both a type and a symbol can be said to "stand for or suggest something else." Cf. the material below on typological exegesis: pp. 61-64.

¹Paul Ricoeur, The Symbolism of Evil, Religious Perspectives, vol. 17 (New York: Harper and Row, 1967), pp. 14-16.

²Ibid., p. 15.

³Philip Wheelwright, The Burning Fountain: A Study in the Language of Symbolism (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1954), p. 24.

⁴Ibid., pp. 15-16; Strand, The Open Gates, p. 28.

prose.¹ To interpret a given symbol in its context it is necessary to compare the possible meanings inherent in its double intentionality with the literary context in which it is used.²

While the symbolic nature of Revelation is puzzling to us, such symbolism was a rather common form of literary procedure in those days.³ Books like *Ethiopic Enoch*, *4 Ezra*, and *2 Baruch* express feelings and theology in similar language. Thus, while the language of Revelation is symbolic and bizarre, its message is probably grounded firmly in reality.⁴ Quite likely the first-century reader had little difficulty in understanding the main symbols of the book.⁵ The modern-day interpreter of Revelation, on the other hand, needs to take into account the apocalyptic literature of the times, which gives a clue to understanding how apocalyptic language was

¹Farrer, Rebirth, pp. 19-20.

²Strand, The Open Gates, p. 25.

³See James H. Charlesworth, ed., The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha, 2 vols. (Garden City, NY: Doubleday and Company, 1983-1984).

⁴James H. McConkey, The Book of Revelation (Pittsburgh: Silver Publishing Society, 1921), p. 49. As Graeme Goldsworthy (The Lion and the Lamb: The Gospel in Revelation [Nashville: Thomas Nelson Publishers, 1984], p. 23) explains: "In the extremity of suffering when the details of a Pauline exposition of justification by faith may be difficult to recall, the simple and unlettered Christian would more easily remember what had been read to him in the assembly about the slain Lamb glorious upon his throne."

⁵Barr, "Symbolic Transformation," pp. 40-41.

perceived in the first century.¹ This is particularly true where it can be clearly demonstrated that the author of Revelation had a particular apocalyptic passage in mind as he wrote.

According to P. Hanson, the apocalyptic phenomenon should be defined along three major lines; in terms of 1) a literary genre ("apocalypse"), (2) a philosophical point of view ("apocalypticism"), and (3) movements based on such a point of view ("apocalyptic communities").² There is a sense in which the book of Revelation reflects all three definitions of apocalyptic. It is considered by many to fit into the genre apocalypse.³ Apocalyptic thinking was also a central factor in the thought world of early Christianity.⁴ And many scholars understand Revelation to be addressed either to an apocalyptic community, or to a community sufficiently alienated from

¹Schüssler Fiorenza, Book of Revelation, pp. 137-138. This is not intended to imply that non-literary sources that may be relevant to the study of Revelation should be ignored. This study, however, is limited to literary evidence.

²Paul D. Hanson, "Apocalypticism," IDB, Sup. vol. (1976), pp. 29, 30. Cf. David E. Aune, "The Apocalypse of John and the Problem of Genre," Semeia 36 (1986):67; George Eldon Ladd, "Why Not Prophetic-Apocalyptic?" Journal of Biblical Literature 76 (1957):192.

³The name of the "genre" is drawn from the first word of the book! Cf., however, the warning of John Wick Bowman, "The Revelation to John: Its Dramatic Structure and Message," Interpretation 9 (1955):438.

⁴Hanson, p. 28; Roloff, p. 13.

its social environment to be willing to entertain some of John's apocalyptic ideas.¹

Although there is no scholarly consensus on the definition of apocalyptic as a genre,² there appears to be a developing consensus that the apocalyptic genre needs to be addressed comprehensively in terms of function and

¹See Yarbro Collins, Crisis, passim; and Schüssler Fiorenza, The Book of Revelation, pp. 181-203. Yarbro Collins has raised the question to what degree "persecution" was actually taking place at the time Revelation was written. Cf. especially Crisis, pp. 84-110.

²John J. Collins, "Introduction: Towards the Morphology of a Genre," Semeia 14 (1979):9. Cf. the following discussions in David Hellholm, ed., Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and the Near East, Proceedings of the International Colloquium on Apocalypticism, Uppsala, August 12-17, 1979 (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1983):

Adela Yarbro Collins, "Persecution and Vengeance in the Book of Revelation," p. 729: "Consensus has not yet been reached on the definition of the literary genre apocalypse."

John J. Collins, "The Genre Apocalypse in Hellenistic Judaism," pp. 531-532.

Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, "The Phenomenon of Early Christian Apocalyptic," pp. 298-299.

Lars Hartman, "Survey of the Problem of Apocalyptic Genre," pp. 329-343.

David Hellholm, "Introduction," p. 2: "No agreement on a definition of Apocalypticism could be reached during the conference."

George MacRae, "Apocalyptic Eschatology in Gnosticism," p. 317.

Marc Philonenko, "L'apocalyptique qoumránienne," pp. 211-212.

Kurt Rudolph, "Apokalyptik in der Discussion," pp. 774-776.

E. P. Sanders, "The Genre of Palestinian Jewish Apocalypses," pp. 447-459.

Two contributions to the debate can be found in a recent issue of Semeia: David Hellholm, "The Problem of Apocalyptic Genre and the Apocalypse of John," Semeia 36 (1986):13-64; David E. Aune, Semeia 36 (1986):65-96.

content as well as form.¹ In terms of form, apocalyptic can be generally characterized in terms of narrative style, visionary and auditory revelations, and pictorial, often bizarre, imagery.² The content of apocalyptic literature can be generally characterized in terms of a focus on periods of history leading up to the eschaton,³ other-worldly mediators who provide tours and descriptions of the "other-world,"⁴ and the individual's responsibility to make a decision.⁵ The present is usually understood as the last days of earth's history; the judgment, resurrection, and the new age are imminent; and an overwhelming invasion of evil is anticipated.⁶ Apocalyptic functions, for groups experiencing a crisis,⁷ both to authorize the message the writer wishes to convey and to provide the vehicle for exhortation to steadfastness or repentance.⁸

¹Aune, Semeia, pp. 86-91; Hellholm, Semeia, pp. 22-23.

²Hellholm, Semeia p. 23; Strand, The Open Gates, pp. 19-20.

³Hellholm, Semeia p. 22; Martin Hengel, Judaism and Hellenism, 2 vols., trans. John Bowden (London: SCM Press, 1974):1:194-195.

⁴Aune, Semeia, pp. 82-84; Hellholm, Semeia, p. 22.

⁵Klaus Koch, "Einleitung," in Apokalyptik, Wege der Forschung, vol. 365 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1982), pp. 14-18.

⁶Ibid.

⁷Hengel, 1:194-195.

⁸Aune, Semeia, p. 23; Hellholm, Semeia, p. 23. The problem in defining apocalyptic genre is two-fold. On the one hand, none of the characteristics of apocalyptic

Many contemporary scholars feel that Revelation has enough of these apocalyptic features to be included in the genre.¹

A comparison between Revelation and an apocalyptic work like 1 Enoch supports the likelihood that the author was aware of, and utilized, at least some apocalyptic literature.² For example, the description of the living creatures in Rev 4:6-8 associates a number of elements that are found together in previous literature only in 1 Enoch 39-40.³ Also, while there are few verbal parallels,

literature is unique to apocalyptic. On the other hand, no single apocalyptic work has all the characteristics. Cf. Hellholm, Semeia, pp. 23-25.

¹Adela Yarbro Collins, "The Early Christian Apocalypses," Semeia 14 (1979):70-72; cf. John J. Collins, "Pseudonymity, Historical Reviews and the Genre of the Apocalypse of John," Catholic Biblical Quarterly 39 (1977):329-343.

²Adela Yarbro Collins, The Combat Myth in the Book of Revelation Harvard Dissertation Series, no. 9 (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1976), p. 2; William Kimbro Hedrik, "The Sources and Use of the Imagery in Apocalypse 12" (Th.D. dissertation, Graduate Theological Union, 1971), p. 62; Jan Lambrecht, "The Book of Revelation and Apocalyptic in the New Testament: Colloquium Biblicum Lovaniense XXX (August 28-30, 1979)," Ephemerides théologique Lovaniensis 55 (1979):392. See the lists of references to apocalyptic literature found in R. H. Charles, The Revelation of St. John, 2 vols., ICC (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1920), 1:lxxxii-lxxxiii, and J. Massyngberde Ford, Revelation, AB, vol. 38 (Garden City, NY: Doubleday and Co., 1975), pp. 451-454. The essentially Jewish and pre-70 C.E. character of all of 1 Enoch is now generally affirmed. See Charlesworth, The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha and the New Testament, pp. 38, 89.

³Although the main source of this vision is found in the parallel visions of Ezek 1 and 10, the combination of four "faces" around God's throne with sleeplessness and a trishaqion (neither of which is found in the Ezekiel visions) makes it very likely that John was aware of the

1 Enoch 47:1-4 is a striking thematic parallel to Rev 6:9-11.¹ Other likely connections include the eschatological terror of the wicked (Rev 6:17 and 1 Enoch 89:31), the innumerable multitude which stands before God (Rev 7:9 and 1 Enoch 40:1), and the bridle-deep pool of blood (Rev 14:20 and 1 Enoch 100:3).

The similarity between portions of Revelation and other apocalyptic writings does not, however, negate the prophetic character of the book.² For one thing, it is often difficult to distinguish between prophetic and apocalyptic style.³ The apocalyptic writers saw themselves as the continuers of the prophetic heritage.⁴ As a child of prophecy, apocalyptic contains many prophetic elements.⁵ Our author seems to have shared with the

Enoch tradition which appears to be a further development of the Ezekiel material.

¹Both passages involve prayers ascending to heaven on behalf of the righteous, a specific number of whose blood has been shed on earth.

²Goldsworthy, p. 88; Schüssler Fiorenza, The Book of Revelation, p. 135. Many portions of the Apocalypse, such as the seven churches and the hymnic sections, have more of a prophetic than an apocalyptic flavor. Cf. p. 16, n. 5.

³David Hill, "Prophecy and Prophets in the Revelation of John," New Testament Studies 18 (1971-72):401; Schüssler Fiorenza, The Book of Revelation, p. 168.

⁴G. R. Beasley-Murray, Herschel H. Hobbs, and Ray Frank Robbins, Revelation: Three Viewpoints (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1977), p. 15; Hanson, p. 29.

⁵Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, "Composition and Structure of the Book of Revelation," Catholic Biblical Quarterly 39 (1977):355, 358. Cf., e.g., how thoroughly the War Scroll is saturated with Old Testament prophetic

Jewish apocalyptists a stock of apocalyptic imagery and eschatological thought that was common property in an age familiar with both the Old Testament and troublous times.¹

The author's relation to apocalyptic is further complicated by the fact that the literature of the classical prophets contains many apocalyptic features. The eschatological upheavals preceding the end can be found there (Joel 2:30,31; Isa 24:3).² The inbreaking of the end-time itself is found as early as Amos 8:8,9 and 9:5,6.³ Thus, to distinguish completely between prophetic and apocalyptic literature is extremely difficult if not impossible.⁴

Although there are many similarities between Revelation and other apocalyptic works, the Apocalypse also exhibits many features that are different from standard apocalyptic documents.⁵ For one thing, the

 language.

¹Douglas Ezell, Revelations on Revelation (Waco, TX: Word Books, 1977), p. 21; Henry B. Swete, The Apocalypse of St. John (London: MacMillan and Co., 1906), p. cliii.

²John J. Collins, Daniel with an Introduction to Apocalyptic Literature, Forms of the Old Testament Literature (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1984), p. 12.

³Ladd, "Why Not Prophetic-Apocalyptic?" p. 197.

⁴Schüssler Fiorenza, The Book of Revelation, p. 168.

⁵John J. Collins, "Pseudonymity and the Genre of the Apocalypse," p. 330; Roloff, pp. 13-15.

Apocalypse describes its author as a prophet and his work as a prophecy (1:3,10,11; 10:8-11; 19:10; 22:6-10,16, 18,19). Thus, while much of the language of Revelation is apocalyptic, language alone does not provide sufficient reason to call something an apocalyptic work. The author also, unlike apocalyptic, gives his own name rather than using the name of a prominent predecessor. And again, Revelation is addressed to the immediate situation of the seven churches in Asia, a perspective which is more typical of prophetic works.¹ Such considerations have led a number of scholars to the conclusion that Revelation has a prophetic perspective rather than an apocalyptic one.²

¹Pierre Prigent, "Pour une théologie de l'image: les visions de l'Apocalypse," Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses 59 (1979):373; Leopold Sabourin, The Bible and Christ (Staten Island, NY: Alba House, 1980), p. 93; Shea, "The Covenantal Form," pp. 71-84. Note the following quotation on the prophetic perspective by Arne Unjhem, The Book of Revelation (Philadelphia: Lutheran Church Press, 1967), p. 25: "(The prophet) speaks their language, shares their limitations, participates in their style of living, reflects in his own person the circumstances and peculiarities that give a distinct character to people in a given time and place."

²[?] Bludau, "Die Apokalypse und Theodotons Danielübersetzung," Theologische Quartalschrift 79 (1897):2; David Hill, New Testament Prophecy, New Foundations Theological Library (Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1979), pp. 72-74; James Kallas, "The Apocalypse--an Apocalyptic Book?" Journal of Biblical Literature 86 (1967):69-80; Albrecht Oepke, "apokaluptō, apokalupsis," TDNT (1964-1976):3:589; Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, "The Eschatology and Composition of the Apocalypse," Catholic Biblical Quarterly 30 (1968):560; cf. Leon Morris, Apocalyptic (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1972), pp. 78-81.

Note, however, J. J. Collins' intriguing explanation ("Pseudonymity and the Genre of the Apocalypse," pp. 338-343) for why Revelation, though apocalyptic in his understanding, nevertheless avoids the use of pseudony-

Some even consider it doubtful whether our author uses apocalyptic literary sources in his composition.¹ In Swete's opinion:

There is no evidence that any one of them [non-canonical apocalypses] has served him as a 'source'; coincidences between the work of John and the extant Jewish books are nearly [*sic*] limited to minor points connected with imagery and diction.²

A further consideration is the fact that the parallels between Revelation and earlier apocalyptic works have been overdrawn.³ There is a tendency among scholars to see Revelation as dependent on earlier apocalypses wherever the language and themes are even remotely similar. But often, even where the language is identical, Revelation may only be reflecting a parallel use of the same Old Testament background rather than a direct use of the apocalyptic context.⁴ Among purported examples of

mity, ex eventu prophecy, and esotericism.

Note also J. Vogelgesang's critique of Collins' article in his dissertation: Jeffrey Marshall Vogelgesang, "The Interpretation of Ezekiel in the book of Revelation" (Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1985), p. 31.

¹J. S. Considine, "The Rider on the White Horse, Apoc 6:1-8," Catholic Biblical Quarterly 6 (1944):409; James T. Sanders, "Symbolic Terminology in John's Apocalypse" (Ph.D. dissertation, Northern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1953), pp. 101-112.

²Swete, The Apocalypse, p. xlix, cf. p. cliii.

³With the exception of the book of Daniel, whose role in the Apocalypse may well have been underestimated. See Beale, The Use, passim, especially pp. 271-305.

⁴Steven Thompson, The Apocalypse and Semitic Syntax, SNTSMS, no. 52 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 1, 34, 51, 56-57, 106-107. Thompson's research indicates that the book of Revelation was little influenced by the Hebrew and Aramaic of the first century,

dependence which do not hold up to careful scrutiny are the dependence of Rev 16:12 on 1 Enoch 56:5ff.,¹ of Rev 12:10 on 1 Enoch 40:6,7,² and of Rev 3:5 on 1 Enoch 108:3.³ Thus, we must disagree with R. H. Charles when he says, ". . . without a knowledge of the Pseudepigrapha it would be impossible to understand [Revelation's] author."⁴ It is likely that our author was familiar with and utilized some apocalyptic traditions, but he seems more directly dependent on the Old Testament for his imagery.⁵

its primary source was the language of the Old Testament prophets, biblical Hebrew and Aramaic. (Cf. Schüssler Fiorenza, The Book of Revelation, p. 16.) If so, the author of Revelation, though familiar with the later apocalyptic traditions, wishes to point his readers, wherever possible, to the ultimate Old Testament origin of his imagery.

¹The Parthian invasion of 1 Enoch 56:5ff. is often listed in relation to Rev 16:12, but although there are kings from the East stirred up by angels in the Enoch passage, there is no mention of the Euphrates River or its drying up. It is far more likely that Rev 16:12 is based directly on the fall of Babylon material in Isa 44-45 and Jer 51-52.

²The accusing Satan is found in both Rev 12:10 and 1 Enoch 40:6,7, but both could easily be independently based on Zech 3.

³Blotting out names from the book of life is found in both Rev 3:5 and 1 Enoch 108:3. But neither represents a significant development beyond the statements in Exod 32:32-33 and Ps 69:28. Cf. Dan 12:1; Phil 4:3; Rev 13:8; 17:8; 20:12,15.

⁴Charles, The Revelation, 1:lxv. Cf. Harold M. Parker, "The Scripture of the Author of the Revelation of John," The Iliff Review 37 (1980):48.

⁵It is clear, for example, that John made considerable use of the ideas found also in 1 Enoch. However, since 1 Enoch is also dependent on the Old Testament, if that work were lost we could still basically understand what the author of Revelation was doing if we had the Old

The authors of the Apocalypse and the apocalypses were certainly working with a common stock of material, but John may only rarely be directly dependent on the apocalyptic literature known to us.

What, then, is the literary genre of Revelation? Is it a prophetic work, as the author claims? Or is it apocalyptic, as suggested by the phenomena of the book?¹ It is, perhaps, safest to say that the Apocalypse is a unique literary work, one that utilizes the conventions and expressions of apocalyptic literature, but nevertheless arises within a community embracing the conviction that prophecy has been revived, that the word of God is again being offered to humanity through contemporary figures.² The result is a piece of literature that is

Testament at our disposal.

Halver (p. 58) has suggested that if the Old Testament is the "mother" of both Revelation and the Jewish apocalypses, the New Testament is "brother" to the Apocalypse and the non-canonical apocalypses function as its "cousins."

¹G. E. Ladd suggests a third option ("Why Not Prophetic Apocalyptic?" p. 198). In between prophetic literature and apocalyptic literature (which Ladd calls "non-canonical apocalyptic"), Ladd places a new category which he calls "prophetic-apocalyptic." Here he would place literature such as Revelation, which has elements of both prophecy and apocalyptic but does not fit cleanly into either category. Schüssler Fiorenza (The Book of Revelation, pp. 138, 168) agrees with Ladd that there is no either/or solution to the complexity of Revelation.

²Schüssler Fiorenza, The Apocalypse, p. 26; Hill, New Testament Prophecy, p. 75; idem., "Prophecy and Prophets," p. 406; Donatien Mollat, Une lecture pour aujourd'hui: L'Apocalypse, 2nd ed. (Paris: Les Editions du Cerf, 1984), p. 30. Vogelgesang (p. 2), following D. Georgi, contends that Revelation is an "anti-apocalyptic book;" though written in the genre of an apocalypse, it

dressed in apocalyptic style yet involves a prophetic self-understanding.¹ Since the issue of apocalyptic genre is far too complex to be settled here, it must suffice to conclude that, whatever one's view of the genre of Revelation, it is imperative that the student of the book seriously examine ancient apocalyptic literature as part of a comprehensive approach to the Apocalypse.

Setting in Asia Minor

If the entire book of Revelation was intended as a communication for the benefit of seven churches in the Roman province of Asia (Rev 1:4),² it should not surprise us that its author made use of symbols and concepts from everyday life in the region. Such ideas, though originating perhaps in pagan literature or mythology, would be readily recognizable to anyone living in that portion of the Empire at that time.³ Thus, the search for a better understanding of Revelation must not limit itself to Old

offers a message contrary to that of contemporary apocalyptic literature. According to Vogelgesang, these differences were due to the Revelator's belief in Jesus and his particular understanding of the implications of that belief.

¹Bowman, "The Revelation to John," p. 438; Pierre Prigent, "Apocalypse et apocalyptique," Revue des sciences religieuses 47 (1973):297; Schüssler Fiorenza, The Book of Revelation, p. 169.

²Schüssler Fiorenza, The Book of Revelation, p. 18.

³Morant, p. 19.

Testament, Jewish, and Christian traditions.¹ As G. Kehnscherper points out, the author did not give free rein to his fantasies, but grounded his language firmly in the cultural milieu with which his readers were familiar.² Such a procedure would be quite natural for a prophet who sought to communicate a word from God in a specific time and place.³

What is the extent of such environmental dependency, and how does it relate to the more traditional sources used in the book of Revelation? An important contribution to this issue is the debate between H. D. Betz and A. Yarbro Collins.⁴ Betz feels that by finding a multitude of Hellenistic parallels to Rev 16:4-7 he has proven that the Apocalypse is deeply affected by the Hellenistic environment.⁵ He argues that while Jewish and

¹Court, p. 17.

²Günther Kehnscherper, . . . und die Sonne verfinsterte sich (Halle: VEB Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1972), p. 108.

³T. Boersma, Is the Bible a Jigsaw Puzzle . . . ? (St. Catherines, Ont.: Paideia Press, 1978), p. 22.

⁴Hans Dieter Betz, "Zum Problem des religionsgeschichtlichen Verständnisses der Apokalyptik," Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche 63 (1966):391-409; for an English translation, see idem, "On the Problem of the Religio-Historical Understanding of Apocalypticism," Journal for Theology and the Church 6 (1969):134-156; cf. Yarbro Collins, "History of Religions Approach," pp. 367-381.

⁵Hans Dieter Betz, "Zum Problem," p. 408. Betz's view of the Hellenistic environment is based on generalities drawn from the entire Mediterranean world. His case would have been far more convincing if he could have demonstrated that Revelation reflects the specific setting of first-century Asia Minor.

Christian apocalypses were peculiar expressions, they are to be examined in the light of Hellenistic syncretism.¹ Yarbrow Collins, on the other hand, points out the cruciality of the Old Testament background to the interpretation of Rev 16:4-7. She understands Revelation to be a complex interaction between tradition and the environment.²

Even more radical than Betz is the approach taken by F. Boll.³ He sees a multitude of connections between the Apocalypse and various "astral" and other sources in the Hellenistic world. However, many of his connections seem overdrawn.⁴ Unfortunately, studies of the Gentile

¹Idem, "On the Problem," p. 155. Cf. MacRae, p. 317: "Most of the 'apocalyptic' characteristics usually listed are common features of religious literature in the Hellenistic world."

²Yarbrow Collins, "History of Religions Approach," pp. 367-368. It should be pointed out that Yarbrow Collins finds the narrative portion of Rev 12 to be best explained in the light of Hellenistic parallels (see her dissertation, Combat Myth). Thus, the interpreter's impression of the author's general utilization of sources should not override the evidence in any given passage.

³Franz Boll, Aus der Offenbarung Johannis. Hellenistische Studien zum Weltbild der Apokalypse, reprint of 1914 original (Amsterdam: Verlag Adolf M. Hakkert, 1967).

⁴Joseph Freundorfer, Die Apokalypse des Apostels Johannes und die Hellenistische Kosmologie und Astrologie, Biblische Studien, vol. 23, pt. 1 (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1929), p. 146; Hedrik, pp. 89-95. Cf., for example, Boll's comparison (pp. 57-67) between Slavonic Enoch 30 (Boll calls it chap. 8 [pp. 63-64]) and its Hellenistic forerunners, and the seven trumpets of Revelation. Although the parallels support the interlocking schema of fours and sevens and the possibility of an "Urmensch" schema in the background of the seven trumpets, literary dependence is unlikely, even if 2 Enoch is earlier than Revelation, which is questionable.

environment of Revelation suffer due to the incompleteness of the sources and a tendency among those who search for parallels to overstate their case in the hope of providing helpful information for interpretation.¹

In contrast to those who tend to see the Apocalypse as a reflection of the Hellenistic environment, many scholars are convinced that traditional sources are vastly more important for a study of Revelation than anything that has been called to attention in the course of environmental studies.² As W. K. Hedrik, for example, suggests:

. . . if everything in Rev. 12 can be explained on the basis of Jewish and Christian traditions, then there is no basis for an argument that [John] used any other tradition.³

What complicates this issue even further is the fact that "most of the 'apocalyptic' characteristics

¹Even Hedrik, who has a relatively negative view toward the value of environmental studies for interpreting the book of Revelation, is convinced that such studies provide helpful information (*ibid.*, pp. 94-95), but they have tended to say more than the evidence would permit. Mention should be made of the study by Hans-Peter Müller, "Die Plagen der Apokalypse," Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft 51 (1960): pp. 268-278. Müller's article concerns the possibility of magical imagery in the plague accounts.

²Austin Farrer, The Revelation of St. John the Divine (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964), pp. 51-58; Martin McNamara, The New Testament and the Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch, *Analecta Biblica*, vol. 27a (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1978), p. 192.

³Hedrik, p. 14. The fact that everything in a given passage can be explained on the basis of Jewish and Christian traditions does not prove that this complex of traditions necessarily provides the best context for interpretation.

usually listed are common features of religious literature in the Hellenistic world."¹ The presence of apocalyptic elements in such indisputably early sources as Ezekiel makes it extremely difficult to determine when the author of Revelation is drawing directly on his environment and when he is merely reflecting earlier usage. Through the Old Testament background, John has already brought into his work a host of ancient parallels to non-canonical sources.²

When examining purported parallels between Revelation and non-traditional sources, it should be kept in mind that the writer did not research such sources during his lonely vigil on Patmos. Such parallels reflect "live symbols" current at the time. Thus, M. McNamara offers a well-advised caution:

The weakness of the comparative method is that it sought to establish a direct relation between a biblical writer and pagan mythologies. This is to forget the intense biblical coloring of the New Testament work. Intrinsically, it is highly improbable that the inspired writer should pass from the

¹MacRae, p. 317.

²For example, the major portion of the language of combat myth in the Apocalypse was probably drawn from the Old Testament. Cf. Schüssler Fiorenza, "Composition and Structure," p. 357. A point which is often overlooked in this matter is the fact that it is possible for an author to be more highly influenced by another author in the distant past than by any author in his contemporary environment. Good examples of this would be Milton, who drew his inspiration largely from Dante, and Luther, whose guiding father at first was Augustine and later Paul. See Jaroslav Pelikan, Development of Christian Doctrine: Some Historical Prolegomena (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1969), pp. 45-46.

imagery of God's relationship with his chosen people to that of the astral deities of pagan religions.¹

While I agree with McNamara that the profound Old Testament coloring of the book of Revelation indicates that the author considered himself far more in debt to the prophets than to any contemporary source aside from the Christian tradition, it is nevertheless true that, in his desire to communicate with his audience, the author made use of language familiar to his readers regardless of its origin. Thus, I am inclined to agree with Schüssler Fiorenza who, while emphasizing the primary role the traditional sources played in the mind of the author, nevertheless argues that the Near-Eastern environment needs to be taken into account whenever Revelation is being interpreted.

The main problem in applying Near-Eastern parallels to the study of the Apocalypse is the fact that the evidence is, at the same time, both vast and fragmentary in nature. There is a great need for scholars who will pursue vigorously a mutual interest in both the study of Revelation and the Greco-Roman environment. Especially promising is the recent work of D. Aune, who by careful, analytical work is shedding light on the world of the Apocalypse while avoiding the tendency to overstatement so common among some of his predecessors.² It is not

¹McNamara, The New Testament, p. 191.

²See David Aune, Prophecy in Early Christianity and the Ancient Mediterranean World (Grand Rapids, MI:

possible, however, within the confines of this study, to address these issues in depth. Nevertheless, the more aware the interpreter is of the ancient setting, the more effectively he can grasp the impact the book might have had on its original audience.

The Christian Traditions

In any discussion of the sources of Revelation, the author's dependence on the early Christian traditions, of which the New Testament is the primary witness, must not be overlooked. It is evident from the first phrase, "the revelation of Jesus Christ," that we are dealing with a Christian book (Rev 1:1).¹ Jesus Christ is present everywhere, both explicitly (1:1,2,5,9; 11:15; 12:10,17; 14:12; 17:6; 19:10; 20:4,6; 22:16,20,21) and in symbol (1:12-16; 5:5ff.; 7:17; 12:5,11; and 14:1ff., among others). There are references to churches (chaps. 1-3; 22:16) and to the cross (1:18; 5:6,9,12; 11:8; 12:11).²

William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1983). Aune offers superb insights into the Near-Eastern setting of selected passages in the Apocalypse in his paper "Now You See It, Now You Don't! Ancient Magic and the Apocalypse of John" read at the Society of Biblical Literature national meetings in Atlanta, GA, November 1986. It is to be hoped that his forthcoming commentary on Revelation in the Word Biblical Commentary series will extend such work to the entire book.

¹Schüssler Fiorenza, The Book of Revelation, p. 24; Yarbro Collins, Crisis, p. 31.

²Some point to the absence of references to the "church" in Rev 4-19 as evidence that this portion, at least, of the book is foreign to the spirit of the New Testament. Although the church is not explicitly mentioned in chaps. 4-19, the evidence would indicate that it

Revelation opens with a summation of the Christian view of God, Christ, the Holy Spirit, salvation, and eschatology (Rev 1:4-8). The major apocalyptic visions are then preceded by images of Christ that transform the Old Testament sanctuary into a Christian house of worship (note esp. Rev 1:12-20; and chaps. 4 and 5). The victory of God is founded on the lamb that was slain. The lion and the lamb become one.¹ The letters to the churches emphasize that "the good works of the people of God are part of the Apocalyptic struggle between the reigning Christ and the powers of darkness."² Goldsworthy is of the opinion that John uses the hymnic material scattered throughout the book as a gospel-oriented framework to counterbalance the apparently Christless bleakness of the apocalyptic sections.³ Even the apocalyptic material, with no readily apparent Christian emphasis, contains themes and vocabulary common to other New Testament

is clearly implied. See A. Berkeley Mickelsen, Daniel and Revelation: Riddles or Realities? (Nashville: Thomas Nelson Publishers, 1984), pp. 22-23. Robert H. Gundry, The Church and the Tribulation (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Press, 1973), pp. 80-81, points out that there are a number of clues in the symbolism of the book that indicate that its focus is upon the New Testament church. Compare Rev 14:13 with 1 Thess 4:16-18. See also Rev 6:9; 12:17; 14:12; cf. 1:9.

¹Rev 5:5,6. Cf. Goldsworthy, p. 22: "By a skilful [sic] use of apocalyptic images, John illuminates the central paradox of the gospel. The victory of God was the humiliation and death of his Son. The Lion assumes the meekness of the Lamb and dies in order to overcome."

²Goldsworthy, p. 80.

³Ibid., p. 102.

passages.¹ In so doing, it becomes apparent that the apocalyptic war is played out in everyday life as much as at the cosmic level. Thus, the heart of the book is the work of Christ and the experience of those who are faithful to Him.

There are scores if not hundreds of echoes of New Testament themes, vocabulary, and theology in the book.² Recent scholarship has uncovered many common elements between Pauline eschatology and that of the Apocalypse.³ A similar affinity with the Synoptic Tradition has also been clearly demonstrated.⁴ And while there is disagreement as to the extent of the connection between the

¹Compare, e.g., John 12:30-33 and Luke 10:17-20 with Rev 9:1-4, and Luke 23:28-31 with Rev 8:7. Apocalyptic passages also contain exhortations that are reminiscent of other New Testament writers: e.g., Rev 16:15 (cf. Mark 13:35-37; Matt 24:43,44; Luke 12:39,40; 1 Thess 5:2,4; 2 Pet 3:10) and Rev 18:4 (cf. 2 Cor 6:17; Matt 24:15,16 and parallels).

²Halver, pp. 58-70. Halver gives scores of examples of how Revelation shares the themes, vocabulary and theology common to the other New Testament authors. See also E. -B. Allo, Saint Jean. L'Apocalypse (Paris: Librairie Lecoffre, 1933), pp. cxii-cxliii; Charles Brütch, Die Offenbarung Jesu Christi, 3 vols. Zürcher Bibelkommentare (Zürich: Zwingli Verlag, 1970), 1:143; Milligan, Lectures, pp. 42-70; J. P. M. Sweet, Revelation, Westminster Pelican Commentaries (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1979), p. 40; and Swete, The Apocalypse, pp. cli-cliii.

³Schüssler Fiorenza, The Book of Revelation, pp. 114-132, 151.

⁴Richard Bauckham, "Synoptic Parousia Parables and the Apocalypse," New Testament Studies 23(1976-77): 162-176. Cf. Vos.

author of Revelation and the "Johannine School,"¹ O. Böcher's analysis indicates that the difference between Revelation and the Fourth Gospel may be more a matter of genre than theology.²

The basic New Testament orientation of the Apocalypse is further underlined by the fact that the entire book is portrayed as a letter to the seven churches of Asia Minor.³ U. B. Müller points out that although there is a definite tension in character between the letters and the apocalyptic portions,⁴ the fundamental prophetic content is the same.⁵ The letters, portraying a fairly

¹Compare Halver, p. 58, and Kraft, Offenbarung, p. 10; with Yarbro Collins, Crisis, p. 33, and Schüssler Fiorenza, The Book of Revelation, pp. 85-113.

²O. Böcher, "Johanneisches in der Apokalypse des Johannes," New Testament Studies 27 (1981):310-321; cf. idem, "Das Verhältnis der Apokalypse des Johannes zum Evangelium des Johannes," in L'Apocalypse johannique et l'Apocalyptique dans le Nouveau Testament, BETL, vol. 53, ed. J. Lambrecht (Gembloux: Leuven University Press, 1980), pp. 289-301. Cf. also Alan Johnson, Revelation, Bible Study Commentary (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Publishing Co., 1983), p. 9.

³Schüssler Fiorenza, The Book of Revelation, pp. 51, 170. Schüssler Fiorenza proposes (*ibid.*, p. 4) that ". . . a careful analysis of Revelation suggests that Pauline, Johannine, and Christian apocalyptic-prophetic traditions and circles interacted with each other in the communities of Asia Minor at the end of the first century C.E."

⁴Ulrich B. Müller, "Literarische und formgeschichtliche Bestimmung der Apokalypse des Johannes als einem Zeugnis frühchristlicher Apokalytik," in Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and the Near East, ed. David Hellholm (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1983), p. 602.

⁵U. B. Müller, "Literarische," p. 606. Cf. Schüssler Fiorenza, The Book of Revelation, p. 121.

straightforward Christian message, suggest that the apocalyptic portions should not be understood in sharp contrast to the New Testament message.¹

G. Goldsworthy is, therefore, convincing when he argues that Revelation shares the same basic theological sub-structure as the rest of the New Testament.² The New Testament writers saw no dichotomy between salvation and eschatology. Though the consummation was still future, in Christ the new age had overlapped the old.³ While in using the language and structure of the Old Testament John seems to share in its eschatological perspective, he has modified that perspective to reflect the New Testament concept of the two ages.⁴ It must be recognized, of course, that the concept of the two ages is shared by Jewish apocalyptic texts and rabbinic literature, and probably has its origin in Early Judaism. But what is unique to the Christian perspective is the conviction that the new age has already arrived in Christ, even though the old age continues. Thus John's apocalyptic visions cannot be rightly understood unless they are approached from the

¹U. B. Müller ("Literarische," p. 607) offers the intriguing suggestion that the letter framework was designed to render the apocalyptic portions of Revelation suitable for reading in the Gentile churches of Asia Minor, which may have been relatively unfamiliar with the apocalyptic genre.

²See Goldsworthy's book, The Lion and the Lamb.

³Schüssler Fiorenza, The Book of Revelation, p. 42.

⁴Goldsworthy, p. 73.

early-Christian eschatological perspective, whether or not Christ or the gospel are explicitly named in a given passage.¹

Since there is now a consensus that the Apocalypse was written in the first century,² within the New Testament era, the above evidence indicates that although the book has a different style and vocabulary than the rest of the New Testament, we should not expect its theology to be radically different from what we find there.³ It is filled with the spirit of Jesus and the apostles. It contains no different eschatological expectation than is common to the New Testament.⁴ It is a statement from Jesus in "many, many pictures."⁵ In doing exegesis of the Apocalypse, then, we should search for the underlying unity between Revelation and the overall New Testament witness. Indeed, it is essential that we do so.

¹Cf. Goldsworthy, pp. 46-54 for evidence that justification by faith is woven into the very fabric of Revelation.

²Charlesworth, The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha and the New Testament, p. 87; Donald Guthrie, New Testament Introduction, 3rd ed. (Downers Grove, IL: Inter-Varsity Press, 1970), pp. 956-957; Werner Georg Kümmel, Introduction to the New Testament (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1975), pp. 466-469; Yarbrow Collins, Crisis, pp. 76-77.

³Goldsworthy, p. 123.

⁴Halver, p. 58.

⁵Karl Ludwig Schmidt, "Die Bildersprache in der Johannes-Apokalypse," Theologische Zeitschrift 3 (1947):177.

The Old Testament Canon and
Non-Canonical Literature

We have seen that material in the book of Revelation can be traced to at least four basic sources: the Old Testament, Jewish apocalypticism, first-century Greco-Roman culture, and early Christian faith and practice.¹ In addition to these, there is the "vision factor," a creative element unique to the author himself.²

What weight ought to be given to the various sources for the images of Revelation? Opinions among leading scholars range from the idea that the Old Testament is the only source for the symbolism of the Apocalypse,³ to the suggestion that it is impossible to understand the book of Revelation without a knowledge of the Pseudepigrapha.⁴

¹See pp. 12-43.

²Allo, p. xxxix; Strand, The Open Gates, p. 26; Torrey, p. 5. Regardless of the position one takes with respect to the origin of the visions, John himself appears to understand his book to be more of a divine construct than his own composition.

³Corsini, p. 31; Kraft, Die Offenbarung, p. 16. Most scholars who argue the priority of the Old Testament for the exegesis of the imagery of Revelation allow for the possibility that the author may have used other sources. But they consider the Old Testament to be his "main source." (see Allo, p. lxiv; J. W. Bowman, "Revelation, Book of," IDB, [1962], 4:65; Ronald H. Preston and Anthony T. Hanson, The Revelation of St. John the Divine [London: SCM Press, 1949], p. 34) H. Cowles, for one, (The Revelation of John [New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1871], p. 48) would defend this approach by pointing out that we know John used the Old Testament but we are not certain that he had any other book in hand.

⁴Charles, The Revelation, 1:lxv. Even though Yarbro Collins, in her debate with Betz over the back-

There is no question that the most extensive source for the Apocalypse is the Old Testament. Old Testament language, themes, stories, events, personages, laws, and literary structures provide the literary atmosphere in which John breathes. This is to be expected in a Christian book, for the Old Testament provided the only Scriptures the early Christians knew. Even where it can be demonstrated that the Revelator used Jewish apocalyptic sources, these also tended to build on the Old Testament. Thus, the literary foundation on which Revelation is built is the same body of literature that all first-century Jews recognized as the ground of their faith.

Early Christian traditions are, however, equally important as a source. The Apocalypse is the "revelation of Jesus Christ." As is seen below, where we examine how John used the Old Testament, this Christian connection transformed the meaning of the imagery borrowed from the Old Testament. Even if the interpreter of the Apocalypse thoroughly traces the Old Testament setting of the book, he would misunderstand its message if he does not see the effect that the author's experience with Christ and the Christian traditions had on his use of the Old Testament.

ground of Rev 16:4-7, argues that Betz has gone too far with the "History of Religions" approach, she feels that he has rightly criticized the approach to apocalyptic writings where interpretation is confined to the perspective provided by Old Testament prophecy ("History of Religions Approach," p. 367).

On the other hand, it is not enough merely to say that the book of Revelation is "the finale of the biblical symphony."¹ It cannot be denied that there are also parallels in Revelation to literature and concepts outside the canon. What role did the author intend this non-canonical material to play in the book of Revelation?

Certainly, in his use of non-canonical sources, it was not generally his intention to support the theology found therein. The very thrust of Revelation is in violent opposition to much that the pagan society of the first century stood for (cf., e.g., Rev 2:13-16,20-23). John advocates withdrawal from such ideas and practices.² And although there are many parallels of language and imagery between Revelation and Jewish apocalypses such as 1 Enoch, the theological differences are very significant.³ Far more apocalyptic ideas and themes are missing in Revelation than are used.⁴

¹Charles Frederick Wishart, The Book of Day (New York: Oxford University Press, 1935), p. 16; cf. Mollat, p. 30.

²Schüssler Fiorenza, The Book of Revelation, pp. 195-196.

³Tim Crosby, "Does Inspired Mean Original?" Ministry, February 1986, p. 6.

⁴J. T. Sanders, p. 113. With the help of an M.A. student, Mike Aufderhar, I tested Sanders' conclusion by determining what percentage of the total material in the 39 books of the Old Testament was used in Revelation. The basis for this evaluation was the margin in Nestle's 26th edition (According to the criteria established in this dissertation, Nestle's marginal references are fairly reliable, though at times minimalistic.) To my surprise (I expected that a higher percentage of Daniel was used in

Even where there are strong parallels to pagan or apocalyptic sources, it was rarely John's intention (as we will see in Chapter II) that the reader compare what he was reading with some previous non-canonical literary source. Much of his use of earlier literature should probably be attributed to previous reading and the natural exposure he would have had to ideas that were "in the air" in Asia Minor.¹ The imagery that originated in these sources was buried deep in John's mind and was called up

Revelation than any other Old Testament book) Zechariah is, according to Nestle, the most highly utilized book of the Old Testament in Revelation. In fact, 38 of the 210 verses in Zechariah are alluded to (18.1 percent). Joel and Daniel are a close second (17.81 percent and 15.73 percent, respectively). In addition, Revelation alludes to more than 2 percent of 14 other Old Testament books (Exodus, Psalms, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Hosea, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, and Malachi). According to Nestle, only Ecclesiastes and Haggai are not alluded to.

By contrast, the Revelator never alluded to more than 2 percent of any non-canonical book. Pride of place among non-canonical documents goes to 2 Maccabees (1.79 percent), Psalms of Solomon (1.71 percent), Tobit (1.34 percent) and 1 Enoch (1.32 percent). While a rigorous application of the method proposed in this dissertation would probably alter these statistics somewhat, the radical difference between the Revelator's use of the canonical books and his use of non-canonical materials is striking. The Revelator clearly has a special relationship with the Old Testament. Therefore it is clear that although the text of Revelation witnesses to his awareness of apocalyptic ideas, he generally alludes more directly to the Old Testament than to other sources.

¹From the interpreter's perspective, naturally, it is vital to reconstruct the social life of the cities of Asia Minor by means of non-literary sources as well as literary. The focus of this dissertation will be limited, however, to an examination of how the author approached his literary sources.

and transformed in the course of his visionary experience.¹

On the other hand, it is reasonably certain that the author of Revelation consciously employed non-canonical sources at times. This conscious usage of non-canonical sources was probably motivated by two factors. First, there was the need to communicate his message in language that would be readily understood by those who heard it. Since a sizable percentage of the Christians in his audience were not Jews by birth, they would be as familiar with the pagan environment as they had now become with the Old Testament. There were, no doubt, many ideas circulating in the pagan environment of John's audience which he used to undergird his picture of Jesus Christ.² Those Asia-Minor Christians who were raised in a Jewish environment were probably as familiar with many of the apocalyptic concepts as they were with the Old Testament. Second, he used apocalyptic ideas as well as pagan imagery and practices as a polemic against aspects of the thought-world from which they came. He showed his familiarity with these ideas so he could satirize them and mock their inconsistencies by means of his word-pictures.³

¹Crosby, p. 6.

²It is reasonable to assume that John, like Paul (1 Cor 10:14-22), took pagan religion and ideas seriously even though he saw them as inferior.

³David E. Aune, "Now You See It, Now You Don't!"

The interpreter of Revelation, therefore, is on safest ground in exposing himself to as wide a background to the first century as possible. Although John's expressions and content are firmly grounded in the Old Testament, and catalyzed theologically by Christ and the Christian tradition, he ranged far afield in his quest both to communicate with his audience and to wean them away from ideas that ran counter to his Christian faith.

How John Used the Old Testament

The previous discussion of the relationship between Revelation and apocalyptic literature underlines the fact that people in the first century used the Old Testament in a number of different ways. Since the Apocalypse is saturated with Old Testament imagery, it is critical that we understand how its author applied those traditions in his own context.¹ Or as Hedrik has stated:

The meaning of a passage is not clarified by simply isolating the sources behind it; it is found rather in seeing how the traditions are put together and in asking why the author put them together.²

Do the New Testament writers in general and the author of the Apocalypse in particular have an exegetical system or is their approach to the Old Testament arbitrary and subjective? There is virtual unanimity among scholars that the Apocalypse is a Christian reinterpretation of the Old Testament in the light of the events surrounding the

¹Preston and Hanson, p. 34.

²Hedrik, p. 18.

life, death, and resurrection of Jesus Christ.¹ In the words of Feuillet: "St. John's Apocalypse could well be defined as a rereading of the Old Testament in the light of the events of Christian history. . . ."2

The victory of Jesus Christ is the new organizing principle of history in Revelation. All that happens is in reference to Him and His victory.³ The author's personal experience with Jesus Christ has led him to transform apocalyptic symbols in a Christian sense: All the prophecies of the Old Testament used in Revelation pass first through the prism of the Christ-event.⁵ As Feuillet has aptly summarized:

...this Christian re-reading of the Old Testament derives from the profound conviction that the real

¹Heinrich Kraft, "Zur Offenbarung des Johannes," Theologische Rundschau 38 (1973):85; cf. Philip Carrington, The Meaning of the Revelation (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1931), pp. 64-65; Hill, "Prophecy and Prophets," p. 417; Lestringant, p., 152; Preston and Hanson, p. 38; Pierre Prigent, Apocalypse et liturgie, Cahiers Théologiques, no. 52 (Neuchâtel: Editions Delachaux et Niestlé, 1964), p. 11.

²André Feuillet, The Apocalypse (Staten Island, NY: Alba House, 1965), pp. 77-78; cf. Brüttsch, 3:131; Feuillet, "Le Messie," p. 55. Cf. Morant, p. 18: "Die Apokalypse sei eine Neubesinnung auf das Alte Testament im Lichte des Kommens Christi."

³Heinrich Schlier, Besinnung auf das Neue Testament (Freiburg: Herder, 1964), p. 361.

⁴Barr, "Symbolic Transformation," p. 42; cf. Allo, p. lxxv; Corsini, p. 31; Farrer, Rebirth, p. 15; Goldsworthy, p. 73; Mollat, p. 131; Vanderwaal, p. 131.

⁵Charlesworth, The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha and the New Testament, p. 74; Desmond Ford, Crisis, 3 vols. (Newcastle, CA: Desmond Ford Publications, 1982), 1:98.

meaning of the Old Testament becomes evident only in and through Christ.¹

Such a viewpoint is possible because first-century Christians saw the Old Testament as a comprehensive witness to Christ, including all that he did and said and all that his life meant (Luke 24:44; Acts 10:43; 2 Cor 1:20).² They felt that the situation introduced by the advent and ministry of Jesus made the Old Testament plain. His ministry was the perfect outworking of the recurring pattern of divine activity in the Old Testament.³ They were convinced that, as the pre-existent Christ, Jesus was a living reality in the Old Testament (John 12:37-41; 1 Cor 10:4).⁴ The Old Testament was an advance witness to Jesus Christ.⁵ Thus New Testament and other Christian writers felt entirely justified in using a "christological" hermeneutic when working with the Old Testament materials.⁶

¹Feuillet, The Apocalypse, p. 78. Cf. Ezell, p. 23.

²F. F. Bruce, Biblical Exegesis in the Qumran Texts (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1959), p. 67.

³Ibid., p. 69.

⁴Preston and Hanson, p. 7.

⁵Samuel Amsler, L'Ancien Testament dans l'église (Neuchâtel: Editions Delachaux et Niestlé, 1960), pp. 95-97.

⁶Amsler, p. 94; Hans K. LaRondelle, The Israel of God in Prophecy (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1983), pp. 60-78; Lindars, "The Place," p. 59; Richard Longenecker, Biblical Exegesis in the Apostolic Period (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing

In so doing, the writers of the New Testament saw the entire Old Testament being fulfilled in Jesus Christ (John 5:39,40; Luke 24:25-27, 44-47). This is true not only of selected Messianic prophecies, but of the entire spectrum of Old Testament history. Jesus is the new creation (2 Cor 5:17)--conceived by the Spirit that overshadowed Mary (Luke 1:35; cf. Gen 1:2 LXX). He is the New Adam (Rom 5 and 1 Cor 15)--made in the image of God (2 Cor 4:4; Col 1:15); married to a New Eve, the church (Eph 5:32,33); in full dominion over the earth (John 6:16-21), over the fish of the sea (Luke 5:1-11; John 21), and over every living thing (Mark 11:12).

Jesus Christ is the New Moses (John 5:45-47) who is threatened at his birth by a hostile king (Matt 2), spends forty days fasting in the wilderness, rules over twelve and ordains seventy, gives the law from a high mountain (Matt 5:1,2), feeds his people with bread from heaven (John 6:28-35), and ascends to heaven after his resurrection. He is the New Israel, who comes out of Egypt (Matt 2), passes through the waters (Matt 3:13-17), is led by the Spirit into the wilderness, passes through the waters a second time (Luke 12:50--baptism at the cross), and enters the heavenly Canaan.

In the New Testament Jesus is also understood as the New Isaac, the New David, the New Solomon, the New Elisha, the New Joshua, and the New Cyrus. These few

Co., 1975), p. 95; Preston and Hanson, p. 36.

examples must suffice to show that the New Testament sees in the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus the fulfillment of the whole experience of God's people from Adam to John the Baptist.

Since, as we have seen earlier, the book of Revelation is a Christian book in the New Testament tradition, it should not surprise us to find that our author makes a similar use of the Old Testament to that of other New Testament writers. He does not quote mechanically or use the Old Testament material in a wooden fashion; rather, he employs the Old Testament with a great deal of creativity.¹ Although the Apocalypse is a mosaic of countless Old Testament words, themes, and passages, the result is something entirely new.² The following quotations illustrate how some specialists have wrestled with this tension:

The author of the Apocalypse obviously knows the Old Testament thoroughly. It is not only that a whole crowd of biblical images appear in his work, but the very language is Old Testament language. He does not quote, formally, but he uses familiar turns of phrase quite naturally. Yet, he is not slavishly tied to this style and vocabulary--he dominates them, just as he can adapt the images to suit his purpose.³

John's work is not presented as a mosaic of citations, nor as a collection of distinct oracles, but as

¹Schüssler Fiorenza, The Book of Revelation, p. 170.

²Ezell, p. 23; Schüssler Fiorenza, The Apocalypse, p. 28; Wilfred J. Harrington, Understanding the Apocalypse (Washington: Corpus Books, 1969), p. 16; Lestringant, p. 148; Vos, pp. 23, 28-36, 52.

³Harrington, p. 15.

a vigorous work, animated with a unique inspiration by the author's purpose.¹

. . . the Apocalypse is not a mechanical, premeditated mosaic of Old Testament material. It is more 'than a dramatic compilation; it is an experience under control [sic] of the Holy Spirit (1:10).'²

The author rarely approaches Old Testament expressions exactly.³ Although there is no question that John had a high regard for Scripture, he apparently felt free to use Scripture in a creative way to support his own effort.⁴

To summarize, the evidence with regard to the Revelator's use of the Old Testament reveals that the interpreter needs to be aware of two main elements. First, the form of John's language may be drawn almost entirely from the Old Testament, even if he never cites or quotes it. Second, the function of this Old Testament

¹A. Vanhoye, "L'utilisation du livre d'Ezéchiel dans l'Apocalypse," Biblica 43 (1962):466. Cf. the French: "L'oeuvre de Jean ne se présente donc pas comme une mosaïque de citations, ni même comme une collection d'oracles distincts, mais comme une oeuvre vigoureuse, animée d'un bout à l'autre d'un souffle unique."

²Vos, p. 52.

³Halver, p. 15; Prigent, Apocalypse et liturgie, p. 10; Vos, pp. 37, 40.

⁴Samuel Davidson, "The New Testament as a Guide to the Interpretation of the Old," in Outlines of a Commentary on the Book of Revelation (Cambridge, MA: Riverside Press, 1893), pp. 39-40; Edwin D. Freed, Old Testament Quotations in the Gospel of John, SNT, vol. 11 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1965), p. 127; Mollat, p. 32; cf. Pierre Prigent, "Apocalypse et apocalyptique," pp. 292-294; J. W. Roberts, The Revelation to John, The Living Word Commentary (Austin, TX: Sweet Publishing Co., 1974), p. 63.

material is transformed by the new setting in which it is placed in Revelation.

First-Century Exegetical Practices

At this point it may be helpful to examine the exegetical practices common to the milieu in which John wrote,¹ which appear to be used in Revelation. It is reasonable to assume that he, like various other authors of the New Testament, was using methods of quotation that were common to his age.²

¹I obviously employ the term "exegesis" in a broader sense than is customary. First-century writers made no distinction between exegesis and hermeneutics (see Daniel Patte, Early Jewish Hermeneutic in Palestine, Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series, no. 22 [Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1975], pp. 1-6). I understand exegesis here to mean the way they came at an inspired text in order to understand it properly from their own perspective.

By contrast, I would define exegesis for today as the attempt to understand the content of a piece of literature, and the methods by which that content was created, in the light of the original writer's situation and in accordance with his intention. When applied to a passage that is "exegeting" a previous text, this definition implies that we can only do justice to our passage if we seek to understand the method by which the original author "exegeted" his source, even if we do not consider his method of exegesis to be appropriate.

²Samuel E. Balentine, "The Interpretation of the Old Testament in the New Testament," Southwestern Journal of Theology 23 (2, 1981):56-57; Franklin Johnson, The Quotations of the New Testament from the Old (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1896), passim; Longenecker, p. 205. Longenecker (p. 207) suggests that Christians based their methods of interpretation of the Old Testament on the methods used by Jesus. Since Jesus was a Palestinian Jew his methods were likely those with which his contemporaries were comfortable. Cf. Geza Vermes, Scripture and Tradition in Judaism, Studia Post-Biblica, vol. 4, 2nd ed. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1973), p. 227: ". . . Without the help of Jewish exegesis it is impossible to perceive any Christian teaching in its true

Based on careful study of the Old Testament quotations in the New Testament and at Qumran, J. Fitzmyer concluded that both bodies of literature had four basic types of quotation in common.¹ (1) The Literal or Historical type used the original text in accordance with the original author's intention (i.e., "exegetically"). (2) The Modernization type removed the original passage from its setting in order to apply it to a new setting. (3) The Accommodation type wrested the original out of its setting in order to apply it to current needs.² (4) The Eschatological type continued to point to the future in the current setting. Which of these are relevant for the study of Revelation?

Since the Apocalypse never directly quotes the Old Testament, it is rather difficult to determine what methods of interpretation the author might be using. But elsewhere in the New Testament we find many citations and quotations which can be used to better understand the exegetical methods practiced by first-century Christians. Naturally, the existence of a particular approach in

perspective." While Vermes is guilty of overstatement here, the Palestinian Jewish background of Revelation cannot be safely ignored.

¹Joseph A. Fitzmyer, Essays on the Semitic Background of the New Testament, Sources for Biblical Study, vol. 5 (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1974), pp. 16-52.

²Fitzmyer admits that the distinction between (2) and (3) is not always clear. Ibid., pp. 16-17.

first-century Palestine is no guarantee that a New Testament writer made use of it.¹

Midrash

The exegetical method most strikingly common between New Testament writers and their Jewish contemporaries was called midrash.² Midrashic method involved beginning with the Scriptural context found in the holy books and adapting or updating the content to meet the needs of a current situation.³ Renée Bloch defines midrash in terms of a homiletical reflection on Scripture which often involved punctilious textual analysis.⁴

¹Bruce, Qumran, p. 73. Although New Testament writers did consider themselves to be living in the last days of earth's history, and, thus, saw in the experience of Jesus and the church the fulfillment of Old Testament prophecy, they do not use the pesher method of interpretation. See also Fitzmyer, Essays, pp. 5-6. In note 6 on page 6 Fitzmyer provides further literature supportive of this conclusion.

²Renée Bloch, "Midrash," Supplément au dictionnaire de la Bible, 5:1280; E. Earle Ellis, "Midrash, Targum and New Testament Quotations," in Neotestamentica et Semitica, ed. E. Earle Ellis and Max Wilcox (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1969), p. 69; Vermes, Scripture, p. 8, cf. p. 176. R. Le Déaut ("Apropos a Definition of Midrash," Interpretation 25 [1971]:272-273) insists correctly that midrash was a method not a genre in the first century (see also Jacob Neusner, Midrash in Context: Exegesis in Formative Judaism, The Foundations of Judaism: Method, Teleology, Doctrine, pt. 1: Method (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1983), pp. xvi, xvii).

³E. Earle Ellis, Paul's Use of the Old Testament (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1957), p. 202; Merrill P. Miller, "Targum, Midrash and the Use of the Old Testament in the New Testament," Journal for the Study of Judaism 2 (1971):44.

⁴Cf. Addison G. Wright, "The Literary Genre Midrash," Catholic Biblical Quarterly 28 (1966):136.

Scripture would be compared with Scripture in order to make the biblical message relevant to a contemporary need.¹ Midrashic method sought principles within a given traditional setting with the aim of solving problems which the original text did not address.² To use modern parlance, midrashic exegesis provided the bridge between the world of the text and the world of the interpreter.³ In the process, Old Testament expressions were worked into the very fabric of the composition, following what R. Bloch called an "anthological style."⁴ Thus, midrashic exegesis was "implicit" rather than clearly laid out.⁵

Recent research confirms that the author of the Apocalypse utilized midrashic method in his use of the Old Testament.⁶ In suggesting analogies between midrashic method and the hermeneutical practices of the Revelator, it is not necessary to think of him as consciously

Wright points out that midrash is generally marked by "careful analysis" but not always.

¹Ibid., pp. 133-134.

²Bloch, 5:1265-1267; Bloch's position is discussed in Vermes, Scripture, pp. 7-10, and Miller, pp. 40-42.

³Cf. Wright, pp. 133-136.

⁴Bloch, 5:1270-1271; cf. also Fitzmyer, Essays, p. 5; Wright, pp. 109, 443-450.

⁵Ellis, "Midrash," pp. 61-62; Fitzmyer, Essays, p. 5.

⁶Beale, The Use of Daniel in Jewish Apocalyptic Literature and in the Revelation of St. John, passim. Beale understands Rev 1, 5, 13 and 17 to be midrashim on Dan 7. Rev 4 may be a midrash on Ezek 1-10.

employing a Jewish methodology. As a Palestinian Jew, he would have absorbed much interpretive method from his everyday experience.¹ In addition, when the early Christians used the LXX, they were using a Bible that reflected a midrashic interpretation of the Hebrew.² Moreover, it was common in those days for both Jews and Christians to think in Scriptural categories when they were discussing contemporary situations.³ This is especially noticeable in the apocalyptic writings, which were a readaptation of Hebrew prophecy for a new historical situation.⁴

In midrashic exegesis, the Old Testament material was used not so much to bolster the authority of the exegete as to update the Old Testament message in the light of contemporary understandings and situations. We must, however, confess that we do not understand midrashic

¹Cf. Patte, pp. 117-125.

²Vermes, Scripture, p. 179.

³Lars Hartman, "Scriptural Exegesis in the Gospel of Matthew and the Problem of Communication," in L'évangile selon Matthieu, ed. M. Didier (Gembloux: J. Duculot, 1972), p. 133.

⁴Bloch, 5:1276-1278; Russell, pp. 184, 187. According to Bloch, among the things apocalyptic and midrash have in common are (1) both have as their purpose edification, (2) both work from the text of Scripture, (3) both reinterpret the past for the sake of the present, (4) both maintain a sense of supernatural involvement, and (5) both are given to hyperbole in interpretation.

method sufficiently at this point to fully understand the role it plays in the book of Revelation.¹

Targumic exegesis

Another fruitful source of information for the study of the exegesis of Revelation is the recent emphasis on the study of the Aramaic targums. The author of the Apocalypse, as we note below, introduced a strong emphasis on the worship practices common to both the synagogue and the church.² This would indicate that the Revelator viewed the events of the Old Testament in the manner that these were viewed in the sacred liturgy of his people.³ Since the Bible of the typical Jewish synagogue in Palestine was an Aramaic targum, the Palestinian Targum of the first century provides the form of thought with which most Palestinian Jews of the New Testament period would be familiar.⁴

In the targums, the New Testament writers inherited as much of an "interpreted Bible" as they did when they used the LXX.⁵ Since the common folk who frequented

¹Hartman, "Scriptural Exegesis," p. 136. Cf. the literature cited in Miller, pp. 45-46.

²See pp. 89-90 below.

³McNamara, The New Testament, p. 256. On synagogue liturgy cf. Patte, pp. 81-86.

⁴McNamara, The New Testament, p. 260; Patte, p. 55. On the dating of the targums see pp. 86-91.

⁵Roger Le Déaut, "The Current State of Targumic Studies," Biblical Theology Bulletin 4 (1974):6; cf. Balentine, pp. 42-43; Patte, p. 53.

the synagogue were undoubtedly far more familiar with their targum than with the rabbinic traditions of the Pharisees later codified in the Mishnah, targum was the vehicle through which they were most influenced by such traditions.¹ Thus, the targums are probably a more useful link between the book of Revelation and rabbinic exegetical methods than are the traditions extant in the Mishnah or the Talmud.² Where a New Testament writer uses expressions unique to the Aramaic targums, they can help us to ascertain the way in which that New Testament writer understood the Old Testament.³

Typological exegesis

The book of Revelation encourages its readers to see analogies between the situations of Israel's past and their own situation; in other words, it is a call to think

¹Patte (pp. 65-81) summarizes the hermeneutical principles upon which targumic exegesis was based as follows:

- (1) Everything is meaningful in Scripture
- (2) Scripture is to be explained by Scripture
- (3) There is a synthetic view of Scripture and sacred history (they are "telescoped" around a limited number of locations, dates, and personages)
- (4) There is no overriding theological system
- (5) Scripture is actualized anew in the milieu of the worshipper in the synagogue

²Paul E. Kahle, The Cairo Geniza, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1959), p. 208; Miller, pp. 29-30.

³Roger Le Déaut, "Targumic Literature and New Testament Interpretation," Biblical Theology Bulletin 4 (1974):288.

typologically.¹ Typological exegesis involves the process of theological analogy.² Persons, institutions, and/or events described by Scripture can be regarded as models or prefigurations of later persons, institutions, or events.³ John considered the Old Testament to be inspired by the same God that inspired him, therefore there is a spiritual unity of thought.⁴ If the author of Revelation was using the Old Testament more theologically than exegetically, in the sense in which we use these terms today, our exegesis of the book of Revelation should operate at a more theological level than the exegesis of other books of the New Testament. Indeed, while the basic message of most New Testament books can be grasped without a vast knowledge of prior literature, the language of Revelation is imbued with centuries of theological meaning and usage, and without a theological grasp of the Old Testament the basic message of the more apocalyptic sections of Revelation is, at times, nearly undecipherable.

While theological exegesis may be somewhat distasteful to our way of thinking because it appears to

¹Leonhard Goppelt, Typos, trans. Donald H. Madvig (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1982), p. 197; Yarbro Collins, Crisis, p. 147.

²Jack Weir, "Analogous Fulfillment," Perspectives in Religious Studies 9 (1982):74.

³Patte, p. 161. On the difference between a symbol and a type, cf. p. 19, n. 5.

⁴LaRondelle, pp. 35-55.

force meanings onto the Old Testament text,¹ the Revelator was not using the Old Testament in a way that was radically different from the way the Old Testament prophets used earlier material.² Isaiah used the Garden of Eden as a type for a new paradise (Isa 9:1,2; 11:6-9).³ Hosea predicted another period in the wilderness (Hos 2:16,17; 12:9,10). The so-called Second Isaiah expected a new Exodus (Isa 43:16-21; 48:20,21; 51:9-11, etc.). David became typical of the ideal king who was to come in the future (Isa 11:1; 55:3,4; Jer 23:5; Ezek 34:23,24; Amos 9:11). As D. L. Baker explains:

. . . since the prophets assumed that God would act in the future in the same way that he had acted in the past, the concept of God's acts in history being repeated is fundamental to the Old Testament. However, Israel hoped not simply for a repetition of God's acts but for a repetition of an unprecedented nature (e.g. new Temple; new covenant; new creation). This hope was fulfilled in the New Testament and was

¹Roland E. Murphy, "Christian Understanding of the Old Testament," Theology Digest 18 (1970):324.

²C. H. Dodd, According to the Scriptures (London: Nisbet and Co., 1952), p. 126; R. Lansing Hicks, Forms of Christ in the Old Testament (Evanston, IL: Seabury-Western Theological Seminary, 1968), p. 31; Gerhard von Rad, Old Testament Theology, 2 vols., trans. D. M. G. Stalker (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1965), 2:319-335; D. Moody Smith, pp. 3-65; especially helpful in gaining an understanding of the typological use of the Old Testament in the New Testament is LaRondelle's book, The Israel of God in Prophecy.

³Especially helpful in gaining an understanding of how Old Testament writers used each other typologically is the article by David L. Baker, "Typology and the Christian Use of the Old Testament," Scottish Journal of Theology 29 (1976):137-157.

the basis of the New Testament's typological interpretation of history.¹

Interestingly enough, as the Old Testament writers made use of earlier traditions typologically, and as the New Testament writers felt free to do the same with the whole Old Testament, there is evidence that the author of Revelation used New Testament material such as the sayings of Jesus in as free a manner as he used the Old Testament.² The function of such typological exegesis is explained as follows by Tenney:

In this way the Old Testament background gives content to the Apocalypse, because the implications of the quoted text can be used to amplify the meaning of the allusion. Revelation thus carries more meaning than a superficial glance at the text would indicate. On the other hand, the independent teachings of the passages in Daniel and Zechariah, separated by their different settings and times of writing, are brought into a new perspective of unity by their common use in the passage in Revelation which focuses them upon the person of Christ. Revelation becomes in this manner the unifying guide to eschatology in the New Testament.³

Thus, in order rightly to understand the apocalyptic portions of Revelation, the interpreter must be familiar with the way New Testament authors built upon the typological methods of the Old Testament prophets.

¹Ibid., p. 140.

²Vos, pp. 59, 110.

³Merrill C. Tenney, Interpreting Revelation (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1957), p. 110.

Israel and the Church

Since, as noted earlier, Jesus was understood as the fulfillment of Old Testament prophecy and history, the church saw itself as the True Israel in corporate solidarity with Old Testament Israel; it was the eschatological remnant of Israel (1 Cor 10:1-13 and Gal 3:29, for example).¹ The history of Israel has become the history of those who are in Jesus Christ.² However, this new Israel is no longer limited by ethnic or geographical considerations, but finds its fulfillment in a worldwide spiritual nation--the church.³ It is not birth or geographical location that makes up New Testament Israel but relation to Christ, the living Messiah.⁴ In the words of L. Were:

There is no change in the phraseology employed in the New Testament, but there is positively a change regarding the people to whom those prophecies and designations now apply. In the New Testament, the church is spoken of in the language employed in the Old Testament concerning Israel.⁵

To understand rightly the message of Revelation, it is necessary, therefore, to see the author as using the

¹LaRondelle, p. 105; Lestringant, p. 153; Longenecker, pp. 208-209.

²Corsini, p. 32; Charles M. Laymon, The Book of Revelation (New York: Abingdon Press, 1960), p. 28.

³Jon Paulien, review of The Israel of God in Prophecy, by Hans LaRondelle, in Andrews University Seminary Studies 22 (1984):375.

⁴LaRondelle, p. 121.

⁵Louis F. Were, The Moral Purpose of Prophecy (N.p.: By the Author, n.d.), p. 30.

things of Israel with reference to the church. In harmony with the general New Testament perspective, John universalizes Old Testament events of local or limited character so that they become symbols of the spiritual realities of Christian experience.¹ The ethnic and geographical limitations of the Old Testament sources are not to be imported into the thinking of our author.

The "Finale of the Biblical Symphony"

The book of Revelation comes at the close of the Christian Bible like the last movement of a symphony which gathers up the earlier themes and binds the whole into a lovely unity.² It has been said that in the Apocalypse "all the other books of the Bible end and meet."³ It is as if our author sought to write a summary conclusion for the Scriptures, including all of the symbols, figures, and fundamental ideas of both Old Testament and New.⁴ John

¹Kenneth A. Strand, "An Overlooked Old-Testament Background to Revelation 11:1," Andrews University Seminary Studies 22 (1984):317-318. Strand points out that the terms "Israel" and "Babylon," used in an ethnic and geographical sense in the Old Testament, are applied ("universalized") respectively in Revelation to the Christian Church and to the forces opposed to God and His people.

²Wishart, p. 16; cf. Mollat, p. 30.

³Robert Jamieson, A. R. Fausset, and David Brown, Commentary Practical and Explanatory on the Whole Bible, rev. ed. (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Publishing Co., 1961), p. 1526.

⁴Taylor G. Bunch, The Seven Epistles of Christ (Washington, DC: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1947), pp. 9-10; P. Edwards, "The Signs of the Times--or

summons the whole company of God's witnesses in both Old Testament and New Testament to be witnesses to Christ and Him crucified.¹ In the words of D. T. Niles:

. . . It is of immense significance that the last book of the Bible should be one in which the message of the Scriptures comes to a glowing restatement, in which allusion is heaped upon allusion, vision is fused with vision, and echo is followed by echo, until there is a procession of ideas, figures and events which assault the imagination, awaken memory and captivate the soul.²

Revelation is so much a summary of the themes of the whole Bible that it could be read as an introduction to biblical themes³--as a theology of the Old Testament in the light of the Christ-event. The author teaches his people the theological significance of the Old Testament for those who have accepted Jesus Christ.

Contextual interpretation

One of the most helpful breakthroughs in the study of how the New Testament writers used the Old Testament was the landmark insight of C. H. Dodd that New Testament writers used a phrase or a sentence of the Old Testament as a pointer to the whole Old Testament context in which

'Here Be Dragons,' " Way 21 (1981):283; Wishart, p. 15. Although the book gives that impression, to be accurate it must be said that the author gives no indication that he did so intentionally.

¹Féret, p. 28; Martin H. Franzmann, The Revelation to John (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1976), p. 27; Goldsworthy, p. 15.

²D. T. Niles, As Seeing the Invisible (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1961), pp. 31-32.

³Mollat, p. 30.

that phrase or sentence is found. When the author used the part, he had the whole in mind.¹ According to Dodd, the New Testament writers interpreted the Old Testament on the basis of a certain understanding of history. History is played out according to a master plan imposed on human life by God Himself, a plan worked out in recurring patterns.² Any particular portion cannot be fully understood unless it is seen as part of an overall divine pattern.³

If this is a fair representation of the attitudes of the New Testament writers toward the Old Testament, it is not surprising that they felt that their christological understanding of the Old Testament was entirely in harmony with the basic intention of its authors. They did not think of themselves as using the Old Testament out of context, but rather they sought to remain true to the main intention of the writers of the Old Testament. This does not imply that the meaning given to an Old Testament

¹Dodd, According to the Scriptures, p. 126.

²Ibid., p. 128.

³On p. 131 of According to the Scriptures Dodd makes the following observation:

"It would not be true of any literature which deserves to be called great, that its meaning is restricted to that which was explicitly in the mind of the author when he wrote. On the contrary, it is a part of what constitutes the quality of greatness in literature that it perpetuates itself by unfolding ever new richness of unsuspected meaning as time goes on. The ultimate significance of prophecy is not only what it meant for its author, but what it came to mean for those who stood within the tradition which he founded."

passage quoted in the New Testament will be identical in every sense to its meaning in the Old Testament context, for "the transposition into a fresh situation involves a certain shift, nearly always an expansion, of the original scope of the passage."¹ But they sought to use the Old Testament passage in harmony with the larger context of the Old Testament understanding of history.

Not all scholars agree with Dodd.² But although we should resist the temptation to adopt unreservedly any generalization, Dodd does appear to have pointed the way to a better understanding of the manner in which New Testament writers used the Old Testament.³ New Testament writers did not use the Old Testament exegetically, as we think of exegesis, and in the New Testament there is no "formal and continuous commentary on any book of the Old Testament."⁴ But the New Testament writers did have a

¹Ibid., p. 130.

²Cf. Richard T. Mead, "A Dissenting Opinion About Respect for Context in Old Testament Quotations," New Testament Studies 10 (1963-1964):279-289; Albert C. Sundberg, "On Testimonies," Novum Testamentum 3 (1959):275-278.

³Among scholars who agree wholeheartedly with Dodd are: Robert H. Gundry, The Use of the Old Testament in St. Matthew's Gospel, Suppls. to Novum Testamentum, vol. 18 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1967), p. 208; Barnabas Lindars, New Testament Apologetic (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1961), pp. 13-31; E. E. Ellis, "How the New Testament Uses the Old," in New Testament Interpretation, ed. I. Howard Marshall (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co. 1977), p. 201; and Hicks, p. 29.

⁴C. K. Barrett, "The Interpretation of the Old Testament in the New," in The Cambridge History of the Bible, 3 vols., ed. P. R. Ackroyd (Cambridge: University

coherent hermeneutical approach to the Old Testament,¹ evidenced in a thematic unity between the Old Testament and the New Testament passage that quotes it. This phenomenon is particularly true for the book of Revelation.² John operated "exegetically" on the basis of an overall understanding of the theology of the Old Testament. He incorporated passages with common themes that supported his intended message.³

Summary

In the foregoing I have suggested that a method which interprets the Apocalypse according to the intention of the original author must add to the normal canons of present-day New Testament exegesis a sense for the author's theological understanding of the Old Testament. By "theological understanding" I mean to say that John reveals in Revelation a basic pre-understanding that is informed to a large degree by the Old Testament documents which, as a group, were authoritative to him in a way no other literary source was. This "understanding" would, of course, transcend the intention of the original writers

Press, 1970):1:389.

¹Gundry, The Use, p. 213; cf. Amsler, p. 93.

²Hicks, p. 27.

³S. Lewis Johnson, The Old Testament in the New (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Publishing Co., 1980), pp. 19-20. But cf. H. B. Swete's caution in The Apocalypse of Saint John, p. cxlviii. The author of Revelation sometimes combines Old Testament contexts to suit his own purposes.

due to (1) being interpreted in the light of their "canonical context" (which transcends the literary and historical relationships among the Old Testament documents), and (2) being heir to centuries of Jewish and Christian interpretation of the Old Testament.¹

How then does the author's use of the Old Testament function to help interpret the book? In recalling Old Testament usage, his language has far greater meaning and depth than ordinary prose. The Old Testament allusions recall to the reader's mind the original passage (or passages) and its meaning. Though the original meaning is modified in its new context, Revelation has a much greater depth of meaning because it has incorporated a vast background of history and literature.² By alluding to the Old Testament, the author recalled the broad scope of God's saving and judging activity in the past and indicated the basic unity between that past activity and what God was now doing through the author and his community.³

The information set forth in this section of the chapter has a number of implications for the exegesis of Revelation. A method for clarifying the author's original

¹While there is uncertainty as to the exact limits of the "Old Testament canon" in the first century, the concept of an authoritative body of writings was clearly presupposed at that time. See, e.g., Luke 24:25-27, 44-45.

²Corsini, pp. 40-41; Ellis, "How the New Testament Uses the Old," p. 202; Hartman, "Scriptural Exegesis," p. 134.

³Hicks, p. 32.

intention for the Apocalypse must take into account the methods, conscious or unconscious, which New Testament writers employed in their use of the Old Testament. An exegetical method for Revelation must, therefore, call attention to Jewish and Christian understandings of the Old Testament, with particular emphasis on midrash, typology, and the impact of the Christ-event on the theology of the first-century Christian community. Such a method is more "theological" than is commonly inherent in New Testament exegesis. When the usual activities of exegesis (lexical meaning, grammar, syntax, immediate context, background, etc.) are completed, exegesis of Revelation has only begun. The more bizarre and apocalyptic portions of Revelation (such as the seven trumpets) only yield up the depth of the author's intention when a broader, more theological, method of exegesis is used to set the passage in the larger theological context in which the author moved.

Old Testament Language and Text
Tradition Used by John

Another problem that arises in relation to the use of the Old Testament in the book of Revelation is the question of the language and text tradition of the Old Testament used by our author. Was his Old Testament Hebrew, Greek, or Aramaic?¹ Did it reflect the text

¹This problem is cited as a major issue by Feuillet, The Apocalypse, p. 79.

tradition underlying the Masoretic text, or did it represent one of the other text traditions common to the Jewish world of the first century? Was the author of the Apocalypse at home in Palestine, did he belong to the Diaspora, or was he a Gentile? The decision one makes with regard to these questions affects one's interpretation of the book.

The Revelator's Native Language(s)

It is generally recognized today that the author of Revelation was probably a native of Palestine although he was living in the vicinity of Asia Minor at the time that his book was written.¹ To what languages, then, would a first-century Palestinian have been exposed?

Hebrew, of course, had been the official language of Palestine until the exile to Babylon. When the Babylonian Empire gave way to the Medo-Persian, Imperial Aramaic became the dominant language of the Middle East.² Since the Persians controlled Palestine for some 200 years, Imperial Aramaic became the language of business and everyday speech in Palestine after the Exile.³ With

¹Yarbro Collins, Crisis, pp. 47-49.

²Joseph A. Fitzmyer, A Wandering Aramean: Collected Aramaic Essays, Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series, Number 25 (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1979), pp. 6, 29.

³Fitzmyer, A Wandering Aramean, p. 7; Harrington, p. 21; Koester, 1:251; Alexander Sperber, The Bible in Aramaic, vol. 4b. The Targum and the Hebrew Bible (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1973), p. 1.

the coming of Alexander the Great, Greek gradually took over as the language of administration.¹ Throughout this period, however, Hebrew continued to be the language of religious literature.² Thus it should come as little surprise that, as R. Gundry has pointed out, there is strong archeological evidence that first-century Palestine was trilingual.³ Not only was it trilingual, Gundry's evidence indicates that Greek, Hebrew, and Aramaic were used in fairly equal proportions, not only in Galilee, but also in Judea.⁴ Gundry feels that this has strong implications for the New Testament traditions: "We can be sure that the tradition about Jesus was expressed from the very first in Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek."⁵

If our author came from the Palestinian milieu, therefore, it is by no means certain which of the three languages he grew up speaking. He may well have been

¹Fitzmyer, A Wandering Aramean, pp. 29, 32-38; Koester, 1:251.

²Koester, p. 249. Cf., however, Fitzmyer's caution in A Wandering Aramean, p. 6.

³Robert H. Gundry, "The Language Milieu of First-Century Palestine," Journal of Biblical Literature 83 (1964):404-408.

⁴Ibid., p. 406; idem, The Use, pp. 175-176. Fitzmyer, on the other hand, believes that the use of Hebrew was restricted to isolated pockets of Palestinian Jews; A Wandering Aramean, pp. 7-8, 29-30, 44-46.

⁵Gundry, "The Language Milieu," p. 408. This has interesting implications for the study of Revelation. If the Christian tradition was trilingual from the first, the bearers of that tradition had a natural ability to make thought transitions between languages. This, of course, is exactly the kind of phenomenon we find in Revelation.

trilingual himself!¹ However, the current scholarly consensus is that Jesus probably spoke Aramaic more than any other language, and there is reason to believe that his Palestinian followers did the same.²

The Language of John's Old Testament

To some degree the entire New Testament is based on Semitic sources. Even though the language is Greek, it is profoundly influenced by the Hebrew thought-patterns of its sources, the LXX, and the Palestinian tradition of Jesus and his disciples.³ But more than this, when the gospel was first preached in the diaspora synagogues, it was preached by converted Jews like Paul and Barnabas. Thus, the Christian Greek of the New Testament was heavily influenced by Semitisms.⁴

But nowhere in the New Testament is the Greek "ceiling" over the Semitic "basement" as thin as it is in

¹Yarbro Collins, Crisis, p. 47.

²Raymond E. Brown, The Gospel According to John, 2 vols., AB, vols. 29, 29a (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1981), 1:cxxix; Fitzmyer, A Wandering Aramean, pp. 6-8, 38-43. Note also the continuation in the Hellenistic church of such Aramaic expressions as maranatha (1 Cor 16:22). It is probable that, along with Aramaic, Jesus spoke at least some Greek. Cf. Fitzmyer, p. 37; cf. also the early study by Arnold Meyer, Jesu Muttersprache (Freiburg i. B./Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1896).

³David Tabachovitz, Die Septuaginta und das Neue Testament, Skrifter Utgivna av Svenska Institutet I Athen, ser. 8, vol. 4 (Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1956), pp. 125-126.

⁴Raymond E. Brown, p. cxxix.

Revelation.¹ While most scholars do not believe that Revelation was originally written in Hebrew or Aramaic, the author certainly appears to have formulated his ideas in the categories of Semitic syntax.²

Since the work of R. H. Charles, many scholars have felt that the author of the Apocalypse draws directly from the Hebrew text of the Old Testament for his allusions.³ While acknowledging that he may at times use a Greek Old Testament, such scholars consider it rare; and even where it occurs, the expressions are Hebrew in origin.⁴ While many are not concerned whether the author draws primarily from Hebrew or Aramaic, Torrey insists, with strong support from Trudinger, that Aramaic is the source behind Revelation.⁵ Lancelotti and Mussies, on the other hand, favor the Hebrew over against the Aramaic.⁶ Melton and Sweet, while favoring a Hebrew origin

¹Roloff, p. 20; Steve Thompson, p. 108.

²H. Kraft, "Zur Offenbarung," p. 93.

³Brütsch, 3:131; Charles, The Revelation, 1:lxvi.

⁴Heinrich Ewald, Die Johanneischen Schriften, 2 vols. (Göttingen: Verlag der Dieterichschen Buchhandlung, 1862), 1:51; Halver, p. 11; Schüssler Fiorenza, The Book of Revelation, p. 16; Vanni, p. 31.

⁵Torrey, pp. 27-48; cf. G. Mussies, The Morphology of Koine Greek as Used in the Apocalypse of John, SNT, vol. 27 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1971), pp. 10-11; P. Trudinger, "Some Observations Concerning the Text of the Old Testament in the Book of Revelation," Journal of Theological Studies, n.s. 17 (1966):82-88.

⁶H. Kraft, "Zur Offenbarung," p. 93; G. Mussies, "DYO in Apocalypse ix 12 and 16," Novum Testamentum 9 (1967):152. But in The Morphology (p. 11) Mussies

for the Old Testament background of Revelation, do feel that the author was aware of Greek and Aramaic versions as well.¹ Yarbrow Collins, on the other hand, notes that Semitisms typical of the LXX are avoided by the author of Revelation.² Thus, a number of scholars feel that there is reason to doubt whether John depended a great deal on any Greek version, or at least on the LXX.³

In direct contrast with the above viewpoint is that of scholars who, following Swete, seem equally certain that John worked directly from the LXX in his use of the Old Testament.⁴ They believe that the Apocalypse was written in Greek and is marked with Septuagintisms.⁵ They argue that where John's language agrees with the Old Testament text it is usually with the Septuagint.⁶

expresses doubt that the differences between Hebrew and Aramaic are visible in Greek translation. So while he favors the Hebrew as the original source, he prefers to talk about "Semitisms."

¹Lloyd Dale Melton, "A Critical Analysis of the Understanding of the Imagery of City in the Book of Revelation" (Ph.D dissertation, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1978), p. 73; J. P. M. Sweet, p. 40.

²Yarbrow Collins, Crisis, p. 47.

³Bludau, p. 9; Justo Gonzalez, A History of Christian Thought, 2 vols. (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1970), 1:40.

⁴Swete, The Apocalypse, pp. cl, clv.

⁵Prigent, Apocalypse et liturgie, p. 10.

⁶Everett F. Harrison, "The Importance of the Septuagint for Biblical Studies," in Truth for Today, 143-154. ed. John F. Walvoord (Chicago: Moody Press, 1963), p. 151; R. H. Pfeiffer, "Canon of the OT," IDB (1962), 1:511; Swete, The Apocalypse, p. cl; cf. Freed (p.

Not all scholars are comfortable with any of these options. Montgomery argues for a multiplex background, suggesting that our author knew by heart the tradition behind the Masoretic text, the LXX, and Theodotion.¹ Vos feels, on the other hand, that John generally used the Old Testament freely without particular reference to any written version.² D. Moody Smith agrees with Vos that the source of the Old Testament material in the book of Revelation was the author's memory more than any version or textual tradition.³ While Charles has suggested that our author did not quote from any Greek version, but worked from the Hebrew, he does allow that John probably was influenced by the LXX and pre-Theodotion.⁴ Yarbro Collins attempts to resolve the complexity of the issue by taking up the proposal of F. M. Cross and D. Barthélemy that there was a "kaige" recension (extant in the late first century⁵) which came somewhere between the LXX and

126) who sees the same phenomenon in the Gospel of John.

¹James A. Montgomery, "The Education of the Seer of the Apocalypse," Journal of Biblical Literature 45 (1926):73-74.

²Vos, p. 22.

³D. Moody Smith, p. 61. Memory can be based on experience with a wide variety of traditions.

⁴Charles, The Revelation, 1:lxvi.

⁵Frank Moore Cross, Jr., "The History of the Biblical Text in the Light of the Discoveries in the Judaeian Desert," Harvard Theological Review 57 (1964):282.

the Masoretic text as the basic source for the Old Testament of the Apocalypse.¹

What are we to make of all these contrasting viewpoints? Since the Greek, Aramaic, and Hebrew Old Testaments are often associated with varying text traditions, it may be helpful to survey the evidence for the text tradition behind the Old Testament background to the book of Revelation before making any decision on the language background.

The Text Tradition Behind the Old Testament of Revelation

The last twenty-five years have seen great advancement in the understanding of the Old Testament text.² It is generally agreed that in the first century C.E. there were three basic Old Testament text types:

¹Yarbro Collins, Crisis, pp. 48-49. See the original discussion concerning the kaige recension: Cross, pp. 281-284; Dominique Barthélemy, Les devanciers d'Aquila, Supplements to Vetus Testamentum (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1963), pp. 32-143; idem, "Redécouverte d'un chaînon manquant de l'histoire de la Septante," Revue biblique 60 (1953):18-29. Barthélemy apparently has the distinction of naming the recension "kaige." The kaige recension appears to be an attempt to harmonize the LXX with the developing Hebrew text (called "Proto-Masoretic" by some).

The evidence thus far exhibited for a kaige recension is not sufficient enough to suggest that it represents the textual source for John's use of the Old Testament. However, the existence of the kaige recension does point to the possibility that the Revelator made use of an eclectic version that combined aspects of all the textual traditions of which we are currently aware.

²K. G. O'Connell, "Greek Versions (minor)," IDB, Sup. vol. (1976), p. 377.

(1) an ancient Palestinian type exemplified by the Samaritan Pentateuch, (2) an Egyptian type exemplified by the Septuagint, and (3) a conservative type which was the forerunner of our present-day Masoretic text.¹ It has been tempting in the past to assume that the Masoretic text represents the original text type and that the LXX and the Samaritan Pentateuch represent deviations from the norm. However, recent finds indicate that the situation in Palestine was far more fluid than was formerly thought.

The Masoretic text type

It now appears that the Masoretic text had its origin in Babylon, not Palestine.² The finds at Qumran seem to confirm the contrast between the Palestinian and Egyptian traditions as opposed to the Masoretic text.³ Thus, scholars are now divided as to whether our Masoretic text truly represents a text superior to others at least as ancient.⁴

¹Cross, pp. 281-299; Geza Vermes, The Dead Sea Scrolls: Qumran in Perspective (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1977), p. 206. For a discussion of the evidence for other text types which have been lost, see Robert Hodgson Jr., "The Testimony Hypothesis," Journal of Biblical Literature 98 (1979):366.

²Cross, pp. 281-299; Vermes, The Dead Sea Scrolls, p. 206.

³Otto Eissfeldt, The Old Testament: An Introduction (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1965), p. 695.

⁴Koester (1:252) considers the Masoretic text to be inferior to the Palestinian text types while Sperber considers it to be the result of a more literal method of transmission. See Sperber, The Bible in Aramaic, 4b:6.

The early Greek versions

While the LXX, the oldest written version of the Old Testament of which we are aware,¹ is based on an Alexandrian form of the Hebrew text, it now appears that that form is a reliable reflection of a text tradition at home in first-century Palestine.² The LXX was very influential in the ancient world, providing the basis for numerous versions of the Old Testament such as the Coptic, Syriac, and Old Latin.³ As a translation, the LXX varies considerably in quality among the individual books of the Old Testament.⁴ In the Pentateuch and many of the historical books, the translation is of good quality, in the prophets and the writings, however, there is so much paraphrasing that the text appears to be a witness to Alexandrian hermeneutics more than to the underlying Hebrew text.⁵

In studying the LXX as a translation of the Hebrew, two points need to be kept in mind. First, the unpointed Hebrew text could be read in more than one way. Such differences do not necessarily reflect a different

¹Harrison, p. 144.

²Koester, 1:252; O'Connell, p. 377.

³Harrison, p. 145.

⁴Eissfeldt, p. 703.

⁵Ibid., pp. 704-705.

text tradition.¹ Second, Old Testament Greek texts were apparently subject to ongoing revision.² Although this possibility is still in dispute, R. A. Kraft argues that the evidence indicates that there were probably a number of recensions of the "LXX."³ The LXX may well have developed along the lines of the Aramaic targums--that is, with an oral tradition that was written down much later.⁴ This would make it quite difficult, with our limited knowledge, to unravel the textual background. That at least some forms of the LXX were in written form by the second century B.C.E., however, seems certain.⁵

The LXX is not the only Greek translation to which New Testament writers seem to have had access.⁶ By New Testament times the Old Testament must have been available

¹Frank B. Holbrook, "Inspired Writers' Interpretation of Inspired Writings," in A Symposium on Biblical Hermeneutics, ed. Gordon M. Hyde (Washington, DC: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1974), p. 131.

²O'Connell, pp. 377-378.

³R. A. Kraft, "Septuagint: B. Earliest Greek Versions ('Old Greek')," IDB, Sup. vol. (1976), p. 811.

⁴Sidney Jellicoe, The Septuagint and Modern Study (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), pp. 59-63.

⁵Cross, pp. 281-299; D. Moody Smith, p. 10. There is no question that the LXX had considerable influence on the literary form of the New Testament (Tabachovitz, p. 19). In many places the writers clearly quote from the LXX when they differ from the Hebrew (Franklin Johnson, p. 1). Of all the New Testament writers, Matthew seems to show the least LXX influence while Luke and Hebrews show the most (Shires, pp. 82-84).

⁶Tabachovitz, p. 127.

in at least two forms and possibly as many as four.¹ Chief among the rivals to the LXX in the first century C.E. was the Greek translation that lay behind what we know as Theodotion. Theodotion seems to take the middle road between the LXX and the Masoretic text and may have been a revision of the LXX with the forerunner of the Masoretic text in mind.² That Theodotion goes back substantially to the New Testament era is evidenced by the large number of parallels between it and the New Testament writings.³ It may even have been an oral Greek targum used to correct the LXX or to fill in gaps. There is no question that in allusions to Daniel, the author of Revelation seems to be aware of the readings found in Theodotion.⁴ When and where he chose to use them is a matter that can only be settled by examining the book of Revelation itself.

¹O'Connell, p. 380; Alexander Sperber, New Testament and Septuagint (New York: Jewish Publication Society, 1940), p. 202.

²Eissfeldt, p. 716.

³J. W. Wevers, "Theodotion," IDB (1962), 4:619. In fact, in the case of Daniel, Theodotion's version replaced that of the LXX in the major Greek codices of the Bible.

⁴Ibid. The kaige recension may well have been a "proto-Theodotion" through which readings familiar to us in the LXX and Theodotion could have come to the Revelator's attention.

The Aramaic targums

Another area of Old Testament textual criticism that has recently been the subject of renewed study is the relationship of the Aramaic targums to the New Testament.¹ It is generally felt that Aramaic targums became necessary in the post-exilic period when the people took up Aramaic, rather than Hebrew, as their chief language.² Perhaps Ezra, as recorded in Neh 8:8, set the precedent for the practice of giving a running translation of the Hebrew Scriptures whenever they were read in public.³ No doubt, these targums early became a regular feature of the services in the synagogues.⁴ The Old Testament was read in Hebrew and an individual called a "Meturgeman" gave a running translation of the Hebrew text. Since educated people continued to read and understand the Hebrew, the Aramaic targums became the Bible of the common, more

¹Rendel Harris was probably the first to note their importance for New Testament study. See Rendel Harris, "Traces of Targumism in the New Testament," Expository Times 32 (1920-21):373-376. For a survey of recent literature on the targums see the excellent study by Miller. For an update on work toward publishing all the available targum material on the Pentateuch, see M. L. Klein, "New Editions of the Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch," in Arameans, Aramaic and the Aramaic Literary Tradition, ed. Michael Sokoloff (Ramat-Gan, Israel: Bar-Ilan University Press, 1983), pp. 89-95.

²McNamara, The New Testament, p. 39; Sperber, The Bible in Aramaic, 4b:21.

³Sperber, The Bible in Aramaic, 4b:2.

⁴Harrington, p. 21; McNamara, The New Testament, p. 40; Miller, p. 34.

poorly-educated classes.¹ As a result, the targums are especially valuable as a witness to the religion of the ordinary Jew.² By contrast, the Hebrew Rabbinic sources, with which we are more familiar, represent the religion of the more educated classes, always a small minority.

There seem to have been two basic types of targum, the literal and the interpretive paraphrase.³ The latter is predominant because less-educated people tend to prize clarity above accuracy.⁴ Clarity was obtained by the use of explanatory glosses which often found their way into the text itself.⁵ The text was often "updated" to be more relevant to the current situation of the hearers.⁶

The flexibility of the targumic tradition indicates why there has never been a unified text of the Palestinian Targum.⁷ The diversity is even greater than that of the Hebrew text tradition. The extant written targums include the Palestinian Targum (or Fragment Targum), Pseudo-Jonathan to the Pentateuch, Targum

¹Patte, pp. 28, 58-62; Sperber, The Bible in Aramaic, 4b:3-4.

²McNamara, The New Testament, p. 22.

³Sperber, The Bible in Aramaic, 4b:3-4.

⁴Ibid., p. 21.

⁵Ibid., pp. 4, 51, 55.

⁶Ibid., pp. 25, 37, 42, 44. Cf. the material above on midrash and targumic exegesis: pp. 57-61.

⁷Kahle, p. 202.

Jonathan to the Prophets, and Neofiti 1, all of which have come to be associated with Palestine.¹ The best known of the Aramaic targums, Onkelos, has a debatable origin. It probably originated in Babylon and may have relatively little significance for the New Testament.² Targums exist for all the Old Testament books except Daniel and Ezra-Nehemiah.³

The crucial issue for the relationship of the targums to the New Testament is the date of their being set down in writing; the age of the manuscripts we have is not of decisive importance.⁴ If the predecessors of the manuscripts in our possession were fixed in written form before the New Testament era, it is quite likely that these targums can be used to elucidate New Testament documents, but if they became written much later, the difficulty of applying them to the study of a New Testament book such as the Apocalypse is multiplied.

When dating targums we must keep in mind that they are practical in nature. As such they were continuously adapted to the new conditions of the people for whom they

¹Gerard J. Kuiper, The Pseudo-Jonathan Targum and Its Relationship to Targum Onkelos (Rome: Institutum Patristicum "Augustinianum," 1972), p. 100; McNamara, The New Testament, p. 258.

²Kahle, pp. 103, 194; Kuiper, p. 106; McNamara, The New Testament, p. 60.

³Eissfeldt, p. 697.

⁴Sperber, The Bible in Aramaic, 4b:17.

were intended.¹ Thus, the targums we now have must be understood as composite works, containing both ancient and late ideas. The date of the part may bear little relation to the date of the whole.² As A. Wikgren has observed: "The Palestinian targums may be considered to be curious compounds or mosaics of things new and old."³ The problem with the targums is how to determine which elements are recent and which are early.

Evidence has been steadily accumulating to indicate that many targumic traditions were fixed in writing by the middle of the first century C.E.,⁴ a decisive factor being the discovery of written Aramaic targums at Qumran.⁵ McNamara cites as further evidence the abundance of parallels between the New Testament and the targums associated with Palestine.⁶ In fact, recent

¹Le Déaut, "The Current State," p. 23.

²Ibid., pp. 23-24.

³Allen Wikgren, "The Targums and the New Testament," The Journal of Religion 24 (1944):92.

⁴Trudinger, "Some Observations," p. 86; Paul Winter, "Lc 2:49 and Targum Yerushalmi," Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft 45 (1954):145-179.

⁵Eissfeldt, p. 696; Fitzmyer, A Wandering Aramean, pp. 161-182; J. T. Forestell, Targumic Traditions and the New Testament (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1979), p. 1; Le Déaut, "The Current State," pp. 5-6.

⁶McNamara, The New Testament, pp. 35-36, 66. McNamara is assuming, of course, that the parallel would not be an indication that the targum is dependant on the New Testament. Since the targums were far more useful to the Jewish community than the Christian from the second century on, Christian interpolations are relatively unlikely for most of the targums that we have.

scholarship is more and more inclined to date written targums even earlier than the Christian era.¹ Thus, the Palestinian targums have a considerable pre-New Testament history, which has been enriched by midrashic additions over the ensuing centuries.² This material reflects to a considerable degree the language spoken by the earliest Christians.³ When properly used, the importance of the targums as a source to elucidate obscure New Testament texts can scarcely be exaggerated.⁴

Since it is likely that in general the New Testament documents betray the influence of the targums, it is also likely that this is so in the case of the Apocalypse.

¹Kahle (p. 203) feels that some of the Pseudo-Jonathan Targum to the Pentateuch goes back to the 2nd Century B.C.E. While Targum Jonathan to the Prophets has been dated as early as the LXX and as late as the Arab conquest of Babylon, it too has much pre-Christian material (Kahle, p. 196; Le Déaut, "The Current State," p. 16). Neofiti 1 is more debatable, but it seems certain that there are at least some pre-Christian readings in it (Le Déaut, "The Current State," p. 5; McNamara, The New Testament, p. 62; Miller, p. 32).

²Harrington, p. 21; Kuiper, p. 29; Miller, p. 35; Patte, pp. 49-52. It should be stated at this point that some scholars question the early dating of the Palestinian Targums. See Joseph A. Fitzmyer, "The Contribution of Qumran Aramaic to the Study of the New Testament," New Testament Studies 20 (1973-74):384; idem, review of The New Testament and the Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch, by Martin McNamara, in Theological Studies 29 (1968):324-325; idem, review of Neofiti I: Targum palestinese, MS de la Biblioteca Vaticana. Tomo I: Genesis, by Alejandro Díez Macho, in Catholic Biblical Quarterly 32 (1970):110-112; E. P. Sanders, Paul and Palestinian Judaism (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1977), p. 26.

³Kahle, p. 208.

⁴McNamara, The New Testament, pp. 35-36.

In fact, scholars who have worked in the area seem to feel that Revelation reveals more contacts with the targums than does any other book of the New Testament.¹ The fact that a number of unusual constructions are found only in Revelation and the Palestinian targums would indicate, at the least, that our author was familiar with oral targumic traditions if not the actual written tradition embodied in the manuscripts that we now have.

Another strong argument for a relationship between the Apocalypse and the targums is the heavy concentration on worship in the book of Revelation.² The worship settings of the book are usually described in terms of Old Testament cultic imagery (Rev 4 and 5; 7:9-12; 8:2-6; 11:15-19; 15:5-8; 19:1-8; etc.). There are also a large number of hymns in the book (Rev 4:11; 5:9,10,12,13; 7:10,12; 11:15,17; etc.). And the very blessings and curses on those who read and hear the Apocalypse imply a public reading of the book in a worship setting (Rev 1:3;

¹Harrington, p. 22; McNamara, The New Testament, p. 255; Miller, p. 73; Vanni, p. 32. According to McNamara (The New Testament, pp. 61-62, 189-190), these contacts are especially evident with the Pseudo-Jonathan Targum to the Pentateuch. One reason for suspecting targumic influence in Revelation is the existence of significant parallels to Revelation which are not found in any other version of the Old Testament. The background to "the one who is, was and is to come" seems based on Pseudo-Jonathan and no other source (*ibid.*, pp. 109-117). The astral imagery in Rev 1:12,16,20 finds a remarkable parallel in Exod 39:37 of Pseudo-Jonathan (*ibid.*, p. 196). The term "second death" may also be a targumic concept (*ibid.*, pp. 117-125; Le Déaut, "Targumic Literature," p. 262).

²McNamara, The New Testament, pp. 124-125.

22:18,19). As a Jew with a Palestinian background, our author was likely familiar with the liturgy of the synagogue.¹ The strong parallels between the book of Revelation and the worship patterns of the synagogue² indicate that the synagogue service, of which the targums were a part, is more relevant for the study of the book of Revelation than are the academic (Rabbinic) or monastic (Qumran) elements of Judaism in the first century.³

We may conclude our examination of the Aramaic targum tradition with the tentative suggestion that the targums should be carefully compared to the Apocalypse, inasmuch as they probably contain pre-Christian elements with which the author might well have been familiar. But in drawing parallels between Revelation and the targums, we do need to be tentative for two reasons: first, the targumic tradition may well be later than the Apocalypse,

¹Ibid., p. 256; Patte, p. 35. On the possible origins of the synagogue, see Patte, pp. 31-35.

²Although the author of Revelation's heavy reliance on the Old Testament dictated that the worship scenes in the book be based heavily on the Old Testament tabernacle and temple traditions, there is considerable evidence that much of the worship imagery of the book would also have been at home in the synagogue services of the first century. The synagogue, with its ark, lamp-stands, shofars, pillars, and divisions between men and women, was modeled on the temple. The two witnesses of Revelation appear to be a New Testament version of the law and the prophets read in the synagogue, the law from "Moses' seat (Matt 23:2)" and the prophets from "Elijah's seat (Luke 4:16,17,24-26)" (cf. Mal 4:4,5). I am indebted for these and other insights to my colleague Douglas Waterhouse, who has done considerable unpublished research on the relationship between the Apocalypse and the synagogue.

³Kahle, p., 208.

and second, the targumic traditions are so rich and our evidence for them so scanty that we must never assume that our author necessarily had a particular targumic document in hand when he wrote his Apocalypse.

The Greek "Barbarisms" in the Apocalypse

Another area of study which may help clarify the language and text tradition of the Old Testament used in Revelation is an examination of the striking irregularities in the Greek grammar of the book of Revelation. For instance, in Rev 1:4 greetings are delivered to the seven churches from "the one who is and who was and who is to come" (apo ho on kai ho en kai ho erchomenos). The typical English translation masks the awkwardness of the construction, which could be translated somewhat literally "from the One being and the He was and the One coming." Not only are participles mixed with an indicative, but the preposition "from" (apo) as used here is never associated with the nominative case in Koine Greek.

As the difficult construction in Rev 1:4 is rather typical of the book as a whole, the reader is challenged to understand why the author's grammar is so poor. Is it because the author is a native of Palestine¹ and is just doing the best he can? Such a conclusion is negated by

¹Yarbro Collins, Crisis, pp. 47-49. It is only fair to point out that although she argues that it is likely John was either a native of Palestine or lived there for an extended period, Yarbro Collins does not consider that to be the reason for his peculiar Greek.

the fact that the author gives evidence in places that he is well able to handle the Greek language properly when he wishes to.¹ Is the poor grammar intentional, then?² If so, what is he trying to tell us? Is he using the poor grammar as a pointer to the Old Testament background, in case anyone could possibly miss it?³ Is he deliberately writing in barbarous Greek as a protest against Hellenistic culture?⁴ Do his apocalyptic visions deal with heavenly realities which cannot be expressed according to human logic or normal linguistic conventions? Is he asserting that since the transcendent God is not definable in terms of anything here below, it is only by bizarre images that one can express the inexpressible?⁵ Can virtually all the "barbarisms" of John's Greek be explained by his thinking in Hebrew or Aramaic?⁶

¹Roloff, p. 20; Torrey, p. 14.

²Kraft, "Zur Offenbarung" p. 93; William Milligan, The Book of Revelation, The Expositor's Bible (Cincinnati: Jennings and Graham, [1889]), p. 260; Roloff, p. 20.

³Roloff, p. 20. C. Ozanne goes so far as to argue that the grammatical "abnormalities" of the Apocalypse were deliberately devised by the author to signify the solidarity of his writings with those of the Old Testament. See C. G. Ozanne, "The Language of the Apocalypse," The Tyndale House Bulletin 16 (April, 1965):4, 9.

⁴Yarbro Collins, Crisis, p. 47.

⁵Prigent, "Pour une théologie," pp. 373-375.

⁶Cf. Charles, Studies, pp. 79-102; Kraft, "Zur Offenbarung," p. 93; G. Mussies, "The Greek of the Book of Revelation," in L'Apocalypse johannique et l'Apocalyptique dans le Nouveau Testament, BETL, vol. 53, ed. J. Lambrecht (Gembloux: Leuven University Press, 1980), pp. 167-170; idem, The Morphology, p. 6; Tabachovitz, pp. 125-126;

In a recent book,¹ S. Thompson deals with specific examples of Semitic influence on the meaning of Greek verbs, on the verbal syntax, and on the clause in the Apocalypse. Much previous work on the book of Revelation may need to be revised in the light of Thompson's research into the Semitic Greek of Revelation.

Thompson argues convincingly that most of the "barbarisms" in the Apocalypse are due to the influence of Semitic syntax, which overpowers the rules of Greek grammar in the Apocalypse.² In Thompson's words, ". . . in the Apocalypse, the Greek language was little more than a membrane, stretched tightly over a semitic [sic] framework, showing many essential contours from beneath."³ While this is not a new suggestion, his research has broadened the base of evidence for such a conclusion. As Thompson points out, however,⁴ many of the "syntactical oddities" can be found in the LXX and therefore are no guarantee that John necessarily worked directly from the Hebrew or Aramaic of the Old Testament.

Torrey, pp. 13-58. McNamara, for example, (The New Testament, pp. 109-117, 124-125, 189-190) points to the Aramaic targums used in the synagogues of Palestine as the explanation for Rev 1:4 and many other irregularities.

¹Derived from a doctoral dissertation supervised by Matthew Black at the University of St. Andrews.

²Ibid., p. 107.

³Ibid., p. 108.

⁴Ibid., p. 107.

Specialized Studies in the Text
Background of the Apocalypse

At this writing I am aware of only two studies which relate directly to the issue of the language and text background to the use of the Old Testament in the book of Revelation, those of L. Trudinger and A. Vanhoye.¹ Two studies done in the last century, by C. H. Toy and D. M. Turpie, while covering the whole New Testament, pursue a method similar to Trudinger's.² Among a number of other studies which pursue the question of the language and text background to the use of the Old Testament in the New Testament, the most interesting are those of Gundry and Reim.³

The studies by Toy and Turpie examine the generally recognized quotations of the Old Testament in the New Testament. They attempt to discover the text and language background most familiar to the New Testament writers as a whole.

¹Leonhard P. Trudinger, "The Text of the Old Testament in the Book of Revelation" (Ph.D. dissertation, Boston University, 1963); cf. Trudinger, "Some Observations;" A. Vanhoye, "L'utilisation du livre d'Ezéchiel dans l'Apocalypse." Steven Thompson (pp. 2-7) discusses a number of studies into the language background of Revelation, but these focus on the book itself rather than on the language and text tradition of the Old Testament that the author of Revelation was working from.

²Crawford Howell Toy, Quotations in the New Testament (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1884); David McCalman Turpie, The Old Testament in the New (London: Williams and Novgate, 1868).

³Gundry, The Use; Günter Reim, Studien zum alttestamentlichen Hintergrund des Johannesevangeliums, SNTSMS, no. 22 (Cambridge: University Press, 1974).

Toy notes four classes of New Testament quotations: (1) those that agree with both Hebrew and LXX, (2) those that agree with the LXX against the Hebrew, (3) those that agree with the Hebrew against the LXX, and (4) those that disagree with both. In his judgment the largest of these four classes involve passages that agree with the LXX against the Hebrew. The second largest group involve passages that disagree with both the LXX and the Hebrew (drawn, presumably, from the Aramaic targums, in Toy's thinking).¹ From this evidence Toy concludes that the quotations from the Old Testament in the New Testament were always made from the Greek or the Aramaic and never immediately from the Hebrew.²

Turpie uses the same four classifications with the exception that he divides the fourth into two categories: (1) passages that disagree with both the Hebrew and the LXX when they agree with each other and (2) passages that disagree with both the Hebrew and the LXX when they also disagree with each other.³ In Turpie's judgment, out of the 278 times the New Testament quotes the Old Testament, it agrees with both the Hebrew and the LXX 53 times, with the Hebrew against the LXX 10 times, and with the LXX against the Hebrew 37 times; and it disagrees with both

¹Toy, p. ix.

²Ibid.

³Turpie, p. xvi.

175 times.¹ Thus, Turpie felt that the New Testament used a text other than the LXX or the Masoretic text some 64 percent of the time.² These findings cast some doubt on the presumed dependence of New Testament writers on the LXX. The disagreements between Turpie and Toy cast some doubt also on the methods used by at least one of them!

Gundry, in his major study of the Old Testament background to the gospel of Matthew, notes that while Mark tends to use the LXX when quoting the Old Testament, Matthew tends to depart from the LXX.³ He examined the Old Testament quotations and allusions in Matthew to determine more accurately the nature of this divergence. He found that in formal quotations Matthew, like Mark, adheres closely to the LXX, but when alluding to the Old Testament he appears to follow no known pattern of text-form.⁴ Thus, 30 percent of the allusions to the Old Testament in Matthew appear to be based on the LXX, 39 percent are definitely not based on the LXX, and 14 percent seem based on the targums.⁵ Thus, the allusions to the Old Testament in Matthew appear to be based either

¹Ibid., p. 267. The figures given add up to only 275 because Turpie was uncertain how to classify three passages.

²Ibid., pp. 267-268.

³Gundry, The Use, p. 9.

⁴Ibid., pp. 28, 69, 89, 127.

⁵Ibid., pp. 148-150.

on a mixed text or on a variety of sources.¹ Gundry concludes from this diversity of text background that Matthew is either working from a translation that we are not aware of or that he is his own targumist, working freely from the Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek text traditions available to him.²

In a similar study on the Gospel of John, Reim concludes that John's Gospel did not use the LXX as a source for quotations but is far closer to the Masoretic text in its use of the Old Testament.³ Thus, the specialized studies by Gundry and Reim underline the conclusions of Turpie's study on the New Testament use of the Old Testament as a whole.

The clearest conclusion from the above studies is that the Old Testament text background of the New Testament must be settled on a book-by-book basis. Overall statistics for the New Testament use of the Old Testament may not be very meaningful for the study of any particular New Testament book.

We turn, with that in mind, to Trudinger's study on the text of the Old Testament utilized in the book of

¹Ibid., pp. 149-150. Some divergence due to faulty memory should also be allowed for.

²Ibid., p. 172.

³Reim, pp. 231-232. Reim's work is examined later with regard to the Old Testament allusions in Revelation.

Revelation.¹ Trudinger summarizes the conclusions of his study in the following manner: (1) the writer of Revelation appears to be informed primarily by Semitic sources rather than Greek;² (2) a substantial number of Old Testament quotations and allusions have their closest affinity with the Aramaic targums, rather than either the Hebrew or the Greek;³ and (3) the author of Revelation seems to know a text tradition other than the Masoretic text.⁴

Trudinger concludes from the evidence that the textual situation at the time when Revelation was written was very fluid. One should not expect the author to have slavishly followed a particular form familiar to us. It does seem clear, however, that he was especially steeped in the traditions relating to the Palestinian synagogue.⁵

Vanhoye, on the other hand, examines only the relationship between Revelation and the book of Ezekiel.⁶

¹See Trudinger's dissertation, "The Text of the Old Testament in the Book of Revelation," especially pp. 184-189.

²Trudinger ("The Text," p. 84) felt that more than four times as many allusions lean toward the Hebrew than toward the Greek.

³Ibid., p. 86.

⁴Ibid., p. 88.

⁵Ibid. It is not likely that the fixing of the Old Testament text that is thought to have taken place at Jamnia affected the situation of Christians in Asia Minor by the time Revelation was written.

⁶Vanhoye, pp. 436-476.

He compares Revelation with Ezekiel in the LXX and the MT. Vanhoye argues that although John seems to follow the LXX of Ezekiel on eight occasions where the MT and LXX of Ezekiel differ,¹ these usages are only apparent, not certain. On the other hand, there are numerous passages that appear to him to "lean overwhelmingly" in favor of the Hebrew and away from the LXX text.² In addition, he points out that John takes passages from the MT that are missing in the LXX.³ Therefore, after comparing some 35 allusions to Ezekiel in Revelation he states:

In conclusion . . . passages containing indications which would permit one to think of a utilization of the LXX are rare, and these indications are always counterbalanced, in the same passages, by other, unfavorable, indications. To the contrary, texts which clearly differ from the LXX are numerous without any counterpart permitting hesitation . . . these texts constitute a witness favorable to the utilization of the Hebrew text rather than the (LXX).⁴

The weakness of Vanhoye's work is that he was unable to utilize either the Targums or Qumran in his research. Thus, while he rightly points the way to a Semitic background for the Apocalypse, his conclusions must be received with some reservation.

¹Ibid., pp. 445-446.

²Ibid., pp. 447-454.

³Ibid., p. 445. He compares, e.g., Rev 15:3,4 with Jer 10:6,7 MT which is omitted by the LXX.

⁴Ibid., pp. 454-455. Vogelgesang concurs with Vanhoye, although it is not clear that he examined Vanhoye's evidence first-hand. See Vogelgesang, pp. 16-23.

Summary

Having noticed at some length the problems involved in making a determination as to the language and textual tradition of the Old Testament used by the author of the Apocalypse, we are left with the impression that the evidence at the present time does not appear to be conclusive, especially in the light of the allusive nature of his use of the Old Testament.¹ We cannot exclude the possibility that he worked comfortably in all of the three languages of Palestine. It would be equally unwise at this point to limit him to any one text tradition.² The writers of the New Testament (and John was no exception) seem to have used the text form of the Old Testament which best lent itself to the point they were trying to get across.³ Therefore, when working with the Old Testament background to the book of Revelation, it is advisable to have the widest possible exposure to the various languages and text traditions which were current in Palestine in the New Testament era.

The Problem of Allusions

To merely assert that the Apocalypse is saturated with Old Testament concepts does not even begin to address

¹Beale, The Use, pp. 311-312.

²He appears to have been aware of all three of the text traditions of which we are aware and may well have worked from others that are lost to us.

³Bruce, p. 70.

the issue of how they are used in the book. A reader thoroughly acquainted with the Old Testament quickly notices that Revelation never directly quotes the Old Testament;¹ rather, it alludes to it with a word here, a

¹Aland et al., eds., The Greek New Testament, 3rd ed., p. 903; H. S. Bellamy, The Book of Revelation is History (London: Faber and Faber, 1942), p. 13; Corsini, p. 32; Nils Alstrup Dahl, "The Crucified Messiah and the Endangered Promises," Word and World 3 (1983):253; Werner Foerster, "Bemerkungen zur Bildsprache der Offenbarung Johannis," in Verborum Veritas. Festschrift für Gustav Stählin, ed. Otto Böcher and Klaus Haacker (Wuppertal: Theologischer Verlag Rolf Brockhaus, 1970), p. 225; Halver, pp. 11-12; Gerhard F. Hasel, "La Prophétie et son accomplissement," in Prophétie et eschatologie, ed. Richard Leshar (Washington, DC: Biblical Research Institute of SDAs, 1982), 1:105; Franklin Johnson, p. 30; Peter Ketter, Die Apokalypse, Herders Bibelkommentar (Freiburg: Herder & Co., 1942), p. 4; Morant, p. 18; Roger Nicole, "A Study of the Old Testament Quotations in the New Testament with Reference to the Doctrine of the Inspiration of the Scriptures" (M.S.T. thesis, Gordon College of Theology and Missions, 1940), passim; Parker, p. 40; Ernest Leslie Peerman, Living Messages from Patmos (New York: Pyramid Press, 1941), p. 51; Pierre Prigent, L'Apocalypse de Saint Jean, p. 368; Roloff, p. 20; Schüssler Fiorenza, "Apokalypsis and Propheteia. The Book of Revelation in the Context of Early Christian Prophecy," in L'Apocalypse johannique et l'Apocalyptique dans le Nouveau Testament, BETL, vol. 53, ed. J. Lambrecht (Gembloux: Leuven University Press, 1980), p. 108; idem, "Composition and Structure," p. 359; D. Moody Smith, p. 59; F. Stagg, "Interpreting the Book of Revelation," Review and Expositor 72 (1975):333; Swete, The Apocalypse, p. xlix, cxxxv; idem, An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek (Cambridge: University Press, 1902), p. 392; R. V. G. Tasker, The Old Testament in the New Testament (London: SCM Press, 1946), p. 168; Torrey, p. 4; Toy, p. xxxvii; Vanhoye, pp. 436-437; Vos, pp. 20, 51; Yarbro Collins, Crisis, p. 42. Bohl, Bratcher, Dittmar, Döpke, Hühn, Turpie, and Vanhoye argue for anywhere from one to eleven "quotations" of the Old Testament in the book of Revelation. Cf. Robert G. Bratcher, ed., Old Testament Quotations in the New Testament (London: United Bible Societies, 1967), pp. 74-76; Johann Christian Carl Döpke, Hermeneutik der neutestamentlichen Schriftsteller (Leipzig: Friedrich Christian Wilhelm Vogel, 1829), p. 288; David McCalman Turpie, The New Testament View of the Old (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1872), p. 323; Vos, p. 20.

concept there, a phrase in another place.¹ In the words of J. P. M. Sweet, John "never quotes a passage verbatim, but paraphrases, alludes, and weaves together motifs in such a way that to follow up each allusion usually brings out further dimensions of meaning."² Montgomery states:

. . . these citations are hardly ever full texts of Scripture; they are brief snatches, often not more than a word or two, and then there is a leap to some other passage, so that there are few cases of exact equation with any single Old Testament locus.³

How do we know to which Old Testament passages the author of Revelation was alluding? While it is clear that the Old Testament is basic to any understanding of Revelation, it is not always clear what part of the Old Testament was in the author's mind at a given point.⁴

It would make it easier if our author had simply told us where he was getting his symbols.⁵ But not only does he never cite the Old Testament, he mentions a portion of it only once (Rev 15:3--The Song of Moses).⁶ John's use of the Old Testament ranges from strictly

¹Hasel, Prophétie, p. 105; Tenney, Interpreting Revelation, p. 101.

²Sweet, p. 39.

³Montgomery, p. 71.

⁴Vos, p. 18.

⁵Contrast the Apocalypse with Matthew who usually identifies the Old Testament source of his quotations. Matt 2:17,18; 3:3, etc. Cf. Vanhoye, p. 436.

⁶Schüssler Fiorenza, The Book of Revelation, p. 135; Vanhoye, p. 437; Vos, p. 19. Even in Rev 15:3,4 he does not quote Exod 15 but follows the citation with an amalgam of Scriptural themes.

literal repetition of a few words to pure reminiscences, with an extended range of intermediate possibilities.¹

The problem of identifying allusions to the Old Testament in Revelation becomes even more complicated when we discover that John appears on many occasions to have recalled loosely from memory,² adapted the Old Testament language to fit his need,³ or used a different text tradition than we have available to us.⁴ Many of the allusions may even be involuntary.⁵ At times he may also have drawn the Old Testament reference from a later tradition that is based on the Old Testament rather than from the Old Testament itself.⁶ On other occasions he appears simply to have drawn from a "stock apocalyptic

¹Vanni, p. 31.

²Franklin Johnson, p. 29; D. Moody Smith, p. 61; Stierlin, p. 56; Tenney, Interpreting Revelation, p. 103; Toy, p. xx; Trudinger, "The Text," p. 17; Vos, pp. 22, 27, 36.

³Corsini, p. 32; Freed, p. 129; Donatus Haugg, Die Zwei Zeugen, Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen, vol. 17, pt. 1 (Münster: Verlag der Aschendorffschen Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1936), pp. 85-86; Ketter, p. 4; Peerman, p. 53; Preston and Hanson, p. 35; Stagg, pp. 333-334; Krister Stendahl, The School of St. Matthew (Uppsala: Almqvist and Wiksells, 1954), p. 159; Vanhoye, pp. 451-462; Vos, pp. 23-32; Yarbrow Collins, Crisis, pp. 42, 48.

⁴Nicole, "A Study," pp. 9-11; Tenney, Interpreting Revelation, p. 103; Trudinger, "The Text," p. 17.

⁵Hasel, Prophetie, p. 105. By involuntary we mean that our author may have used language that appears to have been drawn from a particular literary source, but was, in fact, drawn from his store of general memories rather than consciously with reference to that source.

⁶Beale, The Use, pp. 9, 159, 293.

dictionary" without any regard for the original context of the reference.¹

To further complicate matters, all Old Testament expressions in Revelation, even if drawn from the LXX, are found in "translation Greek."² It would have simplified matters a great deal if the author of the Apocalypse had quoted consistently from a Greek translation of the Old Testament such as the Septuagint. But as we have already seen, recent studies have shown Revelation to diverge widely from the LXX. More often than not, John probably did his own translating³ and utilized text traditions with which we are relatively unfamiliar, such as the Aramaic targums and the Hebrew text represented at Qumran.⁴ Thus, the search for allusions has been complicated by the need for a far wider search of Old Testament sources than has been possible in the past.⁵ Therefore, the LXX should not be used to deny that an allusion is intended, unless all other available sources have been consulted.⁶

¹Beale, The Use, p. 9.

²Nicole, "A Study," pp. 11-12.

³Charles, The Revelation, 1:lxvi.

⁴Trudinger, "Some Observations," pp. 82-88.

⁵In addition to the LXX, Greek translations such as Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion; Aramaic targums such as Neofiti 1 and Pseudo-Jonathan to the Pentateuch; and the Masoretic, Qumran, and Samaritan traditions of the Hebrew may all contain readings familiar to our author.

⁶Vanhoye, pp. 454-455. Even then it is possible John consulted sources that are not extant.

It is clear from the above that great pitfalls threaten the interpreter who wishes to compile a list of the allusions to the Old Testament in the book of Revelation.¹ The fact is that attempts by recognized scholars to compile lists of allusions to the Old Testament have produced differing results.² Some researchers have even concluded that it is impossible to make such a list for Revelation.³ Thus, careful controls are necessary if a list of Old Testament parallels to Revelation is to be worth anything.⁴ While the differences in the various

¹Gundry, "The Use," p. 4. Vos (p. 112) states: "Allusions, by their very nature, are rather elusive, and it is often questionable just what is an allusion and what is not."

²Cf. Aland et al., eds., The Greek New Testament, 1st ed. (1966); Aland et al., eds., The Greek New Testament, 3rd ed. (1975); Wilhelm Dittmar, Vetus Testamentum in Novo (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1903); Eugen Hühn, Die alttestamentliche Citate und Reminiscenzen im Neuen Testament (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1900); Eberhard Nestle et al., eds., Novum Testamentum Graece, 26th ed. (1979); Brooke Foss Westcott and Fenton John Anthony Hort, eds., The New Testament in the Original Greek (London: MacMillan and Co., 1898).

The first edition of The Greek New Testament (pp. 897-920) lists 2,600 Old Testament quotes in the New Testament, while the third edition (pp. 897-900) lists only 400! Even more interesting, however, is the fact that both list 41 allusions to the Old Testament in the seven trumpets! The difference between the two is explained (3rd ed., p. ix) as the elimination of "allusions." There are some obvious anomalies in these statistics.

For further examples of these differences, see the Appendix to this chapter.

³Bludau, p. 3; Hicks, p. 30; Trudinger, "The Text," p. 40.

⁴Matthew Black, "Some Greek Words with 'Hebrew' Meanings in the Epistles and Apocalypse," in Biblical Studies: Essays in Honour of William Barclay, ed. Johnston

lists may be due to the use of different criteria of judgment as to what does or does not constitute an allusion,¹ more often than not they seem to reflect a lack of method and diligent investigation of the various sources that the author of Revelation may have used.² Unless a more scientific method of determining allusions can be produced the examination of the Old Testament background to the Apocalypse will not yield the full results that would enable the researcher to open up the meaning of the book at a deeper level than heretofore.³

Earlier Attempts to Produce a Method for Determining Allusions

Many researchers have attempted over the years to list parallels to the Old Testament in the book of Revelation, but rarely have the criteria for selection been set forth. For example, in the third edition of Aland's Greek New Testament, the criteria for including cross-references are indicated as being (1) quotations, (2) "definite allusions" (meaning that the writer had this passage specifically in mind), and (3) "literary and other

R. McKay and James F. Miller (London: Collins, 1976), p. 135.

¹Ibid., pp. 18-19.

²See the Appendix to this chapter for research that clearly demonstrates the lack of systematic method in previous attempts to evaluate allusions to the Old Testament in the seven trumpets of Revelation.

³Court, p. 18; Tenney, Interpreting Revelation, p. 112; Yarbro Collins, Crisis, p. 48.

parallels,"¹ But such a statement does not reveal the basis on which the editors determined what constitutes an allusion or a literary parallel. A similar situation is found in the dissertation by J. T. Sanders,² which lists many Old Testament allusions in the Apocalypse without giving any indication of the criteria by which the selection was made.

D. Haugg suggests that there are three types of allusions in Revelation:³ "Verbal, free citations,"⁴ "Old Testament Influences,"⁵ and "Old Testament Parallels."⁶ Like the Greek New Testament, Haugg does not clarify how he goes about making distinctions between them, but in practice he seems to limit himself to verbal resemblances.

M. C. Tenney is somewhat more helpful.⁷ He declares that allusions to the Old Testament in the book of Revelation are traceable in terms of "verbal resemblance" and "contextual connection." This implies that there are two main types of allusions, those that can be traced by the similarity or identity of a few words

¹Aland et al., eds., The Greek New Testament, 1st ed., p. xlv.

²James T. Sanders, pp. 123-153.

³Ibid., pp. 84-85.

⁴Wörtliche, freie Zitationen.

⁵Alttestamentliche Einflüsse.

⁶Alttestamentliche Parallelen.

⁷Tenney, Interpreting Revelation, p. 101.

between two passages, and those where textual pointers indicate that the two passages have a common context.¹

A number of studies grapple more seriously with the issue of how to determine allusions to the Old Testament in the book of Revelation. Trudinger's dissertation, mentioned earlier, is particularly helpful. While Trudinger is not primarily concerned with the problem of allusions,² he does examine sixty-three passages in Revelation which allude to one or more Old Testament passages.³ His method for isolating allusions is to utilize commentaries and lists, and to narrow their selections down by subjecting them to two main criteria: (1) quotations (where there are sufficient words in a sequence that it is clear that the author had a previous text in mind), and (2) allusions (verbal or contextual affinity to

¹Tenney (Interpreting Revelation, pp. 101-116) provides an excellent discussion of the problem of allusions to the Old Testament, followed by examples of how the discovery of the Old Testament background elucidates the meaning of the text. He offers the following programmatic statement:

"Interpretation by a study of Old Testament allusions, then, contains two principles: (1) the Old Testament context should be examined carefully to see whether it connotes a definite predictive basis for the corresponding parallel in Revelation, or whether it is used merely as illustrative language; (2) the passage in Revelation should be studied to ascertain what interpretation it places on the shadows and types of the Old Testament."

²He deals only with those allusions which give clues as to the text of the Old Testament which lies behind those allusions. See Trudinger, "The Text," p. 209.

³Ibid., pp. 95-147.

an Old Testament text, version, or traditional commentary).¹ As parallel criteria Trudinger suggests comparing the contexts of the passages being examined, seeing how many words the two have in common, and exploring how often the Old Testament book or chapter in question is used elsewhere in Revelation.

Trudinger's work contributes significantly to the present study. The use of lists found in previous studies is the appropriate starting point since it is impossible for any single scholar to exhaust the full scope of allusive possibilities in the Apocalypse. Allusions suggested in previous studies can be evaluated by subjecting them to appropriate criteria. Trudinger's criteria seem quite similar to those hinted at by Tenney. In addition, he makes the interesting suggestion that the frequency with which a certain book or chapter is used in Revelation may be some indication as to whether it is used in a given instance.

Hedrik also makes a serious analysis of allusions to the Old Testament in the Apocalypse,² offering three criteria. The first indication that a passage in Revelation is dependant on the Old Testament is "the use of the same language or a high degree of similarity between the concepts or figures used in both source and borrower."³

¹Ibid., pp. 37-41.

²Hedrik, pp. 16-18.

³Ibid., p. 16.

He argues that the term "high degree of similarity" needs to be left undefined so that it can be worked out in particular cases. The second criterion consists in an " . . . Old Testament passage or complex providing more than one motif or phrase for a New Testament text."¹ With respect to his third criterion, Hedrik states:

. . . there are many references to the Old Testament which do not fall into any of the above categories; there is no indication that the supposed borrower was dependent on or intended to refer the reader to the Old Testament texts cited by the commentators. Most of the suggestions of this type are understood best as evidence that a certain concept or image was probably available to John within the Jewish tradition.²

This last criterion comes very close to what is referred to below as an "echo." There appears to have been a stockpile of apocalyptic symbols which Jews and Christians held in common in the first two centuries of the Christian era,³ and such symbols often came to have a fixed meaning irrespective of the particular context.

A. Vanhoye has examined the relationship between Revelation and the book of Ezekiel in a major article.⁴ After an initial literature survey,⁵ he notes that Revelation appears to use Ezekiel in long sections which

¹Ibid., p. 17.

²Ibid.

³Ezell, p. 21.

⁴Vanhoye, pp. 437-476.

⁵Ibid., pp. 437-440.

he calls "ensembles."¹ In doing so, John is in no way bound to the text of Ezekiel, he continually transforms both text and context. It is not a mere collection of quotations but an inspired new creation.²

In the last part of his article, Vanhoye lists the criteria upon which he determined where the author of Revelation was alluding to the Old Testament.³ He includes two basic categories: "certain allusions"⁴ and "literary contacts."⁵ The "certain allusions" are subdivided into those that are "faithful" and those that are "free." The "literary contacts" are divided into the more probable and the less probable. Unfortunately, he does not spell out clearly the criteria upon which he groups allusions into these categories. Therefore, questions remain as to what makes one allusion certain and another not, and what makes one allusion more probable and another less probable.

Vanhoye's greatest contribution to this study is his suggestion that Revelation often makes use of the Old Testament by means of "ensembles," working with a whole block of text. This insight gave birth to my concept of

¹Ibid., pp. 440-442.

²Ibid., pp. 461-472.

³Ibid., pp. 473-476.

⁴Utilisation Certaine.

⁵Contacts Litteraires.

"structural parallels,"¹ where the author of the Apocalypse seems to be following the structure of a passage of the Old Testament without necessarily using all of its language.

The recent Harvard dissertation by J. Vogelgesang² wrestles with determining the location and extent of the Revelator's dependence on Ezekiel. Vogelgesang offers four criteria by which he tested the hypothesis that Revelation is directly and literarily dependent on Ezekiel.³ (1) The use of an Ezekielian motif expressed within an Ezekielian pattern of thought. (2) The use of an Ezekielian motif that is not found in the same form in other Old Testament literature. These first two criteria carry additional weight if the motifs are not found in available intervening literature. (3) The existence of striking verbal similarities that are best explained by positing a literary relationship between Ezekiel and Revelation. (4) Where disputed details of exegesis in passages with Ezekielian motifs can be solved by appealing to literary dependence, the case for such dependence is strengthened.

¹See below, pp. 184-185.

²"The Interpretation of Ezekiel in the Book of Revelation."

³Ibid., pp. 15-16. His fifth criterion, observing whether the order of Ezekielian passages used in Revelation approximates the order of Ezekiel itself, is relevant solely to the question of Ezekiel's influence on Revelation and is not applicable to the general problem we are examining here.

While the appeal to themes, motifs, verbal similarities, and "patterns of thought" has much in common with the literature just reviewed, Vogelgesang's outline does contribute some ideas to this discussion. Certainly literary dependence on a particular document is strengthened to the extent that a given expression can be shown to be unique to the two documents in question. Also, while his fourth criterion is meaningless in itself, it should carry weight in a setting which conforms to the first three criteria.

Vos published a monograph which examines whether or not oral tradition in the early church was fluid (Koester) or rigid (Gerhardsson and Riesenfeld).¹ Vos's theory was that the state of the synoptic tradition around 100 C.E. could be determined by how Revelation used it. Thus, there was a need to study the problem of allusions and the criteria upon which they could be evaluated.² This led him to examine John's use of the Old Testament in the Apocalypse. Vos felt that the author of Revelation would use the Old Testament in much the same way that he used the Synoptic Tradition.³ Although he gives a good summary of previous work on the subject, his own suggestions do not seem to advance beyond Tenney although his

¹Vos, The Synoptic Traditions in the Apocalypse.

²Ibid., p. 16.

³Ibid., p. 14.

examples provide some insight into how parallels should or should not be examined.¹

The finest statement of method in the study of allusions in Revelation is found in the recent dissertation by G. Beale.² Beale classifies the Revelator's allusions to Daniel into three categories: (1) clear allusions,³ (2) probable allusions,⁴ and (3) possible allusions.⁵ The criteria upon which Beale classifies allusions are spelled out as similarities of (1) theme, (2) content, (3) specific construction of words, and

¹Ibid., p. 112.

²Beale, The Use of Daniel in Jewish Apocalyptic Literature and in the Revelation of St. John. Although Beale's book is marred by its unattractive printing and the author's disorganized style, he is cited here with approval because of his clear statements with regard to the criteria for classifying allusions. See p. 43, n. 62 and pp. 306-311 of his book. His actual practice, however, has come under weighty criticism. See Adela Yarbro Collins, review of The Use of Daniel in Jewish Apocalyptic Literature and in the Revelation of St. John, by G. K. Beale, in Journal of Biblical Literature 105 (4, 1986):734-735. Perhaps the finest example of critical analysis of allusions can be found in the book by Lars Hartman, Prophecy Interpreted. Hartman's work is not cited here, however, because his criteria are assumed, rather than clearly stated. His inductive insights into the analysis of allusions are incorporated into the following chapter.

³For Beale a "clear allusion" is where the word order is virtually identical and has the same general meaning.

⁴Probable allusions include parallels with variation in wording, or parallels of ideas rather than exact wording.

⁵A possible allusion is listed where there is a parallel of wording or thought that is of a more general nature.

(4) structure.¹ In a later paragraph on the same page he offers a further criterion: whether or not a persuasive explanation of authorial motive can be given.²

While the above adds little to previous study, Beale makes a number of insightful comments unique to the study of Revelation.³ He states clearly, for example, that central to the interpretation of an allusion is the degree of intention on the part of the author. He outlines four categories of relationship between John and the Old Testament: (1) conscious allusion to an Old Testament text, (2) unconscious reference via his "learned past," (3) the use of stock apocalyptic phraseology, and (4) reference to an actual visionary experience which has parallels with an Old Testament text.⁴ Thus, determining the degree of authorial intention is crucial to the classification of allusions.

Beale further notes that allusions should not normally be assessed on the basis of a single phenomenon, but rather on the aggregate of the evidence.⁵ The best

¹Beale, The Use, p. 308.

²Ibid.

³As will be shown in the next chapter, literary critics in other fields have sharpened the criteria by which allusions should be determined. But among New Testament scholars, only Beale has come significantly close to the literary-critical insights developed in Chapter II.

⁴Beale, The Use, p. 306.

⁵Ibid., pp. 308-309.

safeguard against "parallelomania" is careful attention to the cumulative force of a variety of criteria.¹

Finally, Beale also contributes to this study when he argues that the validity of a proposed allusion is enhanced by an interpreter's ability to show a convincing motive for the author's having made a particular allusion in a given place. This raises the question of the external evidence for allusions to previous literature, a subject which will be explored in more depth in the next chapter.²

While not dealing directly with the book of Revelation, a pair of studies by M. P. Miller and G. Reim suggest criteria for determining allusions. Miller, in the course of his survey of recent work in the Aramaic targums, offers the following suggestions:

In general, I would say that there are three foci or angles from which one needs to test the claim that a text (or texts) of the Old Testament, whether by way of citation, allusion or paraphrase, is central for understanding the structure, content and history of a New Testament passage: (1) in its own terms, i.e., the use made of the midrashic criteria; (2) in relation to the phenomena of the passage in question; (3) in relation to other analyses of the passage.³

The first criterion suggests, helpfully, that the interpreter of a New Testament passage needs to keep in mind the kind of exegetical methods used by the writers of the

¹Ibid., p. 309.

²See pp. 187-191. For an excellent example of careful method in the evaluation of allusions see Beale, The Use, pp. 168-169, 174-175.

³Miller, p. 60.

time. Knowledge of these methods (Miller considers midrashic method to be rather ubiquitous) may help the interpreter to ferret out allusions which might otherwise remain hidden. This insight is very significant even though Miller may overestimate the importance of Jewish exegetical methods for the Christian church as a whole.

G. Reim explores the role of the Old Testament in the Gospel of John. After examining the Old Testament quotations he gives special attention to the allusions to the Old Testament in the book.¹ He divides them into six categories: (1) citations;² (2) clear allusions;³ (3) probable allusions;⁴ (4) possible allusions;⁵ (5) Jewish laws, usages, and feasts, etc.;⁶ and (6) formal parallels of a spoken or theological nature.⁷ Reim acknowledges that while he sees a difference between the clear, probable, and possible allusions of 2, 3, and 4, they are likely to be judged differently by different scholars.⁸

¹Günter Reim, Studien zum alttestamentlichen Hintergrund des Johannesevangeliums, pp. 97ff.

²Zitate.

³Offensichtliche Anspielungen.

⁴Wahrscheinliche Anspielungen.

⁵Mögliche Anspielungen.

⁶Jüdische Gesetze, Bräuche, Feste und Ähnliches.

⁷Formale Parallelen sprachliche oder theologischer Art. See Reim, pp. 97-98.

⁸Ibid., p. 98.

The foregoing survey of the problem of determining when and where the author of Revelation was alluding to previous literature indicates that more work needs to be done before the author's use of sources can be clarified. This conclusion is further underlined by my examination, in the Appendix to this chapter, of ten of the most highly respected commentators on Revelation. It is clear from the evidence that objective criteria upon which to evaluate supposed allusions to the Old Testament discovered in the Apocalypse are desperately needed at this time.

Summary and Conclusion

In this chapter we have explored four issues whose resolution is vital to the interpretation of the book of Revelation: (1) the sources of the Apocalypse, (2) how the author of Revelation used those sources, (3) the language and text tradition of the Old Testament used by John, and (4) the problem of how to determine when and where John alludes to previous literature.

With regard to the sources of the Apocalypse the literature indicates that the Revelator shows familiarity with the Old Testament, Jewish literary traditions (especially apocalyptic), the contemporary setting of Asia Minor, and the early Christian traditions. An exegetical method that does justice to the author's intention should encourage the interpreter to examine all these potential sources when doing exegesis of a given passage in the book

of Revelation. In this process, special emphasis should probably be given to John's use of the Old Testament and the early Christian traditions embodied in the New Testament.

The Revelator's use of the Old Testament is particularly informed by the meaning early Christians attached to the Christ-event. He interpreted the Old Testament by means of methods familiar to his Jewish contemporaries, but particularly informed by the consciousness that, in Christ, a new age had dawned, and a new, spiritual Israel had been formed.

The question of the language and text tradition of the Old Testament used by the author of the Apocalypse remains open, due to the lack of conclusive evidence. The safest course of action for the interpreter is to be open to the possibility that John made use of all the languages and text traditions of the Old Testament that we know existed in Palestine in the first century. While it is possible that he may have worked from a single, eclectic tradition such as the "kaige," the phenomena of the book can best be explained by recourse to as wide as possible an exposure to the first-century text traditions known to us.

The final section of this chapter surveyed previous attempts to wrestle with the problem of literary allusions in the book of Revelation. The survey has indicated that much more work needs to be done before the

author's allusive use of sources can be clarified. This conclusion is further underlined, in the Appendix to Chapter I, by the discovery of vast discrepancies in the listing of allusions to the Old Testament among ten of the most highly respected commentators on Revelation.

The literature survey of Chapter I, therefore, has led us to the conclusion that a significant obstacle to the accurate interpretation of Revelation is the lack of objective criteria upon which to evaluate supposed allusions to previous literature in the Apocalypse. The next step for this study, then, is to lay out a comprehensive method for the exegesis of Revelation which builds on the evidence accumulated in this chapter, with particular attention being given to the development and demonstration of a literary-critical method for the evaluation of proposed allusions to the Old Testament in the book of Revelation.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER I

The purpose of this Appendix is to demonstrate the lack of systematic method in the listing of allusions to the Old Testament in the seven-trumpets section of the Apocalypse (8:7-9:21; 11:15-18). Although commentaries and critical margins exhibit numerous allusions to the Old Testament in this section, there is little evidence of systematic, comprehensive method in the selection of such allusions. In order to give an accurate picture of the scholarly situation, I have chosen to examine the work of ten prominent figures who represent the two major periods of Revelation research.¹

The first major period of research into the Apocalypse was around the turn of the century. The names of B. F. Westcott² and R. H. Charles,³ figure prominently in that era. Although it would have been profitable to

¹Schüssler Fiorenza (The Book of Revelation, pp. 12-32) has published a superb bibliographic essay which documents the ups and downs of scholarly interest in the Apocalypse.

²Westcott and Hort, eds., The New Testament in the Original Greek.

³Charles, The Revelation of St. John, 2 vols.

examine the commentaries by Allo,¹ Bousset,² Lohmeyer,³ and Swete⁴ as well. I have chosen instead to add the lists of allusions to the Old Testament published by E. Hühn⁵ and W. Dittmar⁶ to the work of Westcott and Charles. Hühn lists many more allusions than Charles and Westcott, while Dittmar lists fewer. The addition of these two may indicate whether the major scholars have been too strict or too lenient in their criteria of selection.

We are presently entering into the second great period of research into the book of Revelation. The two critical margins most commonly used are found in the 26th edition of Nestle's text,⁷ and the third edition of the United Bible Societies' text.⁸ Although the wording of the two is identical,⁹ the marginal references are quite different. The selection from among the more recent

¹E. -B. Allo, Saint Jean. L'Apocalypse.

²Wilhelm Bousset, Die Offenbarung Johannis (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1906).

³Ernst Lohmeyer, Die Offenbarung des Johannes (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1926).

⁴Swete, The Apocalypse of St. John.

⁵Hühn, Die alttestamentliche Citate und Reminiscenzen im Neuen Testament.

⁶Wilhelm Dittmar, Vetus Testamentum in Novo.

⁷Nestle et al. eds., Novum Testamentum Graece, 26th ed.

⁸Aland et al. eds., The Greek New Testament, 3rd ed.

⁹Nestle, 26th ed., p. 42.

commentaries is somewhat more arbitrary. The Anchor Bible Commentary of J. Massyngberde Ford¹ is perhaps the most valuable recent critical commentary. R. Mounce represents a more conservative approach to the book.² The list of ten is rounded out by major recent commentaries in German (Kraft)³ and French (Prigent).⁴ While many other works could have been chosen, the purpose of this Appendix can be attained by examining these ten works.

I have made a genuine attempt to be consistent in the way in which items are listed in the following tables⁵ so as to show a clear picture of the patterns of citation developed by the representative commentators. Rev 9:7-10⁶ has been listed as a unit even though various commentators mention Old Testament passages as a source for particular parts of it. The unity of the description, however, indicates that Rev 9:7-10 should be handled as a unit. Breaking up the table to cover each verse in the passage might have changed the numbers slightly, but it would not have affected the overall picture significantly. A distinction has been made in places where a commentator

¹J. Massyngberde Ford, Revelation, AB, vol. 38 (Garden City, NY: Doubleday and Co., 1975).

²Robert H. Mounce, The Book of Revelation (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1977).

³Kraft, Die Offenbarung des Johannes.

⁴Prigent, L'Apocalypse de Saint Jean.

⁵See pp. 130-154.

⁶Listed on page 130.

has expressed uncertainty with reference to a particular allusion.¹ Such less-certain citations are noted in the tables by a small 'x' whereas the other citations are noted with a capital 'X.'²

The first page of the tables is a summary of the total number of allusions to the Old Testament listed for a given verse in Revelation by our ten commentators.³ The category "Broad" refers to the "Other Citations" mentioned

¹Such uncertainty is generally expressed by placing the allusion in a footnote or by the use of "cf." to indicate that the connection is somewhat questionable or is only implicit.

²The diligent reader may notice that the citation in a book or margin is not always identical with that listed here. For example, according to the list, Rev 8:7 alludes to Exod 9:23-26 in the opinion of nine of the ten commentators. In actual fact, however, Charles, Hühn, Kraft and Westcott mention only Exod 9:24; Prigent mentions Exod 9:24,25; Nestle and the UBS text both indicate Exod 9:23-25; Ford mentions Exod 9:23-26; and Mounce cites Exod 9:13-35, although he notes that the allusion is found in vs. 24 primarily. It was judged that little was to be gained by mentioning all the various possibilities since it is clear by comparing the nine commentators that the essence of the connection could be found by comparing Rev 8:7 with Exod 9:23-26. Although this example is extreme, it does illustrate the difficulty involved in making a list that accurately reflects the scholarly situation on the question of allusions to the Old Testament in the book of Revelation. However, the bulk of the list is sufficiently straightforward so as to minimize the risk of subjectivity in the presentation of the data.

³It is recognized that the count is based on certain assumptions, and that the numbers might be slightly different on other assumptions. However, the main purpose of this appendix is to compare and contrast various approaches to the Old Testament background in Revelation, and the startling differences observed cannot be attributed to the minor differences that might occur should the counts be based on different assumptions.

on page 129. The totals for the seven trumpets (8:7-9:21; 11:15-18) as a whole are as follows:

Charles	79
Dittmar	25
Msb Ford	109
Hühn	102
Kraft	51
Mounce	54
Nestle	71
Prigent	74 ¹
UBS	38
Westcott	41 ²

There is obviously a considerable spread in the amount of Old Testament material the various commentators consider present in the seven trumpets. A range of from 25 to 109 with an average of 64.4 immediately indicates that most or all of the lists are unreliable without some qualification. There are two possible reasons for the large differences. Either the commentators are using different criteria for what constitutes an allusion to the Old Testament in Revelation, or at least some of them are following no set criteria at all. A number of examples of inconsistency are pointed out here, and the reader may draw further conclusions from an examination of the list.

While Massyngeberde Ford would appear to have the broadest criteria for the inclusion of allusions to the

¹Prigent lists a series of "Euphrates" passages in such a way as to show that they are essentially one for him so I counted them as one. Cf. L'Apocalypse de Saint Jean, p. 145.

²Westcott and Hort left out passages that did not have "equal claim to notice" with those listed. They admit that it is difficult "to draw and maintain a clear line of distinction" between passages that should be excluded or included. Westcott and Hort, p. 581.

Old Testament in the seven trumpets, she mentions only 109 passages. But the total number of passages listed by the ten commentators as background to the trumpets is 288.¹ Thus, even Massyngberde Ford mentions a mere 37.8 percent of the total number of suggested allusions, and this in spite of the fact that 65 of her 109 are not mentioned by any of the others. Meanwhile, Dittmar exhibits less than 10 percent of the total! Even more amazing, in spite of the huge number of total citations, all ten commentators agree on only one: all feel that Rev 9:5,6 has Job 3:21 in mind. It seems clear that none of our ten commentators has systematically examined all the possible allusions to the Old Testament in the seven trumpets.

This conclusion is further substantiated by a comparison of Massyngberde Ford and Dittmar. He lists less than a quarter as many allusions as she does. One would assume, therefore, that he operates on more rigid criteria than she. But in the first four trumpets (Rev 8:7-13), where she has nearly half of her citations (52), Dittmar has none at all.² Yet in the seventh trumpet (Rev 11:15-18), Massyngberde Ford cites only six allusions to

¹The figure of 288 includes all citations of Old Testament allusions to the seven trumpets of the Apocalypse by any of the ten commentators, whether or not such citations are mentioned by one or many. For example, while nine commentators mention Rev 8:7 as alluding to Exod 9:23ff., that citation counts as only one for the purpose of determining the total number of allusions to the Old Testament in the seven trumpets.

²To be fair, Dittmar recognizes that his list is not complete. Dittmar, p. v.

the Old Testament while Dittmar has fourteen, more than half of his total for the trumpets as a whole!¹ For Rev 9:20,21, where the rest of our commentators average eight citations each (Hühn has no fewer than 15!), Dittmar has two and Massyngberde Ford has none at all! And in spite of the fact that Dittmar has far fewer citations than anyone else, two of the 288 potential allusions are cited by him alone (he feels that Rev 9:14 alludes to Deut 11:2 and that Rev 11:15 alludes to 1 Sam 12:3). The overwhelming impression is that the selection of allusions to the Old Testament in the book of Revelation is a hit-and-miss operation, with each commentator mentioning whatever passages happen to come to mind.²

This impression is further underlined by the examination of how all ten commentators handle certain interesting parallel passages within the Old Testament itself. Rev 9:20 lists five different types of idols that are worshipped by those upon whom the plagues of the sixth trumpet fall. This list is clearly parallel to the list of six different types of gods found in Dan 5. What makes this allusion especially interesting is the fact that the list appears in two places in Dan 5--vs. 4 and vs. 23--and that whereas nine of our ten commentators mention vs. 23,

¹In fact, Dittmar lists more allusions to the Old Testament in Rev 11:15 than any of the other nine commentators!

²Hicks, p. 32.

only six mention vs. 4, and Massyngberde Ford, normally the most prolific compiler of allusions, mentions neither!

In Rev 9:21 there is an evident allusion to three of the ten commandments. But while four commentators mention Exod 20 as background for the passage, only Charles also mentions Deut 5 where the ten commandments are repeated on a different occasion. And Massyngberde Ford and Hühn, who list more allusions than anyone else, mention neither.

Rev 11:15, as a final example, seems to have clear connections with the inauguration of the son of man's kingship in Dan 7:14. Seven of our commentators would agree. But Dan 7:27 uses similar language with reference to the saints, yet only three commentators cite it. While vs. 14 is clearly the more certain allusion of the two, Rev 1:6 points to the participation of the people of God in the kingship of Christ. Thus, it would appear that Dan 7:27 should probably be cited alongside 7:14 as Charles, Massyngberde Ford, and Nestle do.

The above evidence points to the need for a more scientific method of determining allusions to the Old Testament in the book of Revelation. While our commentators no doubt used certain criteria in their selection, they rarely spelled them out and even more rarely followed them. Many, of course, will not be persuaded that the establishment of "scientific criteria" is an asset to the task of assessing allusions to previous literature in

Revelation. As is the case of recent debates with regard to the synoptic problem and the historical Jesus, there is a subjective element involved in the assessment of allusions that resists logic and systematization. Nevertheless, the endeavor to establish sound methods for the evaluation of allusions in Revelation is a valid task for two reasons. (1) The evident chaos that is discovered when lists of allusions are compared indicates that there is a need for more control over the subjective element. Objective criteria can help insure that all scholars are looking at the same evidence. (2) Students are particularly benefited by a clear statement of the criteria upon which literary-critical research operates. It is, therefore, hoped that this dissertation will encourage the further development of such criteria and the rigorous pursuit of all reasonable allusions to the Old Testament in the book of Revelation.

Other Citations

The following passages are cited in such a broad or structural manner that listing them on a graph would be confusing rather than helpful. These are in addition to the lists on pp. 131-154 and are included under "Broad" on p. 130.

Rev 8:7-13	Isa 42:13	(Massyngberde Ford)
Rev 9:1-11	Exod 10:4-20	(Massyngberde Ford)
	Joel 1 & 2	(Kraft)
	Joel 2:4-11	(Massyngberde Ford)
Rev 9:14-19	Exod 14:26-29	(Massyngberde Ford)
	Exod 15:4	(Massyngberde Ford)

	Charles	Dittmar	Hühn	Kraft	Msb Ford	Mounce	Nestle	Prigent	UBS	Westcott
8:7	4	0	6	5	7	3	6	5	2	3
8:8,9	4	0	5	2	5	1	2	1	1	2
8:10,11	9	0	10	5	17	6	5	3	1	1
8:12	2	0	6	6	8	4	2	6	4	0
8:13	0	0	2	0	15	1	3	7	0	0
9:1	6	0	3	1	6	3	0	2	0	0
9:2	3	1	2	5	1	2	3	3	2	3
9:3,4	1	0	6	3	10	6	2	3	2	2
9:5,6	3	3	4	2	8	1	2	2	3	1
9:7-10	2	0	5	7	3	4	3	2	2	2
9:11	6	0	8	0	1	2	4	7	0	0
9:12	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	0	0
9:13	1	0	1	0	3	0	3	1	1	0
9:14	4	5	3	1	11	3	3	8	0	3
9:15	3	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
9:16	2	0	1	0	2	2	0	1	0	0
9:17	1	0	7	1	1	3	1	3	0	0
9:20	9	2	9	1	0	5	10	8	4	5
9:21	2	0	6	0	0	1	3	1	0	1
11:15	4	8	6	2	3	3	7	2	7	7
11:17	4	5	3	1	0	0	5	2	3	4
11:18	7	1	5	8	3	4	7	6	6	7
Broad				1	5					
Totals	79	25	102	51	109	54	71	74	38	41

<u>3:7</u>	Charles	Dittmar	Hühn	Kraft	Msb Ford	Mounce	Nestle	Prigent	UBS	Westcott
Exod 7:17ff.								x		
Exod 9:23-26	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Josh 10:11					X					
Job 38:22,23					X					
Ps 18:13				X						
Isa 2:13			X							
Isa 28:2			X							
Isa 30:30					x					
Ezek 5:1-4	x			X	X		X	X		
Ezek 5:12					X		X			
Ezek 38:22			X				X		X	X
Ezek 39:6			X							
Joel 2:30,31	X		X	X		X	X	X		X
Zech 13:8,9	X			X	X	X	X	X		

<u>3:10,11</u>	Charles	Dittmar	Hühn	Kraft	Msb Ford	Mounce	Nestle	Prigent	UBS	Westcott
Exod 7:20						X				
Exod 15:22-25	x		X		X	X	X			
Deut 29:17,18	X		X	X	X			X		
Deut 29:22				X						
Judg 5:20					X					
1 Kgs 22:19					X					
2 Chr 18:18					X					
Neh 9:6					X					
Ps 103:21,23					X					
Prov 5:3,4	X				X	X				
Isa 13:10					x					
Isa 14:12-14			X		X		X			X
Isa 29:21					x					
Jer 8:14				X						
Jer 9:14,15	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	
Jer 23:15	X		X	X	X	x	X	X		
Lam 3:15	X		X							
Lam 3:19	X		X			X				
Ezek 32:7					x					
Dan 8:10			X				X			
Joel 2:10					x					
Joel 3:14,15					x					
Amos 5:7	X		X							
Amos 6:12	X		X		X					

<u>3:12</u>	Charles	Dittmar	Hühn	Kraft	Msb Ford	Mounce	Nestle	Prigent	UBS	Westcott
Gen 1:16					X					
Exod 10:21-23	X		X		X	X	X	X		
Josh 10:12-14					X					
2 Kgs 20:8-11					X					
Isa 13:10			X	X		x		X	X	
Isa 30:26					X					
Isa 50:3				X						
Jer 4:23								X		
Ezek 32:7,8				X				X	X	
Joel 2:2,3				X		X				
Joel 2:10			X	X					X	
Joel 2:31			X					X		
Joel 3:15					X			X	X	
Amos 5:18,20			X			X				
Amos 8:9	X		X	X	X		X			
Hab 3:11					X					

<u>8:13 (a)</u>	Charles	Dittmar	Hühn	Kraft	Msb Ford	Mounce	Nestle	Prigent	UBS	Westcott
<u>Exod 19:4</u>					X					
<u>Deut 28:49</u>					X					
<u>Deut 32:11</u>					X					
<u>Ps 17:8</u>					X					
<u>Ps 18:11</u>					X					
<u>Ps 36:7</u>					X					
<u>Ps 57:1</u>					X					
<u>Ps 61:5</u>					X					
<u>Ps 91:4</u>					X					
<u>Isa 18:6</u>								x		
<u>Isa 24:17</u>			x				X			
<u>Isa 26:21</u>							X			
<u>Isa 34:15,16</u>								x		
<u>Jer 7:33</u>								x		
<u>Jer 12:9</u>								x		
<u>Jer 15:3</u>								x		
<u>Jer 48:40</u>					X					
<u>Ezek 1:10</u>					X					
<u>Ezek 10:14</u>					X					
<u>Ezek 16:23</u>								X		
<u>Ezek 39:17</u>								x		
<u>Hos 4:1</u>			x				X			
<u>Hos 8:1</u>					X					
<u>Hab 1:8</u>					X					

	Charles	Dittmar	Hühn	Kraft	Msb Ford	Mounce	Nestle	Prigent	UBS	Westcott
<u>Gen 6:1-4</u>					X					
<u>Gen 29:2</u>			X							
<u>Judg 5:20</u>						X				
<u>Job 41:24</u>	X									
<u>Job 38:7</u>						X				
<u>Ps 33:7</u>	X				x					
<u>Ps 71:20</u>								X		
<u>Ps 74:20</u>	X				x					
<u>Isa 14:10</u>				X						
<u>Isa 14:12</u>			X		X	X		X		
<u>Isa 24:21,22</u>	X				x					
<u>Isa 51:9</u>	X				x					
<u>Dan 8:10</u>			X							
<u>Amos 9:3</u>	X									

<u>9:3,4</u>	Charles	Dittmar	Hühn	Kraft	Msb Ford	Mounce	Nestle	Prigent	UBS	Westcott
Exod 10:1-20			X			X	X	X	X	X
Num 21:6				X						
Deut 8:15			X	X						
Deut 28:38,42					X	X				
Judg 6:5					X					
Judg 7:12					X					
1 Kgs 8:37					X	X				
1 Kgs 12:11,14			X							
2 Chr 10:11,14			X							
Job 39:20					X					
Ps 78:46						X				
Isa 14:29				X						
Isa 33:4					X					
Isa 40:6,7					X					
Ezek 2:6			X							
Ezek 9:4,6							X		X	X
Joel 1:1-2:11			X			X		X		
Joel 2:3,4					X	X		X		
Amos 7:1	X				X					
Nah 3:17					X					

E

<u>9:20</u>	Charles	Dittmar	Hühn	Kraft	Msb Ford	Mounce	Nestle	Prigent	UBS	Westcott
Exod 11:10								X		
Exod 20:3-6								X		
Deut 4:28	X					X		x		
Deut 31:29			x							
Deut 32:17	X		x			X	X		X	X
Ps 95:5							X			
Ps 106:37	X		x							
Ps 113:15	X									
Ps 115:4-7	x		x			X	X	x	X	X
Ps 135:15-17			x			x	X	x	X	
Isa 2:8							X			
Isa 2:20							X			
Isa 17:8			x				X			X
Jer 1:16	X							x		
Dan 5:4	X	X	x				X	X		X
Dan 5:23	X	X	x	X		X	X	X	X	X
Mic 5:12	X		x				X			

	Charles	Dittmar	Hühn	Kraft	Msb Ford	Mounce	Nestle	Prigent	UBS	Westcott
<u>11:15</u>										
Exod 15:18		X	X						X	X
1 Sam 12:3		X								
1 Chr 16:31		x								
Ps 2:2	X	X	X	X		X	X	X		X
Ps 2:6			X							
Ps 10:16		X	X				X		X	X
Ps 22:28		X					X		X	X
Isa 27:13			X							
Dan 2:44	X				X	X	X		X	X
Dan 7:14	X			X	X		X	X	X	X
Dan 7:27	X				X		X			
Obad 21		X	X				X		X	X
Mic 4:7		X								
Zech 14:9						X			X	

	Charles	Dittmar	Hühn	Kraft	Msb Ford	Mounce	Nestle	Prigent	UBS	Westcott
<u>11:17</u>										
Exod 3:14									X	X
2 Sam 7:8							X			
2 Sam 15:10	X									
2 Sam 16:8	X						x			
1 Chr 16:31		x								
Ps 93:1	X	X	x					x		
Ps 96:10		X								
Ps 97:1		X	x							
Ps 99:1	X	X	x	X			X	X		X
Isa 41:4										X
Amos 3:13							X		X	
Amos 4:13							X		X	X

<u>11:18 (a)</u>	Charles	Dittmar	Hühn	Kraft	Msb Ford	Mounce	Nestle	Prigent	UBS	Westcott
Gen 19:11					x					
Exod 15:14							X			
Ps 2:1	X		x	X	X	X		X	X	X
Ps 2:5	X		X	X		X		X		X
Ps 2:12				X		X				
Ps 46:6			x				X		X	X
Ps 61:5							X			
Ps 96:10		X								
Ps 110:5			x							
Ps 115:3				X						
Ps 115:11	X									
Ps 115:13	X		x	X		X	X		X	X
Ps 118:4	X									
Ps 135:20	X									
Isa 3:14				X						
Jer 12:10				X						
Jer 37:23							X			
Jer 51:25	X			X	X		X	X		
Ezek 7:19								x		
Dan 9:6,10									X	X
Amos 3:7									X	X
Mic 6:9							X			
Zeph 1:18								x		
Zeph 2:2,3								x		

CHAPTER II

METHOD AND THE STUDY OF THE OLD TESTAMENT BACKGROUND TO THE BOOK OF REVELATION

The primary purpose of this chapter is to describe and demonstrate a method that can enable interpreters to evaluate more objectively the parallels to other literature that are so abundant in the Apocalypse. The chapter begins with a basic summary of the comprehensive exegetical task facing the student of Revelation. That summary is followed by the description of the proposed method for the evaluation of allusions to previous literature in the Apocalypse. The rest of the chapter is devoted to a demonstration of how the method works in practice. This demonstration consists of three parts. The first part (Excursus) justifies the selection of the demonstration passage, Rev 8:7-12. The second part sets forth the overall thematic and structural background to the seven trumpets.¹ The third part evaluates the allusions proposed by other scholars for the interpretation of the

¹The thematic and structural background to the trumpets must be spelled out at this stage of the dissertation in order to provide data for the evaluation of "structural parallels" to the seven trumpets.

first four trumpets (Rev 8:7-12). In the process of evaluating the allusions proposed by others, the "how to" of the proposed method is demonstrated in detail. The conclusion of this last part explores the impact the results of this evaluation have on some of the issues raised in Chapter I.

The Proposed Method

The Western mind is accustomed to precise expression of material and spiritual realities. Diverse aspects of a given reality are carefully analyzed and distinguished. This tendency creates a grave problem with respect to the study of ancient oriental texts, such as the Bible. To read such texts, especially apocalyptic ones, with Western precision is to place on the symbols interpretations which the author did not intend.¹ In the Apocalypse, more than in any other Bible book, presuppositions and method are critical in determining the interpreter's perception of the book's meaning.

The main purpose of this dissertation is to suggest an exegetical method for Revelation which will minimize the interpreter's Western bias and maximize his/her entering into the very heart and soul of the author's message. The method consists of four fundamental

¹J. Cambier, "Les images de l'Ancien Testament dans l'Apocalypse de saint Jean," Nouvelle revue théologique 87 (1955):113.

steps: (1) basic exegesis of the passage being studied,¹ (2) an examination of relevant parallels to that passage in other parts of Revelation, (3) a careful search of the Old Testament to find the root sources of the imagery in the passage which can be found there, and (4) consideration of how early Christians like John transformed the meaning of those symbols in the light of the Christ-event. While, at first glance, points (2) through (4) might seem more appropriate as sub-headings under the first, they have, as is outlined below, a unique application to the book of Revelation.

Basic Exegesis

Exegesis is the process of examining a passage to determine the meaning, in its original setting, of what the author was saying. In order to accomplish this the traditional canons of New Testament exegesis include attention to the meaning of words, to syntactical relationships, to the literary form and structure of the passage and its immediate context, and to the relationship the passage has to its contemporary situation.

The contemporary situation is elucidated by learning all one can about the audience and its social setting, about the concerns which prompted the author to write, and about parallel literature. Of increasing importance is the evidence that can be gathered from

¹Including attention to the non-canonical background of the book.

archeology and from historical and sociological analyses. For Revelation, an examination of other apocalyptic writings is particularly helpful.

Such methods of exegesis are quite successful for most of the New Testament. But the exegetical results are less satisfying when Revelation is the object of study. It is quite possible in the Apocalypse to know full well what the author said and still have absolutely no idea of what he meant.¹ While the basic message of most New Testament books can be grasped without a vast knowledge of prior literature, the language of Revelation is imbued with centuries of theological meaning and usage. The author may use a phrase or a sentence of the Old Testament as a pointer to the whole Old Testament context in which that phrase or sentence is found. Further misunderstanding is inevitable if the author's Christian perspective is ignored. The repetitive parallels also indicate that the structure of the book is more central here than in most books of the New Testament. Therefore, as is pointed out in Chapter I, the more bizarre and apocalyptic portions of Revelation (such as the seven trumpets) only yield up the depth of the author's intention when a broader, more theological, method of exegesis is used to place the passage in the larger theological context in which the author moved.

¹Halver, p. 7.

Structure

What makes the structure of Revelation so uniquely significant for interpretation is the fantastically complex interweaving of visions, symbols, and ideas. Unlike common prose, where there is a natural flow of thought from beginning to end, the Apocalypse oscillates wildly from one scene to another; from a focus on God and His work to a focus on manifestations of evil; from apocalyptic vision, to prophetic oracle, to worshipful song. Nevertheless, there is an overarching symbolic and structural unity that binds the diversity together.¹ In Revelation the most significant context for a given passage is as likely to be found at the other end of the book as in an adjoining passage. Therefore, if the book is to be correctly interpreted, it is critical to identify the relationship that a given passage has to the complex overall structure of the Apocalypse.²

¹Leonard Thompson, "Mythic Unity," pp. 13-28. Cf. Bowman, IDB, 4:58-71; Strand, The Open Gates.

²Among the better structures of Revelation are the following: David Barr, "Symbolic Transformation," p. 45; Bowman, Interpretation, pp. 440-443 (Bowman's analysis includes a synopsis of representative outlines by Lohmeyer, Moulton, Rissi, Charles, Zahn, Swete, and Lund); Jan Lambrecht, "A Structuration of Revelation 4,1-22,5," in L'Apocalypse johannique et l'Apocalyptique dans le Nouveau Testament, BETL, vol 53, ed. J. Lambrecht (Gembloux: Leuven University Press, 1980), pp. 77-104; Schüssler Fiorenza, "Composition and Structure," pp. 358-366 (cf. idem, "The Eschatology and Composition," pp. 561-569); Leroy C. Spinks, "Critical Examination of J. W. Bowman's Proposed Structure of the Revelation," Evangelical Quarterly 50 (1978):211-222; Strand, The Open Gates, p. 48; Yarbrow Collins, Crisis, p. 112.

Such identification can best be achieved by examining other passages in Revelation where similar symbols and structures are found. Some of the more obvious parallel structures in Revelation include the trumpets and bowls, and the rider on the white horse in chaps. 6 and 19. These parallels can clarify the meaning of the symbols in the passage being studied.¹ The examination of parallel structures is especially helpful when it enables one to apply to difficult passages insights obtained from clearer ones. For example, most exegetes agree that the seven bowls of Rev 16 are judgments of God on those who have rejected Him. It is reasonable to expect a similar theme in a parallel passage such as the seven trumpets, a passage on which there is little agreement. A careful application of relevant literary-critical principles can be helpful in establishing where the author had a more-distant context in mind as he wrote down a given passage.²

The Old Testament

The next, and most important, step is to determine to which passages and ideas of the Old Testament the author is alluding. Indeed, the Old Testament is, as we have observed earlier, such an all-pervasive source for

¹Rev 1:20 clarifies the meaning of the stars and the lampstands of Rev 1:12 and 16. The waters of Rev 16:12 are explained in 17:1,15.

²See the section entitled "A Method for Determining Allusions," pp. 165-194.

the imagery of the book of Revelation that we cannot hope to understand any portion of the book without attention to the Old Testament. But the moment we attempt to find and explore the Old Testament background to any given item in the Apocalypse, we encounter all the problems regarding allusions, language, and text tradition discussed earlier. In order to formulate a method by which to utilize the Old Testament effectively in the interpretation of Revelation, it will be necessary to address this issue further, as we will do shortly.

The New Testament

We have already noticed that the book of Revelation is a Christian book and is filled with scores of parallels to the other books of the New Testament. What we have in the Apocalypse is a statement from Jesus in "many, many pictures."¹ The Apocalypse draws together early Christian themes and pictures to which the rest of the New Testament bears witness. As with the rest of the New Testament, the history and teachings of the Old Testament are applied to a new situation in the light of the Christ-event. The Apocalypse reflects the conviction that Jesus brings to perfection and fulfillment the whole of the Old Testament. With the coming of Jesus Christ the "last days" have arrived. As we noticed above, the New Testament writers used quotations and allusions to the Old

¹Schmidt, "Die Bildersprache," p. 177.

Testament as pointers to the whole Old Testament context. As a result, they saw in the Christ-event the consummation of the ages in which all the things of Israel are gathered up in one great final fulfillment. Thus, the Christian community has become a new Israel, not ethnic and geographical like the old, but made up of all those who are in Christ--a spiritual, worldwide Israel.

It is clear, therefore, that John's experience with Jesus has led him to thoroughly transform the Old Testament materials which he incorporated into the Apocalypse. Thus, rather than trying to impose Old Testament concepts and structures upon Revelation, we must interpret these concepts through the prism of the Christ-event. The best way to do this is to seek out New Testament parallels for the Old Testament expressions in Revelation. In these New Testament parallels we have a guide for how first-century Christians understood these Old Testament concepts in the light of the Christ-event. As is the case with the Old Testament, however, allusions to the Christian traditions in Revelation are elusive.¹ It is necessary, then, to address the problem of allusions before we can successfully isolate the New Testament concepts with which the author of Revelation was familiar.

¹Schüssler Fiorenza, The Book of Revelation, p. 103; cf. Vos, *passim*.

The Proposed Method in Previous Literature

Before discussing the issue of how to determine when the author of Revelation is alluding to previous literature, a few remarks should be made with regard to the overall method just outlined. At first glance the method may appear elementary and self-evident. But while it is clearly called for by the nature of the book of Revelation, this method is rarely practiced consistently and even more rarely spelled out in standard works on Revelation. The lack of systematic scholarship applied to exegetical concerns in the book of Revelation, even in recent years, calls for a step-by-step outline of what proper exegesis of the book of Revelation involves.

Before we go on, it is helpful to call attention briefly to some of the more impressive attempts to pursue aspects of this proposed method in the past. Many scholars have pointed out the importance of the Old Testament and made suggestions as to its proper use with relation to the book of Revelation.¹ Others have noticed

¹Among the clearer statements on the subject are those of James Armstrong, The Apocalypse (Dublin: George Herbert, 1868), pp. 37-38; Hoyt, p. 1; Ferrell Jenkins, p. 47. A very helpful statement regarding the role of the Old Testament in the Apocalypse is furnished by Tenney in the chapter entitled "The Old Testament Background of Revelation," (pp. 101-116) in his book Interpreting Revelation. He gives an excellent discussion of the problem of allusions to the Old Testament, followed by examples of how the discovery of the Old Testament background elucidates the meaning of the text. Then he offers the following programmatic statement (p. 111):

"Interpretation by a study of Old Testament allusions, then, contains two principles: (1) the Old Testament context should be examined carefully to see

that the relations of the Apocalypse to the Old Testament and the New Testament are analogous problems.¹

H. Hailey argues that recent scholarship has seen a trend toward studying the Apocalypse (1) in the light of its historical setting, (2) with attention to the Old Testament source of the symbolism, and (3) in the atmosphere of "New Testament truth."² Although rarely practiced in the past, some scholars have pursued the exegesis of Revelation along these lines, without necessarily spelling out the particular methodology that they are

whether it connotes a definite predictive basis for the corresponding parallel in Revelation, or whether it is used merely as illustrative language; (2) the passage in Revelation should be studied to ascertain what interpretation it places on the shadows and types of the Old Testament."

Among those who have carried out the kind of examination Tenney suggests are Feuillet ("Le Messie," pp. 55-86), Hedrik (pp. 22-62), and A. Schlatter, Das alte Testament in der johanneischen Apokalypse (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1912), passim.

¹Vanni, p. 45. Among those who have combined a careful search of the Old Testament with an examination of the New Testament usage of the same material are J. D'Souza, The Lamb of God in the Johannine Writings (Allahabad: St. Paul Publications, 1968); Haugg, pp. 83-88; M. Rissi, "The Rider on the White Horse: A Study of Revelation 6:1-8," Interpretation 18 (1964):407-418; O. Roller, "Das Buch mit sieben Siegeln," Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft 36 (1937):98-113; and A. Smitmans, "Ein Beispiel exegetischer Methoden aus dem Neuen Testament Apk 14," in Einführung in die Methoden der biblischen Exegese, ed. Josef Schreiner (Würzburg: Echter Verlag, 1971), pp. 156-172, 179-185.

²Homer Hailey, Foreword in Ferrell Jenkins, p. 9. Cf. the statement in William Henry Simcox, The Revelation of St. John the Divine, The Cambridge Bible for Schools (Cambridge: University Press, 1921), p. xlii.

following.¹ Hopefully, a step-by-step exegetical outline will encourage future studies to take this approach more seriously, thereby strengthening the understanding of the book in its original setting.

A Method for Determining Allusions

The "Achilles' heel" of any method that depends on determining parallels to other literature is the question of how to be certain concerning the identification of the literature to which the author is alluding. This is hardly a problem where the author cites his sources explicitly or where he quotes lengthy passages from an

¹As examples see the following studies: Otto Bocher, "Die Heilige Stadt im Völkerkrieg," in Josephus - Studien, ed. Otto Betz et al. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1974), pp. 55-76; Robert Emerson Coleman, Songs of Heaven (Old Tappan, NJ: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1980), pp. 95-112; A. Feuillet, "Les chrétiens prêtres et rois d'après l'Apocalypse. Contribution à l'étude de la conception chrétienne du sacerdoce," Revue thomiste 75 (1975):40-66; S. T. D. Hendriksen, More than Conquerors, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1940), pp. 59-63; Alexander Keith, The Harmony of Prophecy (New York: Harper and Brothers, Publishers, 1851); Tremper Longman, "The Divine Warrior: The New Testament Use of an Old Testament Motif," Westminster Theological Journal 44 (1982):290-307; W. W. Reader, "The Twelve Jewels of Revelation 21:19,20: Tradition History and Modern Interpretations," Journal of Biblical Literature 100 (1981):433-457; Kenneth A. Strand, "The Two Olive Trees of Zechariah 4 and Revelation 11," Andrews University Seminary Studies 20 (1982):257-261; Max Wilcox, "Tradition and Redaction of Rev 21,9-22,5," in L'Apocalypse johannique et l'Apocalyptique dans le Nouveau Testament, BETL, vol. 53, ed. J. Lambrecht (Gembloux: Leuven University Press, 1980), pp. 205-215. In addition to the above, J. Massyngberde Ford's commentary on Revelation, while offering a questionable outline of the book of Revelation's origin, nevertheless offers a wealth of comparative materials which provide a fertile resource for study along the lines suggested here.

extant source. But in Revelation the interpreter faces all the difficulties discussed in the previous chapter.¹ The evidence of the Appendix to Chapter I indicates that major commentators on the book of Revelation exhibit considerable confusion in their attempts to list the allusions to the Old Testament in the Apocalypse. Thus, the proposed method will fail to produce a clear picture of the author's intention unless a reasonably objective method of determining allusions can be developed.

In recent years, New Testament scholarship has profited greatly from insights gained through the application of literary-critical methods.² Similarly, might not literary-critical methods for determining allusions in English literature benefit our work with allusions in the book of Revelation? The following proposed method for determining allusions arose from the interaction between my study of the insights of literary criticism and a careful examination of the Revelator's allusive use of the Old Testament.

New Testament scholarship is not alone in its frustration with regard to the problems created by the presence of allusions in literary works. In a study of

¹See the section "The Problem of Allusions," pp. 100-106.

²Cf. Norman R. Petersen, Literary Criticism for New Testament Critics (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1978). For an example of the impact literary criticism can have on the understanding of the New Testament see R. Alan Culpepper, The Anatomy of the Gospel of John (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1983).

allusion in Milton and more recent literature, J. Hollander notes that allusive references to previous literature are "maddeningly elusive."¹ It is difficult enough, for example, to determine when a literary parallel exists. But the mere existence of a parallel is no guarantee that one author made use of another.² It may only indicate that both had access to a common source.³

The elusiveness of source study has given it a bad name among many literary critics due to the wild excesses of those who ignore, or are unaware of, the difficulties involved.⁴ S. Sandmel expressed disgust for such excesses in his landmark presidential address to the Society of Biblical Literature in December 1961.⁵ He pointed out that those who desire to uncover the allusions in a work

¹John Hollander, The Figure of Echo: A Mode of Allusion in Milton and After (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1981), p. 95. This is so, he notes on the same page, because even a single word or phrase can carry "rumors of its resounding cave."

²Claudio Guillén, "The Aesthetics of Literary Influence," in Influx: Essays on Literary Influence, ed. Ronald Primeau (Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press, 1977), pp. 59-62.

³Richard T. Altick, The Art of Literary Research (New York: W. W. Norton, 1975), p. 95; Samuel Sandmel, "Parallelomania," Journal of Biblical Literature 81 (1962):3. Sandmel points out, for example, that most of the supposed allusions to Philo in the rabbis (and vice versa) are probably due to a common approach to the Old Testament in those areas. Cf. Charlesworth, The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha and the New Testament, p. 78.

⁴Ronald Primeau, "Introduction," in Influx: Essays on Literary Influence (Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press, 1977), p. 7.

⁵Sandmel, pp. 1-13.

tend to overdo supposed similarities, prescribe source and derivation as if the author had left behind modern-day footnotes, and assume that all parallels point to one author's use of another.

It would be tempting, in light of the above, to give up the attempt to specify the origins of the language of the Apocalypse. But the task of determining where the author alluded to the Old Testament is crucial to the exegesis of the Apocalypse. To the extent that an interpreter misses an author's allusions to previous literature, that interpreter will misunderstand the author's intention.¹ R. Altick, a leading theorist on the topic of literary research, notes that it is only by identifying the antecedent of an allusion that we are enabled to say what it meant to the author, and what he intended it to mean to his readers and hearers.²

¹Hollander, pp. 65, 66: "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. When such access is lost in a community of reading, what may have been an allusion may fade in prominence; and yet a scholarly recovery of the context would restore the allusion, by revealing an intent as well as by showing means."

²Altick, pp. 90, 92. As a number of literary critics have pointed out, the purpose of source study is not to understand the sources, but to understand the writer who uses those sources. Source study highlights the writer's originality more than his dependence. See Altick, pp. 101-102; Guillén, p. 63; Ronald Primeau, Beyond Spoon River (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1981), p. x.

It is clear, then, that the task of determining when and where John alluded to previous literature is absolutely essential to the exegesis of Revelation. The difficulty of the task should spur the interpreter to more careful and scientific study of the data, and to the proper method by which to study the data.¹ In the following sections an attempt is made to employ the strong points of previous study on the problem of allusions. Hopefully this will help to place the process of determining allusions to the Old Testament in the Apocalypse on a more objective basis.

The Nature of Influence

The sources that influence the way an author writes are potentially as varied as that author's whole experience of life.² In addition to specific literary works, an author may draw on the general climate, cultural traditions, and social structures of any place he/she has lived. An author may also be affected by major events, both present and past, and can be influenced by literature read and by the ideas, theories, hopes, and dreams of contemporaries communicated to him in various forms.³

¹Sandmel, p. 2.

²Altick, p. 90. Cf. Guillén, p. 59.

³This paragraph was strongly influenced by Ihab H. Hassan, "The Problem of Influence in Literary History: Notes Toward a Definition," in Influx: Essays on Literary Influence, ed. Ronald Primeau (Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press, 1977), p. 35.

Obviously, a researcher must be open to a variety of approaches, both literary and non-literary, to an understanding of the influences which shaped a given author. In practice, however, source study concentrates on literary origins--to ideas and language that can be traced to works that the author has previously read.¹ Literary data are more concrete because the investigator has the evidence of pages laid side by side. Other forms of evidence are far more elusive and are therefore less certain to provide useful results.

In the previous chapter, reference was made to the work on allusions by Tenney.² He has also offered excellent definitions of the terms "citation," "quotation," and "allusion."³ Citations occur when an author reproduces the words of an original text and identifies the source from which he drew those words.⁴ Quotations involve the

¹Altick, p. 91; Guillén, p. 59.

²See pp. 107-108.

³Tenney, Interpreting Revelation, p. 102. The text of the statement summarized above is as follows:

"A citation is a fairly exact reproduction of the words of the original text, accompanied by a statement of the fact that they are being quoted and by an identification of the source. A quotation is a general reproduction of the original text, sufficiently close to give the meaning of its thought and to establish unquestionably the passage from which it is taken. The quotation may be loose, and still be a quotation. An allusion consists of one or more words which by their peculiar character and general content are traceable to a known body of text, but which do not constitute a complete reproduction of any part of it."

⁴Much like footnoting in modern scholarship.

selection of significant amounts of wording from a previous passage, sufficient to make it certain that the author had the previous work in mind.¹ Allusions are limited to a word, an idea, or a brief phrase that should be traced to a known body of text.² In the book of Revelation, the author has limited himself to an allusive use of previous literature.

Literary-critical theory suggests, however, that Tenney's outline must be expanded. Just as direct references to previous literature can be divided into citations and quotations, so also allusions should be divided into two basic types, which Hollander calls "allusions" and "echoes."³ An "outright allusion" assumes the author's intention to point the reader to a previous work as a means of expanding the reader's horizons. The portion of the text alluded to can only be fully understood in the light of its context within the original work. In the words of Hollander:

¹As Hollander (p. 64) points out, quotations and citations involve the literal presence of a body of text from a previous work in the work being studied. Trudinger ("Some Observations," p. 82) defines a quotation as follows:

"One can be said to be quoting when one uses 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."

²Hollander, p. 64: "Fragmentary or periphrastic presence."

³Ibid.

. . . the text alluded to is not totally absent, but is part of the portable library shared by the author and his ideal audience. Intention to allude recognizably is essential to the concept.¹

In contrast to these intended references are what Hollander calls "echoes," which do not depend on the author's conscious intention.² C. Baker calls echoes a "flash in the brainpan."³ An echo indicates that the author picked up an idea that can be found in previous literature, but was probably unaware of the original source. The idea was "in the air" of the environment in which the author lived.⁴ It was part of "the freely circulated legal tender of a period's mind," it was in the "common domain."⁵

To summarize, allusive references to previous literature can enter a work in two ways. The author may use a source directly and consciously with its original context in mind. Such an allusion is "willed into being."⁶ The author is fully conscious of the source as well as of its relevance to his composition. He/she is assuming the reader's knowledge of the source and of

¹Ibid.

²Ibid. Hollander's book, The Figure of Echo (see p. ix), is particularly concerned with exploring these less-conscious allusions to previous literature.

³Carlos Baker, The Echoing Green (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984), pp. 7-8.

⁴Altick, p. 94.

⁵Ibid., p. 96.

⁶Carlos Baker, pp. 7-8.

his/her intention to refer to that source.¹ On the other hand, an author may "echo" ideas, the origin of which he/she is unaware. In an echo, the author does not point the reader to a particular background source, but merely utilizes a "live symbol" that would be generally understood in his original situation.²

¹Hollander, p. 106. I illustrate an author's use of allusion ("direct source," "intended reference") by applying a table taken from Altick (p. 94) to the phenomena of the book of Revelation:

Original Source	Intermediate Source	Revelation
Ancient Israelite setting	Old Testament passage	Intended reference
Exodus experience	Exod 1-15	Trumpets and Bowls

As can be seen from the above, tracing a particular line of tradition may involve both allusions and echoes. But for our purposes in the study of the Apocalypse, an "allusion" (called a "direct allusion" below) is wherever the author makes an intentional reference to a particular passage in previous literature regardless of the way those ideas entered that passage.

²Once again we illustrate with the help of Altick (p. 94):

Original Source	Intermediate Source	Revelation
Literary or oral	"in the air" of Asia Minor	echo
Old Testament	"in the air" of Palestine	echo
Ps 1:3; Isa 5:1-7, etc.	"greenery" as a "stock apocalyptic concept"	"greenery" in Rev 8:7; 9:4

Although the original setting for an idea may be literary, for our purposes in the study of the Apocalypse an "echo" is wherever the author utilizes a concept without pointing to such a source or even being aware of its existence.

The distinction between allusions and echoes is very significant for the study of Revelation. In failing to make this distinction, commentators have interpreted echoes as though the author intended his reader to incorporate a source context into his understanding of the Apocalypse.¹ This can lead to serious misunderstandings of the Revelator's intention.² The distinction between allusions and echoes actually calls for two different approaches to interpretation, depending on the nature of the author's relationship to a particular source in a given passage.³ The following sections of this study explore these implications for interpretation.

Since Biblical scholarship has produced considerable confusion in the area of allusions to previous literature in Revelation, it would be helpful to incorporate literary-critical procedures and terminology wherever possible. Previous commentators, however, have generally used the term "allusion" to refer to John's overall approach to his sources, and since such general usage is acceptable in literary criticism we retain that meaning in

¹As Charlesworth (The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha and the New Testament, p. 17) points out, the citation of allusions to previous literature is misleading unless limited to dependency.

²There is a tendency among scholars to assume too readily that they have discovered the "unique source" of a particular reference (Ibid., p. 97). Our fragmentary knowledge of the ancient world should cause us to maintain a healthy skepticism toward our conclusions in this area.

³Altick, pp. 95-96.

this study. All the parallels to previous literature in Revelation may be called "allusions," whether or not the author was conscious of the parallel. A commentator should make clear, however, that he is using the term "allusion" in a more general sense, not in the particular sense of a conscious reference to previous literature. Where the author was consciously referring to previous literature, we call the parallel a "direct allusion."¹ Where he is merely using language that was "in the air," or a "stock apocalyptic concept,"² we retain the term "echo."³

Echoes in the Apocalypse

In order to understand an "echo" as John did, we must go back to the origin of the idea(s), but without the assumption that John was consciously pointing to a

¹Beale prefers the phrase "conscious allusion." See p. 115. The essence of a "direct allusion" is the author's intention to point the reader to a previous text in its context.

²Ezell, p. 21; Hedrik, p. 17. Beale (The Use, p. 121, cf. p. 174) uses the term "stock apocalyptic" for John's use of apocalyptic ideas that were "in the air," in other words, a natural part of the everyday context of the Christian community in Asia Minor.

³According to Beale's classification of the four types of relationship between John and the Old Testament, an "echo" includes material in categories (2) through (4). See p. 115 and Beale, The Use, p. 306. In other words, an echo covers the gamut of unintentional reference to previous literature.

Hartman is familiar with the term "echo" but does not always use it in the sense intended here. Note particularly his use of "deliberate echo" (Hartman, Prophecy Interpreted, p. 131; cf. pp. 87, 109, 118, 121-122, 138, 168).

particular background passage when he included the idea(s) in Revelation. Such a "live symbol" has become divorced from its original context. Therefore, to list, for example, all the Old Testament passages where a symbol is found would not be helpful. What matters is the basic meaning of the concept which had attained a fairly fixed content by New Testament times. Hartman describes this phenomenon helpfully in the following quotations:

. . . most of the details . . . have OT parallels but at the same time do not seem to be derived directly from distinct passages in the OT. More likely the motifs had become traditional in apocalyptic circles . . .¹

The relationship with the OT seems to be an indirect one: the motifs belong to the OT but their wording is such that it is difficult to find connections with definite OT texts. . . . here the theme has become traditionally apocalyptic.²

A good example of an echo is the concept of vegetation representing the people of God. It is used with such regularity that it appears to have attained a fixed meaning in New Testament times (Ps 1:3, Isa 5:1-7, and Jer 2:21 [cf. Rev 8:7 and 9:4]). Such an echo can, however, be applied differently in different contexts. For example, in Rev 7:1-3 and 9:4, greenery is protected by a mark from the judgments of God. On the other hand, in Rev 8:7 the greenery is destroyed by God's judgments.

The mere existence of a parallel idea does not guarantee that John is directly dependent on a particular

¹Hartman, Prophecy Interpreted, p. 76.

²Ibid., p. 99.

literary source.¹ Symbols and ideas are more widely diffused in society than we used to think.² To treat an echo as if it were a direct allusion may totally distort our understanding of an author's original intention in the use of that echo. Since previous commentators on the Apocalypse do not generally distinguish between direct allusions and echoes, many misunderstanding the Revelator's the use of the Old Testament and other sources.³

Direct Allusions in the Apocalypse

In contrast to the analysis of echoes in the Apocalypse, the presence of a direct allusion requires the interpreter to trace the material to its source in order to understand the later writing.⁴ The author assumes that the source literature is familiar to the reader and that the reader can import from the context of the source those insights which enhance his appreciation of the work he is reading. But in order to handle direct allusions properly, it is necessary to identify accurately their sources. As we have seen above, this is an extremely

¹Sandmel, p. 3.

²Altick, p. 96.

³This problem is particularly acute with respect to the Revelator's relationship to non-canonical apocalyptic. As we have seen above (esp. pp. 26-32, 44-49), John's direct use of apocalyptic material is generally overestimated. Scholars too readily treat parallels to Jewish apocalyptic as though they were direct allusions, when there is often only minimal evidence in favor of such an assumption.

⁴Hollander, p. 106.

complex task.¹ The following method is an attempt to place the identification of direct allusions in the book of Revelation on a more objective and scientific basis.

The determination of when and where an author intentionally alludes to previous literature is based on the weight of evidence, both external and internal.² External evidence involves what we can know about an author's relationship to his literary roots as drawn from historical, biographical, demographic, and other sources outside a given text. In evaluating an author's use of previous literature it is important to know the extent of his contact with that literature.³ Did he read the book from which a parallel comes? Was it in his library? Are there annotations in his own hand? Does he allude in other works to books he has read?⁴ Was his supposed source something that was typically read in the schools of the time? If there is no direct evidence of the above, one can ask if the book was generally available at the time an author wrote.⁵

¹See pp. 100-120 in Chapter I.

²Altick, pp. 98-100; Beale, The Use, pp. 308-309.

³Hassan (p. 42) points out that authors are sometimes totally unaware of works that literary critics suppose influenced them.

⁴Altick, p. 98-99. Louise M. Rosenblatt ("Towards a Transactional Theory of Reading," in Influx: Essays on Literary Influence, ed. Ronald Primeau [Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press, 1977], p. 125) notes that an autobiography is particularly helpful.

⁵Altick, p. 99.

Internal Evidence

Internal evidence, on the other hand, examines the phenomena of the text itself to determine the probability that the author had a previous work in mind when he wrote a given passage. The words, ideas, and structures are all examined in relation to potential sources. The more parallels one finds to a particular source, the more likely it is that the author had that source in mind as he wrote. As an aid to the task of accumulating internal evidence, we suggest three basic criteria: verbal parallels, thematic parallels, and structural parallels.

Verbal parallels

The term "quotation," as we have seen, can only rarely, if ever, be applied to the Revelator's use of the Old Testament. Only on occasion does John use more than three or four words in the same sequence in which they are found in the Old Testament.¹ Nevertheless, it is abundantly clear that Revelation is dependent on Old Testament wording in hundreds of places. Thus, verbal parallels must be understood in a broader sense than quotations.

We define a verbal parallel as occurring whenever at least two words of more than minor significance (articles and minor conjunctions are excluded) are parallel between a passage in Revelation and a passage in

¹Tenney, Interpreting Revelation, p. 101.

the Septuagint or other first-century Greek version.¹ These two major words may be coupled together in a phrase or may even be separated, provided they are in clear relationship to each other in both passages of the suggested parallel. Verbal parallels are discovered by placing the text of Revelation side-by-side with the potential source text.² Wording that is exact or similar is underscored, and the potential relationship between the passages is assessed on a preliminary basis.³

A good example of a verbal parallel is found in Rev 9:2: "and the smoke of the pit went up like the smoke of a great furnace." This bears a striking resemblance to the wording of Exod 19:18 in the Septuagint (Rev 9:2: kai anebê kapnos ek tou phreatos ôs kapnos kaminou megalês;

¹The versions extant in Origen's Hexapla (cf. Fridericus Field, ed., Origenis Hexaplorum [Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1964]) likely reflect at least some readings current when Revelation was written. For various approaches to verbal parallels see Beale, p. 44, n. 62, Hedrik, p. 16, and Tenney, Interpreting Revelation, p. 101.

²Vogelgesang, p. 24.

³Cf. Altick, pp. 95-96 and Beale, The Use, p. 31. Verbal parallels do not work in translation unless transliteration is involved. For example, Messiah is clearly a verbal parallel of the Hebrew mešiah. Cf. Morton Smith, Tannaitic Parallels to the Gospels, Journal of Biblical Literature Monograph Series, vol. 6 (Philadelphia: Society of Biblical Literature, 1951), pp. 1-15.

Hartman (in Prophecy Interpreted) is very conscious of the importance of verbal similarities between a text and a potential source. He describes these in language such as "wording" (p. 117), "terms" (p. 119), "key words" (pp. 72, 93, 123-124, 157-158, 165, 173-174, 233, 243), and "key-word associations" (pp. 92, 118, 138, 155, 165, 167, 173-174).

Exod 19:18 in the LXX: kai anebainen ho kapnos, ôsei kapnos kaminou). Exod 19 describes God's awesome appearance on Mount Sinai before Israel. The author of Revelation appears, in his choice of words, to be indicating God's overruling and judging presence in the plague of the fifth trumpet.

An example of a verbal parallel where two key words are not intimately connected grammatically can be seen by comparing Rev 9:2 with Gen 1:2. The key connections are the terms "darkness" and "abyss" (Rev 9:2: kai ênoixen to phrear tês abussou . . . kai eskotôthê ho hêlios kai ho aêr; cf. Gen 1:2 in the LXX: kai skotos, epanô tês abussou). Here the author of Revelation introduces the flavor of the creation account into his plague narrative. This plague is returning God's creation to its pre-creation chaotic state.

It is immediately evident that this criterion has some weaknesses. It is certainly possible, as Gundry points out, that parallel phraseology could at times be due to fortuitously similar circumstances, such as the flights to Egypt of the Holy Family and of Jeroboam (Matt 2:13-15; 1 Kings 11:40).¹ A certain amount of common sense needs to be exercised here. But the criterion does force the interpreter to take the text seriously and not let the imagination run wild.

¹Gundry, The Use, p. 5; cf. Guillén, p. 61.

Thematic parallels

Many times the Revelator clearly has an Old Testament passage in mind, but uses different Greek words than the LXX, or uses only a single word to make the connection.¹ This should not be surprising. By their very nature, allusions are not bound to reproduce the precise wording of the original.² Allusions to the Old Testament may be characterized by similarity of thought and theme as well as wording.³ Such single-word parallels are to be distinguished from "stock apocalyptic" in that they have "direct contextual moorings in particular texts" of previous literature.⁴ The "contextual mooring" of a

¹An excellent example of a single-word parallel is offered in the second paragraph on p. 184.

²Vos, p. 112.

³Beale (The Use, p. 176) suggests that in a thematic parallel the pattern and process of thought in the prior composition controls the new composition. Cf. Hedrik, p. 17, and Tenney, Interpreting Revelation, p. 101.

⁴Beale, The Use, p. 121, cf. p. 174. This criterion includes, to use the language of Morton Smith (pp. 16, 46-47), both "parallels of idiom" and "parallels of meaning." It may be helpful here to recall Dodd's insight that New Testament writers often used quotations of the Old Testament as pointers to the larger context. The Revelator often alludes to a larger thematic context with merely a word or a phrase.

A weakness of Hartman's approach in Prophecy Interpreted is the imprecision of his language describing the parallels between a text and its sources. He uses more than a dozen words and phrases to describe thematic relationships between a text and its sources. Note the following: "idea" (p. 153), "common motif" (p. 122), "common OT motif" (p. 87), "thematic similarity to the OT" (p. 75), "thematic association" (pp. 92, 154, 165, 167, 174), "associated themes" (p. 173), "association via the context" (p. 174), "motifs" (pp. 72, 76-78, 90, 93, etc.).

thematic parallel between Revelation and previous literature may express itself through deliberate contrast as well as similarity of theme.¹ Such thematic parallels can be found not only in the LXX, but also by comparing the intent of the Greek of Revelation with the Hebrew and Aramaic Old Testament.²

An example of a thematic parallel is found by comparing Rev 9:2 with Gen 19:28 in the LXX (Rev 9:2: kai anebê kapnos ek tou phreatos ôs kapnos kaminou megalês; Gen 19:28 in the LXX: kai idou anebainen phlox ek tês ôsei atmis kaminou). Note the parallel language:

Rev 9:2	Gen 19:28
<u>anebê</u>	<u>anebainen</u>
<u>kapnos</u>	<u>phlox</u>
<u>ek</u>	<u>ek</u>
<u>ôs</u>	<u>ôsei</u>
<u>kapnos</u>	<u>atmis</u>
<u>kaminou</u>	<u>kaminou</u>

¹Baker, p. 10; Tenney, Interpreting Revelation, p. 101. I find the following statement by Hartman (Prophecy Interpreted, p. 126) to be helpful:

"One peculiar phenomenon is the contextual associations, i.e. [sic] the fact that links are made from one text to another via the context of either or both. . . . A typical wording from a text draws with it its context, so that this context may form a spring-board or goal for a new association."

²Trudinger, "Some Observations," pp. 82-88.

The two passages have sufficient words in common to be considered a verbal parallel. But there are also considerable differences. The Revelator uses kapnos instead of phlox and later kapnos instead of atmis. Such significant changes might cause one to question whether this is a legitimate parallel. But the overall context of smoke arising as a symbol of God's judgment on His enemies is so striking that both passages can be said to share a common thematic context.

Another example of a thematic parallel is given by Tenney.¹ He notes that while the term "almighty" occurs many times in the Old Testament, only in Amos 4:13 is it used in a context that is parallel to Rev 1:8. The concept of parallel contexts provides a safeguard against indiscriminate selection.

A further thematic parallel is found in Rev 9:4 and Ezek 9:4. In both cases a mark is placed on the forehead for the purpose of protection against the judgments of God. The two passages are clearly parallel even though a different Greek word for "mark" is used in each (Ezek 9:4 in the LXX: sêmeion; Rev 9:4: sphraqida).

Structural parallels

Many times the Seer of Revelation uses the Old Testament by lifting whole sections and following them in

¹Tenney, Interpreting Revelation, p. 102.

general, even though exact wording may not be followed.¹ This sort of parallel is characterized either by a similarity in the ordering of material or by an overall similarity in content.² Such structural dependence could perhaps be called an "apocalyptic midrash," in that an author builds at length on a previous apocalyptic passage.³ By the very feature of multiple parallels, these are the most certain to have been in the mind of the writer when he wrote down his visions.

Some examples of structural parallels can be seen by comparing Rev 1:12-18 with Dan 7:9-13 and Dan 10; Rev 9:1-11 with Joel 2:1-11; Rev 13 with Dan 3 and 7; Rev 18 with Ezek 26-28; and Rev 19:11-16 with Isa 63:1-6.⁴

Summary of criteria

The internal evidence of Revelation, then, is assessed in terms of the above criteria. Of the three,

¹Beale, The Use, p. 307; Hedrik, p. 17; Vanhoye, pp. 440-441. This criterion includes what Morton Smith (pp. 78, 115) calls "Parallels of Literary Form" and "Parallels in Types of Association." Hartman appears to be suggesting something similar to my concept of "structural parallel" in his use of the phrase "pattern of thought" (Prophecy Interpreted, pp. 95, 118, 137). He also notes on p. 89 of Prophecy Interpreted that Zech 12:2-4 provides the "framework" for 1 Enoch 56:5-8.

²Tenney, Interpreting Revelation, p. 112.

³Beale, The Use, pp. 86, 171. Beale offers the use of Dan 7 in various parts of 1 Enoch as an example of "apocalyptic midrash."

⁴Preston and Hanson, p. 35.

verbal parallels are often the weakest criterion.¹ Their value as evidence increases, however, as the number of parallel words increases and to the extent that the parallel words are ordered in the same or in a similar way as the potential source passage. Since structural parallels consist of a number of interlocking verbal and thematic parallels, they normally constitute the strongest evidence for a direct allusion. The more criteria a particular proposed allusion fits, the more certain it is that the author consciously molded his passage with that particular literary context in mind.²

A further consideration that needs to be kept in mind is that certainty is also affected by the number of passages in previous literature where particular words, concepts, and structures are found. Where a given parallel is unique in prior literature, the likelihood that John is directing our attention to that particular passage is correspondingly increased.³

¹Under careful examination, some verbal parallels may prove to be merely superficial or fortuitous. There is always the possibility that the religious syncretism of the ancient world might cause a multitude of artificial connections far beyond the bounds of the original sources. As Court (p. 18) points out: "Similar ideas (may be) produced spontaneously in different places as a result of a general stimulus. In all our reconstructions the note of uncertainty must remain." Cf. Gundry, The Use, p. 5.

²Dodd, p. 126.

³Hartman, Prophecy Interpreted, pp. 85, 155.

External Evidence

The external evidence for the Revelator's use of sources, unfortunately, is meager indeed. Whether one accepts the scholarly consensus with regard to authorship (that the author of the Apocalypse was an unknown John raised in a Palestinian environment, but now relocated into the setting of Asia Minor) or the traditional designation (the author is John, the beloved disciple of Jesus), we know little about the author that helps us to evaluate his allusive use of sources. We do not know the content of his library or his reading habits. We have no autobiography. We have no contemporary source which tells us any details about his life that would be useful to this endeavor. We are limited to our general knowledge of the times in which he lived and the phenomena of his book.

We can reasonably suppose that John, a Palestinian Jew, was familiar with roughly the same canon of the Old Testament that can be found in today's critical Hebrew text, and that he would have held these works in particularly high esteem.¹ The evidence of Revelation supports the thesis that he had read carefully the Pentateuch, the Prophets, and most of the wisdom and historical books of the Old Testament.² Thus, wherever we find verbal,

¹Charlesworth, The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha and the New Testament, p. 71; Hartman, Prophecy Interpreted, p. 111.

²According to the listing in Nestle's 26th ed., the author of Revelation alludes to all Old Testament books except Ruth, Ecclesiastes, and Haggai. Since the

thematic, and structural parallels to the Old Testament there is no barrier in the external evidence to the possibility that such a parallel constitutes a valid direct allusion to that Old Testament book.

It is also reasonable to assume, since John was a Palestinian Jew, that he was familiar with much of the Jewish apocalyptic literature that was extant in his day. That likelihood, when combined with the phenomena of Revelation, makes it reasonably certain that he had read some form of 1 Enoch.¹ Many of the best parallels between Revelation and the Jewish apocalypses, however, are found in works contemporary with or later than the Apocalypse.² For such works, it would be wisest to handle parallels to apocalyptic literature as echoes--in other words, witnesses to the environment in which John lived, but not direct allusions in the sense of intended references to literary works that we and the author hold in common. Direct allusions to apocalyptic literature should be limited to passages which can be dated, with reasonable certainty, prior to the composition of the book of Revelation.

The "pagan environment" of Asia Minor obviously provides even less certainty for our purposes than does

listings in Nestle are probably minimal, we can assume, at this point, that he was familiar with most of the books that comprise our Hebrew Old Testament canon.

¹See the internal evidence discussed on pages 25-26 and p. 46, n. 4.

²4 Ezra and 2 Baruch, for example.

the external evidence for the Revelator's use of Jewish sources. While it is certainly possible that John was familiar with many non-Jewish literary works, there is no external evidence that requires such familiarity. As a result, such familiarity must be demonstrated on the basis of careful analysis of the internal evidence of Revelation. Since that has not yet been done, parallels to non-Jewish literary sources should probably be evaluated as echoes of the cultural milieu in which John and the churches of Asia Minor lived, rather than as direct allusions to specific literary works.

A similar problem surfaces with regard to the Revelator's relationship to the New Testament documents as we know them. It is probably safe to say that most of the New Testament documents were in writing by the time Revelation was written. But it is difficult, at this point in time, to prove that the author of Revelation had access to any one of them, although it is quite likely that he had access to at least some. On the other hand, the internal evidence accumulated in the previous chapter¹ indicates that the author of the Apocalypse was thoroughly familiar with the traditions embodied in the New Testament. Thus, parallels to New Testament writings should probably be handled as echoes of the author's Christian experience rather than as pointers to the context of specific New Testament books. As study in the sources of

¹See pp. 38-43, 49-55, and 65-70.

Revelation progresses, the internal evidence may become weighty enough to point to specific works in the pagan background and in the New Testament that John is likely to have read.¹

Classification of Direct Allusions

The classification of direct allusions (intended references to previous literature) results from a careful analysis of both the internal and the external evidence. While we can rarely be absolutely certain what was going on in an ancient author's mind as he wrote, the confluence of evidence can lead to various levels of certainty.

The interpreter begins by examining the internal evidence of Revelation for verbal, thematic, and structural parallels to earlier literature. A good starting point for such a study is the use of previous lists of allusions to that particular passage.² The likelihood of a literary relationship between a passage in the Apocalypse and a passage in a previous work increases in direct proportion to the quantity and quality of the parallels discovered.³ The more types of parallels found between

¹Note Charles's suggestions as to the New Testament books with which the author of Revelation was familiar. Cf. Vos.

²Beale, The Use, p. 154. Cf. Trudinger, "The Text," pp. 37-41, and the evaluation of his work in Chapter I, pp. 108-109.

³Morton Smith, p. 136.

two passages,¹ the more likely it is that the later author had the previous passage in mind. This likelihood is particularly increased where structural parallels can be located. In other words, the presence of a structural parallel increases the probability that parallels of word and theme within that structural parallel are also valid.² The likelihood of authorial intent is further increased wherever a given source in previous literature is unique. If certain parallels are only found in a particular antecedent, the author's usage probably derived from it (barring independent invention).³

Where it can be determined that a strong literary parallel exists, the external evidence should be brought to bear. Unless it is reasonable to assume that the author of Revelation read a particular literary work, there is an element of uncertainty in the designation of a direct allusion no matter how strong the internal evidence. The external evidence supports the likelihood that John was familiar with the Old Testament and such previous Jewish works as 1 Enoch, Jubilees, Wisdom of Solomon,

¹In other words, verbal, thematic, and structural parallels provide different types of evidence of relationship. Where all three are found the weight of the parallel is heavier than where only one or two are found. Cf. Morton Smith, pp. 135-136.

²Beale, The Use, p. 173.

³Altick, pp. 92-93.

Psalms of Solomon, and portions of the Sibylline Oracles.¹ Parallels to other works should be held as tentative until further evidence is forthcoming.

When listing allusions to the Old Testament in Revelation we are obviously, then, dealing in probabilities. In many cases where neither the external nor the internal evidence is strong enough to be certain that a particular expression is derived from a specific literary source.² In such cases there is a necessary element of subjectivity in the evaluation of allusions.³ The one who creates the list of allusions must indicate the level of uncertainty involved and, where possible, the reasons for that uncertainty. The corrective nature of the scholarly debate then can help limit and control the subjectivity inherent in this process. But such correction can only happen when those who create lists of allusions are explicit with regard to the criteria upon which they make their evaluations, and also with regard to the level of uncertainty and subjectivity involved.

In this study, potential allusions are classified into five categories based on the likelihood that a particular parallel to a previous context was intended by

¹On the dating of Jewish apocalypses see Charlesworth, The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha and the New Testament, pp. 31-44.

²Altick, p. 93.

³Guillén, p. 62; cf. Altick, pp. 101-102.

the Revelator.¹ These five categories are "certain allusions," "probable allusions," "possible allusions," "uncertain allusions," and "nonallusions."² The first two categories indicate a high level of certainty that we are dealing with a direct allusion. In that case, the interpreter may take the source passage's original context into account when interpreting the passage in Revelation which contains the allusion. The third category (possible allusions) is more problematic. In this case there is enough evidence to indicate that John may have been making a direct allusion to the Old Testament, but not enough to be reasonably certain. Such allusions can be used with caution in interpretation. The likelihood of uncertain allusions and nonallusions being intended by the author is considered so small that they should not be interpreted as direct allusions.³ Interpreters must, however, constantly be open to new evidence that may cause particular parallels to be re-evaluated from time to time.

Summary of Method

The evaluation of the source background to the book of Revelation involves two tasks. The interpreter

¹See the last section of this chapter for numerous examples of such classification.

²Cf. Hartman's five categories in Prophecy Interpreted, p. 112. Notice also his use of language such as "possible and probable connections" (p. 151), "conscious allusion" (p. 145), "clear allusion" (p. 137), and "direct associations" (p. 162).

³They may, however, be sources for defining one or more echoes.

must locate the direct allusions to previous literature in a given passage, and account for the origin and meaning of the echoes in each passage. The basic meaning structure of the passage is provided by an understanding of the echoes it contains combined with exegesis of passages in previous literature that the author was referring to. This painstaking task places the interpretation of a given passage on a much more objective basis.

There is danger, of course, that in analyzing a mass of allusions the interpreter can come to the point where the forest is lost among the many trees. But since there is no other way to recover the sources of the author's thinking, it is a necessary process. Naturally, our conclusions must remain somewhat tentative,¹ but it is not necessary to trace every parallel to the Old Testament or contemporary literature in order to understand the basic message of the book.² With careful, painstaking effort it is possible to understand the book far better than we do now.

¹Yarbro Collins, Crisis, p. 48. I do not share Trudinger's optimism that he could amass all the Old Testament material that can be found in Revelation in a single dissertation (cf. Trudinger, "The Text," pp. 37ff.). For one thing, we do not have access to all the possible referents our author may have had in mind. No doubt there were more versions and textual traditions in existence in his day than we have access to. Large amounts of contemporary literature, which the author may have read, are probably lost to history. And even if he worked from a particular targum or the LXX, our manuscripts are far removed from the ones he held in his hands.

²Yarbro Collins, Crisis, p. 44.

Testing the Proposed Method

It is one thing to propose a method and it is another thing to actually carry it out. The best way to demonstrate how to use a method, such as the one proposed here, is to apply it to a passage in the book of Revelation as a test case. The passage selected need not be long, but it should be sufficiently difficult to give a clear idea of how the method works and of the kind of contribution it can make to the ongoing study of the book of Revelation.

One of the most neglected areas of the Apocalypse is the seven trumpets (8:2-11:18).¹ In his examination of the major issues in the study of Revelation in this century, Otto Böcher makes no mention of the seven trumpets. Thus, the seven trumpets have not been a subject of scholarly debate (a "Hauptproblem") in this century.² Only one dissertation has been produced on the trumpets in the last two centuries.³ And of the more than 500 scholarly articles on the Apocalypse that have been

¹When we speak of the seven trumpets we are referring to the events connected with the sounding of the trumpets themselves. These cover Rev 8:2-9:21 and 11:15-18. Chapters 10 and 11:1-14 are related to the sixth and seventh trumpets, but are set apart as interludes. This writer agrees with Bowman and Olivier that 11:19 is more an introduction to the visions of chaps. 12-14 than a part of the seventh trumpet. Cf. Bowman, IDB, 4:58-71; Olivier, pp. 68-71.

²See Otto Böcher, Die Johannesapokalypse (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1975), pp. 26-120.

³See Excursus below.

E

published in the last thirty years, only a handful deal with the trumpets in a significant way.

By itself, then, an examination of the seven trumpets would be a valid and sufficient topic for a dissertation. The fact that the passage is also conceded to be "singularly difficult"¹ underlines the fact that more study is needed. Even the better commentaries leave one unsatisfied in many ways. There is a total lack of consensus in interpretation.² Where conventional methods of exegesis are used the results are far less satisfying than they are elsewhere in the New Testament,³ or even in such passages of the Apocalypse as Rev 1-5, 21, and 22. As a result of all these problems, many commentators on Revelation are uncertain what role the trumpets are intended to play in the book.⁴ It is to be assumed that if the proposed method is successful in illuminating this most difficult passage, it will also be useful elsewhere in Revelation.

Those interested in a discussion of previous literature on the seven trumpets may read the Excursus

¹Jacques Ellul, Apocalypse, trans. George W. Schreiner (New York: Seabury Press, 1977), p. 66.

²Schüssler Fiorenza, The Book of Revelation, p. 21.

³Ibid., p. 15.

⁴G. E. Ladd ("The Theology of the Apocalypse," Gordon Review 7 [1963]:73-86), for example, when he undertakes to write a theology of Revelation, makes no reference at all to the seven trumpets.

below. Those interested primarily in the flow of this dissertation may elect to skip over the Excursus and continue reading with the section "The General Background of the Seven Trumpets," which provides an analysis of the major thematic and structural parallels between the seven trumpets and the Old Testament, with some reference to Jewish apocalyptic. The final section of this chapter contains a detailed evaluation of the direct allusions and echoes to the Old Testament in Rev 8:7-12. Space limitations do not permit a detailed analysis of all seven trumpets. However, the analysis of Rev 8:7-12 is of sufficient difficulty and scope to act as a test case for the proposed method for determining allusions. The broader method of exegesis suggested for the Apocalypse is carried out in Chapter III, where the interpretation of the first four trumpets is set in their overall context.

Excursus on Previous Research into the
Seven Trumpets of Revelation

Surprisingly little study of the seven trumpets of Revelation has been done in recent years. And much of the work which has been done has either been extremely limited in scope or subject to flaws in interpretive method. We begin our review of earlier research with a brief examination of the only dissertation ever written, to my knowledge, specifically on the seven trumpets.

Gibson's 1980 dissertation on the seven trumpets of the Apocalypse was very disappointing.¹ His dissertation claims to be a hermeneutical study that is aimed at discovering the meaning of the seven trumpets and their chronological setting. It could have filled a large gap in the research on Revelation. But there are too many flaws in the work for it to make such a contribution.

Among the major problems with the work are the author's failure to gather adequate sources and to acquire scholarly tools. There is a minimal bibliography of about 100 items, none in French or German. There is no evidence in the work that the author has any knowledge of Hebrew or Aramaic, or more than a lexical knowledge of Greek. He is hampered in his exegesis by futuristic-literalistic presuppositions. Although Gibson acknowledges the importance of the Old Testament for the interpretation of the Apocalypse, he does not offer any method for determining where allusions can be found, nor does he use in a consistent manner what information he has on the Old Testament. Thus, while his dissertation is the only major study that focuses specifically on the seven trumpets, it fails to advance our understanding of the author's original intention for the seven trumpets.

Even in the handful of articles and other discussions that deal in some fashion with the seven trumpets

¹Ronald R. Gibson, "The Meaning and Chronology of the Trumpets of Revelation" (Th.D. dissertation, Grace Theological Seminary, 1980).

there is no treatment of the seven trumpets as a whole. Scholars generally either deal with a minor aspect of the trumpets or treat them as part of a broader subject area. Among the works that deal with a minor aspect of the trumpets are articles by Kehnscherper,¹ Lippi,² Michl,³ and Mussies.⁴

The first three are primarily examinations of the potential sources for the imagery in portions of the seven trumpets, with focus on the religionsgeschichtliche background of the Apocalypse. The study by Mussies is grammatical-textual, examining whether the number "two" mentioned twice in the sixth trumpet had its roots in Hebrew or Aramaic. These articles, though helpful, are too limited to provide a comprehensive understanding of the trumpets.

Among a larger group of studies that include an examination of the seven trumpets in the context of a

¹Gunther Kehnscherper, "Santorin. Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen über Erinnerungen an die Santorinkatastrophe in Apok. 6, 12-15; 8, 5-12 und 9, 2-10," Theologische Literaturzeitung 93 (1968):632-635. See also his comments on the seven trumpets in idem, . . . und die Sonne verfinsterte sich.

²Paul Lippi, "The Fifth Trumpet," Andrews University Alumni Focus 10 (4, 1974):15-18.

³Johann Michl, "Zu Apk 9, 8," Biblica 23 (1942):192-193.

⁴G. Mussies, "DYO in Apocalypse ix 12 and 16," pp. 151-154.

broader study, Bornkamm,¹ Davis,² Müller,³ and Schinzer⁴ examine the seven trumpets in their relationship to the seals and the bowls. The article by Bornkamm, which he produced as a young pastor, is especially insightful. Another group of studies--by Foerster,⁵ Freundorfer,⁶ Giet,⁷ and Günter⁸--treat the seven trumpets at some length for purposes other than pure exegesis. Although

¹Günther Bornkamm, "Die Komposition der apokalyptischen Visionen in der Offenbarung Johannis," Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft 36 (1937):132-149.

²D. R. Davis, "The Relationship Between the Seals, Trumpets and Bowls in the Book of Revelation," Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society 16 (1973):149-158.

³Hans-Peter Müller, "Die Plagen der Apokalypse," pp. 268-278.

⁴Reinhard Schinzer, "Die sieben Siegel, Posaunen und Schalen und die Absicht der Offenbarung Johannis," Theologische Beiträge 11 (1980):52-66.

⁵Werner Foerster, "Bemerkungen zur Bildsprache der Offenbarung Johannis," pp. 225-236.

⁶Joseph Freundorfer, Die Apokalypse des Apostels Johannes und die Hellenistische Kosmologie und Astrologie, pp. 5-66.

⁷Stanislas Giet, L'Apocalypse et l'histoire (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1957), pp. 19-45, 105-112, 152-154, 167, 172ff, 186ff. Giet is comparing Rev 8:13-11:19 (The Three Woes) with Josephus' account of the Jewish War (the three phases of Josephus' account parallel the three woes of trumpets five through seven). He is attempting to show that Revelation was written in 74 or 75 C.E. as a reaction to the Jewish war. Cf. Court, p. 13 for a brief analysis.

⁸Hans W. Günter, Der Nah- und Enderwartungshorizont in der Apokalypse des heiligen Johannes, Forschung zur Bibel, vol 41 (N.p.: Echter Verlag, 1980), pp. 162-239. This is a dissertation on the eschatology of Revelation and deals with the trumpets in relation to that topic.

these valuable studies contribute to the full scope of scholarly research into the Apocalypse, they do not answer the need for a comprehensive exegetical treatment of the seven trumpets themselves.¹

In turning to the commentaries we find a number which offer significant insights into the seven trumpets. Among the most helpful are those by Beckwith,² Charles,³ Christie,⁴ Corsini,⁵ Court,⁶ Desmond Ford,⁷ J. Massyngberde Ford,⁸ and Harrington.⁹ Mention should also

¹In the course of searching for material for this study, the author came across a couple of unpublished manuscripts which attempt to do some justice to the seven trumpets, one co-written by R. Way, E. Giller, and B. Brinsmead ("The Consummation" [Unpublished MS, November 1972]), the other written by Phill Bishop ("Revelation 8 and 9 Soon to Come" [Unpublished MS, c/o author, Box 127, Murphy, Oregon 97533]). These are relatively amateurish and are mentioned here mainly because of the lack of published sources that could provide assistance to an interpreter of the seven trumpets.

²Isbon T. Beckwith, The Apocalypse of John (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1967).

³Charles, The Revelation of St. John, 2 vols.

⁴T. W. Christie, The Book of Revelation (London: John F. Shaw, [1866]).

⁵Corsini, The Apocalypse.

⁶Court, Myth and History in the Book of Revelation.

⁷Desmond Ford, Crisis, 3 vols.

⁸Massyngberde Ford, Revelation.

⁹Harrington, Understanding the Apocalypse.

be made of the commentaries by Hendriksen,¹ Hoyt,² Kraft,³ Mounce,⁴ Prigent,⁵ Swete,⁶ Thiele,⁷ and Zahn.⁸ Most of the hundreds of commentaries produced on Revelation as a whole deal with the seven trumpets in a very unsatisfactory manner. They do not apply the same method of exegesis to the trumpets that they do for chaps. 12-22, for example, but rather content themselves with vague generalities.⁹ The common approach is either to restate the seven trumpets in other words (which adds little to the reader's understanding)¹⁰ or to impose on them a meaning derived from other considerations.

This Excursus, therefore, points to the need for a careful, comprehensive study of the seven trumpets in their original setting. The remainder of this study

¹S. T. D. Hendriksen, More Than Conquerors.

²Hoyt, Studies in the Apocalypse of John of Patmos.

³Heinrich Kraft, Die Offenbarung des Johannes.

⁴Mounce, The Book of Revelation.

⁵Prigent, L'Apocalypse de Saint Jean.

⁶Swete, The Apocalypse of St. John.

⁷Edwin R. Thiele, Outline Studies in Revelation (Class Syllabus, Angwin, CA: Pacific Union College, n.d.).

⁸Theodor Zahn, Die Offenbarung des Johannes, 2 vols., Kommentar zum NT, vol. 18 (Leipzig: A. Deichert'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung Dr. Werner Scholl, 1926).

⁹A. Feuillet, "Essai d'interprétation du chapitre xi de l'Apocalypse," New Testament Studies 4 (1958): 183-200.

¹⁰See, e.g., Bousset, pp. 295-307.

utilizes the proposed method in order to provide an initial step in the direction of such a study.

The General Background of the Seven Trumpets

The Meaning of Trumpets

The noun form of the word for trumpet in the Greco-Roman world (salpigx) was used to refer to the instrument itself, while the verb form (salpizein) referred to the act of sounding the instrument.¹ Trumpets were not normally used for the production of music, rather they were used in battle to frighten enemies, they were used to signal (whether in battle or for other purposes), and were also used in cultic settings.²

Old Testament usage

In Old Testament times trumpets were used to create two different moods. One was the mood of fanfare, rejoicing, and celebration (cf. Ps 47:5; 150:5; and 2 Sam 6:15), and the other was the mood of awe, dread, and solemnity (illustrated, for example, by the theophany on Mt. Sinai described in Exod 19:13-19). The translators who produced the LXX saw references to trumpets and trumpeting in nine different Hebrew words, representing

¹In addition to the author's own study, the main source of the observations which follow is the article on trumpets by Gerhard Friedrich, "salpigx, etc.," TDNT (1964-1976), 7:71-88.

²Ibid., pp. 73-76.

six distinct roots.¹ Six of these words referred to the instrument itself: ḥašōšerāh, vōbēl, qeren, šōpār, tāqōa` and terū`āh. In verbal form, three of the words referred to the act of blowing trumpet: ḥašōšēr, rūa`, and tāqa`. In addition to these nine words, there appear to be a few minor instances of Hebrew words carrying the meaning of trumpet or trumpeting but not so understood by the LXX translator.² There are a few other places where the LXX failed to see the trumpet meaning in some of the nine basic words (Judg 7:8; 2 Sam 15:10; 1 Kgs 1:41; and Hos 8:1).³

General Greek usage

Although these nine Hebrew words can refer to different sounds and different types of instruments, they are all translated into two basic Greek word forms: salpigx/salpizein and sēmasia. Trumpet terminology was further limited in the pre-Christian era when the word sēmasia fell into apparent disuse in relation to trumpets.⁴ In 1 Maccabees it was used twice (1 Macc 4:40;

¹Ibid., pp. 76-78.

²Friedrich (TDNT, 7:78) cites Exod 19:13; Lev 25:9; Josh 6:5; and 1 Chr 16:42 as examples.

³In the first three, keras/keratos is used as a literal equivalent for šōpār, but may not have been understood as an instrument. Cf. William F. Arndt, F. Wilbur Gingrich, and Frederick W. Danker, A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament, 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979), p. 429.

⁴Sēmasia is also used in the LXX to translate a number of other Hebrew concepts. Two times it is used for

7:45), but neither Philo nor the New Testament use the word at all. Salpigx appears to have taken over whatever unique meanings sēmasia may have had with reference to trumpets. Thus, although the word form salpigx/salpizein is the only one used in the Apocalypse, we must not exclude the possibility that John might refer to passages in the Old Testament where the Greek of the LXX uses sēmasia.

The meaning of trumpets
in the LXX

The trumpet word group (salpigx/salpizein and sēmasia) is used 144 times in the LXX to refer to a trumpet or to the act of trumpeting. This total can be broken down into 83 occurrences of salpigx, 51 of salpizein, and 10 of sēmasia. No significant difference is found between the contexts in which salpigx is used and the contexts in which salpizein is used, the main difference being that sēmasia always translates terū`āh while

the Hebrew sapahat which refers to scales on the skin; three times it is used for mispahat which means a skin eruption; and five times it is used to translate yōbēl where that Hebrew term refers to the Jubilee. It is possible that this wide variety of meanings led to its gradual replacement with the more specific word salpigx.

Later Greek versions used sēmasia to translate terū`āh in a number of places where the LXX did not. Both Aquila and Symmachus did so in Ps 32:3 (33:3 MT). Symmachus also did so in Num 23:21; Job 8:21; Ps 26:6 (27:6 MT); 88:16 (89:16 MT); and 150:5. In each of these cases the context indicates that sēmasia means a shout or a loud noise rather than the sound of the trumpet, therefore these instances should not be considered in a study of the Old Testament meaning of trumpets.

with one exception salpiq̄x and salpizein translate the other eight Hebrew words for trumpet or trumpeting. A careful study of the Hebrew words behind the Greek does not produce significantly different results.

The trumpet word group appears in the following contexts in the LXX:

Type of Use	<u>salpiq̄x</u>	<u>salpizein</u>	<u>sêmasia</u>	Total
Liturgy and Worship ¹	38	16	2	56
Covenant Warfare	14	8	2	24
Other Battle Contexts	10	15	0	25
Warning	11	2	0	13
Signaling	0	5	6	11
Coronation	4	5	0	9
Theophany	6	0	0	6
Total	83	51	10	144

In the foregoing tabulation, the term "liturgy and worship" means temple rituals, hymns, and related activities of corporate worship. But the trumpet's use in battle also frequently had a spiritual component, for the battle trumpets of Israel were to be handled only by the priests (Num 10:8-10).² It is this priestly use of the trumpets that is identified above as "Covenant Warfare."

¹Four of the liturgical usages (Ps 47:5; 81:3 [twice]; 98:6) deal with the ritual enthronement of Yahweh in the temple services. While these could have been included as coronation passages the worship setting appears predominant, and so they are included in the "Liturgy and Worship" category.

²Yigael Yadin, The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness (Hertford, Great Britain: Oxford University Press, 1962), p. 113.

General references to battle trumpets and to incidents wherein someone other than a priest used a trumpet are combined under the category "Other Battle Contexts."¹

The foregoing statistics indicate that the predominant usage of trumpets in the Old Testament is a spiritual one in the context of the covenant (80 times out of a total of 144, or 56%). The key theological passage for this usage is Num 10:8-10:²

The sons of Aaron, the priests, are to blow the trumpets. This is to be a lasting ordinance for you and the generations to come. When you go into battle in your own land against an enemy who is oppressing you, sound a blast on the trumpets. Then you will be remembered by the Lord your God and rescued from your enemies. Also at your times of rejoicing--your appointed feasts and New Moon festivals--you are to sound the trumpets over your burnt offerings and fellowship offerings, and they will be a memorial for you before your God. I am the Lord your God.

This passage clearly indicates the spiritual significance of the trumpet. Its official use was confined to the priests; and whether in battle or in worship, its use was to result in remembrance (nizkar-tem--vs. 9, lezikkârôn--vs. 10, root--zkr) on God's part. The sounding of the trumpet became, in a sense, a symbol of covenant prayer. When the priests blew the trumpet, they were calling on God to remember His covenant with His

¹Ten of these occurrences involve general references to the use of trumpets in battle. The other fifteen involve occasions on which a trumpet is blown, in behalf of Israel, by a character who was often depicted as taking things into his own hands when God didn't seem to be producing as promised (The fifteen usages occur in the accounts of Gideon, Saul, Joab and Absalom).

²Ibid., p. 87.

people. As E. W. Hengstenberg has aptly pointed out, in Num 10:2-8 trumpets express what God has to say to His people, but in Num 10:9,10 they express what the people have to say to God.¹

Besides their use in worship and battle, trumpets were also used to signal warnings of the approach of an enemy (cf. Ezek 33 in particular). This category of "Warning" is probably more important, theologically, than the numerical listing would indicate. Toward the end of the Old Testament era, trumpet warnings came to be associated more and more with the Day of the Lord.² They symbolized God's present judgments which were a warning of greater judgments to come.³

While signaling is, of course, intimately related to both battle and warning,⁴ the separate category "Signaling" was incorporated into the foregoing list to indicate the instances where trumpets were used to gather people for joint travel or peaceful assembly.⁵ In these instances, signaling does not appear to have attained any

¹E. W. Hengstenberg, The Revelation of St. John, 2 vols., trans. Patrick Fairbairn, Clark's Foreign Theological Library, vol. 22 (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1851), 1:332.

²Féret, p. 113.

³Hengstenberg, 1:134. See, for example, Zeph 1:14-16; Zech 9:14; and Joel 2:1,15.

⁴Note the confluence of all three ideas in Jer 4:5, where warning is the predominant theme.

⁵Mainly found in Num 10.

theological significance. However, signaling to gather for war or to warn of an enemy's approach came to be associated with the warning messages of the prophets and thus passages such as Jer 4:5 and Ezek 33 are best grouped under the category "Warning."

Trumpets were prominent also in the coronations of ancient Israel and are mentioned in the enthronement Psalms (such as Ps 47), which anticipated the time when God's kingdom would be established over the whole earth. Since the king was understood to be Yahweh's servant and representative, the coronation trumpet became a proclamation of Yahweh's future kingdom. As with judgment, this understanding of trumpets became increasingly important in New Testament times.

Finally, trumpets are associated with theophany in Exod 19 and Zech 9:14.¹ While this association is relatively rare in the Old Testament,² it becomes perhaps the predominant emphasis in the New Testament. Since the Sinai incident of Exod 19 is the first mention of trumpets in the Old Testament, it would tend to infuse this category with more importance in the minds of readers than would otherwise be the case.³

¹Carrington, p. 152; George McCreedy Price, A New Commentary on Daniel and the Revelation (Loma Linda, CA: Pre-Publication MS., 1951.), p. 86.

²Theophany is also implied in many of the Day of Yahweh passages.

³Gibson, p. 35. Note how the theophany at Sinai is a paradigm for Christian experience in Heb 12:18-24.

The trumpets in Early
Judaism

In Early Judaism¹ trumpets continued to appear in the literature, but there was some transformation of meaning. Two midrashim on the Old Testament indicate an increasing association of trumpets with judgment. First, the context of Ezek 7:14 is Yahweh's visit to the temple at Jerusalem for the purpose of judgment. In the Masoretic text of Ezek 7:14 the trumpet is a simple call to battle, but the LXX reads for the same text, "Sound ye the trumpet and pass judgment on all together."² Here both the noun and verb forms of salpigx are used in the context of judgment (krinō).³ Thus, the idea of judgment, which is implicit in the Masoretic text of Ezek 7:14, is made explicit in the midrashic translation of the LXX. Second, the Pseudo-Jonathan Targum on Num 29:1 reads, "(The Feast of Trumpets is) a day of trumpeting for you, to confuse

¹For various reasons the term "Intertestamental Period" is increasingly being replaced by the term "Early Judaism." See Charlesworth, The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha and the New Testament, p. 59. In this study the term Early Judaism refers to the period which begins with the close of the Old Testament era and ends with the close of the Tannaitic Period (late second century C.E.).

²If the LXX reflected an underlying text tradition it would support the connection of the judgment theme to the blowing of trumpets as early as the Exile and before. But it is possible that this is a midrashic paraphrase, in which case the LXX reflects the increasing association of trumpet with judgment as the New Testament era approaches.

³This is intimately associated with the liturgical usage of trumpets, since the blowing of the trumpet in the temple courts became associated with the call for revival and reformation (Joel 2:12-17; cf. 1 Chr 15).

Satan, who comes to prosecute you, with the sound of your trumpeting."¹ This also associates trumpeting and the language of judgment.

While the above midrashim probably reflect alterations that arose shortly after the Old Testament era, trumpets continued to be associated with judgment as the New Testament era approached. In the Psalms of Solomon, dated around the first century B.C.E.,² the sound of the trumpet is used both as an announcement of war and calamity, and as an omen of judgment (8:1-3). The first-century C.E. Jewish philosopher, Philo, saw in the Feast of Trumpets (Rosh Hashanah) a foretaste of the last judgment³ and a recollection of the giving of the law on Mount Sinai, where the voice of God was likened to a trumpet blast.⁴ In a Sibylline Oracle, whose final redaction was

¹Alejandro Diez Macho, ed. Neofiti 1, 5 vols. (Madrid-Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Cientificas, 1968-1978), 4:696.

²R. H. Charles, ed., The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913), 2:627-630.

³Philo The Special Laws, Bk. I, 187 (trans. F. H. Colson, LCL). This is probably the emphasis of Pseudo-Philo 13:6 as well.

⁴Ibid., The Decalogue, 33 (trans. F. H. Colson, LCL). Philo's thought points to the likelihood that the association of trumpets with judgment originated in meditations on the significance of the trumpet at Mount Sinai. God's judgments in the exile to and return from Babylon are often described in language reminiscent of the Exodus (Isa 51:9-11, Hab 3, and Hag 2:9-11 are examples).

around 80 C.E.,¹ we find the sound of the trumpet at the destruction of the unrepentant (4:171-178), followed by the final resurrection (179-182). There is a sentence, the destroyed wicked are covered with a heap of earth, and the righteous live on the earth again (183-190). The eschatological judgment is clearly the focus here.

Another clear depiction of the trumpet of judgment is found in 4 Ezra 6:18-23, written about the time of the book of Revelation:

And it said, "Behold, the days are coming, and it shall be that when I draw near to visit the inhabitants of the earth, and when I require from the doers of iniquity the penalty of their iniquity, and when the humiliation of Zion is complete, and when the seal is placed upon the age which is about to pass away, then I will show these signs: The books shall be opened before the firmament, and all shall see it together. . . . and the trumpet shall sound aloud, and when all hear it, they shall suddenly be terrified."

In the time of judgment, when the books are opened, the trumpet will sound and all the world will be struck with terror at the sound of it.²

Somewhat contemporary with 4 Ezra is the Apocalypse of Moses.³ In section 22 of that Apocalypse, the

¹Charles, The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, 2:373; Charlesworth, ed., The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha, 1:381-382.

²A Syriac translation of 4 Ezra adds the word "judgment" to vs. 20--"And all shall see 'my judgment' together."

³Charles, The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, 2:127. This document is called the "Life of Adam and Eve" in Charlesworth, ed., The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha, 2:249-295.

experience of Adam and Eve in the Garden is described in the following terms:

And the same hour we heard the archangel Michael blowing on his trumpet, calling the angels, saying, "Thus says the Lord, 'come with me into paradise (Garden of Eden) and hear the words with which I will judge Adam.' And as we heard the archangel trumpeting we said: 'Behold God is coming into paradise to judge us.'"¹

Also contemporary with the post-70-C.E. documents above is the Apocalypse of Abraham.² In chap. 30 it depicts ten eschatological plagues which fall on the heathen and are followed by a divine trumpet blast and the arrival of God's "chosen one":

And then I will sound the trumpet out of the air, and I will send my chosen one, having in him one measure of all my power, and he will summon my people, humiliated by the heathen. And I will burn those who mocked them and ruled over them in this age and I will deliver those who have covered me with mockery over to the scorn of the coming age.

Once again a trumpet is associated with the eschatological judgment.³ What is especially interesting here is that the trumpet blast heralds the "chosen one" who has "in him one measure of all [God's] power." If this is not a Christian interpolation, it provides a remarkable parallel to the New Testament parousia passages that are examined shortly. The pre-Christian Apocalypse of Zephaniah also

¹Konstantin von Tischendorf, ed., Apocalypses Apocryphae (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1866), p. 12. Cf. also section 38, p. 20.

²Charlesworth, ed., The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha, 1:683.

³See also the Testament of Abraham 12:1-18 for a contemporary judgment account that includes a trumpet.

has a remarkable series of trumpet-events in sections 9-12. These will be examined in Chapter III of this dissertation (pp. 350-351).

While the Mishnah was written down much later than the book of Revelation, it contains many traditions that are earlier. In Rosh Hashanah 1.2 there is the clear indication that the Feast of Trumpets entails worldwide judgment involving "the hearts of all" and "all their works." Each Feast of Trumpets is a prototype of the Great Final Judgment. "On New Year's Day all that come into the world pass before him like legions of soldiers."

The passages just examined underline the fact that trumpets are increasingly associated with judgment as we move from the Old Testament era through the period of Early Judaism to the time of the Apocalypse.¹

The meaning of trumpets in Early Judaism was not, however, limited to judgment. Philo, for example, drew a connection between the Feast and Creation on the basis of the numerology of the Feast.² In addition to his interest in the Feast of Trumpets, he noted that in war trumpets were used to sound advances and to call the troops back to the camp.³ He also pointed out that they were sounded in the temple as a thank offering to God, who keeps the

¹Desmond Ford, 2:407.

²Philo, The Special Laws, Bk. I, 187.

³Ibid., The Special Laws, Bk. II, 190.

peace.¹ This may have some relationship to Num 10, where the trumpet sound was a petition to God to remember His covenant. Pseudo-Philo, in his expansion of the book of Judges, associated trumpets with a gathering for praise and worship in thankfulness for God's deliverance of Israel under Deborah.²

In the War Scroll silver trumpets (ḥašōserōt) were to be used by the priests to signal for assembly, for battle, for attack, and for the arranging of the battle lines (3:1-11). Five different kinds of trumpets are mentioned--trumpets of assembly, remembrance, alarm, pursuit, and retreat or recall. While all of them were silver trumpets, they would be blown in a different manner in different situations (7:13).³ In addition to the silver trumpets, seven Levites were to carry seven shofars (7:14) for the purpose of "melting the heart of the enemy (8:9)."⁴ While the main emphasis in the War Scroll is on battle, it is a covenant war commanded by the priests and thus is probably based on Num 10.

¹Ibid., 192.

²"And when Deborah made an end to her words, she along with the people went up to Shiloh, and they offered sacrifices and holocausts, and they sang to the accompaniment of the trumpets. And when they were singing and the sacrifices had been offered, Deborah said, 'And this will be as a testimony of trumpets between the stars and their Lord.' And Deborah came down from there and judged Israel forty years." Pseudo-Philo 32:18.

³Friedrich, p. 82; Yadin, pp. 92-99.

⁴Yadin, p. 107.

This summary of the trumpet theme in the literature of Early Judaism points to some significant developments in the meaning of trumpets and trumpeting. The association of trumpets with judgment and the eschaton is the predominant emphasis. While the trumpet continues to be associated with signaling and war, only the War Scroll and possibly Pseudo-Philo carry the overtones of covenant warfare. The blowing of trumpets in the setting of the worship services in the temple is not prominent in the literature of the period, but the Mishnah indicates that the practice continued through the first century C.E.¹ Theophany is not prominent but is implicit in the Apocalypse of Moses and the Apocalypse of Abraham. New elements are the association of the blowing of trumpets with the confounding of Satan, and the idea in Philo of the trumpets as a thank offering to God.

The meaning of trumpets in
the New Testament

In the New Testament the salpigx/salpizein word group, as we have noted earlier, has taken over all the Greek and Hebrew meanings of trumpet and trumpeting which the authors of the New Testament considered pertinent to their writings. As we have also seen, salpigx can mean the trumpet itself or the sound made by the trumpet,²

¹See, e.g., Rosh Hashanah 3.1-4.9 and Tamid 7.3.

²Arndt and Gingrich, p. 741.

whereas salpizein means specifically "to sound the trumpet."¹

These two words appear in the New Testament a total of 23 times. Two occurrences, Matt 6:2 and 1 Cor 14:8, can be ignored for the purposes of our study since they express simple, non-theological uses of a trumpet.² Of the other 21 occurrences, 14 are found in Rev 8-11. Before we look at that passage we will study the other seven occurrences elsewhere. These appear to fall into two groups--in passages associated with theophany and in passages relating to the Parousia.

Trumpets as theophany

With respect to the first category, Heb 12:19 alludes to Exod 19:13-19. The cloud, the darkness, and the storm are all theophanic phenomena. The author of Hebrews contrasts the security of the one who accepts Christ (vss. 22-24) with the terror and gloom of the mountain of the law. The author is not contrasting two different gods, it is one and the same God who manifests Himself in different ways according to the needs of His people.

¹Ibid.

²Both passages are related to the signaling role of trumpets. In 1 Cor 14:8 Paul uses the importance of clear signals in preparing for war as an illustration of the superiority of prophecy over tongues. In Matt 6:2 there is a tongue-in-cheek comment that trumpet calls are not in order where giving is concerned!

A comparison with Rev 1:10 sheds even further light on this theophany:¹ "On the Lord's Day I was in the Spirit, and I heard behind me a loud voice like a trumpet (Rev 1:10)." When John turns around, he discovers that he is in the presence of none other than Jesus Christ Himself (vss. 13-18). Christ's voice is like a trumpet. This parallels the theophany of Exod 19, where God's voice is likened to a trumpet.²

Trumpets and the Parousia

Trumpets appear four times in the New Testament in connection with passages dealing with the Parousia.³ Matt 24:31 reads: "And he will send his angels with a loud trumpet call, and they will gather his elect from the four winds, from one end of the heavens to the other." The angels are not said to blow the trumpet, rather, they advance to gather the elect, accompanied by the trumpet call which is as much "sent" by the Son of Man as are the angels. 1 Cor 15:51,52 describes the same event in different terms:

Listen, I tell you a mystery: We will not all sleep, but we will all be changed--in a flash, in the

¹Rev 4:1 is reminiscent of 1:10 and adds nothing pertinent to our study.

²This is another evidence that the New Testament writers considered Christ to be none other than the Yahweh of the Old Testament. All the attributes which Yahweh manifested toward Israel, Christ manifests toward His New Israel.

³Mathias Rissi, Was ist und was geschehen soll danach (Stuttgart: Zwingli Verlag, 1965), p. 51.

twinkling of an eye, at the last trumpet, for the trumpet will sound, the dead will be raised imperishable, and we will be changed.

Paul is clearly referring to the Parousia. At the sound of the trumpet the dead are raised. It is interesting that in the Gospel of John the dead are raised by the voice of Christ: "Do not be amazed at this, for a time is coming when all who are in their graves will hear his voice and come out" (John 5:28,29). We have already seen the trumpet associated with the voice of Jesus Christ in the theophany of Rev 1:10 (cf. Rev 4:1). In Exod 19 and Heb 12 it is associated with the voice of God in the theophany at Mt. Sinai. Thus, at the Parousia, theophany becomes christophany.¹ Another example of Paul's familiarity with this concept is witnessed in 1 Thess 4:16,17:

For the Lord himself will come down from heaven, with a loud command, with the voice of the archangel and with the trumpet call of God, and the dead in Christ shall rise first. After that, we who are still alive and are left will be caught up with them in the clouds to meet the Lord in the air, and so we will be with the Lord forever.

The Lord here is none other than Jesus Christ (cf. 1 Thess 2:19). He descends from heaven with (a) a shout of command, (b) the voice of the archangel, and (c) the trumpet call of God. At these sounds the dead in Christ arise from their graves and the living righteous are immediately transformed.²

¹Charlesworth, The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha and the New Testament, p. 138.

²This may well echo Num 10:8-10 where the sound of the trumpet moves God to action and He acts to deliver His

That judgment is involved at the Parousia is indicated by the context of Matt 24:31. Verse 29 is a description of the cosmic signs of the final judgment, associated in the Old Testament with the Day of the Lord in passages such as Jer 4:23-27; Ezek 32:7,8; Hag 2:6-9; Joel 2:28-32 [3:1-5 LXX]; Amos 8:3-10; Isa 13:9-13; and 34:1-5.¹ Matt 24:36-39 recalls the Flood, which was an anticipated final judgment, vss. 42-44 show the unexpectedness of the Parousia. These verses are followed by the judgment parables of the faithful and wise servant, the ten virgins, the accounting of the talents, and the sheep and the goats. Thus, these Parousia passages not only underline the Old Testament association between trumpets and theophany but also the later association between trumpeting and judgment.

Summary

Our study of the Old Testament background indicates that trumpets and trumpeting are found in four major settings that provided theological significance for the use of trumpets. These are covenant prayer (whether in cultic worship or in battle), warning, coronations, and theophany.²

people.

¹These Day of the Lord passages are consistently applied to the Parousia in the New Testament (note particularly Rev 6:12-17).

²The categories "Other Battle Usages" and "Signaling" involve descriptive uses of the trumpet without any

The main contribution of Early Judaism to the symbolism of the trumpet was to transform the use of the trumpet in the Old Testament Day of the Lord passages into a full-blown theology of judgment.

It is most interesting, then, to discover that, in the New Testament outside of the seven trumpets, the predominant emphases involve the association of trumpets with theophany and judgment, two ideas that played a relatively minor role in the Old Testament.

The use of trumpets in
Rev 8-11

How does the author of Revelation relate to this background in the seven trumpets? Which themes are emphasized there? Does he stand in the development that we have traced, or does he go back to earlier patterns of usage?

Trumpets in a worship
setting

As we have seen, the majority of the occurrences of trumpets and trumpeting in the Old Testament involve cultic worship or covenant prayer in battle. Although these associations are relatively rare in Early Judaism and elsewhere in the New Testament,¹ three observations suggest that John makes use of it in the seven trumpets.

implied theological meaning.

¹It is virtually absent in a literary sense, but trumpets continued to play a role in the worship practices of first-century Judaism.

First of all, the seven trumpets are introduced in Rev 8:3-5, where incense rises along with the prayers of the saints. The response is the casting down of the censer and the blowing of trumpets. Thus, in their context the seven trumpets are unleashed in answer to the prayers of the saints. This is a remarkable parallel to Num 10:8-10. There the sounding of a trumpet was understood as an act of prayer reminding God of His covenant with His people.¹ God's response would be to deliver them militarily and cultically. In Revelation the trumpets are unleashed by the prayers of the saints and signal God's response to those prayers. This strong thematic parallel with Num 10 argues that the trumpets in Rev 8-11 are to be understood in relation to worship and prayer as is the case in much of the Old Testament.

Second, although the number seven is schematic in Revelation, John was certainly not unaware that whenever the number seven was associated with trumpets in the Old Testament, it was in some relation to the cultus. There were seven priests in the Old Testament cultus who were designated to blow the trumpets on festal occasions or in battle (1 Chr 15:24; Josh 6). Seven New Moon festivals, each accompanied by the blowing of trumpets, were climaxed on the first day of the seventh month with the Feast of

¹Gibson, p. 33.

Trumpets, the New Year festival.¹ By New Testament times there were also seven feasts in the Jewish liturgical year. Trumpets were blown at each of these feasts.² The Jubilee (Lev 25:8ff.) was also marked by the number seven and the blowing of trumpets. The combination of the number seven with trumpets increases the likelihood that the trumpets in Rev 8-11 have cultic significance.

But more than this, Revelation, as we have seen, is filled with worship and prayer. The entire book is placed in a setting that is based on the Old Testament tabernacle and temple cultus. Preceding each major section of the book is a sanctuary scene.³ As we have noticed in Chapter I,⁴ the worship scenes of Revelation are central to the author's purpose.

¹As the Feast of Trumpets was understood in terms of judgment, so each of the monthly feasts came to be seen as a day of judgment in miniature, a time for family repentance and purification (compare 1 Sam 20 with Jubilees 31:1-3). Cf. Desmond Ford, 2:408; Hengstenberg, 1:333-334.

²Num 10:10; Mishnah Rosh Hashanah 3.1-4.9; and Mishnah Tamid 7.3.

³The churches are preceded by the scene of Jesus with the candlesticks (Rev 1:9-20). The seals are introduced by a scene with a multitude of Old Testament cultic images (Rev 4, 5). There are views of the altar of burnt offering (6:9,10), the golden altar of incense (8:2-6), the ark of the covenant (11:19) and the Shekinah glory (15:5-8). Cf. Bowman, IDB, 4:64-65 and Kenneth A. Strand, Interpreting the Book of Revelation (Worthington, Ohio: Ann Arbor Publishers, 1976), p. 48.

⁴See the material on the relationship between Revelation and the Christian traditions, pp. 38-43.

The combination of a strong tradition relating trumpets to worship (rooted in Num 10) with the author's overall worship schema indicates that worship and prayer are a central emphasis intended by the author of the seven trumpets.¹ In so doing, John bases himself firmly in the Old Testament tradition.

Trumpets as a symbol of judgment

Earlier in the present chapter, I noted that trumpets became increasingly associated with judgment in the centuries immediately preceding the composition of Revelation. Since judgment is a major theme of the book of Revelation, this connection is likely to be present in the trumpets also.² As we have just noticed in the previous section, the seven trumpets, which are couched in the language of God's judgments in the Old Testament, are blown in response to the prayers of the saints (Rev 8:3-5). In chapter III we see that the very language of the seven trumpets themselves is based on God's judgments in the Old Testament era. And finally, the seventh trumpet explicitly uses the word "judgment" as part of the climax of the seven-fold series (Rev 11:18). Therefore, the theme of judgment is pervasive in the introduction to the seven trumpets, in their conclusion, and in the language

¹Merrill C. Tenney, The Book of Revelation (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1963), pp. 41-42.

²Harrington, p. 134.

chosen to describe the plagues unleashed by the sounding of the trumpets. Thus, the trumpet blasts of the seven angels can be understood as the signals for God's judgment activity against His enemies. This association between trumpets and judgment places the author firmly in the stream of theological development that we have traced in the Intertestamental and New Testament eras.

Trumpets used for heralding
a theophany

With the possible exception of chap. 10 and the seventh trumpet in 11:15-18, Rev 8-11 is conspicuous for its lack of theophany. There is no explicit reference to Christ and there is a surprising lack of reference to God in chaps. 8 and 9.¹ Thus, one could conclude either that our author was not aware of how much the New Testament writers associated trumpets with theophany, or that he deliberately chose to ignore that aspect of meaning in order to emphasize others.

It is quite likely, however, that John intended the reader to perceive an implied theophany (or christophany) in the seven trumpets. In the New Testament era the use of passives was a way to speak of divine activity without naming God Himself.² The seven trumpets are

¹Ellul, pp. 67-69; Goldsworthy, The Lion and the Lamb, p. 93; M. Gourgues, "L'Apocalypse' ou 'les trois Apocalypses' de Jean?" Science et esprit 35 (3,1983):312.

²Joachim Jeremias, New Testament Theology, trans. John Bowden (New York: Scribner's, 1971), pp. 9-14; Massyngberde Ford, Revelation, pp. 101-102.

filled with such "divine passives."¹ The hail and fire mingled with blood in the first trumpet "were thrown" (ēblēthē) to the earth, with heaven being the explicit origin of the judgment. The burning mountain of the second trumpet likewise "was thrown" (ēblēthē), this time the destination was the sea. In the fourth trumpet a third of the heavenly bodies "were darkened" (skotisthē).

The use of the divine passive is especially prevalent in the fifth trumpet. The key to the pit of the abyss "was given" (edothē) to the fallen star (Rev 9:1). The locusts "were given" (edothē) authority to torment those who did not have the seal of God (Rev 9:3,5). They "were told" (errethē) what the limits of their authority would be (Rev 9:4). These "divine passives" indicate that while the plague issues from the abyss God remains continually in control.²

The plague of the sixth trumpet is explicitly unleashed from the four horns of the altar (Rev 9:13,14). This may explain why, in the sixth and seventh trumpets, the activity of God is described more and more in the active voice.

This implicit divine activity is striking in the light of the theme of trumpets heralding a theophany, so predominant elsewhere in the New Testament. This should make the interpreter aware that the author wished to

¹Massyngberde Ford, Revelation, p. 135.

²Note also eluthēsan and ētoimasmēnoi in Rev 9:15.

convey that the activity of God was ever present, even in the plague cycles of the book.

Trumpets used in celebrating
enthronement

The climax of the seven trumpets comes with the eschatological enthronement of Christ over the nations in Rev 11:15-18:

The seventh angel sounded his trumpet, and there were loud voices in heaven, which said:
"The kingdom of the world has become
the kingdom of our Lord
and of His Christ,
and He will reign forever and ever."

This passage is rooted verbally and thematically in Exod 15:18, where Yahweh is said to reign forever and ever as a result of the crossing of the sea. That enthronement theme is expanded in a number of Psalms that have come to be called "Enthronement Psalms."¹ In the New Testament the gospel becomes the proclamation that Jesus Christ is Lord. All who are willing to acknowledge His rule and obey His will are accepted as subjects of that kingdom. But most have not accepted God's rule. Phil 2:9-11 points to a time when Christ's exaltation comes to be acknowledged by all. But this is still future from the New Testament perspective. It is to that future climax that the seventh trumpet points. The eschatological coronation

¹Sigmund Mowinckel, Psalmenstudien, 2 vols. (Amsterdam: Verlag P. Schippers N. V., 1966), 1:160; 2:3. Mowinckel includes Psalms 47, 81, 93, and 95-100 in his designation "Enthronement Psalms."

of Christ will be accompanied with trumpets as was the coronation of royalty in the Old Testament.

Trumpets used to sound a warning

The theme of warning is more implicit in the seven trumpets than are the themes of worship, judgment, and enthronement. But as we have seen from our brief examination of theophany in the seven trumpets, the author sometimes assumes that his reader's background in the Old Testament and contemporary Judeo-Christian experience are sufficient to make his meaning clear.

Warning can be seen in the seven trumpets from a number of factors. (1) The plagues they call into action are for the purpose of leading rebellious humanity to repentance (Rev 9:20,21); (2) the preliminary and partial character of the trumpet plagues, in contrast to the totality and finality of the bowl plagues,¹ make them warning judgments of the final realities in store for the rejecters of God's mercy; (3) according to Strand's literary schema for Revelation,² the trumpets fall in the historical portion of the book, where the author depicts events that lead up to the consummation. Thus, although warning is not explicitly mentioned in the seven trumpets,

¹See below, pp. 340-343.

²Strand, Interpreting the Book of Revelation, pp. 51-52.

their placement in the book would appear to underline the warning aspect of trumpet symbolism.

Summary

We have seen that the seven trumpets gather up the major themes connected with the sounding of trumpets throughout the experience of Israel. While our author makes of them "a new thing" he remains faithful to the overall meaning of trumpeting in the Old Testament and to the subsequent development in Early Judaism.

Some Other Old Testament Sources

Creation

Many commentators have seen in the seven trumpets a systematic and progressive undoing of creation.¹ Rusten, for one, sees each trumpet corresponding to a day of creation.² Naden notes that the trumpets obscure light (9:2); foul the air (9:2); destroy vegetation (8:7); darken sun, moon and stars (8:12); kill the creatures of

¹Corsini, p. 176; Ellul, p. 74; Desmond Ford, 2:408. Boll suggests that the trumpets are based on the Adam tradition of Slavonic Enoch (Boll, pp. 63-65). If so, this would help explain the creation motif in the trumpets.

²Elmer Rusten, "A Critical Evaluation of Dispensational Interpretations of the Book of Revelation" (Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1976), p. 369. He makes the following connections:

- 1) earth (Gen 1:1)
- 2) sea (Gen 1:6,7)
- 3) rivers and springs (1:9)
- 4) sun, moon and stars (1:16)
- 5) locusts (1:21)
- 6) man (1:26-29)
- 7) kingdom (2:1-3)

the sea (8:9); kill men (8:11; 9:18); and undo the Sabbath rest (9:5,6,20,21).¹ While the specific order is not followed, the essential content of the creation account is made void, as Ellul has expressed it, in an overwhelming "de-creation."²

Since the flood account served as the original undoing of creation,³ it should not surprise us that the seven trumpets make reference to 150 days (Rev 9:5,10; cf. Gen 7:24 and 8:3), and judgments from the heavens (8:7) and from the abyss (9:1,2).

The partial degeneration of the world into its primeval state, as portrayed in the trumpets, paves the way for the proleptic announcement of a new heaven and a new earth in 11:15-18.⁴

The Exodus

That the seven trumpets are intentionally based on the Exodus account is generally acknowledged by scholars.⁵

¹Roy Naden, Studies in Revelation, Lecture Manual, no. 3 (Arroyo Grande, CA: Concerned Communications, 1981), p. 31.

²Ellul, pp. 74, 76.

³The Flood systematically annihilated God's work of separation and distinction performed in Gen 1. Hartman notes (Prophecy Interpreted, p. 32) that in Jewish apocalyptic the Flood was interpreted as a "typos of God's visitation at the end of time."

⁴Naden, p. 31.

⁵G. R. Beasley-Murray, The Book of Revelation, New Century Bible (London: Oliphants, 1974), p. 155; Brutsch, 1:353; Farrer, Rebirth, p. 120; Desmond Ford, 2:408; Massyngberde Ford, Revelation, p. 140; Schüssler Fiorenza,

The first trumpet is especially reminiscent of the hail plague (Exod 9:22ff.). The second and third recall when Moses turned the waters of Egypt to blood (Exod 7:14ff.). The third, perhaps, also recalls the bitter waters of Marah (Exod 15:23). The fourth and fifth recall the plague of darkness (10:21ff.). The fifth also contains reminiscences of the plague of locusts (10:12ff.). The seventh trumpet recalls the events related to the Song of the Sea in Exod 15.¹

Jericho

A number of scholars have noted that the seven trumpets bear a remarkable resemblance to the events surrounding the siege of Jericho in the book of Joshua.² In Josh 6 the account begins with the marching orders (6:3-5). Accompanied by the signals of the trumpet priests and the ark of the covenant, the people marched around Jericho once a day for six days and then seven times on the seventh day. They were to march in absolute

The Apocalypse, p. 41; Kenneth A. Strand, "The Two Witnesses of Rev 11:3-12," Andrews University Seminary Studies 19 (1981):128.

¹Only the sixth trumpet is not clearly based on the Exodus, yet even there it is possible that the author intended the portrayal of the death of a third of mankind to be reminiscent of the plague on the first-born of Egypt (Exod 11; 12:29ff.). Cf. Rusten, pp. 370-371.

²E.g., Farrer, The Revelation, p. 137; Desmond Ford, 2:408; Joseph W. Kemp, Outline Studies on Revelation (Edinburgh: By the Author, n.d.), p. 16; J. R. MacDuff, Memories of Patmos (London: James Nisbet, 1871), pp. 212-213; Mauro, pp. 273-274.

silence (6:10) until the time when the signal was given. At the sound of the trumpet all the people shouted and the walls fell down (6:20).

By comparison, many scholars have noticed that in their larger context the trumpets contain many similarities to the Jericho account. There is silence (8:1) at the beginning, and a great shout at the end (11:15). Each blast of the trumpet consists of a single plague until the seventh, which includes within itself the full seven plagues of the bowls.¹ In Rev 11:19 the ark of the covenant makes its only appearance in the book of Revelation. Like the battle for Jericho, the trumpets climax with God's rulership over a specific place. Thus the account of the siege of Jericho may well be, like the Exodus, a structural parallel running behind the whole passage.

The book of Joel

Even a casual reading of both the seven trumpets and the book of Joel indicates a multitude of parallel images.² It is likely that no other portion of the Old

¹Beckwith, pp. 559, 608; Bornkamm, "Die Komposition," p. 137; Bullinger, p. 301; Desmond Ford, 2:430; Joseph M. Gettys, How to Study the Revelation (Richmond: John Knox Press, 1946), p. 55; Gibson, pp. 199-200; Ferdinand Hahn, "Zum Aufbau der Johannesoffenbarung," in Kirche und Bibel, Festgabe für Bischof Eduard Schick (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1979), p. 151; McConkey, p. 43.

²M. D. Goulder, "The Apocalypse as an Annual Cycle of Prophecies," New Testament Studies 27 (1981):361.

Testament is as intensively utilized in a section of Revelation as is the book of Joel in the seven trumpets. Following is a list of parallels (which is by no means exhaustive) between the book of Joel and the seven trumpets:

Book of Joel		Book of Revelation
1:4; 2:5-7,25	Locusts	9:1-11
1:5,13,14; 2:12-17	Calls for Repentance	9:20,21
1:7,10-12; 2:3	Ruined Vegetation	8:7
1:15;2:1,11,31;		
3:14	Day of the Lord	Imagery
1:19,20; 2:3,5,30	Devouring Fire	8:7,8
2:1,15	Trumpet Call	Repeatedly
2:2,10,31; 3:15	Darkness	8:12; 9:1-11
2:4,5,7	Locust Horses	9:7-11,16-19?
2:5	Burning Mountain	8:8
2:6	Anguish	9:5,6
2:17	Sanctuary, Altar	8:3-5; 9:13,14
2:30,31; 3:15	Heavenly Signs	8:12
2:30,31	Blood and Fire	8:7-9
3:2,12	God's Judgment	Theme
3:18-21	God's Kingdom	11:15-18

Not only are there multiple parallels to the book of Joel in the seven trumpets, but the overall themes are also strikingly parallel. The seven trumpets are a depiction, in images drawn from Joel to a considerable degree, of God's judgments inflicted with the intent of leading to repentance. At the climax of both Joel and the seven trumpets is a portrayal of the establishment of God's kingdom. In conclusion, it would be safe to suggest that in the writing of the seven trumpets it was the author's intention for the reader to keep the book of Joel in mind. Structural parallels such as this need to be taken into consideration in the assessment of proposed

allusions to the individual portions of the passage, a task to which we now turn.

Analysis of Allusions to the Old
Testament in Rev 8:7-12

This section of the present chapter demonstrates the proposed method for determining allusions to the Old Testament in the book of Revelation. Included is a fairly detailed analysis of the sixty-three allusions to the Old Testament suggested for the first four trumpets by the ten representative commentators. In addition to the detailed work on the sixty-three passages, this section lists four direct allusions which the representative commentators have overlooked and offers an analysis of the key echoes in Rev 8:7-12.¹ The section closes with some observations pertaining to the impact of this analysis on the issues discussed in Chapter I.

A process of elimination is used to isolate the allusions to the Old Testament in the first four trumpets.² Suggested parallels are gathered from leading commentaries, marginal references, and lists of Old Testament allusions. These are examined to detect if they satisfy one or more of the three criteria for a direct allusion. Since we are working with the Old Testament in this section, the external evidence allows for the

¹Parallels to the New Testament and other sources are introduced in Chapter III.

²See the dissertations of Hedrik, p. 4, and Trudinger, "The Text," pp. 37-41.

possibility of direct allusions wherever the internal evidence permits.

In our investigation of parallels to the Old Testament, no account will be taken of research into the sources of Old Testament books. Whatever the validity of the documents proposed for the Pentateuch, for example, there is no evidence that the author of the Apocalypse was aware of them. He worked with the whole Old Testament in essentially its present form and thus generally used it in the light of the contexts available to us.

The detailed analysis of each proposed allusion provides the percentage of the ten representative commentators that cited a particular parallel. The proposed allusion is then analyzed and classified into one of five categories: certain allusions, probable allusions, possible allusions, uncertain allusions, and nonallusions. As noted earlier,¹ the first two categories are sufficiently certain to be taken seriously in the interpretation of the passage. Possible allusions should be used with caution. Uncertain allusions and nonallusions are best left out of consideration when interpreting a passage.

¹In the first section of this chapter.

The First Trumpet

The textual situation

The text of the first trumpet is fairly certain. Of the five variants listed by Nestle's 26th edition only the last two are significant. A few manuscripts omit kai to triton tês gês katekaê, but the major witnesses all agree that this phrase is part of the text. Four minor manuscripts omit kai to triton tôn dendrôn katekaê. Apparently some scribes either considered the two phrases to be redundant or made a scribal omission due to the similarity between them. Therefore, the wording of the critical text of the first trumpet should stand as found in Nestle's 26th edition.

The commentators' suggestions

The ten representative commentators suggest a total of fourteen different allusions to the Old Testament in the first trumpet.¹ They are evaluated below.

Exod 7:17ff. (10%)

Prigent suggests, in a footnote, that the first trumpet contains an allusion to the first plague on Egypt (Exod 7:17ff.). We have already seen that the plagues on Egypt form a structural parallel to the seven trumpets as a whole. Thus, it is probable that the author made a number of casual references to the Exodus account. In

¹See the Appendix to Chapter I for complete documentation.

Rev 8:7 he uses the same word for blood as the LXX of Exod 7:17 (Rev 8:7, haimati; LXX, haima).¹ Since both passages portray the judgment of God on His enemies there is also a thematic parallel between them. Although there is no verbal parallel, the combination of a thematic parallel using the word "blood" with the presence of a structural parallel to the whole Exodus tradition makes it possible that our author had the first plague on Egypt in mind when he added the term "blood" to the "hail and fire" of this trumpet.²

Conclusion: Possible Allusion.

Exod 9:23-26 (90%)

There is virtual unanimity among our representative commentators that the first trumpet is reminiscent of the seventh plague on Egypt: the plague of hail (Exod 9:23-26). It is easy to see why. There are a multitude of verbal and near-verbal parallels between the two passages.

The origin of both plagues is in heaven (ouranon Exod 9:23 LXX; cf. Rev 8:1-6). They involve a mixture of

¹Neither the targums nor the Hebrew add anything to the discussion.

²What complicates the assessment here is the fact that hail, fire, and blood are found together in Ezek 38:22,23, which is almost certainly alluded to in the first trumpet. Thus, John need not have had the first plague on Egypt in mind in order to draw this association. It is far from impossible, of course, that Ezekiel himself was drawing on the events of the Exodus as a paradigm of God's eschatological deliverance of Israel.

hail (Rev 8:7, chalaza; Exod 9:23 LXX, chalazan) and fire (pur in both) descending to earth (Rev 8:7, eis tēn gēn; Exod 9:23 LXX, epi tēs gēs). While in the first trumpet the hail and fire are mixed (memigmena) with blood, in the Egyptian plague the fire is flaming (vs. 24, phlogizon) in the hail. No doubt the redness of the fire resulted in a blood-like appearance. The fire burned up all the vegetation (vs. 25, pasan botanōn) in Egypt, and, in contrast to the first trumpet, all the trees (panta ta xula).

Although Rev 8:7 and the LXX of Exod 9:23-26 do not always use the same Greek words, they are equally good translations of the Masoretic text, with the exception of phlogizon/memigmena.¹ There is also a thematic parallel in God's judgment on the Egyptians, who opposed and persecuted His people. Combining these indications with the fact that the plagues on Egypt are a structural parallel behind the trumpets as a whole, we conclude that this allusion to the Old Testament is as certain as any in the book of Revelation.

In saying this, however, we do not imply that the LXX was the source of the allusion. There are too many verbal alterations. It is also noteworthy that the

¹While phlogizon is an excellent translation of the Hebrew mitlaqqahat, memigmena is not. It is possible that our author here took his cue from the tradition behind Aquila (sunanalambanomenon: "take up along with") or Symmachus (eneiloumenon: "wrapped in") to come up with the idea of mixture instead of flaming.

Masoretic text, the targums, and the extant Greek versions are in fairly close agreement. Either our author was quoting from memory, used a textual tradition different from the ones of which we are aware, or felt free to transform the language for his own purposes. The evidence here may point to a textual tradition reflected in Aquila and Symmachus.¹

Conclusion: Certain Allusion.

Josh 10:11 (10%)

Massyngberde Ford suggests that the heavenly hail of Rev 8:7 is an allusion to Josh 10:11. There is a weak thematic parallel between the two passages. Hail (Rev 8:7, chalaza; LXX, lithous chalazês) is depicted in Josh 10:11 as falling out of heaven (cf. Rev 8:1-6; LXX, ek tou ouranou) in judgment on the Canaanites at Beth-horon. While there are not enough clues to be certain that John had Josh 10:11 in mind here, Rev 8:7 is closer to the LXX of Josh 10:11 than to Aquila (which has lithous megalous), a reversal of the situation in the previous reference. As in the previous references, the LXX and the targums are in basic agreement with the Masoretic text. If John was alluding to Josh 10:11, a comparison with Exod 9:23-26 suggests that he did not work consistently from any Old Testament textual tradition of which we are aware.

Conclusion: Uncertain Allusion.

¹See the previous note.

Job 38:22,23 (10%)

Massyngeberde Ford also suggests that Rev 8:7 alludes to Job 38:22,23. In this passage hail (chalazês--Symmachus has krustallou, "rock crystal") is a weapon of God against His enemies. This is a thematic parallel of such weak proportions that it is unlikely John intended his readers to make the connection between this passage and Rev 8:7.

Conclusion: Uncertain Allusion.

Ps 18:13 (17:13 LXX) (10%)

Kraft suggests that the first trumpet contains an allusion to Ps 18:13 (17:13 LXX). In this psalm, hail (chalaza) and "coals of fire" (anthrakes puros) are combined as weapons of Yahweh to rescue His people and destroy their enemies. The combination of two major words found in Rev 8:7 makes this a verbal parallel as well as a thematic parallel. Although the verbal and thematic parallels are significant, the lack of a structural parallel indicates that the passage should be used with caution in the interpretation of the first trumpet.

Conclusion: Possible Allusion.

Isa 2:13 (10%)

Hühn suggests that Isa 2:13 is alluded to in Rev 8:7. In Isa 2:13 trees (Rev 8:7, dendrôn; LXX, kedron, "cedar," and dendron balanou, "oak") are a symbol of the proud and haughty whom God will humble. The passage is

probably not a direct allusion,¹ but should be included in the study of trees as an echo.²

Conclusion: Nonallusion.

Isa 28:2 (10%)

Hühn suggests that there is an allusion to Isa 28:2 in the first trumpet. As this passage reads in the LXX, however, there is no reason to think that the author of Revelation was making such a connection. Isa 28:2 simply uses hail (chalaza) as a symbol of God's wrath (cf. Isa 28:17). But the Masoretic text reads, "He has cast (His wrath) to the earth with (His) hand (hinniyah lâ'âres beyâd). This judgment against Ephraim is a strong thematic parallel to the first trumpet. Thus, it is possible that our author had a Proto-Masoretic reading of Isa 28:2 in mind when he wrote Rev 8:7.

Conclusion: Possible Allusion.

Isa 30:30 (10%)

Massyngberde Ford suggests, somewhat tentatively, a connection between Isa 30:30 and the first trumpet. Isa 30:30 contains both a thematic and a verbal parallel to

¹While the LXX is quite different from the wording of Rev 8:7, it is still closer than Aquila, Symmachus or Theodotion.

²For that study Targum Jonathan to Isaiah has an interesting variant: instead of "cedars of Lebanon," the targum has mlky `mmy' ("kings of the Gentiles"), and instead of oaks of Bashan, the targum has twrny ("princes"). In other words, the trees were interpreted by the targumists as the proud and haughty rulers of the Gentile nations.

Rev 8:7. Fire (Rev 8:7, pur; LXX, phlogos: [phlogos puros is a variant in the Hexapla]) and hail (chalaza in both) are poured out on the Assyrians as a judgment. Thus, it is possible that Rev 8:7 points to Isa 30:30.

Conclusion: Possible Allusion.

Ezek 5:1-4 (50%)

Half of our representative commentators mention a relationship between the first trumpet and Ezek 5:1-4. The Revelator, however, certainly did not have the LXX in mind. It has tetarton instead of triton. But the šelišit ("one-third") of the Masoretic text (Ezek 5:2) is followed by Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion. There is further verbal agreement in the use of fire (pur) and burning (anakauseis in the LXX, with MS evidence for katakauseis;¹ cf. katekaê in Rev 8:7). This verse describes the destruction of Jerusalem at the time of the exile to Babylon. The combination of a verbal parallel and the theme of judgment with the structural usage of thirds in the seven trumpets makes it likely that this passage was in the mind of the author when he wrote Rev 8:7.

Conclusion: Probable Allusion.

Ezek 5:12 (20%)

Massyngberde Ford and Nestle indicate that Rev 8:7 points the reader to Ezek 5:12. However, the main

¹Field, 2:778.

affinity of this passage with the first trumpet is in the use of the term "third" in support of the earlier exposition in the same chapter. While this is part of a structural parallel to the seven trumpets as a whole, the lack of verbal and thematic parallels indicates that it is, at best, uncertain that our author had Ezek 5:12 specifically in mind here. That reference could possibly be included with Ezek 5:1-4 as a single allusion, but this would add nothing to our understanding of the first trumpet.

Conclusion: Uncertain Allusion.

Ezek 38:22 (40%)

A number of commentators see a literary connection between Rev 8:7 and Ezek 38:22. Ezek 38:22 brings together all three of the judgment symbols found in the first trumpet--blood (haimati), hail (Rev 8:7, chalaza; LXX, lithois chalazês), and fire (pur). These are rained down (huetô; cf. eblēthē in Rev 8:7) upon Gog, the enemy of His people. Such a strong verbal and thematic parallel is likely to have been in the author's mind as he wrote.

Conclusion: Probable Allusion.

Ezek 39:6 (10%)

Hühn sees an allusion to Eze 39:6 in Rev 8:7. But while both passages mention fire (pur) as a weapon of God to be used against His enemies, there is little reason to

think that the author had this verse particularly in mind. At best we have an echo in the use of "fire."

Conclusion: Uncertain Allusion.

Joel 2:30,31 (Joel
3:3,4 LXX) (70%)

Most of the representative commentators feel that Joel 2:30,31 is relevant to the interpretation of the first trumpet. In this passage the symbols of blood (Joel 3:3 LXX, haima) and fire (pur) are connected to larger happenings, both in heaven (Joel 3:3 LXX, ouranô; cf. Rev 8:1-6), and on earth (Rev 8:7, eis tēn gēn; Joel 3:3 LXX, epi tēs gēs). While there is a strong verbal parallel, it is not clear in Joel that these heavenly signs are acts of judgment.¹ They are rather signs of the end. However, given the large number of verbal parallels and the overall importance of Joel to the seven trumpets, it is at least possible that John had this passage in mind.²

Conclusion: Possible Allusion.

Zech 13:8,9 (60%)

The majority of the commentators listed agree that Rev 8:7 alludes to Zech 13:8,9, which contains a verbal parallel in the mention (in vs. 8 of the LXX) of the earth (tēs gēs), thirds (to triton), and (in vs. 9) fire (puros). There is also a thematic parallel in the concept

¹Cf. Goldsworthy, The Lion and the Lamb, p. 61.

²Brütsch, 1:356.

of judgments of God that are intended to lead to restored relationships. Since this passage is part of a structural parallel, this allusion is reasonably certain.

Conclusion: Probable Allusion.

Other allusions

In addition to the fourteen suggested allusions found in the ten representative commentators, I have examined more than fifty other proposed allusions taken from commentators, critical margins, and my own reading of the Old Testament. These proposed allusions were tested along the same lines as those above, resulting in the confirmation of two additional allusions to the Old Testament in the first trumpet.

Ps 105:32 (104:32 LXX)

In Ps 105:32 (104:32 LXX) hail (chalazan) and fire (pur) are depicted as burning in the earth (kataphlegon en tē qē). The context is the Exodus from Egypt (vss. 25-36), a structural parallel. This is a psalm of praise reciting the great deeds of Yahweh in Israel's history. Although there are strong verbal, thematic, and structural parallels, Ps 105:32 is basically an echo of Exod 9:23-26 and adds little to the Exodus background of Rev 8:7. There is no question the author had Exod 9:23-26 in mind,

but Ps 105:32 is not unique enough to make it certain that he had it in mind as well.¹

Conclusion: Possible Allusion.

Isa 10:16-20

Isa 10:16-20 is a passage that proclaims judgment on Assyria. There are both verbal and thematic parallels here, with the LXX being a little closer to Rev 8:7 than the Masoretic text. The destruction of the Assyrian armies by sickness is likened in vs. 16 to a burning fire (pur kaiomenon kauthêsetai) sent by Yahweh. This fire (vs. 17) devours the wood as though it were grass (phage-tai hôsei chorton tèn hulên). The forest (vs. 18) will be consumed (hoi drumoi aposbesthêsetai) by a burning flame (phlogos kaiomenês). The wood and the forest are symbols of the nation of Assyria, the fire is the judgment of God on that nation because it refused to acknowledge Yahweh even though He had strengthened it to do His bidding. Although John does not use the same Greek words as the LXX, we have seen that he is certainly not bound by the wording in any Greek version we have.

Conclusion: Probable Allusion.

¹There are two other Psalms in this category of relationship to the first two trumpets: Ps 78:47,48 (77:47,48 LXX) with Rev 8:7 and Ps 78:44 (77:44 LXX) with Rev 8:9. In these the verbal connections are much weaker, thus they were assessed to be uncertain.

Echoes

There are six echoes in the first trumpet (in addition to the trumpet and the thirds) whose meanings are crucial to the understanding of the passage: hail, fire, blood, earth, trees, and grass. Each of these has a history in the Old Testament, but the author used them without reference to every context in which they are found. We here trace the Old Testament background of the six echoes in order to ascertain the basic meanings they had in John's day.

Hail

The extended meaning of hail may have been rooted in the plague of hail that fell on the Egyptians during the Exodus (Exod 9:23-26; cf. reminiscences in Ps 78:47,48 and 105:32). Thus, it came to have the general meaning of a weapon of Yahweh which he could use to destroy His enemies (Job 38:22,23), to rescue His people (Ps 18:13), to destroy "the refuge of lies" (Isa 28:17 MT) and the false prophets (Ezek 13:11,13) of Judah and Israel, and to warn of greater judgment so that people would repent (Hag 2:17).¹ Hail, therefore, came to symbolize God's wrath

¹Donald Grey Barnhouse, Revelation (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Publishing House, 1971), p. 163; R. H. Clayton, Future History in the Revelation (London: Marshall, Morgan and Scott, 1941), p. 81.

(Isa 28:2). Those, however, who were faithful to Yahweh were sheltered from the hail of His wrath (Isa 32:18,19).¹

Fire

The word "fire" is used hundreds of times in the Old Testament. Like hail, the extended meaning of fire may be rooted in the plague of hail on the Egyptians. Reinforced in the thinking of Israel by the experience of Nadab and Abihu (Lev 10:1,2,6), fire became a symbol of God's judgment,² whether against Israel and Judah (Ps 80:8-11,15,16; Jer 11:16,17; Ezek 5:1-4; 15:6,7; 20:47,48; Joel 1:19,20) or against their enemies such as Assyria (Isa 10:16-20; 30:30) or Babylon (Jer 51:24,25). Like hail it was a weapon of God to destroy His enemies and to rescue the faithful (Ps 11:6; Ps 18:13; Isa 29:1-6; Ezek 39:6; Amos 1:4; 7:4; Zech 11:1,6). By extension, then, fire came to represent God's wrath (Jer 4:4; 21:12-14).³ Once again, those faithful to Yahweh were not hurt by the fire (Isa 43:2,19-21).

¹It is interesting to note that hail is not described as one of the curses of the covenant in Lev 26 or Deut 28.

²Clayton, pp. 81-82; Friedrich Lang, "pur, etc." TDNT, 6:942-943; C. A. E. Moberly, Five Visions of the Revelation (London: A. R. Mowbray, [1939]), pp. 33-34.

³Walter Scott, Exposition of the Revelation of Jesus Christ (London: Pickering and Inglis, [1948]), p. 183.

Fire is also associated in the Old Testament with the seraphim, strong passions, the testing of character, and theophany (Exod 3:1ff.; Ps 50:3 [49:3 LXX]; 97:3 [96:3 LXX]; Ezek 28:14).¹ The latter association may explain the enigmatic passage in Joel 2:30,31, where fire appears as one of the signs of the eschaton.

Blood

The inclusion of blood in the hail and fire of the first trumpet may be reminiscent of the reddish color of the hail in the seventh plague on Egypt. As an echo, however, blood probably owes more to the first plague on the waters of Egypt.²

Blood is symbolic of life itself (Lev 17:11). To shed blood is to destroy life (Ezek 14:19).³ Thus, blood came to symbolize "violently destroyed life" (cf. Gen 9:5,6; 1 Kgs 2:5; Ps 79:3; Mic 3:10).⁴ This idea, combined with its presence in the plagues of Egypt, gave blood the significance of a sign of disaster (cf. Ezek 38:22; Joel 2:30,31).⁵

¹Moberly, pp. 33-34; cf. Hoyt, p. 61.

²Brütsch (1:356) suggests that Joel 2:30 is the source for this association, but this appears less likely. See p. 233.

³Walter Scott, pp. 183-184.

⁴Johannes Behm, "Haima, etc.," TDNT, 1:173.

⁵Ibid., p. 176.

Earth

Earth is the habitable portion of the planet. As the sustainer of plant life it is crucial to man's existence. Thus, in the Old Testament it symbolizes those who live on the earth and are the objects of God's judgments (Isa 28:2 MT). It also represents the ordered aspects of life in contrast with the unruly sea, which represents the forces of evil that oppose God's attempts to order the world.¹ The extension of this contrast between the earth (gê--hâ'âreš) and the sea is that dry land becomes a metaphor for the land of Israel.² The land is laid waste when God's people forsake the covenant (Lev 26; Deut 28; Jer 9:10-12). The land, as a symbol of its people, becomes the object of God's judgment.

Grass

In 2 Sam 23:4 David uses grass to represent the subjects of a kingdom who thrive when they bask under the sunshine of a benevolent ruler. Thus the contrast between grass and trees can symbolize the common people in contrast to the high and mighty.³ Since grass is much

¹See especially the creation and flood accounts of Gen 1-9. Cf. Isa 57:20,21; 61:10,11.

²Desmond Ford, 2:436; Ford C. Ottman, The Unfolding of the Ages (Grand Rapids, MI: Kregel, 1967), p. 205; J. J. Ross, Breaking the Seals (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1924), p. 100.

³James Armstrong, p. 137; Hengstenberg, 1:343; P. Joseph Peschek, Geheime Offenbarung und Tempeldienst (Paderborn: Verlag Ferdinand Schöningh, 1929), p. 80; [Alexander Tilloch], Dissertations on the Opening of the

more transient than trees (Isa 10:17 LXX), it also was a symbol of human frailty and transience (Ps 90:5-7; 92:7; Isa 40:6-8).¹ When green and well-nourished, it represented God's faithful people (Isa 44:3,4);² when dry and withered, it symbolized the fate of evildoers (Ps 37:1,2).

Trees

Trees are often symbols of people in the Old Testament. They represent the proud, the mighty, and those who rule (Isa 2:13 LXX [cf. 2:13 Tg. Isa]; Dan 4).³ They can symbolize both the enemies of God, such as Assyria and Lebanon (Isa 2:13 Tg. Isa; 10:16-20; Zech 11:1,6), and God's people Israel (Jer 11:16,17; Ezek 15:6,7; Ezek 20:47,48; Joel 1:19,20). When fruitful, flourishing, and well-watered they are a symbol of those who follow Yahweh faithfully (Ps 1:3; 52:8; 92:12,13; Isa 61:3).

By contrast, the symbol of the vine and vineyard (ampelos in the LXX) always relates to God's people; when faithful, they are a fruitful vine; when unfaithful, a

Sealed Book (Montreal: J. C. Becket, 1848). p. 48.

¹Beasley-Murray, The Book of Revelation, p. 157; Farrer, The Revelation, p. 115; Moberly, p. 87. The Targum of Isaiah substitutes "wicked" (ršy`y') for flesh (bāsār) in the Masoretic text. This would excluded the righteous from the transience that the grass symbolized. Cf. Massyngberde Ford, Revelation, p. 144.

²Walter Scott, p. 186.

³James Armstrong, p. 187; Hengstenberg, 1:343; Hoyt, p. 60; Peschek, p. 80; [Tilloch], p. 48.

"strange" vine which God will destroy (Jer 2:21 [cf. Ps 80:8-11,15,16]; Isa 5:1-7; Ezek 15:6,7; and Hos 10:1).¹

The Second Trumpet

The textual situation

The 26th edition of Nestle's text lists five textual variants. The only variant of any significance is the omission of puri in the Byzantine manuscripts. Since the omission does not materially alter the content of the passage we accept the text as given in Nestle.

The commentators' suggestions

The ten representative commentators suggest a total of nine allusions to the Old Testament in the second trumpet.² These proposed allusions are evaluated below.

Gen 1:20,21 (10%)

Massyngberde Ford sees an allusion to Gen 1:20,21 in Rev 8:9. A comparison of the sea creatures with souls in Rev 8:9 (tôn ktismatôn tôn en tê thalassê ta echonta psuchas) and the "reptiles with living souls" of Gen 1:20 LXX (herpeta psuchôn zôsôn)³ indicates a weak verbal

¹The destruction of vegetation is one of the curses of the covenant (Deut 29:23). Cf. Rusten, p. 374.

²See the Appendix to Chapter I for full documentation.

³Theodotion and Symmachus distinguish reptiles and living souls (Theod--herpeta, psuchas zôsas; Sym--herpeton, psuchên zôsan) but possibly only by way of apposition. If the LXX reading is a genitive of apposition all three are saying essentially the same thing. The Masoretic text has "all the living souls which move about and

parallel. However, since the undoing of creation is a structural theme of the seven trumpets, and Gen 1 is the only place in the Old Testament where sea creatures are described as having souls, a direct allusion to Gen 1 is quite likely.

Conclusion: Probable Allusion.

Exod 7:19-21 (90%)

Most of the listed commentators see a reference to Exod 7:19-21 in the second trumpet. This passage does not in the LXX exhibit strong verbal parallels to Rev 8:8,9, but it is clearly parallel to the second trumpet on other grounds. Moses turns four different types of water in Egypt into blood (haima in both Exod 7:19-21 LXX and Rev 8:8) with the result that in vs. 21 there is a description of fish dying (ichthues eteleutêsan; Rev 8:8,9, kai egeneto to triton tês thalassês haima kai apethanen to triton tôn ktismatôn tôn en tê thalassê). As in the reference to the seventh plague on Egypt in the first trumpet, the thematic and structural parallels are so clear that we must assume that our author intended us to see a parallel between the second trumpet and the first plague on the waters of Egypt.¹

Conclusion: Certain Allusion.

swarm in the sea (šeres nepeš hayyâh)."

¹Alfred Wikenhauser, Die Offenbarung des Johannes, Regensburger Neues Testament, vol. 9 (Regensburg: Verlag Friedrich Pustet, 1959), p. 73.

Exod 19:16-20 (10%)

Massyngberde Ford sees a connection between the second trumpet and the description of the theophany on Mt. Sinai. In Exod 19:16-20 God comes down on the mountain (oros) with fire (puri). The burning mountain in relation to a trumpet blast is a verbal parallel to Rev 8:8. There is also a weak structural parallel in that the theophanic manifestations of Exod 19 are mirrored in Rev 8:5 and 9:2. But this combination is not sufficient to suggest a great degree of certainty concerning this text. However, there is an interesting parallel in the targum to Exod 19:17 found in Pseudo-Jonathan to the Pentateuch: "Immediately the Master of the world uprooted the mountain and lifted it in the air. And it was luminous as a beacon."¹ This striking parallel may indicate an occasion where John follows an Aramaic targum rather than the Hebrew or the Greek.²

Conclusion: Possible Allusion.

Neh 13:16 (10%)

The presence of fish in this passage prompted Massyngberde Ford to mention Neh 13:16 in relation to Rev 8:8,9, but the passage does not meet any of the criteria

¹Macho, Neofiti 1, 3:452; cf. Deut 4:11 MT.

²Cf. Massyngberde Ford, Revelation, p. 138.

for an allusion. Selling fish on the Sabbath is not connected in any way to the second trumpet.

Conclusion: Nonallusion.

Ps 78:44 (77:44 LXX) (20%)

Charles and Hühn note this reference to the plagues on Egypt in the second trumpet. The only verbal parallel is the mention of blood (haima). But the clear parallels between the trumpets and the Exodus support the possibility that this is an allusion. However, since Ps 78 makes no contribution to the second trumpet beyond what we find in Exod 7, and since the word "sea" (thalassa) is not used in the psalm, although it is used in Exod 7, our author probably was not trying to point his readers to this passage in particular.

Conclusion: Uncertain Allusion.

Isa 2:16 (10%)

Isa 2:16, cited by Hühn, describes the ships of Tarshish (plouion thalassês) as a symbol of pride which the Lord will humble (cf. vss. 12,17). This passage is only a mild thematic parallel. It may, as an echo, however, provide a clue to the meaning of ships in the second trumpet.

Conclusion: Uncertain Allusion.

Jer 51:24,25 (LXX:
28:24,25) (60%)

The majority of our commentators see an allusion to Jer 51:24,25 (28:24,25 LXX) in the second trumpet. Babylon is symbolized by a destroying mountain (Jer 28:25 LXX: to oros to diephtharmenon). While the mountain in the second trumpet is not described in those terms, the word diephtharésan is used for the destruction of the ships in vs. 9. When God judges Babylon she becomes a "burnt mountain" (vs. 25, hôs oros empepurismenon).¹ This is a remarkably strong parallel to the second trumpet, both verbally and thematically. As we shall see on pp. 258-259, there are other elements in Jer 51 that make it even more certain that our author was pointing his readers to it in the second trumpet. The structural parallel to the whole context of Jer 51 is at least as important as the reference to the first plague on Egypt.

Conclusion: Certain Allusion.

Hos 4:3 (10%)

In Hos 4:3, cited by Hühn, the destruction of the fish of the sea (hoi ichthues tês thalassês ekleipsousin) represents the consequences of Israel's rejection of Yahweh. The fish are a symbol of Israel. This passage should probably be interpreted as an echo.

Conclusion: Uncertain Allusion.

¹In Aquila the reference to mountain is dropped, Babylon becomes simply "the one who destroys." Thus, the LXX is closer here than Aquila.

Zeph 1:3 (10%)

Zeph 1:3, cited by Charles, has a near verbal parallel in the use of the phrase "the fish of the sea [hoi ichthues tēs thalassēs]." The removal of the fish in the sea is considered part of God's judgment against the whole world and especially against Judah (cf. vss. 2-4). But the parallel does not appear sufficiently strong to say with any certainty that John had Zephaniah in mind when he wrote down the second trumpet.

Conclusion: Uncertain Allusion.

Other allusions

In addition to the nine allusions suggested by the representative commentators, I examined thirty-four other proposed allusions drawn from commentaries, my own study, and other sources. Of these thirty-four the following appear to have a measure of validity.

Ps 46:2,3 (45:3,4 LXX)

We have in Ps 46:2,3 (45:3,4 LXX) a verbal and thematic parallel to the second trumpet in the description of a mountain (orē; cf. Rev 8:8, oros) which ends up in the sea (thalassôn; cf. Rev 8:8,9, thalassēs). This event is terrifying to all except those who take refuge in God. The parallel is attractive but not conclusive.

Conclusion: Possible Allusion.

Isa 10:16-18

In Isa 10:16-18 Yahweh is in judgment on Assyria. This judgment is described in terms of His burning her mountain with fire (vs. 16, pur kaiomenon kauthêsetai; vs. 18, aposbesthêsetai ta orê).¹ A striking point here is that the parallel is very strong in the LXX but not at all in the Masoretic text.

Conclusion: Possible Allusion.

Jer 51:42 (28:42 LXX)

In Jer 51:24,25, as recognized by most of our ten representative commentators, we have a strong verbal and thematic parallel to the second trumpet. However, the parallel is strengthened further by the recognition that Rev 8:8,9 is also built on other elements in Jer 51. In vs. 42 Babylon's destruction is described in terms of the sea (thalassa) covering her (the burnt mountain) with its tumultuous waves. This sea, in Jer 51, represents the nations that were to conquer her. The addition of vs. 42 to the allusion makes it far stronger than just citing vss. 24 and 25 by themselves. The meaning of sea is further clarified in vss. 63,64, which are not directly allusive to the second trumpet. The sea of Babylon is the Euphrates River (cf. Rev 16:12; 17:1,15), which in some sense was to be involved in Babylon's overthrow. Since

¹Since this passage is alluded to also in the first trumpet, it is more likely to be a direct allusion than would otherwise be the case.

this concept is also involved in the sixth bowl, a parallel series to the trumpets, the weight of evidence suggests that the allusion to Jer 51 in Rev 8:8,9 is as certain as any in the book.

Conclusion: Certain Allusion.

Echoes

There are six echoes in Rev 8:8,9 in addition to the trumpet and the thirds: the mountain, fire, sea, blood, sea creatures, and ships. Each of these is examined in the light of its meaning(s) in the Old Testament.

Mountain

In every age mountains have been understood figuratively due to their awesome power, grandeur, and permanence.¹ As an Old Testament symbol, there does not appear to be any significant difference in meaning between "mountain" and "great mountain."² A mountain can be a symbol of a nation (Isa 13:4) such as Babylon (Jer 51:24,25) or Edom (Obad 8). Mountains can also represent God's throne or dwelling (Isa 2:2,3; 14:12-14; Ezek 28:14) and thus, by extension, the sanctuary (Exod 15:17) and God's everlasting kingdom (Dan 2:35,44,45). A third meaning can be found in Zech 4:7, where a mountain

¹Werner Foerster, "oros," TDNT 5:475.

²Note, however, that in Babylonian Enlil means "great mountain." It is also significant that in Asia Minor the worship of the "great mother" was always associated with a mountain. See *ibid.*, pp. 476, 478.

symbolizes an obstacle to Zerubbabel's attempts to finish the temple (cf. vss. 9,10).¹ The leveling of mountains, then, came to be understood as a preparation for God's kingdom (Isa 40:3,4; Zech 14:4, cf. Dan 2).²

Significant for an understanding of the second trumpet is the question of whether the mountain of Rev 8:8 is the agent of God's judgment or its object. Although mountains can represent nations in the Old Testament, they are never used to describe nations acting aggressively as agents of God's judgment. Mountains are passive symbols, things happen to them they never initiate action. They can fall into the sea (Ps 46:2), they can be split (Zech 14:4,5), they can be removed, melted, or flattened (Isa 54:10; Mic 1:4; Zech 4:7). When representing nations they can be the objects of God's judgment (Isa 41:15; 42:15; Ezek 35:2,3,7; 38:20; Zech 4:7), but they are never portrayed as the agents of that judgment. The nearest approach to depicting a mountain as the agent of judgment is the dream of Dan 2, where the mountain represents God's everlasting kingdom. But the agent of the destruction of the old order is a stone, the mountain only appears after the removal of the debris of judgment. Therefore, if the mountain of the second trumpet is the agent of God's judgment it is a unique expression in Scripture.

¹Ibid., pp. 480-481.

²Ibid., p. 481.

Fire

This echo has already been treated in my earlier discussion of echoes pertaining to the first trumpet (see pp. 248-249 above).

Sea

The sea, especially in an unruly state, represents the peoples of the earth in their opposition to God (Isa 57:20).¹ Thus, it could be a symbol for the nations (Isa 17:12,13; Jer 51:41,42 [28:41,42 LXX]) or for the peoples out of whom the nations of the earth arise (Dan 7:2,3,17; cf. Rev 12:18, 13:1ff., 17:15).² This understanding of the sea in the Old Testament is strikingly related to Canaanite mythology, where the sea is the opponent of Baal and provides a dwelling place for the sea monster (drakōn in the LXX of Isa 27:1).³ In addition, the fact that water often teems with fish led to the concept of the sea, when healthy and nourishing, as a source of life (Ezek 47:9,10; cf. Ps 1). A third meaning of the sea is as a highway for trade, bringing the wealth of the nations to those who trade on it (Isa 60:5).⁴

¹Clayton, p., 83; Francis Bodfield Hooper, The Revelation of Jesus Christ by John (London: J. & F. H. Rivington, 1861), 1:354.

²James Armstrong, p. 137; Barnhouse, p. 163.

³John's awareness of such myths in some form appears likely on the basis of Rev 12:3ff.

⁴The sea, of course, is a major symbol in the ancient world. This analysis is limited primarily to the Old Testament setting. For a broader survey see Yarbrow

Blood

This echo has already been treated in my discussion of echoes pertaining to the first trumpet (see p. 249 above).

Sea creatures

While the sea creatures of the second trumpet may be drawn from Gen 1, the extended meaning is found in the prophets. Since the sea, in one sense, is a symbol of the nations, fish represent people (Ezek 29:5).¹ Fish are the objects of God's judgments. In Hab 1:14, for example, the Babylonian exile is described in terms of the Babylonians going fishing and plucking their captives out of the water. In Hos 4:3 the destruction of fish is a symbol of the consequences of Israel's rejection of Yahweh. In Zeph 1:3 the removal of fish is part of God's judgment on the whole world and especially against Judah.

Ships

Related to the concept of the sea as a highway for trade and a producer of the wealth of sea-faring nations is the idea of ships as the conveyors of that wealth (Ezek 27:26).² Ships are also symbolic of a nation's pride (Isa 2:16). Thus, the destruction of its ships is God's judgment against a nation that places confidence in its

¹James Armstrong, p. 139.

²Ibid., p. 140.

ability to survive by its own efforts (2 Chr 20:37; Ezek 27:25-27).

The Third Trumpet

The textual situation

The text of the third trumpet is fairly certain. There are three minor variants in vs. 11. Two concern the correct ending of apsinthos and apsinthon, the third involves alternative prepositions to ek. None of these materially affect the meaning of the passage. A far more significant variant appears in vs. 10. Alexandrinus omits "and upon the springs of water" (kai epi tas pēgas tōn hudatōn). This omission could alter the meaning of the passage. However, although Alexandrinus is a manuscript of major importance for the study of Revelation, it stands alone in favor of the omission. The weight of the overwhelming majority of manuscripts, combined with the fact that springs of water are unquestionably attested in the parallel passage of Rev 16:4, suggests that we are on solid ground in accepting the critical text of Nestle's 26th edition.

The commentators' suggestions

The ten representative commentators suggest a total of twenty-four different allusions to the Old Testament in the third trumpet.¹ These allusions are

¹See the Appendix to Chapter I for complete documentation.

evaluated below in the light of the proposed method outlined at the beginning of this chapter.

Exod 7:20 (10%)

Mounce stands alone in the suggestion that Rev 8:11 contains an allusion to Exod 7:20. There is a weak verbal parallel in the association of river (LXX: potamō--Rev: potamōn) and water (LXX: hudōr--Rev: hudatōn). But the association is not unusual. There is also a weak thematic parallel in the idea of judgment transforming water with resulting deaths.¹ At first glance there would appear little reason to see a direct allusion to Exod 7 in the third trumpet. People did not die in the first plague on Egypt, the water turned to blood, not poison, and there is no indication that the springs of Egypt were affected. However, the plagues on Egypt at the time of the Exodus constitute the strongest structural parallel to the seven trumpets as a whole. Although the verbal and thematic parallels are weak, the first plague on Egypt is the strongest candidate for an Egyptian plague reference in the third trumpet. The likelihood of a direct allusion is further confirmed by the fact that the waters do turn into blood in the third bowl plague (Rev 16:4) which parallels the third trumpet. Thus, there is a strong possibility

¹Fish died in Exod 7:21 while it is humans who die in Rev 8:11.

that John had Exod 7:20 in mind as he wrote the third trumpet.

Conclusion: Probable Allusion.¹

Exod 15:22-25 (50%)

Half of the representative commentators cite Exod 15:22-25 in relation to the embittered water of the third trumpet. This passage immediately follows the account of the Israelites' escape from Egypt. In a sense the experience at Marah is the opposite of Rev 8:11; the bitter water which threatened the lives of the Israelites is made sweet. There is no exact verbal parallel. The LXX of Exod 15 mentions water (hudôr) but uses different words for "bitter" (pikron and pikria instead of apsinthos and epikranthēsan).² The Hebrew word for "wormwood" (la'anāh) is conspicuously absent in the Masoretic text as well. In addition, there is no indication in Exod 15 that the bitterness of the water was an act of judgment, so there is no thematic parallel between Exod 15:23 and the third trumpet either.³ Although the absence of verbal and

¹For a dissenting opinion see Arthur Hirscht, Die Apokalypse und ihre neueste Kritik (Leipzig: August Neumann's Verlag, 1895), p. 70.

²Although there is a common root--pikr.

³While the readings in Targum Pseudo-Jonathan to the Pentateuch do not affect the evaluation of this allusion, they offer an intriguing insight into the symbolic meaning of sweet and bitter water in the Judaism of the Revelator's age. The fact that Moses gave laws at Marah (mentioned in Exod 15:25) apparently led the targumists to associate the sweetened water with the commandments. Tg. Ps.-J. also describes the Israelites'

thematic parallels is generally decisive, the strength of the structural parallel and the absence of alternatives in the Exodus account render it possible that we have a direct allusion here.¹

Conclusion: Possible Allusion.

Deut 29:17,18 (29:16,17 in both LXX and MT) (50%)

Half of the representative commentators indicate that the third trumpet contains an allusion to Deut 29:17,18.² Although there is no verbal parallel in the Greek, the Masoretic text combines a word used for "bitter herbs" or "poisonous fruit" (rō'š) with the Hebrew word for "wormwood" (la'anāh). The wormwood of Deut 29 is associated with idolatry, a theme raised in Rev 9:20,21 with regard to those upon whom the trumpet plagues fall. While the events of Deuteronomy are at some distance in time and space from the plagues on the Egyptians, the Exodus is still in view and the entry into the land of Canaan is imminent, providing somewhat of a structural context for the inclusion of a reference to Deuteronomy in

three days without water as three days without the commandments (vs. 22). Thus there is an early tradition associating sweet water with the Torah. By contrast, bitter water would be the absence or distortion of the law of God.

¹Exod 12:8 mentions the "bitter herbs" that were eaten with the first Passover. But this is a very unlikely candidate for a direct allusion.

²Both the LXX and the Masoretic text differ from the versification common to English Bibles.

Rev 8:10,11. This proposed allusion, like the previous one, is somewhat of a toss-up, with some factors that point to a direct allusion and some factors that do not.¹

Conclusion: Possible Allusion.

Deut 29:22 (29:21 in LXX and MT) (10%)

Kraft is the only commentator who suggests that Deut 29:22 is alluded to in the third trumpet. This verse reminded the Israelites that the aforementioned plagues were curses of the covenant that the Lord could bring upon them for disobedience. While the verse provides context for vss. 17,18 (noted in the previous section) there is no reason to feel that John was making a direct allusion to it in the third trumpet.

Conclusion: Nonallusion.

Judg 5:20 (10%)

Judg 5:20 is the first of a series of suggested allusions that are mentioned only by Massyngberde Ford. There is a weak verbal parallel between Rev 8:10 and Judg 5:20 LXX in the common mention of heaven (ouranou) and

¹It is interesting that the Neofiti Targum to Deut 29:17,18 has the same word for "bitter herb" (mryr) as is found in Exod 12:8 and Num 9:11 in the context of the Passover, and a related root in Exod 15:23. (This is also true for two of the Palestinian Fragment targums but not for Onkelos or Pseudo-Jonathan.) If the Exodus structure is in the background of the third trumpet, this particular targum tradition, which contrasts the bitterness of idolatry with the Israelites' affliction in Egypt, may have been familiar to John.

stars (Rev: astêr and asteros, LXX: asteres).¹ The stars are God's agents in the fight against Sisera and the enemies of God's people. If it could be demonstrated that the star of Rev 8:10 is the agent of God's judgment rather than its object, the suggested parallel would be stronger. But as the evidence stands we must remain uncertain whether a direct allusion was intended by John.

Conclusion: Uncertain Allusion.

1 Kgs 22:19 (10%)

Massyngberde Ford sees an allusion to 1 Kgs 22:19 in Rev 8:10. However, there is no verbal parallel here. Micaiah sees the Lord on His throne surrounded by the hosts of heaven to His right and left. One of these is commissioned as God's agent of judgment to entice Ahab to his death. The lack of verbal or structural parallels makes it unlikely that John was making a direct allusion here.

Conclusion: Uncertain Allusion.

2 Chr 18:18 (10%)

2 Chr 18:18 is virtually identical to 1 Kgs 22:19. The comments above apply here as well.

Conclusion: Uncertain Allusion.

¹The fact that the star of the third trumpet is in the singular weakens the parallel considerably.

Neh 9:6 (2 Esdras
19:6 LXX) (10%)

Massyngberde Ford suggests an allusion to Neh 9:6 in Rev 8:10. In this passage the "soldiers of heaven" (stratiaî tôn ouranôn) worship God. There are no significant parallels.

Conclusion: Nonallusion.

Ps 103:21,23 (102:
21,23 LXX) (10%)

Massyngberde Ford sees a parallel between Rev 8:10 and Ps 103:21,23. This is evidently a misprint as Ps 103 has only 22 verses. Verses 20-22 associate angels with the hosts of heaven who do the works of the Lord.¹ There is no reason to see a direct allusion to this psalm in the third trumpet.

Conclusion: Nonallusion.

Prov 5:3,4 (30%)

Three of the ten representative commentators see an allusion to Prov 5:3,4 in the third trumpet. While there is no verbal parallel to the LXX, Aquila comes close in the use of wormwood (Rev: apsinthos, Aquila: apsinthion) and bitterness (Rev: epikranthêsan, Aquila: pikroteron). The experience with the adulteress results in the bitterness of wormwood. The only reason to suspect a direct allusion to Aquila's rendering of the proverb is

¹If the hosts of heaven are the stars, this is an early instance of stars representing angels.

the scarcity of apsinthos and its derivatives in the Greek Old Testament. The parallels between Prov 5:3,4 and Rev 8:10,11 are minimal.¹

Conclusion: Uncertain Allusion.

Isa 13:10 (10%)

Massyngberde Ford tentatively associates Isa 13:10 with the third trumpet. The darkening of the stars of heaven (hoi asteres tou ouranou) is associated with the Day of the Lord (the fall of ancient Babylon in particular). Aside from the weak verbal parallel this suggestion has little to recommend it. This text reads more like the fourth trumpet than the third.

Conclusion: Uncertain Allusion.

Isa 14:12-14 (40%)

Four of the representative commentators see an allusion to Isa 14:12-14 in Rev 8:10. There are strong verbal parallels in the use of "falling out of heaven" (exepesen ek tou ouranou) and "stars" (astrôn). However, only Targum Jonathan clearly refers to the fallen one as a star, in what appears to be a reference to Venus, the "bright star" (côcb' ngh'). The fallen one is the object of God's judgment in Isa 14. If the star in the third

¹While adultery and fornication are pervasive symbols for evil elsewhere in Revelation, they are never associated with bitterness, thus the presence of "embittering" here is not likely a direct pointer to Prov 5.

trumpet is the object of judgment it is quite possible that John had the targumic reference in mind as he wrote.

Conclusion: Possible Allusion.

Isa 29:21 (10%)

Massyngberde Ford's association of Isa 29:21 with the third trumpet is probably a mistaken reference. She says, "Stars can also be the object of God's judgment and may be removed to the nether world--cf. Isa 29:21."¹ But Isa 29:21 has nothing to do with stars in any of the text traditions available to me. I was unable to determine what reference she had in mind.

Conclusion: Nonallusion.

Jer 8:14 (10%)

Kraft suggests that the third trumpet contains an allusion to Jer 8:14. There God gives poisoned water as punishment for sin. The Hebrew is closer to Revelation than the Greek, but there is only a thematic parallel that is better understood as an echo.

Conclusion: Uncertain Allusion.

Jer 9:14,15 (vss. 13,14
in LXX and MT) (80%)

All but two commentators see an allusion to Jer 9:14,15 (vss. 13,14 in the LXX and MT) in Rev 8:11. A verbal parallel is clearest in Aquila, which follows the Hebrew more closely than the other Greek translations.

¹Massyngberde Ford, Revelation, p. 139.

Wormwood is a punishment for idolatry, a problem common to "those who dwell on the earth" in the seven trumpets as well (Rev 8:13 cf. 9:20,21). Thus, there is a good possibility that this is a direct allusion.

Conclusion: Possible Allusion.

Jer 23:15 (70%)

A sizable majority of commentators agree that John had Jer 23:15 in mind as he wrote Rev 8:11. As was the case with Jer 9, Aquila, in his use of apsinthion, comes the closest to the passage in Revelation. Wormwood poisons the water because the people practiced idolatry, adultery, and falsehood; and because they listened to false prophets. No doubt the wormwood was a symbol for the impending Babylonian invasion which would bring bitterness to Judah.

Conclusion: Possible Allusion.

Lam 3:15 (20%)

Charles and Hühn see an allusion to Lam 3:15 in the third trumpet. However, there are no significant parallels between the two passages. There is merely an association in the Hebrew of the terms for "bitterness" (merôrim) and "wormwood" (la`anâh) in relation to the Exile to Babylon.

Conclusion: Uncertain Allusion.

Lam 3:19 (30%)

Lam 3:19 is much the same as 3:15. Here Aquila uses apsinthiou for la'anah, but this change does not constitute sufficient reason to raise our estimate of the passage above that of vs. 15.

Conclusion: Uncertain Allusion.

Ezek 32:7 (10%)

Massyngberde Ford suggests that there is an allusion to Ezek 32:7 in Rev 8:10. She is right in being tentative here, however, inasmuch as the star is darkened, not cast down, Ezek 32 has far more parallels to the fourth trumpet than to the third.

Conclusion: Nonallusion.

Dan 8:10 (20%)

Hühn and Nestle find an allusion to Dan 8:10 in the falling star of Rev 8:10. The little horn casts stars to the earth and tramples on them. The stars represent the victims of the little horn's judgment. Theodotion is closer to Revelation in the use of epesen, but the LXX is closer in the use of asteron tou ouranou. The analogy between the two passages, however, is not clear. It is perhaps best to classify this allusion as uncertain.

Conclusion: Uncertain Allusion.

Joel 2:10 (10%)

Massyngberde Ford is again alone in tentatively suggesting an allusion to Joel 2:10 in the third trumpet.

Joel 2:10, however, parallels the fourth trumpet more closely. The light of the stars of heaven is dimmed (astra dusousin to pheggos autōn). Although both passages are concerned with God's judgment, the language of Joel 2:10 is the opposite to that used in relation to the star of the third trumpet, which burns like a lamp.

Conclusion: Uncertain Allusion.

Joel 3:14,15 (10%)

Massyngberde Ford mentions Joel 3:14,15 in relation to the third trumpet because it is virtually identical to Joel 2:10. The only difference between the passages is that Joel 2:10 is in a setting of judgment on God's own people, while Joel 3:15 concerns the eschatological destruction of God's enemies.

Conclusion: Uncertain Allusion.

Amos 5:7 (20%)

Charles and Hühn agree that the third trumpet contains an allusion to Amos 5:7, where wormwood is the opposite of justice and righteousness. But there are no parallels to the Greek of Amos at all. The presence of the term "wormwood" in the Hebrew is an echo.

Conclusion: Nonallusion.

Amos 6:12 (30%)

Three of the representative commentators cite Amos 6:12 in relation to Rev 8:11 even though there is little more reason to see a connection between the passages here

than between the third trumpet and Amos 5:7. The LXX does contain the word pikrian (bitter), while the Masoretic text contains the Hebrew equivalents of bitter (rô'š) and wormwood (la'anāh).

Conclusion: Uncertain Allusion.

Other allusions

In addition to the twenty-four suggested allusions found in the ten representative commentators, seventeen other proposed allusions from various sources were examined according to the same criteria. However, none of the seventeen proved to be even moderately certain and are, therefore, not listed here. As a result, only one probable allusion and five possible allusions to the Old Testament were found in the third trumpet.

Why are the results of this research more uncertain for the third trumpet than for the first two trumpets? The heart of the problem lies in the fact that nowhere in the Old Testament is a falling star connected with wormwood, bitterness, or springs of water. Such a connection would provide a solid verbal and thematic foundation for the identification of a direct allusion. Thus, either we are dealing with a borrowing from some other source or John has created a new thing from language that is widely attested in the Old Testament. In frustration perhaps, commentators have listed every occurrence of wormwood in the Old Testament as though it were a direct allusion; this in spite of the fact that the word for

wormwood used in Revelation (apsinthos) is never found in the Greek Old Testament, with the exception of four occurrences in Aquila.¹

The result of this research indicates that the safest course for the interpretation of the third trumpet is to approach it by seeking to understand the echoes it contains. When these are understood, a reasonable rationale for the content of the third trumpet can be constructed.

Echoes

In Rev 8:10,11, in addition to the trumpet and the reference to thirds, eight potential echoes were examined: stars, lamps, falling, rivers, springs, wormwood, bitterness, and water. In this section, the Old Testament background of these eight echoes is traced in order to ascertain what symbolic meaning, if any, they might have had in John's day.

Stars

In ancient Greek thought stars were viewed as "beings."² This idea also is reflected in the Old Testament (cf. Job 38:7). The stars were made by God and thus were under His control (Isa 40:26). They could represent

¹At this point, John certainly was not following the LXX tradition! If the use of wormwood in the third trumpet is based on the Old Testament at all, John must have been aware of the tradition reflected in Aquila.

²Werner Foerster, "astêr, astron," TDNT, 1:503.

angels (Ps 103:20-22). God could use them as agents of judgment (Judg 5:20; cf. 1 Kgs 22:19 and 2 Chr 18:18). They could also be depicted as the objects of judgment (Job 3:9; Isa 14:12-14 Tg. Isa; Dan 8:10; cf. Rev 12:4). It was even possible for them to symbolize human beings who excel in wisdom and cooperate with God's redemptive plans (Dan 12:3). The darkening of stars is especially associated with the Day of the Lord (Isa 13:10; Joel 2:10; 3:15).¹

In the setting of the trumpets, the falling star is associated with judgment. Is it the agent or the object of that judgment? The Old Testament evidence is mixed. The concept of falling does not usually imply active involvement.² This, combined with the fact that the mountain of vs. 8 is probably the object of judgment would indicate that the star of vs. 10 is presumably the object of judgment as well. If so, it is possible that the author of Revelation had the fall of Lucifer in mind here.³ On the other hand, as we see below, if the fouling of the waters is an image of apostasy, the falling star appears to be related to this theme. In this case it

¹Falling stars are mentioned in the New Testament in connection with the eschaton (Matt 24:29; Mark 13:25; Rev 6:13).

²Wilhelm Michaelis, "piptô," TDNT, 6:162.

³Cf. the parallel to Luke 10:18, where Jesus saw Satan fall like lightning from heaven. Note, however, Oepke's resistance to seeing an allusion to Isa 14 in the third trumpet. A. Oepke, "lampô," TDNT, 4:27.

would symbolize the agent in bringing about the spiritual fall of a people who were once faithful to God (cf. the first trumpet).

Lamps

The figure of the lamp is difficult to assess in Rev 8:10. It may only be included for its visual impact, like the piling up of image upon image that we find in 9:7-10. The symbolic meaning of light is clear: it has to do with truth and the heavenly realm. But do lamps partake of that meaning? In a few places they do. They can represent Yahweh in His covenant theophanies (Gen 15:17; Exod 20:18; Deut 4:24; Dan 10:6). They are associated with His instructions (Ps 119:105; Prov 6:23) and with salvation (Isa 62:1). In Zech 12:6 the torch-lamp ignites the fire of consuming judgment. If the star of the third trumpet has a negative connotation (object of judgment), however, the mention of the lamp could represent a false, deceiving spirit (as does the fire of Rev 13:13,14) which defiles the fountains of God's blessing (cf. Rev 4:5).¹

¹It is interesting that Hecate, a goddess who was very popular in first-century Asia Minor, was a lover of torches (Oepke, TDNT, 4:18). Since Aune (cf. "Now You See It, Now You Don't") sees in Revelation an extended polemic against the Hecate cult, his work reinforces the likelihood that the star burning like a torch is the object of God's judgment.

Falling

The concept of "falling" has three symbolic meanings in the Old Testament. First, falling on one's face implies reverence and submission in the presence of God (Num 16:22,45; Josh 5:14; Judg 13:20).¹ Second, "to fall" was a common metaphor for dying (Num 14:29,32,43; Josh 8:25; Judg 5:27; 8:10; Ezek 5:12; etc.). Third, it represents a decline in spirituality (Prov 16:18; 29:16; possibly also Isa 14:12-14; Dan 8:10). The third significance is sharpened in the New Testament (Rom 11:11,22; 1 Cor 10:12; Heb 4:11; Rev 2:5),² and the epesen of the third trumpet probably denotes the spiritual fall of whatever the star represents.

Rivers

In the ancient world, the figurative meaning of "river" is "lasting fullness," according to K. H. Rengstorf.³ A river provides continuous nourishment to the plant life along its banks (Ps 1:3; Ezek 31:4; Isa 23:3).⁴ One of the best examples of a nourishing river was the Nile in Egypt (Isa 18:2,7; 23:3; Ezek 31:4; 32:6). By extension, rivers came to have a spiritual meaning as well

¹By extension in the New Testament, piptô, connected with the word proskuneô (worship), means to bow down in worship (cf. Rev 4:10; 5:8,14; 7:11; 11:16). Cf. Michaelis, TDNT, 6:163.

²Ibid., p. 164.

³Karl Heinrich Rengstorf, "potamos," TDNT, 6:597.

⁴Ibid., p. 603.

(Ps 1:3; Isa 48:12; 66:12). Thus, the great eschatological blessing was symbolized by rivers bringing both physical and spiritual fullness (Ezek 47; Zech 14:8; cf. Rev 22:1,2).

Springs

In an arid area such as Palestine, springs are extremely important.¹ They are often the main nourishers of plant life and growth, due to the lack of plentiful rainfall (Isa 35:7; 41:18). Because of this, a number of derivative meanings became common. Springs came to represent human sexuality, properly exercised (Prov 5:16,18; Cant 4:12,15). They were applied to God Himself as the source of spiritual life for His people (Jer 2:13; 17:13). Springs could also symbolize His teachings (see especially Prov 13:14; 14:27), which are the source of blessing and spiritual strength (Ps 84:6,7).² On the other hand, a dried-up well symbolized God's judgment on idolatry (Hos 13:15; cf. vss. 1,2). Similarly, a man who gives in to the wicked is called a polluted spring (Prov 25:26). That such a spiritual significance for springs was well known to the author of Revelation is clear from Rev 21:6 and 22:1,17. The association of springs with rivers in the third trumpet indicates the thoroughness

¹Wilhelm Michaelis, "pégê," TDNT, 6:113.

²The two images are combined in Joel 3:18, where the springs derive from the house of the Lord, and in Philo, who called God "the fountain of wisdom." Michaelis, TDNT, 6:114.

with which a third of the fresh waters of the earth are embittered, the rivers become bitter all the way to their sources.¹ This Old Testament background indicates that the polluting of the springs is an image of apostasy.

Wormwood

Wormwood is a bitter-tasting plant.² It can symbolize injustice (Amos 5:7; 6:12),³ suffering and affliction (Lam 3:15,19), and the maddening consequences of adultery (Prov 5:3,4).⁴ But in the context of God's judgment it is a punishment for various sins.⁵ This is especially seen in Jeremiah's covenant condemnation of Judah's sins just before the Babylonian captivity. Wormwood represented God's punishment for their idolatry (Jer 9:14,15; 23:15; cf. Deut 29:17,18), false prophecy (Jer 23:11-40), and apostasy (Jer 8:5,14; 9:13-15; cf. Deut 29:17,18). As noted above, wormwood also represents the consequences of adultery, and because of this it especially served to depict punishment for Israel's apostasy, which is repeatedly pictured as forsaking Yahweh for other lovers (Hos 2,3; Ezek 16, etc.; cf. Jer 9:2; 23:10,14). Thus, the wormwood of Rev 8:10,11 represents

¹Ibid., p. 115; Walter Scott, p. 190.

²Brütsch, 1:358.

³Swete, The Apocalypse, p. 112.

⁴Brütsch, 1:358; Mounce, p. 187; Swete, The Apocalypse, p. 112.

⁵Swete, The Apocalypse, p. 112.

well God's punishment for the apostasy signified by the falling of the star and the embittering of the waters.

To make bitter

The verb form for bitterness (pikrainō) occurs only figuratively in the LXX, it represents bitterness of soul (Ruth 1:13; Job 27:2; Jer 44:15; Exod 16:20).¹ Since this figurative usage is also known in the New Testament (Col 3:19; Rev 10:9,10), there is every reason to believe that pikrainō is to be understood in a figurative manner in the third trumpet as well. The embittering is a negative spiritual process with negative spiritual consequences.

Water

Water is the richest symbol in the third trumpet. It is, of course, intimately related to the rivers, springs, embittering, and wormwood. Taken together these symbols have an unmistakable spiritual connotation.

The fundamental meaning of water in the ancient world is threefold:² water is the dispenser of biological life; it involves flooding, which surrounds and menaces dry land; and it is the most important means of cleansing. The Old Testament view combines the above with a sense of the preciousness of water because of its extreme scarcity

¹Wilhelm Michaelis, "pikros," TDNT, 6:123.

²Leonhard Goppelt, "hudōr," TDNT, 8:315-317.

in Palestine.¹ Due to the lack of precipitation, the water supplies (springs, rivers, cisterns) are always threatened. This may explain why water gets equal emphasis with bread as a basic necessity in the Old Testament (Exod 23:25; 1 Sam 30:11,12; 1 Kgs 18:4,13; 22:27; Ezra 4:11,16,17; Job 22:7; Isa 3:1; 21:14; Hos 2:7).²

As the source of physical life water was a key element in the promise of the land of Canaan as set forth in the Pentateuch (Num 24:7; Deut 8:7; 11:11).³ However, the lack of abundant water in Palestine created a longing for the eschatological land where water would flow freely and plentifully (Isa 30:23,24; Joel 3:18,19; Ezek 47; Zech 14:8; cf. Gen 2:10ff.). Naturally, the physical importance of water lent itself to spiritual metaphor. God is described as the source of living water (Ps 1:3; 23:2; 36:9; 42:1; Isa 58:11; Jer 2:13; 17:8; Amos 8:11,12).⁴ Those in covenant relationship with Him are encouraged to partake of this spiritual refreshment (Isa 55:1).

Threatening floods are also a recurring theme in the Old Testament.⁵ In addition to the great flood story (Gen 7), the passage through the Reed Sea and the crossing

¹Ibid., p. 318.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid., pp. 321-322.

⁵Ibid., p. 319.

of the Jordan are described in terms of God's holding back the floods (Exod 14,15; Josh 3:16; 4:18,23; Ps 77:16,19,20; 78:13; 106:9-11; 114:3,5; 136:13ff.). These memories were kept alive in the prophets as a representation of the exile to and return from Babylon (Isa 51:9,10; 63:12; Hab 3:8-15). Thus, flooding came to represent oppression (Isa 8:5-8).¹

Water was used for cultic as well as physical cleansing.² In the sense of spiritual cleansing, however, the word "water" itself was rarely utilized; rather words for "washing" were the common mode of expression (Ps 51:7; Isa 1:15,16; 4:4; Jer 4:14; 33:8; Ezek 36:25).³

All three figurative meanings of water are present in the Apocalypse. The sources of physical and spiritual life are abundantly provided for the redeemed (Rev 7:17; 21:6; 22:1,17), but they are removed from "those who dwell on the earth" (Rev 8:10,11; 11:6,10; 16:4,5). Flooding waters symbolize oppression (Rev 12:15; 17:1,15). The cleansing water, however, is identified with the blood of

¹Ibid., p. 322.

²Ibid., p. 320.

³In the New Testament, Jesus is the one who controls the flood waters (see Mark 4:35ff. and parallels). He, in person and through the Holy Spirit, is the one who provides the waters of spiritual life (John 4:14ff.; 7:37-39). And Jesus is the one who brings spiritual cleansing and healing through baptism, where water provides the setting for forgiveness and acceptance into the community of which Jesus is Lord.

the Lamb, by which the robes of the redeemed can be made pure (Rev 7:14; 22:14).

The meaning of water which is most appropriate to the context of the third trumpet is that of spiritual water as the source of spiritual life. The polluting of the waters makes them unfit to sustain spiritual life, the result being spiritual darkness (fourth and fifth trumpets).

The Fourth Trumpet

The textual situation

The only variant of any significance in the fourth trumpet involves a rearrangement of word order in the phrase "a third of the day might not shine" (hê hêméra mê phanê to triton autês). Since this does not affect the meaning of the passage, for convenience we follow the critical reading in Nestle's 26th edition.

The commentators' suggestions

The ten representative commentators suggest a total of sixteen different allusions to the Old Testament in the fourth trumpet.¹ These proposed allusions are evaluated below.

Gen 1:16 (10%)

Massyngberde Ford sees an allusion to Gen 1:16 in the fourth trumpet. Although sun and moon are not

¹See the Appendix to Chapter I for complete documentation.

explicitly mentioned, they are certainly alluded to in Gen 1, and there is a verbal parallel to Rev 8:12 in the use of stars, day, and night (asteras, hēmeras, nuktos). The verse depicts the creation of these heavenly objects to function as lights for the daily cycle of life on earth. Thus, Rev 8:10 stands in direct thematic contrast to this passage. Since the creation account is an overall structural parallel to the seven trumpets there is a good probability that John was thinking of Gen 1 as he wrote the fourth trumpet.

Conclusion: Probable Allusion.

Exod 10:21-23 (60%)

Six of our ten commentators perceive a connection between Exod 10:21-23 and the fourth trumpet. This is understandable in the light of the strong structural parallel between the trumpets and the Exodus experience. There are, however, no verbal parallels here. While darkness (Rev: skotisthē, LXX: skotos) is mentioned in the Exodus account there is no reference to the heavenly bodies in that account. The mention of three (treis) days is not truly parallel to the thirds (triton) of the trumpets. On the other hand, there is a thematic parallel in that while the darkness of judgment was on Egypt, there was light in the land of Goshen where God's people lived. In light of the structural parallels, John probably alludes to this passage directly in the fourth trumpet, but certainty is not possible.

There is an interesting midrashic addition to Exod 10:23 in Targum Pseudo-Jonathan to the Pentateuch. The reason there was light in the land of Goshen was that Torah cannot be studied in darkness. Thus, the darkness of the Exodus was understood in a spiritual sense by John's contemporaries in the synagogue.

Conclusion: Probable Allusion.

Josh 10:12-14 (10%)

Massyngberde Ford, as she so often does, creatively stands alone in suggesting an allusion to Josh 10:12-14 in Rev 8:12. The use of sun (hēlios) and moon (selēnē) is paralleled verbally, but there is insufficient reason to see an allusion here. God's control over the heavenly bodies enables His people to win the battle, but the heavenly bodies are not darkened.

Conclusion: Uncertain Allusion.

2 Kgs 20:8-11 (10%)

Massyngberde Ford sees an allusion to Hezekiah's experience with the sundial (2 Kgs 20:8-11) in the fourth trumpet. However, there are no verbal, thematic, or structural parallels between the passages.

Conclusion: Nonallusion.

Isa 13:10 (50%)

Half of the representative commentators consider the darkening of the heavenly bodies in Rev 8:12 to be an allusion to Isa 13:10. There is a strong verbal parallel

in the darkening of the stars, the moon, and the sun (LXX: skotisthêsetai tou hêliou). The darkening of the heavenly bodies represented the destruction of Babylon by the Medes (vs. 17). It was Babylon's Day of the Lord, the day when its disobedience was judged and punished. Although the verbal and thematic parallels are strong, the absence of a structural parallel in this verse introduces an element of uncertainty with respect to the author's intention.

Conclusion: Possible Allusion.

Isa 30:26 (10%)

Massyngberde Ford proposes a direct allusion to Isa 30:26 in the fourth trumpet. There is a verbal parallel in the mention of plague (plêgês) in connection with the sun and moon. There is also a strong thematic parallel, in a contrasting sense. The wound God has inflicted on his people in the Assyrian invasion will be healed by His action in their behalf. This action of blessing is represented by the multiplied brightening of the sun and the moon. This verse has considerable claim to be an allusion by way of contrast.

Conclusion: Possible Allusion.

Isa 50:3 (10%)

Kraft offers a suggested parallel between the fourth trumpet and Isa 50:3. There is a strong thematic parallel between the two passages. God blackens the heavens as a sign of His displeasure with His people.

However, the lack of verbal or structural parallels is fairly decisive against the presence of a direct allusion.

Conclusion: Uncertain Allusion.

Jer 4:23 (10%)

Prigent believes that Jer 4:23 is alluded to in Rev 8:12. Jer 4:23 itself alludes to the primeval darkness of Gen 1:2. As with Isa 50:3, the heavens are darkened to represent God's displeasure with Judah a displeasure which is expressed by means of the Babylonian invasion. As was the case with Isa 50:3, the absence of verbal and structural parallels makes it unlikely that the author of Revelation had Jer 4:23 in mind as he wrote the fourth trumpet.

Conclusion: Uncertain Allusion.

Ezek 32:7,8 (30%)

Three of the representative commentators see an allusion to Ezek 32:7,8 in the fourth trumpet. This passage contains one of the strongest verbal parallels in the trumpets. Beside the mention of sun, moon, and stars, there are three different forms of the word for darkness and darkening (skotos, suskotasousin, suskotasô). The darkening of the heavenly bodies in judgment on Egypt provides, of course, a thematic parallel. Since Ezek 32 is alluded to in the sixth seal, in the fifth trumpet, and

in Rev 19, there is reason to suspect that the author may have had it in mind here also.

Conclusion: Probable Allusion.

Joel 2:2,3 (20%)

Kraft and Mounce see an allusion to Joel 2:2,3 in the fourth trumpet. Darkness is caused by the overwhelming numbers of locusts plaguing Judah. While there is a thematic parallel to Rev 8:12, this verse is best linked with the fifth trumpet.

Conclusion: Uncertain Allusion.

Joel 2:10 (30%)

Three of our representative commentators see an allusion to Joel 2:10 in the fourth trumpet. Such an allusion is quite likely, since the passage offers a combination of verbal, thematic, and structural parallels. In Joel 2:10 the stars are dimmed and the sun and moon are darkened (suskotasousin) by the approach of the locusts. It is the darkness of the Day of the Lord (Joel 2:11), in this context, a day of judgment for Judah. Since the book of Joel provides a structural parallel to the seven trumpets as a whole, the strong verbal and thematic parallels make it likely that there is a direct allusion here, even though there are no locusts in the fourth trumpet.

Conclusion: Probable Allusion.

Joel 2:31 (3:4 in LXX
and MT) (20%)

Hühn and Prigent suggest that the author of Revelation alluded to Joel 2:31 (3:4 in LXX and MT) in the fourth trumpet. This is a problematical passage for the fourth trumpet, just as it was in relation to the first trumpet. Although the sun is turned into darkness (skotos), the moon is turned into blood in relation to the Day of the Lord. Rather than tokens of judgment, these heavenly events are signs of the approaching eschaton. The weakness of the verbal and thematic parallels call this proposed allusion into question.

Conclusion: Uncertain Allusion.

Joel 3:15 (4:15 in LXX
and MT) (30%)

Three of the representative commentators feel that Joel 3:15 (4:15 in LXX and MT) is parallel to the fourth trumpet. What was said about Joel 2:10 above applies also here, with the exception that this passage refers to the end-time judgment of the enemies of Judah rather than the judgment of Judah itself.

Conclusion: Probable Allusion.

Amos 5:18,20 (20%)

Hühn and Mounce suggest that Rev 8:12 contains an allusion to the Day of the Lord passage in Amos 5:18,20. There is just the barest hint of a verbal parallel in the mention of day (hēmera) and darkness (skotos). The main

connection between Amos 5 and the trumpet is the theme of darkness, but this is too common to carry much weight.

Conclusion: Uncertain Allusion.

Amos 8:9 (50%)

Half of the representative commentators consider Amos 8:9 to have some relationship to the material in the fourth trumpet. There is an apparent reference to the Day of the Lord--in which the sun will go down at noon, resulting in the darkening (suskotasei) of the earth. While the thematic parallel is fairly strong (this passage is a prediction of judgment upon Israel), the verbal parallel is too weak to consider this a direct allusion.

Conclusion: Uncertain Allusion.

Hab 3:11 (10%)

Our investigation of the representative commentators' proposed allusions to the first four trumpets of Revelation closes with Massyngberde Ford's suggested parallel between Rev 8:12 and Hab 3:11. This passage is a reminiscence upon the Exodus in the context of the imminent Babylonian invasion. As Yahweh advanced to do battle with the Egyptians at the time of the Exodus, the sun and the moon moved out of sight. Although the Exodus theme provides a structural setting for the trumpets, there is too little verbal evidence that John had this

particular piece of Exodus tradition in mind as he wrote the fourth trumpet.

Conclusion: Uncertain Allusion.

Other allusions

In addition to the sixteen allusions to the Old Testament proposed for the fourth trumpet by the representative commentators, eleven other allusions from a variety of sources were examined along the lines of the proposed method for determining allusions to the Old Testament in Revelation. None of these eleven were considered solid enough to be included here.

Echoes

In Rev 8:12, in addition to the trumpet and the thirds, six potential echoes were examined in their Old Testament setting: sun, moon, stars, darkening, day, and night. In addition to these, the concept of heavenly bodies as a whole was examined to see if there is a unique meaning whenever the sun, moon, and stars are mentioned together. These terms were examined to see what, if any, symbolic meaning they might have had for John.

Sun

The sun is used symbolically in the Old Testament in two basic ways, the one negative and the other positive. In the negative sense, the sun's rays are perceived as harmful, scorching humans and withering plant life (Deut 28:22,23; cf. Rev 16:8). In this kind of context,

shade represents God, who protects His people from harm (Ps 121:6; cf. Rev 7:16).

In the positive sense, the sun is a symbol of spiritual things. It represents God's revelation, which substitutes for His personal presence (Ps 119:105; Isa 60:19; cf. Rev 21:23 and 22:5).¹ As a source of blessing and life, the sun is also related to God Himself,² who blesses His people with everything they need (Ps 84:11; Isa 30:26; 60:20; Jer 9:15). In Dan 12:3 the brightness of the day-time is associated with those who lead many to righteousness (cf. Matt 5:14-16; 13:43; Rev 12:1).³ To use the words of H. Conzelmann, "Sun, light, life and salvation go together."⁴

Which of these two meanings was most likely in mind when the fourth trumpet was written? Since the basic character of the seven trumpets involves negative judgments on the wicked, the sun in Rev 8:12 should be understood in the positive sense. Otherwise the darkening of a third of the sun would be a blessing. But the blotting out of the source of life and blessing is a fitting

¹In Amos 8:9-11 the darkening of the sun is associated with a famine for the word of God.

²Hans Conzelmann, "phôs, etc.," TDNT, 9:320.

³Massyngberde Ford, Revelation, p. 134.

⁴Conzelmann, "phôs, etc.," 9:316. Cf. Homer Hailey, Revelation: An Introduction and Commentary (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1979), p. 222.

judgment on those who have rejected God's reign over them in the person of Jesus Christ.

Moon

The moon, as a symbolic concept, is never separated from the sun and thus should be understood, not in its own right, but in terms of a reflection of the positive qualities of the sun mentioned above.

Stars

The echo "stars" was examined previously (pp. 276-278). The term "stars" also has no independent meaning in the fourth trumpet but should be understood in association with the sun and the moon.

Heavenly bodies

The heavenly bodies as a group are symbolic of God's law in Ps 19. Just as the natural world is an orderly reflection of the character of God, so His laws partake of that natural order (cf. Jer 31:35,36). When God's laws are repeatedly disobeyed, however, the resulting judgments can be portrayed in terms of the darkening of the heavenly bodies (Isa 13:10; Jer 4:23). Beyond these types of usage, however, the heavenly bodies are portrayed along the same lines as those mentioned above in our discussion of the sun, moon, and stars.

Darkening

Since darkness is a hindrance to sight, movement, and action, the ancient world came to understand darkness as the sphere of peril, anxiety, and death.¹ Darkness was, therefore, associated with the primal chaos (Gen 1:2), which came to an end with the creation of light (Gen 1:3).²

In the Old Testament the darkening of heavenly bodies depicted judgment punishments on nations or individuals that had disobeyed the covenant (Ps 69:23; Isa 5:30; 50:3; Ezek 30:18; Joel 2:2,3).³ This was probably drawn from the fact that darkness was one of the curses of the covenant (Deut 28:29). These contemporary "Days of the Lord" (Isa 13:10; Joel 2:10; Amos 8:9-11) would find their great final fulfillment in the eschatological Day of the Lord (Joel 2:30,31; 3:15; Amos 5:18,20), in which God would prepare for His new creation by a restoration of the primal chaos.⁴

There is, in addition to the large-scale judgment concept, a more individual and spiritual dimension to darkening. Since the heavenly bodies can symbolize God's

¹Hans Conzelmann, "skotos, etc.," TDNT, 7:424, 426.

²Ibid., p. 429; Sweet, Revelation, p. 164.

³Hailey, p. 222.

⁴Ibid., p. 430.

truth and blessing, the darkening of the heavenly bodies can represent the eclipsing of the truth about God (Job 38:2; Isa 8:22; 60:1; cf. Exod 10:23 Ps.-J.). Thus, darkening seems to combine the idea of judgment on disobedience to the covenant with the idea of an eclipsing or veiling of the truth about God.

Day and night

Although the terms "day" and "night" can each be understood in a figurative sense,¹ they seem never to be symbolic when they are used together.² As a pair they simply refer to the two portions of a 24-hour day.³ They are, therefore, probably literal in intention in the fourth trumpet as well.

A Concluding Evaluation

John's handling of the Old Testament

A strong impression from even a limited study such as the foregoing is that the two aspects of John's use of the Old Testament of which we can definitely be sure is that he drew his imagery broadly from a variety of Old Testament books and that he did not derive his allusions consistently from any one Old Testament textual tradition

¹Gerhard Delling, "h m ra," TDNT, 2:947-950; idem, "nux," TDNT, 4:1125-1126.

²Delling, "h m ra," 2:948.

³Rissi, Was ist und was geschehen soll danach, p. 32.

available to us. The latter point deserves further discussion at this point.

In some cases John appears to have drawn from the LXX, in others from the Hebrew, and in still others from one targum or another. The overwhelming impression is that he was either (1) working from a tradition or traditions other than any of which we are aware; (2) drawing selectively from all the traditions available to us, plus perhaps others not extant; (3) working solely or largely from memory; or (4) deliberately disguising his sources by transforming them.

Of the foregoing possibilities, the supposition that John was working selectively from a number of traditions is quite attractive, especially in view of the data we have set forth. Most New Testament writers appear to have chosen that form of the tradition which best fit the theological purpose that they had in mind when writing. But if this procedure entailed direct reference to the sources by John, we would have to assume that he had a considerable library of manuscripts available to him, and this is unlikely. Indeed, it would seem that John's exile on Patmos makes most likely the possibility that he was working from memory in alluding to the Old Testament. This could account for the tremendous breadth in his allusions to the Old Testament, including his use of various traditions that might have been available to him in the course of his ministry, while allowing, as

well, for verbal and even conceptual changes. If this was John's procedure, however, it increases the likelihood that we will never have a completely fixed list of all the allusions to the Old Testament in Revelation.

Unless, therefore, we find an Old Testament manuscript that comports exactly with the verbal reminiscences of the Old Testament found in the book of Revelation (the kaige perhaps?), we must allow for some uncertainty as to the exact location in the Old Testament of many of John's allusions. Nevertheless, concentrated effort to examine the allusions to the Old Testament should help us to understand the book far better than we do now.

The importance of the targums

I was surprised to discover how little the targums added to the understanding of the language of the first four trumpets. While there was an occasion or two where a targum had a reading that was closer to Revelation than any other textual tradition, on the whole the targums did not appear more significant than any other source. The vast majority of John's source material was common to all the textual traditions available to us.

This finding alleviates to some degree the difficulties encountered in John's selective use of the Old Testament. If the vast majority of allusions are clear from a text common to all the traditions, then the bulk of the allusions to the Old Testament in Revelation

can be discovered on the basis of traditions which are available to us.

The work of the ten representative commentators

As a group, our ten commentators proved to be fairly accurate in their assessment of Old Testament allusions.¹ Of the thirteen Old Testament passages which 50 percent or more of our commentators cited as allusions to the first four trumpets, three were found to be certain allusions,² three were probable allusions,³ six were possible allusions,⁴ and one was considered uncertain.⁵ This suggests that a collation of all their suggestions for the Apocalypse as a whole, as was done here for the seven trumpets, would likely provide a minimum of fairly reliable allusions to the Old Testament. However, this 50 percent agreement concerning the Old Testament allusions in the first four trumpets provided less than half of the certain and probable allusions to the Old Testament.⁶ This fact underlines the point made in the Appendix to

¹See Table 1.

²Exod 9:23-26 for the first trumpet; and Exod 7:19-21 and Jer 51:24,25 for the second.

³Ezek 5:1-4 and Zech 13:8,9 for the first trumpet; and Exod 10:21-23 for the fourth trumpet.

⁴Joel 2:30,31 for the first trumpet; Exod 15:22-25; Deut 29:17,18; Jer 9:14,15; 23:15 for the third trumpet; and Isa 13:10 for the fourth trumpet.

⁵Amos 8:9 for the fourth trumpet.

⁶Six out of fifteen.

Chapter I--namely, that there is no scholarly consensus on the nature and location of the Old Testament allusions in the book of Revelation.

With regard to the individual performance of these commentators,¹ Prigent stands out strongly in both accuracy and frequency of citation. Since the sampling (Rev 8:7-12) was fairly small, it is quite likely that Kraft or Nestle might have ranked equally well or better in a different sampling.² Both the UBS text and Westcott were highly accurate in the allusions they mentioned, but were far more cautious than necessary. These seem to represent a minimal but assured listing. Mounce, on the other hand, did not have a great deal of either strength or weakness. He was fairly accurate in his citations, but less accurate than Kraft, Nestle, and Prigent, all of whom listed more allusions than he did.

Dittmar stands out in having no allusions at all for the first four trumpets. While this might suggest a minimalist philosophy, he certainly did not follow that philosophy in dealing with the sixth and seventh trumpets. His overall conclusions are rendered rather suspect by these findings.

Charles and Massyngberde Ford are more liberal in the citation of allusions than are the others, and rightly

¹See Tables 1, 2, and 3.

²In fact, a similar tabulation covering only the first two trumpets indicated that Kraft had the best-balanced approach.

so. But fairly often they cite passages without regard to whether the author may have intended the parallel. Thus, where they do not specify that the citation is intended to be an allusion, their suggestions should be carefully examined before being accepted as such.

Hühn is surprisingly questionable--especially so, inasmuch as his list is made up with the specific intention of listing allusions to the Old Testament in the New Testament. Since there are significant omissions in his list, he cannot be excused for listing so many passages that are at best "uncertain".

Table 1 charts the performance of the ten representative commentators as evaluated in this study. The total includes all the allusions to the Old Testament in the first four trumpets as suggested by these commentators. The other five categories break these suggestions down in terms of the evaluations mentioned above. In addition to the ten commentators individually, there is a listing of the citations upon which 50 percent or more of the representative commentators agreed. There is also a listing of the number of allusions that resulted from my research.

TABLE 1

EVALUATION OF PROPOSED ALLUSIONS

Commentator	C	Pr	Ps	UC	N	Total
Charles	3	3	5	7	1	19
Dittmar						0
Msb Ford	3	6	8	14	6	37
Hühn	3	3	8	12	1	27
Kraft	3	4	6	4	1	18
Mounce	2	3	5	4		14
Nestle	3	4	5	3		15
Prigent	2	6	5	2		15
UBS	2	4	2			8
Westcott	3	1	2			6
50% ^a	3	3	6	1		13
Paulien	3 ^b	11	16			30

^aThis listing represents my analysis of the proposed allusions upon which five or more of the ten representative commentators agreed.

^bJer 51:42 is not a certain allusion by itself but only together with Jer 51:24,25.

C = certain, Pr = probable, Ps = possible, UC = uncertain, N = nonallusion.

Table 2 compares the performance of the ten representative commentators in terms of their accuracy of citation in the first four trumpets. The first column lists the total number of accurate citations for each commentator.¹ The second lists the total number of citations made by that commentator. The third column gives the percentage of accuracy obtained. The last

¹For our purposes, a citation is considered accurate whenever it is evaluated as either certain, probable, or possible.

column ranks the commentators (on a scale of one to ten) in order of accuracy.¹

TABLE 2
ACCURACY OF CITATION

Commentator	Acc Cit	Tot Cit	Acc %	Rank
Charles Dittmar	11	19	58%	7
Msb Ford	17	37	46%	9
Hühn	14	27	52%	8
Kraft	13	18	72%	5
Mounce	10	14	71%	6
Nestle	12	15	80%	4
Prigent	13	15	87%	3
UBS	8	8	100%	1
Westcott	6	6	100%	1
50%	12	13	92%	(2)

Table 3 compares the performance of the ten representative commentators in terms of their frequency of accurate citation in the first four trumpets. The first column lists the total number of accurate citations for each commentator. The second gives the percentage of the total number of allusions in the first four trumpets that resulted from this research (thirty). The third column ranks the commentators in order of the frequency of correct citation. The fourth column lists the rankings for accuracy of citation noted in table 2. The last

¹The lower the number, the higher the ranking. Dittmar is not ranked, as there is no data upon which to judge his accuracy when he does cite an allusion.

column gives a combined ranking for both evaluations (the lower the score, the better).

TABLE 3
FREQUENCY OF CORRECT CITATION

Commentator	Acc Cit	% Tot Cit	Frq Rnk	Acc Rnk	Cmb Rnk
Charles Dittmar	11	37%	6	7	13
Msb Ford	17	57%	1	9	10
Hühn	14	47%	2	8	10
Kraft	13	43%	3	5	8
Mounce	10	33%	7	6	13
Nestle	12	40%	5	4	9
Prigent	13	43%	3	3	6
UBS	8	27%	8	1	9
Westcott	6	20%	9	1	10
50%	12	40%	(5)	(2)	(7)

The importance of
"echoes"

One of the most impressive results of the study reported in this chapter is the great importance of echoes for the study of Revelation. Most commentators, in noting connections between Revelation and previous literature, make no distinction between direct allusions and echoes. This study indicates that a sizable percentage of the allusions to the Old Testament listed by commentators are echoes rather than direct allusions.¹ Listing an echo as

¹As is discussed above, an echo is where the author uses the symbol itself in its general meaning, while a direct allusion uses a symbol(s) in context, i.e., as a pointer to the surrounding language in an earlier text. Since direct allusions are more specific and involve a larger number of elements (words), echoes are

if it were a direct allusion can deceive the interpreter into placing too much weight on the Old Testament context in which an idea is found. The context should be taken into account only where there is reasonable certainty that the author intended his readers and hearers to do so.

Echoes highlight the fact that an author may have a working concept of a particular idea or symbol without necessarily endeavoring to point to its origin or any specific use of it elsewhere. However, the category of echo forces the interpreter to account for the origin, or at least the traditional meaning(s) of every major term used in a given passage. These living ideas and the Old Testament passages to which the author was probably pointing must be examined together in order to determine the basic meaning structure of each passage.

more flexible and are, thus, likely to be used in larger quantities than are direct allusions.

CHAPTER III

INTERPRETING THE TRUMPETS

The interpretation of the seven trumpets of Revelation has had a long and checkered history even in the scholarly world. Interpretations have ranged from an outline of the Jewish war,¹ through an outline of the fall of the Roman Empire and subsequent history,² to a

¹Stanislas Giet, "Retour sur l'apocalypse," Revue des sciences religieuses 38 (1964):239; cf. Feuillet, "Essai d'interprétation," p. 200; M. Hopkins, "The Historical Perspective of Apocalypse 1-11," Catholic Biblical Quarterly 27 (1965):44-45; François Rousseau, L'Apocalypse et le milieu prophétique du Nouveau Testament (Tournai: Desclée & Cie, 1971), p. 115. See Thomas Whittemore, A Commentary on the Revelation of St. John the Divine (Boston: James M. Usher, 1849), pp. 163-177, for a similar view written more than a hundred years before Giet. Cf. Rissi, Was ist und was geschehen soll danach, p. 30, n. 17, for a dissenting view. Giet understands the thrust of the book of Revelation to be the message that it is inevitable that Rome will be destroyed just as Jerusalem was.

²George Croly, The Apocalypse of St. John (London: J. G. and F. Rivington, 1838), pp. 84-147; Edward B. Elliott, Horae Apocalypticæ, 5th ed. (London: Seeley, Jackson and Halliday, 1862), 1:321-532; Uriah Smith, Daniel and the Revelation, rev. ed. (Nashville: Southern Publishing Association, 1944), pp. 473-517.

preview of nuclear war.¹ Thus far no interpretation has proved ultimately satisfying.

This chapter applies the method outlined in Chapter II (especially pp. 156-165) to the interpretation of the first four trumpets of Revelation. Insights gained in the research outlined in the last chapter are utilized where applicable. Although the interpretation focuses on Rev 8:7-12,² it is conscious of the unified role the trumpets play in the Apocalypse.

We begin with an exegetical examination of the seven trumpets and how they fit into the overall structure of the book. Then, after a summary of the general Old Testament background to the trumpets, we examine the contemporary setting in the New Testament and apocalyptic literature. Next we set forth some conclusions with regard to the basic nature of the trumpets. Finally, each of the first four trumpets is interpreted in the light of the method outlined in Chapter II. Since there is convincing evidence that the book of Revelation is a well-crafted unity, the interpretation assumes that the seven trumpets and their context form a literary unity.³

¹Fritz Grünzweig, Was sagt uns die Offenbarung heute? (Stuttgart-Hohenheim: Hänssler-Verlag, 1968), p. 64.

²I hope to complete an analysis and interpretation of the Three Woes in the future. Treating them here would have exceeded the limits of this study.

³See Schüssler Fiorenza, The Book of Revelation, pp. 16, 159-164; Yarbrow Collins, Crisis, p. 31. For a contrasting view of the unity of the trumpets see Charles,

Exegesis of the Seven Trumpets in Their Context

Prologue--Rev 8:2-6

The author begins the seven trumpets at Rev 8:2, where the seven angels who stand before God receive seven trumpets, presumably from God Himself.¹ Many commentators have felt that the seven trumpets actually begin with the opening of the seventh seal in vs. 1.² This is probably true in part, since most transitional passages in Revelation point both forward and backward at the same time.³ But vs. 2 provides the explicit introduction to the section, so we are on reasonably safe ground to begin there.⁴

Rev 8:2,6

Rev 8:2 records that John saw the seven angels (tous hepta angelous) who stand before God receiving

The Revelation, 1:218ff., and Studies, pp. 146-157, who argues that the seven trumpets include many later intrusions. M. E. Boismard ("L'Apocalypse' ou 'Les Apocalypses,'" Revue biblique 56 [1949]:507-541) questions the unity of the book as a whole.

¹The passive verb "were given" (edothēsan) is probably a "divine passive."

²Note, e.g., the grouping of verses in the 3rd edition of the United Bible Societies Greek text.

³Rev 3:21 comes at the climax of the seven churches, yet the reference to Christ's enthronement with the Father is a foretaste of the events depicted in chaps. 4 and 5. Rev 11:18 is the climax of the seven trumpets, yet it contains a summary statement of the content of the rest of the book (see below for a fuller treatment). Rev 17:18 connects the two accounts of chaps. 17 and 18 into one by identifying the harlot with the great city.

⁴Ezell, p. 45.

trumpets.¹ The use of the definite article and the relative clause indicates that these seven angels were familiar to the readers of the book.² One possible identification is that they are the same as the group of seven archangels named in 1 Enoch 20, but there are no clues that enable us to be certain.³ The only group of seven angels prior to this in the book of Revelation itself is found in 1:20, where the seven stars in the hand of Christ are interpreted as the angels of the seven churches. However, these are not said to "stand before God," so there is no explicit connection between these two groups of angels.⁴ Seven angels are also involved in pouring out the bowls of Rev 16.

The perfect tense of the verb "standing" (estêkasin) and the lack of a clear break between vss. 1

¹Standing before God implies readiness for service. Mounce, p. 180.

²Arthur Isham, An Historical Interpretation of the Book Called in the Sinaitic, Vatican and Ephrem MSS A Revelation of John (London: Eliot Stock, 1890), p. 81; cf. Mounce, p. 180.

³See the discussion on the activity of heavenly beings in Adela Yarbro Collins, "Numerical Symbolism in Jewish and Early Christian Apocalyptic Literature," in ANRW, pt. II, vol. 21:2, edited by Hildegard Temporini and Wolfgang Haase (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1984), pp. 1266-1268.

⁴A possibility worth exploring, however, lies in the fact that angels are often called spirits in Jewish apocalyptic literature (1 Enoch 15:6ff.; Jub. 2:2; 15:31,32; cf. Heb 1:14). Thus, the seven angels may be identical to the seven spirits before the throne in Rev 1:4 and 4:5.

and 2¹ give the impression that the seven angels were witnesses to the opening of the seals.² Thus, there is a conceptual connection between the seals and the trumpets even though the accounts are very different. In vs. 2 the angels receive seven trumpets after the analogy of the seven trumpet priests in the Old Testament temple (cf. also 1QM 3:1-11; 7:7ff.), possibly in response to the events of the seals. Then, after the events of vss. 3-5, the angels prepare themselves to sound the trumpets in vs. 6.

Rev 8:3-5

In vs. 3 "another" (allos) angel is described as coming and standing before "the" altar, holding a golden censer. Much incense "was given" (edothê) to him in order that he might combine it (dôsei) with the prayers of the saints upon the golden altar which is before the throne. The smoke of the incense, combined with the prayers of the saints, ascended from the hand of the angel before God. Then the angel took the censer, filled it up with fire

¹Rev 8:1 is clearly the climax of the seven seals, yet there are indications that it points forward as well. For one thing, the connection between silence in heaven and the prayers of the saints is found in Jewish tradition which may indicate that John was drawing on a familiar association (cf. bHagiga 12b). John also follows the description of silence in heaven with a kai ("and"), which usually joins two sentences rather than dividing them. When the author wishes to make a distinct break in a vision he usually uses meta tauta: 4:1; 7:1,9; 15:5; 18:1; 19:1.

²Rusten, p. 377.

from the altar and threw it to the earth. The result was thunders, noises, lightnings, and an earthquake.

The identity of the angel

The fact that it is "another angel" clearly distinguishes him from the seven angels mentioned in the previous verse.¹ There is some question whether or not this angel is intended to represent Christ. The low-key introduction does not seem fitting for Christ.² Nowhere else in the New Testament is Jesus overtly identified with an angel.³ In the Apocalypse, Christ is king, judge, and lamb, a far greater role than that usually given to angels.⁴

On the other hand, this angel is not one of the seven and is worthy to do the work of a priest, a role that is appropriate for Christ (cf. 1:12ff.). The use of the censer implies a high priest in contrast to the seven "trumpet priests" of vs. 2.⁵ Since the angel gives

¹Charles, The Revelation, 1:226.

²Mounce, p. 181.

³Alan Segal, Two Powers in Heaven: Early Rabbinic Reports about Christianity and Gnosticism, Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity, vol. 25 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1977), pp. 205, 219.

⁴Gibson, p. 76. Note the subsidiary role given to angels in Dan 9:20-24, Isa 6:1-6, and Luke 1:9-13.

⁵Edward Irving, The Prophetical Works of Edward Irving, ed. Gavin Carlyle (London: Alexander Strahan, 1867), 1:53.

efficacy to prayer,¹ he is a fitting symbol of Christ.² It is not critical to the interpretation of the trumpets, however, to know the angel's identity. If the angel is not Christ, it is implied that the incense was given by Christ, thus the impact is the same.³ This scene depicts the ongoing mediation of Christ in the heavenly sanctuary.

The incense

The term libanoton can mean either "censer" or "incense." Here it refers to a censer because of its association with "golden" (chrousoun).⁴ It is interesting to note that while the incense is here added to the prayers of the saints, in Rev 5:8 it is equated with the prayers of the saints.⁵ Thus, the two figures are intimately related. The incense, no doubt, is a symbol of

¹Ottman, p. 201; cf. Mauro, pp. 269-270.

²The role of Christ in Revelation is analogous to the role of the Son of Man in 1 Enoch 37-71 (often called the Similitudes of Enoch). Since that figure is best understood as an angelic being, it should not surprise us that John could refer to Christ in this way. See Segal, pp. 201-219, for a discussion of the Son of Man concept in Enoch and the New Testament.

³Jamieson, Fausset, and Brown, p. 1551.

⁴Beckwith, p. 553.

⁵Court, p. 71. Ozanne argues, following Torrey, that the dative construction tais proseuchais ("to the prayers") reflects the Hebrew "lamed of definition." If so, Rev 8:4 and 5:8 both identify the incense with the prayers of the saints.

the merits of Christ that make these prayers acceptable to God.¹

The burning of incense on the golden altar recalls the Tamid, the daily service in the Holy Place of the Israelite sanctuary.² But there is an intriguing reference in Heb 9:3,4 that seems to locate the golden altar in the Most Holy Place.³ This certainly underlines the close association between the golden altar and the Day of Atonement, the yearly service of cleansing the sanctuary.⁴ However, as Charles points out, the analogy with

¹Cf. R. L. Thomas, "The Imprecatory Prayers of the Apocalypse," Bibliotheca Sacra 126 (1969):123-131.

²Massyngberde Ford, Revelation, p. 136; Moberly, pp. 29-30.

³Cf. the discussion in F. F. Bruce, Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews, New International Commentary to the New Testament (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1964), pp. 184-187. In Heb 9:3,4 it is possible that thumiâtêrion refers to the censer used on the Day of Atonement rather than to the golden altar. But if that is true, the golden altar is not mentioned at all, which would have been surprising. Since there is precedence in Hellenistic Judaism, with which the Epistle to the Hebrews has many parallels, to use thumiâtêrion with reference to the golden altar, we must assume that the author of Hebrews was referring to the golden altar of incense.

⁴Desmond Ford, 2:431; Irving, pp. 53-54; Ethel Stout Jenkins, The Time of the End (Washington, DC: By the Author, 1939-1944), pp. 133, 138. However, it is quite possible that the author of Hebrews mentioned the golden altar in association with the Most Holy Place because it was the way of approach to the Holiest in the same way that the Altar of Burnt Offering was the way of approach to the first apartment. See Brooke Foss Westcott, The Epistle to the Hebrews, 2nd ed. (London: MacMillan, 1892), pp. 246-249.

the Day of Atonement is only partial here.¹ There is no reference to the blowing of trumpets in Lev 16, where the Day of Atonement is described in detail.² Thus it appears likely that the daily rather than the yearly service in the sanctuary was in the author's mind as he wrote out this scene.³

The identity of the first altar

The language used in vs. 3 seems to imply that the altar at which the "other angel" first stood was different from the golden altar.⁴ It may, as suggested by many

¹Charles, The Revelation, 1:230.

²In Leviticus the Feast of Trumpets precedes the Day of Atonement, a clear reference to which appears in Rev 11:19.

³A student of mine, Roger Lucas, analyzed the activity of Rev 8:3,4 in the light of relevant parallels in Rabbinic Literature and the Old Testament. His persuasive conclusion, in a yet-unpublished essay, was that the actions of Rev 8:3,4 are deliberately patterned on the daily service rather than the yearly.

⁴The use of the definite article suggests that there is a specific altar in mind, whose identity should be self-evident. The only previous mention of an altar in Revelation is in 6:9, where the language is in striking contrast (6:9--hupokatô tou thusiastêriou; 8:3--epi tou thusiastêriou). If the author had intended the reader to equate this first altar with the golden altar mentioned later in the verse, the adjective "golden" (to chrusoun) would have been attached to the first mention of altar in this verse, rather than the second. If, as I argue below, the altar of 6:9 is the altar of burnt offering, the first altar of 8:3 is best taken as a reference to that altar. The angel, then, is standing upon (epi) the altar (no difficulty if the huge Second-Temple altar is in mind) receiving the prayers for vengeance (from the souls pictured below) along with the incense, both of which he will minister before the golden altar in heaven.

Note, however, that the definite article in Rev

scholars, be a reference to the previous use of the term in 6:9-11.¹ Charles offers an extended discussion of the issue.² Since Jewish apocalyptic allows for only one altar in heaven (excluding the altar of burnt offering which had stood in the outer court of the Israelite sanctuary), Charles concludes that all the altars in the book of Revelation must refer to the golden altar of incense.³

However, it is more likely that both the golden altar and the altar of burnt offering are mentioned in the Apocalypse.⁴ Rev 16:6 states that the blood of the

1:4 (the seven churches) points ahead to the selective list of congregations in Rev 1:11 (cf. Yarbro Collins, ANRW, p. 1277). Thus, it is a grammatical possibility that the definite article could reflect a later definition of the altar. However, given the prior reference to an altar in 6:9-11, this is unlikely.

¹Boersma, p. 49; Charles, The Revelation, 1:232; Chuck Colclasure, The Overcomers (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 1981), p. 90; Coleman, p. 96; Court, p. 71; Farrer, The Revelation, pp. 112-113; Desmond Ford, 2:432; Giet, L'Apocalypse et l'histoire, p. 61; Harrington, p. 135; William Hendriksen, Three Lectures on the Book of Revelation (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Publishing House, 1949), p. 18; Martin Kiddle, The Revelation of St. John (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1940), pp. 145-147; Eduard Lohse, Die Offenbarung des Johannes, 3rd ed. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1971), p. 56; Mounce, p. 182; Tenney, The Book of Revelation, p. 42; Thomas, "Imprecatory Prayers," p. 127; Yarbro Collins, Crisis, p. 114; idem, "History of Religions Approach," p. 371.

²Charles, The Revelation, 1:226-230.

³Ibid., p. 228.

⁴J. Comblin, Le Christ dans l'Apocalypse, Bibliothèque de Théologie, Théologie biblique série III, vol. 6 (Paris: Desclée, 1965), p. 175; Thomas, "Imprecatory Prayers," pp. 123-125.

saints was poured out (exechean) by the wicked. This reflects the pouring out of blood at the base of the altar of burnt offering in the Israelite sanctuary. The martyrdom of the saints is equated with this pouring out. Thus, it would be fitting for the altar in 6:9-11 to be the altar of burnt offering. The souls are rightly placed under that altar, for they got there by being "poured out."¹ A striking parallel to what must have been on John's mind is found in the Talmudic tradition, "He who is buried in the land of Israel is as if he were buried beneath the altar."² Since the altar of burnt offering was in the outer court, and this outer court symbolizes earthly rather than heavenly things to the author of Revelation (cf. 11:1,2), the appearance of two altars in the Apocalypse in no way contradicts the understanding that there is only one altar in heaven. The prayers of the saints ascend from the earth and are received by the "other angel," who causes them to ascend from the golden

¹In the cultus, nothing ever happened at the base of the incense altar.

²Cited in G. R. Beasley-Murray, "The Contribution of the Book of Revelation to the Christian Belief in Immortality," Scottish Journal of Theology 27 (1974):91. One reason many scholars assume that the altar of 6:9-11 is in heaven is the traditional but unhebraic notion that the disembodied souls of the saints ascend to heaven at death. This is doubtless foreign to John.

Although recognizing the symbolic nature of Revelation (p. 78), Beasley-Murray understands from the cry of 6:9-11 that the dead can pray for the living, and are therefore conscious participants in the heavenly liturgy. It is, however, far more likely that the cry should be understood along the lines of Gen 4, where Abel's blood "cries out" to God.

altar in heaven, mingled with the incense of the atonement.

What appears to be the case in Rev 8:3 is that John sees the mediating angel ministering first at the altar of 6:9-11, receiving the prayers of the saints, which he then ministers in a heavenly context. Such an earth-heaven juxtaposition is startling to our minds but is typical of Revelation (cf. 9:13,14; 12:1-6; 14:14-20; 15:5ff.; 16:17-19).¹ Our author, like most Jews of his time, sees no distinction between the worship of the saints on earth and the heavenly liturgy.² In his mind, things which happen in a heavenly context have a powerful influence on what happens on earth, and things that happen on earth influence what takes place in heaven.

Connection with the fifth seal

If the altar of Rev 8:3 is a reference to the altar of 6:9, the fifth seal may be crucial to the interpretation of the seven trumpets. In Rev 6:9-11 John

¹There is unity between heavenly and earthly liturgy in Jewish thought. E.g., Ps 137:1 LXX states, "I will sing psalms to you before the angels." In 1QM 7:4-6 and 1QSa 2:3-11 angels are clearly participants in the worship on earth. Cf. A. T. Nikolainen, "Der Kirchenbegriff in der Offenbarung des Johannes," New Testament Studies 9 (1963):355; Hermann L. Strack and Paul Billerbeck, Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch, 4 vols. (Munich: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1922-1928), 3:807-808.

²Herbert Braun, Qumran und das Neue Testament (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1966), 1:194, 311.

sees martyred souls under "the" altar, crying out, "How long, O Lord, the Holy and True One, do you not judge and avenge our blood upon those who live on the earth [tôn katoikountôn epi tês gês]?"¹ These souls are given white robes and are told to rest a short while until "the number of their fellow servants and brothers who were to be killed as they had been was completed."²

Since the question "how long" is not really answered in the fifth seal, the reader anticipates that things will be clarified later on in the book.³ Thus it is not surprising that there are later references to a numbered group of God's people (chap. 7), to prayer (8:3-5), and to "those who dwell on the earth" (8:13; 11:10; 13:8,14; etc.). Particularly significant is the reference in Rev 8:13, which stands at the structural center of the seven trumpets, when taken in conjunction with 6:10.⁴ This indicates that the trumpet plagues fall

¹This latter phrase is a figure of speech for "the wicked" in Revelation. Cf. 3:10; 8:13; 11:10; 13:8,14; 14:6; 17:8. See Kiddle, p. 153.

²The last-quoted sentence is drawn from the New International Version. The word "number" is not found in this passage, rather the verb plêrôthōsin, "they were filled, completed, made full." The NIV is correct, however, in seeing that an anticipated full number of martyrs is implied.

³Although it could be argued that the prayed-for vengeance takes place under the sixth seal, the phrase "those who live on the earth" is not used, allowing for a further fulfillment later in the book.

⁴Dividing the first four trumpets from the three woes.

on the "earth-dwellers" who were martyring the "souls under the altar." The spiritual connection between the trumpets and the fifth seal is made in Rev 8:3-5, where incense from the golden altar is mingled with "the prayers of the saints" (tais proseuchais tòn haqiôn).¹

This connection between the altar of 6:9-11 and that of 8:3-5 indicates that the seven trumpets are God's response to the prayers of the saints for vengeance on those who have persecuted and martyred them.² The Christian community was seeking to hasten the judgment hour by its prayers.³ The martyrs were anxious for the judgment to begin, but it must be delayed until all the seals had been opened.⁴

These prayers for vengeance have a number of parallels.⁵ Psalms 35, 69, and 109, for example, contain

¹While the cries of the martyrs are not described in those words, the same wording (hai proseuchai tòn haqiôn) is used in 5:8, which is part of the sanctuary background that informs the interpretation of the seals. Thus the cry of the fifth seal is portrayed as coming up before God in 8:3-5, presumably seeking action on God's part.

²Beckwith, pp. 551-552; Gibson, pp. 80-81; Yarbro Collins, Combat Myth, pp. 17, 34; idem, Crisis, pp. 114-115; idem, "Revelation 18: Taunt-Song or Dirge," in L'Apocalypse johannique et l'Apocalyptique dans le Nouveau Testament, ed. J. Lambrecht, BETL, vol. 53 (Gembloux: Leuven University Press, 1980), p. 190.

³Schüssler Fiorenza, "The Eschatology and Composition," p. 556.

⁴Roller, p. 110.

⁵Cf. W. Klassen, "Vengeance in the Apocalypse of John," Catholic Biblical Quarterly 28 (1966):301-302; Mauro, p. 280; Sweet, p. 160.

major sections of imprecatory prayer against the Psalmist's enemies. There are also several examples of prayers for vengeance in 1 Enoch (1 Enoch 47:2,4; 99:3; 104:3). Jesus is portrayed as commending prayers for vengeance in connection with the parable of the unjust judge (Luke 18:6-8). And in Matt 24:20-22, Jesus particularly encourages his disciples to pray in times of affliction and persecution.

Since the Exodus narrative (Exod 1-15) is probably the most certain structural parallel to the seven trumpets, it may be helpful to notice that the prayers of the children of Israel precipitated the plagues on Egypt (Exod 3:7,8).¹ The suffering of the Egyptians functioned as judgments in response to their oppression of the Israelites (Exod 6:6; 7:4). Since the trumpets function as woes on those who have persecuted the souls under the altar, the thematic connection between the fifth seal and the introduction to the seven trumpets is in harmony with the Exodus motif which lies in the background of this whole section of the book of Revelation.

In Rev 8:5 the altar which received the prayers of the saints (vs. 3) becomes the source from which judgments are poured out on the wicked in response to those prayers (cf. 9:13-15; 14:18-20; and 16:4-7).² When the fire of

¹Michael Wilcock, I Saw Heaven Opened (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1975), pp. 90-91.

²Beatrice Neall, The Concept of Character in the Apocalypse with Implications for Character Education

purification from the altar contacts the earth, it provokes disasters.¹ This is not God's final wrath, pointed to in 11:18, but there is a connection between the foretaste and the consummation.² This altar fire is reminiscent of Ezek 10:1ff. and of the experience of Nadab and Abihu. The same fire which purifies can also destroy.³ The censer of prayer and the censer of judgment have become one.⁴

The Meaning of Rev 8:3-5

Thus, two basic ideas are portrayed in 8:3-5, mediation and judgment. There is a portrayal of the work of mediation in heaven in behalf of the saints throughout the gospel era. Through this mediation it is possible for man to maintain a relationship with God and to survive the plagues of the seven trumpets.⁵ On the other hand, the casting down of the censer points to judgments that fall on those who reject the heavenly mediation. Thus, this passage is a symbolic reminder both of God's care and

(Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1983), p. 110.

¹Ellul, p. 71.

²Mauro, p. 282.

³MacDuff, p. 210; Mauro, p. 277.

⁴Wilcock, p. 91. Much more tenuous is Ellul's connection of this scene with the fact that Zachariah offered incense at the time when the Incarnation got under way--the incarnation of the God-man who came to cast fire on the earth (Luke 12:47). Cf. Ellul, p. 71.

⁵Johannes Behm, "thuô," TDNT, 3:183; Uriah Smith, p. 474.

concern for the believer and of His active participation in the judgments that fall on those who reject the gospel.¹

The daily temple service, to which this passage points, included the ministration of incense, the throwing of the sacrifice in the fire, and the blowing of the temple trumpets.² The blowing of the trumpets indicated that the sacrifice was over. For the author of Revelation, the sacrifice par excellence was the death of Jesus, and the portrayal of events in the context of the blowing of seven trumpets would indicate that the sacrifice of Jesus had been completed.³ Thus, the events of the seven trumpets need to be seen in the light of the cross. It is the cross that makes mediation possible. It is rejection of the cross that brings down the wrath of God. To the extent that the trumpets portray the author's viewpoint of historical events, the beginning point is certainly the cross of Jesus Christ.

¹Colclasure, p. 90; Abraham Kuyper, The Revelation of St. John (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1964), p. 86. Massyngberde Ford notes "four astonishing reversals" here: (1) Wrath, not mercy, is dispensed from the altar; (2) incense leads to punishment; (3) worship trumpets pronounce woes; and (4) liturgy results in destruction. See Massyngberde Ford, Revelation, pp. 135-136.

²See the tractate Tamid in the Mishnah. Though written later than Revelation, this tractate contains traditions that were primarily relevant to the pre-70 C.E. situation.

³Ezell, pp. 48-49. Note the centrality of Christ's sacrifice in preceding sections of Revelation: 1:5,7,18; 2:8; 5:6,9,10,12; 7:14.

The larger picture

The three woes are explicitly tied together as a unit, as is the case with the four horsemen of the seals.¹ Although the first four trumpets are not explicitly related, they are set apart by 8:13 and share a much briefer format than the last three. In addition, they all attack traditional elements of the natural world: earth, sea, fresh water, and the heavens. Thus, scholars are correct in seeing them as divided into either a 4-3 pattern² or a 4-2-1 pattern.³ They move from 8:7 to 11:18, with the description being interrupted by the interludes that run from 10:1 to 11:14.⁴ While the four horsemen explicitly affect humanity, the first four trumpets fall on the natural world.⁵ The entire environment of the earth is affected by something akin to the Messianic Woes or the groaning of creation depicted in Rom 8:19.⁶

¹Hahn, p. 150; Yarbro Collins, ANRW, p. 1274.

²Brütsch, 1:353.

³Beckwith, p. 555.

⁴Bullinger, p. 303.

⁵Beckwith, p. 555; Lucy Mary Dorman, The Unveiled Future (London: Marshall, Morgan and Scott, n.d.), p. 75; Yarbro Collins, Combat Myth, p. 35.

⁶Günter, p. 206.

The judgments of the trumpets increase in intensity as they progress.¹ From plagues on the natural world, the trumpets become demonic horrors which first harm (fifth trumpet) and then kill (sixth trumpet) the inhabitants of the earth.² They end in the consummation of God's wrath under the seventh trumpet.

The trumpets in detail

There is a basic pattern shared by most of the trumpets. First an angel sounds the trumpet, then a certain phenomenon occurs (hailstorm, a burning mountain, etc.), then the effects are described (burning of greenery, death of sea creatures, etc.).³ Each trumpet plague, except for the last, is limited in its sphere of operations, usually in terms of a third of something.⁴

¹McConkey, p. 48.

²Cf. Carrington, p. 151; Ray F. Robbins, The Revelation of Jesus Christ (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1975), p. 129.

³Schinzer, p. 56.

⁴Cowles, p. 113. Rusten makes the interesting observation (pp. 367-368 of his dissertation) that after the sounding of each trumpet comes a reference to a major battle of Old Testament prophecy. Note the following:

1st	Ezek 38:22	Hail, fire, blood
2nd	Jer 51:25	Burning mountain
3rd	Isa 14:12	Satan
4th	Joel 2:31	Day of the Lord
	Isa 13:9,10	"
5th	Joel 2:1-17	Locusts
6th	Jer 46:1-12	Armageddon
	Rev 16:12-17	Euphrates

Rev 8:7-13

With the sounding of the first angel's trumpet, hail and fire mixed with blood are thrown to the earth, presumably from the altar in heaven. The result is that a third of the earth, a third of the trees, and all the green grass are burned up.

The trumpet blast of the second angel reveals what appears to be a mountain burning with fire, perhaps a volcano. This burning mountain is cast into the sea with the result that a third of the sea becomes blood. This results in the death of a third of the creatures in the sea and the destruction of a third of the ships that sail on it.

The third trumpet ushers in a scene in which a star named Wormwood, which burns like a lamp as it descends, falls on a third of the rivers and a third of the springs of water. This results in the poisoning of the water and the death of the many human beings who presumably drink from the embittered water. There is an escalation of judgment in the first three trumpets. The first trumpet destroys portions of the plant kingdom, the second kills members of the animal kingdom, and the third brings about the death of many human beings.

When the fourth angel blows his trumpet, a plague falls on a third of the sun, a third of the moon, and a third of the stars, in order that a third of them might be darkened. Both day and night are darkened by a third.

The force of the language indicates a partial darkening of the heavenly bodies, rather than total darkness for a third of the time.

Verse 13 is transitional rather than being a part of the fourth trumpet. It provides the introduction for the last three trumpets, which are equated with the three woes. It describes the author hearing (êkousa) a vulture flying in mid-heaven (the zenith) and saying with a loud voice, "Woe, woe, woe to those who dwell on the earth because of the rest of the sounds of the trumpet (sic) of the three angels which are about to sound."

Rev 9:1-11

The fifth trumpet begins with a reference to a "fallen star" (peptôkota), thus indicating a completed action with continuing effects. In some sense, the falling of the star in the third trumpet seems to be related to the action of the fifth trumpet. This star probably symbolizes an angel¹ who opens the abyss instead of locking it as does the angel in 20:3. He unlocks the abyss with a key that he "was given [edothê]." The passive here indicates that God has permitted the opening of the abyss with all the resulting demonic consequences.²

¹Cf. 1:20 and 20:1. Although there is much similarity between Rev 9:1 and 20:1, the context of each account places the first passage before the consummation (11:15-18) and the other after (19:11; cf. 20:4).

²Massyngberde Ford, Revelation, p. 143; Kraft, Die Offenbarung, p. 140; Lohse, Die Offenbarung, p. 58. While many interpreters are uncomfortable with this (see, e.g.,

In 9:2 smoke arises out of the opened abyss and darkens the sun and the air. The sun is not merely dimmed by the smoke, it is eclipsed.¹ Thus the partial darkness of the fourth trumpet is here intensified. As John looks, he sees that locusts are coming out of the smoke onto the earth (vs. 3). These are not to be understood as literal locusts, for they do not damage vegetation; rather, they hurt human beings (vs. 4). The power (actually authority--exousia) of these locusts is like that of scorpions. This exousia probably reflects the divine permission of vs. 1.² By combining the images of locusts and scorpions, the author of the visions heightens the terror of the scene. Locusts signify a great quantity, while scorpions signify great harmfulness. This massive punishment is directed at those who do not have the seal of God upon their foreheads. Hell has no power over the sealed.³

Ellul, p. 66), the author clearly implies that God is the ultimate Lord over the abyss. Satan's power is not his own, he exists by permission of God--in a sense can even act as God's agent. The connections between this passage and 12:9-12 and 20:7-10 indicate that both the "war in heaven" and Armageddon are in the background of this passage. The woes of Revelation are tied in to Satan's activity whether he is coming up (9:1ff.) or coming down (12:9-12). Cf. W. Leon Tucker, Studies in Revelation, repr. ed. (Grand Rapids, MI: Kregel Publications, 1980), p. 213.

¹Bousset, p. 298.

²Steve Thompson, p. 14.

³Eduard Schick, The Revelation of St. John, New Testament for Spiritual Reading, vol. 1 (New York: Herder, 1971). 1:88.

Verse 5 describes the limits of the exousia granted to these demonic creatures. They are allowed to torture wicked humanity but not to kill. Even the torture is limited to a period of five months.¹ That torture is likened to the sting of a scorpion. "In those days" (vs. 6) implies that the Seer perceives these events as future from his day.² At that time (when humanity is experiencing its five-month torture) men will seek death but will not find it; though they long for it, it will flee from them.³

Verses 7-10 describe the appearance of the locusts as seen in vision. The whole description has a military flavor.⁴ The locusts are like horses prepared for war. They have men's faces and crowns (stephanoi) of gold on their heads. They have hair like women, lions' teeth, and iron breastplates; and the sound of their wings is like horses and chariots going to war. Verse 10 reveals that

¹The assumption of many commentators that five months represents the normal lifespan of the asiatic locust is probably incorrect. Recent research indicates that the normal lifespan of locusts in the field is from one to two months, depending on the availability of food. Under laboratory conditions, however, locusts occasionally live as long as a year. See Boris Uvarov, Grasshoppers and Locusts, vol. 1 (Cambridge: University Press, 1966), pp. 320-321.

²Kraft, Die Offenbarung, p. 141.

³It is interesting that this trumpet plague is not limited by a "third." I am not aware of any satisfying explanation for this omission.

⁴Yarbro Collins, Combat Myth, p. 35.

their exousia to hurt men for five months is exercised by the scorpion-like stingers in their tails.

Verse 11 completes the picture by noting that they have a king over them--the angel of the abyss, whose name is Apollyon-Abaddon. This angel is probably to be identified with the star of 9:1.¹

Rev 9:12-21

Verse 12, like 8:13, is a transitional passage. It announces the end of the first woe and the imminence of the last two. This verse, along with 11:14, makes it clear that the three woes are to be equated with the fifth, sixth, and seventh trumpets.

When the sixth angel sounded his trumpet, John heard a voice from the four horns of the golden altar, presumably the same golden altar mentioned in 8:3-5. This voice instructed the sixth trumpet angel to release the four angels which had been bound "at" (epi with locative) the River Euphrates, a possible reference to the angels of the winds in chap. 7.² These angels were to kill a third of humanity either for a period of time or at a point in time, most likely the latter.³

¹Kraft, Die Offenbarung, p. 140.

²Leonard Thompson, "Mythic Unity," p. 14.

³Most scholars see a point in time in Rev 9:15. See, e.g., Carrington, p. 166; Charles, 1:252; Comblin, p. 53; Desmond Ford, 2:402; Massyngberde Ford, p. 153; Günter, pp. 67-69; Jameison, Fausset, and Brown, p. 1553; R. C. H. Lenski, The Interpretation of St. John's Revelation (Columbus, OH: Wartburg Press, 1943), p. 303; Mounce,

Immediately the image changes to a horde of 200,000,000 horsemen. The riders have breastplates of red, blue, and yellow. The horses have heads like lions and spew fire, smoke, and sulphur out of their mouths. These are the weapons with which they kill a third of humanity. Thus the four angels and the 200,000,000 horsemen are different figures for the same thing, just as in the case of the smoke and the locusts of the fifth trumpet. This sixth-trumpet plague functions as an escalation of the fifth, for the horses have exousia to hurt (vs. 19, adikousin, cf. 9:4, adikêsousin and 9:10--adikêsai) men with both the mouth and the tail, in contrast to the locusts of the fifth trumpet who hurt only with the tail.

The sixth trumpet closes with the statement that those who were not killed by the various plagues nevertheless refused to repent of their idolatry, sorcery, and commandment breaking. This indicates that one purpose of the trumpets is to lead to repentance, but that they do not succeed in doing so with the unsealed.

p. 201; James B. Ramsey, The Spiritual Kingdom (Richmond: Presbyterian Committee of Publication, 1873), p. 405; Rissi, p. 12; Ross, p. 128; Swete, p. 122; Zahn, 2:405. It is arguable, however, that a time period is intended. Cf. James Armstrong, pp. 179-180; Robert Lee Mole, "An Inquiry into the Elements of the Fifth and Sixth Trumpets of Revelation Nine" (B.D. thesis, SDA Theological Seminary, 1957), pp. 32-38; Mauro, p. 322; C. Mervyn Maxwell, God Cares, 2 vols. (Boise, ID: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1985), 2:262-263; R. Storer, "A Suggested Modification to Dr. Farrer's Apocalypse Schema," in Studia Evangelica, 6 vols., ed. Elizabeth Livingstone (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1973), 6:511.

The interludes

Rev 10:1-11:14 contains two interludes that break up the natural flow of the trumpets but prepare the way for what is to follow in Rev 12ff.¹ Another book is introduced in chap. 10. This is held open by a mighty angel, then is eaten by the seer. After declaring that the time of the end prophesied by Daniel has come to a close,² the angel permits John to take the book and eat it.³

This further witness is illustrated by the two witnesses of chap. 11 who give their testimony in the power of Moses and Elijah, then are martyred, resurrected, and ascend to heaven after the pattern of Jesus' own experience. These events, which happen in connection with a great earthquake, produce what the trumpets failed to do, a measure or kind of fear which leads to glorification of God by some of those who had opposed Him.

In these interludes the main point of interest for our study of the trumpets is Rev 10:7, which relates the sounding of the seventh trumpet to the finishing of the mystery of God.

¹See pp. 336-337 for an elaboration of this point.

²Compare Rev 10:1-6 with the language of Dan 12:7-9.

³The book was sweet in his mouth but bitter in his stomach, apparently to signify that further prophetic witness must be given before the consummation could take place.

The seventh trumpet

The sounding of the seventh trumpet is followed by a loud voice in heaven which says, "The kingdom of the world has become the kingdom of our Lord and of His Christ, and He will reign forever and forever." The twenty-four elders mentioned in chaps. 4 and 5 then fall down in worship to God and sing a song of thanks that God has taken control of events on earth. The seventh trumpet ushers in the wrath of the nations, the wrath of God, the time of judgment, and the destruction of those who have been destroying the earth. This series of events is a proleptic summary of the content of the latter half of the book (see below).

The seventh trumpet appears to take place in the context of the Parousia, for Almighty God is characterized in 11:17 as the "One who is and who was" (ho ōn kai ho ên). The dropping of "is to come" (ho erchomenos) indicates that the consummation has arrived.¹ This fits well with the preview of 10:7, which asserts that the mystery of God is finished in connection with the seventh trumpet. Since the trumpets depict the undoing of creation, it is equally fitting that the seventh trumpet ends with the destruction of those who have destroyed the earth (11:18). This last line of vs. 18 shows that, although God has maintained control over events during the

¹Ezell, p. 52.

trumpets, it is evil humanity that is responsible for the destruction the plagues have caused.¹

The Structural Setting of the Seven Trumpets

Relation to the Seven Seals

Several factors indicate that the seals and the trumpets of Revelation are in relationship to each other. For one, the author has not made a strong literary break between vss. 1 and 2 of chap. 8.² Literary recapitulation is typical of Hebrew style.³ This is further underlined by the apparent connection of 8:3-5 with the cry of the souls under the altar in the fifth seal. Another evidence of relationship is that, in spite of the many dissimilarities, there are a number of parallels in content between the seals and the trumpets.⁴

¹Kiddle, p. 145.

²Bornkamm, p. 134; Roller, p. 109. See n. 1 on p. 311.

³Gibson, p. 266. Note, e.g., Gen 1 and 2, and Dan 2, 7, 8, and 11.

⁴D. C. Smith, "The Millennial Reign of Jesus Christ. Some Observations on Rev 20:1-10," Restoration Quarterly 16 (1973):229; Günter, p. 235. E.g., the affliction of the heavenly bodies in the sixth seal (6:12,13) is echoed in 8:12 and 16:8.

Gourges (p. 304) offers the following parallels:

	Seals	Trumpets
Preparation	chaps. 4, 5	8:2-5
Signs "avant cou- reurs"	chap. 6	8:6-9:21
Final stage an- nounced	7:1-3	10:1-7
Delay follows	7:4-8	10:8-11:14
Triumphant finale	7:9-8:1	11:15-19

Whether or not the rider on the white horse is Christ, the seals concern the people of God and their fate in a world that opposes the gospel.¹ As such, they form the counterpart of the conflict between the Unholy Trinity (dragon, beast, and false prophet) and the remnant of the woman's seed depicted in chaps. 12-14.² The seals reach their climax in the cry for vengeance from the martyrs under the altar. This cry is answered in the judgments of the seven trumpets which fall on those who do not have the seal of God (9:4). Thus, while the seals are church related, the trumpets have to do with those who oppose Christ through their opposition to the gospel.³ In the trumpets, judgment has begun for the rejecters of the gospel.⁴ In other words, the primary focus of the seals

¹Schinzer, pp. 58-60, 66. The seals are particularly based on the covenant woes described in Lev 26, which fall on God's people when they forget Him and His instructions. Notice how widely the imagery found in Lev 26 is used throughout the Old Testament: Deut 32:23-25, 41-43; Jer 14:12, 13; 15:2, 3; 21:6-9; 24:10; 29:17, 18; Ezek 5:12-17; 14:12-23. The seals are also strikingly parallel to the language and themes of the Synoptic Apocalypse; Mark 13 and parallels.

²Olivier, pp. 43-44.

³Ezell, p. 52; Wilcock, p. 88; Christopher Wordsworth, Lectures on the Apocalypse (Philadelphia: Herman Hooker, 1852), p. 162. Thus, the trumpets have much less reference to heavenly things than do the seals. Compare chaps. 4, 5, and 7 with 8:2-6 and 11:15-18. Cf. Gouges, p. 313. Cf. pp. 319-321 and 354-356 for an elaboration of the reasons for this statement.

⁴Judgment as a present reality for those who reject the gospel is a common theme in the Gospel of John. Cf. John 3:18-21; 5:22-25; 9:35-41.

is on redemptive judgment, while in the trumpets the primary focus is on punitive judgment.¹

Since both seals and trumpets climax with a portrayal of the consummation, they are probably both intended as an interpretation of the realities of the Christian age.² But although they are contemporaneous, they are interpreting different aspects of those realities. The seals focus on the gospel and on the experience of those who proclaim it in a hostile world.

Relation of the Trumpets to the Rest of the Book

What relation do the seven trumpets have to the rest of the book of Revelation? The climax of the seven trumpets appears connected with the mid-point of the book.³ In chaps. 10 and 11, there is a vision which

¹Farrer, Rebirth, p. 119. Günter (pp. 234-235) suggests that the seals are parallel to the "beginning of sorrows" mentioned in the Olivet Discourse, whereas the trumpets show the fullness of the horrors that were to come afterward.

²Farrer, Rebirth, p. 119; M. Rissi, "The Kerygma of the Revelation to John," Interpretation 22 (1968):3-17. To be contemporaneous chronologically does not rule out the possibility that the trumpets could be a theological response to an issue raised (in Rev 6:9-11) by those experiencing the seals.

³Yarbro Collins, Combat Myth, pp. 31, 157-158; idem, Crisis, p. 111. Kenneth A. Strand ("Chiastic Structure and Some Motifs in the Book of Revelation," Andrews University Seminary Studies 16 (1978):402-404) argues convincingly, on the basis of a structural chiasm, that the literary center of the book of Revelation is found at the close of chap. 14. However, this does not preclude the possibility that the book yields more than one literary center when approached from different perspectives.

contains the first mention of a number of elements which form a major part of visions in the latter half of the book, such as the "beast" and the "great city."¹ This "preview" aspect is particularly prominent in 11:18, which summarizes the earthly content of the seventh trumpet. Here we have a preview of the "final battle," which is described in great detail in chaps. 12-22.²

In Rev 11:18 there are five statements which point to five portions of the second half of the Apocalypse. "The nations were angry" (ta ethnē ōrgisthēsan) is elaborated in 12:17ff., where the dragon was angry with the woman (ōrgisthē ho drakōn) and went away to make war with the remnant of her seed by means of the sea and land beasts which he calls up in chap. 13. The events of chaps. 13 and 14 elaborate the meaning of 12:17. Thus the anger of the nations is elaborated by the material in chaps. 12-14.

The next statement in 11:18, "and your wrath came" (kai êlthen hē orgē sou), is a reference to the seven last

¹Schüssler Fiorenza, Book of Revelation, pp. 54, 172; Vanderwaal, p. 128. A striking example of this proleptic reference is the similarity (by way of contrast, of course) between the work of the two witnesses and that of the land beast of Rev 13. The work of both involves prophecy (11:3; cf. 16:13); the performance of miracles, including the control of fire (11:5 cf. 13:13,14); and the persuasion of mankind (11:11; cf. 13:15-17).

²Roger Aus, "The Relevance of Isaiah 66:7 to Revelation 12 and 2 Thessalonians 1," Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft 67 (1976):254; Ottman, p. 202. Much of chap. 12, with its allusions to the birth of Christ and the primeval battle, functions as a prelude to the "final battle."

plagues in their context (Rev 15-18). These bowl plagues are summarized in 15:1: "And I saw another great and wondrous sign in heaven, seven angels having the seven last plagues, because in them the wrath of God is completed" (etelesthê ho thumos tou theou).¹ Since Rev 17:1 and 17:18 indicate that chaps. 17 and 18 are related to the events of the bowl plagues, the whole of chaps. 15 through 18 are summarized in the brief statement of 11:18--"your wrath has come."

In the statement "the time to judge the dead" (ho kairos tôn nekrôn krithênai) we have an apparent reference to the judgment before the great white throne in Rev 20:11-15.² This points the reader to the context of the millennium and its aftermath.

The time of rewards (dounai ton misthon tous doulois sou . . .) is mentioned again in 22:12 where Jesus rewards His faithful ones in the context of his Parousia. The opposite reward "to destroy those who are destroying

¹While different words for "wrath" are used in 11:18 and 15:1 (11:18--orgê, 15:1--thumos) the two words are used interchangeably in the book of Revelation, as can be seen by referring to 14:10, a verse that offers the rationale for the seven last plagues (cf. "mark of the beast" in 16:2).

²While judgment is a central theme of the entire book of Revelation, judging the dead is unique to these two passages (Rev 11:18 and 20:11-15) unless one wishes to include other passages such as Rev 16:5-7 and 19:2 on the assumption that those judgments include the actions of previous generations of "Babylon." While Matt 23:29-36 provides a theological parallel for such inclusiveness, we are probably safest if we limit ourselves to the explicit reference of the author's language in Rev 11:18.

the earth" (diaphtheirai tous diaphtheirontas tēn gēn) is mentioned in 19:2, which summarizes the results of the plagues and the fall of Babylon.

It is clear from the above analysis that the seventh trumpet is a summary statement in preview of the contents of the rest of the book of Revelation.¹ As such, the seven trumpets have a certain structural relationship to the events portrayed in chaps. 12-22.²

This relationship is especially striking in terms of the seven bowls.³ But although the seven trumpets are parallel to the seven bowls, they are not identical.⁴ Chronologically, the trumpets as a whole are a preliminary preview of the bowls, which portray the end-time wrath of God.⁵ The bowls as a whole are parallel to the climax of

¹In a real sense the seventh trumpet could have ended the book (cf. 10:7). See Leonard Thompson, "Mythic Unity," p. 17.

²Cf. n. 3 on p. 309 where I point out that transitional passages in Revelation tend to point both forward and backward.

³Boll, p. 58; Gary G. Cohen, Understanding Revelation (Chicago: Moody Press, 1978), pp. 118-119; Olivier, pp. 42-43; Prigent, "Apocalypse et apocalyptique," pp. 294-295; Rousseau, p. 115; William H. Shea, "Chiasm in Theme and by Form in Revelation 18," Andrews University Seminary Studies 20 (1982):250. The plagues of the first four bowls and the trumpets fall, respectively, on the earth, the sea, the rivers and springs, and heavenly bodies. The fifth of each series involves darkness, the sixth, the Euphrates River, and the seventh, the consummation.

⁴D. R. Davis, p. 150.

⁵Bornkamm, pp. 133-134; Desmond Ford, 2:432; Price, A New Commentary, p. 83.

the seven trumpets, Rev 11:15-18. This is evident for three reasons. First, the plagues of the seven bowls sum up the wrath of God pointed to in 11:18.¹ Second, the terms for God used in 11:17 are repeated in the context of the bowls in 15:3 and 16:5,7,14.² And finally, there is absence of expected horror when the seventh trumpet also introduces the third woe,³ suggesting that the third woe must be understood as the seven last plagues of the bowls. The bowls are, therefore, to be understood as later and more complete, even though they are modeled on the seven trumpets as a whole.⁴

The Three Series of Plagues

In a study of the seals, trumpets, and bowls there is a tension between recapitulation and contrast. On the one hand, the three series of plagues are roughly parallel.⁵ On the other hand, there are marked contrasts.

¹As discussed earlier (p. 337), the anger of the nations (in Rev 11:18) is a reference to the actions of the demonic trinity in 12:17-13:18, while God's wrath refers to the bowls of 15:1-16:21.

²Rissi, Was ist und was geschehen soll danach, p. 53.

³Beckwith, p. 554.

⁴In 9:20,21 repentance still seems possible for humanity even though it does not take place. But by the end of the bowl plagues (16:21) repentance is not even mentioned as a possibility. Cf. Yarbro Collins, "History of Religions Approach," p. 371.

⁵Bornkamm, pp. 132-133; D. R. Davis, p. 152; cf. chart in Yarbro Collins, Combat Myth, p. 41.

One of the most significant contrasts is in the territorial limitations of the seals and the trumpets as opposed to the bowl plagues.¹ The four horsemen are portrayed as operating in quarter-portions of the earth (6:8). The trumpets, on the other hand, fall on thirds of the earth. The bowl plagues fall on the earth as a whole. Thus, there appears to be a dramatic crescendo of judgment in the seals, trumpets, and bowls,² with the imagery supporting the impression of the partial character of both the seals and the trumpets in contrast with the bowls that consummate the wrath of God.³ Thus, the trumpet judgments are limited in comparison with the plagues. They are limited territorially to thirds of the earth, they are limited to periods of time (five months) and they are limited in their destructive capacity (9:5,6).⁴

¹Boersma, p. 46; Court, p. 73; D. R. Davis, p. 150; Farrer, The Revelation, p. 21; Massyngberde Ford, Revelation, p. 131; Günter, p. 206, cf. 234; Lohse, Die Offenbarung, pp. 56-57.

²Günter, pp. 206-207; Willis Waldo Mead, The Apocalypse of Jesus Christ (New York: W. W. Mead, 1908), p. 131; Mounce, p. 178.

³J. A. Bollier, "Judgment in the Apocalypse," Interpretation 7 (1953):14-25. In Jewish tradition the wrath of God in the time of Enos flooded a third of the world, but this was only a foretaste of the time of Noah when God in His wrath flooded the whole earth. Cf. Mechilta Exod 20,3 as noted in Schlatter, p. 85.

⁴Klaus Berger, Die Auferstehung des Propheten und die Erhöhung des Menschensohnes, Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments, vol. 13 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1976), p. 287; Rissi, Was ist und was geschehen soll danach, p. 31.

There is, accordingly, a "steigerung" or progression of development from the seals to the trumpets to the bowls.¹ The trumpets are not the final consummation, although they appear to lead up to it.² The bowls are an advancement in the state of God's judgments.³ They are called the seven "last" plagues.⁴ In them God's wrath is for the first time brought to its full completion.⁵ They are poured out with reference to the beast, whereas there is no mention of the beast in the trumpets except in the preview of chap. 11.⁶ The result of the bowls is that the redeemed, the product of the Christian era, stand by

¹Note the discussion in Schinzer, pp. 52-58. While Schinzer does not like the term "steigerung," his very discussion of the issues convinced me that it was a good description of the phenomena in the three plague series of Revelation. Schinzer notes that the Old Testament judgments of God invariably followed a pattern:

- 1) Judgment on Israel
- 2) Judgment on the nations
- 3) Salvation for Israel

He relates these three to the message of the seals, trumpets, and bowls in that order. The theme of the seals is judgment on Israel, the theme of the trumpets is judgment on the nations, and the theme of the bowls is salvation for Israel through the final destruction of its enemies. Cf. Alan Johnson, p. 96.

²Johannes Behm, Die Offenbarung des Johannes, Das NT Deutsch, vol. 11 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1949), p. 49; Erwin Reisner, Das Buch mit den sieben Siegeln (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1949), p. 79.

³Rissi, "The Kerygma," p. 12.

⁴J. W. Roberts, "The Interpretation of the Apocalypse," Restoration Quarterly 8 (1965):157.

⁵Rissi, Was ist und was geschehen soll danach, p. 52.

⁶Giet, L'Apocalypse et l'histoire, p. 457.

the sea.¹ Thus, the author intended the reader to see the bowls as the consummation of the end-time, while the trumpets point to a series of events that lead up to the end-time.²

The Trumpets in Their Structural Setting

The various structural elements that have been noted in the relationship of the trumpets to the material which precedes and follows indicate that chaps. 4-11 of Revelation should be understood as parallel to 12-18.³ Both the seals and the crisis of chaps. 12-14 are related to the experience of the church which proclaims the gospel in the context of severe persecution. The trumpets, on the other hand, are parallel to the bowls in their focus on the enemies of God's people who are being judged for their rejection of the gospel and their persecution of those who proclaimed it.⁴

By way of contrast, however, the seals and the trumpets share a partial and preliminary character in relation to the later descriptions. They do not deal with the consummation but lead up to it. Thus, the author

¹Rissi, Was ist und was geschehen soll danach, p. 52.

²Rissi, "The Kerygma, p. 12.

³Boismard, "L'Apocalypse," p. 507; cf. Allo, p. 182.

⁴The trumpets, like the seals, contain interludes which focus on the experience of God's people. The above contrast has to do with the seals and trumpets themselves (compare Rev 6 with Rev 8:7-9:21).

wants the reader to understand that the seals and the trumpets concern the character of the age leading from his day to the end, while the crisis of 12-14 and the bowls are particularly concerned with the end-time consummation.¹ This series of inter-relationships in the heart of the book of Revelation can be illustrated as shown in fig. 1.

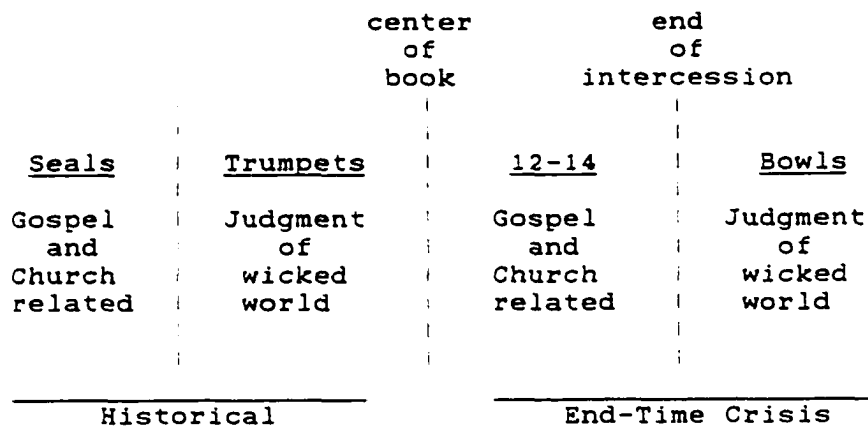


Fig. 1. Interrelationships in the heart of Revelation

The General Old Testament Back- ground to the Trumpets

The general background to the seven trumpets of Revelation was treated in some detail in the previous chapter, thus it is necessary here only to summarize the main points and state their significance for interpretation.

The Old Testament background of trumpets and trumpeting, when compared with the context in the book of

¹As noted earlier, most of chap. 12 functions as a prelude to the final battle rather than as a part of it.

Revelation, points to five major themes in the seven trumpets. These are the worship emphasis, judgment, theophany, enthronement, and warning. In addition to their background in Old Testament trumpeting the seven trumpets point back to such Old Testament events as creation, the Exodus, and the fall of Jericho. There is also frequent reference to the book of Joel and to the usage of "thirds" in a number of places. Since Joel and the "thirds" are most closely related to the themes of exile and return in the prophets, it is important to notice that the themes of judgment, theophany, enthronement, and warning point especially to the eschaton represented by the Day of the Lord theme in the Old Testament prophets, which was repeatedly associated with trumpet blasts.¹ To summarize then, the seven trumpets point to aspects of the three major events of Old Testament history--the Creation-Fall, the Exodus, and the Exile/Return. The judgments of the trumpets imply theophanies and prepare the way for the eschatological theophany which will result in the enthronement of God and Christ.

In a subtle manner the author of Revelation combines the plagues on Egypt with Joshua's attack on Jericho.² As at Jericho, the trumpets precede the fall of

¹Schüssler Fiorenza, The Apocalypse, p. 41; Gibson, pp. 42-46. Cf. Joel 2:1,15; Zech 1:16; 9:14.

²Farrer, Rebirth, p. 120.

a great city (cf. Rev 11 and 18) and the entrance of God's people into the promised land (cf. Rev 21 and 22).¹ As with the seven bowls, the trumpets are also part of what Strand calls the "Exodus from Egypt/ Fall of Babylon" motif.² While most of the plagues are based directly on the Exodus motif, we really have a blending of the Exodus with the Exile.³ The second trumpet is partly based on the account in Jer 51. Several trumpets, especially the fifth, allude to the book of Joel, a book written with the Exile and Return in mind (esp. 3:1ff.).⁴ There are also significant allusions to the book of Ezekiel, which contains a theology of the Exile.⁵ And the explicit mention of the Euphrates River, according to Strand, shifts the scene to the Exile/Babylon motif, which continues through Rev 14:20.⁶ The extent of the Exodus/Exile blending can be seen in the fact that in Revelation it is Babylon, not Jericho, which falls after

¹Carrington, p. 152; Hengstenberg, 1:333.

²Strand, "The Two Witnesses," p. 128.

³Farrer, Rebirth, p. 120.

⁴This comment is valid regardless of when Joel is dated. His account clearly is part of the exile and return tradition common to most of the later prophets.

⁵The concepts of "thirds" is based on Ezek 5:1-12 and 21:27, the fall of the censer reflects Ezek 10:2, and the battle against Gog in chap. 38 is alluded to often. Cf. Goulder, pp. 341-367, and Vogelgesang's dissertation for an excellent discussion of the many parallels between the book of Ezekiel and the book of Revelation.

⁶Strand, "The Two Witnesses," p. 128.

the blowing of the trumpet.¹ As with the Exodus and the Return from Babylonian exile, the trumpets are a covenant execution on the part of God. He judges the wicked for their opposition to Him and His people, in the process delivering the righteous and preparing the way for their inheritance of the kingdom (cf. the shout of Rev 11:15).²

The General New Testament Background to the Trumpets

In that the book of Revelation is a Christian book, the themes of Revelation and its usage of the Old Testament should have much in common with the theology and the Old Testament usage of the rest of the New Testament. Unless we see how the New Testament transforms the history and the symbolism of the Old Testament, we may be inclined to interpret Revelation in terms of the Old Testament background rather than seeing the unique use that John has made of this Old Testament material.

In the New Testament, the things of Yahweh and the things of Israel are applied to Jesus Christ. Theophanies become christophanies. The Day of Yahweh becomes the day of Jesus Christ. The eschatological event is the Parousia of Jesus. As the blowing of trumpets in the Old Testament related to the things of Yahweh and Israel, so in the New Testament they are related to Jesus and His people.

¹James Armstrong, p. 134.

²Rusten, p. 368.

The Exodus from Egypt is applied in the primary sense to the death of Christ on the cross and in a secondary sense to the experience of every believer in Christ (Rom 6:3-6; 1 Cor 10:1-13). As do the plagues of Egypt, the trumpet plagues precede an Exodus, but it is not the Exodus of ancient Israel or of the Jews of the author's day, it is the Exodus of the church from exile in spiritual Babylon that is preceded by the trumpets.¹ Not only the Exodus but also the great eschatological judgment is Christ-related in the New Testament (2 Cor 5:10; 14:10; John 3:18-21; 5:21-23). Even the Old Testament account of creation can be applied to the experience of the believer in Christ (2 Cor 5:17).

The Old Testament sanctuary is applied in the New Testament to the cross and to the work of intercession and judgment that Christ performs in heavenly places. The Old Testament enthronement of Yahweh is applied to Christ's ascension and His empowerment of the church in Acts 2. It is also applied to his Parousia.²

As the history and the imagery of the Old Testament is freely applied to Christ in the New Testament, the things of Israel are just as freely applied to the church.³ Instead of a literal-local-ethnic Israel

¹Mounce, p. 184.

²Cf., e.g., the use of the language of the Enthronement Psalms in Rev 11:15-18.

³Cf. LaRondelle's book. Cf. also Justin A. Smith, Commentary on the Revelation, An American Commentary on

surrounded by literal enemies such as ancient Babylon, the New Testament Israel is a spiritual, worldwide, and universal body of believers who have spiritual enemies such as spiritual Babylon, an entity which consists of all those who in their refusal to accept Christ seek to persecute those who follow Him.

Thus, when John alludes to the experiences of Israel in the Old Testament, he has the church in mind. Language applied to Yahweh is freely applied to Christ.¹ And reference to Israel's oppressors, such as Babylon, Egypt, and Assyria, now refer to the opposers of the gospel of Jesus Christ. In this way, the author of Revelation is able to contemporize experiences in the entire Old Testament in order to make them relevant for the situations faced by his audience. The seven trumpets have, therefore, a Christian message relevant to the churches in Asia Minor.

The General Apocalyptic Background to the Trumpets

There is no exact parallel in Jewish apocalyptic to the idea of a series of seven trumpets signaling historical judgments upon the enemies of God and His

the NT (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1884.), p. 125.

¹Old Testament expressions such as "first and last" (Rev 1:17 cf. Isa 44:6; 48:12), the "voice like many waters" (Rev 1:15 cf. Ezek 1:24; 43:2), and "lord of lords" (Rev 19:16 cf. Deut 10:17) are freely applied to Christ.

people. There are, however, two significant parallels of a less-direct nature.

The most striking parallel to the seven trumpets is found in the pre-70-C.E. Apocalypse of Zephaniah.¹ The bulk of the book (sections 1-8) is made up of the author's visionary travel experience, a "cosmic journey" in which he views the glories of heaven, the horrors of hell, and scenes of judgment.² In sections 9-12, a series of four trumpet scenes are introduced by a great angel who blows on a golden trumpet.

The first trumpet (section 9) proclaims the author's personal triumph over his accuser in the judgment. The second (section 10) heralds the opening of heaven, followed by a view of souls in torment. The third trumpet (section 11) is a call to the righteous to pray on behalf of those in torment. The fourth and final trumpet (section 12) signals the coming wrath of God. At this point the manuscript breaks off. The impression is left that there are more trumpets to come, but there is no way to know how many. The content of the following trumpets would probably include the final events in which God destroys the earth for its wickedness.

Were there seven trumpets in the Apocalypse of Zephaniah? Did they end with demonic woes preceding God's

¹On the dating of the book, see Charlesworth, The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha, 1:500-501.

²See *ibid.*, pp. 498-499, for a summary of the book's content.

everlasting kingdom? We may never know. As the work stands, however, the four trumpets of the Apocalypse of Zephaniah are radically different in content from the seven trumpets of Revelation. Thus, even if there had originally been seven trumpets in the Apocalypse of Zephaniah, this would only have set a precedent for John's trumpet series, and would probably not have provided a structural parallel.

The Apocalypse of Abraham is roughly contemporary with Revelation.¹ Sections 30 and 31 exhibit a number of parallels to the seven trumpets as a whole. There are ten plagues prepared against the heathen (30:2). They include sorrow, fiery conflagrations, earthquake, thunders and voices, hail and snow (30:4-8). Like the trumpets these plagues are eschatological.² At the conclusion of these plagues comes a trumpet blast which is followed by the consummation (31:1ff.). This passage contains many terms found also in the seven trumpets.

Boll's suggestion that 2 Enoch 30:8 is parallel to the seven trumpets has a number of elements in its favor.³ The depiction of the creation of the first man could be significant since the trumpets appear to portray a reversal of creation. There are verbal similarities

¹Ibid., p. 683.

²Yarbro Collins, ANRW, p. 1275.

³Boll, pp. 57-67. Boll calls the passage in Slavonic Enoch chapter 8.

such as "earth," "blood," "sun," "sea," and "grass of the earth." The use of the number seven is potentially significant. However, the parallels are tenuous and the date of 2 Enoch uncertain at best, so it is extremely unlikely that there is any direct relationship between 2 Enoch and Revelation unless the author of 2 Enoch was aware of Revelation.

The impression one receives from a comparison of the seven trumpets with the Jewish apocalyptic material is that they have much in common. However, the author of Revelation creates something new far more often than he copies what someone else has done. There is a common use of symbols and ideas, but the final form of a given passage in Revelation is the author's own.

The Nature of the Seven Trumpets

The Time Span of the Trumpets

What time span does the author have in mind for the plagues of the seven trumpets? Are they associated with the final consummation? Are they a general description of the judgments of God in the Christian age? Or are they events which have taken place in the past?¹

The evidence appears to support those scholars who understand the trumpets to be a description of God's

¹Reisner (p. 79) sees the trumpets running from the Fall to the Cross. Giet and Feuillet understand them to be an outline of the history of the Jewish wars and other experiences of the Christians in the first century. Cf. Schüssler Fiorenza, The Book of Revelation, pp. 37-42.

judgments in the whole Christian era.¹ They describe the entire period of the end-time, from the cross to the Parousia. This is seen in the New Testament usage of trumpets. They are clearly associated both with the appearances of the risen Christ and with the Parousia. What is easier to overlook is the fact that in associating various aspects of the Day of the Lord and the sanctuary sacrifices to the Christ-event, New Testament writers saw the cross as the fulfillment of things with which the trumpet was always associated in the Old Testament. Christ died at the time of the evening sacrifice in the temple. At the very moment when He expired, the wailing sound of the sopar signaling the evening sacrifice could be heard.²

¹Mounce, p. 168 cf. 132; Rissi, Was ist und was geschehen soll danach, pp. 39, 51-52.

²In the New Testament all the cosmic signs of the Day of the Lord are fulfilled in the context of the Parousia. Compare Matt 24:29-31 and parallels with Ezek 32:7,8; Hag 1:6-9; Jer 4:23-27; Amos 8:3-10; Isa 13:9-13; 34:1-5 and Joel 2:28-32. But these same passages are also seen as fulfilled at the cross, including the cosmic signs. Compare Matt 27:51,52; Mark 15:33; Luke 23:44, 45,48 and Acts 2:16-22 with the above passages. Note especially Amos 8:9-10:

"In that day," declares the Sovereign Lord,
 "I will make the sun go down at noon
 and darken the earth in broad daylight.
 I will turn your religious feasts into mourning
 and all your singing into weeping.
 I will make all of you wear sackcloth
 and shave your heads.
 I will make that time like mourning for an only
 son
 and the end of it like a bitter day."

From the New Testament viewpoint the most complete fulfillment of this prophecy was in the cross where the feasts were ended and mankind was judged. But the cross

The continual association of trumpets with sacrifices, therefore, indicates that the blowing of trumpets was associated with the cross in New Testament thought. The blowing of the trumpets signified that the great sacrifice was complete.¹ Since that is the case, the trumpets seem intended by the author to cover the period from the cross to the second coming, the entire Christian era.² The trumpets portray the general judgments of God over the whole Christian age.

Judgments on the Wicked

The trumpets, as we have seen, portray judgments on the wicked--those who have oppressed the people of

was also seen as a verdict of acquittal for all who accept Christ. And while the blowing of trumpets is not explicitly mentioned either in Amos or in the passages associated with the Christ-event, the theology of trumpets is intimately associated with the New Testament theology of the cross.

It is clear from rabbinical sources such as bRosh Hashanah that the Jews took the blowing of trumpets in relation to the sacrifices very seriously in the Second-Temple period.

¹Ezell, p. 49.

²Rev 11:17 refers to God as the One "who is and who was." The fact that "is to come" (ho erchomenos) is left out indicates that the eschaton has come. See Beckwith, p. 609; T. Holtz, "Gott in der Apokalypse," in L'Apocalypse johannique et l'Apocalyptique dans le Nouveau Testament, BETL, vol. 53, ed. J. Lambrecht (Gembloux: Leuven University Press, 1980), p. 258; Klaus-Peter Jörens, Das Hymnische Evangelium, Studien zum NT, vol. 5 (Gütersloh: Gerd Mohn, 1971), pp. 99-100; McNamara, The New Testament, p. 101; Rissi, Was ist und was geschehen soll danach, p. 13.

God.¹ The judgments fall in response to the prayers of the saints for vengeance. They fall only on those who are unrepentant, they do not fall on the sealed (Rev 9:4,20-21).² They fall on those "who live on the earth" (8:13), a phrase which functions in Revelation as a technical term for the wicked. The trumpets are parallel to the seven plagues which contain the wrath of God and are poured out on those who have the mark of the beast. They are the equivalent of the casting down of the censer in 8:5 which is based on the destruction of those who committed abominations in Jerusalem in Ezek 10.³ The trumpets are patterned after the plagues of Egypt and the fall of Jericho, Old Testament actions against the enemies of God and His people.⁴ Thus, they are rightly called

¹Féret, p. 114; William Hendriksen, pp. 16-17; Hengstenberg, p. 333; Irving, p. 55; Schinzer, p. 61; Yarbrow Collins, Crisis, p. 115.

²Milligan, The Book of Revelation, p. 139, 154-156.

³Austin Farrer, "Inspiration: Poetical and Divine," in Promise and Fulfillment: Essays presented to S. H. Hooke, ed. F. F. Bruce (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1963), p. 102; idem, The Revelation, p. 115. Some may object that the judgment of Ezek 10 fell on Jerusalem rather than on the traditional enemies of Judah, such as Babylon and Egypt. However, in Ezekiel, there is an individualization of the covenant (see, for example, Ezek 18:4,20). Those not actively in support of Yahweh's agenda are treated as outsiders, they are no better than Egyptians or Babylonians (Ezek 9:3-6 cf. 8:5-16).

⁴Wilcock, p. 88.

"plagues"¹ (Rev 9:20), for they unleash historical judgments on those who persecute the followers of the Lamb.²

The author evidently intended the reader to draw two conclusions from such an account. On the one hand, as in the Exodus, God always judges the wicked, not merely because of their sins or to appeal for repentance, but also for the sake of His people. The reader was to see an analogy between the Exodus and his own situation: he too was oppressed by the wicked, but God was acting to deliver him through the judgment plagues of the seven trumpets.³ On the other hand, this assurance was not to lead the reader into overconfidence. The same God who judged his enemies judged him as well. In ancient Israel, the seventh month of the liturgical year introduced the penitential season associated with the Day of Atonement.⁴ These "days of awe" were a call to repentance and self-scrutiny lest even believers be cut off from the presence of God.⁵

¹Thiele, p. 161.

²Ezell, p. 49.

³Yarbro Collins, Crisis, p. 147; Delta, The Revelation of St. John (London: James Nisbet, 185C), p. 98; Reisner, p. 79.

⁴Farrer, The Revelation, p. 112.

⁵Court, p. 79; Desmond Ford, 2:431; Price, A New Commentary, p. 81.

The Trumpets and History

J. McConkey and P. Mauro have suggested that the seven trumpets were intended by John to represent periods, rather than points of time,¹ in which the rise and development of the historical adversaries of the gospel are depicted in symbol.² While such suggestions are generally ignored by scholars, the very fact that there are seven trumpets seems well chosen to represent just such a thesis.

For one thing, the general Old Testament background is drawn primarily from settings in which successive events in time are depicted. The creation is described as taking place on seven successive days with a Sabbath climax. The Exodus is made possible by a series of ten plagues which wear down the Egyptians so that the Israelites can escape. Seven trumpets are blown at the battle of Jericho, where the people march around the city for seven successive days, on the seventh of which the city falls.³ The Feast of Trumpets climaxes a series of seven new moon feasts celebrated at the beginning of each

¹McConkey, p. 48.

²Mauro, pp. 304-309.

³Note that the Israelites marched around the city seven times just before it fell on the seventh day. And just as the seventh seal unfolds in seven trumpets, so the seventh trumpet contains the seven bowl plagues. This is evident in the absence of any plague in the seventh trumpet, which is said to be the third woe (11:14). The third woe is the seven last plagues poured out from the bowls.

month. The Jubilee trumpet sounds after seven periods of seven years each. Thus the author, in his selection of sources, seems to indicate to the reader that the trumpets involve a series of successive time periods.¹

A further evidence that the trumpets were intended to portray a series of events is the fact that there are a number of indications of the passage of time. When the seven angels receive their trumpets, they do not immediately sound them, rather they "prepare themselves to sound their trumpets" (êtoimasan autous hina salpisôsîn, Rev 8:6). Then as each angel sounds his trumpet, events take place before the next angel blows his trumpet. Rev 8:13 signals a point in time when four trumpets are in the past, but three are still future.² Rev 9:12 and 11:14 make it clear that these three trumpets are successive. The first woe ends before the second begins (9:12), and the second ends before the third begins (11:14). Rev 9:15 makes reference to a period of preparation the four angels

¹This conclusion in no way justifies the excesses of the historicist writers of the nineteenth century. The problem with their theses was that they were generally not based on serious exegesis of the book itself. They tended to read things into the passage that the author and his readers could never have comprehended. Whatever historical connections the seven trumpets point to, they must be natural and reasonable developments of the meaning that the symbols would have had for those who originally received the book.

²The three woes are to be equated with the fifth, sixth, and seventh trumpets (9:12; 11:14).

had undergone.¹ The events of chap. 10 are prior to the seventh trumpet (10:7). The eating of the little scroll is followed by a period of prophesying (10:8-11). In addition to these clear indications of the passage of time are several explicit periods, five months (9:5,10), forty-two months (11:2), 1260 days (11:3), and three-and-one-half days (11:9,11). Thus, the evidence is overwhelming that the trumpets are deliberately constructed so as to portray a series of events over a period of time.

Since the seven trumpets express God's continuing judgment activity in the Christian era, it is helpful to remember that God's judgments in the Old Testament were always seen in terms of historical acts. The wars of Joshua, for example, were understood as a covenant execution (Deut 9:4-7; cf. the plagues of Egypt--Exod 6:6; 7:4).² When God acted in judgment He often used individuals such as Nebuchadnezzar and the kings of Egypt and Assyria as His "instruments."³ The Synoptic Apocalypse likewise portrays God's judgments in a historical sense. The armies of Titus are God's agents to judge the leaders of the nation for their rejection of Christ (Matt 23:29-39). Thus, the writer of Revelation intended the

¹Even if the hour, day, month and year are to be understood as a point in time, the four angels had been waiting, prepared for that point in time.

²Rusten, p. 372.

³Grünzweig, pp. 64-65.

reader to see in the trumpet judgments God's guiding hand leading history on to its climax at the Parousia.¹

In the many passages in Jewish apocalyptic which involve historical time periods or the "periodization of history," there was abundant precedent for what John was doing in the trumpets.² For example, history is divided into twelve periods in 4 Ezra 14:11,12,³ 2 Apoc. Bar 53-76,⁴ and the Apocalypse of Abraham 29. There is also a ten-fold division of history in 1 Enoch 93:1-10 and 91:12-17,⁵ Sib. Or. 1:7-323, and Sib. Or. 4:47-192. History is divided into seven periods in 2 Enoch 33:1,2

¹Ellul (p. 66) rejects the idea that the trumpets have anything to do with historical events on two grounds. He argues that (1) the depiction of the trumpets is clearly symbolical or allegorical and not historical, and (2) if the trumpets were historical they would suggest that God is the One who unleashes the forces of evil in history. Ellul's work, however, has not taken into account the nature of the Old Testament background to the trumpets, which indicates the likelihood of historical time periods being involved. As to his second argument, it reveals a reluctance on his part to face the full biblical concept of the sovereignty of God. Is God sovereign over everything but history? If God is not sovereign over history, He is not sovereign over anything.

²"Periodization of history" is John J. Collins' preferred term for the historical time periods of apocalyptic literature. Cf. Charlesworth, The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha, 1:323.

³Ten in the Ethiopic and Latin versions.

⁴The "Apocalypse of the Clouds."

⁵"The Apocalypse of Weeks."

and in the most famous apocalyptic passage in the Talmud, bSanhedrin 97.¹

The periodization of history that we find in Jewish apocalyptic is known as ex eventu prophecy, prophecy that is written after the events prophesied have already taken place. What is unique about Revelation is that its seven trumpets do not present history after the fact. These seven trumpets are, instead, an attempt to utilize the apocalyptic schema of historical periodization in a genuine prophecy of future events. It must be remembered that the apocalyptists wrote at a time when people believed that the prophetic spirit had been silenced. Without the gift of prophecy it would be impossible for anyone to predict history in advance. Nevertheless, the historical time periods of ex eventu prophecy reflected the conviction that a prophet such as Enoch, Moses, or Ezra would be capable of outlining history in advance.² Since John believed that through Christ the prophetic spirit had returned (Rev 19:9,10; cf. 22:6-10), he would have every reason to think that the cosmic Christ could reveal to him the general outline of events between the advents. In his choice of Old Testament themes and symbols he indicates that his visions, expressed in apocalyptic language, outline the overall sequence of

¹For a discussion of time periods in apocalyptic literature see especially Yarbrow Collins, ANRW, pp. 1221-1287.

²Hartman, p. 25.

God's impending judgments in the final days of earth's history. This is one of the many instances where Revelation, when compared with Jewish apocalyptic, exhibits unique aspects alongside the many paralleling elements.

The Symbolic Nature of the Trumpets

Some scholars have argued that the trumpets, especially the first four, are to be taken literally rather than figuratively.¹ However, as has been pointed out earlier,² one of the major language tools used in the book is apocalyptic symbolism. The "revelation of Jesus Christ" is sent in "signified" form (Rev 1:1),³ i.e., is of a symbolic nature. Are the seven trumpets, therefore, to be understood as literal descriptions of devastating judgment or are they composed of symbols which point to broader spiritual realities?⁴

I believe the trumpets are to be interpreted as symbols of spiritual realities for six reasons. First, the repeated use of hōs and homoia suggests that what John

¹For a survey of issues and literature from a dispensational perspective, see Gibson's dissertation, especially pp. 23-31.

²See pp. 18-21 of this dissertation.

³Cf. the use of sēmainō in Acts 11:28; John 12:33; 18:32; and 21:39. In each case the word refers to a cryptic saying or action that points to a future event.

⁴If the language of the trumpets was intended to be symbolic, the elucidation of the meaning of the symbols becomes a "necessary condition for the understanding of the text." See Hartman, Prophecy Interpreted, p. 249, n. 54.

saw in vision is not to be taken literally (8:8,10; 9:2,3,5,7-10,17,19).¹ This is particularly convincing in 8:8 and 9:7 (often translated "as it were"). Second, at many points the language of the trumpets, taken at face value, is either bizarre or extremely exaggerated. For example, under normal circumstances vultures do not cry "woe (8:13)," one meteor cannot fall on a third of the earth's fresh water at the same time (8:10,11), locusts do not attack people instead of vegetation (9:3-6) and armies of 200,000,000 horsemen do not march out of the Euphrates River (9:13-16). Such descriptions suggest that the author may have been packaging apocalyptic symbols in a way that underlines his overall spiritual message.

A third evidence suggesting that the trumpets are symbolic rather than literal in intent is that the language of the seven trumpets is largely drawn from Old Testament judgment descriptions. In these Old Testament settings the language is often used in figurative ways, as was demonstrated in the previous chapter. The use of this language in the trumpets calls these earlier associations to the reader's mind. Fourth, the author has used much of this same language in a symbolic way elsewhere in Revelation.² Since the language of the seven trumpets lends

¹Barnhouse, p. 163; Desmond Ford, 2:448; Traugott Holtz, Die Christologie der Apokalypse des Johannes (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1962), p. 87; Tenney, The Book of Revelation, p. 42.

²Greenery appears to be a symbol of those who are sealed in Rev 9:4. Water is symbolic of the source of life

itself naturally to a symbolic usage, both in the Old Testament and elsewhere in Revelation, it is not unlikely that the author intended it to be so understood in the trumpets as well.

A fifth reason for being open to the possibility that the language of the trumpets is symbolic is the fact that Revelation, as a Christian book, transforms the literal things of the Old Testament so that they can have meaning in relation to the spiritual realities in which Christians participate. The things of Israel have become the things of the church.¹ Therefore, where the author clearly alludes to the history of Israel, he applies that history to the Christian realities of his audience. Finally, taking Revelation literally can produce serious contradictions. For example, does Christ come on a horse or on a cloud? Is the grass of the earth destroyed (8:7)

in Rev 22:1. Stars symbolize angels (Rev 1:20), the sea represents peoples and nations, etc. (Rev 17:15), death can be understood in a spiritual sense (Rev 3:1,2), and the sun can be depicted in terms of clothing (Rev 12:1).

¹See pp. 38-43 and 49-55. The distinctions between Israel and the nations in the Old Testament were ethnic and geographical. For the New Testament Israel, such distinctions were spiritual, individual, and world-wide. Thus, judgments that would be appropriate in a national context may need to be modified in the light of Christian understanding. For example, Judaism and the Roman Empire might have been perceived as inimical to Christianity, yet many Christians were of Jewish heritage and virtually all were residents of the Empire. Thus, a judgment on the "Empire" would make distinctions between those residents of the Empire who were "in Christ" and those who were not. The line between Israel and the nations in the early Christian perspective was drawn on a spiritual and individual basis.

or protected (9:4)? Many of these "contradictions" can be resolved when the major terms are understood as symbolic of spiritual realities.

If a careful application of the method proposed here, therefore, produces a symbolic interpretation of the trumpets that accords with meanings the language has attained in earlier literature, and makes good sense in the context of Revelation, the symbolic interpretation of the trumpets is to be preferred. Since much of the language of the trumpets is drawn from the Old Testament, it is instructive that the Old Testament itself uses the language of the Exodus to describe the Exile, an event that in a literal sense was radically different from the Exodus.¹ Thus, even though the plagues of the Exodus were literal descriptions it would appear that we are on safe ground in interpreting the seven trumpets of Revelation as a collection of symbols representing realities that far transcend the symbols themselves.²

The First Trumpet

The basic content of the first trumpet involves a plague of hail and fire mixed with blood which is thrown down upon the earth. This material, when striking the

¹Anderson, pp. 181-195. Many examples from other prophets could be given. See, e.g., Hos 2:8-15; Mic 7:15-20; Isa 4; 11:11-16.

²McConkey, p. 49.

earth, produces a firestorm which burns up a third of the earth, a third of the trees, and all the green grass.

The collections of parallel materials are described, not in chronological order, but in the order of the comprehensive exegetical method outlined on pp. 156-165. Since the examination of contemporary literature is listed under step one--basic exegesis--the parallels to contemporary literature are listed first.¹

Parallels in Contemporary Literature

Thematic Parallels

Wis 16:16-24
Sib. Or. 5:376-378

4 Ezra 5:5-8(?)

A number of parallels to the first trumpet in Early Judaism have been suggested by various commentators.² The author of Revelation was probably aware of the underlying tradition, if not the literary setting, of several of these.³

Wisdom of Solomon 16:16-24 offers a striking thematic parallel to the first trumpet:

But from thy hand there is no escape; for godless men who refused to acknowledge thee were scourged by thy mighty arm, pursued by extraordinary storms of rain and hail in relentless torrents, and utterly

¹If the main purpose of this dissertation were to interpret the trumpets, rather than to outline and demonstrate an exegetical method, the chronological order would make the most sense.

²1 Enoch 81:5; 90:21; 4 Ezra 5:8; Sib. Or. 5:376-378; Tob 12:15 and Wis 16:16-24.

³4 Ezra 5:8 in context; Sib. Or. 5:376-378 and Wis 16:16-24.

destroyed by fire. Strangest of all, in water, that quenches everything, the fire burned more fiercely; creation itself fights to defend the godly. At one time the flame was moderated, so that it should not burn up the living creatures inflicted on the godless, who were to learn from this that it was by God's justice that they were pursued; at another time it blazed even under water with more than the natural power of fire, to destroy the produce of a sinful land. By contrast, thy own people were given angel's food, . . . whereas their enemies' crops had been destroyed by fire that blazed in the hail and flashed through the teeming rain, that same fire had now forgotten its own power, in order that the godly might be fed.

For creation, serving thee its maker, exerts its power to punish the godless and relaxes into benevolence towards those who trust in thee.¹

This passage portrays a judgment plague that impacts on the godless but spares and even benefits the righteous. The plague consists of storms of rain and hail, with fire blazing in the hail, that result in fires which destroy the crops of God's enemies. There is a hint ("who were to learn from this") that these judgments might lead the godless to sober thought (perhaps leading to repentance?). The plague is summarized as creation (i.e., the natural world), in service to its maker, turning on the godless to punish them and to deliver the righteous from their affliction. The thematic parallel is striking. In both passages the wicked are those who worship idols (Wis 16:2; cf. Rev 9:20,21) In both plagues the wicked are punished and God's people are preserved.

Sib. Or. 5:376-378 contains an apparent reference to the Nero redivivus myth. Judgment in terms of fire and

¹Wis 16:15-20,22-24 NEB.

blood is poured out on the resurrected Nero and his hordes.¹ As in the Old Testament, fire is used here as a weapon of God against those who oppose Him.²

In 4 Ezra 5:8 fire is one of the terrible events associated with the end-time. Since vs. 5 mentions blood dripping from wood, 4 Ezra 5:5-8 may be alluding to Joel 2:30,31. It is unlikely that there is any intentional relationship between the first trumpet and this passage.

Parallels in Revelation

7:1-3	11:19
8:5	14:18
9:4	16:21
11:5	20:10,14,15

Hail and fire

In Revelation there is a double association wherever hail and fire appear; they are associated with heavenly things and with judgment on the enemies of God.³ In Rev 8:5 it is the casting to earth of the heavenly altar-fires that introduce the plagues of the seven trumpets. The two witnesses, who have the authority to shut up heaven and to turn water into blood, use fire to destroy their enemies.⁴ In 11:19 the opening of the

¹Cf. 5:137-161 where this myth is described in language reminiscent of the third trumpet as well as the first.

²Note also Sib. Or. 5:274 and 3:543.

³James Armstrong, p. 137.

⁴Berger, p. 274.

heavenly temple produces great hail. This last text is the introduction to the conflict between the woman and the dragon, a conflict brought to a close when the angel in charge of the altar-fire commands that the vintage of the wicked be crushed (Rev 14:18). In 16:21 great hailstones bring the judgments of the seven bowls to their awful climax. And in Rev 20:10,14,15 fire represents the wrath of God exercised at the consummation. Thus hail and fire in the Apocalypse consistently depict heavenly judgments on the enemies of God and His true people.¹

"Thirds"

Not only are the "thirds" based on Old Testament usage but they seem to be part of a larger construct within the book of Revelation as well.² As has been noted earlier, the four horsemen of the seals operate over fourths of the earth, the trumpets over thirds, and the bowls over the entire earth (16:1). In the ancient world, the number four was the number of the earth.³ This concept is taken up in Revelation as well (Rev 7:1; 20:8). The four horsemen of the seals, based on Zech 1 and 6

¹Especially in the prophets, a distinction is often made between the "true" followers of Yahweh, usually called a remnant (generally some form of g'r), and those who may follow in name, yet are classed with the wicked. For a major study on the remnant theme, see Gerhard F. Hasel, The Remnant (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1972).

²Heinrich Kraft, Die Offenbarung, p. 137.

³Horst Balz, "tessares, etc.," TDNT, 8:128, 131.

(where the four horsemen are responsible to patrol the whole earth--Zech 1:10; 6:5-7), have a similar world-wide responsibility, each in relation to a quarter of the earth (Rev 6:8). This raises the possibility that the thirds of the seven trumpets relate to the three portions of the earth that were under the control of the second, third, and fourth horsemen--that portion of the earth which rejected God's dominion and thus came under his further judgments in the trumpets and the bowls.

This conclusion is underlined by the fact that the number three has divine implications in the ancient world.¹ John parodies this background with a satanic trinity (Rev 12-13; 16:13) whose leader has cast down a third of the stars of heaven (Rev 12:4) and whose kingdom has three parts (16:19). The thirds of the trumpets, therefore, may represent parts of Satan's kingdom which are brought under God's judgments.²

Greenery

There is a striking contrast between the way greenery is portrayed in the first trumpet and the way it

¹Gerhard Delling, "treis, etc.," TDNT, 8:216-217. Notice the three-member designation of God in Rev 1:4,8; 4:8.

²When used positively, the number three can combine with the number four to represent the totality of God's kingdom (the number seven--see Hailey, p. 45; Karl Heinrich Rengstorff, "hepta, etc.," TDNT 2:632; E. D. Schmitz, "hepta," NIDNTT 2:690) and its earthly representatives (twelve--Rev 7:4-8; 21:12-21).

is portrayed in Rev 7:1-3 and 9:4.¹ In 7:1-3 and 9:4, the greenery is clearly a reference to God's people, who are given a mark of protection against the plagues. While Lohmeyer suggests that the apparent contradiction with 8:7 is due to the use of different traditions,² it is more likely that the greenery of Rev 8:7 depicts followers of God who have forsaken the covenant and are thus classed with the wicked.³

Hengstenberg suggests that the trees and grass may be symbolic of two groups of Christians described as the "small and great" in Rev 11:18 and other places.⁴ Although this does not make a significant difference in the interpretation of Rev 8:7, it is plausible in the light of the Old Testament background. Trees are often a symbol of rulers, and grass is a symbol of the common people. Thus, the trees and grass could apply to the leaders and followers of a religious community.

Summary of the Old Testament Background

Certain allusions

Exod 9:23-26

Probable allusions

Isa 10:16-20

Ezek 38:22

Ezek 5:1-4

Zech 13:8,9

¹Lohmeyer, p. 73; Morant, p. 174.

²Lohmeyer, p. 73.

³Hooper, p. 349.

⁴Hengstenberg, p. 343.

Possible allusions

Exod 7:17ff.	Isa 28:2
Ps 18:13	Isa 30:30
Ps 105:32	Joel 2:30,31

Echoes

Hail	Earth
Fire	Trees
Blood	Grass

Two of the major meanings of trumpeting in the Old Testament are directly relevant to the first trumpet. The use of the divine passive (eblêthê) indicates that the first trumpet involves a theophany. It is also clearly a trumpet of judgment. However, since Revelation is a New Testament book, the judgment of the first trumpet must be understood in relation to Christ, not in terms of Old Testament Israel. The first trumpet also blends the hail and blood plagues of Egypt.¹ It falls on one of the unrepentant thirds of humanity. The ruined vegetation, the devouring fire, and the mixture of blood and fire also point to the prophecies of Joel.

There are five certain and probable allusions to the Old Testament in the first trumpet.² These indicate that John draws on the imagery of God's judgments on Egypt (Exod 9:23-26), Assyria (Isa 10:16-20), Gog (Ezek 38:22),

¹Ewald, p. 199.

²Exod 9:23-26; Isa 10:16-20; Ezek 5:1-4; Ezek 38:22; and Zech 13:8,9.

and Jerusalem itself (Ezek 5:1-4; Zech 13:7-9).¹ Thus, the common thrust of the direct allusions to the Old Testament is to indicate that the first trumpet involves an act of God's judgment against a power that opposes Him.

This assessment is supported by the overall thrust of the possible allusions to the Old Testament in the first trumpet.² Ps 18:13, Ps 105:32, and Isa 30:30 all involve judgments on the Gentile enemies of God and His people. But Isa 28:2ff. in its context indicates that God's judgments applied equally to His people when they broke the covenant:

Woe to the proud crown of the drunkards of Ephraim,
 And to the fading flower of its glorious beauty,
 Which is at the head of the fertile valley
 Of those who are overcome with wine!
 Behold, the Lord has a strong and mighty agent;
 As a storm of hail, a tempest of destruction,
 Like a storm of mighty overflowing waters,
 He has cast it down to the earth with His hand. . . .
 Therefore, hear the word of the Lord, O scoffers,
 Who rule this people who are in Jerusalem,
 Because you have said, "We have made a covenant with
 death,
 And with Sheol we have made a pact.
 The overwhelming scourge will not reach us when it
 passes by,
 For we have made falsehood our refuge and we have
 concealed ourselves with deception."
 Therefore thus says the Lord God,
 "Behold, I am laying in Zion a stone, a tested stone,
 A costly cornerstone for the foundation, firmly
 placed.
 He who believes in it will not be disturbed.
 "And I will make justice the measuring-line,
 And righteousness the level;
 Then hail will sweep away the refuge of lies,

¹Zechariah 13 is probably cited more by way of contrast than by direct parallel.

²Ps 18:13; Ps 105:32; Isa 28:2; Isa 30:30; Joel 2:30,31.

And the waters shall overflow the secret place.
 "And your covenant with death shall be canceled,
 And your pact with Sheol shall not stand;
 When the overwhelming scourge passes through,
 Then you become its trampling place."¹

Our study of hail and fire as echoes demonstrates that the later prophets increasingly applied the hail and fire of God's judgments to Israel because it had forsaken the covenant (Jer 11:16,17; 21:12-14; Ezek 15:6,7; 20:47,48; cf. Ps 80:8-11,15,16). The burning up of vines, trees, and forests was the result of Israel and Judah's apostasy from God. Thus the allusions to the Old Testament in the first trumpet symbolize God's judgment on His enemies, with the additional likelihood that the burning up of vegetation points to the destruction of those people that were once faithful to Him but now have turned away to other gods.

The other echoes in Rev 8:7 support the picture drawn from a study of the direct allusions in the verse. Blood is a symbol of violently destroyed life. As used in the first trumpet, it heightens the sense of horror and tragedy in the judgment. Earth symbolizes people in general and Israel in particular. As such, it is laid waste whenever the covenant is ignored or forsaken. Fresh grass represents God's people, while dry grass points to the fate of evildoers. Trees are variously understood as enemies of God, proud rulers, Israel, and followers of Yahweh, with the latter two being predominant. Used

¹Isa 28:1,2,14-18 NASB.

Luke 12:49 also contains strong verbal and thematic parallels to the first trumpet (pur êlthon balein epi tèn gèn). In its context this passage sees Jesus as the source of the judgment fire which divides the followers and the enemies of Jesus. It is echoed in the parallel passage of Matt 10:34 (which is not a verbal parallel), where the language of war and peace is used instead of fire.

Luke 23:31 builds on the distinction between green and dry trees made in Ezek 20:47,48. In its context the passage in Ezekiel uses the green tree as a symbol of the righteous individual and the dry tree as a symbol of the evildoer (Ezek 21:3). The forest as a whole is Israel and Judah, and the trees are the individuals who may or may not be faithful to Yahweh. When faith flourishes, the trees are green and healthy; the dry tree is the result of apostasy.

In Luke 23:28-31 Jesus, as he carries his cross, applies tree symbolism to the fate of Jerusalem. If he himself as a righteous person (green tree--tô huqrô xulô) could be treated so shamefully by the Roman authorities, what would be the fate of a rebellious and wicked nation (dry tree--tô xêrô)? Although the same Greek word for trees is not used by Jesus, the thematic parallel with both the Old Testament and the first trumpet is very strong. The passages recounting the parable of the fig

tree also advance this New Testament theme.¹ The barren fig tree is the Jewish nation that rejected Christ (Mark 13:1-9).²

Three other New Testament passages may illuminate the symbolism of the first trumpet: Rom 8:20ff.; 1 Cor 3:13,14; and Jude 11,12. Rom 8:20ff. describes the groaning of creation in language different from the seven trumpets, which, after all, are highly symbolic. Creation suffers because of sin and because of the delay of the Parousia.

In 1 Cor 3:13,14 Paul uses fire as a symbol of the final judgment. This fire tests the quality of the works produced by the Christian. While there is a thematic relationship with the concept of fire in the first trumpet, the trumpets are oriented to judgments on the rejecters of God, and thus it is unlikely that this perspective regarding fire was in John's mind at this point.

In Jude 11,12 fruitless trees are a symbol of false teachers within the Christian community. The health

¹Matt 21:19; Mark 11:13,14,20,21.

²The apparent anti-Semitism of these passages is to be understood in the light of the great tension between the Jewish and Christian communities in the first century. For Christians, those who rejected Jesus and opposed the new movement were worse than idolaters because they sinned against greater knowledge (cf. Rom 1 and 2). This assessment of the Jewish nation as a whole needs to be balanced against the tremendous love and concern manifested toward individual Jews (cf., for example, Rom 9-11).

of the symbolic trees of Old Testament Israel was related to their faithfulness to the covenant. Similarly, in the New Testament the spiritual health of Christians is related to their faithfulness to the new covenant in Christ.

Interpretation

The investigation of parallels to the Old Testament, the New Testament, other parts of Revelation, and contemporary literature indicates that the plague of the first trumpet is intended to depict God's judgment on a power that is opposed to Him. Since this power is to be understood in relation to Christ, it is not necessarily a military or political power, but may involve a spiritual opponent such as the Jews or Christian heretics. The event alluded to here is not of minor significance, for the addition of blood to the hail and fire indicates that the plagues of Egypt are not just repeated but surpassed.¹ In the light of Rev 7:1-3 the earth is the "holy land," where the sealing takes place, thus this judgment occurs in the context of the people of God, perhaps with a reflection of the judgment on Jerusalem in Ezek 9 (which is clearly in the author's mind in Rev 9:4).

It is somewhat puzzling that the plague falls on a third of the earth and a third of the trees, but on all of the grass. It may be that this imagery is just lifted

¹Schlatter, p. 85.

from the context of the plagues on Egypt (cf. especially Exod 9:23-26),¹ but there all the trees are shattered as well. More likely the reference is to all the green grass in the third of the earth where the trees are.²

A number of commentators have suggested that in the first trumpet the author had in mind either the destruction of the city of Jerusalem in 70 C.E.,³ the decline and fall from grace of Judaism in the first century,⁴ or the scattering of Jews by Hadrian.⁵ Although this particular range of related opinions has been in the minority, it appears to be justified by the allusive clues the author of Revelation placed in the text.

In both the Old and the New Testaments God scrutinizes His own people even more carefully than He does outsiders because of their greater knowledge of His kingdom.⁶ Increased knowledge leads to increased responsibility (Rom 2; John 3:18-21; James 4:17). Judgment

¹Hengstenberg, pp. 343-344; Sweet, p. 163.

²James Armstrong, p. 137; Kiddle, p. 149.

³Hooper, p. 354; Edward Huntingford, A Practical Interpretation of the Revelation of St. John the Divine, 3rd ed. (London: Bickers and Son, 1900), p. 140; Mauro, pp. 284-285; Justin Smith, p. 119.

⁴Hooper, p. 354; Samuel Lee, An Inquiry into the Nature, Progress, and End of Prophecy (Cambridge: University Press, 1899), p. 302.

⁵Gerhard Maier, Die Johannesoffenbarung und die Kirche, Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum NT, vol. 25 (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1981), p. 430.

⁶Jer 25:29; Ezek 9:6; Amos 3:2; 1 Pet 4:17.

begins at the house of God (1 Pet 4:17).¹ Thus, the judgment on Jerusalem in 70 C.E. heralds the beginning of judgments on the whole world; it is the first in a series.² The first trumpet sets the basic theme of the synoptic apocalypse into the context of a series of judgments leading up to the consummation (cf. Matt 23:37,38; 24:1,2,6-8). The grass and trees represent an Israel that because of its rejection of the messianic role of Jesus of Nazareth has fallen from grace and is thus subject to God's fierce judgments. The crucial interpretive key to the first trumpet is Jesus' oracle on the destruction of Jerusalem recorded in Luke 23:28-31. If Jesus, the innocent one, is about to be executed, how much more will those who are guilty pay the penalty of God's judgments?³

The judgment on the Jewish nation in 70 C.E. is not of the direct variety. From the first-century Christian perspective, God gave the nation over into the hands of the Romans. The divine passive in Rev 8:7 reminds us that the plague is associated with a theophany, or perhaps better, a christophany. Although the Romans inflicted the actual punishment on Jerusalem, the hand of Christ is to be seen in the judgment. In the Old Testament era God often used Gentile nations to chastise His

¹Desmond Ford, 2:436.

²Thiele, p. 165.

³See Aune, Prophecy, pp. 176-177.

people. Rome is an enemy of God's true people in Revelation but is nevertheless under God's control and can be used by Him to accomplish His purposes.

The Second Trumpet

Parallels in Contemporary Literature

Verbal and thematic parallels

1 Enoch 18:13-16	1 Enoch 21:3-10
1 Enoch 108:4-6	

Thematic parallels

4 Ezra 3:1,2,28-31	2 Apoc. Bar. 10:1-3
4 Ezra 13:21-24	2 Apoc. Bar. 11:1
Sib. Or. 5:143,158,159	2 Apoc. Bar. 67:7

Various commentators have suggested a number of parallels to the second trumpet in contemporary Jewish apocalypses.¹ Of these the most direct, and therefore the most likely to have been in the mind of the author when he wrote down the second trumpet, are found in 1 Enoch. 1 Enoch 18:13-16 describes seven stars which were like "great, burning mountains." These burning mountains represent fallen angels (cf. 21:3,10) who are the objects of God's judgment. Similarly, in 1 Enoch 108:4-6 burning mountains are related to the ultimate fate of evildoers.

Most of the suggested parallels to the second trumpet in apocalyptic literature hinge on the use of the term Babylon. In 4 Ezra 3 there is a description that purports to be Ezra's lamentation over the fall of

¹ 1 Enoch 18:13ff.; 21:3ff.; 108:4,8; 4 Ezra 3:1,2,28,31; 13:21-24; 2 Apoc. Bar. 10:1-3; 11:1; 67:7; Sib. Or. 5:143,158,159.

Jerusalem to Babylon. Since this is probably intended to apply to the fall of Jerusalem in 70 C.E., the term Babylon represents the Roman Empire.¹ The matter is clearer still in 2 Baruch where (10:1-3; 11:1; 67:7) Babylon is a cryptic reference to Rome, which had destroyed the city of Jerusalem and was, accordingly, about to suffer its own fate. In the Sibylline Oracles, Neronian Rome is judged because, among other things, it persecuted the Jews and destroyed Jerusalem (Sib. Or. 5:150-154, 160, 161). The crucial matter in these purported parallels to the second trumpet is whether or not the imagery of the second trumpet is intended to point to Babylon as the recipient of the plague. Since the parallels in Revelation and to the Old Testament background both point in this direction, the apocalyptic parallels suggest that the ultimate fall of Rome may be the focus of this plague.²

Parallels in Revelation

6:12-17	17:16
12:12	18:8,9
16:4-6	18:17-19
17:1-3	18:21
17:9	18:24

The burning mountain of Rev 8:8 parallels the seven mountains of Babylon in 17:9. The Babylon of the

¹Charlesworth, Old Testament Pseudepigrapha, 1:520. The analogy between Babylon and Rome lies in the fact that both nations destroyed the city of Jerusalem.

²Yarbro Collins, Crisis, p. 57.

second trumpet is one mountain, but the end-time Babylon of chap. 17 encompasses seven mountains, indicating in all likelihood that it is the consummation of all the Babylons that ever troubled God's people. The fact that the mountain in 8:8 is called "great" reminds one of "great Babylon" in Rev 17:1,3 and in 18:21.¹ The waters on which Babylon sits (the Euphrates River, cf. 16:12) represent the nations of the world in their opposition to God (17:15).² These same nations ultimately become the cause of Babylon's downfall (17:16; cf. 18:21). The mountain burning with fire also reminds one strongly of the fate of Babylon the prostitute as depicted in 17:16 and in 18:8,9,18.³

The sea turning to blood in the second trumpet probably represents a proleptic reversal of the persecution of God's people by the wicked mentioned in Rev 16:4-6 (cf. 18:24). They receive in kind for what they have done.⁴ The destruction of the ships parallels chap. 18, where commerce on the sea is devastated by the fall of Babylon (18:17-19).⁵ It is perhaps worth noting that the plagues of the first two trumpets also parallel Rev 12:12,

¹Rusten, p. 381.

²Ottman, p. 205. The sea is to be seen in contrast to dry land, which represents Israel, the people of God.

³Rusten, p. 382.

⁴Rusten, p. 382.

⁵Ibid.

sea, and thus supports the overall motif, mentioned above, of an undoing of creation in the seven trumpets. The blood in the water and the dead fish are reminiscent of the plagues on Egypt (Exod 7:19-21). The Pseudo-Jonathan Targum to the Pentateuch causes one to suspect that John may have had the theophany on Sinai in mind as he wrote here. A theophany takes place in the fall of Babylon.

The most significant Old Testament allusion in the second trumpet is the reference to Jer 51. Just as the Euphrates River is the means by which the original Babylon fell, so the sea here swallows up another Babylon.

The two possible allusions to the Old Testament in the second trumpet do not add a great deal to our understanding. In Ps 46:2,3 the reference to mountains being cast into the sea is of a general nature, but it is clear that God's people do not need to be afraid of such an event. In Isa 10:16-18 the reference is to the fall of Assyria. Just as the Old Testament background of the first trumpet suggests that the plague there falls on a power that once followed God but has now broken the covenant, so the Old Testament background to the second trumpet points to a judgment here on Gentile nations rather than on an apostate Israel.

In the second trumpet, there are six echoes. A mountain can symbolize a nation, God's throne, and an obstacle to faith. Of the three, the first is clearly the most relevant to the context of this trumpet. Fire is a

symbol of God's judgment on His enemies, and blood is a symbol of violently destroyed life. The sea is most likely to be understood in terms of people in opposition to God (cf. 13:1ff.; 17:15). Sea creatures can represent people. In that case, their destruction is symbolic of God's judgment upon them for their evildoing. Ships represent the procurers of a nation's wealth and a nation's pride in being able to take care of itself. The destruction of ships is the judgment of God against any nation that places confidence in its ability to survive by its own efforts.

New Testament Parallels

Thematic parallels

Matt 13:47-50
Matt 21:21

Luke 5:1-10
Luke 21:25

Matt 21:21 relates the moving of mountains to Christian faith. A mountain is any power that opposes the establishment of Jesus' kingdom.¹ The mountain facing Jesus and His disciples was the opposition of the Jewish nation to Jesus. By the time Revelation was written, a far larger mountain had erected itself in the path of Christ's kingdom--namely, Rome. In Luke 21:25 the unruly sea is associated with nations in an unsettled state,² and

¹Ottman, p. 206.

²Ramsey, p. 371.

in Luke 5:1-10 and Matt 13:47-50 the fish of the sea represent individuals to whom the gospel is preached.¹

Interpretation

While the burning mountain may be reminiscent of Vesuvius,² the second trumpet is built primarily on the description of the fall of Babylon in Jer 51. The background in the Old Testament and apocalyptic literature suggests that this Babylon was generally associated with the Roman Empire in John's day.³ The burning mountain may include a reference to Sinai, if so, Rome would be depicted as the evil counterpart of what took place there (perhaps a reference to Roman law?).⁴

Critical to this interpretation is the understanding that the mountain of the first trumpet is the object, rather than the agent, of God's judgment. It is not essential to the author's scheme that there be an explicit agent for each judgment.⁵ Whether or not a particular symbol is acting as God's agent should be determined by

¹Ross, p. 104.

²Hanns Lilje, The Last Book of the Bible, trans. Olive Wyon (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1957), p. 143; Morant, p. 169. Vesuvius blew up in 79 C.E. and would thus have been known to John if he is writing in the 90s. Its close proximity to Rome may also be significant.

³Yarbro Collins, Crisis, pp. 57-58.

⁴Carrington, p. 156.

⁵The fourth and seventh trumpets contain no symbol that could act as an agent of judgment (Rev 8:12; 11:15-18). The star of the third trumpet is probably not an agent of judgment either (see pp. 276-278).

comparing its usage in previous literature with the usage in a given passage.¹ As pointed out in the preceding chapter (pp. 259-260), mountains can represent nations in the Old Testament, but they are never used to describe those nations as agents of God's judgment. In judgment passages, mountains as representing nations are always the object of God's judgments, never the agent (Isa 41:15; 42:15; Ezek 35:2-7; 38:20; Zech 4:7).

This understanding of the symbolic use of mountains indicates that there is a double object of judgment in the second trumpet. Both the mountain and the sea are being judged. The judgment of one results in the judgment of the other. This is paralleled in Rev 17 and 18, where the prostitute/city called Babylon is distinguished from the nations who support her and are enriched by her.² It is the fall of Babylon that brings with it the downfall of all the other nations. Therefore, in the second trumpet there is an apparent distinction between the Roman Empire as a system and the many peoples and nations that make up that system.

The main point of the second trumpet, therefore, must be seen as John's prediction that the Roman Empire

¹The hail, fire, and blood of the first trumpet, the locusts of the fifth, and the four angels of the sixth are all used as agents of judgment in previous literature as well as in the trumpets.

²These nations are symbolized in Rev 17 by the beast and the waters, and in Rev 18 by the kings, merchants, and shipmasters.

was soon to fall along with its entire social order.¹ Although the Empire was used by God as the executor of His covenant on the Jewish nation, its hostility toward Christ and his people and its persecution of the church called for its ultimate downfall.² When that time would come, the downfall of the Empire would be the result of universal revulsion (cf. Rev 17:16). Rome would sink beneath the waves of a sea of nations.³ However, the nations themselves would also suffer. The fall of the Empire would result in the devastation of the whole economic and social order.

The Third Trumpet

Parallels in Contemporary Literature

Verbal and thematic parallels

Bundahish 30:18,31	1 Enoch 88
1 Enoch 21:3-6	Philo's <u>Life of Moses</u> , 96-146
1 Enoch 86	

Thematic parallels

1 Enoch 43	Sib. Or. 8:190-193
4 Ezra 5:9	Wis 16:21,25
Sib. Or. 2:202	Wis 19:6,18ff.

According to Boll, the "astral imagery" of the third trumpet demands that the only way to make sense of the passage is through a thorough understanding of the

¹Desmond Ford, 2:437; Huntingford, p. 145; Isham, p. 89; Maier, p. 430; Peschek, p. 81; Ramsey, p. 374; Justin Smith, p. 121.

²Lee, p. 302.

³Huntingford, p. 146.

astral mythology of the ancient world.¹ While such an understanding may be helpful to the interpreter, it should not be overplayed. Since there is no precedent in ancient literature for a star named Wormwood² and the symbolism of the third trumpet has coherent meaning without resort to ancient mythology, the Revelator was probably creating a new thing out of building blocks he had gathered primarily from his Jewish heritage.

We must also avoid the assumption that the third trumpet is constructed from non-canonical apocalyptic sources, unless those sources can be produced. Betz, for example, assumes that the reason the third trumpet does not have the "angel's prayer" of Rev 16:5-7 is that it is based on a different apocalyptic source.³ However, the evidence indicates that the Revelator was creative enough to utilize the same language in different ways if it suited his purpose to do so.

What is the literary evidence that the symbols in the third trumpet were used and understood by John's contemporaries? Scholars sometimes point to Zoroastrian eschatology as the source for the falling star.⁴ In the Bundahish (30:18) a heavenly object called Gōkīhar falls to earth as a sign of the final cataclysm which brings

¹Boll, p. 41.

²Ibid.

³Betz, "Zum Problem," p. 396.

⁴Beckwith, p. 557; Bousset, p. 296.

earth's history to its close.¹ However, Gōkihar is not called a star; it is, rather, the head of the seven planets (Bundahish 28:43), "the great one of the middle of the sky" (5:1). Since the other six "planets" are identified as Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn, and "the" comet, Gōkihar is probably a meteor.² It acts as an agent to purify the universe of its evil by means of fire (30:31). As pointed out by Charles, there is no direct parallel between this Iranian myth and the third trumpet,³ but it does provide a striking precedent for Rev 8:10.

Stars are consistently identified in 1 Enoch with the fallen angels (21:3-6; 43; 86; 88) who transgressed with the daughters of men before the Flood.⁴ They are depicted as great mountains burning with fire. These angels are held for punishment in the "prison house of the angels" (21:10). The combination of falling stars with burning mountains is a striking parallel with the third trumpet, considering the proximity of the burning mountain of the second trumpet to the passage in question.

In 1 Enoch 86 a great star falls from heaven, followed by the fall of many stars. Under the instigation

¹A translation of the Bundahish can be found in F. Max Müller, ed., The Sacred Books of the East, vol. 5, Pahlavi Texts, trans. E. W. West (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1880), pp. 3-187.

²Max Müller, 5:21-22.

³Charles, The Revelation, 1:235.

⁴Féret, p. 116.

of the first star, these latter stars cohabit with the cattle of the earth, a mythical interpretation of Gen 6. Thus, the first star is understood as the leader of the fallen angels. In 1 Enoch 88 this lead star is thrown into the abyss. While direct literary dependence on 1 Enoch is unlikely, trumpets two through five as a whole probably reflect this thematic background. John may have understood this Flood mythology as a precursor of the great final de-creation that accompanies the eschaton.

Philo contains reflections on the ten plagues of the Exodus in his Life of Moses.¹ He understands the plagues to be caused by the transformation of the "elements of the universe" (earth, fire, air, and water). Although Philo's account is probably an independent exposition of the Exodus plagues, he has modified Exodus in two ways that are reminiscent of the trumpets. First, Philo relates this transformation of elements for the purpose of punishing the wicked² to God's transformation of elements at creation for the blessing of humanity.³ Thus, the Exodus becomes a reversal of creation.⁴ The first reversal, of course, is the transformation of water

¹Philo, Life of Moses, I:96-146 (trans. F. H. Colson, LCL).

²Betz, "Zum Problem," pp. 396-397.

³Philo, Life of Moses, I:96

⁴Ibid., 96-97.

into blood.¹ Philo also alters his source text in such a way as to make none of the plagues fall on the Hebrews,² reserving the imagery of transformation for judgments on the wicked, as does the Revelator. In both cases the righteous are spared.

The Wisdom of Solomon and 4 Ezra also associate the transformation of elements with God's judgments. In Wis 16:21,25 and 19:6,18ff., these transformations occur, as they do in Philo, in relation to the plagues on the Egyptians at the time of the Exodus. There is, however, no significant connection with the trumpets. 4 Ezra 5:9 is more interesting, as it views the transformation of sweet water into salty water as a sign of the approaching end of the age.³

Sib. Or. 2:202 and 8:190-193 associate falling stars with the eschatological destruction of the earth. Thus, there is an apocalyptic basis for proposing that the imagery of the third trumpet may function as a sign of the end. However, early-Christian eschatology does not rule out the possibility that John could use such signs without intending to imply that the consummation was at hand.

¹Ibid., 98-101.

²Ibid., 143-146. Cf. Exod 8:22,23.

³Bousset, p. 296.

Parallels in Revelation

1:20	12:4-13
2:28	16:4-7
6:12-14	22:16

The seven stars of Rev 1 are interpreted as the "angels of the seven churches" (Rev 1:20), evidently the churches' religious teachers.¹ This is in thematic contrast with Jude 13, where false teachers are called "wandering stars" (asteres planētai). Since stars provided an important means of navigation in the ancient world, the teacher of truth was compared to a fixed star while false teachers were compared to planets whose random movements mislead those who foolishly seek their navigational guidance.

A similar idea is expressed in the "morning star" (ton asterā ton prōīnon) of Rev 2:28 and 22:16. In Rev 2:28 the morning star is promised to the overcomers in Thyatira. Rev 22:16 in its context (cf. vss. 18,19) implies that, as the morning star, Jesus gives clear guidance that cannot be ignored or altered without extreme peril. This is in contrast with the star of Rev 8:10,² which fouls the sources of spiritual life and leads to death. Thus, while stars are often symbolic of angels, they can also represent faithful or unfaithful religious teachers. The third trumpet is probably an instance of the latter.

¹Huntingford, p. 152.

²Ross, p. 107.

In Rev 6:12-14 the stars fall, heaven rolls up like a scroll, and the mountains are moved out of their places. These events function as signs of the impending eschaton. The events of the third and fourth trumpet seem relatively less severe.

In chap. 12 the dragon pulls down a third of the stars of heaven and throws them to earth. These stars should probably be identified with the angels of 12:9, who are thrown out of heaven with the dragon. This casting down results in woe to the earth and sea (vs. 12), followed by trouble for the woman who symbolizes God's true people (vs. 13). The woes on the earth, the sea, and the woman may be an intentional parallel to the first three trumpets.¹

Rev 16:4-7 contains the third bowl, which is parallel to the third trumpet. In this plague, water turns to blood, followed by an angel's speech pronouncing the transformation a fitting judgment on those who have shed the blood of the saints and the prophets. Such a speech is missing from the third trumpet, so we should be careful not to equate the contents of the third trumpet and the third bowl too readily.

Summary of the Old Testament Background

Certain allusions

none

¹Rusten, p. 387.

Probable allusions

Exod 7:20

Possible allusions

Exod 15:22-25

Deut 29:17,18 (16,17
LXX, MT)

Isa 14:12-14 Tg. Isa

Jer 9:14,15 (13,14 LXX, MT)

Jer 23:15

Echoes

Stars

Lamps

Falling

Rivers

Springs

Wormwood

Bitterness

Water

The probable allusion, Exod 7:20, furnishes the origin of the idea that God's judgments can involve a transformation of elements. An allusion to Isa 14 is less certain, but if John saw in the star a flashback to Lucifer's downfall, the falling star should be understood as the object of judgment rather than its agent. The other three possible allusions (Deut 29:17,18 [16,17 LXX and MT]; Jer 9:14,15 [13,14 LXX and MT]; Jer 23:15) all place wormwood in the context of apostasy; with its resultant idolatry, spiritual adultery, and false prophecy. Wormwood functions as a curse of the covenant.

The direct allusions are less helpful for the third trumpet than they were for the first two. Although the basic idea of God's judgment in the light of apostasy is clear, there is no passage in previous literature that clarifies the connection between the fouling of the waters and the falling of the star. Since the author is creating a new connection in the third trumpet, the key to the

interpretation of the passage is the thematic relationship between the echoes found therein.

Stars in the Old Testament represent beings who are often agents or objects of judgment. In Dan 12:3 they symbolize humans beings who excel in righteousness. Lamps symbolize truth and the heavenly realm (Ps 119:105; Prov 6:23). If the star of Revelation is the object of judgment, its lamplight could be understood as the false light of counterfeits to the truth (cf. 2 Cor 11:14,15; Rev 13:13,14). This understanding is supported by the fact that the act of falling can symbolize spiritual decline in the Old Testament (Prov 16:18; 29:16), as well as the New (Rom 11:11,22; 1 Cor 10:12; Heb 4:11; Rev 2:5).

Rivers are symbols of physical and spiritual blessing in the Old Testament (Ps 1:3; Isa 48:12; 66:12). Springs generally represent God as the source of spiritual life (Jer 2:13; 17:13) and the teachings about God that lead to life (Ps 84:6,7; Prov 13:14; 14:27). However, the meaning of springs can be reversed. Dried-up springs are a judgment on idolatry (Hos 13:1,2,15); there is no spiritual nourishment in an idol. And in Prov 25:26 the man who gives in to the wicked becomes a polluted spring. Thus, while springs are a symbol of spiritual blessing, the defiling of a spring can represent apostasy. In a similar way, wormwood is a figure for the consequences of apostasy (Jer 8,9,23; Deut 29:17,18, cf. Prov 5:3,4).

This concept goes hand in hand with the idea of bitterness, which always has a figurative connotation (bitterness of soul under the judgments of God) in the Old Testament. By utilizing the language of wormwood and bitterness in the third trumpet, the author strengthens the impression that the falling of the star and the defiling of the waters are symbols of apostasy.

Water has a rich background in the Old Testament. It is used figuratively for oppressive floods, cleansing, and the source of spiritual life. While the first two meanings can also be discerned in the Apocalypse, the context of the third trumpet (rivers, springs, and defiling) calls for the third meaning, the sources of spiritual life. When these sources are defiled due to apostasy, they become unfit to sustain spiritual life. The immediate result is the death of some who drink from the waters. The ultimate result is the spiritual darkness of the fourth and fifth trumpets.

New Testament Parallels

Verbal and thematic parallels

Matt 24:29 John 7:37-39
 Luke 10:18 Jude 4,12,13
 John 4:14

Thematic parallels

Acts 20:26-31 2 Tim 4:3
 2 Thess 2:1-12(?) 2 Pet 2:1-3
 1 Tim 4:1,2 Rev 2,3

Luke 10:18 recalls the fall of Lucifer in Isa 14. Since Luke 10:17-20 is, without question, a significant

parallel to the fifth trumpet, the author's awareness of Jesus' statement may indicate that the falling star is reminiscent of Lucifer's fall from heaven.¹

The "wandering stars" of Jude 13 were false teachers in Jude's community. They were antinomian in tendency ("altered the grace of God into sensuality"), denying Jesus Christ in their practice. As such, they became objects of God's judgment. It is significant that nowhere in the New Testament do stars represent agents of judgment.

The most directly significant New Testament passages for the third trumpet are found in the gospel of John. In John 4:14 Jesus offers the living water of eternal life. In John 7:37-39, on the other hand, rivers of water represent the equipping of Jesus' disciples with the Holy Spirit. Just as Jesus was the source of living water when he was physically present on earth (John 4:14ff.), so the fullness of spiritual life remains at work in the world through the Spirit-equipped disciples.

The expectation of coming apostasy signaled by the imagery of the third trumpet has many parallels in the New Testament.² Paul warned the elders of Ephesus that if they forgot his counsel, they themselves were capable of undermining the church (Acts 20:26-31). If the

¹The falling stars of Matt 24:29 are signs of the Parousia, thus may not be directly relevant to the third trumpet.

²[Tilloch], p. 71.

"Restrainer" of 2 Thess 2:1-12 is Rome, the Thessalonian Apocalypse provides a striking parallel to the third trumpet. The fall of Rome would then set the stage for apostasy in both passages.¹ Other passages (2 Tim 4:3,4; 2 Pet 2:1-3) emphasize the inevitability of the church's doctrinal decline. The seven churches of Revelation demonstrate without question that the author of Revelation was deeply concerned about apostasy in his own community. Thus, the early church was well aware that pure doctrine could only be maintained with diligent effort (1 Tim 4:1,2; 1 John 4:1-3; Jude 3,4).

Interpretation

Although there is no precedent in ancient literature for the combination of a falling star with the fouling of rivers and springs,² the author of Revelation has pieced together a symbolic unity that is quite intelligible in the context of first-century Christian thought.

The parallels between the falling star of Rev 8:10 and such earlier material as Isa 14, Luke 10:18, Rev 12, and 1 Enoch would seem to suggest that Satan, the head of the fallen angels, is the one represented by the star.³

¹In 2 Thess 2 the presence of the "Restrainer" prevents the manifestation of the eschatological apostasy.

²See Charles, The Revelation, 1:234.

³Mauro, p. 291. Rusten (p. 389) notes that Isa 14 follows the defeat of Babylon (Isa 13) just as the third trumpet follows the second.

If so, the fallen star of Rev 9:1 (which is the same as the star of the third trumpet) should be identified with the angel of the abyss in 9:11. The name of the star is Wormwood, in the masculine here (ho apsinthos) because the word for "star" is masculine (ho astēr).¹ There are really three objects of judgment in the third trumpet: the star, the springs and rivers, and the people who drink the water. In a sense, each phase of this three-fold judgment is the catalyst for the next. It is because the star falls that the rivers and springs are turned into wormwood. The bitterness of these waters leads, in turn, to the death of those who drink the water.

The symbolism of the lamp, the springs, the rivers, and the water, however,² points to the sources of spiritual life and growth.³ Such symbols must have referred to the community that had accepted Jesus Christ as the Light of the World and the Water of Life, and the embittering of the waters would symbolize the perversion of the church's teachings, which were designed to give spiritual life.⁴ Wormwood, therefore, represented ways of thinking that counterfeited Christian truth, introducing

¹Leon Morris, "Gall, Poison, Wormwood," NIDNTT, 2:27.

²[Tilloch], p. 67.

³Barnhouse, p. 164; Clayton, p. 84; Hoyt, p. 61; [Tilloch], p. 67.

⁴Boyd W. Carpenter, The Revelation of St. John the Divine (London: Cassell, [1903]), p. 115; Justin Smith, p. 123.

satanic heresies.¹ While some commentators have pointed to heretics such as Nestorius, Arius, and Eutyches as the fulfillment of this passage,² and others have pointed to Islam and the Dark Ages,³ it is sufficient for our purposes to indicate that the author of the Apocalypse saw grave spiritual danger ahead for the church. He believed that the fall of Rome would introduce a time when the church, no longer under attack from without, would come under attack from within.

This decline of the church would have spiritual implications for the whole world. As Charles has pointed out, the use of the article for those who drink the water (tôn anthrôpôn) points to the world-wide consequences of the defiling of the waters.⁴ The perversion of the gospel would result in spiritual decline and death.⁵

Since the concept of "falling" fits in well with spiritual decline, it is appropriate to question the identification of the star with Satan and Lucifer. None of the canonical or non-canonical parallels is so convincing as to make such an identification incontrovertible. On the other hand, the context of the third trumpet makes

¹Hoyt, p. 61; A. L. Maycock, The Apocalypse (Westminster: Dacre Press, [1941]), pp. 66-67; Moberly, p. 78.

²Wordsworth, p. 165.

³Huntingford, pp. 152-155.

⁴Charles, The Revelation, 1:236.

⁵Mauro, pp. 292-293.

it more appropriate to identify the star with the leader or leaders of the church at the time of its decline.¹ This type of usage builds on Dan 12:3 and Jude 13. It is also in harmony with the author's own symbolic definition for stars (Rev 1:20).² While John would no doubt have understood Satan to be involved in the church's decline, the symbols fit together more coherently if the falling of the star is understood as part of the church's decline. Wormwood in the Old Testament is the punishment for apostasy, not the apostasy itself. Therefore, the falling star which burns like a lamp probably symbolizes the spiritual fall of leading Christian teachers whose doctrines result in spiritual decline and death.

A few issues of interpretation remain. For one thing, if the focus of the third trumpet is the apostasy of the church, how can it be understood as a judgment on the wicked? The answer lies in the biblical definition of both "judgment" and "wicked." The judgments of God involve not only active interventions, such as the plagues on Egypt, but permissive judgments, such as Rom 1:18-32.

¹Böcher points out that while fallen stars are demons in apocalyptic, bright stars are usually good angels. Otto Böcher, Kirche in Zeit und Endzeit. Aufsätze zur Offenbarung des Johannes (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchner Verlag, 1983), p. 21. The star of the third trumpet is notably bright.

²In Rev 12:1, the woman, a symbol of God's people Israel in both Old and New Testament eras. The crown of twelve stars is a likely reference to the tribes of Israel and the twelve apostles (cf. Rev 21), thus is representative of the leaders of God's people.

If a person or a group chooses to reject Christ, they can be "given over" to the consequences of their choice. Therefore, judgment is not limited to direct punishment: it can also involve the act of encouraging those who reject the truth to believe a deception, as was the case with Ahab (1 Kgs 22:19-23; 2 Chr 18:18-22; cf. 2 Thess 2:10-12).

The term "wicked" is, as we have seen, a Christ-related term in the New Testament. Just as Jews who rejected Jesus could be classed with Gentiles (Acts 4:27; cf. Joel 3), so Christians who placed themselves in opposition to the teachings of Jesus and the apostles were also classed with "outsiders" (Matt 18:15-17; 1 Cor 5:1-5; 2 Thess 3:6,14). Thus, the author of Revelation is not out of harmony with New Testament teaching in suggesting that God's permissive judgments can be poured out on the church itself, if it ceases to be faithful to its calling.

A further issue that must be addressed is the tension between the interpretation of this trumpet (and the next) and the suggested relationship to the trumpets of the fifth seal.¹ If the trumpets answer the prayers of the saints for vengeance, in what way does the imagery of the third and fourth trumpet point to a persecuting power? That there is a relationship between the fifth seal and the trumpets is difficult to deny. The souls under the altar pray for vengeance on "those who live on the earth

¹See pp. 318-322.

(Rev 6:10)." The trumpets fall on "those who live on the earth (Rev 8:13)." We have seen that it is possible for an apostate church to be classed with the wicked "earth dwellers." Although not indicated explicitly, John evidently sees the apostate church becoming a persecutor of those who do not fall away.¹ It is interesting that the third bowl explicitly declares that the judgment falls on the wicked because they have persecuted "saints and prophets" (Rev 16:5-7).² Perhaps the reader was intended to draw parallels between the realities of the third trumpet and the beasts who, counterfeiting the work of Christ (Rev 13:1-10) and the Holy Spirit (Rev 13:11-18), would seek to destroy the true remnant of God's people (13:15-17, cf. 16:2).³

One would think that the removal of Rome and Judaism as effective opponents of the church would open the way for the church's advancement and growth. But John

¹While the sources of John's imagery in the third trumpet point overwhelmingly to apostasy not persecution as a basis for judgment, the Exodus background may hint at persecution as a grounds for this plague. One of the reasons for the plagues on ancient Egypt was the inability of the Israelites to worship Yahweh while in servitude to Pharaoh (Exod 5:1-3; 10:1-4).

The imagery of the fourth trumpet is more compatible with the idea of judgment upon a persecutor (cf. Isa 13:10; Ezek 32:7,8; Joel 3:15).

²It may be that John expected the retrospective reader to draw an analogy between the third bowl and the third trumpet in order to fully grasp the grounds for the judgment of Rev 8:10,11.

³The work of Diotrefes (3 John 9,10) and the warning of Jesus (John 16:2) hint at the spiritual tone that persecution can take on at times.

does not think in such terms. He warns, instead, that the removal of the church's enemies only diverts Satan's mode of attack. Indications that early-Christian thought was far from monolithic in John's day are found in such books as 1 Corinthians, Galatians, Colossians, Hebrews, the Johannine Epistles, and Revelation itself.

The Fourth Trumpet

Parallels in Contemporary Literature

Verbal and thematic parallels

4 Ezra 5:4,5 Sib. Or. 3:801ff.
4 Ezra 6:45

Thematic parallels

1 Enoch 2:1 1 Enoch 69:16-21
1 Enoch 41:5 Pss. Sol. 18:10-12
1 Enoch 43:2 T. Naph 3:2

In apocalyptic literature, the heavenly bodies are noted for their regularity of motion. They are not diverted from their appointed order (1 Enoch 2:1; 41:5; 69:16,20,21; T. Naph 3:2). One of the Psalms of Solomon offers an exception to this regularity; the orderliness of the heavenly bodies can be altered when God so directs through His servants (18:10-12).¹ Massive alteration of the heavens is a sign that the end of all things is at hand (Sib. Or. 3:800-804; 4 Ezra 5:4,5).

In 4 Ezra 5:4,5 the sun shines at night, the moon during the day, and the stars fall. Although related to

¹The author of Psalms of Solomon probably had Joshua and Hezekiah in mind when he wrote this.

the fourth trumpet verbally and thematically, the concepts are quite different. Sib. Or. 3:800-804 is much closer in its darkening of the sun and the moon. 4 Ezra 6:45 is the closest parallel to the fourth trumpet, but it is a paraphrase of the fourth day of creation and therefore exhibits only a parallel use of the same background.

Parallels in Revelation

6:12-14	16:10,11
9:2	21:23
16:8,9	

A striking instance of the eschatological disruption of heavenly bodies is found in Rev 6:12-14.¹ As in earlier literature, the sun is darkened, the moon turns to blood, and the stars fall from heaven. This apparently sets the stage for Rev 21:23, where there is no need of sun or moon to light the New Jerusalem. The old order is torn down to make way for the new.²

As a plague involving heavenly bodies, the fourth bowl is parallel to the fourth trumpet. However, when the two plagues are compared directly, there are significant differences. The emphasis in the fourth bowl is on the scorching sun instead of on the darkening of the heavenly objects. In the fourth bowl the people's reaction is accented, in the trumpet no reaction is mentioned. God is declared to be the author of the judgments in the fourth

¹Rusten, p. 395.

²J. P. M. Sweet, Revelation, p. 165.

bowl, in the fourth trumpet no agent of judgment is mentioned at all. Thus, it is probably not very helpful to study the fourth trumpet in the light of the corresponding bowl.

The closest parallels to the fourth trumpet are the fifth trumpet and the fifth bowl. In the fifth trumpet, the darkness of the fourth becomes total. The true character of the darkness is also revealed, it is the darkness of demonic control. The fourth trumpet marks, as also indicated by 8:13, the point of transition from divine warnings to demonic woes.¹ In the fifth bowl, on the other hand, the kingdom of the beast is darkened, an apparent reversal of demonic control.

Summary of the Old Testament Background

Certain allusions

none

Probable allusions

Gen 1:16	Joel 2:10
Exod 10:21-23	Joel 3:15 (4:15 LXX, MT)
Ezek 32:7,8	

Possible allusions

Isa 13:10	Isa 30:26
-----------	-----------

Echoes

Sun	Darkening
Moon	Day
Stars	Night
Heavenly Bodies	

¹Desmond Ford 2:441.

Gen 1:16 portrays the founding of the daily cycle which is supervised by the regular movements of the sun and the moon. This is in thematic contrast to the fourth trumpet, where the functions of the heavenly bodies are somewhat disturbed.

In Exod 10:21-23 and Ezek 32:7,8 the darkness is a reference to the judgment on Egypt during the Exodus. The two passages in Joel, on the other hand, are associated with the Day of the Lord, rather than God's actions in the past. Joel 2:10 identifies the darkness of a locust plague as the Day of the Lord. That day was not the eschaton, however; it was God's judgment on Judah for its disobedience. Joel 3:15, on the other hand, refers to the judgment at the eschaton. The darkness of the eschatological Day of the Lord results in vindication for His people and destruction for those who have oppressed them.

The possible allusions are also in contrast with each other. Isa 13:10 portrays a day of the Lord in which Babylon is judged by the darkening of the sun, moon, and stars. In Isa 30:26, on the other hand, the brightening of the sun and the moon symbolizes God's blessings on His people.

The sun is a symbol with a double meaning. In a negative sense, it is an agent of judgment which scorches those who have forsaken the covenant (Deut 28:29). To be shaded from such a sun is a blessing (Ps 121:6)! In a

positive sense, the sun symbolizes spiritual blessings (Ps 84:11; Isa 30:26; 60:20; Jer 9:15). The darkening of the sun in this case would be a curse to humanity. Even though the negative image is clearly in use in Rev 7:16 and 16:8,9, the positive meaning is intended in the fourth trumpet; the darkening of the heavenly bodies is an act of judgment, not blessing.

The moon and the stars have no independent meaning in the fourth trumpet. Like the sun, they are sources of light (cf. Dan 12:3?). The heavenly bodies, mentioned in Ps 19 and Jer 31:35,36, reflect the orderliness of their Creator and are thus symbolic of His law. Jer 31 is particularly reminiscent of the apocalyptic concept of the unshakable fixity of the heavenly order.

The most important symbol of the fourth trumpet, with the possible exception of the sun, is the darkening. Darkness has its roots in the primal chaos which was abolished by the appearance of light on the first day of creation (Gen 1:2,3). As a curse of the covenant, darkness was a reversal of the goodness of creation (Deut 28:29). Thus, it became a fitting Old Testament symbol for the punishment of sin and unfaithfulness (Ps 69:23; Isa 5:30; 50:3; Ezek 30:18; Joel 2:2,3). The darkness of the Day of the Lord was a part of the upheavals in the created order that would prepare the way for the new creation (Isa 13:10; Joel 2, 3; Amos 5:18,20).

The theme of light and darkness in the New Testament,¹ however, indicates that the most relevant meaning of darkness for the fourth trumpet is probably as a symbol of the eclipse of the truth about God (Exod 10:21-23 Tg. Ps-J.; Job 38:2; Isa 8:22; 60:1). Toward the close of the Old Testament period, light and darkness are equated more and more with the two sides in the battle between good and evil.

Day and night, used together, are not symbolic, but rather mean the light and dark portions of a twenty-four-hour day. They do indicate, however, that the eschatological dimension of the darkening of the heavenly bodies is not central in Rev 8:12. The darkening does not threaten the basic orderliness of the cosmos, day and night continue as they have from the beginning.

New Testament Parallels

Verbal and thematic parallels

Matt 24:28,29 Luke 21:25,26
Mark 13:24

Thematic parallels

Matt 4:16	Rom 13:12,13
Matt 8:12	2 Cor 4:6
Mark 15:33 and parallels	2 Cor 6:14,15
John 1:4,5,9-11	Eph 4:18
John 3:18-21	Eph 5:8
John 8:12; 9:5	1 Thess 5:4,5
John 9:35-41	2 Thess 2:10b-12(?)
Acts 26:18	1 Pet 2:9
Rom 1:21	1 John 1:5; 2:8-11

¹See below.

The Synoptic Apocalypse contains the closest New Testament parallels to the fourth trumpet.¹ Of these, the most striking is Matt 24:28,29. Here the darkening of the sun and moon is combined with the mention of eagles in vs. 28. The falling stars of vs. 29, naturally, fit better with the third trumpet than the fourth. Mark 13:24 omits the mention of eagles, and Luke 21:25,26 mentions neither the darkening nor the falling of the heavenly bodies, instead they are shaken.

The themes of light and darkness are ubiquitous in the New Testament. The old nature, for example, is equated with a darkened understanding (Eph 4:18). The origin of that darkness can be traced to the refusal to acknowledge God as creator (Rom 1:21). But the darkness of humanity is brightened with the coming of Jesus, who is the light (Matt 4:16; John 8:12; 9:5). Light, especially in the Johannine literature, is associated with the truth about Jesus, while darkness is the absence of that truth (John 1:4,5,9-11; 3:18-21; cf. 9:35-41).² Conversion is the point at which one is illuminated (2 Cor 4:6; Eph 5:8; 1 Pet 2:9).³ Satan is darkness, God is light (Acts 26:18; cf. 1 John 1:5). Hatred is darkness, love is light (1 John 2:8-11). Thus, light and darkness became technical

¹James Armstrong, p. 147; Conzelmann, "skotos," p. 440.

²Conzelmann, "skotos," pp. 443-445.

³Ibid., pp. 441-442.

terms for truth and error (Rom 13:12,13; 2 Cor 6:14; 1 Thess 5:4,5). Darkness is spiritual, it is the absence of the gospel, the saving knowledge of Jesus Christ.¹ At its extreme, darkness is an expression of the demonic in the New Testament (2 Cor 6:14,15; Rev 9:1-11).²

Darkness also has eschatological features in the New Testament. The darkness that enfolded the cross was the darkness of the covenant curse (Mark 15:33 and parallels).³ Since it was a foretaste of the fate of those who would reject the gospel (Matt 8:12), it was an apocalyptic darkness, reminiscent of the Old Testament Day of the Lord (Mark 13:24; Matt 24:29).⁴

A passage which I believe comes very close to the author's intended meaning for the third and fourth trumpets is 2 Thess 2:10b-12.⁵ As part of the "Thessalonian Apocalypse," the passage explains why God would permit the "lawless one" to counterfeit the Parousia of Jesus. Because people refused to receive a love for the truth, God "gave them up" and handed them over to a work

¹James Armstrong, p. 147.

²Mounce, p. 188.

³Böcher, Kirche in Zeit und Endzeit, p. 21.

⁴Conzelmann, "skotos," p. 440.

⁵Cf. Huntingford, p. 163. This is in no way to suggest that this is a genuine literary parallel to the third or fourth trumpet. It is not. However, I believe there is a close analogy between what 2 Thess 2:10-12 expresses in prose and what the third and fourth trumpets express in apocalyptic poetry.

of deception. This message is echoed in the seven churches. They chart a generally downhill course from Ephesus' having "left its first love" (Rev 2:4) to the unfeeling indifference of Laodicea (3:15-17).

Interpretation

The most difficult aspect of the fourth trumpet is its minimal content. There are only two major symbols, the sun and the darkness. The plague itself is a simple smiting of the heavenly bodies with the result that their shining is limited by a third. The nature of that limitation, however, poses the major exegetical problem of the passage.

The darkening of a third of the heavenly bodies (hina skotisthê to triton autôn) suggests a dimming of the heavenly lights by a third.¹ However, the next phrase suggests that the heavenly bodies were darkened for a third of the time (hina . . . kai hê hêméra mē phanê to triton autês kai hê nux homoiôs). There is an evident contradiction here.² The weight of scholarship suggests that the time of shining, not the intensity of the brightness, is at issue; there is total darkness for a third of the time.³

¹Beckwith, p. 558.

²Swete, The Apocalypse, p. 113.

³Beckwith, p. 558; Charles, The Revelation, 1:236; Friedrich Dusterdieck, Handbuch über die Offenbarung Johannis, Meyer's NT Commentary, vol. 16 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1859), p. 310. A possible

Whatever the exact nature of the darkness, the overwhelming impression is that the fourth trumpet represents a further development of the apostasy of the third trumpet. The counterpart of the water, springs, and rivers of the third trumpet is the light-giving of the heavenly bodies.¹ The counterpart of the falling and the embittering wormwood is the darkening of the heavenly bodies. The darkness is the lack of spiritual understanding and insight that results from the absence of the gospel.² Through the darkness the spread of truth is being hindered.³ Thus, the fourth trumpet has a basic thematic relationship with the third. In both, God permits the work of the gospel to be hindered.

The fourth trumpet is, nevertheless, a development of the third. While wormwood represents a distortion of the truth of God, the fourth trumpet results in the obliteration of these gospel blessings. The truth that provides spiritual life is no longer visible. In the third trumpet people continue to drink from the springs, hoping to gain life; in the fourth trumpet the very presence of these life-giving sources is removed in part.

solution to the dilemma is to understand the plague as a recurring eclipse that dims the light of the heavenly bodies by a third for a third of the time.

¹James Armstrong, p. 147.

²Conzelmann, "skotos," p. 440; Hailey, p. 223; H. Harold Kent, The Unveiling of Jesus Christ (Toronto: G. R. Welch, 1978), p. 61.

³Moberly, p. 83, cf. Ramsey, p. 375.

It is not surprising that commentators from time to time have sought to see a parallel between the fourth trumpet and the "Dark Ages."¹ But this is a retrojection of later terminology. John seems, rather, to be pointing to a new, more direct, opposition to the gospel. The fouling of the waters created an in-house opposition to the gospel; the darkening of the heavens was probably seen as a latter-day counterpart of Rome, which opposed the gospel from the outside. Since two of the most certain allusions to the Old Testament in the fourth trumpet point to the Egypt of the Exodus (Exod 10:21-23; Ezek 32:7,8), John may have seen the Pharaoh of the Exodus as the model for such a secular, God-denying power.² It is difficult to know what kind of development John would have had in mind, but he was evidently foreseeing a time when the very existence of God and the truth about Him would be obscured.

Whatever the historical focus of this judgment, the basic message is clear. Apostasy leads to heresy, and

¹Huntingford, pp. 158-159; Justin Smith, p. 123.

²It was the Pharaoh of the Exodus who denied the very existence of Yahweh (Exod 5:2), a very unusual expression in the syncretistic and superstitious ancient world. First-century Christians shared with Jews and with heretics the belief in the God of Israel. It was in contact with the pagan world that the charges of "atheism" were passed back and forth. Perhaps John sensed in the Greco-Roman world of his time a developing antagonism toward all religion on the part of some (the Cynics?).

heresy leads to a denial of the truth.¹ Thus, this trumpet has a thematic relationship to the warnings against heresy found in the letters to the seven churches. John felt that even a small deviation from the gospel would invite a decline that would inevitably lead to doctrinal confusion and spiritual darkness. Were it not for the watchcare of the cosmic Christ, the church's light would be in danger of going out.

Conclusion

Rev 8:13 is the center-point of the seven trumpets, dividing them into four that are past and three that are future.² The appearance of the vulture signals the imminence of death--in the case of the trumpets, spiritual death (cf. Matt 24:28; Luke 17:37; Rev 19:17,18).³ The darkness of the fourth trumpet and the vulture together herald the onset of demonic woes that deepen the darkness of humanity until it becomes total.⁴ In these woes God, for His own purposes, permits the forces of evil to increase until they reach virtual dominance of the earthly scene.⁵

¹Louis T. Talbot, The Revelation of Jesus Christ (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1937), p. 123; Maycock, p. 67.

²Bousset, p. 297.

³Barnhouse, p. 168; Sweet, Revelation, p. 165.

⁴Desmond Ford, 2:441; Sweet, Revelation, p. 164.

⁵Barnhouse, p. 168.

The first four trumpets have set the stage for this demonic manifestation. John begins by assuring the faithful ones of his time that God is dealing with those forces that have oppressed and persecuted them. As do the Synoptics, John interprets the fall of Jerusalem in 70 C.E. as a judgment of God on Judaism's rejection of Jesus as the Messiah, and its resultant persecution of those who accepted Him (cf. Rev 2:9; 3:9). Then the Revelator assures the church that although God used Rome to judge the Jewish nation, Rome, like ancient Egypt, Babylon, and Assyria, would soon taste the judgmental wrath of God as well.

At this very point, however, where one would expect the church, with its enemies removed, to move on to triumph after triumph, John paints a shocking picture. The church itself, through apostasy, becomes the object of the judgments of God. The gospel is first distorted and then partially obliterated. This opens the way for demonic darkness. Throughout it all, God is faithful in judgment. Where the gospel is ignored or deliberately distorted, the consequences are immediately felt. Throughout it all, His ultimate purpose is to bring humanity to repentance (Rev 9:20,21).

John has no triumphalistic vision of the church. In itself it is weak and erring (Rev 3:1-3,8,15-17). Worse yet, the church is already filled with damnable heresies (Rev 2:6,14-16,20-23) which, if left unchecked,

would plunge the world into demonic darkness. Even at its best, the church on earth is but a remnant (Rev 3:4; 12:17)--pursued (12:14,15), martyred (2:13; 6:9-11; 11:7,8), despised (11:10), and isolated for destruction (13:8,15-17). Its only confidence is in its faith in the cosmic Christ. Its only hope is in the ultimate deliverance He has promised.

John sees the world in black and white (Rev 22:18,19). He who is not for Christ is against Him. Thus, he considers it possible for an apostate church to become God's most dangerous enemy, deceiving the world as to the true nature of the gospel. At such a decisive moment, the Revelator has no room for the kind of tolerance that Paul advocates to the Romans (Rom 14:5,10-13,22). He feels that the issues at stake are too decisive. Now is a time for radical faithfulness, without compromise on a single point.

Have we discovered, in the end, that the book of Revelation is contrary to the spirit of the New Testament after all? Is there an intolerance to other views that is contrary to the free acceptance of the gospel? Is Goldsworthy mistaken when he sees the gospel as the heart of the book's message?¹ Perhaps only those Christians who have experienced oppression and ostracism are competent to judge. But we must not forget that Paul and Jesus were also intolerant by our standards (Matt 12:30; Luke 11:23;

¹See Goldsworthy, The Lion and the Lamb.

14:26-33; Mark 9:43,45,47; 1 Cor 5:1-5; 2 Thess 3:6,14). The New Testament exhibits a continual tension between loving acceptance and uncompromising faithfulness. In Revelation we experience an author who speaks to those who "have their backs against the wall." While he offers them encouragement in Christ, he also exhorts them to uncompromising faithfulness at a time in which tolerance might only breed compromise, resulting in the loss of the gospel and the gravest of consequences for a world under judgment. Perhaps it is a secular generation like ours, in which tolerance and acceptance are proclaimed as a way of life, that needs to be reminded by John that there are truths that are worth dying for.

CONCLUSION

The goal of this dissertation has been to develop a comprehensive exegetical method that can enable interpreters to understand the author's intention behind the bizarre language of the book of Revelation. In order to better grasp the Revelator's purpose, it was necessary to clarify the relationship between the author and his sources and to suggest a method whereby the interpreter can more objectively identify those sources and how they are used in the book. The proposed method was then demonstrated through the analysis and interpretation of Rev 8:7-12, one of the most difficult passages in the Apocalypse.

In the first chapter we explored four issues whose resolution is vital to the interpretation of the book of Revelation: (1) what the sources of the Apocalypse are, (2) how the author of Revelation used them, (3) what language and text tradition of the Old Testament was used by John, and (4) how one should determine when and where John alludes to previous literature. These issues were examined in the light of a survey of scholarly work on the book of Revelation over the last two hundred years.

The chapter opened with an examination of the sources of the book of Revelation. It was observed that the Revelator was familiar with the Old Testament, Jewish literary traditions (especially apocalyptic), the contemporary setting of Asia Minor, and the early Christian traditions (especially those embodied in the New Testament). What was less clear was the extent of the author's borrowing, the relative importance to him of the various sources, and the interrelationships the sources may have had with each other before the author of Revelation was exposed to them. It was concluded that the author exhibited a special relationship to the material embodied in the Old and the New Testaments, but that careful exegesis of the Apocalypse must include a familiarity with all potential sources for the book. Although John's theology is firmly grounded in the Old Testament, and is catalyzed by Christ and the Christian tradition, he ranged far afield in his quest for language that would communicate with his audience while weaning them away from ideas that ran counter to his Christian faith.

The second section of Chapter I described some of the methods that were employed in the study of the Old Testament at the time when John wrote. Although the textual evidence indicates that the Revelator made consistent use of such contemporary exegetical techniques as midrash and typology, our study demonstrated that he was particularly informed by the consciousness that in

Christ a new age had dawned, and a new, spiritual Israel had been formed. As a result, it became evident that exegesis of the book of Revelation must operate at a more theological level than is customary in the study of the New Testament. While the language of the Apocalypse is almost totally drawn from the author's sources, it is so thoroughly modified by the author's Christian consciousness as to be an entirely new creation.

A third problem in the source study of the Apocalypse has to do with the language and text tradition of the Old Testament from which the author drew his imagery. It was concluded that the interpreter must be open to the possibility that John was well-versed in all the languages and Old Testament text traditions that were circulating in Palestine in the first century. While the author may have worked from a single, eclectic, tradition of the Old Testament the phenomena of the book can best be explained through comparison with as many first-century text traditions as possible.

The last section of Chapter I surveyed previous attempts to wrestle with the problem of literary allusions in the book of Revelation. The survey indicated that much more work needed to be done before the author's allusive use of sources could be clarified. This conclusion was further underlined, in the Appendix to Chapter I, by the

discovery of vast discrepancies in the listing of allusions to the Old Testament among ten of the most highly respected commentators on Revelation.

The literature survey of Chapter I, therefore, led to the conclusion that a significant obstacle to the accurate interpretation of Revelation is the lack of objective criteria upon which to evaluate supposed allusions to the Old Testament in the Apocalypse. The development of a more scientific method for evaluating allusions was deemed critical to resolving each of the issues raised in the chapter.

The primary purpose of Chapter II was to describe and demonstrate a method that can enable interpreters to objectively evaluate the parallels to previous literature that are so abundant in the book of Revelation. Since the proposed method breaks new ground, a meticulous analysis of the verbal, thematic, and structural parallels to the Old Testament in Rev 8:7-12 was performed in order to demonstrate how the method works. The results of that analysis proved to have implications for many of the issues raised by the literature survey of Chapter I.

The first section of Chapter II laid out the basic parameters of a comprehensive method for exegeting the Apocalypse. The method is founded on the basic canons of exegesis (including an examination of a book's Sitz im Leben). It was suggested, however, that in order to do justice to the theological nature of John's "exegetical"

practices, it is necessary to take three additional steps. First, the unique nature of Revelation's structure requires a careful examination of parallel language, structures, and passages throughout the book. Second, the author's substantial dependence on much of the Old Testament requires a careful assessment of his allusive use of that material. Third, the author's extensive indebtedness to the world-view of early Christianity requires that the interpreter trace the way Old Testament language was transformed by the early-Christian conviction that the Christ-event had inaugurated a new age and a new Israel.

The second section of Chapter II laid out the proposed method for evaluating allusions to the Old Testament in the Apocalypse. An inductive study of the Old Testament background of Revelation combined with a survey of methods utilized in literary criticism resulted in an objective step-by-step approach for isolating the sources of the Revelator's phraseology. It was observed that the Revelator used Old Testament material in two basic ways, by means of direct references to previous literature (designated "direct allusions"), and by means of "echoes," where he drew upon ideas that were in general circulation in his environment. It is essential that these two methods of allusion be clearly distinguished in order to avoid misinterpretation of the author's use of his sources. In a direct allusion, the author uses a

literary source directly and consciously with its original context in mind. He assumes the reader's knowledge of the source and of his intention to refer to that source. Proposed direct allusions are evaluated on the basis of internal evidence, such as verbal, thematic, and structural parallels, and the external evidence for the author's familiarity with the literature in which parallels to Revelation are discerned. In order to understand an echo, we must go back to the origin of the idea, but without the assumption that John was consciously pointing to a particular background passage when he included the idea in Revelation. What matters is the basic meaning of the symbol. When the meaning(s) a symbol had in previous literature is compared with the way the Revelator used that concept we can ascertain what the symbol is likely to have meant to him in a given passage.

The external evidence for the author's familiarity with particular works of literature was seen to have enormous implications for the way interpreters handle the Revelator's sources. Literature that is dated contemporary with or later than the book of Revelation could not be the source of a direct allusion. It is equally impossible, naturally, that the author could make a direct reference to literature with which he was unfamiliar. These conclusions led to the conviction that direct allusions to previous literature should be limited to those sources which John is almost certain to have read.

If so, direct allusions are only likely in the case of the Old Testament and the non-canonical Jewish works which clearly pre-date his situation. Parallels to later literature, to Greco-Roman sources, and to the New Testament should be handled as echoes, evidence for the thought-patterns of the milieu in which the author lived.

The third section of Chapter II offered a brief survey of previous study of the seven trumpets in order to demonstrate the need for a study of Rev 8:7-12. The fourth section examined the Old Testament background of the blowing of trumpets and made note of the major structural parallels to the Old Testament in the seven trumpets as a whole. This was necessary in order to provide structural evidence for the presence of allusions to those portions of the Old Testament.

The fifth section of Chapter II offered a detailed analysis of the allusions to the Old Testament in Rev 8:7-12 proposed by commentators on the book of Revelation. Through the application of the method suggested in the second section of the chapter, direct allusions were classified according to the level of probability that the Revelator had consciously intended the parallel. The Old Testament backgrounds of the echoes were also explored. The analysis provided the raw material for the interpretation of Rev 8:7-12 presented in Chapter III.

The results of the analysis also had implications for the issues raised in Chapter I. Among these implications were the importance of echoes to the exegesis of Revelation, the surprising unity of the Old Testament textual background to the book, and the relative quality of the work of the ten representative commentators previously analyzed. Perhaps the most important conclusion was that the author either alluded to the Old Testament from memory or from a textual tradition with which we are unfamiliar.

Chapter III offered an interpretation of Rev 8:7-12 in the light of the comprehensive method outlined at the beginning of Chapter II. The imagery of the passage was compared to the context, to the author's sources, and to the overall structure of the Apocalypse. Relevant insights from the first two chapters were incorporated. The resulting interpretations have illuminated the basic meaning structures of the first four trumpets.

The chapter began with an exegetical survey of the material relating to the seven trumpets (beginning at Rev 8:2 and ending with the seventh trumpet [Rev 11:15-18]). Special notice was taken of the apparent reference to the fifth seal (Rev 6:9-11) in the introductory section of the passage (Rev 8:3-5).

The next section of Chapter III explored the trumpets' relationship to other parts of the book. By comparing the content of the seals and trumpets with the

material in Rev 12-18, it became evident that the trumpets depict preliminary and partial judgments on the opposers of the gospel, whereas the bowls depict the full and final consummation of those judgments. The trumpet judgments represent a historical response to the suffering of God's people during the Christian age. The bowl judgments represent an eschatological response to the great final tribulation which John perceived was coming upon the world (3:10; 7:14; 13:15-17).

The next two sections of the chapter summarized the general background of the seven trumpets in both Old and New Testaments. The fifth section explored the three passages in Jewish apocalyptic that have the most in common with the trumpets.

The sixth section of Chapter III dealt with the basic nature of the trumpets. According to the evidence of the text, the trumpets were intended to portray historical judgments on the wicked over the whole Christian era, from the Christ-event to the Parousia. The trumpets were not to be taken literally since, in his attempt to "periodize" history in advance, the author made use of symbolic language.

The last portion of Chapter III gathered up the results of the previous research in order to focus in depth on the text of the first four trumpets. In the process the full value of the comprehensive exegetical

method became evident. A wealth of contextual, theological, and background information was brought to bear on the interpretation of Rev 8:7-12. It emerged that the imagery of each trumpet was carefully chosen so that the underlying meanings would blend together into a coherent whole. The trumpets were seen to portray the darkest side of the events that were "shortly to take place." The underlying message was seen to be in basic harmony with that of other New Testament writers, but with special emphases that arose out of the author's unique situation.

This study is not intended to be the last word on the topic of exegetical method in the study of Revelation. Many of the issues examined in this dissertation remain unsettled. For one thing, the clarification of the language and text tradition of the Old Testament utilized by John depends on further clarification of the dating of Aramaic targums and of their theological relationship to Early Judaism. The task of comparing Revelation with the targums would be greatly simplified by the production of more critical editions of the targums,¹ and, especially, more translations.² The exact nature of the relationship between Revelation and the targums can only be determined

¹Along the lines of the Matritensia Polyglot edition of the targums to Deuteronomy. Needless to say, the publication of the rest of the Qumran material might prove to be equally helpful.

²Like those of Stenning and Diez Macho. These would enable scholars to gain a better grasp of the "theology" of the targums, and of the degree to which that theology affected the author of the Apocalypse.

when the targums in their totality are carefully examined with the book of Revelation in mind, a truly massive task.

While the method developed in this dissertation represents an advance over previous approaches, the development of methods is ideally a team task where the individual's interpretive biases can be minimized. Similarly, the examination of all aspects of the Revelator's sources is too large a task for any one scholar. Specialists in Jewish apocalyptic, Hellenistic Judaism, Greek philosophy and culture, and ancient religions are all indispensable to the task of uncovering the sources of the Apocalypse.

I acknowledge that the attempt to demonstrate, in a step-by-step fashion, how the proposed method should be carried out has resulted in a somewhat disjointed approach to the text of Rev 8:7-12. If the passage had been the focus of this study, rather than the establishment of the method, the interpretive process would have flowed much more smoothly. The method was demonstrated in this step-by-step fashion, however, so that it would be clear enough to be utilized and further developed by others. In that process it is quite probable that the criteria for a direct allusion can be strengthened. The classifications suggested for many of the proposed allusions should also be modified where evidence has been overlooked.

The main strength of this study is the proposed method for the evaluation of allusions to previous

literature. Careful study of the literature has led to the conclusion that the proposed method offers a significant advance in literary criticism that can impact not only on the study of the Apocalypse but also on the study of any piece of literature that contains allusions to its predecessors. It is hoped that the refinement of the method can become an interdisciplinary process which will ultimately affect all areas of literature.

The results of this study suggest many areas for further research. Most obviously, the methods proposed here can be applied to other difficult areas of Revelation with similar success. As the method for evaluating allusions is further refined, a more accurate listing of allusions for the entire book of Revelation can be achieved. This would lay the groundwork for the gathering of definitive evidence for the author's familiarity with specific works of literature. A better knowledge of John's awareness of ancient literature would allow for the classification of direct allusions to apocalyptic, the New Testament, and Greco-Roman sources. A thorough listing of the Revelator's indebtedness to all his sources would enable scholars to clarify most of the issues discussed in the first chapter of this dissertation. This would enable us to understand the Apocalypse even more accurately than is possible at this time. With a clearer picture of the Revelator's intention, the nature of the authority that the book of Revelation should have for the settlement of

modern-day issues can be addressed. It may then become evident that the Apocalypse is particularly relevant in a secular, yet apocalyptic age.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Aberbach, Moses, and Grossfeld, Bernard, eds. Targum Onkelos to Genesis. Denver: KTAV Publishing House, 1982.
- Achtemeier, Elizabeth. The Old Testament and the Proclamation of the Gospel. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1973.
- Adams, John Quincy. His Apocalypse. 2nd ed. Dallas: Prophetical Society of Dallas, 1925.
- Adams, Richard Newton. The Opening of the Sealed Book in the Apocalypse. London: John W. Parker, 1838.
- Aland, Kurt. Vollständige Konkordanz zum Griechischen Neuen Testament. 2 vols. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1978-1983.
- Aland, Kurt; Black, Matthew; Martini, Carlo M.; Metzger, Bruce M.; and Wikgren, Allen, eds. The Greek New Testament. 3rd ed. New York: United Bible Societies, 1975.
- Aland, Kurt; Black, Matthew; Metzger, Bruce M.; and Wikgren, Allen, eds. The Greek New Testament. 1st ed. Stuttgart: Württemberg Bible Society, 1966.
- Aletti, J.-N. "Essai sur la symbolique céleste de l'Apocalypse de Jean." Christus 28 (1981):40-53.
- Allen, Cady Hews. The Message of the Book of Revelation. Nashville: Cokesbury Press, 1939.
- Allo, E.-B. Saint Jean. L'Apocalypse. Paris: Librairie Lecoffre, 1933.
- Altick, Richard T. The Art of Literary Research. New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1975.
- Amsler, Samuel. L'Ancien Testament dans l'église. Neuchâtel: Editions Delachaux et Niestlé, 1960.

- Anderson, Bernhard W., ed. The Old Testament and Christian Faith. New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1963.
- The Apocalyptic Drama. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1891.
- Armstrong, Amzi. A Syllabus of Lectures on the Visions of the Revelation. Morristown, NJ: P. A. Johnson, 1815.
- Armstrong, James. The Apocalypse. Dublin: George Herbert, 1868.
- Arndt, William F.; Gingrich, F. Wilbur; and Danker, Frederick W. A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament. 2nd ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979.
- Aune, David E. "The Apocalypse of John and the Problem of Genre." Semeia 36 (1986):65-96.
- _____. "Early Christian Biblical Interpretation." Evangelical Quarterly 41 (1969):89-96.
- _____. "The Influence of the Roman Imperial Court Ceremonial on the Apocalypse of John." Biblical Research 28 (1983): 5-26.
- _____. "Now You See It, Now You Don't! Ancient Magic and the Apocalypse of John." Unpublished research paper read at the November 1986 meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature in Atlanta, GA.
- _____. Prophecy in Early Christianity and the Ancient Mediterranean World. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 1983.
- _____. "The Social Matrix of the Apocalypse of John." Biblical Research 26 (1981):16-32.
- Aus, Roger D. "The Relevance of Isaiah 66:7 to Revelation 12 and 2 Thessalonians 1." Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft 67 (1976):252-268.
- Bacchiocchi, Samuele. The Advent Hope for Human Hopelessness. Berrien Spring, MI: Biblical Perspectives, 1986.
- Bachmann, H., and Slaby, A. B. Computer-Konkordanz zum Novum Testamentum Graece. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1980.

- Baker, Carlos. The Echoing Green. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984.
- Baker, David L. "Typology and the Christian Use of the Old Testament." Scottish Journal of Theology 29 (1976):137-157.
- Balentine, Samuel E. "The Interpretation of the Old Testament in the New Testament." Southwestern Journal of Theology 23 (2, 1981):41-57.
- Baiz, Horst. "tessares, etc." Theological Dictionary of the New Testament, 8:127-139. Edited by Gerhard Kittel and Gerhard Friedrich. Translated and edited by Geoffrey Bromiley. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1964-1976.
- Bandstra, A. J. "History and Eschatology in the Apocalypse." Calvin Theological Journal 5 (1970):180-183.
- Barclay, William. The Revelation of John. The Daily Study Bible Series. Rev. ed. 2 vols. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1976.
- Barnes, Albert. Notes, Explanatory and Practical, on the Book of Revelation. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1872.
- _____. Notes on the New Testament. Vol. 20. Edited by Robert Frew. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1954.
- Barnhouse, Donald Grey. Revelation. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Publishing House, 1971.
- Barr, David L. "The Apocalypse as a Symbolic Transformation of the World: A Literary Analysis." Interpretation 38 (1,1984):39-50.
- _____. "The Apocalypse of John as Oral Enactment." Interpretation 40 (1986):243-256.
- Barr, James. "The Old Testament and the New Crisis of Biblical Authority." Interpretation 25 (1971):24-40.
- Barrett, C. K. "The Interpretation of the Old Testament in the New." In The Cambridge History of the Bible, 1:337-411. Edited by P. R. Ackroyd. Cambridge: University Press, 1970.
- Barth, Markus. Justification. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1971.

- Barthélemy, Dominique. Les devanciers d'Aquila. Supplements to Vetus Testamentum. Vol. 10. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1963.
- _____. "Redécouverte d'un chaînon manquant de l'histoire de la Septante." Revue biblique 60 (1953):18-29.
- Bateson, F. W. The Scholar-Critic: An Introduction to Literary Research. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972.
- Bauckham, Richard. "Eschatological Earthquake in the Apocalypse of John." Novum Testamentum 19 (1977):224-233.
- _____. "Synoptic Parousia Parables and the Apocalypse." New Testament Studies 23 (1976-77):162-176.
- Baum, Hans. Die apokalyptische Frau aller Völker. Stein am Rhein: Christiana Verlag, 1970.
- Baxter, M. Future Wonders of Prophecy. 8th ed. London: Christian Herald Office, 1894.
- Beale, G. K. "The Influence of Daniel upon the Structure and Theology of John's Apocalypse." Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society 27 (1984):413-423.
- _____. "The Origin of the Title 'King of Kings and Lord of Lords' in Revelation 17:14." New Testament Studies 31 (1985):618-620.
- _____. The Use of Daniel in Jewish Apocalyptic Literature and in the Revelation of St. John. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1984.
- Beasley-Murray, G. R. The Book of Revelation. New Century Bible. London: Oliphants, 1974.
- _____. "Commentaries on the Book of Revelation." Theology 66 (1963):52-56.
- _____. "The Contribution of the Book of Revelation to the Christian Belief in Immortality." Scottish Journal of Theology 27 (1974):76-93.
- _____. Highlights of the Book of Revelation. Nashville: Broadman Press, 1972.

- Beasley-Murray, G. R.; Hobbs, Herschel H.; and Robbins, Ray Frank. Revelation: Three Viewpoints. Nashville: Broadman Press, 1977.
- Beckwith, Isbon T. The Apocalypse of John. Reprint of 1919 ed. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1967.
- Behm, Johannes. "haima, etc." Theological Dictionary of the New Testament, 1:172-177. Edited by Gerhard Kittel and Gerhard Friedrich. Translated and edited by Geoffrey Bromiley. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1964-1976.
- _____. Die Offenbarung des Johannes. Das NT Deutsch. Vol. 11. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1949.
- _____. "thuô, etc." Theological Dictionary of the New Testament, 3:180-190. Edited by Gerhard Kittel and Gerhard Friedrich. Translated and edited by Geoffrey Bromiley. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1964-1976.
- Behm, Johannes, and Wurthwein, E. "metanoëô, etc." Theological Dictionary of the New Testament, 4:975-1008. Edited by Gerhard Kittel and Gerhard Friedrich. Translated and edited by Geoffrey Bromiley. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1964-1976.
- Bellamy, H. S. The Book of Revelation Is History. London: Faber and Faber, 1942.
- Berger, Klaus. Die Auferstehung des Propheten und die Erhöhung des Menschensohnes. Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments. Vol. 13. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1976.
- Bergmeier, R. "Altes und Neues zur 'Sonnenfrau am Himmel (Apk 12).' Religionsgeschichtliche und quellenkritische Beobachtungen zu Apk 12:1-17." Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft 73 (1-2, 1982):97-109.
- Bertet, Adolphe. Apocalypse. Reprint of 1870 ed. Genève-Paris: Slatkine, 1982.
- Betz, Hans Dieter. "On The Problem of the Religio-Historical Understanding of Apocalypticism." Journal for Theology and the Church 6 (1969): 134-156.
- _____. "Zum Problem des religionsgeschichtlichen Verständnisses der Apokalyptik." Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche 63 (1966):391-409.

- Betz, Otto. Offenbarung und Schriftforschung in der Qumransekte. Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament. Vol. 6. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1960.
- "Bibliographie. L'Apocalypse de Jean." Foi et vie 75 (4; 1976):83-91.
- Bietenhard, H. "Hell, Abyss, etc." New International Dictionary of New Testament Theology, 2:205-210. Vol 2. Edited by Colin Brown. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Publishing House, 1976.
- Birchmore, John W. Prophecy Interpreted by History. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1871.
- Birks, Thomas Rawson. First Elements of Sacred Prophecy. London: William Edward Painter, 1843.
- _____. Thoughts on the Times and Seasons of Sacred Prophecy. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1880.
- Bishop, Phill. Revelation 8 and 9 Soon to Come. Unpublished MS. C/o author. Box 127, Murphy, Oregon 97533.
- Black, Matthew. "The Christological Use of the Old Testament in the New Testament." New Testament Studies 18 (1971):1-14.
- _____. "Some Greek Words with 'Hebrew' Meanings in the Epistles and Apocalypse." In Biblical Studies: Essays in Honour of William Barclay, pp. 135-146. Edited by Johnston R. McKay and James F. Miller. London: Collins, 1976.
- Blevins, James L. Revelation. Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1984.
- Bliss, Sylvester. A Brief Commentary on the Apocalypse. Boston: J. V. Himes, 1853.
- Bloch, Abraham P. The Biblical and Historical Background of the Jewish Holy Days. New York: KTAV Publishing House, 1978.
- Bloch, Renée. "Midrash." In Supplément au dictionnaire de la Bible. Vol. 5, cols. 1263-1281. Edited by L. Pirot, A. Robert, Henri Cazelles. Paris: Librairie Letouzey et Ané, 1957.

- Bludau, Professor. "Die Apokalypse und Theodotions Danielübersetzung." Theologische Quartalschrift 79 (1897):1-26.
- Böcher, Otto. "Die Heilige Stadt im Völkerkrieg." In Josephus - Studien, pp. 55-76. Edited by Otto Betz et al. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1974.
- _____. Die Johannesapokalypse. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1975.
- _____. "Johanneisches in der Apokalypse des Johannes." New Testament Studies 27 (1981):310-321.
- _____. Kirche in Zeit und Endzeit. Aufsätze zur Offenbarung des Johannes. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchner Verlag, 1983.
- _____. "Das Verhältnis der Apokalypse des Johannes zum Evangelium des Johannes." In L'Apocalypse johannique et l'Apocalyptique dans le Nouveau Testament, pp. 289-301. Edited by J. Lambrecht. Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Théologiarum Lovaniensium. Vol. 53. Gembloux: Leuven University Press, 1980.
- Bohl, Eduard. Die alttestamentlichen Citate im Neuen Testament. Vienna: Braumüller, 1873.
- Boersma, T. Is the Bible a Jigsaw Puzzle. . . ? St. Catharines, Ontario: Paideia Press, 1978.
- Bogaert, P. M. "A ruine de Jérusalem et les apocalypses Juives après 70." In Apocalypses et théologie de l'espérance, pp. 123-141. Congrès de Toulouse. Lectio Divina Vol. 95. Paris: Les Editions du Cerf, 1977.
- Boismard, M. E. "'L'Apocalypse' ou 'Les Apocalypses.'" Revue biblique 56 (1949):507-541.
- _____. "Rapprochements littéraires entre l'évangile de Luc et l'Apocalypse." In Synoptische Studien, Melanges Wikenhauser, pp. 53-63. Munich: Karl Zink Verlag, (1953).
- Boll, Franz. Aus der Offenbarung Johannis. Hellenistische Studien zum Weltbild der Apokalypse. STOICHEIA. Vol. 1. Reprint of 1914 original. Amsterdam: Verlag Adolf M. Hakkert, 1967.
- Bollier, J. A. "Judgment in the Apokalypse." Interpretation 7 (1953):14-25.

- Bonsirven, Joseph. L'Apocalypse de Saint Jean. Verbum Salutis. Vol. 16. Paris: Beauchesne et ses fils, 1951.
- _____. Exégèse rabbinique et exégèse paulinienne. Paris: Beauchesne et ses fils, 1939.
- Borgen, Peder. "Observations on the Targumic Character of the Prologue of John." New Testament Studies 16 (1970):288-295.
- _____. "Response." New Testament Studies 23 (1976):67-75.
- Boring, M. Eugene. "The Apocalypse as Christian Prophecy: A Discussion of the Issues Raised by the Book of Revelation for the Study of Early Christian Prophecy." In Society of Biblical Literature 1974 Seminar Papers, 2:43-62. Edited by George MacKae. Cambridge, MA: Society of Biblical Literature, 1974.
- _____. "The Theology of Revelation. 'The Lord Our God the Almighty Reigns.'" Interpretation 40 (1986):257-269.
- Bornkamm, Günther. "Die Komposition der apokalyptischen Visionen in der Offenbarung Johannis." Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft 36 (1937):132-149.
- _____. "Mustêrion, mueō." Theological Dictionary of the New Testament. Edited by Gerhard Kittel and Gerhard Friedrich. Translated and edited by Geoffrey Bromiley. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1964-1976. 4:802-828.
- Bousset, Wilhelm. Die Offenbarung Johannis. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1906.
- Bowman, John Wick. The Drama of the Book of Revelation. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1955.
- _____. "Revelation, Book of." Interpreter's Dictionary of The Bible. Edited by George Arthur Buttrick. Nashville: Abingdon, 1962. 4:58-71.
- _____. "The Revelation to John: Its Dramatic Structure and Message." Interpretation 9 (1955):436-453.
- Boyd, W. J. P. "I Am Alpha and Omega: Rev 1:8; 21:6; 22:13." Studia Evangelica 2 (1964):526-531.

- Brandl, Gerhard. Heil und Person. Donauwörth: Verlag Ludwig Aver Cassianeum, 1964.
- Bratcher, Robert G., ed. Old Testament Quotations in the New Testament: Helps for Translator's. Vol. 3. Rev. ed. London: United Bible Societies, 1967.
- _____. A Translator's Guide to the Revelation to John. Helps for Translators Series. Stuttgart: United Bible Societies, 1984.
- Braun, F.-M. "La femme vêtue de soleil (Apoc. XII)." Revue thomiste 55 (1955):639-669.
- Braun, Hebert. "Das Alte Testament im neuen Testament." Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche 59 (1962):16-31.
- _____. Qumran und das Neue Testament. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1966.
- Brenton, Sir Lancelot C. L. The Septuagint Version: Greek and English. Reprint. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Publishing House, 1970.
- Brewer, Raymond Rush. The Use of the Synoptic Gospels in the Revelation of John. M.A. thesis. University of Chicago, 1928.
- Brewer, Sidney S. The Slaying of the Witnesses. Yarmouth, ME: I. C. Wellcome, [1868].
- Bright, John. The Authority of the Old Testament. Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1967.
- Brooks, James A., and Winbery, Carlton L. Syntax of New Testament Greek. Washington, DC: University Press of America, 1979.
- Brooks, Keith L. Prophecies of Daniel and Revelation. Los Angeles, CA: The Biola Book Room, Bible Institute of Los Angeles, 536 Hope St., 1927.
- Brower, Reuben Arthur. Alexander Pope: The Poetry of Allusion. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959.
- _____. Mirror on Mirror. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1974.
- Brown, John Moore Findlay. "The Pratical Purpose of the Book of Revelation." M.A. thesis. University of Chicago, 1927.

- Brown, Raymond E. The Gospel According to John. 2 vols. 2nd ed. The Anchor Bible. Vols. 29 & 29a. Garden City, NY: Doubleday and Co., 1981.
- Brown, Schuyler. "From Burney to Black: The Fourth Gospel and the Aramaic Question." Catholic Biblical Quarterly 26 (1964):323-339.
- Bruce, F. F. Biblical Exegesis in the Qumran Texts. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1959.
- _____. Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews. New International Commentary to the New Testament. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1964.
- _____. The New Testament Development of Old Testament Themes. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1968.
- _____. The Time Is Fulfilled. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1978.
- Brüll, Adolf. Das samaritanische Targum zum Pentateuch. Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1971.
- Brütsch, Charles. Die Offenbarung Jesu Christi. 3 vols. Zürcher Bibelkommentare. Zürich: Zwingli Verlag, 1970.
- Bruns, J. E. "The Contrasted Women of Apocalypse 12 and 17." Catholic Biblical Quarterly 26 (1964): 459-463.
- Buchsel, Friedrich, and Hertrich, Volkmar. "krinō, etc." Theological Dictionary of the New Testament, 3:921-954. Edited by Gerhard Kittel and Gerhard Friedrich. Translated and edited by Geoffrey Bromiley. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1964-1976.
- Bullinger, E. W. The Apocalypse. London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1935.
- Bunch, Taylor G. Bible Lessons: The Book of Revelation. Class Syllabus. Loma Linda, CA: College of Medical Evangelists. n.d.
- _____. The Seven Epistles of Christ. Washington, DC: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1947.
- Burch, Vacher. Anthropology and the Apocalypse. London: MacMillian and Co., 1939.

- Burnet, Adam Wilson. The Lord Reigneth. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1946.
- Cain, D. W. "Artistic Contrivance and Religious Communication." Religious Studies 8 (1972):29-43.
- Caird, G. B. A Commentary on the Revelation of St. John the Divine. Harper's New Testament Commentaries. New York: Harper & Row, 1966.
- _____. "On Deciphering the Book of Revelation." Expository Times 74 (1962-3):13-15, 51-53, 82-84, 103-105.
- Calloud, Jean. "Apocalypse 12-13. Essai d'analyse sémiotique." Foi et vie 75 (4, 1976):26-78.
- Cambe, M. "L'influence du cantique des cantiques sur le Nouveau Testament." Revue thomiste 62 (1962):5-25.
- Cambier, J. "Les images de l'Ancien Testament dans l'Apocalypse de saint Jean." Nouvelle revue théologique 87 (1955):113-122.
- Carnegie, David R. "Worthy Is the Lamb: The Hymns in Revelation." In Christ The Lord: Studies Presented to Donald Guthrie, pp. 243-256. Edited by Harold H. Rowden. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1982.
- Carpenter, Boyd W. The Revelation of St. John the Divine. London: Cassell & Company, 1903.
- Carrington, Phillip. The Meaning of the Revelation. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1931.
- Cassem, N. H. "A Grammatical and Contextual Inventory of the Use of kosmos in the Johannine Corpus with Some Implications for a Johannine Cosmic Theology." New Testament Studies 19 (1972):81-91.
- Cate, Robert L. Old Testament Roots for New Testament Faith. Nashville: Broadman Press, 1982.
- Cerfaux, Lucien, and Cambier, Jules. L'Apocalypse de Saint Jean lue aux Chrétiens. Lectio Divina. Vol. 17. Paris: Les Editions du Cerf, 1964.
- Charles, R. H. The Revelation of St. John. 2 vols. International Critical Commentary. Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1920.

- Charles, R. H. Studies in the Apocalypse. Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1913.
- Charles, R. H., ed. The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913.
- _____. The Book of Enoch. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1912.
- Charlesworth, James H. The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha and the New Testament. Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series. No. 54. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.
- Charlesworth, James H., ed. The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha. 2 vols. Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company, 1983-1984.
- Charlier, Jean-Pierre. "The Apocalypse of John: Last Times Scripture or Last Scripture?" Lumen vitae 40 (1985):180-192.
- Chester, Ray F. "A Study of the Relationship of Certain Symbols of the Apocalypse to the Old Testament." M.A. thesis. Eastern New Mexico University, 1952.
- Christie, T. W. The Book of Revelation. London: John F. Shaw and Co., [1866].
- Churgin, Pinkhos. Targum Jonathan to the Prophets. Reprint ed. Yale Oriental Series--Researches. Vol. 14. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1907.
- "The Citations of the Old Testament in the New." Translated from the German of Tholuck by Charles A. Aiken. Bibliotheca Sacra 11 (1854):568-616.
- Clapton, Ernest. Our Lord's Quotations from the Old Testament. London: Skeffington & Son, [1922].
- Claudé, Paul. Paul Claudé interroge l'Apocalypse. Gallimard: NRF, n.d.
- Clayton, R. H. Future History in the Revelation. London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1941.
- Clemen, August. Der Gebrauch des Alten Testaments in den neutestamentlichen Schriften. Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1895.
- Clouse, R. G. "John Napier and Apocalyptic Thought." Sixteenth Century Journal 5 (April, 1974): 101-114.

- Cohen, Gary G. Understanding Revelation. Chicago: Moody Press, 1978.
- Colclasure, Chuck. The Overcomers. Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 1981.
- Coleman, Robert Emerson. Songs of Heaven. Old Tappan, NJ: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1980.
- Collins, Adela Yarbro. The Apocalypse. NT Message. Vol. 22. Wilmington, DE.: Michael Glazier, 1979.
- _____. The Combat Myth in the Book of Revelation. Harvard Dissertations in Religion, no. 9. Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1976.
- _____. Crisis and Catharsis: The Power of the Apocalypse. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1984.
- _____. "The Early Christian Apocalypses." Semeia 14 (1979):61-121.
- _____. "History of Religions Approach to Apocalypticism and the 'Angel of the Waters.'" Catholic Biblical Quarterly 39 (1977):367-381.
- _____. "Numerical Symbolism in Jewish and Early Christian Apocalyptic Literature," pp. 1221-1287. In Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt. Part II. Vol. 21:2. Edited by Hildegard Temporini and Wolfgang Haase. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1984.
- _____. "Persecution and Vengeance in the Book of Revelation." In Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and the Near East, pp. 729-749. Edited by David Hellholm. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1983.
- _____. "Reading the Book of Revelation in the Twentieth Century." Interpretation 40 (1986):229-242.
- _____. "Revelation 18: Taunt Song or Dirge." In L'Apocalypse johannique et l'Apocalyptique dans le Nouveau Testament, pp. 185-204. Edited by J. Lambrecht. Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium. Vol. 53. Gembloux: Leuven University Press, 1980.
- _____. Review of The Use of Daniel in Jewish Apocalyptic Literature and in the Revelation of St. John, by G. K. Beale. Journal of Biblical Literature 105 (4, 1986): 734-735.

- Collins, Adela Yarbro. "What the Spirit Says to the Churches: Preaching the Apocalypse." Quarterly Review 4 (3, 1984):69-84.
- Collins, John J. Daniel with an Introduction to Apocalyptic Literature. The Forms of the Old Testament Literature. Vol. 20. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1984.
- _____. "The Genre Apocalypse in Hellenistic Judaism." In Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and the Near East, pp. 531-548. Edited by David Hellholm. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1983.
- _____. "Introduction: Toward the Morphology of a Genre." Semeia 14 (1979):1-20.
- _____. "Pseudonymity, Historical Reviews and the Genre of the Apocalypse of John." Catholic Biblical Quarterly 39 (1977):329-343.
- Colton, C. E. Revelation: Book of Mystery and Hope. Nashville: Broadman Press, 1979.
- Comblin, J. Le Christ dans L'Apocalypse. Bibliothèque de Théologie. Théologie biblique Série III. Vol. 6. Paris: Desclée, 1965.
- Conradi, L. R. Der Seher von Patmos. Hamburg: Internationale Traktatgesellschaft, 1911.
- Considine, J. S. "The Rider on the White Horse, Apoc 6:1-8." Catholic Biblical Quarterly 6 (1944): 406-422.
- _____. "The Two Witnesses, Apoc 11:3-13." Catholic Biblical Quarterly 8 (1946):377-392.
- Conzelmann, Hans. "phôs, etc." Theological Dictionary of the New Testament. Edited by Gerhard Kittel and Gerhard Friedrich. Translated and edited by Geoffrey Bromiley. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1964-1976. 9:310-358.
- _____. "skotos, etc." Theological Dictionary of the New Testament. Edited by Gerhard Kittel and Gerhard Friedrich. Translated and edited by Geoffrey Bromiley. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1964-1976. 7:423-445.
- Cook, Augusta. Light from Patmos. London: Robert Banks & Son, 1916.

- Cook, W. Robert. The Theology of John. Chicago: Moody Press, 1979.
- Corsini, Eugenio. The Apocalypse. Good News Studies. Vol. 5. Translated by Francis J. Moloney. Wilmington, DE: Michael Glazier, Inc., 1983.
- Cottrell, Raymond F. The Prophecies of Daniel and the Revelation. Part 2. A Syllabus for Lower Division College Classes. Angwin, CA: Pacific Union College, 1951.
- Court, John M. Myth and History in the Book of Revelation. London: SPCK, 1979.
- Cowles, Henry. The Revelation of John. New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1871.
- Cox, Clyde C. Evangelical Precepts of the Revelation. Cleveland, TN: Pathway Press, 1971.
- Craddock, Fred B. "Preaching the Book of Revelation." Interpretation 40 (1986):270-282.
- Croly, George. The Apocalypse of St. John. London: J. G. and F. Rivington, 1838.
- Crosby, Tim. "Does Inspired Mean Original?" Ministry, February 1986, pp. 4-7.
- Cross, Frank Moore, Jr. "The History of the Biblical Text in the Light of Discoveries in the Judean Desert." Harvard Theological Review 57 (1964):281-299.
- Culleton, James. A Key to the Apocalypse. Fresno, CA: Academy Guild Press, 1959.
- Culpepper, Alan R. The Anatomy of the Gospel of John. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1983.
- Cumming, John. Apocalyptic Sketches. 14th ed. London: Hall, Virtue & Co., 1851.
- Cuninghame, William. A Dissertation on the Seals and Trumpets of the Apocalypse. London: T. Cadell & W. Davies, 1817.
- Dahl, Nils Alstrup. "The Crucified Messiah and the Endangered Promises." Word and World 3 (1983): 251-262.
- Dalman, Gustaf H. Aramäisch-Neuhebräisches Handwörterbuch zu Targum, Talmud und Midrasch. Gottingen: Verlag von Eduard Pfeiffer, 1938.

- Daniélou, Jean. Études d'exégèse judéo-chrétienne. Théologie Historique. Vol. 5. Paris: Beauchesne et ses fils, 1966.
- Davidson, Richard M. Typology in Scripture. Andrews University Seminary Doctoral Dissertation Series. Vol. 2. Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1981.
- Davidson, Samuel. "The New Testament as a Guide to the Interpretation of the Old." In the author's Outlines of a Commentary on the Book of Revelation, pp. 37-41. Cambridge, MA: Riverside Press, 1893.
- Davis, D. R. "The Relationship between the Seals, Trumpets and Bowls in the Book of Revelation." Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society 16 (1973):149-158.
- Davis, Robert Dean. "A Study of the Symbols for the Church in Revelation." M.Th. thesis. Andrews University Theological Seminary, 1967.
- Dean, John T. The Book of Revelation. Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1915.
- Dehandschutter, B. "The Meaning of Witness in the Apocalypse." In L'Apocalypse johannique et l'Apocalyptique dans le Nouveau Testament, pp. 283-288. Edited by J. Lambrecht. Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium. Vol. 53. Gembloux: Leuven University Press, 1980.
- De Jonge, M. "The Use of the Expression ho christos in the Apocalypse of John." In L'Apocalypse johannique et l'Apocalyptique dans le Nouveau Testament, pp. 267-281. Edited by J. Lambrecht. Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Théologicarum Lovaniensium. Vol. 53. Gembloux: Leuven University Press, 1980.
- Delling, Gerhard. "hēmera." Theological Dictionary of the New Testament. Edited by Gerhard Kittel and Gerhard Friedrich. Translated and edited by Geoffrey Bromiley. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1964-1976. 2:947-953.

- Delling, Gerhard. "nux." Theological Dictionary of the New Testament. Edited by Gerhard Kittel and Gerhard Friedrich. Translated and edited by Geoffrey Bromiley. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1964-1976. 4:1123-1126.
- _____. "treis, etc." Theological Dictionary of the New Testament, 8:216-225. Edited by Gerhard Kittel and Gerhard Friedrich. Translated and edited by Geoffrey Bromiley. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1964-1976.
- _____. "Zum gottesdienstlichen Stil der Johannes-Apokalypse." Novum Testamentum 3 (1959):107-137.
- Delta. The Revelation of St. John. London: James Nisbet & Co., 1850.
- DeSanto, Charles. The Book of Revelation. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1967.
- Desprez, Philip Charles Soubien. The Apocalypse Fulfilled. London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1854.
- DeWaard, J. A Comparative Study of the Old Testament Text in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the New Testament. Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah. Vol. 4. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1965.
- Dittmar, Wilhelm. Vetus Testamentum in Novo. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1903.
- Dodd, C. H. According to the Scriptures. London: Nisbet & Co., 1952.
- _____. The Old Testament in the New. London: Athlone Press, 1952.
- Döpke, Johann Christian Carl. Hermeneutik der Neutestamentlichen Schriftsteller. Leipzig: Friedrich Christian Wilhelm Vogel, 1829.
- Dorman, Lucy Mary. The Unveiled Future. London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, n.d.
- Douglas, Charles Edward. New Light on the Revelation of St. John The Divine. London: Faith Press, 1923.
- Drazin, Israel, ed. Targum Onkelos to Deuteronomy. N.p.: KTAV Publishing House, 1982.

- Drew, Edward. Studies in the Book of Revelation. Bound collection of pamphlets in James White Library, Andrews University, 1940, 1941.
- D'Souza, John. The Lamb of God in the Johannine Writings. Allahabad: St. Paul Publications, 1968.
- Dusterdieck, Friedrich. Handbuch über die Offenbarung Johannis. Meyer's NT Commentary. Vol. 16. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1859.
- DuPreez, J. "Mission Perspective in the Book of Revelation." Evangelical Quarterly 42 (1970):152-167.
- _____. "People and Nations in the Kingdom of God according to the Book of Revelation." Journal of Theology for Southern Africa 49 (1984):49-51.
- Durham, M. James. A Commentarie upon the Book of the Revelation. Glasgow: Robert Sanders, 1680.
- Eaton, Robert. The Apocalypse of John. London: Sands & Co., [1930].
- Eckhardt, Karl August. Der Tod des Johannes als Schlüssel zum Verständnis der johanneischen Schriften. Berlin: Walter De Gruyter & Co., 1961.
- Edgar, S. L. "Respect for Context in Quotations from the Old Testament." New Testament Studies 9 (1962-1963):55-62.
- Edwards. P. "The Signs of the Times - or 'Here Be Dragons.'" Way 21 (1981):278-291.
- Eissfeldt, Otto. The Old Testament: An Introduction. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1965.
- Eller, Vernard. The Most Revealing Book of the Bible. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1974.
- Elliger, K., and Rudolph W., eds. Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelstiftung, 1977.
- Elliott, Edward B. Apocalypsis Alfordiana. London: Seeley, Jackson & Halliday, 1862.
- _____. Horae Apocalypticae. 5th ed. 4 vols. London: Seeley, Jackson & Halliday, 1862.

- Ellis, E. E. "How the New Testament Uses the Old." In New Testament Interpretation, pp. 199-219. Edited by I. Howard Marshall. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1977.
- _____. "Midrash, Targum and New Testament Quotations." In Neotestamentica et Semitica, pp. 61-69. Edited by E. Earle Ellis and Max Wilcox. Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1969.
- _____. Paul's Use of the Old Testament. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1957.
- Ellul, Jacques. Apocalypse. Translated by George W. Schreiner. New York: Seabury Press, 1977.
- Erbes, Karl. Die Offenbarung Johannis. Gotha: Friedrich Andreas Perthes, 1891.
- Erdman, Charles R. The Revelation of John. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1936.
- Escande, G. Benjamin. L'Apocalypse. Paris: Berger-Levrault, Editeurs, 1926.
- Etheridge, J. W. The Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan ben Uzziel on the Pentateuch. New York: KTAV Publishing House, 1968.
- Ewald, Heinrich. Die Johanneischen Schriften. 2 vols. Göttingen: Verlag der Dieterichschen Buchhandlung, 1862.
- An Exposition of the Seven Trumpets of Revelation VIII & IX. Battle Creek, MI: Steam Press of the Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association, 1866.
- Ezell, Douglas. Revelations on Revelation. Waco, TX: Word Books, 1977.
- Farnsworth, Edward C. The Revelation of John. Portland: Smith & Sale, Printers, 1919.
- Farrer, Austin. "Inspiration: Poetical and Divine." In Promise and Fulfillment: Essays presented to S. H. Hooke, pp. 91-105. Edited by F. F. Bruce. Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1963.
- _____. A Rebirth of Images. Gloucester, MA: Peter Smith, 1970.
- _____. The Revelation of St. John the Divine. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964.

- Farris, A. L. "Preacher's Use of the Book of Revelation." Canadien Journal of Theology 3 (1975): 102-110.
- Féret, Henricus M. The Apocalypse of St. John. Translated by Elizabeth Corathiel. Westminster, MD: Newman Press, 1958.
- Ferrar, W. J. The Apocalypse Explained. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1936.
- Feuillet, André. The Apocalypse. Translated by Thomas E. Crane. Staten Island, NY: Alba House, 1965.
- _____. "Le Cantique des Cantiques et l'Apocalypse." Recherches de science religieuses 49 (1961): 321-353.
- _____. "Les chrétiens prêtres et rois d'après l'Apocalypse. Contribution à l'étude de la conception chrétienne du sacerdoce." Revue thomiste 75 (1975):40-66.
- _____. "Essai d'interprétation du chapitre xi de l'Apocalypse." New Testament Studies 4 (1958):183-200.
- _____. "The Messiah Born of the People of God." Theology Digest 11 (1963):10,11.
- _____. "Le Messie et sa mère d'après le chapitre xii de l'Apocalypse." Revue biblique 66 (1959): 55-86.
- _____. "La moisson et la vendange de l'Apocalypse (14,14-20). La signification chrétienne de la révélation johannique." Nouvelle revue théologique 94 (1972):113-132.
- _____. "Les vingtquatre vieillards de l'Apocalypse." Revue biblique 65 (1958):5-32.
- Field, Fridericus, ed. Origenis Hexaplorum. 2 vols. Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1964.
- Fiorenza, Elizabeth Schüssler. The Apocalypse. Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1976.
- _____. "Apokalypsis and Prophecia. The Book of Revelation in the Context of Early Christian Prophecy." In L'Apocalypse johannique et l'Apocalyptique dans le Nouveau Testament, pp. 105-128. Edited by J. Lambrecht. Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologaricum Lovaniensium. Vol. 53. Gembloux: Leuven University Press, 1980.

- Fiorenza, Elizabeth Schussler. The Book of Revelation: Justice and Judgment. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1985.
- _____. "Composition and Structure of the Book of Revelation." Catholic Biblical Quarterly 39 (1977): 344-366.
- _____. "The Eschatology and Composition of the Apocalypse." Catholic Biblical Quarterly 30 (1968): 537-569.
- _____. "The Phenomenon of Early Christian Apocalyptic." In Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and the Near East, pp. 295-316. Edited by David Hellholm. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1983.
- _____. Priester für Gott. Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen. N. s., vol. 7. Münster: Verlag Aschendorff, 1972.
- _____. "The Quest for the Johannine School: The Apocalypse and the Fourth Gospel." New Testament Studies 23 (1977): 402-427.
- _____. "Revelation, Book of." Interpreter's Dictionary of The Bible. Sup. vol., pp. 744-746. Edited by Keith Crim. Nashville: Abingdon, 1976.
- _____. "The Revelation to John." In Hebrews, James, 1 and 2 Peter, Jude, Revelation, pp. 99-120. Proclamation Commentaries. Edited by Gerhard Krodel. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1977.
- Fischer, K. M. "Die Christlichkeit der Offenbarung des Johannes." Theologische Literaturzeitung (1981): 165-172.
- Fitzer, Gottfried. "sphragis, etc." Theological Dictionary of the New Testament. Edited by Gerhard Kittel and Gerhard Friedrich. Translated and edited by Geoffrey Bromiley. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1964-1976. 7:939-953.
- Fitzmyer, Joseph A. "The Contribution of Qumran Aramaic to the Study of the New Testament." New Testament Studies 20 (1973-74): 382-407.
- _____. Essays on the Semitic Background of the New Testament. Sources for Biblical Study. Vol. 5. Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1974.

- Fitzmyer, Joseph A. A Manual of Palestinian Aramaic Texts. Biblia et Orientalia. Vol. 34. Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1978.
- _____. Review of The New Testament and the Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch, by Martin McNamara. Theological Studies 29 (1968):322-326.
- _____. Review of Neofiti I: Targum palestinese, Ms de la Biblioteca Vaticana. Tomo I:Genesis, by Alejandro Díez Macho. Catholic Biblical Quarterly 32 (1970):107-112.
- _____. A Wandering Aramean: Collected Aramaic Essays. Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series, no. 25. Missoula MT: Scholars Press, 1979.
- Foerster, Werner. "astêr, astron." Theological Dictionary of the New Testament. Edited by Gerhard Kittel and Gerhard Friedrich. Translated and edited by Geoffrey Bromiley. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1964-1976. 1:503-505.
- _____. "Bemerkungen zur Bildsprache der Offenbarung Johannis." In Verborum Veritas. Festschrift für Gustav Stahlin, pp. 225-236. Edited by Otto Böcher and Klaus Haacker. Wuppertal: Theologischer Verlag Rolf Brockhaus, 1970.
- _____. "keras." Theological Dictionary of the New Testament. Edited by Gerhard Kittel and Gerhard Friedrich. Translated and edited by Geoffrey Bromiley. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1964-1976. 3:669-671.
- _____. "ophis, etc." Theological Dictionary of the New Testament. Edited by Gerhard Kittel and Gerhard Friedrich. Translated and edited by Geoffrey Bromiley. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1964-1976. 5:576-582.
- _____. "oros." Theological Dictionary of the New Testament. Edited by Gerhard Kittel and Gerhard Friedrich. Translated and edited by Geoffrey Bromiley. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1964-1976. 5:475-487.
- Fogel, Lerry W. Revelation Explained. Plainfield, NJ: Logos International, 1981.
- Ford, Desmond. Crisis. 3 vols. Newcastle, CA: Desmond Ford Publications, 1982.

- Ford, George H. Keats and the Victorians. London: Archon Books, 1962.
- Ford, J. Massyngberde. "The Divorce Bill of the Lamb and the Scroll of the Suspected Adulteress. A Note on Apoc. 5:1 and 10:8-11." Journal for the Study of Judaism 2 (1971):136-143.
- _____. "'He that Cometh' and the Divine Name (Apocalypse 1,4-8; 4,8)." Journal for the Study of Judaism 1 (1970):144-147.
- _____. Revelation. Anchor Bible. Vol. 38. Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Co., 1975.
- Forestell, J. T. Targumic Traditions and the New Testament. Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1979.
- Franzmann, Martin H. The Revelation to John. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1976.
- Freed, Edwin D. Old Testament Quotations in the Gospel of John. Supplements to Novum Testamentum. Vol. 11. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1965.
- Freundorfer, Joseph. Die Apokalypse des Apostels Johannes und die Hellenistische Kosmologie und Astrologie. Biblische Studien. Vol. 23. Part 1. Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1929.
- Friedrich, Gerhard. "salpigx, etc." Theological Dictionary of the New Testament. Edited by Gerhard Kittel and Gerhard Friedrich. Translated and edited by Geoffrey Bromiley. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1964-1976. 7:71-88.
- Gaebelein, Arno C. The Revelation. New York: Publication Office "Our Hope," 1915.
- Gaechter, Paul. "The Role of Memory in the Making of the Apocalypse." Theological Studies 9 (1948):419-452.
- _____. "Semitic Literary Forms in The Apocalypse and Their Import." Theological Studies 8 (1947): 547-573.
- Gardner, James P. Notes Illustrative of the Meaning and Application of the Figures Employed by St. John the Divine in the Revelation of Jesus Christ. Nashville: A. H. Redford, agent, for the author, 1867.

- Georgi, Dieter. "Die Visionen vom himmlischen Jerusalem in Apk 21 und 22." In Kirche. Festschrift für Günther Bornkamm zum 75. Geburtstag, pp. 351-372. Edited by Dieter Lührmann und Georg Strecker. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1975.
- Gettys, Joseph M. How to Study the Revelation. Richmond: John Knox Press, 1946.
- Giblin, Charles Homer. "Structural and Thematic Correlations in the Theology of Revelation 16-22." Biblica 55 (1974):487-504.
- _____. "Revelation 11.1-13: Its Form, Function, and Contextual Integration." New Testament Studies 30 (1984):433-459.
- Gibson, Ronald R. "The Meaning and Chronology of the Trumpets of Revelation." Th.D. dissertation, Grace Theological Seminary, 1980.
- Giet, Stanislas. L'Apocalypse et l'histoire. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1957.
- _____. "Retour sur l'Apocalypse." Revue des sciences religieuses 38 (1964):225-264.
- Glasson, T. F. The Revelation of John. The Cambridge Bible Commentary. Cambridge: University Press, 1965.
- Goldsworthy, Graeme. The Lion and the Lamb: The Gospel in Revelation. Nashville: Thomas Nelson Publishers, 1985.
- Gollinger, Hildegard. Das "grosse Zeichen" von Apokalypse 12. Stuttgarter Biblische Monographien. No. 11. Würzburg: Echter KBW Verlag, 1971.
- Gonzalez, Justo L. A History of Christian Thought. 2 vols. Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1970.
- Goppelt, Leonhard. "hudôr." Theological Dictionary of the New Testament. Edited by Gerhard Kittel and Gerhard Friedrich. Translated and edited by Geoffrey Bromiley. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1964-1976. 8:314-333.
- _____. Typos. Translated by Donald H. Madvig. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1982.

- Gordon, R. P. "Loriccate Locusts in the Targum to Nahum iii 17 and Revelation ix 9," Vetus Testamentum 33 (3, 1983):338-339.
- Gordon, Samuel D. Quiet Talks about the Crowned Christ. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1914.
- Goulder, M. D. "The Apocalypse as an Annual Cycle of Prophecies." New Testament Studies 27 (1981): 342-367.
- Gourgues, M. "L'Apocalypse ou les trois Apocalypses de Jean?" Science et esprit 35 (3, 1983):297-323.
- Grant, P. W. The Revelation of John. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1889.
- Grassi, J. A. "The Liturgy of Revelation." Bible Today 24 (1986):30-37.
- Grech, Prosper. "The 'Testimonia' and Modern Hermeneutics." New Testament Studies 19 (1973):318-324.
- Grünzweig, Fritz. Was sagt uns die Offenbarung heute? Stuttgart-Hohenheim: Hänssler-Verlag, 1968.
- Grundmann, Walter. "christos (NT)." Theological Dictionary of the New Testament. Edited by Gerhard Kittel and Gerhard Friedrich. Translated and edited by Geoffrey Bromiley. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1964-1976. 9:527-573.
- Guild, Daniel R. Rich Revelations of Jesus. Nashville: Southern Publishing Association, 1965.
- Guillén, Claudio. "The Aesthetics of Literary Influence." In Influx: Essays on Literary Influence, pp. 49-73. Edited by Ronald Primeau. Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press, 1977.
- Gunkel, Hermann. Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit: Eine religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung über Gen 1 und Ap Joh 12. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1895.
- Günter, Hans W. Der Nah- und Enderwartungshorizont in der Apokalypse des heiligen Johannes. Forschung zur Bibel. Vol. 41. N.p.: Echter Verlag, 1980.
- Gundry, Robert H. The Church and the Tribulation. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1973.

- Gundry, Robert H. "The Language Milieu of First-Century Palestine." Journal of Biblical Literature 83 (1964):404-408.
- _____. The Use of the Old Testament in St. Matthew's Gospel. Supplements to Novum Testamentum. Vol. 18. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1967.
- Guthrie, Donald. New Testament Introduction. 3rd ed. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1970.
- Hadorn, Wilhelm. Die Offenbarung des Johannes. Theologischer Handkommentar zum NT. Edited by P. Althaus et al. Vol. 18. Leipzig: A. Deichert'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung D. Werner Scholl, 1928.
- Hahn, Ferdinand. "Zum Aufbau der Johannesoffenbarung." In Kirche und Bibel. Festgabe für Bischof Eduard Schick, pp. 145-154. Edited by the professors at the University of Fulda. Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1979.
- Hailey, Homer. Revelation: An Introduction and Commentary. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1979.
- Halver, Rudolf. Der Mythos im Letzten Buch der Bibel. Theologische Forschung. Vol. 32. Hamburg-Bergstedt: Herbert Reich Evangelischer Verlag, 1964.
- Hamon, Marcel. Les prophètes de la fin des temps. Paris: La Nouvelle Edition, n.d.
- Hanson, Anthony Tyrell. Jesus Christ in the Old Testament. London: SPCK, 1965.
- Hanson, Paul D. "Apocalypticism." Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible. Sup. vol., pp. 28-34. Edited by Kieth Crim. Nashville: Abingdon, 1976.
- Harms, Ludwig. Die Offenbarung St. Johannis. Hermannsburg: Druck und Verlag der Missionshandlung, 1910.
- Harrington, Wilfred J. Understanding the Apocalypse. Washington, DC: Corpus Books, 1969.
- Harris, J. Rendel. "A Factor of Old Testament Influence in the New Testament." Expository Times 37 (1925-1926):6-11.
- _____. "Traces of Targumism in the New Testament." Expository Times 32 (1920-1921):373-376.

- Harris, M. J. "Trumpet." New International Dictionary of New Testament Theology. Vol 3. Edited by Colin Brown. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1978. 3:873, 874.
- Harrison, Everett F. "The Importance of the Septuagint for Biblical Studies." In Truth for Today, pp. 143-154. Edited by John F. Walvoord. Chicago: Moody Press, 1963.
- Hartenstein, Karl. Der wiederkommende Herr. 4th ed. Stuttgart: Evangelische Missionsverlag, 1969.
- Hartman, Lars. Prophecy Interpreted. Translated by Neil Tomkinson. Coniectanea Biblica. New Testament Series. No. 1. Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells, 1966.
- _____. "Scriptural Exegesis in The Gospel of Matthew and the Problem of Communication." In L'évangile selon Matthieu, pp. 131-152. Edited by M. Didier. Gembloux: J. Duculot, 1972.
- _____. "Survey of the Problem of Apocalyptic Genre." In Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and the Near East, pp. 329-343. Edited by David Hellholm. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1983.
- Hasel, Gerhard F. "La Prophétie et son accomplissement." In Prophétie et eschatologie, 1:95-131. Edited by Richard Leshar. Unpublished syllabus. Washington, DC: Biblical Research Institute of SDAs, 1982.
- _____. The Remnant. Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1972.
- Haskell, Stephen N. The Story of the Seer of Patmos. Nashville: Southern Publishing Association, 1905.
- Hassan, Ihab H. "The Problem of Influence in Literary History: Notes Toward a Definition." In Influx: Essays on Literary Influence, pp. 34-46. Edited by Ronald Primeau. Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press, 1977.
- Hatch, Edwin, and Redpath, Henry. A Concordance to the Septuagint. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1897.
- Haugg, Donatus. Die Zwei Zeugen. Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen. Vol. 17, Bk. 1. Münster: Verlag der Aschendorffschen Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1936.

- Havens, Raymond Dexter. The Influence of Milton on English Poetry. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1922.
- "Die Hebraische Grundlage der Apokalypse." Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 7 (1887): 167-176.
- Hedrik, William Kimbro. "The Sources and Use of the Imagery in Apocalypse 12." Th.D. dissertation. Graduate Theological Union, 1971.
- Hellholm, David. "Introduction." In Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and the Near East, pp. 1-6. Edited by David Hellholm. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1983.
- _____. "The Problem of Apocalyptic Genre and the Apocalypse of John." Semeia 36 (1986):13-64.
- Hellholm, David, ed. Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and the Near East. Proceedings of the International Colloquium on Apocalypticism. Uppsala, August 12-17, 1979. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1983.
- Hendriksen, S. T. D. More than Conquerors. 2nd ed. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1940.
- Hendriksen, William. Three Lectures on the Book of Revelation. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Publishing House, 1949.
- Hengel, Martin. Judaism and Hellenism. 2 vols. Translated by John Bowden. London: SCM Press, 1974.
- Hengstenberg, E. W. The Revelation of St. John. 2 vols. Translated by Patrick Fairbairn. Clark's Foreign Theological Library. Vol. 22. Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1851.
- Herder, Johann Gottfried von. Johannes Offenbarung. Stuttgart: J. G. Cotta'schen Buchhandlung, 1829.
- Hewson, William. "The Apocalypse." In The Oblation and Temple of Ezekiel's Prophetic Visions. London: Simpkin & Co., 1858.
- Heyder, P. Gebhard. Feuer vom Himmel. Zürich: Christiana Verlag, 1961.
- Hicks, R. Lansing. Forms of Christ in the Old Testament. Evanston, IL: Seabury-Western Theological Seminary, 1968.

- Hill, David. "On the Evidence for the Creative Role of Christian Prophets." New Testament Studies 20 (1973-74):262-274.
- _____. New Testament Prophecy. New Foundations Theological Library. Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1979.
- _____. "Prophecy and Prophets in the Revelation of John." New Testament Studies 18 (1971-72):401-418.
- Hinds, John T. A Commentary on the Book of Revelation. Nashville: Gospel Advocate Company, 1976.
- Hirscht, Arthur. Die Apokalypse und ihre neueste Kritik. Leipzig: August Neumann's Verlag, 1895.
- Hobbs, Herschel H. The Cosmic Drama. Waco, Texas: Word Books, 1971.
- Hodgson, Robert, Jr. "The Testimony Hypothesis." Journal of Biblical Literature 98 (1979):361-378.
- Hoeksema, Herman. Behold, He Cometh! Grand Rapids, MI: Reformed Free Publishing Association, 1969.
- Holbrook, Frank B. "Inspired Writers' Interpretation of Inspired Writings." In A Symposium on Biblical Hermeneutics, pp. 127-141. Edited by Gordon M. Hyde. Washington, DC: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1974.
- Holden, George F. Lectures on the Revelation of St. John the Divine. London: Hugh Rees, 1903.
- Holladay, William L. A Concise Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1971.
- Hollander, John. The Figure of Echo: A Mode of Allusion in Milton and After. Berkeley, Ca: University of California Press, 1981.
- Holtz, Traugott. Die Christologie der Apokalypse des Johannes. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1962.
- _____. "Gott in der Apokalypse." In L'Apocalypse johannique et l'Apocalyptique dans le Nouveau Testament, pp. 247-265. Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Théologiarum Lovaniensium. Vol. 53. Edited by J. Lambrecht. Gembloux: Leuven University Press, 1980.

- Holtz, Traugott. Untersuchungen über die alttestamentlichen Zitate bei Lukas. Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur. Vol. 104. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1968.
- Holtzmann, H. J. Evangelium, Briefe und Offenbarung des Johannes. 3rd ed. Hand-Commentar zum Neuen Testament. Vol. 4. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1908.
- Hooper, Francis Bodfield. The Revelation of Jesus Christ by John. Vol. 1. London: J. & F. H. Rivington, 1861.
- Hopkins, Martin. "The Historical Perspective of Apocalypse 1-11." Catholic Biblical Quarterly 27 (1965):42-47.
- _____. "History in the Apocalypse." Bible Today 1 (1965):1340-1344.
- Hortop, Kerry H. The Final Crisis in the Seals and Trumpets of Revelation. Unpublished MS. Wahroonga, Australia: Avondale College, October 15, 1969.
- Howden, Joseph Russell. The Wars of the Lord. London: Marshall Brother, n.d.
- Hoyt, Edyth Armstrong. Studies in the Apocalypse of John of Patmos. 4th ed. Ann Arbor, MI: Edwards Brothers, 1953.
- Hühn, Eugen. Die alttestamentliche Citate und Reminiscenzen im Neuen Testament. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1900.
- Huntingford, Edward. The Apocalypse. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., 1881.
- _____. A Practical Interpretation of the Revelation of St. John the Divine. 3rd ed. London: Bickers & Son, 1900.
- Hurd, John R. Hypnoia. New York: Leavitt, Trow & Co., 1844.
- Hurnard, Samuel F. Revelation: The Book with a Blessing. London: Marshall, Morgan and Scott, [1931].
- Hurtado, L. W. "Revelation 4-5 in the Light of Jewish Apocalyptic Analogies." Journal for the Study of the New Testament 25 (1985):105-124.

- Ironside, H. A. Lectures on the Book of Revelation. New York: Loizeaux Brothers, 1946.
- Irving, Edward. The Prophetical Works of Edward Irving. Edited by Gavin Carlyle. Vol. 1. London: Alexander Strahan, 1867.
- Isham, Arthur. An Historical Interpretation of the Book Called in the Sinaitic, Vatican and Ephrem MSS. A Revelation of John. London: Eliot Stock, 1890.
- Jacob, E. "Prêcher sur l'ancien testament." Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses 61 (1981):327-339.
- Jamieson, Robert; Fausset, A. R.; and Brown, David. Commentary Practical and Explanatory on the Whole Bible. Rev. ed. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Publishing House, 1961.
- Jardine, Samuel. The Unsealed Book. Kilmarnock: John Ritchie, 1966.
- Jastrow, Marcus. A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature. 2 vols. New York: Title Publishing Company, 1943.
- Jellicoe, Sidney. The Septuagint and Modern Study. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968.
- Jenkins, Ethel Stout. The Time of the End. Washington, DC: By the author, 1939-1944.
- Jenkins, Ferrell. The Old Testament in the Book of Revelation. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1972.
- Jenson, Russell. "The Locust Motif in the Scriptures." Unpublished MS. Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews Univeristy, March, 1982.
- Jeremias, Joachim. "abaddôn." Theological Dictionary of the New Testament. Edited by Gerhard Kittel and Gerhard Friedrich. Translated and edited by Geoffrey Bromiley. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1964-1976. 1:4.
- _____. "abussos." Theological Dictionary of the New Testament. Edited by Gerhard Kittel and Gerhard Friedrich. Translated and edited by Geoffrey Bromiley. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1964-1976. 1:9,10.

- Jeremias, Joachim. New Testament Theology. Translated by John Bowden. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1971.
- Jernigan, Wade T. The Unsealed Book. Nashville: Randall House Publication, 1975.
- Jeske, Richard L. Revelation for Today. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1983.
- _____. "Spirit and Community in the Johannine Apocalypse." New Testament Studies 31 (1985):452-466.
- Jöns, Klaus-Peter. Das hymnische Evangelium. Studien zum NT. Vol. 5. Gütersloh: Gerd Mohn, 1971.
- Johnson, Alan F. Revelation. Bible Study Commentary. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Publishing Co., 1983.
- Johnson, Franklin. The Quotations of the New Testament from the Old. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1896.
- Johnson, John B. A Commentary on the Revelation of John. London: Skeffington & Son, 1904.
- Johnson, S. Lewis. The Old Testament in the New. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Publishing House, 1980.
- Jones, William. Lectures on the Apocalypse. New rev. ed. London: G. Wightman, 1833.
- Junkin, George. The Little Stone and the Great Image. Philadelphia: James M. Campbell & Co., 1844.
- Kahle, Paul E. The Cairo Geniza. 2nd ed. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1959.
- _____. "Das palästinische Penteteuchtargum und das zur Zeit Jesu gesprochene Aramäisch." Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft 49 (1958): 100-116.
- Kaiser, Walter C., Jr. The Uses of the Old Testament in the New. Chicago: Moody Press, 1985.
- Kallas, James G. "The Apocalypse--an Apocalyptic Book?" Journal of Biblical Literature 86 (1967):69-80.
- _____. Revelation: God and Satan in the Apocalypse. Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg Publishing House, 1973.

- Karner, K. "Gegenwart und Endgeschichte in der Offenbarung des Johannes." Theologische Literaturzeitung 93 (1968):641-652.
- Kehnscherper, Günther. "Santorin. Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen über Erinnerungen an die Santorinkatastrophe in Apok. 6,12-15; 8,5-12 und 9,2-10." Theologische Literaturzeitung 93 (1968):632-635.
- _____ und die Sonne Verfinsterte sich. Halle: VEB Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1972.
- Keith, Alexander. The Harmony of Prophecy. New York: Harper and Brothers, Publishers, 1851.
- Kelly, James. The Apocalypse Interpreted in the Light of "The Day of the Lord." 2 vols. London: James Nisbet and Co., 1849.
- Kelly, William, ed. The Collected Writings of J. N. Darby. Vol. 8. London: G. Morrish, 1867-1901.
- Kemp, Joseph W. Outline Studies on Revelation. Edinburgh: By the Author, n.d.
- Kempson, Wayne Richard. "Theology in the Revelation of John." Ph.D dissertation, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1982.
- Kent, H. Harold. The Unveiling of Jesus Christ. Toronto: G. R. Welch Co., 1978.
- Kepler, Thomas S. The Book of Revelation. New York: Oxford University Press, 1957.
- Ketter, Peter. Die Apokalypse. Herders Bibelkommentar. Vol. 16, pt. 2. Freiburg: Herder & Co., 1942.
- Kiddle, Martin. The Revelation of St. John. The Moffat NT Commentary. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1940.
- Kimball, I. E. A Short Study of the Book of Revelation. Charleston, SC: Daggett Printing Co., 1897.
- Klassen, W. "Vengeance in the Apocalypse of John." Catholic Biblical Quarterly 28 (1966): 300-311.
- Klein, M. L. "New Editions of the Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch." In Arameans, Aramaic and the Aramaic Literary Tradition, pp. 89-95. Edited by Michael Sokoloff. Ramat-gan, Israel: Bar Ilan University Press, 1983.

- Knoch, Adolf E. The Unveiling of Jesus Christ. Los Angeles, CA: Concordant Publishing Concern, 1925.
- Knudsen, Ebbe Egede. A Targumic Aramaic Reader. Semitic Study Series. Vol. 5. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1981.
- Kobs, Hermann. Gottes Geheimnis. Hamburg: Advent-Verlag, n.d.
- Koch, Klaus. "Einleitung." In Apokalyptik, pp. 1-29. Wege der Forschung. Vol. 365. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1982.
- _____. "Vom profetischen zum apokalyptischen Visionsbericht." In Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and the Near East, pp. 413-446. Edited by David Hellholm. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1983.
- _____. The Rediscovery of Apocalyptic. Translated by Margaret Kohl. Studies in Biblical Theology. 2nd series, vol. 22. Naperville, IL: Alec R. Allenson, 1970.
- Koehler, Ludwig, and Baumgartner, Walter. Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti Libros. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1958.
- Koester, Helmut. Introduction to the New Testament. 2 vols. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1982.
- Kooy, Vernon H. "The Apocalypse and Worship: Some Preliminary Observations." Reformed Review 30 (1977):198-209.
- Kraft, Heinrich. Die Offenbarung des Johannes. Handbuch zum Neuen Testament. Vol. 16a. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1974.
- _____. "Zur Offenbarung des Johannes." Theologische Rundschau 38 (1973):81-98.
- Kraft, R. A. "Septuagint: B. Earliest Greek Versions (Old Greek)." Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible. Sup. vol., pp. 811-815. Edited by Keith Crim. Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1976.
- Kubel, Robert. Die Offenbarung Johannis. Munich: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1893.
- Kümmel, Werner Georg. Introduction to the New Testament. Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1975.

- Kuiper, Gerard J. The Pseudo-Jonathan Targum and Its Relationship to Targum Onkelos. Rome: Institutum Patristicum "Augustinianum," 1972.
- Kuyper, Abraham. The Revelation of St. John. Translated by John Hendrik de Vries. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1964.
- Ladd, George Eldon. A Commentary on the Revelation of John. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1972.
- _____. "The Theology of the Apocalypse." Gordon Review 7 (1963):73-86.
- _____. A Theology of the New Testament. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1974.
- _____. "Why Not Prophetic-Apocalyptic?" Journal of Biblical Literature 76 (1957):192-200.
- Läuchli, S. "Eine Gottesdienst-Stuktur in der Johannes Offenbarung." Theologische Zeitschrift 16 (1960):359-378.
- Lafont, Louis. L'Apocalypse de Saint Jean. Paris: Librairie Téqui, 1975.
- La Haye, Tim F. Revelation Illustrated and Made Plain. La Verne, CA: El Camino Press, 1973.
- Lambrecht, Jan. "The Book of Revelation and Apocalyptic in the New Testament: Colloquium Biblicum Lovaniense XXX (August 28-30, 1979)." Ephemerides théologique Lovaniensis 55 (1979):391-397.
- _____. "A Structuration of Revelation 4,1-22,5." In L'Apocalypse Johannique et l'Apocalyptique dans le Nouveau Testament, pp. 77-104. Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Théologicarum Lovaniensium. Vol. 53. Edited by J. Lambrecht. Gembloux: Leuven University Press, 1980.
- Lampe, Peter. "Die Apokalyptiker--ihre Situation und ihr Handeln." In Eschatologie und Friedenshandeln, pp. 59-114. Essays by Ulrich Luz et al. Stuttgarter Bibelstudien. Vol. 101. Stuttgart: Verlag Katholisches Bibelwerk GMBH, 1981.
- Lang, Friedrich. "pur, etc." Theological Dictionary of the New Testament. Edited by Gerhard Kittel and Gerhard Friedrich. Translated and edited by Geoffrey Bromiley. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1964-1976. 6:929-952.

- Lange, J. P. Die Offenbarung des Johannes. Theologisches-homiletisches Bibelwerk. Bielefeld und Leipzig: Verlag von Velhagen und Klasing, 1871.
- Langenberg, Heinrich. Die Zubereitung der Gemeinde zum Dienst im Königreich des Christus nach der Apokalypse. Hamburg: Schriftenmission Dr. Ernst Achtel, n. d.
- LaRondelle, Hans K. The Israel of God in Prophecy. Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1983.
- Lavergne, Ceslas. L'Apocalypse. Paris: J. Gabalda et Cie, 1948.
- Lawrence, D. H. Apocalypse. Reprint of 1931 ed. Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England: Penguin Books, 1974.
- Laymon, Charles M. The Book of Revelation. New York: Abingdon Press, 1960.
- Le Déaut, Roger. "Apropos a Definition of Midrash." Interpretation 25 (1971):259-282.
- _____. "The Current State of Targumic Studies." Biblical Theology Bulletin 4 (1974):3-32.
- _____. "Targumic Literature and New Testament Interpretation." Biblical Theology Bulletin 4 (1974):243-289.
- Le Déaut, Roger, and Lécuyer, Joseph. "Exode." In Dictionnaire de spiritualité. Vol. 4, pt. 2. Paris: Beauchesne, 1961.
- Lee, Samuel. An Inquiry into the Nature, Progress, and End of Prophecy. Cambridge: University Press, 1899.
- Lehrman, S. M. The Jewish Festivals. London: Shapiro, Vallentine and Co., 1956.
- Leishman, Thomas Linton. The Interrelation of the Old and New Testaments. New York: Vantage Press, 1968.
- Lenski, R. C. H. The Interpretation of St. John's Revelation. Columbus, OH: Wartburg Press, 1943.
- Léon-Dufour, X. "Bulletin d'exégèse du Nouveau Testament. Autour de l'Apocalypse de Jean." Recherches de science religieuses 71 (2, 1983):309-336.

- Lestringant, Pierre. Essai sur l'unité de la révélation biblique. Paris: Editions "Je Sers," 1942.
- Levy, Jacob. Wörterbuch über die Talmudim und Midrashim. 4 vols. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1963.
- Liddell, Henry George, and Scott, Robert. A Greek-English Lexicon. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968.
- Lilje, Hanns. The Last Book of the Bible. Translated by Olive Wyon. Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1957.
- Lindars, Barnabas. New Testament Apologetic. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1961.
- _____. "The Place of the Old Testament in the Formation of New Testament Theology." New Testament Studies 23 (1976):59-66.
- Ling, T. "Satan Enthroned." Southeast Asia Journal of Theology 3 (1961):41-53.
- Lippi, Paul. "The Fifth Trumpet." Andrews University Alumni Focus 10 (4, 1974):15-18.
- Litch, J. A Complete Harmony of Daniel and the Apocalypse. Philadelphia: Claxton, Remse & Haffelfinger, 1873.
- Loenertz, R. J. The Apocalypse of Saint John. Translated by Hilary J. Carpenter. London: Sheed and Ward, 1947.
- Lohmeyer, Ernst. "Die Offenbarung des Johannes." In Apokalyptik, pp. 258-264. Edited by Klaus Koch. Wege der Forschung. Vol. 365. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1982.
- _____. Die Offenbarung des Johannes. Handbuch zum NT. Vol. 16. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1926.
- Lohse, Eduard. "Die alttestamentliche Sprache des Sehers Johannes." Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft 52 (1961):122-126.
- _____. "Apokalyptik und Christologie." Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft 62 (1971):48-67.
- _____. The New Testament Environment. Translated by John E. Steely. Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1976.

- Lohse, Eduard. Die Offenbarung des Johannes. Das Neue Testament Deutsch. Vol. 11. 3rd ed. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1971.
- Loisy, Alfred F. L'Apocalypse de Jean. Frankfurt am Main: Minerva GMBH, 1972.
- Longenecker, Richard. Biblical Exegesis in the Apostolic Period. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1975.
- Longman, Tremper. "The Divine Warrior: The New Testament Use of an Old Testament Motif." Westminster Theological Journal 44 (1982):290-307.
- Love, Julian Price. The First, Second and Third Letters of John, The Letter of Jude, The Revelation to John. Vol. 25. The Layman's Bible Commentary. Richmond: John Knox Press, 1960.
- Lund, Nils Wilhelm. Studies in the Book of Revelation. N. p.: Covenant Press, 1955.
- Lys, Daniel. The Meaning of the Old Testament. Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1967.
- McConkey, James H. The Book of Revelation. Pittsburgh: Silver Publishing Society, 1921.
- McConnell, Richard S. Law and Prophecy in Matthew's Gospel. Theologischen Dissertationen. Vol. 2. Basel: Friedrich Reinhardt Kommissionsverlag, 1969.
- McDowell, Edward A. The Meaning and Message of the Book of Revelation. Nashville: Broadman Press, 1951.
- MacDuff, J. R. Memories of Patmos. London: James Nisbet, 1871.
- Macho, Alejandro Diez, ed. Biblia Polyglotta Matritensia. Series IV. Targum Palestinense in Pentateuchum. Vol. 5. Deuteronium. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Cientificas, 1980.
- Macho, Alejandro Diez, ed. Neofiti I. 5 vols. Madrid-Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Cientificas, 1968-1978.
- McLeod, Alexander. Lectures upon the Principle Prophecies of the Revelation. New York: Whiting & Watson, Eastburn, Kirk & Co., 1814.

- McNamara, Martin. The New Testament and the Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch. Analecta Biblica, Vol. 27a. 2nd printing with sup. Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1978.
- _____. Targum and Testament. Shannon: Irish University Press, 1972.
- McNicol, Allen. "Revelation 11:1-14 and the Structure of the Apocalypse." Restoration Quarterly 22 (1979): 193-202.
- MacRae, George. "Apocalyptic Eschatology in Gnosticism." In Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and the Near East, pp. 317-325. Edited by David Hellholm. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1983.
- Maggioni, Bruno. L'Apocalisse per una lettura profetica del tempo presente. Assisi: Citadella Editrice, 1981.
- Maier, Gerhard. Die Johannesoffenbarung und die Kirche. Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum NT. Vol. 25. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1981.
- Majka, Frank. "Of Beasts and Christians." Bible Today 22 (1984):279-284.
- Mandemaker, G. W., and Stahl, R. Der Versuch einer christozentrischen Auslegung der sechsten und siebenten Plage. Berlin: By the Authors, 1970.
- March, William. Apocalyptic Sketches. Toronto: By the Author, 1860.
- Martin, Ernest L. The Birth of Christ Recalculated. 2nd ed. Pasadena, CA: Foundation for Biblical Research, 1980.
- Martin, J. L. The Voice of the Seven Thunders. Bedford, IN: James M. Mathes, 1870.
- Masterman, John H. B. Studies in the Book of Revelation. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1918.
- Mauro, Philip. The Patmos Visions. Boston, MA: Scripture Truth Depot, 1925.
- Maxwell, C. Mervyn. God Cares. Vol. 2. Boise, Idaho: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1985.

- Maycock, A. L. The Apocalypse. Westminster: Dacre Press, 1941.
- Mead, Richard T. "A Dissenting Opinion about Respect for Context in Old Testament Quotations." New Testament Studies 10 (1963-1964):279-289.
- Mead, Willis Waldo. The Apocalypse of Jesus Christ. New York: W. W. Mead, 1908.
- Mede, Joseph. The Key of the Revelation. Translated by Richard More. London: Phil Stephens, 1643.
- Melton, Loyd Dale. "A Critical Analysis of the Understanding of the Imagery of City in the Book of Revelation." Ph.D. dissertation, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1978.
- Meyer, Arnold. Jesu Muttersprache. Frieburg i. B./Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1896.
- Michaelis, Wilhelm. "pègè." Theological Dictionary of the New Testament. Edited by Gerhard Kittel and Gerhard Friedrich. Translated and edited by Geoffrey Bromiley. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1964-1976. 6:112-117.
- _____. "pikros, etc." Theological Dictionary of the New Testament. Edited by Gerhard Kittel and Gerhard Friedrich. Translated and edited by Geoffrey Bromiley. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1964-1976. 6:122-125.
- _____. "piptô." Theological Dictionary of the New Testament. Edited by Gerhard Kittel and Gerhard Friedrich. Translated and edited by Geoffrey Bromiley. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1964-1976. 6:161-166.
- Michel, Otto. Paulus und Seine Bibel. Reprint ed. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1971.
- Michl, J. "Die Deutung der apokalyptischen Frau in der Gegenwart." Biblische Zeitschrift 3 (1959): 301-310.
- _____. "Zu Apk 9,8." Biblica 23 (1942):192-193.
- Mickelsen, A. Berkeley. Daniel and Revelation: Riddles or Realities? Nashville: Thomas Nelson Publishers, 1984.

- Miller, Merrill P. "Targum, Midrash and the Use of the Old Testament in the New Testament." Journal for the Study of Judaism 2 (1971):29-82.
- Milligan, William. The Book of Revelation. The Expositor's Bible. Cincinnati: Jennings & Graham, [1889].
- _____. Lectures on the Apocalypse. London: MacMillan and Co., 1892.
- Minear, Paul S. "An Apocalyptic Adjective." Novum Testamentum 12 (1970):218-222.
- _____. I Saw a New Earth. Washington, DC: Corpus Books, 1968.
- _____. "Ontology and Ecclesiology in the Apocalypse." New Testament Studies 12 (1966):89-105.
- Moberly, C. A. E. Five Visions of the Revelation. London: A. R. Mowbray, [1939].
- Moffat, James. The Revelation of St. John The Divine. The Expositor's Greek Testament. Vol. 5. Edited by W. Robertson Nicoll. Reprint ed. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1980.
- Mole, Robert Lee. "An Inquiry into the Elements of the Fifth and Sixth Trumpets of Revelation Nine." B.D. thesis. SDA Theological Seminary, 1957.
- Mollat, Donatien. Une lecture pour aujourd'hui: L'Apocalypse. 2nd ed. Paris: Les Editions du Cerf, 1984.
- Montagnini, F. "Le 'signe' d'Apocalypse 12 a la lumière de la christologie du Nouveau Testament." Nouvelle revue théologique 89 (1967):401-416.
- Montgomery, James A. "The Education of the Seer of the Apocalypse." Journal of Biblical Literature 45 (1926):70-80.
- Moor, Johannes C. de. New Year with Canaanites and Israelites. Kampen: J. H. Kok N. V., 1972.
- Morant, Peter. Das Kommen des Herrn. Zürich: Thomas-Verlag, 1969.
- Morgen, Michèle. "Apocalypse 12, un targum de l'Ancien Testament." Foi et vie 80 (6, 1981):63-74.

- Morris, Henry M. The Revelation Record. Wheaton, IL: Tyndale House Publishers; and San Diego, CA: Creation-Life Publishers, 1983.
- Morris, Leon. Apocalyptic. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1972.
- _____. The Biblical Doctrine of Judgment. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1960.
- _____. "Gall, Poison, Wormwood." New International Dictionary of New Testament Theology. Vol. 2. Edited by Colin Brown. Grand Rapids MI: Zondervan Publishing House, 1976. 2:27-29.
- _____. The Revelation of St. John. Tyndale NT Commentaries. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1969.
- Mounce, Robert H. The Book of Revelation. The New International Commentary on the NT, vol. 17. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1977.
- Mowinckel, Sigmund. Psalmenstudien. 2 vols. Amsterdam: Verlag P. Schippers N. V., 1966.
- Mowry, L. "Revelation IV-V and Early Christian Liturgical Usage." Journal of Biblical Literature 71 (1952): 75-84.
- Müller, F. Max, ed. The Sacred Books of the East. Pahlavi Texts. Vol. 5. Translated by E. W. West. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1880.
- Müller, Hans-Peter. "Die Plagen der Apokalypse." Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft 51 (1960):268-278.
- Müller, Ulrich B. "Literarische und formgeschichtliche Bestimmung der Apokalypse des Johannes als einem Zeugnis frühchristlicher Apokalyptik." In Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and the Near East, pp. 599-619. Edited by David Hellholm. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1983.
- _____. Messias und Menschensohn in jüdischen Apokalypsen und in der Offenbarung des Johannes. Studien zum Neuen Testament. Vol. 6. Gütersloh: Gerd Mohn, 1972.
- _____. Prophetie und Predigt im Neuen Testament. Gütersloh: Gerd Mohn, 1975.

- Müller-Jurgens, Wilhelm. Apokalypse. Nürnberg: Glock und Lutz Verlag, [1961].
- Munck, Johannes. Petrus und Paulus in der Offenbarung Johannis. Copenhagen: Rosenkilde Og Bagger, 1950.
- Murphy, Roland E. "Christian Understanding of the Old Testament." Theology Digest 18 (1970):321-332.
- _____. "The Relationship between the Testaments." Catholic Biblical Quarterly 26 (1964):349-359.
- Mussies, G. "DYO in Apocalypse ix 12 and 16." Novum Testamentum 19 (1967):151-154.
- _____. "The Greek of the Book of Revelation." In L'Apocalypse johannique et l'Apocalyptique dans le Nouveau Testament, pp. 167-177. Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Théologiarum Lovaniensium. Vol. 53. Edited by J. Lambrecht. Gembloux: Leuven University Press, 1980.
- _____. The Morphology of Koine Greek as Used in the Apocalypse of John. Supplements to Novum Testamentum. Vol. 27. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1971.
- Naden, Roy. Studies in Revelation. Lecture Manual No. 3. Arroyo Grande, CA: Concerned Communications, 1981.
- Neall, Beatrice. The Concept of Character in the Apocalypse with Implications for Character Education. Chicago, IL: University Press of America, 1982.
- Neall, Ralph E. The Vindication of God in Daniel and Revelation. Unpublished MS, Andrews University, 1976.
- Nelson, Ronald R. "Apocalyptic Speculation and the French Revolution." Evangelical Quarterly 53 (1981): 194-206.
- Nestle, Eberhard, et al., eds. Novum Testamentum Graece. 26th ed. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelstiftung, 1979.
- Nevin, Robert. Studies in Prophecy. Londonderry: James Montgomery, 1890.
- Neusner, Jacob. Midrash in Context: Exegesis in Formative Judaism. The Foundations of Judaism: Method, Teleology, Doctrine. Part 1: Method. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1983.

- Newbolt, Michael Robert. The Book of Unveiling. London: SPCK, 1952.
- Newell, William R. The Book of Revelation. Chicago: Grace Publications, 1941.
- Newman, Barclay M. Rediscovering the Book of Revelation. Valley Forge: Judson Press, 1968.
- Nichol, Francis D. The Seventh-day Adventist Bible Commentary. Vol. 7. Rev. ed. Washington, DC: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1980.
- Nickels, Peter. Targum and New Testament. Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1967.
- Nickelsburg, George W. E. Jewish Literature between the Bible and the Mishnah. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1981.
- _____. "Social Aspects of Palestinian Jewish Apocalypticism." In Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and the Near East, pp. 641-654. Edited by David Hellholm. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1983.
- Nicole, Roger. "New Testament Use of the Old Testament." In Revelation and the Bible, pp. 135-151. Edited by Carl F. H. Henry. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1958.
- _____. "A Study of the Old Testament Quotations in the New Testament with Reference to the Doctrine of the Inspiration of the Scriptures." M.S.T. thesis. Gordon College of Theology and Missions, 1940.
- Nikolainen, A. T. "Der Kirchenbegriff in der Offenbarung des Johannes." New Testament Studies 9 (1963):351-361.
- _____. "Über die theologische Eigenart der Offenbarung des Johannes." Theologische Literaturzeitung 93 (1968):161-170.
- Niles, D. T. As Seeing the Invisible. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1961.
- Nützel, Johannes M. "Zum Schicksal der eschatologischen Propheten." Biblische Zeitschrift 20 (1976):59-94.
- O'Connell, K. G. "Greek Versions (minor)." Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible. Sup. vol., pp. 377-381. Edited by Keith Crim. Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1976.

- Oepke, Albrecht. "apokaluptô, apokalupsis." Theological Dictionary of the New Testament. Edited by Gerhard Kittel and Gerhard Friedrich. Translated and edited by Geoffrey Bromiley. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1964-1976. 3:563-592.
- _____. "apolluôn." Theological Dictionary of the New Testament. Edited by Gerhard Kittel and Gerhard Friedrich. Translated and edited by Geoffrey Bromiley. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1964-1976. 1:397.
- _____. "lampô, etc." Theological Dictionary of the New Testament. Edited by Gerhard Kittel and Gerhard Friedrich. Translated and edited by Geoffrey Bromiley. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1964-1976. 4:16-28.
- Olivier, André. Apocalypse et évangiles. Saint Maurice: En Vente Chez L'Auteur, cité "La Thébaine," 1960.
- Oman, John. Book of Revelation. Cambridge: University Press, 1923.
- Onstad, Esther. Courage for Today, Hope for Tomorrow. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1975.
- O'Rourke, J. J. "The Hymns of the Apocalypse." Catholic Biblical Quarterly 30 (1968):399-409.
- Osborn, Thomas. The Lion and the Lamb. New York: Abingdon Press, 1922.
- Ottman, Ford C. The Unfolding of the Ages. Reprint of 1905 ed. Grand Rapids, MI: Kregel, 1967.
- Ozanne, C. G. "The Language of the Apocalypse." The Tyndale House Bulletin 16 (April, 1965):3-9.
- Palmer, Earl F. 1, 2, 3 John, Revelation. The Communicator's Commentary. Vol. 12. Waco, Texas: Word Books, 1982.
- Palmer, Frederic. The Drama of the Apocalypse. New York: MacMillan Company, 1903.
- Palmoni, Y. "Locust." Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible. Edited by George Arthur Buttrick. Nashville: Abingdon, 1962. 3:144-148.

- Parker, Harold M. "The Scripture of the Author of the Revelation of John." The Iliff Review 37 (1980):35-51.
- Patte, Daniel. Early Jewish Hermeneutic in Palestine. Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series, no. 22. Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1975.
- Paulien, Jon. Review of The Israel of God in Prophecy by Hans LaRondelle. Andrews University Seminary Studies 22 (1984):373-375.
- Peake, Arthur S. The Revelation of John. London: Holborn Press, 1919.
- Peerman, Ernest Leslie. Living Messages from Patmos. New York: Pyramid Press, 1941.
- Pelikan, Jaroslav. Development of Christian Doctrine: Some Historical Prolegomena. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1969.
- Peschek, P. Joseph. Geheime Offenbarung und Tempeldienst. Paderborn: Verlag Ferdinand Schöningh, 1929.
- Petersen, Norman R. Literary Criticism for New Testament Critics. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1978.
- Petraglio, R. et al. L'Apocalypse de Jean. Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1979.
- Pfeiffer, R. H. "Canon of the OT." Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible. Edited by George Arthur Buttrick. Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1962. 1:498-520.
- Pfendsack, Werner. Der Herr ist Nahe. Basel: Verlag Friedrich Reinhardt, 1963.
- Phillips, John. Exploring Revelation. Chicago: Moody Press, 1974.
- Philo. The Decalogue. Trans. by F. H. Colson. Loeb Classical Library.
- _____. The Life of Moses. Trans. by F. H. Colson. Loeb Classical Library.
- _____. The Special Laws. Trans. by F. H. Colson. Loeb Classical Library.

- Philonenko, Marc. "L'apocalyptique goumrânienne." In Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and the Near East, pp. 211-218. Edited by David Hellholm. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1983.
- Picard, Jean-Claude. "Les trois instances narrative, symbolique et idéologique. Propositions d'analyse applicable à un texte comme l'Apocalypse." Foi et vie 75 (4, 1976):12-25.
- Pilch, John J. What Are They Saying about the Book of Revelation? New York: Paulist Press, 1978.
- Preston, Ronald H., and Hanson, Anthony T. The Revelation of Saint John the Divine. London: SCM Press, 1949.
- Price, George McCready. A New Commentary on Daniel and the Revelation. Pre-publication MS. Loma Linda, CA, 1951.
- _____. Time of the End. Nashville, TN: Southern Publishing Association, 1967.
- Prigent, Pierre. "Apocalypse et apocalyptique." Revue des sciences religieuses 47 (1973):280-299.
- _____. L'Apocalypse de Saint Jean. Commentaire du Nouveau Testament. Vol. 14. Lausanne: Delachaux et Niestlé, 1981.
- _____. Apocalypse et liturgie. Cahiers Théologiques, no. 52. Neuchâtel: Editions Delachaux et Niestlé, 1964.
- _____. "L'étrange dans l'Apocalypse: Une catégorie théologique." Lumière et vie 31 (160, 1982):49-60.
- _____. "Hippolyte, commentateur de l'Apocalypse." Theologische Zeitschrift 28 (1972):391-412.
- _____. "Pour une théologie de l'image: les visions de l'Apocalypse." Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses 59 (1979):373-378.
- _____. "Le symbole dans le Nouveau Testament." Revue des sciences religieuses 49 (1975):101-115.
- Primeau, Ronald. Beyond Spoon River. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1981.
- _____. "Introduction." In Influx: Essays on Literary Influence, pp. 1-13. Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press, 1977.

- Quiery, W. H. "Opening 'the Closed Book' of the New Testament." American Ecclesiastical Review 143 (1960):49-56.
- Rahlfs, Alfred, ed. Septuaginta. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1979.
- Ramsey, James B. The Spiritual Kingdom. Richmond: Presbyterian Committee of Publication, 1873.
- Reader, Thomas. Remarks on the Prophetic Part of the Revelation of St. John. London: J. W. Pasham, 1778.
- Reader, W. W. "The Twelve Jewels of Revelation 21:19,20: Tradition History and Modern Interpretations." Journal of Biblical Literature 100 (1981):433-457.
- Reim, Günter. Studien zum alttestamentlichen Hintergrund des Johannesevangeliums. Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series. No. 22. Cambridge: University Press, 1974.
- Reisner, Erwin. Das Buch mit den sieben Siegeln. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1949.
- Rengstorff, Karl Heinrich. "hepta, etc." Theological Dictionary of the New Testament. Edited by Gerhard Kittel and Gerhard Friedrich. Translated and edited by Geoffrey Bromiley. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1964-1976.
- _____. "potamos." Theological Dictionary of the New Testament. Edited by Gerhard Kittel and Gerhard Friedrich. Translated and edited by Geoffrey Bromiley. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1964-1976. 6:595-607.
- Reuss, Eduard. "Johanneische Apokalypse." In Apokalyptik, pp. 31-40. Edited by Klaus Koch and Johann Michael Schmidt. Wege der Forschung. Vol. 365. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1982.
- Richards, Hubert J. What the Spirit Says to the Churches. New York: P. J. Kenedy & Sons, 1967.
- Richards, I. A. Principles of Literary Criticism. 5th ed. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1934.
- Richardson, Donald W. The Revelation of Jesus Christ. Richmond: John Knox Press, 1939.
- Ricoeur, Paul. The Symbolism of Evil. Religious Perspectives. Vol. 17. New York: Harper and Row, 1967.

- Rife, J. M. "The Literary Background of Revelation II-III." Journal of Biblical Literature 60 (1941):179-182.
- Rissi, Mathias. Alpha und Omega. Basel: Friedrich Reinhardt Verlag, 1966.
- _____. The Future of the World. Studies in Biblical Theology. 2nd ser., vol. 23. Naperville, IL: Alec R. Allenson, 1966.
- _____. "The Kerygma of the Revelation to John." Interpretation 22 (1968):3-17.
- _____. "The Rider on the White Horse: A Study of Revelation 6:1-8." Interpretation 18 (1964):407-418.
- _____. Was ist und was geschehen soll danach. Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments. Vol. 46. Stuttgart: Zwingli Verlag, 1965.
- Rist, Martin. "Visions and the Book of Revelation." Christian Century 91 (1974):428-429.
- Roadhouse, William Frederick. Seeing the Revelation. Toronto: Overcomer Publishers, 1932.
- Robbins, Ray F. The Revelation of Jesus Christ. Nashville: Broadman Press, 1975.
- Roberts, Bleddyn J. The Old Testament Text and Versions. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1951.
- Roberts, J. W. "The Interpretation of the Apocalypse." Restoration Quarterly 8 (1965):154-162.
- _____. "The Meaning of the Eschatology in the Book of Revelation." Restoration Quarterly 15 (1972):95-110.
- _____. The Revelation to John. The Living Word Commentary. Austin, TX: Sweet Publishing Co., 1974.
- Roberts, Robert. Thirteen Lectures. 2nd ed. Birmingham: 21 Hendon Road, Sparkhill, 1900.
- Robertson, A. T. A Grammar of the Greek New Testament in the Light of Historical Research. Nashville: Broadman Press, 1934.

- Rochais, Gerard. "Le Règne des Mille Ans et la Seconde Mort: origines et sens: Apoc. 19:11-20:6." Nouvelle revue théologique 103 (1983):831-856.
- Rohr, Ignaz. Die geheime Offenbarung des HI. Johannes. In die Heilige Schrift des Neuen Testaments. Vol. 10. New ed. Bonn: Peter Hanstein, 1932.
- Roller, Otto. "Das Buch mit sieben Siegeln." Zeitschrift für de neutestamentliche Wissenschaft 36 (1937): 98-113.
- Roloff, Jurgen. Die Offenbarung des Johannes. Zürcher Bibelkommentare NT. Vol. 18. Zürich: Theologischer Verlag, 1984.
- Ronner, Max. Die Zukunft der Welt und die Kirche. Zürich: Zwingli Verlag, 1949.
- Rosenblatt, Louise M. "Towards a Transactional Theory of Reading." In Influx: Essays on Literary Influence, 121-136. Edited by Ronald Primeau. Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press, 1977.
- Ross, J. J. Breaking the Seals. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1924.
- Rossetti, Christina G. The Face of the Deep. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1892.
- Rothfuchs, Wilhelm. Die Erfüllungszitate des Matnaus-Evangeliums. Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament. Vol. 5, no. 8. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 1969.
- Rousseau, François. L'Apocalypse et le milieu prophétique du Nouveau Testament. Tournai: Desclée & Cie, 1971.
- Rousselot, Joseph. L'Apocalypse et notre temps. Paris: Editions du Roseau, 1969.
- Rudolph, Kurt. "Apokalyptik in der Discussion." In Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and the Near East, pp. 771-789. Edited By David Hellholm. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1983.
- Rupert, G. G. Time, Tradition and Truth Concerning the End of the World. 3rd ed. Britton, OK: Union Publishing Company, 1918.
- Russell, D. S. The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1964.

- Rusten, Elmer. "A Critical Evaluation of Dispensational Interpretations of the Book of Revelation." Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1976.
- Sabourin, Leopold. The Bible and Christ. New York: Alba House, 1980.
- _____. "The Bible and Christ: The Unity of the Two Testaments." Biblical Theology Bulletin 8 (1978):77-85.
- Sadler, M. F. The Revelation of St. John the Divine. London: George Bell & Sons, 1893.
- Sahlin, Harald. "Wie wurde ursprüngliche die Benennung 'Der Menschensohn' verstanden?" Studia Theologica 37 (1983):147-179.
- Sander, Friedrich. Versuch einer Erklärung der Offenbarung Johannis. Stuttgart: Johann Friedrich Steinkopf, 1829.
- Sanders, E. P. "The Genre of Palestinian Jewish Apocalypses." In Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and the Near East, pp. 447-459. Edited by David Hellholm. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1983.
- _____. Paul and Palestinian Judaism. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1977.
- Sanders, James T. "Symbolic Terminology in John's Apocalypse." Ph.D. dissertation, Northern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1953.
- Sandmel, Samuel. "Parallelomania." Journal of Biblical Literature 81 (1962):1-13.
- Sasse, Hermann. "gē, epigeios." Theological Dictionary of the New Testament, 1:677-681. Edited by Gerhard Kittel and Gerhard Friedrich. Translated and edited by Geoffrey Bromiley. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1964-1976.
- Satake, Akira. "Kirche und feindliche Welt." In Kirche. Festschrift für Günther Bornkamm zum 75. Geburtstag, pp. 329-249. Edited by Dieter Lührmann and Georg Strecker. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1980.
- Schauss, Hayyim. The Jewish Festivals. New York: Schocken Books, 1962.

- Schick, Eduard. The Revelation of St. John. NT for Spiritual Reading. Vol. 1. Translated by Werner Kruppa. New York: Herder, 1971.
- Schinzer, Reinhard. "Die sieben Siegel, Posaunen und Schalen und die Absicht der Offenbarung Johannis." Theologische Beiträge 11 (1980):52-66.
- Schlatter, A. Das Alte Testament in der johanneischen Apokalypse. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1912.
- Schlier, Heinrich. Besinnung auf das Neue Testament. Freiburg: Herder, 1964.
- _____. Christus und die Geschichte nach der Johannes Apokalypse." In Einsichten. Gerhard Krüger zum 60. Geburtstag, pp. 315-33. Edited by K. Oehler. Frankfurt am Main: Vittorio Klostermann, 1962.
- Schlink, Basilea. Patmos. Carol Stream, IL: Creation House, 1976.
- Schmid, Lothar. "κεντρον." Theological Dictionary of the New Testament. Edited by Gerhard Kittel and Gerhard Friedrich. Translated and edited by Geoffrey Bromiley. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1964-1976. 3:663-668.
- Schmidt, Karl Ludwig. Aus der Johannesapokalypse. Basel: Verlag von Heinrich Maier, 1946.
- _____. "basilea, etc." Theological Dictionary of the New Testament. Edited by Gerhard Kittel and Gerhard Friedrich. Translated and edited by Geoffrey Bromiley. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1964-1976. 1:574-593.
- _____. "Die Bildersprache in der Johannes-Apokalypse." Theologische Zeitschrift 3 (1947):161-177.
- Schmitt, E. "Die christologische Interpretation als das Grundlegende der Apokalypse." Theologische Quartalschrift 140 (1960):257-290.
- Schmitz, E. D. "hepta." New International Dictionary of New Testament Theology. Vol. 2. Edited By Colin Brown. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Publishing House, 1976. 2:690-692.
- Schnackenburg, Rudolf. Present and Future: Modern Aspects of New Testament Theology. South Bend, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1966.

- Schneider, Carl. Die Erlebnisechtheit der Apokalypse des Johannes. Leipzig: Verlag von Dörffling & Franke, 1930.
- Schor, Samuel. The Apocalypse. London: Barbican Mission to the Jews, [193-].
- Schulz, Siegfried. "Die Bedeutung der neuen Targumforschung für die synoptische Tradition." In Abraham Unser Vater, pp. 425-436. Edited by Otto Betz et al. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1963.
- Scott, C. Anderson. Revelation. The New Century Bible. New York: Oxford Univeristy Press, n.d.
- Scott, E. F. The Book of Revelation. New York: Charles Schibner's Sons, 1940.
- Scott, R. B. Y. "Behold He Cometh with Clouds." New Testament Studies 5 (1958-9):127-132.
- Scott, Walter. Exposition of the Revelation of Jesus Christ. London: Pickering and Inglis, 1948.
- Scroggie, William G. The Great Unveiling. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1979.
- Segal, Alan. Two Powers in Heaven: Early Rabbinic Reports about Christianity and Gnosticism. Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity. Vol. 25. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1977.
- Seiss, J. A. The Apocalypse. 3 vols. 7th ed. New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1900.
- Selwyn, Edward Carus. The Oracles in the New Testament. London: Hodder and Stoughton, [1912].
- Shea, W. H. "Chiasm in Theme and by Form in Revelation 18." Andrews University Seminary Studies 20 (1982):249-256.
- _____. "The Covenantal Form of the Letters to the Seven Churches." Andrews University Seminary Studies 21 (1, 1983):71-84.
- Shepherd, Massey H. The Paschal Liturgy and The Apocalypse. Ecumenical Studies in Worship. Vol. 6. Richmond, VA: John Knox Press, 1960.
- Shires, Henry M. Finding the Old Testament in the New. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1974.

- Siegman, E. F. "John The Prophet." Bible Today 1 (1965): 1334-1339.
- Silbermann, Louis H. "Unriddling the Riddle." Revue de Qumran 3 (1961):323-364.
- Simcox, William Henry. The Revelation of St. John the Divine. The Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges. Cambridge: At the University Press, 1921.
- Simpson, Douglas J. The Apocalypse. Nashville: Randall House Publications, 1975.
- Slaght, Lawrence T. "An Analysis of the Concept of Evil and Its Remedy in the Apocalypse of John and in Certain Old Testament Apocalypses." Th.D. dissertation, Eastern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1952.
- Slight, Benjamin. The Apocalypse Explained. Montreal: R. & A. Miller, 1855.
- Smith, Charles E. The World Lighted. 2nd ed. Fredonia, NY: By the Author, 1898.
- Smith, D. C. "The Millennial Reign of Jesus Christ. Some Observations on Rev 20: 1-10." Restoration Quarterly 16 (1973):219-230.
- Smith, D. Moody, Jr. "The Use of the Old Testament in the New." In The Use of the Old Testament in the New and Other Essays, pp. 3-65. Edited by James M. Efird. Durham NC: Duke Univeristy Press, 1972.
- Smith, Ethan. Key to the Revelation. New York: J. & J. Harper, 1833.
- Smith, Grover. T. S. Eliot's Poetry and Plays: A Study in Sources and Meaning. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956.
- Smith, Jacob B. A Revelation of Jesus Christ. Scottdale, PA: Herald Press, 1961.
- Smith, Justin A. Commentary on the Revelation. An American Commentary on the NT. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1884.
- Smith, Morton. Tannaitic Parallels to the Gospels. Journal of Biblical Literature Monograph Series. Vol. 6. Philadelphia: Society of Biblical Literature, 1951.

- Smith, Uriah. Daniel and the Revelation. Nashville: Southern Publishing Association, 1944.
- Smitmans, Adolf. "Ein Beispiel exegetischer Methoden aus dem Neuen Testament Apk 14." In Einführung in die Methoden der biblischen Exegese, pp. 149-193. Edited by Josef Schreiner. Würzburg: Echter Verlag, 1971.
- Sokoloff, Michael. The Targum to Job from Qumran Cave XI. Ramat-Gan, Israel: Bar-Ilan University Press, 1974.
- Sperber, Alexander. New Testament and Septuagint. New York: Jewish Publication Society, 1940.
- Sperber, Alexander, ed. The Bible in Aramaic. Vol. 1: The Pentateuch According to Targum Onkelos. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1959.
- _____. The Bible in Aramaic. Vol. 2: The Former Prophets According to Targum Jonathan. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1959.
- _____. The Bible in Aramaic. Vol. 3: The Latter Prophets According to Targum Jonathan. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1962.
- _____. The Bible in Aramaic. Vol. 4a: The Hagiographa. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1968.
- _____. The Bible in Aramaic. Vol. 4b: The Targum and the Hebrew Bible. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1973.
- Spinks, Leroy C. "Critical Examination of J. W. Bowman's Proposed Structure of The Revelation." Evangelical Quarterly 50 (1978):211-222.
- Spurgeon, William A. The Conquering Christ. Muncie, IN: Scott Printing Company, 1936.
- Stählin, Gustav, et al. "orgê, etc." Theological Dictionary of the New Testament. Edited by Gerhard Kittel and Gerhard Friedrich. Translated and edited by Geoffrey Bromiley. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1964-1976. 5:419-447.
- Stählin, Wilhelm. Symbolon. Stuttgart: Evangelisches Verlagswerk, 1958.
- Stagg, F. "Interpreting the Book of Revelation." Review and Expositor 72 (1975):331-343.

- Stahl, R. Le document 70. Strasbourg: Librairie Istra, 1923.
- Stein, Stephen J. "Providence and Apocalypse in the Early Writings of Jonathan Edwards." Early American Literature 13 (1978-79):250-267.
- Stendahl, Krister. The School of St. Matthew. Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells, 1954.
- Stenning, J. F., ed. The Targum of Isaiah. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1949.
- Stewart, Basil. Revelation Fulfilled in History. London: John Bale, Sons & Danielsson, 1934.
- Stierlin, Henri. La vérité sur L'Apocalypse. Paris: Editions Buchet/Chastel, 1972.
- Stoffel, Ernest Lee. The Dragon Bound: The Revelation Speaks for Our Time. Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1981.
- Storer, R. "A Suggested Modification to Dr. Farrer's Apocalypse Schema." In Studia Evangelica, 6: 510-514. Edited by Elizabeth A. Livingstone. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1973.
- Stormon, E. J. "Austin Farrer on Image Patterns in the Apocalypse." Australian Biblical Review 10 (1962):21-31.
- Strack, Hermann L., and Billerbeck, Paul. Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrash. 4 vols. Munich: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1922-1928.
- Strand, Kenneth A. "Chiastic Structure and Some Motifs in the Book of Revelation." Andrews University Seminary Studies 16 (1978):401-408.
- _____. "A Further Note on the Covenantal Form in the Book of Revelation." Andrews University Seminary Studies 21 (3, 1983):251-264.
- _____. Interpreting the Book of Revelation. Worthington, OH: Ann Arbor Publishers, 1976.
- _____. The Open Gates of Heaven. 2nd ed. Ann Arbor, MI: Ann Arbor Publishers, 1972.
- _____. "An Overlooked Old-Testament Background to Revelation 11:1." Andrews University Seminary Studies 22 (1984):317-325.

- Strand, Kenneth A. Perspectives in the Book of Revelation. Ann Arbor, MI: Ann Arbor Publishers, 1975.
- _____. "Some Modalities of Symbolic Usage in Revelation 18." Andrews University Seminary Studies 24 (1986):37-46.
- _____. "The Two Olive Trees of Zechariah 4 and Revelation 11." Andrews University Seminary Studies 20 (1982):257-261.
- _____. "The Two Witnesses of Rev 11:3-12." Andrews University Seminary Studies 19 (1981): 127-135.
- Strange, Cresswell. Instructions on the Revelation of St. John the Divine. London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1899.
- Strathmann, Hermann. Was soll die "Offenbarung" des Johannes im Neuen Testament? Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann Verlag, 1947.
- Stuart, Moses. A Commentary on the Apocalypse. Vol. 2. Andover: Allen, Morrill and Wardwell, 1845.
- Sukenik, E. L., ed. The Dead Sea Scrolls of the Hebrew University. Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1955.
- Summers, Ray. Worthy Is the Lamb. Nashville: Broadman Press, 1951.
- Sundberg, Albert C. "On Testimonies." Novum Testamentum 3 (1959):268-281.
- Swedenborg, Emanuel. The Apocalypse Revealed. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1934.
- Sweet, J. P. M. "Maintaining the Testimony of Jesus." In Suffering and Martyrdom in the New Testament, pp. 101-117. Edited by William Horbury and Brian McNeil. Cambridge: University Press, 1981.
- _____. Revelation. Westminster Pelican Commentaries. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1979.
- Swete, Henry B. The Apocalypse of St. John. London: MacMillan & Company, 1906.
- _____. An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek. Cambridge: University Press, 1902.

- Tabachovitz, David. Die Septuaginta und das Neue Testament. Skrifter Utgivna av Svenska Institutet I Athen. Ser. 8, vol. 4. Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1956.
- Talbot, Louis T. The Revelation of Jesus Christ. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1937.
- Tanner, Joseph. Daniel and the Revelation. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1898.
- Tasker, R. V. G. The Old Testament in the New Testament. London: SCM Press, 1946.
- Tenney, Merrill C. The Book of Revelation. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1963.
- _____. Interpreting Revelation. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1957.
- Thiele, Edwin R. Outline Studies in Revelation. Class Syllabus. Pacific Union College, Angwin, CA: n.d.
- Thimme, Ludwig. Das Weltendrama. 3rd ed. Schwerin: Verlag Friedrich Bahn, n.d.
- Thom, David. The Number and Names of the Apocalyptic Beasts. London: H. K. Lewis, 1848.
- Thomas, R. L. "The Glorified Christ on Patmos." Bibliotheca Sacra 122 (1965):241-247.
- _____. "The Imprecatory Prayers of The Apocalypse." Bibliotheca Sacra 126 (1969):123-131.
- Thompson, Leonard. "Cult and Eschatology in the Apocalypse of John." Journal of Religion 49 (1969): 330-350.
- _____. "The Mythic Unity of the Apocalypse." In Society of Biblical Literature 1985 Seminar Papers, pp. 13-28. Edited by Kent Harold Richards. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1985.
- _____. "A Sociological Analysis of Tribulation in the Apocalypse of John." Semeia 36 (1986):147-174.
- Thompson, Steven. The Apocalypse and Semitic Syntax. Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series. No. 52. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.

- Thorn, George W. Visions of Hope and Fear. New York: George H. Doran Company, n.d.
- [Tilloch, Alexander]. Dissertations on the Opening of the Sealed Book. Montreal: J. C. Becket, 1848.
- Tinius, J. G. Die Offenbarung Johannis. Leipzig: L. Fort, 1839.
- Tischendorf, Konstantin von. Apocalypses Apocryphae. Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1966.
- Tolzler, Gerhard. Die Offenbarung des Johannes. Hamburg: Agentur des Rauhen Hauses, 1947.
- Torrey, Charles C. The Apocalypse of John. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1958.
- Touilleux, Paul. L'Apocalypse et les Cultes de Domitien et de Cybele. Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1935.
- Toy, Crawford Howell. Quotations in the New Testament. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1884.
- Trever, J. C. "Wormwood." Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible. Edited by George Arthur Buttrick. Nashville: Abingdon, 1962. 4:878,879.
- Trudinger, Leonhard P. "Ho Amen (Rev 3:14), and the Case for a Semitic Original of the Apocalypse." Novum Testamentum 14 (1972):277-279.
- _____. "Some Observations Concerning the Text of the Old Testament in the Book of Revelation." Journal of Theological Studies, n. s. 17 (1966):82-88.
- _____. "The Text of the Old Testament in the Book of Revelation." Ph.D. dissertation, Boston University, 1963.
- Tucker, W. Leon. Studies in Revelation. Reprint ed. Grand Rapids, MI: Kregel Publications, 1980.
- Turner, C. W. M. Outline Studies in the Book of Revelation. Norwalk, OH: American Publishers Co., 1916.
- Turpie, David McCalman. The New Testament View of the Old. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1872.
- _____. The Old Testament in the New. London: Williams and Novgate, 1868.

- Unjhem, Arne. The Book of Revelation. Philadelphia: Lutheran Church Press, 1967.
- Uvarov, Boris. Grasshoppers and Locusts. Vol. 1. Cambridge: University Press, 1966.
- Van Amringe, H. H. Nature and Revelation. R. P. Bixby & Co., 1843.
- Vanderwaal, C. Hal Lindsey and Biblical Prophecy. Translated by Theodore Plantinga. St. Catharines, Ont.: Paideia Press, 1978.
- Vanhoye, A. "L'utilisation du livre d'Ezéchiel dans l'Apocalypse." Biblica 43 (1962):436-476.
- Vanni, Ugo. "L'Apocalypse johannique. Etat de la question." In L'Apocalypse johannique et l'Apocalyptique dans le Nouveau Testament, pp. 21-46. Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Théologiarum Lovaniensium. Vol. 53. Edited by J. Lambrecht. Gembloux: Leuven University Press, 1980.
- Van Ruler, Arnold A. The Christian Church and the Old Testament. Translated by Geoffrey W. Bromiley. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1971.
- Vaucher, Alfred. Les prophéties apocalyptiques et leur interprétation. Collonge-sous-Salève: Imprimerie Fides, 1960.
- Vermes, Geza. "Bible and Midrash: Early Old Testament Exegesis." In The Cambridge History of the Bible. 1:199-231. Edited by P. R. Ackroyd and C. F. Evans. Cambridge: University Press, 1970.
- _____. The Dead Sea Scrolls: Qumran in Perspective. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1977.
- _____. "The Qumran Interpretation of Scripture in Its Historical Setting." The Annual of Leeds University Oriental Society 6 (1966-1968):85-97.
- _____. Scripture and Tradition in Judaism. 2nd ed. Studia Post-Biblica. Vol. 4. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1973.
- Vögtle, Anton. "Der Gott der Apokalypse." In La notion biblique de Dieu, pp. 377-398. Edited by J. Coppens. Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Théologiarum Lovaniensium. Vol. 41. Gembloux: Editions J. Duculot, 1976.

- Vogelgesang, Jeffrey Marshall. "The Interpretation of Ezekiel in the Book of Revelation." Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1985.
- Völter, Daniel. Die Offenbarung Johannis. Strassburg: J. H. Ed. Heitz (Heitz & Mündel), 1904.
- Volz, Paul. Die Eschatologie der jüdischen Gemeinde. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1934.
- Von Rad, Gerhard. Old Testament Theology. Vol. 2. Translated by D. M. G. Stalker. New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1965.
- Vos, Louis Arthur. The Synoptic Traditions in the Apocalypse. Kampen: J. H. Kok, 1965.
- Vuilleumier, Jean. L'Apocalypse. 4th ed. Dammarieles-Lys: Editions "Les Signes des Temps," 1948.
- [Walmsley, Charles]. Pastorini, Signior (Pseud.). The General History of the Christian Church. 4th ed. New York: Hopkins & Seymour, 1807.
- Walvoord, John F. The Revelation of Jesus Christ. Chicago: Moody Press, 1966.
- Way, R.; Giller, E.; and Brinsmead, B. The Consummation. Unpublished MS. Wahroonga, Australia: Avondale College, November 1972.
- Way-Rider, R. "The Distinctive Christian Uses of Scripture in the New Testament." In Studia Evangelica, 6:604-608. Edited by Elizabeth Livingstone. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1973.
- Weeber, George C. The Consummation of History. N.p.: By the Author, 1978.
- Weethee, J. P. "Tachu,"-"Quickly," The Christian Watchword. Union Publication. Tract No. 2. Boston: The Union, n.d.
- Weidner, Revere F. Annotations on the Revelation of St. John the Divine. The Lutheran Commentary. New York: Christian Literature Co., 1898.
- Weir, Jack. "Analogous Fulfillment." Perspectives in Religious Studies 9 (1982):65-76.
- Weiss, Johannes. Die Offenbarung des Johannes. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1904.

- Welch, Adam C. Visions of the End. London: James Clarke & Co., (1923).
- Wellhausen, J. Analyse der Offenbarung Johannis. Abhandlungen der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Philologisch-historische Klasse. New ed., vol. 9, no. 4. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1907.
- Wells, James. Lectures on the Book of Revelation. London: R. Banks, 1870.
- Wepf, Louis. The Revelation of John Made Plain by an Explanation of the Law of Seven. Cincinnati: Western Methodist Book Concern Press, 1886.
- Were, Louis F. The Certainty of the Third Angel's Message. Melbourne: By the Author, 1945.
- _____. The Fall of Babylon in Type and Antitype. N.p.: By the Author, n.d.
- _____. The Moral Purpose of Prophecy. N.p.: By the Author, n.d.
- Wernberg-Moller, P. "An Inquiry into the Validity of the Text Critical Argument for an Early Dating of the Recently Discovered Palestinian Targum." Vetus Testamentum 12 (1962):312-330.
- Wernecke, Herbert H. The Book of Revelation Speaks to Us. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1954.
- Westcott, Brooke Foss. The Epistle to the Hebrews. 2nd ed. London: Macmillan, 1892.
- Westcott, Brooke Foss, and Hort, Fenton John Anthony, eds. The New Testament in the Original Greek. London: MacMillan and Co., 1898.
- Wevers, J. W. "Theodotion." Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible. Edited by George Arthur Buttrick. Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1962. 4:618,619.
- Whealon, John F. "New Patches on an Old Garment: The Book of Revelation." Biblical Theology Bulletin 11 (1981):54-59.
- Wheelwright, Philip. The Burning Fountain: A Study in the Language of Symbolism. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1954.

- White, James Springer. The Sounding of the Seven Trumpets of Revelation VIII and IX. Battle Creek, MI: Steam Press of The Review and Herald Office, 1859.
- Whittemore, Thomas. A Commentary on the Revelation of St. John the Divine. Boston: James M. Usher, 1849.
- Whitwell, Richard. The Apocalypse. London: "The Rally," n.d.
- Wigram, George W. The Englishman's Greek Concordance of the New Testament. 9th ed. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1979.
- _____. The Englishman's Hebrew and Chaldee Concordance of the Old Testament. 5th ed. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1980.
- Wikenhauser, Alfred. Die Offenbarung des Johannes. Regensburger Neues Testament. Vol. 9. Regensburg: Verlag Friedrich Pustet, 1959.
- Wikgren, Allen. "The Targums and the New Testament." Journal of Religion 24 (1944):89-95.
- Wilcock, Michael. I Saw Heaven Opened. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1975.
- Wilcox, Max. "Tradition and Redaction of Rev 21,9-22:5." In L'Apocalypse johannique et l'Apocalyptique dans le Nouveau Testament, pp. 205-215. Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Théologiarum Lovaniensium. Vol. 53. Edited by J. Lambrecht. Gembloux: Leuven University Press, 1980.
- Wilder, Amos N. "Eschatological Imagery and Earthly Circumstance." New Testament Studies 5 (1959): 229-245.
- Williams, Isaac. The Apocalypse. New ed. London: Rivingtons, 1889.
- Winter, Naphtali, ed. The High Holy Days. Jerusalem: Keter Books, 1973.
- Winter, Paul. "Lc 2:49 and Targum Yerushalmi." Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft 45 (1954):145-179.
- Winternitz, M. A Concise Dictionary of Eastern Religion. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1910.
- Wishart, Charles Frederick. The Book of Day. New York: Oxford University Press, 1935.

- Woods, Joseph. The Old Testament in the Church. London: SPCK, 1949.
- Wordsworth, Christopher. Lectures on the Apocalypse. Philadelphia: Herman Hooker, 1852.
- Wright, Addison G. "The Literary Genre Midrash." Catholic Biblical Quarterly 28 (1966):105-138, 417-457.
- Yadin, Yigael. The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness. Hertford, Great Britain: Oxford University Press, 1962.
- Youngberg, Verlene Dewitt. The Revelation of Jesus Christ to His People. Keene, TX: Southwestern Color Graphics, 1977.
- Zahn, Theodor. Die Offenbarung des Johannes. 2 vols. Kommentar zum NT. Vol. 18. Leipzig: A. Deichert-sche Verlagsbuchhandlung Dr. Werner Scholl, 1926.
- Zeillinger, Franz. "Untersuchungen zur Bildsprache der Johannesapokalypse und des Hebräerbriefs." In Memoria Jerusalem. Freundesgabe für Franz Sauer, pp. 143-165. Edited by Johannes B. Bauer and Johannes Marbock. Graz, Austria: Akademische Druck-u. Verlagsanstalt, 1977.
- Züllig, Friedrich Jakob. Die Offenbarung Johannis. Vol. 2. Stuttgart: E. Schweizerbarts Verlagshandlung, 1840.