A CRITICAL AND EXEGETICAL COMMENTARY
ON
THE REVELATION OF ST. JOHN

BY
R. H. CHARLES, D.Litt., D.D.

VOLUME I
The International Critical Commentary

A Critical and Exegetical Commentary

On

The Revelation of St. John

With Introduction, Notes, and Indices

Also

The Greek Text and English Translation

By

R. H. Charles, D.Litt., D.D.

Archdeacon of Westminster

Fellow of the British Academy

(In Two Volumes)

Vol. I

New York

Charles Scribner's Sons

1920
The Rights of Translation and of Reproduction are Reserved.
TO

MY WIFE

TO WHOM

I AM IMMEASURABLY BEHOLDEN
IN THIS AS IN MY OTHER STUDIES
BUT IN THIS
BEYOND ALL THE REST
PREFACE.

In 1894 Messrs. T. & T. Clark asked me to undertake a Commentary on the Apocalypse. The present Commentary, therefore, is the result of a study extending over twenty-five years. During the first fifteen years of the twenty-five—not to speak of the preceding eight years, which were in large measure devoted to kindred subjects—my time was mainly spent in the study of Jewish and Christian Apocalyptic as a whole, and of the contributions of individual scholars of all the Christian centuries, but especially of the last fifty years, to the interpretation of the Apocalypse. The main results of these studies are embodied in my article on "Revelation," in the last edition of the Encyclopaedia Britannica.

But this work had hardly passed through Press before I became convinced that many of the conclusions therein set forth were in a high degree unsatisfactory, and that, if satisfactory results were to be reached, they could only be reached by working first hand from the foundation. From that period onwards I began to break with the traditions of the elders—alike ancient and modern—and to rewrite—and that not once or twice—the sections of my Commentary already written. Thus I soon came to learn that the Book of Revelation, which in earlier years I feared could offer no room for fresh light or discovery, presented in reality a
field of research infinitely richer than any of those to
which my earlier studies had been devoted. The first
ground for such a revolution in my attitude to the Book
was due to an exhaustive study of Jewish Apocalyptic.
The knowledge thereby acquired helped to solve many
problems, which could only prove to be hopeless enigmas
to scholars unacquainted with this literature. But the
second ground was of greater moment still. For the more
I studied the Greek of the Apocalypse the more conscious
I became that no scholar could appreciate the essential
unity of the style of the greater part of the book, or even
translate it, who had not made a special study of the
Greek versions of the Old Testament, and combined
therewith an adequate knowledge of the Greek used by
Palestinian Jewish writers and of the ordinary Greek of
our author's time. From the lack of such a study arose
the multitude of disintegrating theories with which I have
dealt in my Studies in the Apocalypse. The bulk of these
were due to their authors' ignorance of John's style. They
failed to recognize the presence in the text of certain
phrases and passages which conflicted with John's style,
while with the utmost light-heartedness they excised from
his text chapters and groups of chapters which are indis-
putably Johannine.

John's Grammar.—In fact, John the Seer used a unique
style, the true character of which no Grammar of the
New Testament has as yet recognized. He thought in
Hebrew, and he frequently reproduces Hebrew idioms
literally in Greek. But his solecistic style cannot be wholly
explained from its Hebraistic colouring. The language

1 I have already in part dealt with this subject in my Studies in the
Apocalypse, pp. 79-102. I am glad to learn from the editor of Moulton's
Grammar of N. T. Greek that Dr. Moulton abandoned his earlier attitude on
this question after reading these lectures.
which he adopted in his old age formed for him no rigid medium of expression. Hence he remodelled its syntax freely, and created a Greek that is absolutely his own. This Greek I slowly mastered as I wrote and rewrote my Commentary chapter by chapter. The results of this study are embodied in the "Short Grammar" which is included in the Introduction that follows.

The Text.—The necessity of mastering John’s style and grammar necessitated, further, a first-hand study of the chief MSS and Versions, and in reality the publication of a new text and a new translation. When once convinced of this necessity, I approached Sir John Clark and laid before him the need of such a text and such a translation. After consultation with Dr. Plummer, the General Editor of the Series, Sir John acceded to my request with a courtesy and an enthusiasm I have never yet met with in any publisher. Sir John’s action in this matter recalls the best traditions of the great publishers of the past.

For the order of the text and the readings adopted, and for any critical discussion of the text in the Apparatus Criticus, I am myself wholly responsible. The readings followed in the Commentary do not always agree with those in the Greek Text and in the Translation. Where they disagree, the Text, Translation, and Introduction represent my final conclusions. But these disagreements only affect matters of detail as a rule, and not essential questions of method. The Text represents only a fuller development of the methods applied in the Commentary.

Apparatus Criticus.—In the formation of the Appar. Crit. I had to call in the help of other scholars, since owing to over twenty years spent largely in the collation of MSS and the formation of texts in several languages, I felt my eyes were wholly unequal to this fresh strain.
When seeking such help, I had the good fortune to meet the Rev. F. S. Marsh, now Dean of Selwyn College, Cambridge. To his splendid services I am deeply indebted for the preparation of the *Appar. Crit.* At his disposal I placed the photographs of the Uncials A and 8, of twenty-two Cursives, and of all the Versions save the Ethiopic. One-half of the twenty-two Cursives I examined personally in the Vatican Library, in the Laurentian Library in Florence, and in St. Mark's in Venice, and had them photographed. The rest of the photographs I procured through the kind offices of the Librarians of the Bodley, the National Library in Paris, and of the Escurial. Three or even four of these Cursives are equal in many respects to the later Uncials, and in certain readings superior.

Mr. Marsh collated in full the readings of these MSS and practically all the readings of the Versions, and prepared the *Appar. Crit.* of chapters i.–v. Readings from other Cursives have been adopted from Tischendorf, Swete, and Hoskier. Unfortunately, when the work was far advanced, Mr. Marsh was called off to the War for three years. During his absence, Professor R. M. Gwynn and Miss Gertrude Bevan most kindly came to my help, and verified the *Appar. Crit.* of i.–v., with the exception of the Syriac and Ethiopic Versions. There are three other scholars to whom my warm thanks are due. The first is the Rev. Cecil Cryer, who verified Mr. Marsh's collations of vi.–xiv. and embodied them in the *Appar. Crit.*, and

---

1 I am myself responsible throughout for the collation of the Ethiopic Version. For my own satisfaction also, I have collated and verified hundreds—in some cases thousands—of readings in each of the other Versions, and in each of the twenty-two MSS.

2 Professor Gwynn also read through the proofs of the Commentary, and Miss Bevan gave me most ungrudging help in part of the Introduction.
subsequently carried i.—xiv. through the Press. During this process I verified here and there in the proofs thousands of readings from the MSS and Versions, but this revision was of necessity only partial. Mr. Marsh then made a complete revision of the *Apparatus Criticus* and corrected a large number of *errata*. The other two scholars are the Rev. D. Bruce-Walker and the Rev. J. H. Roberts. These in conjunction verified Mr. Marsh's collations of xv.—xxii., the former taking the larger share of the work. At this juncture Mr. Marsh returned, and prepared and carried through Press xv.—xxii. Once again I must record my grateful thanks to Mr. Marsh, and express the hope that he may find time and opportunity for research, and so make the contributions to scholarship for which he is so well qualified. Also I would express my gratitude to the Rev. George Horner for the large body of readings which he put at my service from the Sahidic Version, and the frequent help he gave in connection with readings from the Bohairic Version; and to Professor Grenfell for calling my attention to the Papyrus Fragments of the Apocalypse (see vol. ii. 447–451). Finally, I wish to express my gratitude to Dr. Plummer for his patience and kindness throughout the long years in which I was engaged on this Commentary, as well as for the many corrections he made in the revision of the proofs.

*The Indexes.*—For the first and fourth Indexes I am indebted to the competent services of the Rev. A. Ll. Davies, Warden of Ruthin, North Wales.

*The Translation.*—The Translation is based on the text. While the text diverges in many passages from

---

1 Mr. Cryer further helped me by verifying the references in the Introduction.
that accepted in the Commentary, the Translation diverges from the text practically only in one (ii. 27).

In the Translation I have sought to recover the poetical form in which the Seer wrote so large a part of the Apocalypse. Nearly always, when dealing with his greatest themes, the Seer's words assume—perhaps unconsciously at times—the forms of parallelism familiar in Hebrew poetry. Even the strophe and antistrophe are found (see vol. ii. 122, 434-435). To print such passages as prose is to rob them of half their force. It is not only the form that is thereby lost, but also much of the thought that in a variety of ways is reinforced by this parallelism.

*The Apocalypse—a Book of Songs.*—Though our author has for his theme the inevitable conflicts and antagonisms of good and evil, of God and the powers of darkness, yet his book is emphatically a Book of Songs. Dirges there are, indeed, and threnodies; but these are not over the martyrs, the faithful that had fallen, but spring from the lips of the kings of the earth, its merchant princes, its seafolk, overwhelmed by the fall of the empire of this world and the destruction of its mighty ones in whom they had trusted, or from the lips of sinners in the face of actual or impending doom. But over the martyred Church, over those that had fallen faithful in the strife, the Seer has no song of lesser note to sing than the beatitude pronounced by Heaven itself: "Blessed—blessed are the dead that die in the Lord." A faith immeasurable, an optimism inexpugnable, a joy inextinguishable press for utterance and take form in anthems of praise and gladness and thanksgiving, as the Seer follows in vision the varying fortunes of the world struggle, till at last he sees evil fully and finally destroyed, righteousness established for evermore, and all the faithful—even the weakest of God's servants
amongst them—enjoying everlasting blessedness in the eternal City of God, bearing His name on their foreheads, and growing more and more into His likeness.

The Apocalypse—a book for the present day.—The publication of this Commentary has been delayed in manifold ways by the War. But these delays have only served to adjourn its publication to the fittest year in which it could see the light—that is, the year that has witnessed the overthrow of the greatest conspiracy of might against right that has occurred in the history of the world, and at the same time the greatest fulfilment of the prophecy of the Apocalypse. But even though the powers of darkness have been vanquished in the open field, there remains a still more grievous strife to wage, a warfare from which there can be no discharge either for individuals or States. This, in contradistinction to the rest of the New Testament, is emphatically the teaching of our author. John the Seer insists not only that the individual follower of Christ should fashion his principles and conduct by the teaching of Christ, but that all governments should model their policies by the same Christian norm. He proclaims that there can be no divergence between the moral laws binding on the individual and those incumbent on the State, or any voluntary society or corporation within the State. None can be exempt from these obligations, and such as exempt themselves, however well-seeming their professions, cannot fail to go over with all their gifts, whether great or mean, to the kingdom of outer darkness. In any case, no matter how many individuals, societies, kingdoms, or races may rebel against such obligations, the warfare against sin and darkness must go on, and go on inexorably, till the kingdom of this world has become the kingdom of God and of His Christ.
It is at once with feelings of thankfulness and of regret that I part with a work that has engaged my thoughts in a greater or lesser measure for twenty-five years. On the one hand, I am thankful that I have been permitted to bring this study of the Apocalypse to a close, though this thankfulness is tempered by a keen sense of its many shortcomings, of which none can be so conscious as I am myself. On the other hand, I cannot help a feeling of regret that I am breaking with a study which has been at once the toil and the delight of so many years; and in parting with it I would repeat, as Professor Swete does in his work on the Apocalypse, St. Augustine's prayer: Domine Deus . . . quaecumque dixi in hoc libro de tuo, agnoscant et tui; si qua de meo, et Tu ignosce et tui.¹

R. H. C.

4 Little Cloisters, Westminster Abbey,
May 1920.

¹ Advice to the reader.—Since the present work on the Apocalypse is a large one, and in many respects difficult, it would be advisable for the serious as well as for the ordinary student to read through the English translation first. This will introduce him to the main problems of the book, and help him to recognize that the thought of our author is orderly and progressive, and easier to follow than that of the Epistle to the Hebrews or of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans. After the Translation he should read the Introduction, §§ 1, 4, and such others as these may suggest to him. The serious student should master the chief sections of the Short Grammar (pp. cxvii–clix). So prepared, he can then face the problems discussed in the Commentary, and recognize the grounds for the adoption of certain readings and interpretations and the rejection of those opposed to them.

Each chapter (or, in two cases, groups of chapters) is preceded by an introduction. Such introductions are divided into sections. The first section (§ 1) always gives the general thought of the chapter that follows, while the remaining sections discuss the diction and idiom of the chapter, its indebtedness to the Old Testament and other sources, and many other questions, exegetical, critical, and archaeological.
CONTENTS.

INTRODUCTION, pp. xxi-cxci.


II. Authorship of the Johannine Writings. Evidence internal—purely linguistic. The Apocalypse (J*P) and the Gospel (J) from different authors. § 1. Grammatical differences, p. xxix. § 2. Differences in diction, p. xxix sq. § 3. Different words and forms used by these writers to express the same idea, p. xxx sq. § 4. Words and phrases with one meaning in J*P¹ and another in J, p. xxxi sq. § 5. Authors of J*P and J were in some way connected with each other, pp. xxxii-xxxiv. § 6. J and 1. 2. 3 J by the same author, pp. xxxiv-xxxvii. § 7. The importance of these conclusions for Johannine criticism, p. xxxvii.

III. Authorship of the Johannine Writings. Evidence partly internal, but mainly external. § 1. J*P not pseudonymous, but the work of John the Seer, p. xxxviii sq. § 2. The author of J*P is distinct from the author of J, p. xxxix sq. § 3. There were two Johns according to Papias, the Apostle and the Elder, the latter being the author of J*P according to Dionysius, p. xl sq. § 4. 1. 2. 3 J by the author of J, p. xli sq. § 5. If John the Elder is admitted to be the author of 2. 3 J, as is done by many competent scholars, then he is the author also of J and 1 J, pp. xlii-xliii. § 6. If John the Elder is the author of J and 1. 2. 3 J, is John the Apostle the author of J*P? No. Its author claims to be a prophet, not an apostle. He was a Palestinian Jew who migrated late in life to Asia Minor, p. xliii sq. § 7. The silence of the writers of the first two centuries as to any residence of John the Apostle in Asia tells against his being author of J*P, p. xlv. § 8. These conclusions confirmed by the tradition of John the Apostle’s early martyrdom, which, if trustworthy, renders his authorship of J*P or J, 1. 2. 3 J impossible. That John the Apostle died a martyr’s death before 70 A.D. is to be inferred on the following grounds: (a) Prophecy of Jesus to that

¹ J*P = the Apocalypse, J the Gospel, 1 J the First Epistle, etc.

xvii
effect, p. xlv sq.; (δ) the Papias-tradition, p. xlvi; (ε) the statements of certain ancient writers (145–344 A.D.), pp. xlvi–xlviii; (ζ) the Syriac Martyrology and certain Church Calendars, pp. xlviii–l.

IV. The Editor of Jsp. The present order of 204–22 could not possibly have originated with its author. Hence the necessary hypothesis of an editor, whose existence, though suggested occasionally by certain intrusions in the earlier chapters, was not demonstrable till 204–22 was reached. The interpolations in 1–19, when restudied from the standpoint of this hypothesis, appear in a new light, and these combined with those in 20–22 make it an easy task to sketch the main lines of this editor's character. He was apparently a Jew of the dispersion, a better Grecian than his master, but otherwise a person profoundly stupid and ignorant; a narrow fanatic and celibate, not quite loyal to his trust as editor; an arch-heretic, though, owing to his stupidity, probably an unconscious one, pp. l–lv.


VI. Greek and Hebrew Sources, and their Dates, pp. lxii–lxv.

VII. Books of the O.T., of the Pseudepigrapha, and of the N.T. used by our author. § 1. General summary of the facts, p. lxxv sq. § 2. John translated directly from the O.T., and did not quote any Greek version, though often influenced by the LXX (i.e. o') and another later version—a revised form of o', which was subsequently revised and incorporated by Theodotion in his version (i.e. θ'), pp. lxvi–lxxviii. § 3. Passages based directly on the Hebrew of the O.T. (or the Aramaic of Daniel); these are hardly ever literal quotations, pp. lxxviii–lxxvii. § 4. Passages based on the Hebrew of the O.T., or on the Aramaic of Daniel, but influenced, in some cases certainly, in others possibly, by o', p. lxxviii sq. § 5. Passages based on the Hebrew of the O.T. or on the Aramaic of Daniel, but influenced, in some cases certainly, in others probably, by a later form of o', which is preserved in θ', p. lxxx sq. § 6. Phrases and clauses in our author which are echoes of O.T. passages, p. lxxxi sq. § 7. Passages dependent on or parallel with passages in the Pseudepigrapha, p. lxxxii sq. § 8. Passages in some cases dependent on, and in other cases parallel with, earlier books of the N.T., pp. lxxxiii–lxxvii.

VIII. Unity of Jsp. § 1. Unity of thought and dramatic development, lxxxvii sq. § 2. Unity of style and diction. Examples of unity of diction, lxxxviii sq. § 3. The unity in dramatic movement does not exclude the use of sources and earlier visions of his own. Some earlier visions and writings of his own re-edited. Generally their inclusion gives them a new meaning (footnote, p. lxxxix). Sources re-edited and incorporated, pp. lxxxix–xci.
IX. Date of \textsuperscript{J}\textsuperscript{AP}. § 1. External evidence. The Trajanic, Claudian, and Neronic dates. The Domitianic date, pp. xci–xciii. § 2. Internal evidence. (1) Such evidence exists alike for the Neronic, Vespasianic, and Domitianic dates. (2) Evidence for the Domitianic which explains all the rest. (a) Use of earlier N.T. books. (b) The present form of the Seven Epistles points to a Domitianic date, though originally written under Vespasian, p. xciii sq. (c) The imperial cult (though presupposed throughout \textsuperscript{J}\textsuperscript{AP}) not enforced till the reign of Domitian, p. xciv sq. (d) The Nero-vedivius myth exhibits phases belonging to the reigns of Titus (?), Vespasian, and Domitian. Domitian not to be identified with the Antichrist, pp. xcv–xcvii.

X. Circulation and reception. § 1. No certain trace of \textsuperscript{J}\textsuperscript{AP} in the Apostolic Fathers, p. xcvi sq. § 2. In the 2nd cent. \textsuperscript{J}\textsuperscript{AP} was all but universally accepted in Asia Minor, Western Syria, Africa, Rome, South Gaul, pp. xcvii–c. § 3. Two protests against its Johannine authorship and validity in the 2nd cent. (a) Marcion. (b) The Allogi, p. c sq. § 4. Question of its authenticity reopened by Dionysius of Alexandria, p. ci. § 5. Rejected by the Syro-Palestinian Church and the Churches of Asia Minor. § 6. Ignored or unknown in the Eastern-Syrian and Armenian Churches for some centuries, p. ci sq. § 7. Always accepted in the West, gradually came to be acknowledged in the East, p. ciii sq.


XIII. Grammar of the Apocalypse, pp. cxvii–clix. For contents, see p. cxvii.
CONTENTS


Addenda et Corrigenda, p. cxci.

Commentary on Chapters I.–XIII. and XIV. 12–13, 1–373.
INTRODUCTION.

I.

§ 1. Short Account of the Seer and his Work.

John the Seer, to whom we owe the Apocalypse, was a Jewish Christian who had in all probability spent the greater part of his life in Galilee before he emigrated to Asia Minor and settled in Ephesus, the chief centre of Greek civilization in that province. This conclusion is in part to be drawn not only from his defective knowledge of Greek and the unparalleled liberties he takes with its syntax, but also from the fact that to a certain extent he creates a Greek grammar of his own.¹ He had never mastered the Greek of his own day. The language of his adoption was not for him a normalized and rigid medium of utterance: nay rather, it was still for him in a fluid condition, and so he used it freely, remodelling its syntactical usages and launching forth into unheard of expressions. Hence his style is absolutely unique. That he has set at defiance the grammarian and the usual rules of syntax is unquestionable, but he did not do so deliberately. He had no such intention. His object was to drive home his message with all the powers at his command, and this he does in some of the sublimest passages in all literature. With such an object in view he had no thought of consistently committing breaches of Greek syntax. How then is the unbridled licence of his Greek constructions to be explained? The reason, as the present writer hopes to prove,² is that while he wrote in Greek he thought in Hebrew and frequently translated Hebrew idioms literally into Greek. In Galilee he had no doubt used Aramaic as the ordinary vehicle of intercourse with his fellows, but all his serious studies were rooted in Hebrew. He had so profound a knowledge of the O.T. that he constantly uses its phraseology not only consciously, but even unconsciously. When using it consciously he uses the Hebrew text, and translates it generally first hand; but not infrequently his renderings are influenced not only by the LXX, but also by a later version,

¹ See pp. cxvii-clix.  ² See pp. cxlii-clii.
which is now lost in its original form, but which was re-edited by Theodotion 100 years later.¹

John the Seer was quite distinct from the author of the Gospel and Epistles.² That the Gospel and Epistles were from one and the same author, who was probably John the Elder, I have shown below.³ That these two Johns belonged to the same religious circle, or that the author of the Gospel was a pupil of John the Seer, is not improbable.⁴

We gather from the Apocalypse that John the Seer exercised an unquestioned authority over the Churches of the Province of Asia. To seven of these, chosen by him to be representatives of Christendom as a whole,⁵ he wrote his great Apocalypse in the form of a letter, about the year 95 A.D.⁶ The object⁷ of the Apocalypse was to encourage the faithful to resist even to death the blasphemous claims of the State, and to proclaim the coming victory of the cause of God and of His Christ not only in the individual Christian, and the corporate body of such individuals, but also in the nations as such in their national and international life and relations. It lays down the only true basis for national ethics and international law. Hence the Seer claims not only the after-world for God and for His people, but also this world. God's work will be carried on without haste, without rest, till "the kingdom of this world has become the kingdom of God and of His Christ."

The Seer has used freely not only his own visions of various dates,⁸ but also Jewish and Christian sources of Neronian and Vespasianic dates in the presentation of his great theme.⁹

The fact of his having freely used sources might seem to militate against the unity of his work.¹⁰ But this is not so. A glance at the Plan¹¹ of the book will show how thought and action steadily advance step by step from its very beginning till they reach their consummation and culminate at its close.

But unhappily the prophet did not live to revise his work, or even to put the materials of 204—22 into their legitimate order.¹² This task fell, to the misfortune of all students of the Apocalypse, into the hands of a very unintelligent disciple. This disciple was a better Greek scholar than his master, for he corrects his Greek occasionally, and was probably a Greek-speaking Jewish Christian of Asia Minor. He had not his master's knowledge of Hebrew, if he had any knowledge of it, and he was profoundly ignorant of his master's thought. If he had left

¹ See pp. lxvi sqq., lxxx sq.
² See pp. xxix-xl.
³ See pp. xli—xlii.
⁴ See pp. xxxii—xxxiv.
⁵ See p. xxiv.
⁶ See pp. xxv—xxvi.
⁷ See pp. xc, xciv.
⁸ See pp. lxxvii—xcii.
⁹ See pp. l—lv.
¹⁰ See pp. xxiv—xxviii.
¹¹ See pp. xxv—xxvi.
¹² See pp. l—lv.
his master's work as he found it, its teaching would not have been the unintelligible mystery it has been to subsequent ages; but unhappily he intervened repeatedly, rearranging the text in some cases, adding to it in others, and every such inter-
vention has made the task of interpretation impossible for all students who accepted such rearrangements and additions as genuine features of the text. Since, however, his handiwork and character are fully dealt with later, we need not waste more time here over his misdemeanours.\(^1\)

When once the interpolations of John's editor, which amount to little more than twenty-two verses, are removed, and the dislocations of the text are set right,\(^2\) most of the difficulties of the text disappear and it becomes a comparatively easy task to follow the thought of our author as it develops from stage to stage, from its opening chapters darkened with the shadow of the great tribulation about to fall on entire Christendom, till it reaches its triumphant close in the eternal blessedness of all the faithful in the new heaven and the new earth.

The Apocalypse consists of a Prologue, \(1^1-3\), the Apocalypse proper, consisting of seven parts—a significant number—and an Epilogue. The events in these seven parts are described in visions \textit{in strict chronological order}, save in the case of certain proleptic visions which are inserted for purposes of encourage-
ment and lie outside the orderly development of the theme of the Seer: \textit{i.e.} 7\(^9-17\) 10–11\(^13\) 14, and 12, which relates to the past, but forms a necessary introduction to 13.\(^3\)

Thus there is no need to resort to the theory of Recapitula-
tion which from the time of Victorinus of Pettau (\textit{circa 270 A.D.}) has dominated practically every school of interpretation from that date to the present. So far is it from being true that the Apocalypse represents more or less fully, under each successive series of the seven seals, the seven trumpets and the seven bowls, the same series of events, that the interpretation which is com-
pleted to fall back on this device must be pronounced a failure. This principle of interpretation, like many other forlorn efforts in this field, arose mainly from the non-recognition by scholars in the past of the interpolations made in the text by the disciple and editor of the Seer.

\section*{§ 2. Plan of the Book.}

The Apocalypse consists of a Prologue, \(1^1-3\), a letter consisting of seven distinct parts: \((1)\) 1\(^4^0\)–20\(^2\), \((2)\) 2–3, \((3)\) 4–5, \((4)\) 6–20\(^3\), \((5)\) 21\(^9^0–22\(^2\), 14–15, 17, \((6)\) 20\(^4^0–10\), \((7)\) 21\(^5^5\), \(4\), \(5\), \(1–4\), \(abc\) 22\(^3^8\), and an Epilogue, 21\(^5^5\), \(6b\)–8, 22\(^6^6\), 26–7, 18\(^a\), 16, 13, 12, 10, 8–9, 20–21.

\footnote{1 See pp. 1–lv.} \footnote{2 See pp. lvi–lx.} \footnote{3 See p. xxv.}
The Apocalypse consists of a Prologue, the Apocalypse proper—consisting of seven distinct parts, and an Epilogue. In the Prologue, \(^{1-8}\), the Apocalypse is affirmed to have been given by God to Christ and by Christ to John. In the Epilogue the truth of the claims made in the Prologue is attested by God, \(^{21,50} 60-8\); by Christ, \(^{22,6-7. 18a. 16. 18. 10}\); and by John himself, \(^{22,8-9. 20-21}\).

The seven parts and the Epilogue constitute a letter, \(^{14-22}\), which, like the Pauline letters, opens with “John to the Seven Churches. . . . Grace unto you, and peace, from Him which is, and which was, and which is to come; and from Jesus Christ” \(^{14-5a}\), and ends with the words, “The grace of the Lord Jesus be with all the saints. Amen.”

The Prologue and Epilogue are not more subsequent additions to the book. They are organic parts of it. Not to mention other grounds, this is at once obvious from the fact that the Prologue contains the first of the seven beatitudes of the Apocalypse \(^{i.e. 1}\), and the Epilogue the seventh \(^{i.e. 22}\). That there should be exactly seven beatitudes in our book and not more and not less, is at once intelligible to all students of the Apocalypse.

The Book, apart from the Prologue and Epilogue, falls naturally into seven parts—again a significant division. In Jewish writers the favourite division of a work was a fivefold one. Thus the five books of the Pentateuch, of the Psalms, of the Megilloth, of the Maccabean history by Jason of Cyrene, of \(^1\) Enoch, of the Pirke Aboth. This fivefold division is clearly traceable in Matthew (see \( Horae Synopticae\), \(^2. 16; 164; Hawkins\)). But the number five does not occur in our author save with evil associations \(^{c.f. 9^5. 10. 17^10}\), whereas seven is a most sacred number in his regard.

The seven parts are as follows: \(^1\) \(^{14-20}\). John’s letter to the Seven Churches, in which he tells how Christ had appeared to and bidden him to send to the Churches the visions written in this book. \(^2\) \(^2-3\). The problem of the book—as reflected in the letters to the Churches—how to reconcile God’s righteousness and Christ’s redemption with the condition of His servants on earth. \(^3\) \(^4-5\). A vision of God and a vision of Christ, who takes upon Himself the guidance of the world’s destinies and its judgments. \(^4\) \(^6-7^8. 8^1. 3-5. 2. 6. 13-9. 11^14-13. 15-20^3\). Judgments of the world. \(^5\) \(^21^9-22. 14-15. 17. 20^4-10\). The Millennial Kingdom: attack of evil powers on the Beloved City at its close: their destruction and the casting of Satan into the lake of fire. \(^6\) \(^20^11-15\). Heaven and earth vanish: final judgment by God Himself. \(^7\) \(^21^5a. 4d. 5b. 1-4abc. 22^8-5\). The

\(^1\) See note on i. 3; also footnote \(^1\) in vol. ii. 445.
everlasting Kingdom in the new heaven and earth and the New Jerusalem.

In these seven parts the events described in the visions are in strict chronological order, save that the Seer is obliged in chap. 12 to consider past events in order to prepare for those in 13. But there are certain sections of the book lying outside the orderly development of the Seer's theme, sc. 79-17 10-1113 and 14. These three additions, which do not carry on the action of the divine drama and are likewise breaches of unity in respect of time, are all proleptic. After 71-8 the visionary gaze of the Seer leaves for the moment the steady progressive unveiling of the events of his future and beholds in 79-17 the more distant destinies of the martyred faithful triumphant and secure before the throne of God in heaven (although these sealed members of the Church are not martyred till 13), and of the same host of martyrs on Mount Zion (during the period of the Millennial Kingdom) in 141-6. These visions are recounted out of their due order to encourage and inspire the Church in the face of an impending universal martyrdom. In the case of 10-1113 the explanation is different. Our Seer sees Rome to be the impersonation of sheer might, of wickedness and lawlessness, i.e. the Antichrist. But before our Seer's time in Christian circles Jerusalem was expected to be the scene of the appearance of the Antichrist (2 Thess. 24) and Rome was regarded as the representative of order. This former view of the Antichrist is preserved in this proleptic section, but no reference is made again to it throughout the remaining chapters.

In the analysis which follows the three proleptic sections are inserted on the right hand of the page:

Prologue, 11-8.  
11-8. The Revelation given by God to Christ and by Christ entrusted to John. John's testimony to it as from God and Christ. The first beatitude on those who keep the things written therein.

I. John writes to the Seven Churches to tell them that he has seen Christ and been bidden by Him to send them the visions written in this book—14-20.

14-7. John begins his letter to the Seven Churches with the blessing of grace and peace from the Everlasting God and Jesus Christ, Lord of the dead and Ruler of the living, the Redeemer.

19-20. John recounts his vision of the Son of Man in Patmos, who bids him to write down what he saw in a book and to send it to the Seven Churches.
II. Problem of the book set forth in the Letters to the Seven Churches, which reflect the seeming failure of the cause of both God and Christ on earth—2-3.

III. Vision of God, to whom the world owes its origin, and of Christ, to whom it owes its redemption—4-5.

IV. Judgments. First Series—
the first Six Seals.

Judgments. Second Series, 7-13—
The seventh Seal and the Three Woes, bringing into manifestation the servants of God and the servants of Satan and Satan himself. Before the seventh Seal there is a pause on earth, during which God marks out His servants by a seal on their foreheads; after the seventh Seal there is a pause in heaven during which His servants' prayers are presented before God—both the sealing of the faithful and their prayers being designed to secure them against the Three Woes.

First and Second Woes bring Satan's servants into manifestation and affect only those who had not been sealed.

2-3. Letters to the Seven Churches. These implicitly set the problem. How are God’s righteousness and Christ’s redemption of the world to be reconciled with the condition of His servants on earth and the dominating power of evil thereon? Hence John’s visions, embracing heaven and earth, begin in 4-5 with God and Christ as the Supreme Powers in the world.

4. Scene of John’s visions is no longer earth with its failures, troubles, and outlook darkened with the apprehension of universal martyrdom, but heaven with its atmosphere of perfect assurance and peace and thanksgiving and joy. John’s vision of God—of a throne and of Him that sat thereon, to whom the Cherubim and Elders offered continual praise, and to whose will the whole creation owes its being.

5. Vision of Christ, who, having wrought redemption for God’s people, takes upon Himself the guidance of the destinies of the world in a series of judgments.

6. First series of judgments affecting all men alike, good and bad—the first six Seals.

71-8. Further judgments stayed till the spiritual Israel are made manifest through the seal of God affixed on their foreheads and are thus secured against the Three Woes, against the first two absolutely, and against the spiritual effects of the third.

79-17. Proleptic vision of a vast multitude of the faithful in heaven, i.e. of those who had just been sealed and had died as martyrs—a vision subsequent in point of time to the visions in 13, 81. 3-5. 2. 6. 13. The seventh Seal, introducing the Three Woes, is followed by silence in heaven, during which the prayers of the faithful are offered before God in heaven for protection against the Three Woes.

9-1114a. First and second demonic woes (heralded by trumpet blasts) affecting only those who had not been sealed, with torment and death respectively.
Third Woe, followed by two songs of triumph in heaven, brings into full manifestation Satan, his chief agents the two Beasts, and all his servants. Evil is now at its climax. All Satan’s servants are visited with spiritual blindness and marked with the mark of the Beast. All the faithful are martyred.

Vision of the entire martyr host in heaven who had proved themselves victorious over the Beast and his image.

\[10-11^\text{a}\text{. Proleptic digression on the Antichrist in Jerusalem—a vision contemporaneous in point of time with 13.}\]

\[11^\text{b}\text{. Third and Satanic Woe heralded by a trumpet blast. Thereupon two songs of triumph burst forth in heaven declaring that God is King, and faithful and faithless alike will receive their due recompense.}\]

\[12-13\text{. Third or Satanic Woe. Satan at last fully manifest. Climax of his power and his apparent triumph on earth. In 12 the vision is retrospective: it recounts the birth and ascension of Christ and the casting down of Satan to earth—facts closely connected; also Satan’s persecution of the Church. In 13 Satan summons to his help the first and second Beasts. The faithless are spiritually blinded and marked by the mark of the Beast. All the faithful are martyred.}\]

\[14^\text{b}\text{. Proleptic vision (a) of the Church triumphant on earth in the Millennial Kingdom and the conversion of the heathen—a vision contemporaneous with 204-6, and (b) in 14^\text{b}, 11. 14. 18-30 of judgment of Rome and of the heathen nations—a vision contemporaneous with and summarizing 18. 19^\text{b}-21 20^\text{a}-10.}\]

\[15^\text{b}\text{. Vision of the martyred host (martyred in 13) standing on the sea of glass before God, singing praises and proclaiming the coming conversion of the nations.}\]

\[15^\text{b}-8\text{. The Seven Bowls of God’s wrath entrusted to the Seven Angels.}\]

\[16\text{. The Seven Bowls.}\]

\[17^\text{b}\text{. Vision of the Great Harlot seated on the Beast.}\]

\[17^\text{b}-18\text{. Interpretation of this vision.}\]

\[18^\text{b}-23^\text{d}\text{. Vision of her destruction.}\]

\[18^\text{b}-20, 28-24\text{. The Seer’s appeal to Heaven to rejoice.}\]

\[19^\text{b}\text{. Thanksgiving song of the angels.}\]

\[19^\text{b} 16^\text{b}-8\text{. Thanksgiving song of the Elders and Cherubim.}\]

\[16^\text{b}\text{. Thanksgiving song of the altar beneath the throne.}\]

\[19^\text{b}-8\text{. Thanksgiving song of the martyr host in heaven.}\]
(β) Destruction of the Parthian hosts by Christ and His elect.

(γ) Destruction of the hostile nations by Christ and the armies of Heaven. The Beast and False Prophet cast into the lake of fire, and Satan chained for 1000 years.

V. Millennial Kingdom: Jerusalem come down from heaven to be its Capital. Reign of the martyred Saints for 1000 years.

Final attack of the evil powers on the Saints in the Beloved City: their destruction and the casting of Satan into the lake of fire.

VI. Heaven and Earth having vanished, a great white throne appears, before which the dead come to be judged by God Himself.

VII. The Everlasting Kingdom established in which God and Christ dwell with man. Reign of all the saints for ever and ever.

| 21^9-22^2, 14-15, 17 20^4-6. Vision of the Heavenly Jerusalem coming down from heaven to be the abode of Christ and the glorified martyrs who are to reign with Christ 1000 years and evangelize the nations. |
| 20^7-10. Close of the Millennial Kingdom. Satan loosed: march of Gog and Magog against the Beloved City: their destruction and the casting of Satan into the lake of fire. |

Epilogue.

Lost (though referred to proleptically in 17^1 and presupposed in 19^13: possibly displaced by the interpolated passage, 19^8-10).

19^11-21. The Word of God and the armies of Heaven destroy the hostile nations. The Beast and False Prophet cast into the lake of fire.

20^1-3. As Satan was cast down from heaven on the fresh advent of Christ, on Christ’s second advent he is cast into the abyss and chained for 1000 years.

20^7^11-15. Vision of a great white throne, and of Him that sat thereon. Disappearance of the former heaven and earth. Judgment of those risen from the dead, both bad and good. Death and hell cast into the lake of fire.

21^5a. 4d. 5b. 1-4 abc 22^3-5. The new heaven, the new earth, and the New Jerusalem. The faithful reign as kings for ever and ever,

21^5c. 6b-8. God’s testimony to John’s book and His message to mankind through John of divine sonship for them that overcome.


II.

AUTHORSHIP OF THE JOHANNINE WRITINGS—LINGUISTIC EVIDENCE.

The Apocalypse and the Fourth Gospel\(^1\) from different Authors.

We shall deal here only with the linguistic evidence on this question, which is in itself decisive. We shall, however, discover later that the two writers were related to each other, either as master and pupil, or as pupils of the same master, or as members of the same school.

§ 1. The grammatical differences. — These make the assumption of a common authorship of J and J\(^{ap}\) absolutely impossible, unless a very long interval intervenes between the dates of J\(^{ap}\) and J. But such an assumption is made impracticable by the best modern research. Furthermore, our author's style shows no essential change in the interval of from 10 to 20 or more years, which elapsed between the writing of the Letters to the Seven Churches and the Apocalypse as a whole (see vol. i. 43-47). The reader will find the grammatical differences between J\(^{ap}\) and J dealt with in the grammar. The main evidence is given under the heading, "The Hebraic Style of the Apocalypse"; but throughout the rest of the grammar (see particularly "The Order of Words") the evidence is more than adequate to prove diversity of authorship. Observe amongst a host of other differences that, whereas J uses \(\mu \eta\) with the participle 11 times and the genitive absolute frequently, our author uses neither. Also that whereas in our author the attracted relative never occurs, it often occurs in J: see 4.14 7.59 1520 175. 11-12 2110 and 1 J 324. Again, in J\(^{ap}\) \(\alpha \xi \iota \omega\) is followed by inf. ; in J by \(\iota \upsilon\).

§ 2. Differences in diction.—Lists of words found in J\(^{ap}\) but not in J could be given here, or vice versa, but such divergence in the use of words might in the main be due to difference of subject. But it is instructive to touch upon a few phenomena of this nature. Thus our author has \(\pi \iota \sigma \iota \iota\) 4 times and \(\pi \iota \sigma \tau \sigma\) 8, whereas J has not \(\pi \iota \sigma \tau \sigma\) at all, \(\pi \sigma \iota \tau \sigma\) once, but \(\pi \tau \iota \sigma \tau \epsilon \iota \epsilon\) nearly 100 times. Our author uses \(\upsilon \omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \upsilon\) 7 times and \(\sigma \omicron \omicron \iota \alpha\) 4, but J, neither. On the other hand, J uses \(\alpha \gamma \alpha \tau \alpha \upsilon\) 36 times and \(\alpha \gamma \alpha \tau \alpha \gamma\) 7 (1. 2. 3 J 31 and 21 respectively), but our author has \(\alpha \gamma \alpha \tau \alpha \upsilon\) only 4 and \(\alpha \gamma \alpha \tau \alpha \gamma\) only 2 times. Again, \(\alpha \lambda \iota \theta \epsilon \iota \alpha, \alpha \lambda \iota \theta \epsilon \iota \alpha\), and \(\chi \alpha \rho \alpha\) found so frequently in J, are wholly absent from our author. J has \(\mu \epsilon \nu\) . . . \(\delta \epsilon\) 6 or more

\(^1\) For convenience' sake J will designate the Gospel, 1 J the first Epistle, etc., J\(^{ap}\) the Apocalypse.
times, our author not once: ἀλλὰ 100 and γάρ 65, and our author 13 and 16 respectively. Again our author has ἐνῶτιον 34 times and ἧνα 45, whereas J has these once and 150 times respectively.

§ 3. Different words or forms used by these writers to express the same idea.—Our author uses ἃρπιον (=Lamb of God) 29 times where J uses ἀμνὸς 2: μον or ἐμοῦ 1 (=“mine”) where J uses ἐμὸς 36 times: αὐτὸς as an emphatic pronoun 3 20 14 10 19 12, whereas J uses ἕκεινος in this sense while he uses αὐτὸς as an unemphatic pronoun: see Abbott, Gr. 236. Again our author says ἐν μέσῳ or ἀνὰ μέσον where J uses μέσος: Ἰερονυσίλημα. Our author uses ἰδοὺ (26), but J ἰδέ: Ἰονδαῖος, 29 39 (=a member of the Chosen People of God, nearly so in Ro 217-28), where J has Ἰσραήλίτης, 147. Again, whereas our author defines the historic city Jerusalem as τῆς πόλεως . . . ήτις καλεῖται πνευματικῶς Σόδομα, 1J, J names it as Ἱεροσύλυμα, 1110 218 etc.

A very interesting divergence is to be observed where the Greek equivalent of “called” or “named” occurs. Here our author always has καλέῖν and J λέγειν. Thus we have τὴ νήσῳ τ. καλομένη Πάτμω, 129 ὁ καλοῦμενος Διάβολος, while J writes 45 πόλει . . . λεγομένην Συχάρ, 426 Μεσσίας . . . ὁ λεγομένος Χριστός, 1116 θωμᾶς ὁ λεγόμενος Διὸνυσος (cf. 138 52 9 11 54 20 24 21): and just as our author says, 118 ἤτις καλεῖται . . . Σόδομα, so J 1917 says ὁ λέγεται . . . Γολγοθά. The divergence comes still more into relief when we compare J ap 1616 τῶν τ. καλοῦμενον . . . Ἀρ Μαγεδών and J 1913 τῶν λεγόμενον Διδόστρωτον. On this as well as on other grounds 811a καὶ τὸ ὀνόμα τοῦ ἀστέρου λέγεται ὁ Ἀφίμθος is to be excised as a gloss.

Again, our author always uses κατοικεῖν of living in a certain locality; J sometimes uses μένειν in this sense, but never κατοικεῖν: also ὁλέγον, 1710 (=“a little while”), whereas J says μικρὸν in the same sense 9 times; and ὅς 8 times while J uses ὁτίον once.

A very delicate distinction calls for attention in their equivalents of the English “no longer.” Thus our author4 says ὅκ . . . ἔτι (14, including chap. xviii.), but J always ὁκέτι (12), and ὅς with finite verb by way of illustration (227), while J uses καθός with finite verb (1315 1512 1728 etc.).

Finally, whereas J frequently uses καθός (31, and 1. 2. 3 J 13

1 J uses ὅς (6), ὑμετέρος (3), ἰδιος (15), and J ὑμετέρος (2), but our author uses the possessive pronouns always in their stead. He has ἐμὸς once.
2 In our author Ἱερονυσίλημα is used only of the heavenly or the New Jerusalem. It is used by Paul always, and nearly always by Luke, of the historic city, whereas Mark always (and Matt. always save once) uses Ἱεροσύλυμα.
3 Uses ἰδοὺ 4 times.
4 Our author has ὁκέτι 3 times (2 of these in chap. xviii.).
times), our author uses always ὁσ in the same sense. Where J says καθὼς ἔγει (i 5'), our author says ὁσ καθὼς (27). 1 Where Jap uses ἅξρε (11 times), J uses ἔως. Neither J nor 1, 2, 3 J use ἅξρε. Where Jap uses σφράρα, 16, 2, 3 J, uses λίαν. In this last contrast, I assume that 2, 3 J and J are from the same author.

§ 4. Words and phrases with one meaning in our author and a different one in J:

APOCALYPSE.

ἀληθινὸς = true in word as opposed to false (= ἀληθής).
ἀκομένως φωνής = ἀκομένως φωνὴ.

ἀντὸς used as emphatic pronoun.

ὁ δοῦλος τοῦ θεοῦ = a title of the highest honour: cf. 1 (bibi) 75 107 118; ὄνερα, 21 22 = "freely._" ἐθνὸς or ἐθνη (23) = Gentiles, 26; 115 etc., orall nations, including the Jews (?).
'Iουδαίος, 2; 3 — used in a good sense.

κόσμος = the created world, 115 138 179.
λαός = Gentiles generally, but = Christian believers twice.
'Ο Άγιος τοῦ θεοῦ, 198 — a conception developed in Jewish thought.

οὖν (6), always illative, 3 a particle of logical appeal.

παρατίθεντος, 27 125 1918 = "to destroy" (though in 717 = "to feed").

FOURTH GOSPEL.

="genuine" as opposed to unreal.
See vol. i. 85 sq.
Different meaning in J. See Gram., vol. i. p. cxl.
Used as unemphatic pronoun, ἐκεῖνος being used as emphatic.

15Ο οὐκέτι λέγω ὑμᾶς δοῦλους.

15 "without a cause._" ἐθνὸς (5) only used of Jewish nation.

Used over 70 times, and generally in a bad sense.

κόσμος = the world of man (frequently, and often in a bad sense).
Jewish nation (2, excluding 80).

'Ο Άγιος, J 15 sq. This conception is quite different and presupposes, while opposing, Philonic speculations.

195 times, and generally a narrative particle, i.e. of historical transition.
216 "to feed._"

---

1 J uses ὁσ in a temporal sense (= "when") 20 times: our author never. On our author's various uses of ὁσ, see vol. i. 35 sq.

2 The servant in J 158 knows not his Master's will, in Jap he does. In our author the word δοῦλος means (a) a slave as opposed to ἐλεύθερος: cf. 615; 138 198, and (b) a willing servant of God, whether prophet or other faithful worshipper: cf. 11 20; 73 107 etc. Thus our author uses δοῦλος as the equivalent of ἐν. But in J δοῦλος follows the Greek usage as denoting a bondman in the literal sense, cf. 1518, and in the metaphorical sense 14 δοῦλος. ἐν ἀμαρτίαν. ἐν is not used in this metaphorical sense. The verb ἐν, however, is used of idolatrous service. See Abbott, Johannine Voc. 212, 227, 289-292, for the use made by the four Evangelists of this word.

3 In Homer ὁὖν is non-illative, just as in the majority of passages in J. It is noteworthy that in J ὁὖν occurs nearly always in the narrative portions, and only 8 times in Christ's words out of the 195, whereas in Jap it occurs only in Christ's words, and never in the narrative portions. In the Synoptists it occurs mostly in Christ's words.
Again, though \(7^{15}\) δ ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ ἤ τ. θρόνου δ σκηνώσει επί αὐτοῖς is similar to \(J\ 1^{14}\) δ λόγος σάρξ ἐγένετο καὶ ἐσκηνώσεν ἐν ἡμῖν, the similarity is only an outward one. The same is true of \(2^{27}\) εἰλήφα παρὰ τ. πατρὸς μου as compared with \(J\ 10^{18}\) ταύτην τ. ἐντολήν ἐλαβον παρὰ τ. πατρὸς μου.

§ 5. The Authors of the Apocalypse and the Fourth Gospel were in some way related to each other:

(a) The following phrases point in this direction:

**Apocalypse.**

\[2^{2} \delta \nuη \betaαστάσαι.\]

\[20^{6} \delta \ \bar{E}χων \ \muέρος \ \etaν.\]

\[22^{18} \piοιν \ φεῦδος.\]

\[22^{17} \delta \ \upsilon \ \epsilonρχέσθω.\]

**Fourth Gospel.**

\[16^{2} \delta \nuηασθε \ βαστάζειν.\]

\[13^{8} \ \bar{E}χεις \ \muέρος \ \muετά.\]

\[3^{1} \ \piοιν \ \tau. \ \alphaλόθειαν \ (1 \ J \ 3^{8} \ \piοιν \ \tau. \ \alphaμαρτίαν).\]

\[7^{37} \ \epsilonαν \ \tauις \ \deltaιπό \ \epsilonρχέσθω \ \piρός \ με \ \kappaα \ \piνέτω.\]

(b) The spiritual significance attached to such terms as \(ζωη, \ \thetaάνατος, \ \deltaυσάν, \ \deltaόξα, \ \piερυάν, \ \nuικαν\) (16 times, in \(J\ 1\), in \(1 \ J\ 6\)), \(δηηγειν\).

(c) The occurrence of the following words and phrases exclusively in these two writers in the N.T. \(λαλεῖν \ \muετά\) (elsewhere in N.T. the dative or \(πρός \ \muετα\) acc. follows \(λαλεῖν\)): \(δύης \ (1^{16} - J \ 11^{44}) = \piρόσωπον: \ \tauηρείν\) τ. λόγου or λόγος (4 times—\(J\ 8\); see note, vol. i. 369): \(\nuομα \ \alphaυτώ \ \delta \ \θάνατος\), \(8^{6} - \nuομα \ \alphaυτώ \ \iotaο\lambda\nu\nuς\), \(J\ 1^{6} \ 3^{1}: \ \chiρόνον \ \muικρόν\), \(6^{11} - J \ 7^{33}: \ \muικρόν \ \chiρόνον\), \(20^{9} - J \ 12^{35}: \ \kυκλεύειν\) once—\(J\) once: \(\piορφύρεος\) 2 times—\(J\) 2 times: \(\nuκηνοῦν\), \(4 - J\) once: \(φονεῖε\), once—\(J\) once.

(d) The agreement of both authors (in \(1^{7} - J\ 19^{37}\)) in the rendering \(\epsilonξεκέντησαν\) against the LXX. See, however, vol. i. 18 sq. The use of the suspensive \(οτι\); see *Gram.* p. cxxxvii.

(e) The use by both authors of the following phrases and words—found occasionally in the rest of the N.T. \(ποιειν \ \sigmaμαι\), \(4 - J\ 14\) (only 4 times in rest of N.T.): \(τηρείν\) τ. ἐντολάς, \(2 - J\ 4\) (1 \(J\) 5 times): \(δεικνύειν\) (of revelation), \(8 - J\ 7\) : \(\epsilonβραιοτή\), \(2 - J\ 5\) : \(μαρτυρία\), \(9 - J\ 14\) (1 \(J\) 6 times, \(3 \ J\) once): \(πιάξειν\), \(1 - J\ 8\) : \(σμαινειν\), \(1 - J\ 3\) : \(φιλείν\), \(2 - J\ 13\) : \(σφάζειν\), \(8 - J\ 2\) times.
(f) There is to be no temple in the heavenly Jerusalem—the Capital of the Messianic Kingdom, 2122. According to J 421 the temple will cease to exist as the centre of worship.

(g) The same Jewish and Christian ideas underlie the phrase δ ἄμυνος το θεο, J 129, 56, and the equivalent phrase ῥ ἄπνιον in J.4p.

(h) The number "seven" occurs more frequently in our author than in all the rest of the N.T. Though it does not occur at all in J, yet J is "permeated structurally with the idea of 'seven.' . . . John records only seven 'signs.' . . . The Gospel begins and closes with a sacred week . . . the witness to Christ is . . . of a sevenfold character" (see Abbott, Gr. 463).

The above facts, when taken together with other resemblances, to which attention is drawn in the Grammar, point decidedly to some connection between the two authors. The Evangelist was apparently at one time a disciple of the Seer, or they were members of the same religious circle in Ephesus. We find perfect parallels to the latter relationship in earlier days. The authors of the Testaments of the XII Patriarchs and of the Book of Jubilees, who wrote at the close of the 2nd century before the Christian era, studied clearly in the same school; for the text of the one has constantly to be interpreted by that of the other. Yet these two writers are poles asunder on some of the greatest questions of their day. The former hopes for the salvation of the Gentiles and sets forth a system of ethics without parallel before the N.T. The author of Jubilees is a legalist of the narrowest type: is mainly concerned with the Mosaic law and the deductions to be drawn from it, and declares categorically that no Gentile can be saved. The second parallel is to be found between 4 Ezra and 2 Baruch. The materials of these two works are in certain respects complementary. The former is all but hopeless as to the future alike of Judaism and the Gentiles, whereas the latter is a thoroughgoing optimistic Jew, who looks to Judaism for the conversion of the Gentiles, so far as these can be saved.

In the Seer and the Evangelist we have got just such another literary connection. But the literary connection is much less close than in the case of the Jewish authors just mentioned, while the theological affinities between the Seer and the Evangelist are much closer than those existing between the Jewish writers. The greater unity in spiritual outlook and theological concept is explicable, however, from the fact that the variations within the Christianity of the 1st century are infinitesimal as
compared with those that prevailed in contemporary and earlier Judaism.

§ 6. J and (i.) 2. 3 J were written by the same Author.—That J and i J are derived from the same author is generally admitted. But from a very early date 2 and 3 J have been ascribed to a different writer. But a study of the internal evidence leads to the conclusion that all 2. 3 J and most probably i J are from one and the same writer, who was also the author of the Gospel. The same evidence shows that, though 2 or 3 J have a few points in common with Jap, the style of these two Epistles is decidedly that of J (or i J) as opposed to that of Jap. Their failure to study the linguistic relations of 2. 3 J have led Schmiedel, von Soden, and Moffatt into the grievous error of attributing 2. 3 J and Jap to the same author. The pronouncement of these scholars led me to investigate this subject, and therein I am grateful to them, seeing that the result of this investigation appears to furnish the key to some important Johannine problems. No investigation of this nature has, so far as I am aware, ever been made.

There is one usage in 2 J which it has in common with Jap and which is not found in J. In 2 J10 we have ει τυς (ερχεται), which occurs occasionally in Jap but never in J or i J, which have always εαν τυς. But there seems to be a reason for using ει here and not εαν. The author assumes that the ερχεται is not a mere possibility but a thing likely to happen. ὅς with the part. is found in 2 J5 ουχ ὅς γράφων, and in Jap 1.15 5.6 13.8 but not in J. But the usage is not really the same in 2 J5 and Jap. In the latter ὅς conveys the idea of likeness, whereas in 2 J5 it implies a purpose. The Hebraism in 2 J2 δια την ἀληθειαν την μενουσαν εν ἡμιν και μεθ' ὑμων ἐσται (= "which abideth in us and shall be with us") is of frequent occurrence in Jap. But it occurs probably in 1.32 τεθεαμαι το πνευμα καταβαίνον ... και ἐμεινεν ἐν αυτον, and in Col 1.26. Hence no real weight can be assigned to these coincidences in style.

On the other hand, the body of evidence in favour of a common authorship of J and (i.) 2. 3 J carries with it absolute conviction.

i. 2. 3 J are with one exception (2 J2) free from the solecisms and idiosyncrasies of Jap.

ii. Constructions common to 2. 3 J and J, but not found in Jap:
   (a) 2 and 3 J use μη 3 times with the participle: J 11 times: i J 8 times: 3 J has μηδεν once with part., while J has it twice. But Jap never

1 Origen (Eus. vi. 25. 10) writes that questions as to the genuineness of these Epistles were rife in certain quarters: Jerome (De Viris Illust. 9) distinctly assigns them to different hands.
uses μὴ or μὴ δέν with the participle. In this respect J⁴ diverges from J, i. 2. 3 J, exactly as the Iliad does from the Odyssey.

(b) In 2 J¹⁰ the writer uses μὴ with the present imperative, i.e. μὴ λαμβάνετε (3 J¹¹ μὴ μιμοῦ) in order to forbid an action not yet begun. Here the author of J⁴ would have used μὴ with the aor. subj. In this respect the author of 2. 3 J has the support of J (see below, p. cxxxvi).

(c) In 3 J⁸ we have the genitive absolute, which occurs often in J but never in J⁴ (nor 1 J).

(d) The unemphatic possessive pronoun αὐτοῦ (or αὐτῆς) (i.e. the genitive before its noun) occurs in 3 J¹⁰ 1 J 2⁵ and frequently in J, but never in J⁴ (save in a source 18⁵).

(e) οὗτος is used resumptively in regard to a preceding clause (consisting of ὦ with part. or ὄσ with finite verb) in 2 J⁹ and 4 times in J but not in J⁴.

(f) μαρτυρεῖν takes the dative 3 times in 3 J and 4 in J, but J⁴ always construes it with the acc. μαρτυρεῖν is followed by ὅτι in 1 J and by περί in J, but by neither in J⁴.

(g) In 3 J⁹ the order of the words, ὁ φιλοπρωτεύων αὐτῶν Διοστέρεψ, has several parallels in J but none in J⁴ (or 1 J). The author of J⁴ would have written ὁ Διοστέρεψ ὁ φιλοπρωτεύων αὐτῶν. See Gram. p. clvi. πολύς is a prepositive in 2 J⁷ 1 J 4¹ — J 6⁵ 10³² 11⁴⁵ etc.; but always postpositive in J⁴, once in 1 J and in 3 23 6² 10 7¹².

(h) ἐρωτῶ σε . . . ἵνα, 2 J⁵ — J 4⁴⁷ 17¹⁵ 19⁸³ * but not in J⁴. αὐτὴ ἐστίν . . . ἵνα, 2 J⁶ (6⁴) — 1 J 15¹² 17³ (1 J 3¹¹ 2⁸), but not in J⁴. μείζονα τούτων οὖν ἦχω χαράν, ἵνα ἀκούω, 3 J⁴ — μείζονα ταύτης ἀγάπην οὐδεὶς ἐχει, ἵνα τήν ψυχήν αὐτοῦ θῇ J 15¹³. To this construction I know of no real parallel.

iii. Words, particles, and phrases common to 2. 3 J and J (1 J), but not found in J⁴.

(a) Words. ἀληθῆς, ἀληθῶς, ἀλῆθεια, μείζων, μένειν, ὀφείλειν, χαρά.

(b) Particles and phrases. ἀλλὰ καί, ἀλλ’ οὖ, καθώς, καὶ νῦν, περὶ (cum gen.), τοιοῦτος, ὑπέρ: καὶ ἡμεῖς δέ, 3 J¹² — 1 J 15²⁶: ἄπ’ ἀρχῆς, 2 J²¹ — J 8⁴ 15²⁷ (1 J 1¹ 2⁷ 13 1⁴ etc.): τοῖς ἐργοῖς αὐτοῦ τοῖς ποιημοῖς

* The verb “ask” does not occur in J⁴ though ἐρωτᾶν is found in 2 J and J, and ἀληθῶ in 1 J and J. J uses also ἐξετάσειν, ἐπερωτᾶν, πυθάνεσθαι.
2 J 11—J 7 \text{ \textsuperscript{7} τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ ποιητά: ὑπομνήσω, 3 J 10—J 14}^{26}: \text{ \textsuperscript{26} τὸ κακόν, 3 J 11—J 18}: \text{ \textsuperscript{25} τὸ ἄγαθον 3 J 11—J 5}^{29}. 

iv. Words frequent in 1. 2. 3 J and J, but exceptional in \textsuperscript{J}\textsuperscript{ap}. \emph{εμός} once in 3 J (in 15 verses), only once in \textsuperscript{J}\textsuperscript{ap} in 404 verses; thus 3 J using it once in 15 verses approximates to \textit{J} which uses it once in every 22. \textsuperscript{J}\textsuperscript{ap} uses no other possessive adjective, but \textit{I} J uses \textit{ἡμέτερος} twice, and \textit{J} \textit{ἡμέτερος} 3 times and \textit{σος} 6. \textit{ἐπὶ} does not occur in 1. 2. 3 J, but 150 times in \textsuperscript{J}\textsuperscript{ap} and 35 in \textit{J}. If \textit{J} had it relatively as often as \textsuperscript{J}\textsuperscript{ap}, it would occur 225 times instead of 35. Thus 1. 2. 3 \textit{J} are strongly marked off here from \textsuperscript{J}\textsuperscript{ap} but approximate to \textit{J}.

v. The following parallel expressions are in themselves strong evidence of identity of authorship:

\begin{itemize}
  \item 1 J \textsuperscript{9} \textit{πᾶς} 0 \ldots \textit{μένων} ἐν τῷ διδαχῇ J 7^{18} (cf. 18^{19}) \textit{ἡ} \textit{ἐμὴ} διδαχῇ ὃσι ἐστιν τοῦ Χριστοῦ.
\end{itemize}

This parallel is full of significance; for in \textit{J} \textit{διδαχῇ} is used only of Christ’s teaching (as derived from God, 7^{17}), whereas in \textsuperscript{J}\textsuperscript{ap} it is used only of heretical teaching: cf. 2^{14. 15. 24}.

2 J 4 \textit{ἐντολὴν ἐλάβομεν παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς.} J 10^{18} ταῦτῃ τὴν ἐντολὴν ἐλαβον παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς μου.

2 J 6 \textit{ἡκούσατε ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς} (1 J 3^{11}). J 16\textsuperscript{4} ἐξ ἀρχῆς οὐκ ἐπικον.

2 J 6 \textit{ἐντολὴν γράφων σοι καὶ καὶ} (ἐντολὴν καὶ καὶ γράφων, I J 2\textsuperscript{7}). J 13\textsuperscript{4} ἐντολὴν καὶ καὶ διδώμει.

2 J 1 \textit{οἱ} ἔγνωκότες τὴν ἀλήθειαν. J 3\textsuperscript{32} ἐγνώσθη τὴν ἀλήθειαν.

2 J 12 (1 J 1\textsuperscript{4}) ἦν ἡ χαρά μένων πεπληρωμένην. J 3\textsuperscript{32} αὐτῇ οὖν ἡ χαρά ἡ ἐμὴ πεπλήρωται. Cf. 15\textsuperscript{11} 16\textsuperscript{24}.

3 J 10 \textit{ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐκβάλλει.} J 9\textsuperscript{34} ἐξεβάλον αὐτοῖν ἐξω.

3 J 11 \textit{οὐχ} ἐφάρακεν τὸν θεόν. J 14\textsuperscript{6} ὃ ἑωράκω ἤμε ἑώρακεν τὸν πατέρα.

3 J 12 ἡ μαρτυρία ήμῶν ἀλήθης ἐστὶν. J 8\textsuperscript{34} ἀλήθης ἐστιν ἡ μαρτυρία μου.

The connection of 2. 3 J with I J could be shown by such examples as 2 J 9 \textit{θεοῦ οὐκ ἔχει}—I J 5\textsuperscript{12} 0 \ldots \textit{ἔχων τὸν νῦν τοῦ θεοῦ:} 3 J 11 \textit{ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐστὶν}—I J 4\textsuperscript{2}: 2 J 7 \textit{ὁ ἀντίχριστος}—I J 2\textsuperscript{18}. 22. The conception of the Antichrist in 1. 2 J is quite different from that in \textsuperscript{J}\textsuperscript{ap}.

vi. \textit{There are no quotations in 1. 2. 3 J. In this respect they show an affinity with J where there are very few, and offer a strong contrast to J\textsuperscript{ap} where quotations abound. Even in the Epistles to the Seven Churches this feature is prominent.}

vii. The Greek of 2. 3 J is far more idiomatic than that of \textsuperscript{J}\textsuperscript{ap}. The order of the words exhibits none of the monotonous regularity of \textsuperscript{J}\textsuperscript{ap}.

From the above evidence I conclude without hesitation that 1. 2. 3 J and J are ultimately from the same author. J has
undoubtedly undergone revision, and 1. 2. 3 J may have suffered somewhat in this respect.1

§ 7. This conclusion of criticism, completing as it does the work of Dionysius the Great of Alexandria, is one of tremendous importance. Before his time, from 135 A.D. onward (see p. xxxix sq.), Church writers began uncritically to assign Jap to the Apostle John. This false conception led necessarily to intolerable confusion. No matter how valid the evidence might be for the martyrdom of this Apostle before 70 A.D., it could only be regarded as purely legendary, seeing that according to the most current view John the Apostle wrote the Apocalypse and wrote it in Domitian's reign. If the Apostle were living about 95 A.D., he could not, of course, have been martyred before 70 A.D. This misconception has therefore vitiates the evidence of most Early Church writers on this question,2 and has proved an ignis fatuus to many distinguished scholars of our own day. Hence it is not astonishing that so little evidence of the Apostle John's early martyrdom—and yet, cumulatively considered, it is not little—should have survived, but it is astonishing in the extreme that any evidence of any sort as to John's early martyrdom has survived at all, seeing that the all but universal beliefs of the Church from the earliest ages worked for its absolute deletion from the pages of history. Happily such evidence has survived in out-of-the-way corners of Church history and Church observance, which, owing to the prevailing opinions on such subjects, must have been a hopeless enigma to those who sought to understand them. One Church writer—Gregory of Nyssa in his Laudatio s. Stephani and De Basilio magno: see below, p. xlvi—has attempted to do so, and has explained away the evidence of the Church calendars for the early martyrdom of John in a way that can satisfy only those who share the same groundless hypothesis as himself as to John's joint authorship of J and Jap.

1 2 J 2 ol μὴ ὀμολογώντες Ἰ. Χ. ἐρχόμενον ἐν σαρκὶ presents no difficulty in the face of 1 J 4.2. The ἐρχόμενον is timeless: 'confess not J. Christ as coming in the flesh.' Nor does the phrase ὁ πρεσβύτερος, 2 1 3 J 1 point to any connection with Jap. For πρεσβύτερος there has a different meaning. Even an apostle could designate himself thus: cf. 1 Pet 5 1 ὁ συμπρεσβύτερος. But Peter has already called himself ἀπόστολος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ in 1. Hence there is no risk of confusion. No weight, moreover, attaches to the use of κοινωνεῖν for κοινωνίαν ἔχειν, or the occurrence of the greeting χάρις, ἔλεος, εἰρήνη.

2 Justin Martyr believes in the Apostolic authorship of Jap as early as 135 A.D. or thereabouts. A myth can arise in a very few years. Hence it is not strange that such writers as Hegesippus (ob. circ. 180) and subsequent writers, as Irenaeus, Tertullian, Origen, have lost all knowledge of the early martyrdom of John the son of Zebedee.
III.

Authorship of the Johannine Writings.

It may assist the reader if the conclusions arrived at in this chapter are put shortly as follows. (a) J<sup>ap</sup> and J are from distinct authors. (b) 2. 3 J are from the author of J and not of J<sup>ap</sup>. The evidence for this fact, which in the present writer's opinion furnishes the key to some of the chief Johannine problems, is given on p. xxxiv sqq. (c) If John the Elder is the author of 2. 3 J, then he is according to all internal evidence the author of J and of 1 J. (d) John the prophet—a Palestinian Jew, who late in life migrated to Asia Minor, is the author of J<sup>ap</sup>. (e) The above conclusions, which are arrived at on internal grounds, and on external evidence mainly of the 2nd century, are confirmed by the Papias-tradition, that John the Apostle was martyred by the Jews before 70 A.D.

§ 1. The Apocalypse is not pseudonymous, but the work of a John.—In Jewish literature practically every apocalyptic book was pseudonymous. I have elsewhere<sup>1</sup> shown the causes which forced works of this character to be pseudonymous. In the post-Exilic period the idea of an inspired Law—adequate, infallible, and valid for all time—became a dogma of Judaism. When this dogma was once established, there was no longer any room for the prophet, nor for the religious teacher, except in so far as he was a mere exponent of the Law. The second cause for the adoption of pseudonymity was the formation of the Canon of the Law, the Prophets and the Hagiographa. After this date—say about 200 B.C.—no book of a prophetic character could gain canonization as such, and all real advances to a higher ethics or a higher theology could appear only in works of a pseudonymous character published under the name of some ancient worthy. Accordingly, when a man of God, such as the author of Daniel, felt that he had a message to deliver to his people, he was obliged to issue it in this form. But with the advent of Christianity the Law was thrust into a wholly subordinate place; for the spirit of prophecy had descended afresh on the faithful, belief in inspiration was kindled anew, and for several generations no exclusive Canon of Christian writings was formed. There is, therefore, not a single <i>a priori</i> reason for regarding the Apocalypse as pseudonymous. Furthermore, its author distinctly claims that the visions are his own, and that they are not for some far distant generation, as is universally the case in Jewish pseudonymous works, but for his own (22<sup>10</sup>). In four distinct

<sup>1</sup>See my <i>Eschatology</i><sup>2</sup>, 173–205 (especially 198–205), 403 sq. ; Daniel, p. xi sq., <i>Religious Development between the O. and N. Testaments</i>, 41–46.
passages he gives his name as John (1:4.9 22.8). He states that he is a servant of Jesus Christ (1), a brother of the Churches in Asia and one who has shared in their tribulations (10), that he has himself seen and heard the things contained in his book (22.8), and that he was vouchsafed these revelations during his stay (voluntary or enforced) 1 in the island of Patmos for the word of God and the testimony of Jesus (10). To a more intimate study of our author we shall return later. So far it is clear that the Apocalypse before us was written by a prophet (22.9) who lived in Asia Minor, and that his actual name was John. Jap is just as assuredly the work of a John as 2 Thess 2 and 1 Cor 15 are apocalypses of St. Paul.2 Even the later Christian apocalypse of the Shepherd of Hermas bears, as is generally acknowledged, the name of its real author.

Finally, if the work were pseudonymous, it would have gone forth under the aegis—not of a John who was a prophet of Asia Minor and otherwise unknown, but of John the Apostle. Furthermore he would not have ventured to claim the name and authorship of a prophet in the very lifetime of that prophet and in the immediate sphere of that prophet’s activity. There is not a shred of evidence, not even the shadow of a probability, for the hypothesis that the Apocalypse is pseudonymous.

There is manifold early evidence of the Johannine authorship. Thus Justin, who lived about 135 A.D. in Ephesus, where one of the Seven Churches had its seat, declares that Jap is by “John, one of the apostles of Christ” (Dial. 81). Melito, bishop of Sardis, another of the Seven Churches, wrote (cir. 165) a lost work on Jap (τὰ περὶ . . . τὴς ἀποκαλύφεως Ἰωάννου: see Eus. iv. 26. 2). Irenaeus (cir. 180) upheld the Johannine authorship of all the Johannine writings in the N.T. For Jap, see Haer. iii. 11.1, iv. 20. 11, v. 35. 2, where John is called Domini discipulus (ὁ τοῦ κυρίου μαθητής) (a title, however, which does not exclude apostleship; cf. ii. 22. 5). Tertullian cites Jap as the work of the Apostle John (c. Marc. iii. 14, 24). So also Origen, Hippolytus, and others: also the Muratorian Canon.

§2. John, the author of Jap, is distinct from the author of J. —Tertullian, Hippolytus, and Origen were assured that

1 There is no evidence that John was exiled to Patmos before Clement of Alexandria, and that evidence is chiefly Western.
2 Hence the attribution of the Apocalypse to the heretic Cerinthus by Caius (200–220 A.D. See Eus. ii. 25, vii. 25) and the Alogi (Epiphanius, Haer. ii. 3,4), in ancient times and by certain modern scholars, is an utterly baseless and gratuitous hypothesis.
3 C. Marc. iii. 14, 24.
4 See his Comment on Daniel, edited by Achelis, 1897, pp. 142, 240, 244. etc., and his Peri τοῦ Αντιχριστοῦ, xxvii., Οὕτως γὰρ ἐν Πάτμῳ . . . ὡς ἀποκάλυφη . . . λέγει μοι, ὡς μακάρει Ἰωάννης, ἀπόστολε καὶ μαθητή τοῦ κυρίου, τί εἶδες.
5 In Ioan., tom. i. 14: φησιν οὖν ἐν τῇ ἀποκάλυψιν ὁ τοῦ ᾿Ιορδανίου Ἱωάννης: tom. v. 3: see also the quotation from Origen in Eus. vi. 25. 9.
both the Gospel and the Apocalypse proceeded from the son of Zebedee. But this view, that both works proceeded from one and the same author, was rejected by Dionysius (ob. 265 A.D.), bishop of Alexandria, a pupil of Origen. Dionysius (Eus. H.E. vii. 25. 7–27) accepts J<sup>ap</sup> as the work of a John, but declares that he could not readily agree that he was the Apostle, the son of Zebedee. In the following sections he enumerates a variety of grounds. (a) The Evangelist does not prefix his name or mention it subsequently either in the Gospel or in his Epistle, whereas the writer of the Apocalypse definitely declares himself by name at the outset, and subsequently. That it was a John who wrote the Apocalypse he admitted, but this John did not claim to be the beloved disciple of the Lord, nor the one who leaned on His breast, nor the brother of James. (b) There is a large body of expressions of the same complexion and character common to the Gospel and 1 J, but wholly absent from J<sup>ap</sup>. Indeed, the latter "does not contain a syllable in common" with the two former works. (c) The phraseology of the Gospel and 1 J differs from that of J<sup>ap</sup>. The former are written in incomprehensible Greek (ἀπαίστως), and it would be difficult to discover in them any barbarism or solecism or idiocism (ἰδιωτισμόν). But the dialect and language of J<sup>ap</sup> is inaccurate Greek (διάλεκτον ...) καὶ γλῶτταν δυν ἀκριβῶς ἐλληνίζονταν, and is characterized by barbarous idioms and solecisms. Such is Dionysius' criticism of the style of J<sup>ap</sup>; and from the standpoint of the Greek scholar it is more than justified. But that there was law and order underlying the seeming grammatical lawlessness of the Seer neither Dionysius nor any purely Greek scholar could ever discover—a fact that widens immeasurably the breach discovered by Dionysius between J and J<sup>ap</sup>. This will become apparent when we come to the grammar and vocabulary of our author (see pp. cxvii–clix). A study of these with a knowledge of the Hebraic style of our author makes it impossible to attribute J<sup>ap</sup> and J to the same author. Thus the theory of Dionysius as to diversity of authorship has passed out of the region of hypothesis and may now be safely regarded as an established conclusion. There were at all events two Johannine authors. Who were these?

§ 3. There were, according to Papias, two Johns, one the Apostle and the other John the Elder. Dionysius and Eusebius suggest that the latter is the author of J<sup>ap</sup>.—Eusebius in his history (iii. 39. 4) quotes the following fragment of Papias which clearly distinguishes the Apostle and the Elder, both bearing the name John. "And if any one chanced to come who had been also a follower of the elder, I used to question (him) closely as to the sayings of the elders—as to what Andrew or Peter had said
I. 2. 3 J AND J BY SAME AUTHOR  xli

(eitev), or Philip, or Thomas, or James, or John, or Matthew, or any other of the disciples of the Lord: also as to what Aristion and the Elder John, the Lord's disciples, say (λέγουσιν).”

Eusebius then goes on to emphasize the distinction made by Papias between these two Johns, and contends that this view is confirmed by the statements of those who said that there were two Johns in Asia and “there were two tombs in Ephesus, both of which bear the name of John even to this day. To which things it is needful also that we shall give heed; for it is probable that the second (i.e. the Elder), unless one will have it to be the first, saw the Apocalypse bearing the name of John (iii. 39. 6).”

At an earlier date Dionysius of Alexandria threw out the same suggestion. He held that John the Apostle wrote J and 1 J (Eus. vii. 25. 7), but that another John—one of the two Johns who according to report had been in Asia and both of whose tombs were said to be there—had written the Apocalypse (vii. 25. 16).

Jerome testifies to the belief (“Johannis presbyteri . . . cujus hodie alterum sepulcrum apud Ephesum ostenditur,” De viris illust. 9), and also to the fact that in his day the tradition was still current that this John the Elder was the author of 2 and 3 J (ibid. 18).

§ 4. But 2 and 3 John appear on examination of the language and idiom to proceed even more certainly than 1 J from the author of J.1—The traditional view assigns 1 J and J to the same authorship. But in modern days a minority of competent scholars have rejected this view. The problem is discussed with great fairness by Brooke (Johannine Epistles, pp. i–xix), who comes to the conclusion that “there are no adequate reasons for setting aside the traditional view which attributes the Epistle and Gospel to the same authorship. It remains the most probable explanation of the facts known to us (p. xviii).”2 With this conclusion the present writer is in agreement.

But what as to the authorship of 2. 3 J? Some notable scholars disconnect these two Epistles wholly from J and 1 J. Thus Bousset (Offenbarung, 1906) at the close of a long discussion on the authorship of Jap (pp. 34–49) concludes that a John of Asia Minor, and not John the Apostle, was the author of Jap: that this John was probably identical with John the Elder of whom Papias tells us, with the Elder of 2. 3 J, with the unnamed disciple in J 21, and with the teacher of Polycarp, of whom Irenaeus writes in his letter to Florinus. Von Soden (Books of the N.T., pp.

1 I take J as it stands, since its relation to 1. 2. 3 J does not require any critical study of its composition. J and 1 J (?) have been more or less edited, but the work of the editors does not affect the question now at issue.

2 The list of linguistic differentiae in 1 J, which is given in Moffatt's Introd. to N.T., p. 590 sq., should be noted. They are important.
444–446, 1907) is also of opinion that John the Elder was the author of \( J^\text{ap} \) and 2. 3 \( J \) as well as 1 \( J \). Next, Schmiedel (Johannine Writings, pp. 208–209, 216–217, 229–231, 1908) attributes \( J^\text{ap} \) and 2. 3 \( J \) to an unknown writer who assumed the pseudonym of John the Elder, and 1 \( J \) to another author. The joint authorship of \( J^\text{ap} \) and 2. 3 \( J \) is also supported by Moffatt (Introd. to Lit. of the N.T.\(^8\), p. 481).

But the present writer cannot accept this hypothesis. After a considerable time spent on the linguistic study\(^1\) of 2. 3 \( J \) in comparison with \( J \) and \( J^\text{ap} \), he has been forced to conclude that 2. 3 \( J \) are connected linguistically with \( J \), and that so closely as to postulate the same authorship. This study was first undertaken to discover what connection existed between 2. 3 \( J \) and \( J^\text{ap} \), since an early tradition assigned the latter to John the Elder and the opening words (\( \delta \Pi\rho\varepsilon\sigma\beta\upsilon\tau\varepsilon\rho\omega \)) of 2. 3 \( J \) received their most natural explanation on this hypothesis. In fact, this is more or less the view advocated by the scholars mentioned above.

Now on p. xxxiv sqq. I have dealt with the characteristic words and constructions common to 2. 3 \( J \) and \( J \), or 2. 3 \( J \) and \( J^\text{ap} \). The facts there set forth admit in the present writer's opinion of only one conclusion as regards the relations of 2. 3 \( J \) with \( J \) and \( J^\text{ap} \), and this is that whereas 2. 3 \( J \) have nothing whatever to do with \( J^\text{ap} \), they are more idiomatically connected with \( J \) than is 1 \( J \), and postulate the same authorship.

§ 5. If, then, (i.) 2. 3 \( J \) and \( J \) are derived from the same author and \( J^\text{ap} \) from quite a different author, and John the Elder is admitted to be the author of 2. 3 \( J \), it follows further that John the Elder is the author not only of 2. 3 \( J \), but also of \( J \) and of 1 \( J \).—There is no evidence that John the Elder wrote \( J^\text{ap} \) beyond the conjectures of Dionysius and Eusebius. But there is some external evidence and good internal evidence that the Elder wrote 2. 3 \( J \). The external evidence is of the slightest. It is found in Jerome (De viris illes. c. 18), "rettulimus traditum duas posteriores epistulas Johannis non apostoli esse sed presbyteri." But the internal evidence is strong. As Brooke writes (Johannine Epp. 166 sq.): "The evidence of Papias and Irenaeus points to a prevalent Christian usage of the word (\( \pi\rho\varepsilon\sigma\beta\upsilon\tau\varepsilon\rho\omega \)), especially in Asia, to denote those who had companied with Apostles. . . . It is natural to suppose that throughout the fragment of his Introduction, which Eusebius quotes, Papias uses the expression \( \pi\rho\varepsilon\sigma\beta\upsilon\tau\varepsilon\rho\omega \) in the same sense." The elders are the men from . . . whom Papias learnt the sayings

\(^1\) No linguistic study of 2. 3 \( J \) in relation to \( J \) and \( J^\text{ap} \) is known to me. But for my previous study of \( J^\text{ap} \) I should have missed most of the points that determine the question at issue.
of the Apostles. "The absolute use of the phrase in Papias (καὶ τοῦθ' ὁ πρεσβύτερος ἔλεγε) and in 2 and 3 John makes it the distinctive title of some member of the circle to whom the words are addressed, or at least of one who is well known to them." Hence it is only natural to recognize the Elder, mentioned in Papias and in 2. 3 J, as John the Elder, whom Papias so carefully distinguishes from John the Apostle. The writer of 2. 3 J cannot have been an apostle.¹

But if John the Elder was the author of 2. 3 J, then we conclude further by means of the results arrived at in II. §6 above that he was also the author of J.²

This conclusion does not exclude the possibility that John the Elder was, as Harnack suggests, the pupil of John the Apostle. In this case J embodies materials which John the Elder learnt from John the Apostle, but the form is his own.

§6. If John the Elder is the author of J and (1.) 2. 3 J, is John the Apostle the author of J²? No. John, its author, claims to be a prophet, not an apostle. He was a Palestinian Jew who migrated to Asia Minor when probably advanced in years.—John the author of J² nowhere claims that he is an apostle. He appears to look upon the apostles retrospectively and from without, 21⁴ (cf. 18²). In these two passages he enumerates as two distinct classes—apostles and prophets. He never makes any claim to apostleship: he never suggests that he knew Christ personally. But he distinctly claims to be a prophet—a member

¹ It has, however, been urged that an apostle could designate himself an elder. This is true under certain conditions but not in 2. 3 J. That the writer is an elder and not an apostle we infer from the fact that he claims no higher title in 3 J, where, had he been an apostle, he would naturally have availed himself of his power as an apostle to suppress Diotrephes and others who disowned his jurisdiction and authority, which they could not have done had he been an apostle. Further, in case 1 Pet 5¹ is quoted to prove that an apostle may designate himself as an elder (πρεσβύτερος οὗ ἐν ὑμῖν παρακαλῶ ὁ συνπρεσβύτερος), we have only to observe that Peter has at the outset indicated his apostolic authority, so that the words in 5¹ form no true parallel to 2. 3 J¹.

² The statement in Irenaeus (ii. 22. 5), that according to the elders in Asia, John the disciple declared that Jesus reached the age of 50, is professedly second-hand, and is therefore to be estimated accordingly. If this evidence were trustworthy, it would be practically impossible to assign J to John the Elder. But as we have seen elsewhere, Irenaeus is often quite untrustworthy. The extravagant account of the fruitfulness of the vine is also attributed by Irenaeus (v. 33⁹) to the elders, who said that they had heard it from John the disciple. Such an expectation, if it was literally accepted and really transmitted by John the Elder, would be against his authorship of J. But it was obviously to be interpreted in a purely metaphorical sense. In these passages Irenaeus believes that the John he is speaking of is the Apostle and not the Elder, although he never designates him as ἀπόστολος, but only as μαθητής.
of the brotherhood of the Christian prophets, 22\textsuperscript{9}, who are God's servants in a special sense, \textsuperscript{1} 10\textsuperscript{7} 11\textsuperscript{18} 22\textsuperscript{6}, whereas other Christians are God's servants so far as they observe the things revealed by the prophets, 22\textsuperscript{9}. He is a servant of Jesus Christ \textsuperscript{1}, a brother\textsuperscript{1} of the Churches of Asia and a partaker in their sufferings, \textsuperscript{9}. He is commanded "to prophesy" to the nations of the earth, 10\textsuperscript{11}. He designates his work as "the words of the prophecy," \textsuperscript{1} or "the words of the prophecy of this book," 22\textsuperscript{7}.\textsuperscript{10},\textsuperscript{18}. Hence it may be safely concluded that the author of J\textsuperscript{2}p was not an apostle.

The author of J\textsuperscript{2}p was a Palestinian Jew. He was a great spiritual genius, a man of profound insight and the widest sympathies. His intimate acquaintance with the Hebrew text of the O.T., of which his book contains multitudinous quotations based directly upon it, is best explained by this hypothesis. The fact also, that he thought in Hebrew and translated its idioms literally into Greek, points to Palestine as his original home. Though no doubt he used the Aramaic of his day, in a real sense Hebrew was his mother's tongue. His Greek also, which is unlike any Greek that was ever penned by mortal man, calls for the same hypothesis. No Greek document exhibits such a vast multitude of solecisms and unparalleled idiosyncrasies. Most writers on J\textsuperscript{2}p have been struck with the unbridled licence of his Greek constructions. But in reality there is no such licence. The Greek, though without a parallel elsewhere, proceeds according to certain rules of the author's own devising. Now this fact is a proof that our author never mastered Greek idiomatically—even the Greek of his own day.

But we may proceed still further. Just as his use of Hebrew practically as his mother tongue (for Hebrew was still the language of learned discussions in Palestine) points to his being a Palestinian Jew, so his extraordinary use of Greek appears to prove not only that he never mastered the ordinary Greek of his own times, but that he came to acquire whatever knowledge he had of this language when somewhat advanced in years.

Two other characteristics of the man and his work point not only to Palestine, but Galilee as his original home. The first is that he was a prophet or Seer. Now the writers of apocalypses, so far as we are aware, were generally natives of Galilee, not of Judaea. In the next place, our author exhibits an intimate acquaintance with the entire apocalyptic literature of his time, and this literature found most of its readers in Galilee, where the Law, which was hostile to it, had less power than in Judaea.

\textsuperscript{1} The author describes himself simply as a brother of his readers. In 2 Pet 3\textsuperscript{15} Paul is similarly described (ο δαναπητὸς ἡμῶν ἀδελφὸς); but there one apostle is supposed to be referring to another.
§ 7. The silence of ecclesiastical writers down to 180 A.D. as to any residence of John the Apostle in Asia Minor is against his being the author of Jsp.—The conclusion reached in § 6 is confirmed by external evidence. No sub-apostolic writer betrays any knowledge that John the Apostle ever resided in Ephesus. Yet the author of Jsp was evidently the chief authority in the Ephesian Church, or at least one of his chief authorities. Thus Ignatius (circ. 110 A.D.) in his letter to the Church of Ephesus (120) speaks only of Paul, but makes no allusion whatever to John the Apostle, though according to the later tradition John had exercised his apostolic authority in Ephesus long after Paul, and had written both J and Jsp. The reasonable inference from the above silence is that Ignatius was not aware of any residence of John the Apostle in Ephesus. That Clemens Romanus (circ. 96 A.D.) was silent as to John's residence in Ephesus, may have some bearing on this question when taken in connection with that of Ignatius. Justin and Hegesippus (150–180 A.D.) in like manner tell nothing of John's residence in Ephesus. Yet Justin lived in Ephesus about 135 A.D., which city, according to later tradition, was the scene of John's apostolic labours.

§ 8. The above conclusions are confirmed by the tradition of John the Apostle's martyrdom, which, if trustworthy, renders his authorship of Jsp as well as of the other Johannine literature impossible.1—That John the Apostle, like his brother James, died a martyr's death, has been inferred from the following evidence:—

(a) The prophecy of Jesus.—This is recorded in Mk 10:35-40 = Mt 20:20-28, and especially the words: "The cup that I drink shall ye drink" (τὸ ποτήριον ὅ ἐγὼ πίνω πίεσθε καὶ τὸ βαπτίσμα ὅ ἐγὼ βαπτίζωμαι βαπτίζοντας, Mk 10:39 = τὸ μὲν ποτήριον μου πίεσθε, Mt 20:23).2 In Mark the above words are followed by a parallel clause: "And with the baptism that I am baptized withal shall ye be baptized." The meaning is unmistakable. Jesus predicts for James and John the same destiny that awaits Himself. That this prediction was in part fulfilled when Herod Agrippa I. put James to death, we learn from Acts 122, but not in the case of John. Now, if John's martyrdom fell within the period covered by Acts, we may conclude with Wellhausen and


2 If these words are taken to be a vaticination post eventum, as they are by certain scholars, then the evidence for the martyrdom of John is simply a fact of history. But the present writer accepts the words as an actual prophecy of Christ and one that was fulfilled in actual fact.
Moffatt that we have here one of the many gaps discoverable in Luke's narrative, who fails to record John's death as he does that of Peter. But it is not necessary to assume that John was martyred before 66 A.D., as we shall see presently.

(b) But though Acts 12\(^2\) fails us here, there is a Papias-tradition recounting the martyrdom of John.—A MS of Georgius Hamartolus (9th cent.) states on the authority of Papias that John the son of Zebedee was slain by the Jews ("Ιωάννης") μαρτυριον κατηγίωταν Παπίας γάρ ... φάσκει ὅτι ὑπὸ Ιουδαίων ἀνηρέθη, πληρώσας δὴλαδὴ μετὰ τοῦ ἄδελφον τὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ περί αὐτῶν πρὸρρησιν). This statement is confirmed by an extract published by De Boor (Texte u. Untersuchungen, 1888, v. 2, 170) from an Oxford MS. (7th or 8th cent.) of an epitome of the Chronicle of Philip of Sidé (5th cent.). "Papias in the second book says that John the Divine and James his brother were slain by the Jews" (Παπίας ἐν τ. δευτέρῳ λόγῳ λέγει ὅτι Ἰωάννης ὁ θεολόγος καὶ Ἰάκωβος ὁ ἄδελφος αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων ἀνηρέθησαν). Swete (Apoc. clxxix. sq.) adds here the following pertinent comment: "If Papias made it (this statement), the question remains whether he made it under some misapprehension, or merely by way of expressing his conviction that the prophecy of Mk x. 39 had found a literal fulfilment. Neither explanation is very probable in view of the early date of Papias. He does not, however, affirm that the brothers suffered at the same time: the martyrdom of John at the hand of the Jews might have taken place at any date before the last days of Jerusalem."\(^2\)

This Papias-tradition is rejected by Bernard, Studia Sacra, 260–284; Harnack, TLZ., 1909, 10–12; Drummond, 227 sq.; Zahn, Forschungen, vi. 147 sq.; Armitage Robinson, Historical Character of John's Gospel, 64 sqq.; Stanton, Gospels as Historical Documents, i. 166 sq.; but such a rejection is hazardous in face of the evidence furnished by subsequent and independent authorities, not to speak of the results already arrived at independently in this chapter.\(^3\)

(c) Certain ancient writers imply or recount the martyrdom of John the son of Zebedee.—The first evidence is that of Heracleon (an early Gnostic commentator on J, about 145 A.D.), preserved in Clement of Alexandria (Strom. iv. 9). Heracleon in connexion with Lk 12\(^{11}12\) states that "Matthew, Philip, Thomas,

1 ο θεολόγος is, of course, a late addition. It is found in most cursives of the Apocalypse in its title.
2 The italics are mine.
3 These results exclude the possibility of John the son of Zebedee being the author of J\(^9\), and also of τ. 2. 3 J, J, if, as is highly probable, John the Elder wrote 2. 3. J. John the Apostle may have been the teacher of John the Elder. This Papias-tradition would account perfectly for the absence of his writings from the N.T.
Levi,¹ and many others" had escaped public testimony to Christ. The omission of John’s name is full of significance. He cannot, in view of his prominence both in the N.T. and in the 2nd cent., be relegated to the nameless body of the “many others.” Clement does not call in question this statement of Heracleon. Archbishop Bernard weakens this evidence, but his (Studia Sacra, 283 sq.) argument proceeds on the hypothesis that John the Apostle was the author of the Apocalypse.

The next evidence is furnished by the Martyrium Andreae i. 2 (Bonnet, Acta Apost. Apocr. ii. i. 46 sq.). Here it is recounted how the apostles cast lots as to which people they should severally adopt as their sphere of missionary effort. The result of the casting of the lots was that the circumcision was assigned to Peter, the East to James and John, and the cities of Samaria and Asia to Philip (ἐκληρώθη Πέτρος τὴν περιτομήν, Ἰάκωβος καὶ Ἰωάννης τὴν ἀνατολήν. Φιλίππος τὰς πόλεις τῆς Σαμαρίας καὶ τῆν Ἀσίαν), and so on. What is significant in this legend is that it ignores wholly any residence of John in Asia Minor.²

Next, in Clement (Strom. vii. 17) it is stated definitely that the teaching of the apostles, embracing the ministry of Paul, was brought to a close in the reign of Nero ³ (ἡ δὲ ἀποστόλων αὐτοῦ (i.e. Χριστοῦ) μέχρι γε τῆς Παύλου λειτουργίας ἐπὶ Νέρωνος τελευταία). These words presuppose the death of all the apostles before 70 a.d. In Epiphanius (li. 33), John’s activity is assigned to the times of the Emperor Claudius: τοῦ ἀγίου Ἰωάννου . . . προφητεύσαντος ἐν χρόνοις Κλαύδιον καίσαρος.

The same tradition of John’s martyrdom is attested in Chrysostom (Hom. lxv. on Mt 20²), though in Hom. lxxvi. he says that John long survived the fall of Jerusalem.

According to Moffatt (p. 607), even Gregory of Nyssa (Laudatio Stephani: De Basilio Magno) mentions Peter, James, and John as martyred apostles and places them between Stephen and Paul. But Bernard (Studia Sacra, 280 sqq.) has rightly objected to Gregory being cited as supporting such a thesis. The fact is that Gregory is mystified naturally by this attestation of the Church calendar to the martyrdom of John and seeks to explain it away.

¹ This reduplication in Matthew . . . Levi is found elsewhere.
² As Latimer Jackson observes, “the allusion Gal 2⁹ is significant; it suggests that John, extending the right hand of fellowship to Paul and Barnabas (who had taken the Gentiles as their sphere of work), decides to cast in his lot with the circumcision (p. 149).” But we have to remember also that Peter went to the West and was martyred in Rome.
³ It is true that elsewhere Clement (Quis divus salv. 42) tells the story of John and the robber, which, were it true, would imply his living to old age.
As Clement and Chrysostom reflect the conflicting traditions as to the manner of John's death and the age at which he died, the Muratorian Canon attests indirectly the survival of the older tradition. It states that Paul wrote to seven churches after the precedent set by John. This statement cannot be accepted, since most (if not all) of the Pauline Epistles were written before all the Seven Churches in Asia were founded. Thus the Church in Smyrna was not founded till 61-64 A.D. at earliest: cf. Polycarp, Ad Phil. ii. But the statement becomes intelligible, if John's apostolic activity belonged to the decades before 70 A.D. Thus the older tradition discovers the element of fact in this statement of the Muratorian Canon. For in its enumeration of the works of St. Paul it proceeds: "Ex quibus singulis (non) necesse est a nobis disputari, cum ipse beatus apostolus Paulus, sequens prodecessoris sui Johannis ordinem, nonnisi nominatim septem ecclesiis scribat. . . ." Here the composition of J\(^{\text{ep}}\) is set before that of the Pauline Epistles. This fact justifies the assumption that the Muratorian Canon represents the composition of J as prior to the dispersion of the apostles. "Quartum evangeliorum Johannis ex discipulis. (Is) cohortantibus condiscipulis et episcopis suis dixit: Conjejunate mihi hodie triduo, et quid cuique fuerit revelatum, alterutrum nobis enarremus. Eadem nocte revelatum Andreae ex apostolis, ut recognoscentibus cunctis Johannes suo nomine cuncta describeret" That the \textit{condiscipuli} = the rest of the apostles, is to be inferred from John himself being called \textit{ex discipulis}. It may be remarked in passing that the revision of J is here plainly stated.

The North African work \textit{De Rebaptismate} (\textit{circ. 250} A.D) supports the Papias-tradition: "He said to the sons of Zebedee: "Are ye able?" For he knew the men had to be baptized, not only in water but also in their own blood."

Finally, the Syrian Aphraates (\textit{De Persecutione} (\textit{344} A.D.)) writes: "Great and excellent is the martyrdom of Jesus. . . After Him was the faithful martyr Stephen, whom the Jews stoned. Simon also and Paul were perfect martyrs. And James and John walked in the footsteps of their Master Christ. . . Also others of the apostles thereafter in diverse places confessed and proved themselves true martyrs." Here the actual martyrs are mentioned first, including John. Then come the confessors to whom the honorary rank of martyrs is accorded.

(d) \textit{The Syriac Martyrology postulates the martyrdom of John the son of Zebedee.} This martyrology (\textit{411} A.D.) was drawn up at Edessa for the use of the local church. It contains the following festivals:

Dec. 27. \textit{'Iwa^nys kai 'Iákwbos oj áptóstoloi év 'Ierouso^lýmou.}
Dec. 28. \textit{'En 'Rómy tý póleí Páulos kai Šymeón Kýfás.}
Here the martyrdom of James and John in Jerusalem is commemorated between that of Stephen on Dec. 26 and that of Paul and Peter on Dec. 28.

Seeing that the statements with regard to James, Paul and Peter are trustworthy, there appears no reason for questioning that respecting John. In the Calendar of Carthage (circ. 503) there is the entry, "Commemoration of St. John Baptist, and of James the Apostle, whom Herod slew." Since in the same calendar the Baptist is commemorated on June 24, it is clear that John the son of Zebedee is here intended. Thus the two sons of Zebedee are here conjoined, and evidently on the ground of their common martyrdom. According to Moffatt (Introd. Lit. N.T. p. 605), the Armenian and Gothico-Gallic Calendars agree with the Syriac.

This considerable body of independent and diverse forms of evidence appears to the present writer to remove the Papias-tradition from the sphere of hypothesis into that of reasonably established facts of history. Finally, the date of John's martyrdom can be fixed within certain limits. He was alive when Paul had his conference with the "pillar-apostles" in Jerusalem (Gal 2:5). This was not later than 64 A.D. Since he was martyred by the Jews, he must have died before 70 A.D.

That the later testimony of Irenaeus that John the Apostle resided in Asia, as well as the statement that Polycarp was a disciple of the Apostle, must be rejected if the Papias-tradition is correct, follows as a matter of course. Irenaeus is occasionally very inaccurate. His confusion of John the Elder with John the Apostle2 finds (iii. 12. 15) an exact parallel in his confusion of James the Lord's brother, who in Acts 1513 takes part in the Council of Jerusalem, with James the son of Zebedee, who has already been martyred in Acts 122. In iv. 27. 1 he states that one of his authorities is a disciple of the disciples of the apostles; yet in 32. 2 he designates the same man as a disciple of the apostles. In H.E. iii. 39. 2, Eusebius charges Irenaeus with wrongly representing Papias as a disciple of John the Apostle. Irenaeus states on the authority of certain elders, who maintained that they had heard it from John, that Jesus did not die

1 Galatians is variously dated from 53 to 64 A.D.
2 Though Irenaeus has transferred to John the Apostle the labours of John the Elder and the scene of these labours, he still distinguishes the Elder whom he frequently quotes alike from the body of the Elders whom he also quotes, and from John the disciple of the Lord; cf. iv. 30. 4: "Si quis autem diligentius intendat his, ... quaequeaque Ioannes discipulus Domini vidit in Apocalypsi," and 31. 1: "Talia quaedam inarrans de antiquis presbyter reficiat nos"; 32. 1: "Senior apostolorum discipulus"; also iv. 28. 1. It is significant, however, that Irenaeus never calls this John, whom he regards as the author of the Johannine writings, an apostle, but only a disciple of the Lord. This element of truth still survives in his treatment of this question.
THE REVELATION OF ST. JOHN

till the reign of Claudius (II. 22. 5). The confusion of Philip the Evangelist and Philip the Apostle, whom Luke in the Acts distinguishes carefully, is found in several ancient writers, most probably in Polycrates of Ephesus (circ. 196 A.D.) and Proclus: cf. Eus. iii. 31. 3–4, v. 24. 2; in Clement of Alexandria (Strom. iii. 6. 52), Tertullian and Eusebius. See Encyc. Bib. (2511); Moffatt, Introd. 9608 sqq.; otherwise Lightfoot, Colossians, 45 sq.

The primitive tradition as to the martyrdom of John the Apostle was gradually displaced by the later tradition represented by Irenaeus; but even so the primitive tradition maintained itself in various places down to the 7th cent., as we have shown above.

The conclusion to which the above facts and inferences point is that John the Apostle was never in Asia Minor, and that he died a martyr’s death between the visit of St. Paul to the “pillar” apostles in Jerusalem, circ. 64 (?) and 70 A.D.

IV.

THE EDITOR OF THE APOCALYPSE.

From the section dealing with the Plan, pp. xxiii–xxviii, we have seen that J4p exhibits, except in short passages, and especially towards the close of chap. 18, a structural unity and a steady development of thought from the beginning to 208. In 204–22, on the other hand, the traditional order of the text exhibits a hopeless mental confusion and a tissue of irreconcilable contradictions. In vol. ii. 144–154 I have gone at length into this question, and shown the necessity for the hypothesis that John died when he had completed 1–208 of his work, and that the materials for its completion, which were for the most part ready in a series of independent documents, were put together by a faithful but unintelligent disciple in the order which he thought right. Such was the solution of the problem I arrived at five years ago, and all my subsequent study has served to confirm the truth of this hypothesis. In the earlier chapters (1–208) I adopted tentatively and occasionally the hypothesis of an editor, but generally that of an interpolator or interpolators, but it was nothing but one hypothesis possible amongst many others, till I came to deal with 204–22. This present section, therefore, represents a brief restudy of the interpolations which can with most probability be attributed to the editor from the standpoint of the solution of the problem discovered in connection with 204–22. For the main grounds for this hypothesis the reader should consult ii. 144–154 and the commentary that follows.
On p. lvii sq. we have given a complete list of the interpolations in the text, and marked by an asterisk those which appear to proceed from the editor.

Now, if we wish to learn something about this editor we should begin with his editing of 20^4–22. We are here first of all seeking to learn his grammatical usages, though occasionally we shall consider his opinions so far as they have led him to change the text. He is a more accurate Greek scholar than our author, and, as he shows, no sign of really knowing Hebrew, he was probably a native of Asia Minor.

As regards grammar, the construction in 20^11 τὸν καθήμενον ἐπὶ † αὐτοῦ † and 21^5 ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ † τοῦ θρόνου †, which is not that of our author (see p. cxxxii), is probably due to him. This construction with the gen. is more usual in classical Greek.\(^1\) Now in the interpolation which he has made in 14^15^17 we find this same construction twice: τῷ καθήμενῳ ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς and ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ τῆς νεφέλης; and in 9^17 we find the same non-Johannine construction τ. καθήμενον ἐπὶ † αὐτῶν †, which may be traced to the editor. In any case, in three passages at least, the editor appears to have corrected the Johannine construction into the more usual Greek one. 21^6 ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ † τῷ θρόνῳ † seems to be a primitive corruption for ἐπὶ τὸν θρόνον.

In 20^4–22 there are three other passages where the editor has changed the text. In 20^4 the οἴτινες is an insertion of the editor to make the text possible Greek. But the construction without the οἴτινες, i.e. τῶν πεπελεκισμάτων καὶ οὐ προσεκίνησαν, is always elsewhere the Hebraism used by our author. See vol. i. 14 sq. Again, in 21^6 τῷ δυσώτῳ δῶσῳ we should expect, in accordance with our author’s usage, αὐτῷ after δῶσομ (which 046 and certain cursives actually add). Here again the editor was improving the author’s Greek. In 22^12 the order of the words, τῷ ἔργῳ ἐστὶν αὐτῷ, is the editor’s. In any case it is not John’s. Here 046 and a few cursives restore John’s order.

That the editor was a better Greek scholar than the author is apparent also in his interpolations in 22^11.18b–19. To these passages, which are interpolations (see ii. 221–224), we shall return presently.

But though a fair Greek scholar, the editor is very unintelligent. He has made a chaos of 20^4–22, and wherever else he has intervened he has introduced confusion and made it impossible in many cases for students, who accepted his interpolations as part of the text, to understand the author. In 1^4 he has sought

\(^1\) ἐπὶ, c. gen. dat. or acc., is found in our author as elsewhere after καθήμενος. But where the idea of resting on is present, the genitive is most natural. But the use of the case after καθήμενος ἐπὶ in our author is wholly unique. See p. cxxxii.
by his interpolation to make the text enumerate the Persons of the Trinity—a grotesque conception indeed, but with a parallel in Justin Martyr. His interpolation of 18 is singularly infelicitous as well as being impossible. Not understanding that δ θεός δ παντοκράτωρ is a stock rendering of the Hebrew “God of Hosts,” and that accordingly this title cannot be broken into two parts, he actually divides δ θεός from δ παντοκράτωρ by eight words, and next represents the Seer as hearing God speaking this verse, although he has not yet fallen into a trance. The intrusion 87-12 with the necessary changes in the adjoining context is to be traced to him also (see vol. i. 218–223). This fragment is of unknown provenance. In order to introduce this interpolation the editor has, as already observed, made many changes in the adjoining contexts. One of these changes bears clear testimony to his ignorance of our author’s style. Thus in 85 he represents our author as saying βρονταὶ καὶ φωναὶ καὶ ἀστραταῖ. But our author knows well that the ἀστραταῖ always precede the βρονταῖ: cf. 45 1119 1618. But apparently this editor neither knew this fact nor his master’s usage. This interpolation made it impossible for all interpreters of the Apocalypse to understand the meaning of the clause ἔγενετο στιγμῇ ἐν τῷ ὀφρανῷ ὡς ἡμιώριον. Besides, 87-12 is a weaker repetition of what is said elsewhere in our author, and is frequently at variance with its adjoining context.

In 911 the clause καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἑλληνικῇ ὄνομα ἔχει Ἀπολλών (which is good Greek) appears to come from the editor’s hand. Our author would naturally have written καὶ Ἑλληνικῇ Ἀπολλών, if he had written the words at all, since the preceding words run, ὄνομα αὐτῷ Ἑβραϊστὶ Ἀβαδδὼν, and our author never aims at variety of construction in repeating the same simple fact. ὄνομα αὐτῷ is frequent in the LXX. See also 68 and the note on 911.

The next interpolation due to this editor is 1438-4ab. If these clauses are from his pen they help us to recognize another trait in his character. He is a narrow ascetic, and introduces into Christianity ideas that had their origin in pagan faiths of unquestionable impurity. According to the teaching of 1438-4ab, neither St. Peter nor any other married apostle nor any woman whatever would be allowed to follow the Lamb on Mt. Zion. But it is chastity not celibacy that is a Christian virtue. To regard marriage as a pollution is impossible in our author, who compares the covenant between Christ and the Church to a marriage, 199, and calls the Church the Bride, 212.9 2217. In 1414-20, however, the editor reaches the climax of his stupidity. Here by his insertion of the impossible verses, 1416-17, which he found elsewhere, he has first of all divided the Messianic judgment into two acts, the first of which—added by
him—is called the harvesting of the earth, \(14^{15-17}\), and the second of which is called the vintaging of the earth, \(14^{18-20}\). The first is assigned to the Son of Man! and the second and greater part to an angel. Thus the Son of Man is treated as an angel—a conception impossible not only in \(J^\text{ap}\), but in Jewish and Christian literature as a whole. But our author never speaks of the judgment as a harvesting of the earth, but as a vintaging, and this vintaging is described at length in \(19^{11-21}\) and assigned to the Word of God (ὁ Δόγος τοῦ θεοῦ), who “treadeth the winepress of the fierce anger of God Almighty” (\(19^{15}\)). The fact that our editor, in the face of this clear assignment of the entire Messianic judgment—described as a vintaging of the earth—to the Son of Man, could assign it to an angel, betrays a depth of stupidity all but incomprehensible, and brands him as an arch heretic of the first century though probably an unconscious one. And the irony of it is that, despite his abyssmal stupidity and heresies, he has achieved immortality by securing a covert in the great work which he has done so much to discredit and obscure.\(^1\)

In \(15^1\) we have, no doubt, another of his additions. It is designed to introduce the Seven Bowls. Now every new important section our author begins with the words μετὰ ταῦτα εἶδον (see note on \(4^1\) in Commentary). Less important divisions are introduced by καὶ εἶδον. Here, however, we find the latter words used, which at once provokes our astonishment. But that is not all. The vision breaks off, and a new vision—that of the blessed martyrs in heaven, \(15^{2-4}\)—is recounted; and then at last we come to the real introduction to the Seven Bowls in \(15^5\), which rightly begins with the words καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα εἶδον—a fact which shows that the Seven Bowls are here mentioned for the first time. Such an interference with the text can hardly be assigned to any mere scribe (see vol. ii. 30–32).

Passing over \(16^{2\text{c}}\), which was most probably interpolated by the editor, since it exhibits a wrong construction of προσκυνεῖν from the standpoint of our author, we come to \(16^{9\text{a}}\) καὶ ἥκουσα τοῦ ἀγγέλου τῶν ὑδάτων—a clause which he added in order to introduce some actual sentences of our author, \(i.e.\) \(16^{9\text{b}-7}\). These verses belong after \(19^4\). The editor may have found them detached on a separate piece of papyrus, and owing to his inability to recognize their true context inserted them after \(16^4\). It is true that to the uninstructed mind they present a

---

\(^1\) History has here in part repeated itself; for in the Testaments of the XII Patriarchs (see my edition, pp. xvi sq., lvii–lxi) the work of a bitter assailant of the Maccabean priest-kings has gained a place in the heart of a book that was written by an ardent upholder of the earlier members of that dynasty.
superficial fitness for the place they occupy in the traditional text, but they are in reality wholly unsuited to it, as its technical expressions prove. See vol. ii. 120-123. 1613b-14a (ὅς βατραχοῦ εἶσιν γὰρ πνεύματα δαιμονίων ποιοῦντα στυφέα) was also apparently foisted into the text by the editor. It is against our author's grammar, which would require ὁς βατραχοῦς. To adapt the context to the interpolation he has changed ἐκπορευόμενα into ἐκπορευόνται. 149b (ὅρη εἰσίν, ὃποι ἡ γυνὴ καθηται ἐπʼ αὐτῶν) and with ἐπὶ ἀντίθεσις added after βασιλεῖς), which gives a second explanation of the ἐπὶ βασιλεῖς, appears also to be from his hand. 199b-10 is quite clearly an interpolation (see vol. ii. p. 128 sq.), and owes its insertion here very probably to the editor. It has dislodged a necessary part of the original text. Was the original undecipherable, or was it simply expunged in order to receive the contributions of the editor?

We now return to 204-22 with which we began. I have shown at length in ii. 144-154 the chaos to which the editor has reduced the work of his master in 204-22. Notwithstanding, it will be instructive to touch here also on a few of the hopeless incongruities he has introduced through his sheer incapacity to understand his master's teaching. In 204-22, as it stood originally, our author sees in a vision the coming evangelization of the world by Christ and the glorified martyrs on the Second Advent. This is already foretold in advance in 154 by the triumphant martyrs before the throne of God, "All the nations shall come and worship before Thee," and in a vision in 146-7, and again in 1115 where proleptically the angelic song declares that "the kingdom of this world hath become the kingdom of our Lord and of His Christ." The evangelization of the world is thus committed to the glorified martyrs at once as their task and the guerdon of their faithfulness in the past. They preach afresh the Gospel to the nations of the earth, and all who receive it are healed of their diseases, cleansed from their sins, admitted to the Heavenly City, and allowed to eat of the bread of life. Thus the Millennial Reign is one of arduous spiritual toil, and the thrones assigned to these glorified martyrs are simply a symbol of faithful service, which vary in glory in the measure of their service.

Such is our author's teaching, but through the editor's rearrangement of the text the Millennial Reign is emptied of all significance. The glorified martyrs return to earth with Christ and enjoy a dramatic but rather secular victory, sitting on thrones in splendid idleness for full one thousand years (204-6)!

1 The editor prefers the genitive always after καθηται ἐπὶ, as we have seen above.
Nearly all the incongruities in 20\textsuperscript{4–22} are due to the editor's incompetence. But in 20\textsuperscript{13} there is something worse. Dishonesty has taken the part of incapacity. The editor has tampered with his master's text. In order to make the text teach a physical resurrection he has changed some such word as "treasuries" or "chambers" (\textit{i.e.} the abode of righteous souls—not of the martyrs who went direct to heaven) and inserted \(\gamma\ \theta\alpha\lambda\alpha\sigma\sigma\alpha\). But the sea can only give up bodies, not souls. Yet the phrase "the dead" (\(\tau\omega\nu\\varsigma\ \nu\varepsilon\kappa\rho\omicron\omicron\upsilon\)) implies personalities, \textit{i.e.} souls, just as certainly as it does in the next line, where death and Hades give up "the dead" (\(\tau.\ \nu\varepsilon\kappa\rho\omicron\omicron\upsilon\)) in them. Hence it follows that \(\gamma\ \theta\alpha\lambda\alpha\sigma\sigma\alpha\) cannot have stood originally in the text. Besides, before the final judgment began the sea had already vanished, 20\textsuperscript{11}. On this depravation of his text by the editor, see vol. ii. 194–199, where, as well as in the English trans., I have restored the text.

22\textsuperscript{11} is written in a form of parallelism unexampled elsewhere in our author, while its subject-matter is in conflict with other passages in our author. The last interpolation,\textsuperscript{1} 22\textsuperscript{18b-19}, exhibits the editor at his worst. Having taken the most unwarrantable liberties with his author's text by perverting its teaching in some passages and by his interpolations making it wholly unintelligible in others, he sets the crown on his misdemeanours by invoking an anathema on any person who should in any respect follow the method which had the sanction of his own example.\textsuperscript{2} By this and other like unwarrantable devices this shallow-brained fanatic and celibate, whose dogmatism varies directly with the narrowness of his understanding, has often stood between John and his readers for nearly 2000 years. But such obscurantism cannot outlive the limits assigned to it; the reverent and patient research of the present age is steadily discovering and bringing to light the teaching of this great Christian prophet whose work fitly closes the Canon, and closes it with his benediction: "The grace of the Lord Jesus be with all the saints."

\textsuperscript{1} In addition to the arguments advanced in vol. ii. 222–223 against the authenticity of 21\textsuperscript{18b-19}, we should observe that in the writer's use of \(\epsilon\nu\rho\iota\iota\delta\epsilon\nu\alpha\.\nu\.\) there is a play on the two meanings of this verb, \textit{i.e.} "to add" and "to inflict." The latter use is found in Luke 10\textsuperscript{30}, Acts 16\textsuperscript{29}, and frequently in classical Greek. Such a play on words is not found in our author.

\textsuperscript{2} The use of such anathemas by writers of an inferior stamp was quite common as I have shown in vol. ii. 223–224.
V.

Depravation of the Text through Interpolations, Dislocations, Lacunae, and Dittographs.

§ 1. Interpolations.—There are in all some 22 or more interpolated verses in our text, if we add together all the interpolated verses, clauses, phrases, and words. The grounds for regarding these as interpolations are nearly always given in the Commentary, in loc., and in footnotes to the English translation in vol. ii. in a more popular and less technical form. But in a few cases these will be found only in the latter, since they were not recognized as interpolations, or else wrongly condemned as such when the Commentary was written.

The interpolations are rejected as such either because they are wrong in their subject-matter, that is, against the context, or because they are against our author's linguistic usage. But generally an interpolated passage betrays its intrusive character both by its linguistic form and subject-matter. Where these two kinds of evidence combine, they are conclusive. As notable interpolations of this kind, the reader should study 18 1415-17. First, as regards 18 we discover that this verse is impossible in its present context; for it represents the Seer as hearing God pronounce these words, although the Seer does not fall into a trance until 110. Next, we discover that it could not occur in any context in our author, since, contrary to his universal usage and that of all Palestinian writers, he separates δ παντοκράτωρ from δ θεός by eight words, whereas it should immediately follow it, as it is a rendering of the Hebrew genitive (תָּהוֹן) immediately dependent on δ θεός (יְהֹוא). Next, 1415-17 is against our author's usage in respect to constructions. But it errs still more grievously against the context. The interpolator, failing to recognize "one like a son of man" (1414) as Christ, has treated Him merely as an angel, and assigned Him only one-half of the Messianic judgment, wherein the judgment is compared to a harvesting of the earth—a figure not used by our author. But this is not all. He has assigned to "another angel" the Messianic judgment—i.e., the vintaging of the earth—the duty expressly attributed by our author to Christ in 1011-21.

But interpolation sometimes leads to further depravation of the text. This occurs when the interpolated passage obliges the interpolator to adapt the immediate context to his additions to the text. The classical instance of such tampering with the text will be found in connection with the interpolation of 87-12, whereby "the three Woes," each preceded by a trumpet blast, have been
transformed into “the seven Trumpets.” This drastic intervention of the interpolator has necessitated slight changes in 82.6.13 91.13 107 1115 and the transposition of certain clauses. This addition is at variance with the entire context: it has destroyed the dramatic development of our author’s theme, and represents him as indulging in vain and inconsistent repetitions. The presence of this interpolation in our text has hidden from all interpreters up to the present the true meaning of the phrase—“there was silence in heaven for the space of half an hour,” as well as other important matters.

Several interpolations have arisen from marginal glosses. 58d 1418 (δ ἔχων ἔσονταν ἐπὶ τ. πυρὸς), 179b (ὄρη εἰσίν . . . ἐπ’ αὐτῶν καὶ)—a second interpretation of “the seven heads” from the hand of the editor or an interpolator. 190b-10 is mainly a doublet of 228-9, and in 115b 1717 the additions appear to be simply dittographs.

The complete list of interpolations in and additions to the text is as follows. Those which appear to be due to the editor are marked with an asterisk.


45 (α ἐστιν τὰ ἐπτὰ πνεύματα τοῦ θεοῦ): 46 (ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ θρόνου καὶ): 46 (κυκλόθεν καὶ ἐσωθεν γέμουσιν ὕφθαλμῶν).

58d (αἱ εἰσιν αἱ προσευχαὶ τῶν ἄγιων): 511 (καὶ τ. ἔνων καὶ τ. πρεσβυτέρων). See vol. i. 145, 148 respectively.

68b (καὶ ὁ ἀδησ ἡκολούθει μετ' αὐτοῦ). See vol. i. 169 sq. 68d (ἀποκτέιναι . . . ὑπὸ τ. θηρίων τ. γῆς). See i. 171.

82 (οὶ ἐννοησιν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐστήκασιν). See i. 221: also footnote on Eng. trans. in loc. 87–12. To adapt this interpolation of the first four Trumpets to its new context, changes were introduced in 82.6.13 91.13 107 1115 and 82 transposed from its original position after 85. See i. 219–222.


916b-17a (ἡκονομα τ. ἀριθμον . . . ὅκονσι). Observe that the wrong construction, τ. καθημένους † ἐπ τοῦ αὐτῶν †, is due to editor. See i. 252. 919b (καὶ ἐν ταῖς . . . κεφαλαῖ). See i. 254.

1 Hence practically every editor who accepts the entire work as from John’s hand, whether he adopts or not the hypothesis of sources, is obliged to resort to the “Recapitulation Theory” in a greater or lesser degree, that is, that the Apocalypse does not represent a strict succession of events, but that the same events are either wholly or in part dealt with under each successive series of seven Seals, seven Trumpets, and seven Bowls.
115b (καὶ έί τις . . . ἀποκτανθήναι). See i. 284.
*145-4 (οἱ ἡγορασμένοι ἀπὸ τ. γῆς . . . εἰσὶν and καὶ τῷ ἀρνίῳ.
See ii. 5–10, 422, footnote. *1416-17 καὶ ἄλλοις ἀγγέλοις
. . . δρέπανον ὑμῖν). See ii. 18–19, 20–22. 1418 (ὁ ἡχὼν
ἐξουσίαν ἐπὶ τῷ πυρός). 1419 (ὁ ἀγγέλος).
*151. See ii. 30–32. 153 (τ. θεόν . . . τ. θεοῦ καὶ). See
ii. 34. 156 (οἱ ἐπὶ τῷ ἀγγέλοι καὶ ἑχοντες . . . πληγάς—
a deliberate change for ἀγγέλοι ἐπὶ τῷ ἄνθρωπῳ to interpolation of 151). See ii. 31–32, 38.
*162c (τοὺς ἑχοντας . . . εἰκόνι αὐτῶν). See ii. 43. *165a
(καὶ ἡκουσα του ἀγγέλου τῶν ἰδάτων λέγοντος) added by
er editor when he wrongly introduced 16b-7, which
properly belongs after 194. ii. 44, 120–123. *161b-14a
(ὡς βάταρχοι . . . σημεία). See ii. 47–48. 161a (καὶ
εὐγένετο . . . μέρη). See ii. 52.
*17b (δρη εἰσίν . . . ἐπί αὐτῶν καὶ and ἐπὶ τά after βασιλεῖς).
See ii. 68–69. 1715—a gloss on 171. See ii. 72.
1717 (καὶ ποιήσαν μιᾶν γνώμην). See ii. 73.
1818 (καὶ ἱππων . . . σωμάτων). See ii. 104.
198b (τὸ γὰρ βύσσινον . . . ἔστιν). See vol. i. 127–128.
19b-10, doublet of 22b-9, which has dislodged part of the
original text. See ii. 128–129. 1912c (ἑχον ὄνομα . .
eί μὴ αὐτός). See ii. 132. 1916 (ἐπὶ τ. ἢματιον καὶ).
See ii. 137.
*204 (οἴτινες). *205 (οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν νεκρῶν οὐκ ἑξησαν ἄχρι
372. 2012 (κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν). *2013 (ἡ δάλασσα—
an interpolation which has dislodged the original).
ii. 194 sqq. 2014b (οὕτως ὁ θάνατος . . . πυρός). See
ii. 199 sq.
*216a (καὶ εἰσίν μοι Γέγοναν). See English translation, in
loc. ii. 443. *2125 text changed by editor. See ii. 173,
439.
*2211. See ii. 221 sq. *2212 ὡς τὸ ἔργον ἄτοιν αὐτοῦ τ. The order ἐστίν αὐτοῦ is due to the editor. Our author
wrote αὐτοῦ ἐστίν. *221b-19. See ii. 222 sq.
§ 2. Dislocations in 204–22.—In vol. ii. 144, I have emphasized
the fact that apocalyptic is distinguished from prophecy in its
structural unity and its orderly development of thought to the
final consummation. In the pages that follow (145–154) I have shown
at some length that the text is incoherent and self-
contradictory as it stands, and that these characteristics of 204–22,
which are wholly impossible in apocalyptic (if the work is from
one and the same author), are due to vast dislocations of the
text. No mere accident could explain the intolerable confusion of
the text in 204–22 (see vol. ii. 144–154). Since this entire
section, with the exception of two or more verses, comes from the hand of our author, the only hypothesis that can account for the present condition of the text is that John died when he completed 1-20\(^3\) of his work, and that the materials for its completion, which were for the most part ready in a series of independent documents, were put together by an editor who fundamentally misunderstood the thought and visions of the Seer. Alike in the Commentary, Text, and Translation, the present writer has sought to recover the original order of the text (see vol. ii. 153-154) and given the grounds which have guided this reconstruction throughout. Manifold traces of the activity of this unintelligent editor are to be found in the earlier chapters, and it is more than probable that most of the interpolations are to be traced to his hand.

**Dislocations in 1-20\(^3\).**—Though there is nothing in the text of 1-20\(^3\) in the least comparable to the confusion that dominates the traditional structure of 20\(^4\)-22, yet there are some very astonishing dislocations of isolated clauses and verses.

Of the many dislocations of the text in 1-20\(^3\) only one appears to have been deliberate, *i.e.* the transposition of 8\(^2\) from its original position after 8\(^5\) in order with other changes to adapt the interpolated section 8\(^7\)-12 (the first four Trumpets) to its new context.

The remaining dislocations in 1-20\(^3\) are as follows:—

1. 2\(^{27c}\) has been restored after 2\(^{26b}\). See Eng. trans. *in loc.*
2. 3\(^{8bc}\) has been restored before 3\(^{8a}\). See Eng. trans. *in loc.*
3. 7\(^{5c-6}\) has been restored after 7\(^8\). See vol. i. 207.
4. 11\(^{18a}\) has been restored after 11\(^{18b}\). See vol. i. 295 sq.
5. 11\(^{18g}\) has been restored after 11\(^{18e}\). See vol. ii. 416, footnote to Eng. transl. *in loc.*
6. 13\(^{5b}\) has been restored after 13\(^{6b}\). See vol. ii. 419, footnote to Eng. transl. *in loc.*
7. 14\(^{12-13}\) has been restored after 13\(^{18}\). See vol. i. 368 sq.
8. 16\(^{5b-7}\) has been restored after 10\(^4\). See vol. ii. 120-123.
9. 16\(^{15}\) has been restored after 3\(^{3b}\). See vol. i. 80 sq.
10. 17\(^{14-17}\) has been restored as follows: 17\(^{17}\), 16, 14. See vol. ii. 60 sq.
11. 18\(^{14-23}\) has been restored as follows: 18\(^{15-19}\), 21, 14, 22a-d, 23cd.

The most startling of the above dislocations of the text is that in 18\(^{14-28}\). How this dislocation arose we cannot determine, but that the text is dislocated is beyond question. First, we observe that 18\(^{14}\) comes in wrongly between 18\(^{13}\) and 18\(^{15}\), and that both its sense and structure connect it immediately with 18\(^{22-23}\) and, as an introduction to these verses, which, combined with it, express in due gradation the destruction of everything in Rome
from the greatest luxuries to the barest necessities. Thus 1814. 22-23 (four stanzas) compose a special dirge over Rome. Next, 1820 breaks the close sequence between 1819 and 1821 by introducing an apostrophe to heaven between the descriptive passages dealing with the ruin of Rome, 1819, and the dramatic action of the angel, 1821. But, though it cannot stand after 1819, it comes in with the most perfect fitness at the close of the dirge over Rome (1814. 22-23), as an appeal to heaven to rejoice over the doom of Rome—an appeal that is immediately answered by choir after choir from heaven of a mighty multitude of angels, of the Elders and Cherubim, and of the martyr host in 1914.

The dislocations in 75c-8 1118 135b-6b 1714-17 could easily have arisen. Parallels to such dislocations are to be found in other books of the Bible and in other documents. Only three other dislocations remain, but two of these are suggestive. As to 1615 which is to be restored after 3b, it is possible that it was written on a separate slip of papyrus which got displaced and was subsequently inserted after the sheet of papyrus ending 1614. However this may be, it cannot possibly have stood originally after 1614, with which it has no connection of any kind. Its natural place is after 3b, and nowhere else.

Now we come to the two interesting dislocations, 1412-13, 1715.1 These two passages appear to have been inserted above the written columns on the papyrus sheets, the first by the Seer himself, the second by the editor. The scribe who copied the original MS incorporated these marginal additions in the wrong columns. It is noteworthy that 1412-13 is exactly the same number of lines from 1318 that 1715 is from 17, of which it is a gloss.

§ 3. Lacunae in the Text.—Apart from 204-22 where it is impossible to determine what lacunae exist (save in 2122; see below) owing to the disorder of the text, there do not appear to be many in 1-20. There are, however, lacunae, and these are important. The first consists of a loss of several clauses in 1610 (see vol. ii. 45-46). The second is a still graver loss after 199a. These lost verses after 199a (whose place has been taken by an

1 That 1412-13 (ὁδὲ ἡ ὑπομονή τῶν ἀγίων κτλ.) is wholly out of place in a section that deals with the judgments inflicted on the wicked is clear at a glance, and that they should be restored at the close of the account of the persecution of the second Beast, i.e. 1318, is at once manifest, when we compare the closing words of the persecution of the first Beast, 1310b (ὁδὲ ἐστιν ἡ ὑπομονή . . . τῶν ἀγίων). These words are added for the encouragement and strengthening of the victims of the two persecutions. Next, it is clear that 1715 was originally an explanatory marginal gloss on 171. Since it has no connection whatever with its present context, the explanation given above for its position in its present context seems adequate.
interpolation, i.e. $19^{9b-10}$ modelled on $22^{8-9}$) recounted the 
destruction of the Parthian kings. Their destruction was 
prophesied in $17^{14}$, and the vision recounting their destruction 
should have been given here. In $17^{17,16}$ there is a prophecy 
of the destruction of Rome: in $18$ a vision of this destruction. 
In $14^{14,18-20}$ (see also $16^{13-14,16}$) we have a proleptic vision 
of the judgment of the nations by the Son of Man and a 
vision of their destruction by the Word of God in $19^{11-21}$ 
($20^{7-10}$). Thus it is clear that a vision dealing with the 
destruction of the Parthian hosts by the Lamb and the Saints 
(see $17^{14}$) should have been recorded in our text. That it 
actually did stand in the autograph of the Seer may be reasonably 
concluded from $19^{18}$, where the Word of God is said to be 
"clothed with a garment dipped in blood." That this is the 
blood of the Parthian hosts follows from any just interpretation 
of the text. See vol. ii. 133.

A third lacuna occurs after $18^{22a}$. The context makes the 
restoration easy, i.e. όν μη ἄκονσθης ἐν σοι ἐτί. Again, in $21^{22}$, 
where we should have a couplet, but where only the words καὶ 
fο ἀρμίνων survive of the second line, we can with great probability 
restore the missing words by a comparison of $11^{19}$. These are 
κυβωτὸς τῆς διαθήκης αὐτῆς. See vol. ii. 170 sq.

§ 4. Dittographs.—There are several dittographs, i.e. (a) 
$13^{3c.8} = 17^8$; (b) $19^{9b} = 21^5c = 22^6a$; (c) $19^{10} = 22^{8b.9}$; (d) $20^{14b} = 21^{8e}$.

(a) Both members of the first, i.e. $13^{3c.8} = 17^8$, belong to our 
text. See vol. i. 337.

(b) Here practically the same clause (καὶ εἰπεν μοι Οὐτοι οἱ 
λόγοι πιστοὶ κ. ἀληθινοί) is repeated three times. In $21^{5c} 22^6a$ 
it is a genuine part of the text. On $21^5c$ see note 3 on English 
translation, vol. ii. 443, in accordance with which the note in vol. 
ii. 203 (ad fin.) sq. is to be corrected. In $19^{9b}$ it is manifestly 
interpolated (see vol. ii. 128, 203 sq.), probably by the editor.

(c) Here $22^{8b.9}$ is original and $19^{10}$ is an interpolation of the 
editor repeated in the main from $22^{8-9}$ but giving to συνδουλος 
quite a different meaning. See vol. ii. 128 sq.

(d) $21^{8e} οὐκ τινὶ ὅθανατος ὁ δευτερος is original. But in $20^{14b}$, 
where this phrase also occurs, it is quite meaningless. It 
represents the casting of death and Hades (as distinct from their 
inhabitants) into the lake of fire as the second death!
VI.

GREEK AND HEBREW SOURCES AND THEIR DATES.

Our author has used sources. Nearly one-fifth of his text appears to be based on sources, *i.e.* \(7^{1-8} \ 11^{1-13} \ 12-13 \ (15^{5-8} \ 7)\). \(17-18\). These sources he has adapted to his own purposes, and in the course of such adaptation has, except in certain details, transformed their meaning. (a) Sources he found in Hebrew or Greek. (b) Sources he found in Greek. (c) Sources in Hebrew.

(a) Chap. \(7^{1-8}\) (before 70 A.D.). That there are two sources here is shown in vol. i. 191 sqq. Whether our author found these sources already existing in Greek and recast them in his own diction or translated them directly from the Hebrew is uncertain.

Chap. \(7^{1-8}\). Here *"the four winds"* (so designated though not previously mentioned) are not to be let loose till the faithful are sealed. A pause is enjoined in the course of judgment for this purpose as in I En 66\(^1\)-\(2\), 67, and in 2 Bar 64\(^{8}\) sqq. The four winds appear in earlier tradition. See vol. i. 192-193.

Chap. \(7^{4-8}\). From a Jewish or Jewish-Christian source. See vol. i. 193-194. The "sealing" in our text is also derived from tradition, but the meaning is wholly transformed from what it bears in the O.T. and Pss. Sol 15\(^6\)-10.18, which later work appears to have been before our author.

(b) Greek Sources, *i.e.* sources already existing in Greek, \(11^{1-13}\) 12.* 17-18.

Chap. \(11^{1-13}\) (before 70 A.D.). This section had originally a different meaning and was borrowed by our author from a source written before 70 A.D. \(11^{1-13}\) consists of two earlier fragments, both of which presuppose Jerusalem to be still standing (11\(^1-8\)). The diction, idiom, and order of words differ perceptibly from that of our author, and they contain certain phrases which bear a different meaning from that which they bear in our author.

In \(11^{8-13}\) our author's hand is discernible in the additions \(11^{8b-9a}\) and the entire recasting of \(11^7\), so that what stood there originally cannot be known. In our text the temple in \(11^1\) must be interpreted not as the actual temple which no longer existed, but as the spiritual temple, of which all the faithful are constituent members—a figure which our author has already used in 3\(^1\), and the words "the measuring of his temple, the altar and those that worshipped therein," mean in their new context the securing of

* In vol. i. 300-305 I took chapter 12 to be a translation by our author from a Hebrew source, but subsequent study has obliged me to abandon this view. See Introd. p. clviii n.
the faithful against the spiritual influences of the demonic and Satanic powers. But all the ideas in the text do not lend themselves to such reinterpretation, and the presence of such inexplicable details is *prima facie* evidence that the sections in which they occur are not original creations of our author but are derived from traditional material. See vol. i. 269–292.

Chap. 12 (before 70 A.D.). In vol. i. 298–299 the meaning of this chapter in its Christian setting is given. But that this was not its original meaning, and that it could not have been written originally by a Christian, is shown in vol. i. 299–300. A full discussion of the two sources which underlie this chapter and were translated from Semitic originals but not by our author, is given in vol. i. 305–314. Our author most probably found these sources already in a Greek form, and the conclusion recorded in i. 303 is here withdrawn. These two sources, so far as they survive in our text, consist of I21-5. 13-17 and I27-10. 12. These were adapted by our author to their new Christian context by the addition of I26. 11 and by certain additions in I28 (?), I25 (δς μέλλει ποιμαίνειν πάντα τα ἐθνη ἐν ράβδω σιδηρά), I29 (ὁ ὄφις ὁ ἄρχαίος, ὁ καλούμενος Διάβολος. . . ἐβλήθη), I210 (καὶ ἡ ἐξουσία τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἦμῶν dislodging a Jewish phrase), I213 (ὅτε εἶδεν καὶ ὅτι ἐβλήθη εἰς τὴν γῆν), I217 (τῶν πηρόντων τὰς ἐντολὰς τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἔχοντων τὴν μαρτυρίαν Ἰησοῦν). The expectation expressed in I214-16 is a survival of an earlier time, being found by our author in his source. It referred to or prophesied the escape of Jewish Christians before 70 A.D. But the idea of such an escape during the entire sway of the Antichrist (I214 καὶρον καὶ καρυν καὶ ἤμουν καρυον) is impossible in our text, where our author’s expectation is that of a martyrdom of the entire Christian Church. No part of the Church escapes.

Chaps. 17-18 (71-79 A.D.). These chapters, though recast by our author to serve his own main purpose, preserve incongruous elements and traces of an earlier date. Thus I710-11 cannot be reasonably interpreted of a later time than Vespasian. And yet our author’s additions in I78. 11, which refer to the demonic Nero coming up from the abyss, can only be explained by a Domitianic date. The sense is confused, but the date is clear. To leave this passage unaltered was an oversight on the part of our author. Similarly, I84 (see vol. ii. 96 sq.) postulates a Vespasianic date.

These chapters, the greater part of which our author found in a Greek form, were derived from two Hebrew sources, which for convenience’ sake we designate A and B. A consisted originally of I710-2. 3b-6. 7. 18. 8-10 (greater part) I82-23. See vol. ii. 88–89, 94–95. B consisted of I711 (greater part), 12-18. 17. 16. See vol. ii. 59–60.

Our author has adapted these sources to his own purposes
by inserting the following clauses: 171 (καὶ ἡλθεν . . . δεῖξω σοι), 3a (καὶ ἀπήγαγέν με . . . πνεύματι), 3c (καὶ κέρατα δέκα), 6b (καὶ ἐκ τ. αἴματος . . . Ἡσυχία), 8 (ἡν καὶ σῶκ . . . ὑπάγει), and (ἄτι ἡν . . . πάρεσται), 9 (δόε δ νοῦς ὃ ἐχων σοφίαν), 11 (ὁ ἡν καὶ σῶκ ἐστιν), and (καὶ εἰς ἀπώλειαν ὑπάγει). But the text of 1711-17 is in disorder. 1715 is a gloss (see vol. ii. 72), 1717 should precede 1716, and 1714 (our author’s addition) should follow immediately on 1716. Hence the right order of the text (see vol. ii. 61) is 1711-13. 17. 16. 14. After 1714 our author transferred 1718, which originally belonged to A (see above), to the close of the chapter in order to introduce chap. 18.

Chap. 182-23a-e. This chapter, as we have already seen, belongs to the source A. Our author apparently found it in some disorder in a Greek form. He has made few changes in it. He has introduced it by prefixing 181, by inserting 1820, and closing it by 1823f. 24. Since 1820 is an appeal to the heavenly hosts—an appeal that is immediately answered in 191-7, our author would naturally have placed it at the close of 18 and not where it stands in the traditional text. 1820. 23f. 24 would thus form the close of this chapter coming from our author’s hand and serving to introduce the theme of 191-4 165bc-7 195-7.

Since, therefore, 1820 does not apparently stand where our author inserted it, it is reasonable to conclude that some of the great disorder that exists in 1814-23 arose subsequently to our author’s composition of the work as a whole.

(c) Hebrew Sources. One chapter, i.e. 13, is mainly composed of translations from three Hebrew sources by our author (see vol. i. 334-338). To the first source, written by a Pharisaic Quietist before 70 a.d., is to be traced 131ab. 2. 4-7a. 10. See vol. i. 340-342. To the second source, 133c. 8, of which we find a second Greek translation from another hand in 178. See vol. i. 337. To the third, 1311. 12ab. 13-14ab. 16ad-17a. See vol. i. 342-344. The date is probably prior to 70 a.d.

The original meaning of these sources is transformed by their incorporation into our author’s text. He has adapted them to his own purpose by the insertion of the following clauses: 131e (καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν . . . διαδόματα), 3ab (καὶ μίαν . . . ἐθεραπεύθη), 6c (τούς . . . σκηνοῦντας), 7b (καὶ ἐδοθή . . . ἔθνος), 8b-9 (τοῦ ἀρνίου . . . ἄκοντας), 10c (ἀδε . . . ἄγιον), 12bc (τὸ θηρίον τὸ πρῶτον ὑπ᾽ ἐθεραπεύθη . . . αὐτοῦ), 14b-15 (ἐνωτión . . . ἀποκαταθωσίν), 16 (τ. μικροῦ . . . δούλους), 17-18 (τὸ ὄνομα . . . ἔξε).

Possibly 155-8 is translated from a Hebrew source by our author. The grounds for this hypothesis are to be found in the two impossible phrases in 155. 6. It is remarkable that both these phrases can be explained by retranslation into Hebrew. See vol. ii. 37-38. On this hypothesis we should expect the whole
narrative of the Bowls to be likewise a translation from the Hebrew. But if it is, it is so thoroughly recast that no evidence for this hypothesis survives.

If we reject this hypothesis, we might assume that λνον is a primitive error for λνον in 15, and that τῆς σκηνῆς τοῦ μαρτυρίου was originally a marginal gloss which was derived from Ex. 40, on which our text is based, and was subsequently incorporated in the text against both the sense and grammar. The editor, however, was capable of the grossest misconceptions, as we have been elsewhere: see pp. 1–lv.

VII.

Books of the O.T., of the Pseudepigrapha and of the N.T. Used by Our Author.

§ 1. General statement of our author's dependence on the above books.—Our author makes most use of the prophetical books. He constantly uses Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel; also, but in a less degree, Zechariah, Joel, Amos, and Hosea; and in a very minor degree Zephaniah and Habakkuk. Next to the prophetical books he is most indebted to the Psalms, slightly to Proverbs, and still less to Canticles. He possessed the Penta-teuch and makes occasional use of all its books, particularly of Exodus. Amongst others, that he and his sources probably drew upon, are Joshua, i and 2 Samuel, and 2 Kings.

The evidence for the above summary of facts will be found below in §§ 3–5.

Of the Pseudepigrapha the evidence that our author used the Testament of Levi, 1 Enoch, and the Assumption of Moses, is sufficiently strong; see below, § 7. It is not improbable that he was acquainted with 2 Enoch and the Psalms of Solomon. See below, § 7. But the direct evidence is not so convincing as the indirect. Repeatedly in the commentary that follows it is shown that without a knowledge of the Pseudepigrapha it would be impossible to understand our author. As a few proofs of this fact, see on 4 (the Cherubim), pp. 117–123; 6 ("a great sword."); p. 165; 6 (Martyrs = a sacrifice to God, cf. 14), p. 174, vol. ii. 6; 6 (the one altar in heaven), p. 172 sqq.; 6 (world to come to an end when the roll of the martyrs is complete), pp. 177–79; (white robes = spiritual bodies), pp. 184–188 and passim.

From an examination of the passages given below in § 8, it follows quite decidedly that our author had the Gospels of Matthew and Luke before him, 1 Thessalonians, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Colossians (or else the lost Ep. to the Laodiceans, which presumably was of a kindred character), Ephesians, and possibly
Galatians, 1 Peter, and James. Our author shows no acquaintance with St. Mark.

That our author used Matthew is deducible from the following facts. In 17 he has had Matt 2430 before him, where our author's combination of Dan 713 and Zech 1210.12 occurs already. Our author derives from Matthew the words τὰ σαφῆ αἱ φυλαί τ. γῆς, which are not in the O.T. or Versions. Next, a reference to 27 shows that it is the Matthean (or Lucan: cf. 88) form of the command, δ ἐχοῦν ὑφὶς κτλ., Matt 1115 139 etc., that our author was familiar with. The dependence of 33, 1618 on Matt 2442.43.46 is obvious at the first glance. 35 presupposes both Matt 1032 and the parallel passage in Luke 128. Other passages showing dependence on Matthew, though not so conclusively, will be found under 13d 116 64 1115 below.


§ 2. John translated directly from the O.T. text. He did not quote from any Greek Version, though he was often influenced in his renderings by the LXX and another later Greek Version, a revised form of the o' (i.e. the LXX), which was subsequently revised and incorporated by Theodotion in his version. Our author never definitely makes a quotation, though he continually incorporates phrases and clauses of the O.T. The question naturally arises: Do he and his sources (111-13 12-13. 17-18) derive such phrases and clauses directly from the Hebrew (or Aramaic), or from o' or from the Hebrew combined with o'? (see §§ 3-5).

An examination of the passages based on the O.T. makes it clear that our author draws his materials directly from the Hebrew (or Aramaic) text, and apparently never solely from o' or any other version.2 And this is no less true of the sources our

1 If, however, our author used Matthew and Luke only and not the Little Apocalypse, how are we to account for his using θάνατος and not λοιμοί? But if he had the Aramaic document behind the triple tradition in the Synoptics this would be explicable, since ἁμαρτία = "death" or "pestilence." If he had the Little Apocalypse in Aramaic, we should have the explanation of this and other difficulties.

2 It is important to recognize the results arrived at in §§ 3-6, seeing that several German scholars have definitely declared that certain classes of O.T.
author incorporated and edited. But this fact does not exclude the possibility that our author was acquainted with and at times guided by ο' and some other Greek version. The latter clause is added deliberately, "and some other Greek version."

That our author was influenced in his renderings of O.T. passages by ο' may be taken as proved after an examination of the list of passages given in § 4. But in the list of passages that follow in § 5, we discover that our author's renderings of the Hebrew are closely related to those which appear in θ' (i.e. Theodotion), where θ' differs from ο'. But since Theodotion lived several decades later than our author, we must assume with Gwynn (Dict. Christ. Biog. iv. 974-978) that side by side with ο' (preserved in a corrupt form in the Chisian MS of Daniel) there existed a rival Greek version from pre-Christian times.1

But Gwynn's hypothesis, although adequate to a certain extent, is inadequate when confronted with fresh facts that have emerged in my study of this question. For from § 5 we learn that in 1175 our text agrees not with ο' but θ' in Is 4812: similarly 37 with θ' of Is 22.22 and 3.96 with θ' of Is 60.14. Again the quotation 15:24 διασκεδάζω τ. ἄνυμα τις οὐ μή φοβηθη; agrees word for word (though differing in case and tense) with θ' of Jer 10.7, whereas ο' is here wholly defective. Finally, 18 (3.10) βασιλείαν ἱερεῖς is found in θ' of Ex. 10.6 where ο' is different. Now one or more of these might be coincidences, but it is highly improbable that all five are. Hence we have good grounds for concluding that there existed either a rival Greek version alongside ο' from pre-Christian times or a revised version of ο', which was revised afresh by Theodotion and circulated henceforth under his name. How many books of the O.T. were so translated afresh cannot be determined. The above evidence would imply that Isaiah and Jeremiah were so translated.2 Possibly all the prophetic books were rendered

passages are directly from the Hebrew and others just as definitely from the LXX. The greatest offender in this respect is von Soden (Books of the NT, 372 sq.), who states that "quotations from the O.T. in the Johannine portion (of Revelation, i.e. 1:5-7) are constantly made according to the LXX, while in the Jewish portion (8-22) the Hebrew text is taken into account." There is no foundation in fact for this statement.

1 This hypothesis (first suggested by Credner, Beiträge, ii. 261-272) was practically accepted by Salmon (Introd. p. 547) and by Swete (Introd. to the O.T. in Greek, p. 48).

Gwynn supports this hypothesis by evidence drawn from 1 Bar 12-20. Since the date of 12-20 is generally accepted as earlier than 80 A.D., and since numerous passages in 12-20 are clearly based on θ' and not ο' of Daniel 6-19, Gwynn (op. cit. p. 976) rightly infers the existence of a version of Daniel differing from ο' and of a type closely akin to that which θ' bears.

2 There is, of course, the possibility that our author was using a collection of Testimonia. But this explanation could not be used in the case of the passages wherein our author's text shows numerous and very close affinities to θ'. It is noteworthy that the author of the Fourth Gospel never agrees
afresh into Greek and this work incorporated and revised by Theodotion in his version. But the matter calls for further investigation.

§ 3. Passages based directly on the Hebrew of the O.T. (or the Aramaic in Daniel). These are hardly ever literal quotations: in any case the words carry with them a developed and often different meaning.

17b ὃψεται αὐτὸν πᾶς ὀφθαλμὸς καὶ οὕτως αὐτὸν ἑξεκέντησαν· καὶ κύψεται ἐπ’ αὐτὸν πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαὶ τ. γῆς. 3

110 ἐγενήμην ἐν πνεύματι... ἥκουσα φωνὴν μεγάλην ὑπεθέν μου.

113 (1414) δομοὶ νῦν ἀνθρώπου, ἐνεδυμένοι ποδήρῃ.

περιεξώσμενον πρὸς τ. μαστοῖς ξώνην χρυσᾶν. Cf. 158 where the text recalls the present.

11a ἢ δὲ κεφαλὴ αὐτοῦ καὶ αἱ τρίχαι λευκαὶ ὃς ἐριον λευκῶν.

11b (1912) οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτῶν ὡς φλάξ πυρός.

οἱ πόδες αὐτῶν δομοὶ χαλκολιβάνως.

Zech 1210 ο’ θ’. ἐπιβλέψονται πρὸς μὲ, ἀνθ’ ὃν καταρχῆσαι (θ’: εἰς ὃν ἑξεκέντησαν) καὶ κύψεται ἐπ’ (>θ’) αὐτὸν. 1212 ο’, κύψεται ἡ γῆ κατὰ φυλάς φυλᾶς.

Ezek 312 ἀνέλαβεν με πνεύμα, καὶ ἥκουσα κατόπισθέν μου... φωνῆν σεισμοῦ μεγάλου.

Dan 719 (ο’ θ’) ὃς νῦν ἀνθρώπων.


Dan 109 ἡμᾶς ἐν ὑπνῷ ῥαμ. θ’. ᾧ ὀφθαίν αὐτὸν περιεξώσμενη ἐν χρυσῇ. ο’. τ. ὀφθαίν περιεξώσμενοι βυσσίνῳ.

Dan 79 θ’. καὶ ἡ ἄρις τ. κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ ῥωτέροι καθαρὸν. ο’. καὶ τ. τρίχαις τ. κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ ῥωτέροι καθαρὰν.

Dan 106 (ο’ θ’) οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτῶν ῥωτέροι λαμπάδες πυρός.

Dan 109 ο’ θ’ quite different.

exclusively with θ’ (see 1957 where it agrees in part), and only a few times literally with ο’ in 217 = Ps 68 (69)10, 1027 = Ps 81 (82)8, 1218 = Ps 117 (118)28, 1228 = Is 531, 1924 = Ps 21 (22)19. But the author of the Fourth Gospel seldom quotes—even indirectly—from the O.T., whereas our author’s text shows its influence directly and indirectly, wherever his subject admits of it.

1 Here our author renders ἡμᾶς as θ’. But this proves nothing; for ἐκκεντεῖν (ἀποκεντεῖν or κατακεντεῖν) is its normal rendering in the Versions. ο’, of course, presupposes ἡμᾶς. Cf. John 1957 ὃψεται εἰς ὃν ἑξεκέντησαν.

2 The words κύψεται εἰς’ αὐτὸν πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαὶ τ. γῆς agree exactly with Matt 2430 save that the latter omits ἐπ’ αὐτὸν. Now, since Matt 2430 combines Zech 1210 and Dan 718 just as our author does in 17b, it is highly probable that our author was acquainted with Matt 2430, or that our author and Matt 2430 drew here upon an independent source—i.e. a collection of O.T. passages relating to the Messiah. I have placed 17b ἵδον ἐπέχεικα μετὰ τ. νεφελῶν under § 5, but possibly it ought to be under § 3, as 17b. In Zech 1210 the people mourn for him that is cut off, whereas in our text and in Matt 2430 they mourn for themselves. κύψεται εἰς’ αὐτὸν = “mourn in regard to him.”

3 Our author here diverges greatly from θ’, and here alone approximates to ο’ against θ’ in Dan., though not necessarily presupposing a knowledge of ο’. Our text and ο’, however, really point to the same Aramaic וּפֶ֣נַה רַע עַל נֵבָא. This appears to have been the original text “And the hair of his head was spotless as white wool.”
16a ἐκ τ. στόματος αὐτοῦ ὄμφασιν . . . ὀξεία. Cf. 212. 16 19.15.
17 ἐπεσα πρὸς τ. πόδας αὐτοῦ ὡς νεκρός καὶ θηκεν τ. δεξιῶν αὐτοῦ ἐπ' ἐμὲ λέγων Μή φοβοῦ.
18 εὼν εἰμὶ εἰς τ. αἰώνας τ. αἰώνων.
23 ἐδίδασκεν . . . φαγεῖν εἰδωλοθυτα καὶ παροιμεῖαι.
29 τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς κτλ. See 11 above.
23 Ἐγὼ εἰμὶ ὁ ἐραυνῶν νεφροῦ καὶ καρδίας, καὶ δῶσω ὑμῖν ἐκάστῳ κατὰ τὰ ἑργά ὑμῶν.
38 ἔβουν καὶ προσκυνήσουσιν ἐνώπιον τ. ποδῶν σου.
39 τ. κατοικίων ταῦτα εἴπτ. τ. γῆς.
47 πλοῦσιος εἰμί καὶ παπλούτηκα.
39 Ἐγὼ δοσὺ εἶναί σοι ἀφλῶ ἐλέγχω καὶ παῖδεων.
30 ἑστηκα ἐπὶ τ. θύραν καὶ κρούων εἶναί τις . . . ἀνοίζῃ.
41 (79) μετὰ ταῦτα εἶδον καὶ ἴδοι.

Ezek. 43 (8') φωνῆ τ. παρεμβολῆς ὡς φωνῆ διπλασιάζουσιν πολλῶν.

But our text is a literal rendering of the Hebrew שיבר של חשב הלשון.
Dan 10 is based on Ezek 43 but only remotely, and is not followed by our author. Jerome remarks how Rev 1 supports the Mass.

Is 49 ἐθηκεν τ. στόμα μου ὡς μάχαιραν ὀξείαν.
Dan 109. 10. 12 Heb. = "Then was I fallen into a deep sleep on my face. . . . And behold a hand touched me. . . . And he said unto me, Fear not." (Greek Versions very different from our text).

Dan 431 (θ') 127. 1 Enoch 51 Num 251-2 ἐβέβηλωθη ὁ λαὸς ἐκπορευεῖται . . . καὶ ἐφαγεν.

Jer 1710 Ἐγὼ κύριος ἐτάξων καρδίας καὶ δοκιμάζων νεφροῦ, του δοῦναί (μῆν) ἐκάστῳ κατὰ τ. ὄνομα αὐτοῦ. 3

Though this construction occurs in the LXX it is comparatively rare and represents a special Hebrew phrase: see vol. i. 289 sq., 336.

Hos 125. See vol. i. 96.
Prov 311-12 μή διαλυόμεθα παιδεῖας κυρίου . . . ἢ γὰρ ἄγαν ἀγαπάς κύριος ἐλέγχει (Ἄ παιδεύει). 3
Cant 52 κρυβεὶ ἐπὶ τ. θύραν. "Ἄνοιξόν μου.
Dan 76 θ'. ὁ πίσω τούτου ἐθεώρουν καὶ ἴδοι. ὁ', καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐθεώρουν.

1 Based on the Hebrew of Is 6014. The clause omitted by ο' is supplied by θ', but as we see in a different form. See on 15 below under § 4, where a closely related text is derived from Ps 85 (86).9
2 Alone in the O.T. does Jer 17 combine the two ideas in our text. Hence correct my note in vol. i. 72. Jeremiah also uses θν in the rather unusual meaning of "to require." With the second line cf. also Prov 2412 ἀποδιδόσων (ẓw) ἐκάστῳ κατὰ τ. ἑργα αὐτοῦ: Ps 61 (62). 18
Moulton and Milligan, Voc. of GT, p. 160, try to explain this meaning of διδόναι by a quotation: ὁ λθε δέδωκεν τῷ νῦν μου (sc. πληγήν) = "he gave it him with a stick," This is not a parallel. Our text involves no ellipse. It is a Hebraism. Our author's use of διδόναι here = "to require" is due wholly to Jer 17; for in 2212 he naturally uses ἀποδιδόναι in this sense (=ẓw or δ'ζ) as in Prov 2412. Ps 6118.
3 See note in vol. i. 99. 39 might be classed under § 4.
45 ἐκπορεύονται ἀστραπαὶ καὶ φωναὶ καὶ βρονταὶ.

46 κύκλῳ τ. θρόνου τέσσερα ξύλα γέμοντα ὀφθαλμῶν ἐμπροσθεν καὶ διπίσθεν.

47 δυοῖν λέοντι ... μόσχῳ ... ἐχων τὸ πρόσωπον ὡς ἀνθώπον ... δυοῖν ἄετω.

48α ὡς καθ’ ἐν αὐτῶν ἐχων ἀνὰ πτέρυγας ἔξ.

48ε λέγοντες "Αγίοι ἄγιοι ἄγιοι κύριοι ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ.

51 ἐπὶ τ. δεξιῶν ... βιβλίων γεγραμμένων ἑσώθεν καὶ διπισθεν, καταφραγισμένων.

56 (519 13β) ἄριστον ... ὡς ἐσφαγμένον.

ὀφθαλμοῖς ὑπατά ... αὐτοῖς ἐσφαγμένοι (ὑπατα) εἰς πάναν τ. γῆν.

59 φυλής καὶ γλώσσης καὶ λαοῦ καὶ θεοῦ.

511 μυριάδες μυριάδων καὶ χιλιάδες χιλιάδων.

62-8 ἵπποι λευκοί ... ἵπποι πυρρός ... ἵπποι μέλας ... ἵπποι χλωρός.

613 οἱ ἀστέρες τ. οὐρανοῦ ἐπεσαν ... ὡς σωκῆ βάλλει τ. οὐρανοῦ αὐτῆς.

615 ἐκρυψαν ἐαυτοῦς εἰς τ. σφήλαια καὶ εἰς τ. πέτρας τ. ὄρεων.

616 καὶ λέγουσιν τ. δρεσιν καὶ τ. πέτραις Πέσατε ἐφ’ ἡμᾶς καὶ κρύψατε ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ προσώπου τ. καθημένου κτλ. Contrast Luke 2320 which is drawn from o’.

617 ἠλθεν ἡ ἡμέρα ἡ μεγάλη τ. ὄργης αὐτῶν, καὶ τίς δύναται σταθῆναι;

71 (208) ἐπὶ τ. τέσσαρας γυναίκας τ. γῆς.


Ezek 18 εν τ. μέσῳ ὡς ὄμοιομα τεσσάρων ζύων. 118 πλήρεις ὀφθαλμῶν κυκλοῦ. See vol. i. 118.

Ezek 110 ὡς ὄμοιοι ... πρόσωπον ἀνθρώπου ... λεοντος ... μόσχου ... ἄετω.

Is 69 εξ πτέρυγας τῷ ἐν καὶ εἰς πτέρυγας τῷ ἐν (τὴν δυναμική τίτικ τής δυναμική).

Is 68 ἔλεγον Ἀγίοι ἄγιοι ἄγιοι κύριοι σαβαώθ.

Ezek 29. 10 εν αὐτῷ (i.e. χειρὶ) κεφαλῖς βιβλίων ... ἐν αὐτῇ γεγραμμένα ἢ τὰ ἐμπροσθέν καὶ τὰ ὄπλα. Is 2911 τοῦ βιβλίου τοῦ ἑφραγμένου: Dan 828.

Is 53 ὡς πρὸβατον ἐπὶ σφαγῆν ἡχη καὶ ὡς ἀμύνος.

Zech 49 ἐπὶ ὀδοὺ ὀφθαλμὸς εἰς τοὺς ἐπιβλέποντες ἐπὶ πάναν τ. γῆν.

From an older Aramaic text of Daniel than that preserved in the Canon. See vol. i. 147 sq.

Dan 710 ο’ θ’, χιλιαί χιλιάδες ... μυριάδες μυριάδων.

From Zech 18 61-8. Our author has not used the Greek Versions but the Hebrew freely for his own purposes. See vol. i. 161 sq.

Is 34 ο’ πάντα τ. ἀστρα πεσεῖται ... ὡς πίπτει φίλλα ἀπὸ σικῆς. Our text is independent of the o’ here, but like o’ and o presuppose τί (πεσεῖται) instead of the Mass. τίς.

Is 210. 19 εἰς ἐκεῖθεν εἰς τ. πέτρας καὶ κρύπτεσθε ... καὶ τὰ χειροποίητα ... εἰς ἐνεγκατάντες εἰς τ. σφήλαια. See vol. i. 182.

Hos 108 καὶ ἐρείου τ. σπέρματος Καλύφατε ἡμᾶς, καὶ τ. βουνοῖς Πέσατε ἐφ’ ἡμᾶς. Is 2910 κρύπτεσθε εἰς τ. γῆν ἀπὸ προσώπου τ. φοβοῦ κυρίου.

Joel 211 μεγάλη ἡμέρα τ. κυρίου ... καὶ τίς ἐσται λικνὸς αὐτοῦ (ὑπ’); 291b πρὶν ἐλθείν ἡμέραν κυρίου τ. μεγάλην. Nah 18 ἀπὸ προσώπου ὄργης αὐτοῦ τίς ὑποστηθεῖσαι (ὑπ’).

Ezek 711 ἐπὶ τ. τέσσαρας πτέρυγας (πετά) τ. γῆς.

1 On the critical importance of this rendering, δ θεὸς δ παντοκράτωρ, see vol. ii., English translation, footnote on 18. This epithet, δ παντοκράτωρ, is not found in any version of Isaiah.
Ezek 94 ὁ σήμειον ὑπὲρ τ. μέτωπα. 4
Ps 39 τ. κύριον ὡς σωτηρία (ὡς σωτηρία). Is 49.10 See vol. i. 216.
Is 25.8 ἀφείλεν ... πάν δάκρυν ἀπὸ παντὸς προσώπου γυμνὸ ... ἤκον) ἡσύχησεν ὁμοίως.
[A Common Hebrew expression.]
Amos 9 τ. κύριον ἑφεστώτα ἐπὶ τ. θυσιαστήριον.
Ezek 811 ὁ ἄρμος τ. θυμαμάτων ἀνέβαινεν.
[Ex 924 (see i. 233).]
Job 32.1 ὁ διέρροντας τ. βαπτιστήν καὶ τ. κυρίων τ. τυγχανοῦντοι.
Joel 2.4 ὁ δέρας ἐπανομῆς ἐφιέστα ὡς δέρας αὐτῶν ... παρατασσόμενος εἰς πόλεμον (i. 244).
Joel 1.6 (i. 245).
Joel 2.5 (i. 245).
Ps 113.18-15 (115.7) οὐκ ὄψεσθαι ... καὶ οὐκ ἀκούσαν ... καὶ οὐ περιπατήσασιν.
Dan 10.8 (θ'). τὰ σκέλη. ο'. οἱ πόδες.
Ezek 2.9 ἐν αὐτῷ (i.e. χειρὶ) κεφαλῆς βιβλίου.
Hos 11.10 ὃς λέων ἐρέξεσθαι.
Dan 12.1 (θ' ο') ὄψαν τ. δεξιὰν αὐτοῦ ... (ὁ' εἰς τ. οὕραν καὶ ὄψεν ἐν τ. ἵππῳ τ. αἰώνας.
Ex 20.11 ο'. ἐποίησεν (πώς) κύριος τ. οὐρ. καὶ τ. ἱλ. καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς: Neh 9.6.
Amos 3.7 ἐὰν μὴ ἀποκάλυψῃ παραδείγματι
(= ἡ ἡ σαμωνεῖν τ. βούλῃ αὐτοῦ θ' and μυστηρίων in our text, pro óρῳ δούλου αὐτοῦ τ. προφήτας.
Ezek 31.3 (i. 267-268).
1 But Dan 528 was doubtless in the mind of our author: θ'. θεοῦ ... οἱ οὐ βλέπομεν καὶ οὐκ ἀκούσαμεν, seeing that the preceding words in our author, τὰ ἐνοῦλα τ. χρυσά καὶ τ. ἀργυρά, κτλ., are based on Dan 5.28.
2 Both ο' and θ' read ὄψαν, but ο' reads τ. ἵππῳ τ. αἰῶνα θεοῦ instead of the last five words in θ'. αὕρων is the usual rendering of ἄπων in the phrase τ. ἵππῳ, but Daniel has here ωτήρ.
3 Our author uses κτίσεων as a rendering of ποιμήν, but none of the O.T. versions do so. In 147 he uses ποιεῖν—the usual rendering. Hence 147 is given under § 4. Observe that ο' καὶ τ. θάλα.
4 The idea first suggested by Ezekiel is reproduced in the Pss. Solomon and the Little Apocalypse in the Synoptics. But in our text the idea is wholly transformed: see vol. i. 194 sqq. While the Pss. Solomon use σημείον (i.e. μι) our author uses σφαγίς (i.e. μιν). See later (p. 1xxxv) on this verse in connection with Eph 4.30.
113 μήγας τεσσαράκοντα καὶ δύο.  
114 αἰ δύο ἔλαται καὶ αἱ δύο λυχνίαι αἱ ἐφώπιοι τ. κυρίου τ. γῆς ἐστώτες.
115 πῦρ ἐκπορευέται ἐκ τ. στόματος αὐτῶν καὶ κατεσθείη.  
117 (131 178) τ. θηρίων τ. ἀναβαίνου ἐκ τ. αβύσσου.  
11′ (13′) ποιῆσις μετ’ αὐτῶν πόλεμον καὶ νικῆσαι αὐτοὺς.  
115 τ. κυρίου ἡμῶν καὶ τ. Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ, καὶ βασιλεύσει εἰς τ. αἰώνας τ. αἰώνων.  
123 ἔχων ... κέρατα δέκα.  
124 σύρει τ. τριτον τ. ἀστέρων τ. οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἑβαλεν αὐτοὺς εἰς τ. γῆν.  
125 ἔσκεκαν ὕδων, ἄρσεν.  
126 οὐδὲ τόπος εὑρέθη αὐτῶν.  
129 ὁ δόρος ... ὁ πλανῶν.  
132 τὸ θηρίον ... βοωμιν παρδάλει ... ὡς ἄρκου ... ὡς ... λέοντος.  
137 ποιήσαι πόλεμον μετὰ τ. ἁγίων καὶ νικῆσαι αὐτοὺς. See above under 117. Here our text agrees closely with θ′.  
138 (178) γέγραπται ... ἐν τ. βιβλίῳ τ. ζωῆς.  
139 τ. ἄρνιου τ. ἐσφαγμένου.  
1310 εἰ τίς εἰς αἰχμαλωσίαν, εἰς αἰχμαλωσίαν ὑπάγει | εἰ τίς ἐν μαχαίρῃ ἀποκτάνθηναι | ἐν αὐτῶν ἐν μαχαίρῃ ἀποκτάνθηναι. Our author combines the first two clauses in the Hebrew.  
1412 φωνὴν ... ὡς φωνὴν ὕδατων πολλῶν. See on 1313 above.  
149 καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ στόματος αὐτῶν οὐχ εὑρέθη ψεύδος.  
148 ἔπεσεν, ἔπεσεν Βαβυλῶν.  
148 Βαβυλῶν ... ἡ ἐκ τ. οἶνου [τ. θυμοῦ] τ. πορνείας αὐτῆς πεποίηκεν πάντα τ. ἑθνη. See on 1318 below.  

Dan 7:25 127 (i. 279).  
Zech 4:2 λυχνία χρυσῆ.  
Dan 4:4 παραστήκασιν κυρίω πάσης τ. γῆς.  
Dan 7:6 τέσσερα θηρία ... ἀνέβαινεν ἐκ τ. θαλάσσης.  
Dan 7:11 θέσθαι θῆρα ... ἀνέβαινεν ἐκ τ. θαλάσσης.  
Ps 2:2 κατὰ τ. κυρίου καὶ κατὰ τ. Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ.  
Dan 7:7 θ′. κέρατα δέκα αὐτῶν.  
Dan 8:10 (θ′) ἔπεσεν (ἐρράχθη, ο′) ἐπὶ τ. γῆν ἀπὸ τ. δύναμεως τ. οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ τ. ἀστρων.  
Gen 3:13 ὁ δόρος ἤπατεν με.  
Dan 7:6 θ′. θηρίον ὦτε παράδεισος (ο′) παράδεισος ... 7:5 βοωμιν ἄρκου (ο′) ὄμοιοιν ἐχον ἄρκου) ... 7:4 ὡς λέαιναι.  
Dan 7:21.  
Zeph 3:18 οὐ λαλήσουσιν μάταια, καὶ οὐ μὴ εὑρέθη ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτῶν γλῶσσα δόλα. The Seer’s words are a compression of the last four words of the Hebrew, ביכребי אלי בסיס נא אלי.  
Is 21:9 ο′. πέπτωκεν, πέπτωκεν (B). So also θ′.
1410 πεῖται ἐκ τ. οἶνου τοῦ θυμοῦ τ. θεοῦ τ. κεκερασμένου ἄκρατον ἐν τ. ποτηρίῳ τ. ὀργῆς αὐτοῦ.

1414 ἔπι τ. νεφέλην καθήμενον. See 17α in § 5 below.

[1418 πέμψον τὸ δρέπανόν σου καὶ δέραιον, ὅτι ἔλεεν ἡ ὥρα θερίσαν, ὅτι ἔξηγανθεὶ τὸ βουμένος τῆς γῆς.]

1418 πέμψον σου τ. δρέπανον τό δέξι, καὶ τρύγον γιὰ τ. βότρυς τ. αἰμπέλου τ. γῆς, ὅτι ἤκμασαν αἱ στάφυλα αὐτής. 1

1420 (1918) ἐπατήθη ἡ λήνης.

153 μεγάλα καὶ βαθμαστὰ τ. ἔργα σου.

153 δίκαια καὶ ἀληθιναὶ αἱ ὁδοὶ σου (cf. 167 190).

156 ἐνδειξημένοι ζ ὁλιβον ἧ. 2 But λιθον =σφ, which should here have been rendered βύσσινον. See vol. ii. 38. περεξεισμένοι περὶ τ. στήθης ζωνας χρυσάς. See on 13 above.

158 ἔγερμασθή θ ναὸς καπνοῦ . . . καὶ οὐδὲς ἐδώκατο εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τ. ναὸν.

162 ἐγένετο ἐλκος κακὸν καὶ πονηρὸν ἐπὶ τ. ἀνθρώπων.

Is 5117 ἡ πιοῦσα ἐκ χειρὸς κυρίου τ. ποτήριον τ. θυμοῦ αὐτοῦ. Ps 74 (75)3 στήθης γενομένου, οἶνου ἄκρατου πλήρες κερασμάτως.

Joel 3 (4)13 εἰσανοιολάτε ρ δρέπανα ὅτι παρέστηκεν τρυγητός (ὢντες τ. κυρίου). 4

Joel 3 (4)18. See preceding passage.


Ps 110 (111)2 μεγάλα τ. ἔργα κυρίου. 138 (139)14 βαθμασία τ. ἔργα σου. Ps 144 (145)17 δίκαιοι κύριος ἐν πάσαις τ. ὁδοὶς αὐτοῦ. 118 (119)151 πάσαι αἱ ὁδοὶ σου ἀληθεία.

Dan 106 θ. ἐνδειξημένος βαδινέν.

Is ὅ ὁ οἶκος ἐνεπλήθηθα καπνοῦ. Ex 4029 (35) οὐκ ἤνωσάθη Μωσῆς εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τ. σκηνὴν τ. μαρτυρίου . . . καὶ δόξῃς κυρίου ἐπλήθηθη ἡ σκηνη.

Ex 910 ἐγένετο ἐλκα . . . ἐν τ. ἀνθρώπωι. Deut 2825 ἐλκει πονηρῆ.

1 Just as the interpolation 1415 refers only to the harvest of judgment—an idea which is not used metaphorically by our author (see ii. 19, 20 sqq.)—so 1416 refers only, and rightly, to the vintage of judgment.

2 This tracing of 156 to Dan 109 rests on the supposition that λιθον is a corruption of λίνον. But the use of this word is questionable in itself, and our author does not use it, so λύσσινον. See vol. ii. 38.

3 In Ps 758 οἶνου ἄκρατου is a rendering of γήν "where the Mass. punctuates differently. Cf. Jer 321 (2518) where we find τ. οἶνου τ. ἄκρατου. The two terms are brought together in Pss. Sol 818 ἐκέρασεν . . . οἶνου ἄκρατου. By our author, ἐκ and Pss. Sol γήν is taken as = ἑαυτῷ unmixed wine," but it is pointed γήν and rendered "(which) foams" by modern scholars.

In 1410 1619 the cup is God's cup of judgment, whereas in 174 186 (sources) the cup is in the hand of Babylon. The former refers to God's judgments, the latter to Babylon's corrupting of the world.

4 The Mass. ἢς = βερισμόδ, whereas o' presupposes γῆν. These words are confused in Jer 4832 where some MSS read one and some the other. Possibly ἢς in Is 169 is also corrupt for γῆν (=o'). Thus in our text 1416 follows the Mass. ἢς. But γῆν is only used here in O.T. of the ripening of grain, if indeed it is so used. In Gen 4010 it is used of vines, and so possibly it should be here. Thus ἢς would be corrupt for γῆν, and Joel 418 would rightly relate only to the vintage (so R.V. in marg.), just as in 1418 of our text.
168 τάσα ψυχής ψωψ.
164 ελέχευν τ. φίλην αυτού εἰς τ. ποταμοὺς ... καὶ ἐγένοντο αἷμα.
167 δληθωνα καὶ δίκαιαι αἱ κρίσεις σου.
1618 οἶος οὐκ ἔγενοτο ἀφ' οὗ ἄνδροι ποταμοῦ ἐγένοντο ἐπὶ τ. γῆς.
1618 δόθηναι αὕτη τ. ποτήριον τ. οἶνου τ. θυμοῦ τ. ὄργης αὐτοῦ.
1621 χάλασα μεγάλη.
171 θής καθημένης ἐπὶ υδάτων πολλῶν.
172 μεθ' ἦς ἐπήρευσαν οἱ βασιλεῖς τ. γῆς ἐμεθύσθησαν οἱ κατοικοῦντες τ. γῆν.
173 ἀπ' ἄγγελον με ... ἐν πνεύματι.
See 2110 below.
174 ποτήριον χρυσοῦ ἐν τ. χειρὶ αὐτῆς.
178 γέγραπται ... ἐπὶ τὸ βιβλίον τῆς ψωψ. See 138 above.
ἀπὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου. See 138 above.
1716 μισήσου τ. πόρνην καὶ ἡρμομένην ποιήσουσαν αὐτῆς καὶ γυμνῆν.
181 ἡ γῆ ἐφωτισθῇ ἐκ τ. δόξης αὐτοῦ.
182 ἐπεσεν ἐπεσεν, κτλ. See 148 above.
ἐγένετο κατοικηθῆριον δαιμονίων.
138 ἐκ τ. οἴνου τ. πορνείας αὐτῆς πετάτικεν πάντα τ. ἐθνή. This is without doubt the original reading and explains the later corruptions. See 14172.
180 οἱ βασιλεῖς τ. γῆς μετ' αὐτῆς ἐπόρευσαν. See 172 above.
184 ἔξελθατε ἐξ αὐτῆς ὁ λαός μου.
185 ἐκολλήθησαν αὐτῆς αἱ ἀμαρτίαι ἄχρι τ. οὐρανοῦ.
188 ἀπόδοτε αὐτῆς ὡς καὶ αὕτη ἀπέδωκεν.
ἐν τῷ ποτηρίῳ ὑ' ἐκέφασεν.
187 διὶ ἐν τ. καρδίᾳ αὐτῆς λέγει ὃτι Ἰάθημα βασιλείας, καὶ χήρα οὐκ εἰμι, καὶ πένθος οὐ μὴ ἱδώ.

Gen 131 πάσαν ψυχήν ἔφως.
Ex 730 ἐπάτατεν τὸ δῶμα ... καὶ μετέβαλεν (but Mass. μήτε ἐγένετο) πάντα τὸ δῶμα ... εἰς αἷμα.
Ps 18 (19)30. See on 152 below.
Dan 121 θ'. οὐδὲ ἐγένετο ἀφ' ἦς γεγενήται ἐκόνων ἐν τῇ γῇ (ἐπὶ τ. γῆς, ΑΚ).
Jer 321 (215)1 Λάβε τ. ποτήριον τ. οἶνου τ. ἀκράτου. See on 1410 above.
Ex 94 ἀλάμα τα πολλά.
Jer 28 (51)13 κατασκηνοῦται (= ἡμᾶς κατασκηνοῦσα, Q) ἐφ' οὐδαποὶ πολλοὶ.
Is 2317 ἐστὶ εἰμι χρυσιί (ἡμᾶς = πορνεύσει) πᾶσαι τ. βασιλείαι ... τ. γῆς.
Jer 28 (51)7 ποτήριον ... Βαβυλὼν ... μεθύσκον πάσαν τ. γῆν.
Jer 28 (51)7 ποτήριον χρυσοῦ ... ἐν χειρὶ κυρίου.

Ezek 2329 ποιήσουσιν ἐν σοὶ ἐν μισεῖ καὶ ἐργα (ἡμᾶς) γυμνῆ καὶ αὐθόνωσα.
Ezek 432 ἡ γῆ ἐξελάμπετο ως φέγγος ἀπὸ τ. δόξης, ἀπὸ τ. γῆς, ἀπὸ τ. τρώγλω ἐκάθε 

Is 1321 Possibly a combination of οὐν ... ὑπὲρ or based on 1 Bar 435 κατοικηθήσεται ὑπὸ δαίμονιων.
Jer 28 (51)7 ποτήριον χρυσοῦ Βαβυλὼν ... μεθύσκον πᾶσαν τ. γῆν. ἀπὸ τ. οἶνον αὐτῆς ἐπίσκαν ἐθνή. 321 (2515) λάβε τ. ποτήριον τ. οἶνον ... καὶ τοποίες πάντα τ. ἐθνή. See note on ii. 14.

Jer 5145 Heb. וְיָמָה מַהוּ > శ. Jer 28 (51)9 ἡγυικήν (111) εἰς οὐρανόν.
Ps 136 (137)8 ἀνταποδώσει σοι ... δ ἀνταπέδωκας ἡμῖν.
See above on 1410.
Is 4728 εἰτὶ Εἰς Εἰς τ. αἰῶνα ἔσομαι ἀρχοῦσα ... ἡ λέγουσα ἐν καρδίᾳ αὐτῆς ... τ. καθώς χήρα ὑδρεύει αἰῶνες αἰῶνες ἄρθυσαι.

1 Our text and θ' agree in adding the last three words ἐπὶ τ. γῆς and ἐν τ. γῆ. I am inclined to infer the existence of ψωψ in the Hebrew text of Dan 121 in the first cent. A.D.
18^2 oî basileis t. γῆς oî met' aúthís poreuýantas.
18^3 ἢ ψυχάς ἀνθρώπων.
18^8 tís ὅμοια t. πόλει t. μεγάλη.
18^9 εἶπαλον χοῦν ἐπὶ t. κεφαλάς αὐτῶν.

ἐκράξαν.
18^2 οἱ φωνῆ ... μουσικῶν ... oū μὴ ἀκοῦσθῃ ... ἔτη.
18^2 c-d 228-b 23^a-b [φωνῆ νυμφίου καὶ νυμψίης ... καὶ φωνῆ μύλου ... καὶ φῶς λύχνου.]
[18^2 oī ἐξημοροὶ σου ἔσωσαν oὶ μεγιστάνεις t. γῆς.]
19^2 ἀνήθηκα καὶ δίκαιαν αἱ κρίσεις αὐτῶν. See 15^3 16^7 above.

19^1 Ἀμή, Ἀλληλουιά.
19^8 ὡς φωνῆ βυθοῦ τολλοῦ ... ὡς φωνῆ ὀδότων τολλῶν. See 11^5 above.
19^6-7 εἶπαλευσεν κύριος ... χαϊρόμενοι καὶ ἀγαλλίωμεν.
19^11 εἶδον t. οὐρανόν ἱνεφρεγμένον, καὶ ἔδοχον.
ἐν δικαιοσύνη κρίνειν.
19^12 oî de ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτοῦ, κτλ. See 11^4 21^9 above.
19^18 ἐκ t. στόματος αὐτοῦ ἐκπορευέται Ῥομφαλα δριά. Cf. 11^18. Ἡν ἐν αὐτή πατάξῃ τὰ ἔθνη.

καὶ αὐτὸς ποιμανεῖ αὐτοῖς ἐν ῥάβδῳ σιδηρίας. Cf. 27^5 12^5. This line will be treated under § 4.

πατεὶ t. ληφόν t. οὐναὶ t. θυμοῦ ... τ. θεοῦ. See on 14^20 above.
19^17-18 λέγων πᾶσι t. ὄρνοις ... Δεῦτε συνάχθητε eis t. δεῖπνον ... τ. θεοῦ. Ἡν ἐνα φάγητε σάρκας βασιλέων καὶ σάρκας ισχυρῶν.
19^21 πάντα t. ὄρνεα ἐξωρτάσθησαν ἐκ t. σαρκῶν αὐτῶν.

20^4 εἶδον ὄρνους καὶ ἐκκάθισαν ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ κρίμα ἐδόθη αὐτοῖς.

See 17^2 18^3 above.

Ezek 27^18 ἐν ψυχαῖς ἀνθρώπων.
Ezek 27^22 θ', τις ὁσπέρ Τύρος;
Ezek 27^30 ἐπιθύμησαν ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν αὐτῶν γῆν.
Ezek 27^36 κεκράξατον.
Ezek 26^18 ἡ φωνὴ t. παληπρῶν σου oū μὴ ἀκοῦσθῇ ἔτη.
Jer 25^10 φωνῆ νυμφίου καὶ φωνῆ νυμψίν, ὁ δούλου δούλου καὶ φῶς λύχνου. (Here φωνὴ μύλου iPy in Apoc. is right = ὡς ἐν θεῷ).
Is 23^8 oī ἐμποροὶ αὐτῆς ἐνδοξοῖ, ἀρχοντες t. γῆς.
Ps 18 (19)^10 τὰ κρίματα κύριου ἀληθινά, δεδικαιωμένα ἐπὶ t. αὐτά ("εὐσκ. ἀπὸ τῆς πον.", Ps 118 (119)^75. 157.
Ps 105 (106)^48 γένοιτο.
Dan 10^6 θ'. φωνή βυθοῦ (ο', φ. θορύβου).
Ps 96 (97)^1 ὁ κύριος ἐβασιλεύσει, ἀγαλλίασται ἡ γῆ, εὐφρανθήσωσαν.
Ezek 1^1 ἤνοιξθησαν oὶ οὐρανοὶ, καὶ εἶδον.
Is 11^4 πρὶν εἰσή, ὁ presupposes a different text—κρίνει ταπεινῷ κρίσιν.

Is 11^4 πατάξει γῆν t. λόγγ t. στόματος αὐτοῦ.
Ps 2^9 ποιμανεῖ αὐτοῖς ἐν ῥάβδῳ σιδηρίας.

Ezek 39^4 tā ἔθνη tā metà sou ὀδηγόνται eis πλήθον ὄρνων ... καταβρωθήσονται. 39^90 καὶ ἐμπληθήσονται.
Dan 7^9 θ'. ἐνωρίου ὡς οὗ τοὺς ὄρνους ἐτέθησαν. 7^26 tò kρίμα tò kríma (t. kírma ό') ἐδωκεν (+ t. ό') ἀγίο (t+ t. ό') ὑγίειαν.

1 Cf. Heb. 4^12 ὁ λόγος του θεοῦ ... τοµώτεροι υπερ πᾶσαν μάχαιραν διστομου.
2 These ideas of smiting the Gentiles with the word of His mouth (Is 11^4) and of breaking them in pieces like potter's vessels (Ps 2^9) have already been combined in Pss. Sol 17^26-27. 39.
20:11 ἐδῶν θρόνον . . . καὶ τ. καθήμενον.
20:12 ἱβλία ἡνοίχθησαν.
20:13 ἀλλο ἵβλιλον ἡνοίχθη, δ. ἐστιν τ. ζωής.
21:5 ἡ σκηνή τ. θεοῦ μετὰ τ. ἀνθρώπων καὶ σκηνώσει μετ' αὐτῶν καὶ αὐτοὶ λαὸς αὐτῶν ἑσονται.
21:6 ἔξελεψαν πάν δάκρυον. See 7:17 above.
21:4-5 τὰ πρῶτα ἀπῆλθαν . . . ἰδοὺ καὶ πάν. See 15:1 above.
21:7 ἔσχοναι αὐτῷ θεὸς καὶ αὐτός ἔσται μοι υἱὸς.
21:10 ἀνήλεγκέν με ἐν πνεύματι ἐπὶ δρόσο . . . υψιλῶν. Cf. 17:8 above.
21:12 ὄνυμα . . . τ. δώδεκα φυλῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραήλ. 21:18 ἀπὸ ἀνατολῆς πυλῶν τρεῖς καὶ ἀπὸ βορρᾶ πυλῶν τρεῖς, κτλ.
21:18 ἡ ἐνδώμησις τ. τείχους αὐτῆς λαῖπες.
21:19 ὁ θεμέλιος . . . ὁ δεύτερος σάπφειρος.
21:24 καὶ περιπάτησον τὰ ἐθνη διὰ τ. φωτός αὐτῆς καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς τ. γῆς φέρουσιν τ. δόξαν αὐτῶν . . .
21:25 καὶ οἱ πυλῶνες αὐτῆς ὑπὸ μὴ κλεισθῶσιν ἡμέρας . . .
21:26 καὶ ὅσον τ. δόξαν . . . τ. ἐθνῶν εἰς αὐτήν.
21:27 οὐ μὴ εἰσέλθῃ . . . πάν κοινῶν.
εἰ μὴ οἱ γεγραμμένοι ἐν τ. βιβλίῳ τ. ζωῆς. See 12:8 17:8 above.

Dan 7:9 θ’ ο’, ἐκάθητο . . . θ. θρόνου αὐτὸν >ο’.
Ps 68 (69) 200 βιβλίον ἀφότων.

Is 43:18-19 μὴ μιμομοιεύετε τὰ πρῶτα, καὶ τὰ ἄρχαια μὴ συλλογίσεσθε, ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ποιῶ καίων. See ii. 203.
Is 55:1 οἱ διψώντες, πορεύεσθε ἐφ’ ὕδωρ, καὶ δόσι μὴ ἔχετε ἀργύριον . . . ἄγοράσατε.
2 Sam 7:14 ἐγὼ ἐσομαι αὐτῷ εἰς πατέρα καὶ αὐτὸς ἔσται μοι εἰς υἱόν.
Ezek 40:2 ἡγαγέν με ἐν ὀράσει θεοῦ . . . καὶ ἐθηκέν με ἐπ’ δρόσο υψιλῶν (οὐκ ἐκ θεοῦ ἡμῖν . . . οὐκ).
Is 54:12 θῆσο τ. ἑπάλλεξις σου λασκῆ.

Is 54:11 τὸ θεμέλια σου σάμπφειρον.
Is 60:19 ὀδοὺ ἐσταί σου οὐτί ὁ Ἰλιὸς εἰς φῶς ημέρας οὐδὲ ἀνατολὴ σελήνης φωτεῖ σου τ. νύκτα, ἀλλ’ ἔσται . . . ὁ θεὸς δοξά σου.
Is 60:3 καὶ πορεύσονται . . . τῷ φωτὶ σου . . . ἐνθν. 60:11 αἱ πολεί σου . . . ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς οὐ κλεισθῆσονται, εἰςαγαγείν πρὸς ἀν δύναμιν ἐθνῶν καὶ βασιλείς αὐτῶν ἀγομένους.
60:5 πλοῦτος . . . ἐθνῶς καὶ λαῶς καὶ ἄκαθαρτος. See ii. 173 sq.


1 In the Mass. as well as the LXX the text is clearly corrupt: i.e. “that men may bring unto thee the wealth of the nations and their kings led (by them).” As modern scholars recognize, ζητήτα (= “led”) is corrupt for ζητήτα = “leading.” Hence instead of “and their kings led (by them),” render: “under the leadership of these kings.” The kings lead and are not led by their people. Now apparently our author anticipated our modern scholars; for he represents the kings as acting on their own initiative: “they bring the glory of the nations into it.”

2 Here the LXX is quite corrupt. 21:28 is nearer the Mass. ἦν ἡ ζήτημα ἦν, “the wealth of the nations shall come unto thee.” Our author either read ἦν, instead of ἦν, or followed the Mass. in 60:11.
22a παν κατάθεμα ουκ ἐσται έτι. 22b δύορναι τ. πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ.

22a οὐκ ἔχουσιν χρέαν φωτός, κτλ. See 21b above. κύριος ο θεος φωτίσει 1 επ' αὐτοῦς.

22b έδώρ ἐρχομαι ταχύ, καὶ ο μισθός μου μετ' ἐμοῦ. 22c ἀποδοθήσαι ἐκάστῳ ως τ. ἐργον ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ. 22d τοι ἐρξέσθω . . . οὗ ἔτι ζώης δωρεάν. See 21b above. [22bc-19 εάν τις επιθῇ ἐπ' αὐτά, επιθήσει . . . καὶ εάν τις αφέλη, κτλ.]

1 In 18 our author renders πανος of Ezek 42 by ἐφωτίσθη, just as he renders ψ., Ps 117 (118)27 by φωτίσει.

2 Clem. Rom. ad Corinth. xxxiv. 3 has a close but independent parallel to 22ab. ἰδοὺ ο κύριος καὶ ο μισθός αὐτοῦ (cf. Is 4010) πρὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ (cf. Is 6211), ἀποδοθήσαι ἐκάστῳ κατά τ. ἐργον αὐτοῦ (cf. Pr 2412). Here Clement is a mosaic of the of these three passages, but not so our author. The of Is 6211 is ἐξοικ. τῶν εαυτοῦ μισθῶν, καὶ τ. ἐργον αὐτοῦ πρὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ. The order of the words, ως τ. ἐργον ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ, is not our author's: see p. clvii ad fin. The clause = ἀναπτυξις. Ὡς here = “according as”—a classical meaning not elsewhere found in our author. But in our author's mind Ὡς is the regular rendering in our author for ψ in Hebrew (see vol. i. 35-36). The Hebrew particle has this meaning. Yet we should expect κατά τά ἐργα αὐτοῦ (cf. 2212).

3 The throne of God in the Apocalypse is in the heavenly temple. But since there is no temple in the heavenly Jerusalem, only the throne of God is mentioned here.

4 R.V. of this passage shows how faulty the LXX is here. “By the river . . . on this side and on that side shall grow every tree . . . neither shall the fruit thereof fail: it shall bring forth new fruit every month . . . and the leaf thereof for healing.”
14 ἀπὸ δὲ ὅν. 15α ὁ μάρτυς ὁ πιστός. 15β ὁ πρωτότοκος τ. νεκρῶν καὶ ὁ ἀρχων τ. βασιλέω τ. γῆς.

2ος ἀποκτενὼν έν θανάτῳ.

2ος δύοι αὐτῷ ἔξονται ἐπὶ τ. ἐθνῶν. 2ος καὶ ποιμανεῖ αὐτούς ἐν ῥάβδῳ σιδηρά, ὡς τ. σκεύι τ. κεραμικά σωτριβεται.

3ος οὐ μὴ ἐξαλείψῃ τ. ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἐκ τ. βιβλίου 1 τ. γῆς.

4ος ἔγω ἡγάπησά σε. 4ος (7ος 19ος) ἐπὶ τ. θρόνον καθήμενος.

χθεσιν αὐτοῖς αἰείναι αἰ προσευχαὶ. 5ος (14ος) ἄδουσιν ψῆν καὶνήν.

6ος ἀποκτενεῖν ἐν ῥομφαίᾳ καὶ ἐν λυμῷ καὶ ἐν θανάτῳ καὶ ὑπὸ τ. θηρίων τ. γῆς.]

6ος ἐὼς πότε . . . οὐ κρίνεις καὶ ἐκδικεῖς τ. αἰμα ἡμῶν ἐκ τ. κατοκουστῶν ἐπὶ τ. γῆς; cf. 19ος.

6ος ὁ ὄθραντὸς ἄπεχωρίσθη ὡς βιβλίον ἡ ἐκκόσμησαν τ. γῆς. ἔπλυναν τ. στόλος αὐτῶν . . . ἐν τ. αἰματι. Cf. 22ος.

9ος ἀνέβη καπνὸς . . . ὡς καπνὸς καὶ μίν. ἐκκατοθῆκε ὁ ἥλιος.

11ος πατάξαι τ. γῆν ἐν πᾶσῃ πληγῇ.

11ος πνεῦμα ζωῆς ἐκ τ. θεοῦ εἰσῆλθεν ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐστησαν ἐπὶ τ. πόδας αὐτῶν. 11ος ἐβασιλεύσας καὶ τ. ἐθνη ὄργανοτήσαν.

Ex 3ος ἔγω εἰμι ὁ ὅν. Ps 88(89)2ος ὁ μάρτυς ἐν οδρανίῳ πιστός. Ps 88 (89)2ος κάγῳ πρωτότοκον δόσασαι αὐτῶν, ψηλῶν παρὰ τ. βασιλείων τ. γῆς.

Ezek 33ος θανάτῳ ἀποκτενώ (Mass. 10ος 19ος).

Ps 25ος δύοι σοι ἐθνη τ. κληρονομιαν σου . . . ποιμανεῖ αὐτούς ἐν ῥάβδῳ σιδηρά, ὡς σκεύοις κεραμικῶσι σωτριβεῖς αὐτούς. See vol. i. 75-77 and Pss. Sol 17ος.

Ex 32ος-33ος ἐξάλειψων με ἐκ τ. βιβλίου σου. Ps 68 (69ος) ἐξαλείψῃσαν ἐκ βιβλίου ὀφθήνια See i. 84.

Is 43ος ἔγω σε ἡγάπησα. Is 6ος τ. κύριον καθήμενον ἐπὶ θρόνον. 1 Kings 21ος θεὸν . . . καθήμενον ἐπὶ θρόνον αὐτοῦ.

Ps 140ος ἡ προσευχή μου Ὑσ θυμαμ. Ps 143 (144ος) ὡς καίνῃ ὄσωμαι σου. Is 42ος.

Ezek 14ος ῥομφαίᾳ καὶ λυμῶν καὶ θηρὰ πνευμα καὶ θάνατον (τῆς).

2 Kings 9ος ἐκδικήσεις τ. αἰματα τ. δοῦλων μου . . . ἐκ χειρὸς Ιεσαβελ.


1 Σαμ 4ος οἱ θεοὶ οἱ πατάξαντες τ. Ἀγαπαντον ἐν πᾶσῃ πληγῇ . . . (ὅσα πατάσαντες).

Ezek 37ος εἰσῆλθεν εἰς αὐτοὺς τ. πνεῦμα καὶ . . . ἐστησαν ἐπὶ τ. πόδων αὐτῶν. Ps 98 (99ος) κύριος ἐβασιλεύσεν ὡργανοτίσθησαν λαοί.

1 Here and in 20ος our author appears to use βιβλίον owing to o' in the first passage and θ' in his second. For, when writing independently, he uses βιβλίον, even when using the phrase τὸ βιβλίον τ. ζωῆς, 13ος 21ος (cf. 17ος). In all βιβλίον occurs 23 times (3 times in an interpolation).

2 Our author uses ἑστησθήν (89ος 12ος) as the aorist of ἑστημι. Chapter 11 is a source, and the use of ἑστησαν in it may be due to o'.

3 The ideas in the Apoc. 1ος and Ps 88 (89)2ος are wholly dissimilar, but the dependence in case of the diction is clear.
Amos 37 t. δούλως αυτοῦ t. προφήτας. Ps 11321 (11512) t. φοβουμένου t. κύριον t. μικροῦ μετὰ t. μεγάλων.

Is 714 σημείον ἵδον ἡ παρθένος ἐν γαστρὶ ἔξει (NA λήμψεται, B). 2617 ἡ ἡδίνουσα ἔγγιξε τεκείν, ἐπὶ τῇ ἡδίνῳ αὐτῆς ἐκκέφαξεν.

See on 277 above.

Ps 4913 εὐφραίνοντες οὐρανοῖ. Cf. 4423.

Ex 2011 (quoted on 106 under § 3 above). Neh 196 ἐποίησας t. οὐρανὸν ... t. γῆν ... t. θαλάσσας.

Ps 144 (145)17 δίκαιοι κύριοι ... καὶ δσιος.

Is 4926 πιστεύει ... το αἷμα αὐτῶν.

Is 4926 φάγονται ... t. σάρκας αὐτῶν.

Ps 134 (135)20 αἰνείτε τ. δύομα κύριον, αἰνείτε δούλως κύριον ... oι φοβοῦμενοι t. κύριον. See on 1118 above.

Is 114 καὶ πατάξει γῆν τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ.

2 Kings 119 ὥ' exactly as in our text.

Is 6517 ἐσται γὰρ ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ τὰ ἄγαλμα ἐκκέφαξεν ... καὶ ἡ γῆ καῖνη.


Is 4016 ἵδον κύριος κύριοι ... ἐρχεται ... ἵδον oἱ μισθὸς αὐτοῦ μετ' αὐτοῦ.

1 Possibly this passage should have been given under § 3.
2 Our author rightly follows the Hebrew here, ἡ γῆ ἐκάνεν, against ὥ'.
§ 5. Passages based on the Hebrew of the O.T. (or the Aramaic of Daniel), but influenced (in some cases certainly, in others probably) by a later form of o', such as is preserved in Theodotion θ'.

1 τα δει γενεσθαι.

1 ευ ειμι ο πρωτος και ο

εσχατος.

19 δαλελει γενεσθαι μετα ταυτα.

3 ο εξων τ κλειν... ο ανολογων και

ουδεις κλεισει και κλειων και ουδεις

ανολγει.

3ον ξεων και προσκυνησουσιν ενασποι

τονδων σου. See on 154 under § 4.

4 δα δει γενεσθαι μετα ταυτα. See on

119 above.

9ον τα δαμονια και τ ειδωλα 2 τ κρυσα

και τ αργυρα και τ χαλκα και τ

λιθων και τ ξυλινα, α ουτε βλεπειν

δωναιναι ουτε ακοινειν ουτε

περιπατειν.

1ο δομοιεν ευ τ ξωντι εις τ αιωνας.

Dan 2& 29. 29. 46 δα δει γενεσθαι.3

Ex 19. 9. βασιλεια ειρετις, which =

μινον νασικον. But the Mass. has

ων νασικον, and also o', βασιλειων

λειστευασι. See vol. i. 16.

Dan 7. 18 θ'. ιδον μετα τ νεφελων...

προσκυνησον = Mass. ἀνω γυνη των ο

ιδον ετι τ νεφελων... ἥρκετο.

Is 4812 (cf. 446) μνημευ ιν ην

νυμα ιν. Is 4812 θ'. Έγυ πρωτος και εγω

εσχατος, ο'. Έγι ειμι πρωτος και

εγω ειμι εις τ αιωνα.

Dan 220 θ'. τα δει γενεσθαι μετα ταυτα

> ο'.

Is 220 θ'. δωσω τ κλειδι οδουν Δαβιδ...

... και ανοικει και ουκ εσται ο

αποκλειων και κλεισει και ουκ εσται

ο ανολογων, ο'. δωσω τ δοξαν Δαβιδ...

... και αρετει, και ουκ εσται ο

αντιλεγων, και κλεισει και ουκ εσται ο

ανολογων.

Is 6014 θ'. και προεσουνται... παροξυντων...

και προσκυνησουσιν επι τ ιν υπ τ

ποδων σου. ο' om. last eight words.

Dan 528 θ' (> ο'). τ θεους τ κρυσων

και αργυροι και χαλκοι και

σιδηρους και ξυλινους και λιθινους,

οι ου βλεπουσιν και οι ουκ ακοινουσι

(0' < entire passage). Cf. Ps 113

(114)12-15 τ ειδωλα... οικ δυναται

... οικ ακοινουνται... οικ

περιπατουουν.

Dan 127 θ'. δομοιεν ευ τ ξωντι τ

αιωνα.
§ 6. Phrases and clauses in our Author which are echoes of O.T. passages.

200 τὴν γυναίκα Ἰεζαβέλ. 1 Kings 20 (21)25 Ἰεζαβέλ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ.


1 Ἔβαθον ἀκρίδες εἰς τ. γῆν. Is 111 ἐκ τ. ἐβαθεὶς Ισραήλ.

14 τ. ποταμῷ τ. μεγάλῳ Ἑυφράτῃ. Ex 1012 ἀναβησθή ἀκρίς ἐπὶ τ. γῆν.


9 φαρμάκων . . . πορνείας. Ex 2015 (Mass., but different order in o').

11 ἱδοὺ καθέστακα σε . . . ἐπὶ ἔθνη καὶ βασιλείας.

1 ἐδόθη τ. ἔθνεσι καὶ τ. πόλιν τ. ἄγιαν παθήσωσιν. Ezek 403 ἐν τ. χερὶ αὐτοῦ ἤπ . . . καλάμας μέτρων, 4118 διεμέτερσιν κατενάω τ. ὀκίου.


11 δύρα πέμψουσιν ἄλληλοι. Is 14 Israel addressed as "Sodom."

6 φόβοι . . . ἐπέπεσον ἐπὶ. Esth 929 ἀποστέλλοντες μερίδας ἐκατος τῷ πλήσιον.

12 ἀνέβησαν εἰς τ. οὐρανοῖν. Frequent in the O.T.

11 ἠδοκαν δόξαν τ. θεῷ (cf. 141). Joshua 719, Jer 1316 etc.


1 See note on 3 under § 4. θ’ explains our author's use of βιβλοὶ here instead of his own word βιβλίον.
§ 7. Passages dependent on or parallel with passages in the Jewish Pseudepigrapha.

1 T. Lev 18 11 δοσει τ. ἄγλοις φαγεῖν ἐκ τ. ἔλοιπον τ. ψωμίς. See vol. i. 54.

2 T. Lev 8 11 ἐπικληθήσεται αὐτῷ δύομαι καινόν.

3 En 14 15 καὶ ἵδου ἄλλην θύραν ἀνεφυμένη (i.e. in heaven): T. Lev 5 1.

4 En 3 8 "They showed me a great sea" (i.e. in the first heaven). Cf. T. Lev 2.

In i En 47 the end will come when the number of the martyrs is complete exactly as in our text. 47-4
"I saw the Head of Days when He seated Himself upon the throne of His glory. . . . And the hearts of the holy were filled with joy, Because the number of the righteous had been offered." 1

Ass. Mos. 10 6 Sol non dabit lumen et in tenebras convertet se cornua lunae . . . et (luna) tota convertet se in sanguinem. 2

---

1 Here the martyrs are regarded as an offering to God just as in our text 14 (ἀπαρχὴ τ. θεώ). See vol. i. 174.
2 Ezek. 32 (ο. ἡ σελήνη ὁδὸν δώσει τὸ φῶς αὐτῆς) and Joel 2 31 (34) (ο. ὁ θλίος μεταστράφησεται εἰς σκότος καὶ ἡ σελήνη εἰς αἷμα) are the sources of Ass. Mos 10 5. Hence the latter passage should be read as in my edition, (sol) in tenebras convertet se, et luna non dabit lumen et tota convertet se in sanguinem. The tota appears in this connection only in this passage and in our text. See vol. i. 180.
§ 8. Passages in some cases directly dependent on and in others parallel with earlier books of the N.T. Our author appears to have used Matthew, Luke, 1 Thessalonians, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Colossians, Ephesians and possibly Galatians, 1 Peter and James. The possibility of his having had one or more other books of the N.T. is not excluded.

1 The diction is almost identical, but the ideas are quite different. In 1 En the stars are really spirits or angels undergoing punishment. In this interpolated passage 87-12 the "burning mountain" in 88 and "the burning star" in 810 are purely physical things. Contrast our author's use in 91.

2 The parallel is good. The star in each case is an angel, and in each case falls from heaven. A parallel is found also in Is 1413 ἐξέπεσεν ἐκ τ. οὐρανοῦ ὁ ἐσωφόρος.

3 Combined worship of demons and idols first mentioned in 1 En 997. The fact that the expression δώοι νῦν ἀνθρώπου occurs in 4 Ezra 13 shows that it may have been more current in certain circles than is generally believed. On the other hand, it is simply the apocalyptic form of ὁ νῦν τ. ἀνθρώπου.
THE REVELATION OF ST. JOHN

Matt 26:18 οἱ καιροῖς μου ἐγών ∑στιν.
Col 1:9 χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη and eight other Pauline epp. Not earlier than N.T. apparently.
Col 1:18 πρωτότοκος ἐκ τ. νεκρῶν.
Gal 2:20 τοῦ υἱοῦ τ. θεοῦ τοῦ ἀγαπη- σαντός με.
1 Pet 2:9 βασιλείαν λειτανείμα.
Matt 24:30 τότε κύριος πάσας καὶ φυλάς τ. γῆς καὶ δύνας τ. υἱοῦ τ. άνθρώπων εὑρώμενοι ἐπὶ τ. νεφέλων τ. οὐρανοῦ.

2 Cor 1:20 τὸ ναί... τὸ ἄμην.
Matt 17:7 ἐλαμψέν τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ ὡς ὁ ἡλίος.
2 Cor 6:9 ἀποθησάκωτε καὶ ἰδοὺ δόξαν.
2 Cor 6:17 ὡς πτωχοὶ πολλοὶ δὲ πλουτί-
Jas 2:5 τ. πτωχοὺς τ. κάσιμω πλουσίοις εν πίστε.
Jas 1:12 τ. στεφάνων τ. ἴών.
Acts 15:32 ἐδοξεν... ἡμῖν μηδὲν πλέον ἐπιθυμήσατε ὑμῖν βάρος πλην... ἄπεχουται ἐδωλοθύτων... καὶ πορειας.
1 Cor 2:10 τ. βαθύ τ. θεοῦ.
Matt 24:42 γρηγορείτε οὖν, ὦτι οὐκ ὁδηγεῖτε πολλ. ἡμέρα τ. κύριος ὑμῖν ἔρχεται.
24:43 ἕκεινο δὲ γυνώσκετε, ὦτι εἶ ἤδει ὁ οἰκοδεσπότης πολ. φυλακῇ ὁ κλέπτης.

1 Peculiar to Paul and our author in this sense.
2 The combination of Dan 719 and Zech 12:10, 12 is first found in the N.T. and is peculiar to Matt. and our author. This combination is not found in the parallel passages of Mark 13:26, Luke 21:27, which omit the quotation from Zech. Further, the phrase πάσας αἱ φυλάς τ. γῆς is peculiar to our text and Matt 24:30, and the meaning assigned to κύριοις ("mourn for themselves") is peculiar to our author and Matt 24:30. On the other hand, our author keeps to the Hebrew in rendering μετὰ τ. νεφέλων, whereas Matt 24:30 reads ἐπὶ τ. νεφ. as of'. Observe that our author has ἐπὶ αὐτῶν (so Heb. and LXX), but not Matt.
3 Our author's use of this phrase clearly goes back to our Lord, and his form of it is closer to that in Matthew and Luke than to that in Mark.
4 Jas 1:12 contains the earliest instance of the phrase. Cf. T. Benj. 41 στεφανόν δόθησ.
5 Our author was clearly acquainted with the Apostolic edict, but that he also used Acts is doubtful.
6 The dependence of 3:1615 on Matt 24:42, 43, 46 is obvious.
7 φιλάσσειν is a Lucan word: cf. Luke 18:21, Acts 7:53 16:4 27:24, whereas our author does not use φιλάσσειν at all, but uses τηρεῖν in the same sense.
Our text seems to presuppose the use of Luke and Matthew in the enumeration of the seven evils following on the opening of the Seals, or else of the Little Apocalypse behind the three Gospels. See vol. i. 158 sqq.

The parallelism of 61:13 with Matt 24:29 is very close, but not with Luke. It is not, however, dependent directly on the former.

There is a remote parallelism with Luke, but not with Matthew.

The meaning of σφαγή, 7:5-8, may be partly due to Eph 4:30: cf. 2 Cor 1:24. In fact, in Eph 4:30 the sealing gives the faithful assurance of their spiritual preservation to the day of redemption, and this thought is allied to
that of our author, according to whom the *faithful* are secured, not against physical evils, but against their spiritual enemies. These latter recognize this divine mark on the faithful and cannot injure them.

---

1 On the O.T. originals of this passage see 106b above under § 3, and 147 under § 4. It will be seen that 147 is closer verbally to Acts 424 than to any of the O.T. passages.

2 See list of passages influenced by Pseudepigrapha.

3 The thought in both passages is not unrelated. The words in Matt. come in at the close of the Beatitudes which promise that the righteous shall inherit the earth. 19 in our author represents in vision the fulfilment of this promise.
UNITY OF THOUGHT

VIII.

UNITY OF THE APOCALYPSE.

§ 1. Unity of thought and dramatic development.—When the interpolations of the editor are removed and the dislocations of the text set right (see p. lvi sqq.), the unity of thought and development in the Apocalypse is immeasurably greater than in any of the great Jewish apocalypses of an earlier or contemporary date. In fact, the order of development is at once logical and chronological save where our author deliberately, as in $7^9-17$ $10-11^{13}$ $14^{1-11}$. $14$. $18-20$, breaks with the chronological order and in $7^9-17$ $14^{1-11}$. $14$. $18-20$ adopts the logical, that he may show the blessed future in store for those that were faithful in the tribulations which are recounted in the text immediately preceding these sections. The dramatic movement of the book is independent of all these sections. But the superiority of the Apocalypse to other apocalypses in this respect is not merely relative but absolute, as a short study of the Plan of the Apocalypse (see p. xxiii sqq.) will abundantly prove.

Smaller unities\(^1\) maintained and developed within the Apocalypse might be brought forward, such as: (a) the Seven Beatitudes, 13 $16^{15}$ (which is to be restored after 3\(^3\)) $14^{13}$. $19^{9-11}$ $22^{14}$ $20^{6}$ $22^{7}$. (b) The judgment demanded by the souls under the altar is dealt with in various stages of fulfilment in $8^{3-4}$. $9^{13}$ $14^{18}$ $16^{7}$ (which with $16^{5-6}$ is restored in this edition to its original context after $19^{4}$). (c) The promises of the re-evangelization of the heathen world in $11^{15}$ $14^{6-7}$ $15^{4}$ are fulfilled in

\(^1\) In respect to the angels sent to instruct the Seer with the revelation of God, there is no unity observed in the Apocalypse. Our author apparently set out with the intention of committing this revelation to one angel. To this intention he holds fast (as I now see) in 111-10-11 41. $10^{4-8}$. In 1011 it is possible that λέγωνιν is an oversight for λέγειν, which 025 Tyc Pr gig vg\(^{\text{d}f}\) s arm bo cth attest. But the adoption of sources (111-13 12-13. 17-18), where this angelic guide is not mentioned, interfered with his original purpose, and hence there is no reference to him till $16^{9-11}$ $16^{11}$. But even in 1-10 various other heavenly beings instruct the Seer—one of the Elders in 5$5$ 7$13-17$, the Cherubim in 61. 3. 5. 7. This fact prepares us for the intervention of one of the Seven Angels of the Bowls in 171 $21^{16}$ $10$ $22^{1}$. But there is a special fitness in this intervention. These angels have to execute judgment on the world now subject to the Antichrist, and so it is one and the same angel that shows the Seer the destruction of Rome (171-10), the capital of the Antichrist on earth, and that shows the city that is to replace it—the Heavenly Jerusalem coming down to be the capital of Christ’s kingdom on earth for 1000 years (21$9$-22$1$. 14-15, 17 $20^{4-6}$).

But the above phenomena are not inconsistent with unity of authorship, though on revision the author would, no doubt, have removed some of the incongruities. In other apocalypses there are several angelic guides. Thus in Dan 10$10$ sqq. one of the holy watchers, 8$16$ sqq. Gabriel, and possibly in 10$1$ sqq. Many angels act in this capacity in 1 Enoch 21-36: two angels in 2 Enoch.
212-222,14-15,17 when restored to their right context immediately after 203.

§ 2. Unity of style and diction.—The grammar and the style of our author are unique, as the Grammar which I give, pp. cxvii-clix, amply proves. This unity is discoverable in every part of the Apocalypse save in the sources which our author has taken over in a Greek form (such as 111-18 12. 17. 18; see p. lxii sqq.), and even in these the hand of our author is constantly manifest, as he edits them to serve his main purpose. Moreover, in the introduction to every chapter (save in the case of the sources) its essential affinities of diction and idiom with the rest of the book are given almost in full.

This unity, therefore, does not exclude the use of visions of his own of an earlier date or of sources.

A few examples of the essential unity of diction between different parts of the Apocalypse may here be added.

(a) Chaps. 1-3 and 204-22.

11 ἐδείχαι τοῖς δοῦλοις αὐτοῦ ἡ γενεσθαι ἐν τάξει.
19 μακάριος ὁ ἀναγινώσκων καὶ οἱ . . . τοὺς λόγους τῆς προφητείας . . . τηροῦντες.
17 ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ πρῶτος καὶ ὁ εἰκαστος.
27 τὸ πνεῦμα λέγει.
21 τοῦ θανάτου τοῦ δευτέρου.
28 τῶν αστέρα τῶν πρωίνων.
31 ἔρχομαι ταχῦ.
32 τῆς καυνῆς Ἱεροσολύμων, ἢ κατα-βάλοντα ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ μου.

226 ἐδείχαι τοῖς δοῦλοις αὐτοῦ ἡ γενεσθαι ἐν τάξει.
227 μακάριος ὁ τηρῶν τοὺς λόγους τῆς προφητείας.
223 ἐγὼ . . . ὁ πρῶτος καὶ ὁ εἰκαστος.
227 τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ ἡ νυμφὴ λέγουσιν.
218 ὁ θάνατος ὁ δεύτερος (cf. 208).
226 ὁ ἀστήρ . . . ὁ πρωίνων.
222 ἴδου ἔρχομαι ταχῦ.
212 Ἱεροσολύμων, καυνῆ . . . κατα-βάλοντα ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ.

(b) Chaps. 1-3 and 4-208.

11 ἐδείχαι . . . ἡ γενεσθαι.
16 ἐποίησαν ἡμᾶς βασιλείαν, ἵππαι τῷ δεῦ.
18 ἐγενόμην ἐν πνεύματι.
13 ὁ μικρὸν ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπου.
15 περιεξωσμένον πρὸς τοὺς μαστοὺς τῆς χρυσᾶς.
14 οἱ δοφαλμοὶ αὐτοῦ ὡς φλῶς πυρῶν.
27 τὸ πνεῦμα λέγει.
26 πολεμήσω μετ' αὐτῶν.
21 μετανοήσατε ἐκ.
23 ἐν θανάτῳ (= "by pestilence").
27 πομαγεῖ (= "shall break ").
37 ὁ άγιος ὁ ἀληθινός, where ἀληθινός (= "faithful ").
39 ἡξουσίων καὶ προσκυνήσουσιν ἐνώπιον τῶν ποδῶν σου.
30 τῆς οἰκουμένης ὄλης.
31 τοὺς κατοικούντας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς (in a technical sense).
UNITY CONSISTENT WITH USE OF SOURCES

The above examples could be increased indefinitely. But there is still weightier evidence. The recurrence of idioms—in many cases idioms unique and peculiar to our author's style—throughout the Apocalypse, from the earliest chapters to the last, presents still stronger proofs of the unity of authorship. Since these are recorded in the introduction to each chapter and summarized in the Grammar, I shall not dwell further on them here.

§ 3. But this unity in the dramatic movement of the Apocalypse does not necessitate the assumption that all and every part of the Apocalypse is our author's own creation. As a matter of fact this is not the case. Our author has, as we have seen elsewhere, used sources.—These sources, together with earlier visions of his own, he has re-edited and brought in the main into harmony with their new contexts. But the work of editing has not been thorough. Certain incongruities survive in the incorporated sections, which our author would no doubt have removed if he had lived to revise his work. Traces of an earlier date and often expectations of an earlier generation still survive. Thus in vol. i. 43-47 I have shown that our author wrote the Seven Epistles under Vespasian, when the Church had no apprehension of a universal martyrdom of the faithful, but expected to survive till the Second Advent of Christ. By various additions and changes this expectation is changed for the expectation that pervades the rest of the book, and the letters to the Seven Churches are transformed into letters to entire Christendom. But traces of

1 Their inclusion in this work has given them this new meaning. The fact that there are seven letters and only seven, suggests that the Seer is now addressing himself—not merely to Seven Churches out of the many others to which he could have written with authority, nor yet to all the Churches of the province of Asia, but—through these Seven Churches to all the Churches of Christendom. The approaching struggle, as the entire Apocalypse presupposes, is not between the Christian Churches of a single province and the Empire, but between Christendom and the Antichrist impersonated in the Empire and its head, though the storm is threatening to break first on the Churches of Asia.

This suggestion gains support from the following considerations. Seven is a sacred number with our author and is capable of a symbolic meaning. That the Seven Churches embrace all the Churches, appears to follow from 1^12. 1^13 combined with 1^16. 20. In 1^12 seven candlesticks and only seven are visible, and in 1^16 seven stars and only seven stars. Now, since from 1^20 we learn that the seven candlesticks are the Seven Churches—i.e. the Churches in their actual condition—and that the stars are the angels of the Seven Churches—i.e. the Churches as they should be ideally, and since in 1^13 the Son of Man stands in the midst of these Churches, and holds in His hands the seven stars or the ideals they have to achieve, the natural conclusion is that it is all the Churches of Christendom in the midst of which Christ stands, and not an insignificant group, and that the stars which He holds in His right hand are the ideals which they are summoned through His help to realize. As all Christians, according to the rest of the Apocalypse, are to share in the
the first sketch and needed revision: see vol. i. 1I5-116.

In 71-8 our author makes use of traditional material, but the language is his own. See vol. i. 191-199. The four angels and the four winds, which are here introduced and introduced in terms that lead us to expect their subsequent appearance in the way of judgment (73 μη ἀδικήσητε τὴν γῆν . . . ἀχρι σφαιράισωμεν, κτλ.), are not directly referred to again.

In 111-13 our author has made use of two sources (111-12 113-13), both written before 70 a.d., in which, if the text is taken literally, the historic Jerusalem is supposed to be standing (112. 8), and the Temple to be inviolable (111). These references have been taken literally by many scholars as determining the date of the whole Apocalypse, especially by those who accept its absolute unity and its composition by one author. But to construe such statements literally implies a complete misconception of our author's attitude to the earthly Jerusalem. Our author could not possibly have regarded the earthly Jerusalem as τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἀγίαν (112). Such a definition he reserves for the New Jerusalem, the eternal abode of the saints (214), and the Jerusalem coming down from heaven to be the seat of the Messianic kingdom for 1000 years (2110). This latter he calls also τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἡγαπημένην (209). But for him the actual city is that ἡτις καλείται πνευματικὸς Σῶσομα καὶ Ἀγαπητὸς ὅπου καὶ ὁ κύριος αὐτῶν ἐσταυρώθη (118). But our author has re-edited this section by the addition of 114 (II. 8bc. 9a and the recasting of 117, according to his own thought and in his own diction, and thus the inviolable security which the Jews attached to the Temple is reinterpreted by our author as meaning the spiritual security of the Christian community despite the attacks of Satan and the Antichrist. But such spiritual security does not exclude martyrdom, as 113-13 makes clear. See coming tribulation, they are all here addressed in these letters. After the first chapter the numeral is dropped and our author speaks only in his later additions to the letters (27. 11: 17. 29 36. 13. 22 (see vol. i. p. 45) of αἵ ἐκκλησίαι. The larger thought of all the Churches seems to be here before him.
vol. i. 269-270. 11\textsuperscript{1-18} has so far as possible to be reinterpreted from the later standpoint of the Apocalypse as a whole. But in some cases this is hardly possible.

12 is a source, or rather a combination of two sources, which our author has borrowed in its Greek form and re-edited. Thus we find in 12\textsuperscript{1} ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς where our author would have used ἐπὶ της κεφαλὰς: in 12\textsuperscript{2} διαδήματα instead of διαδήματα ἐπτά: in 12\textsuperscript{9} τοῦ before the infinitive—not elsewhere in J\textsuperscript{bp}: in 12\textsuperscript{12} ωἰρανοὶ instead of ωἰρανέ: in 12\textsuperscript{14} ἀπὸ τροσσάπονος = "because of." Contrast 6\textsuperscript{16} 20\textsuperscript{11}. Hence I here withdraw the thesis maintained in vol. i. 300 sqq. § 3, that our author translated this source himself. See also p. ciii n.

12\textsuperscript{13-15}, though full of significance in their original context and at their original date, do not admit of interpretation from the standpoint and date of our author's work (see vol. i. 330).

In 17–18 our author has edited two sources already existing in a Greek form (see p. lxiii sq., vol. ii. 56-58, 88 sqq.). But traces of the original date of their composition survive in 17\textsuperscript{10-11} and 18\textsuperscript{4}. See vol. ii. 59 sq., 93. Another trace of 18 being a source survives in 18\textsuperscript{2}, where it is stated that Rome has become κατοικητήριον δαιμονίων καὶ φυλακῆ... πάντως ὄρνεον ἀκαθάρτον, whereas our author himself in 19\textsuperscript{3} represents the smoke of her burning as ascending age after age to the end of the world.

Such incongruities as the above do not affect the main movement of thought and development in the book. Without the sources, in which these incongruities occur, the book would suffer irreparably. These sources, with the exception of 10–11\textsuperscript{18} which is a proleptic digression, form organic members of the whole. The survival, therefore, of such incongruities requires the hypothesis that our author not only used sources but also did not live to revise his work.

IX.

**DATE OF THE APOCALYPSE.**

The date of J\textsuperscript{bp} can be established by external and internal evidence.

§ 1. External evidence.—This evidence almost unanimously assigns J\textsuperscript{bp} to the last years of Domitian. But some ancient, but not the earliest, authorities assign it to the reigns of Claudius, Nero, or Trajan. This may be in part due to the survival in the sources used by our author of statements and situations presupposing an earlier date than that of Domitian. That these survivals explain the great divergence of scholars of the past fifty
years on the dating of the Apocalypse, we shall see when we turn to the internal evidence.

The Trajan date.—To return, however, to the three dates just mentioned, i.e., the reigns of Claudius, Nero, and Trajan, we shall treat first of the last. This dating is found only in very late authorities. Theophylact on Matt. 20:22: Ἰωάννης δὲ Τράιανὸς κατεδίκασε μαρτυροῦντα τῷ λόγῳ τῆς ἀληθείας. Synopsis de vita et morte prophetarum (attributed to Dorotheus): ὅπο δὲ Τραίανον βασιλέως ἐξωρίσθη ἐν τῇ νήσῳ Πάτμῳ . . . μετὰ δὲ τὴν τελευτὴν Τραίανος ἐπάνεισιν ἀπὸ τῆς νήσου . . . εἰςδὲ οὐ λέγουσιν μὴ ἐπὶ Τραίανον αὐτὸν ἐξωρισθῆναι ἐν Πάτμῳ ἀλλὰ ἐπὶ Δομετιανὸ.¹ These statements appear, as Swete suggests (Introd. p. c), to have arisen mainly from a misunderstanding of such words as those in Irenaeus, ii. 22. 5, παρέμευε γὰρ αὐτοῖς (ὁ Ἰωάννης) μεχρὶ τῶν Τραίανον χρόνων, or those cited below from Origen on Matt. tom. xvi. 6.

The Claudian and Neronic dates.—111-2 and 69 of the Apocalypse, if taken literally, refer to Jerusalem and the Temple as still standing, and the martyrdoms under Nero (64–68 A.D.). Other sources, though less clearly, postulate a Neronic date. Hence it is not difficult to understand the assignment of the banishment of John to the reign of Nero in the title prefixed to both the Syriac versions of the Apocalypse and by Theophylact (Praef. in Ioann.). I do not see, however, how we are to explain the Claudian date (41–54 A.D.), which is maintained by Epiphanius (Haer. li. 12, μετὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς Πάτμου ἐπάνοδον, τὴν ἐπὶ Κλαύδιον γενομένην καίσαρος: li. 33, αὐτοῦ δὲ προφητεύσαντος ἐν χρόνοις Κλαύδιον καίσαρος ἀνωτάτω, ὅτε εἰς τὴν Πάτμον νήσου ὑπῆρξεν.

The Domitianic date.—The earliest authorities are practically unanimous in assigning the Apocalypse to the last years of Domitian. Melito of Sardis (160–190 floruit) may possibly be cited as upholding the Domitianic date, as he wrote a commentary on Ἱφ and addressed a protest to Marcus Aurelius declaring that Nero and Domitian had at the instigation of certain malicious persons slanderously assaulted the Church (Eus. iv. 26. 9: cf. Lact. De Mort. Persecutorum, 3).

Irenaeus (Adv. Haer. 180–190). In his account of the persecution of Christians by Domitian, Eusebius (iii. 18. 3) quotes the following words from Irenaeus: εἶ δὲ ἐδει ἀναφανῶν ἐν τῷ νόμῳ καιρῷ κηρύττεσθαι τοῦ νόμου αὐτοῦ, δὲ ἐκείνου ἀν ἐρημθεὶ τοῦ καὶ τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν ἑωρακότος. οὐδὲ γὰρ πρὸ τοῦλον χρόνου ἑωραθῆ, ἀλλὰ σχέδων ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας γενεᾶς, πρὸς τῷ τέλει τῆς Δομετιανοῦ ἀρχῆς. This passage is found in Irenaeus, Adv. Haer. v. 30. 3, almost exactly as quoted in Eusebius.

¹ The above two quotations are drawn from Swete, Introd. p. c.
Clement of Alexandria. In his Quis Dives, 42, we find: τοῦ τυράννου τελευτήσαντος ἄπε τῆς Πάτμου τῆς νῆσου μετῆλθεν ἐπὶ τῆν Ἐφέσου.

Origen (185–253). In Mt. xvi. 6 (Lommatzsch, iv. p. 18), ὁ δὲ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς, ὃς ἦ παράδοσις διδάσκει, κατεδίκασε τὸν Ἰωάννην μαρτυροῦντα διὰ τῶν τῆς ἀληθείας λόγων εἰς Πάτμον τὴν νῆσον. Neither in Clement nor Origen is Domitian’s name given, but it may be presumed that it was in the mind of these writers. Victorinus (circa 270), Eusebius, and Jerome are quite explicit. Victorinus in his In Apoc. 1011 writes: “Hoc dicit propterea quod quando haec Ioannes vidit, erat in insula Patmos, in metallum damnatus a Domitiano Caesares. Ibi ergo vidit Apocalypsin. Et cum jam senior putaret se per passionem accepturum receptionem, interfec tum Domitiano, omnia judicio ejus soluta sunt. Et Ioannes, de metallo dimissus, sic postea tradidit hanc eandem quam acceperat a Deo Apocalypsin.” Also on 1710 “Unus exstat sub quo scripta est Apocalypsis, Domitianus scilicet.” Eusebius, H.E. iii. 18. i : Ἐν τούτῳ κατέχει λόγος τὸν ἀπόστολόν ἀμα καὶ εὐαγγελισμὴν Ἰωάννην ἐπὶ τῷ βίῳ ἐνδιατρίβοντα, τῆς εἰς τὸν θείον λόγον ἑνεκεν μαρτυρίας, Πάτμου οἰκεῖων καταδίκασθαι τῇ νῆσῳ. iii. 20. 9 : Τότε δὴ ὁ οὖν καὶ τὸν ἀπόστολόν Ἰωάννην ἄπό τῆς κατὰ τὴν νῆσον φυγῆς τῆς ἐπὶ Ἐφέσου διατριβῆς ἰἄνευ ἐπικελεύθη ὁ τῶν παρ’ ὡς ἀρχαίων παραδότων λόγος. iii. 23. i : Ἀπόστολος ὅμως καὶ εὐαγγελισμὴς Ἰωάννης τὰς αὐτοῦ διε_MAP Apocalypsim . . . interfec tum autem Domitiano et actis ejus ob nimiam crudelitatem a senatu rescissis sub Nerva principem redit Ephesum.”

§ 2. Internal evidence.—To the cursory reader the internal evidence as to the date is hopelessly confusing. But this evidence is confusing not only to the cursory reader, but also to the earnest student, as the history of the interpretation of Jap clearly shows. The students of Jsp fall into three groups on this question. (1) Those who assign it to the reign of Nero after the Neronian persecution, 64–68 a.d., such as Baur, Reuss, Hilgenfeld, Lightfoot, Westcott, Selwyn, B. W. Henderson. (2) Those who place it under Vespasian, as B. Weiss, Düsterdieck, Bartlett, Anderson Scott. (3) Those who maintain the Domitianic date.

For these three datings internal evidence is undoubtedly forthcoming. Our author has used sources, and several of these were written under Nero, or at all events before the fall of Jerusalem, as the reader will see under the section Greek and Hebrew Sources and their Dates, p. lxii sqq. But such a date cannot be maintained in the face of 1710 (see vol. ii. 59–60,
69–70) and 184, both of which postulate a Vespasianic date. Hence such statements as clearly presuppose a Neronic date (i.e., in 11:13–12 (?), 13:1–7, 10) are simply survivals in the sources used by our author.

Hence it appears that the Apocalypse was written either under Vespasian or under Domitian. The external evidence is, as we have already seen, unanimous in favour of the latter as against the former. We have now to discuss the bearing of the internal evidence on this question. This evidence, which is clearly in favour of the Domitianic date, is as follows.

(a) The use of earlier N.T. Books.—See pp. lxxxiii–lxxxvi. There it is shown that our author most probably used Matthew and Luke. If this is so, it makes the Vespasianic date impossible, unless these Gospels were written before 70 or 75 A.D.

(b) The present form of the Seven Letters, although in their original form of Vespasianic date, point to a Domitianic.—The Church of Smyrna did not exist in 60–64 A.D.—at a time when St. Paul was boasting of the Philippians in all the Churches. Cf. Polycarp (Ad Phil. xi. “Beatus Paulus . . . gloriatur in omnibus ecclesiis, quae solae tunc Dominum cognoverant; nos autem nondum cognoveramus”). But though Polycarp’s letter tells us that the Church of Smyrna was not founded in 60–64 A.D., he gives no hint as to when it was founded. Hence several years may have elapsed after that date before it was founded. When, however, we turn to Rev 2:8–11 we find that our text presupposes a Church poor in wealth but rich in good works, with a development of apparently many years to its credit. This letter, then, may have been written in the closing years of Vespasian (75–79) but hardly earlier. But if the present writer’s hypothesis (see vol. i. 43–46) is correct, then the Seven Letters, all of which probably belong to the same period, were re-edited; for whereas they speak generally of local persecutions, there is not a hint, save in 3:10, of the universal martyrdom that is taught or implied in the rest of the book. Nor again is there a single clear reference to the imperial cult of the Caesars, unless possibly in 3:10. (See vol. i. 43–46.) The Letters, therefore, in their original form, acquaint us with the experiences and apprehensions of the Churches in Vespasian’s reign. But what worlds divide their original outlook from that of the Book in which they are incorporated! The natural conclusion, therefore, is that though our author wrote the Letters in the reign of Vespasian, he re-edited them in the closing years of Domitian for incorporation in his Book.

(c) The imperial cult as it appears in John was not enforced until the reign of Domitian.—There is no evidence of any kind to prove that the conflict between Christianity and the imperial cult had
reached the pitch of antagonism that is presupposed in the \*J\*\textsuperscript{ap} before the closing years of Domitian's reign. In the reign of Vespasian the Christians, as Moffatt (\textit{Introd.}\textsuperscript{3} 504) writes, "seem to have enjoyed a comparative immunity . . . and our available knowledge of the period renders it unlikely (cf. Linsenmayer's \textit{Bekämpfung des Christentums durch den römischen Staat}, 1905, 66 f.) that anything occurred either under him or Titus to call forth language so intense as that of the Apocalypse." Moreover, Vespasian did not take his claims to divinity seriously. But Domitian insisted on the public recognition of these claims, and in the last year of his reign he began to persecute the Church in the capital of the Empire. Thus in Rome he had his own cousin Flavius Clemens executed, and his niece Flavia Domitilla and others banished for their faith to the island of Pontia. Eusebius (\textit{H.E.} iii. 18. 4) states that there were many others.\textsuperscript{1} Now, if Christians of the highest rank were exposed to martyrdom in Rome, what would be expected in Asia Minor, where the cult of the Emperor had been received with acclamation as early as the reign of Augustus, and had by the time of Domitian become the one religion of universal obligation in Asia, whereas the worship of the old Greek divinities only took the form of local cults? Compliance with the claims of the imperial cult was made the test of loyalty to the Empire. In the earlier days, Christians had been persecuted for specific crimes, such as anarchy, atheism, immorality, etc. But in the latter days of Domitian the confession of the name of Christ (cf. \*J\*\textsuperscript{ap} 2\textsuperscript{8.13} 3\textsuperscript{8} 12\textsuperscript{11} 20\textsuperscript{4}) was tantamount to a refusal to accede to the Emperor's claims to divinity, and thereby entailed the penalty of death (13\textsuperscript{15}). Now, with the insight of a true prophet John recognized the absolute incompatibility of the worship of Christ and the worship of the Emperor, even if this worship were conceived merely as a test of loyalty to the Empire. Therein he penetrated to the eternal issues underlying the conflict of his day, and set forth for all time the truth that it is not Caesar but Christ, not the State but the Church that should claim the absolute allegiance of the individual. Nay more: the prophet maintains that the conflict between the claims of Christianity and the absolutism of the State can never be relinquished till the State itself, no less than the individual, tenders its submission and becomes an organ of the will of the Lord and of His Christ (11\textsuperscript{15}).

(d) The \textit{Nero-redivivus} myth appears implicitly and explicitly in several forms in our text, the latest of which cannot be earlier than the age of Domitian.

The Jewish source lying behind 17\textsuperscript{12-17} was probably written

\textsuperscript{1} On the persecution under Domitian, see Lightfoot, \textit{Clem. Rom.} 1. i. 104-115.
in the reign of Titus. It embodies the expectation that the living Nero will return from the East at the head of the Parthian hosts—an expectation to be found in the Sibylline Oracles of this period (see vol. ii. 81). Another phase of this myth which appears in our text (in 117), but with which we are not here concerned, is dealt with in vol. ii. 83. But the last phase of this expectation attested in our text is given in 13 and 17. At this stage there is a fusion of the Nero myth with those of the Antichrist and Beliar. The expectation of a living Nero returning from the East has been abandoned. Nero is now a demon from the abyss, combining in his own person the characteristics of Beliar and the Antichrist. This phase of the myth belongs to the last decade of the 1st century. For this form of the myth, see vol. ii. 84–87.¹ I do not see how it is possible to assign 13 and 17 in their present form to the reign of Vespasian, though the sources behind both these chapters were mainly of a Vespasianic date, and in part of that of Titus.

Before we leave this section it will be well to touch again on the interpretation of 17¹⁰⁻¹¹. Bouisset (p. 416) has rightly protested against the identification of Domitian with the eighth head. This is done by some commentators, but can only be done by misinterpreting the text or misunderstanding the nature of Christian apocalyptic. Some, who accept the Vespasianic date, are guilty of the first offence; others, who accept the Domitianic date, are guilty of both.

Let us consider the latter offence first—that which consists in misunderstanding Christian apocalyptic. If we accept the Domitianic date and assume absolute unity of authorship, we must conclude that the writer “transfers himself in thought to the time of Vespasian, interpreting past events under the form of a prophecy, after the manner of apocalyptic writers” (Swete). Such a procedure belongs to Jewish apocalyptic but not to Christian, till we advance well into the 2nd century. Those who urge the Vespasianic date are not guilty of this misconception, but the Apocalypse does not admit of the Vespasianic date. Hence, if we accept the Domitianic date, 17¹⁰⁻¹¹ must be regarded as a survival from sources belonging to the time of Vespasian and Titus. In its present context, therefore, 17¹⁰⁻¹¹ does not admit of precise interpretation. For Domitian cannot be identified with Nero redivivus. This brings us to the first offence.

Domitian cannot be identified with Nero redivivus. Not a single phrase descriptive of the latter can be rightly applied to Domitian, if we accept the Domitianic date as the evidence requires. Nero redivivus is described in 17⁸ as τὸ θηρίον . . .

¹ A critical study of all the forms assumed by the Antichrist myth is given in vol. ii. 76–87.
The redivivus, monster of fiery breath, is represented against the Lamb, 1711. Thus Messianic Word and the Beast, 1712-13.17.16, and fighting against the Lamb, 1714. (η) Nor can we conceive Domitian in 1911-19 as mustering the nations to battle against the Word of God in the Messianic war that prepares the way for the Messianic kingdom.1

It is not an actual Roman emperor, but a supernatural monster from the abyss that is to play the part of the Nero redivivus, and that in the immediate future.

X.

Circulation and Reception.

§ 1. There are most probable but no absolutely certain traces of Jap in the Apostolic Fathers.—In the Shepherd of Hermas, Vis. ii. 2. 7, there is a very probable connection with our author.2

Thucydomos utscheis orosi uthomevete twn thlwn twn evxomenvn twn megalhyn: iv. 2. 5, thlweos tis mellyvousis tis megaly, and in iv. 3. 6, tis thlweos tis evxomenvn megalh, all but certainly recall Rev 1714 tis thlweos tis megaly, and 310 tis oras . . . tis mellyvo-

1 If it were possible to ascribe the Apocalypse to the reign of Vespasian the objections given in β, γ, δ above would be fatal to the identification of Domitian with Nero redivivus. ζ and η would also stand in the way.

2 The fact that Hermas used the same imagery as Jap may be rightly used as evidence that he knew it. Thus the Church, Vis. ii. 4, is represented by a woman (cf. Jap 1218 seq.); the enemy of the Church by a beast (θηρον), Vis. iv. 6-10, Jap 13: out of the mouth of the beasts proceed fiery locusts, Vis. iv. 1, 6, Jap 9: whereas the foundation stones of the Heavenly Jerusalem bear the names of the Twelve Apostles, Jap 2114, and those who overcome are made pillars in the spiritual temple, Jap 312, in Hermas the apostles and other teachers of the Church form the stones of the heavenly tower erected by the archangels, Vis. iii. 5. 1. The faithful in both are clothed in white and are given crowns to wear, Jap 611 etc., 210 311; Hermas, Sim. viii. 2. 1, 3.
The Revelation of St. John

σὴς ἐρχεσθαι, i. i. 3, πνεῦμα . . . ἀπ' ἰσαγωγέν με διὰ ἀνοδίας, εἰς τοὺς ἑρωμοὺς εἰς πνεύματι. Barn. xxi. 3, ἐγγὺς ὁ κύριος καὶ ὁ μισθὸς αὐτοῦ, seems to suggest some dependence on Rev 22.10.12 ὁ καρπὸς γὰρ ἐγγὺς ἐστίν . . . ἰδοὺ ἑρχομαι ταχὺ καὶ ὁ μισθὸς μου μετ' ἐμοῦ. (See, however, Is 40.10.) Barn. vii. 9, ἤπειρα ἦφονται αὐτῶν τότε τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῶν ποιήσεων . . . καὶ ἑρώτησιν Οὐχ οὕτως ἠστήν ἵνα ποιῇ ἡμεῖς ἑσπεραξόμεθα, has affinities with Rev 1.13 ὥστε αὐτῶν πᾶς ὁ φθαρμὸς καὶ ὀinicες αὐτῶν ἐξέκοψαν . . . ἐνενεκμένων πολύρημα. (See, however, N.T. in the Apostolic Fathers, p. 16.) But as for the passages in Iuguatius, Ad Phil. vi. 1 (see vol. i. 92) has nothing to do with Rev 3.12, nor Ad Eph. xv. 3, ἵνα ὄμεν αὐτοῦ ναοί, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν ἑμῖν θεός, with Rev 21.2: nor does Barn. vi. 13, λέγει δὲ Κύριος Ἰδοὺ ποιῶ τὰ ἔσχατα ὡς τὰ πρῶτα, reflect Rev 21.1 ἰδοὺ καὶ πάντα πάντα (see vol. ii. 203): for the sense is absolutely different. Nor should we connect Clem. Rom. Ad Cor. xxxiv. 3 (see p. lxvii, footnote) with Rev 22.12.

§ 2. In the 2nd cent. Jφ was all but universally accepted in Asia Minor, Western Syria, Africa, Rome, South Gaul.

In Asia Minor.—Papias was the first, according to Andreas in the prologue to his Commentary on Jφ, to attest, not its apostolic authorship, but its credibility. (Ὑπὶ μέντοι τοῦ θεοπνεύστου τῆς βίβλου περιτοί μηκύνει τὸν λόγον ήγομένη, τῶν μακάριων Θεογορίων . . . καὶ Κυρίλλου, προσέτε δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄρχαυατέρων Παπίου, Εἰρηναίου, Μεθοδίου καὶ Ἰππολύτου προσμαρτυροῦντων τὸ ἀξίωσιον.) Eusebius, however, never definitely says that Jφ was known to Papias (H.E. iii. 39). The statement, however, in iii. 39. 12 which he attributes to Papias, seems to be an echo of Jφ (χιλιάδα τινά φησιν ἐτῶν ἔσχατα μετὰ τῆς ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστασιν, σωματικῶς τῆς Χριστοῦ βασιλείας ἐπὶ ταυτής τῆς γῆς ὑποστηρικῆς). But Eusebius proceeds to say that this statement of Papias was due to his misunderstanding of certain apostolic statements (ἀποστολικὰς . . . διηγήσεις), which he took literally instead of figuratively.

Melito, bishop of Sardis (160–190 A.D. fl.), wrote a commentary (Τὰ περὶ τοῦ διαβόλου καὶ τῆς ἀποκάλυψεως Ἰωάννου), Eus. iv. 26. 2: Jerome, De vir. illust. 9, understands this title to refer to two distinct books. This work of Melito is noteworthy, since Sardis was one of the Seven Churches. Justin, who lived at Ephesus (circa 135) before he went to Rome, is the first to declare that Jφ was written by John, one of the apostles of Christ: Dial. lxxxi. 15, παρ ἡμῖν ἀνήρ τις, ὦ ὄνομα Ἰωάννης, εἰς τῶν ἀποστόλων τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἐν ἀποκάλυψει γενομένη αὐτῷ χίλια ἕτη ποιήσειν ἐν Ἰερουσαλήμ τοῖς τῶν ἡμετέρων Ἑρωδοῦ πιστεύσαντας προσφήγεσθαι: cf. also Apol. i. 28 (which refers to Apoc. 12.9); Eus. iv. 18. 8. Irenaeus maintained the apostolic authorship of all the Johanne
writings in the N.T., but the evidence for his views has to be drawn from the great work which he wrote as bishop of Lyons: see below. Apollonius, a writer against the Montanists in Phrygia (circa 210 A.D.), used J*ap of John as an authority in his controversy (Eus. v. 18. 14).

In Western Syria.—Theophilus, bishop of Antioch in the latter half of the 2nd century, cites J*ap in a treatise against Hermogenes (Eus. iv. 24), év τη̂ς ἀποκαλυψεως Ἰωάννου κέριητου μαρτυρίας.

In South Gaul.—Irenaeus, who defended the apostolic authorship of all the N.T. Johannine writings, carried with him to Gaul the views that prevailed in Asia Minor; and there, as Bishop of Lyons (177–202 A.D.), he wrote his great work, Against all Heresies. In this work he uses such expressions as Ioannes in Apocalypsi, iv. 14. 2, 17. 6, 18. 6, 21. 3, v. 28. 2, 34. 2. Ioannes Domini discipulus in Apocalypsi, iv. 20. 11, v. 26. 1; in Apocalypsi videt Ioannes, v. 35. 2; per Ioannis Apocalypsin, i. 26. 3. See Zahn, Gesch. N.T. Kanons, i. 202, note 2. At a slightly earlier date, 177, the Churches of Vienne and Lyons addressed an epistle to the Churches in Asia and Phrygia (Eus. v. i. 10, 45 (where τη̂ς παρθένως μητρί = the Christian Church), 55, 58) in which reference is made to Apoc. 14* 121 199 2211, the last being introduced by the N.T. formula of Canonical Scripture—ινα ἡ γραφὴ πληρωθῇ.

In Alexandria.—Clement follows the general tradition of the Church, and cites J*ap as scripture, Paed. ii. 119 (τὸ συμβολικὸν τῶν γραφῶν), and the work of John the apostle, Quis dives, 42, Strom. vi. 106–107 (see Zahn, Gesch. d. N.T. Kanons, i. 205). Origen accepts John the Apostle as the author of the J*ap, the Gospel, and the first Epistle (In Ioann. tom. v. 3; Lommatzsch, i. 165; Eus. vi. 25. 9). The upholders of Millenarianism in Egypt, against whom Dionysius wrote, appealed to the Apocalypse (Eus. vii. 24).

In Rome.—On the very probable use of our author by Hermas we have adverted above. Of this work the Muratorian Canon writes: "Pastorem vero nuperrime temporibus nostris in urbe Roma Hermas conscripsit." But whether Hermas used our author or not, this Canon implies that J*ap was universally recognized at Rome: "Iohannes enim in apocalypsi, licet septem ecclesiis scribat, tamen omnibus dicit," while a few lines later, according to the most natural restoration of the text, he states that the Apocalypse of Peter had not such recognition. Hippolytus (190–235 fl.), in his Περὶ τοῦ Ἀντιχριστοῦ (ed. Achelis, 1897), constantly quotes the Apocalypse. He speaks of it as ἡ γραφή (chap. 5) and its author ἀπόστολος καὶ μαθητής τοῦ Κυρίου (36). See Zahn, i. 203 (note).
In Carthage.—In this Church, which was the daughter of the Roman Church, J<sup>ap</sup> enjoyed an unquestioned authority at the close of the 2nd century. Tertullian cites quotations from eighteen out of its twenty-two chapters. He knows of only one John, the Apostle, and he is unacquainted with any doubts of its canonicity save on the part of Marcion. He names it the instrumentum Joannis (De Resurrectione, 38) and the instrumentum apostolicum (Pud. 12). See Zahn, i. 111, 203 sq. The Acts of Perpetua and Felicitas show many traces of dependence on our author, as § 4, “circumstantes candidatos milia multa”; § 12, “intro- euentes vestierunt stolas candidas... et audivimus vocem unitam dicentium Agios agios agios sine cessatione... et vidimus in medio loco sedentem quasi hominem canum... et in dextra et in sinistra seniores viginti quattuor.” See Zahn, i. 203 sq.

Thus throughout the Christian Church during the 2nd cent. there is hardly any other book of the N.T. so well attested and received as J<sup>ap</sup>.

§ 3. There were, however, two distinct protests against its Johannine authorship and validity in the 2nd century.—(a) The first of these came from Marcion. He rejected it on the ground of its strongly Jewish character (Tert. Adv. Marc. iv. 5), and he refused to recognize John as a canonical writer (iii. 14, “Quodsi Ioannem agitum non vis, habes communem magistrum Paulum”).

(b) The more important attack came from the Alogi—the name given to them by Epiphanius (Haer. li. 3).<sup>1</sup> This sect (Haer. li. 33) rejected both the Gospel and Apocalypse and attributed them to Cerinthus. They objected to the sensuous symbolism of the book, and urged that it contained errors in matters of fact, seeing that there was no Church at Thyatira. Since Epiphanius draws most probably upon Hippolytus (190–235) for his information, we have in Epiphanius a nearly contemporaneous account of these opponents of J<sup>ap</sup>.

With these Alogi, as Zahn urges (i. 223–227, 237–262, ii. 967–973), the sect mentioned by Irenaeus (iii. 11. 9) is to be identified. This sect was anti-Montanist. It rejected the Johannine books because of the support they gave—the Gospel through the doctrine of the Spirit and the Apocalypse through its prophetic character—to this Montanist party. Caius, a Roman Churchman, though not one of the Alogi, also rejected J<sup>ap</sup> in a manifesto (circ. 210 A.D.) against Proclus the Montanist on the ground of its marvels and its sensuous doctrine of the Millennium, and ascribed it to Cerinthus (Eus. H.E. iii. 28. 1–2). There is no conclusive evidence that Caius and his school rejected the Gospel.

<sup>1</sup> Τι φάσκουσι τοινυν οἱ "Αλογοι: ταύτην γὰρ αὐτοῖς τίθημι τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν.
The writing of Caius was answered by Hippolytus¹ (215 A.D.) in a work entitled Κεφάλαια κατά Γαίον καὶ ἀπολογία ὑπὲρ τ. ἰποκαλύψεως Ἰωάνου, fragments of which have been preserved in a Commentary of Bar-Salibi (Gwynn, Hermathena, vi. 397-418, vii. 137-150). From this date forward no Western Churchman seriously doubted J

§ 4. The question of the authenticity of J

Dionysius of Alexandria, bishop of Alexandria, 247-265 A.D.—Fragments of this scholarly and temperate criticism of the Apocalypse (Περὶ Ἐπαγγελίων) are preserved in Eusebius (vii. 24-25). This book was written as a refutation of a work by Nepos, an Egyptian bishop, entitled Ἐλεγχος Ἀλληγοριστῶν, which sought to prove that the promises made to the saints in the Scriptures were to be taken literally in a Jewish sense and particularly with regard to the Millennium (Eus. vii. 24). In his refutation of this book Dionysius advances many grounds to prove that J was not written by the author of the Gospel and 1 John. He admits its claim to have been written by a John, but not by the Apostle. Some of the arguments we have given elsewhere (see p. xl).

If modern scholars had followed the lines of criticism laid down by Dionysius their labours would have been immeasurably more fruitful.

§ 5. J rejected for some time by the Syro-Palestinian Church and by the Churches of Asia Minor.—The criticism of Dionysius in discrediting the apostolic authorship of J discredited also its canonicity. Eusebius (260-340 A.D.) evidently agreed with the conclusions of Dionysius. Seeking to carry further the conclusions of that scholar, he suggests that J was written by John the Elder of whom Papias wrote (Eus. iii. 39. 6). He is doubtful (iii. 24. 18, 25. 4) whether to reckon it among the accepted (δομολογούμενα) or the rejected (νόθα). Some years later Cyril of Jerusalem (315-386) not only excluded it from the list of canonical books, but also forbade its use in public and private. After enumerating the books of the N.T. in which the Apocalypse is not mentioned, he proceeds to say (Catech. iv. 36, τὰ δὲ λοιπά, πάντα ἐξω κείσθω ἐν δευτέρῳ. καὶ ὅσα μὲν ἐν ἐκκλησίαις μὴ ἀναγινωσκέται, ταῦτα μὴ δὲ κατὰ σαυτόν ἀναγινώσκε). The influence of Dionysius' criticism spread also to Asia Minor. Thus J does not appear in Canon 60 of the Synod of Laodicea (circ. 360), nor in Canon 85 of the Apost. Constitutions

¹ Another work of Hippolytus in defence of the Johannine writings may be inferred from the list of works engraven on the back of the chair on which the statue of the bishop was seated: ὑπὲρ τοῦ κατὰ Ἰωάννην εὐαγγελίου καὶ ἀποκαλύφεως. See Lightfoot, St. Clement, i. ii. 420.
(Zahn, ii. 177 sqq., 197 sqq.), nor in the list of Gregory of Nazianzus (ob. 389). Amphilochius of Iconium (ob. 394) states that \( J^\text{ap} \) is rejected by most authorities (\( \alpha \pi \lambda \epsilon \iota \sigma \varsigma \chi \nu \rho \tau \omega \gamma \varepsilon \ | \nu \theta \omicron \nu \lambda \varepsilon \gamma \omega \nu \alpha \nu \nu \nu \nu \nu \)).

The school of Antioch did not look with favour on \( J^\text{ap} \). Chrysostom (ob. 407) represented this school in Constantinople. Theodore (350-428) carried with him the views of this school to Mopsuestia in Cilicia, and Theodoret (386-457) to the east to Cyrillus. None of the three appears to have mentioned it.

Other lists from which it is excluded are the so-called Synopsis of Chrysostom, the List of 60 Books, and the Chronography of Nicephorus.

§ 6. Quite independently of the criticism of Alexandria, \( J^\text{ap} \) was either ignored or unknown in the Eastern-Syrian and Armenian Churches for some centuries.—The Apocalypse formed no part of the Peshitto Version of the N.T. which was made by Rabula of Edessa, 411 (Burkitt, \textit{St. Ephraem's Quotations}, p. 57). The gap was afterwards supplied by a translation in 508 by Polycarpus for Philoxenus of Mabug, and by that of Thomas of Harkel, 616. On these the reader should consult Gwynn, \textit{The Apocalypse of John in Syria}, pp. xc-cv, and Bousset's \textit{Offenbarung}, 26-28. But it took centuries for \( J^\text{ap} \) to establish itself in the Syrian Churches. Junilius (\textit{De partibus divinae legis}, i. 4), who reproduces the lectures of Paul of Nisibis, writes (551 A.D.), "De Ioannis apocalypsi apud Orientales admodum dubitatur." Jacob of Edessa (ob. 708) cites it as Scripture, and yet Bar Hebraeus (ob. 1208) regards it as the work of Cerinthus or the other John. In the Armenian Church it first appears as a canonical book in the 12th century (Conybeare, \textit{Armenian Version of Revelation}, p. 64).

§ 7. \( J^\text{ap} \) was always accepted as canonical in the West, and this same attitude towards it was gradually adopted by the Eastern Churches.—In the Church of the West, notwithstanding the attacks of Gaius and the rejection of its apostolic authorship by Dionysius, writers were unanimous after the elaborate defence by Hippolytus of the canonicity of \( J^\text{ap} \). Only Jerome takes up a doubtful attitude towards it; for, while in \textit{Ep. ad Dardanum}, 129, he appears inclined to accept it, elsewhere (\textit{In Ps.} 149) he ranks it in a class midway between canonical and apocryphal. \( J^\text{ap} \) found a succession of expounders in Victorinus of Pettau (ob. 303), Tyconius, Primasius, and is duly recorded in all the Western lists of the canonical books.

In Alexandria, Athanasius (293-373) recognized its Johannine authorship and canonicity, and in due course the Greek commentaries of Oecumenius, Andreas, and Irenæus.

Thus throughout the world the full canonicity of the Apocalypse was accepted in the 13th century save in the
Nestorian Church. With the views of later times the present work is not here concerned. For these, readers may consult Bousset, Offenbarung, 19–34; or the present writer's Studies in the Apocalypse, i–78.

XI.

Object of the Seer and his Methods—Vision and Reflection.

§ 1. The object of the Seer is to proclaim the coming of God's kingdom on earth, and to assure the Christian Church of the final triumph of goodness, not only in the individual or within its own borders, not only throughout the kingdoms of the world and in their relations one to another, but also throughout the whole universe. Thus its gospel was from the beginning at once individualistic and corporate, national and international and cosmic. While the Seven Churches represent entire Christendom, Rome represents the power of this world. With its claims to absolute obedience, Rome stands in complete antagonism to Christ. Between these two powers there can be no truce or compromise. The strife between them must go on inexorably without let or hindrance, till the kingdom of the world has become the kingdom of the Lord and of His Christ. This triumph is to be realized on earth. There is to be no legislation, no government, no statecraft which is not finally to be brought into subjection to the will of Christ. Jsp is thus the Divine Statute Book of International Law, as well as a manual for the guidance of the individual Christian. In this spirit of splendid optimism the Seer confronts the world-wide power of Rome with its blasphemous claims to supremacy over the spirit of man. He is as ready as the most throughgoing pessimist to recognize the apparently overwhelming might of the enemy, but he does not, like the pessimist, fold his hands in helpless apathy, or weaken the courage of his brethren by idle jeremiads and tears. Gifted with an insight that the pessimist wholly lacks, we can recognize the full horror of the evils that are threatening to engulf the world, and yet he never yields to one despairing thought of the ultimate victory of God's cause on earth. He greets each fresh conquest achieved by triumphant wrong, with a fresh trumpet call to greater faithfulness, even when that faithfulness is called to make the supreme self-sacrifice. The faithful are to follow whithersoever the Lamb that was slain leads, and for such, whether they live or die, there can be no defeat, and so with song and thanksgiving he marks each stage of the world strife which is carried on ceaselessly and inexorably till, as in
i Cor 15:24-27, every evil power in heaven, or earth, or under the earth is overthrown and destroyed for ever.

§ 2. Methods of the Seers generally—psychical experiences and reflection or reason.—Prophecy and apocalyptic for the most part use the same methods for learning and teaching the will of God. The knowledge of the prophet as of the Seer came through dreams, visions, trances, and through spiritual, and yet not unconscious, communion with God—wherein every natural faculty of man was quickened to its highest power. When we wish to distinguish the prophet and the seer, we say that the prophet hears and announces the word of God, whereas the seer sees and recounts his vision. But this definition only carries us but a little way, for these phenomena are common to both. Hence we must proceed further, and deal with the means which the seer uses in order to set forth his message. These are psychical experiences, and reflection or rather reason embracing the powers of insight, imagination, and judgment.

Psychical experiences.—These consist of (a) dreams; (b) dreams combined with translation of the spirit; and (c) visions.

(a) Dreams.—Dreams conveying a revelation.—Dreams play a great rôle in Jewish apocalypses. They are found in Dan 2:1 4:71; in 1 Enoch 83-90, 2 Enoch 12 etc.; Test. Naph. 5:1 6:71; 4 Ezra 111 128 131-18. Such dreams are assigned to a divine source and are regarded as conveying revelations of God. Now such dreams are in many of these passages called visions: cf. Dan 4:71 8:18sqq.; 1 Enoch 83-90, where the two dreams 8:1 are called two visions in 8:2; Test. Levi, where the vision of 81 is called a dream in 8:18; Test. Naph., where what is called dreams in 71 is called visions in 5:1; 4 Ezra, where what is called dreams in 111 131 is called visions in 12:10 13:21-25 14:17. In 2 Bar. the Seer seems to have waking visions, except in 36:1 53:1.

Now in these apocalypses dreams and visions are equally authoritative sources of divine knowledge as well as in the O.T. Cf. 1 Sam 28:6-15, Deut 13:1-3, Jer 23:25-32 27:9 29:8, Joel 2:28. But it is remarkable that dreams fall into the background in the 1st cent. A.D. in Christian literature.1 Thus the Hebrew Test. Naph. (date uncertain) 21 4:71-5 speaks only of visions, and in 3:18 treats a dream as no true source of divine knowledge. See my edition of the Test. XII Patriarchs, pp. 221-223. In the N.T. dreams are not divine means of revelation unless in Matt 1:20 2:12-13. 19. 22 2:19. Hence it is only visions that are recounted

---

1 This is not the case in the Talmud. Belief in dreams was the rule, and disbelief the exception. Cf. Berakhoth 55-58, Sanh. 30a, Ber 28b, Hor 13b. Sirach, on the other hand, declares that dreams are vanity, 31 (34)1-8. See Jewish Encyc. iv. 654 sqq.
in the Apocalypse. It is not even said that the Seer fell asleep and saw a vision. It is simply said, "I saw." In 4 Ezra, on the other hand, sleep precedes the visions in 11:1 13:1 and in 2 Bar 36:1 53:1, though in other sections this element of the dream is wholly wanting.

(b) Dreams combined with a translation of the spirit of the Seer.—Test. Levi 25-8 51-7. This combination reappears in Hermas, Vis. i. 1, 3, ἄφυνωσα καὶ πνεύμα με ἐλαβεν καὶ ἀπήνεγκέν με δι' ἄνωθεν τινός.

(c) Visions.—In these the ordinary consciousness seems to be suspended, and sensible symbols appear to be literally seen with another faculty. These visions fall into three classes.

(a) Visions in sleep.—All the dreams mentioned in i. (a) above which are called visions by the writers could be brought under this head. Cf. Test. Lev 8:1-18.

(b) Visions in a trance.—Cf. Ezek 1, Test. Jos 19:1, 2 Bar 22:1 55:1-5 76:1, Acts 10:10, Apoc 1:10 sqq. (ἐγενόμην ἐν πνεύματι) and passim where καὶ εἶδον is used. Yet the latter may be otherwise explained, as we shall see.

(g) Visions in which the spirit is translated.—Ezek 3:12, 14 8:3, Dan 8:1-2, 1 Enoch 71:1-5, 2 Enoch 3:1, 2 Bar 6:5 sqq., Asc. Is 6-11, Apoc. 4:1 17:8 21:10. St. Paul (2 Cor 12:3) does not know whether in his vision he has experienced an actual translation of the spirit or not.1

(d) Waking visions.—Daniel seems to experience a trance when awake in 10:6, Stephen in Acts 7:55, Zacharias in Luke 1:11-20. The fundamental ideas underlying some of the shorter or even of the more elaborate visions in our author may belong to this category, such as 1:10-20 4:1-8 7:9-17 8:3-5 14:14 18-20 15:2-4 20:11-15 21:5a. 4d. 5b. 1-3abc 22:3-5.

§ 3. Value of such psychical experiences depends not on their being actual experiences, but on their source, their moral environment, and their influence on character.2—Of the reality of such psychical experiences no modern psychologist entertains a doubt. The value, however, of such experiences is not determined by their reality, but by facts of a wholly different nature. Real psychical experiences were not confined to Israel. They were familiar at the oracular shrines of the ethnic religions. The most

1 For similar psychical experiences in heathenism, cf. Reitzenstein, Poimandres, 5, 9 sq. etc.; Dieterich, Eine Mithras-Liturgie.

2 See on the whole question of this chapter, Joyce, The Inspiration of Prophecy, 1910; Gunkel, Die Wirkungen des heiligen Geistes, 1899; Weinel, Die Wirkungen des Geistes und der Geister, 1899.
celebrated of these was the ancient world Oracle at Delphi. This Oracle exerted generally a good influence on Hellenic life. But the hope of continuous progress by such agencies among the Greeks was foredoomed from the outset owing to two causes—the first being their association with polytheism and other corrupt forms of religion, and the second being the failure of Hellas to respond to the moral claims as it had done to those of the intellect. But it was otherwise in Israel, where seers such as Samuel prepared the way for the prophet, and moral and religious claims received a progressive and ever deepening response. Now prophet and seer alike had dreams, visions, and trances, and these psychical experiences in Israel were distinguished from those of the heathen seers not by their greater reality, for they were in the main equally real in both cases, but by quite a different standard, i.e. by the source from which they sprang, the environment in which they were produced, and the influence they exercised on the will and character. In all these respects prophecy and apocalyptic were duly authenticated in the O.T. as they are in the N.T.

§ 4. Literal descriptions of such experiences hardly ever possible. The language of the seer is symbolic.—In regard, therefore, to the visions recounted by our author and other O.T. and N.T. visionaries, the main question is the character of the religious faith they express and the religious and moral duties they enforce. Whether they are literal descriptions of actual experiences is a wholly secondary question. A literal description would only be possible in the case of the simplest visions, in which the things seen were already more or less within the range of actual human experience, as, for instance, in Amos 8:1-2

"Thus the Lord God showed me: and behold a basket of summer fruit. And he said, Amos, what seest thou? And I said, A basket of summer fruit." Cf. Jer 1:11 sq. 15 sqq. But in our author the visions are of an elaborate and complicated nature, and the more exalted and intense the experience, the more incapable it becomes of literal description. Moreover, if we believe, as the present writer does, that behind these visions there is an actual substratum of reality belonging to the higher spiritual world, then the seer could grasp the things seen and heard in such visions, only in so far as he was equipped for the task by his psychical powers and the spiritual development behind him. In other words, he could at the best only partially apprehend the significance of the heavenly vision vouchsafed him. To the things seen he perforce attached the symbols more or less transformed that these naturally evoked in his mind, symbols that he owed to his own waking experience or the tradition of the past; and the sounds he heard naturally clothed
themselves in the literary forms with which his memory was stored. Thus the seer laboured under a twofold disability. His psychical powers were generally unequal to the task of apprehending the full meaning of the heavenly vision, and his powers of expression were frequently unable to set forth the things he had apprehended.

In the attempt to describe to his readers what was wholly beyond the range of their knowledge and experience, the seer had thus constant recourse to the use of symbols. Hence in his literary presentment of what he has seen and heard in the moments of transcendent rapture, the images he uses are symbolic and not literal or pictorial. In fact, symbolism in regard to such subjects is the only language that seer and layman alike can employ. The appeal of such symbolism is made to the religious imagination. In this way it best discloses the permanent truth of which it is the vehicle and vesture.

§ 5. Highest form of spiritual experience.—There is a higher form of spiritual experience than either that of the prophetic audition or the prophetic vision. In this higher experience the divine insight is won in a state of intense spiritual exaltation, in which the self loses immediate self-consciousness without becoming unconscious, and the best faculties of the mind are quickened to their highest power. Therein the soul comes into direct touch with truth or God Himself. The light, that in such high experience visits the wrestling spirit, comes as a grace, an insight into reality, which the soul could never have achieved by its own unaided powers, and yet can come only to the soul that has fitted itself for its reception. In such experience the eye of the seer may see no vision, the ear of the seer hear no voice, and yet therein is spiritual experience at its highest. Such experiences must ever be beyond the range of literal description. They can only be suggested by symbols. They cannot be adequately expressed by any human combination of words or sounds or colours. At the same time such spiritual experiences of the seer have their analogies in those of the musician, poet, painter, and scholar.

§ 6. Reason embracing the powers of insight, imagination, and judgment.—In the manifold experiences enumerated in § 2, 4—5, the use of the reason is always presupposed, but as the secondary and not the primary agent in action, save perhaps in § 5. Under this heading, however, we deal rather with the normal use of the reason, while the seer makes (a) an arrangement of the materials so as to construct a divine théodîcê or philosophy of religion; (b) in his creation of allegories; (c) in the adaptation of traditional materials to his own purpose and their reinterpretation; (d) in the conventional use of the phrase "I saw."

(a) Arrangement of materials.—Now, whereas the collected
works of a prophet do not necessarily and in point of fact never show strict structural unity and steady development of thought, it is otherwise with the seer, and above all other seers with the work of our author, which exhibits these characteristics in an unparalleled degree. The reader has only to consult the Plan of the Book (pp. xxiii–xxviii) to be assured of this fact. The work of the artist and thinker is seen not only in the perfectness of the form in which many of the visions are recorded, but also in the skill with which the individual visions are woven together in order to represent the orderly and inevitable character of the divine drama. For not a single vision, save the three that are proleptic, can be removed from the text without inflicting irreparable damage on the whole work. The philosophical and dramatic character of John is due to the Seer as a religious thinker. On the other hand, the individual visions, where these are not freely constructed or borrowed from sources, are due to his visionary experiences. Apocalyptic, and not prophecy, was the first to grasp the great idea that all history, alike human, cosmological, and spiritual, is a unity.

(b) Allegories freely constructed.—The seers make use not infrequently of allegory. Allegories are generally freely constructed and figurative descriptions of real events and persons. With this form of literature we might compare Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress. Their object is to lay bare the eternal issues that are at stake in the actual conflicts of the day. Dan 11, 1 Enoch 85–90, 2 Bar liii–lxxiv, 4 Ezra 11–12, are undoubtedly freely invented allegories.

The work of the seer is not affected injuriously by his adoption of this literary form in order to publish his message to the world. The question of importance is not the form in which it is conveyed, but the nature of the religious conviction which has therein found expression. The Seven Seals and the Seven Bowls may in part be ranked under this division and in part under the next.

(c) Adaptation of traditional material.—Our Seer had many sources at his disposal, and he has freely laid them under contribution, re-editing and adapting them to their new contexts. If we admit his right to construct allegories freely to convey his message to the Church, he had the same right to use traditional material for the same purpose. In fact, all the Jewish writers of apocalypses did so. The sealing of the 144,000, 7 (4–8), and the Heavenly Jerusalem, 210–22 (14–15, 17), are constructed and rewritten largely out of pre-existing material, but their meaning is in the main transformed. In not a few cases the sources have not been wholly adapted to the contexts into which they have been introduced by the Seer. See p. lxii sqq.
(d) Conventional use of the phrase “I saw.”—Just as the prophet came to use the words “thus saith the Lord,” even when there was no actual psychical experience in which he heard a voice, so he came to use the words “I saw” when there was no actual vision. The same conventional use of both these phrases belongs to apocalyptic as well as to prophecy. They serve simply to express the divine message with which the prophet or the seer is entrusted. How far this use prevails in J	extsuperscript{ap} would be difficult to determine. We might, however, place The Letters to the Seven Churches under this category. These letters, if the present writer’s hypothesis is correct, were written by our author during the reign of Vespasian. They are assigned to Christ in our text in the words τὸ πνεῦμα λέγει (27. 11. 17 etc.). This is quite in keeping with the usage of the N.T. For the words of the prophets practically claim a divine authority. Cf. Acts 5\textsuperscript{1-8a}; I Cor 5\textsuperscript{4.5}, I Tim 1\textsuperscript{30}. Such words are not merely men’s words; cf. τάδε λέγει τὸ πνεῦμα, Acts 21\textsuperscript{11}, as Agabus declares, also 7\textsuperscript{56}. In I Tim 4\textsuperscript{1} the words τὸ πνεῦμα ῥητῶς λέγει are equivalent to “a certain prophet has said.” In these expressions the person of the prophet is ignored. Now our author claims to belong to the fellowship of the prophets, and he can rightly use the phrase τὸ πνεῦμα λέγει to express his convictions as a prophet.

XII.

Some Doctrines of our Author.

The chief theme of the Apocalypse is not what God in Christ has done for the world, but what He will yet do, and what the assured consummation will be. It is therefore the Gospel of faith and hope, and seeks to inspire the Churches anew in these respects; for that the end is nigh. As it sets forth its theme, it instructs, though incidentally, and its teaching is always fresh and in some respects unique.

§ 1. The doctrine of God.—If the doctrine of God were drawn only from the direct statements which the Apocalypse makes on this subject, though in some respects it would transcend the level reached in the O.T. (as in its teaching on God’s fatherhood, etc.), in many others (such as His infinite mercy and forgiveness) it would fall far short of it. Many scholars have emphasized this peculiarity of the Apocalypse, and insisted accordingly on the Jewish character of its doctrine of God. But to draw such a conclusion betrays a total misapprehension of the question at issue. The Christian elements are not dwelt upon because they can all be inferred from what the Book teaches regarding the
The revelation of St. John

Son; for all that the Son has and is is derived from the Father. Hence the conception of the Father under this heading must be completed from that of the Son in the next. The conception is on the whole severely monotheistic.

(a) First as regards the ethical side, God is holy, righteous, and true. He alone is holy (μόνος ὁ διός, I5 16: cf. 4 610); He is the True One, 610 (ἀληθινός = ἀληθής in our author), who keepeth covenant; with this truthfulness is associated His righteousness in judgment, 155 167 191-2. From these spring His wrath against sin, 617 1118 1915; and His avenging of all the wrongs done on the earth, 610 192. He is the Judge of all the dead, 2011-15.

(b) The gracious attributes of God are not brought forward, but are rather to be inferred from the fact that He is called the Father of Jesus Christ, 16 227 35, 21 141, and the Father also of all such as conquer, 217, and will dwell with them and be their God for ever, 218. Herein is the consummation of all the world’s travail. The divine world is to come into the world of history and realize itself there, seeing that all things come from God and end in God. But this idea belongs in part to (c).

(c) God is everlasting and omnipotent. First, as everlasting, He is designated as δ ὁ ν καὶ δ ὁ ν καὶ δ ἔρχομενος, I4 48; δ ὁ ν καὶ δ ὁ ν, I117 165 (see vol. 1. 10 sq.); δ ξών εἰς τ. αἰώνας τ. αἰώνων, 49 16 157. Next, He is omnipotent. Our author’s favourite expression for this idea is κύριος (> 1614 1915) δ θεός δ παντοκράτωρ, 48 I117 153 167, 14 19. 15 2122; He is also designated δ δεσπότης, 610; δ κύριος (+ ἡμῶν, I115), I115 141 5154; κύριος δ θεός, 225; δ κύριος καὶ δ θεός ἡμῶν, 411. But though omnipotent, His omnipotence is ethically and not metaphysically conceived. It is not unconditioned force. That He possesses such absolute power is an axiom of the Christian faith, but He will not use it, since such use of it would compel the recognition of His sovereignty, not win it, would enslave man, not make him free. Hence the recognition of this sovereignty advances pari passu with the advance of Christ’s Kingdom on earth, and each fresh advance is followed by thanksgivings in heaven; for the perfect realization of God’s Kingdom in the world is the one divine event to which the whole creation moves, 411 513 712 1115.

(d) He is the Creator, 411 147. Yet see § 2 (c) on the creative activity of Christ.

(e) He is the Judge of all the dead, 2011-15.

§ 2 Jesus Christ.—The teaching of our author on this subject is very comprehensive. Only the main points of it can be dealt with under the following heads, which are not always logically distinct. (a) The Historical Christ. (b) The Exalted Christ. (c) The Unique Son of God. (d) The Great High Priest. (e) The Pre-existent Christ. (f) The Divine Christ.
(a) The Historical Christ.—He is most frequently designated by His personal name “Jesus,” 19 1217 1412 etc., occasionally by the originally official name “Christ,” 1115 1210 204.6, and by the combination of the two, 11.2.5 22.21. He is of Israelitish birth, being the Root of David, the Lion of the tribe of Judah, 5g, and born in the midst of the Jewish theocracy, 121-3.5, i.e. the γνη περιβεβλημενη των ἠλιων. That there is no reference here to the Virgin Birth is clear from the fact that our author is here using a Jewish source, which naturally represented the Messiah as one born naturally in the midst of the community. Besides, “the woman” has other children (1217 των λοιπων του σπερματος αυτης). Thus the faithful are sons of this woman as Jesus is. On the other hand, they become sons of God, 217, which Jesus is originally and uniquely (16 227.35-21 14). He has twelve apostles, 2114; His crucifixion in Jerusalem is referred to, 18; His resurrection, 5-18, and ascension, 321.125.

(b) The Exalted Christ.—Nowhere in the N.T. is the glory of the exalted Christ so emphasized. He is said to be “Like a Son of Man,” 13 1414—an apocalyptic expression first applied to the Messiah in 1 Enoch 46, denoting a supernatural Being in dignity above the angels. He is described as the Faithful Witness, the Sovereign of the dead, the Ruler of the living, 56; as the resurrection and the life, and so the exclusive Mediator of salvation (εχω τως κλεις του θανατου και του θεου, 18). He is the Supreme Head of the Church, the Centre of all its life (ἐν μεσω των λυχνιων, 13 21) and the Master of its destinies (εχων εν τη δεξια χερι αυτου αστερας επτα, 16), chastening its individual members and judging them from love and in love, 319; promising them that conquer in the coming tribulation every blessing of the Kingdom of God, 27.11.17.26-28.35.12.21; embracing them in a perfect fellowship, 320, and glorifying all who depart in this fellowship with the beatitude pronounced by God Himself, 418.

And even over those who are without the borders of the Church, He exercises a silent yet real sway, which more and more will come into manifestation and break in pieces the hostile peoples, 227 125 1915; for He is “King of kings and Lord of lords,” 1714 1916. And to Him is committed the Messianic judgment, 17 14.18-20 1911-21 207-10 2212.

(c) As Unique Son of God, Pre-existent and Divine.—Whereas the faithful become sons of God, 217, He is Son of God essentially, 16 218.27.35-21 14. He is “the Word of God,” 1918, “the Holy, the True,” 36, even as God is, 410; “the First and the Last,” 17 28 2218b; “the Alpha and the Omega, the Beginning and the End,” 2218—titles that are used by God of Himself in 216 as denoting the source and goal of all things. In the light of these words we can rightly interpret 314 η αρχη της κτισεως του θεου. This does
not mean the first κρίσις of God (as in Prov 8:22), but the active principle in creation—the αἰτία or cause. The words, "I am He that liveth and was dead, and behold I am alive for evermore, 17-18, recall to some extent the divine name "which is, and which was, and which is to come," 4:8. He sits with God on His throne, 3:21-7:17 12, "the throne of God and the Lamb, 22:1-5. The divine worship offered to Christ in 5:12 is described in the same terms as that offered to God in 4:10, and the same hymn of praise is sung in honour of both Christ, 5:13, and God, 7:10. And during the Millennial reign the saints minister to Him as to God, 20:6. Many designations which belong alone to God in the O.T. are freely used of Christ. He is described in 14:15 in terms used of the Ancient of Days in Dan 7. He searcheth the heart and the reins, 23 as God in Jer 17:10, Ps 7. His are the seven eyes that are sent out into all the earth, 5:6, as are those of Yahweh, Zech 4:10: as Yahweh's garments in Is 6:1-2, His are sprinkled with blood, 19:13; and as Yahweh in Deut 10:17, He also is Lord of lords, 17:14. Our author thus appears to co-ordinate God and Christ. Yet the relation is one rather of subordination than of equality. He never goes so far as the author of the Fourth Gospel. He does not state that God and Christ are one, nor does he ever call Him God. And yet He is to all intents and purposes God—the eternal Son of God, and the impression conveyed is that in all that He is, and in all that He does, He is one with the Father, and is a true revelation of God in the sphere of human history. Only in three definite respects is He represented as second to the Father. First, absolute existence is not attributed to Him as to the Father—the idea conveyed by the words, δ ὁν καὶ δ ἡ ν καὶ δ ἐρχόμενος, 1:4 4:8 (11:17 16:5). Yet see 11:7 2:8 22:13 above. Next, the final Judgment belongs to the Father alone, 20:11-15. Thirdly, though He is the active principle in creation, 3:14, it is the Father who is the Creator, 4:11 1:4.2

1 Our author is deeply conscious of the impassable gulf that separates the creature and the Creator, and the mediating angel sternly refuses such worship on the ground that it is due to God alone, 22:9.

2 It must not be overlooked that Christ's fitness to undertake the shaping of the world's destinies is attributed to His faithfulness unto death. He had earned it by His self-sacrifice:

"Worthy art thou to take the book
And to open the seals thereof;
For thou wast slain,
And hast redeemed unto God with thy blood
Men of every tribe and tongue and people and nation,
And hast made them unto our God a kingdom and priests,
And they shall reign upon the earth," 5:9-10.

Again in 20:26-28 Christ promises to make those that conquer rulers over the heathen—even as He too had received this power from His Father, and in 3:21
(d) As Great High Priest: Lamb of God.—It is probable that Christ is represented as a priest in where He is “clothed with a garment down to the foot.” But this idea is wholly overshadowed by another, expressed by the designation “the Lamb,” where Christ is not the Priest but the Lamb slain. This designation occurs twenty-eight times in our author in reference to Christ. But in this phrase two ideas quite distinct are combined, the most prominent one—a Christian development—is that of the Lamb as a victim—ἀρνίον... ὃς ἐσφαγμένον, 5^6 12 12^11 13^8 and elsewhere. The second idea—derived from I Enoch and Test. XII Patr.—is that of a lamb who is a leader—either a spiritual leader, as in 7^17 14^1 4, cf. I Enoch 89^45 where Samuel is so symbolized, or a military leader, 5^6, i.e., a lamb “with seven horns and seven eyes,” that is, a Being of transcendent power and knowledge: the Messiah is so symbolized in I Enoch 90^38, Test. Jos 19^6. This conception, which is borrowed in the main from Jewish Apocalyptic, comes to the front in 17^14, where it is foretold that the ten Parthian kings will war with the Lamb and the Lamb will overcome them—τῷ ἀρνίῳ νικήσει αὐτός (cf. Test. Jos. 19^8, in footnote 2 below, for the same words applied to the Jewish Messiah).

But these two ideas are merged together by our author, as we see in 5^6. The Lamb is at once the triumphant Messiah, leading His people to victory, and the suffering Messiah who lays down His life for His people. This latter conception is non-Jewish. But after the death of Christ this fact was soon to make them share in His throne even as His Father had made Him to share in His throne because of His having proved a conqueror.


2 This usage is well attested in I Enoch, where, 89^45 (161 B.C.), Samuel as a leader is called a lamb, and likewise David and Solomon, 89^46, before they were anointed kings. All the faithful in the early Maccabean period are also called lambs, 90^6. But all these are without horns. In 90^8, however, there arise “horned lambs,” and Judas Maccabaeus is such a lamb “with a great horn.” Thus “the horned lamb” is a symbol for the leader of the Jewish Theocracy. But it is also used of the Messiah in 1 Enoch 96^38 and in the Test. Joseph 19^8 (109-107 B.C.), where the words, προφήθην ἄμυς, καὶ... πάντα τὰ θηρία ὄρμων κατ’ αὐτόν καὶ ἐνίκησεν αὐτὰ ὀ ἄμυς, refer to one of the Maccabees, most probably to John Hyrcanus. Now, since the author of the Testaments regarded John Hyrcanus as the Messiah (see my edition of Test. XII Patr. pp. xvii-viii), Reub 6^7-12, Levi 8^18, 18, Jud 2^4-13, Jos 19^6-9), it follows that the term “lamb,” or more particularly “horned lamb,” was in apocalyptic writings a symbol for the Messiah. In our author the former appears in 17^14, the latter in 5^6. In 13^11 the second Beast assimilates itself to the horned lamb, i.e., to the Messiah: see vol. i. 358.

3 See Dalman, Der leidende und der sterbende Messias der Synagoge im ersten nachchristlichen Jahrhundert, 1888.
explained, as already foretold under the influence of such a passage as Is 537 "As the lamb that is led to the slaughter, and as a sheep that before her shearsers is dumb, yea, he openeth not his mouth." In Acts 32-33 this passage is interpreted of Christ.

Under the designation "the Lamb," therefore, there lies the ideas of sacrifice and triumphant might. Out of love to man and with a view to redeem him, Jesus sacrifices Himself (15 τῷ ἀγαπώντι ἡμάς καὶ λύσαντι ἡμᾶς ἐκ τῶν ἀμαρτίων ἡμῶν καὶ ἐποίησεν ἡμᾶς βασιλείαν, i.e. τῷ θεῷ: 59 ἐσφάγης καὶ ἡγόρασας τῷ θεῷ εἰ τῷ αἵματι σου ἐκ πάσης φύλῆς . . . καὶ ἐποίησας αὐτούς τῷ θεῷ ἡμῶν βασιλείαν καὶ i.e. τΟΙ). The conquest of sin is only to be achieved through self-sacrifice. Nothing but the self-sacrifice of holy love can overcome the principle of selfishness and sin that dominates the world. The Lamb who conquers is the Lamb who has given Himself up as a willing sacrifice. But the principle of love going forth in sacrifice is older than the world, 138—the Lamb was slain from its foundation. And he who would follow Christ must conquer in like fashion (321 δ νικῶν δόσω αὐτῷ καθίσαι μετ' ἐμοῦ εἰν τῷ θρόνῳ μου, ὃς κἀγὼ ἐνίκησα καὶ ἐκάθισον μετὰ τοῦ πατρὸς μου εἰν τῷ θρόνῳ αὐτοῦ). The aim of Christ's work is not the cancelling of guilt, but the destruction of sin in the sinner, his spiritual deliverance and redemption. Only by His life and death can He win man from sin: this is the cost incurred. Hence the figure of purchase is used 59 145, but there is no suggestion of a ransom paid to God or a lower being.

Hence, since the Lamb as the Redeemer stands in the midst of the throne of God, 56 717, and the throne of God is His throne, 221-3, everything that is affirmed of the Son is to be affirmed of the Father. The Son is a revelation of the Father on the stage of the world's history. Hence, as the Father is supreme in power, He is supreme in love going forth in sacrifice. Thus the principle of self-sacrificing love belongs to the essence of the Godhead. God's almightiness is not only a moral force, as we have already seen (see § 1 (e) ad fin.), but a redemptive one, which can only realize itself in moral and spiritual victory. Thus divine omnipotence and divine love and self-sacrifice are indissolubly linked together for the world's redemption—from eternity and for evermore.

§ 3. The Spirit.—There is no definitely conceived doctrine of the Spirit in our author. In 14 the editor sought to introduce the doctrine of the Trinity by inserting καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ πνευμάτων τῶν ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου αὐτοῦ: see vol. i. 11-13. But such a grotesque conception has no place in our author. In the words τὸ πνεῦμα λέγει the Spirit of Christ is meant in 27. 11. 17. 29 36. 13. 22; for in all the seven Epistles the Speaker is Christ.
The same is true in ἵκτορ 13 2217. See vol. ii. 179; vol. i. Introd. xi. § 6 (a).

§ 4. Doctrine of Works.—The necessity of works is strongly enforced in our author, since men’s works follow with them, and men are judged according to their works, 2οι 2212, which are recorded in the books, 2οι 1.1 These doctrines imply man’s free will and self-determination. On the other hand, the term “book of life,” Ἰκτορ 178, seems to express divine predestination. But this is not necessarily so. It need express nothing more than God’s omniscience from the beginning of the world. The words κλητοί, ἐκλεκτοί καὶ πιστοί, Ἰκτορ 174, set forth God’s share and man’s share in man’s salvation: the call (κλητός) remains ineffective without faith (πίστις)—a word which in our author means faithfulness or fidelity in Ἰκτορ 1310, and can also be so in Ἰκτορ 1412.

But what does our author mean by “works”? These are not observances of the Mosaic Law, since our author never mentions it and nowhere admits of any obligation arising from it. Nor does it mean isolated fulfilments even of the commandments of God or of Christ. They stand for the moral character as a whole, and are not in their essence outward at all though they lead of necessity to outward acts. But, so far as they issue in outward acts, they are regarded by our author simply as the manifestation of the inner life and character. That this is our author’s teaching will be seen from the two following passages. In Ἰκτορ 2 the “works” of the Church of Ephesus are defined as consisting in “labour and endurance.” The first of these is certainly manifest. In Ἰκτορ 19 we have a very instructive definition, οδικά σου τὰ ἐργα καὶ τὴν ἀγάπην καὶ τὴν πίστιν καὶ τὴν διακονίαν καὶ τὴν ὑπομονήν. The first καὶ is used, of course, ἐπεξεργαστὶ. “Love, faith, service, and endurance” define the ἐργα. See vol. i. 371 sqq. In Ἰκτορ 2 watchfulness is enjoined, and Ἰκτορ 10 faithfulness unto death. The “works of Jesus,” Ἰκτορ 26, are those which originate in faithfulness to Jesus.

The righteous acts of the martyrs not to be identified with their white garments.—The righteous acts of the saints are thus, according to our author, the manifestation of the inner life and character—the character a man takes with him when he leaves this life. From this it follows that the clause τὸ γὰρ βύσσων τὰ δικαίωματα τῶν ἀγίων ἔστιν, Ἰκτορ 18, misrepresents the teaching of our author and is an intrusion. For neither the righteous acts nor the character of the martyrs form the garment of their souls, seeing that the souls of the martyrs in heaven, Ἰκτορ 11, are described as lacking such garments for a time, though they

1 In Ἰκτορ 28 the judgment is not eschatological, but that which takes place in this world.
possess righteous acts and righteous character in a supereminent degree: see Introd. vol. i. 184–188. Hence the garments cannot be identified with the righteousness which they take with them, 1418, but with the spiritual bodies which are assigned by God to them, which in 611 (note) and 38 (note) are described as white garments. Faith has an heroic quality in our author. It leads to endurance, 219, to faithfulness in persecution, 218 1310, even when this ends in death, 210 1418. In 218 1412 πίστις is followed by an objective genitive, in 219 1310 by a subjective. In the latter case it means "fidelity" or "faithfulness." In fact it could be so rendered in all four passages.

§ 5. The first Resurrection, the Millennium, and the second Resurrection.—Since these subjects are so fully dealt with in the Commentary, I shall content myself with summarizing the results arrived at there.

The first Resurrection.—Only the martyrs share in the first resurrection, 2014–6. These reign with Christ for 1000 years in the Jerusalem that, coming down from heaven, 219–222, 14–15, 17, forms the seat of the Millennial Kingdom (see vol. ii. 184). To them is committed the re-evangelization of the world, 2124 2214, 17, which is promised in 1115 146–7 154. Into the Holy City pour the nations of the earth, and are healed of their spiritual diseases, 2124–27. Without this city are sorcerers and fornicators and murderers, 2215. At the close of this kingdom the unrepentant nations rebel afresh and are destroyed, and thereon follows the final judgment. See vol. ii. 182 sqq.

The second Resurrection.—The former heaven and earth vanish before the final judgment. Only the dead arise for judgment by God. These are the righteous who had not suffered martyrdom, and the wicked. The former come forth from the "treasuries" or "chambers," 2018a, the latter from Hades. From our author’s teaching elsewhere we are to infer that the righteous are clothed in spiritual bodies but that the wicked are disembodied, vol. i. 98. Since this body appears to be the main organ by which the soul expresses itself or receives impressions in the world of thought and righteousness, the wicked have thus involuntarily but inevitably ostracized themselves from this world. Selfishness and sin have brought about their natural penalty, the isolation of every sinner, and finally his destruction in the lake of fire. See vol. i. 184–188, ii. 193–198.

Judgment.—The judgment of all the living on the earth is committed to Christ, from the Seven Seals onwards to the destruction of Gog and Magog. The Messianic judgment deals with the living: God's judgment with all the dead, save the martyrs who, having attained to the first resurrection, are not subject to the second death, 206, and such others as during the
Millennial Reign enter the city and eat of the tree of life, 22\textsuperscript{14}. All the remaining righteous coming forth from the "treasuries"\textsuperscript{1} and the wicked from Hades\textsuperscript{2} receive their final award.

XIII.

A Short Grammar of the Apocalypse.

Contents.


i. Greek needs to be translated into Hebrew in order to discover its meaning, p. cxxiv. (a) Resolution of participle into finite verb, p. cxxiv. (b) Resolution of infinitive into finite verb, p. cxxvi. (c) Hebrew constructions impossible and unintelligible in Greek, p. cxxvi. (d. e. f) Further Hebraisms. (g) Secondary meanings of Hebrew words attributed to Greek words where these words agree in their primary meaning, p. cxxvi. (h. i) Other Hebrew idioms literally reproduced, p. cxxviii.

ii. Other commonplace Hebraisms, p. cxxviii. iii. Hebrew constructions with occasional parallels in vernacular Greek, p. cxxix. iv. Certain passages needing to be retranslated in order to discover the corruption or mistranslation in the Hebrew sources used by our author, p. cl.


\textsuperscript{1}See the necessary emendation of the text, vol. i. 194-198.

\textsuperscript{2}Hades means only the abode of unrighteous souls in our author: see vol. i. 32, vol. ii. 197 ad fin. On the "Abyss" see vol. i. 239-242.
§ 1. Noun, Adjective, and Verb forms.

(i.) Nouns.—Words ending in -ρης, ρη, as μαχαίρης, 13, 1 μαχαίρη, 13 (θι). On the various theories as to the origin of this late change, see Thackeray, Gr. 141, where also he states that in the LXX out of 79 examples of μαχαίρα in the gen. and dat. the γ forms are certainly original in only 2. -ρης forms become practically universal under the Early Roman Empire.

(ii.) Adjectives.—χρυσῶν, ΑΝC (for χρυσόγν), 13, is formed on the analogy of ἀργυρᾶς. The contracted form χρυσώψ occurs always (15 times) in our author, elsewhere in the N.T. 3 times. The best uncial is always at most in variety in 21. On the other hand, βαθέα (βάθητη, Ν 025), 22, is original.

(iii.) Verbs.—(a) Irregular or unusual forms.—Present. δύνη, 2 (only once so in LXX) for δύνασαι, presupposes δύομαι (see Thackeray, Gr. 218). It is found in the poets and in prose writers from Polybius onward. ἀφεῖς, 2, 20, and ἀφιέναιων, 11, presuppose ἀφίω (which is found in Eccles 2) and not ἀφίμι. Schmiedel suggests a present ἀφέω (Thackeray, 251). διδό, 3, and ἀποδόςων, 22, presuppose διδόσων, but διδόσαν, 17, διδούμι. In like manner ἀπολλύων, 9 (so also Jer. 23 BA, Sir 20), presupposes ἀπολλύον as δείκνυοντος does δεῖκνυν (cf. Ex 25; Thackeray, 245). All these instances are perhaps the first show the transition from forms in -μ to -ω forms.


(c) Perfects with termination -ες (2nd sing.) for -ας, κεκοπίακες.—(a) 28 (ΑC); πέπτωκες, 25 (Ν: -κας, ΑC 046). It is rare in the LXX (Thackeray, Gr. 215) and in the papyri. See Robertson, Gr. 337. I have generally with Α adopted the -ας form. (β) Perfects ending in -αν τι πέπτωκαν, 18, 18 (ΑC. πεπτώκαν, Ν 046: πέπτωκαν 025: πεπτώκαν, 110, 175). Rd. πεπτίκεν: εἶρηκαν, 19 (ΑΝ 025): γέγοναν 216 ΑΝ: γέγονα, Ν 025. 046. This termination is found in Asia Minor as early as 246 B.C. and in Egypt in 162 B.C. It is found in Cretan inscriptions, and Robertson traces its origin to Crete (Gr. 336).

In 8 we have ἐστίκασιν. But it occurs in an interpolation.

1 It is noteworthy that in Ν 025. 046 twice change μαχαίρη against ΑC, and that 025. 046 make a corresponding change in 13, against ΝΑC.

2 Cf. κατέφυνα Ps. 142 (ΡΤNc. Α). See Thackeray, Gr. 211.
Hence our author did not apparently use the perfect ending in
-ασι.

(d) Various Aorist forms.—ἀνάβα, 41, ἀνάβαςε, 1112: ἐφέθη, 611 94: στήρισον, 32 (AC 025): πείν, 168. According to Thackeray (Gr. 64), πείν (or πιν) occurs 21 times, while πιν occurs 97 times in the LXX (NAB).

(e) Pluperfect form.—711 ἰστήκεσσαν instead of εἰστήκεσσαν. This -σαν is found regularly in the LXX (Thackeray, Gr. 216). As regards the beginning of the word, its usual form in the LXX is ἰστήκειν (Thackeray, Gr. 201).

(f) Augment.—32 ἔμελλον (ANC 025): 104 ἔμελλον (AC 046). Our author uses ἐδύνατο, 79 (ANC 046), 143 (ANC), 158 (AC: ἐδυν. Ν 025, 046). Hence it should be read in 53 with Ν against Α 025, 046. In ἀνοίγνυμι our author augments the preposition in ἑνοίξεν, 68, ἑνοίγη, 1119 155, ἑνοίχθησαν, 2012, and trebly augments the participle in ἐνεψυχησόμενος, which should perhaps be read in 38 with Ν 025 against ἀνεψυχησόμενος (AC 046), seeing that only 046 supports ἀνεψυχησόμενος in 41 102, 8 1911 against the other chief uncials.

§ 2. The Article.

(i.) The article introduces conceptions assumed to be familiar in apocalyptic, though mentioned in the text for the first time: 101 ἡ ἰρις, 109 αἱ ἐπτὰ βρονταί: cf. also 118 1214 1612. With great aptness the art. is used in τὸν πόλεμον, 1614, εἰς τὸν πόλεμον, 208, τὸν πόλεμον, 1919, because the war here is the great Mesianic war at the world’s close. On the other hand, compare the phrase εἰς πόλεμον, 97. 9.

(ii.) The generic art. (Blass, Gr. 147) is regularly found with ἡλίος (except in 72 1612 225), γῆ, θάλασσα, οὐρανός.

(iii.) In the case of ordinal numbers, when the ordinal precedes the noun it is preceded by the art.; when the ordinal follows the noun, the art. is repeated: cf 47 63 1312 206 218.

(iv.) The art. can appear with the predicate when the subject and predicate are convertible or identical.1 Cf. 117. 20 223 317 1718 1823 [198] 216. 8 2218. 16. After οὕτος the pred. has the art. on this principle; cf. 714 114, 10 144 198 205, 114.

(v.) (a) When an adjective or participle follows its noun, the art. is repeated if the noun has the art. When the adjective stands between the art. and the noun, the emphasis lies on the adjective; when it follows with the repeated art., both noun and adjective are emphasized, 209 τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἡγαπημένην, 212, 10 τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἀγίαν—the City par excellence and the Holy City in contrast to the earthly Jerusalem spiritually called Sodom and

1 In 120 the second ἐπτά is an interpolation and the αἱ ἐπτὰ belongs to the predicate. See vol. ii. 389, footnote.
Egypt, 118: cf. 86 oì... ἀγγελοὶ οἱ ἔχοντες, 1718 ἢ πόλις ἢ μεγάλη.

(d) The same rule holds good in the case of prepositional phrases coming after an articular noun: 1 14 ταῖς ἐπὶ ἑκκλησίαις ταῖς ἐν τῇ Ἀδα: 224: 56 ὁ λέων ὁ ἐκ τ. φυλῆς: 1116 1119 1417 168. 12 1914. 21 208. 18. Hence in the titles of the Letters to the Churches we should always read τῷ ἀγγελῷ τῷ ἐν... ἑκκλησίαις and not τῷ ἀγγελῷ τῆς ἐν... ἑκκλησίαις. A is right here three times and C once. See also Order of Words, p. clvi sq.

Again in 156 the text ὁ ναὸς τ. σκηνῆς τ. μαρτυρίου ἐν τῷ ὀφρανῷ, which is impossible in other respects, wrongly omits the art. before ἐν τῷ ὀφρανῷ. It rightly appears in 1119 ὁ ναὸς τ. θεοῦ ὁ ἐν τῷ ὀφρανῷ. In our author prepositional phrases and genitivies never intervene between the art. and its noun, but follow the noun, the former always preceded by the repeated art. 1

(vi.) Phrases which occur for the first time without the art. have the art. prefixed on their recurrence. 46-8 τέσσερα ζώα... τὰ τέσσερα ζώα: 56-8 ἄρνιον... τοῦ ἄρνιον: 1316. 17 χάραγμα... τὸ χάραγμα: 152ab θάλασσαν ἐλαίνην... τ. θαλ. τ. ἕλα. etc.

(a) Hence in 1116 the art. must with NS C 025. 046 (against NA which om.) be read before εἰκοσι τέσσαρες. Hence, further, it follows that 2217 ὅπωρ ζωῆς δωρεάν must be transposed before 216 τοῦ ὑδατος τῆς ζωῆς δωρεάν. The need for the rearrangement of 204-22 has been shown at length in vol. ii. 144-154.

(b) In 173, however, we find γυναῖκα καθημένην ἐπὶ θηρίον although the θηρίον has been frequently mentioned previously. Similarly in 141 the art. is omitted before ἐκατον τεσσεράκοντα τέσσαρες χιλιάδες although they have already been described in 74-8. This omission is due in the former case to our author's use of a source, and in the latter to his incorporation of an independent vision of his own. If he had had an opportunity of revision, we must assume from his careful use of the art. elsewhere that he would have inserted the art. in both cases.

(vii.) Omission of Article.—(a) The art. is omitted possibly owing to Semitic influences in 12 ἄγγελοι τ. ε. ἑκκλησίων, 29 συναγωγῇ τ. Σατανᾶ, 67, 616 ἀπὸ προσώπου τ. καθημένου, 272. 4 152

1 τῆς βλασφημίαν ἐκ τῶν λεγόντων in 29 is difficult. Ν s1. 2 read τὴν ἐκ, while 025 and several cursives om. ἐκ. Either of these readings removes the difficulty. But ἐκ τ. λεγόντων is here to be taken partitively. Hence: "the blasphemy of certain of those who say," etc. Thus the art. could not be repeated before ἐκ τῶν λεγόντων. This is better than the explanation given in my notes in vol. i. 56. See, however, under § 5. vi. (a) on ἐκ.

2 In 2011 οὗ ἀπὸ προσώπου should, according to our author's usage, be οὗ ἀπὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ or οὗ ἀπὸ προσώπου. This anomaly seems due, like others in 208-22, to the disciple of the Seer who edited these chapters after the Seer's death.
κιθάρας τοῦ θεοῦ, 2112 νίνων Ἰσραήλ, 2114 δώδεκα ὀνόματα τ. δ. ἀποστόλων, 222 εἰς θεραπείαν τ. θηνῶν.

(b) The art. is frequently omitted in prepositional phrases. ἀχρὶ θανάτου, 2110 ἱερ. 1211 138: ἐν θανάτῳ, 223: ἐν πυρὶ καὶ θείῳ, 1410: εἰς φυλακὴν, 210: cf. also 222 1310.

(c) The art. is omitted before proper names. Ἰσσοῦς and Ἰωάννης are always anarthrous. We have ὁ Χριστός when used alone, ἡ Ἰς ἱερ. 1210 204.6, but anarthrous in Ἰσσοῦς Χ., 11.2.5. In τῷ Βαβδάκ, 214, the art. is inserted because the name is indeclinable. In 1612 the art. before ἐνεργήτην may point to the earlier mention of this river in 914. The text in 26.15 presents a difficulty. Νικολαίτων is first with the art. and then without it. The noun in 26 may be treated as a description of a certain class, and then treated as a proper name in 215. In the predicate the art. is found before proper names: cf. 68 [811] 129 1913 202. θεός always has the art. except in 72 and in 217 where it is in the pred. Κύριος, when alone, has the art., cf. 114.8.15, but we find ἐν κυρίῳ, 1413, and κύριος κυρίων, 1714 1916. When combined with other names, ὁ κύριος ὁ θεός, 2112 222 226, ὁ κύριος Ἰσσοῦς, 2221, but also κύριος ὁ θεὸς [18] 48 196 225. In the vocative we find κύριε, 154, κύριε ὁ θεός, 1117 153 167, or the Semit. voc. ὁ κύριος ὁ θεός, 411.

(viii.) The art. with the infinitive occurs only in 127 (τοῦ πολεμήσαι), where, however, the construction is a pure Hebraism and is equivalent to a finite verb in Greek. See vol. i. 322. In J, on the other hand, we have the ordinary Greek construction of πρὸ τοῦ before the infinitive in 148 1519 175, and of δὶ τó before it in 224.

(ix.) When a noun or participle preceded by the article follows a noun (in the gen. dat. or acc.), and should therefore be in the gen. dat. or acc., it may in our author, according to Hebrew usage, stand in the nom.: cf. 15 ἀπὸ Ἰσσοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὁ μάρτυς ὁ πιστός, 220 τῷ γυναῖκα Ἰεζαβελ, ἡ λέγουσα. On this Hebraism see below, p. cxlix sq.

§ 3. Pronouns.

(i.) Possessive.—On vernacular and ordinary possessives see notes on 2219 and footnote in vol. ii. 208, where it is shown that though σου may precede or follow its noun, the genitives of αὐτός can only follow. The genitive is found before its noun in the best authorities (A vg s1 2), in 218 αὐτῶν θεός; but the text is manifestly corrupt, and the wrong order may be due to the editor of 204–22. It is also found in 185, but this is a source. See Abbott, Gr. 414 sqq., 601 sqq. ἐμὸς only once in 2220.1

1 J has it 39 times. In J we find also (ἡμέτερος only in 1 J 18 21) σός, ἡμέτερος, ιδίος (15 times), not one of which occurs in our author. Seeing that
(ii.) Personal.—(a) αὐτός is used as an emphatic personal pronoun,1 cf. 3^{20} 14^{10} 19^{15} (\textit{τίς}) 21^{7}. It is used intensively (= "self") in [14^{17}] 17^{11} (source) 19^{12}. The phrase καὶ αὐτός, "he also," "himself also" (in J 7^{16}), seems not to belong to our author except in the phrase ὁς καὶ αὐτοῖ, 6^{11}, ὁς καὶ αὐτή, 18^{6} (a source): cf. ὃς κἀγὼ, 2^{27} 3^{31}. It occurs, however, in a Greek source, 17^{11}, and in an interpolation, 14^{17}. In 14^{10} the καὶ before αὐτός is a Hebraism and not to be translated. καὶ αὐτός in 3^{20} 19^{15} (\textit{τίς}) 21^{7} = "and he." αὐτός has lost this meaning in modern Greek and becomes a demonstrative.

(β) ἐαυτοῦ is found twice between the art. and its noun in 10^{3} 7. Here the intervening ἐαυτοῦ is very emphatic. See Abbott, \textit{Gr.} 415.

(iii.) Demonstrative.—(a) ὁς occurs seven times and refers to what follows, but not once in J. (β) ὁτοσ refers to what precedes, 7^{14} 11^{4} 6 [14^{4}] etc. But not always in J, 1 J. Cf. J 6^{29} 15^{12} : 1 J 1^{5} 5^{14} where it refers to an explanatory clause introduced by ἐνα, ἐὰν, or ὅτα. (c) ἐκεῖνος is used only as an adjectival pronoun in our author in temporal phrases, 9^{6} 11^{13}, but in J constantly as a substantival pronoun. See Abbott, \textit{Gr.} 283 sqq.

(iv.) Indefinite.—ὁς = "a": cf. 8^{13} ἀνος ἐποπο, 9^{18} φοῦν ἢ μίλεν, 19^{17} ἐν αὐγελον. Not in J. Both authors, however, use ὅς ἐκ; while J uses ὅς τις ἐκ, 11^{49}, once in this sense, or simply τις with a noun, 4^{+6} 5^{5}, or with a proper name, 11^{1} 12^{20}. τις is found only in ἐι τις, ἐὰν τις in our author, save in 7^{1} (?).

(v.) Relative.—(a) ὅτις is mostly used of a class of persons or things, 1^{7} 2^{24} 9^{4} etc.; but it is also used of an individual, 11^{8} 12^{18} 19^{2}: cf. 1^{12}. Similarly in J. I have followed the advice given in Abbott’s Gr. (218, footnote) and rendered ὅτις generally by "that," which "introduces a statement essential to the complete meaning of the antecedent," and ὅς by "who" or "which" —words which carry no such meaning.

(β) This relative is never attracted to the case of its antecedent 2 in our author, though this attraction is frequent in J and in 1 J 3^{24}.

ἐμὸς and kindred possessive adjectives had all but ousted μου in Asia Minor, Moulton (Gr. 40 sq.) infers that our author must have been a recent immigrant there. If this is right, J must have been settled there for some time. The possessive ἐμὸς and ὅς are disappearing in the papyri, and in modern Greek no possessive adjective exists. See Robertson, \textit{Gr.} 684.

1 J also uses αὐτός in this sense, but it is unemphatic. When he wishes to express emphasis he frequently uses ἐκεῖνος, which our author does not use in this sense. He only uses it twice as a demonstrative in two phrases expressing time. See Abbott, \textit{Gr.} 283 sqq. J uses αὐτός together with the personal pronoun or proper name, 2^{24} 3^{28} 4^{2} 4^{4}, but not so our author.

2 It is once found in a source, \textit{i.e.} 18^{6}.
§ 4. The Verb.

(i.) Present and future tenses.—(a) The text wavers frequently between the present and the future. But these changes are not arbitrary.1 The context must be carefully studied in each case. Thus in certain contexts the future is rightly used, since the context is obviously prophetic: cf. 716 sqq. ou πεινάσουσιν ετι ουδε διψήσουσιν ετι, κτλ. These words occur at the close of a vision where all the verbs dealing with the actual vision are rightly given in the present or past. Similarly in 1410 1714 sq. we have pure prophecies. In other cases where we have the pres. instead of the future or the past, this may be due to a Hebraism; for the Hebrew imperfect may, according to the context, be rendered either as a past, present, or future: cf. 98 sqq. 17-20 1311 sqq. The translator is often at fault in the LXX, and a writer whose thoughts naturally shaped themselves in Hebrew could hardly escape rendering the Hebrew imperf. in his thoughts by a Greek present: cf. 510 βασιλεύσων. At times, however, when the present takes the place of the past, the change may have been made deliberately with a view to dramatic vividness.

(b) ἐρῴσθαι does not come under these considerations. The Seer uses the pres. of this verb as a pres. or a future. In fact he never uses the future except in compounds, i.e. 320 εἰσελεύσομαι, 208 ἔξελευσεται. He is, therefore, perfectly acquainted with the form of the future of the simple verb, but he avoids it. J uses it once, 1428, and both the above-mentioned compounds in 10. In 143 he connects it with a future πάλιν ἐρῴσθαι καὶ παραλήψομαι.

(c) Again the future is used alike in dependent and inde-

1 Chap. 11 seems to be very confused. In the introduction to that chapter (vol. i. 269-273) we have seen that it is a source used by our author for a special purpose. No unity of time appears to be observed in it. The rôle of the prophet is sometimes uppermost, sometimes that of the seer. This disorder, which is most probably due to the fact that our author is using traditional materials, will be obvious from the following résumé. In the vision of Jerusalem and the Temple the seer receives a prophecy, 111-3, that Jerusalem shall be trodden under foot (πατρέσουσιν) for 3½ years, and that the two witnesses shall prophesy during this period. The scene then shifts apparently to the actual period of the witnesses, 114-6; but the presents ἐκπορεύεται, κατεσθεῖ, etc., can be taken as futures. In 117-8 the text uses future verbs and foretells the death of the witnesses. In 118-10 it reverts again to the present, describing the events that follow on their death save in πέμψωσιν, 1110 (but the presents here also are practically futures). Finally, in 1111-18 the text changes into the past, and represents the reception of the witnesses into heaven as a past event. But herein the pasts can represent vividly the prophetic future. [See Driver, Tenses, § 14 (γ), 81; Is 91-5.] Hence 113-13 is a prophecy rather than a vision. The past verbs in 208-106 are to be similarly explained. Futures occur before and after them. But in 208-10 it is only the author’s familiarity with Hebraic usage that leads to this usage of the perfect, whereas 111-13 is translated from a source.
pendent clauses where it has a frequentative sense, and is in such case best rendered by the present, as in 4:9-10 ὅταν δισόουσιν ... δόξαν ... πεσούνται. But in this passage the futures on the basis of Hebraic idiom could be rendered by a past, and thus the text would state what the Seer actually saw in this vision and not recount a general practice.

(ii.) Imperfect (Past).—(a) The past imperf. is found only in the case of nine verbs: ἀκολουθεῖν (2 times), διδάσκειν (1), δύνασθαι (4—never in aor.), εἶναι (17), ἔχειν (5—ἐχαν, 98. 9), κλαίειν (1), λαλεῖν (2), λέγειν (1), στήκειν (1 in a source, i.e. 124). It is therefore of infrequent occurrence. But it is used with special force in relative clauses, 1:12 2:14 6:9: also in descriptive sentences, 5:4 καὶ ἐκλαιον, 5:14 [68] 19:14 21:15. In 7:11 ἵστηκεισαν (pluperf.) is used as a past imperf. = "were standing."

(b) But the place of the past imperf. (or historic present) is frequently taken by the (imperfect or perfect) participle: ἐχων (for ἔχειν, or possibly in one or more cases for ἔχει). 1:16 4:7, 8 6:2, 5 10:2 12:2 21:12, 14: ἐκπορευομένη, 1:16: καθήμενος, 4:2: καιομέναι, 45: περιβεβλημένος, 19:18. This use of the participle for a finite verb is frequent in late Hebrew (very frequent in Aramaic, customary in Syriac), and its displacement of the past imperf. in our author is no doubt due largely to Hebraic influences.

(iii.) Past Aorist and Present Perfect.—These at first sight seem to be used in certain instances interchangeably: cf. 5:7 7:14 8:6 19:8 etc. But the following study of these Greek tenses and their English equivalents shows that this is not so.

(iv.) Greek Aorist and its rendering into English.—Since the Greek and English aorists do not altogether correspond, it is of great importance to determine the points wherein they differ. Weymouth (On the Rendering of the Greek aorist and perfect into English, 1890) has gone elaborately into the subject. See also Moulton, Gr. 135 sqq., whose conclusions I have for the most part accepted. On the use of the aor. as a perfect in J, see Abbott, Gr. 323 sqq.

The past aorist in English does not always correspond to the Greek aorist. The Greek aorist has three uses. (a) When this aorist is used as the historical tense in pure narrative, the English past aor. is the right rendering. (b) The Greek aor.
can be timeless or refer to an indefinite time: cf. 2α αφήκας, J I56 ἐβλήθη. Here the Greek must be rendered by the pres. perf. in English; for this perfect, besides connoting the continuance of a completed action—its usual meaning, can refer, outside the pure narrative, to an indefinite past, and be practically timeless. (c) The Greek aor. can refer to an event that has just happened, and must also in this sense be rendered by the English pres. perfect, I19 ἔδεις—“what thou hast seen.”

I will here append a list of the passages where the aor. should be rendered by the English pres. perfect.1 Opinions will, of course, differ as to whether certain aorists come under (b) or (c). The following passages fall naturally under (b), where the aor. is practically timeless. I6 καὶ ἐποίησεν, “and hath made us”: 2α: 224 ἐγνωσαν = “have recognized” = “know”: 3α οὐκ ἔμωλυναν, “have not defiled”: 3β ἐτήρησαν . . . καὶ οὐκ ἤρνησαν, “hast kept . . . and hast not denied”: 310 ἐτήρησαν: 5α, 10 ἤγορασαν . . . ἐποίησαν: 714 ἐπλυναν . . . ἔλευκαναν: II18 ὁρνύσθησαν: I44 ἠγοράσθησαν: I45 I83 ἔπεσεν ἐπεσεν . . . ἐγένετο, “has fallen, has fallen . . . has become.” But these last three words could be explained under (c), though the fact that Rome has become the abode of unclean birds shows that the burning of it is far back in the past. Similarly I72 ἐπύρηνευσαν . . . ἐμεθύσθησαν, I712 οὐπω ἐλαβον, I717 ἔδωκεν: ἐκολλήθησαν and ἐμνημόνευσε in I85, I86 ἀπέδωκεν . . . ἐκήρυσεν, I87 ἐδίδασεν . . . ἐστηρίξασεν, I814 ἀπὸλθεν . . . ἀπὸλεπτο. Under (c) when the aor. refers to events that have just happened and must be rendered by the English pres. perf., come the following passages: I19 ἔδεις, “which thou hast (just) seen”: 221 ἔδωκα . . . καὶ οὐκ ἠθέλησεν2 = “I have given . . . but she has refused”: I112 ἔδοθη: I115.17 ἐγένετο . . . ἐβασίλευσα: I118 ἤθελεν, which recurs in the same sense in I47.15 I810 I91: I220 ἐγένετο . . . ἐβλήθη: I212 κατέβη: [I415 ἔκηράνθη]: I418 ἡκασταν: I165 ἢκρίνασ: I1816.19 μα ὧρα ἤρημωθη: I1820 ἢκρινεν: I192 ἢκρινεν . . . ἢεδικησεν: I197.8 ἠτοίμασεν . . . ἔδοθη: 2216 ἔπεμψα.

(v.) Greek Perfects and their rendering into English.—Blass (Gr. 200) and Moulton (Gr. 143, 145) admit the occurrence of pres. perfects as aorists in our author. There are only two verbs, ἰληφα and ἰρηγα, which are so used. The former appears to be so used in 57 85, though the R.V. takes it as=a present, and Robertson (Gr. 899) defends it in both cases as a “dramatic colloquial historical perfect.” But the context is certainly in

1 The R.V. has freely acknowledged this meaning of the aor. in the N.T. (in Matthew 65 times), but not so frequently in our author as it should be. Nor is it always clear on what principle the Revisers recognize, or refuse to recognize, this use.

2 The failure to recognize this use of the aorist here led to the change of ἠθέλησεν into θέλει.
favour of the aorist sense,¹ and the same perfect (Thackeray, Gr. 24) occurs in this sense in Dan lxx. 4₃₀ᵇ. As regards ἐκηκα in 7¹⁴ 1₀⁸, no doubt as to the aoristic sense can be entertained.

(vi.) Aorists used by our author and his sources.—(a) Of ἤστημι ² our author uses ἐστάθην, 8₈ 1₂¹₈, whereas ἤστην is used in his sources, 1₁¹ 1₈¹₇. (b) Again our author uses ἑθαυμάσθην, 1₃₈ = “I wondered” (as a middle: always passive in o’ except in one doubtful instance—Thackeray, Gr. 2₄₀ n.), whereas ἑθαύμασα is used with the same meaning in source 1₇₆ ₇ as in J and generally in Greek. (c) Our author uses ἕνοιγην in connection with the temple, 1₁₉ 1₅₅, and ἕνοικηθην in connection with the books, 2₀₁² ᵃ ᵇ (as in Dan 7₁₀ o’ ²³). Since Matthew and Luke in Acts use both forms in connection with the same subjects, no safe inference is possible here.

(vii.) Imperative.—The aor. imper. occurs about 4₀ times in our author: the present 2₀ times, nine of these in chaps. ₁–₃. The aor. imper. is sharper and more urgent than the present, and while the latter “is used in general precepts (even to individuals) on conduct and action,” the former is used “in injunctions about action in individual cases” (Blass, Gr. 1₉₄). Hence we may distinguish 3₁¹ κράτει δ ἔχεις and 2₂₅ δ ἔχετε κρατήσατε in connection with their contexts.

With negatives, μὴ with the pres. forbids an action already begun: 1₁₇ ₂₁₀ μὴ φοβοῦ, 5₅ μὴ κλαίε, while μὴ with the aor. subj. or imper. forbids an action not yet begun: ³ ₆₆ τὸν οἶνον μὴ ἄδικήσῃς, ₇₅ μὴ ἀδικήσῃς τὴν γῆν, ₁₀₄ σφράγισον ἀλλ’ μὴ αὐτὰ γράψῃς, 1₁₂ ₂₂₁₀. Thus our author’s usage agrees at once with the classical and later usage (cf. Moulton, Gr. ₁₂₄ sqq.: W. Headlam, Class. Review, xvi. ₂₉₅). But in J this usage is not observed. Thus in ³₇ we find μὴ θαυμάζῃς occurs when we should expect μὴ θαύμαζε, as is clear from ³₅, and in ₁₀₃⁷ he uses μὴ πιστεύετε where the context would lead us to expect μὴ πιστεύσητε. In all other cases μὴ with the imper. is rightly used in J. See Moulton, Gr. ₁₂₅ sq.

(viii.) Infinitive.—(a) Our author generally uses the aor. inf. save in the case of certain verbs. Thus βλέπειν is never found

¹ This use of ἐλαϕά as an aorist is certainly strange, seeing that our author uses ἐλαβον in ₅₈ ₁₀¹ (source) ²₀; aor. subj. ₃₁₁ ₁₈₄ (source); aor. imper. ₁₀₅ ₂₂₁₇; aor. inf. ₄₁₁ ₅₉ ₁₂₆. ² The pres. perf. of this verb, ἐστηκα (‘‘I have taken my stand’’), is used as a pres. imperf. (hence = ‘‘I am standing’’) in ₃₉₀, and in like manner the past perf. ἐστήκες is used by our author as a past imperf. in ₇₁₁; but in ₁₂₄ (a source) we find ἐστήκες from στῆκα in the same sense. Some editors, however, read ἐστήκα here (cf. σύρει in the preceding clause).
² This is the general rule; but it needs qualification: cf. Moulton, ₁₂₅. Some scholars maintain that the above distinction is a growth, which “beginning in classical times was nearly crystallized in N.T. Greek.” Cf. Moulton, ₂₄₇.
in the aor., even in the indicative. In 228 we should read ἐβλεπεν with A. In the rest of the N.T. it occurs once in the aor. imper., Acts 3. στρέφειν occurs in 116 (source). καταβαινειν, 1313. After μέλλειν the pres. follows inf. regularly (10 times) except in 32, 16 124. In J the pres. inf. follows without exception. The usual construction in classical Greek is μέλλειν with the fut. inf.

(b) On the infinitive = a finite verb in a conditional clause and also in the principal sentence, see 1310 n., and below, p. cxlvi.

(c) On the infin. with the art. = a finite verb, see 121 n. and also below, p. cxlvi. These three cases are pure Hebraisms.

(d) The infinitive follows δεκτοις, 52, 4, 9, 12, where J 127 puts ἦν a cum subj.

(ix.) Participle.—To the use of the participle for a finite verb attention has already been drawn: see above, § 4, ii. (b). Present and perfect participles occur frequently, but never the future part. The last is found once in J 664. ό ἐρχόμενοις is, however, practically a future participle. It is remarkable that the genitive absolute is wholly absent from our text, though it is of frequent occurrence in J.

The indeclinable use of λέγων or λέγοντες = ἐν ἑνί as in 41, 511-12 111. 15 146 comes properly under the head of Hebraisms.

(x.) The omission of the copula in principal or relative sentences does not call for consideration here, as it is of constant occurrence throughout the N.T. The omission of the copula after ἵδον (= ἐν ἑνί) is encouraged through Hebrew precedent. Cf. Blass, Gr. 74; Robertson, 395 sq.

§ 5. Prepositions.

Moulton (Gr. 98) gives the statistics for the relative frequency of prepositions in the N.T. For every 100 times that ἐν occurs he finds the relative frequency of the prepositions with which we are here concerned as follows: εἰς, 64; ἐκ, 34; ἐπί 32; πρῶς, 25; διὰ, 24; ἀπό, 24; κατά, 17; μετά, 17; ὑπό, 8. Calculating J in the same way (though the numbers are to be taken as only approximately correct): ἐν, 100; εἰς, 83; ἐκ, 73; πρῶς, 45; διὰ, 26; μετά, 25; ἀπό, 18; ἐπί, 16; κατά, 4. Here we observe that ἐκ is nearly as frequent as εἰς, that ἐπί is half as frequent as it is normally throughout the N.T. In fact the numbers vary in every case. A comparison of the numbers (which are only approximately trustworthy) in our author is instructive: ἐν, 100; ἐπί, 89; ἐκ, 87; εἰς, 49; μετά, 33; ἀπό, 23; διὰ, 11; κατά, 5; πρῶς, 5.1 Here the most notable differences are in the case of ἐπί (J 89 — J 15), διὰ

1 These numbers refer to the entire text, including sources and interpolations.
Robertson, T. Whereas (Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon), according to Helbing (quoted by Moulton, 62 n) eis slightly exceeds ev in frequency, whereas in twelve writers of literary kouvē it occurs nearly twice as often. Here our author diverges from the literary kouvē in using ev more than twice as often as eis, while the kouvē uses eis nearly twice as often as ev. On the other hand, our author approximates closely to the kouvē in his frequent use of eti, and therein diverges strongly from the rest of the N.T. See also Robertson, Gr. 556 sq. But these differences between Jap and J are not half so striking as those that emerge in the individual treatment of the prepositions.

(i.) ánvá = "apiece," in 48 ánvá πτέρνυγας ἡ. Cf. J 26. Found also in Matthew and Luke. The phrase ánvá μέσον, 717, is a compound preposition, but ánvá is an adverb in ánvá eis ἔκαστος in 2121. These latter uses not in J.

(ii.) ἀπό. 36 times. (α) with μακρόθεν, 1810. 15. 17 (source). Not in J.

(β) = "at a distance from," 1420 ἀπὸ σταδίων, cf. J 1118 218. Not elsewhere in N.T. It is not necessary to explain it as a Latinism; cf. Moulton, Gr. 101 sq.; Robertson, Gr. 575; Abbott, Gr. 227. It is found in Strabo, Diodorus, and Plutarch. For an analogous construction with μετά, cf. Test. Reub. 12 μετὰ ἐτη δύο τῆς τελευτῆς: T. Zeb. 11 μετὰ δύο ἐτῆ τοῦ θανάτου—a construction also found in Plutarch. And with πρό, cf. J 121, Amos (ο') 11 47.

(γ) ἀπὸ προσώπου. This phrase occurs three times, 616 1214 2011. In the last instance, however, it has a strange form, ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου, to which we shall return presently. In all three cases the phrase is the equivalent of ἦνν. In 616 2011 it = "from the presence of." It could be taken in this sense also in 1214 if it is connected with πέτηται, but the fact that sixteen words intervene is against this explanation in our author. Hence the phrase, owing to the Hebrew it presupposes = "because of." The woman's stay of three and a half years in the wilderness is "owing to," or "because of the serpent." This is an ordinary meaning of ἦνν in Hebrew. ἀπό alone is used in this sense in Matt 187. In 2011 the art. in ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου is quite exceptional. It appears only a few (three or more) times in the o' so far as I am aware, and in two of these some MSS omit it. In our text also 046 and many cursives omit. But since AN 025. 2040 attest it, it goes back to the archetype as edited by the Seer's disciple. For two other departures from the Seer's usage in 204-11, see vol. ii. 182. This phrase is absent from J.
(a) Abnormal use of ἀπό before ὁ ὸν. This is deliberate on our author's part.

(c) After passive verbs: ἀπεκτάνθησαν, 918; ἦτοιμασµένον, 126. This came to be the rule in later writers.

(f) After ἀπέρχεσθαι and ἀπολλύονται, 1814: ἀφάιρεῖν, 2219: κρύπτειν, 616 (ἀπό προσώπου, where J 1236 has simply ἀπό): φεύγειν, 96 2011 (J 105).

None of the above usages appear in J save (b) and one instance of (f).

(iii.) ἀχρή. 210.26 13211 14229 185 (source).

(iv.) διά. (a) with gen. 11 2124. In J 15 times. (b) With acc. 16 times and 45 in J.

(v.) εἰς. εἰς follows βάλλειν when the noun after εἰς is not a person, cf. 210.22 85 [7.81] 124.9.13 1419 (ὅς) 1821 203.10.14.15, save in 1416 (interpolated) where we have βάλλειν . . . ἐπὶ τ. γῆς. Contrast 1419. But ἐπὶ when the noun is a person, cf. 224 βάλλω ἐφ' ὑμᾶς (cf. 117). Similarly after καταβαίνειν we have εἰς τήν γῆν, 1315, but ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνθρωπος, 1621. Our author uses either εἰς τήν γῆν, 56 613 87 91.3 124.9.13 1419 161.2 etc., even after πίπτειν, 613 91, though this verb in other phrases is followed by ἐπὶ, 616 711 [810] 1116, or ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς (see on ἐπὶ below). εἰς occurs about 78 times.

(vi.) ἐκ. This preposition is of very frequent occurrence—about 135 times.

(a) Partitive Genitive. As subject, 119 βλέποντος εἰκ τῶν λαῶν: cf. J 740 1617. As object, 210 ἐκ ὑμῶν, 39 59 (in 217 we have genitive alone—τοῦ μάνα: cf. 2 J4 ἐκ τῶν τέκνων). ἐκ occurs often after εἰς in a partitive sense: cf. 55 61 718 etc., but in 1711 (source) ἐκ τῶν ἐπτὰ = "one of the seven." For εἰς ἐκ, cf. J 1411 68.70 71 750 etc. This appears to be the best explanation of 29 τήν βλασφήµιαν ἐκ τῶν λεγόντων,1 "the blasphemy of certain people who say"; or the ἐκ may be simply a sign of the genitive. Hence "the blasphemy of," etc.: cf. J 31 ἄνθρωπος ἐκ τ. Φαρίσαων: or better, Aesch. Ευμ. 344, ὗνοι ἔκ Ἐρυννῶν, "hymn of the Erinyes"; Soph. Αντ. 95, ἕς ἔκ ὄρουν Ὑσσάουλα.

(b) ἐκ . . . ἀπό, 312 212.10, where the prepositions may signify respectively heavenly origin and divine mission. But in J 144 741.42 111 (Abbott, Ἐρ. 227 sqq.) these mean respectively "native of" and "resident in."

(c) ἐκ follows a variety of verbs, γεμίζειν, ἐκπορεύεσθαι, ἐκδικεῖν (involving a Hebraism), ἐξαλείφειν, ἐξέρχεσθαι, ἔρχεσθαι, κρύνειν (1820 (a source) involving a Hebraism), λαμβάνειν, λῦειν, μετα-

1 This phrase is explained also as "blasphemy arising from" (cf. J 325); but in our author we should expect in this case βλασφηµίαν τὴν ἐκ. In 64 the ἐκ is rightly omitted by A after τὴν εἰρήνην [ἐκ] τῆς γῆς. If the ἐκ is retained it is to be taken with λαβεῖν, as in 57 1010 184 (source).
The most noteworthy use of ἐν in our author is its instrumental use. Thus it occurs 33 times, whereas it does not occur at all in J (save in a quasi-instrumental sense in the phrase ἐν τούτῳ: see Abbott, Gr. 256), nor yet in the Pauline or Catholic Epp. save once in 2 Pet. It is found 34 times in the Synoptics (according to Moulton and Geden), 3 times in Acts, and 3 in Hebrews. Moulton (Gr., pp. 12, 61, 104) thinks that the publication of the Tebtunis Papyri (1902) has "rescued the instrumental ἐν from the class of Hebraisms" in the case of ἐν μαχαρίᾳ, Lk 22:48, and ἐν δαβίδω, 1 Cor 4:21. To this claim Abbott (Gr. 256 n.) rejoins effectively. But even though the instrumental ἐν does occur in the papyri sporadically (where the influence of Jewish traders may have been at work), this fact cannot account in any case for the preponderating use of ἐν in our author. No adequate explanation can be found save in its origination in a mind steeped in Semitic. Even Moulton (p. 61 n.) concedes that this ἐν "came to be used rather excessively... by men whose mother tongue was Aramaic." But this concession in the case of our author is quite inadequate. ἐν is used instrumentally after ἀγοράζειν, 59: ἀδίκειν, 919: ἀποκτείνειν, 22:6 920 I310 1321: βασανίζειν, 1410: καίειν, 1920: but without ἐν, [88] 218 (due to editor?): κατακαίειν, 1716 188: καυματίζειν, 168: κηρύσσειν, 52: κυθαρίζειν, 142: λευκάιειν, 714: λύειν, 15: μυγνύαν, 87: πατάσσειν, 116 1915: πλανάν, 1920 1823: περιβάλλεσθαι, 35 44 (>ἐν, Ἀ): τομαίειν, 227 125 1916: πολεμεῖν, 216 (1911): χρυσοῦ, 1816. ἐν is used locally after καθίζειν in 321 (but ἐπί c. acc. 204):

Cf. 221 [232] 920, 21 1611. μετανοεῖν ἀπὸ is found in Acts 8:22 and Jer 8: (LXX). But μετανοεῖν ἐκ does not occur in the LXX. It probably represents με in our author's mind.
after κατοικεῖν, ἰ. 1312 (but this is not our author's use. He uses ἐπὶ c. gen.).

(b) ἐν is used temporarily in ἰ. 110 218 96 107 1113 etc.: see temporal phrases without ἐν in ἰ. 1810. 16. 19 μιᾶ ᾧ ὑπα (source).

(c) ἐν is used generally after γράφειν, ἰ. 138 2012. 15 2127 2218. 19 (but ὑπὰ is found in ἰ. 111, and ἐπὶ in ἰ. 178: see under ἐπὶ).

(d) ἐν is found in the phrases ἐν τῇ δεξίᾳ χειρὶ, ἰ. 16: ἐν τῇ δεξίᾳ, 21: ἐν τ. χειρὶ, 65 79 102 etc.; but ἐπὶ τὴν δεξίαν, 51. Also in ἐν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ, after λέγειν, ἰ. 147. 9 (but without ἐν in ἰ. 512 813). ἐν is never used in this phrase after κράζειν, 610 72 103 (see vol. i. 260 ad fin., ii. 22 ad init.) except in passages from another hand or source, ἰ. 1415 ἰ. 182. It is also omitted in this phrase after φωνεῖν, ἰ. 1418. ἐν μέσῳ is always followed by gen. ἰ. 13 21 46 etc.; hence 27 ἐν μέσῳ τῷ παραδείσῳ in ἰ. 300 025 is either a conflation of two texts or a correction of the later.

(ix.) ἐνώπιον. Very frequent: 34 times, but only once in ἰ. i.e. 2080, and twice in ἰ. 3 Ἰ.

The frequent occurrence of this word, which, it is true, is found sporadically in the κοινή (see Moulton, Gr., pp. 99, 246), is best explained as due to Semitic influence.

(x.) ἐξωθεῖν, ἰ. 1420.

(xi.) ἐπάνω. Only twice. Really an adverb but used as a preposition, ἰ. 8 203.

(xii.) ἐπὶ. About ἰ. 43 times 1 in all (74 with acc., 13 with dat., 56 with gen.). This preposition is used very idiomatically by our author, and several of the uses are of his own devising. It is therefore of primary importance to be acquainted with these.

(a) ἐπὶ in various phrases:

(a) ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, 51. 10. 13 71 102. 5. 8 etc.—never ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν (for 1416 is an interpolation). If our author wishes to use γῆν he writes ἐς τὴν γῆν, 56 613 85 91 etc. See vol. i. 191. (β) ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης—so always. 513 * 71 102. 5. 8 except in 152, where the ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν seems due to its being preceded by ἵσταναι, which always in the case of other nouns is followed by ἐπὶ with the acc. See vol. i. 262 ad med., ii. 34 ad init. Our author's use comes out forcibly in 71 ἕνα μῆ πνεῦ ἀνεμος ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς μῆτε ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης μῆτε ἐπὶ πᾶν (ከ. 025: cf. 716 οὐδὲ μῆ ... πᾶν καῦμα: 94 2127) δεύδρον. Observe the ἐπὶ with the acc. at the close. (γ) ἐπὶ τὴν (τὰς) κεφαλῆν (-άς). Only in ἰ. 121 do we find ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς. See vol. i. 300 sq., 303. (δ) ἐπὶ τὸ μέτωπον, or

1 These numbers are only approximately true. Different texts yield different results.

* The context would suggest here the rendering "in the sea." Such was the view of many of the ancients. Thus ὁ reads ἐν τῇ θάλασσῃ, and is supported by Pr gig vg st1. 2 arm bo eth.
if he uses the pl. ἐπὶ τῶν μετώπων. See vol. i. 206 ad med. In 149 we find † ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου †; but this verse is corrupt. See vol. ii. 15 ad fin. (e) The above forms are rigid. But in phrases composed of ἐπὶ and χείρ or ἡ δεξία our author uses the gen. or acc.: cf. ἐπὶ θῆς χειρὸς αὐτῶν θῆς δεξίας 1316, ἐπὶ θῆς δεξίας 120, and ἐπὶ τῆν χειρά, 149 201-4: ἐπὶ τὴν δεξιὰν, 51. See vol. i. 335 ad med.

(b) ἐπὶ with some case of θρόνος (or νεφέλη) determined by the case of the preceding participle καθημένος. This is one of the most remarkable idiosyncrasies of our author. When the part. is in the nom. or acc. it is followed by ἐπὶ τὸν θρόνον: when the part. is in the gen. it is followed by ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου: when in the dat. by ἐπὶ τῷ θρόνῳ.1

(a) ὁ καθημένος
tὸν καθημένον

{ ἐπὶ τὸν θρόνον
   (or ἐπὶ τὴν νεφέλην)
   (or ἐπὶ τὸν ἰππον).

So in 42, 4 62, 5 II16 1414 1911. This usage of our author is generally not observed in the interpolations or edited portions. Thus 917 τ. καθημένους ἐπ’ † αὐτῶν † seems due to a reviser of the preceding words: 1416 ὁ καθημένος ἐπὶ τ. νεφέλης (ἈΝ: τ. νεφέλην, C 025) occurs in the interpolation 1415-17: 2011 τὸν καθημένον ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ (A: ἐπάνω αὐτοῦ, N), and 715 ὁ καθημένος ἐπὶ † τ. θρόνου † (ἈΝ: τῷ θρόνῳ, 025. 046), are due to the editor of 204-22. 218 ὁ καθημένος ἐπὶ τ. θρόνῳ, is a primitive corruption. On 146 see vol. ii. 12.

(β) τῷ καθημένῳ ἐπὶ τῷ θρόνῳ. So 49 513 710 194. In 64 τῷ καθ. ἐπ’ † αὐτῶν † is a primitive corruption, while τῷ καθ. ἐπὶ τ. νεφέλης occurs in the interpolation, 1415-17.

(γ) τοῦ καθημένου ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου. So 410 51, 7 616: cf. 171
(τῆς καθημένης ἐπὶ ὕδατον 1919. 21 (τοῦ καθημένου ἐπὶ τοῦ ἰππον both times). Hence 1918 τῶν καθημένων ἐπ’ † αὐτοῖς † (Α: αὐτοὺς Ν) seems to be a primitive corruption. 025. 046 and cursives read rightly ἐπ’ αὐτῶν. These MSS may have preserved the original reading here, and A may be corrupt.

(c) ἐπὶ is used after certain verbs. (a) βάλλειν ἐπὶ with acc. 224 1819 (source): (β) γράφειν ἐπὶ with acc. 217 312 175. 8 (source) 1916. In 141 the gen. ἐπὶ τῶν μετώπων after γράφειν is due to our author’s predilection for the gen. pl. in this phrase: see under (a) above. (γ) ἐκχέειν ἐπὶ with acc. 168. 10. 12. 17.

1 It is noteworthy that this participle in the nom. and acc. is followed by ἐπὶ with the acc. in five passages of the six where it occurs in the rest of the N.T., Matt 9, Mark 214, Luke 527 2135, J 1215: exception, Acts 8; and that when it is in the gen. it is followed by ἐπὶ with the gen. in Matt 243 2719: exception, Mark 133. But whereas these may be coincidences, in our author the use is a law. In Mark 133 we have καθημένου followed by εἰς, whereas Matt 243 has ἐπὶ τ. θρόνου τ. ἔλαιων.
PREPOSITIONS

cxxxiii

(8) ἱστάναι ἐπὶ with acc. 328 ἔστηκα ἐπὶ τὴν θύραν (contrast J 1816 ἔστηκει πρὸς τὴν θύρα, 71 83 111 1218 141 152. (ε) καθίσειν ἐπὶ with acc. 204. (ξ) κατοικεῖν ἐπὶ with gen. See vol. i. 289, 336, ii. 12 ad fin. This construction is characteristic alike as to meaning and form. Two other constructions are found in 1312 172 where they appear due to sources: (η) κόπτεσθαι ἐπὶ with acc I = “to walk because of” (but in Zech. 1210 (ο'), 2 Sam. 1126 (A) “to walk for”). So far as I am aware this usage is not Greek. ἵνα ἡμι could be rendered “walk over him,” as in Zech. 1210, or “walk because of him,” as the text requires here. Has our author assigned to ἐπὶ a meaning that belongs only to ὑπò? We could also render the Greek “to walk in regard to him.” In 188 this phrase = “to walk over.” (θ) πιπτεῖν ἐπὶ with acc. 616 711. 15 18 111. 16, but with eis τὴν γῆν, 613 91, since our author does not say ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν (see (a) above). (ι) σκηνοῦν ἐπὶ with acc. 715. (κ) τιθέναι ἐπὶ with acc. 117, but in 102 with ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης in conformity with his usage (see (a) above). (λ) μαρτυρεῖν and προφητεύειν are followed by ἐπὶ (= “concerning”) with dat. in 2216 (N 046) 1011. ἐπὶ has this meaning in J 1216 ἐπὶ αὐτῷ γεγραμμένα. But in 2216 A vg bo read ἐν. See ἐπὶ with dat. after δεδεσθαι, 914; ὄργυσθαι, 1217; εὐφραίνεσθαι, 1820.

(δ) After ἐξουσία ἐπὶ there follows sometimes the gen. 2226 116b (source) 1418 206: sometimes the acc. 68 137 169 2214. J has neither of these constructions, but the gen. without ἐπὶ, 172, or the inf. 112 527 1018 (βι) etc. A similar usage occurs in 1718 βασιλείαν ἐπὶ (= “over”) τῶν βασιλεῶν: cf. Rom. 96.


(xiv.) κυκλόθεν as a prep. in 48.4: as an adv. in 48.

(xv.) κύκλω as a prep. 46 511 711.

(xvi.) μετά. 52 times (41 with gen. and I I with acc.). (a) μετά with gen. after ἀκολουθεῖν [68] 1413 (= “to accompany”): ἰδεῖν, 320: ἐφεσθαί (μετά τῶν νεφελῶν), 17: καθίσειν, 321 (βι): λαλέων, 112 108 171 219, 15: μοιχεύειν, 222: [μολύνεσθαι, 144]: ποιήσαι πόλεμον, 171 1217 137 1919: πολέμειν, 216 127 134 1714—a decided Hebraism, only in our author in the N.T. An occasional instance of it has been found in the papyri: πορνεύειν, 172 188.9 (source). This construction is not classical Greek, which requires the acc. So also μοιχεύειν. (β) μετά with acc. is only found in the phrase μετά τάντα, except in 1111 μετά τὰς τρεῖς

1 Perhaps we might trace it to such an expression as that in Is. 231 γράφε σοι ὅτι ἐμοί ἔστα τἀς γυναῖκας.


\( \text{ευξέρας. \ μετὰ ταῦτα \ has \ two \ meanings \ in \ our \ author—its \ ordinary \ one, "after \ these \ things," 119 42 912 203, \ and \ a \ technical \ one, \ which, \ when \ combined \ with \ εἰδὼν, \ always \ introduces \ a \ new \ and \ important \ vision, 41 71.9 155 181 191. \} 

On \ the \ value \ of \ this \ phrase \ as \ a \ canon \ of \ criticism, \ see \ vol. \ I. \ 106, \ footnote. \ This \ usage \ is \ found \ in J: \ (cf. 212 322 443 51 61 71 1938) \ as \ introducing \ a \ new \ section.

(xvii.) \ παρά. \ 3 \ times \ (2 \ with \ gen. \ and \ 1 \ with \ dat.). \ In \ J \ 35 times \ (26 \ with \ gen. \ and \ 9 \ with \ dat.).

(xviii.) \ πρός. \ 8 \ times \ (1 \ with \ dat. \ and \ 7 \ with \ acc.). \ In J, \ on the \ other \ hand, \ πρός \ with \ acc. \ occurs \ about \ 100 \ times, \ and \ with \ the \ dat. \ 4. \ πρός \ c. \ dat. \ is \ found \ in \ our \ author \ only \ once, 118; \ elsewhere \ in \ N.T., \ Mark \ 511, J \ 1816 \ 2011.12 \ (bvw). \ He \ uses \ πρός \ with \ acc. \ after \ verbs \ of \ motion, 320 109 \ etc. \ (6 \ times). \ πρός= \ "against," \ in \ 136 \ τηνοίεν \ τὸ \ στόμα \ αὐτοῦ \ εἰς \ βλάσφημας \ πρός τ. \ θεόν. \ Here \ εἰς \ would \ be \ more \ natural: \ cf. \ Mark \ 329, \ Luke \ 1210, \ Acts \ 611. \ This \ preposition \ is \ much \ more \ varied \ in \ meaning \ in J.

(xix.) \ ὑπό. \ Only \ twice, \ and \ one \ of \ these \ in \ an \ interpolation, \ 69.

(xx.) \ ὑποκάτω. \ 4 \ times. \ Really \ an \ adverb \ but \ used \ as \ a \ preposition.

§ 6. Conjunctions \ and \ other \ Particles.

(i.) \ ἀλλά. \ 13 \ times, \ but \ over \ 100 \ times \ in J \ and \ 20 \ times \ in \ I. \ 2. \ 3 \ J.

(ii.) \ ἀν. \ (a) As \ a \ particle \ in \ a \ relative \ clause \ ἀν \ occurs \ only \ twice, \ in \ 225 ἀχρι \ οὗ \ ἀν \ ἥξεω, \ and \ in \ 144 ἵνα \ ἀν \ ὑπάγει (A: γ N 025. 046). J, \ on \ the \ other \ hand, \ uses \ ἀν \ 5 \ times \ in \ the \ sense \ of \ “if” \ (alone \ in \ the \ N.T.), \ and \ 22 \ times \ as \ a \ mere \ particle \ in \ relative \ or \ conditional \ sentences.

(b) \ But \ our \ author \ uses \ ἐὰν \ also \ as \ a \ mere \ particle \ after \ ὅσοι, \ 319 \ 1315 \ (source). With \ the \ same \ meaning \ it \ recurs \ in 116 ὅσα ἐὰν \ ὑπάγει \ (source), \ but \ as \ a \ conjunction \ followed \ by \ a \ subjunctive \ in \ 320 [2218. \ 19]. \ ἐὰν \ μὴ \ is \ followed \ by \ the \ subj. \ 226 \ 33, \ but \ in \ 222c \ (an \ interpolation) \ by \ the \ indicative.1 \ In J ἐὰν \ is \ once \ used \ as \ a

1 Thus \ ἐὰν \ is \ substituted \ for \ ἃν \ 3 \ times \ (319 \ and \ 116 \ 1315 \ sources) \ out \ of \ 4. \ Moulton \ (Gr. \ 43) \ states \ that \ in \ pre-Christian \ papyri \ the \ proportion \ of ἐὰν \ to \ ἃν \ was \ 13 \ to \ 29, \ but \ in \ the \ 1st \ cent. \ A.D. \ this \ proportion \ was \ 25 \ to \ 7, \ in \ 2nd \ A.D. \ 76 \ to \ 9, \ in \ 3rd \ A.D. \ 9 \ to \ 3, \ in \ 4th \ A.D. \ 4 \ to \ 8. \ ἐὰν \ occurs \ last \ for \ ἃν \ in \ a \ 6th \ cent. \ papyrus. \ It \ will \ be \ seen, \ therefore, \ that \ the \ proportion \ in \ our \ author, \ 3 \ to \ 1, \ agrees \ nearly \ with \ that \ in \ the \ papyri \ of \ the \ 1st \ cent. \ A.D., \ 25 \ to \ 7.

It \ is \ significant \ of \ the \ character \ of \ N \ that \ it \ changes \ ἐὰν \ into \ ἃν \ in \ 319 \ 1315 \ and \ thus \ represents \ our \ author \ as \ using \ ἐὰν \ only \ 1 \ out \ of \ 4 \ times. \ C \ changes \ it \ in \ 116. \ Notwithstanding \ the \ untrustworthy \ character \ of \ 025. \ 046, \ they \ are \ here \ more \ trustworthy \ than \ N \ in \ this \ respect.

But \ Thackeray \ (Gr. \ 67), \ with \ a \ large \ body \ of \ papyri \ at \ his \ disposal, \ gives
mere particle in ἰ5. Otherwise frequently as a conjunction followed by the subjunctive. J uses ἄν 14 times in the apodosis of an impossible supposition, but our author does not use this construction.

(iii.) ἀπρότις, ἰ2, ἰ2, and ἀπρότις, ἰ4. It is hard to decide whether ἀπρότις = "at this moment," as occasionally in J (see Abbott, Gr. 25 sq., 199), or "at this present time," as contrasted with past or future time—a later meaning belonging more properly to ἐν, which J uses very frequently but not our author.

(iv.) ἄξιος. Always followed by subjunctive in our author: 225 (ἀξιοῦ ὃν) 73 ἰ5 20. In ἰ7 we find ἄξιος τελεσθήσονται. But this is a source.

(v.) γάρ. ἐν. 17 times. In J nearly 70.

(vi.) δέ. 6 times. Very frequent in J and with different shades of meaning: see Abbott, Gr. in loc.

(vii.) εἰ. εἰ is found only in combination (勍) with τίς: 1 115a [1 15b] ἰ3, ἰ10 (⎬) ἰ4, ἰ11 20 ἰ5 (يء) τίς ὄντως—a very common combination not once in J: (пле) with μή (= "except "), ἰ7 ἰ4 ἰ3 ἰ4 ἰ9, ἰ2 ἰ27. This use is found in J ἰ, ἰ6, ἰ22 etc.: or with δὲ μή (= "otherwise"), ἰ5 ἰ6: also in ἰ4 ἰ11. But J uses the former combination in other idioms.

(viii.) εὔθείας (as adverb = εὔθεια) 112 5 (some MSS).

(ix.) εἰρήτικον. 18 times, including a restoration of εἰρήτικον for εἰρήτικον in ἰ6. ἰ2 is an interpolation.

(x.) ἕως. With subjunctive (= "till"), 61. In J with ind. ἰ9, ἰ22. In various combinations in J.

(xi.) ἐδώκει. 26 times. In ἰ. J uses ἐδώκει (15), but our author does not.

(xii.) Ἰνα. Final clauses introduced by Ἰνα followed by the subj. 33 times, and by the ind. 13. (The latter is unclassical: Attic uses ἐς ἔτως with ind.) In J Ἰνα is followed by the subj. save thrice out of nearly ἰ40 times. Ἰνα μή is followed by the subj. 9 times and by the ind. 2: in J only by the subj. As our author never uses the past subjunctive (or optative) it is interest-

the statistics as follows. In pre-Christian papyri ὅσον ἔν, ἰδον ἔν, ἰ8: in ἰ/Ἀ. ἰ3 and ἰ5 respectively; in ἰ/Ἀ. ἰ7 and ἰ3; in ἵἄ. ἰ4 and ἰ5; in ἰ/Ἀ. ἰ2 and ἰ7. These amended numbers show more clearly how the scribe of Ἰ introverted later forms into his text.

1 el τίς is only found once in the Johannine writings outside the Apocalypse—2 J ἰ10 el τίς ἐχεῖται. Here the case is put as an actual occurrence, and the coming as a real event. Hence this form does not militate against Johannine authorship.

2 In my commentary I have followed Blass in taking Ἰνα in ἰ4 as almost equal to δὲ "in that." But here also it may express purpose. Thus μακάριοι οἱ νεκροὶ οἱ ἐν Κυρίῳ ἀποθέθηκαντες ... Ἰνα ἰματαιοῦνται="Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord: yea, saith the Spirit, in order to rest," etc. Cf. 22 ἱ4 and J ἰ8 ἰ8 τίς ἐμαρτησέως ... Ἰνα ἐφοβοῦ ἡμερησία; ἰ18, and see Abbott, Gr. ἰ14–128, who insists that Ἰνα expresses purpose in J.
ing to observe the sequence of tenses adopted by him after ἰνα or ἰνα μή.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>Pres. ind. followed by</th>
<th>Past. ind.</th>
<th>Fut. ind.</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pres. subj.</td>
<td>pres. subj.</td>
<td>fut. ind.</td>
<td>(pres. or aor.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>pres. subj.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>aor. subj.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(xiii.) μή. Never with the participle in our author, but 10 times in J and 11 times in 1. 2. 3 J. μή with pres. imperative, 117 (2) etc.; with aor. subj. 67 72 104, the use of these two tenses being carefully distinguished; see above, p. cxxvi. μή ... μήτε ... μήτε, 71.3: also μή ... οὐδέ ... οὐδὲ in 94, but never μή ... μηδέ, as in J (bis) who never uses μήτε; nor μηδέ ... μηδέ. οὐδὲ μή ... οὐδὲ, 716. (xiv.) ὁπισθεν as prep. 110 46, as adv. 51. (xv.) ὁπίσω as prep. 1215 133, and also in 110 (NC) 1010 in NC 025. (xvi.) ὅποις, 218 (bis) 118 20. In the latter two passages there is the combination ὅποις ὃς. In sources used by our author there is a Hebraism in connection with this word: ὅποιον ... ἐκέι, 126, 14: ὅμοιον ... ἐκ αὐτῶν, 179; but this Hebraism never appears to come from his own hand. In 144 we have ὅποις ἃν ὑπάγει (AC: corrected into ὑπάγει in N 025. 046). This use of ἃν here is to be rejected, according to Blass, Gr. 207, 217; Robertson, Gr. 969. See, however, under ὅταν: also Vocabulary of G. T. (Moulton and Milligan) under ἃν. (xvii.) ὅσκις. 116 (source). (xviii.) ὅταν. This particle takes the aor. subj. 95 117 124 1710 207, or the pres. subj. 107 189, or the fut. ind. 49, or even the aor. ind. 81. In the last passage the use of ὅταν in ὅταν ὧνοικίζειν (corrected into ὧτε in N 025) is quite incorrect according to Blass (Gr. 218). Yet it is found in the κοντή: cf. Mark 1119 ὅταν ὡς ἐγένετο ἐξεπορευόμενον ἐξω τ. πόλεως: Ex 168: cf. ὅς ἃν in Gen (Tischendorf's ed.) 2730 ὅς ἃν ἐξελεύθερον Ἰακώβ, of a single definite action in the past. ὅταν, however, with the indic. generally denotes indefinite frequency (an unclassical usage): cf. Mark 311.

1 As Abbott (Gr. 385) points out, ὅταν with the pres. subj. refers to the coincidence of time between the action of the pres. subj. and that of the principal verb.
11²⁵: similarly ὁπον ἄν, Mark 6⁵⁶. On ὁταν with fut. ind. see Robertson, Gr. 972.

(xix.) ὅτε occurs 13 times and always with aor. ind. In J 21 times (4 with fut. ind.).

(xx.) ὅτι. 63 times. (a) Abbott, Gr. 154 sq., points out that the suspensive use of ὅτι “is almost confined to the Johannine writings and the Apocalypse.” Here ὅτι = “because,” and he cites as examples outside these writings Gal 4⁶, 1 Cor 12¹⁵, 16, Rom 9⁷. In J 1⁵⁰ (ὁτι ἐπόν σοι ... πιστεύεις) 1⁴¹⁰ 1⁵¹⁹ 1⁶⁶ 2⁰⁶⁹. In like manner in our author we must render 3¹⁰ “Because (ὅτι) thou hast kept the word of my endurance I also will keep thee,” 3¹⁶, 1⁷ 1³⁷.¹

(b) Besides the suspensive use of ὅτι, where the ὅτι clause precedes, the word most frequently introduces a subsequent clause giving a ground or reason, and so it is to be rendered “because” or “for.” Cf. 3⁴ 4¹¹ 5⁴ ⁹ 6¹⁷ etc. etc.

(c) Next it means “that,” after ἐπόν, ὅδε, γινενόσκω, ἐχω κατά τίνος or ὅμοιος, 2² 4, 2⁰ 2³ 3¹ 8, 9, 1⁵ 1⁰ 6 etc.

(d) Finally, it is used before direct discourse (i.e. ὅτι “recitative”), 3¹⁷ 1⁸⁷.

(xxii.) ὅν = “where” [17¹⁵]. Our author as also J uses ὁπον and not ὅν.

(xxii.) ὅν. We find ὅν ... ὅν ἐκ, 7¹⁶ 9²⁰ 1²⁸ 2⁰ 4 2¹ 2³: ὅν ... ὅτε, 9²¹: ὅν ἐκείνο ... ὅν ἐκ, 5³: ὅν ἐκείνο ... ὅτε, ὅν ἐκ, 5⁴.

(xxiii.) ὅν μή. 15 times. Always followed by subj. in our author except in 1⁸¹⁴ (source), which may be an interpolation in this source, seeing that elsewhere in this source it is followed by the subj. See vol. i. 5⁹ ad med. In J 3 times with ind. out of 1⁷.

(xxiv.) ὅν πά. This interjection is followed by the dat. in our author in 8¹³. In 1²¹² (a source) by the acc. In 1⁸¹⁰, 1⁶, 1⁹ (a source) by the nom. It is a noun in 9¹² (ább) 1¹¹⁴ (ább).

(xxv.) ὅν ἐκτι. 1⁰: in 1³¹¹, 1⁴ with neg. (source). 1² times in J.

(xxvi.) ὅν. (a) Used of logical appeal 6 times, 1¹⁹ 2⁵, 1⁶ etc.

(b) Narrative or continuative ὅν does not occur once, and only a few times in the Synoptic Gospels. In J ὅν occurs nearly 2⁰⁰ times, and the majority of these apparently in a non-illative or purely continuative or narrative sense. Only 8 times does it occur in the words of Jesus: all the rest in the narrative portions. But Abbott (Gr. 4⁷⁰ sqq.) finds difficulties in many of the Johannine uses of ὅν. He pertinently remarks (p. 4⁷⁹, footnote): “the

¹ On the ground of this and a few other similarities of style Abbott (Gr. 1⁵⁵) suggests that “the author of the Gospel may have been a disciple of younger coadjutor of the author of the Apocalypse.”
absence of narrative οὐ in Revelation is important, because ... it is largely made up of narrative, so that we might have expected narrative οὐ in abundance if it had been written by the hand that wrote the Fourth Gospel." The word occurs only once in 1. 2. 3 J.

(xxvii.) οὖτω. 1710. 12 (source). 13 times in J, 1 J once.
(xxviii.) οὐτε. We find οὐτε ... οὐτε, 315. 16 920 214: ὠδεῖς ...

(xxix.) πλῆν = "only," 226: cf. Phil. 316 for this meaning. Blass (Gr. 268) would assign this meaning to πλῆν also in 1 Cor. 1111, Eph 538, Phil 414.

(xxx.) ὧδε = (a) "hither," 41 1112; (b) metaphorically (= "here is need for"), 1310. 18 1412 179.

(xxxi.) ὥσ. (a) On this important particle, see vol. i. 35 sq., where it is shown that it has in our author several uses unknown elsewhere in the N.T. but found in the LXX. One use is there omitted.

(b) In a comparison the same case follows ὥσ as that which precedes it. This, of course, is the usual construction. Cf. 218 τ. ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ ὥσ φλῶγα πυρός, 98. 9 1215 133 1821 212 221. Hence 1618 ἐδον ... πνεύματα τρία ... ὥσ ἄβατραχον is either a slip or due to an interpolator. It is due to the latter, as we see on other grounds.

(c) Observe that our author never uses καθός though it occurs nearly 180 times in the N.T. In J it occurs 31 times and 13 in 1. 2. 3 J. J uses ὥσ in a temporal sense (= "when") about 20 times, but J39, 1. 2. 3 J never. Our author uses ὥσ as a word of comparison about 73 times (only once with a numeral), J 13 times (8 times with a numeral).

(d) In 2212 ὥσ = "according as," followed by substantive verb—a usage not found elsewhere in the Johannine writings.

(xxxii.) ὥσπερ. 108.

§ 7. Case.

(i.) (a) The nominative stands in the case of a proper noun without regard to the construction, in place of the case normally required. 911 ὄνομα ξει Απολλών. This is good Greek (cf. Xenoph. Oecon. vi. 14, τοὺς ξοντας το σεμνον ὄνομα τοῦτο το καλός τε κάγαθός), but it comes from the hand of the editor and not from the author, whose construction will be found in 68.

(b) Nominative pendens. Since in our author this usage is a Hebraism, it is dealt with under that heading.

(ii.) (a) Genitive absolute. This construction does not exist in our author, though it is employed often in J and with more elasticity of meaning than is found in the Synoptists: see
Abbott, Gr. 83 sq. In the Apoc. 17\textsuperscript{8} θαυμασθήσοντα \textit{ei} κατοικούντες ... ὁν ... βλεπόντων is not a gen. abs. But for this intervening \textit{ὁν} the text would have read βλεπόντες or ὅταν βλέπωσιν.

(6) Temporal genitive. This genitive denotes the whole period of time during which something happened: 4\textsuperscript{8} \textit{η} \textit{ἡμέρας} καὶ νυκτός—a phrase that should be restored in 8\textsuperscript{19} 21\textsuperscript{25}.

(iii.) Dative. (a) Instrumental dative. This dative is of infrequent occurrence. It is found in 4\textsuperscript{4} \textit{περιβεβλημένους ἵματιος, 19\textsuperscript{18} βεβαμμένον αἴματι, 18\textsuperscript{21} ὀρμήματι} \textit{βληθήσεται} (source), 22\textsuperscript{14} τοῖς πυλώσιν εἰσέλθουσιν, 21\textsuperscript{18} \textsuperscript{[85]} \textit{καιομένη πυρί}, 15\textsuperscript{2} \textit{μεμιγμένην πυρί}, 5\textsuperscript{1} \textit{κατεσφραγισμένον σφραγίσιν}, 17\textsuperscript{1} 18\textsuperscript{16} κεχρυσωμένην χρυσίῳ. This instrumental dat. is mostly replaced in our author by \textit{ἐν} (see above, p. cxxx, under \textit{ἐν}), or occasionally after passive verbs by \textit{ἐν} or ἀπό.

(6) Dative of time, \textit{μιᾷ ὧρᾳ} in 18\textsuperscript{10}, 16, 19 (source) is difficult. It seems to mean “in the course of an hour.” Hence we should expect \textit{ἐν μιᾷ ὧρᾳ}, just as in 18\textsuperscript{8} we have \textit{ἐν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ} or else \textit{μιᾶς ἡμέρας}, “in the course of one day.” Yet see Blass, Gr. 120.

(c) Hebraic dative. 21\textsuperscript{8} τοῖς \textit{δὲ δειλοῖς ...} τὸ μέρος αὐτῶν. See below, p. cxlvi (a) (δ).

(iv.) Accusative of point of time. 3\textsuperscript{3} \textit{πολὺν ὧραν. Cf. J 4\textsuperscript{52} ὧραν ἐβδομὴν. See Abbott, Gr. 75; Acts 20\textsuperscript{16} τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς πεντηκοστῆς. This usage (Blass, Gr. 94) occurs in connection with ὧρα in Attic Greek and in the papyri. Moulton, Gr. 63.

(v.) Vocative. There are nearly 60 examples of the nominative with the article used as a vocative in the N.T. It has a double origin; for it was well established both in Greek and in Hebrew. In Greek\textsuperscript{1} it carried with it a rough peremptory note, and in the N.T. this note still survives: cf. Mark 9\textsuperscript{25} τὸ ἀλαλον καὶ κωφὸν πνεῦμα: J 19\textsuperscript{8} χαίρε ὁ βασιλεῖς τ. Ιουδαίων. In the latter passage there is a note of derision: βασιλεῖ ὁ. Ιουδαίων\textsuperscript{2} would have concealed the justice of Christ’s claims. In the tender ἀ παῖς ἔγειρε, Luke 8\textsuperscript{54}, Moulton (Gr. 70) finds “a survival of the decisiveness of the older use.”

But the Hebrew vocative with the art. carries with it a different and often a more dignified note. It can be used in the most respectful form of address to kings, or in a minatory sense

\textsuperscript{1} Blass (Gr. 69) quotes Aristophanes, Frogs, 521, ἀ παῖς ἀ κολούθει (= “you there, the lad I mean, follow”).

\textsuperscript{2} Moulton (Gr. 71) observes that Mark’s use of this phrase in 15\textsuperscript{18} “is merely a note of his imperfect sensibility to the more delicate shades of Greek idiom.”
to inferiors: cf. Is 42\textsuperscript{18}, Joel 1\textsuperscript{2, 13}. But it is never used in addressing God in the O.T. (except possibly in Neh 1\textsuperscript{5}, Dan 9\textsuperscript{4}).\textsuperscript{1} Yet since the LXX generally renders έκ and ἄνδρεῖς in the vocative by ὅ θεός, the solemn use of this vocative appears to have originated with the LXX, being a higher development of the usage already found in Hebrew. Our author appears therefore to have been influenced in this direction by the LXX: cf. 4\textsuperscript{11} ὅ κύριος καὶ ὅ θεός ἡμῶν,\textsuperscript{2} 6\textsuperscript{10} ὅ δεσπότης ὅ ἄγιος, 12\textsuperscript{12} 15\textsuperscript{3} 16\textsuperscript{5} 18\textsuperscript{4, 20} 19\textsuperscript{5}. In contrast with this prevailing usage, we find, however, κύριε ὅ θεός, 11\textsuperscript{17} 15\textsuperscript{3} 16\textsuperscript{7}: κύριε, Ἰησοῦ, 22\textsuperscript{20}.\textsuperscript{3}

(vi.) Verbs with different cases or constructions.

(a) ἀκούειν. Our author uses this verb with gen. of person, 6\textsuperscript{1, 3, 5} 8\textsuperscript{13} 16\textsuperscript{5, 7}, and acc. of thing, 1\textsuperscript{3} 7\textsuperscript{2} 9\textsuperscript{16} 22\textsuperscript{8, 3}. But ἀκούειν takes both the gen. and acc. of the thing, as, for instance, with φωνή. Now in J ἀκ. φωνήσεις = to hear so as to obey: cf. 5\textsuperscript{25, 28} 10\textsuperscript{3, 16}, while ἀκ. φωνήν = to hear without further result: cf. 3\textsuperscript{8} 5\textsuperscript{27}, similarly ἀκούειν λόγον and λόγον. See Abbott, Gr. 435 sq., Johannine Voc. 116 (footnotes). This distinction does not exist in our author, save apparently accidentally. Thus in 3\textsuperscript{20} 11\textsuperscript{12} (NC 025 but not A 046) ἀκ. φωνήσεις = “to obey.” In 9\textsuperscript{18} 10\textsuperscript{4, 8} 11\textsuperscript{12} 12\textsuperscript{10} 14\textsuperscript{2} (θε) 18\textsuperscript{4} 19\textsuperscript{1, 6} the phrase ἀκ. φωνήν does not express obedience to, or regard of, the voice, as in J it would connote. Here the phrase means “to hear intelligently,” “to understand.” But ἀκ. φωνήσεις has exactly the same force in 14\textsuperscript{18} 16\textsuperscript{1} 21\textsuperscript{3}. Hence our author does not observe either the usage of J nor the well-known one of Acts 9\textsuperscript{7} where ἀκ. φωνήσεις = “to hear a sound” (without understanding its meaning), and in 9\textsuperscript{14} 26\textsuperscript{14} ἀκ. φωνήν = “to hear intelligently.”\textsuperscript{5}

(b) γράφεσθαι. Always γράφεσθαι ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ in our author: cf. (1\textsuperscript{8}) 20\textsuperscript{12} 21\textsuperscript{27} and especially 13\textsuperscript{8}; but in source, γραφῇ ἐπὶ τῷ βιβλίῳ, 17\textsuperscript{8}. This latter construction is found in quite other phrases: 2\textsuperscript{17} ἐπὶ τ. ψήφων . . . γεγραμμένον, 3\textsuperscript{12} 19\textsuperscript{16}.

(c) διδόναι. This verb is followed by the partitive gen. (τοῦ μανὰ) in 21\textsuperscript{7}; not so elsewhere in N.T.

(d) εὐαγγελίζειν. In 10\textsuperscript{7} c. acc. of person, and in 14\textsuperscript{6} with ἐπὶ c. acc.

The rest of the N.T. uses the middle of this verb and frequently c. acc. of person. It does not occur in J in any

\textsuperscript{1} This usage, however, was well established in Aramaic, which had three different ways of making the noun definite when it was to stand in the vocative. See Kautzsch, Gr. des Biblisch. Aramaischen, p. 148 sq.

\textsuperscript{2} ὅ κύριος as a vocative is not found except in this passage (Abbott).

\textsuperscript{3} In 5\textsuperscript{18} we have πάντα κτίσμα . . . ἡκουσά τι Γενσόνας (al. Γεγόνα), the idea of the thing prevails and not that of the person; hence the acc.

\textsuperscript{4} In classical Greek “to hear a sound.”

\textsuperscript{5} In 1, 2, 3 J ἀκούειν takes a gen. of the person and an acc. of the thing except in 3 J 4 where it is followed by an acc. of the person.
form. In Attic this verb takes acc. of thing and dat. of person.

(c) προσκυνεῖν. The cases with this verb are dealt with in vol. i. 211 sq. Our author clearly uses προσκυνεῖν with dat. only of the worship of God. When the verb takes the acc. it is homage or inferior worship that is designed. Abbott (Voc. 137) shows that "the Synoptists reserve the acc. for the worship due to God or God's Son," in contrast with the use in the LXX or that of our author. Next (138 sqq.) he discovers in the Samaritan Dialogue in J 4 and in the Temptation narratives in the Synoptists "a deliberate differentiation of the two Greek constructions" [προσκυνεῖν, c. acc. (= worship of), and c. dat. (= prostration to)] in which the Evangelists "appear to use προσκυνεῖν with the acc. as meaning such worship as ought to be paid to God alone." Thus though προσκυνεῖν c. dat. occurs in J 4.21, 23a, 9.88, it has not the full meaning of worship which is implied in 4.23b, 24. Hence our author and J again differ here.

(f) περιβάλλωσθαι 11 times c. acc.; once c. ἐν.

(g) φωτίζειν. In 21.23 c. acc.: in 22.5 φ. ἐπ' αὐτούς. Here there appears to be a Hebraism: see p. cxlviii (h) (i).

§ 8. Number.

(i.) When several subjects follow a verb and the first is in the sing., the verb is in the sing.: cf. 8.7 9.17 11.18 12.10 18.20 19.20 20.11; but if they precede, the verb stands in the pl.: cf. 6.14 18.17 20.18 sqq. So also in J: see Abbott, Gr. 307.

(ii.) (a) The neuter plural is generally followed by the pl. verb: cf. 11.9 (ἄ εἰσίν), 3.2.4 (ἄ οἷς ἐμὸλυναν), [4.5] 5.14 (τὰ τέσσερα ξῶα ξέλεγον), 9.20 (ἀ ... διάναται), 11.18 15.4 16.20 (ὁρὴ ... εὐρέθησαν), 20.12 21.4. The pl. verb may precede the neuter pl.: cf. 4.9 (δώσωσθον τὰ ξῶα), 11.13 (ἀπεκτάθησαν ... ὀνόματα) [16.14 (εἰσίν γὰρ πνεῦματα)], 18.25 (ἐπλανήθησαν πάντα τὰ ἑβην), 21.24. This construction can generally be explained κατὰ σύνεσιν, the neuter nouns being conceived of as masculine or feminine.

(b) But the sing. verb occasionally follows the neut. pl.: cf. 11.9 (ἄ μελλει), 2.27 [(ἐδοθῇ) ... συντρίβεται?], 4.8 (τὰ τέσσερα ξῶα ... ἔχον 1), 13.14 (ἄ ἐδόθη), 14.13 (τὰ γὰρ ἑργα ... ἤκολονθεῖ), 18.14 (τὰ λειψάνα ... ἀπόλετο), 19.14 (τὰ στρατεύματα ... ἤκολονθεῖ); less often the sing. verb precedes: cf. 8.3 (ἐδόθη ... θυμιάματα), 20.5. 7.

(iii.) The plural verb follows certain collective nouns in the sing.: ὄχλος πολὺς ... ἑστῶτες, 7: ὄχλον πολλοῦ ... λεγόντων 19.6, but generally in J this noun has the sing. verb except in

1 But it is better to take ἔχων here as influenced by the ἐν καθ' ἐν preceding it.
§ 9. Gender.

(i.) As a rule the concord of gender is observed, but there are many exceptions. The greater number of these can be explained as constructions κατὰ στώσεις. Thus 47 ἥξων ἔχων, 48 τὰ τέσσερα ζῶα . . . λέγοντες, 1314 τὸ θηρίῳ ὅς ἔχει, 1711 θηρίῳ . . . αὐτὸς ὁγδός ἐστιν, 1716 τὰ δέκα κέρατα . . . καὶ τὸ θηρίῳ, οὕτω. In 1512 ἄξιως (Α) τὸ ἄρνιον is to be similarly explained, though in 56 141 ἄρνιον has the part. in the neuter. Similarly 74 χυλίας ἐσφραγισμένοι (cf. also 143), 1914 τὰ στρατεύματα ἐνδεδυμένοι, 65 πενήματα ἅπεσταλμένοι, 513 πᾶν κτίσμα . . . λέγονται (Ν), 56 ἐδόθη αὐτοῖς (i.e. ἀκριδίες). With φωνῇ there are several such wrong concords: 41 ἣ φωνῇ . . . λέγων: cf. also 511.12 913.14 1116. In 125 νίον, ἀρσεν is peculiar.

(ii.) The gender of ἅλοσ 2118 is nearly always fem., but our author in making it masc. has the sanction of Theophrastus.

§ 10. The Hebraic Style of the Apocalypse.

The Hebraic style of the Apocalypse has been acknowledged in a general sense till the present generation, but scholars have hitherto done little to establish the fact by actual and detailed evidence. Now, owing on the one hand to this fact that the Hebraic character of the Apocalypse had not been established by actual proofs, and on the other to the vast mass of fresh knowledge of vernacular Greek brought to light by the researches of Grenfell, Hunt, Thumb, Moulton, Milligan, and others, a new attitude has recently been adopted by certain scholars on this question, and some have gone to the extreme length of denying altogether the presence of Hebraisms in the Apocalypse except in sections that are translated from the Semitic. Thus Professor Moulton (Gr. 8–9) affirms that “even the Greek of the Apocalypse itself does not seem to owe any of its blunders to ‘Hebraism.’ The author’s uncertain use of cases is obvious to the most casual reader . . . We find him perpetually indifferent to concord. But the less educated papyri give us plentiful parallels from a field where Semitism cannot be suspected. . . . Apart from places where he may be definitely translating a Semitic document, there is no reason to believe his grammar would have been materially different had he been a native of Oxyrhynchus, assuming the extent of Greek education to be the same.”
This is not only an extravagant, but, as we shall presently
discover, a wrong statement of the case, and called forth a
rejoinder from Professor Swete (*Apoc.*² p. cxxiv, note), who
wrote: “It is precarious to compare a literary document with
a collection of personal and business letters, accounts, and other
ephemeral writings; slips in word-formation or in syntax, which
are to be expected in the latter, are phenomenal in the former,
and if they find a place there, can only be attributed to lifelong
habits of thought. Moreover, it remains to be considered how
far the quasi-Semitic colloquialisms of the papyri are themselves
due to the influence of the large Greek-speaking Jewish
population of the Delta.” My own studies, which have
extended from the time of Homer down to the Middle Ages,
and have concerned themselves specially with Hellenistic Greek,
so far as this Greek was a vehicle of Hebrew thought, have led
me to a very different conclusion on this question, and this is,
that *the linguistic character of the Apocalypse is absolutely
unique.*¹

Its language differs from that of the LXX and other versions
of the O.T., from the Greek of the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha,
and from that of the papyri. Of course it has points in common
with all these phases of later Greek, but nevertheless it possesses
a very distinct character of its own. No *literary* document of
the Greek world exhibits such a vast multitude of solecisms.
It would almost seem that the author of the Apocalypse
deliberately set at defiance the grammarian and the ordinary
rules of syntax. But such a description would do him the
grossest injustice. He had no such intention. He is full of
his subject, and like the great Hebrew prophets of old is a true
artist. His object is to drive home his message with all the
powers at his command, and this he does in many of the
sublimest passages in all literature. Naturally with such an
object in view he has no thought of consistently breaking any
rule of syntax. How then are we to explain the unbridled
licence of his Greek constructions? The reason clearly is that,
while he writes in Greek, he thinks in Hebrew, and the thought
has naturally affected the vehicle of expression. Moreover, he
has taken over some Greek sources already translated from
the Hebrew and has himself translated and adapted certain Hebrew
sources. Besides he has rendered many Hebrew expressions
literally and not idiomatically—constantly in his own original
work and occasionally in his translations. His translations

¹ In the next edition of Moulton’s *Prolegomena*, the Hebraic style of the
Apocalypse is accepted, as its editor, Mr. Howard, has informed me. Dr.
Moulton changed his mind owing to the evidence I gave on this subject in
my *Studies in the Apocalypse*, pp. 79–102.
in a few cases presuppose corruptions in the Hebrew sources. But this is not all. He never mastered Greek idiomatically—even the Greek of his own period. To him very many of its particles were apparently unknown, and the multitudinous shades of meaning which they expressed in the various combinations into which they entered were never grasped at all, or only in a very inadequate degree. On the other hand, he is more accurate in the use of certain Greek idioms than the Fourth Evangelist. Notwithstanding its many unusual and unheard of expressions, the Book stands in its own literature without a rival, while in the literature of all time it has won for itself a place in the van.

I will now give a list of the chief Hebraisms in the Apocalypse which are sufficient to prove that it is more Hebraic than the LXX itself.

(i.) The Greek text needs at times to be translated into Hebrew in order to discover its meaning and render it correctly in English.

(a) The resolution of the participle in one of the oblique cases (gen. dat. or acc.), or of an infinitive, into a finite verb in the following clause, which finite verb should have been rendered idiomatically in Greek by a participle or by an infinitive respectively. We have here a frequent Hebrew idiom which cannot be explained from vernacular Greek and which, not having been recognized, has led to mistranslations of the text in every version of the Apocalypse down to the present day.¹

¹ This idiom is attested in the N.T. outside the Apocalypse in 2 John ² διὰ τὸν ἀληθείαν τὴν μένουσαν ἐν ἡμῖν καὶ μεθ' ἡμῶν ἦσαν = "for the truth’s sake which abideth in us and shall be with us." So rightly the A.V., but wrongly in the R.V. Col ²το μυστήριον τὸ ἀποκεκρυμένον ἀπὸ τῶν αἰώνων . . . τῶν δὲ ἐφανερώθη, is another example.

Long after I had discovered these Hebraisms and recognized the necessity of translating them idiomatically as such, I found that several of the versions had recovered the right rendering purely from the consciousness of the translators that the Greek text could not be taken literally as it stood.

Two of the Greek uncials, in fact, and very many of the cursives, have actually altered the Greek so that it represents idiomatically the Hebrew idiom. Thus Ν reads, ἐστῶτας . . . ἔχοντας κιθάρας τ. θεοῦ καὶ ἔθνος, in 15-2 and 046 and many cursives read καὶ πουχαὶντι in 1² instead of καὶ ἐποίησεν and ἡ λέγει . . . καὶ διδάσκει for τ. λέγοντα . . . καὶ διδάσκει in 2². These are simply emendations, and they are emendations which represent idiomatically John’s thought in Greek, but do not represent what he wrote. The translators of the versions restored the true sense in several passages by conjecture from a study of their contexts. Thus in 1² Pr fl gig vg (arm?) s² eth render "qui dilexit et fecit" (τῷ ἀγαπῶντι . . . καὶ ἐποίησεν): in 2² and 2⁹ Pr gig vg s² eth render "qui se dicunt . . . et non sunt" (τ. λέγοντας . . . καὶ οὐκ εἰσίν): in 2²⁰ gig s¹-² arm eth = qui dicit . . . et docet (ἡ λέγουσα . . . καὶ διδάσκει), 2⁹ arm ¹.².²s=ego sum qui scuto . . . et do (ἔγω εἰμι ὁ ἐρανωῦ . . . καὶ δῶσω): in 7¹⁴ Pr gig vg s² arm eth = qui venerunt (or veniunt) . . . et laverunt (οἱ ἐρχόμενοι . . . καὶ ἐπιλυναν): in 1²-³ 743. 1075 s² arm bo eth = citharizantes et cantantes
“It is,” writes Driver (Hebrew Tenses, 163), “a common custom with Hebrew writers, after employing a participle or infinitive, to change the construction, and if they wish to subjoin other verbs, which logically should be in the participle or infinitive as well, to pass to the use of the finite verb.” Here we have the explanation of a dozen of passages in our author, which have been generally mistranslated in all the versions. In a few cases they are rightly translated, and then only through deliberate emendation of the text.¹

The idiom of a participle continued by a finite verb is rendered literally into Greek in the LXX in Gen 27:33, Is 14:17, and idiomatically in Is 5:8, 23, Ezek 22:3. But it is rendered literally comparatively seldom in the LXX, whereas in our text it occurs ten times and most probably eleven originally, as we shall see presently. In a few cases the Syriac, Latin, Bohairic, and A.V. are right, but probably unconsciously. This idiom emerges in the first chapter in 5-6 and recurs in 18 22. 9. 20. 23 39 74 142-3 154. (a) In 1-6 we have το άγαπώντει ήμᾶς καὶ λύσαντι ήμᾶς . . . καὶ ἐσοησέν ήμᾶς βασιλείαν, which should therefore be rendered, “Unto Him that loveth us . . . and hath made us,” and not as in R.V. “Unto Him that loveth us . . . and He made us.” (β) The failure to recognize this idiom in 118 has led most scholars to misinterpret the text, and the rest, like Wellhausen and Haussleiter, to excise δ ζων. The translation of δ ζων καὶ ἤγενομην νεκρός should be 117c “Fear not: I am the first and the last, 118 And He that liveth and was dead.” Thus we recover the right sense. (γ) Again we have in 223 ἐγὼ εἰμι δ ἐρανών . . . καὶ δῶσω another example of this idiom—“I am He that trieth . . . and giveth.” Here the Hebrew in our author’s mind would be ירה חיות or even על: cf. Dan 12:12, and see vol. ii. 392 n. For a further treatment of this idiom the reader can consult the note in vol. i. 14 sq. (δ) Next, attention should be drawn to 204, where originally I feel assured there was another instance of this idiom; for the οἴνες in τῶν πεπελεκισμένων . . . καὶ οἴνες οὔ προσεκύνησαν is obviously an insertion made by John’s literary executor, who edited 204-22 after John’s death.

¹ These passages are treated by modern editors as anacoloutha. They are, however, nothing of the kind: they are normal constructions in the grammar of the Apocalypse. Sometimes editors have sought to get over difficulties they fail to understand by mispunctuating the text.
See vol. ii. 182, 183. The insertion of *oicuvet* is against our author's usage. In practically every instance the failure to recognize this idiom has led both to a mistranslation of the text and a misrepresentation of the meaning. Since the various instances of this idiom are dealt with as they arise, alike in the Commentary and Translation, I will bring forward only two more here to show how important it is that it should be accurately rendered. (e) In 14·8 η φωνή ἤν ἥκουσα ὡς κιθαρῳδῶν κιθαρίζοντων ἐν ταῖς κιθάραις αὐτῶν 1 καὶ ἄδονως ὡς φόδην καυτὴν = "The voice which I heard was as the voice of harpers, harping with their harps and singing as it were a new song": (ξ) 220 η λέγουσα ἔαντήν προφητεῖν καὶ διδάσκει = "who calleth herself a prophetess and teacheth" (not "and she teacheth," R.V.).

(b) In 13·15 we have a resolution of the infinitive into a finite verb in the following clause as in Hebrew (see quotation above from Driver’s Hebrew Tenses). Thus καὶ ἔδοθη † αὐτῇ † δοῦναι . . . καὶ ποιήσῃ = ἱστήσεται. And it was given unto him to give . . . and to cause." See vol. ii. 420, footnote.

(c) Just as in (a, b), the constructions under this head are quite impossible and unintelligible as Greek, but are full of meaning as literal reproductions of a Hebrew idiom. (a) The first is 12·7 ὅ Μιχαήλ καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι αὐτοῦ τοῦ (> N 046) πολεμήσωσι. We have here a classical Hebrew idiom: see vol. i. p. 322. The words rightly understood are most vivid: "Michael and his angels had to fight with the dragon." It is remarkable that the MSS allowed this astonishing Greek to survive in any form. (β) The same idiom recurs in 13·10 where only A has preserved it in a slightly corrupt form: εἶ τις . . . ἀποκτανθῆσαι, † αὐτὸν † ἐν μαχαίρῃ ἀποκτανθῆσαι (= λαβὼν . . . 2 ἀρνίον) = "if any man is to be slain with the sword, with the sword must he be slain." In vol. i. 356, I have shown that the Greek translators found great difficulty in rendering this idiom, and resorted to at least half a dozen different ways. The same idiom is to be found in Ethiopic. In καύσων ἔσται (Luke 12·54) the ἔσται is rendered by the Eth. lamedh before the infinitive. Thus our author introduces a new use of the inf. into Greek which none of the grammarians has recognized.

(d) Again an expression may be possible in Greek as regards form but wrong in regard to sense. Thus in 22·22 βάλλω εἰς κλίνῃν as a piece of Greek is meaningless in its context but full of significance if retranslated into Hebrew. See vol. i. 71.

1 Here all modern editors insert a full stop before καὶ ἄδονως. Both the Syriac versions could be rendered καὶ ἄδονως. The Bohairic requires this rendering here. It is true that s1 has an internal corruption = κιθαρῳδῶν κιθαρίζοντα ἐν ταῖς κιθάραις αὐτοῦ 3 καὶ ἄδονως.

2 Cf. Ezek 26·15 for this form of the Niphal infinitive.
The finite verb in Hebrew is translated literally, when idiomatically it should be rendered by a participle. Cf. 16 ἐὰν ὤψις αὐτοῦ ὥς ὁ ἄνωθεν φαίνει (= ἴδιον ἵππον) = "his face was as the sun shining" (not "shineth"). See vol. i. 31.

The Greek phrase κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ requires to be retranslated in order to punctuate and translate it rightly. It should not be punctuated as in WH with a comma after κύριος and another after θεὸς. In fact no commas should intervene at all. The entire phrase is found in 2 Sam 11, 1 Kings 19, 10, 14, Hos 12, 12, 14 etc. (= ἤλθεν ἀνάξιος ἵππος), and often κύριος παντοκράτωρ, Hab 2, 13, Hag 2, 5, Zech 1, 5. Next it is to be observed that ὁ παντοκράτωρ in all these cases is a rendering of Ἰησοῦς (with or without the art.) following the construct case. Hence ὁ παντοκράτωρ is the equivalent of a gen. in Greek dependent on the noun that precedes it. Thus nothing—not even a comma (as in WH) should intervene between ὁ θεὸς and ὁ παντοκράτωρ. They belong inseparably together, and ὁ παντοκράτωρ is never separated in the LXX from the noun of which it is an attribute, nor does our author ever disjoin ὁ θεὸς and ὁ παντοκράτωρ: cf. 48 11, 17, 15, 3, 16, 7, 14, 19, 6, 15, 21, 22, 1. Thus we see that on textual grounds 1 (κύριος ὁ θεὸς, ὁ ὅν καὶ ὁ ἴππος καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος, ὁ παντοκράτωρ) is the interpolation of an ignorant scribe, who was unacquainted with the origin of this divine title. The context also is against it. See vol. ii. 38, n. 4. Furthermore, it follows that it is not to be rendered "the Lord God, the Almighty," as in R.V., but as "the Lord God Almighty."

When Hebrew and Greek words agree as to their primary meanings, the secondary meanings of the Hebrew words are in a few cases assigned to the Greek. Here retranslation is necessary. (α) In 101 we have the extraordinary phrase οἱ πόδες αὐτοῦ ὡς στύλοι πυρός. Here, as I have shown in vol. i. 259 sq., πόδες is to be rendered as "legs." (β) Again ποιμαίνειν is to be rendered as "to break" in 22, 12, 15, 19, 15 for the same reason: see vol. i. 76 sq. (γ) Again in 15 the primary sense of πρωτότοκος, "firstborn," is eclipsed by the secondary denoting "chief" or "sovereign"—which secondary sense it derives originally from

1 Hence it is clear that 0 025. 046 Pr gig vg s wrongly insert ἡμῶν between ὁ θεὸς and ὁ παντοκράτωρ in 19. A s b arm eth Cyp rightly omit. It is noteworthy that in 48 the scribes of some eight cursives and arm 1 substituted σαβαὼθ for ὁ θεὸς under the influence of the LXX of Is 6, and thus arrived at the impossible text σαβαὼθ ὁ παντοκράτωρ. Clearly they did not know that ὁ παντοκράτωρ was a rendering of σαβαὼθ. Possibly this latter word was originally a marginal gloss explaining the origin of ὁ παντοκράτωρ. It is significant of the independence with which our author deals with O.T. phrases that he changes πνεύματα (= κύριος σαβαὼθ, LXX) in Is 6, on which his text is based, into κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ in 48 11, 17, 15, 3, 16, 7, 19, 6, 21, 22, or into ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντόκρατος in 16. 14, 19, 18.
the Hebrew ḫâneb. Cf. Job 18:13 where ḥêt mî ḫâneb = “the most deadly disease,” and Is 14:30 ḫâneb ṿî ḫâneb = “the poorest.” See note on 1:5 in the Commentary. (δ) Possibly in 1:7 ᾲπτετεβαι ἐπὶ we have an instance in which a secondary meaning of ἐπὶ is assigned by our author to ἐπὶ.

(ε) Other Hebrew idioms literally reproduced in the Greek need to be retranslated in order to appreciate their exact meaning. (a) 2:23 δῶσῳ = “to requite,” as ἀν in Jer. 17:10 on which 2:23 is based. (β) 3:9 δείδωκα ἐνώπιον σου θύραν = “I have set,” etc. See vol. i. 41. (γ) 3:9 ἰδοὺ δίδω = “behold I will make”: vol. i. 41. (δ) 5:6 ἐν μέσῳ . . . ἐν μέσῳ = “between . . . and”: see vol. i. 140. (ε) 6:1 λέγωντος ὥς φωνῇ (AC 046 and most curs.) βροντῆς. Here ὥς φωνῇ = ἀφή, which our author may have had in his mind, and which = ὥς φωνῇ or ὥς φωνῇ. By a slip our author wrote the former. The same misrendering is found in Is 5:17 etc.: see vol. i. 161. (ζ) 12:11 ἐνίκησαν διὰ τὸ αἷμα τοῦ ἀρνίου . . . καὶ οὐκ ἤγαγησαν, κτλ., where the καὶ is to be rendered by “seeing,” as vāv in Hebrew. The καὶ (= vāv) introduces a statement of the condition under which the action denoted by ἐνίκησαν took place. See footnote 7, vol. ii. 417. The same Hebraism recurs in 18:3 19:3. (η) 12:14 ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ ὄφεως = ἀπὸ Ἰαχοῦ - “because of the serpent”: see vol. i. 330. (θ) 21:8 τοῖς δὲ δειλοῖς . . . τὸ μέρος αὐτῶν = ἡμῖν . . . ἁλυρίῳ. The dative is to be explained as a reproduction of the Hebrew idiom where δ introduces a new subject: see vol. ii. 216, footnote. (ι) 22:5 ὅ ἄθεος φωτίζει ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς. Our author uses φωτίζειν as a transitive verb in 18:1 21:23, and naturally we expect it to be used as such here. Moreover, the context itself is against using it here intransitively; for “God will shine upon them” is not a likely expression. If, however, we understand “His face” as in the Hebrew, Ps 118:27, we can render φωτίζειν transitively as in 18:1 21:23 and give a most excellent meaning to the passage: “will cause His face to shine upon them”: see vol. ii. 210 sq.

(ii) Other Hebraisms.—(α) 3:20 καὶ introducing the apodosis (cf. 10:7 14:10). (β) 5:7 (cf. 8:3 17:1 21:9) ἐλθεν καὶ ἐλημονέν. (γ) 6:8 καθ’ ἡμένος ἐπάνω αὐτοῦ ὄνομα αὐτῷ ἀνατόμορκα ἔσχατον ὀλίγον ἐλοθρεύεται. Here observe the non-Greek sense assigned to ἀνατόμος: cf. 2:23 18:8. (δ) 6:1 μιᾶν ἐκ = “the first of.” (ε) 8:3 ἡ ἀνάστησις τούτων ἡ ἐκ προσευχῆς = “to offer it upon” ἀπέβαλεν ἐκ τούτων: cf. Num 19:17 or 18:12. (f) 10:8 ὑπάγει λάβει. (g) 12:5 ὥσπερ ὄρατον ὦ ἡμεῖς. (h) 13:8 ὄνομα ὀνόμα οὔ τις ὄνομα ὀνόμα (cf. 17:8).

(ε) The future is to be rendered by the pres. in 4:9-10; for here the future represents the Hebrew imperfect in a frequentative sense. Thus ἔταιν ὁ ἔρως ὄσαιον . . . διδόν . . . πεσοῦνται, “when they give . . . glory . . . they fall down.” This mis-
translation of the Hebrew imperf. is often met with in Greek translations. Its occurrence in our author, who thinks in Hebrew, is therefore very natural. See vol. ii. 399, footnote. The future in $13^8 \pi\rho\sigma\kappa\nu\nu\gamma\sigma\sigma\sigma\sigma\omega\nu\nu\omega$ should be rendered as $\pi\rho\sigma\kappa\epsilon\kappa\nu\nu\omega$ (= Hebrew imperf.).

(k) The present in $9^6$ is to be rendered as a future, where $\phi\epsilon\nu\gamma\epsilon\iota$ represents the Hebrew imperf. in our author's mind: as a past imperf. in $7^1^0 \kappa\rho\alpha\zeta\sigma\sigma\sigma\sigma\sigma\omega\nu$, $12^4 \sigma\nu\rho\iota\epsilon$, $16^2^1$ kata\sigma\varphi\epsilon\nu\gamma\epsilon\iota$.

(iii.) Hebrew constructions are reproduced, parallels to which are found occasionally in vernacular Greek.

(a) Nominativus pendens.—This construction is found in $2^2^6$ $3^1^2^2^1$ $\delta$ $\nu\kappa\omega\nu$ $\delta\sigma\sigma\omega\nu$ $\alpha\tau\omega$, $6^8$ $\delta$ $\kappa\alpha\beta\acute{\imath}\mu\epsilon\nu\sigma\epsilon$ $\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}$ $\nu$ $\alpha\tau\o\tau\o\nu$ $\delta\sigma\sigma\omega\nu$. $\alpha\tau\omega$. $6^4$ $\tau\omega$ $\kappa\alpha\beta\acute{\imath}\mu\epsilon\nu\sigma\epsilon$ $\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}$ $\nu$ $\alpha\tau\o\tau\o\nu$ $\delta\sigma\sigma\omega\nu$ $\alpha\tau\omega$. $1$ In other passages, however, our author has assimilated the construction more to the Greek construction by changing the nom. into the dat., $2^7^7^1^7$ $2^1^6$ $\tau\omega$ $\nu\kappa\omega\nu\tau$ $\delta\sigma\sigma\omega\nu$ $\alpha\tau\omega$, $6^4$ $\tau\omega$ $\kappa\alpha\beta\acute{\imath}\mu\epsilon\nu\sigma\epsilon\varphi$. $\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}$ $\nu$ $\alpha\tau\o\tau\o\nu$ $\delta\sigma\sigma\omega\nu$ $\alpha\tau\omega$. $2$ In our author's mind, Hebrew does not occur in the Greek, but not in the Hebrew, where, since the relative is uninflected, it supplies the inflection needed. This pleonastic use of the pronoun is found also in Mark $1^7$ (= Luke $3^{1^6}$), $7^2^5$ $9^3$ ($\omicron$ $\alpha$ $\ldots$ $\omicron\tau\omega\sigma$), $1^3^9$, $J$ $1^2^7$, Acts $1^5^7$. Examples of this idiom occur exceptionally in the kou\prime$. It is found also in Early English. But in our text its frequency is due to Semitic influences.

(c) (a) A noun or participial phrase, which is dependent on or in apposition to a preceding gen. dat. or acc., may stand in the nom., if it is preceded by the art., though Greek syntax would require it to agree with the oblique case that goes before it. This peculiar idiom is derived from the Hebrew, according to which the noun or phrase which stands in apposition to a noun in an oblique case remains unchanged. Instances of this usage occur in the LXX; but what is a rare phenomenon in the Greek version of the O.T. (cf. Ezek. $2^3^7^1^8$) $2$ is a well-established idiom in the Greek text of the Apocalypse.$3$ Our

$1$ This occurs also elsewhere in the N.T., Matt. $4^1^6$ $12^2^6$, Luke $1^2^0$, Acts $7^4^0$.

$2$ This anomalous construction is concealed by the wrong punctuation in Swete's edition in both passages, and in one of them in Tischendorf's. But the art. does not occur in the Greek, as it was not in the Hebrew.

$3$ This idiom occurs exceptionally in the kou\prime$, and as a blunder in other languages. But it is not a blunder in our author. Moulton's attempts to explain away this Hebrew idiom are just as idle as his attempt to explain ra\omega
author has, in fact, adopted a Hebraism into his Greek, and naturalized it there. Thus it has become a marked characteristic of his style: cf. 15 233.20 1 12 [89] 9 14 14 20. In these passages observe that the nom. is always preceded by the art. 15 ἄντω Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ὁ μάρτυς ὁ πιστός, 22 τὴν γυναῖκα Ἰεζαμελ, ἣ λέγουσα ἐαυτῇν προφήτην, 317 τῆς καινῆς Ἰερουσαλήμ, ἣ κατα-βαίνουσα, [89 τῶν κτισμάτων... τὰ ἔχοντα ψυχᾶς]. How readily a Jew could adopt or fall into such a solecism when using an inflected language, is illustrated by Nestle (Textual Criticism of the Greek Testament, p. 330), who notes the following gem from Salomon Bär in his translation of the Massoretic note at the end of the Books of Samuel (Leipzig, 1892, p. 158), “ad mortem Davidis rex Israelis.” (β) If the art. is omitted, then the word or phrase is put in the same case as the noun that precedes it. Contrast 914 τῷ ἀγγέλῳ, ὁ ἔχων τ. σάλπιγγα, and 72 917 1 32 14 15 1 18 20 1 ἀγγέλου... ἔχοντα τὴν κλέιν. (γ) But this rule does not apply to λέγων. Thus in 14 6 we have εἶδον ἄλλων, ἀγγέλου πετόμενον... ἔχοντα εἰς ἀγγέλιον... λέγων. But λέγων (or λέγοντες) stands by itself: it appears almost indeclinable. This may be due to the fact that it may reproduce ἀνὲν in our author’s mind. Cf. 41 ὁ φωνῇ... λέγων: 511 ὁ ἄριθμος αὐτῶν... λέγοντες, 11 1 εἴδοθε μοι κάλαμος... λέγων, 11 15 φωνᾷ... λέγοντες. This solecism is, of course, found in the LXX: cf. Gen 15 1 22 20 3813 4516 4820 etc. (δ) ἔχων follows an acc. when not preceded by the art. in 56 ἄρινον ἐστηκός... ἔχων, 1414 ὀμοῖον υἱῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἔχων, 173 θηρίον... ἔχων. But in 56 173 it seems corrupt for ἔχων. In 1414 ἔχων is right and καθήμενον ὀμοῖον, which precedes, is a slip for nom. (iv.) (α) There are passages which need to be retranslated in order to discover the corruption or mistranslation in the Hebrew sources used by our author.

We have already seen (see p. lxii sqq.) that our author made use of sources some of which were Greek, though originally written in Hebrew; others which he found in Hebrew and rendered into Greek. As it chances, we are only concerned under the present heading with the Hebrew sources which our author himself translated; for the passages which presuppose mistranslation or a corrupt Hebrew original are 13 3.11 and 15 5.6. (α) As regards 13 3 I have shown in vol. i. 337 that ἐθαυμάσθη... ὄρισιν τοῦ θηρίου is corrupt, and that the corruption did not originate in the Greek but in the Hebrew; for since 13 36.8 and 15 8 are doublets (the latter being an independent rendering of a purer form of the πολεμήσαι in 127. Nearly every one of his references to the Apocalypse needs to be corrected. Robertson (Gr. 414 sq.) is too much influenced by Moulton, and like all other grammarians fails to recognize this Hebraism and most others in the Apocalypse.
HEBRAISMS OF JAP
cli

Hebrew original), we are enabled to discover the origin of the corruption. Thus the clause in 1330 = תומת התיה ... תומת, where the former is corrupt for תומת or rather תומת = βλέπουσα. Thus we have: “the whole earth wondered when it saw the beast,” which brings it into line with 178 “they that dwell on the earth shall wonder . . . when they see the beast.” But the evidence for this restoration cannot be appreciated, unless the reader turns to p. 337 of this vol., where the two passages are placed side by side. (β) In 1311 we have the extraordinary statement that the second Beast had two horns like a lamb and spake like a dragon! The first idea may be suggested by Matt. 715 “Beware of false prophets, which come to you in sheep’s clothing, but inwardly are ravening wolves.” See, however, vol. ii. 451 sq. But what is the explanation of the second idea—“he spake like a dragon”? A dragon does not speak. If the text had read “like the dragon,” it might have recalled the temptation of Eve in Eden. But the lack of the article can be explained by the translator’s reading מנהיגת instead of בּנות; and, since קא"ל הלאל = רזה, the latter is most probably corrupt for ר僅ה, as in 2 Chron. 2210 (cf. 2 Kings 11). Thus 1311e should be read: “but he was a destroyer like the dragon.” This brings our text into line with Matt. 715 (quoted above) and prepares us for the statement in 1315 that this second Beast put all to death that did not worship the first Beast. (γ) Again in 1556 there are two expressions, ἡνοίγη† ὁ ναὸς τῆς σκηνῆς τοῦ μαρτυρίου † ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, and ἐνεδυμένου † λίθου † καθαρὸν λαμπρόν, which are clearly corrupt. Inferior MSS (025. 046) have corrected the second into λιγν. A new vision begins with these verses. It is clear that no Jew writing originally in Greek could have used either of the obelized phrases. But, as I have shown in vol. ii. 37 sq., what is most probably the true text can be discovered by retranslation into Hebrew. In the first passage, 155 ὁ ναὸς τῆς σκηνῆς τοῦ μαρτυρίου ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ = ייחל אל על מעד נשמם, which was corrupt for ייחל אל על נשמם שבחם, a phrase which we find exactly in 1110 accompanied by the same verb ἡνοίγη and the repeated article. In 156 † λίθου † is to be explained by a mistranslation of υψι, which can be rendered either by λίθος, μάρμαρος, or by βύσσων. Here the latter, of course, is the right rendering.

(b) These two passages naturally lead to the inquiry: Did John translate the Hebrew source himself, or did he adopt an independent Greek version of it? The fact that every phrase and construction in 155-8 are distinctly our author’s, furnishes such strong evidence for the former hypothesis that it seems necessary to accept it. If this is right, then we must conclude
that our author inserted here a translation which, while reproducing exactly the corrupt Hebrew before him in 15\(^5\) and a wrong rendering of a Hebrew word in 15\(^6\), would have been corrected later, if he had had the opportunity of revision. Repeatedly we find traces of unfinished work in our author, which a revision would have removed. Thus 12\(^14\)-16 18\(^4\) (see vol. i. 330-332, ii. 96 ad fin.) are meaningless survivals of earlier expectations. Unhappily the work was revised by one of his disciples who was quite unequal to the task, and to whom we owe some of the worst confusions in the Book. See, however, p. lxiv ad fin.

(c) For other passages which need to be retranslated in order to discover their meaning, see 18\(^22\) (μονοτητοΣ αυτής . . . ἡμιμωθη.

§ 11. Unique Expressions in our Author.

(i.) 14 άπο δ ουν. Our author knows perfectly the case that should follow άπο, but he refuses to inflect the divine name. See vol. i. 10.

(ii.) 14 ον καί δ ιτων καί δ έρχόμενος: cf. 11\(^17\) 16\(^5\); see vol. i. 10.

(iii.) 18\(^14\) ομοιον νιων ανθρώπου: see vol. i. 27.

§ 12. Solecisms due to slips on the part of our Author.

We have now dealt with our author’s grammar, first in so far as it is normal or abnormal from the standpoint of the Greek of his own age, and next in so far as its abnormalities are due to Hebraisms.

We have found that these abnormalities are not instances of mere licence nor yet mere blunders, as they have been most wrongly described, but are constructions deliberately chosen by our author. Some of these belong to the vernacular of his own time, some of them do not. Many are obviously to be explained as literal reproductions in Greek of Hebrew idioms, and some as misrenderings of Hebrew words or phrases in the mind of the author or in his Hebrew source, and some half dozen as due to corruptions in the Hebrew documents laid under contribution by our author either directly or through the medium of Greek translations.

Thus from a minute study of the text from this standpoint of grammar I have found it possible to explain—that is, to bring within the province of the normal and intelligible—all but about a score of passages. By our comprehensive study of our author’s grammar we are the better equipped for recognizing the character of the remaining solemnisms that cannot be explained from his own usages or vernacular Greek or the influences of a Semitic back-
ground. The bulk of these solecisms, though not all, are simply slips of our author which a subsequent revision would have removed, if the opportunity for such a revision had offered itself. These are:

(i) $^{10}$ ἥκουσα φωνήν ... ὡς σάλπιγγος † λεγοῦσις † (for λέγουσαν): cf. $^{6}$ Ⅰ$^{4}$ Ⅱ$^{1}$ where the construction is normal.

(ii) $^{15}$ οἱ πόδες αὐτοῦ ὁμοιοι χαλκολβάνῳ ὡς ἐν καμινῷ † πεπυρωμένως † (for πεπυρωμένως, a correction rightly introduced in Κ, some cursive, S$^{1-2}$ etc.).

(iii) $^{20}$ τὸ μυστήριον τῶν ἑπτὰ ἀστέρων ... καὶ † τὰς ἑπτὰ λυχνίας † (for τῶν ἐ. λυχνιῶν).

(iv) $^{27}$ συντρίβεται γιὰ συντρίβησονται οὐ συντρίψει (?).

(v) $^{4}$ καὶ κυκλόθη τοῦ θρόνου † θρόνους ... τέσσαρα ... προεβιβασάν καθήμενος περιβεβλημένους ... στεφάνους χρυσοῦς †. In place of the accusatives, nominatives should be read. I have shown (vol. i. 115) that $^{4}$ was introduced subsequently by our author to prepare the way for $^{4}$ to-$^{11}$. He seemingly inserted it as the object of εἶδον. It is obviously a slip.

(vi) $^{6}$ λέγοντος ὃς † φωνῇ †, where we should have φωνῇ: see § 10. i. (λ). (ε) above, and vol. i. 161.

(vii) $^{6}$ ὃς βιβλίον † ἐλισσόμενον †. This is rightly corrected in Κ and some cursive into ἐλισσόμενος.

(viii) $^{7}$ † περιβεβλημένος † στολάς λευκάς. This is obviously a slip for the nom. In this sentence A Pr vg omitted καὶ ἰδοῦ and changed, with the exception of ἑστώτες, the following nominatives into accusatives.

(ix) $^{10}$ ἦφων ἦν ἥκουσα ... † λαλοῦσαν ... καὶ λέγουσαν † (for λαλοῦσα ... καὶ λέγουσα: see vol. i. 267).

(x) $^{11}$ εἴδοθη μοι κάλαμος ... λέγων (source). This may be only an abnormal construction to which partial parallels are found in the LXX: see vol. i. 274.

(xi) $^{11}$ προφητεύουσιν ... † περιβεβλημένος †.

(xii) $^{14}$ αἱ ἑυώπτον τοῦ κυρίου ... † ἑστώτες †. Since our author’s sense and usage here require the αἱ ἑστώται, the partiple in the masc. and without the art. is a slip.

(xiii) $^{15}$ καὶ μίαν ἥκ τ. κεφαλῶν αὐτοῦ ὡς ἑσφαγμένην. This is a slip exactly like that in $^{4}$ above. It is an addition of our author, and was added seemingly as the object of εἶδον in $^{13}$.

(xiv) $^{14}$ εἶδον ἄλλον ἄγγελον πετόμενον ... ἔχοντα ... † λέγων †. But it is perhaps best to take λέγων as a Hebraism = ἀλοκότι: cf. $^{4}$ to. For analogous cases see p. cl ad med.

(xv) $^{14}$ εἶδον καὶ ἰδοῦ νεφέλη λευκῆ, καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ νεφέλην † καθήμενον ὁμοιον † νυών ἄθρωπον, ἔχων. Cf. $^{4}$ εἶδον καὶ ἰδοῦ θρόνος ... καὶ ἐπὶ τ. θρόνον καθήμενος, $^{11}$ εἶδον ... καὶ ἰδοῦ ἐπτος λευκός, καὶ ὁ καθήμενος ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ, where we have the normal construction.
(xvi.) 1410 τὴν λῃστὴν . . . † τῶν μεγαν †.  
(xvii.) 1630 τὴν λίμαν τοῦ πυρὸς † τῆς καιομένης †. The fact 
that the Hebrew and Aramaic words for “fire” (i.e. וּלד and מָלָא) 
are feminine, may have led to our author’s forgetting himself for 
the moment and writing τῆς καιομένης. In Rom 114 we have τὴ 
Βαάλ instead of τῶ Βαάλ. This is frequently found in the LXX of 
the prophetic books and occasionally of the historical, because it 
goes back in the mind of the translator to η ρο, which mentally 
he substituted for η βαάλ. The influence of the Hebrew is to be 
traced in Mark 1211 (= Matt 2142), where in the quotation from 
the LXX (Ps 11823) the αὐτῆς = ἦν, though we should expect 
τοῦτο. Cf. Gen 3510, 27, 361, Ps 10219, 11950, 56 etc. Possibly in 
1315 of our text the fem. αὐτῆ in εἴδοθη αὐτῇ may be due to η; 
and the fem. art. in η οὐαὶ (1912, 1114) may be explained by the 
gender of η.  
(xviii.) 2119 τῶν ἐχόντων τὰς ἐπτὰ φιάλας † τῶν γεμόντων † τῶν 
ἐπτὰ πληγών. It is hard to explain how such a slip as τῶν γεμόν-
tων (An 025) could have arisen, but if one investigates one’s 
own slips, it is often impossible to account for them. Our 
author would no doubt have corrected this phrase into τὰς γεμ-
ώσας as certain cursives have done, rather than into γεμώσας as 
o46 and many cursives. For the participle is used attributively, 
following τὰς . . . φιάλας. Contrast 157.  
(xix.) 2114 τὸ τείχος τῆς πόλεως † ἔχων †.  
(xx.) 222 ἐκλογαὶ ἐκοῆς † ποιῶν † . . . ἀποδιδοῦν. Here our 
author would no doubt have corrected ποιῶν into ποιοῦν, as is 
done in o46 and most cursives; for he knows the gender of 
ἐκλογαί: cf. 2214, 1812 (bii). If the gender of ἐκ led to his writing 
ποιῶν, he would on revision either have corrected or written 
ἀποδιδοῦν so as to bring it into line with the former participle. 

§ 13. Primitive Corruptions—due either to (a) accidental 
or (b) deliberate changes.  

These are due to an early scribe, or in some cases (715 264, 11, 13 
2125 2212) to the editor.  
(i.) (a) 1130 αἱ λυχνίαι αἱ ἐπτὰ [ἐπτὰ] ἐκκλησίαι εἰς ὑ. This order 
of the numerals (see below, § 15, iv, and vol. i. 224, footnote, vol. ii. 
389, footnote) is in some respects normal in our author; but as 
WH observe, “it is morally impossible that τῶν ἐπτὰ ἐκκλησίαι should be followed by ἐπτὰ ἐκκλησίαι without the article” . . . 
“the second ἐπτὰ . . . must be an erroneous repetition of the 
first, due to the feeling that the number of the lamps was likely to 
be specified as well as of the stars.” Besides, we should expect
the art. before the second ἐπὶ, since the predicate is coextensive with the subject. (See chap. xiii. § 2. iv.)

(ii.) (a) 64 τὸ καθημερέω ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου †.

(iii.) (b) 715 τὸ καθημερέως ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου †.

(iv.) (a) 812 † ἡ ἡμέρα καὶ ἡ νυξ ὁμοίως † for ἡμέρας καὶ ὁμοίως νυκτός (as in Bohairic).

(v.) (b) 917 τοὺς καθημερέους ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτῶν †. Contrast 1919. 21.

(vi.) (a) 149 ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου †.

(vii.) (a) 1918 τὸν καθημερέων ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτῶν † (A).

(viii.) (b) 201 τῶν πεπελεκισμένων ... καὶ [οίτινες] οὐ προσεκύνησαν. A correction by the editor of John’s Greek.

(ix.) (b) 2011 τὸν καθημερέων ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτῶν †. Editor’s correction of John’s Greek as in 715. 917.

(x.) (b) 2013 ἔδωκεν ἡ θάλασσα † τ. νεκροὺς τοὺς ἐν τοῦ αὐτῆ †. This was a deliberate change on dogmatic grounds. See note in loc.

(xi.) (a) 2115 ὁ καθημερέως ἐπὶ τῷ θρόνῳ †.

(xii.) (a) 2119 τῶν γεμώντων † ΑΝ 025 for τᾶς γεμοῦσας.

(xiii.) (a) 2125 οἱ πυλών τῆς αὐτῆς οὐ μὴ κλεισθῶσιν ἡμέρας † νυξ γὰρ οὐκ ἔσται ἐκεῖ †. This change was probably due to the editor. It originated in a misunderstanding of the text. In place of the last five words we should restore καὶ νυκτός. See note in loc.

(xiv.) 2127 † τῶν κοινῶν †. Read τῶν κοινῶν.

(xv.) (b) 2222 ὅσ τὸ ἔργον ἐστὶν αὐτῶν. This order, which is contrary to our author’s own usage, is, like other departures from our author’s usage in 2014–122, to be traced to the editor. See below, § 15, ii. (b).

§ 14. Constructions in the interpolations conflicting with our author’s use.

18 ὁ θεός, ὁ ὄνω ... ὁ παντοκράτωρ. See above, § 10, i. (f).

228 ἐὰν μὴ μετανοήσουσιν. Our author does not use the indicative after ἐὰν μή.

811 καὶ τ. ὀνόμα τ. ἀστέρος λέγεται Ὕπαιθεσ. Our author does not use λέγεων but καλεῖν in this sense: cf. 19 ἦς 118 129 1616. This addition is made in an interpolated section; whether before or after it was interpolated cannot be determined.

917 τ. καθημερέων ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτῶν (—the construction John’s editor prefers, being better Greek: cf. 715 917 2011 in § 13 above, and 1415. 16 in this section).
should expect μετὰ ταύτα εἶδον. Since the latter phrase, which is used to introduce new paragraphs or sections, is found in 15, we see that the subject of the Bowls is there mentioned for the first time.

162οτὸς προσκυνοῦτας τῇ εἰκόνι αὐτοῦ. Our author would use the acc. here: only the dat. in reference to God.

1611 εἰδον . . . πνεύματα τριά . . . ὡς βατράχου. (Ἀκε 046 minp) Here our author would have written βατράχους (so corrected text in Ν* minp). See on ὡς, p. cxxviii.

1619 εἰς τριὰ μέρη. Wrong order. Our author would say μέρη τριὰ.

179 ὁποίος ἡ γυνὴ κάθηται ἐπὶ αὐτῶν. Our author does not use this construction, but ὁποίος alone: cf. 218(bq) 118 2010.

1715 ὁ δὲ τὸ τόρυς κάθηται. Our author uses ὁποίος, not ὁδὲ.

1818 καὶ Ἰππών . . . καὶ σωμάτων. An addition conflicting alike with the syntax and the sense of the context.

1910 προσκυνήσαι αὐτῷ (i.e. an angel). See note on 162ο above.

§ 15. Order of the Words.

The Apocalypse is notable for the clearness, simplicity, and uniformity of its phrasing. When once our author has adopted a certain combination of words he holds fast to it as a general rule. This is an essential characteristic of his style. There is rarely any variation in the words or in their arrangement. How profoundly J differs from our author in this respect the reader will see by consulting Abbott’s Gr. 401–436, where it is proved by hundreds of examples that J shows a subtle discrimination in availing himself of the manifold variations of order which are possible in Greek expressing various subtle shades of meaning. So far as the outward form goes our author’s style is essentially monotonous when compared with that of J. And yet notwithstanding this absolute simplicity and apparent monotony, there is no sublimer work in the whole Bible. J works like a miniature painter, but our author like an impressionist on an heroic scale.

(i) The Article.—(a) A noun in the genitive never stands between the article and its noun, but always follows it. This rule is without exception. In J, on the other hand, we find 1810 τὸν τοῦ ἀρχιερέως δούλον. If, however, the article is omitted in the case of both nouns, then the noun in the genitive case can precede the noun that governs it: cf. 717 ζωῆς πηγᾶς ὕδατων.

(b) Nor can participial or prepositional phrases stand between the art. and its noun.1 If these stand in an attributive relation,

1 It is quite otherwise in J 818 (and 1240) ὁ πέμψας με πατήρ. Contrast 168 τὸν πέμψαντά μη, 831 τοὺς πεπιστευκότας αὐτῷ Ἰουδαίους.
they must follow the noun with the art. repeated: cf. 1119 τοῦ θεοῦ ὑπὲρ τῶν θεῶν. But when the noun is anarthrous, such a prepositional phrase can precede the noun, just as an anarthrous noun can precede the noun that governs it, as in 717. This occurs only in the titles of the letters to the Churches. Thus in 21 we must read with AC Pr τῷ ἀγγέλῳ τῷ ἐν ἑκκλησίας, and similarly throughout the seven letters, although in the case of three all the MSS have been corrected and normalized. Lachmann and WH recognized that this alone was what our author wrote, though neither they nor later editors were aware of the rule universally observed by him throughout Jsp, that a prepositional phrase is never inserted between the article and its noun. Hence the reading adopted by Tischendorf, Alford, Weiss, Von Soden, etc., τῆς ἐν ἑκκλησίας, is without justification. Our author could not write so. Besides, since it is his rule to repeat the art. before a prepositional phrase following an articular noun in an attributive relation, it follows that we should read τῷ ἀγγέλῳ. From the combination of these two usages emerges the strange piece of Greek, yet one that is essentially our author’s—τῷ ἐν ἑκκλησίας.

(c) But though a participial or prepositional phrase may not intervene between the art. and its noun, it is inserted many times between the art. and the participle dependent upon it: 1116 οἱ … πρεσβυτεροὶ οἱ ἐνώπιοι τοῦ θεοῦ καθήμενοι, 1413 1714 199; also 114 1212 136.12 189.17 etc.

(ii.) The Pronoun.—(a) The genitive of the possessive noun does not precede its noun, unless when it is used unemphatically (i.e. vernacularly): see notes in vol. i. 49, 68 sq.; Abbott, Gr. 414–422, 601–607. But in our author αὐτοῦ, αὐτῆς, αὐτῶν are never found in this unemphatic position except in 18 (source), though very frequently in J and a few times in I. 3 J.

(β) Again the genitive of the possessive pronouns (μου, ἡμῶν, σου, ὑμῶν, αὐτοῦ, αὐτῆς, αὐτῶν) is never separated from its noun.2 It occurs roughly over 300 times or more. Hence 128 οὕτω τῶν

1 WH (N.T. in Greek, ii, “Notes on select Readings,” p. 137) point out that inscriptions in Asia Minor connected with temples dedicated to the Emperor always omit the art. before ναοῦ, as in ἅρχησιν τῆς Ἀσιᾶς ναοῦ τοῦ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, Κιλικια, Περγάμω, etc., just as τῆς is omitted before ἐκκλησίας in our text. But independently of this our author’s usage requires the reading which even A has only preserved three times.

In the case of all the seven titles this construction has the support once of a cursive and always of one or more versions. See crit. note on 21 of the Greek text in vol. ii. 244.

2 When a noun is followed by an attributive adjective, the pronominal genitive is generally inserted between them: cf. 24 τῆς ἁγίας σου τῆς πρωτοῦ, 219 312 106.5 1316 1419. The genitive of the noun can be separated by an attributive adjective from the noun it depends on: cf. 1917 τοῦ δειπνοῦν τοῦ μέγα τοῦ θεοῦ: also 617 1614. Here the emphasis is laid on the gen.
THE REVELATION OF ST. JOHN

εὑρέθη αὐτῶν ἐτί is against our author’s style,1 also 1814 σου τῆς ἐπιθυμίας τῆς ψυχῆς (on other grounds we have found that 18 is a source) ; and also 2212 ὥς το ἔργον ἑστιν αὐτοῦ, where the wrong order is probably due to the editor.

This is all the more remarkable seeing that in J the genitive both of the noun and of the possessive pronoun is very frequently separated from the noun that governs it: cf. 149 βασιλεὺς εἰ τοῦ Ἰσραήλ, 215 319 95. 6. 28 (βς) 122. 47 136. 14 1817 1935 2022. See vol. i. 304, footnote.

(c) ὁντος always follows its noun. Not so in J, where it both precedes and follows its noun. The latter is the emphatic position in J: see Abbott, Gr. 409. Often in J the point of a passage depends on ὁντος being pre- or post-positive.

The oblique cases of ὁντος never appear in the position of an attribute any more than the possessive pronouns.2 Hence even in 1816 (source) we have οἱ ἐμποροὶ τοῦτων, though the attributive position would be the more regular: see Blass, Gram. 169.

Contrast J 547 τοῖς ἐκεῖνοι γράμμασιν (classical as regards ἐκεῖνοι and its position).

(d) ἄλλος is always pre-positive, though generally post-positive in the LXX as in Hebrew.

(iii.) The Adjective.—The adjective as a rule follows after the noun it depends on. But there are certain exceptions. In 110 we have ἐν τῇ κυριακῇ ἡμέρᾳ, 38 μικρὸν δύναμιν, 208 μικρὸν χρόνον (yet χρόνον μικρὸν in 611), 138 (source) ὁλὴ, ἡ γῆ (elsewhere always post-positive—310 612 129 1614). μέγας is always post-positive except in 161 μεγάλης φωνῆς (always elsewhere in our author the adj. is post-positive in this phrase—i.e. 18 times), 1821 (source) ἡ μεγάλη πόλις. ἱσχυρὸς is once pre-positive in 182 (source) ἐν ἱσχυρᾷ φωνῇ. Elsewhere post-positive (5 times, including 1810).

Thus, save in four passages of our author (110 38 161 208), the adjective always follows the noun. The other instances (138 182. 21) are in sources.

(iv.) The Numerals.—The usage of our author in regard to

1 When this fact is taken into account together with the five other uses that equally conflict with his style (i.e. 121 ἐτὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς instead of ἐτὶ τ. κεφαλῆς), 126. 14 δόσου . . . ἐκεῖ (instead of δόσου alone), 121 τοῦ before the inf. (whereas inf. is used in the same sense twice without τοῦ in 1310), 1212 οἱ ὀφανεῖ (instead of ὀφανεῖ), οὐαλ τὴν γῆν (instead of οὐαλ τῆς γῆς: cf. 813), the statement in vol. i. 360 sqq. must be withdrawn. Our author therefore did not translate τό himself, but found it already translated into Greek, and then edited it to suit his main purpose: from his hand come δε μέλει ποιμαίνει . . . σωματικῷ in 129: 126 (modelled on 124): ὁ δῆφος ὁ ἀρχαῖος ὁ καλοῦμενος . . . ἑξαδήμηθος, 129: τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν in 1210 1221: διὶ εἰδεν καὶ διὶ . . . εἰς τὴν γῆν in 1213 1217-18. See Commentary in loc.

2 This does not hold of εἰσερχεῖ. In 103, 7 this possessive occurs in the attributive position, which is its normal one. See Blass, Gram. 168 sq.
the order of the numerals and the words they depend on, which is on the whole definite and peculiar to himself, is given in vol. i. 224, and especially in the footnote. In the footnote in l. 15 ab imo, for "exception, xvi. 19," read "the clause καὶ ἐγένετο . . . εἰς τρία μέρη is an interpolation": and for the last five lines read: "In the case of ἐπτά, 179 (in 120 the second ἐπτά is an interpolation; 82b is recast and in part interpolated, and 13b belongs to a source), δέκα, 1712 (in 131 καὶ ἐπὶ τ. κεράτων αὐτον δέκα διάδηματα is interpolated), δώδεκα, 2121, when the subject contains any of these numerals preceded by the article and is followed by a noun and the same numeral in the predicate, the latter numeral without the article precedes the noun, unless the subject and predicate are coextensive."

To the above one point needs to be added. When a numeral is connected with χιλιάδες it always precedes it. Cf. δώδεκα in 74-8 2116 and the compound numbers in 141. 3. Hence 1115 χιλιάδες ἐπτά (source) is against our author's order. The numerals are never separated from the nouns they qualify: hence 1718 μίαν ἔχουσιν γνώμην (046 minm) is a late change.

(v.) The Verb.—(a) The verb generally precedes its subject and almost always its object except in sources such as 11-13 (see vol. i. 272 sq.) and 18. In other sources—translations from Hebrew such as 12, 17—the order is Semitic.

(b) Again the verb and its object are rarely separated by prepositional or other phrases. This holds absolutely in the case of άκονειν φωνήν (φωνής). Hence A, ἦκουσα φωνήν μεγάλην ὀπίσθεν μου, is right in 110, and not ΝC 025, ἦκ. ὀπίσως μον φ. μ.

(c) The insertion of a relative or conditional clause between a conjunction and the verb it introduces is only found in the sources used by our author, 124 ἵνα ὅταν τέκνη τὸ τέκνον αὐτῆς καταφάγγι, 1315 ἵνα ὅσοι . . . προσκυνήσωσιν . . . ἀποκτάνθωσιν.

§ 16. Combinations of Words.

Our author always writes ἀστραπαί καὶ φωναί καὶ βρονταί. Cf. 45 1119 1618. He observed that the ἀστραπαί precede the βρονταί and wrote accordingly. But the editor who interpolated 87-12 and made many changes in the adjoining context to adapt it to his interpolation, was apparently unaware of the order of these natural phenomena or the usage of his author: see 85 βρονταί καὶ φωναί καὶ ἀστραπαί.1

1 This non-Johannine order is not mentioned in the list of grounds for rejecting 87-12 in vol. i. 218-222.
XIV.

ORIGINAL AUTHORITIES FOR THE TEXT—GREEK MSS AND VERSIONS, AND AN ATTEMPT TO ESTIMATE THE RELATIVE VALUES.

A complete study of the critical problems of the text is quite impossible in the space at our disposal. It is possible, however, to arrive at trustworthy results regarding the relative values of the uncial and some of the chief cursive MSS. The question of the versions is a much more difficult one; but even in respect to these, conclusions approximately true can be arrived at.

§ 1. The relative values of ANC 025, 046, 051 according to their respective attestation of certain Greek and Hebraistic constructions in our author, which are in some cases unique in Greek literature and in others rare or comparatively rare save in our author.—

(a) The most notable of these constructions which is practically unique is one which occurs seven times, once in the title of each letter to the Seven Churches. Thus in 21 John unquestionably wrote τῷ ἀγγέλῳ τῷ ἐν Ἑφέσῳ ἐκκλησίας and not τ. ἀγγ. τῆς ἐν Ἑ. ἐκκλησίας, as we find in most texts of JSP. Lachmann in Germany recognized this as the original text, and Hort (and to a minor degree Souter) in England. These scholars were influenced purely by the weighty testimony of A in three of the seven passages, and C in one. In addition to this evidence, Hort invoked that of Primasius (in all seven passages),1 and the Vulgate (in one passage). To these I am able to add the support of two cursives, 2019, 2050, and of four versions, i.e. arm for all seven passages, s1 for four, s2 for two, and gig (21) and sa

1 When I combined the evidence of the MSS and versions for the seven passages in vol. ii. p. 244 (Appar. Crit.), I had either not seen or had forgotten Hort’s note on this question in his Commentary (p. 38 sqq.), where he claims that Primasius supported the true text in all seven passages. In my table I only claim Primasius as attesting the true text in four, where his evidence is incontrovertible. The ground on which Hort claims the support of Pr in 2512 314 is the fact that ecclesiae precedes the name of the Church in the cases of Smyrna, Pergamum, and Laodicea. This order is also found in vg for Sardis (3). Now Hort argues that this “transposition . . . is interpretative of τῷ” (as in Epiph. 455 B, τῷ ἀγγέλῳ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῷ ἐν Ὠωτελεοῦ). Thus, according to Hort, ecclesiae Pergami (Pr) supports the original text, whereas Pergami ecclesiae (vg s2 bo) supports the later corrected text. If this argument is right the evidence for the original text is considerably greater than might otherwise be supposed. s1 supports it in 257 37 14; arm in 212 314, arm8 γ in 218, arm1 in 28, fl in 21. In the readings of s2 I have followed Gwynn; for my three texts of s2 have been normalized and agree in giving the late reading in all seven passages.
each for one. The evidence is given in a collected form in vol. ii. p. 244, save that Pr should perhaps be added, as Hort urges, to the evidence given under 2.12 3\(^1\) and vg under 3\(^1\). I have already remarked that Lachmann on the basis of AC, and Hort on the basis of these reinforced by Pr vg, accepted the above readings on purely documentary authority. This authority, when further reinforced as it is in my Appar. Crit., is quite sufficient to establish the form τω ἀγγέλω τω ἐν... ἐκκλησίας as original in all seven passages.\(^1\) But my study of grammar of J^\(^{ap}\) has thrown further light on the subject, and made it clear that John could not, consistently with his usage throughout the rest of J^\(^{ap}\), have written otherwise. The grounds for this statement are given in my Gram. § 15. (i) (b), vol. i. Introd. p. clvi sq.

In this extraordinary piece of Greek we have a first class means of distinguishing between the trustworthiness of our various authorities. When we apply this test, the result is very significant. Of the uncials, \(\aleph\) 025. 046. 051 have corrected τω ἀγγέλω τω in every passage into the normal construction τω ἀγγέλω της. On the other hand, A has retained the original construction in 2.1.8.18 and C in 21\(^1\) (preserving a hint of it also in 21\(^8\)). Of the 223 cursives, 2050 directly supports it in 2.12, 2019 indirectly in 2\(^1\), and 2040 indirectly in 2\(^8\).

Thus the vast superiority of A (C) to \(\aleph\) 025 is at once obvious. All the MSS have been corrected or normalized to some degree, but this process has been thoroughgoing only in \(\aleph\) 025. 046. 051 and the cursives.

When we apply this test to the versions, Pr (though in some respects of very mixed value) comes to the front in four passages and arm in all seven: s\(^1\) in 2.11.12.18 3\(^1\): s\(^2\) in 2.18 3\(^1\): sa in 2.12: like arm, if Hort’s contention is right (see note, p. clx), Pr in the remaining three passages, fl in 2\(^1\), and vg in 3\(^1\). But Tyc gig \(\aleph\) 025. 046 and the cursives (with three exceptions) show no knowledge of the original text. eth would represent either order in the same way.

(b) The next construction which is of a unique character in J^\(^{ap}\) is that which follows, ὃ (τὸν) καθήμενος (-ου) ἐπὶ τὸν θρόνον, τοῦ καθημένου ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου, τῶ καθήμενω ἐπὶ τῶ θρόνῳ. For these constructions see vol. i. p. cxxxii. These constructions occur 28 times. Two of these are found in a wrong form in the interpolation 14.15-17, and two in 20\(^1\) 21\(^5\) where the wrong construction save in 21\(^5\) is to be traced to the editor.

In the remaining 24 cases A is right in 20 and wrong in 4

\(^1\) Weiss (Textkritische Untersuchungen, 64 sq. note) has wholly failed to recognize the next text here. Similarly Bousset and nearly every editor save Lachmann, Hort, and Souter.
(i.e. 64 715 917 1918): C (defective) is right in 9 and wrong in 2 (64 917): N is right in 17 and wrong in 7 (i.e. 513 6416 715 917 146 1918): 025 right in 16 and wrong in 8 (i.e. 429 513 64 715 917 146 194): 046 right in 17 and wrong in 7 (49 6416 71015 917 149). C 025 correct the text rightly in 1416 and 025 046 in 2011. From the above statistics we conclude that N 025 046 are practically of equal value. A stands much above them.

(c) In the case of certain Hebraisms we find N 025 046 correcting the text, but not AC. There is a Hebrew construction in which the participle is resolved into a finite verb in the succeeding clause, which our author has used at times. See vol. i. 14 sq. In 156 our author wrote τῷ ἀγαπώντι ... καὶ ἐποίησεν. Here the finite verb must be translated as if it were πνεύσαντι. 046 minp have actually so corrected the text. Again, 1523 N minp correct the Hebraism ἔχοντας ... καὶ ἀδόντων into ἔχοντας ... καὶ ἔδοντας. Another Hebraism, i.e. in 220, τὴν γυναίκα ... ἥ λέγουσα ... καὶ διδάσκει, is corrected by Nκ 025 minp into τὴν γυναίκα ... τὴν λέγουσαν, but by 046 minmu into ἥ λέγει. The same Hebraism in 312 τῆς καινῆς Ἱερουσαλήμ, ἥ καταβαίνουσα is corrected by Nκ into τῆς κ. Ἰερ. τῆς καταβαίνουσας, and by 046 into ἥ καταβαίνει. Again in 127 ὁ Μωσής καὶ οἱ ἀγγέλοι αὐτοῦ τοῦ πολεμήσας, Ν 046 minm omit the τοῦ. In 1310, where the same Hebraism occurs twice, every uncial save A and all cursives remove the Hebraism by drastic corrections. In 196 N 025 046 minpl Tyc Pr gig vg s2 arm3a insert ἰδὼν between ὅ θεός and ὅ παντεράτωρ, against A min3 Cyp s1 arm24 bo sa eth. This insertion is not only against our author's usage, but also against the regular translation of the divine name. See Gram. §10. (i.) (f), p. cxlvii. Such examples show the vast superiority of A (C) to N 025 046 as witnesses to the primitive type of text.

§ 2. The absence of conflated readings from A (C) and their (rarer) occurrence in N 025 046 support the distinction already established between these MSS.—In 174 N (s2) reads αὐτῆς καὶ τῆς γῆς, where αὐτῆς is the reading of A alm Tyc vg s1 arm2 eth, and τῆς γῆς that of 046 alm gig arm3. Cyp Pr read τῆς γῆς ὅλης, and bo (= αὐτῆς μετὰ τῆς γῆς) conflates this reading with that of A.

In 47 N alone reads ὡς ὅμους ἀνθρώπως. This may be a conflation of ὡς ἀνθρώπως (A, etc.), and ὅμους only preserved in 2018.

In 6157 N 046 minm read ἔρχου καὶ ἰδε, and in 63 N min12 alone attest this reading. But since the phrase καὶ ἰδε is not used by our author, but καὶ ιδου, this phrase is clearly an early intrusion. But 046 minm Pr gig vg f8, which insert καὶ ἰδε (or καὶ ἰδου, Pr gig vg f8), omit καὶ ιδου in the words that follow. Since this form of the text is as old as the 4th century, the text of N is probably conflated.

In 215 025 minp read ὅμοιος ὃ μισῶ — a conflation, though ὃ μισῶ
is found as yet only in a few cursive and arm.

Again in 27, where ΛνC 046 have ἐν τ. παραδείσω, and 1. 353 ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ παραδείσου, 025 reads ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ παραδείσω, which may be either a conflation of the above two or else a correction of the latter.

In 046 1912 we have the conflate reading δνόματα γεγραμμένα και δνόμα γεγραμμένον.

§ 3. The readings1 of the uncialss taken singly and also in groups of two. The evidence of this section confirms the provisional values assigned to these MSS in §§ 1–2.

Even a cursory study of the statistics on p. clxiv is illuminating. It shows that A stands almost alone in the first class, though in some respects C belongs to this class. But it is better to put C in the second class by itself, seeing that it is so weak when it stands alone. But in combination with A it is different.

In comparing C and the combinations into which it enters with other MSS, we have to bear in mind that more than a third of it is missing. Hence, when we read in Table I. that AC are right in combination 36 times, we have to raise this number to 54 (or less). Thus AC in combination are nearly twice as often right as AN or A 025, and more than twice as many times as A 046. The combinations of C and N with either 025 or 046 are very weak. Another point to be borne in mind is that 025 is also defective. About one-fourteenth of it is missing. Hence, whereas A 025 are right 36 times in combination (reckoning columns one and two together), in Table I. we should raise this number to 38 (more or less). Thus it follows that 025 is, when standing alone, right oftener than C, N, or 046, and when combined with A it is right oftener than AN or A 046 in combination. In the third class, therefore, to which we must relegate N 025 and 046, 025 stands first according to this reckoning. As regards N and 046, the former takes precedence of the latter, and is in certain respects much superior to it.

1 I am beholden to Mr. Marsh for the materials on which Tables I.–III. are based. They are to be regarded as approximately, not literally, exact. I have not taken account of 051 since I possess no complete collation of it, and it is very late. It is defective, eleven chapters being missing. Its value is not as great as one of the best cursive, as its readings in chaps. 12. 16 will show. In chap. 12 it agrees with cursive against all the other uncialss in reading τικτειν, 124, ἐκεῖ2, 126, in omitting μετ’ αὐτοῦ, 129. In 128 it omits ἐν (a mere correction) with 025 and cursive, and in 126 it omits ἐκεῖ1 with C and cursive. In 123 it is right with A 025 (μέγας πυρρός), and in 1212 with A and cursive in reading οἴσαραοι. In 164. 10. 12 (+ ἄγγελος) it agrees with cursive against uncialss, also in 164 (δαίμων and εἰς πόλεμον) 1615 (βλέπουσιν). In 16g. 10. 14 it agrees with N and cursive against all other uncialss: in 168 (τοῦ) with N 025, 046 and cursive against A, in 1618 (οἱ ἄνθρωποι) with N 046 and cursive, in 1612 (ἀνασυλλαφ) with A. The readings of 051 given in this edition are derived from Swete’s Commentary.
TABLE I.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Right readings.</th>
<th>Probably right-adopted in text with alternatives in margin.</th>
<th>Possibly wrong-placed in margin.</th>
<th>Wrong.</th>
<th>Peculiar to the MS or pair of MSS named among the uncials. Orthographic variants in brackets.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A1</td>
<td>55 (+ t I t)</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>I</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>4 (318, 24 1812 2211)</td>
<td>2 (122 1920)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>414</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N0</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N00</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>025</td>
<td>4 (53 1413 1811 1914)</td>
<td>2 (43 153)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>046</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AC</td>
<td>36</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>38 (+ 13)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>30 (+ t I t)</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A 025</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3 (+1)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A 046</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C 025</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C 046</td>
<td>1 (?)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ck</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N 025</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N0 025</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N0 046</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>025, 046</td>
<td>4 (43 68 1918 2112)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The classification of the uncials from the above data is thus:

TABLE II.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>i.</th>
<th>ii.</th>
<th>iii.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>025 046</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If, further, to the number of times in which each MS stands alone in preserving the original text we add the number of times in which each of the five MSS, AC 025 N 046, enters respectively into combination with one or other of the remaining four (in such groups as AC, A 025, AN, A 046, C 025, etc., i.e. groups of two), we arrive at the following results, allowance having been made for the lost sections of C and 025.

1 Weiss (Die Johannes-Apokalypse: Textkritische Untersuchungen, p 147) is of opinion that A preserves wholly unsupported upwards of 60 right readings, C 4 and N 8. Though I have followed quite different lines of investigation, my results do not differ much. They are slightly more in favour of A as against N. Gwynn's estimate of the readings peculiar to each MS differs alike from those given above and by Weiss. See Apoc. in Syriac, p. xliii sqq.

2 The inferior character of the text of N for Jap has been amply proved both by Weiss and Gwynn, Apocalypse of St. John in Syriac, p. xl sqq.
This table confirms the results of Table II. save that N is nearer to 046. If we combine the results of these two tables, 025 still shows itself to be a better MS than N:

§ 4. The Uncials in groups of three or more and their evidence. —Hitherto we have given the evidence of the uncialis individually or in groups of two. We shall now study them in groups of three or four, where they attest the original text. I have only space to apply this test in chaps. 1-4. Divergences in orthography are not reckoned as variants.

### TABLE IV.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ANC.1</th>
<th>ANC 025.</th>
<th>ANC 046.</th>
<th>AN 025.</th>
<th>AN 046.</th>
<th>AC 025.</th>
<th>AC 046.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>14. 5. 6</td>
<td>14. 9. 12. 16. 18</td>
<td>15. 23. 7. 15</td>
<td>37.</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27.</td>
<td>2. 5. 7. 10. 13. 14 (βξ). 24</td>
<td>3. 7. 11</td>
<td>37.</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>= 4</td>
<td>32 (βξ). 3. 7. 9. 12</td>
<td>= 5</td>
<td>= 5</td>
<td>= 5</td>
<td>= 5</td>
<td>= 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 According to Weiss (op. cit.), ANC have preserved the original text only 20 times over against 025 and 046. This would in all probability nearly agree with the results above arrived at. For since this combination is right only 4 times according to the above table, the number of times it is right for the entire book would apparently lie in the neighbourhood of 20, as Weiss states. It is therefore a wrong basis on which Gwynn (op. cit. p. xlviii) proceeds when he assumes that "the consent of NAC represents the consent of the uncialis" and uses it as a "standard by which to compare P and Q." ANC 025 represents "the consent of the uncialis."
If we study this table we find that the several MSS enter into the above combinations as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>63 times.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>025</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>046</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are two points that call for explanation here. (a) First the numbers of C 025 N 046 seem unduly large as compared with those of A, seeing that A belongs to the first class, C to the second, and 025 N 046 to the third, according to our classifications at the close of § 3. But there is really no difficulty here. If C 025 N 046 are to be right at all, they can only be right as members of groups of MSS, seeing that they are hardly ever right when they stand alone. C and in a less degree 025 represent a good secondary uncinal text, while N 046 uphold this text in a considerably weakened form, N replacing it to a considerable extent by readings often of an early date, and 046 by readings of a later growth.

(b) Since only 1–3 of C is preserved in the four chapters we are considering, it follows that the number 61 of C must be raised proportionately, say to 70 or thereabouts (for the variants in chap. 4 are fewer than in 1–3), so that it would stand above A. This appears to conflict absolutely with the classification arrived at in § 3 ad fin. But in (a) this difficulty is in the main surmounted, and when to the explanation there offered, we add the fact that C is comparatively free from the obvious foolish slips of the scribe of A,¹ it is surmounted wholly. As critics have generally recognized, the scribe of C (or of the MS on which C is based) either found a more accurately written text than that in A, or else he eliminated most such slips, and with them many of the original readings which have survived in A. C is far freer from obvious slips and obvious corruptions than A.

Thus this fourth table in the main confirms the first. AC stand apart, and but for its almost absolute lack of correct singular readings C might be put side by side with A. The results arrived at in regard to 025 N 046 agree exactly with those of Table II.

The conclusions arrived at with regard to the absolute pre-eminence of A is confirmed by the study of the papyrus Fragments of the Apocalypse: see vol. ii. 447–451.

§ 5. The character of the Versions.—The versions differ

¹ Compare in ¹ τοῦ δουλου (A) for του δουλου: in ¹⁵ A > ἡμῶν: in ¹⁰ἐν Χριστου (A) for ἐν Χριστου: in ¹¹ λαλει for ελαλει: in ¹¹εἶ ἔχων: ¹² ἐν τ. δειξαι for ἐπὶ τῆς δειξαι. On the other hand, A “alone is characterized by singular readings which are to be accepted, not as divergences from a standard text, but as survivals of the primitive and authentic text” (Gwynn, p. liv).
RELATIVE VALUES OF THE VERSIONS  clxvii

greatly from the Greek MSS in regard to the character of their testimony. Each Greek MS of $\text{I}^\text{st}$ possesses a certain character of trustworthiness or untrustworthiness, and this character it maintains on the whole throughout. But this is not so in the case of most of the versions. In the chief Latin versions we find side by side the best and worst readings. The following examples drawn from what survives of $\text{fl}$ and the parallel sections in the other versions and Greek MSS will suffice to prove this. Thus in $1^4$ $\delta \alpha \tau o\, \delta \, \omega n$ (\text{ANC} 025) is supported by $\text{fl}$ gig vg (s$^1$.2) arm bo eth, while Pr supports 046 $\delta \alpha \tau o\, \delta \, \theta e\partial \, \delta \, \omega n$ (and Tyc a further development of this reading). In $1^5$ $\lambda u\sigma a\tau t\iota$ (\text{ANC}) is supported by Pr fl gig (s$^1$.2) arm, while Tyc vg bo eth support 025, 046 $\lambda u\sigma a\tau t\iota$. In $1^6$ $\beta a\sigma i\lambda e\lambda v\iota\, i\epsilon \epsilon e\iota s$ \text{ANC} 046 is supported by Tyc (fl) vg$^d$, but the corrected text $\text{Ne}$ $\beta a\sigma i\lambda e\lambda v\iota$ $i\epsilon \epsilon e\iota s$ by Pr gig vg$^d$ arm$^1$.3.4: 025 arm$^2$.3.4 read $\beta a\sigma i\lambda e\lambda v\iota$ $i\epsilon \epsilon e\iota s$: 046 $\beta a\sigma i\lambda e\lambda v\iota$ $i\epsilon \epsilon e\iota s$, while s$^1$.2 bo = $\beta a\sigma i\lambda e\lambda v\iota$ $i\epsilon \epsilon e\iota s$ and eth = $\beta a\sigma l$. $\delta \gamma n\iota$. In $1^8$ the addition $\eta$ $\alpha r\chi \kappa$ $i\tau$ (to) $\tau e\ell o\iota$ $\text{Ne}$ is supported by Tyc gig vg bo against \text{ANC} 025, 046 Pr fl (s$^1$.2) arm eth. In $1^9$ \text{I} $\theta e\sigma \iota$ $\chi r\iota s\tau \tau \iota$ $\text{Ne}$ 046 is supported by Tyc Pr vg$^d$ s$^1$.2 arm$^2$.3.4 against \text{I} $\theta e\sigma \iota$ \text{ANC} 025 fl gig vg$^d$ arm$^4$ bo eth. In $1^{10}$ $\tau o\iota$ $\lambda c\chi v\iota\iota\iota$ $\alpha c$ 025 is supported by Tyc Cyp Pr fl s$^1$.2 arm$^1$.2.4.4 bo eth against $\tau o\iota$ $\epsilon \pi \tau \tau \lambda c\chi v\iota\iota\iota$ $\text{Ne}$ 046 gig vg arm$^3$. In $1^{11}$ $\in\delta$ $\delta$ $\gamma l\iota o\iota$ $f\alpha\iota\iota e\iota$ $\alpha c$ 025, 046 Tyc gig vg s$^1$.2 arm$^1$.2.3.4 eth against $f\alpha\iota\iota e\iota$ $\in\delta$ $\delta$ $\gamma l\iota o\iota$ $\pi$ $\alpha c$ Cyp fl arm$^4$ (?) bo. In $1^2$ $\tau \omega$ $\alpha g\gamma \ell e\omega$ $\tau \omega$ $\alpha c$ Pr [in Comm.] (fl?) s$^1$.4 arm$^4$ against $\tau \omega$ $\alpha g\gamma$. $\tau \eta s$ $\text{Ne}$ 025, 046 Tyc gig vg arm$^1$.2.3.4 bo eth. In $1^3$ $\delta$ $\pi r\omega\tau\sigma o\iota$ \text{Ne} 025, 046 s$^1$.2 arm$^4$ against $\delta$ $\pi r\omega\tau\sigma o\iota$ $\alpha g\gamma \ell e\omega$ 2020 al Tyc Pr gig vg arm$^1$.2.3.4 bo eth. In $1^4$ $\tau o\iota$ $\tau \tau \tau \tau \tau o\iota$ \text{Ne} 025, 046 s$^1$.2 arm$^4$ against $\delta$ $\pi r\omega\tau\sigma o\iota$ $\alpha g\gamma \ell e\omega$ 2020 al Tyc Pr gig vg arm$^1$.2.3.4 bo eth. In $1^5$ $\delta$ $\pi r\omega\tau\sigma o\iota$ $\alpha c$ 025 fl gig vg s$^1$.2 arm bo eth. In $1^6$ \text{I} $\in\delta$ $\tau o\iota$ $\theta e\sigma \iota$ \text{ANC} 025 Tyc Pr fl gig vg s$^1$.2 arm bo eth. In $1^7$ $\in\delta$ $\tau o\iota$ $\theta e\sigma \iota$ \text{ANC} 025 Tyc Pr fl gig vg s$^1$.2 arm$^1$.2.4.4 bo eth against $\tau o\iota$ $\theta e\sigma \iota$ 046 s$^1$.2 arm$^3$. In $1^8$ $\in\delta$ $\tau o\iota$ $\theta e\sigma \iota$ 046 Tyc Pr vg s$^1$.2 and $\tau \eta s$ $\delta i\alpha \theta \iota h\kappa r\iota s$ $\alpha t\tau o\iota$ (> Tyc bo) \text{ANC} 025 Tyc gig vg s$^1$.2 arm$^1$.2.3.4 bo eth against $\tau o\iota$ $\delta i\alpha \theta \iota h\kappa r\iota s$ $\theta e\sigma \iota$ \text{Ne} fl eth: $\tau o\iota$ $\delta i\alpha \theta \iota h\kappa r\iota s$ $k\rho r\iota o\iota$ 046. In $1^9$ $\mu e\gamma a$ $\pi r\tau o\rho o\iota$ \text{Ne} 025 Tyc vg s$^1$.2 sa eth against $\pi r\tau o\rho o\iota$ $\mu e\gamma a$ \text{ANC} 046 Pr fl gig s$^2$.2 arm bo. In $1^2$ $\delta$ $\iota k\epsilon i$ 1 There are only 61 verses in fl (Codex Floriacensis), i.e. 1$^1$–2$^1$, 8$^2$–9$^2$, 11$^1$–12$^4$, 14$^{15}$–16$^5$. fl does not show such remarkable faithfulness to the primitive text in the later sections as in 1$^1$–2$^1$. 
clxviii  THE REVELATION OF ST. JOHN

Ass 025, 046 s1 arm3, 4: > C Tyc Pr fl vg s2 arm1, 2,  a (bo ?) eth. In 1416 εθερίσθη ἡ γῆ all Greek MSS and Versions (−vgv, fl arm1, 2, 3, a) against εθερίσεν τ. γῆν vg1, fl arm1, 2, 3, a: > bo. In 1418 δ ἔχον AC Tyc gig vg s1, 2 arm eth against ἔχον Ν 025. 046 Pr fl bo: φωνή Αν 046 Tyc fl gig vg s1 arm1, 2, 3, a eth against κραυγή C 025 s2 bo: ἡμετασεν αἱ σταφυλαί (A) 025 fl gig vg s1, 2 against ἡμετασεν ἡ σταφυλὴ 046 arm eth: > bo. In 152 epsilon θηρ. καὶ epsilon οἰκόνοι αὐτῷ AC 025 s1, 2 arm1, 2,  a against Ν Pr fl, which > epsilon 2. Tyc gig vg bo eth give a different construction. In 158 ἄδωνοι AC 025, 046 against ἄδωντες Ν Tyc Pr fl vg bo eth: τοῦ ἐθνὸς Αν 025, 046 (Pr) fl gig bo eth against τοῦ αἰώνων Ν*C Tyc vg s1, 2. Here arm1, 2, 3,  a is conflate. In 154 φοβηθηθῇ AC 025, 046 Pr fl gig arm bo against φοβ. σε Ν 051 Tyc vg s1, 2 eth. In 156 ὀι ἄδωνες AC s1, 2 arm bo eth against ἄδωντες Ν 025, 046 (Tyc Pr fl gig vg): ἐκ τοῦ ναοῦ ΑνC 025 Tyc fl gig vg s1, 2 arm4 bo eth against 046 Pr arm1, 2 which omit: τα ἄδων ἄν AC vg against λίμνον (−ovv) 025, 046 Tyc (Pr) gig vg and λινοῦς Ν fl bo: > eth. In 161 μεγάλης φωνῆς AC 046 (arm4) bo sa against φωνῆς μεγ. Ν 025 Pr fl gig vg s1, 2 arm1, 2, 3, a: φωνῆ eth. ἐκ τοῦ ναοῦ ΑνC 025 Tyc Pr fl gig vg s1, 2 arm4 against 046 arm3 which omit: while arm4 bo sa eth = ἐκ τοῦ ναοῦ and arm1, 2, 4 = εν τ. ναῷ: ἔτπα 3 ΑνC 046 Tyc Pr gig vg s1, 2 arm against 025 fl bo eth which omit. In 168 δεῦτερος Αν(A 025. Tyc Pr fl gig vg arm4 eth against δεῦτ. ἄγγελος 046 s1, 2 arm1, 2, 3, a bo. In 164 τοὺς πνεύμας ΑνC 025 Tyc Pr fl gig arm bo against εἰς τ. πνεύμας 046 s1, 2 eth.

Now, taking the Latin and Syriac versions in the above thirty-three passages (812 1416 153a not being included) we arrive at the following results:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Right.</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>14 (16)</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wrong</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>13 (12)</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We are not to conclude that these numbers indicate the proportion of right to wrong readings throughout Jap, though they may be in some cases approximately true. They establish the fact, however, that the Latin versions contain an astonishing mixture of good and bad readings. Thus in these sections gig is the best of the Latin, being right twice as often as it is wrong: next come fl Tyc vg, which are often right than wrong. Pr comes last, being often worse than right, though, as we have already seen, it preserves more original readings in chaps. 2–3
than all the other Latin versions together. $s^1.2$ compare favourably with the Latin, $s^1$ being right more than twice as many times as it is wrong, and $s^2$ being oftener right than wrong. Unfortunately there is no critical edition of $s^2$.

A further and very important fact emerges from this study of the Latin versions, and this is that a text akin to 046 and its allies (often $K$ and less often 025) was well established between 200 and 350 A.D. and possibly earlier.

Let us now compare the above results regarding the versions and the readings in ANC 025, 046 for the same sections. We find

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A.</th>
<th>B.</th>
<th>C.</th>
<th>D.</th>
<th>E.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Right</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wrong</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These results confirm on the whole the conclusion reached at the close of §3. A stands by itself; next comes C as a good second; then 025; and closing the list at a long interval $K$ and 046.

From the above study, therefore, we conclude that all the versions may in a given case support a reading that is wholly wrong.

In the order of general trustworthiness they stand as follows: $s^1$ gig $s^2$ Tyc fl vg Pr. But in the case of certain peculiarly difficult readings (§1 (a) ad fin. above) the version that is here last, i.e. Pr, is equal to the first, $s^2$ comes next, fl and vg in third place, and gig Tyc$^2$ last.

We have not as yet taken account of the respective values of arm bo sa eth.

§6. The Armenian, Bohairic, and Ethiopic Versions.—The Armenian version is difficult to compare with the other versions. In Mr. Conybeare’s edition five texts are distinguished, arm$^1.2.8.4$ and arm$^a$. The last is a recension of the 12th century. The four first represent various forms of the Old Armenian. Of these arm$^4$ stands apart from arm$^1.2.8$. Conybeare describes arm$^4$ as a recension of the 8th century, and arm$^1.2.8$ as texts of the fifth. Conybeare rather throws discredit on arm$^4$, but it is in many respects the best of the Armenian texts. It frequently stands alone against arm$^1.2.3.4$ in supporting the true text. In the sections which we have used for purposes of comparison, i.e. the sixty-one verses which alone survive of fl, there are two conflate

1 C is defective in some of these sections.

2 It must be borne in mind that there is no critical text of Tyc. Tyc may appear in better company when this is published.
readings in arm. Thus arm\(^4\) (together with 2020 gig s\(^1\)) reads καμίνου μεγάλης καιομένης in \(9^2\), and arm\(^2, 3, a\) read τῶν αἰώνων καὶ βασιλεὺς πάντων τῶν εὐθῶν in \(15^8\).

In the next place, an adequate comparison of the Bohairic and Ethiopic is difficult. In Horner's edition of the former the translation of only one MS is given. The readings of the other MSS are given in the Appar. Criticus, but not translated. Mr. Horner has, however, translated the variants for me and I append the results below. The Ethiopic version which I have used is that of Platt. It is wholly uncritical. Hence the results given here are to be regarded as only approximately right. Despite such disadvantages, bo and eth show clearly that they have a character of their own.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>arm(^1, 2, 3, 4, a)</th>
<th>arm(^4) (alone against one, two, or more members of arm(^1, 2, 3, a))</th>
<th>bo.</th>
<th>eth.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Right</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wrong</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Where arm\(^4\) and one or more of arm\(^1, 2, 3, a\) agree, their evidence is recorded in the first column. Where arm\(^4\) is right over against arm\(^1, 2, 3, a\) it stands in the second column. arm\(^4\) is only twice wrong against combinations of arm\(^1, 2, 3, a\).

It is now possible to arrange the versions in the order of their merit in the sections preserved in fl, i.e. \(1^1–2^1\), \(8^7–9^12\), \(11^16–12^14\), \(14^15–16^5\).

In this arrangement, according to the number of the right readings which they attest, it must be borne in mind that s\(^2\) eth and Tyc are wholly uncritical texts. They may be better or worse than they appear here. Furthermore, while it is true that s\(^1\) arm are foremost both in regard to the quality and the number of their right readings, Pr, which has the fewest right readings, has preserved most important readings lost in nearly every other Latin authority, and also in bo eth. This holds true of bo in \(8^13\), which in this passage has alone preserved the original or else restored it.

Versions in order.—S\(^1\) arm gig s\(^2\) eth Tyc fl vg bo Pr.

If we arrange these versions in classes in relation to each other and not to the Greek MSS, we should arrive at the following result:

Class i. arm\(^4\) s\(^1\) gig arm\(^1, 2, 3, a\).

" ii. eth s\(^2\) Tyc vg.

" iii. bo Pr.
I have not taken account of sa in the above classification, as I do not possess a continuous collation of its text. For some hundreds of its readings I am indebted to Rev. George Horner. Judging from these, I should be inclined to place it in the second class. The reader will observe that in 212 it enjoys the honour of attesting the original text together with 2050 s1 arm4. against all the uncial and all the remaining versions.

§ 7. Relations of bo sa eth to each other.—These versions form one group over against the rest. (a) bo eth continually support each other throughout J^p generally in agreement with some other authorities, but at times they stand alone. As an instance of the former, cf. 1910 where with Pr they add δτι before σύνδουλος: of the latter, 181 εκ + τοῦ προσώπου αὐτοῦ καὶ: 214d + καὶ (> bo) ἵδου πάντα ποιηθήσονται (ἐποιηθήσαν, eth) καινά: 2118 (crit. note ad fin.): 223 (crit. note ad fin.).

(b) bo sa agree against eth and all else in 2011 μέγας βρόνον (~ rest): in 2218 + δτι before εἶναι τοὺς bo sa agree with certain authorities against eth and others: 199 καὶ λέγει μοι2 with ÅN etc.: > eth Å etc.: 2011 ἡ γῆ καὶ ὁ οὐρανὸς with ÅN etc. (instead of ὁ οὐρ. θ. ἡ γῆ with 35. 432 Pr eth).

(c) bo sa eth stand alone in 182 ἡ μεγάλη + ἡ πόλις: 201 in transposing order of ἄλλους μεγάλην: 215b ποιήσω πάντα κανά. bo sa eth agree with some other authorities in 161 τοῦ οὐρανοῦ 42. 367 arm (for τοῦ ναοῦ): 166: 196: 218 οὐρανοῦ 025. 046 etc. (for βρόνον).

(d) sa eth agree with certain authorities against bo: 1819 οὐδ᾿2 with ÅC etc.: > bo with Å etc. 199 τοῦ γάμου with ÅN0 etc.: > bo with Å* etc. 2214 πλίνυντες τ. στολάς αὐτῶν with ÅN etc. against ποιοῦντες τ. ἐιστολᾶς αὐτῶ bo with gig 046 Cyp etc.

(e) bo eth agree against sa: 1919 αὐτῶν bo eth Å etc. against αὐτῶν sa Å etc.

(f) bo stands against eth: 186 ποτηρίῳ eth ÅC etc. against ποτ. αὐτῆς bo Å etc. 1812 ξύλου bo ÅC etc. against λίθου eth Å etc.

The above are a few examples from chaps. 16–22.

§ 8. Character of the uncial as regards their textual value.

A, C. These two MSS present the normal uncial text just as 046 and in some degree 025 present the normal cursive text. But whereas C is most carefully written, this is not true of A, which is seriously affected by copyists' blunders. C exhibits fewer singular readings than any other uncial (about 67), and these singular readings, moreover, with a single exception, possess no special interest. Here it is that it differs in kind from A and calls for different classification. A contains over 150 singular readings, and of these 56 (if not 63) preserve the original. Thus
whereas C's singular readings take no particular direction, A's are pre-eminent as being certainly right in over 60 passages.

This MS "is of all the five MSS far the least worthy of regard as representing a defensible form of the text; it is aberrant rather than divergent from the rest, to the point of eccentricity." So Gwynn (op. cit. p. xlv) rightly judges. When it stands alone, it is only right in four passages. The bulk of its variants are unquestionably scribal blunders and corruptions of an early date, and call for no further consideration. A considerable part of the remainder represents an ancient element foreign to the normal uncial text and finds large support in the versions and to a less extent in certain cursives. Other variants connect \( \mathbf{\Xi} \) with the normal cursive form of text, but these are not numerous.

025, 046. These MSS are so widely sundered that they differ from each other in kind. While 025 represents on the whole the uncial type of text, 046 represents the cursive type. While slightly over half the variants of 025 from the other uncial finds support among the cursives, more than four-fifths of the variants of 046 find such support.

But though 046 is largely cursive in character, its record compares favourably with \( \mathbf{\Xi} \), considering its late date. We have already seen (see Table I. p. clxiv) that whereas \( \mathbf{\Xi} \) alone preserves 6 right readings (reckoning together columns one and two) against the rest of the uncial, 046 preserves 3. Again \( \mathbf{\Xi} \& \mathbf{\Xi} \) in combination are right 33 times, A 046 are right 31 times. Once more, from the results arrived at in § 4 we learn that, whereas \( \mathbf{\Xi} \) enters into groups of three or more MSS attesting the right text 45 times, 045 does so 40.

025 and 046 are to be further distinguished from each other in this respect, that whereas 046 represents the close amongst the uncial of a long process of correction which began in the 2nd century, 025 represents to a considerable extent a deliberate recension of the texts of the 8th cent. or earlier. That 025 is the result of a deliberate recension is easy to prove. Nearly forty times it differs from the other uncial in correcting or improving the Greek text from the standpoint of Greek syntax. Thus in 14 we have πνεύματων ἂν ἐστιν ἐνώπιον. 15 τῶν ἄγαπησαντι. 16 βασιλεῖς καὶ ἱερεῖς. 19 συγκοινωνίας ἐν τῇ θλίψει καὶ (+ ἐν τῇ) βασιλείᾳ. 29 τὴν βλασφημίαν ἄτων λεγόντων. 213 ἐν τ. ἰμέραις ἐν ἀῖσ. 217 δύσω αὖτε ἐφαγεῖν. 220 τὴν γυναῖκα ... τὴν λέγουσαν. 41 ἣ φωνή ... λέγουσα. 52 κηρύσσοντα ἄφωνη μεγάλη. 56 ἀρνίον ... ἕχων. 79 ὕλος ... ἑστῶτες, ... περιβέβλημενον. 818 ἀγγέλου πετομένου. This change is due not to the scribe's idea of syntax, but of the sense of the passage. 914 φωνή ... λέγουσαν. 101 καὶ ἅ ἵπ, corrected
according to sense of context. The scribe knew no better. 114 ἐλαῖαί - ἑστῶσαι. The above examples are sufficient to prove the fact of a deliberate recension. On the influence of this recension on 35, 205 and other cursive MSS, see under 35, 205, p. clxxv sq.

The following cursive—the list is provisional—agree with 046 in giving the latest form of text:

\[
18. 35^{**} \left\{ \begin{array}{ccc}
149 & 175 & 325 \\
201 & 617 & 456 \\
386 & 1934 & 468^{*}
\end{array} \right\} 337. 632^{*}. 919. 920. 1849. 2004. 2040 (1-117).
\]

046 contains many readings of so late a date that they are not supported by any version. These are of the inferior cursive type. A few examples will suffice. Thus in 112 046 with 16 cursive reads καὶ + ἐκεῖ: 116 χεπρὶ αὐτοῦ τῇ δεξιᾷ: 225 ἀνοίξω (for ἠν ηΈω): 22 ἀποβάλλεν for ἀποθανεῖν: 33 ὀλίγα ἔχεις ὄνοματα (order): 33 εἰ μή ὦ ἀνοίγων.

§ 9. Cursives collated for this edition.—The list of the 22 cursive MSS collated for this edition is given in vol. ii. p. 234, where attention is drawn to such as are defective. Of these the most interesting and valuable are 2020, 2040, 2050.

2020 is a good cursive and would stand close to 025 Τ in the third class. It agrees with A 2019 in 218 and in 110 save that for ὀπισθεν it reads ὀπίσω, and with A and certain cursive MSS. Over against seven agreements with A, it supports Τ in 18 passages and 025 in 13.

920. 2040. 2040 (xi-xii cent.). 920 (x cent.). Though 2040 is written by the same hand throughout, it exhibits two distinct types of text. From 1-117 it is of the late cursive type and seems to have been copied from 920 (x cent.). These two MSS contain unique readings in the following passages: 35 τῶν ἰώντων: 33 τὰ ἐργα (for τῶν λέγων): 312 τῶν ὀνόματι (for τῶ ναῶ): 41 + καὶ προσκυνήσωσιν (-σουσιν, 920) τῶ ζωτί and another addition in 38. In 410 they omit ἐνώπιον τ. θρόνων and have other omissions in 44 512 74 99. They invert the order in 38 and attest the same impossible readings in 51 614 71 95.

From 119 to 2011 where it ends, the text is largely free from corruptions of the later cursive. It often supports A against most other authorities (cf. 1111 εἰσῆλθεν ἐν αὐτοῖς, 1112 οἵ οὐρανοῦ) and Τ and less often 025. But its excellence is still more clearly shown by the fact that in 119-2011 it agrees with the majority of uncials against the majority of cursive MSS. The latter half, therefore, of 2040 is of so high a character as to entitle it to be ranked with 046, and after Τ.

2050. This MS, which consists only of 1-5, 20-22, and was clearly copied from a defective MS, stands in point of excellence alongside the uncials. In about 80 passages it agrees with the
majority of the uncials against the majority of the cursive readings. Thus in 14 it reads ἀπὸ δ ὀν with ANC 025 al20 fl gig vg s1.2 bo against 046 and most cursive. In 19 ἐν Ἰησοῦ with NC 025. 2020 gig vg s1 bo against the rest; Ἰησοῦ (without Χριστοῦ) with AN* 025 al15 fl gig vg* arm* against the rest. In 12 καί (without ἐκεῖ) AN 025. 045 al Tyc Pr fl vg s1.2 bo against the rest. In 10 λυχνίων (without preceding ἐπτά) ACP al10 Tyc Pr fl s1.2 arm1.2.4.α bo against the rest. In 11 > ἐπὶ ἀργα σοῦ καὶ (added by 046 alpl s2 arm3.α) with ANC 025. 2020 and versions (−s2 arm3.α): ἀ πιστὸς μου AC 61. 69 Or s2 against rest. These suffice to show the character of this cursive. This cursive shows some slight affinities with A, as in 13 4.5 2211 etc., and still more with Ν. Thus with the latter it agrees in 15 ( + ἀρχή κριλ.), 115 πεπυρωμένω (a correction), 117 ἐπίθεθηκεν, 210 420 etc. It agrees with 025 in 115 χάλκω λιβάνω, al16: 220 τὴν λεγόνταν (also Νε al5), etc.

This cursive has a conflating reading in 227 καὶ συντρίβει αὐτοῦς ὑπὲρ τὰ σκεῦη τὰ κεραμικὰ συντρίβεται. Such a conflation is not found in any other MS or in any version. But gig arm4 bo eth read συντρίβει αὐτοῦς. Is 2050 influenced by gig or some ancestor of these versions? In 13 2050 with 920. 2040 Tyc fl gig vg read δεζε ἀπὸ αὐτοῦ against all other Greek authorities. Is there a trace of Latin influence here?

149. 386. 201. Of these 201 was not collated for this edition. The first of these cursive, 149 (xv cent.), is a slavish copy of 386 (xiv cent.). It reproduces it where it is absolutely wrong; cf. 214 ἐδόσακεν τ. Βαλαίμι, 314 ἀρχὴ τῆς πίστεως, 1419 184 λάθυτη. In 136 it reads κατακοῦντας with 201 against 386. 2019 οἰκοῦντας. Where 386 is quoted in the Appar. Crit. it carries 149 with it, unless 149 is quoted to the contrary. 201 (xiii cent.) is a member of this group. It agrees with 149. 386 in unique (or almost unique) readings in 32 (>πεπληρωμένα): 314 ἀρχὴ τῆς πίστεως: 102 ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν (also 1): 114 ὅ ἐνώπιον: 1418 βοτάνας: 156 ὃ ἐπὶ ἀγγ. ἐκ τοῦ ναόφ ὃ ἐξούσιες τ. ἐπὶ πληγά (also s1 bo): 1617 τοῦ θρόνου + τοῦ θεοῦ. This is a conflation of τοῦ θρόνου, A 046 alpl, all versions (−gig) and Ν τοῦ θεοῦ, 187 εἰμὶ καθός, 204 ἐδώθη κρίμα, and others. This group gives a late cursive text.

175. 617. 1934. These cursive form a group, but one much less closely connected than the one immediately preceding. In 219 they stand alone in reading χείρων τῶν πρῶτων, and in 1715 ἀ ἐδεσ + καὶ ἡ γυνῆ: with 141. 242 in 617 in reading σωθήναι. In the following passages these cursive attest the same text in conjunction now with one set of authorities now with another—not consistently with any—108 173 188 22 197.11.13 2012 216.27 22.12.13.16.20.21. 175 and 617 several times agree where 1934 diverges: 1816 1930 205 213 225 etc. an 1 generally in conjunction
with the 025 text. This group gives a very late form of the cursive text, except in chapters 16–22 where they agree generally with 35. 205.

325. 466. 468. The first two members of this group are closely connected. They stand alone in adding in κατά σον in 25 and the marginal note ἐν ἄλλω Β in 1420, in omitting καὶ ἐνώπιον . . . αὐτοῦ in 36 and ἔχων . . . τέταρτον ζῷον in 47, in reading (325**) δό in 49 and χρόνον for ἐπὶ χρ. μικρόν in 611, in omitting γεμοῦσας in 157. In very many passages these two cursive attest the same text in conjunction with a variety of others: cf. 617 75 82 92 148 etc. 468 agrees frequently (but apparently always in conjunction with others except in 156 oi ἄγγ. oi ἔπτα) with 325. 456. See 16 καὶ ποιήσαντι ἡμῖν βασιλείον ἑράτευμα and >εἰς τ. αἰώνας, 222 βάλω, 32 τήρησον, 72 τοῦ θεοῦ ἐννοτός. See also 96. 11 1414.

35. 205. 205 may be directly derived from 35, though other links may have come between. They stand alone in 32 κυρίον τοῦ θεοῦ, 918 τῶν τριών τούτων πληγῶν. In conjunction with a variety of uncials, these two cursive agree in over 110 passages. This number would be still greater but that 1814–209 (= one page of 205) was not photographed through an error of the photographer. Hence for the number 110 we should read 120 or thereabouts. But dealing with the passages actually given in the Appar. Crit. 35. 205 agree 20 times with each of An 025 and Anc 025; 3 times with each of An and Anc; 2 times with Ac 025; 5 with A; 1 with A 046. All these are first class groups, and nearly all the readings so attested are right. Thus so far 35. 205 exhibit a good uncial type of text. But 35. 205 show affinities with another type of readings, a considerable number of which have originated with the recension of 025, which they have followed 28 times, and almost always wrongly.


Of groups of the second or third class 35. 205 follow NC

1 35, but not 205, adopts the correction of 046 in 312, i.e. ἡ καταβαλειν. Some 20 other cursive texts do likewise.
025, Κ 025. 046, Κ 046 once each: Κ (or Κ) C 025 3 times Κ 025. II: Κ 6.

205 presents two conflate readings in 1314 146. Thus group (35. 205) has quite the value of an uncial—superior in the main to 046, but falling short of 025.

§ 10. Origen’s so-called text—in this edition Ors.—Whether the text which accompanies undoubted scholia of Origen is really the text of Origen, Harnack in his edition (Der Scholienkommentar des Origenes zur Apokalypse Johannis, 1911), p. 81, leaves undecided. He claims that it is a text of the highest character of the 10th century, which “though it may not prove to be even a rival of C, perhaps even not of A, is at all events on an equality with Κ and 025, while it is certainly superior to the text of 046 and Andreas.”

But this text is not deserving of such praise. (a) It has nothing to do with the text that Origen used. I will compare the texts in a few passages. In 37 Ors reads: τάδε λέγει ὁ ἀγγέλος ἀληθινὸς . . . ὁ ἀνοίγων καὶ οὖθες κλείσει αὐτήν καὶ κλείων καὶ οὖθες ἀνοίγει, εἰ μὴ ὁ ἀνοίγων καὶ οὖθες ἀνοίξει. Here, as the Appar. Crit. in loc. shows, the text which Origen used differed in two respects. (see heavy type) in this verse, and agreed in these with the text of this edition. Ors alone is conflate. It combines καὶ κλείων . . . ἀνοίγει (the text of A 025) and εἰ μὴ ὁ ἀνοίγων . . . ἀνοίξει (the text of 046 and most cursive). Again Origen > ἀκούσῃ τ. φωνῆς μου καὶ αὐτὸς when quoting 320, but not so Ors. This may be an accident. In 51 Origen reads ἐσωθεν κ. ὑπόθεν and also ἐπιρροόθεν κ. ὑπόθεν, but Ors ἔσωθεν κ. ἐσωθεν. In 55 Origen rightly reads ἀνοίξει, but Ors ὁ ἀνοίγων with 046 and cursive. In 78 Origen reads μὴ τ. τάλασσαν, but Ors καὶ τ. τάλασσαν, and ἀρχι against Ors ἀρχις οὖ. In 16 Origen (c. Celsum, viii. 5) has βασιλείαν where Ors gives merely a cursive reading. A multitude of such divergences will be found in Harnack’s work (p. 76 sqq.). In the face of such divergences it is impossible to identify Ors with the text of Origen.1

But a more important task awaits us. We have to define the relations of Ors and determine its position with reference to the main texts of Jαρ. We shall find that this position is not high amongst the uncialss, as Harnack would have it, but low amongst the cursive. It will not be necessary to bring forward the entire evidence, but the following will suffice.

(a) Ors is full of corrections like 046, or rather in dependence on it.—In 120 it reads ἀστέρων ὑπὶ with 046. But our author never uses the attracted relative. After 046 it corrects 220 τὴν

1 Naturally some points of agreement are found. Cf. the addition with Κ αὐτῷ in 13 ἄρχῃ καὶ τέλος and others, for any MS of Jαρ has of necessity many points of contact with every other.
γυμναὶκα... ἡ λέγουσα into τὴν γυν... ἡ λέγει, and 312 τῆς κατοντις Ιερ. ἡ καταβαίνουσα into τ. κανοντις Ιερ. ἡ καταβαίνει. With cursives only it corrects 108 λάλουσα... λέγουσα... λέγουσα. Now this last correction is most probably the correction of an original slip of the author, but the other two constructions are Hebraisms in the text and should not have been altered. 510 βασιλείαν καὶ ιερεῖς into βασιλείας κ. ιερεῖς.

(b) It makes additions to the text with 046: 213 + ἱ ἔργα σου καὶ: and with Χ 046: 29 + ἵ ἔργα καὶ.

(c) In 812 we have a conflation of A and 046: καὶ τὸ τρίτον αὐτῆς μὴ φάνῃ ἡμέρα καὶ ἡ ἡμέρα μὴ φάνῃ τὸ τρίτον αὐτῆς, where 046 comes first and A second. Another conflation appears in 46 (see (g) below).

(d) A few of the passages where it follows 046 and some cursives.—110 φωνήν ὅπισον μου μεγάλην: 112 καὶ + ἐκεῖ: 210 παθεῖν: ἵδῳ + δή. δὴ does not belong to our author's vocabulary. 214 + καὶ before φαγεῖν: 44 τοὺς βρόντους + τοὺς: 47 > ὃς before ἀνθρώ-πον: 411 ἡμῶν + ὁ ἄγιος: 55 ὁ ἀνοίγων (where the text is ἀνοίζω): 92 καμίνου καυμένης.

(e) Directly or indirectly it follows 025 in the following corrections.—29 τὴν βλασφημίαν τῶν λεγόντων: 217 δῶσω αὕτῳ + φαγεῖν: 79 ὀχλος... περιβεβλημένοι.

(f) Ορα is not unfrequently without any support but that of cursives.—116 δεξιὰ αὐτοῦ χειρὶ: 214 δς εἰδίδαξεν τὸν Βαλ.: 37 τοῦ before Δανείδ: 318 ἵνα ἐγχύσῃ: 513 ὅσα ἐστὶν: 69 ἐσφαγμένων (for ἐσφαγμένων !): 104 γράφῃς with only 205: 117 > καὶ ὅταν τελέσωσιν with 617. 920. 2040 arm2: 8: 137 πόλεμον ποιήσαι.

(g) Thus every step we have taken proves in an increasing degree the secondary, eclectic and cursive character of the text. It now remains to define the group of cursives with which it is most intimately connected. These are 61 (xvi cent.) and 69 (xv cent.). With these cursives it agrees against all other authorities in the following: 45 καὶ (for ἃ ἐστίν): 48 κυκλόθεν ἐσωθὲν καὶ ἐξωθὲν, where 61. 69 have κυκλ. ἐξωθὲν κ. ἐσωθὲν—conflations of κυκλ. κ. ἐσωθὲν ΑΧ etc., and κυκλ. κ. ἐξωθὲν 1957. 2050: 115 ἐκπορεύεται: 135 πολεμήσαι (instead of ποιήσαι): 1315 ἀποκατα-θηναί (instead of ἰνα... ἀποκαταθῶσιν). In 138 with 69 alone Ορα reads φανῆ for φαινεράθη.

Again with 61. 69 al8 Ορα agrees against all authorities in 16 βασιλείαν ἱεράτευμα: with 046 in 1216 ἐνβαλεν (where 61. 69, however, have ἀνέλαβεν): in 39 γνώσει with Χ 69 γνώσῃ.

From (g) it follows that Ορα belongs to a very small and late group. So far as is known as yet, Ορα 61. 69 are the only members of this group. It could not well have originated earlier than the 9th or 10th century. Hence it should be numbered as cursive 2293.
§ 11. Some account of the Versions.

(i.) Latin Versions: (a) Tyconius; (b) Primasius; (c) Codex Floriacensis (= fl); (d) Codex Gigas (= gig); (e) Vulgate.

(a) Tyconius.—There is no critical edition of this text. Dr. Prinz has such a text in preparation. The readings in the Appar. Crit. of the present work are taken from Professor Souter’s “Tyconius’ Text of the Apocalypse, a partial restoration,” J.T.S., April 1913.

(b) Primasius (= Pr).—Haussleiter has published a critical edition of Primasius’ text in his work, Die lateinische Apocalypse, 1891, pp. 80–175.


Pr and fl render mutual service to each other. They make the detection of intrusions of vg in one or other of these two versions an easy task. The canon of criticism here is that where Pr and fl differ, such variants as agree with vg are to be rejected and the remainder to be retained as the older text.

(d) Codex gigas (= gig).—This codex of the xiii cent., formerly in Prague, is now in Stockholm. It contains the whole Bible, but only Acts and the Apocalypse are Old Latin. This codex was edited by Belsheim in 1879, but inaccurately. For the collation used in the present work I am indebted to Professor White, who has put at my service the fresh collation made by Dr. Karlsson in 1891 for John Wordsworth, bishop of Salisbury. It appears to have an Italian character (Gregory).

(e) Vulgate (= vg).—I have used Professor White’s Editio Minor of the Vulgate—Novum Testamentum Latine, Clarendon Press, 1911. In this edition the following seven MSS vg a, c, d, f, g, h, v) are used:

a—Amiatinus (vii–viii) cent. g—Sangermanensis (ix).
c—Cavensis (ix). h—Hubertianus (ix-x).
f—Fuldensis (vi).

ii. Syriac Versions: (a) Philoxenian, (b) Harkleian or Syriac Vulgate.
(a) Philoxenian (= s1). This version was discovered and edited by Professor Gwynn in 1897. He ascribes it on good grounds to the 6th century. It is perhaps the most valuable of all the versions, its only rival being arm4 (see p. clxvi sqq.). It is remarkable that with the Armenian versions it has many readings in common with the Latin versions (see Gwynn, p. cxxiii), where these differ from all Greek MSS (though the list is not quite correct). Thus in 54 s1 arm1 Pr read ὀσα σφραγίδας αὐτοῦ for βλέπειν αὐτό: in 1310 s1 gig sa eth read εἶ μαχαίρα ἀποκτανθή- σεται: in 917 s1 Tyc Pr gig vg arm1.2.3 a read τοῦ στόματος; but this is found in one Greek cursive—35. The presence of a common Latin (?) element in s1 arm sa eth calls for investigation. Most of this element, no doubt, goes back to lost Greek MSS, but there appears to be a residuum of Latin readings which made their way into s1 arm and other versions.

s1 exhibits conflations in 510 62 111 1817 ὁ ἐπι τῶν πλοίων ἐπὶ τόπην πλέων.

Gwynn puts forward two hypotheses to account for the form of the text of s1. The translator formed the text for himself, taking as basis our main exemplar, but modifying it to the extent of about one-third by the introduction of readings from a secondary subsidiary exemplar. Otherwise he followed a single exemplar in which the primary and secondary factors stood to each other in the ratio of two to one.

(b) The Harkleian (= s2).—This version was made about 616. As yet no critical edition of the text has appeared. It preserves very ancient readings lost in most of the Latin versions, but it is decidedly inferior to s1. See above, p. clxviii, and Gwynn (op. cit.), pp. lxxi—lxxv, lxxxv—lxxxiv.

iii. Armenian Versions. — The Armenian version was admitted into the Armenian canon in the 12th century through the agency of Nerses. But the Armenian version was known in the earliest years of the 5th century. There are in reality two distinct Armenian versions. The first is exhibited in arm1, arm2, arm3, arm4, which on the whole form, notwithstanding many differences, a homogeneous whole over against arm4. Arm1.2.3 represent the sources of the older and unrevised text, and arm2 the Nersesian 12th century recension, which was based on arm1.2.3 etc. Arm4 and arm1.2.3 represent, according to Conybeare, "two independent renderings of a common Greek text." But this statement needs drastic revision. The Greek source of arm4 differed very much from that of arm1.2.3. Conybeare ascribes arm1.2.3 to a 5th century text and arm4 to a redaction of the early 8th.

As in the case of s1, so here the Latin element is evident. In 191 arm2 this influence is undeniable. Thus, where the
Greek has ὁχλοῦ πολλῶν, vg\textsuperscript{a}. c. t have tubarum multarum, and so arm\textsuperscript{a}. This corruption could only have arisen in Latin, \textit{i.e.} tubarum corrupt for turbarum. The same corruption reappears in 19\textsuperscript{a}, where ὁχλοῦ πολλῶν is rendered by Pr vg\textsuperscript{a}. c. d. t. v by tubarum (-ae -vg) magnarum (-nae vg).

Conybeare thinks that the early Armenian version "was made from an old Latin copy, or perhaps from a bilingual Greco-Latin codex." The latter appears the more probable, but the question requires thorough investigation, not only in regard to arm, but also in regard to s\textsuperscript{1} bo sa and eth.

It is much to be regretted that Conybeare did not print in its entirety arm\textsuperscript{4} alongside arm\textsuperscript{1. 2. 3. a}, seeing that it represents a more ancient type of Greek text than arm\textsuperscript{1. 2. 3. a}. Arm\textsuperscript{4} is alone complete, and yet neither is its text nor even a single variant from it given in Armenian. Only English renderings of the variants and of 16\textsuperscript{17}–19\textsuperscript{18} are supplied. It is rather strange for a scholar, who is editing both a text and a translation, to translate two chapters (16\textsuperscript{17}–19\textsuperscript{18}) from a text which he does not give, and print a text (arm\textsuperscript{2}) of these chapters, which he does not translate save in the case of its variants. For the text of arm\textsuperscript{4} he refers his readers to Dr. F. Murat's edition of it "in the great university libraries of our country," or "to the Armenian Convent of St. James in Jerusalem."

Students of the J\textsuperscript{ap} cannot be other than most grateful to Dr. Conybeare for his edition of the Armenian version, but it does not bear the character of a final one.

\textit{(d) Bohairic Version \((= \text{bo})\).—} The Bohairic (or Memphitic) version has been edited with great care by the Rev. G. Horner. This editor prints J\textsuperscript{ap} from the Curzon MS 128 with variants from other MSS. He has provided an English version of this MS, but unfortunately the variants are not translated. The result is that the reader who does not know Bohairic cannot get to know anything beyond MS Curzon 128.

\textit{(e) Sahidic Version \((= \text{sa})\).—} The same scholar is engaged on an edition of the Sahidic. He has most generously supplied the present editor with some hundreds of readings from this fragmentary version. This version appears to agree more with A and its allies than do bo eth.

\textit{(f) Ethiopic Version \((= \text{eth})\).—} Only two uncritical editions of this version exist—that of Platt and that contained in Walton's Polyglott. I have used the edition of Platt published in 1899, and only consulted the other version that is printed in Walton's Polyglott.

Bo sa and eth form one group as we have already seen, but their exact relations cannot be determined till critical editions of the three are accessible, and a scholar who has a mastery of the three languages takes the task in hand.
The Archetype of John, completed about 95 A.D.
Edited soon after 95 by an unknown disciple with many dislocations of the text and interpolations

Correction of text begins in the 2nd cent. and goes on steadily but sporadically towards a normalized form of text

Most primitive form (280-450 A.D.) of text, in which correction has made some progress

A somewhat normalized and very corrupt form of text which replaces a whole class of the author's constructions by more normal Greek

Possibly these three versions should be represented rather as, but the uncritical text of eth does not easily admit of this arrangement.
For the meaning of the above symbols and abbreviations of MSS and versions, see vol. ii. pp. 227 sqq., 234 sqq. For F1, 2, 3, 4 (i.e. Papyri Fragments), see vol. ii. pp. 447-451.

Though the above table must in many of its features be regarded as purely hypothetical, the editor is convinced of its general accuracy down to AN F1, 2, 3, 4: also that, though C belongs to the family of A, it has been influenced by that of n, besides showing signs of frequent correction.

So far the evidence is on the whole clear. Henceforth the relations of the MSS and versions can only be partially and, until several important questions are investigated, provisionally represented. 025 and 046 are certainly descendants of A and n, or of the families of which these are representatives; for 025, 046 preserve primitive readings lost in AN. Thus in 44 επι τ. θρόνον (πέτοιν ουκαγ) εἰκοσι τέσσαρα πρεσβυτέρους is undoubtedly right where AN are wrong and C is defective; for s1, 2 arm2, 3, 4. a Pr gig vg bo eth here support 025, 046. In 68 δ θάνατος of 025, 046 is right, where A is corrupt and C is wrong. In 910 οὐράς διοίκων σκορπίων of 025, 046 is again right against the greater uncials, and also in 1918 τῶν καθημένων ἐπ' αὐτῶν. This fact cannot be represented in the above table.

Further, a study of 025, 046 shows that these two MSS are connected; for they have 36 (more or less) readings in common against ANC. This connection is accordingly represented in the above table. But 025 and 046 are related differently to A and n. 025 is more closely associated with the text of A, and 046 with that of n. Moreover, 025 shows signs of a deliberate recension, whereas 046 exhibits rather signs of a progressive correction. But these MSS have other connections. Thus in 1418 025 unites with C in reading κρανγῆ (a wrong reading) against φωνῆ of AN 046: in 1418 in reading ἐν Χριστῷ against ἐν κυρίῳ of all other MSS. This connection is represented in the above table.

Certain cursives, i.e. 35, 205, 2040 (118-2011 only). 2050 preserve some original readings lost wholly in n 025, 046 (see clxxiii sqq.). These cursives are in many respects as valuable as the later uncials, while in a few they are superior.

Of the remaining cursives a considerable number follow for the most part 025, while the main body appears to follow 046. But the exact differentiation of these cursives has not yet been investigated.

Turning from the Greek MSS to the versions, we enter on a more difficult task. Of the versions, Tyc sa eth and s2 have not yet been critically edited. All the materials for such a critical edition of bo are given in Horner's edition of the Bohairic N.T., but they are accessible only to Coptic scholars. The internal relations of the Latin versions Tyc Pr fl gig which are still un-
determined, and likewise the influence of the Latin versions (or of the Greek MSS from which a large part of this peculiar (?) Latin element may be derived) on arm s¹ bo eth form attractive problems for future researchers.

Since we know that the Latin versions (or their Greek progenitors) exerçied some influence on arm and s¹, I have placed these versions in close connection on the above table. But the Latin influence on bo eth is not represented, nor is s² even mentioned.

XV.

THE METHODS OF INTERPRETATION ADOPTED IN THIS COMMENTARY.

In my Studies in the Apocalypse I have given a short history of the interpretation of the Apocalypse, dealing with each method as it arose, its contribution to the elucidation of our author, its developments, or, it may be, its final condemnation and rejection at the bar of criticism. Here there is no historical treatment of the subject, but merely an enumeration of the methods, which have stood the test of experience and been found necessary for the interpretation of the Apocalypse.

§ 1. The Contemporary-Historical Method. — This method rightly presupposes that the visions of our author relate to contemporary events and to future events so far as they arise out of them. The real historical horizons of the book were early lost. Yet, even so, traces of the Contemporary-Historical Method still persist in Irenaeus, Hippolytus, and Victorinus of Pettau. But with the rise of the Spiritualizing Method in Alexandria this true method was driven from the field and lost to use till it was revived by the Roman and non-Roman Christian scholars of the 17th century. These scholars established as an assured result that the Apocalypse was originally directed against Rome. The Apocalypse is not to be treated as an allegory, but to be interpreted in reference to definite concrete kingdoms, powers, events, and expectations. But, though the visions of our author related to contemporary events, they are not limited to these. For, as I have said in vol. ii. 86, "no great prophecy receives its full and final fulfilment in any single event or series of events. In fact, it may not be fulfilled at all in regard to the object against which it was primarily delivered by the prophet or seer. But if it is the expression of a great moral and spiritual truth, it will of a surety be fulfilled at sundry times and in divers manners and in varying degrees of completeness" in the history of the world.

§ 2. The Eschatological Method. — But the Apocalypse deals
not only with contemporary events but also with future events. So far as these future events arise naturally out of contemporary events their elucidation can to a certain extent be brought under § 1. But the last things depicted by our author contain a prophetic element. These in a certain sense arise out of the past and yet are inexplicable from it. The future events depicted in the Apocalypse are not to be treated symbolically or allegorically (save in exceptional cases), but as definite concrete events.

§ 3. The Chiliastic Interpretation.—Strictly speaking, Chiliasm forms a subdivision of Eschatology. But in point of fact there are interpreters who, while applying the Eschatological Method rightly on the whole, treat everything relating to Chiliasm in our author purely symbolically. But the prophecy of the Millennium in chap. xx. must be taken literally, as it was by Justin Martyr, Irenaeus, Victorinus of Pettau. These writers were acquainted with the original interpretation of this chapter. But this interpretation was soon displaced by the spiritualizing methods of Alexandria. Tyconius, adopting these methods, rejected the literal interpretation of chap. xx., treated the Millennium as the period between the first and second advents of Christ. Jerome and Augustine followed in the footsteps of Tyconius, and a realistic eschatology was crushed out of existence in the Church for full 800 years. The Eschatological Method, including Chiliasm, was revived by Joachim of Floris (circ. 1200 A.D.), but the latter element was again abandoned for some centuries and declared heretical by the Augsburg and Helvetic Confessions. In England, where these Confessions were without authority, Chiliasm was revived by Mede, Sir Isaac Newton, and Whiston.

§ 4*. The Philological Method in its earlier form.—This method was resorted to in the 16th cent. as a counsel of despair. The Church and World-Historical Methods which originated in the 14th cent. as well as the Recapitulation Method of Victorinus had, combined with other more reasonable methods, been applied to the Apocalypse by numberless scholars, with the result that the best interpreters of the 16th cent. confessed that the Apocalypse remained more than ever the Seven-sealed Book.

But the value of the Philological Method was only in part recognized. The chief philological problems were either not recognized at all or only in part, and so this method failed to make the indispensable contribution that could be made by it and by it alone, and that could put an end to the wild vagaries of the Literary Critical School which had its founder in Grotius. To this method I will return after § 9 under the heading § 4b.

§ 5. The Literary-Critical Method.—If the methods just
mentioned were the only valid methods, and if at the same time the absolute unity of the Apocalypse were assumed as given or proved, then large sections of it would have to be surrendered as unsolved and unsolvable. But there is no such impasse. In the Apocalypse there is no such rigid unity of authorship and consistency of detail as has been constantly assumed. A new method of interpretation was initiated by Grotius—the Literary-Critical. Grotius, observing that there were conflicting elements alike in tradition and within the text itself, conjectured that the Apocalypse was composed of several visions written down at different times and in different places, some before and some after the destruction of Jerusalem. This method finally gave birth to three different hypotheses, each of the three possessing some element of truth, but especially the third. These hypotheses are:

(a) The Redactional-Hypothesis.

(b) The Sources-Hypothesis.

(c) The Fragmentary-Hypothesis.

(a) The Redactional-Hypothesis.—Many interpreters have availed themselves of this hypothesis, but a thorough study of John's style and diction makes it impossible to recognize the Apocalypse as the result of the work of a series of successive editors, such as we recognize in the Ascension of Isaiah. That the Apocalypse suffered one such redaction appears to the present writer to be a hypothesis necessarily postulated by the facts; see vol. i. pp. l-lv, vol. ii. pp. 144-154.

(b) The Sources-Hypothesis.—This theory assumes a series of independent sources connected more or less loosely together as 1 Enoch. That this theory can be established to a limited extent, I have sought to show in 71-8 74-8 111-13 12. 13. 17. 18 (see pp. lxii-lxiv). Some of these sources are purely Jewish, or Jewish-Christian in origin, and one at least of them—i.e. chap. 12—is derived ultimately from a heathen expectation of a World Redeemer (see vol. i. 310-314). But this theory, which breaks up the entire book into various sources, cannot explain the relative unity of the work as a whole—nay more, a unity which might be described as absolute in respect to its purpose steadily maintained from the beginning to the close, its growing thought and dramatic development, its progressive crises, and its diction and style, which are unique in all Greek literature.

(c) Fragmentary-Hypothesis.—From the above two forms of the Literary-Critical Method we turn to its third and most satisfactory form—the Fragmentary-Hypothesis—a most unhappy designation. This hypothesis presupposes an undoubted unity of authorship, though the author has from time to time drawn
on foreign sources (as we have pointed out in the preceding section), and has not always assimilated these fragmentary elements in all their details to their new contexts.

§ 6. Traditional-Historical Method. — This method was applied first by Gunkel to the Apocalypse, and subsequently by many other scholars in an extravagant degree. Each new apocalypse is to some extent a reproduction and reinterpretation of traditional material—whether in the form of figures, symbols, or doctrines. Hence it is necessary to distinguish between the original meaning of a borrowed symbol or doctrine and the new turn given to it by our author. This is done in the introduction to each chapter in this Commentary. In nearly every case our author has transformed or glorified the borrowed material. Thus the sealing in 71-18, which in its Jewish source carried with it the thought of security from physical evil, is a pledge of God's protection from spiritual evil. The doctrine of the Antichrist as it appears in our author is unique: see vol. ii. 76-87, where the various stages of the development of this idea are given. Occasionally details in the borrowed material are inapplicable to our author’s purpose (see notes on 1215-16 184), or possibly unintelligible to him. In these cases he omits all reference to such details in his interpretation of the source of which he has availed himself. But it is probable that these defects and inconsistencies would have been removed by our author if he had had the opportunity of revising his book.

§ 7. Religious-Historical Method.—There are certain statements and doctrines in the Apocalypse which could not have been written first hand by a Christian. These are in some cases of Jewish origin, but others are ultimately derived from Babylonian, Egyptian, or Greek sources; see vol. i. 121-123 on the Cherubim, vol. i. 310-314 on the doctrine of a World-Redeemer. The order of the twelve precious stones, see vol. ii. 165-169, points to our author's knowledge of the heathen conception of the City of the Gods and of contemporary astronomy, and his deliberate deviation from them.

§ 8. Philosophical Method.—Apocalyptic is a philosophy of history and religion. The Seer seeks to get behind the surface and penetrate to the essence of events, the spiritual motives and purposes that underlay and gave them their real significance. Hence apocalyptic takes within its purview not only the present and the last things, but all things past, present, and to come. Apocalyptic and not Greek philosophy was the first to grasp the great idea that all history, alike human, cosmological, and spiritual, is a unity—a unity following naturally as a corollary of the unity of God. And yet serious N.T. scholars of the present day have stated that apocalyptic has only to deal with the last things!
§ 9. Psychological Method.—Are the visions in the Apocalypse the genuine results of spiritual experience? That our author speaks from actual spiritual experience no serious student of to-day has any doubt. The only question that calls for solution is the extent to which such experience underlies the visions of the Apocalypse. On pp. ci–cix the present writer has made an attempt to discuss this question.

§ 4b. The Philological Method in its later form.—This method has already been dealt with in the order of its historical appearance under § 4a above. But its value in determining some of the chief questions of the Apocalypse has never yet been appreciated. It has therefore been all but wholly neglected, and no writer has made a really serious study of the style and diction of our author save Bousset, and that only in a minor degree. Hence on every hand individual verses and combinations of verses have been unjustifiably rejected as non-Johannine, and others just as unjustifiably received as Johannine. After working for years on the Apocalypse under the guidance of all the above methods, I came at last to recognize that no certain conclusion could be reached on many of the vexed problems of the book till I had made a thorough study of John’s grammar. On pp. cxvi–clxxxvii I have given the results of a study extending over many years. In not a few respects it is revolutionary. To give a few examples. As regards John’s Greek it shows that constructions (such as τῶ αὐτὲν ἐν Ἐφεσω, and so in the other six passages), which every modern German scholar has rejected, were exactly the constructions which a complete study of John’s grammar required. Next, this study revolutionizes the translation of the Apocalypse. Frequently it is not the Greek but the Hebrew in the mind of the writer that has to be translated. Thirdly, as regards large sections which have been rejected by most modern scholars as non-Johannine, this grammar shows that such sections are essentially Johannine—and vice versa.

XVI.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

Editions.—Greek Commentaries.—The Apocalypse does not owe much to Greek expositors. The earliest were probably the best. Fragmentary expositions are preserved in Justin and Irenaeus

---

1 This bibliography is abbreviated as much as possible. For fuller bibliographies in various directions the reader should consult Lücke, Einl. in d. Offenbarung, 518 sqq., 952 sqq.; Bousset, Offenbarung Johannis, 1906, pp. 48–118; Holtzmann-Bauer’s Hand-Commentar, iv. 380–390; Walch, Bibl.
which are referred to by Jerome, De vir. illustr. ii. 9. The two earliest complete Commentaries by Melito (cf. Eus. H.E. iv. 26. 2) and Hippolytus (Jerome, op. cit. 61) are lost. Clement of Alexandria (Eus. H.E vi. 14. 1) commented on the Apocalypse, and Origen recorded his intention of so doing, In Matt. 49 (Lommatzsch, iv. 307). That his Scholia on the Apoc. have been preserved is highly probable: see p. clxxvi. Commentary by Oecumenius (discovered by Diekampf; see Sitzungsberichte der Kön. preuss. Akad. der Wiss., 1901, 1046 sqq.). The Commentary ascribed by Cramer (Catena, viii. p. vi, 497–582) to Oecumenius is, according to Diekampf, a compendium of Andreas (ed. Sylburg, 1596; Migne, P.G. cvi) and Arethas (Cramer's Catena, viii. 171–496; Migne, P.G. cvi).

Latin Commentaries.—Victorinus (iii cent.). This Commentary appears in a shorter and in a longer form. For the latter see Migne, P.L. v. Haussleiter is engaged on a critical edition. Tyconius (iv–v cent. See Souter in J.T.S. xiv. 338 sqq. A critical edition is promised by Haussleiter); Primasius (vi cent., ed. by Haussleiter, Die Lateinische Apocalypse, 1891); Apringius (vi cent. ed. by Férotin, Paris, 1900). Bede, Ansbertus, Beatus, Haymo, and others carried on the tradition of the Church in the West.

There were some Syriac Commentaries, the most important of which is that of Barsalibi (see Gwynn in Hermathena, vi–vii).

In the mediaeval period the most important commentator was Joachim, abbot of Floris, 1195 (ed. Venice, 1519, 1527).

Commentaries since the Reformation.—Since the Reformation the number of writers on the Apocalypse is almost beyond count. Only a few of the chief names can be given. Erasmus, Annotationes in N.T., 1516; Bibliander, Comment. in Apoc., 1549; Bullinger, In Apoc. Conciones, 1557; Ribeira, In sacram b. Ioannis . . . Apoc. Commentarius, Lyons, 1593; Pereyra, Disputationes selectissimae super libro Apocalypsis, Venice, 1607; Salmeron, In Johannis Apoc. Praeludia, 1614; Alcasar, Vestigatio arcani sensus in Apoc., Lyons, 1618; Juan Mariana, Scholia in . . . N.T., 1619; Brightman, Revelation of St. John, 1616; Cornelius a Lapide, Comm. in Apoc., 1627; Mede, Clavis Apocalypseos, Cambridge, 1627; Grotius, Annotationes, 1644; Hammond, Paraphrase and Annotations upon the N.T., 1653; Coccejus, Cognitiones in Apoc., 1673; Marcikius, In Apoc. . . . Commentarius, Amsterdam, 1689; Vitrina, 'Ανάκρισις Apocalypsiós, 1719; I. Newton,

Theol. selecta, iv. 760 sqq.; Stosch, Catalogus rariorum in Apoc. Ioannis Commentariorum; Elliott, Horae Apocalypticae, iv. 275-528. In my Lectures on the Apocalypse, pp. 1–78, I have combined a bibliography and a history of the interpretation of the Apocalypse, as Bousset and Holtzmann-Bauer have done, though on a smaller scale than Bousset.

1906—valuable also for the student of the Apocalypse; Charles, *Studies in the Apocalypse*², 1915.


*Texts.*—B. Weiss, *Die Johannes-Apokalypse* (Textkritische Untersuchungen und Textherstellung), Leipzig, 1891, 2nd ed. 1902; Souter, *N.T. Graec*, 1910; Moffatt (Expositor’s Greek Testament), 1910; Von Soden, 1914. Von Soden’s is the least satisfactory of modern texts so far as the Apocalypse is concerned. Notwithstanding all the work done in recent years on the text of the Apocalypse, that of Westcott and Hort remains the best, though the text presupposed by Bousset is in some of its details superior. Of these scholars, Westcott and Hort alone have recognized that the right text in 2¹. ⁸. ¹⁸ ³¹. ⁷. ¹⁴ is τῶ ᾧ ἐγέλυ ῥό, though among the uncial A has preserved it only in three passages and C in one. Souter follows A in 2¹. ⁸ but not in ²¹. ⁸. Von Soden has rejected the right reading in the seven passages, and branded it (p. 2070) as a “Willkürlichkeit” on the part of the scribe of A. A knowledge of John’s grammar would have made the adoption of τῶ ᾧ ἐγέλυ τῆς ἐν . . . ἐκκλησίας impossible on the part of any editor.


**Some of the Abbreviations used in this Work.**

Versions.¹

Aq. or α’ . . . . Version of Aquila or α.
A.V. . . . . . . Authorized Version.
LXX or o’ . . . . Septuagint.

¹ For those used in the Greek text see vol. ii. 227–235.
ABBREVIATIONS

R.V. Revised Version.
Symm. or σ' Symmachus.
Theod. or 6' Theodotion.
by Thackeray), 1898.
D.A.C. Hastings' Dictionary of the Apostolic
Church.
J The Fourth Gospel.
1. 2. 3 J. Johannine Epistles.
J* The Apocalypse.
K.A.T.3 Schrader's Die Keilinschriften und das
alte Testament, edited and rewritten by
H. Zimmern and H. Winckler, 1903.
Moulton, Gram. Moulton's Grammar of N.T. Greek2,
vol. i., 1906.
MT Massoretic Text.
O.T. Old Testament.
Robertson, Gram. Robertson, Grammar of the Greek of the
N.T., 1914.
S.B.E. Sacred Books of the East (edited by Max
Müller), Oxford.
Thackeray, Gram. Thackeray, Grammar of the O.T. in
Greek, vol. i., 1909.
T.L.Z. Theologische Literaturzeitung.
Weber2 Weber's Jüdische Theologie, 1897.
WH Westcott and Hort, The N.T. in Greek.
Völter i. See above under the Section "Studies
mainly Critical."
ii. "
iii. "
iv. "
Z.A.T.W. Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wis-
senschaft.
Z.f.N.T.W. Preuschen's Zeitschrift für die Neutesta-
mentliche Wissenschaft.
Z.K.W. or Z.K.W.L. Zeitschrift für Kirchliche Wissenschaft
und Kirchliches Leben.
Z.W.T. Zeitschrift für Wissenschaftliche Theologie.
ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.

VOLUME I.

Page 215, line 22 ab ino. After "unexampled" add "except perhaps in Aq. Ex. xxiv. 16."

Page 224, footnote, line 11. After "xvi. 19" add "(an interpolation)," and see the emended form of this note in vol. i. Introd. p. clix ad init.

Page 294. Paragraph beginning "It is noteworthy," etc., was written before I recognized that xvi. 5\(^b\)–7 should be restored after xix. 4.

§ 1. The Contents and Authorship of this Chapter.

The Superscription (i. 1-3) falls into three parts, each part of which in turn is formed of three elements. The first sets forth the source of the Apocalypse, the second its contents, and the third the blessedness of those who receive and fulfil its teachings. As regards the source—it was God by whom the Apocalypse was given to Christ: it was Christ who sent His angel and signified it to John: it was John who bare witness to it as from God and Christ. As for its contents—these were the word of God and the truth attested by Christ, which were embodied in the visions which John had seen. As for the blessedness that attends on its reception—this blessedness is to be the portion of those that read it in the Churches, of those that hear, and of those that observe it.

After the Superscription follows the Introduction (i. 4-8), which is composed of three stanzas of three lines each. In these John salutes the Seven Churches, invoking upon them grace and peace from God, which is and which was and which is to come, and from Jesus Christ. Of these two Divine Beings he proceeds to speak more definitely—of Christ in 5-7 and of God in 8. Christ is the faithful witness, the sovereign of the dead, the ruler of those that rule the living. To Him is to be ascribed glory and power, inasmuch as loving us with an everlasting love He hath redeemed us from our sins and endowed us with the offices of kingship and priesthood unto God (i. 4-6), and will speedily come in the clouds—whose advent His crucifiers will witness to their cost and the heathen-hearted nations with fear and anguish. Of God our author does not speak in the third person, but intro-

1 The clause that follows relating to the seven spirits is an interpolation (see note in loc.).
duces the Supreme Being as declaring: I am the Alpha and the Omega—the Lord of the past, the present and the future.

In i. 9–20 we have the Seer's call by the Son of Man and his vision of the Son of Man, standing in the midst of seven golden candlesticks and holding seven stars, risen and glorified. By Him the Seer is bid to write what He saw and to send it to the Seven Churches. Any paraphrase of this sublime description of the Son of Man would only hopelessly weaken it. It may, however, be observed that it contains the attributes of the Ancient of Days and of one like a Son of Man in Daniel (vii. 9, 13) as well as of the nameless angel in Dan. x. 5–6, and that nearly every phrase in this description of the Son of Man (13–16) and of His words (17c–20) recurs in ii.–iii. to which it forms an introduction, just as x. does to xi. 1–13.

In 17c–18 the Son of Man declares who He is (even as God does in 8), i.e. the First and the Last, He that liveth and was dead and had thereby become the holder of the keys of death. As such He bids the Seer afresh to write what He saw, and to learn the mystery that the seven candlesticks were the Seven Churches and the seven stars the heavenly ideals of the Seven Churches, which could only be realized through Him.

As regards the authorship of this chapter, whilst there is no evidence either in point of idiom or diction against its being from the hand of John the Seer, there is, as I have shown in the summary in § 2, the most positive evidence for its derivation from him.

§ 2. Diction and Idiom.

There can be no question as to the authorship of this chapter. Alike in its diction and its idiom it is from the hand of John the Seer.

(a) Diction.—This subject is dealt with in detail in the notes. But the results can be shortly summarized and some of the chief parallelisms in phraseology within the rest of the Book emphasized. But first of all it is to be observed that whereas none of the diction and phraseology is against our author's use, much of it is specifically Johannine and all of it in keeping with his use.

I. 1. δείξαι τοὺς δούλους αὐτοῦ, ἄ δει γενέσθαι ἐν τάξει. This clause recurs as a whole in xxii. 6 and in part in iv. 1. δεῖκνυμι is characteristic of our author in its apocalyptic sense.

τῷ δούλῳ αὐτοῦ ἰωάννη. Cf. xi. 18, τοῖς δούλοις σον τ. προφήτας.


τ. λόγον τ. θεοῦ καὶ τ. μαρτυρίαν ἠησοῦ. Cf. i. 9, vi. 9, xii. 11 (τ. λόγον τ. μαρτυρίας), 17 (τ. μαρτυρίαν ἠησοῦ only and in xix. 10), xx. 4.
3. μακάριος . . . τ. λόγους τ. προφητειάς καὶ θρούντες. Cf. xxii. 7, 10. We have here the first of the seven beatitudes in this Book: cf. xiv. 13, xvi. 15, xix. 9, xx. 6, xxii. 7, 14.

δ γαρ καιρὸς ἐγγύς. Cf. xxii. 10.


6. ἐποίησεν ἡμᾶς βασιλείαν, ἰερεῖς. Cf. v. 10.

εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας [τ. αἰῶνων]. Cf. i. 18, iv. 9, 10, v. 13, vii. 12, x. 6, etc. But in Gospel and 1 and 2 John always εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.

8. τὸ Α καὶ τὸ Ω . . . ὅ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἤν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος, ὁ παντοκράτωρ. Cf. i. 8, iv. 8, xi. 17, xvi. 5, xxii. 6, xxii. 13.

Κύριος ὁ θεὸς . . . ὁ παντοκράτωρ. Cf. iv. 8, xi. 17, xv. 3, xvi. 7, 14, xix. 6, 15, xxii. 22. Παντοκράτωρ occurs eight times in the rest of the Apocalypse and not once elsewhere in the N.T. except in an O.T. quotation (2 Cor. vi. 18).


12. μισθείς. Our author uses this verb twice in i., once in iii. and thirteen times in the rest of the book, and never in the aorist; for in xxii. 8 A is to be followed.

13. δόμοις οὐδὸν ἀνθρώπου. Only elsewhere in xiv. 14, in this form in all literature.

ἐνδεδυμένον ποδήρη καὶ περιεξωσμένον πρὸς τοῖς μαστοῖς ζωνήν χρυσᾶν. Cf. xv. 6.


16. ἡ ὁψίς αὐτοῦ ὡς ὁ ἥλιος. Cf. x. 1.


17. ὁ πρῶτος καὶ ὁ ἐσχάτος. Cf. ii. 8, xxii. 13.

19. οὖν. Here used (probably owing to its fourfold occurrence in ii.–iii.) of logical appeal, never of historical transition as in the Fourth Gospel: cf. ii. 5, 16, iii. 3, 19. In the later chapters our author uses διὰ τοῦτο instead: cf. vii. 15, xii. 32 [xviii. 8]. Thus this entire chapter is most closely connected by its distinctively Johannine phraseology with ii.–vi., x.–xi., xiv.–xvi., xix.–xxii. Let us now turn to the most striking idioms in this chapter.

(6) Idiom.—These are dealt with fully in the notes. But we shall mention a sufficient number to confirm beyond question the conclusion that this chapter comes from the hand of our author.

I. 4. ἀπὸ ὅ ὦν καὶ ὁ ἤν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος. On this wholly abnormal construction with ἀπὸ, which is nevertheless quite intelligible in our author and yet not in any other, see note in loc. As regards ὅ ὦν . . . ἐρχόμενος—this title recurs wholly or in part in i. 8, iv. 8, xi. 17, xvi. 5.

5. ἦσοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὁ μάρτυς πιστός. This anomalous con-
struction of the nominative in apposition to an oblique case recurs ii. 13, 2c, iii. 12, vii. 4, viii. 9, ix. 14, xiv. 12, 14, xx. 2. That this solecism is characteristic of our author cannot be denied, since it occurs so frequently, whereas it is exceptional in the Koivrj and the LXX, in the latter of which it is clearly, as in our author, a Hebraism.

5–8. τῷ ἀγαπώντι . . . καὶ ἐποίησεν. This Hebraism recurs frequently in our author: cf. i. 18, ii. 2, 9, 20, iii. 9, vii. 14, xiv. 2–3, xv. 3.

10. φωνήν . . . ὡς σάλπιγγος λεγούσης. Here we should expect λέγονταν. But cf. iv. 1.

13. δομοιον υἱόν ἀνθρώπου. Cf. xiv. 14 for this otherwise unexampled construction. See Additional Note, p. 36.

16. ἐχων = εἶχε or εἶχε as elsewhere in our author: cf. x. 2, xii. 2, xxi. 12, 14. Moreover, ἐκπορευομένη is used as ἐκπορευέτω in this same verse. In our author these are Hebraisms, though this usage is found occasionally in the Koivrj. Again, the Hebraism ἦ ὄψις αὐτοῦ ὡς ὁ ἀνόσιος φαίνει though not found elsewhere in this Book, is closely akin to our author’s many Hebraisms, especially in connection with ὡς = ὃ. See p. 36.

20. τὰς ἐπτὰ λυχνίας—this is a slip for the genitive. There are other analogous slips in our author, which are best explained as due to his not having had an opportunity to revise his text.

Thus this chapter is connected by Johannine idioms with ii.–iv., vii.–xii., xiv.–xvi., xx.–xxi. There can be no doubt as to the genuineness of the text.

§ 3. Order of Words.

The order is Semitic. Thus the verb is before the subject and object once, before the subject twice, before the object five times. It stands at the beginning of the clause or sentence followed by adverbial phrases eleven times. On the other hand, the verb follows the subject (9) once, the object (a pronoun) once. The participle, where it stands for a finite verb, occurs once at the close of a clause (16b). These facts are in keeping with our author’s style.

Ἀποκάλυψις ἤωάννου.

The word ἀποκάλυψις is not used as the title of any work before the time of our Apocalypse, though it is used by St. Paul exactly in the same sense of minor revelations: cf. i Cor. xiv. 26. So far as the word itself goes it is found in Sir. xi. 27, xxii. 22 (μνηστηρίον ἀποκάλυψεος), xlii. 1, while ἀποκαλύπτειν is found in Amos iii. 7, ἀποκαλύψῃ παιδείαν πρὸς τοὺς δούλους αὐτοῦ τοὺς
I. 1–3. THE SUPERSCRIPTION

προφήται, in the sense of a "revealing" of something hidden. In the second passage we have an approach to the use of the word in our text. In Theodotion's rendering of Daniel the verb ἀποκάλυπτειν is used exactly in the sense of the noun ἀποκάλυψις in the title: cf. ii. 19, 22, 28, 29, 30, 47, x. i. It appears in the title of 2 Baruch—"The Book of the Apocalypse of Baruch the son of Neriah"—the publication of which was nearly contemporary with that of our Apocalypse. It signifies a vision and its interpretation. Elsewhere in the N.T. it is found with the same meaning in the Pauline Epistles (Rom. xvi. 25; 2 Cor. xii. 1; Gal. i. 12, etc.). In 1 Pet. i. 7, 13, iv. 13, Luke ii. 32, etc., this word is not used in quite the same sense, but means rather, manifestation, appearance. ἀποκάλυψις is found also in Classical Greek in the sense of to lay bare, to disclose, in Plato, Protag. 352 D, Gorg. 460 A; while ἀποκάλυψις is found in Plutarch, Paul. Aemil. 14, Cat. Maj. 20, Quom. Adul. ab Am. 32 (ἀποκ. ἀμαρτίας) in the sense of a laying bare. The verb frequently bears this meaning in LXX, and the noun once. But the special religious meaning of ἀποκάλυψις in Greek and revelatio in Latin was unknown to the heathen world.

ἀποκάλυψις ἰωάννου was the title of our Book in the 2nd cent.: cf. Murat. i. 71 sq.: "Scripta apocalypse(s) etiam johannis et petri tantum recipimus." That the Book was ever known by the bare term ἀποκάλυψις cannot safely be inferred from Tertullian, Adv. Marc. iv. 5, or Irenaeus, v. 30. 3 (τοῦ καὶ τῆς Ἀποκάλυψιν ἔωρακότος); for in both these passages the context clearly defines whose apocalypse is in question. V. 30. 2, "Propter hoc non annumeratur tribus haec in Apocalypse," would be more relevant here; but even this passage is wholly indecisive, since the authorship of the Apocalypse is stated in v. 26. 1.

I. 1–3. THE SUPERSCRIPTION.

1–3. The Superscription, which sets forth (1) the source of the Apocalypse, (2) its contents, and (3) the blessedness of those who receive its teachings. (1) There are three definite stages in the transmission of this Apocalypse from its source to its publication. First it is God Himself who gave it to Christ to make it known unto His servants—ἐδωκεν αὐτῷ ὁ θεός δείξαι τ. δούλους αὐτοῦ . . . ἐν τάχει (cf. the declaration of God in xxii. 6b–8), and the statement as to God's sending the angel, in δείξαι . . . ἐν τάχει in xxii. 6. Next, Christ sent and signified it through His angel to John—ἐσήμανεν ἀποστείλας διὰ τοῦ ἄγγελου αὐτοῦ τῷ δούλῳ αὐτοῦ Ἰωάννη (cf. the declaration of Christ in xxii. 6–7, 16, 13, 12, 10, 18a). Thirdly, John bare witness to this Apocalypse accorded by Christ to him, i.e., the word of God and the truth
attested by Christ—τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὴν μαρτυρίαν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὅσα εἶδεν (cf. the testimony of John in xxi. 8–9, 20–21). This correspondence between i. 1–2 and xxi. 6b–8, xxi. 6–21, is, therefore, not accidental. But if we desire further confirmation of the close connection of i–3 with the xxi.–xxii., we have it in the repetition by Christ in xxi. 7 of the beatitude pronounced by John in i. 3.

(2) Its contents are “the word of God and the testimony of Jesus Christ, everything that He saw.” Here there are three elements corresponding to the three agents mentioned above. First, there is the word of God. Secondly, this word is attested by Christ. Thirdly, it is seen by John in vision.

(3) The blessedness of those who receive and observe its teachings. Here, again, there is a threefold division: blessed is he that reads them in the public assemblies: blessed is he that hears these prophecies: blessed is he that observes them.

I. ἀποκάλυψις Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. The genitive here is subjective. The revelation is given by Jesus Christ to John as God gave it to Him. Cf. John vii. 16, ἠ ἐμὴ διδαχὴ ὦνκ ἐστιν ἐμὴ ἀλλὰ τοῦ πέμψαντός με, and iii. 35, v. 20 sqq., 26, xvi. 15, etc. The title Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς is found only here and in verses 2, 5: Ἰησοῦς alone nine times; Κύριος Ἰησοῦς twice (xxii. 20, 21); Κύριος once only, xiv. 13; ὁ Κύριος αὐτῶν (xi. 8). Χριστός, when used alone, always has the article (xx. 4, 6, + αὐτῶν, xi. 15, xii. 10. In the Johannine Epistles Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς occurs nine times, Ἰησοῦς six, ὁ Χριστὸς three times.

ἡν ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ ὁ θεὸς δεῖξαι τοῖς δοῦλοις αὐτῶν. Cf. Amos iii. 7, οὗ μὴ ποιήσει Κύριος ὁ θεός πράγμα ἐὰν μὴ ἀποκάλυψη ταῦτα πρὸς τοὺς δοῦλους αὐτῶν τοὺς προφῆτας. In our text the servants, who are God's servants (αὐτῶν), are the Christian prophets. Cf. x. 7, xi. 18, xxii. 6. δεῖξαι. This word is characteristic of our author when it means to communicate a divine revelation by means of visions.

ἀ δεῖ γενέσθαι ἐν τάχει. The δεῖ denotes not the merely hasty consummation of things, but the absolutely sure fulfilment of the divine purpose. That this fulfilment would come “soon” (ἐν τάχει: cf. xxii. 6; Deut. ix. 3; Ezek. xxix. 5 (not in Mass.); Luke xviii. 8; Rom. xvi. 20), has always been the expectation of all living prophecy and apocalyptic. ἀ δεῖ γενέσθαι is drawn from Dan. ii. 28 (ἀ δεῖ γενέσθαι ἐπὶ ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν), 29. ἀ... ἐν τάχει recurs in xxii. 6.

ἔσῃμαι—α Johannine word: cf. John xii. 33, xviii. 32, xxi. 19. It is Christ that is the subject of the verb here.

ἀποστείλας. Cf. xxii. 16, where Christ sent (ἐπεμψε) His angel, and xxii. 6, where God sent (ἀπέστειλε) His angel. Once again this verb is used: in v. 6. ἀποστέλλειν διὰ = ἦν γὰρ. Ex.
iv. 13; Matt. xi. 2, πεμψας διὰ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ: Acts xi. 30, ἀποστειλαντες ... διὰ χειρὸς Βαρνάβα.

2. δὲ ἐμαρτύρησεν. μαρτυρεῖν, which is found four times and always with the acc. in our author—for this is the best way of treating xxii. 18—occurs more frequently in the Johannine Gospel and Epistles than elsewhere in the N.T. (i.e., 33 + 10 = 43 times). The aorist ἐμαρτύρησεν is epistolary: the author transports himself to the standpoint of his readers.

tὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὴν μαρτυρίαν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ = the revelation given by God and borne witness to by Christ (subjective genitive). It means the Christian revelation as a whole in i. 9, vi. 9, xx. 4, but in the present passage the expression is limited by the words that follow δα εἰδεν—to the revelation made in this Book. Kindred expressions occur in xii. 17, τὰς ἐντολὰς τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ... τὴν μαρτυρίαν Ἰησοῦ, and xix. 10, τὴν μαρτυρίαν Ἰησοῦ: but in the last passage the phrase may have a different meaning in the traditional text, and Ἰησοῦ be the objective genitive. The λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ is not to be limited in our text to the O.T. It embraces the entire revelation of God which now in its fulness is attested by Christ.

δα εἰδεν. These words limit, as we have said, the scope of the two preceding phrases. On the significance of εἰδεν in our author, see note on iv. 1. We should observe how the ministry of angels (ταθ) and the visions of the Seer are here closely combined, as also later.

3. This verse consists of a stanza of four lines. We have here the first of the seven beatitudes in the Apocalypse (xiv. 13, xvi. 15, xix. 9, xx. 6, xxii. 7, 14. The last beatitude, which is pronounced by Christ and is given in xxii. 7b (for the present text of xx. 4—xxii. is in disorder), reaffirms the beatitude here pronounced by John.

δ ἀναγινώσκων. This is not the private student but the public reader, the ἀναγινώστης or lector, as the sing. δ ἀναγινώσκων as opposed to the plural οἱ ἀκοινώντες shows. At the close of the first century A.D., the reader was probably any suitable person who was nominated for this purpose by the presbyters or president from among the congregation. The reader in time acquired an official position and became a member of the clergy, and is first mentioned in this capacity in Tertullian (De Praescr. 41). The books which were read were originally those of the O.T., as in the synagogues, and afterwards the books of the N.T., as well as the sub-apostolic epistles: cf. Justin Martyr (Apol. i. 67), τα ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν ἀποστόλων ἢ τὰ συγγράμματα τῶν προφητῶν ἀναγινώσκεται. This practice of reading at public worship was adopted from the Jews: cf. Neh. viii. 2; Ex. xxiv. 7; Luke iv. 16; Acts xiii. 15; 2 Cor. iii. 15. Amongst the Jews the Scripture
lessons from the Law and the Prophets could be read by any member of the congregation, but if any priests or Levites were present they took precedence. The earliest mention of the reading of the Prophets is found in Luke iv. 17, Acts xiii. 15 (comp. Megilla iv. 1–5); but they were not read on week-days nor on Sabbath afternoon services, but only at the chief service by one person (Megilla iv. 5) on the morning of the Sabbath. See Schürer3, ii. 456.

οἱ ἀκούοντες . . . καὶ τηροῦντες. These two participles are, as the Greek shows, to be taken closely together. These two lines therefore reproduce the words of Christ in Luke xi. 28, μακάριοι οἱ ἀκούοντες τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ φυλάσσοντες. Cf. also John xii. 47, ἐὰν τίς μου ἀκούσῃ τ. ἤμιάτων καὶ μὴ φυλάξῃ. But our author does not use φυλάσσειν, and replaces it with the familiar Johannine word τηρεῖν. Ps. i. represents on a large scale this combination of faithful reading and faithful living.

tοὺς λόγους τῆς προφητείας. Here as in xxii. 7, 10, 18 the Seer claims for his Book a place in the forefront of prophetic literature.

ὁ γὰρ καὶρὸς ἐγγύς. These words relate to the blessedness of those who are faithful in the present evil time; for they will not have long to wait; the season of their deliverance is at hand. Cf. Rom. xiii. 11; i Cor. vii. 29, ὁ καὶρὸς συνεσταλμένος ἑστίν. The beatitude, of course, is true in itself independently of the time of consummation (cf. xxii. 7), but the closely impending recompense is repeatedly dwelt upon by our author to encourage his readers in the face of universal martyrdom.

4–8. INTRODUCTION. JOHN’S GREETING TO THE SEVEN CHURCHES.

4. ἵωάννης ταῖς ἐπτὰ ἐκκλησίαις. This is the usual form for beginning a letter (cf. Gal. i. 1, etc.). Indeed the whole Book from i. 4 to its close is in fact an Epistle.

tαῖς ἐπτὰ ἐκκλησίαις ταῖς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ. The article before ἐπτὰ refers proleptically to ver. 11, where these Churches are enumerated. Other Churches existed at the time with which the Seer must have been familiar, such as Colossae (Col. i. 2, ii. 1), Hierapolis (Col. iv. 13), Troas (Acts xx. 5 sqq.), Magnesia (Ignatius, Ad Magn. i. 1), Tralles (Ignatius, Ad Trail. i.). Why the particular seven Churches mentioned in i. 11 were chosen by our author cannot now be determined (see, however, note on i. 11); but the fact that seven were chosen, and no more and no less, can occasion no difficulty. For seven was a sacred number not only in Jewish Apocalyptic and Judaism generally,
but particularly in our Author: cf. i. [4*] 12, 16, iv. 5, v. 1, 6 [viii. 2], x. 3, xi. 13 [xii. 3], xiii. 1, xv. 6, 7, 8, xvi. 1, xvii. 1, etc.

ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ. According to the usage of the Maccabean Books (I Macc. viii. 6, xi. 13, xii. 39, xiii. 32; 2 Macc. iii. 3, x. 24; 3 Macc. iii. 14; 4 Macc. iii. 20), Asia embraces the empire of the Seleucids. In the Sibyline Oracles, iii. 168, 342, 350, 351, 353–4; 367, 381, 388, 391, 450, 599, 611, iv. 1, 71, 76, 79, 145, 148, v. 99, 118, 287, etc., the extension of the term varies—at times apparently comprehending the entire continent, at others restricted to the coast cities and the lower valleys of the Maeander, Cayster, etc. But on the transference of the kingdom of Attalus iii. to Rome, the Roman province of Asia conterminous with the limits of this kingdom was formed in 133–130 B.C., and this province was subsequently augmented by the addition of Phrygia in 116 B.C. ‘Ἡ Ἀσία in the N.T. is all but universally (contrast Acts ii. 9) identified with Proconsular Asia.

χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη ἀπὸ δὲ ὄν καὶ δὲ ἡν καὶ δὲ ἐρχόμενος
[kαὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπτά πνευμάτων τῶν ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου αὐτοῦ].

5. καὶ ἀπὸ Ἡσσοῦ Χριστοῦ, δ ἑμπτεὶ δ πιστῶς.

In these three lines the second is beyond question an interpolation of a later hand (probably early in the 2nd cent.). Since xxii. 8–9, and (possibly) xix. 9–10 are from the hand of our author, he cannot have put forward such a grotesque Trinity as the above. In the passages just cited the worship of angels (see note on xxii. 8) is denounced in most forcible terms, and from the class of subordinate beings co-ordinate with the seven archangels we cannot exclude “the seven spirits.” The Seer cannot therefore have accorded divine honours to these seven spirits at the very opening of his Book. Moreover, when this interpolation is removed, we have three stanzas of three lines each beginning with χάρις 4b, and ending 7ε αἰ φυλαὶ τῆς γῆς. Thus in 4b–5a as in 5ε–6a only God and Christ are mentioned.

4b. χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη. These words do not form a mere salutation, for this has been given in the preceding words, but a benediction from God. Grace and peace cannot be said to emanate from angels—even from the seven archangels. The χάρις here is the favour of God and of Jesus Christ. It is only found once again in our author, i.e. in xxii. 21, where this spiritual endowment is derived from Jesus Christ. See notes on χάρις and εἰρήνη in Sanday’s Romans, 10 sq., 15 sq.; Milligan, 1 Thess. i. 1. The εἰρήνη is the harmony restored between God and man through Christ. In all the Pauline Epistles these are said to proceed from God the Father and from Jesus Christ, just as in the original text here. In 1 and 2 Timothy we have the fuller form χάρις, ἔλεος, εἰρήνη. Moreover, in nine of the Pauline
Epistles the phrase is exactly as here, χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη, while in 1 and 2 Timothy it stands as in the preceding sentence.

ἀπὸ δὲ ὑμῖν καὶ ἡ ἡμέρα καὶ ὁ ἔρχομαι. Cf. i. 8, iv. 8, and δὲ ὡν κ. δὲ ἡμέρα in xi. 17, xvi. 5. We have here a title of God conceived in the terms of time. The Seer has deliberately violated the rules of grammar in order to preserve the divine name inviolate from the change which it would necessarily have undergone if declined. Hence the divine name is here in the nominative. It could have been preserved in classical Greek, i.e. ἀπὸ τοῦ ὡν. But our author shows no knowledge of this construction. But there are other irregularities—as, for instance, δὲ ἡμέρα. The ἡμέρα is said to have been used because there was no past participle of εἰμί. But this does not really explain ἡμέρα nor yet δὲ. Besides he could have used δὲ γεγονός (cf. xvi. 17, xxi. 6) or δὲ γενόμενος (i. 18). I offer, therefore, the following explanation. Our author could have written here δὲ ὡν καὶ ἡμέρα, in keeping with a Hebraism which he frequently avails himself of; for δὲ ὡν καὶ ἡμέρα would be an exact reproduction of the Hebrew יהוה יוהי. See note on 5c. Herein we have a probable explanation of ἡμέρα. It is harder to explain the δὲ which precedes it. The article here may be inserted before the ἡμέρα since it accompanies the other two elements in the divine name: δὲ ὡν ... καὶ δὲ ἔρχομαι.

As for δὲ ἔρχομαι, where our author returns to the participial construction, it is clear that he uses ἔρχομαι, instead of ἐσόμενος, with a definite reference to the contents of the Book and especially to the coming of Christ, i. 7, ii. 5, 16, iii. 11, xxii. 7, 12, etc., in whose coming God Himself comes also.

Besides, our author does not use the future participle.

Passing now from the grammar of this clause to its meaning, we find that this divine name was common to both Jews and Gentiles. Thus the Targ. Jon. on Ex. iii. 14 (יהוה אֶלֶף אֶלֶף אֶלֶף), where the LXX has ἐγὼ εἰμί δὲ ὡν, and Aquila and Theod. ἐσομαι < ἔσομαι > ἐσομαι οὐκ ἐσομαι = "Ego sum, qui sum et futurus sum," and Deut. xxxii. 39, ἐγὼ ἡ δεξιᾶ ἡ δεξιᾶ ἡ δεξιᾶ = "Ego sum qui sum, et fui, et ego sum qui futurus sum." Also Shem. rab. iii. f. 105b, "Dixit Deus ... ad Mosen: Ego fui, et adhuc sum et ero in posterum" (this last from Wetstein). In the Greek we find analogous titles of God. Cf. Pausaniae, x. 12. 5: for the songs of the doves at Dodona, Ζεὺς ἡμέρα, Ζεὺς ἐστιν, Ζεὺς ἐσομαι: in the inscription at Sais (Plutarch, De Iside, 9), ἐγὼ εἰμί πάν τὸ γεγονός καὶ δὲν καὶ ἐσόμενον καὶ τὸν ἐμὸν πέπλου οὐδεὶς παῦσιν ἀπεκάλυψεν: in the Orphic lines, Ζεὺς πρῶτος γένετο, Ζεὺς ὁστάτος ἄρχωκέραννος, Ζεὺς κεφαλή, Ζεὺς μέσσα, Δώσ δὲ ἐκ πάντα τέτυκται. Finally, in reference to Ahuramazda it is stated in the Bundahis, i. 4 (S.B.E. v. 4), "Aūharmazd and
the region, religion and time of Aûharmazd were and are and ever will be.”

[kai apto tov epita pneumatwv ketl.]

Although I have without hesitation bracketed these words as an early interpolation, we must consider the explanations of those who have accepted them as from the hand of our Seer, and also deal briefly with the probable origin of this conception.

1. First of all we have the interpretation—more or less of Victorinus, Primasius, Apringius, Beatus among the earlier commentators, and in modern times Alford and Swete—which regards the seven spirits here as the sevenfold energies of God or of the Holy Spirit. In support of this view Swete quotes Heb. ii. 4, pneuma tov angan merismois: I Cor. xii. 10, diakrinveis pneumatwv: xiv. 32, pneuma meta profofwn: Apos. xxii. 6, o theos tov pneumatwv tov profofwn. “Here the ‘spirits’ are seven, because the Churches in which they operate are seven” (Swete). This reason is less convincing than that adduced by other supporters of this view, who trace the conception of the seven spirits to an erroneous though not unnatural interpretation of Isa. xi. 2, 3, whereby the six spiritual endowments that are to be given to the Messiah were transformed into seven: cf. 1 Enoch lix. 11; Targ. Jon. on this passage; also the LXX; Justin, Dial. 37, ep auton pneuma theou, pneuma sophias kai sunevesin, pneuma boulhias kai logos, pneuma gnousin kai evdebeias, kai epilipesi auton pneuma fousum theou: also 39; Cohort. ad Gentiles, 32, oi ieroi profofetai to en kai to auton pneuma eis epita pneuma meireiavei faasi.

But that we have here to deal, not with impersonal energies but with concrete beings, may be inferred from iii. 1 of our text, where the seven spirits and the seven stars are regarded as parallel conceptions. Further, the scribe who interpolated 4° between 4b and 5a manifestly regarded these seven spirits as much concrete beings as God and Jesus Christ. Hence the seven spirits here cannot be interpreted either as abstractions or impersonal energies.

2. The seven spirits are to be identified with the seven archangels. Judaism was familiar with seven archangels: cf. Ezek. ix. 2; Tob. xii. 15; i Enoch xx. 7, xc. 21 (“the seven first white ones”); T. Levi viii. 2. This number, it is said (cf. Gunkel, Schöpfung und Chaos, 294-302; Zimmerm, in Schrader’s K.A.T. 3 ii. 620-626; Bousset, Offenbarung, 184-187, 291 sq.), presupposes a religion of which the worship of seven gods was a characteristic. Now we find such a religion in the Zend with its seven Amshaspands (S.B.E. v. 10 n.; xxiii. 291; xxxi. Introd. pp. xviii, xxiv, 77, 179 sq.), which in their turn were derived from the Babylonish cult of the seven
star deities. The existence of these astral divinities Judaism did not question any more than in earlier times it questioned the existence of the tribal deities of the nations that surrounded Israel, but in the interests of Monotheism, Judaism degraded these foreign deities into angels—subject beings in the service of Yahweh. In due time the source of these conceptions was wholly forgotten as well as the historical development involved. Like his contemporaries, the Seer accepted the traditional Jewish formula,—God and the seven spirits,—and to this formula appended the specifically Christian element. Thus according to Bousset originated one of the most extraordinary Trinities in Christianity: cf. Justin, Ἀπ. i. 6, quoted on xxii. 9. As furnishing parallel trinities, Luke ix. 26, 1 Tim. v. 21 have been adduced. But in neither passage is there any ground for such a view. It might as reasonably be contended that every time God and the angels were mentioned together a duality of the Godhead was involved.

Now, if we identify "the seven spirits" and the seven archangels, it is inconceivable that the Seer, who issued so emphatic a polemic against angel worship, could have inserted such a clause as 4° between 4b and 5a.

3. The seven spirits and the seven archangels are not identical in the mind of the Seer, according to Bousset (on viii. 2) and others. Whether this is so or not does not affect the question of the originality of 4°. For whatever be the dignity possessed by the seven spirits, they were after all merely created beings in the opinion of the Seer, and could not therefore be put by him on a level with God and Jesus Christ or represented as fitting objects for man's worship.

But, though 4° is due to the hand of an interpolator, the phrase τὰ ἑπτὰ πνεῦματα in iii. 1, δ ἔχων τὰ ἑπτὰ πνεῦματα τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοὺς ἑπτὰ ἄστερας, is a redactional addition of our Seer. It is therefore our task to define, if possible, the nature of these spirits. Now the conjunction of the πνεῦματα and the ἄστέρες in iii. 1 suggests that they are to some extent kindred conceptions. But this does not take us far, unless we can gain some definite idea of the meaning of both ἄστερες and πνεῦματα in our author. Happily this we can do in part. First, in i. 20 the ἑπτὰ ἄστερες are definitely stated to be the ἄγγελοι τῶν ἑπτὰ ἐκκλησίων, and

1 Jewish tradition seemingly testifies to a certain connection between the great golden candlestick with seven arms and the seven planets: cf. Josephus, Ant. iii. 6. 7; Bell. Jud. v. 5. 5, ἐνεφάρων δ' οἱ μὲν ἑπτὰ λύχνοι τοὺς πλανήτας: Philo, Quis rerum divin. haeres (ed. Cohn), 221 sq., τῆς κατ' οὐρανόν τῶν ἑπτὰ πλανήτων χορειάς μιμήμα ἐστιν ἢ ἱερὰ λυχνία καὶ οἱ ἐπ' αὐτῆς ἑπτὰ λύχνοι. Josephus states also that the twelve loaves of the shewbread pointed to the twelve signs of the zodiac: Bell. Jud. v. 5. 5. Possibly these are merely after-thoughts of both Josephus and Philo.
Christ is said to hold these ἀστέρες, *i.e.* ἄγγελοι, in His right hand in i. 16: that is, to have supreme authority over them. Hence in iii. 1 the seven πνεύματα of God and the seven ἄγγελοι of the Churches are conjoined, as apparently kindred conceptions. We might here for a moment turn aside to observe that in 2 Enoch xxx. 14 angels are spoken of as stars, in i Enoch xlii. 5, 7 the stars have a conscious existence, and hence are capable of disobedience, xviii. 13–16, xxi. 1–6, while in lxxxvi. 1, 3 stars are used to symbolize angels.

So much for the ἀστέρες. Now as to πνεύματα. Over these also Christ has supreme authority, iii. 1. In v. 6 these πνεύματα are identified with the seven eyes which are sent forth unto all the earth, and in iv. 5 with the seven fiery lamps that burn before the throne of God. In the former passage they are obviously conceived as having a personal existence. As the servants of the Lamb they are described as His eyes. That the lamps and the eyes are identical is clear from our text and from Zech. iv. 10 where, in the vision which our Seer has in view, it is said "these seven (lamps) are the eyes of the Lord, they run to and fro through the whole earth."

From the above examination it may be concluded that the πνεύματα are angelic beings. In Jub. ii. 2 the chief orders of spirits are called angels: cf. Heb. i. 7, 14. Whether these seven spirits are to be identified with the seven archangels cannot be inferred with certainty, but this identification may be regarded as highly probable; since thereby Christ’s sovereignty is asserted over the highest order of the angels, as it is elsewhere declared by the Seer to be paramount over all creation.

ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου. Cf. iv. 5, 6, 10, vii. 9, etc.

5. ἀπό Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. Since 4° is an interpolation, the grace and peace proceed from God and Christ as in the Pauline Epistles. In 2 John 3 we find παρά instead of ἀπό in a like context. This is the last passage where the title Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ occurs. From this onward Ἰησοῦ stands alone save in xxii. 20, 21, where we have κύριος Ἰησοῦς.

ὁ μάρτυς ὁ πιστός. Cf. iii. 14; also ii. 13. This anomaly, which recurs not infrequently—cf. ii. 13, 20, iii. 12, ix. 14, xiv. 12, 14, xx. 2, is best explained as a Hebraism. Since the Hebrew noun in the indirect cases is not inflected, the Seer acts at times as if the Greek were similarly uninflected, and simply places, as in the present instance, the nominative in apposition to the genitive; *i.e.* ὁ μάρτυς in apposition to Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. We have here a frequent solecism in our author. While it is found occasionally in the LXX, as might be expected in a translation from Semitic (cf. Ezek. xxiii. 12; Zeph. i. 12), it is here almost a characteristic construction: cf. ii. 13, 20, iii. 12,
vii. 4, viii. 9, ix. 14, xiv. 12, 14, xx. 2. The participle is also put in the nominative when the normal construction would be the gen. or acc. Cf. ii. 20, iii. 12.

μάρτυς appears only here and in iii. 14 in the N.T. in reference to Christ. Christ is here conceived not in a limited sense in reference to His earthly life or the present Apocalypse, but as the true witness of every divine revelation (so Düsterdieck, Bousset, and others). Cf. John xviii. 37, εἰς τοῦτο ἐλήλυθα εἰς τὸν κόσμον ὑπ᾽ ἐμαρτυρίαν τῆς ἀληθείας. The phrase ὁ μάρτυς ὁ πιστός, when taken in connection with the words that follow, ὁ πρωτότοκος ... τῶν βασιλεῶν τῆς γῆς, furnishes strong evidence that our author had Ps. lxxxix. in his mind; for the former phrase is found in 38, where the moon is said to be μηνυόμενα τῷ (LXX, ὁ μάρτυς ἐν οὐρανῷ πιστός), and the latter in 28, κἀγὼ πρωτότοκον (Ῥωμ) θῆσομαι αὐτόν, ὕψηλον παρὰ τοῖς βασιλεῖσιν τῆς γῆς.

Here our author appears to have had the LXX before him. This passage is given a Messianic reference by R. Nathan in Shem. rab. 19, fol. 118. As I made Jacob a firstborn, so also will I make King Messiah a firstborn (Ps. lxxxix. 28). Thus "the firstborn" became a Messianic title (see Lightfoot, Col. i. 15).

ὁ πρωτότοκος τῶν νεκρῶν. See preceding note on Ps. lxxxix. 28. In Col. i. 18 we have ὁς ἔστιν ἀρχή, πρωτότοκος ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν, and in Cor. xv. 20, ἐγγεγραμμένα ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀπαρχῆ τῶν κεκοιμημένων. In these Pauline passages Christ's resurrection is undoubtedly referred to, which carries with it His claim to headship of the Church, as in Col. i. 15 πρωτότοκοι πασίς κτίσεως implies His claim to headship over all creation by virtue of His primogeniture. But the sense of being first in point of time appears in certain passages to be displaced wholly by the secondary idea of Sovereignty. Thus in Heb. xii. 23 the phrase ἐκκλησία πρωτοτόκων emphasizes wholly this latter idea. Even God Himself was called θεὸς νους ἱερός (πρωτότοκος τοῦ κόσμου). (See Lightfoot on Col. i. 15.) Our present context appears to require the secondary meaning of πρωτότοκος, and accordingly Christ is here said to be "the true witness of God, the sovereign of the dead, the ruler of the living" (i.e. the kings of the earth and their subjects). See note on iii. 14.

ὁ ἀρχῶν τῶν βασιλεῶν τῆς γῆς. Cf. Ps. lxxxix. 28; also Isa. lv. 4.

5ο-6. We have here the second of the three stanzas which compose 4ο-7. The second line is to be taken as forming a perfect parallelism with the first; for in the τῷ ἀγαπῶντι ... καὶ ἐποίησεν

1 In Ps. lv. 4, David is given as a witness (ὤ) to the nations.
we have a pure Hebraism, in which the participle of the first line is resolved into a finite verb in the second. This second line is therefore no parenthesis, nor from the standpoint of the Seer is there the slightest irregularity in the construction. He is simply reproducing a common Hebrew idiom literally in Greek. The A.V., the Syriac and Latin versions are here, therefore, right, and the R.V. is wrong—wrong as a translation and bad as a piece of English. Hence we are to translate, “To Him that loveth us . . . and hath made us.” This Hebrew idiom recurs frequently in our author (i. 18, ii. 2, 9, 20, iii. 9, vii. 14 (see note), xiv. 2–3, xv. 3), and in none of the instances has it been recognized as such by any commentator. This Hebrew idiom has become so naturalized in our author’s style that I cannot but regard the oitines in xx. 4, τῶν πεπελεκισμένων . . . καὶ οἴνοις οὐ προσεκύνησαν, as an addition by John’s literary executor in order to make the text better Greek. John’s words were most probably τ. πεπελεκισμένων . . . καὶ οὐ προσεκύνησαν. In i. 18 the failure to recognize this idiom has led most scholars to mispunctuate the text, and the rest, like Wellhausen and Haussleiter, to excise δ. ζών. The ἐγώ ἐμι . . . δ. ζών is to be taken closely with καὶ ἐγενόμην νεκρός (cf. Amos vi. 3 for this Hebrew construction) = I am . . . He that liveth and was dead.” Hence the first two lines =

ημᾶς καὶ λύσαντι. As Swete well remarks, the two participles bring out “the contrast between the abiding ἀγάπη and the completed act of redemption.”

λύσαντι ημᾶς ἐκ κτλ. This is by far the best attested reading. With the idea in λύσαντι we might compare the somewhat kindred ἀγοράζειν in v. 9; the Pauline ἐκαγοράζειν, Gal. iii. 13, iv. 5; ἀπολυτρώσας, Rom. iii. 24, viii. 23; 1 Cor. i. 30; Eph. i. 7, iv. 30; Col. i. 14. The weakly attested reading λούσαντι . . . ἄρτο is not really supported by vii. 14, ἐπλυναν τὰς στολὰς αὐτῶν . . . ἐν τῷ αἰματι τοῦ ἄρνιου, and xxii. 14, though these passages have been brought forward in favour of it. For, whereas these two passages express man’s own action in the working out his own salvation, the λούσαντι . . . ἄρτο denotes God’s part in man’s salvation, i.e. his deliverance from sin by Christ. At the same time it is to be observed that this metaphor is a familiar one in the N.T. in this connection: cf. 1 Cor. vi. 11; Eph. v. 26; Tit. iii. 5; Heb. x. 22.

Swete aptly compares Plato, Crat. 405 B, where the two verbs are brought together in a similar connection, οὐκοῦν οὐ καθαίρων θεῶς καὶ οὐ πολυύων τε καὶ οὐ πολυύων τῶν τοιούτων κακῶν αἰτίων ἐν εἰς.
WH explain the corruption of λύσαντι into λούσαντι as "due to failure to understand the Hebraic use of ἐν to denote a price... and a natural misapplication of vii. 14."

ἐν τῷ αἰματὶ. Here as in v. 9 ἐν denotes the price by means of which a thing is bought: cf. 1 Chron. xxi. 24.

6. καὶ ἐποίησεν. As we have shown in the note on 5œ–6 above, this is a Hebraism for καὶ ποιήσαντι. Christ not only delivers men from sin—the negative side—but also makes them a kingdom and priests.

βασιλείαν, ἱερεῖς. These words go back to Ex. xix. 6, καὶ ἐδόθη μας ἡ βασιλεία τῶν υἱών. This the LXX renders βασιλείαν ἱερεῖς (see 1 Pet. ii. 9); Aquila, βασιλεία ἱερεῖων: Symmachus and Theodotion, βασιλεία ἱερεῖς. The last rendering is that of our text and presupposes the natural reading. This last reading is in part supported by Jub. xvi. 18, which gives "a kingdom and priests"; so also the Syriac version of Ex. xix. 6. With this last we may compare the Jer. Targ. on Ex. xix. 6, "kings...and...priests," and Onkelos, "kings, priests." It is clear that our text presupposes the same text as Symmachus and Theodotion.

Our text then means that Christ has made us a kingdom, each member of which is a priest unto God. The kingship here involved was to be an everlasting possession (xxii. 5). Of the like duration of the priesthood nothing is said in the closing chapters. As respects the priesthood, the privileges of ancient Israel have passed over to the Christian Church. Even to pre-Christian Judaism it was foretold that all true Israelites would become in a certain sense priests—priests as compared with the nations that served them. "And strangers shall feed your flocks, and aliens shall be your plowmen...but ye shall be named the priests of the Lord: men shall call you the ministers of our God" (Isa. lxi. 5–6). But that this general priesthood of Israel as regards the heathen nations was not to supersede the special ministries of priests and Levites in the redeemed Israel is clear from lxvi. 21: "And of them will I take for priests for Levites, saith the Lord." But in the spiritual kingdom of Christ no such distinction is recognized: all the faithful are already kings and priests to God (i. 6). On the other hand, when the Messianic kingdom is established the glorified martyrs will in a special sense be kings and priests; for in that kingdom the priesthood and kingship of the glorified martyrs will come into actual manifestation relatively to the heathen nations, who will then be evangelized by them (xx. 6). ἔσονται ἱερεῖς τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ βασιλεύσουσιν μετ' αὐτῶν τὰ χίλια ζῆν. But this special and limited priesthood and kingship belong only to the Messianic kingdom. It should be observed in this connection that, although all the faithful were to become kings and priests, it is
never implied that they should likewise become prophets. The prophetic office may have been conceived by our author in a limited sense and as bestowed on a limited class of men for a special purpose. When this purpose was once achieved, the prophetic gift may in his view be no longer necessary.

After the final judgment the limited kingship and priesthood of the martyrs will be succeeded by an eternal kingship of all the faithful: xxii. 5, βασιλεύσοντοι εἰς τ. αἰώνας τ. αἰώνων. But the special priestly office will no more exist; and so far as the priestly blessing is given, it will be given by God Himself: xxii. 5, κύριος ὁ θεός φωτίσει ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς (see note in loc.).

τῷ θεῷ καὶ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ. The αὐτοῦ is to be taken with τῷ θεῷ as well as with πατρὶ.

αὐτῷ ἔδοξα καὶ τὸ κράτος, ἵπτε. τῷ ἀγαπώντι κτλ. Similar doxologies addressed to Christ are to be found in v. 13, vii. 10, 2 Pet. iii. 18, and most probably in 2 Tim. iv. 18, Heb. xiii. 21, and possibly in 1 Pet. iv. 11. In 4 Macc. xviii. 24 we have a good parallel in diction, as ὧν ἔδοξα εἰς τοὺς αἰώνας τῶν αἰώνων: in the Didache viii. 2, x. 5, ὅτι σὸν ἑστῶν ἐν δύναμις καὶ ὑ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰώνας, at the conclusion of the Lord’s Prayer—the doxology in Matt. vi. 13 not being original, but adopted, according to Hort, into some forms of the text through liturgical use in Syria as early as the 2nd century. 1 Chron. xxix. 11, “Thine, O Lord, is the greatness and the power and the glory,” appears to be the original source of most of the doxologies of later times. See Chase, Lord’s Prayer in the Early Church, 168 sqq.

7-8. The prophet’s thought is carried forward to the Second Advent of Christ in glory (7). It must be confessed that 8 has no obvious links with what precedes or follows.

7. Here again we have a stanza of three lines—which are a reminiscence and an adaptation of Dan. vii. 13 and Zech. xii. 10. In both cases, as we shall see, the text presupposed by our author is mainly that presupposed by Theodotion’s version; but their combination here is best explained as due to our author’s acquaintance with the Jewish Christian Apocalypse, which has been worked into the text of Matt. xxiv. (=Mark xiii. =Luke xxii.), and which in Matt. xxiv. 30 represents this combination as already achieved (see below). But not only does our text agree in combining Zech. xii. 10 and Dan. vii. 13, but also in transforming the original meaning of Zech. xii. 10. Thus, whereas in the O. T. text we have “they shall mourn for him,” in Matt. xxiv. 30 and in our text “the tribes of the earth shall mourn (for themselves) because of Him” (ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ omitted in Matt.).

The fulfilment of this prophecy of the visible and victorious return of Christ with a view to judgment is dealt with in the
vision of the Seer in xiv. 14, 18-20, in xix. 11-21, and most probably in xx. 7-10.

οὐδὲ ἐρχεται μετὰ τῶν νεφελῶν. Cf. Dan. vii. 13, ἡ ἱλαριότης τῶν ἐννέαν εἰρημένων. Here Theodotion renders καὶ οὐδὲ μετὰ (LXX, ἐπὶ — ἐν: cf. xiv. 14 sqq.; Matt. xxiv. 30, xxvi. 64; Didache xvi. 8 (ἐπάνω), Justin, Apol. i. 51 sqq. (ἐπάνω); ἐν = ἐν, Mark xiii. 26; Luke xxi. 27: cf. Dalman, Words of Jesus, 242). But the ἐπὶ in xiv. 14 of our text is due to our author's use of καθήμενον in this connection) τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ὃς υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου ἐρχόμενος (LXX, ἡρῴωτο). Cf. Mark xiv. 62, τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου . . . ἐρχόμενον μετὰ τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ: 4 Ezra xiii. 3. It does not necessarily follow from the above that our author used an early translation similar in character to that of the later Theodotion, but that the Semitic text he followed was such as that followed by Theodotion.

ἐρχεται. The idea of the impending Advent is resumed in iii. 11, xiv. 7, xvi. 15, xxii. 7, 12, 20.

ὅψεται αὐτὸν . . . καὶ ἐξεκέντησαν . . . καὶ κόψονται ἐπὶ αὐτὸν πάσαι αἱ φυλαὶ τῆς γῆς. These words, with the exception of the last four, are based on Zech. xii. 10 and agree for the most part with the versions of Theodotion, Aquila, and Symmachus against the LXX. The LXX reads καὶ ἐπιβλέψωνται πρὸς μέ, ἀνθρώποι κατωρχήσαντο (= ἡρῴω) καὶ κόψονται ἐπὶ αὐτόν. Theod. and Aquila, καὶ ἐπιβλέψωνται πρὸς μέ, εἰς ἐν (σὺν ὑμῖν, Aquila) ἐξεκέντησαν καὶ κόψονται αὐτῶν. Symmachus, ἐμπροσθεν ἐπεξεκέντησαν κτλ. Here the three latter translators support the Massoretic רְפִי by ἐξεκέντησαν. It is a question whether our author used an early Greek version—the parent of Theodotion's and others—or whether he translated directly from the Hebrew. The evidence on the whole is in favour of his translating directly from the Hebrew. His use of ἐξεκέντησαν marks his independence of the LXX; and the fact that ἐκκέντειν is the stock rendering in the versions of רְפִי, shows that our author's use of this verb cannot be advanced as evidence for his independence on any Greek translation here. Whilst there is thus no trustworthy evidence of his dependence, there is some evidence of his independence of all the versions. This we find in ὁψεται αὐτον, where the versions have ἐπιβλέψωνται πρὸς μέ. Our author, it is true, does not use ἐπιβλέπων, but he uses βλέπων frequently in the sense required here. Moreover, the last words, πάσαι αἱ φυλαὶ τῆς γῆς (found also in Matt. xxiv. 30), are a free adaptation of the Hebrew in Zech. xii. 12, where the LXX gives the literal rendering, ἡ γῆ κατὰ φυλὰς φυλὰς.

1 In Justin, Apol. i. 52, we find, κόψονται φυλὴ πρὸς φυλὴν, καὶ τότε ὁψεται εἰς ὃν ἐξεκέντησαν: Dial. 14, 32; 64, ἐπιγυνασθε εἰς ὃν ἐξεκεντησατε: 126. The reference in all these passages is eschatological.
It is noteworthy that in John xix. 37, the passage in Zechariah is rendered in a way closely akin to that in our text ὅψονται εἰς ὅν ἐξεκάνησαν. But, whereas our author applies the prophecy to the whole world, the Fourth Gospel limits to the four soldiers “the looking” to Him whom they had pierced. Abbott (Johannine Gram., p. 247) writes: “They look to Him now in amazement; they will look to Him for forgiveness and salvation.” In the Gospel the main reference is to the crucifixion: whereas in our author it is eschatological.

In Matt. xxiv. 30 we have an analogous combination of the passages in Daniel and Zechariah to that in our text, καὶ τότε φανῇσεται τὸ σημεῖον τοῦ νίου τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ τότε κύψονται πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ ὅψονται τὸν νίον τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐρχόμενον ἐπὶ τ. νεφελῶν. Here, as in our text, the reference is eschatological. Swete writes that both Gospel and Apocalypse “were indebted . . . perhaps to some collection of prophetic testimonies.” This is a good suggestion, but the explanation is, I believe, to be found elsewhere. A large body of scholars are agreed that in Matt. xxiv. (as in the parallel chapters in Mark and Luke) there are two distinct apocalypses worked together. One of these is from our Lord, xxiv. 4–5, 9–14, 23–25, 32 sqq., while the other is a later Jewish Christian Apocalypse consisting of xxiv. 6–8, 15–22, 29–31, 34, 35 (see my Eschatology, 379–385). Now the close parallelism of our text, i. 7 and Matt. xxiv. 30 (observe use of ὅψονται in both, as well as the phrase πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαὶ τῆς γῆς—unique as regards the N.T. and the LXX), presupposes some real connection; and since the Jewish Apocalypse just referred to was written before 70 A.D., it is reasonable to conclude that the indebtedness lies on the side of our author, and that Matt. xxiv. 30 first suggested to him the combination of Zech. and Daniel, though the dictio is mainly his own, and due to his independent translation of the O.T. passages; for he keeps more closely to Daniel and Zechariah and reproduces their text more fully.

καὶ, ἀμὴν. We have here the Greek and Hebrew forms of affirmation side by side—a fact which would tempt us to take them as synonymous, as in ἀββᾶ δ ἡμῖν in Mark xiv. 36. But this does not appear to be so here. And yet it is hard to bring out the distinction. In our author ἀμὴν is used (a) at the close of one’s own doxology or prayer: i. 6, vii. 12 (ad fin.); (b) It is used for the purpose of adopting as one’s own what has just been said: v. 14, vii. 12 (ad init.), xix. 4, xxii. 20. (c) It is used at the close of a solemn affirmation: i. 7 (καὶ, ἀμὴν). (d) It is used as a designation of Christ: iii. 14, δ ’Αμὴν. Here Christ is represented as the personalized divine Amen. the guarantor in person of the truth declared by Him. Cf. Isa. ixv. 16, חנ אמת.
“God of the Amen,” which, however, is by the best critics emended into Ἰδράς ἡ ἀλήθεια = “God of truth.”

The meaning of ναϊ in this context is difficult to determine. It occurs four times in all. In xxii. 20 it denotes a divine promise, where the ἀμήν expresses the trustful acceptance of this promise (cf. 2 Cor. i. 20). In xiv. 13, xvi. 7, it is used to confirm what has just been said of the heavenly voice. But in xiv. 13 it could be taken as the affirmation of a promise by the Spirit: “Yea—in that they shall rest,” etc.

If xiv. 13 is to be taken as just suggested, then, since xvi. 7 is not from our author's hand, it would follow that in our author ναϊ “expresses,” as Hort says, “affirmation or reaffirmation divine or human,” and that they are here purposely combined to express the same ideas as in xxii. 20, “It is so, amen.”

8. The Speaker is God.

Τῷ Ἀλφᾷ καὶ τῷ Ω. This is a natural symbol for the first and last of all things. It was known among the Romans: cf. Martial, v. 26. Among the later Jews the whole extent of a thing was often denoted by the first and last letters of the alphabet, ΑΩ. Thus (Schoettgen, Hor. Heb. in loc.) Adam transgressed the whole law from aleph to tau (Jalkut Rub. f. 171); Abraham observed the whole law from aleph to tau (f. 484); when God blesses Israel, He does it from aleph to tau (f. 1283). It represented the entirety of things, and thus could fitly express the Shekinah, Schoettgen, i. 106. Hence it is not improbable that “Alpha and Omega” is a Greek rendering of a corresponding Hebrew expression. The thought conveyed by this title is essentially that of Isa. xliv. 6: θεὸς Σαβαῶθ: ἐγὼ πρῶτος καὶ ἐγὼ μετὰ ταῦτα (ὁ θεὸς ἡ ἡμέρα): cf. xlii. 4, xliii. 10.

κύριος ὁ θεὸς . . . ὁ παντοκράτωρ (= ἡ θεομονοϊσμον ἡμερίν), Hos. xii. 6; Amos ix. 5). A favourite title in our author: cf. iv. 8, xi. 17, xv. 3 [xvi. 7], xix. 6, xxi. 22. In iv. 8 (cf. xi. 17) we have the entire passage, κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὁ άν καὶ ὁ θεὸς ἡ ἡμέρα μετὰ ταῦτα ὁ παντοκράτωρ, save that the ὁ παντοκράτωρ precedes the ὁ άν. ὁ παντοκράτωρ is not found in the N.T. outside our author save in 2 Cor. vi. 18 in a quotation.

ὁ άν καὶ ὁ θεὸς κατ. See note on i. 4.

9-20. JOHN'S CALL AND COMMISSION. HIS VISION OF THE SON OF MAN—RISEN AND GLORIFIED.

9. Ἑγὼ ἰωάννης. Cf. xxii. 8; Dan. vii. 15, 28, viii. 1, ix. 2 (ἦγὼ Δανιήλ); 4 Ezra iii. 1; 1 Enoch xii. 3, etc. The insertion of the name is required after 8.
\( \text{ο\, αδελφός\, ὑμῶν\, καὶ\, συνκοινωνία\, ἐν}. \) The absence of the article before the second noun shows that the two nouns are to be taken closely together. Cf. vi. 11, \( \text{ο\, σύνδουλοι\, αὐτῶν\, καὶ\, ο\, αδελφοί\, αὐτῶν\, ο\, μέλλοντες\, ἀποκτένευσθαι\, ὁς\, καὶ\, αὐτῶν: \)} xii. 10. Here, as in its pagan use, \( \text{αδελφός\, means\, a\, fellow-member\, in\, the\, same\, religious\, society.} \) With \( \text{ο\, αδελφός\, ὑμῶν\, cf. \,2\, Pet. \,iii.\, 15,} \) \( \text{ο\, ἀγαπητός\, ὑμῶν\, αδελφός\, Παῦλος.}\) With \( \text{συνκοινωνία\, cf. \,συνκοινωνία\, in\, xviii.\, 4;} \) and for \( \text{ἐν\, after\, κοινωνία\, cf. Matt. \,xxiii.\, 30.} \) Fellowship in suffering naturally was an essential mark of early Christianity. Cf. 2 Cor. i. 7, \( \text{κοινωνία\, ἐστε\, τῶν\, παθημάτων: \,Phil. \,iii.\, 10, \,κοινωνία\, τῶν\, παθημάτων: \,iv.\, 14, \,συνκοινωνίαν\, μου\, τῇ\, θλίψει.} \)

\( \text{ἐν\, τῇ\, θλίψει\, καὶ\, βασιλεία\, καὶ\, ὑπομονή\, ἐν \,Ἰησοῦ.} \) The \( \text{θλίψει\, here\, is\, the\, tribulation\, of\, the\, last\, time: \,cf. \,vii.\, 14, \,τῆς\, θλίψεως\, τῆς\, μεγάλης. \)} It is the same as the \( \text{τῆς\, ὥρας\, τοῦ\, πειρασμοῦ\, τῆς\, μελλόντος\, ἔρχεσθαι\, ἐπὶ\, τῆς\, οἰκουμένης\, ὀλής\, in\, iii.\, 10. \)} This last great tribulation necessarily precedes the Millennial Kingdom—hence \( \text{καὶ\, βασιλεία: \,but\, to\, have\, part\, in\, the\, kingdom\, faithful\, endurance\, throughout\, the\, tribulation\, is\, necessary—hence\, καὶ\, ὑπομονή: \,cf. \,ii.\, 2,\, 3,\, 19,\, iii.\, 10,\, xiii.\, 10,\, xiv.\, 12.\, ὑπομονή\, being\, the\, spiritual\, alchemy,\, which\, transmutes\, those\, who\, share\, in\, the\, θλίψις\, into\, members\, of\, the\, βασιλεία,\, can\, only\, achieve\, its\, end\, in\, fellowship\, with\, Jesus\, (ἐν\, Ἰησοῦ)—a\, Pauline\, conception\, which\, recurs\, in\, xiv.\, 13,\, but\, is\, set\, forth\, under\, another\, figure\, in\, iii.\, 20, \,ἐὰν\, τίς\, ἀκούσῃ\, τῆς\, φωνῆς\, μου\, καὶ\, ἀνοίξῃ\, τὴν\, θύραν,\, εἰσελέυσομαι\, πρὸς\, αὐτὸν\, καὶ\, δειπνήσω\, μετ'\, αὐτοῦ\, καὶ\, αὐτὸς\, μετ'\, ἐμοῦ. \)} It is a question whether \( \text{ἐν\, Ἰησοῦ\, should\, be\, connected\, with\, all\, three\, nouns\, or\, with\, ὑπομονή\, only. \)} Probably the latter is best: cf. 2 Thess. iii. 5, \( \text{τῇ\, ὑπομονῇ\, τοῦ\, Χριστοῦ,\, though\, the\, idea\, here\, is\, somewhat\, different.} \)

\( \text{ἐγενόμην\, ἐν=\, "I\, found\, myself\, in." \,We\, might\, conclude\, from\, this\, clause\, that\, when\, he\, wrote\, he\, was\, no\, longer\, in\, Patmos. \)} Patmos was one of the Sporades, a barren rocky island about ten miles long and five wide. It is first mentioned by Thucydides, iii. 33, and later by Strabo, x. 5. 13, and Pliny, H.N. iv. 12. 23, the last of whom states that it was used as a penal settlement by the Romans, as were other islands, \( \text{i.e. Pontia,}\) off the coast of Latium, to which Domitian banished Flavia Domitilla (Euseb. H.E. iii. 18. 5), and Gyara and Seriphus in the Aegean (see Encyc. Bib. iii. 3603).

\( \text{διὰ\, τῶν\, λόγων\, τοῦ\, θεοῦ\, καὶ\, τῆς\, μαρτυρίας\, Ἰησοῦ. \,These\, words\, define\, the\, ground\, for\, his\, presence\, in\, Patmos, \,i.e.\, his\, preaching\, of\, the\, Gospel\, and\, his\, loyalty\, to\, it\, in\, a\, time\, of\, tribulation. \,The\, phrase\, τ.\, λόγον\, τ.\, θεοῦ\, καὶ\, τ.\, μαρτυρίαν\, Ἰ.\, here\, give\, the\, contents\, of\, his\, preaching,\, whereas\, in\, 2\, they\, describe\, the\, Apocalypse\, itself: \,cf. \,ὁ\, σα\, εἰδεν. \,It\, has\, been\, urged\, by\, many\, scholars\, that} \)
John had gone to Patmos for the purpose of receiving this revelation, *i.e.* that mentioned in 2. But this interpretation appears to be inadmissible on several grounds. 1. In our author διὰ never means "for the sake of" (= ἕνεκα) receiving the word of God, etc., but "because of," "in consequence of" the word of God which he had preached. In other words, διὰ denotes the ground and not the purpose in this Book: cf. ii. 3, iv. 11, vi. 9, vii. 15, xii. 11, 12, xiii. 14, etc. 2. In two passages our author speaks of persecution in connection with these very phrases, *i.e.* vi. 9, ἐσφαγμένων διὰ τ. λόγον τ. θεοῦ καὶ διὰ τ. μαρτυρίαν, and again in xx. 4. These passages in themselves indicate the interpretation to be adopted in the present passage. 3. The fact that our author has just described himself as συνκοινωνοῦσα ἐν τῇ θλίψει . . . καὶ ὑπομονῇ suggests that he has in a special—and not in any ordinary—manner suffered for the faith. If he suffered no more than the average Christian, it is not in keeping with his reticence as to himself that he should lay emphasis on what after all was the common lot of the faithful. 4. An early tradition, in itself not uniform nor quite credible in its details, testifies to the banishment of John to Patmos. Cf. Tert. De Praescript. 36, "Apostolus Ioannes . . . in insulam relegatur"; Clem. Alex. Quis dives, 42, ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τοῦ τυράννου τελευτήσαντος ἀπὸ τῆς Πάτμου τῆς νήσου μετῆλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν "Εφέσου: Origen, In Matt. t. xvi. 6, ὃ δὲ Ἡρωμαιόν βασιλεὺς, ὅς ἡ παράδοσις διδάσκει, κατεδίκασε τὸν Ἰωάννην μαρτυροῦσα διὰ τὸν τῆς ἀληθείας λόγον εἰς Πάτμον τὴν νήσον. If we combine this tradition with the fact cited above that Patmos was a penal settlement (Pliny, H. N. iv. 12. 23), as well as 1, 2, and 3, the evidence for John's exile is adequate. There is no just ground for the suggestion that the tradition arose as an elaboration of the present passage.

10. ἐγενόμην ἐν πνεύματι. Not merely "I was in," but "I fell into." These words denote the ecstatic condition into which the Seer has fallen, just as ἐν ἐαυτῷ γενόμενος (Acts xiii. 11) describe the return to the normal condition. We have equivalent phrases in Acts xi. 5, εἴδον ἐν ἑκστάσει, and xxi. 17, γενέσθαι με ἐν ἑκστάσει. Apart from extraordinary ecstatic experiences, all Christians could be said to be εἶναι ἐν πνεύματι (Rom. viii. 9) as opposed to the faithless, who were ἐν σαρκὶ.

In this passage, then, ἐγενόμην ἐν πνεύματι denotes nothing more than that the Seer fell into a trance. It was not until he was in this trance that Christ addressed him. But in iv. 2 (see note), where this phrase recurs, if the text is right, it must mean something more, since the Seer is already in a trance.

ἐν τῇ κυριακῇ ἡμέρᾳ. This is the first place in Christian literature where the Lord's Day is mentioned. Some scholars
have proposed to take this phrase as meaning "in the day of the Lord," i.e. "the day of Yahweh," the day of judgment—in the LXX, ἡ ημέρα τοῦ κυρίου, and elsewhere in our text, ἡ ημέρα ἡ μεγάλη; vi. 17, xvi. 14. It is sufficient to mention this interpretation and pass on to the generally accepted and, in the opinion of the present writer, the right interpretation, which takes these words to mean "on the Lord's day," i.e. the day consecrated to the Lord. We might compare an analogous phrase in 1 Cor. xi. 20, οὐκ ἐστὶν κυριακὸν δεῖτον φαγεῖν. In the 2nd cent. we have the following undisputed testimonies to the use of this phrase for Sunday: Didache xiv. 1, κατὰ κυριακὴν δὲ κυρίου συναχθέντες κλάσατε ἀρτον: Evang. Petri, 35, ἐπέφωσκεν ἡ κυριακή: ib. 50, ὅρθρου δὲ τῆς κυριακῆς: Ignatius, Ad Magn. ix. 1, μηκέτι σαββατιζόντες ἀλλὰ κατὰ κυριακὴν ζωτεῖς, εὖ ἢ καὶ ἡ ζωὴ ἡμῶν ἀνέτειλεν: Melito of Sardis—the title of one of his writings, περὶ κυριακῆς, preserved in Euseb. H.E. iv. 26. 2. Here "Lord's Day" has become a technical designation of Sunday. Since all these writings emanate from Asia Minor, the term may first have arisen there, but that it was in general use before the close of the 2nd cent. may be inferred from the statement of Dionysius of Corinth in Euseb. H.E. iv. 23. 11, τὴν σήμερον ὀν κυριακὴν ἀγίαν ἡμέραν διηγάγομεν: Clem. Alex. Strom. vii. 12; Tert. De Cor. iii., "Die dominico jejunium nefas ducimus," etc.

The reason given by the early Christians for naming the first day of the week "the Lord's Day," was that it was the day of His resurrection. But how it came to be celebrated weekly and not only yearly seems to be first explained by Deissmann (Bible Studies, 218 sq.; Encyc. Bib. iii. 2815 sq.). It appears that the first day of each month was called "Emperor's Day" (Σέβαστη) in Asia Minor and Egypt before the Christian era, Lightfoot, Apostolic Fathers, i. ii. 714; nay more, according to two inscriptions from Ephesus and Kabala—to which might be added an Oxyrhynchus papyrus (circ. 100 A.D.)—it is inferred by Buresch (Aus Lydien, 1898, pp. 49–50) and Deissmann that Σέβαστη was a day of the week. If these conclusions are valid we can understand how naturally the term "Lord's Day" arose; for just as the first day of each month, or a certain day of each week, was called "Emperor's Day," so it would be natural for Christians to name the first day of each week, associated as it was with the Lord's resurrection and the custom of Christians to meet together for worship on it, as "Lord's Day." It may have first arisen in apocalyptic circles when a hostile attitude to the Empire was adopted by Christianity.

ἕκουσα φωνὴν μεγάλην ὀπίσθεν μου. Our author has probably Ezek. iii. 12 in his mind, καὶ ἀνέλαβεν μὲ πνεῦμα, καὶ ἤκουσα κατόπισθέν μου φωνὴν σεισμοῦ μεγάλου. Wetstein—quotes a good
parallel from Plutarch, Lycurg. 54 C, ἀκούσαί δὲ φωνὴν ὀσπέρ ἀνθρώπου τινὸς ἐξοπισθεὶν ἐπιτιμῶντος αὐτῷ... ὃς δὲ μεταστραφέντος οὐδαμοῦ φανερὸς δ ἂθετε ἐκεῖνον ἣν, θείον ἡγησάμενον.

φωνὴν μεγάλην... ὃς σάλπιγγος. Cf. iv. 1 note. The voice is loud and clear as a trumpet blast. It appears to be that of the Son of Man (so Alcasar, Ewald, Hengstenberg, Bousset), who bids the Seer ὁ βλέπεις γράψον εἰς βιβλίον (11), and at the close of this theophany repeats the command in 19, γράψον οὖν ἀ εἴδες. This is the natural interpretation. Dürsterdieck and Alford take the voice to be that of an unnamed angel.

ὡς σάλπιγγος. In ὡς we have to deal with the most difficult particle in all our author's vocabulary. See the Additional Note at the close of this chapter on ὡς and ὅμως.

λεγοῦσης. We should expect λέγουσαν. But this is no oversight of our author; for the same construction recurs in iv. 1, ἢ φωνή ἢ πρῶτη... ὃς σάλπιγγος λαλοῦσης, when we should expect λαλοῦσα.

This connection of the participle with the dependent genitive instead of with the governing nouns we find also in vi. 7, ἡκουσά φωνήν τ. τετάρτου ἕφον λέγουτος, though here this construction is very intelligible.

11–16. These verses appear to be composed of four stanzas, the first three of four lines each and the fourth of three.

11. βλέπεις. Our author, like most of the N.T. writers (including Johannine Gospel and Epistles), uses βλέπεις and not ὅραν in the present tense, except in the case of ὅρα in the imperative = “beware.” For the future of βλέπεις he uses ὑπεσθαί, and for the passive aorist ὅφησαν.

γράψον εἰς. For other constructions with ἐν and ἐπί see i. 3, ii. 17, iii. 12, xiv. 1, xvii. 5, etc. The Seer is repeatedly bidden to write down his visions, except in the case of the Seven Thunders.

ταῖς ἐπτα ἐκκλησίαις. According to Ramsay (Letters to the Seven Churches, p. 191), “the Seven groups of Churches, into which the province had been divided before the Apocalypse was composed, were seven postal districts, each having as its centre or point of origin one of the Seven Cities, which (as was pointed out) lie on a route which forms a sort of inner circle round the Province.” Ramsay's reason for these Seven Churches—including two comparatively small towns, Thyatira and Philadelphia, and excluding the well-known cities of Colossae, Hierapolis, Troas, Tralles, etc.—being chosen and none others, is (op. cit. p. 183) that “all the Seven Cities stand on the great circular road that bound together the most populous, wealthy, and influential part of the Province, the west-central region.” If delivered at these Seven Cities, the Apocalypse would easily spread throughout the rest of the Province; for “they were the best points on
that circuit to serve as centres of communication with seven districts: Pergamum for the north (Troas, doubtless Adramyt-tium, and probably Cyzicus and other cities on the coast con-tained Churches); Thyatira for an inland district on the north-east and east; Sardis for the wide middle valley of the Hermus; Philadelphia for Upper Lydia, to which it was the door (iii. 8); Laodicea for the Lycus Valley and for central Phrygia, of which it was the Christian metropolis in later time; Ephesus for the Cayster and Lower Maeander Valleys and coasts; Smyrna for the Lower Hermus Valley and the North Ionian coasts” (p. 191 sq.). This is an attractive hypothesis. The fact, however, that seven, and just seven, were chosen, is determined apparently by the sacredness of this number in the eyes of our author. This fact, however, does not exclude the possibility that the Seven Churches in our author were selected on the ground of their fitness as desirable centres of publication. To each of these centres the roll would be carried in turn and then copied. Smyrna lay 40 miles north of Ephesus, Pergamum 40 north of Smyrna, Thyatira 45 S.E. of Pergamum, Sardis 30 nearly due S. of Thyatira, Philadelphia 30 E.S.E. of Sardis, and Laodicea 40 S.E. of Philadelphia (see map in Ramsay).

12. ἔλαβεν τὴν φωνήν. Cf. Aesch. Theb. i 6, κτύπον δεδορκα. The voice is here used for the person from whom it comes.

ῆτις ἔλαλει μετ’ ἔμοι. The ἕτις here represents an indirect question, and accordingly the construction is classical. On ἔλαλει μετ’ ἔμοι, see note on iv. I.

12b. ἐπτα λυχνίας χρυσᾶς. On the position of ἐπτα as contrasted with its position in 16, see note on viii. 2. These seven lampstands recall Zech. iv. 2, where, however, only one lampstand appears with seven lamps, which, as the LXX and Vulg. rightly testify, were each fed by a pipe from one common reservoir of oil. In Ex. xxv. 31 sqq. there is a description of a seven-branched candlestick (λυχνία = ἁλυκοῦ), which was said to stand outside the second veil of the Tabernacle. The candlestick or lampstand carried seven lamps (λυχνοῖ = ἀλυκοῖ). In our text the lampstands are separate. Their function is to embody and give forth the light of God on earth. Should the lamps fail to do so, their lampstand is removed (ii. 5).

Various scholars (Gunkel, Chaos, 294 sqq.; Zimmern, K.A.T: 624 sqq.) have drawn attention to the original connection between the seven-armed candlestick and the seven planets, and quoted the passages from Josephus and Philo (see note on p. 12) to this effect. But of this our Seer was probably wholly unconscious.

13–18. If the student studies the titles of the Son of Man in these verses, he will see that they recur at the beginning of six of the letters, but not in that to the Church of Laodicea.
Thus it seems to have been the intention of our author to connect each of the Seven Letters with a special title. But this intention was carried out only partially and in a superficial manner in this preliminary sketch of his work. For, as already observed, the title at the beginning of the letter to Laodicea is not found in i. 13–18; and in the letters to Ephesus and Sardis the same title is used twice: cf. ii. 1, "οι κρατῶν τούς ἐπτά αὐτέρας εν τῇ δεξίᾳ (cf. i. 16a), and iii. 1, "δὲ ἔχουν . . . τοὺς ἐπτά αὐτέρας.

Again, that the titles were intended to have some connection with the letters in which they respectively appear is clear in most of the cases. Thus in the letter to the Church in Ephesus the title, "ὁ περιπατῶν ἐν μέσῳ τῶν ἐπτά λυχνίων τῶν χρυσῶν (ii. 1), is at all events related verbally to the words of warning in ii. 5, "ἐὰν δὲ μὴ . . . κινήσω τὴν λυχνίαν σου ἐκ τοῦ τόπου αὐτῆς. In the letter to the Church in Smyrna the title, "ὁ ἐγένετο νεκρός καὶ ἐξῆγεν (ii. 8), may contain a reference to ii. 10a, "γίνον πιστὸς ἅχρι θανάτου, καὶ δώσω σοι τὸν στέφανον τῆς ζωῆς. In the letter to the Church in Pergamum "ὁ ἔχων τῇ ῥομφαίᾳ τῇ διστομον (ii. 12) is anticipatory of the words in ii. 16d, "πολεμήσω μετ’ αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ ῥομφαίᾳ τοῦ στόματος μου. In the letter to the Church in Thyatira the title, "ὁ ἔχων τοὺς διβαλμοὺς ὅς φλόγα πυρός (ii. 18), may be chosen with reference to the claim in ii. 23, "ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ ἐραυνών νεφρῶν καὶ καρδίας. In the case of the three remaining Churches the connection between the introductory title of Christ and the contents of the letters is obscure except in the letter to the Church in Philadelphia. In the letter to the Church in Sardis the title, "ὁ ἔχων τα ἐπτά πνεύματα τοῦ θεοῦ (iii. 1), may point to the need of watchfulness (iii. 2), since the seven spirits are sent forth by Christ to witness the doings of men (v. 4). In the letter to the Church in Philadelphia the title, "ὁ ἔχων τῇ κλείν Δανείδ, ὁ ἀνοίγων κτλ. (iii. 7), is introduced to justify Christ's power to fulfil his promise that He will cause the Jews after the flesh to bow down before the true spiritual Israel (iii. 9), and will make the latter pillars in the spiritual community of God (iii. 12). It is Christ that shuts out the one from this community and admits the other to it. Finally, in the letter to the Church in Laodicea the title, "ὁ μάρτυς ὁ πιστὸς καὶ ἀληθινός (iii. 14), may have reference to the testimony given against the Laodicene Church in iii. 16–19.

The above facts show that, whereas only in the case of the Churches of Philadelphia and Thyatira is there any sort of organic connection between the divine title and the contents of the letter, in the case of the rest the connection is at the best either artificial or doubtful. Thus these titles give the impression of being an afterthought on the part of our author—inserted by him in order to link up chap. i. (whence the titles are drawn) and chaps. ii.–iii. This supposition gains confirmation from the fact
that the Seven Letters were undoubtedly written before the time of Domitian, and in fact before our author had any apprehension of a world-wide persecution, whereas the rest of the Apocalypse is saturated through and through with this conviction.

13. ὅμοιον υἱόν. Cf. xiv. 14. Here, as I have shown in the Additional Note (p. 36) on ὅς and ὅμοιος, ὅμοιος is used as the equivalent of ὅς, not only in meaning but in construction.

ὁμοιον υἱον ἄνθρωπου. Cf. xiv. 14. The fact that the articles are absent (i.e. τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἄνθρωπου) is so far from being a matter of difficulty that in this context they could not be present. The Being whom the Seer sees is not "like the Son of Man," but is "the Son of Man." But the Seer can rightly describe Him as being "like a son of man." This technical phraseology in Apocalyptic means that the Being so described is not a man. Further, since Ezekiel, and particularly 1 Enoch xxxvii.-lxxi. (also lxxxiii.-xc.), used the term "man" in their visions to symbolize an angel, ὅς ἄνθρωπον would most naturally bear the same meaning in this passage. Thus ὅμοιον υἱὸν ἄνθρωπον would = "like an angel." Hence the Being so described is a supernatural Being, like an angel and yet not an angel. Cf. 1 Enoch xlvi. 1, where the supernatural Messiah is described as a "being whose countenance was as the appearance of a man" (= ἄγαρ ὅμοιός σου). Such is the literal rendering of this latter passage. Further, there can be no doubt that long before the time of our Seer the phrase "like a Son of Man" (ὁ ἄνθρωπος) in Dan. vii. 13 was taken as a Messianic designation. Thus ὅς ὅς ἄνθρωπον in Apocalyptic is the exact equivalent of ὃ υἱὸν τοῦ ἄνθρωπου in the Gospels and Acts xvii. 56.

ἐνδεδυμένον ποδήρη. Cf. Dan. x. 5, καὶ ἤλθον ἄνήρ εἰς ἐνδεδυμένον βύσσωμα (LXX: βασάνων, Theod.), i.e. λιθοθήκη; Ezek. ix. 2, εἰς ἄνήρ . . . ἐνδεδυκάσας ποδήρη (also in 3, 11)—a rendering of the same Hebrew phrase. Since in xv. 6 we have ἐνδεδυμένοι τι λίθον . . . καὶ περιεσωμένοι περὶ τὰ αὐτήν used in reference to angels, there is not necessarily any reference here to the priestly character of Christ. In Ex. xxviii. 4, xxix. 5, ποδήρης is used as a rendering of the high priestly robe (ὕσιν). Cf. Josephus, Ant. iii. 7, 4, ὅ δέ ἀρχιερεύς . . . ἐπενευσάμενος ὅς ἐς ὄνομα πεσομένον χιτώνα, ποδήρης ὅς ἐστι καὶ ὀνόμα, μετὰ καλεῖται τὴν ἡμετέραν γλώσσαν, ἐν χιλιάδεσσι περιεσωμένος; iii. 7, 2, where the linen vestment of the priests is called ποδήρης χιτών. See also Wisd. xviii. 24, ἐπὶ γὰρ ποδήρους ἐνδύματος ἕν ἀλός ὁ κόσμος. But even if ποδήρης was in the mind of the Seer a rendering of ἰδιός, the priestly reference is still doubtful; for the ἰδιός was commonly used by men of high rank (cf. 1 Sam. xviii. 4, xxiv. 5, 12; Ezek. xxvi. 16, etc.). The long robe is used here simply as an Oriental
mark of dignity, though it may have had originally a very different meaning and origin: cf. Gressmann, *Eschatologie*, 346 sq.

_περεξωσμένων πρὸς τοῖς μαστοῖς ζώνην χρυσᾶ_. This phrase recurs in a slightly different form in xv. 6. Both this and the preceding phrase were suggested by Dan. x. 5, ἐνδεξώσεός βαδδείν, καὶ ἡ ὑσφῶς αὐτοῦ περεξωσμένη ἐν χρυσῷ Ὄμφας, where there is no connection of any kind with the priestly dress. The golden clasp or πόρφη was worn by the king and his chosen friends (φίλοι), I Macc. x. 89, xi. 58. The high priest also wore a girdle (παρακόπων), but it was a loosely-woven scarf: cf. Ex. xxviii. 4, xxxix. 29; Lev. xiii. 7. This priestly girdle was worn on the breast a little above the armpits: cf. Josephus, *Ant.* iii. 7. 2, ποδήρης χιτῶν . . . ὃν ἐπιζωσμένατα κατὰ στήθος ὀλόγον τῆς μασχάλης ὑπεράνω τὴν ζώνην περιάγοντες. πρὸς in local sense with dative is rare in the N.T. Here only in the Apocalypse: cf. Mark v. 11; John xviii. 16, xx. 11, 12.

14. ἡ δὲ κεφαλὴ αὐτοῦ καὶ αἱ τρίχαις λευκαί ὡς ἐρόν λευκῶν [ὡς χιῶν]. Our text presupposes Dan. vii. 9 and I Enoch xlvi. 1. The former, according to Theod., Vulgate, and most commentators, is to be rendered: “his raiment was white as snow, and the hair of his head like pure wool”; while I Enoch xlvi. 1 = ἡ κεφαλὴ αὐτοῦ ὡς ἐρόν λευκή (or λευκῶν). Thus in the first place we explain the combination of ἡ κεφαλὴ and αἱ τρίχαις in our text. But our text diverges clearly from Theodotion’s version and the Massoretic of Dan. vii. 9; for the latter read “the hair of his head like pure (i.e. cleansed) wool.” But unless we assume that the wool is white, which, of course, it sometimes is, the comparison is not a good one. Since the LXX here has τὸ τρίχωμα τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ ὡς ἐρόν λευκῶν καθαρῶν (“spotless as white wool”), it is clear that our author had either it or the Aramaic text presupposed by it before him. I Enoch xlvi. 1 could be either “his hair was white like wool” or “like white wool,” the latter being the more likely. Hence our text agrees with the LXX and I Enoch here against the Massoretic of Dan. vii. 9. It should be observed that the description which in Daniel and I Enoch belongs to the Ancient of Days, is here transferred to the Son of Man. The term κεφαλῆ may refer to the hair.

[ὡς χιῶν.] This was manifestly a marginal gloss. It is extremely awkward in its present context. Moreover, in Dan. vii. 9 it is the raiment that is “white as snow,” not the hair of his head.

οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτοῦ ὡς φλαξ πυρὸς. Cf. ii. 18, xix. 12, where the same description is again applied to Christ. The phrase is suggested by Dan. x. 6, “His eyes were as lamps of fire” (λαμπάδες
The metaphor is a very common one in Latin and Greek, as Wetstein has shown on this passage.

15. οἱ πόδες αὐτοῦ ὑμιὸν χαλκολιβάνω. Here again our author has drawn upon Daniel. Cf. x. 6, "His feet like in colour to burnished brass" (LXX, ὅσι εἶχεν χαλκὸς ἑξαστράπτων: Theod. ὃς ὀρασείς χαλκοῦ στίλβοντος: Ezek. i. 4, 27, viii. 2, "From the appearance of his loins and downward, fire: and from his loins and upward, as the appearance of brightness, as the colour of amber"; also i. 7, "they sparkled like the colour of burnished brass" (LXX, ὃς ἑξαστράπτων χαλκός—καὶ δεδιόν χρυσόν). χαλκολιβάνος (here and ii. 18 only) is as yet an unidentified metal. Hence, whatever translation we assign it is purely provisional. Suidas defines it as εἶδος ἢλεκτρον τιμωστέρον χρυσῷ, ἐστι δὲ τὸ ἢλεκτρον ἀλλότυπον χρυσίων μεμιμένων ὑελῷ καὶ λιθίῳ . . . ἢλεκτρον, ἀλλοίωσις χρυσίων, μεμιμένων ὑέλῳ καὶ λιθίῳ. The word, which is of uncertain derivation, is rendered in Latin by aurichalcum. Pliny, H.N. xxxiii. 4, writes: "Omnino auro inest argentum vario pondere. Ubicunque quinta argenti portio est, electrum vocatur." ix. 41, "Argentum auro confundere, ut electra siant." Servius on Virgil, Aen. viii. 402, "Electrum . . . quod sit de tribus partibus auri et una argenti." Eustathius on Od. iv. p. 150. 13, ἢλεκτρον . . . μίγμα τι χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου. (These last three quotations are drawn from Wetstein.) ὃς ἐν καμίῳ † πετυρωμένης †. So AC. But, if this is original, it can only be a slip for πετυρωμένῳ on the part of the Seer, which he would have corrected in a revision of his text. For the explanation given by Hort and Swete, that πετυρωμένης is explained by χαλκολιβάνον understood, is too prosaic and intolerable, i.e. "like burnished brass as in a furnace of burnished brass." Hence I assume that our author intended to write πετυρωμένῳ—a correction which was early and rightly introduced into the text as the following authorities testify: i.e. θ, some cursive, s♭, vg., Sah., Eth. Vict. Thus we have the vigorous and fitting conception: "like burnished brass as when it is smelted (or 'refined') in the furnace." πυρὼν is used only in the passive in the N.T. In the present passage and in iii. 18 it is used as the equivalent of ἄργυρον (Ps. xii. 6, lxvi. 10; Dan. xii. 10; Zech. xiii. 9), of which it is the stock translation.

ἡ φωνὴ αὐτοῦ ὡς φωνὴ ὑδάτων πολλῶν. The voice of the Son of Man is described in exactly the same terms as the voice of God in Ezek. xliii. 2, καὶ διὰ χτάλα τοῖς εἰρήνηι (so the Heb. but not the LXX). Here our author rejects the corresponding simile in Dan. x. 6—καὶ συνοχαὶ κλήσεων, "like the voice of a multitude."

16. ἔχων = εἴχε, a Semitic idiom, though the participle is used in the Κοινὴ occasionally as a finite verb. The reading of A, καὶ
ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ ἀστέρας ἐπτά, seems to assimilate the text to the adjoining clauses, but it may be original.

ἐχων ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ ἀστέρας ἐπτά. Cf. ii. 1 (where the clause is probably an interpolation), iii. 1. This clause is to be interpreted purely symbolically and not literally. It means that these seven stars were subject to him, and wholly in his power. On the other hand the words ἐθηκέν τὴν δεξιὰν αὐτοῦ ἐπʼ ἐμὲ in 17 are to be taken literally.

In 20 these seven stars are interpreted as symbolizing the Seven Churches. That they were originally conceived as forming the constellation of the Bear has been suggested by Bousset, who quotes Dieterich (Eine Mithrasliturgie, p. 14, line 16 sq., pp. 72, 76 sq.), where the God Mithras is represented as appearing to the mystic . . . κατέχοντα ἐν δεξιᾷ χειρὶ μούσχον ὁμον χρύσεων, ὅς ἐστιν ἄρκτος ἡ κινοῦσα . . . τὸν οὐρανόν. But, whatever may be the original derivation of this conception, it could hardly be present to the mind of the Seer in the present passage, else we should have τοὺς ἐπτά ἀστέρας and not ἀστέρας ἐπτά. The number seven, in itself sacred, determined the number of the Churches (i. 20), and thus by a coincidence the number of the stars as seven. See Jeremias, Babylonisches im Neuen Testament, 24–26. But the seven stars may be the seven planets.

ἐκ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ βομβαία δίστομος ὀξεία ἐκπορευομένη. Cf. ii. 12, 16. These words go back to Isa. xi. 4, “He shall smite the earth with the rod of his mouth” (here the LXX has τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ), xlix. 2; “He hath made my mouth like a sharp sword” (ὡς μάχαιραν ὀξείαν). See also note on xix. 15, where part of the above clause recurs: cf. Heb. iv. 12; 2 Thess. ii. 9; 4 Ezra xiii. 4. The sword that proceeds from the mouth of the Son of Man is simply a symbol of his judicial authority. Religious art has been very unhappy in representing this symbol literally as a sword proceeding from the mouth of Christ.

βομβαία δίστομος. Cf. Ps. cxlix. 6 (βομβαίαι δίστομοι = בְּרֹחַ הָנִיפֶם); Sir. xxi. 3.

ἐκ τ. στόματος . . . ἐκπορευομένη. Cf. ix. 17, xix. 15.

ἡ ὄψις αὐτοῦ, ὡς ὁ ἡλιός φαίνει ἐν τῇ δυνάμει αὐτοῦ. ὄψις = “face”; ὄψις is found only here and in John vii. 24, xi. 44 in the N.T., but this usage is not infrequent in the LXX. Part of the clause ὁ ἡλιός and ἐν τ. δυν. αἰτοῦ goes back to Judg. v. 31, “Let them that love him be as the sun when he goeth forth in his strength” (ὡς ἔξοδος ἡλίου ἐν δυνάμει αὐτοῦ = בְּרֹחַ הָנִיפֶם וַעֲלֵי הָבָבָ). ὡς ὁ ἡλιός. Cf. Matt. xvii. 2, ἔλαμψεν τῷ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ ὡς ὁ ἡλιός. The faces of the righteous are also to shine like the sun, Matt. xiii. 43; as do also those of the angels: x. 1; 2 Enoch i. 5, xix. 1.
He says, "And His face was as the sun shining in His strength." See Additional Note on ως, p. 36.

17. καὶ ὁτε εἶδον αὐτὸν κτλ. The Seer had in his mind Dan. x. 7, 9, (LXX), καὶ εἶδον ἐγὼ Δαυιδ κύριον ἐπὶ τὴν ὁμοιότηταν . . . : 9, καὶ . . . ἐγὼ ήμνη πεπτωκὼς ἐτή προσωπών μου ἑπὶ τὴν γῆν. Cf. also Josh. v. 14; Ezek. i. 28, iii. 23, xliii. 3.

καὶ ἔθηκεν τὴν δεξίαν αὐτοῦ . . . Μὴ φοβοῦ. Cf. Dan. x. 10, 12, 19. The μὴ φοβοῦ is found also separately in Isa. xlv. 2; Matt. xiv. 27, xvii. 7; Luke i. 13, 30, etc. It is used to give comfort (cf. Matt. xiv. 27 = John vi. 20; Acts xxvii. 24), and to remind the Seer that He that is seen is no unknown one (Spitta).

From μὴ φοβοῦ to the close of this verse there is a stanza of four lines.

ἐγὼ εἰμὶ ὁ πρῶτος καὶ ὁ εὐχαριστός. Cf. ii. 8, xxii. 13. In all three cases these words are used as a designation of Christ. They are derived from Isa. xliv. 6, and xlvi. ii., where, of course, they are used as self-designations by Yahweh. In both instances the LXX diverges from the Massoretic: xlv. 6, οὕτως λέγει . . . θεὸς σαβαὼθ οὕτως λέγει . . . θεὸς σαβαὼθ. Ἐγὼ πρῶτος καὶ ἐγὼ μετὰ ταύτα: xlviiii. 12, ἐγὼ εἰμὶ πρῶτος καὶ ἐγὼ εἰμὶ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα. Cf. also Isa. xlii. 4 and xliii. 10.

18. This verse sets forth the threefold conception of Christ in John: the ever abiding life He had independently of the world; His humiliation even unto physical death, and His rising to a life not only everlasting in itself but to universal authority over life and death.

καὶ ὁ ζωὴ καὶ ἐγεννήμην νεκρὸς. These words form the second line of the stanza and are to be taken closely together. Here, as in i. 5–6, ii. 2, 9, etc., the participle after the Hebrew idiom has been resolved into the finite verb. See note on i. 5–6, where it is shown that the line should be rendered

"And He that liveth and was dead."

Most recent commentators connect the καὶ ὁ ζωὴ with the preceding words. But in every instance, whether in Isaiah or in the Apocalypse, the phrase "I am the first and the last" is complete in itself, and the phrase καὶ ὁ ζωὴ would simply impair the fullness of the claim made in these words. On the other hand, when taken with καὶ ἐγεννήμην νεκρὸς they are full of significance in the contrast between the ever abiding eternal life which He possesses and the condition of physical death to which He submitted for the sake of man.
THE REVELATION OF ST. JOHN

о ἡμ. This designation is based on the O.T. phrase יָהָ, θεὸς ἡμ, in Josh. iii. 10; Ps. xiii. 3, lxxxiv. 3, etc.

ἡμ εἰμι εἰς τοὺς αἰώνας τῶν αἰώνων. These words are used of the Father in iv. 9, 10, x. 6. They are found in this connection in Dan. iv. 31, xii. 7 (יָהָ), and Sir. xviii. 1; 1 Enoch v. 1.

ἐξω τὰς κλεῖς τοῦ βαθατοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἄδου. βαθατοῦ and ἄδου can be taken as objective genitives, i.e. the keys that lock or unlock Hades; or as possessive genitives, seeing that they are personified in vi. 8, i.e. the keys held by death and Hades. Hades is the intermediate abode of only the wicked or non-righteous in our author (see xx. 14 note; also vi. 8, xx. 13) as in Luke xvi. 23, where it is set over against Paradise. It has the same meaning in the Psalms of Solomon xvi. 2: cf. xiv. 6, xv. 11. In our author Paradise (cf. ii. 7) has no connection with Hades: nor yet in Luke xxiii. 43; 2 Cor. xii. 4. Hades is not spoken of in the NT as containing Paradise except in Acts ii. 27 (31), which is a quotation from Ps. xvi. 10. Hades or Sheol, however, bears many different meanings in Jewish literature; see my Eschatology, under “Sheol” in the Index, p. 482 sq. But to return. No soul can enter Paradise save through death. So far, therefore, death is the avenue alike to Paradise and Hades. But by submitting to death Christ has through His death and resurrection won complete authority over death. It is not improbable, further, that the text implies the same belief that underlies 1 Pet. iii. 18 sqq. Neither death nor Hades can resist the power of the risen Christ. It is not only that they cannot withhold from Him the faithful that have already died, but that Christ has entered their realm as a conqueror and preached there the Gospel of Redemption to those that had not as yet heard it. No soul can henceforth be a prisoner in Hades, which is there owing to spiritual and other disabilities, in the creation of which it had no part. This interpretation of the text is in keeping with the universal proclamation of the Gospel to the heathen world, which according to xiv. 6-7, xv. 4, was to precede the end. All—wherever they were—were to hear the Gospel before the Final Judgment.

Again we have here one of the earliest traces in Christian literature of the Descent of Christ into Hades, and the conquest of its powers. This idea is in certain forms pre-Christian. Thus in the Babylonian Religion we have the descent of Ishtar, of Hibil Ziwa in the Mandaean Religion, of the primitive man

1 Sheol and death are personified in Hos. xiii. 14. They are classed together in Ps. xviii. 16; Prov. v. 5.

2 Loofs, in E.K.E. iv. 662, accepts this view, and holds that the doctrine of the Descensus underlies Matt. xxvii. 51-53, the Epistle to the Hebrews (xi. 39 sq., xii. 22, ix. 8).
in the system of Manes (see Bousset, *Offenbarung*, p. 197 sq.; Gunkel, *Zum ... Verständniss d. NTs*, p. 72; Clemen, *Religionsgesch. Erklärung d. NT*, pp. 153–156); but these non-Jewish sources do not appear to have given birth to the Christian doctrine of the *Descensus ad Inferos*, as Loofs, in his art. in *E.R.E.* iv. 648–663, has shown.

κλεις τού θανάτου και τού ὀδον. The power over these keys, according to the Targ. Jer. on Gen. xxx. 22 (cf. also on Deut. xxviii. 12), belongs to God alone: Sanh. 113a, “Elijah asked for the key of the raising of the dead. Therefore he was told: Three keys are not committed to a messenger: those of birth, rain, and of the raising of the dead”: Taan. 2a. According to the Midrash Tehillin on Ps. xciii. the Messiah is called Jinnon because he will awake the dead (Weber, 368).

19. οὖν resumes the command given in 11, enforced with the authority of One who has power over death. This particle occurs only here and in ii. 15, 16, iii. 3, 19, in our author, but 195 times in the Fourth Gospel.

α εἰδε καὶ α εἰσίν καὶ α μέλλει γίνεσθαι μετά ταύτα. These words summarize roughly the contents of the Book. The α εἰδε is the vision of the Son of Man just vouchsafed to the Seer: α εἰσίν refers directly to the present condition of the Church as shown in chaps. ii.–iii., and indirectly to that of the world in general; α μέλλει γίνεσθαι μετά ταύτα to the visions from chap. iv. onwards, which, with the exception of a few sections referring to the past and the present, deal with the future. At the beginning of iv. the Seer is summoned to heaven, where a voice declares: δειξω σοι α δει γενέσθαι μετά ταύτα (iv. 1).

α εἰδε. Cf. i. 2, iv. 1.

α μέλλει γίνεσθαι μετά ταύτα. On μέλλει, which in our author is generally followed by the imperfect inf., see x. 7 note; Blass, *Gram.* 197, 202.

20. This verse is independent grammatically of what precedes. The construction of the Greek is highly irregular. In the first place, we have an accusative absolute in τὸ μυστήριον: in the second we have an accusative τὰς ἐπτὰ λυχνιάς where we should expect a genitive dependent on τὸ μυστήριον. These anomalies are not explicable either from the standpoint of Greek or Hebrew. The second of them is best accounted for by the hypothesis that John did not revise his work. There are, it is true, a few instances of the acc. absolute in the N.T.: cf. Acts xxvi. 3, γνώστην ὄντα σε: 1 Tim. ii. 6, τὸ μαρτύριον καροίς ἰδίως: Rom. viii. 3, τὸ ἀδύνατον τοῦ νόμου. To these we may add the instance in our text. This construction is very rare in the papyri as compared with earlier Greek. See Robertson, *Gram.* 490, 1130.

The verse is to be rendered: “As for the mystery of the seven
stars, which thou sawest in (lit. "upon") my right hand, and of the seven golden candlesticks, the seven stars are," etc. τὸ μυστήριον = "the secret meaning." We have analogous interpretations of mysteries in xiii. 18, xvii. 7, 9.

οἱ ἐπτὰ ἀστήρες ἄγγελοι τῶν ἐπτὰ ἐκκλησίων εἰσί. See note on i. 4. Various explanations of these ἄγγελοι have been given. Some scholars take them to be the actual messengers entrusted with the delivery of the letters to the various Churches, or the delegates sent from the Asiatic Churches to Patmos who were returning with the Apocalypse. Lightfoot, Schoettgen, Bengel connect them with subordinate officials of the synagogue. Primasius, Völter (Offenbarung Johannis, iv. 159) and others connect them with some prominent officials of the Churches. Zahn (Einl. ii. 606) and J. Weiss (Offenbarung Johannis, 49) identify them with the bishops of the Seven Churches. But the use of ἄγγελος in Apocalyptic in general and also in our author is wholly against making ἄγγελος represent a human being. If used at all in Apocalyptic, ἄγγελος can only represent a superhuman being.

Hence the only interpretation that can be accepted is one which does justice to the term ἄγγελος. From this standpoint two interpretations are advanced. 1. The angels are guardian angels of the Seven Churches. This interpretation can be supported from Daniel, where the doctrine of the angelic guardians or patrons of the nations is definitely presupposed: cf. x. 13, 20, 21, xi. 1, xii. 1. It appears also in Sir. xvii. 17; Deut. (LXX) xxxiii. 8. In the N.T. individuals are supposed to have special guardian angels: cf. Matt. xviii. 10; Acts xii. 15; Targ. Jer. on Gen. xxxiii. 10, "I have seen thy face, as though I had seen the face of thy angel": also on xlviii. 16; Chag. 16a. But, if these angels are conceived of as distinct personalities, this interpretation is open to unanswerable objections; for Christ is supposed to send letters to superhuman beings through the agency of John, and the letters in question are wholly concerned, not with these supposed angels, but directly with the Churches themselves and their spiritual condition. Hence the only remaining interpretation is that which takes these angels to be the heavenly doubles or counterparts of the Seven Churches, which thus come to be identical with the Churches themselves. Even this last interpretation is not free from difficulty; for it in reality amounts to explaining one symbol "the stars" by another symbol "the angels." Notwithstanding, we must hold fast to the latter interpretation in some form. Perhaps the seven stars represent in Semitic fashion the heavenly ideal of the Seven Churches: while the seven candlesticks are the actual realization of those ideals. Even this view is open to criticism. Notwithstanding, it seems to express best the thought in the mind of our
author. Christ holds in His hand (i.e. His power) these ideals: that is, only through Him can they be realized. αἰ λυχνία αἰ ἐπτα ἐπτά ἐκκλησίαν εἰσίν. Here, since the Seven Churches have been definitely enumerated in i. 11, we should probably with WH regard ἐπτα ἐπτά as a primitive error for ἐπτά. We should then have “the candlesticks are the Seven Churches.” But not only have the Churches been previously mentioned, but the subject and predicate are here identical. Hence the article should be used with the predicate as in i. 8, 17, iii. 17. See Robertson, Gram. 768.

Additional Note on ὡς and ὤμοιος.

Our author uses ὡς in several idiomatic constructions, which if considered in relation to the bulk of his work as a whole differentiates it from all other writings.

1. φωνή ... ὡς σάλπιγγος = “a voice like the voice of a trumpet.” The Seer has never in his earthly experience heard such a voice. It was a heavenly voice. The nearest earthly equivalent he could suggest was the sound of a trumpet. But it was not the sound of a trumpet: it was only like it (ὡς). The construction here is a pregnant one=ὡς ἐκκλησία as in Isa. xxix. 4, lxiii. 2; Jer. l. 9. This pregnant construction recurs in iv. 1, 7, ὡς ἀνθρώπου = ὄς βας, and in xiii. 2, ὡς πόδες αὐτοῦ ὡς ἄρκουν: xvi. 3, ἀίμα ὡς νεκροῦ. The same idea is conveyed by ὀσεί in I Enoch xvii. 1, xxiv. 4, xxxii. 4, and by ὡς in xiv. 10, 11, 13, xvii. 1; but in none of these cases have we the pregnant construction. In xiv. 18, τροχὸς ὡς ἡλίου, it is a pregnant one.

2. ὡς is used in a certain sense as the subject or the object of the verb as = in Hebrew, and yet it does not affect the case of the noun which follows it. It is used as the subject or, if the student prefer, in connection with the subject in ix. 7, ἐπὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς αὐτῶν ὡς στέφανοι. Here ὡς στέφανοι = “the appearance of crowns was on their heads.” In Num. ix. 15 we have this idiom: “There was upon the tabernacle the likeness of the appearance of fire” (ὡς εἶδος πυρός); also in Dan. x. 18: “then there touched me again, one like the appearance of a man.” Here ὁμοιοὶ αἰματός ὁμοίως ἀνθρώπου is the subject of the verb and = “the likeness of the appearance of a man.” As the Vulgate has here “quasi visio hominis” we can determine the Hebrew behind 4 Ezra xiii 2, “quasi similitudinem hominis” (Eth. and Arab. Verss.); but here the ὡς is connected with the accusative, to which we shall now turn. Thus we have in vi. 6, ἡκουσα ὡς φωνή, and also in xix. 1, 6—the heavenly
equivalent of an earthly voice. In v. 11 the ws is omitted; for there the voice is definitely said to be that of angels. In xv. 2, ιδον ws θάλασσαν—"the likeness of a sea"; xviii. 21, λίθον ws μύλινον μέγαν—"the likeness of a great millstone."

3. ws is used simply as a particle of comparison in xii. 15, xiii. 2, 11, xxii. 11.

4. In vi. 1 our author has rendered ἄρπι, which was in his mind, literally and inadvertently by ws φωνή (ACQ); but since ἄρπι in this context = ἄρπι, it should here have been rendered by ws φωνή. Possibly, however, our author wrote φωνή, which was subsequently corrupted into φωνή.

5. ws is used with the participle as in Hebrew. Cf. Gen. xl. 10, "It was as though it budded" (חוביח ניח). Cf. in our text, ws ἐσφαγμένων, v. 6, xiii. 3.

6. Finally, ws is followed by a finite verb where the Greek idiom requires the participle: cf. i. 16, ἦ ὦς αὐτόν ὦς ὦ ἄλως φαίνει, where we should expect φαίνειν. But this is distinctly a Hebrew idiom; for in Hebrew frequently relative sentences with the relative omitted are attached to substantives which are preceded by the particle of comparison ὃ (= ws). Cf. Isa. lx. i, νεκρός ὄσμος ζωής (LXX, ὄσμα λαμπράς καυθησεται), "as a lamp that burneth." See also for literal but unidiomatic renderings in the LXX of Isa. liii. 7; Ps. xc. 5. But generally the finite verb is rendered idiomatically by the participle in the LXX: cf. Hos. vi. 3; Jer. xxiii. 29, μασαμ μεσα (LXX, ὅς πέλεκυς κύπτων πέτραν); Ps. lxxiii. 15; Job vii. 2, ix. 26, xi. 16.

ομοίος.

That our author uses ομοίος as synonymous in meaning with ws we learn from iv. 6, ομοία κρυστάλλω, as compared with xxii. 1, ὄσμος κρυστάλλω, and iv. 3, ομοίος . . . λίθων ιάσπιδι, as compared with xxi. 11, ὄσμος λίθων ιάσπιδι. In i Enoch also ws and ομοίος are equivalent in meaning: cf. xviii. 13, ἦδον ἐπτὰ ἀστέρας ὄσμος ὦ ἡ μεγάλα, and xxi. 3, τεθέαμαι ἐπτὰ τῶν ἀστέρων . . . ομοίοιος ὦ ἱερόν μεγάλοις.

ομοίος is used also like ws in our text in a pregnant sense (see i under ws): cf. ix. 10, οὗτος ομοίας σκορπίων: also xiii. 11.

But there are two passages in our text in which our author attached not only the same meaning but also the same construction to ομοίος as to ws. These are i. 13, xiv. 14, where we have ομοίοιον ὄνων where we should expect ομοίοιον ὄνων. We have seen that he regarded ομοίος as = ws in respect of meaning, but these two passages exhibit an identification of ομοίος with ws not only in respect of meaning but also of construction; and thus as ws does not affect the case that follows it, neither does ομοίος. That our author knew quite well that ομοίος was followed by the dative
is shown by his universal usage outside these two passages, which stand alone in all literature in making ὁμώς as the absolute equivalent of ὡς alike in construction and meaning.

CHAPTER II.-III.

§ 1. The Seven Letters—Their Authorship, Their Present and Their Original Meaning.

These two chapters, to which the great vision in i. forms an introduction, contain the Seven Letters addressed to seven actual Churches in Asia Minor, in which their spiritual character and environment are distinctly and concretely described. As they stand at present, the circumstances of the Seven Churches are to be regarded as typical of the Church as a whole. Thus in addressing certain specific Churches, our author is addressing all Christian Churches. In this representative sense the Seven Churches are identified with the seven candlesticks (i. 20). That these Letters are from the hand of our author is amply proved by their diction and idiom (§ 2).

But a close examination of the Letters shows that they contain two expectations which are mutually exclusive (§ 4), one of which is in harmony with the Book as a whole, while the other clearly conflicts with it. The recognition of this fact leads to the hypothesis that our author wrote these Letters at a date anterior to that of the Book as a whole, before the all-important conflict between the mutually exclusive claims of Christianity and Caesarism came to be recognized, and that in the "nineties," when he put together all his visions, he re-edited these Letters. In re-editing these Letters he made certain changes in the beginnings of them which brought them more into harmony with i. 13–18, and inserted certain additions which adapted the Letters more or less to the expectations underlying the rest of the Book (§ 5). It is not improbable that these Letters were actually sent in their original form to the Seven Churches (§ 6).

§ 2. Diction and Idiom.

These two chapters, alike on the ground of diction and idiom, come from the hand of our author.

(a) Diction.—Though a few expressions are found in these chapters and not elsewhere in our author, they do not take the place of equivalent expressions in our author save in the case of ὡν (see ii. 5 below), but arise naturally from the nature of the subject.
II. 1. τάδε λέγει seven times in ii.–iii. and only once else-
where in N.T., i.e. Acts xxii. 11.
ó περιπατῶν. Cf. iii. 4, ix. 20, xvi. 15, xxi. 24.
2. οἶδα. Cf. 9, 17, 19, iii. 1, 8, 15, 17, vii. 14, xii. 12,
xix. 12.
tόν κόπον. Cf. xiv. 13. τήν ὑπομονήν (not in Fourth
Gospel). Cf. i. 9, ii. 3, 19, iii. 10, xiii. 10, xiv. 12. ψευδεῖς.
Cf. xxi. 8. Only once elsewhere in N.T.
4. ἀλλὰ. Cf. ii. 6, 9 (bis), 14, 20, iii. 4, 9, ix. 5, x. 7, 9,
xxvii. 12, xx. 6.
5. οὖν. Used of logical appeal. Cf. ii. 16, iii. 3 (bis), 9.
Also in i. 19, probably owing to its occurrence in ii.–iii.
pόθεν. Cf. vii. 13. 13 times in Gospel. δὲ (also in 16, 24);
cf. x. 2, xix. 12, xxii. 8.
kινήσω. Cf. vi. 14. Here only in our author.
7. ὁ ἐχών οὕς ἀκουσάτω. Cf. xi. 17, 29, iii. 6, 13, 22, xiii. 9
(Matt. xi. 15, xiii. 9, etc.).
tό πνεῦμα λέγει. Cf. xi. 17, 29, iii. 6, 13, 22, xiv. 13,
xxii. 17.
tό νικῶντι δόσω. Cf. 17, iii. 21, xxii. 7, ὁ νικῶν κληρονομήσει
ταύτα.
tού ἐγκλεί τῆς ἡλίκιας, xxii. 2, 14 [19].
8. ὁ πρῶτος καὶ ὁ ἐσχάτος. Cf. i. 17, xxii. 13.
δός εύγενετο νεκρός καὶ έξησεν. Cf. i. 17 and xiii. 14, xvii. 8
(bis), where the demonic Nero is somewhat similarly described.
βλασφημίαν. Cf. xiii. 1, 5, 6, xvii. 3.
συναγωγῆς τοῦ Σατάνα. Here only and in iii. 9. In xi. 8 we
have the same attitude towards Judaism, though the diction
differs.
10. ἐχρί, cum. gen. Cf. ii. 25, 26, xii. 11, xiv. 20 [xviii. 5].
Not in Gospel, which uses ἐως ὄτου (or οὗ) and ἐως. ἐως only
found in Apoc. vi. 10, 11.
11. οὗ μὴ ἀδικηθῇ ἕκ τοῦ ἀνάτου τοῦ δευτέρου. Cf. xx. 6, ἐπὶ
tούτων ὁ δεύτερος θάνατος οὐκ ἐχεῖ ἐξουσίαν. Observe that ἀδικεῖν
is a favourite word with our author, but is not found in Fourth
Gospel or Epp.
12. ὁ ἐχών τ. ῥομφαίαν τ. δίστομον τ. ἡδείαν. Cf. i. 16, xix.
15. ῥομφαία is found six times in the Apoc. and only once
outside it in the N.T.
13. ἐτοῦ without complementary ἐκέ. Cf. xi. 8, xx. 10.
15. οὕτως. Cf. iii. 5, 16, ix. 17, xi. 5, xvi. 18, xviii. 21.
16. ἐρχομαι σοι ταχύ. Cf. iii. 11, xxi. 7, 12, 20; also ii. 5.
πολέμησω μετ' αὐτών. Cf. xii. 7b, xiii. 4, xvii. 14. Also
xii. 7c, xix. 11, and Jas. iv. 2 without μετά and nowhere else in
N.T.


DICTION AND IDIOM

τῆ δομῆα τοῦ στόματος μου. Cf. i. 16, xix. 15.

17. ὁνόμα . . . γεγραμμένον ὁ οὐδεὶς οἶδεν εἰ μή ὁ λαμβάνων.

Cf. xix. 12, ὁνόμα γεγραμμένον ὁ οὐδεὶς οἶδεν εἰ μή αὐτός.

18. τοὺς ὄφθαλμοὺς ὡς φλόγα πυρὸς. Cf. i. 14, xix. 12.

οἰ πόδες αὐτοῦ ὁμοίοι χαλκολιβανῶν. Cf. i. 14.

20. ἐμοῦς. Here only in Apoc. but 37 times in Gospel.

21. μετανοήσατε ἐκ. This construction is nowhere else found in the N.T. nor yet in the LXX (where ἐπὶ or ἀπὸ follow), yet it recurs in our author in ii. 22, ix. 20, 21, xvi. 11.

23. εἰναὶ θανάτῳ = "by pestilence," as in vi. 8.


δῶσω . . . ἔξουσιάν. On the meaning of this phrase see note on ii. 26 as distinguished from δῶσω . . . τὴν ἔξουσίαν.

27. τοιούταῖ = "will destroy" (see note in loc.). Cf. xix. 15 (xii. 5).

ὡς κἀγὼς. Cf. iii. 21 and vi. 11, ὡς καὶ αὐτοί, [xviii. 6]; Gospel uses καθὼς ἐγὼ frequently.

εἰληφα. This perfect recurs in iii. 3, v. 7, viii. 5, xi. 17. Thus five times in all. In the rest of the N.T. only three times, Matt. xxv. 24 [John viii. 4 in the περικοπή]; 1 Cor. x. 13.

28. τὸν ἀστέρα τὸν πρωάν. Cf. xxii. 16.

III. 2. γίνου γρηγορῶν. For this combination of γίγνεσθαι with a participle, cf. xvi. 10, ἐγένετο . . . ἐσκοτώμενη. Gospel i. 6 only.

εὐρήκα . . . πεπληρομένα. For combination of εὐρίσκεται with part. or adj., cf. ii. 2, v. 4, xxi. 15. For πεπληρο. alone, cf. vi. 11.

tοῦ θεοῦ μου. Cf. iii. 12, where this phrase occurs four times. iii. 12 was added when our author edited the book as a whole in the nineties.

2–4. For the indubitable connections between 2–4 and xvi. 15 see notes on both these passages. xvi. 15, however, appears to have belonged originally to this Letter where it probably followed on iii. 3b.

4. ἀλλά. See note on ii. 4 above.


7. ὁ ἄγιος ὁ ἀληθινός. Cf. vi. 10, where the same epithets are applied to God. Observe that ἀληθινός = "faithful," a meaning confined to the Apoc. within the N.T.
μικρὰν . . . δύναμιν. Cf. xx. 3, μικρὸν χρόνον, for this order, and contrast vi. 11.

ἐτήρησας . . . τὸν λόγον. Cf. xxii. 7, 9—a frequent phrase in the Gospel.

μου τὸν λόγον καὶ . . . τὸ δόμομα μου. Cf. x. 9 for the same remarkable yet intelligible order of the pronouns.


10. ἐτήρησας τὸν λόγον. Cf. iii. 8, xxii. 7, 9; also i. 3, ii. 26, xii. 17, xiv. 12.

τῆς ὑπομονῆς μου, i.e. “the endurance practised by Me.” Cf. xiii. 10, xiv. 12, ἡ ὑπομονὴ τ. ἀγίων, “the endurance practised by the saints.”

τῆς οἰκουμένης ἡλισ. Cf. xii. 9, xvi. 14, where the nature of the trial is described as demonic in connection with this phrase.

τοὺς κατοικίουσας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. Cf. vi. 10, viii. 13, xi. 10 (note). This phrase has throughout our author a technical sense.

12. ὦ νικῶν ποιήσω αὐτοῦ. See notes on ii. 7, 26.

ἐξέλθῃ : in later chapters 13 times.

γράψω ἐπί αὐτῶν τὸ δόμα. Cf. xvii. 5, 8, xix. 16.

τῆς κατηγίας ἱεροσυνή, ἡ καταβαίνουσα κτλ. Cf. xxi. 2.

tὸ δόμομα μου τὸ καῖνον. Cf. xix. 12, 16.

15. οὔτε . . . οὔτε. Cf. ix. 20, 21, xxi. 4. Our author uses οὐδὲ . . . οὐδὲ, v. 3, vii. 16, ix. 4; also οὐ . . . οὐδὲ, vii. 16, xii. 8, xx. 4, xxi. 23; μὴ . . . μὴτε, vii. 1, 3; even οὐδὲ μὴ . . . οὐδὲ, vii. 16b, ix. 4, but never μηδὲ . . . μηδὲ.

17. οὐδὲν χρείαν ἔχω. Cf. xxii. 5.

18. ἀγοράσαι (metaphorical sense). Cf. v. 9, xiv. 3, 4.

ιμάτια λευκά. See on iii. 5 above.

19. εἰσελεύσομαι. Cf. [xi. 11], xv. 8, xxi. 27, xxii. 14.

20. καθίσαι. Cf. xx. 4 and note on iii. 21.

ὡς κἀγώ. See note on ii. 27 above.

μετὰ τοῦ πατρὸς μου ἐν τῷ θρόνῳ αὐτοῦ. Cf. xxii. 3: (b) Idiom.—Here we have idioms and solecisms which, though they may appear abnormally in other writings, are in our author a normal means of expressing his thoughts.

II. 2. τοὺς λέγοντας ἑαυτοὺς ἀποστόλους καὶ οὔκ εἰσίν This resolution of the participle into a finite verb is characteristic of our author. See note on i. 5b-6, p. 14 sq.

3. ἔχεις καὶ ἐβάπταις . . . καὶ κεκοπίακες. For similar combinations of tenses cf. iii. 3, εἰληφας καὶ ἦκουσας: v. 7 sq., vii. 13 sq., viii. 5.

5. ἔρχομαι = ἔλευσομαι. Our author frequently uses the
present of this verb as a future: cf. i. 4, 7, 8, ii. 16, iii. 11, iv. 8, ix. 12, xi. 14, xvi. 15, xxii. 7, 12, 20, but never the future itself except in compounds ἐξελυστατα, xx. 8: εἰσελεύσομαι, iii. 20.

7. τῷ νυκτὶ . . . δύσω αὐτῷ. See notes on ii. 7, 26.

9. τῶν λεγόντων ιουδαίους εἶναι καὶ οὐκ εἰσίν. See above on ii. 2 and note on i. 5b–6.

10. βάλλειν ἐξ ὑμῶν = “some of you.” Cf. iii. 9, διδῳμι ἐκ τ. συναγωγῆς: v. 9, ἕγορασα . . . ἐκ πάσης φυλῆς: xi. 9, βλέπουσιν ἐκ τῶν λαῶν: xxi. 6, δύσω ἐκ τῆς πηγῆς.

13. ὁποὺ ὁ βρόνος τοῦ Σατανᾶ. For this omission of the copula in relative or dependent clause, cf. v. 13, xx. 10.

ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις Ἀντίπας, ὁ μάρτυς μου. On this frequent solecism in our author, see p. 3 ad fin.

20. τῆς γυναίκας ἡ λέγουσα. See preceding note.

λέγουσα καὶ διδάσκει. The frequently recurring idiom already found in ii. 2, 9 above: see note on i. 5b–6.

22. βάλλειν αὐτὴν εἰς κλίνην. A phrase unintelligible in Greek unless retranslated into Hebrew. See note on ii. 22.


26. ὁ νικῶν . . . δύσω αὐτῷ. See note on ii. 7.

δύσω αὐτῷ ἐξοσιάν. On the technical sense assigned to this phrase by our author, see note in loc. It is here rightly used.

Thus chap. ii. is connected by the same diction or idioms or both with portions of iv.–ix., xi.–xvii., xix.–xxii. We have already seen in the Introd. to chap. i. that i. and ii.–iii. and most of the remaining chapters are similarly bound together.

III. 3. ποιαν ὠραν. This acc. of a point of time only here in our author.

7. ὁ ονοίων καὶ οὐδεὶς κλείσει. A Hebrew idiom. See note in loc.

8. δεδωκα ἐνώπιον σοῦ θύραν ἡμεριμμεν, ἦν οὐδεὶς δύναται κλείσαι αὐτήν. We have here two Hebrew idioms in these words:

For other instances of oblique forms of the personal pronoun added pleonastically to relatives (in reproduction of a Hebrew idiom), cf. vii. 2, οἱς ἔδοθε αὐτοῖς: 9, δὲν ἀριθμήσαι αὐτῶν: xii. 6, 14, xiii. 8, 12, xx. 8.

9. ἵδιον διδόω ἐκ τ. συναγωγῆς. Most probably a Hebraism. ἑννίν ἡ μνήμη τῆς συναγωγῆς, “Behold I will make certain of the synagogue,” etc. Here διδόω anticipates ποιήσω.

τῶν λεγόντων έαυτούς . . . καὶ οὐκ εἰσίν. The same Hebrew idiom as in ii. 9.

ποιήσω . . . ἵνα ἔξουσιν . . . καὶ γνῶσιν. ἵνα cum. ind. occurs
9 times in the Apoc., here (iii. 9) and 8 times in the rest of the Book (see note on iii. 9, p. 88): only once in the rest of the Johannine writings, and only 10 times in all in the N.T. outside the Apocalypse. Again, ἵνα μὴ cum. ind. occurs twice in the Apoc. and only twice elsewhere in the N.T. Thus ἵνα cum. ind. is characteristic of our author. Next, ἵνα cum. subj. occurs 6 times in ii.–iii. and 17 times in the rest of the Book, and ἵνα μὴ cum. subj. once in ii.–iii. and 7 times in the rest of the Apoc.

ἵνα ἰδουσίν ... καὶ γνῶσιν. Cf. xxii. 14 for the same combination of moods.

12. ὁ νικῶν ποιῆσαι αὐτῶν. See notes on ii. 7, 26.

τῆς καινῆς ἑρουσαλήμ, ἢ καταβαίνουσα. See Introd. to I. § 2 (θ), p. 3 ad fin.

16. μέλλω ... ἐμέρα. Cf. iii. 2, xii. 4. Elsewhere in our author 10 times with the pres. inf., which is the all but universal usage in the N.T. Only 4 times outside our author is it followed by the aor. inf. (in Lucan and Pauline writings) and twice by fut. inf. in Lucan writing (i.e. Acts).

17. οὐδὲν χρείαν ἐχω. Cf. xxii. 5, ἔχουσιν χρείαν ... φῶς ἡλίου.

20. εἰν τὸ ἀκούσῃ ... καὶ εἰσελεύσομαι. This Hebraic καί introducing the apodosis recurs in x. 7, xiv. 10. It is found also in Luke ii. 21, vii. 12; Acts i. 10; 2 Cor. ii. 2; Jas. iv. 15.

21. ὁ νικῶν δῦσῳ αὐτῷ. On this Hebraism see note on ii. 7.

From the above evidence of diction and still more of idiom it is clear that ii.–iii. are from the hand of our author. Certain words and expressions occur in them which do not recur in the remaining chapters, but this is due to the nature of the subject (cf. τὰς λέγεις) or to the fact that the Letters in some form were written by our author long before 95 A.D.—the date of the completed work: cf. οὖν (also in i. 19), πλην, ἐμός. A comparison of the points of agreement in diction and in idiom shows that ii.–iii. are connected very closely, and in most cases essentially, with iv.–x., parts of xi., xii.–xvii., xix.–xxii.

§ 3. Order of Words and omission of Copula in relative sentences.

Though the diction and idioms of ii.–iii. are conclusive as to the authorship of the Seven Letters, it is remarkable that the order is less Semitic than in the rest of the chapters from the same hand. Thus excluding ii. 7, 11, 17, 26, iii. 5, 12, 21, where the same phrase τῷ νικῶν τινι or ὁ νικῶν recurs and regularly precedes the verb for emphasis, and is therefore perfectly justifiable in Hebrew on this ground, there are more than the average
number of passages in ii.–iii. where the object precedes the verb: ii. 1, τάδε λέγει (and at the beginning of each Letter): 3, ὑπομονήν ἔχεις: 4, την ἀγάπην . . . ὑφήκες: 5, τὰ πρῶτα ἔργα πούήσον: 6, τοῦτο ἔχεις: 23, τὰ τέκνα αὐτῆς ἀποκτεῖνω: 25, ὁ ἔχετε κρατήσατε: iii. 10, σε τηρήσω. The subject also precedes the verb more frequently than is usual in the remaining chapters, and yet the style is profoundly Hebraic and essentially one with the rest of the Book. These phenomena may be due to the fact that our author is here using a vigorous epistolary style, which, while comparable to or even transcending that of the finest passages of the rest of the N.T., stands in its freer play of thought, feeling and their expression in marked contrast to the unrivalled eloquence and sustained sublimity of the rest of the Book.

Turning from the order of the verb to that of the adjective, the adjective almost always follows its substantive with the repetition of the article. There are, however, some exceptions, which have their parallels in the rest of the Book. Thus we find ἄλλο prepositive in ii. 24 as always in our author and generally in the N.T. though it is post positive in Hebrew. In iii. 4, ἄλγα ὄνόματα : cf. xii. 12, ἄλγον καρόν : in iii. 8, μικρὰν . . . δύναμιν: cf. xx. 3, μικρόν χρόνον, and contrast χρόνον μικρόν, vi. 11.

In ii. 13 we have the omission of the copula in a relative sentence: cf. v. 13, xv. 4, xx. 10; but this omission is frequent in the N.T.

§ 4. The Letters were written by our Author at an earlier date and re-edited by him for the present work with certain additions.

Since an examination of the diction and idiom leads to the conclusion that the Letters are from the hand of our author, it is not necessary to consider the theories of some critics who ascribe them to a final reviser, or of others who assign them to an original apocalypse which was subsequently edited and enlarged by later writers.

But the question does arise: were these Letters written in the time of Domitian by our author when he edited the entire work, or were they written at an earlier date? And this question must be answered, since conflicting expectations of the end of the world find expression in them. First, there is the older expectation that the Churches will survive till Christ’s last Advent: cf. ii. 25, ὁ ἔχετε κρατήσατε ἀχρι ὑμ ἦξω, and iii. 3, ἦξω ὑμεῖς κλέπτης. The Second Advent is here referred to as in 1 Thess. v. 2, 4, where St. Paul himself expects to survive this event. In the meantime, however, the individual Churches will undergo persecution from time to time, and their members in certain cases be faithful.
Thus the hypothesis of a universal martyrdom is not the slightest hint, though this expectation is taught or implied in the rest of the Book (see xiii. 15); nor is there a single reference to a world-wide persecution save in iii. 10, though this is one of the chief themes of the Apocalypse.

Again, though this world-wide persecution was to arise in connection with the imperial cult of the Caesars as the rest of the Book clearly states, there is not a single reference to this cult in the Letters: at most there may be an allusion to it in iii. 10. Moreover, so far as this persecution was conceived as involving the martyrdom of all the faithful, as in iv.–xxii., this conception is in direct conflict with ii. 25, iii. 11, where the Churches are represented as witnessing more or less faithfully till the Advent. In short, the expectation that the Church would survive till the Second Advent cannot be held simultaneously with the expectation of a world-wide persecution in which all the faithful would suffer martyrdom. These two expectations are mutually exclusive; and since the first is obviously the original teaching of our text, it follows that iii. 10 is a subsequent addition.

Accordingly the present writer is of opinion that the discordant elements in the text can best be explained by the hypothesis that our author wrote these Letters at a much earlier date than the Book as a whole, before the fundamental antagonism of the Church and the State came to be realized, and Christians had to choose between the claims of Christ and Caesarism, of Christianity and the State. When he put together his visions in the reign of Domitian, he re-edited these Letters by the insertion of iii. 10 and the addition of new material at the close of each Letter, which in some degree brought them into harmony with the rest of the Book.

§ 5. Amongst the additions to the original Letters are the endings and in part the beginnings of the Letters in their present form.

We have already recognized that iii. 10 is a later addition made by our author. But we cannot stop here. The endings

1 Special visitations are threatened (ἐπέχωμαι σοι, ii. 5, 16) unless the Churches of Ephesus and Pergamum forthwith repent, while to the Church of Smyrna “a tribulation of ten days,” issuing in the martyrdom of certain of its members, is foretold, ii. 11; in iii. 19 chastisement but not martyrdom is foretold.

2 The Churches have already suffered persecution in a limited degree. Thus the Church of Ephesus is praised for its faithfulness therein: cf. ii. 3, καὶ υπομονήν ἔχεις καὶ ἐβάστασας δία τὸ δομά μου καὶ οἱ κεκοπλάκες. Likewise Thyatira: cf. ii. 19, and that of Philadelphia, iii. 8; while that of Pergamum has already its proto-martyr Antipas, ii. 13. In Smyrna and Philadelphia the Christians had suffered at the hands of the Jews, ii. 9, iii. 9.
of the Letters are indeed from our author's hand,¹ but they would in many respects be incomprehensible but for the later chapters, to which in thought and diction they are most intimately related, and apart from which they would be all but inscrutable enigmas: cf. ii. 7–xxii. 2, 14 (τὸ ξύλον τῆς ζωῆς); ii. 11–xxi. 8 (where ὁ θάνατος ὁ δεύτερος is first explained); ii. 17–xix. 12 (όνομα καίνον . . . ὁ οὐδεὶς οἴδεν κτλ.); ii. 26–29, xii. 5, xix. 15 (ποιμανεῖ αὐτοὺς ἐν ράβδῳ κτλ.); xxii. 16 (ὁ ἀστήρ . . . ὁ πρωσόν); iii. 5–vi. ii (ἐδόθη αὐτοῖς ἐκάστῳ στολῇ λευκῇ); xiii. 8, xii. 27 (τῷ βιβλίῳ τῆς ζωῆς); iii. 12–xxi. 22, which shows that the term ναὸς in iii. 12 is to be taken metaphorically); xxii. 2 (τὴν πόλιν . . . Ἰερουσαλὴμ καὶνῦν . . . καταβαίνουσαν κτλ.); xix. 12 (όνομα ὁ οὐδεὶς οἴδεν: cf. οὔνομα . . . καίνον in iii. 12); iii. 21–xx. 4.

But another characteristic of these Letters is that they all use the phrase ὁ νικῶν. That this expression designates one who has passed victoriously through the martyr's death to the life eternal, is clear from xii. 11, αὐτοὶ ἐνίκησαν . . . καὶ οὐκ ἡγάπησαν τὴν ψυχήν αὐτῶν ἀχρί θανάτου: xv. 2, εἶδον . . . τοὺς νικῶντας ἐκ τοῦ θηρίου . . . ἑστῶτας ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν τὴν ὑαλίνην: xxi. 7. Now that ὁ νικῶν bears the same meaning at the close of the Letters is to be inferred from iii. 21, ὁ νικῶν δῶσῳ αὐτῷ καθίσαι μετ' ἐμοῦ ἐν τῷ θρόνῳ μου, οὐς κἀγὼ ἐνίκησα καὶ ἐκάθισα μετὰ τοῦ πατρὸς μου ἐν τῷ θρόνῳ αὐτοῦ. As Christ witnessed to the truth by His death, so should His servants. Now, if ὁ νικῶν is used in this sense at the close of all the Letters, as it appears to do, we have here an allusion to the world-embracing persecution (and martyrdom), which is definitely referred to in iii. 10, though such an expectation is quite foreign to the body of the Letters, which belong to an earlier date.

Another later addition of our author common to all the Letters is, ὁ ἔχον οὗς ἀκουσάτω τί τὸ πνεῦμα λέγει ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις: ii. 7, 11, 17, 29, iii. 6, 13, 22. By this addition our author would teach that the Letters are not merely for their respective Churches, but for all the Churches. Thus they are adapted so far as the endings are concerned to their new context.

The later additions at the close of the Letters are accordingly: ii. 7, 11, 17, 26–29, iii. 5–6, 10, 12–13, 21–22.

But the divine titles of Christ at the beginnings of the Letters can hardly have stood in the original Letters as they now

¹ The choice of these endings on the part of our author may in some cases be determined by the diction or thought of the respective letters of which they form the close. Thus in the Letter to Smyrna, ὁ μὴ ἀδικηθῇ ἐκ τοῦ θανάτου τ. δευτέρου, ii. 11, declares the reward of him who is πιστὸς ἀχρὶ θανάτου, ii. 10; in the Letter to Pergamum, δῶσῳ αὐτῷ τοῦ μάνα, ii. 17, sets forth the true food in contrast to the εἰδολοθύτα, ii. 14; and in the Letter to Sardis, ὁ μὴ ἐξαλείψῃ τ. οὔνομα αὐτοῦ ἐκ τ. Βίβλου τῆς ζωῆς, iii. 5, may refer in the way of contrast to ὁνομα ἔχεις ἃτις ζῆς καὶ νεκρὸς εἶ, iii. 1.
do. Such a conclusion is suggested by the facts that whereas they are all, with the exception of those prefacing the Letter to the Church of Laodicea, drawn verbally from i. 13–18 (see note p. 25 sq.), they have no organic connection, except in the case of the Letters to the Churches of Philadelphia and Thyatira, with the Letters which they respectively introduce, though in several instances an artificial connection can be discovered (see note just referred to). What the titles of Christ were in the original form of the Letters cannot now be determined. Some of the existing titles may be original, but it is hard to evade the conclusion that the original titles were recast by our author, when he incorporated the Letters into the complete edition of his visions, and were brought into close conformity with the divine titles of Christ in i. 13–18. Since they have but slight affinity with the contents of the Letters at the head of which they stand, their most natural explanation is to be found in i. 13–18.

§ 6. Were the Letters originally seven distinct Letters addressed and sent to the Seven Churches?

On various grounds we have concluded that the Seven Letters were composed by our author before the time of Domitian: also that on their incorporation into the Apocalypse they were re-edited by him in order to adapt them to the impending crisis, by changes made in the beginnings to bring them into closer conformity with i. 14–18, and by additions such as iii. 10 and others at the close of the Letters, as ii. 7, 11, 17, 26–29, iii. 5–6, 10, 12–13, 21–22, in order to link them up with the theme of the Book as a whole—the conflict between Christ and Caesar, Christianity and the World Power, and the universal martyrdom of the faithful which the Seer apprehended as a result of this conflict.

Now, if the above conclusions are valid, it would not be unreasonable to conclude further that these Letters were actual letters sent separately to the various Churches, and are, notwithstanding their brevity, comparable in this respect to the Pauline Epp. In default of independent historical materials we are unable to test the accuracy of most of the details relating to the moral and religious life in the Seven Churches. But such materials are not wholly wanting. Thus we know that the Ignatian Epistles to Ephesus, Smyrna, and Philadelphia substantiate certain statements of our author bearing on the inner life of these Churches (see pp. 48, 50, 52, etc.). In the case of the Church of Laodicea the external evidence is fuller. Thus in iii. 17–18 the contrast drawn between the deplorable spiritual condition of Laodicea and its material and intellectual riches cannot be accidental, since we know from
external authorities that Laodicea was pre-eminent in these latter respects. But the Letter to the Church in Laodicea shows that our author is familiar with some of the Christian literature circulating within it—such as St. Paul’s Ep. to the Colossians (see note on p. 94 sq.), which, according to St. Paul’s directions, was to be read in the Church of Laodicea.

My hypothesis, therefore, that the Seven Letters, which originally dealt with the spiritual conditions of these Churches, and knew nothing whatever of the impending world conflict between Christianity and the Imperial Cultus, were actually sent to their respective Churches, has much to recommend it.

II. 1–7. THE MESSAGE TO THE CHURCH IN EPHESUS

1. τῷ ἀγγέλῳ τῷ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἐκκλησίας. The city of Ephesus lay on the left bank of the Çayster. In many inscriptions it is designated, ἡ πρώτῃ καὶ μεγίστῃ μητρόπολις τῆς Ἀσίας. It was, according to Strabo, the greatest emporium in Asia (xiv. 24, ἐμπόριον οὐσα μέγιστον τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν τῆν ἐντὸς τοῦ Ταύρου). Ephesus was the centre of Roman administration in Asia. As the Province of Asia was senatorial the governor was called pro-consul (Acts xix. 38, ἀνθυπατοῖ), and it was at Ephesus that he was bound to land and to enter on his office. As a free city it had a board of magistrates (στρατηγοῦ), a senate (βουλῆ), and a popular Assembly (ἐκκλησία). Under the Empire the power of the popular Assembly, which in earlier days had really held the reins of power, had declined until its chief function was to approve of the Bills submitted by the Senate. It had its regular times of meeting, but no extraordinary meeting could be summoned except by the Roman officials. The business of the Assembly was apparently managed by the Town Clerk (γραμματεὺς τῆς πόλεως or τ. δήμου). The Senate, which in pre-Roman days had been elected annually by the citizens, came gradually, under the Roman sway, to be composed of a body of distinguished citizens chosen for life, which tended more and more to become a mere tool of the Imperial Government. Ephesus was the Western terminus of the great system of Roman roads—the great trade route from the Euphrates by way of Colossae and Laodicea, a second from Galatia via Sardis, while a third came up from the south from the Maeander valley. From its devotion to Artemis

1 Swete (p. lix) states that there were three assemblies: a council (βουλῆ) elected from the six tribes into which the population was divided; a senate (γερουσία) charged with the finance of the city and probably of public worship as well as with the care of the public monuments; a popular assembly (ἐκκλησία). Each had its γραμματεύς.
Ephesus appropriated to itself the title Temple Warden (νεωκόρος, Acts xix. 35). But this word took on an additional meaning, and came most commonly to be applied to a city as a warden of a temple of the imperial cultus. The Ephesian Neocorate is first mentioned on coins of Nero. The first temple was probably erected to Claudius or Nero, the second to Hadrian, and the third to Severus. A 2nd century inscription (Wood, App. Inscr. vi. 6, p. 50) speaks of Ephesus as being warden of two imperial temples as well as of that of Artemis (ἄνεωκόρος τῶν Σεβαστῶν καὶ νεωκόρος τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος). Ephesus was also a hotbed of every kind of cult and superstition. Its works on magic (Ἐφέσια γράμματα) were notorious throughout the world. Now it was at this city that Paul founded a Christian Church (50–55), whence proceeded a movement that led to the evangelization of the province (Acts xix. 10). Though of very secondary importance for a couple of decades, it must after the fall of Jerusalem in 70 A.D. have quickly risen into a position of supreme importance and become the chief centre of the Christian Faith in the East. Hence it is rightly named first in i. 11, ii. 1. It was the home of St. John in the latter part of the century; and tradition states that not only were Timothy and John, but also the Virgin Mary, buried at Ephesus. Judaizing and Gnostic teachers early showed themselves active, as we may infer from 1 Tim. i. 7 (θέλοντες εἶναι νομοδιάσκαλοι), iv. 1–3, etc., and Ignatius, Ad Ephes. vii. 1, εἰώθασιν γὰρ τινὲς δόλῳ πονηρῷ τὸ ὅνομα περιφέρειν, ἀλλὰ τινὰ πράσασοντες ἀνάξια θεοῦ· οὕς δὲι ὑμᾶς ὡς θηρία ἐκκλίνειν εἰσίν γὰρ κίνεις λυσσῶντες, λαθροδήκται, οὕς δὲι ὑμᾶς φυλάσσονται ὁντας ἄνθρωποντος. The presence of such elements testified to the danger of schism. See the articles on Ephesus in Hastings' D.B., and the Encyc. Bib. with the literature there quoted.

τάδε λέγει. This clause occurs eight times in the N.T., seven of these being in ii. and iii. of our Book. δόε occurs only twice elsewhere in the N.T. This sparing use has been observed also in the Κοινή.

οἱ κρατῶν τοὺς ἐπτὰ ἄστέρας ἐν τῇ δεξίᾳ αὐτοῦ. This clause has no organic connection with the letter to the Church in Ephesus, and, moreover, it is repeated in iii. 1 in a slightly different form. The use of κρατῶν, which here means to hold fast, while in i. 16, iii. 1 we have ἔχων, is strange. In the case of the Son of Man ἔχων expresses all that is needed. His character is a guarantee that the ἔχων contains the κρατῶν. If it were a man that was in question here, the use of κρατεῖν (cf.

1 The temple dedicated to Augustus some time before 5 B.C. did not entitle the city to the Neocorate; for it was not an independent foundation, being built within the precincts of the temple of Artemis; and it was a dedication by the municipality merely, and not by the Synod of Asia (κοινὸν Ἀσίας).
II. 1-2.] MESSAGE TO THE CHURCH IN EPHESUS 49

ii. 13, vii. 1, “to lay hold of,” xx. 2, and ii. 14, 15, 25, iii. 11 where both words occur) would be intelligible.

The vigilance is not localized but coextensive with the entire Church. The idea of the λυχνιῶν returns in ii. 5, which may have occasioned the choice of the above title. That the former of these two divine titles was added by our author when editing his visions as a whole, see p. 25 sq., 45 sq.

2-3. These two verses appear to consist of three couplets.

2. οίδα τὰ ἔργα σου, καὶ τὸν κόπον καὶ τὴν ὑπομονήν σου καὶ ὅτι οὐ δύνη βαστάσαι κακοῦς, καὶ ἐπείρασας τοὺς λέγοντας ἑαυτοὺς ἀποστόλους καὶ οὐκ εἰσίν, καὶ εὑρέσ αὐτοὺς ψευδεῖς.

3. καὶ ὑπομονὴν ἔχεις καὶ ἐβάστασας διὰ τὸ ὄνομά μου καὶ οὕτω κεκοπίακες.

Here the theme is τὰ ἔργα σου. These consist of τὸν κόπον καὶ τὴν ὑπομονήν σου. These two subordinate themes are then rehandled, the κόπον in 2\textsuperscript{bed} and the ὑπομονήν in 3\textsuperscript{ab}. There are two paronomasias which cannot be accidental: τὸν κόπον and οὕτω κεκοπίακες, and οὐ δύνη βαστάσαι and ἐβάστασας.

2. The phrase οίδα τὰ ἔργα σου recurs, but with the pronoun preceding the noun, in ii. 19, iii. 1, 8, 15. Abbott (Johannine Gram., pp. 414, 422, 601-607) calls the latter the vernacular or unemphatic possessive. In ii. 19 we have a combination of both. See note. οίδα. Christ knows everything (John xxi. 17) —alike the good (2-3, 6) and the bad (4-5) qualities.

τὸν κόπον καὶ τὴν ὑπομονὴν σου. The single pronoun links together the two preceding nouns. These two are the works of the Church in Ephesus—its severe efforts in resisting and overcoming false teachers (2\textsuperscript{bed}), and its steadfast endurance on behalf of the name of Christ (3\textsuperscript{ab}). We might compare 1 Thess. i. 3, μημονεύοντες ἐμὸν τὸν ἐργον τῆς πίστεως καὶ τοῦ κόπου τῆς ἀγάπης καὶ τῆς ὑπομονῆς τῆς ἑλπίδος, but here κόπος and ὑπομονή are coordinated with and not subordinated to ἐργον. κόπος with its cognate κοπίαν is closely associated with Christian work in the N.T. alike in our text (cf. also xiv. 13) and in the Pauline Epistles. ὑπομονή, as Trench (Synon. 191) points out, is used to express patience in respect of things, but μακροθυμία in respect of persons. But the patience is of a high ethical character. “In this noble word ὑπομονή there always appears (in the N.T.) a background of ἀνδρεία (cf. Plato, Theaeet. 177b, where ἄνδρικὸς ὑπομείναι is opposed to ἄνδρικῶς φεύγειν): it does not mark merely the endurance . . . but . . . the brave patience with which the Christian contends against the various hindrances, persecutions, and temptations that befall him in his conflict with the inward
and outward world” (Ellicott on 1 Thess. i. 3, quoted by Trench, *op. cit.*, p. 190).

οδ δύνη βαστάσαι. δύνη for δύνασαι occurs also in Mark ix. 22, 23; Luke xvi. 2. Though not found in Attic prose it is found in Attic poetry. The intolerance here commended is of evil-doers who claimed to be apostles. Clem. Alex. (*Strom.* ii. 18) well defines ὑπομονή as the knowledge of what things are to be borne and what are not (ἐπιστήμη ἐμμενετέων καὶ οὐκ ἐμμενετέων). The need of testing the claims of itinerant teachers who claimed to be prophets and apostles was early felt: cf. 1 Thess. v. 20 sq.; 1 John iv. 1. They were not to be acknowledged unless they brought with them “commendatory letters” (2 Cor. iii. 1).

That the Church in Ephesus shunned such false teachers we learn from Ignatius, *Eph.* ix. 1, ἐγὼν δὲ παραδεύσαντας τινας ἐκείθεν, ἔχοντας κακὴν δίδαξαν ὀδ εἶχας εἰς ὑμᾶς, βεβαιότες τὰ ζητα, εἰς τὸ μὴ παραδέξασθαί τὰ σπειρόμενα ὑπ' αὐτῶν. In the Didache xi. 8, 10, the ultimate test of such teachers was conformity of their lives with that of Christ. In Hermas, *Mand.* xi. 11–15, the two types of teachers are contrasted, and in xi. 16 the excellent advice is given: δοκίμαζε ὁ ἄνδρας τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ τῶν ἔργων τῶν ἀνθρωπῶν τῶν λέγοντα οὖν πνευματοφόρον εἰναι.

καὶ ἐπείρασας. The verb points to some definite occasion. πειράζειν may be compared with δοκιμάζειν in 1 John iv. 1.

τοὺς λέγοντας ἐαυτοὺς ἀποστόλους καὶ οὐκ εἰσίν. The οὐκ εἰσίν is here a Hebraism for οὐκ ὅταν. (See note on i. 5b–6, p. 14 sq.) ἀποστόλους. These persons have been identified: (1) with the Jews sent from Jerusalem (so Spitta): cf. 2 Cor. xi. 13 sq.; (2) with the disciples of St. Paul or even St. Paul himself (Volkmar, Völter, Holtzmann3 (with reservations)); (3) with the Nicolaitans in 6 (Bousset). According to this view, 6 resumes 2. This explanation appears to be the best of the three. It also rightly differentiates the ἔργα in 2 (*i.e.* the vigorous action against the false teacher and the endurance under affliction) from the πρῶτα ἔργα in 5, which are identical with the γάτην . . . τὴν πρῶτην, or brotherly love, in 4. The Church in Ephesus still hates, 6, the evil members, the false apostles which it had tried and rejected.

3. This verse returns to the positive element in the praise given in 2: it explains τὴν ὑπομονὴν σου, and refers to τὸν κόπον in οὐ κεκοπίακες, “thou hast not grown weary.” Here we have ἔχεις καὶ ἐβάστασας just as in the preceding verse, δύνη . . . καὶ επείρασας. In both cases an ethical characteristic is brought forward which had manifested itself in some act of the immediate past.

4. But, though the Church in Ephesus has preserved its moral and doctrinal purity and maintained an unavailing loyalty
in trial, it has lost the warm love which it had at the beginning. The love here referred to is brotherly love: cf. 19; Matt. xxiv. 12 (διὰ τὸ πληθυνθῆναι τὴν ἀνομίαν ψυχῆς τῇ ἀγάπῃ τῶν πολλῶν), and 2 John 5-6. Some scholars see in our text a reminiscence of Jer. ii. 2, "the love of thine espousals," and interpret it of the love to God and Christ. The controversies which had raged in Ephesus had apparently led to censoriousness, factiousness, and divisions (cf. Acts xx. 29-30), and the Church had lost the enthusiastic love it had shown in the days of Paul (cf. Acts xx. 37).

εἴχω κατὰ σοῦ. Cf. 14, 20. Is this an echo of Matt. v. 23, Mark xi. 25?

ἀφηκας. A common usage of this verb in John: cf. iv. 3, 28, 52, x. 12, etc.

5. The Church in Ephesus is bidden to recognize the spiritual declension that has taken place, to repent and do the works which characterized its first love. As Swete remarks, "μετανοέων, μετανοήσων, ποιήσων answer to three stages in the history of conversion."

μημόνευες οὖν. Cf. iii. 3.

εἰ δὲ μή, ἐρχομαί σοι. καὶ κινήσω τὴν λυχνίαν σου ἐκ τοῦ τόπου αὐτῆς [ἐὰν μὴ μετανοήσῃς]. Since the εἰ δὲ μή here declares that if the Church does not fulfill the triple command given in μημόνευες . . . καὶ μετανοήσων . . . καὶ . . . ποιήσων, judgment will ensue, it is manifest that the clause ἐὰν μὴ μετανοήσῃς is really a weaker repetition of εἰ δὲ μή. This is not in keeping with our author's style. After εἰ δὲ μή we must understand μημόνευες . . . καὶ μετανοήσεις καὶ ποιήσεις. Accordingly εἰ δὲ μὴ or ἐὰν μὴ μετανοήσης must be excised as an intrusion; and clearly it is the latter, as a comparison of ii. 5 and ii. 16 shows. The necessity for this excision becomes obvious if we compare 16 and 22 in this chapter, where we have separately the two constructions occurring in this verse. In the first case we have a good parallel to our text here; for the same sequence of ideas, though less full, recurs μετανοήσων οὖν' εἰ δὲ μή, ἐρχομαί σοι ταχὺ, καὶ πολεμήσω. Here there is no otiose repetition of the idea conveyed in εἰ δὲ μή. After εἰ δὲ μή here we have only to supply μετανοήσεις. In ii. 22 we have the second possible construction, ἰδοὺ βάλλω αὐτὴν εἰς κλίνην . . . ἐὰν μὴ μετανοήσουσιν.

When the interpolated gloss is removed we find that 5 consists of two couplets, the second of which is

εἰ δὲ μή, ἐρχομαί σοι,
καὶ κινήσω τὴν λυχνίαν σου ἐκ τοῦ τόπου αὐτῆς.

ἐρχομαί σοι. Cf. ii. 16. The dative here may be the dativus incommodi, or an incorrect rendering of ἤ, as in Matt. xxi. 5 (so Blass, Gram. 113). ἐρχομαί σοι refers here as in ii. 16 to a special
visitation or coming, though reference to the final judgment is not excluded. ἐρχέσθαι is practically used as equivalent to ἔλειψεσθαι throughout the Apocalypse.

κινήσω τὴν λυχνίαν σου, i.e. thy Church. That the Ephesian Church paid heed to this warning for the time being we learn from the Prologue to Ignatius' Epistle to Ephesus, where he calls it ἀξιομακάριστος: and in i. 1, where he declares, μυρηνὰ δόντες θεοῦ, ἀναζωτηρήσαντες ἐν αἰματί θεοῦ, τὸ συγγενικὸν ἔργον . . . ἀπηρτίσατε. Again in xi. 2 he expresses the wish that he "may be found in the company of those Christians of Ephesus who, moreover, were ever of one mind with the apostles in the power of Christ." That the threat in our text implies not degradation nor removal of the Church to another place, but destruction, seems obvious. Yet Ramsay (Letters, 243 sqq.) is of opinion that the threat is so expressed as to mean only a change in local position, and supports this interpretation by the statement that "Ephesus has always remained the titular head of the Asian Church, and the Bishop of Ephesus still bears that dignity, though he no longer resides at Ephesus but at Magnesia ad Sipylum." Nothing now remains on the site of Ephesus (i.e. Ayasaluk = ἀγιος θεόλογος) save a railway station and a few huts.

6. The Seer modifies the severe criticism in 4-5 by bringing forward the redeeming characteristic in the Ephesian Church, that they hated the deeds which Christ also hated.

τὰ ἐργά τῶν Νικολαίτων. These Nicolaitans have been identified from the time of Irenaeus (i. 26. 3, iii. ii. 1) and Hippolytus (Philos. vii. 36), who was dependent on Irenaeus, with the followers of Nicolaus the proselyte of Antioch (Acts vi. 5). Tertullian speaks apparently of a second sect (Praesc. Haer. 33, Adv. Marc. i. 29, De Pudicitia, 19), but Epiphanius (Haer. xxv.) deals with the Nicolaitans mentioned in our text. In Clem. Alex. (ii. 20. ii. 18, iii. 4. 25), the Constit. Apost. (vi. 8, οἱ νῦν ψευδόνυμοι Νικολαίται), and Victorinus an attempt was not unaturally made to show that the derivation of this immoral sect from one of the seven Deacons was an error. According to Clement, Nicolaus taught δότι παραχρήσθαι τῇ σάρκι δεῖ, and according to Hippolytus (Philos. viii. 36), Νικόλαος . . . ἐδώδασκεν ἀδιαφοριὰν βίου τε και βρώσεως. A comparison of the text here with ii. 15-16 leads to an identification of the Nicolaitans and the Balaamites not only on the ground of our text, but also from the fact that they are roughly etymological equivalents, though Heumann (Act. Erudit., 1712, p. 179) urged this as a ground for regarding the names as allegorical and not historical. That is, Balaam = ἴμψυ ἵππον = "he hath consumed the people" (a derivation found in Sanh. 105a, where ἴμψυ ἵππον is an alternative reading), while Νικόλαος = νικῆ λαόν. Such a play on the ety-
logy of words is thoroughly Semitic. There is, it is true, no exact equivalent to νικάν in Hebrew. Hence the above can stand. Furthermore a comparison of ii. 14 and ii. 20, which shows that the Balaamites and the followers of Jezebel were guilty of exactly the same vices, makes it highly probable that the latter were a branch of the Nicolaitans.

The works of the Nicolaitans, then, are those given in ii. 14, 20. They transgress the chief commands issued by the Apostolic Council at Jerusalem (Acts xv. 29).

7. ὁ ἔχων οὖς ἀκουσάτω κτλ. Cf. Matt. xi. 15, xiii. 9, 43; Mark iv. 9, 23, etc. This formula introduces the promise to him that overcomes in the first three messages and closes it on the last four. Here the speaker turns from the individual Church to the whole Christian community. Since the Book as a whole was written to be read in public worship, such a larger reference was conceivable in and for itself.

This clause, which occurs seven times,—once in each Letter,—seems to have been added by the Seer when he incorporated the Seven Letters in an edition of his visions. The seven eschatological promises, ii. 7b, 11b, 17b, 26-27, iii. 5, 12, 21, appear to have been added at the same time. Such a phrase as πᾶσαι αἱ ἐκκλησίαι in ii. 23 is no evidence to the contrary.

τὸ πνεῦμα. Cf. the closing words of all the Letters; also xiv. 13, xix. 1o, xxii. 17. The Spirit here is the Holy Spirit which inspires the prophets, but also the Spirit of Christ, since in ii. 1 Christ is the Speaker. The Spirit here has nothing to do with the seven spirits in iii. 1 [i. 4], iv. 5.

τῷ νικῶντι . . . τοῦ θεοῦ. Added probably by our author when he edited the visions as a whole (see p. 45).

τῷ νικῶντι δύσως αὐτῷ. We have here a well-known Hebraism. Cf. LXX of Josh. ix. 12, οὗτοι οἱ ἄρτοι . . . ἐφωδιάσασθηκαν αὐτοὺς. It is found sporadically in the Kounī, but the Kounī usage is wholly inadequate to explain the frequency and variety of the Hebraisms in our author. For the occurrence of this idiom elsewhere in the N.T., see John vi. 39, vii. 38, x. 35 sq., xv. 2-5, xvii. 2; i John ii. 24, 27: cf. Abbott, Gram. 32 sq., 309. In ii. 26, ὁ νικῶν . . . δύσως αὐτῷ is more Hebraistic than the expression in ii. 7. νικάν is a word characteristic of our author, and is used of the faithful Christian warrior in ii. 11, 17, 26, iii. 5, 12, 21a, xii. 11, xv. 2, xxi. 8; of Christ Himself in iii. 21b, v. 5, xvii. 14. In the remaining passages it is without this moral significance, vi. 2, xi. 7, xiii. 7. It is found once in the Fourth Gospel and six times in i John. Elsewhere in the N.T. only four times. Cf. i Enoch l. 2. The word νικάν implies that the Christian life is a warfare from which there is no discharge, but it is a warfare, our author teaches, in which even the feeblest saint can
prove victorious. But the word *vκαν* is not used in our author of every Christian, but only of the martyr who, though
apparently overcome in that he had to lay down his life, yet was
in very truth the one who overcame, “as I also have overcome,”
saith Christ, iii. 21 (cf. John xvi. 33). The participle τοῦ *vκώντες*
is here, as elsewhere in our author, influenced by the use of the
Hebrew participle, which can have a perfect sense or imperfect
as the context requires (see p. 202 n.). In our author ὁ *vκών*=
ὁ νεκκηκός. This warfare which faithfulness entails may be
illustrated from 4 Ezra vii. 127 sq., “And he answered me and
said: This is the condition of the contest which every man who
is born upon earth must wage, that if he be overcome he shall
suffer as thou hast said; but, if he be victorious, he shall receive
what I have said.”

δῶσω . .. φαγεῖν ἐκ τοῦ ξύλου τῆς ζωῆς. δῶσω . .. φαγεῖν
is a frequent construction in our author, occurring in all eleven
times. In the Fourth Gospel it is found four times, and in the
rest of the N.T. twenty times. Personal victory over evil is the
condition without which none can eat of the tree of life. With
our text we may compare xxii. 14. Test. Levi xviii. 11, καὶ
δῶσει τοῖς ἁγίοις φαγεῖν ἐκ τοῦ ξύλου τῆς ζωῆς: I Enoch xxiv. 4,
καὶ ἤν ἐν αὐτοῖς δένδρον ὁ οὐδέποτε ὀσφραγίας καὶ οὐδεὶς ἔτερος
αυτῶν εὑράνθη, καὶ οὐδὲν έτέρον ὄμοιον αὐτῷ. ὅσμην έχει εὐώδε-
στεράν πάντων ἀρωμάτων, καὶ τὰ φύλλα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ ἀνθος καὶ τὸ
dένδρον οὐ φθίνει εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα: xxv. 4, καὶ τούτο τὸ δένδρον εὐώδιας,
καὶ οὐδεμία σάρξ έξονυτάν έχει ἄφασθαι αὐτοῦ μέχρι τῆς μεγάλης
κρίσεως . . . τότε δικαίοις καὶ έστις δοθησται: 5, ὁ καρπὸς αὐτοῦ
τοῖς ἐκλέκτοις εἰς ζωήν εἰς βοράν, καὶ μεταφορεθήσεται ἐν τόπῳ
ἀγίῳ παρὰ τὸν οἶκον τοῦ θεοῦ. Thus as early as the 2nd
cent. B.C. it was held that the tree of life would be transferred
to the temple of the Lord in Jerusalem—not apparently the
Heavenly Jerusalem, but the earthly Jerusalem cleansed from all
iniquity. That the earthly Jerusalem should give place to the
Heavenly in this connection was inevitable. But the combina-
tion of the two ideas is of supreme importance as it prepares the
way for the conception of our Seer, who places the tree of life
in the street of the Heavenly Jerusalem (xxii. 2). That this
Heavenly Jerusalem, to which belongs the tree of life (ii. 7,
xxii. 2), is to be the seat of the Millennial Kingdom on the
present earth before the Final Judgment, and is not to be con-
ounded with the New Jerusalem, which is to descend from the
new heaven to the new earth after the Final Judgment and
become the everlasting abode of the blessed, I have shown at
some length in the Introd. to xx. 4-xxii.

τοῦ ξύλου τῆς ζωῆς. Cf. xxii. 2, 14. The tree of life is the
symbol for immortality in our author. None can eat of it save
those who have proved victorious in the strife with sin and evil. The ξύλον τῆς ζωῆς is to be carefully distinguished from the ἄδωρ τῆς ζωῆς. The latter is a free gift (xxii. 17, xxi. 6), given without money and without price to every one that thirsteth for it. It symbolizes the divine graces of forgiveness and truth and light, etc. (cf. vii. 17). If a man is faithful to the obligations entailed by these graces he becomes a victor (νικῶν) in the battle of life, and thus wins the right to eat of the tree of life, that is, he enters finally on immortality. In the Fourth Gospel (iv. 10, 13, 14), on the other hand, only the one symbol is used—"the water of life," and this is given a significance that embraces the two symbols used by our author.

τὸ παραδείσω τοῦ θεοῦ. In our author Paradise has become equivalent to the Heavenly Jerusalem, which is to descend from heaven before the Final Judgment to become the seat of the Millennial Kingdom. In Luke xxiii. 43 it is the abode of the blessed departed, and in 2 Cor. xii. 4 it is identified with the third heaven or with part of it. On some of the other meanings assigned to it and the localities identified with it, see my Eschatology 2, 244, 291 sq., 316–318, 357, 473 sq.

8–11. THE MESSAGE TO THE CHURCH IN SMYRNA.

8. ἐν Σμύρνῃ. The ancient city of Smyrna was destroyed early in the 6th cent. B.C. and refounded on a new site under the Diadochoi by Lysimachus (301–281 B.C.). It has continued from that date to the present one of the most prosperous cities of Asia Minor. Smyrna proved itself a faithful ally of Rome from the period that Rome began to intervene in Eastern affairs and before it had established its claim to world supremacy. It openly supported Rome against Mithridates, Carthage, and the Seleucid kings. As early as 195 B.C. (Tac. Ann. iv. 56) it dedicated a temple to the goddess of Rome. Lying at the end of one of the great roads leading across Lydia from Phrygia and the east, and forming the maritime outlet for the whole trade of the Hermus valley, it became wealthy and prosperous. It was an assize town, and one of the cities bearing the name μητρόπολις. With Ephesus and Pergamum it strove for the title πρώτη Ἀσίας—a strife which continued till it was settled by the Emperor Antoninus (Philostr. Op. 231. 24, ed. Kayser); and of all the Asiatic cities that in a.d. 26 contended for the right of erecting a temple to Tiberius, Livia and the Senate, it alone secured this privilege and could henceforth claim the Imperial Neocorate. A second Neocorate was accorded to it by Hadrian (see, however, Lightfoot, Ignatius, i. 467) and a third by Severus. Of the
power acquired by the Jews in Smyrna notice will be taken. As regards the origin of the Church in Smyrna the N.T. gives no information. According to Vita Polycarpi, 2, St. Paul visited Smyrna on his way to Ephesus. According to Acts xix. 10, “All they which dwelt in Asia heard the word of God.” See the Bible Dictionaries on “Smyrna,” and Ramsay, Letters, in loc.

δς ἐγένετο νεκρός καὶ ἐξησεν. These words also go back to i. 17 sq., καὶ ἐγενόμην νεκρὸς, καὶ ἦν ὁ θανάτος ἑως τῶν αἰώνων. Compare the demonic caricature in the case of the Antichrist: xiii. 14, δς ἐχει τὴν πληγὴν τῆς μακαρίας καὶ ἐξησεν. The word ἐξησεν refers to Christ’s resurrection: cf. Rom. xiv. 9, Χριστὸς ἀπέθανεν καὶ ἐξησεν Ἰνα καὶ νεκρῶν καὶ ἐναντίων κυριεύσῃ. This part of the title, δς ἐγένετο νεκρός καὶ ἐξησεν, points forward to 10, γίνου πιστὸς ἰδίῳ θανάτου καὶ δῶσόν σοι τὸν στέφανον τῆς ζωῆς. The divine title, δς πρώτος καὶ δς ἐσχάτος, seems to have been added by our author when editing his visions as a whole. See p. 45 sq.

9-10. These two verses constitute three stanzas: the first verse constituting the first stanza of three lines and the second verse two stanzas of three lines and two respectively.

9. οἶδα σου τὴν κληρονομοὶν . . . ἀλλὰ πλοῦσιον εἰς. The unemphatic or vernacular use of the pronoun here throws the emphasis on the context, “I know the affliction and poverty thou endurest, but thou art not poor but rich.” With this we may contrast the words addressed to Laodicea, iii. 17, λέγεις ὅτι Πλοῦσιος εἶμί, . . . καὶ οὐκ οἶδας ὅτι σὺ εἶ ὁ . . . πτωχός. On the combination of material poverty and spiritual riches cf. 2 Cor. vi. 10, ὡς πτωχοὶ, πολλοὶς δὲ πλουτίζοντες: Jas. ii. 5, οὐχ ὁ θεὸς ἐξελέξατο τοὺς πτωχοὺς τῷ κόσμῳ πλούσιοις εν πίστει: also Luke xii. 21; i Tim. vi. 18. The poverty of the Christians in Smyrna appears to be due at all events in part to the despoothing of their goods by the Jewish and pagan mobs: cf. Heb. x. 34, τὴν ἀρπαγήν τῶν υπαρχόντων υἱῶν μετὰ χαρὰς προσεδέσασθε.

τὴν βλασφημίαν ἐκ τῶν λεγόντων Ἰουδαίους εἰσίν ἐαυτοὺς. Here ἐκ means “proceeding from.” Hence John iii. 25 is not a true parallel. The bitter hostility of the Jews to the Christians at Smyrna is unmistakable from the context. The Jews were strong at Smyrna, and had maintained in practice their position as a distinct people apart from the rest of the citizens till the reign of Hadrian as an inscription (CIG. 3148, οἱ ποτὲ Ἰουδαῖοι) shows, though they had legally ceased to be so at 70 A.D. From other sources we know of their hostility to the Christians. Justin (Dial. xvi. 11, xlvii. 15, xcvi. 5, etc.) charges the Jews generally with cursing in their synagogues those that believed on Christ; and Tertullian with instigating the persecution of the
Christians (Scorp. 10, “Synagogas Judaeorum, fontes persecutionum”): cf. Euseb. H.E. v. 16. And this hostility was no doubt aggravated by the accession of converts from Judaism to Christianity, a fact which is attested in Ignatius (Ad Smyrn. i. 2, eis τοὺς ἡγίους καὶ πιστοὺς αὐτοῦ, εἶτε ἐν Ιουδαίοις εἶτε ἐν ἔθνεσιν). In the martyrdom of Polycarp this enmity of the Jews was exhibited in an almost incredible degree; for they joined (xii. 2) with the pagans in accusing Polycarp of hostility to the State religion, crying out “with ungovernable wrath and with a loud shout: ‘This is the teacher of Asia, the father of the Christians, the puller down of our gods, who teacheth numbers not to sacrifice nor to worship’” (ὁ τῶν ἡμετέρων θεῶν καθαιρέτης, ὁ πολλοὺς διδάσκων μὴ θύειν μηδὲ προσκυνεῖν).

These Jews, moreover, joined with the pagans in demanding from the Asiarch and chief priest Philip the death of Polycarp, and were especially active (although it was the Sabbath day) in collecting timber and faggots with a view to burning Polycarp alive (μάλιστα Ἰουδαίων προσβύμως, ὡς ἔθος αὐτοῖς, εἰς ταύτα ὑποψηφιοῦντων) (op. cit. xiii. 1). Later in the Decian persecution the Jews took a prominent part in the martyrdom of Pionius, which, too, took place on the Sabbath (Act. Pion. 3). In our text the Jews are charged with blaspheming Christ and His followers as they had done in the earliest days of Paul’s preaching in Asia Minor (Acts xiii. 45, οἱ Ἰουδαίοι . . . ἀντέλεγον τοῖς ὑπὸ Παύλου λαλομένοις βλασφημοῦντες). But the Christians are reminded that these Jews are Jews in name only—after the flesh and not after the spirit: cf. Rom. ii. 28, οὐ γὰρ ὃ ἐν τῷ φανερῷ Ἰουδαίος ἔστιν . . . ἀλλ’ ὃ ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ Ἰουδαίος, καὶ περιποιήσθαι καρδιὰς ἐν πνεύματι οὐ γράμματι: Gal. vi. 15 sq. The true Jews are those who have believed in Christ, and thereby won a legitimate claim to the name and spiritual privileges belonging to the Jews. The fact that our author attaches a spiritual significance of the highest character to the name Ἰουδαίος shows that he is himself a Jewish Christian. In such a connection the Fourth Evangelist would have used the term Ἰσραηλίτης (cf. i. 47), whereas he represents the Ἰουδαίοι as specifically and essentially the opponents of Christianity. See Westcott, John, p. ix sq.

καὶ οὐκ ἑτοῖμοι. On this Hebraism for καὶ οὐκ ἀντων see note on i. 5–6.

συναγωγή τοῦ Σατανᾶ. Cf. iii. 9. The Jews were, as their actions showed, a Synagogue of Satan though they claimed to be a Synagogue of the Lord: Συναγωγῆ τοῦ Κυρίου (Num. xvi. 3 (Ἑρ), xx. 4, xxvi. 9 (γῆ), xxxi. 16. Cf. Pss. Sol. xvii. 18, συναγωγᾶς δύσιν). The nobler word ἐκκλησία was chosen by the Church as a self-designation, συναγωγή being used only once in the N.T. of a Christian assembly (Jas. ii. 2). συναγωγή was
gradually abandoned to the Jews, and thus we find such an expression as συναγωγή τοῦ Σατανᾶ in this Book, which was almost the latest in the Canon.

10. The persecution with which the Church is here threatened shows that the Jews are acting in concert with the heathen authorities. Spitta suggests that the term διάβολος (cf. xii. 10, δ κατήγορ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν) is here chosen in order to recall the calumnies of the Jews against the Christians. But in that case we should, as Düberdieck observes, expect συναγωγή τοῦ διαβόλου in 9.

εἰς ὄμων. For the partitive genitive used as an object, cf. Matt. xxiii. 34; 2 John 4. In Rev. xi. 9; John xvi. 17, we have it used as the subject.

eἰς φυλακὴν γιὰν πειρασθῆτε. This phrase defines the character of the trial awaiting the Church in Smyrna, and therefore the meaning to be attached to πειρασθῆτε. πειράζειν and πειρασμός in iii. 10 refer to the demonic attacks which are to befall all the unbelievers on the earth, but which cannot affect those who have been sealed: see vii. 2–4 (notes); for the sealing has secured them against such attacks. But in the present verse πειράζειν is used in the sense of testing by persecution. Against such πειρασμός Christ does not shield His own: rather they must face it and be faithful under it even unto death (10d).

ὦλυν ἡμέραν δέκα. The round number here points to a short period: cf. Dan. i. 12, 14. The number is used in this sense also in Gen. xxiv. 55; Num. xi. 19. See in Pirke Aboth, v. 1–9, on the various things connected with the number 10.

πιστὸς ἀξιὸς θανάτου. Here the supreme trial of martyrdom is referred to: cf. xii. 11, οὐκ ἡγατησαν τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτῶν ἀξιὸς θανάτου: Heb. xii. 4, οὖν μέχρις αἴματος ἀντικατέστητε: also Phil. ii. 8.

tὸν στέφανον τῆς ᾿Εως. The figure appears to be borrowed from the wreath awarded to the victor in the games. Cf. 1 Cor. ix. 25; Phil. iii. 14; 2 Tim. ii. 5; 1 Pet. v. 4 (τὸν ἀμαράντινον τῆς δόξης στέφανον). Smyrna was, according to Pausanias (vi. 14. 3, cited by Encyc. Bib. 4662), famous for its games. In the Test. Benj. iv. 1 we have the oldest reference to such crowns in Jewish literature: cf. Jas. i. 12; Asc. Isa. vii. 22, viii. 26, ix. 10–13, etc.; Herm. Sim. vii. 2, 3; Polycarp, Ad Phil. i. 1; Martyr. Polyc. xvii. 1. But it is possible, as has been suggested by Dieterich, Nekyia, 41-45; Volz, 344; Gressmann, Ursprung d. israel. jüd. Eschat. 110, that these symbols are derived from heavenly beings. Thus in 2 Enoch xiv. 2 the sun is represented as adorned with a crown of glory; similarly in 3 Bar. vi. 1 with a crown of fire. Dieterich (op. cit., p. 41) states that in works of art the Greek deities were very frequently represented with
crowns of light or nimbuses from the time of Alexander the Great, and that the nimbuses in works of ancient Christian art were derived from this source. These crowns are naturally associated with the blessed when once these are conceived as clothed in light: cf. p. 183 sqq. The genitive ἡς ζωῆς is therefore, as Bousset suggests, probably to be taken not expository but as “the crown which consists in life,” but as “the crown which belongs to the eternal life.” As the tree of life (cf. ii. 7 note, xxii. 2, 14) is a symbol of the blessed immortality in Christ, so the crown of life appears to symbolize its full consummation.

11. ὅ ἔχων . . . ἐκκλησίας. Cf. 7a.

11b. Like 7b, 17bed, 26–28, iii. 5, 12, 21, this, too, is probably an editorial addition of our author. Here the addition is unhappy, for it comes in the form of an anti-climax after the great promise in 10e.

ὁ νικῶν οὗ μῆ ἄδικηθῇ. οὗ μῆ with the future or aorist constitutes “the most definite form of a negative assertion about the future” (Blass, Gram. 209). οὗ μῆ is always (15 times) followed by the aorist subjunctive in our author except in xviii. 14, which is not from his hand: in the rest of the N.T. it is followed by the indicative once out of every seven or eight times; in classical Greek the present subjunctive is also found. This construction is frequent in the N.T.—in all about 96 times, but rare in non-literary papyri. Moulton (Prol. 190 sqq.) tries to show, notwithstanding, that the N.T. and the papyri are here in harmony.

ἄδικηθῇ ἐκ. ἄδικεῖν is always used in the sense of “to hurt” in our author; see xxii. 11, note. The agent or instrument is expressed by ἐκ after a passive verb. Cf. iii. 18, ix. 2, 18, xviii. 1. In this promise there may be a reference to ἵνα γίνου πιστὸς ἡμῶν ἡμῶν ἁμαρτάνων. He that is ready to submit to physical death for his faith will not be affected by the second death.

tοῦ ἁμαρτανοῦ τοῦ δευτέρου. Cf. xx. 6 [14], xxii. 8, where this expression is explained. This is a Rabbinic expression. Thus, in the Jerus. Targum on Deut. xxxiii. 6 we have, “Let Reuben live in this age and not die the second death (בְּכֵן נְתַנְתָּם) whereof the wicked die in the next world.” Targ. on Jer. li. 39, 57, “Let them die the second death and not live in the next world”; on Isa. xxii. 14, “This sin shall not be forgiven you till ye die the second death”; also on Isa. lxv. 6, 15; Sota, 35a (on Num. xiv. 37), “they died the second (?) death” (עָבַד נְתָנָם). See Wetstein for further examples. The idea is found also in Philo, De Praem. et Poen. ii. 419, ἡμαρτανοῦ γὰρ διίτον εἶδος, τὸ μὲν κατὰ τὸ τεθνάναι . . . τὸ δὲ κατὰ τὸ ἀποθνῄσκειν, δὴ δὴ κακὸν πάντως. Though the expression is not found in i Enoch the
idea probably is in xcix. xi, cviii. 3, where the spirits of the wicked are said to be slain in Sheol, though their annihilation is not implied thereby.

12-17. THE MESSAGE TO THE CHURCH IN PERGAMUM.

12. τῆς ἐν Περγάμῳ. This city appears as ἡ Πέργαμος in Xenophon and Pausanias, but as Πέργαμον in Strabo, Polybius, Appian, and most other writers. The latter is the usual form also in the inscriptions. Pergamum was a Mysian city, about 15 miles from the sea. It commanded the valley of the Caicus, and lay between two streams which fell into the Caicus about 4 miles distant. The earliest city was built on a hill, 1000 feet high, which became the site of the Acropolis and many of the chief buildings of the later city. Though a city of some importance in the 5th cent. B.C. its greatness dates from the 3rd, when it was made the capital of the Attalids, the first of whom to assume the title of king was Attalus I. in 241 B.C. The last of this dynasty—Attalus III.—bequeathed his kingdom, with the exception of Phrygia Magna, to the Romans. At this date this kingdom embraced "all the land on this side the Taurus," and was constituted, with the above exception, as the Province of Asia by the Romans, with Pergamum as its official capital. Pergamum was famed for its great religious foundations in honour of Zeus Soter,1 Athena Nikephoros, whose temple crowned the Acropolis, Dionysos Kathegemon, and Asklepios Soter.2 Of these the cult of Asklepios was the most distinctive and celebrated. It was the Lourdes of the Province of Asia, and the seat of a famous school of medicine. Thus Galen (De Compsos. Med. ix.) writes: εἰς ὅσοιν πολλοὶ . . . ἐν τῷ βίῳ λέγειν μὰ τὸν ἐν Περγάμῳ Ἀσκληπιόν, μὰ τὴν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ Ἀρτέμιν, μὰ τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖς Ἀπόλλωνα, and Philostratus (Vita Apolloii, iv. 34), ὡσπερ ἡ Ἄσια εἰς τὸ Πέργαμον, οὕτως εἰς τὸ λερών τοῦτο ἔνεφοιτα ἡ Κρήτη (both passages quoted by Wetstein): Mart. ix. 17, "Pergameo . . . deo."

But from the standpoint of our author the most important cult was that of the Roman Emperors, which was established in Pergamum—as the chief city of the province—in 29 B.C., where a temple was dedicated to Augustus and Rome by the Provincial

1 Many scholars have sought to explain ῥόνος τοῦ Σατανᾶ by the gigantic altar erected on a huge platform 800 feet above the city to Zeus Soter in commemoration, it is believed, of the victory of Attalus over the Galatai.

2 Other scholars have found in the phrase in the preceding note a reference to the worship of Asklepios, because the serpent (i.e. Satan: cf. xii. 9) was universally associated with him,
Synod (Kouwôn 'Asías); ¹ cf. Tac. Ann. iv. 37, where Tiberius refers to the founding of this temple to Augustus and Rome by Pergamum. No such foundation was officially recognized in Asia unless it was made by the Synod with the concurrence of the Roman Senate. Thus Pergamum won the honour of the Neocorate before Smyrna, which did not obtain it till 26 B.C., and Ephesus, which was not so honoured till the reign of Claudius or Nero. A second temple was built in Pergamum in honour of Trajan, and a third in honour of Severus. The imperial cult had thus its centre at Pergamum; and as the imperial cult was the keystone of the imperial policy, Pergamum summed up in itself the intolerable offence and horror that such a cult, the observance of which was synonymous with loyalty to Empire, provoked in the mind of our author. It is here and nowhere else that we are to find the explanation of the startling phrase, ὁ θρόνος τοῦ Σατανᾶ, in 13. Behind the city in the 1st cent. A.D. arose a huge conical hill, 1000 feet high, covered with heathen temples and altars, which in contrast to "the mountain of God," referred to in Isa. xiv. 13; Ezek. xxviii. 14, 16, and called "the throne of God" in 1 Enoch xxv. 3, appeared to the Seer as the throne of Satan, since it was the home of many idolatrous cults, but above all of the imperial cult, which menaced with annihilation the very existence of the Church. For refusal to take part in this cult constituted high treason to the State. See Ramsay, Letters to the Seven Churches, 281 sqq.

δ ἐξων τὴν ῥομφαίαν κτλ. Cf. i. 16. This title is connected with 16 that follows. See p. 26.

13. ὅπου ὁ θρόνος τοῦ Σατανᾶ. The reference in these words, as has been shown in the preceding verse, is to the primacy of Pergamum as the centre of the imperial cult, and as such the centre of Satan's kingdom in the East—in the West it was Rome itself: cf. xiii. 2, xvi. 10. Here stood the first temple erected to Augustus and Rome; and here dwelt the powerful priesthood devoted to the imperial cult; and from Pergamum it spread all over Asia Minor. The Asiarch or chief civil authority is, as we see from the Martyrdom of Polycarp, likewise the chief priest of this cult.

κρατεῖς τὸ δοματίου μου. Notwithstanding all these difficulties thou "holdest fast My name."

οὐκ ἔρημω τὴν πίστιν μου κτλ. These words refer to some definite persecution of which nothing is at present known. In πίστις μου the μου is the objective genitive, i.e. "faith in Me": cf. xiv. 12. In ii. 19, xiii. 10, πίστις = "faithfulness."

¹ That the temple was actually the seat of the imperial cult in the province is proved by an inscription from Mytilene: ἐν <τῷ ναῷ τῷ κατα> σκευαζομένῳ αὐτῷ ὑπὸ τῆς 'Ασίας ἐν Περγάμῳ (quoted by Bousset).
v taís ñmérais †'Αντίπας†. If with the best MSS we accept 'Αντίπας, we must treat it as indeclinable. But it is perhaps best to follow Lachmann (Studien und Kritiken, 1830, p. 830), WH (ii. App. 137), Nestle, Swete, and Zahn in regarding ANTIPIA as the original reading, and the final C either as an accidental doubling of the following O (Lachmann), or a deliberate change of 'Αντίπα into the nom. 'Αντίπας owing to the nominative δ μάρτυς (Zahn). The former explanation is to be preferred. For early attempts to emend the text see critical notes in loc. 'Αντίπας is an abbreviated form of 'Αντίπατρος, as Κλεότας for Κλεόπατρος. Cf. Hermas for Hermodorus, Lucas for Lucanus. Nothing is really known beyond this reference of the martyr Antipas. Later martyrs in Pergamum are known, as Carpus, Papyrus and Agathonike (cf. Euseb. H.E. iv. 15).

δ μάρτυς μου. On this solecism, which is really a Hebraism, see note on i. 5. The R.V. is right essentially in xvii. 6 in rendering μαρτύρων Ἰησοῦ by "martyrs of Jesus." The word should be similarly translated here. For, since the Seer expects all the faithful to seal their witness with their blood (xiii. 15), the word μάρτυς in our text is a witness faithful unto death, and therefore a martyr. But outside our author this use was not established till later, though the way was prepared for this use by Acts xxii. 20, Στεφάνου τοῦ μάρτυρός σου, and 1 Tim. vi. 13; Clem. Cor. 5. Though the technical distinction between μάρτυς and δομολογήτης ("martyr" and "confessor") was not absolutely fixed till the Decian persecution, yet, as Lightfoot (on Clem. Cor. 5) observes, "after the middle of the second century at all events μάρτυς, μαρτυρεῖν, were used absolutely to signify martyrdom; Martyr. Polyc. 19 sq.; Melito in Euseb. H.E. iv. 26; Dionys. Corinth. ib. ii. 25. . . . Still even at this late date they continued to be used simultaneously of other testimony to be borne to the Gospel, short of death: e.g. by Hegesippus, Euseb. H.E. iii. 20, 32."

ἀπεκτάνθη. The passive form of ἀποκτένω, which occurs very rarely in the LXX and only once outside the Apocalypse in the N.T. (i.e. Mark viii. 31 = Matt. xvi. 21 = Luke ix. 22), is frequently used in this Book: cf. ii. 13, vi. 11, ix. 18, 20 [xi. 5, 13, xiii. 10, 15], xix. 21; whereas ἀποθνῄσκω is only used strictly as a passive in viii. 11, xiv. 13. In the Fourth Gospel, on the other hand, whereas the passive of ἀποκτένειν does not occur, we find ἀποθνῄσκειν used as its passive, xi. 16, 50, 51, xviii. 14, 32, xix. 7.

14. ξεχω κατά σοῦ δόλια. Though this Church has withstood the dangers besetting it from the imperial cult, it has suffered teachers of false doctrine to arise and win a following amongst its members. In δόλια only one thing is meant, though the writer speaks of that one thing generically: cf. WM 219.
ekεί = παρ' ύμιν in the preceding verse.

έχεις έκει κρατούτας τήν διδαξήν Βαλαάμ, ὅς εἴδοσκεν τῷ Βαλάκ κτλ. On the relation of this verse to the next see 15.

The reference is to Num. xxxi. 16 (cf. xxv. 1, 2). Balaam is here represented as the prototype of all corrupt teachers. In our text these early Gnostics by their false teaching, that as they were not under the law but under grace (Rom. vi. 15) and were therefore not bound by the law, tempted men to licentiousness, even as Balak corrupted Israel in accordance with the advice of Balaam. In Num. xxxi. 16 it is not expressly stated that Balaam counselled Balak to act so against Israel, but the statement in our text is a not unnatural inference—an inference already made in Philo, Vita Moys. i. 53-55; cf. Joseph. Ant. iv. 6. 6; Origen, In Num. Hom. xx. 1.

The construction εἴδοσκεν τῷ Βαλάκ is, according to WM, p. 279 (note 4), found in some late writers. It is unjustifiable to explain it as a Hebraism, since this construction in the case of ἀρμ and ἀνατΕΙλε is exceptional in the O.T. In ii. 20 διδάσκειν takes the acc.

φαγεῖν εἰδωλόθυτα καὶ πορνεύσαι. Here the order is against Num. xxv. 1-2 and ii. 20 (see note) of our text. It is doubtful whether the first phrase refers to the eating of food which had been bought in the open market and already been consecrated to an idol, or to participation in pagan feasts. Probably it refers to both. This problem had, as we know, arisen in Corinth many years earlier in an acute form: cf. i Cor. viii. 7-13, x. 20-30. From this letter we learn that, though St. Paul did not censure the conduct of the Corinthians who regarded the eating of εἰδωλόθυτα as a matter of moral indifference, because of the decree issued by the Apostolic Council at Jerusalem (cf. Acts xv. 29, ἀπέκεισαί εἰδωλοθύτων: cf. xv. 20, ἀπέκεισαί τῶν ἄλλων ἀλληγγείματον τῶν εἰδωλοθυτῶν), yet he condemned their action on the principle that it put a stumbling-block in the way of their weaker brethren, and tended to bring about their moral downfall; and that by sharing in the heathen feasts which were made in honour of gods, who though they were not indeed gods as the heathen conceived them (i Cor. viii. 4), were nevertheless demons (x. 20), they made themselves spiritually unfit to take part in the Eucharist (x. 21).

15. This verse and the preceding are difficult, but their explanation does not call for the supposition of mixed constructions. The thought and connection of the verses are as follows: in 14 our author states that the Pergamene Church has certain corrupt teachers, belonging to the following of Balaam, who seduced Israel into sin. But since this statement only defines the affinities of these corrupt teachers with the past, we expect a further definition of their affinities with the present. This we find in 15, where
we should render: “Thus in like manner thou too (i.e. as well as the Ephesian Church: cf. 6) hast some who hold the teaching of the Nicolaitans.” οὕτως and ὁμοίως are not to be taken as referring to one and the same thing. οὕτως justifies the statement made in 14, whereas the ὁμοίως refers to the Ephesian Church. Thus the καὶ σὺ and the ὁμοίως belong together: “Thou too (as well as the Ephesian Church) in like manner” (with the Ephesian Church). The ἔχεις in 15 resumes that in 14. This explanation does no violence to any part of the text, while it explains each member of it in a natural sense from the context. The right interpretation of καὶ σὺ leads to the right interpretation of the whole. By failing to recognize this fact expositors have erred in the past. Thus Johannes Weiss is driven to mistranslate 15 as follows: “So hast du dort auch (?) solche, welche die Lehre der Nikolaiten halten gleichersweise.” The καὶ beyond question belongs to the σὺ. Bouset represents the meaning of 14-15 to be: “So wie Bileam durch Balak die Israeliten verführte, so haben die Pergamener die Nicolaiten als Verführer.” But if any such comparison was intended, we should have had something like ὅπερ Βαλαάμ ἔδιδασκεν τῷ Βαλάκ βαλείν . . . οὕτως κρατοῦντες τὴν διδαχὴν Νικολαῖτῶν βάλλουσι σκάνδαλον ἐνώπιόν σου. But this interpretation fails, as it leaves wholly out of sight the definitive phrase καὶ σὺ. Besides, if, as some scholars suppose, the construction is irregular and the οὕτως presupposes a preceding ὅπερ in this context, then not Βαλαάμ but οἱ νῖοι Ἰσραήλ would be the subject with which καὶ σὺ would be compared: ὅπερ οί νῖοι Ἰσραήλ ἔχον κρατοῦνας τὴν διδαχὴν Βαλαάμ κτλ., οὕτως ἔχεις καὶ σὺ κρατοῦντας κτλ. This would in itself give an excellent sense. As the ancient Israel had corrupt teachers, so too now has the Pergamene Church. But then the present form of the text does not admit of this interpretation, and, moreover, the context is against it. The καὶ σὺ recalls the fact that not only is the Pergamene but also the Ephesian Church troubled by corrupt teachers.

The grammatical study of the text having thus established the fact, that in 15 we have at once both an explanation of 14 and a comparison with ii. 6, serves further to settle the relation of the Balaamites and the Nicolaitans. The term Balaamites is simply a name given for the nonce by our author to the Nicolaitans. The assignment of this name rests on two grounds: the first is the identity of results as regards their teaching; the second is the identity in respect of meaning in the view of our author as well as of certain Jewish writers of Βαλαάμ and Νικόλαος (see note in ii. 16).

16. μετανόησον οὖν. The whole Church of Pergamum is called upon to repent and purge itself from these Nicolaitans, in the
hope that they will ultimately come to a better mind and return to her (cf. 1 Cor. v. 4-5), else Christ will visit the Church (ἐρχομαι σοι) and deal drastically with these corrupt teachers (μετ' αὐτῶν). The Seer requires the Church of Pergamum to expel them, as the Church of Ephesus had already done. It has not identified itself with them.

εἰ δὲ μὴ. Here equivalent to εἰ δὲ μὴ μετανοήσεις as in ii. 5, where see note. εἰ δὲ μὴ is always elliptical in our author.

πολεμήσω μετ' αὐτῶν. This construction, which is frequent in the LXX, is confined to the Apocalypse (cf. xii. 7, xiii. 4, xvii. 14) in the N.T. The verb itself occurs outside the Apocalypse only in Jas. iv. 2. In our text it cannot be treated as other than a Hebraism, if we take into account the Hebraistic character of the text in general. The fact that it occurs sporadically (see Moulton, Proleg. 106)—twice or more—in the Papyri is no evidence to the contrary. See Abbott, Gram., p. 267.

ἐν τῇ βομβαίᾳ τοῦ στόματός μου. Cf. i. 16, ii. 12, xix. 15. The phrase suggests a forensic condemnation, but in xix. 15 this word is conceived as an actual instrument of war.

17. τῷ νικῶντι δῶσῳ αὐτῷ τοῦ μάννα. On τῷ νικῶντι ... αὐτῷ see 7. τοῦ μάννα is the only instance in the N.T. of δόναι with the partitive genitive (see iii. 9). According to 2 Bar. xxix. 8 the treasury of manna was to descend from heaven during the Messianic Kingdom, and the blessed were to eat of it. This manna is referred to in Chag. 12 (Tanchuma; Piqqudi, 6; Beresh. rab. 19; Bammid. rab. 13), where it is said that in the third heaven (ὄριον) are the mills which grind manna for the righteous. This manna was called “bread from heaven,” Ex. xvi. 4; “corn of heaven,” Ps. lxxviii. 24, and likewise “bread of the mighty” (i.e. angels, cf. Ps. lxxviii. 25). It is to this heavenly manna, and not to the golden pot of manna which was preserved (Ex. xvi. 32-34) in remembrance of the food in the wilderness and which was in the ark (Heb. ix. 4), that our text appears to refer (cf. Or. Sibyl. vii. 148 f.):

κλήματα δ' οὐκ ἐσται οὐδὲ στάχυς, ἀλλ' ἁμα τάντες
μάννην τὴν δροσερὴν λενκοίσων δούσι φάγονται.

It is quite true that there are several Rabbinic passages which speak of the restoration of the pot of manna on the advent of the Messiah: cf. Tanchuma, p. 83, and other passages cited by Wetstein in loc.

The idea of the manna in this connection was probably suggested to our author by the association of ideas evoked by 14-16. There he was thinking of Israel in the wilderness tempted by Balaam, just as the Pergamene Christians are tempted by his spiritual successors. As the ancient Israel was fed by

vol. i.—5
a material manna, the true Israelites would in the future life be fed by a spiritual manna. Since the material manna could not avert death under the old Dispensation, John vi. 49 argues that it was not bread of life even in the very sphere to which it belonged.

As the context shows, as well as a comparison of the other six promises, the promise here refers to the future. The manna that is now hidden will then be given to those who have fought the good fight and conquered. Part of this victory on the part of the Pergamene Church will consist in their abstinence from forbidden meats; contrast the gift of the manna here with the εἰδωλοθυτα eaten by the unfaithful, ii. 14. The "hidden manna" probably signifies the direct spiritual gifts that the Church triumphant will receive in transcendent measure from intimate communion with Christ. This "hidden manna" is practically equivalent in some degree to the water of life (see p. 54 sq.), but not to the tree of life.

ψηφοι λευκήν. Stones or pebbles were variously used by the ancients, and each usage has been applied to the interpretation of the present passage. 1. The white stone used by jurors to signify acquittal; cf. Ovid, Met. xv. 41:

"Mos erat antiquis niveis atrisque lapillis,  
His damnare reos illis absolvere culpa."

2. The ψηφοι which entitled him that received it to free entertainment to royal assemblies. Cf. Xiphilin, Epit. Dion., p. 228, where it is said of Titus: σφαίρα γὰρ ξύλινα μικρὰ ἀνωθεν εἰς τὸ θεάτρον ἐφρίττει σύμβολον ἔχοντα τὸ μὲν εἴδωλιμν τινὸς . . . ἀἀρτα-σαντάς τινας ἐδει πρὸς τοὺς δωτήρας αὐτῶν ἐπενεγκεῖν καὶ λαβεῖν τὸ ἐπεγεγραμμένον. Hence here a ticket of admission to the heavenly feast. 3. The precious stones which according to Rabbinical tradition fell along with the manna (Joma, 8). 4. The precious stones on the breastplate of the high priest bearing the names of the Twelve Tribes. 5. The white stone was regarded as a mark of felicity: cf. Pliny, Ep. vi. ii. 3, "O diem laetum notandumque mihi candidissimo calculo."

But each of these explanations is unsatisfactory; either the ψηφοι is not white or it has no inscription upon it. The true source of the ideas underlying the expressions in our text is most probably to be found in the sphere of popular superstition, which attached mysterious powers to the use of secret names (see Heitmüller, Im Namen Jesu, 128–265). The new name in such a connection would naturally be not that of the person who received the ψηφοι, but of some supernatural being. The white

1 Philo (Quis rerum divin. 39, Leg. allegor. iii. 59, 61), on the other hand, uses manna as signifying "the spiritual food of the soul" in the present life.
stone was simply an amulet engraved with some magical formula or name, such as we find in Makk. 11 (cf. Sukk, 53): “When David dug the cistern (at the south-west corner of the altar) the deep surged up and sought to overwhelm the world. Then he asked if he might inscribe the divine name on a potsherd and cast it into the deep to cause it to sink back into its place.” The value of such an amulet was enhanced if the holder of it was assured that the name was new, and so known only to him; for should any one succeed in learning this name he too would enjoy the same powers as its possessor. We have now to ask if our author has taken over in their entirety these ideas. Even if this is so, we may be certain that they have become spiritually transformed. The new name can only be that of Christ or God inscribed on a ψηφος. The man himself may be regarded as the ψηφος; and since he is λευκός, as his victory in the final strife has proved, he is inscribed with the divine name,1 which has a different meaning in character with the soul that receives it, and therefore a new meaning to every faithful soul, and which none but it knows (cf. Matt. xi. 27). This interpretation brings this passage somewhat into line with iiii. 12, ὁ νικῶν ... γράψω ἐπὶ αὐτὸν τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ μου ... καὶ τὸ ὄνομά μου τοῦ καινοῦ. This inscription designates him as God’s own possession, as the σφραγῖς in vii. 2 sqq. (see note in loc. and parallels). But the ψηφος with the divine name inscribed on it may be differently interpreted, and taken to be a symbol of the transcendent powers now placed in the hand of him that has been faithful unto death. Through such faithfulness the blessed are fitted to receive from their divine Master fresh graces (i.e. the hidden manna) and powers (the stone inscribed with the divine name) of a transcendent character.

ὄνομα καινόν. See preceding notes.

ὁ οὐδεὶς οἶδεν εἰ μὴ ὁ λαμβάνων. As we have observed above, the knowledge that a faithful heart possesses of God is a thing incomunicable, known only to itself. Cf. xix. 12, ἔχων ὄνομα γεγραμμένον ὁ οὐδεὶς οἶδεν εἰ μὴ αὐτός, where, however, the general meaning is different, and the clause is probably an interpolation.

18–29. THE MESSAGE TO THE ANGEL OF THE CHURCH IN THYATIRA.

18. τῷ ἐν θωατείροις. The longest letter is addressed to the least important of the Seven Cities. Thyatira lay about 40

1 Some scholars think that the new name given to the victor means a new character (cf. Gen. xxxii. 28; Matt. xvi. 17, 18). But the δ νικῶν has already shown by his faithfulness that he possesses this new character; he is already a καυνη κτίσις.
miles to the S.E. of Pergamum—almost midway between the Caicus in the north and the Hermus in the south. It was a Lydian city on the confines of Mysia, to which it was sometimes said to belong (Strabo, 625, Θυάτερα . . . ἤν Μυσῶν ἐσχάτην τνὲς φασίν). It was founded by the Seleucidae, its first settlers being for the most part old soldiers of Alexander the Great and their children. Hence it was called κατοικία Μακεδόνων by Strabo, 625. About 190 B.C. it fell under the sway of the Romans and formed part of the Province of Asia. Thyatira was notable for its extensive trading and the number of its guilds of craftsmen, and it is with the question, whether Christians were justified or not in sharing in the common meals of a sacrificial character, that this Letter to the Church in Thyatira is mainly concerned: see notes. But Thyatira was undistinguished in other respects in later times; for Pliny, H.N. v. 33, writes slightly of this community: "Thyatireni aliaaeque inhonorae civitates." An important road ran from Pergamum to Thyatira, thence to Sardis and through Philadelphia to Laodicea. Thus the Seven Churches were naturally linked together from a geographical point of view, starting with Ephesus and ending with Laodicea. Thyatira had temples dedicated to Apollo Tyrimnaios, Artemis, and a shrine of Sambathe (τὸ Σαμβαθείον), an Oriental Sibyl in the neighbourhood; but it had no temple founded in honour of the Emperors. The Christian Church at Thyatira ceased to exist towards the close of the 2nd cent. A.D., according to a statement of the Alogi. It early became a centre of Montanism (Epiphanius, Haer. li. 33). See Ramsay, Letters, and the Bible Dictionaries in loc.

οὐδὲ τοῦ θεοῦ. This title may have been suggested to our author by Ps. ii. 7, seeing that later in this letter he quotes Ps. ii. 9 in its entirety and a phrase from ii. 8. But the title is presupposed in i. 6, ii. 27, iii. 5, 21, xiv. 1, where God is definitely spoken of as the Father of Christ. Nowhere in our author is God described as "Father" in relation to men save in xxi. 7: contrast John xx. 17, etc. This title was claimed by Christ (Matt. xi. 27; Luke x. 22), ascribed to Him by Peter (Matt. xvi. 16), and formed the ground for the indictment brought against Him before the Sanhedrin (Matt. xxvi. 63; John xix. 7).

οἶχων . . . χαλκολιβάνως. From i. 14 sq. The presence of the first clause, οἶχων τοὺς διφθαλμοὺς ὡς φλόγα πυρός, appears to be explained by 23, ἐραύνων νεφροῦς καὶ καρδίας κτλ., and οἴκος αὐτοῦ δομοῖοι χαλκολιβάνως possibly by 27b. Here the divine title seems to have been added by our author when editing his visions as a whole: see p. 45 sq.

19. οἴδα σου τὰ ἔργα. Here as in x. 9 the vernacular possessive genitive introducing a group of nouns is followed by
the ordinary possessive, \(καὶ τὴν \text{ἀγάπην} . . . \) \(καὶ τὴν \text{ὑπομονὴν} \text{σου}\) \(καὶ τὰ \text{ἔργα σου}\). Here Abbott, \textit{Gram.}, p. 606, remarks: "(1) The writer could not well have said \(καὶ \text{σου} ), and (2) the twofold repetition . . . shows that emphasis is intended—the patience \text{that you shewed} and the deeds \text{that you do}.” For a similar case cf. x. 9. “The two passages show that the unemphatic \(\text{σου}\) is not likely to be used after an unemphatic word.”

\(καὶ \text{τὴν \text{ἀγάπην} κτλ.}\). The \(καὶ\) here introduces an explanatory description of the \(\text{ἔργα}\). On \(\text{ἀγάπην}\) cf. ii. 4, and on \(\text{ὑπομονὴν}\) cf. ii. 2. Further, the Seer states that in the fulfilment of such works the Church in Thyatira has steadily advanced, whereas Ephesus has gone backward (ii. 4). \(\text{πλειών}\) seems here to be used as meaning greater in quality, better: cf. Matt. vi. 25, xii. 41, 42; Heb. iii. 3, xi. 4, etc. As Swete remarks, “in these addresses praise is more liberally given, if it can be given with justice, when blame is to follow; more is said of the good deeds of the Ephesians and Thyatirians than of those of the Smyrnaeans and Philadelphians, with whom no fault is found.” In \(\text{τὴν \text{ἀγάπην} καὶ \text{τὴν \text{πίστιν}\}}\) we have the two dynamic Christian forces which issue in the two Christian activities that follow \(\text{τὴν \text{διακονίαν καὶ \text{τὴν \text{ὑπομονὴν}}.}\)

20-23\textsuperscript{a}. The dangers which threatened Thyatira were internal rather than external. It was not the cult of the Emperor nor the cults of the pagan deities, the condition of membership in which was confessedly willingness to take part in the worship prescribed in each case, but the trade guilds that formed the problem in Thyatira. In the former case there could be no doubt as to the wrongness of participation in such cults, but in the case of the latter the evidence seemed to the more intellectual class less conclusive. To the morally sound amongst this class there could be no divergence of opinion as to the wrongness of fornication, but different views were honestly maintained as to the legitimacy of eating food sacrificed to idols, seeing that in the eyes of the enlightened an idol was nothing. Now, since membership in trade guilds (\(\text{ἔργασια, συμβιώσεις, συνεργασίαι}\)) did not \textit{essentially} involve anything beyond joining in the common meal, which was dedicated no doubt to some pagan deity but was exactly in this respect meaningless for the enlightened Christian, to avail oneself of such membership was held in certain latitudinarian circles to be quite justifiable. And this was particularly the case in Thyatira, which, owing to the fact that it was above all things a city of commerce, abounded in business guilds, to one or other of which every citizen all but necessarily belonged: otherwise he could hardly maintain his business or enjoy the social advantages natural to his position. Thus it was these trade guilds in Thyatira that made the
Nicolaitan doctrine so acceptable to the Church in this city, and that though the common meals of such guilds too often ended in unbridled licentiousness. Against the principles and conduct of the Nicolaitans the Church in Ephesus had openly declared itself (ii. 6); but no such declaration had as yet emanated from the Church in Thyatira. Owing to the business and social interests of its members it was too ready to accept any principle that would justify their membership in the city guilds. Hence it withheld its testimony against an influential woman who had long (21) and notoriously (23) advocated the principles of the Nicolaitans and yet enjoyed the membership of the Church.

However this person might cloak her activities under the noble name of prophetess, or advance her teaching as a more enlightened (Gnostic?) Christianity, they were, the Seer declares, simply sheer licentiousness and the negation of the laws laid down by the Apostolic Council. She was a modern Jezebel, and the Church of Thyatira in tolerating her presence in the Church was no better than a modern Ahab.

20. ἀφιές. Cf. John xii. 7 for this use of ἀφιέναι. On the form see Blass, Gram. 51; Robertson, Gram. 315.

ἡ γυναῖκα Ἰεζαμελ. Jezebel is here used symbolically of some influential woman in the Church in Thyatira, and chosen in reference to the wife of Ahab, who was guilty of whoredom and witchcraft (1 Kings xvi. 31; 2 Kings ix. 22), and sought to displace the worship of the God of Israel by idolatrous cults introduced from other lands. There is no question here of the Chaldaean Sibyl at Thyatira with whom Schürer (Theol. Abhandl. Weiszükker gewidmet, p. 39 sq., 1892) sought to identify her. Such a personage could not have been admitted to membership of the Church in Thyatira, whereas the Jezebel in our text stands admittedly within the jurisdiction of the Church. Zahn (see Bousset, 1906, p. 217 sq.) accepts the reading τὴν γυναῖκα σου and takes her to be the wife of the bishop of the Church, while Selwyn (p. 123) identifies her with the wife of the Asiarch.

ἡ λέγουσα ἑαυτὴν προφήτην. On this Hebraism see note on i. 5. We might compare Zeph. i. 12, ἐκδικήσω ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀνδρας τοὺς καταφρονοῦντας ... οἱ λέγοντες (םירקמנה). This construction is found in Mark xii. 38-40 (contrast Luke xx. 46), where it is to be explained as due to the Semitic background. But a still more pronounced Hebraism follows: see next note.

καὶ διδάσκει καὶ πλανᾷ. Here we have, as we have already pointed out in i. 5-6 (note), a resolution of the participle into a finite verb. Thus our text is a literal rendering of the Hebrew idiom: יְהוָה יְהִי נְאָרֵי אִית נְאָרָה תַּקְרָר אֶת בֵּית אֲשֶׁר הָיָה בֵּית אָבֹת.
the fact that, when the Church in Thyatira tolerated this Nicolaitan teaching because it justified their membership in the city guilds and their sharing in the common meals, it was in reality tolerating fornication. See, however, note on ii. 14. It will be observed that the order of the words here differs from that in ii. 14. Here it is probably intended to mean that the primary object of the prophetess was sexual immorality.

21. This verse implies that a definite warning had been addressed to this self-styled prophetess, and that this warning had been given sufficiently far back in the past to allow of a full reformation of the evil. The warning may have come from the Seer himself. But its source cannot be determined.

ία μετανοή. The ία here has its final force: in ix. 20 a consecutive.

μετανοήσαι εκ. Always so with the noun in our author; cf. ii. 22, ix. 20, 21, xvi. 11; probably a reflection of וַיִּבְשֶׁה; for in Symmachus (though only occasionally in the LXX) μετανοεῖν is a more frequent rendering of the Hebrew phrase: cf. Job xxxvi. 10; Isa. xxxxi. 6, lv. 7; Jer. xviii. 8; Ezek. xxxiii. 12.

22. ἵδον βάλλω αὐτήν εἰς κλίνην.

καὶ τοὺς μαχεύοντας μετ' αὐτῆς εἰς θλίψιν μεγάλην. We have here a clear instance of Hebrew parallelism, and likewise of Hebrew idiom, though, so far as I am aware, not hitherto recognized by any scholar. While some scholars have quite wrongly taken κλίνη here to denote a banqueting couch, most others have rightly recognized it to be a bed of illness or suffering, but have not explained how this interpretation can be justified. Now, if we retranslate it literally into Hebrew, we discover that we have here a Hebrew idiom, i.e. נַלְעַשְׁבִּיִּים = "to take to one's bed," "to become ill" (Ex. xxi. 18): hence "to cast upon a bed" means "to cast upon a bed of illness." This idiom is found in I Macc. i. 5, ἐπέσε ἐπὶ τὴν κλίνην, and Jud. viii. 3, ἐπέσε ἐπὶ τὴν κλίνην, which books are translated from the Hebrew. Thus we should render:

"Behold I cast her on a bed of suffering,
And those who commit adultery with her into great tribulation";

i.e.

τονὶ μετὰ θάμνῳ ἐνεπέσα
Βαλεθα τῷ βασιλεῖ

Furthermore, it is to be observed that in ἵδον βάλλω (late MSS PQ βαλῶ) the βάλλω represents a participle in the Hebrew which can refer to the future, the present, or the past, according to the context. Since it is parallel here with ἀποκτενῶ (23a), it refers, of course, to the future. This idiomatic refer-
ence to the future in a present verb is to be found also in i. 7 (ιδον ἔρχεται), ii. 10, iii. 9 (where our author has both ιδον διδω and ιδον ποιήσω referring to one and the same thing), ix. 12, xvi. 15, etc.

22nd-23. τοὺς μοιχεύοντας μετ' αὐτῆς . . . 23. καὶ τὰ τέκνα αὐτῆς. The text (μοιχεύοντας . . . τέκνα) suggests that we have here the actual paramours of this woman and her children. Further, the children may be her legitimate children. Hence the punishment is a severe one. There may be also a reference to the fate that befell the sons of Ahab (2 Kings x. 7). But the punishments are wholly disproportionate to the guilt on this interpretation. Moreover, this interpretation, even if it is right, is too narrow, and must not be regarded as excluding the possibility of finding a spiritual reference in the text. The entire Church in Thyatira, owing to its special circumstances, is endangered by the Nicolaitan doctrine. Hence the μοιχεύοντας appear to be all those who, owing to the teaching of this woman, thought they could combine faithfulness to Christ with the concessions to the pagan spirit that their membership of the business guilds involved; and the τέκνα to be those who have absolutely embraced this woman’s teaching even to its fullest issues. For the former there is still hope: they are striving to reconcile the claims of Christ on the one hand and the claims of their business life on the other. Therein they have been guilty as idolatrous Israel of old: cf. Hos. ii. 2, 4, where there is a similar reference to mother and children. But they may yet come to see that they cannot serve two masters: hence for them the door of repentance is still open (22). But as regards the τέκνα, the case is different. They have embraced the Nicolaitan teaching unreservedly and unconditionally. They are one with their spiritual mother in aim and character. For them, therefore, there is nothing but the doom of destruction (23a). In this interpretation the difference in the dooms threatened is wholly natural.

ἀποκτενὼ ἐν θανατῷ. Cf. Ezek. xxxiii. 27, θανάτῳ ἀποκτενῷ, where θανάτος = ξένη, “pestilence,” as here and in vi. 8 (note).

γνώσονται πᾶσιν αἱ ἐκκλησίαι κτλ. The doom of the offenders was to be known as widely as the scandal had been. The γνώσονται δὲ is an O.T. form of expression: i.e. know by reason of experience, as in the case of the Egyptians, etc. Cf. Ex. vii. 5, xvi. 12, xxix. 46, etc.

δ ἐραυνῶν νεφρῶν καὶ καρδίας. This phrase is from the O.T., but it is an independent rendering of Jer. xi. 20, לְחֵץ לְחֵץ לְחֵץ where the LXX has δοκιμάζων νεφρῶν καὶ καρδίας. The LXX does not use ἐραυνάω at all as a rendering of קלב, nor apparently does any other Jewish version save Aquila in one instance
(Ezek. xxi. 18). The same phrase, though the order of the words is different, is found in Ps. vii. 10. Cf. other variations in Jer. xvii. 10, xx. 12. St. Paul uses the phrase θεω τω δοκιμάζοντι τας καρδίας ήμων (1 Thess. ii. 4) and ο ἔραυνών τας καρδιάς in Rom. viii. 27. νεφρός is not found elsewhere in the N.T. Cf. Wisd. i. 6, where a free rendering is given of the entire phrase. The kidneys were regarded by the Hebrews as the seat of the emotions and affections (Jer. xii. 2), and the heart of the thoughts. ἔραυνάς is, according to Blass (Gr. 21), an Alexandrian form.


24. οὐκ ἔχουσιν. This may mean "are free from" in contrast to those who "hold fast," κρατοῦσιν, but a comparison of i. 16 and ii. 1 is not in favour of this view, if text of ii. 1 is right.

ὁτίνες is here generic; indicates a class. Its use is therefore classical, as in i. 7, ix. 4, xx. 4. Elsewhere our author uses ὡσις as practically the equivalent of ὡς: cf. i. 12, xi. 8, xii. 13, xvii. 12, xix. 2. See note on xi. 8.

ὁτίνες . . . τα βαθεα του Σατανα. Two interpretations are here possible, and both are forcible. (1) Since the persons referred to in ὡς λέγουσιν are the libertine section in the Church of Thyatira, the above words, ὁτίνες . . . Σατανα, are an indignant retort on the part of our author, in which he declares that, whereas they claim to "know the deep things of God" (cf. Iren. Haer. ii. 22. 3) even as St. Paul (cf. 1 Cor. ii. 10, το γαρ πνεύμα πάντα ἔραυνα, καὶ τα βάθη τοῦ θεοῦ: Rom. xi. 33; Eph. iii. 18), it is not the deep things of God but of Satan that they have sought after. The later Gnostics, we know, preferred alone to know τα βάθη : cf. Iren. Adv. Haer. ii. 22. 1, "qui profunda Bythi adinvenisse se dicunt"; 22. 3, "prounda Dei adinvenisse se dicentes"; Hippol. Philos. v. 6, ἐπεκάλεσαν ἑαυτοὺς γνωστικοὺς, φάσκοντες μονοὶ τα βάθη γνώσκειν: Tertull. Adv. Valent. i, "Eleusinia Valentiniani fecerunt lenocinia, sancta silentio magno, sola taciturnitate caelestia. Si bona fide quaeras, concreto vultu, suspenso supercilio, Altum est, aiunt." This phrase (τα βάθεαι) was a natural one on the part of men who laid claim to an esoteric knowledge—a knowledge that in the case of the Cainites, Naasenes, Carpocratians, and Ophites was held to emancipate its possessors from the claims of morality. This last fact leads naturally to the second interpretation. (2) According to this second interpretation the words represent the actual claim of this Gnostic element in the Church of Thyatira, as Wieseler, Spitta, Zahn, Völter (Offenb. iv. 166), Bousset assume. These false teachers held that the spiritual man should know the deep things of Satan, that he should take part in the
heathen life of the community, two of the most prominent characteristics of which were its sacrificial feasts and immoral practices. Though he outwardly shared in this heathen life, nevertheless as a spiritual man (i.e. the Gnostic of later times) he remained inwardly unaffected by it and so asserted his superiority over it.

The insistence on the knowledge of intellectual mysteries, either as an indispensable addition to or as a substitute for simple obedience to the claims of the Christian life, has always been a weakness of the Church.

οὗ βάλλω ἐφ' ύμᾶς ἄλλο βάρος. In themselves these words could refer either to burdens of suffering or of the law. But the context declares clearly for the latter; for the term κρατήσατε in the following verse can only refer to the obligations of the moral law, and these obligations in particular related to fornication and the eating of meat offered to idols. Now these were the two chief enactments of the Apostolic decree in Acts xv. 28, ἔδοξεν ... μηδὲν πλέον ἐπιτίθεσθαι ύμῖν βάρος πλῆν τοῦτων τῶν ἐπάναγκων, ἀπέχεσθαι εἰδολοθύτων ... καὶ πορνείας. Only these two prohibitions are declared to be obligatory on the members of the Church in Thyatira, which were entangled in the libertinism of the Nicolaitans. The other two—ἀπέχεσθαι ... αἰματος καὶ πυρκτῶν—are not re-enacted. But this is not all. The use of the word ἄλλο in itself points to the exclusion of the two latter. Thus our author had clearly the Apostolic decree in his mind.

25. Once and for all take a firm hold (κρατήσατε) on these duties incumbent on you, and shun absolutely the sacrificial feasts of the heathen and the moral evils that attend on them.

δ ἔχετε κρατήσατε. Cf. iii. 11, κράτει δ ἔχεις. ἦξω is to be taken as a subjunctive of the aorist ἦξω since ἄχρι in our author elsewhere is followed by the subjunctive: cf. vii. 3, xv. 8, xx. 3, 5. In xvii. 17 it is followed by the indicative; but our author is here using a source.

26. δ νικῶν καὶ δ τηρῶν κτλ. The victory is to him that keeps Christ's works unto the end; in the present instance the special works required from the Church of Thyatira. But the repetition of the article equates the two phrases. Hence we might translate: "he that overcometh—even he that keepeth." The victor is he that keeps Christ's works: he that keeps Christ's works is the victor.

δ νικῶν ... δῶσῳ αὐτῷ, the nominative resumed in a subsequent pronoun in the dative.

To this nominativus pendens or accusative we have an exact parallel in iii. 12, 21. A more normal construction occurs in ii. 7, 17, and the normal in vi. 4, xxi. 6.

δῶσῳ αὐτῷ ἐξουσίαν ἐπὶ τῶν ἅθυνῶν. A free rendering of Ps.
II. 26–27.] MESSAGE TO THE CHURCH IN THYATIRA 75

ii. 8, ἐὰν τῆς προσωπῆς; LXX, ἃδεις σοι ἔδειν τὴν κληρονομίαν σοι.

The thought of these words as well as the diction of what follows are drawn from Ps. ii. 8–9. This Psalm was interpreted Messianically as early as the 1st cent. B.C. in the Pss. Solomon (see note on xix. 15). The nature of the power conferred is described in the next verse.

Our author appears to distinguish carefully the use of ἔξοναι with the article and without it. In the Fourth Gospel the article is not used at all. With the article full authority in the circumstances defined in the context is implied: cf. ix. 19, xiii. 4, 12, xvi. 9, xvii. 13. When a limited authority is implied, ἔξοναι stands without the article: cf. ii. 26, vi. 8, ix. 3, xiii. 2, 5, 7, xiv. 18, xvii. 12, xviii. 1, xx. 6. There are three cases which do not come under this rule, i.e. in ix. 10, xi. 6, and xxii. 14. In xi. 6 our author is using a source: hence we have here no exception. But ix. 10 and xxii. 14 are abnormal, since ἡ ἔξοναι αὐτῶν in these passages appear to be equal simply to ἔξοναι ἔξοναι.

27. 27ab imply the actual destruction of the heathen nations as in xix. 15, and apparently in their destruction the triumphant martyrs (cf. ii. 26, xvii. 14) are to be active agents as members of the heavenly hosts which should follow the word of God, xix. 13–14. At this moment that I am writing we can witness at least a partial fulfilment of this dread forecast, in which England and her allies are engaged in mortal strife with the powers of godless force and materialism. As Swete aptly writes: "The new order must be preceded by the breaking up of the old (συντριβέται), but the purpose of the Potter is to reconstruct; out of the fragments of the old life there will rise under the hand of Christ and of the Church, new and better types of social and national organisation." To this we might add: the present heathen system of international relations will sooner or later be destroyed and replaced by international relations of a Christian character.

καὶ ποιμανεῖ αὐτοῖς ἐν ῥάβδῳ σιδηρᾷ
ὡς τὰ σκέυη τὰ κεραμίκα συντριβέται.

From Ps. ii. 9. Our author here agrees partly with the LXX:

ποιμανεῖς αὐτοῖς ἐν ῥάβδῳ σιδηρᾷ
ὡς σκεύοις κεραμεῖς συντρίφεις αὐτοῖς.

Instead of ποιμανεῖς Symmachus renders συντρίφεις (s. συν-
θλάσεις), and instead of συντρίφεις Aquila renders προσφέρεις.

Two important questions arise here. 1. Has our author simply borrowed his rendering ποιμανεῖ from the LXX? 2. What meaning does our author attach to ποιμανεῖ? Now as to 1,
since it is our author's usage elsewhere to translate the Hebrew text independently, there is no reason to infer that he is here simply borrowing from the LXX. The LXX was no doubt familiar to him and provided him with a vocabulary. But he was in no sense dependent upon it. But it has been urged, and no doubt rightly, that the LXX here derived יָשַׁר from יָשָׁר and so vocalized it יָשְׂרָא and rendered it πούμανεις, whereas they ought to have derived it from יָשַׁר and vocalized it ήσχαρ, “thou shalt break” (as Symmachus). We have now to deal with 2—what meaning did our author attach to πούμανεις? A comparison of xix. 15, where πούμανεις is parallel to πατάσσων, and of the present text, ii. 27, where it is parallel with συντριβεται (cf. also xii. 5), is strong evidence that our author attached two distinct meanings to πούμανεις. The ordinary meaning is found in vii. 17 (πούμανεις = “will pasture”), the other and unusual meaning “will devastate, lay waste,” in ii. 27, xii. 5, xix. 15. Now, since this sense is so far as I am aware not found outside our author and the LXX (if indeed it is found in the latter), it is incumbent on us to explain how our author came to attach this meaning to the Greek verb. The explanation is apparently to be found in the fact that πούμανεις is the ordinary translation of יָשַׁר. But whereas יָשַׁר generally means “to shepherd,” it means sometimes “to devastate,” “destroy,” as in Mic. v. 5; Jer. vi. 3, ii. 16 (where the R.V. renders “break”), xxii. 22; Ps. lxxx. 14 (see Oxford Hebrew Lex., p. 945). Now in the first two passages the LXX renders יָשַׁר by πούμανεις. Hence πούμανεις should here mean “to lay waste” or “to destroy.” But, even if the LXX failed to grasp the right rendering of יָשַׁר in these passages and rendered it according to its ordinary sense, it does not follow that our author does so also. As clearly as language can indicate, πούμανεις and πατάσσεις in xix. 15 are parallels, just as ρομφαία δείπη and ράβδῳ σιδηρά in the same clauses are likewise parallels. It is noteworthy that in Latin pasco developed this secondary meaning also.

Hence it is highly probable that our author assigned to πούμανεις a secondary sense that attaches to יָשַׁר (as he does to other words: cf. πόδες, x. 1 n.), and that we should render here:

“He shall destroy them with an iron rod,
As the vessels of the potter shall they be dashed to pieces.”

That our author did attach two meanings to πούμανεις is the view universally adopted by ancient and modern versions. Thus the Vulgate and Syriac versions and the A.V. and R.V., etc., render this verb by “rule” in ii. 27, xix. 15. This is, of course, a possible meaning and it is also an ancient one, but in our author the parallelism and the context are against it. The object with which authority is given to them over the apostate nations is not that they may “rule” them, but may utterly destroy them.
II. 27-III. 1.] MESSAGE TO THE CHURCH IN SARDIS

ος τα σκευη τα κεραμικα συντριβεται. Here we have a free rendering of Ps. ii. 9b: cf. also Isa. xxx. 14; Jer. xix. 11. It is best to regard συντριβεται as = θητη in the mind of our author, and hence take it as a Hebraism and equivalent to a future. Later MSS saw, in fact, that a future was required here and read συντριβησεται. We should not here, with the R.V., take the words as follows: "as the vessels of the potter are broken to shivers." Such a thought is weak: there is no point in such a statement. The writer means to say that the righteous will "dash to pieces" the strong and the mighty among the heathen as easily as one dashes to pieces a potter's vessels. Primasius supports this view: "sicut vas figuli confringentur:" also Ticonius: "ut vas figuli comminuentur." Besides, the parallelism requires συντριβεται1 to be taken as a principal verb, as it is in Ps. ii. 9.

1. Even Isa. xxx. 14, Jer. xix. 11 support this view.

ος καυ ειληφα παρα του πατρος μου. These words recall, of course, Ps. ii. 7, Kyrios επεν προς με Υιος μου ει συ. Cf. Acts ii. 33, την τε επαγγελιαν του πνευματος . . . λαβων παρα του πατρος, for the phraseology. 28. In this letter to Thyatira only do we find a double promise—here and in 27ab. On this and other grounds Selwyn, Wellhausen, and others would omit 27ab as an intrusion.

No satisfactory explanation has as yet been discovered of these words. But in the meantime the best interpretation seems to be that of Beatus (quoted by Swete): "id est, Dominum Jesum Christum quem numquam suscepit vesper, sed lux sempiterna est, et ipse super in luce est," and of Bede: "Christus est stella matutina qui nocte saeculi transacta lucem vitae sanctis promittit et pandet aeternam." In xxii. 16 Christ describes Himself as δ οστηρ δ λαμπρος δ προινος. Hence the words combined with 27 mean simply: "when thou hast won through the strife I will be thine."

III. 1–6. THE MESSAGE TO THE CHURCH IN SARDIS.

1. εν Σαρδεσιν. Sardis (see the Bible Dictionaries in loc.: also Ramsay, Letters, 375–382) was situated about 30 miles S.E.S. of Thyatira. In Ionic its form was Σαρδεσις, in Attic Σαρδεσ, while in later Greek it was written Σαρδης. Sardis was built on the northern confines of Mt. Tmolus, and its acropolis on a spur of this mountain. It dominated the rich Hermus

1 A neuter plural has the verb oftener in the plural in our author. But συντριβεται here must agree either with τα σκευη or, as I take it, with τα εθην supplied from 26b. For other instances of the sing. verb and plural noun cf. i. 19, μελλει, viii. 3, xiii. 14, xiv. 13, xix. 14, xx. 3, 5, xxi. 12.
valley, and was the capital of the ancient Lydian kingdom. It reached the height of its prosperity under Croesus (circ. 560 B.C.). On its conquest by Cyrus it became the seat of a Persian Satrapy, and its history for the next three centuries is buried in obscurity. Under Roman rule it recovered some of its ancient importance, and became the centre of a conventus juridicus; but, notwithstanding, no city in Asia presented a more deplorable contrast of past splendour and present unresting decline. In 17 A.D. it was overthrown by a severe earthquake, but through the generosity of Tiberius (Tac. Ann. ii. 47), who remitted all its taxes for five years and contributed 10,000,000 sesterces towards its rebuilding, it rose so rapidly from its ruins that in 26 A.D. it was called a πόλις μεγάλη by Strabo (625), and it contended, though unsuccessfully, with Smyrna for the privilege of raising a temple to Tiberius (Tac. Ann. iv. 55). Its chief cult was that of Cybele, while its staple industries were connected with woollen goods, and it claimed to have been the first community which discovered the art of dyeing wool. To these industries there is possibly a reference in iii. 4, 5. Its inhabitants had long been notorious for luxury and licentiousness (Herod. i. 55; Aesch. Pers. 45), and the Christian Church had manifestly a hard task in resisting the evil atmosphere that environed it. Like the city itself, the Church had belied its early promise. Its religious history, like its civil, belonged to the past. And yet, despite its moral and spiritual declension, it still possessed a nucleus of faithful members: it had "a few names which had not defiled their garments." It was not apparently troubled by persecution from without, or by intellectual error from within, and yet it and the Church of Laodicea were the most blameworthy of the seven.

οδέχον τὰ ἐπτὰ πνεύματα τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοὺς ἐπτὰ ἄστέρας. This clause is (see p. 26), as the corresponding divine titles of Christ in the other six Letters, to be regarded as a redactional addition of our Seer when he edited his visions as a whole. The phrase τὰ ἐπτὰ πνεύματα has already occurred in i. 4, but there it is a manifest interpolation. Hence it really occurs here for the first time. On its probable meaning see i. 4, note.

οἶδα σου τὰ ἔργα. On this vernacular genitive (contrast ii. 2) see notes on ii. 9, 19; Abbott, Gram., pp. 605, 607; also 414-25, 601. Here as in iii. 8, 15 the emphasis is laid on the ἔργα—"the works thou hast wrought are known to me"—they give thee a semblance of life, but in reality thou art dead. This vernacular genitive recurs at the close of this verse: cf. also x. 9, xviii. 4-5, xxi. 3 (A).

οτί ὅνομα ἔχεις ὅτι Ἰησοῦ και νεκρὸς εἰ. For the construction cf. Herod. vii. 138, οὖνομα εἰς, ὡς ἐπ᾽ 'Αθηνὰς ἐλαίνει, κατίστο δὲ ἐς
πάσαν τ. 'Ελλάδα. Contrast 2 Cor. vi. 9, ὡς ἀποθνῄσκοντες, καὶ ἰδοὺ ξώμεν, and cf. Jas. ii. 17, ἡ πίστις, ἐὰν μὴ ἔχῃ ἔργα, νεκρά ἐστι καθ’ ἐαυτὴν, and 2 Tim. iii. 5, ἔχοντες μόρφωσιν εὐσεβείας τὴν δὲ δύναμιν αὐτῶν ἁρμημένοι. The condemnation of the Church of Sardis is more severe than that of the other six Churches. And yet it, too, has a nucleus of faithful members.

2. γίνον γρηγορῶν. For this construction cf. xvi. 10, ἐγένετο . . . ἐσκοτωμένη. γρηγορεῖν is a word of our Seer’s (cf. xvi. 15), and, though found in the three Synoptic Gospels, is not used in the Fourth. Our text recalls Matt. xxiv. 42 (Mark xiii. 33), γρηγο- ρεῖτε οὖν, ἵτι οὖν οἴδατε ποιὰ ἡμέρα ὁ κύριος ὑμῶν ἔρχεται. There are very close affinities in diction between 2–4 here and xvi. 15, which show indubitably our author’s hand. With γίνον γρηγορῶν . . . 3, καὶ τῷ ρει καὶ μετανόησον ἐὰν οὖν μὴ γρηγορήσης, ἦσε ὡς κλέπτης . . . 4, ἀ οὖκ ἔμολυναν τὰ ἰμάτια αὐτῶν, καὶ περιπτάτη- σουσιν . . . ἐν λευκοῖς, cf. xvi. 15, ἵδον ἐρχομαι ὡς κλέπτης. μακάριος ὁ γρηγορῶν καὶ τῆρων τὰ ἰμάτια αὐτοῦ, ἵνα μὴ γυμνὸς περιστάτη. But on the high probability that xvi. 15 originally stood between 3b and 3e, see note on this verse and also on xvi. 15.

Ramsay (Letters, 376 sqq.) is of opinion that this admonition to be watchful was suggested by two incidents in the past history of Sardis, when the acropolis fell into the hands of the enemy through the lack of vigilance on the part of its defenders—first in the time of Croesus in 549 B.C., and next in 218 B.C. when Antiochus the Great captured the city, a Cretan mercenary having led the way, “climbing up the hill and stealing unobserved within the fortifications.”

τὰ λοιπά. This word is found eight times in our author, but not in the other N.T. Johannine writings. As Swete points out, τὰ λοιπά means not merely persons, but “whatever remained at Sardis out of the wreck of Christian life, whether persons or institutions.” The entire community needs to be reconstructed on a sound foundation.

ἀ ἐμέλλον ἀποθανεῖν. We have here the epistolary imperfect. In the plural verb (contrast i. 19) we have a constructio ad sensum. The idea recalls Ezek. xxxiv. 4, 16. Blass (Gram. 197) seems right in maintaining that the aorist is correctly employed here and in iii. 16, xii. 4, after μέλλειν. μέλλειν is seldom followed by the aorist in the N.T.: it is generally followed by the present, as also in our author: cf. i. 19, ii. 10, iii. 10, vi. 11, viii. 13, x. 4, 7, xii. 5, xvii. 8. In classical Greek μέλλειν is followed most frequently by the future inf., but in vulgar Greek this was displaced by the present.

σοῦ τὰ (<AC) ἔργα. Here as at the beginning of the verse we have the vernacular possessive. The emphasis is thrown
strongly on the noun: "The works wrought by thee I have found wanting before my God." Cf. Dan. v. 27. Here the ἑω refers to the community as a whole. As a centre of spiritual and moral power it has failed, though it contains a few that have been faithful (4). Hence we read τὰ ἐργα against AC. οὐ—ὁν ἐργα = "no works of thine," cannot be maintained in the face of 4.

πληρωμένα. Only found once again in our author in vi. 11. It is a favourite Johannine word in the Fourth Gospel, occurring 13 times (cf. especially xvi. 24, xvii. 13), and twice in 1 and 2 John. Cf. also Col. ii. 10, ἐστε ἐν αὐτῷ πεπληρωμένοι.

ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ μου. The community has a name before the Christian world for its works, but not before God; for the faithfulness of the few (4) cannot redress the balance against the Church as a whole. It is a dying Church. On τοῦ θεοῦ μου cf. iii. 12; Rom. xv. 6, τὸν θεὸν καὶ πατέρα τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ: also Mark xv. 34; John xx. 17.

3. μημόνευε ὦν (cf. ii. 5, the advice to the Church of Ephesus) πῶς ἐφλήφας καὶ ἦκουσας. The change of tenses is here significant. ἦκουσας points to the time when they heard the Gospel: cf. i Thess. i. 5, 6, ii. 13. ἐφλήφας concedes that they still possess this gift of God.

τὴρει καὶ μετανόησον. The Church is to keep fast hold of what it has received and heard, and, repenting forthwith, recover its former spiritual attitude (aor.).

ἐὰν ὦν μὴ γρηγοροῦσῃ. As a host of critics have pointed out, xvi. 15 (see note) undoubtedly breaks up the context in which it occurs. Könnecke (followed by Moffatt) would restore it before the above words, while Beza transferred it before iii. 18. The first suggestion is probably to be preferred. It might, of course, be objected that the repetition after ἵδον ἔρχομαι ὡς κλέπτης of ἦξω ὡς κλέπτης would be jejune. But the latter seems more definite. And yet in ii. 5, 16, εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἔρχομαι, the present ἔρχομαι appears to be used under exactly the same conditions as ἦξω ὡς κλέπτης here. But it is probable that in the clause ἵδον ἔρχομαι ὡς κλέπτης we have a general description of the nature of Christ's Advent. It is to be unexpected, whereas in the clause ἦξω ὡς κλέπτης there is a definite menace, in which it is implied that the Church of Sardis will be caught off their guard by the suddenness of Christ's Advent. Hence, though with some hesitation, I have restored xvi. 15 before iii. 36.

XVI. 15. ἵδον ἔρχομαι ὡς κλέπτης.

μακάριος ὁ γρηγορῶν καὶ τηρῶν τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ, ἵνα μὴ γυμνὸς περιπατῇ,

καὶ βλέπωσιν τὴν ἀσχημοσύνην αὐτοῦ.
III. 3. εἶναι οὖν μὴ γρηγορὸς; ηγεῖται δὲ κλέπτης,
καὶ οὖ μὴ γνῶσις
ποιαν ὅραν ἤγεῖται εἰς σε.

ὁ οἰκοδεσπότης ποιᾷ φιλακὴν δὲ κλέπτης ἔρχεται ἐγρηγόρησεν τὸν . . . γίνεσθε ἐτοιμοὶ, ὅπερ οὐ δοκεῖτε ὁρμῇ, ὅ νῦν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔρχεται.
The Second Advent is referred to in our text: it will come as a thief in the night, because they are not on the watch; cf. 1 Thess. v. 2, 4.

οὖ μὴ γνῶσις. The subjunctive follows οὖ μὴ without exception in our author, and all but universally in the rest of the N.T. In WH text οὖ μὴ occurs 96 times, according to Moulton (Gram. 190). Of these examples 71 are with the aor. subj. and 8 with the fut. ind. The rest are ambiguous.

ποιαν ὅραν. For ὅραν in the acc. when apparently referring not to the duration but to a point of time, cf. Moulton, Gram.2, p. 63. Blass, Gram. 94 sq., points out that this usage began in classical times where ὅραν = εἰς ὅραν; cf. Robertson, Gram. 470 sq. Acts xx. 16, John iv. 52 are generally cited as parallel usages to that in our text. See, however, Abbott, Gram., p. 75.

4. The case of Sardis is critical, but there is still room for hope; for there is a faithful nucleus that has escaped the general corruption.

ὁνόματα. Cf xi. 13; Acts i. 15. Deissmann (Bible Studies, 196 sq) has proved that in the 2nd cent. A.D. ὅνομα was used in the sense of “person.” Hence it is probable that in our author we have the same usage. It is, however, to be remembered that ὅνόματα is used in Num. i. 2, 20, iii. 40, 43, as a rendering of ἴματι where this word means “persons” reckoned by name.

ἀ ὁδὲ ἐμὸλυναν τὰ ἴματα αὐτῶν. See note on 18. The moral stains here referred to especially include παρεία (cf. xiv. 4). “The language reflects that of the votive inscriptions in Asia Minor, where soiled clothes disqualified the worshipper and dis-honoured the god. Moral purity qualifies for spiritual communion” (Moffatt in loc.).

περιπατήσουσιν μετ’ ἐμοῦ ἐν λευκοῖς. We have here the first eschatological promise, which is not preceded by the words ὅ νικὼν. The raiment here spoken of is the heavenly raiment or the spiritual bodies awaiting the faithful in the next life. See note on next verse.

ἀξίοι εἰσίν. Contrast the use of this phrase in xvi. 6.

5. See note on ii. 11b.
περιβαλεῖται ἐν. περιβάλλεσθαι takes two constructions in our author. It is followed either by ἐν with the dat. as here and in iv. 4, or by the acc. in the remaining passages.

ἐν ἵματισιν λευκοῖς. These garments are the spiritual bodies in which the faithful are to be clothed in the resurrection life. This thought is clearly expressed in 2 Cor. v. 1, 4, "If the earthly house of our tabernacle be dissolved, we have a building from God, a house not made with hands, eternal, in the heavens. . . . For indeed we that are in this tabernacle do groan, being burdened; not that we would be unclothed, but that we would be clothed upon." But this idea recurs elsewhere in the N.T., though it is not so definitely expressed as here: cf. Matt. xiii. 43, τότε οἱ δίκαιοι ἐκλάμψασιν ὡς ὁ ἡλιος, that is, they shall have a body of light (cf. Ps. civ. 2, "who coverest thyself with light as with a garment"), 1 Cor. xv. 43, 49, 54, Phil. iii. 21, where it is promised that the body of our humiliation will be conformed to the body of His glory (τὸ σώματι τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ). We shall find later that "body of light" and "body of glory" are used interchangeably. But returning again to Phil. iii. 21 we see that the connection between the earthly body and the heavenly—though they are different in essence—is of the closest, and that the character of the heavenly body is conditioned by that of the earthly body (cf. 1 Cor. vi. 18). In the Asc. Isa. iv. 16 (circ. 88-100 A.D.) we find further references to these garments or spiritual bodies: "But the saints will come with the Lord with their garments which are (now) stored up on high in the seventh heaven: with the Lord they will come, whose spirits are clothed . . . and be present in the world." Cf. vii. 22, viii. 14, "when from the body by the will of God thou hast ascended hither, then thou wilt receive the garment which thou seest": also viii. 26, ix. 9, "And there I saw Enoch and all who were with him stripped of the garments of the flesh, and I saw them in their garments of the upper world, and they were like angels, standing there in great glory"; ix. 17, "And then many of the righteous will ascend with Him, whose spirits do not receive their garments till the Lord Christ ascend"; also ix. 24-26, xi. 40. In the Apoc. of Peter 3 (circ. 110-125 A.D.) the raiment of the blessed is said to be light, and 5, all the dwellers in Paradise to be "clad in the raiment of angels of light" (ἐνδεδυμένοι ἡσαν ἐνδύμα ἄγγελων φωτισμῶν). Next, in Hermas, Sim. viii. 2, 3, the faithful are rewarded with white garments: ἰμάτισμον δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν πάντες ἐξον λευκὸν ὡς τίνα ὁ πορευόμενοι εἰς τὸν τύργον. Again,
in the Odes of Solomon we have three references to these heavenly bodies: xi. 10, “And the Lord renewed me in His raiment (cf. Ps. civ. 2) and possessed (? ‘formed,’ i.e. έκτίσατο, corrupt for έκτίσατο) ... 14, And He carried me to His Paradise”; xxi. 2, “And I put off darkness and clothed myself with light. 3, And my soul acquired a body free from sorrow or affliction or pains”; xxv. 8, “And I was clothed with the covering of Thy Spirit, and Thou didst remove from me my raiment of skin.” See also Burkitt, Early Eastern Christianity, p. 215; Moulton, Journal of Theol. Stud. iii. 514-527. In its present form 4 Ezra i.–ii. is Christian, but it is not improbably based on Jewish sources. However this may be, we have, as in the Asc. Isa., references to this heavenly body of light. Cf. ii. 39, “Qui se de umbra saeculi transitur splendiferas tunicas a domino acceperunt.” The nature of these heavenly garments is clear from ii. 45, “Hi sunt qui mortalem tunicam deposuerunt et immortalem sumperunt.”

We have now shown that the resurrection body was clearly conceived in the first and second centuries A.D. in Christian circles as a “body of light.” But this conception was also pre-Christian. Thus in 1 Enoch lxii. 16, where the risen righteous are described:

“And they shall have been clothed with garments of glory, And these shall be the garments of life from the Lord of Spirits”;

cviii. 12, “And I will bring forth in shining light those who have loved My holy name.” See also 2 Enoch xxii. 8, “And the Lord said unto Michael: Go and take Enoch from out his earthly garments ... and put him into the garments of My glory.” For interesting though only partial parallels in Judaism and Zoroastrianism, see Lueken, Michael, 122 sq.; Böcklen, Verwandschaft d. jüdisch-christlichen mit d. Parsischen Eschatologie, 61-65.

To return now to our author, it is clear that the white garments represent the resurrection or heavenly bodies of the faithful in iii. 4c, 5a, vi. 11 (see note), vii. 9, 13, 14, xix. 8a (where 8b is a gloss). In iii. 4b (note), 18 (note), xvi. 15, the ἐνδέχεται are used as a symbol of the spiritual life as manifested in righteous character, which forms the heavenly vesture of the redeemed.

The idea may go back to Ps. civ. 2 where God is said to clothe Himself with light as with a garment. The garments of the angels are white: Mark ix. 3 = Luke ix. 29; Mark xvi. 5 = Matt. xxviii. 3; Acts i. 10. The very bodies of the angels are white, composed of light; cf. 2 Enoch i. 5. This is the older idea, and it is preserved in our author. Later these garments came to signify heavenly vestures of an accessory nature.
The Sardians had a name to live and yet were dead (iii. 1); if they awake (iii. 2) to righteousness and show themselves victors, then their name will be preserved in the book of life. τῆς βιβλίου τῆς ζωῆς.

Cf. xiii. 8, xvii. 8, xx. 12, 15, xxi. 27.

"The idea underlying this phrase can be traced to the O.T. There the book of life (or its equivalents, Ex. xxxii. 32 sq. 'God's book'; Ps. lxix. 28, 'book of the living') was a register of the citizens of the Theocratic community of Israel. To have one's name written in the book of life implied the privilege of participating in the temporal blessings of the Theocracy, Isa. iv. 3, while to be blotted out of this book, Ex. xxxii. 32, Ps. lxix. 28, meant exclusion therefrom." He whose name was written in this book remained in life but he whose name was not, must die. "In the O.T. this expression was originally confined to temporal blessings only, save in Dan. xii. 1, where it is transformed through the influence of the new conception of the kingdom, and distinctly refers to an immortality of blessedness. It has the same meaning in I Enoch xlvii. 3. A further reference to it is to be found in I Enoch civ. 1, cviii. 7. The phrase again appears in the Book of Jubilees xxx. 20 sqq. in contrast with the book of those that shall be destroyed, but in the O.T. sense. . . . In the N.T. the phrase is of frequent occurrence, Phil. iv. 3; Rev. (see above list); and the idea in Luke x. 20, Heb. xii. 23, 'written in heaven,' is its practical equivalent." The above is quoted with a few changes from my note on I Enoch xlvii. 3. In the same note kindred expressions are dealt with at some length—such as the books of remembrance of good and evil deeds—the good in Ps. lvi. 8; Mal. iii. 16; Neh. xiii. 14; Jub. xxx. 22; the evil in Isa. lxv. 6; I Enoch lxxxi. 4, lxxxix. 61–64, 68, 70, 71, etc.; 2 Bar. xxiv. 1; both the good and the evil in Dan. vii. 10; 2 Enoch lii. 15, liii. 2; Rev. xx. 12; Asc. Isa. ix. 22. See Weber, Jiid. Theol. 2 242, 282 sqq.; Dalman, Worte Jesu, i. 171; K.A.T. 3 ii. 405; Bousset, Rel. d. Judenthums, 247.

καὶ ὃμολογησόμενος τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ κτλ. We have a clear reminiscence of our Lord's words in Matt. x. 32 (Luke xii. 8), παύειν ὅσιον ὅσιον ὃμολογήσεις ἐν ἑμοὶ ἐμπροσθεν τῶν ἄνθρωπων, ὃμολογήσεως καγὼ ἐν αὐτῷ ἐμπροσθεν τοῦ πατρὸς μου τοῦ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς (τῶν ἀγγέλων τοῦ θεοῦ, Luke xii. 8).

7–13. THE MESSAGE TO THE CHURCH IN PHILADELPHIA.

7. τῆς ἐν Φιλαδελφίᾳ. This city (see Bible Dictionaries in loc.) lies some 28 miles south-east of Sardis. From the words of our author it is clear that its Christianity was of a high character,
standing in point of merit second only to Smyrna among the seven Churches. In the time of Ignatius (Ad Phil. 3, 5, 10) it enjoyed the same high reputation. Philadelphia was founded on the southern side of the valley of the Cogamis—a tributary of the Hermes—by Attalus II. Philadelphus, and named after its founder (159-138 B.C.). Under Caracalla it received the title of Neocoros or Temple Warden, and thenceforward the Κοινόν of Asia met there from time to time to celebrate certain state festivals. Like other cities of Asia Minor it too suffered from the great earthquake in 17 A.D., and was assisted to rebuild by a donation from the imperial purse.

The chief pagan cult was that of Dionysus, but its main difficulties arose from Jewish rather than from pagan opponents (iii. 9), as was the case with Smyrna (ii. 9). These Judaizers were still a source of trouble in the time of Ignatius (Ad Phil. 6).

In later times Philadelphia was notable for the heroism with which it resisted the growing power of the Turks. "It displayed all the noble qualities of endurance, truth and steadfastness which are attributed to it in the letter of St. John, amid the ever threatening danger of Turkish attack; and its story rouses even Gibbon to admiration" (Ramsay, Letters, 400). It was not until 1379-90, when jealousy divided the Christian powers, that it fell before the attack of the united forces of the Byzantine Emperor Manuel II. and the Turkish Sultan Bayezid I. Since that time it has been known as Ala-Sheher,—the reddish city,—a designation due to the red hills in its rear.

δ ἄγιος δ ἄληθινός. "The Holy, the True." This asyndetic use of two divine designations is to be found in I Enoch i. 3, xiv. 1 (cf. also x. 1, xxv. 3, lxxxiv. 1), δ ἄγιος δ μέγας. δ ἄγιος was familiar to the Jews as a title of God; cf. Hab. iii. 3; Isa. xl. 25; I Enoch i. 2, xxxvii. 2, xciii. 11, etc.; Acts iii. 14. The two words ἄγιος and ἄληθινός, which are combined as epithets of God in vi. 10, are in our text applied to Christ: cf. iii. 14, δ πιστός καὶ ἄληθινός: xix. 11, πιστός [καλούμενος] καὶ ἄληθινός. As regards the meaning of ἄληθινός, Hort has rightly urged that "it is misleading to think (here) only of the classical sense, true as genuine. . . . " Not only vi. 10, but iii. 14, δ μάρτυς δ πιστός καὶ ἄληθινός (cf. xix. 11), and what is said of His 'ways' or 'judgments' (xv. 3, xvi. 7, xix. 2), ἄληθινός coupled with δικαιος, show that the Apocalypse retains the O.T. conception of truth, expressed, e.g. in cxlv. 6, 'which keepeth truth for ever,' i.e. constancy to a plighted word or purpose, the opposite of caprice." Cf. also Isa. xlix. 7, "because of the Lord that is faithful, the Holy One of Israel." In the LXX ἄληθις is never used of God, but ἄληθινός is used a few times:
THE REVELATION OF ST. JOHN

[III. 7-8.

cf. Ex. xxxiv. 6; Isa. lxv. 16; Ps. lxxxvi. 15, where the Hebrew is either מַשָּׁה or מַשָּׁה. Hence ἀληθινός implies that God or Christ, as true, will fulfill His word. The thoroughly Hebraic character of the Apocalypse confirms this view. In the Fourth Gospel, on the other hand, ἀληθινός = "genuine" as opposed to unreal rather than to untruthful. Hence in our author Trench's (N. T. Synonyms, 29) admirable differentiation of the words ἀληθής (not used in our author, but 14 times in the Fourth Gospel) and ἀληθινός does not hold: "We may affirm of the ἀληθής, that he fulfills the promise of his lips, but the ἀληθινός, the wider promise of his name. Whatever that name imports, taken in its highest, deepest, widest sense, whatever according to that he ought to be, that he is to the full." This distinction is true of the Fourth Gospel, where both words occur,

ὁ Ἑρμος τὴν κλεῖον Δαυείδ, ὁ ἄνοιγων καὶ οὔδείς κλείει κτλ. The passage points back to i. 18, but it is based on Isa. xxii. 22, where QT with the Mass. read, with reference to Eliakim, δῶσω τὴν κλείδα οίκου Δαυείδ ἐπὶ τοῦ ὦμου αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἄνοιξεν καὶ οὐκ ἔσται ὁ ἀποκλειόντως καὶ κλείεις καὶ οὐκ ἔσται ὁ ἄνοιγων. Since both B and A read differently, our author is apparently not using the LXX here. In any case, while the LXX reproduces the Mass., which here consists of parallel clauses, it is clear that our author deals independently with the text. The Hebrew is familiar to him, and what appears in Isa. xxii. 22 in the form of direct statements and finite verbs is cast by our author into a series of dependent clauses, which are introduced by participles that are subsequently resolved into finite verbs, i.e. ὁ ἄνοιγων καὶ οὔδείς κλείει καὶ κλείειν καὶ οὔδείς ἄνοιγει. This is not Greek, but a Hebrew idiom often used by our author, הנחת עזר נזר ונתני הנחת קנה.

The expression τὴν κλεῖον Δαυείδ has apparently a Messianic significance. Cf. v. 5, xxii. 16, μία Δαυείδ. The words teach that to Christ belongs complete authority in respect to admission to or exclusion from the city of David, the New Jerusalem. The admission referred to may primarily have to do with the Gentiles and the exclusion with the unbelieving Jews (see 9). But their scope is universal.

As Eliakim carried the keys of the house of David in the court of Hezekiah, so does Christ in the kingdom of God: cf. Eph. i. 22. He has the same authority in regard to Hades, i. 18, and supreme authority in heaven and earth, Matt. xxviii. 18, and is "as a son over his own house," Heb. iii. 6.

8. Οἴδα σου τὰ ἔργα. This clause has by some scholars been rejected on the ground that it breaks the connection and is harmonistic. But it is better with WH to take the words that
follow, ἵδον δεδομα... αὐτῷν, as a parenthesis, and connect οἶδα... ἔργα directly with ὅτι μικρὰν ἔχεις κτλ. οἶδα is followed by ὅτι in iii. 1, 15.

ἵδον δεδομα ἐνωπιόν σου θύραν ἀνεφγμένην. δεδομα apparently is used Hebraistically here, “I have set.” In θύρα ἀνεφγμένην we have a Pauline metaphor: cf. 1 Cor. xvi. 9, θύρα γάρ μοι ἀνέφγγεν μεγάλη καὶ ἑνεργής: 2 Cor. ii. 12, θύρας μοι ἀνεφγμένης ἐν κυρίῳ: Col. iv. 3, ἵνα ὁ θεὸς ἁνοιξῃ ἧμῖν θύραν τοῦ λόγου (i.e. an opportunity for preaching the word). Here the “open door” means that a good opportunity is being given for missionary effort, and in our text and in the above Pauline passages the door stands for the privilege accorded to the Christian teachers; in Acts xiv. 27, ἤνοιξεν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν θύραν πίστεως, the metaphor is applied conversely, where the door is opened not to the Christian teacher, but to the converts to the Christian Church. A different explanation has been advanced by Moffatt, who in view of a passage written by Ignatius to this same Church of Philadelphia (Ad Philad. ix. 1, αὐτὸς ὁν θύρα τοῦ πατρός, δι’ ἦς εἰσέρχονται ‘Αβραὰμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ κτλ.) connects the phrase with Christ and compares John x. 7, 9, where Christ describes Himself as ἡ θύρα τῶν προβατῶν. But it would be strange for the speaker—Christ—to say, “Behold I have set before you a door opened,” and to imply thereby that He Himself was this door. The direct form of statement in John x. 7, 9 does not support this view. Bousset propounds a third explanation, i.e. that the open door is for the entrance of the community into the Messianic glory.

ἡν οἶδες δύνασαι κλείσαι αὐτῷν. On this Hebraism cf. vii. 2, 9, xiii. 8, 12, xx. 8: cf. xii. 6, 14, xvii. 9; also ii. 7, 17. ὅτι μικρὰν ἔχεις δύναμιν. This clause, as pointed out above, depends directly on οἶδα σου τὰ ἔργα, the intervening clause being a parenthesis. The Church had little weight in Philadelphia so far as concerned its external circumstances.

καὶ ἔτηρησάς μου τὸν λόγον. The καὶ has here an adversative force (= “and yet”), as frequently in the Fourth Gospel (Abbott, Gram. 135 sqq.), i. 5, iii. 13, 19, iv. 20, vi. 70, ix. 34, etc. The usage is Hebraic in character. Cf. also Matt. vi. 26; Jer. xxiii. 21 (Robertson, Gram. 1183). On ἔτηρησα ὅ... λόγον see note on xiv. 12. καὶ οὐκ ἦρνησα. Cf. ii. 13. These clauses point to some period of faithfulness under trial in the past.

μου τὸν λόγον... τὸ δυνόμα μου. With the position of the pronoun here cf. x. 9, πικρανεὶ σου τὴν κοιλίαν ἀλλ’ ἐν τῷ στόματί σου ἔσται γλυκύ. The first unemphatic (or vernacular possessive) μου throws the emphasis on ἔτηρησας and τὸν λόγον: “And yet the word I gave you thou didst keep, and didst not deny My name.”

 iota òu ðìòò èk tìè ςυναγωγής τοù Σατανᾶ. In ðìòò (for the earlier ðìòò—see Robertson, Gram. 311 sq.) we have a transition from ðìòò to ðìòò forms. Cf. xvii. 13 (ðìòòν). As regards ðìòò two interpretations are possible. First, it may be rendered literally: "I give men of the synagogue . . . as thy converts." Otherwise ðìòò is to be taken Hebraically, "I make (i.e., I will make) men of the synagogue . . . behold I will make" (ποιήσω). This latter use is frequent in the LXX. It is to be found also in Acts x. 40, xiv. 3 (ii. 27, in a quotation from the LXX). The combination iota ðìòò is decidedly in favour of the latter view; for it is a pure Hebraism, την τών, with a future sense. With the construction iota ðìòò èk tìè ςυναγωγής compare ii. 17, δώσω . . . τοù μάννα.

tìè ςυναγωγής τοù Σατανᾶ. In the LXX την τηρή is rendered ἡ συναγωγὴ τοù κυρίου (Num. xvi. 3, xx. 4: cf. also xxvi. 9, xxvii. 3, where a different Hebrew word is used). Not a Synagogue of the Lord, but a Synagogue of Satan, does the Seer pronounce these Jews to be. Some twenty years later the Church of Philadelphia had greater dangers to encounter from the Judaizers than from the Jews, both of whom were active: cf. Ignat. Ad Philad. vi. 1, ἐὰν δέ τις ἰουδαίος ἑβδομήν ὑμῖν, μὴ ἀκούετε αὐτῶν, ἀμενον γὰρ ἔστων παρὰ ἄνδρος περιτομῆν ἔχοντος χριστιανισμὸν ἀκούετε ἢ παρὰ ἀκροβύστου ἰουδαῖον συναγωγής.

tῶν λεγόντων ἑαυτοῦ Ἰουδαίους εἶναι. The tῶν λεγόντων is in apposition to τῆς συναγωγῆς. On the whole clause cf. ii. 9. In classical Greek the usual construction would be τῶν λεγόντων (αὐτῶν) Ἰουδαίους εἶναι. But even in classical Greek the acc. with inf. is found where the nom. would have been usual. In the κοινή Moulton (Gram. 212 sq.) shows the same usage active. In fact, as Robertson writes (Gram. 1039), "the acc. with the inf. was normal when the substantive with the inf. was different from the subject of the principal verb." Our author claims that the Christians alone had the right to the name "Jew." "Faith in Christ, not mere nationality, constituted true Judaism. The succession had passed to Christianity" (Moffatt in loc.): cf. Rom. ix. 6–9, ii. 28, 29, "He is not a Jew which is one outwardly . . . but he is a Jew which is one inwardly." Herein our author differs from the Fourth Evangelist, with whom Ἰουδαίος is by no means an honourable designation.

tῶν λεγόντων . . . καὶ οὐ̂κ εἰς. An unmistakable Hebraism. Cf. ii. 9 and i. 5–6, note.

ποιήσω ἵνα cum fut. or subj. Cf. xiii. 12 (fut.), 16 (subj. ?); John xi. 37 (subj.); Col. iv. 16 (subj.). The ἵνα clause is one of consequence; cf. ix. 20, xiii. 13. The fut. ind. after
They and the Gentiles are explicable to the Jews: πορεύονται πρός σε δεδομένα μισθωμάτων σε: xlv. 14, διαβιβάζονται πρός σε καὶ προσκυνήσουσιν σου. It will be observed that our author’s diction is not dependent on the LXX. Moreover, our text more nearly renders the Mass. of Isa. lx. 14 than the LXX, for καὶ προσκυνήσουσιν ἕπι τὰ ἱγνά τῶν ποδῶν σου is found only in Q\textsuperscript{mg} and not in the LXX. The homage that the Jews expected from the Gentiles, they were themselves to render to the Christians. They should play the rôle of the heathen and acknowledge the Christians to be the true Israel.

Εγὼ ἡγάπησά σε. From Isa. xliii. 4.

προσκυνήσουσιν . . . καὶ γνώσιν. Cf. xxii. 14, ἦν ἔσται . . . καὶ . . . εἰς ἑλθωσιν.

10. This verse is a redactional addition on the part of our Seer when he was editing his visions. Its meaning is only explicable from a right understanding of vii., where the 144,000 are sealed. There the faithful are sealed with a view to their preservation from the assaults of demons, but are not thereby secured against physical death. This persecution is not to be a merely local one (cf. ii. 10): it is to embrace the entire world. Elsewhere throughout the original Letters to the Seven Churches there is not even an apprehension of a world-wide persecution (see § 5, p. 44 sq.). The continued existence of two of the Churches is presupposed till the Second Advent: cf. ii. 25, iii. 3 (?), i.i. It will be observed that the demonic trial spoken of, while world-wide, was to affect only “those that dwell upon the earth,” i.e. the non-Christians.

ὅτι ἐπηρήσας τὸν λόγον . . . κἀγὼ σε τηρήσω. Cf. John xvii. 6, 11, 12, τὸν λόγον σου τηρήσαν . . . πάτερ ἡγεῖ, τήρησον αὐτούς . . . οὗτι ἤμεν μιτ' αὐτῶν ἐγὼ ἐπηρήσων αὐτούς. As they have kept Christ’s word, so He will keep them safe from the demonic assaults which will affect all who are not His.

tὸν λόγον τῆς ὑπομονῆς μου, i.e. “the word of my endurance.”
The phrase ὑπομονῆ τῶν ἀγίων (xiii. 10, xiv. 12), i.e. “the endurance practised by the saints,” requires a like interpretation here. Hence “the word of my endurance” is “the Gospel of the endurance practised by Christ.” This is to be, as Hort writes, “at once as an example and as a power.” Cf. 2 Thess. iii. 5, τὴν ὑπομονὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ: Ignat. Ἀδ Ῥωμ. ἅ. 3, ἔρρωσθε εἰς τέλος ἐν ὑπομονῇ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

τηρήσω ἐκ. Only found elsewhere in the N.T. in John xvii. 15 (cf. Jas. i. 27, τηρεῖν ἀπό), where the thought is quite in
keeping with that of our Seer: oυκ ἐρωτῶ ἵνα ἀργη ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου ἀλλ' ἵνα τηρήσῃ αὐτός ἐκ τοῦ πονηροῦ. Here τοῦ πονηροῦ is the Evil One, or Satan. Hence our Lord's prayer is that His disciples may be delivered from the evil sway of Satan, not that they may be saved from the physical evils (including death) which are inevitably incident to this life. This gives exactly the object of the sealing in vii. The sealing provides the spiritual help needed against the coming manifestation of Satanic wickedness linked with seemingly supreme power. See III. c. in the Introd. to vii., § 5, p. 194 sqq. Unreserved loyalty to Christ carries with it immunity from spiritual anguish and mental trouble.

τῆς ὥρας τοῦ πειρασμοῦ. This tribulation is to affect only the faithless and the heathen; for, as the note on xi. 10 shows, the phrase "those that dwell upon the earth" denotes the world of unbelievers as distinguished from that of the faithful. Hence whilst the word πειρασμός (cf. πειράζειν later) may in some degree retain the sense of "trial," since some of the faithless might thereby be brought to repent, yet its prevailing sense in this passage is affliction and temptation—the fitting functions of the demons (ix. i—21). πειράζειν in ii. 10 means "to afflict," but the affliction is limited to "ten days." On πειράζειν as meaning to inflict evils upon one in order to test his character, cf. I Cor. x. 13; Heb. ii. 18, iv. 15.

τοὺς κατοικοῦντας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. These are the heathens or non-Christians. See note on xi. 10 and § 4 of the Introd. to xiii. Thus the coming πειρασμός, which is to be world-wide, is to afflict only those who have not the seal of God on their forehead (ix. 4). See note on vii. 3.

11. ἔρχομαι ταχύ. This refers to the Second Advent and presupposes the continuance of the community till that event, as in ii. 25, iii. 3. But the main presupposition of the later chapters, which represent our author's final view, is that in the final persecution all the faithful will suffer martyrdom: cf. xiii. 15, xviii. 4 (note), 20, and § 1 of the Introd. to xv., and § 1 of the Introd. to xvi.

κράτει δ' ἔχεις. Each Church is to preserve its own inheritance. Cf. ii. 25. See note on ii. 1 on κρατεῖν. ἵνα μηδεῖς λάβῃ τὸν στέφανον σου. The promise of the crown is parallel to that made to the Church of Smyrna, ii. 10 (see note). Cf. Col. ii. 18; 2 Tit. ii. 5.

12. See note on ii. 11b. δ' ἴνα καὶ τοιήσω αὐτοῦ. A Hebraism. Cf. ii. 7, 17, 26, iii. 21. στύλον ἐν τῷ ναῷ τοῦ θεοῦ μου. With θεοῦ μου cf. iii. 2, 5. Here the phrase occurs four times. The expression στύλος is used metaphorically as elsewhere in the N.T. and in Judaism. Cf. I Tim. iii. 15, ἐκκλησία . . . στύλος καὶ ἐδραίωμα τῆς ἁλη-
III. 12. | MESSAGE TO THE CHURCH IN PHILADELPHIA

Also Gal. ii. 9. In Clem. Rom. v. 2, Peter and Paul are called οἱ μέγιστοι καὶ δικαιότατοι στῦλοι. In Judaism, R. Johanan ben Sakkai was called "the right pillar," with reference to I Kings vii. 21 (Ber. 28b), and Abraham the pillar of the world in Exod. rab. 2 (see Levy's Neuhebräisches Wörterbuch, iii. 660; also Schoettgen, Hor. i. 728 sq.). The metaphor is current in most languages: cf. Pind. Ol. ii. 146; Eur. Iph. I. 57, στῦλοι γὰρ οἴκων εἰσὶ παῖδες ἄρσενες: Aesch. Agam. 897; Hor. Od. i. 35. 13. Since στῦλος is thus used metaphorically, it follows that ναὸς has also a metaphorical sense here. Hence the text is not inconsistent with xxii. 22, where it is said that there is no temple in the heavenly Jerusalem, xxi. 10–xxii. 2, which descended from God to be the seat of the Millennial Kingdom. In the more spiritual and New Jerusalem, xxi. 2–4, xxii. 3–5, which was to descend after the first judgment, there could, of course, be no temple. The local heavenly sanctuary existing in heaven (see notes on vii. 15, iv. 2) was ultimately to disappear, and God Himself to be the temple.

εξω οὖ ἡ εξελθη ἡ τι. The subject is ὁ νικῶν. Fixity of character is at last achieved. Since God is the temple, and the faithful have become pillars in this temple, they have become one with Him, and therefore can never be separated from Him. Cf. John xvii. 21a, ἵνα πάντες ἐν σωσί: 22, ἵνα ὅσιν ἐν καθὼς ἥμεις ἐν: 21b, ἵνα καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐν ἡμῖν ὅσιν. Isa. xxii. 25, which speaks of the removal of "the nail fastened in a sure place" (i.e. Eliakim), may have been in the mind of our author, inasmuch as in iii. 7 he has quoted Isa. xxii. 22. The nail can be removed, but not the pillar.

οὖ (or μη) ... ἦτι, frequent in our author but not in Fourth Gospel.

καὶ γράψω ἐπ' αὐτὸν τὸ ὄνομα κτλ. So far as the Greek goes the words ἐπ' αὐτὸν could refer to (1) στῦλον, or (2) to ὁ νικῶν. i. In favour of the first it has been urged that inscriptions on pillars were not infrequent in Oriental architecture. In order to worship a god it was necessary to know his name. Thus in the magical prayer of Astrampsychus, quoted by Reitzenstein, Poimandres, 20 (see Kenyon, Greek Papyri, i. 116), we find: Οἴδα σε, Ἑρμῆ ... οἴδα σου καὶ τὰ βαρβαρικὰ ὅνομα καὶ τὸ ἀληθινὸν ὄνομα σου τὸ ἐγγραμμένον τῇ ἱερᾷ στῆλῃ ἐν τῷ ὅσιῳ ἐν Ἐρμομοῦσιλε. But there is a nearer parallel, as Bousset points out (referring to Hirschfeld, 860); for it was customary for the provincial priest of the imperial cultus at the close of his year of office to erect his statue in the confines of the temple, inscribing on it his own name and his father's, his place of birth and year of office. Possibly the foregoing figure was chosen with reference to this custom in order to set forth the dignity of the faithful as
priests of God in the next world. Ignatius, Ad Philad. vi. 1, has been thought to refer to the present text when he writes in reference to those who do not acknowledge Jesus Christ, οὐτοὶ ἐμοὶ στῆλαί εἰσιν καὶ τάφοι νεκρῶν, ἐφ` οἷς γεγραπται μόνον ὀνόματα ἀνθρώπων. But there is really no idea in common. Ignatius is comparing false teachers to sepulchres, whereas our text declares that the victors shall be upholders of the spiritual temple of God, with the name of their God blazoned on their brows. Some think that the idea in our text is a development of Isa. lvi. 5, “Unto them will I give in mine house and within my walls a memorial (lit. ‘hand’) and a name better than of sons and daughters,” to which there are parallels in the Phoenician and Punic stones, which served as memorials within the heathen temples. But, as we have already presupposed, the other interpretation is decidedly to be preferred. 2. The victor receives the name on his forehead, as in xiv. 1, xxii. 4 (cf. vii. 3, note, xvii. 5). See also ii. 17, note.

τὸ ἄνωμα τοῦ θεοῦ μου. See note on iii. 2. The name of God impressed on the forehead of the victors shows that they are God’s own possession: see vii. 3, note.

τὸ ἄνωμα τῆς πόλεως τοῦ θεοῦ μου. These words denote that to the victor God will give the right of citizenship in the New Jerusalem: cf. Gal. iv. 26; Phil. iii. 20; Heb. xi. 10, xii. 22, xiii. 14.

tῆς καυνῆς Ἰερουσαλήμ. Cf. xxi. 2. The New Jerusalem is the Jerusalem that descends from God after the final judgment and the creation of the new heaven and the new earth. It is to be distinguished from the heavenly Jerusalem which descends from heaven before the final judgment to be the seat of the Millennial Kingdom. See 5 in the Introd. to xx. 4–xxii., vol. ii. p. 150. Our author uses the form Ἰεροσολύμα, but the Fourth Gospel Ἰεροσόλυμα.

ἡ καταβαίνουσα κτλ. Cf. xxi. 2, 10. On this Hebraism see note on i. 5.

tὸ ὄνομα μου τὸ καυνόν. Cf. xix. 12, 16. But the new name more probably is one to be revealed at His Second Advent. And as Christ was to bear a new name at this Advent, so should also His faithful servants, ii. 17. Gressmann (Urspr. d. Israel. jüd. Eschat. 281) has aptly remarked that “as in the beginning of the present world all things received their definite names, so will they also be named anew in the future world.”

A partial parallel to the whole verse is to be found in the Baba Bathra, 75b, “Rabbi Samuel the son of Nachmani said in the name of Rabbi Johanan that three are named after the name of the Holy One—blessed be He—the righteous (Isa. xliii. 7), the Messiah (Jer. xxiii. 6), and Jerusalem (Ezek. xlviii. 35).
14–22. MESSAGE TO THE CHURCH IN LAODICEA.

As there were at least six cities, bearing the name Laodicea, founded or restored during the later Hellenic period, the Laodicea in our text was called Λαόδικεα ἢ πρὸς (or εἰς τῷ Λύκῳ) (Strabo, 578). In the N.T. it was written Λαόδικια, but in inscriptions and literature Λαόδικεα. It was founded on the south bank of the Lycus, 6 m. south of Hierapolis and 10 west of Colossae, by Antiochus II. (261–246 B.C.), and named in honour of his wife Laodice. Laodicea was most favourably situated as regards the imperial road-system. It formed the point on the great eastern highway where three roads converged and met: the first from the S.E. from Attaleia and Perga; the second from the N.W. from Sardis and Philadelphia (about 40 miles distant); and the third from the N.E. from Dorylaeum and northern Phrygia. Its situation thus fitted it to become a great commercial and administrative city. Besides being a seat of the Cibyratic conventus, it was (1) a banking centre (thus Cicero proposes to cash there his treasury bills of exchange—Ad Fam. iii. 5, Ad Att. v. 15), and very opulent; for when it was overthrown by the great earthquakes of 60–61 A.D. (Tac. Ann. xiv. 27) it was not obliged to apply for an imperial subsidy, as was usual in the case of other cities of Asia Minor: cf. iii. 17, πλούσιος εἶμι . . . καὶ οὐδὲν χρείαν ἐξω: it was also (2) a large manufacturer of clothing and carpets of the native black wool, and it was likewise (3) the seat of a flourishing medical school, amongst its teachers having been Zeuxis and Alexander Philalethes. Now it can hardly be an accident that in iii. 17 of our text there are three epithets which refer to these commercial and intellectual activities,—πτωχός καὶ τυφλὸς καὶ γυμνός,—but in the way of total disparagement. And that this is so is still clearer from iii. 18, where, in contrast to their material wealth, their successful woollen factories and their famous medical specifics, the Laodiceans are bidden to buy from Christ the true riches, the white garments and the eye salve for their purblind vision. The Church of Laodicea was probably founded by Epaphras of Colossae, Col. i. 7, iv. 12 sq. The Lycus valley had not been visited by St. Paul down to the time of his first imprisonment in Rome, Col. ii. 1. That he wrote a letter to Laodicea is to be inferred from Col. iv. 16; but this letter is lost, unless it is to be identified with that to the Ephesians (see Ency. Bib. i. 866 sq.). The Latin Epistle to the Laodiceans is entirely apocryphal (see Lightfoot, Colossians, 279–298). Our author appears to have been acquainted with St. Paul’s Epistle to the Colossians. See note on 14. On this letter cf. Ramsay, Letters,
and the articles on Laodicea in Hastings’ *D.B.* and the *Ency. Bib.*—especially in the latter.

14. ἐὰνν. The explanation of this phrase is uncertain, but it may possibly be found in Isa. lxv. 16, ἸΕν θην = “the God of Amen.” But, as modern scholars recognize, the LXX (τὸν θεόν τὸν ἀληθινὸν) implies ἸΕν θην = “the God of truth,” instead of ἸΕν θην, “the God of Amen.” The idea is thus “the True One,” “the One who keepeth covenant.” Hence the words that follow are in part a repetition and in part an expansion of the phrase that follows. Symmachus renders τῷ θεῷ, ἐὰνν, and Aquila (τῷ θεῷ) πεπιστωμένος. In any case our author, as Symmachus, found ἸΕν in Isa. lxv. 16.

ὁ μάρτυς πιστός καὶ ἀληθινός. For the first three words cf. i. 5, and for the meaning our author attaches to ἀληθινός, see note on iii. 7.

ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς κτίσεως τοῦ θεοῦ, *i.e.* “the origin (or ‘primary source’) of the creation of God.” It is remarkable that in St. Paul’s Epistle to the Colossians we have several phrases which can hardly be regarded as other than the prototypes of certain expressions in our author. Now we know (Col. iv. 16) that St. Paul wrote about the same time to the Churches of Colossae and Laodicea, and gave directions that the Epistle to the Colossians was to be read in the Church of Laodicea and the Epistle to the Laodiceans to be read in the Church of Colossae. Now it is possible that like phrases to those in the Epistle to the Colossians occurred in that to the Laodiceans; but even presupposing that this was not the case, we know at all events that St. Paul’s original Epistle to the Colossians was read in the Church of Laodicea and that probably copies of it were current there. Since, therefore, there are, as we shall show, several points in common between our author and the Colossian Epistle, it is highly probable that our author was acquainted with it. See Lightfoot, *Colossians,* 41 sqq.

1. First of all, with ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς κτίσεως τοῦ θεοῦ we should compare Col. i. 18, ὅσι ἐστιν ἀρχὴ (where ἀρχὴ—the active principle in creation = αἰτία, cause—has the same meaning as in our text), and i. 15, πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως (= “sovereign Lord over all creation by virtue of primogeniture”—Lightfoot). It is to be observed that πρωτότοκος bears the same meaning in our author in i. 5, πρωτότοκος τῶν νεκρῶν = “sovereign Lord of the dead” (*i.e.* the secondary meaning of πρωτότοκος). In Col. i. 18, πρωτότοκος ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν is not quite parallel owing to the presence of the ἐκ, which brings out the primary meaning of πρωτότοκος, *i.e.* priority in time.

2. With iii. 21, δῶσω αὐτῷ καθίσαι μετ’ ἐμοῦ ἐν τῷ θρόνῳ μου, ὡς
III. 14–15.] MESSAGE TO THE CHURCH IN LAODICEA

καὶ ἐνίκησα καὶ ἐκάθισα μετὰ τοῦ πατρὸς μου ἐν τῷ θρόνῳ αὐτοῦ, compare Col. iii. 1, εἰ σὺν συνηγέρθητε τῷ Χ., τὰ ἀνω τετείχε, οὐ τὸ Χ. ἔστιν ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ θεοῦ καθιῆμεν. (Cf. Eph. ii. 6, συνήγειρεν καὶ συνεκάθισεν ἐν τοῖς ἑπταρχίοις ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ.) In our text the victors are to be seated on Christ’s throne as He is seated on God’s throne. In Col. iii. 1, Christ is seated at the right hand of God, and the faithful are to sit with Him in heavenly places (Eph. ii. 6).

3. In iii. 17–19 the self-complacency and self-satisfaction of the Laodiceans, arising in part, no doubt, from their great material wealth and prosperity as well as their intellectual advancement, are denounced, and they are exhorted to seek the true riches and the true wisdom which comes from a vision purged by the Great Physician. Cf. Col. i. 27, where the apostle emphasizes in contrast to their proud but baseless knowledge (ii. 8, 18, 23), “the riches of the glory of this mystery which is Christ in you,” and ii. 2, 3, where he declares that he strives for the Colossians and also for the Laodiceans that they may be brought unto “all riches of the full assurance of understanding,” even “all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge hidden” in Christ.

It is not unreasonable to conclude from the above evidence that our author was acquainted directly or indirectly with St. Paul’s Epistle to the Colossians. Possibly he was acquainted with St. Paul’s lost Epistle to the Laodiceans, and was thereby influenced in his diction and thought. There are no resemblances between the diction and thought of the other six Letters and the Pauline Epistles—a matter worthy of consideration.

15. While the Churches of Ephesus, Pergamum, Thyatira, and Sardis were guilty of manifest evils, no such evil is laid to the charge of the Church of Laodicea. But the evil, if not manifest, was still more perilous. The Laodiceans professed Christianity and were self-complacent and self-satisfied. They were unconscious that they were wholly, or all but wholly, out of communion with Christ (iii. 20), at all events they felt no need of repentance. Hence the startling declaration that the absolute rejection of religion (iii. 15) were preferable to the Laodicean profession of it. As a Church and as individuals they dwelt with complacency on what they had achieved (17a), whilst they were serenely unconscious of what they had left undone.

ὄφελον ψυχρὸς ἦς. ὄφελον is used with the past ind. in late Greek to introduce an impracticable wish, and with the fut. ind. (Gal. v. 12) to express a practicable wish. But here as in 2 Cor. xi. 1 we have ὄφελον with the past ind. to express a possibility though in the present still unrealized. Moulton
defines these as instances of the "unreal" indicative. See Blass, *Gram.* 206 sq., 220; Moulton, *Gram.* i. 200.

\[\ddot{\text{g}}\text{\varepsilon\text{\varepsilon\omicron\thetao\omicron}s}.\] Here only in the LXX or the N.T. Enthusiasm is required in the faithful, they were to be "hot to the boiling point," fervent in spirit (τῷ πνεύματι ξένοντες, Rom. xii. 11).

16. \(\chi\lambda\text{\iota}\text{\sigma}\rho\sigma\), i.e. "lukewarm"—here only in Biblical Greek.

\[\mu\varepsilon\ell\omega\ldots\varepsilon\mu\varepsilon\sigma\alpha\.\] Our author as a rule uses the pres. inf. after \(\mu\varepsilon\ell\lambda\varepsilon\nu\varepsilon\): see note on iii. 2. \(\varepsilon\mu\varepsilon\sigma\alpha\.\) This verb is not used elsewhere in the N.T. and only once in the LXX. The rejection of the Laodicean Church is not announced as final here, and the possibility of repentance is admitted in 18–20. The language is very forcible though homely. The Laodiceans are not only denounced, but denounced with the utmost abhorrence. Such a denunciation is without parallel in the other Epistles. An immediate and special judgment is not here held in view, but the final judgment.

17. This verse forms the protasis of the sentence; the apodosis follows in 18. See note on 14–22 above. There it is pointed out that in 17–18 we have references to the material and intellectual wealth of Laodicea. On the other hand it is urged that the language is metaphorical, and states that the Church of Laodicea is rich in spiritual possessions and has need of nothing (cf. 1 Cor. iv. 7–8). This, no doubt, is true, but the allusion to the material conditions of the city cannot be ignored.

\(\tau\lambda\omega\upsilon\sigma\iota\sigma\sigma\dot{\varepsilon}μι\ \kappaαι\ \tau\epsilon\pi\tau\lambda\sigma\overline{o\nu}\tau\gamma\eta\kappaα\.\) "I am rich, and have gotten riches." Our text here is a free and direct rendering of Hos. xii. 9, ἡ Ἰς ἱεράς ὑπερήφανη. The LXX renders Ἰς under the influence of the kindred Arabic root, τεπλούτηκα, εὐρήκα ἀναψυχήν (ἀνωφελὲς, Aquila) ἕμαυτῷ, but our author's rendering is more correct. Laodicea not only declares that she is rich, but maintains that her wealth, material and spiritual, is the result of her own exertions. But, as has already been suggested in ii. 9, the Church that is rich in spiritual and moral achievements is the most conscious of its own spiritual and moral poverty.

In ὀνδὲν \(\chiρ\rhoε\lambda\nuν\ \varepsilon\chi\omega\) the ὀνδὲν is an acc. of limitation or reference. Blass (Gram. 91, note) thinks it cannot be right. But it recurs in xxii. 5 (note). Our author uses \(\chiρ\rhoε\lambda\nuν\ \varepsilon\chi\omega\ν\) either with the gen. (xxi. 23, xxii. 5) or with the acc. (iii. 17, xxii. 5). As Swete points out, there is a parallel expression and construction in Petr. Ev. 5, ὅσ μυ\(\dot{\sigma}\varepsilon\nu\) πόνον \(\varepsilon\chi\omega\ν\). But our author does not always keep to the same construction. Thus \(\gamma\varepsilon\mu\omega\) has a gen. in iv. 6, 8, v. 8, xv. 7, xvii. 4, xxi. 9, but an acc. in xvii. 3, 4.

καὶ ὁ\(\dot{\omega}\kappa\) ὀ\(\dot{\omega}\kappa\)\(\acute{\iota}\). Contrast this with \(\omega\dot{i}\delta\upsilon\ ου\ τά \varepsilon\\rho\gamma\α\) in iii. 15.

\(\nu\ \epsilon\ \delta\ ταλαίπωρο\sigma\ \kappa\tau\lambda\.\) The \(\sigma\upsilon\) is emphatic: it is thou who art self-satisfied and boastful that art the wretched one par excellence. With the emphatic use of the art. before the pre-
dicate cf. Luke xviii. 13; Matt. v. 13, ὑμεῖς ἐστε τὸ ἄλος τῆς γῆς, i.e. the only salt that deserves the name (cf. Blass, Gram. 157). 
παλαίπωρος occurs only here and in Rom. vii. 24, where it is used respectively of the extremes of unconscious and conscious wretchedness. ἐλεεινός, “pitiable,” as in Dan. ix. 23; 1 Cor. xv. 19.

πτωχὸς καὶ τυφλὸς καὶ γυμνός. In these three terms we have most probably allusions to local subjects of self-complacency in Laodicea and its Church; see note on 14—22, p. 93. On the spiritual significance of πτωχὸς see note on ii. 9.

18. Here at the close of the subordinate clauses comes the chief sentence. This sentence is an admonition dealing with the spiritual condition of the Laodiceans as set forth in the closing words of the preceding verse—πτωχὸς καὶ τυφλὸς καὶ γυμνός. Since the Laodiceans are all but spiritually destitute (πτωχὸς), they are exhorted to buy for themselves a new and disciplined spirit (χρυσόν πεπεραμένον ἐκ πυρὸς). This spirit constitutes the true riches, and since it cannot remain fruitless or inoperative, it manifests itself in a righteous character. Now this righteous character as it advances towards perfectionment weaves a garment for the spirit—the spiritual body—the white raiment of the blessed in the heavenly world. The Christian character (or its derivative the spiritual body) may be regarded from two standpoint. From the human standpoint such character is a personal acquisition of the faithful, and, therefore, so far always imperfect: hence it can be soiled by unfaithfulness (iii. 4), or cleansed and made white in the blood of the Lamb (vii. 14). On the other hand, from the divine standpoint the Christian character is a gift of God. Its derivative, the spiritual body, is not bestowed till the faithful have attained their perfectionment. Since the martyrs were regarded as having already reached this stage, they were clothed in heavenly bodies (vi. 11), whereas from the rest of the faithful this gift was withheld till the end of the world, as they were still in a state of imperfection, even though redeemed.

συμβουλευόμενοι συν. This construction here and in John xviii. 14 only in N.T. Occasionally in the LXX.

ἀγοράσαι παρ’ ἐμοῖν χρυσίν. Cf. Isa. lv. 1, “Ho, every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters, and he that hath no money; come ye . . . buy (ἀγοράσατε) wine and milk without money and without price.” For the metaphorical use of this verb cf. v. 9, xiv. 3, 4; Matt. xxv. 9, 10.

The words παρ’ ἐμοῖν are emphatic. Cf. Matt. vi. 19, 20 for the thought. As regards the construction ἀγοράσαι παρά, cf. 2 Esdr. xx. 31. In v. 9 of our author this verb is followed by ἐκ, and in xiv. 3, 4 by ἀπά: but the sense is different. On the
symbolic meaning of χρυσίων here see note at beginning of verse.

πεπυρωμένον ἐκ πυρός. Cf. 1 Pet. i. 7, τὸ δοκίμων ὑμῶν τῆς πίστεως πολυτιμῶτερον χρυσίων ... διὰ πυρὸς δὲ δοκιμαζόμενον. Other parallels may be found in Ps. xviii. 31, Prov. xxx. 5, where the word of the Lord is said to be “tried” (נוהל, in the LXX πεπυρωμένον), or in Pss. Sol. xvii. 47, πεπυρωμένα ὑπὲρ χρυσίων. See also Ps. lxvi. 10. From these parallels it is clear that the meaning of πεπυρωμένον ἐκ πυρός is that this gold has been tested and is to be trusted. Further, since in the present passage this gold is not a material but a spiritual thing, the idea of the text is that Christ gives to the true seeker a spiritual gift, which constitutes the only true riches (Col. i. 27). This spiritual gift, consisting as it does in a new heart or spirit, becomes in fellowship with Christ the fons et origo of the Christian character, and this in turn the source and artificer of the spiritual body. Another function of this new spirit in man is that it endows him with spiritual vision (iii. 18°). Interpreted thus, the ἔματια λευκά and the κολλούριον are not separate and independent gifts, but gifts that are subsidiary to or rather springing out of the chief gift—the χρυσίων πεπυρωμένον ἐκ πυρός—i.e. the new heart.

ἔματια λευκά. See the preceding note; also the note at beginning of verse, and on iii. 5.

μὴ φανερωθῇ ἡ αἰσχύνη τῆς γυμνότητος σου. See xvi. 15, note. For the diction, cf. Ezek. xvi. 36, ἀποκαλυφθήσεται ἡ αἰσχύνη σου (ητρῆ γκάθα): also xxiii. 29; Ex. xx. 26. The soul of the faithless will appear naked in the next world. Cf. 2 Cor. v. 2, 3, τὸ ὁμοτηρίον ὑμῶν τὸ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ἐπενθύσασθαι ἐπιποθοῦντες, εἰ γε καὶ ἐνυπάμενοι οὐ γυμνοὶ εὐθεθησόμεθα. According to xx. 11–13, the dead (the righteous, excluding the martyrs, and the wicked) are raised disembodied: see note on xx. 13. The righteous then receive their spiritual bodies, but the wicked remain disembodied souls and are cast into the lake of fire. This is also the teaching of St. Paul, as 2 Cor. v. 2, 3 proves.

κολλούριον ἐγχρίσαι τοὺς οἴθαλμοὺς κτλ. The κολλούριον was shaped like a κολλύρια (of which it is a diminutive). It was prepared from various ingredients, and was used as an eye salve. In our text it is the famous Phrygian powder used by the medical school at Laodicea. It appears in the Jerusalem Talmud (Shabb. i. 3, vii. 10, viii. 11) (see Levy’s Neuhebräisches Wörterbuch, iv. 293) as נירניפ and נירניפ in the general sense of an eye salve, and in Latin as Collyrum: cf. Hor. Sat. i. 5. 30, “nigra ... collyria”: Juv. vi. 579. Celsus, vi. 7, speaks of many collyria of every kind: “Ex frequentissimis collyriis”: vii. 7. 4. See Wetstein for further references, from which may be quoted the following: Wajikra R. 156: “Verba legis corona sunt capitis,
torques collo, collyrium oculis." ἐγχρίσαι. Here only in the N.T. and only four times in the LXX.

The application of the eye salve in our text results in spiritual vision. Thereby the Laodiceans can get rid of their self-deception, and so gain true self-knowledge, and therewith a knowledge of "the riches of the glory of this mystery, which is Christ in you, the hope of glory" (Col. i. 27), "in whom are all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge hidden" (Col. ii. 3). In the note on πετυρωμένον ἐκ πυρὸς above I have taken the spiritual gift symbolized by κολλούριον as a gift springing out of the chief gift symbolized by χρυσίων πετυρ. ἐκ πυρὸς, and not as a separate and independent gift. On the other hand, the κολλούριον in our text has been taken by some interpreters to mean the word of God (or of prophecy as opposed to the Law), or enlightening power or ἐλεγμός (John xvi. 8 sqq.) of the Holy Spirit (so Düsterdieck and Swete).

19-20. The severity of the rebuke just administered is a sign of Christ's love which summons to repentance and abiding earnestness first the Church as a whole (19) and next the individual members of it, and promises that if they will open their hearts He will enter into the closest communion with them for ever.

19. ἐγὼ δοσοῦς ἐὰν φιλῶ ἐλέγχω καὶ παιδεύω. Cf. Pss. Sol. x. 2, xiv. 1; Heb. xii. 6. The text is remarkable here. It is drawn from Prov. iii. 12, "τινὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄνθρωπων ἐλέγχει, (B; παιδεύει, Ν.Λ). Here first of all we observe that our author uses φιλεῖν and not ἀγαπᾶν as in the LXX. This is further remarkable, since in i. 5, iii. 9, ἀγαπᾶν and not φιλεῖν is used of Christ's love for man. φιλεῖν is not used in the LXX or the N.T. (except in John xvi. 27) of God's love for man, but ἀγαπᾶν. Moreover, men are hidden ἀγαπᾶν τὸν θεόν but never φιλεῖν τὸν θεόν save in Prov. viii. 17. This last passage is instructive; for here the LXX renders ἐλατάν which is twice used by the two words: ἐγὼ τοὺς ἐμὲ φιλοῦντας ἀγαπῶ. The two Greek words differ in that ἀγαπᾶν "expresses a more reasoning attachment, . . . while the second . . . is more of the feelings or natural affections, implies more passion" (Trench, Synonyms of the N.T.). See, however, M. & M.'s Voc. of Gk. T., p. 2. In John xi. 3, 36, xx. 2, φιλεῖν is used of Christ's love for Lazarus and John, but elsewhere in the Gospel ἀγαπᾶν is universally employed in this connection. Hence there is no perfect parallel in the N.T. to the use of φιλεῖν here. The exceptional use of the emotional word (contrast iii. 9) here can only be deliberate. It is a touching and unexpected manifestation of love to those who deserve it least among the Seven Churches.

Next, ἐλέγχω and παιδεύω call for attention. Here Swete
observes that these two words may be duplicate renderings of ἐλεχθεῖν, or that παίδευσιν may have been suggested by the preceding verse in Prov. iii. 11, μὴ διηγώμει παίδειας κυρίων. The latter view is to be preferred, since παίδευσιν never appears in the LXX as a rendering of ἐλεχθεῖν except in Prov. iii. 12 (in ΝΑ, etc.), but is a normal rendering of ἐλεχθεῖν, whereas the stock translation of ἐλεχθεῖν is εὐθέως.

Reproof and chastisement are evidence not of Christ’s rejection of the Laodiceans, but of His love (φιλῶ) for them. Love is never cruel, but it can be severe. There has hitherto been no hint of any persecution of the Laodicean Church. Even here the mention of it carries with it not even the faintest allusion to the great persecution which was expected by the See in 95 A.D. and to which there is a definite reference in 21.

ζηλεύει οὖν καὶ μετανόησον. Here zeal is enjoined as a permanent element in the Christian character—hence ζηλεύει and not ζηλευσον, while repentance is required as a definite change once and for all from their present condition—hence μετανόησον. They are to begin by one decisive act, the life of Christian enthusiasm as opposed to their former life of lukewarmness and indifference.

20. The deep note of affection in the preceding verse pervades this also. As a friend He admonishes the Laodicean Church to repent in 19; as a friend in this verse He does more: He comes to each individual and seeks an entrance into his heart. Here the words (ἐὰν τις ἄκουσῃ τῆς φωνῆς μου) have a personal and individual character not applicable to the Church of Laodicea as a whole. If 20 were addressed to the Church we should expect ἐὰν σὺ ἄκουσῃς τ. φ. μου. Cf. ζηλεύει καὶ μετανόησον in 19. Hence with De Wette, Alford, Weiss, and others this verse is to be interpreted as referring to repentance in the present.

But many scholars—Düsterdieck, Bousset, Swete, Holtzmann and Moffatt—interpret this verse in conjunction with 21 eschatologically, and adduce as parallels such unmistakable eschatological passages as Mark xiii. 29 (=Matt. xxiv. 33), γινώσκετε δὲτὶ ἐγγὺς ἐστὶν ἐπὶ θύραις: Luke xii. 36, ὃπειρα ὅμοιον ἀνθρώπινος προσδεχόμενος τὸν κύριον... ἵνα ἐλθόντος καὶ κρούσατος εὐθέως ἀνοίξωσιν αὐτῷ: Jas. v. 9, ἵδον τὸ κρῖνα τῶν θυρῶν ἐστήκειν. It is shown further that in Luke xxii. 29 sq., καὶ γὰρ διατίθεμαι ὑμῖν, καθὼς διεθέτο μοι ὁ πατὴρ μου βασιλεῖαν, ἵνα ἔστητε καὶ πέντε ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης μου ἐν τῇ βασίλειᾳ μου, καὶ καθήσῃ ἐπὶ θρόνον τὰς δώδεκα φυλάς κρίνοντες τὸν Ἰσραήλ, we have a combination of the metaphors of eating and drinking with those of thrones and judging, just as we have a combination of the metaphors of eating and sitting on thrones in 20–21 in our
III. 20–21. MESSAGE TO THE CHURCH IN LAODICEA 101

text. But though the parallels in diction are indisputable, the thought differs. For whereas in Mark xiii. 29 (= Matt. xxiv. 33) and Jas. v. 9 we have the final advent of Christ as Judge, in 20 of our text He comes as a Preacher of repentance—an office incompatible with that of Judge. Also in Luke xii. 36 the reference to the last coming and the giving of an account is manifest: He comes there to reward the faithful, not to call the careless and indifferent to repentance. Hence the eschatological interpretation is to be rejected. As usual our Seer takes his own line with tradition, even when the tradition is concerned with our Lord's own words; for iii. 20–21 shows, as Bousset recognizes, that he was familiar with Luke xxii. 29 sq.

The diction recalls Cant. v. 2, where the LXX reads φωνὴ ἀδελφίδου μου, κρούει ἐπὶ τὴν θύραν ἀνοιξόν μου ἀδελφὴ μου. Since in 4 Ezra v. 23–26 there is contemporary evidence of the allegorical use of Canticles (see Box's ed., p. 52 sq., notes), it is more than probable that our author has here come under its influence. See also Bacher's Agada der Tannaiten², i. 94, 186, 229 sq., 310 sqq., 338, ii. (1st ed.) 47 sq. etc.

εἶν τις ἀκοῦσῃ τῆς φωνῆς μου ... καὶ εἰσελέυσομαι. I have with some hesitation followed ΝΟ, a considerable body of cursives, s¹ and Prim. in retaining the καὶ before the apodosis.


Participation in the common meal was for the Oriental a proof of confidence and affection. The intimate fellowship of the faithful with God and the Messiah in the Coming Age was frequently symbolized by such a metaphor. Cf. 1 Enoch lxxii. 14, "And the Lord of Spirits will abide over them, And with that Son of Man shall they eat, And lie down and rise up for ever and ever." Cf. Shabbath, 153a. That this language is metaphorical always in the N.T. and generally in Jewish writings is shown by such statements as 1 Cor. vi. 13a and Ber 17a, "In the world to come there is neither eating nor drinking ... but the righteous ... find their delight ((flags) in the glory of the Shechina."

21. This verse is wholly eschatological. Christ promises to the martyrs—to those who shall be victors by being faithful unto death—that they shall sit on His throne even as He had been victorious through being faithful unto death and had sat down on His Father's throne. The fulfilment of this promise is seen
by the Seer in his vision in xx. 4, where the martyrs sit on thrones and reign with Christ for 1000 years.

Like ii. 7, 11, 17, 26—27, iii. 5, 12, this verse is a later addition of our author when he edited his visions as a whole.

δ νικῶν . . . αὐτῶ. See note on this Hebraism on ii. 7; also on διδόναι followed by the inf.

δώσω . . . καθίσαι μετ' ἐμοῦ ἐν τ. θρόνῳ μου. The Seer witnesses in a vision the fulfilment of this promise in xx. 4, εἶδον θρόνους καὶ ἐκάθισαν ἐπ' αὐτούς καὶ κρίμα ἐδόθη αὐτοῖς . . . καὶ ἔζησαν καὶ ἐβασιλεύσαν μετὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ χίλια ἐτη. The promise relates to the Millennial Kingdom. To the same period should probably be referred Luke xxii. 30, κἀγὼ διατίθεμαι ὑμῖν καθὼς δἰέθετό μοι ὁ πατὴρ μου βασιλεῖαν ἔνα . . . καθίσθη ἐπὶ θρόνων τ. δώδεκα φυλάς κρίνοντες τοῦ Ἰσραήλ (cf. Matt. xix. 28), and likewise 2 Tim. ii. 11—12, εἰ γὰρ συναπεθάνομεν, καὶ συνεζήσομεν. εἰ ύπομένομεν, καὶ συμβασιλεύσομεν, where the thought is certainly akin to that in our text. Cf. Mark x. 40. Yet the reign of the saints is not limited to the Millennial Kingdom: it will enter at last into the fulness of its potentialities in the everlasting kingdom of God, when “they shall reign for ever and ever,” xxii. 5.

ὡς κἀγὼ ἐνίκησα. Cf. John xvi. 33, θαρσείτε, ἐγὼ νείκηκα τὸν κόσμον.

καὶ ἐκάθισα μετὰ τοῦ πατρὸς μου ἐν τ. θρόνῳ αὐτῶ. Cf. xxi. 2, xxii. 3, notes, and Col. iii. 1, οὗ ὁ Χριστὸς ἐστίν ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ θεοῦ. Our author appears to use καθίζειν in the finite tenses (cf. xx. 4) and the infinitive, but never the participle καθίζων, in place of which he uses καθήμενος. Finite tenses of καθησαν are found in sources used by our author (xvii. 9, 15, xviii. 7).

CHAPTER IV.

§ 1. The Contents and Authorship of this Chapter.

With chap. iv. there is an entire change of scene and subject. The dramatic contrast could not be greater. Hitherto the scene of the Seer's visions had been earth: now it is heaven. On the one hand, in ii.—iii. we have had a vivid description of the Christian Churches of Asia Minor,—which is to be taken as typical of the Church at large,—the ideals they cherished, their faulty achievements and not infrequent disloyalties, and their outlook darkened in every instance with the apprehension of universal persecution and martyrdom. But the moment we leave the restlessness, the troubles, the imperfectness, and apprehensions pervading ii.—iii., we pass at once in iv. into an
atmosphere of perfect assurance and peace. Not even the faintest echo is heard here of the alarms and fears of the faithful, nor do the unmeasured claims and wrongdoings of the supreme and imperial power on earth wake even a moment’s misgiving in the trust and adoration of the heavenly hosts. An infinite harmony of righteousness and power prevails, while the greatest angelic orders proclaim before the throne the holiness of Him who sits thereon, who is Almighty and from everlasting to everlasting, and to whose sovereign will the world and all that is therein owes and has owed its being.

Such is the general import of this chapter. As regards its source, there can be no doubt. It comes wholly from the hand of our author (see § 2), but it was most probably not written all at the same time. Our author appears here to have incorporated one of his earlier visions, consisting of four stanzas of four lines each, 2b–3, 5a, 6–8. In this vision the Seer beheld (as in Isa. vi.) a throne in heaven and Him that sat thereon, and the four Cherubim that stood round about the throne, who sang unceasingly:

"Holy, holy, holy is the Lord Almighty,  
Which was and which is and which is to come."

In the notes on iv. 4 a variety of reasons are given for regarding this verse as not originally belonging to this vision; but, as inserted by our author when he edited his work as a whole, to serve as an introduction iv. 9–11 (see also § 3). iv. 1, 2a (in prose) was at the same time prefixed to link up the preceding visions on earth with the visions that follow in heaven in iv.–ix.

§ 2. This entire Chapter is indisputably from our Author’s hand, as the diction and idioms testify.

(a) Diction.

1. μετὰ ταύτα εἶδον καὶ ἴδοὺ. See note in loc. ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ. So always in the sing. in our author except in xii. 12. δεῖξο: cf. i. 1, xvii. 1, xxii. 9, 10, xxii. 1, 6, 8. ἄ δεῖ γενέσθαι. Cf. i. 1, xxii. 6.

2. ἐγενόμην ἐν πνεύματι. Cf. i. 10.

4. περιβεβλημένους ἵματίς λευκοῖς. Cf. iii. 5. In vii. 9, 13, x. 1, xix. 8, 13, the noun follows in the acc. instead of in the dat.

5. ἀστραπᾷ καὶ φωνᾷ καὶ βροντᾷ. Cf. xi. 19, xvi. 18, but in viii. 5 in a different order.


8. ἀνάπαυσιν οὐκ ἔχουσιν κτλ. recurs in xiv. 11. κύριος ὁ θεός.
This divine title occurs 10 times elsewhere in our author (cf. i. 8, iv. ii, xi. 17, xv. 3, xvi. 7, etc.), and only twice in the rest of the N.T. (*i.e.* in St. Luke) except in passages quoted from the O.T. κύριος ὁ θεός, ὁ παντοκράτωρ. Cf. i. 8, xi. 17, xv. 3, xvi. 7, xix. 6, xxi. 22. ὁ παντοκράτωρ ὁ ἡν καὶ ὁ ὄν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος. Cf. i. 8, xi. 17, xvi. 5.

9. δύσοουσιν . . . δόξαν. Cf. xiv. 7, xvi. 9, xix 7 (xi. 13).

Cf. 4th Gospel ix. 24, xvii. 22. τῷ Ἰωντὶ εἶν τ. αἰώνας τ. αἰῶνων: cf. i. 10, i. 18, x. 6, xv. 7 (cf. vii. 2).

11. λαβεῖν . . . τὴν δύναμιν. Cf. v. 12, xi. 17.

(b) Idiom.

1. ἡ φωνὴ . . . σάλπιγγος λαλουσὶς . . . λέγων. See note *in loc.* on this Hebraism, and cf. xvii. 1, xxi. 9.

2. ἐπὶ τ. θρόνον καθῆμενος. On the three definite yet peculiar forms of this phrase in our author see note on iv. 2; it recurs in 4, 9, 10 in exact harmony with our author's peculiar use.

7. ἐχὼν = εἴχε: cf. 8, xii. 2, xix. 12, xxi. 12, i. 4.

8. τὰ τέσσαρα ζῷα . . . λέγουτες. A frequent construction in our author.

9. ὅταν *cum fut. ind.*: cf. viii. 1, where ὅταν is followed by aor. ind., though elsewhere in our author by the subj. For ὅταν with the fut. ind. see Robertson, Gram. 972.

10. προσκυνήσουσιν τῷ Ἰωντὶ. On the technical sense attached by our author to this construction see note on vii. 11.

§ 3. *One part of this Chapter appears to have been written at an earlier date and incorporated subsequently when our author edited the complete work.*

2b–3, 5, 6–8acde appear to have been written by our author as an independent vision. The grounds for this conclusion are given in the notes *in loc.*, some of which may be stated here. First of all, iv. 1, 2a is a prose introduction to the chapter, which serves to connect the preceding visions on earth with those that follow in heaven, iv. 2b–ix. The rest of 2b–8 is in verse. But iv. 4, according to our author's usage elsewhere, cannot have stood here originally. The grammar is against it: we should have nominatives and not accusatives (θρόνοι not θρόνους, etc.). Again the functions of the Cherubim are conceived somewhat differently in iv. 8 and in iv. 9 (see note). Next, since the description proceeds from the throne outwards, the Living Creatures ought to have been mentioned before the Elders, since they stand nearest to the throne. For the observance of this order elsewhere in our author see note on iv. 4. When the description begins from without, we naturally find the
reverse order—angels, Elders, Living Creatures, as in vii. 11, xix. 1-4.

How then are we to explain iv. 4? Two explanations are possible. 1. Our author has here used one of his earlier visions, but in order to adapt it to his present purposes has prefixed to it an introduction, iv. 1, 2, and next, in order to prepare the way for iv. 9-11, has inserted iv. 4—possibly in the margin of his MS. By an oversight the nouns “thrones . . . elders” were put in the acc., owing not improbably to εἰδον in iv. 1. Since, according to the present writer’s theory, our author had not the opportunity of revising his work, this grammatical error was not removed. In such a revision the next great objection to iv. 4 could have been removed by transposing it after iv. 8. Thus we should have had a description of the throne and of Him that sat thereon (2-3), next of the Living Creatures (6-8), and finally of the Elders (4). In that case 8 would have read καὶ τὰ ζῷα ἀνάτασιν ὦ ἐξονσιν κτλ. 2. Our author wrote the entire chapter at the same time, but forgot to mention and describe the Elders, which omission he forthwith repaired by an insertion on the margin of his MS, since some account of these was rendered indispensable by iv. 9-11. The former explanation seems preferable. I add here what I take to be the original form of the vision in 1-8. The poem consists of four stanzas of four lines each, the first beginning with the words καὶ ἐδοῦν:

IV. 1. Μετὰ ταῦτα εἶδον
   2. καὶ ἐδοῦ θρόνος ἐκεῖτο ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ,
      καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν θρόνον καθήμενος,
   3. καὶ ὁ καθήμενος ὁμοίως ὁράσει λίθῳ ἰάσπιδι καὶ σαρδίῳ,
      καὶ ἤρες κυκλόθεν τοῦ θρόνου ὁμοίως ὁράσει σμαραγδίῳ.

II.

5. καὶ ἐκ τοῦ θρόνου ἐκπορεύονται ἀστραπαί καὶ φωναὶ καὶ βρονταί,
   καὶ ἐπὶ ταῦτα λαμπάδες πυρὸς καὶ ὡμοίως ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου,
6. καὶ ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου ὡς θάλασσα ὑαλίνῃ ὁμοία κρυστάλλῳ,
   καὶ κύκλῳ τοῦ θρόνου τέσσαρα ζῷα γέμοντα ὀφθαλμῶν ἐμπροσθεν καὶ ὀπισθεν.1

III.

7. καὶ τὸ ζῷον τὸ πρῶτον ὁμοίων λέοντι,
   καὶ τὸ δεύτερον ζῷον ὁμοίων μύσχῳ,

1 If 5 is a later addition, as it may be, then 6 would form lines 3 and 4 of the stanza.
καὶ τὸ τρίτον ἵππον ἔχων τὸ πρόσωπον ὡς ἀνθρώπου καὶ τὸ τέταρτον ἵππον ὡμοιον ἀετῷ πετομένῳ.

IV.

8. καὶ τὰ τέσσαρα ζώα ἐν καθ’ ἐν αὐτῶν ἔχων ἀνὰ πτέρυγας ἐξ;
καὶ ἀνάπαυσιν οὐκ ἔχουσιν ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς λέγοντες,
ἀγιος ἀγιος ἀγιος κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ,
ὁ ἤν καὶ ὁ ὄν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος.

1. μετὰ ταῦτα εἶδον καὶ ᾿ίδοῡ. The clause with or without the καὶ ᾿ίδοῡ always introduces a new and important vision in our Apocalypse.1 Compare vii. 1 (μετὰ τοῦτο), 9, xv. 5, xviii. 1, xix. 1 (μετὰ ταῦτα ἤκουσα). Sometimes the same note of emphasis and unexpectedness is conveyed by the clause καὶ εἶδον καὶ ᾿ίδον: cf. vi. 2, 5, 8, xiv. 1, 14, or by καὶ εἶδον καὶ ᾿ηκουσα, viii. 13. Generally similar and closely related sections, paragraphs, and clauses are introduced by καὶ εἶδον, as in v. 1, 2, 6, 11, vi. 1, 2, 12, etc., and in fact in all the subsequent chapters except xi. and xxii. These formulae are characteristic of apocalyptic literature, and imply an ecstatic condition. They are not, however, so carefully distinguished in other authors as in our Apocalypse.

Thus μετὰ ταῦτα εἶδον, or its linguistic equivalent, is found in 1 Enoch lxxxv. 1, lxxxix. 19, 30, 54, 72, xc. 2; T. Joseph xix. 5; 2 Bar. xxxvii. i, llii. 8, 11.

καὶ εἶδον, or its equivalent in Hebrew, Aramaic, or Ethiopic is found in Dan. vii. 4, 9, 11, 21, vii. 2, 4, 7; 1 Enoch xvii. 3, 6, 7, 8, xviii. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 9, 10, 12, 13, xix. 3, xxi. 2, lxxxv. 7, lxxxix. 47, 70, xc. 1, 4, 5, 9, etc.; T. Levi viii. 1; T. Joseph xix. 1, 3, 7, 8. We find frequently with the same connotation the clause, “And again I saw,” in 1 Enoch lxxxvi. 1, 3, lxxxvii. 1, lxxxix. 3, 7, 51.

But the fuller form in our text frequently appears in this literature, μετὰ ταῦτα εἶδον καὶ ᾿ίδοῡ. See vii. 9, or its linguistic equivalent, Dan. vii. 6, 7 (ὡς θυρίνη πως θυρίνη πως θυρίνη); 1 Enoch lxxxvi. 2; T. Joseph xix. 5; 4 Ezra xi. 22, 33, xiii. 5 (“vidi post haec et ecce”), 8, and the somewhat shorter form ἤκουσα (or the like) in Ezek. i. 4, ii. 9, viii. 2, 7, 10, x. 1, 9, xlv. 4; Zech. i. 8, vi. 1; Dan. iv. 10, vii. 2, 13, viii. 3, x. 5; 1 Enoch xiv. 14–15; 2 Bar. xxxvi. 1–2, 7, llii. 1; 4 Ezra xi. 1, 3, 5, 7, 10, 12, xx. 9, etc.

In all the above passages in Ezekiel, Zechariah, Daniel,

1 The occurrence of this clause in xv. 5 shows that a new vision is being introduced: hence xv. 1, which deals with the same vision, is an interpolation.
IV. 1.]  

SEER’S VISION OF GOD  

1 Enoch, Testaments XII Patriarchs, 2 Baruch, 4 Ezra, the ecstatic condition is designed by the expressions just enumerated. It is important to note this fact, owing to the presence of the clause ἐγενόμην ἐν πνεύματι in the next verse. If the Seer is already in a spiritual trance, what is to be made of the words ἐγενόμην ἐν πνεύματι in 2?

καὶ ἰδοὺ θύρα ἡνεῳμένη ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ. As we shall see later, καὶ ἰδοὺ θύρα ... ἐν πνεύματι is an addition of our author whereby he connects the preceding visions on earth, i. 10–iii., with those that follow in iv.–v., which are in heaven. The phraseology is apocalyptic. Cf. 1 Enoch xiv. 15, καὶ ἰδοὺ ἄλλην θύραν ἀνεῳμένην. It is possible to explain this expression in two ways. 1. The Seer may be conceived as being already in heaven. In that case the door here mentioned would lead to a holier part of the heaven than that in which the Seer had hitherto been. This is the view underlying 1 Enoch xiv. There Enoch is translated into heaven, xiv. 8. When Enoch had once entered, he saw a great wall built of crystal, and tongues of fire which encircled a great house (xiv. 9). Into this house he entered, quaking and trembling, and then beheld ἄλλην θύραν ἀνεῳμένην over against him leading to a still greater house in which God manifested His presence. The idea here would be practically the same as that of different divisions of the Temple differing in degrees of holiness. 2. The Seer may be conceived as not yet in heaven, but as entering by this door. 1 This is the view underlying T. Levi v. 1, ἡνεῳγε μοι ὁ ἄγγελος τὰς πύλας τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. These gates admit Levi from the second to the third heaven. Since, however, there is no reason to believe that our Apocalypse teaches of more than one heaven (see later), the door referred to in the text admits the Seer from earth to heaven. Cf. 3 Macc. vi. 18, τότε ὁ μεγαλόδοξος θεὸς ... ἡνεῳγεν τὰς οὐρανίους πύλας, εἰ δὲν δεδοξασμένοι δύο φοβεροειδεῖς ἄγγελοί κατέβησαν. This seems to be the right explanation. That the door, moreover, is not on a level with the Seer, as in 1 Enoch xiv., is clear from the words that follow ἀνάβασα ὄν.

With the expression “a door opened in heaven” for the admission of the single Seer, we might contrast the words in xix. 11, “I saw the heaven opened,” where the whole heaven is opened, as it were, that the armies of heaven might go forth in the train of the Son of God. Yet in T. Levi ii. 6 the heavens open to admit Levi.

1 Compare in this sense Gen. xxviii. 17; Ps. lxxviii. 23; 3 Bar. ii. 2, iii. 2; Dieterich, Mithrasliturgie, 11 sqq.

On the ideas of doors in heaven through which the sun, moon, planets, and winds pass, see 1 Enoch xxxiii.–xxxvi., lxiii. sqq. See also Schrader, K. A. T. 619, for the occurrence of such ideas in Babylonian writings.
Throughout the entire Apocalypse οὐρανῶς occurs in the singular except in xii. 12, which is derived from an independent Semitic source (see xii., Introd. § 7). This fact in itself would not suffice to prove that our Seer believed in only one heaven; for in the Test. XII Patriarchs, where the doctrine of a plurality of the heavens is distinctly enforced, we find sometimes οὐρανῶς, T. Reub. i. 6, v. 7, vi. 9; T. Levi xiv. 3 (β), xviii. 3, 4; T. Jud. xxi. 4 (β), etc.; sometimes οὐρανοῖ, T. Levi ii. 6, iii. 1 (α), 9 (β), v. 4 (β), xiii. 5; T. Jud. xxi. 3, etc.

Notwithstanding, the entire outlook of our book favours the conception of a single heaven.

On the impossibility of getting a consistent view of the scenes portrayed in heaven by our book see note on θρόνος . . . ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ in 2.

But the passage, καὶ ἰδοὺ θύρα . . . ἡ φωνὴ . . . ἐν πνεύματι, is, as we shall see presently, an addition inserted by the writer with a view to linking together this vision with that which precedes: καὶ ἡ φωνὴ ἡ πρώτη ἦν ἡ κοινα ὡς σάλπιγγος λαλοῦσης μετ᾿ ἐμοῦ, λέγων. Render, "and the former voice." ἡ φωνὴ depends on ἰδοῦ. This voice appears to be that referred to in i. 10, ἡ κοινα φωνὴν μεγάλην . . . ὡς σάλπιγγος λεγούσης. Christ, therefore, seems to be the speaker. But, as it has been observed by Vischer, 77, and Bousset, 243, it is strange that the Being who later in the vision is recognized as the Lamb (v. 6), and the object of the vision, should here appear as the speaker and guide, the angelus interpres, as it were. If we have in iv. 1–8 and in v. two visions which the Seer had experienced on different occasions and under different circumstances, and in which no mention was made of the agent through whom these visions were given, then we shall have no difficulty in recognizing the phrase ἡ φωνὴ . . . λέγων as an addition on the Seer's part, when editing his work as a whole, since this addition represents Christ as the revealing subject of iv.–v. as He is of i.–iii. In this first edition of his visions the above inconsistency escaped him. If, however, we could, with some scholars, take the voice in i. 10 to be that of an unknown angel, there would be no such inconsistency.

ἡ φωνὴ . . . ὡς σάλπιγγος λαλοῦσης μετ᾿ ἐμοὶ λέγων. Here ἡ φωνὴ is dependent on ἰδοῦ no less than ἡ θύρα. There are two explanations possible of λέγων. Either λέγων is to be construed κατὰ σύνεσιν with φωνὴ and hence to be taken as λέγουσα, —for similar constructions cf. xi. 15, xix. 14. Cf. Gen. (LXX) xv. 1,—or the phrase λαλοῦσης μετ᾿ ἐμοὶ λέγων is to be taken as a Hebraism (יְעַבְּרוּ הָוהֵ אלֵךְ), as in xvii. 1, xxi. 9. Cf. x. 8.


In the preceding visions, i. 10 sqq., the Seer was on earth. In this verse he is spiritually translated to heaven, and remains in heaven till the close of ix. This translation is implied in the words, "Come up hither, and I will show thee the things which must come to pass hereafter." His continued presence in heaven is attested by v. 4, 5, vi. 9, vii. 13, 14, viii. 1. From heaven he can behold what takes place on earth: cf. vi. 12, 15 sqq., vii. 1, 2. Thence onwards there is a frequent shifting of the scene of the Seer's visions. In x. he has again returned to earth: cf. x. 4, 8, and remains on earth till the close of xi. 13; but in xi. 15-19 the scene of his vision is again in heavenly. In xii. the scene seems to be again on earth; for xii. 14-16 imply it, and the birth of the Messiah is on earth, xii. 5; for He is thence rapt to heaven. Yet there are difficulties as regards the various sections of xii. In xiii.-xiv. 13 the scene of his visions is still on the earth, but xiv. 14, 18-20 imply his presence in heaven, as well as xv. 2, 5 sqq., xvi. 1. Hence xv. 1 (see note in loc.) is an interpolation. In xvii.-xviii. the scene is again changed, and the Seer is on earth again: cf. xvii. 3, xviii. 1, 4, 21. In xix. 1-10 the Seer is again in heaven. From xix. 11 to the close of the description of the heavenly Jerusalem he is again on earth. At the advent of the final judgment the former heaven and earth flee away.

Some of these changes of scene may be explained by the use of sources on the part of the writer: others by his incorporation into his text of earlier visions of his own, some of which presuppose heaven, others earth, as the scene of their reception.

δειξω. This verb has already occurred in the same connection on i. 1, where the Hierophant is Christ.

Here also, in this editorial addition to the original vision, Christ is similarly represented, though a certain inconsistency is thereby introduced. See note above (p. 108). The word δειξω recurs in xvii. 1, xxi. 9, 10, xxii. 1, 6, 8, where the guide is an angel of the vision of the Bowls.

δειξω σοι ἃ δεῖ γενέσθαι μετὰ ταῦτα. As in i.-iii. the present (ἀ εἰσίν, i. 19) has been dealt with, in the chapters that follow the future destinies of the Church and the world are to be manifested to the Seer. This was promised in i. 1, 19. The phrase ἃ δεῖ γενέσθαι (already in i. 1) is found in the LXX and Theodotion of Dan. ii. 28, 29, while in ii. 29, 45 the entire clause, ἃ δεῖ γενέσθαι μετὰ ταῦτα, occurs in Theodotion's rendering of נון יד רחא איהו רחא ירוהי.

2. εὐθεῖος ἐγενόμην ἐν πνεύματι. These words create a great difficulty in the text. According to i. 10, where the expression
has already occurred, the Seer is in a state of spiritual trance. That the Seer is still in the ecstatic state is shown by the intro-
ductive words of iv. 1 (see note). Many scholars (De Wette, Ebrard, Diesterdieck, Hilgenfeld, B. Weiss, Swete) assert that a higher degree of spiritual exaltation is here necessary. It has
been urged by De Wette and others that the same difficulty lies in Ezek. xi. 1, 5. But the parallel does not hold. For, whereas in Ezek. xi. 1 one office of the Spirit is mentioned when Ezekiel is carried off to witness certain evils in Jerusalem (“the Spirit lifted me up”), another is mentioned in xi. 5, where the Spirit of the Lord is said “to fall on Ezekiel” in order to enable him to prophesy against these evils. Now there is no such distinction of phrase in i. 10 and iv. 2 in our text. The expression is identical in both. Moreover, the power conferred by the state therein described embraces at once the power of spiritual vision and of utterance or expression. Cf. i. 11. J. Weiss (p. 54 n.) has therefore rightly urged that there is an inconsistency between iv. 1 and iv. 2, but he goes needlessly far in maintaining that whoever introduced the expression in iv. 2 no longer felt that είδον in iv. 1 described the visionary state. The Seer is already in the ecstatic state. It was not till he was in this state that Christ addressed him in i. 10. That he is still in this state in iv. 1 is proved both by the diction (είδον) and the fact that he hears the heavenly voice which addresses him anew. In i. 10 the Seer is not addressed by Christ till he has fallen into a trance, that is, the words ἔγενομαι ἐν πνεύματι precede the address of Christ to the Seer, whereas in iv. 2 they follow the address of the heavenly voice. The text, therefore, is peculiar. But the difficulty can, I think, be adequately explained by the hypothesis that the Seer is here combining visions received on different occasions. The poetical structure of iv. 1–8 is broken up by the insertion of certain prose additions in iv. 1, 2, 4, 5, as we shall see later (see Introd. to Chapter iv. § 3), and this fact points to iv. 1–8 as recording an independent vision of the Seer, which he connects with an earlier vision i.–iii., by four clauses, iv. 1b,d, 2a, three of which, 1c,d, iv. 2a, have already occurred in i.–iii. Some such insertion was necessary; for whereas i.–iii. imply that the Seer was on earth, iv.–ix. imply that he is in heaven. Hence the two clauses, iv. 1b, καὶ ἵδον θύρα ἡνεφυγεν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, and iv. 1d, ἀνάβαι δῶε, are indispensable, the former clause that the voice may issue from heaven (cf. Matt. iii. 17; Acts x. 11) and the Seer be spiritually translated into heaven through this open door, and the latter as giving him the command to ascend to heaven. We therefore regard the words καὶ ἵδον . . . ἐν πνεύματι as added here by the Seer in order to connect i.–iii. and iv.–ix. It must be confessed that the
expression ἐγενόμην ἐν πνεύματι is not what we expect here, since it expresses nothing more than what is already definitely implied in μετὰ τὰῦτα εἶδον, i.e. that the Seer was in the ecstatic state: cf. i. 10. Since, as in xvii. 3, xxi. 10, there is here an actual translation of the spirit of the Seer, we should here expect ἀπενεχθην ἐν πνεύματι, or ἀπέγνυκέ με ἐν πνεύματι (or ἀνέλαβέν με κτλ., or ἐξῆρεν με κτλ.). Cf. xvii. 3, ἀπεγνυκέ με ... ἐν πνεύματι and xxi. 10, and Ezek. iii. 12 (יווה הר), 14 (יווה נשמת ו الثلاثים), viii. 3, xi. 1, 24, xliii. 5. In 1 Kings xviii. 12, 2 Kings ii. 16, the same Hebrew verb is used of an actual bodily translation, and ὠρπάζειν in Acts viii. 39. For other instances 1 of bodily translation see Hebrew Gospel (Orig. In Joan, tom. ii. 6; Hermas, Vis. i. 1. 3, ii. 1. 1; Sim. ix. 1. 4). For the same idea of a translation of the spirit see 1 Enoch xiv. 8, 9, lxii. 1, 5–6. Whether a bodily or only a spiritual translation took place in his case St. Paul knew not: 2 Cor. xii. 2–4.

καὶ ἴδου θρόνος ἐκεῖτο κτλ. Here the original vision of the Seer really begins.

θρόνος. The throne of God in heaven is frequently referred to in the O.T. and later Jewish literature: cf. 1 Kings xxii. 19; Isa. vi. 1; Ezek. i. 26; Ps. xlvii. 8; Dan. vii. 9; 1 Enoch xiv. 18, 19, (xl.); T. Levi v. 1; Ass. Moses iv. 2; 2 Enoch xxii. 2 (A). See also Weber, Νιδ. Θεολ. 164 sq. A throne of God on earth is described or mentioned in 1 Enoch xviii. 8, xxiv. 3, xxv. 3, xc. 20.

In every chapter in our Apocalypse the throne of God is referred to except in ii., ix.–x., where there is no occasion for its mention, and in xv. 5–8, where the vision is that of the Temple in heaven. The phrase ἀπὸ τοῦ θρόνου, which is added asyndetically in xvi. 17 after ἀπὸ τοῦ ναοῦ, has been interpreted as an attempt to harmonize the vision of the throne of God and that of the Temple. But the two ideas are already combined in the T. Levi v. 1, xviii. 6, and possibly also in the O.T. 2

References to the Temple occur, of course, elsewhere in the Apocalypse. In iii. 12 there is a reference to the Temple, but in a spiritual sense. The ideas of the throne and the Temple are combined in vii. 15, where the worship of the martyrs 3 before


2 Some scholars would discover this combination already in Ps. xi. 4, "Yahweh is in His holy palace (or temple, בֵּית); Yahweh, His throne is in heaven." But the holy palace is here according to the parallel simply heaven itself. Others trace its existence already in Isa. vi. 1 sqq., but elsewhere the earthly temple is the scene and subject of prophetic visions: cf. Amos ix. 1; Ezek. viii. 3, x. 4 sqq.; Acts xxii. 17. The heavenly palace or temple is God's abode and referred to in Ps. xviii. 6; Mic. i. 2; Hab. ii. 20.

3 vii. 9–17 was in its original form a description of the worship of the blessed faithful after the final judgment. See pp. 200–1.
the final judgment is mentioned. After the final judgment there is to be no Temple in heaven, xxi. 22. The heavenly Temple is again referred to in xi. 19. Together with the heavenly Temple there is mentioned the altar, τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου, vi. 9 (see note), under which are the souls of the martyrs. This has been taken to be the heavenly altar of burnt-offering by all commentators, who have, as a rule, also found references to the altar of burnt-offering and the altar of incense in viii. 3. But in the note on that verse I have sought to prove that both according to Jewish and early Christian ideas there was only one altar in heaven combining the characteristics of the earthly altar of incense and partly those of the altar of burnt-offering. Furthermore, this altar is within the heavenly Temple, vii. 15; and as the altar is before the throne, viii. 3, it follows that the throne surrounded by the four Living Creatures is also within the Temple. The heavenly throne, therefore, was probably conceived as being in the Holy of Holies, where also was the ark of the covenant, xi. 19. Independently of this natural conclusion, the throne when conceived as the special scene of God's manifestation would naturally be held to be within the Holy of Holies.

But when, with the above representation of the Temple with its Holy place and its Holy of Holies, the throne, and the altar, we try to combine the conception of the 24 Elders, we are at once landed in difficulties. Are these Elders with their 24 thrones also within the Holy of Holies? This element, which is probably an addition of our author to the current apocalyptic conceptions of the heavenly Temple, cannot be really harmonized with them.

But the difficulties do not end here; for the ideas at the base of iv.—vii. presuppose a conception of the throne of God which cannot easily be conceived as standing within the heavenly Temple. On the other hand, the ideas behind viii.—xi. presuppose the throne within this Temple—an idea as old as Isa. vi. But our author may have been quite unconscious of these inconsistent elements.

ἐκεῖτο = "stood." Cf. John xix. 29, ii. 6 (xxi. 9); Jer. xxiv. 1. See Blass, Gram. 51.

ἐπὶ τ. θρόνου καθήμενος. He that sitteth on the throne is distinguished in vi. 16, vii. 10, from the Lamb. In xix. 12 we have τοῦ καθήμενου ἐπὶ τ. θρόνου. In vii. 10, xix. 4, we have the full expression τῷ θεῷ τῷ καθ. ἐπὶ τῷ θρόνῳ. The variations of case following on καθήσαται ἐπὶ are noteworthy. Alford was, so far as I am aware, the first to attempt an explanation in connection with the present verse. He gives a complete enumeration of the passages where this phrase is followed by the gen. the dat. and the acc., and concludes that "the only rule that seems to be at all observed was that always at the first mention of the fact of
the sitting, the acc. seems to be used, iv. 2, 4, vi. 2, 4, 5, xiv. 14, xvii. 3, xix. 11, xxiv. 4 (xx. 11 seems hardly a case in point), thus bearing a trace of its proper import, that of the motion towards, of which the first mention partakes.” But xi. 16 does not come under this rule, and no rule he admits “seems to prevail as regards the gen. and dat.” Bousset\(^2\), 165 sq., does not try to explain the variations, but brings them together. From him I draw the following classification slightly remodelled.

Thus τοῦ καθήμενου ἔπι is followed by the gen., iv. 10, v. 1, 7, vi. 16, xvii. 1, xix. 18 (PQ min fere omn.: acc. A 61. 69: dat. Ν), xix. 19, 21.

τῶν καθήμενων ἔπι with dat. iv. 9 (ξΑ), v. 13 (ΑQ), vii. 10 (ξΑCP), xiv. 4 (ξΑCQ). Exception: with acc. vi. 4, ἔπι αὐτόν. In xiv. 15 with gen. ἔπι τῆς νεφέλης, but xiv. 15–17 is not from the hand of our author.

οὗ καθήμενος ἔπι and τῶν καθήμενον ἔπι, with acc. οὗ καθήμενος, c. acc. in iv. 2 (P An with gen.), vi. 2, 5, xi. 16 (ΑP), xix. 11. Exceptions—with gen. vii. 15 (dat. Θ min pl.), xiv. 16 (Αδικ but not from our author’s hand), with dat. xxi. 5 (but this is due to editor). τῶν (τῶν) καθ. with acc. in iv. 4, xiv. 14, xvii. 3. Exceptions with gen. ix. 17, ἔπι αὐτόν (but due probably to interpolation of ix. 17\(^{ab}\)), xiv. 6 (where, however, see note), xx. 11, but this is due to editor. Thus, in short, the participle in the nom. and acc. is followed by ἔπι and the acc., and the participle in the gen. and dat. by the gen. and dat. respectively.

3. καὶ οὗ καθήμενος ὁμοίοις ὀράσει λίθῳ ἰδαπιδὶ καὶ σαρδίῳ. As Swete remarks, the writer avoids anthropomorphic details. No form is visible: only lights of various hues flashing through the cloud that encircles the throne. These hues the Seer seeks to adumbrate by comparing them to lights reflected by the jasper and sardius passing through a nimbus of emerald green.

With the idea and diction we may compare Ezek. i. 26, which appears to have been in the mind of the Seer: ἔπι τοῦ ὁμοιόμοιος τοῦ θρόνου ὁμοίωμα ὧς εἴδος ἀνθρώπων (οὐκ ἡμερῶν). In apocalyptic visions, when a being is described as being “like a man,” we are to infer that it is a supernatural being that the Seer is describing. In Dan. vii. 9 we have παλαιὸς ἡμερῶν (="an ancient of days”) έκάθητο, where I cannot help believing that πτήκη (i.e. παλαιὸς ἡμερῶν) is a primitive error for πτήγη, i.e. ὁμοίωμα παλαιὸς ἡμερῶν. πτήκη means simply "an old man." It is hardly possible to conceive a reverent Jew describing God in such terms. In the 1st cent. b.c. this title appears in a slightly different form as "the Head of Days" or "the Sum of Days," i.e. the Everlasting, in 1 Enoch xlv. 1, 2, xlvii. 3, xlviii. 2, etc., and thereby the anthropomorphism is avoided.

vol. i.—8


> THE REVELATION OF ST. JOHN [IV. 3.

... ὤμοιος ὁμάστω κτλ. Cf. Ezek. i. 4, 27, viii. 2, where it is 
amber to which the glory of God is compared in colour—ὡς ὤμοιος ἧλέκτρου, ὡς ὁμοίος ἧλέκτρου. In i. 28, Ezekiel concludes 
the vision with the words, “This was the appearance of the 
likeness of the glory of God.”

... ὤμοιος ... ἱάσπις καὶ σάρδις. It is difficult to determine 
with certainty what stone is represented by the jasper here 
(ἴασπις = ἱερσ). There were several varieties of the ἱασπίς: (1) 
a dull opaque stone—which is thought by some scholars to be 
referred to here, since it is combined with the sardius: (2) a 
green stone (= ἱερσ) partially translucent—possibly that referred 
to here and in xxi. 11, λίθῳ ἱάσπις κρυσταλλίζοντι: (3) a red 
stone (= ἱερσ, Isa. liv. 12, a yellow stone, and an opalescent 
stone). See Encyc. Bib. iv. 4806, whence these facts are derived. 
Of the above varieties the green was very rare and most prized in 
an ancient times. This may explain the epithet τιμωστατος attached 
to it in xxi. 11. But owing to this epithet Ebrard thinks 
that the diamond is meant here. The sardius (= χρύς, Ex. 
xxviii. 17, xxxix. 10; Ezek. xxviii. 13) is a red stone as the name 
signifies, the opaque blood-red jasper well known in Egypt, 
Babylonia, and Assyria. Cf. Epiph. De Gemmis, πύρωις τῷ 
εἴδει καὶ αἷματοειδής (quoted by Vitringa). “The material 
(translucent quartz stained with iron) is quite common, and 
merges in the clearer and lighter-tinted carnelian and red agate” 
(Encyc. Bib. iv. 4803). See also Hastings’ D.B. iv. 620 sq.

καί ἀρις κυκλοθεν τοῦ θρόνου ὤμοιος ὁμάστω κτλ. This 
idea of a rainbow round about the throne is derived from Ezek. 
i. 28, ὡς ὁμόσας τόξων, ὡς ἦν ἐν τῇ νεφελῇ ἐν ἡμέρας ὑστοῦ—οὕτως 
ἡ στάσις (corrupt? for φάσις) τοῦ φέγγους κυκλοθεν. The rainbow 
is said to be like a smaragdus. σμαραγδόνος is apparently a ἀρ. λεγ. 
The smaragdus (= θῆκαβ) has been identified with the rock 
crystal, the beryl, and finally with the emerald. Petrie (Hastings’ 
D.B. iv. 620) writes: “A colourless stone is the only one that 
can show a rainbow of prismatic colours; and the hexagonal 
prism of rock crystal, if one face is not developed (as is often 
the case), gives a prism of 60°, suitable to show a spectrum. The 
confusion with emerald seems to have arisen from both stones 
crystallizing in hexagonal prisms; and as the emerald varies 
through the aquamarine to a colourless state, there is no obvious 
separation between it and quartz crystal.”

Both Petrie here and Myres in the Encyc. Bib. iv. 4809 
attach the meaning of rock crystal to σμαραγδόνος in our text. 
But it is difficult to translate the line if this meaning is attached 
to σμαραγδόνος. Perhaps it might be rendered: “And there was 
a rainbow round about the throne like the appearance of rock 
crystal.”
But another view is generally taken of the text. The ἵππος is interpreted as meaning merely a halo or nimbus shaped like a rainbow, and of one colour, an emerald green. In that case the writer breaks away from his source, Ezek. i. 28, and ὀράσεις is to be taken as a dat. modi. The conception of a nimbus encircling supernatural beings or deified men was familiar to the ancient world. It was current among the Greeks and Romans—see Dieterich, Nekyia, 41-43, who quotes largely from the Stephanus' monograph on the subject, Nimbus und Strahlen-Kranz: Mémoires de l'académie impériale des sciences de St. Petersbourg, 6 sér., tom. ix., 1859. It is claimed to be of Babylonian origin by Zimmern, K.A.T. 3, p. 353, who cites Ps. civ. 2 ("He clothes Himself with light as with a garment"); Dan. vii. 9; 1 Enoch xiv. 18; Jas. i. 17; Apoc. John iv. 3; 1 Tim. vi. 16, etc.

In favour of the above we might cite Encyc. Bib. iv. 4804: "As early as Theophrastus a very large number of stones, all brilliant and of all shades of green, from aquamarine to dioptase (χαλκηδών), were included generally under σμαραγδός."

In any case the object of the bow is to conceal Him that sat on the throne. Thus anthropomorphic details are avoided still more than in Ezekiel.

4. καὶ κυκλάθην τοῦ θρόνου θρόνους ἕκοσι τέσσαρες, καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἕκοσι τέσσαρας θρόνους πρεσβυτέρους καθημένους περιβεβλημένους ἰματίους λευκοῖς, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς κεφάλας αὐτῶν στεφάνους χρυσοὺς. The occurrence of this verse in its present context creates great difficulty. This has already been pointed out by J. Weiss (Die Offenbarung, p. 54 sq.). He observes, first, that it interrupts a description of the throne, which is resumed in 5: in the next place, that, as the representation proceeds from the throne outwards, the narrower circle of the four Living Creatures ought to be mentioned before the larger concentric circle of the four and twenty Elders. The Living Creatures stand nearer the throne, and in iv. 9, 10, the Elders do not fall down and worship till the Living Creatures give the signal. On these grounds, Weiss would reject this verse as an addition of the final editor of the Apocalypse, who put together two independent apocalypses with large additions of his own. Though Weiss's theory as a whole is untenable, there are good grounds for regarding iv. 4 as a later addition, but not, as Weiss urges, from another hand. The evidence points to its being a later addition, but an addition from our author's hand, since the diction is wholly his own, and

1 Elsewhere in our author ἕκοσι τέσσαρες stands before its noun except in xix. 4. We should observe that τέσσαρες is used not unfrequently as an acc. Cf. Moulton, Gram. 46; Blass, Gram. 20. On the orthography of τέσσαρες in the N.T., MSS, and the κατημένος, see Robertson, Gram. 183.
the verse serves to prepare the way for 9–11. For, since the 24 Elders are subordinate in rank to the Living Creatures, they should not be mentioned before them unless the Seer began his description with the outer ranks of heavenly beings that surrounded the throne. Now in vii. 9–11 we find such a description. First we have a great multitude of the saved which no man could number; then the various concentric ranks of heavenly beings round about the throne—first the angels, then the Elders, and finally the four Living Creatures. Probably in the same way we are to explain the order in xix. 1–4—first the great multitude of the angelic orders in heaven “saying Hallelujah” (xix. 1–3), and its repetition by the Elders and Living Creatures in xix. 4 (see note in loc.). Elsewhere, where these two orders are simply mentioned together, the Living Creatures are always mentioned first: cf. iv. 9–10, v. 6, 8, 14, xiv. 3. The expression καὶ τῶν ζῴων καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων seems to be a gloss in v. 11 (see note in loc.). A single Elder is mentioned in v. 5, vii. 13, and the body of Elders alone in xi. 16.

But as we examine the text more closely we see why the addition was made by our author after 3 and not elsewhere in iv. 1–8. For, whereas it would have been natural to make this addition immediately after the four Living Creatures in 6b, we discover that the description of the latter and their thanksgivings are so closely knit together from 6b to the close of 8 that the addition of a single phrase alien to the subject of the Living Creatures was practically impossible. Hence the insertion was made in the midst of the description of the throne. Finally, the syntax is defective in this verse. We have three accusatives, θρόνους, πρεσβυτέρους, στρεφάνους, but no verb to govern them. Nor is there any such verb in 3 nor in 2, where the verbs are intransitive. To explain these abnormal accusatives, we must hark back to 1 and borrow εἴδον. This is wholly unsatisfactory. On the possible origin of the conception of the twenty-four Elders see 10.

5. καὶ ἐκ τοῦ θρόνου ἐκπορεύονται ἀστραπαῖ καὶ φωναὶ καὶ βρονταὶ. The three nouns recur in the same order in xi. 19, xvi. 18, but in viii. 5 in a different order, βρονταὶ κ. φωναὶ κ. ἀστραπαί. φωναὶ = φόνα in Hebrew, and denote the “voices” of the thunder; βρονταὶ = ῥαύνοι, and denote simply “thunderings.” To us moderns, who identify thunder and the “voice” of the thunder, it is difficult to make a distinction between them. In Jub. ii. 2, however, we have the very same expression as in our text—ἀγγελοὶ φωνῶν, βροντῶν καὶ ἀστραπῶν. We might also compare Ex. xix. 16, ἐγώνοιτο φωναὶ καὶ ἀστραπαί: Ezek. i. 13, ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς ἐκπορεύετο ἀστραπῆ. Both nouns are combined in Ps. lxxvi. (lxxvii.) 18, φωνὴ τῆς βροντῆς σου (ἴημα τῆς ἀστραπῆς); Job
xxxvii. 4, "He thundereth with the voice of His majesty" (םיר конкурс). Cf. also xxxvii. 2, 3, 5.

καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ λαμπάδες πυρὸς κατοίκημαι ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου [α ἐστιν τὰ ἐπὶ πνεύματα τοῦ θεοῦ]. We might compare 2 Bar. xxi. 6, "The holy beings . . . of flame and fire, which stand around Thy throne." Cf. viii. 10 of our text.

The clause α . . . θεοῦ has been recognized as a gloss by Spitta, J. Weiss, and Wellhausen. It is a gloss, however, which probably gives a right interpretation: cf. i. 4, 12, ii. 1, iii. i. The seven lamps are seven spirits. The seven lamps stand in some original relation to the seven planets, of which, however, the Seer may have been quite unconscious. See note on i. 4. But this clause also, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ λαμπάδες . . . θρόνου, may be a later addition of our author or of a later hand. Its structure appears to be against the former hypothesis. In the description of the throne the phrase relating to the throne always begins the verse. Thus iv. 5a, ἐκ τοῦ θρόνου: 6a, ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρ.: 6b, ἐν κύκλῳ τοῦ θρ. This holds also in iv. 2e and in the addition iv. 4a. In iv. 3b there is a slight departure from this structure, but not the complete departure we find in iv. 5b. Here, further, we have the awkwardness of ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου coming almost at the close of one verse and recurring immediately at the beginning of the next, and that in a most carefully elaborated stanza. Notwithstanding I have allowed 5b, minus the explanatory gloss, to remain in the text. See Introd. to Chapter, § 3.

6. καὶ ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου ὡς θάλασσα ἀλινή ὑμοία κρυστάλλῳ. It is to be observed that our author does not say that there was "a sea of glass" here, but "as it were (ὡς) a sea of glass" (cf. xv. 2). There is nothing like it on earth or in human experience, so that all he can do is to use a figure of speech in order to suggest in some faint measure what he saw in the vision. This is clearly the present meaning of this phrase in our text. But having thus suggested the character of the conception, he can then drop the apocalyptic character of the phrase and use simply the definite expression τὴν θάλασσαν τὴν ἀλινήν (xv. 2). But this has very little to do with the original form of this idea. Before the discovery of 2 Enoch, scholars were at a loss to trace its source. In that book (iii. 3) we find: "They showed me (in the first heaven) a very great sea, greater than the earthly sea." This sea, according to T. Levi ii. 7 (a), was in the first heaven "hanging," or according to ii. 7 (β), "hanging between the first and second heaven." The strange word "hanging" = κρεμάμενον =בְּרֵךְ, which appears to be corrupt for בְּרֵךְ—therefore "on the firmament." Thus this sea is really the waters above the firmament referred to in Gen. i. 7; Ps. cxlviii. 4. According to Jub. ii. 4 these were separated from the waters below the
firmament (ἐν δὲ τῇ δευτέρᾳ... ἐμερώθη τὰ υδάτα, τὸ ἢμισὸν αὐτῶν ἀνέβη ἑπάνω τοῦ στερέωματος—the Greek version preserved in Epiphanius. Haer. lxv. 4). These waters were masculine, according to 1 Enoch liv. 8, and the waters on the earth were feminine. From their union, according to Assyrian myths, the gods were produced. Of this myth there seems to be an echo in 2 Enoch xxviii. 2, xxix. 1, 3, “Out of the waves I created rock... and from the rock I cut off a great fire, and from the fire I created the orders of the incorporeal ten troops of angels.”

But to return to the sea of glass, which ultimately goes back, as we have seen, to the waters above the firmament. These waters rest on the firmament, and over them apparently God’s throne was originally conceived as established, Ps. civ. 3, “Who layeth in the waters the beams of His chambers.” Of this heavenly ocean a portion only is visible in the foreground, “as it were a sea of glass like unto crystal,” in our text. When the Apocalypse was written it is more than probable that the original meaning of the sea was wholly forgotten. See Bousset in loc., and Gunkel, Zum Verständnis. d. NT, 44, n. 5.

καὶ [ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ θρόνου καὶ] κύκλῳ τοῦ θρόνου τέσσερα ξύλα γέμοντα ὀδηγαμένων ἐμπροσθεν καὶ ὀπίσθεν.

The Living Creatures are not bearers of the throne (ἐν μέσῳ τ. θρ. cannot mean “under the throne”), as in Ezek. i. 22, 26, but they stand round the throne and prostrate themselves in the act of worship, v. 8, xix. 4 (in 2 Enoch xxii. 1 they “overshadow” it), and are free to move independently and singly: cf. xv. 7. If the text is right, we must suppose, with Züllig, De Wette, Düberdieck, Bousset, Swete, that the Living Creatures stood round about (κύκλῳ) the throne, one in the middle of each side of the throne (ἐν μέσῳ). From the Greek words it seems impossible to wrest such a meaning. Nor can the passage be interpreted with Eichhorn, Ewald, and Gunkel (Zum religionsgesch. Verst, 44), who conceive the four Living Creatures as lying with the lower part of their body supporting the throne and with the upper part of their body projecting beyond it. Eichhorn was misled by following Ezekiel and by failing to follow the text before him, and also by the passage which he quotes from the Midrash Tehillim ciii. 19, to the effect that the Living Creatures were placed under the throne that they might “know that the kingdom of God ruled over all.” In fact, the text is unintelligible as it stands. Hence ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ θρόνου καὶ is to be taken as (1) a gloss, or as (2) a mistranslation of the Hebrew. 1. It is not impossible that ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ θρόνου was added here from Ezek. i. 5, ἐν τῷ μέσῳ ὃς ὄμοιώμα τεσσαρῶν ξύλων (where ἐν τῷ μέσῳ refers to the fiery cloud which envelops the throne of God), just as some cursive and versions of the LXX add καὶ κύκλῳ.
\[\tau\nu\ \theta\rho\omicron\nu\nu\ \text{after} \ \epsilon\nu\ \tau\omicron\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\omega\ \text{in}
\text{Ezek. i. 5, probably from the \textit{Apocalypse}. Elsewhere throughout the \textit{Apocalypse} the Living Creatures are said to be "round the throne," but never "in the midst of it," as here. That privilege is reserved for the "Son of Man" or "the Lamb," i. 13, ii. 1, v. 6, vii. 17. \text{Könnecke has also proposed the excision of this clause.} 2. \text{Bruston (quoted by Moffatt) thinks that the clause is a mistranslation of \textit{יְרוּם יְרוּם}, which should have been rendered, "And in the midst was the throne"; but there is no other evidence that the passage is a translation, and the sense is hardly satisfactory.}

\textit{τέσσαρα Ἰωά.} \text{To the writer of the \textit{Apocalypse} these four Living Creatures, which are akin to the living creatures (\textit{יוֹם}) in Ezek. i., and are called Cherubim in Ezek. x. 2, 20, are simply an order of angels, and apparently the highest, or one of the highest orders. We find them mentioned with two other orders, \textit{i.e.} the Seraphim and Ophannim, in I Enoch lxxxi. 7 (cf. lxi. 10). And with others still in 2 Enoch xx. 1, xxii. 1, xxii. 2. In 2 Enoch xxii. 1 (cf. xxii. 3) ten orders are mentioned. (See my note \textit{in loc.})}

These Living Creatures in our text are akin, as we have said, to the living creatures in Ezekiel, but they are in certain essential aspects different. The Seer does not simply reproduce the traditions of the past, but speaks in the terms of his own time. In the present instance I hope to show that the conception in our text has probably passed through three stages of development of which the third is that found in apocalyptic literature, 200 B.C. to 100 A.D. In this brief study we shall advance backwards from Jewish to Babylonian conceptions, from the statement of ascertained beliefs to the expression of reasonable hypotheses.

\textbf{I. In apocalyptic literature 200 B.C.-100 A.D.—1.} \text{In our text the Cherubim are four in number, it is true, as in Ezekiel, but each Cherub has only one face, and not four faces as in the O.T. prophet. 2. They have each six wings like the Seraphim in Isa. vi., and not four as in Ezek. i. 3. They stand immediately round God's throne, Rev. iv. 6, v. 8, xix. 4, and do not bear it as in Ezekiel. The throne is set ("\textit{kẹktọ}," Rev. iv. 2) on the firmament of heaven, and does not rest on them. There is no mention of "the wheels," as in the vision of Ezekiel. 4. They sing God's praises, Rev. iv. 8, like the Seraphim in Isa. vi., and are not silent servants of Deity. 5. They are "full of eyes," but in Ezekiel they are "like lamps," i. 13, and it is "the felloes of the wheels," i. 18, that are full of eyes. Ezek. x. 12, where the Cherubim are said to be full of eyes, is recognized by critics as corrupt. 6. They move freely about, Rev. xv. 7, and act as intermediaries between God and other orders of angels. In most of these respects}
the conceptions of the N.T. Apocalypse and of Jewish Apocalyptic between 200 B.C. and 100 A.D. are at one. As regards 1, we have no mention of the number of the Cherubim outside our Apocalypse nor any description of their form in this period. They are regarded simply as one of the highest orders of angels: cf. 1 Enoch lixi. 10, lxxi. 7. 2. They have each six wings according to Rev. iv. 6, 2 Enoch xxi. 1, as the Seraphim in Isa. vi. 3. They stand round the throne of God and not under it, as Gunkel and others have asserted. They do not bear it, but are rather conceived as guardians of it, 1 Enoch lxxi. 7. In 1 Enoch xiv. 11 they appear to be in the “roof” of heaven. In 2 Enoch xxi. 1 they cover the throne like the Seraphim in Isa. vi. In the next place the throne is conceived as resting on the firmament of heaven, even where the wheels of Ezekiel’s vision are mentioned in connection with it. Cf. Dan. vii. 9, “The thrones were set. . . . His throne was fiery flames, and the wheels thereof burning fire.” This meaningless survival appears also in 1 Enoch xiv. 18, “I saw . . . a lofty throne: its appearance was as crystal, and the wheels thereof as the shining sun, and there was the vision of Cherubin.” In 1 Enoch xiv. 17, 18, all idea of a moving throne has been wholly lost. But other writers either omitted the mention of “the wheels” as a meaningless survival, as in T. Levi v. 1, xviii. 6, where the throne rests on the floor of the Temple in the third heaven, and Rev. iv. 2 sqq., or they transformed “the wheels” (יוֹפָנִים) into one of the highest orders of angels, i.e. Ophannim, as in 1 Enoch lixi. 10, lxxi. 7 and later Jewish Midrashim. Underneath the throne was not only the flaming firmament, but also the sources of the fiery streams, which flowed forth from the stationary base of the throne, Dan. vii. 10; 1 Enoch xiv. 19. With this conception we might contrast Rev. xxii. 1, where it is “a river of water of life” that proceeds out of the throne.

4. Finally, the function of the Cherubim in later apocalyptic literature is not to support the throne of God (except in 2 Bar. li. 11?), but to guard it, 1 Enoch lxxi. 7, or more usually to sing the trisagion, as in our text. Thus in 1 Enoch lxxi. 7, together with the Seraphim and Ophannim they are described as “those who sleep not,” but “guard the throne of God’s glory.” Now, according to 1 Enoch xxxix. 12, “those who sleep not . . . stand before Thy glory and bless . . . saying: Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of Spirits”; and again in lixi. 11 sq. they exclaim, “Blessed is He, and may the name of the Lord of Spirits be blessed.” These orders are carefully distinguished in xl. 2 from the four archangels. Once more in 2 Enoch xix. 6, xxi. 1, the Cherubim and Seraphim with six wings and many eyes are described as standing before the throne, singing: “Holy,
holy, holy is the Lord God of Sabaoth: heavens and earth are full of Thy glory." Thus the conception of the Cherubim in the N.T. Apocalypse is essentially the same as that found in Jewish apocalyptic literature. Both the conceptions, as we shall see, have their root in the O.T.

II. In the O.T. the Cherubim are referred to, as Bp. Ryle points out (Hastings' *D.B.* i. 377 sqq.), (1) "in the Israelite version of primitive myth; (2) in early Hebrew poetry; (3) in apocalyptic vision; and (4) in the descriptions of the formation and adornments of the ark, the tabernacle, and the temple." We are mainly concerned here with (3), but we shall refer to the passages coming under the other sections as we find occasion.

1. The form of the Cherubim varies in the O.T. In Ezek. i. 6, 10 each had four faces—the faces of a man, a lion, an ox, and an eagle. (In x. 14, where the four faces are given slightly differently, the verse is, with Bertholet, to be excised as an interpolation, as well as the word "cherub" in 7. These are omitted by the LXX.) In Ezek. xli. 18 sq. each had two faces—those of a man and a lion; but this may be due to the fact that they are here represented on the wall of the Temple. Between each pair of Cherubim there was a palm tree.

According to Gunkel, *Genesis* §, p. 25, the simpler conception of Rev. iv. 6 is older than the very complicated one of Ezek. i. 10; indeed Winckler (*Altor. Forsch.* ii. 347 sqq.), as Zimmern notes, *K.A.T.*, p. 631, seeks to prove that the four living creatures in the original text of Ezekiel had only one face each. In any case, the form of the Cherubim in our Apocalypse, so far as regards their head, differs from every definite description of them in the O.T.

2. In Ezek. i. 6, 10 each Cherub had four wings. In Solomon's temple there were two colossal Cherubim, each with two wings, 1 Kings vi. 24 sqq., and standing on their feet, 2 Chron. iii. 13. The walls of his temple were also carved with figures of Cherubim, 1 Kings vi. 29, and palm trees, 2 Chron. iii. 7, as also on the hanging screen, which separated the Holy place from the Holy of Holies in the Tabernacle, Ex. xxvi. 31.

Thus the number of wings assigned to the Cherubim in our Apocalypse, while agreeing with later apocalyptic literature, differs from the number assigned in the O.T.

3. The Cherubim in Ezek. i. 22, 26, x. 1, support a firmament, whereon is set the throne of God. The throne is not stationary, but is borne in any one of four directions by the Cherubim. The description of the base of the throne recalls Ex. xxiv. 10, though there is no mention there of the Cherubim. In
Ex. xxv. 18–21, on the other hand, the figures of the Cherubim are represented on the mercy-seat of the ark, facing each other, but looking down on the ark.

Possibly connected with the conception in Ezekiel is that in 2 Kings xix. 15; Ps. xviii. 10, lxxx. 1, xcix. 1; Isa. xxxvii. 16, where the Cherubim are conceived as bearing God.

In Gen. iii. 24 they guard Paradise. In 1 Enoch lxxi. 7 they are said to guard the throne of God.

Thus the conception in Rev. iv. 6, etc., stands apart in this respect also from any in the O.T.

4. The Cherubim are silent in Ezek. i. 5 sqq., x. 2, and in all passages relating to them in the O.T. as opposed to the function assigned them in late apocalyptic literature.

III. Some of the above conceptions in the O.T. can with great probability be traced to an earlier stage, a stage with which our author was wholly unacquainted, and of which even the O.T. writers had barely the faintest idea. For research in this direction we are indebted to Zimmern and Gunkel. The former (K.A.T. 631 sq.) holds that in all probability the four Cherubim in Ezek. i., x. 2, are to be traced to the four chief constellations in the zodiac,¹ and go back fundamentally to Babylonian ideas, though this has not yet been established. The 1st, 4th, 7th, and 10th signs of the zodiac are especially significant as corresponding in space to the dividing limits of the four quarters of the heavens, and in time to the dividing limits of the four seasons. These four constellations are the Ox, the Lion, the Scorpion, and Aquarius. Further, the four winds were probably brought into relation with the four chief signs of the zodiac; for in Babylonian-Assyrian sculpture we find on either side of the holy tree two winged forms, generally with a human body and an eagle head, and occasionally with a human head and a lion’s body. Of close affinity with these are the colossal winged ox and lion figures at the entrance of Assyrian temples and palaces, which have human heads and the bodies of the ox or lion. Hence Zimmern infers that the ox, lion, man, and eagle were known in Babylon as symbols of the winds, and that in the Biblical Cherubim the forms of these four creatures were derived from the four constellations in the four quarters, corresponding to the four directions of the wind. The relation of the lion and the ox to the constellations of the lion and ox is obvious. The man corresponds to the scorpion-man, while the eagle is taken not from Aquarius, but from the constellation of the

¹ Gunkel assumes this hypothesis as an assured result in Zum religionsgesch. Verständniss des NT, p. 47, and suggests that the movement of their wings, perceptible by no ordinary earthly ear, is referred to in Ps. xix. and is the music of the spheres.
eagle in its neighbourhood, probably because the former had no particularly bright stars.

Now in confirmation of Zimmern's identification of the four winds and the four constellations, it is to be observed that originally the throne of God was the heaven itself: Isa. lxvi. 1, "The heaven is My throne, the earth is My footstool." In Ezek. i. 22 the throne rests on a firmament (קדש, i.e. the heavenly vault, which is like crystal), borne, as we have seen, by the four Living Creatures. A very probable emendation of i Enoch xviii. 2 may support Zimmern's identification of "the four winds" and the four constellations: this passage reads, "I saw the four winds which bear the firmament of heaven. Now these stand between earth and heaven." See my edition in loc.

It is obvious that the idea of the Living Creatures and the wheels supporting the throne are syncretistic. It rested originally either on the living creatures or on the wheels. Both ideas were prevalent in the ancient world (Gunkel, op. cit., p. 46). For our present purpose we may leave "the wheels"¹ out of consideration, especially as they do not appear in the N.T. Apocalypse.

Again, as confirming the identification of the Living Creatures and the four constellations, it is to be observed that the former are "like burning coals of fire, like the appearance of lamps" (Ezek. i. 13). Now, since in apocalyptic language the "lamps" signify stars—see Zech. iv. 2, 10 and our text, i. 4 (note), 12, iv. 5—the Living Creatures who are like lamps are reasonably to be identified with stars. And this is further confirmed by the fact that the wheels which accompany the Living Creatures are "full of eyes," i.e. are bodies of stars or constellations. In the Veda (S.B.E. xlii. 212) the sun-god Surya is himself an eye. In the next stage Mitra and Varuna have the Sun as an eye (S.B.E. xxvi. 343, xlii. 408). And the seven planets are the seven eyes of Yahweh in Zech. iv. 10, and of the Lamb in our Apocalypse: see v. 6, also note on i. 12.

γεμοντα δφθαλμων έμπροσθεν και οπισθεν. These words go back to Ezek. i. 18, x. 12. There the expression is applied to "the wheels," which are said to be "full of eyes round about" (πληρεις δφθαλμων κυκλοθεν, ένας ου κτινος). When, however, our author transferred the idea from the wheels to the Living Creatures themselves, he not unreasonably modified it. The eyes were on the felloes of the wheels, and therefore the eyes presented the appearance of a circle. Hence they are.

¹ In Dan. vii. 9, 1 Enoch xiv. 13, "the wheels" are merely a literary reminiscence or survival. The throne is conceived as stationary in both passages—certainly in the latter. In the next stage of development "the wheels" are transformed into an order of angels (see above, p. 120).
described as "round about." But such an expression could not easily be used of a living creature which had a definite face as a man, or ox, or lion, or eagle, with their eyes in front. In such a case naturally the expression is modified to "full of eyes before and behind," though even here there is some difficulty attaching to the conception of a creature with a face like a man and yet full of eyes in front.

The discussion of this question is important, since we shall find later that the words κυκλόθεν καὶ ἐσωθεν γέμουσιν ὥφθαλμων in 8 are a meaningless interpolation.

In Ezek. x. 12 the text is recognized by critics as originally applying only to the wheels. In its present form, which is very corrupt, it runs: "And their whole body, and their back, and their hands, and their wings, and the wheels, were full of eyes round about, even the wheels that they four had." See Bertholet in loc., who proposes ἔπειτα τέσσαρας οὐοθεμεν ὄρθιτας, "and all their naves, and their felloes, and their axle trees... were round about full of eyes."

7. καὶ τὸ ζώον τὸ πρῶτον ὄμοιον λέοντι,
καὶ τὸ δεύτερον ζώον ὄμοιον μούσων,
καὶ τὸ τρίτον ζώον ἔχων τὸ πρόσωπον ὡς ἄνθρωπον,
καὶ τὸ τέταρτον ζώον ὄμοιον ἄετων πετομένω.

The order in Ezek. i. 10 is man, lion, ox, eagle. The text in x. 14 is corrupt, as we have already pointed out. Irenaeus (iii. 11. 8) seems to have been the earliest writer who identified the Four Evangelists with the four Living Creatures—Matthew with the man, Mark with the eagle, Luke with the ox, and John with the lion. Victorinus, on the other hand, understood the man as symbolizing Matthew, the lion Mark, the ox Luke, the eagle John. St. Augustine (De Cons. Evang. i. 6) attributes the lion to Matthew, the man to Mark, the ox to Luke, and the eagle to John. Such identifications though popular in the early Church, and indeed in later times, are wholly fanciful. See Alford and Düsterdieck in loc.; Swete², St. Mark, p. xxxvi sqq.; Zahn, Forschungen, ii. 257 sqq. μόσχος is here, as it is over 40 times in the LXX, the equivalent of רֶם"—cf. Ezek. i. 10, and therefore means an ox. In the LXX it is more frequently a rendering of ב, a bull, and occasionally of הב" and הב"?

In line 3 ἔχων stands here as in 8 for a finite verb in accordance with a Hebrew, or a still more frequent Aramaic idiom. This idiom is found also in the קוונּ. See note on xii. 2, where it recurs.

8. καὶ τὰ τέσσερα ἵππα, ἐν καθ' ἐν αὐτῶν ἔχων ἀνὰ πτέρυγας ἔξ. On the form of the Cherubim in this passage see above, p. 119 sq. For ἐν καθ' ἐν and ἀνὰ used distributively see N.T. Grammars.
[κυκλόθεν καὶ έσωθεν γέμουσιν ὕφαλαμων.] Wellhausen (Analysed. Offenbarung Joh., p. 9) rightly regards this clause as an interpolation, though I can only in part accept his reasons: "κυκλόθεν steht bei Ezek. i. 18 für ἐμπροσθεν καὶ ὑπιστοθεν zusammen. Denn ἐσωθεν bedeutet nach v. i ebenso viel als ἐμπροσθεν; innen ist vorn und aussen ist hinten." I have already shown (see p. 121 sq.) that our author has modified very considerably the characteristics of the Cherubim as given in Ezekiel, and has transferred to his description of the Cherubim the eyes which in Ezekiel's account belong only to the wheels. The grounds on which I regard this line as an intrusion are: 1. The sentence or line begins without a copula though it contains a finite verb. This is contrary to the writer's custom throughout the preceding verses iv. 2, 3, 5, 6, 7. We should expect καὶ κυκλόθεν. 2. κυκλόθεν καὶ ἐσωθεν is in reality a meaningless phrase. It has proved a hopeless cruix to interpreters. If in any form it is original, it must be corrupt, and we should have to fall back on the text presupposed by Primasius: "habebant singula alas senas per circuitum. Et erant plena oculis ante se et retro," or still earlier Victorinus: "habentes alas senas in circuitu et oculos intus et foris" (Hausleiter, Lateinische Apocalypse, p. 94). These renderings presuppose, as Bousset points out, the text κυκλόθεν καὶ ἐσωθεν καὶ ἐσωθεν, which is actually that of Q and a few cursives. Thus we should have, "they had each six wings round about, and they were full of eyes without and within." Luther was also in favour of connecting κυκλόθεν with what precedes. But this text is very badly attested. It is only an attempt to smooth away the difficulties of an unintelligible gloss. 3. The words, if they had an intelligible meaning, would be a needless repetition of the last clause of 6. 4. The text of Isa. vi., which our author had undoubtedly before him, describes the Seraphim in 2 as having six wings, and then immediately in 3 their ascription of praise, "Holy, holy, holy." This fact is in favour of the excision of this clause, especially as it has occurred before.

But how is the gloss to be explained? The glosser possibly drew the unintelligible phrase κυκλόθεν καὶ ἐσωθεν from the LXX of Ezek. i. 27, δρασιν πυρὸς ἐσωθεν αὐτοῦ κύκλῳ, where, however, the text refers to a description of God.

καὶ ἀνάπαυσιν οὐκ ἔχουσιν ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς λέγοντες. Here it is distinctly implied that the volume of praise is continuous and unbroken. This fact does not harmonize with 9–14, as we shall see presently. For the phraseology, though the sense differs, cf. xiv. 11.

The widespread conception of praise in heaven is attested by such passages as i Enoch xxxix. 12 sq., xl. 3 sq., lxi. 9 sqq., lxix. 26, lxxi. 11, etc.; T. Levi iii. 8; 2 Enoch xvii. 1, xviii. 9,
xix. 6, xx. 4; Ascension of Isaiah vii. 15, 19, 20, 27, 29, 30, 36, viii. 3, 16, 17-18, ix. 28-29, 33, 40-42, x. 1-3, 19, xi. 26, 27, etc.; Chag. 12b; Apoc. Zephaniah (Clem. Alex. Strom. v. II. 77).

With the trisagion in our text we might compare that in 1 Enoch xxxix. 12, "Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of Spirits: He filleth the earth with spirits." Here as in our text (see note above) the writer has modified the trisagion to suit the main purpose of his Apocalypse.

We have already shown that the task of the Cherubim together with the Seraphim and Ophannim is to sing the praises of God (see above, p. 120 sq.) in later Apocalyptic literature as in our text. De Wette, Düisterdieck, B. Weiss, and Alford regard the Cherubim as representing the whole animate creation. Düisterdieck and Alford quote the Shemoth rabba, 23, fol. 122, 4\(^b\), as already giving the right point of view: "Quattuor sunt, qui principatum in hoc mundo tenent. Inter creaturas homo, inter aves aquila, inter pecora bos, inter bestias leo." "Dass diese Vier die gesammte lebendige Schöpfung repräsentiren sollen, ist durch die bedeutungsvolle Vierzahl selbst angezeigt" (Düisterdieck, Bengel). Swete (2nd ed., p. 71), following Düisterdieck, writes that "the ζωα represent Creation and the Divine immanence in nature," and quotes Andreas to the same effect. And again (p. 72): "This ceaseless activity of Nature under the Hand of God is a ceaseless tribute of praise." But this meaning of the Cherubim cannot, so far as I see, be maintained. In the Book of Jubilees the angels are, speaking generally, divided into two classes: those which keep the Sabbath with God and Israel, and those which do not. The former include only the angels of the presence and the angels of sanctification. This latter class are those which sing the praises of God (see my notes on ii. 2, 18, xv. 27, xxxi. 14), and embrace, no doubt, the Cherubim and Seraphim. Now as for the angels who do not keep the Sabbath, these are naturally "the angels of service" who are set over the works of nature. These are inferior in rank and knowledge not only to the two higher orders, but also to righteous men, according to the Talmud (see my commentary on Jubilees, p. 12). Even a knowledge of the law is withheld from them (op cit., p. 111). Since, therefore, the angels, that were intimately connected with nature according to Jewish views, held so subordinate a position, it can hardly be right to identify with them the Cherubim, who are immediately round the throne of God and continually sing His praises, and are the highest order of angels in the N.T. Apocalypse.

The idea of nature as itself praising God is found in Ps. xix. 2 sqq., ciii. 22, cxlviii.; but the Cherubim are not regarded as
vehicles of this praise in our text, but the twenty-four elders (see II, p. 133 sq.).

The trisagion in our text differs from Isa. vi. 3 in that it does not voice the praise of creation, but omits the words, "the whole earth is full of His glory," and confines itself to the holiness, omnipotence, and everlastingness of God.

On the essential nature of God, our author bases his assurance of the ultimate triumph of righteousness.

"Αγιος Ἄγιος Ἀγιος κύριος, ὁ θεός, ὁ παντοκράτωρ,
ὁ Ἱν καὶ ὁ ὄν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος.

Cf. i. 8, xi. 17. The trisagion is borrowed here with modifications from Isa. vi. 3, ὁ Ἄγιος Ἁγιος Ἀγιος κύριος σαβαώθ. Our author has not followed the LXX; for in every instance ηνως is rendered by the translator of the LXX in Isaiah by σαβαώθ. On the other hand, ὁ παντοκράτωρ is the rendering of this Hebrew word in the rest of the prophets. Furthermore, our author has inserted κύριος ὁ θεός = ἡ χρὴ νῦν—a phrase very frequent in Ezekiel (vi. 3, xi, vii. 2, 5, viii. 1, etc.). For the second line, cf. i. 4, 8, xi. 17. For other doxologies, see note on ii.

On ὁ Ἱν καὶ ὁ ὄν κτλ. see note on i. 4.

9. καὶ ὅταν δώσονιν τὰ ζωὰ δόξαν καὶ τιμὴν καὶ εὐχαριστίαν τῷ καθημένῳ ἐπὶ τῷ θρόνῳ, τῷ ζῶντι εἰς τοὺς αἰώνας τῶν αἰώνων. Commentators are practically agreed that ὅταν δώσονιν is here to be translated "whenever . . . shall give." That is, the action in 10-11 is represented as occurring as often as that in 8. But since the giving of praise on the part of the Living Creatures is continuous and unbroken (8), it is hard to reconcile this conception with that conveyed in 10, which implies that the praise is not continuous, but bursts forth at intervals, whereupon the four and twenty Elders fall down and worship. The latter view, moreover, is that which underlies the rest of the Apocalypse. The Elders are not always prostrating themselves, but on the occasion of great crises in the Apocalypse, which call forth their worship and thanksgiving: cf. v. 8, 14, xi. 16, xix. 4. One of the Elders also comforts the Seer, v. 5, and tells him who are the great white-robed company that are praising God, vii. 13. Nor are the Cherubim occupied with unbroken praisegiving throughout the occasion of great crises in the Apocalypse, which call forth their worship and thanksgiving: cf. v. 8, 14, xi. 16, xix. 4. One of the Elders also comforts the Seer, v. 5, and tells him who are the great white-robed company that are praising God, vii. 13. Nor are the Cherubim occupied with unbroken praisegiving throughout the book. Separate acts of praise on their part are implied in v. 9 (ὅταν), and different tasks are ascribed to them in vi. 1, 3, 5, 7, and in xv. 7. Hence we infer that in this respect iv. 1-8 stands apart from the rest of the Apocalypse.

δόξαν καὶ τιμὴν καὶ εὐχαριστίαν. The collocation δόξα καὶ τιμὴ is found in Ps. viii. 6 (ῥέων ῥοβι), but not in the same

1 For other examples of ἅταν with indicative in a frequentative sense see Moulton, p. 168.
connection as in our text. A better parallel is furnished by Ps. xxix. 1, xcvi. 7, ἐνέγκατε τῷ κυρίῳ δὸξαν καὶ τιμήν (where, however, τιμή is a rendering of ἡ). But the best parallels to our text are found in 1 Enoch lx. 10, 11, where the Cherubim and other angels are said to "bless and glorify and extol" (= εἰλογεῖν καὶ δοξᾶειν καὶ υψῶν) God. For similar statements cf. xxxix. 10, 12, xlvii. 2, lxii. 12, etc. (= δοξᾶσουσι καὶ εὐχαριστῆσον). We might also compare Dan. iv. 34.

τῷ ξύντι εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. This phrase recurs in 10, x. 6, xv. 7; see also vii. 2. Cf. Dan. iv. 31 (Theod.), τῷ ξύντι εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα (ἀνθρωπο-ν) ἡνεσα καὶ ἐδόξασα; also Deut. xxxii. 40; Dan. xii. 7 (ἀνθρωπο-ν); Sir. xviii. 17; 1 Enoch v. 1. This phrase repeats the idea in the second line of the trisagion. See Bousset, Rel. d. Judentums, 293. This divine attribute is applied to our Lord in i. 18.

10. οἱ εἰκοσὶ τέσσαρες πρεσβύτεροι. This conception of a heavenly divan composed of four and twenty Elders is not found in existing Jewish literature. There are indeed echoes of such a conception in 1 Kings xxii. 19 sqq., Job i. 6, ii. 1, which represent God as taking counsel with His angels; and in Dan. iv. 17, vii. 9, where a certain order of angels is regarded as assessors of God and issuers of the divine decrees. But a still closer parallel is found in Isa. xxiv. 23:

βασιλεύσει Κύριος ὡς Σειών καὶ εἰς Ἰερουσαλήμ,
καὶ ἐνώπιον τῶν πρεσβύτερων δοξασθῆσεται.

This passage has been, it is true, assigned by Duhm and Marti to the latter half of the 2nd century B.C., and the πρεσβύτεροι (ὑιοτεω) are interpreted as the heads of the Jewish community—an interpretation that is already propounded in the Targum on Isaiah. But whether this be so or not, the passage could easily have assumed a different meaning in the 1st century of the Christian era, and formed a starting-point for the development of the conception in our text. In our text the Elders are crowned as kings, and seated on thrones round the throne of God: they are thus the heavenly γερουσία.

Who then are these Elders? that is, whom does the author of our book conceive them to be? for their original meaning and their meaning in the text have no necessary connection.

First let us inquire what we know from our text of these Elders. i. They sit on twenty-four thrones round the throne of God, iv. 4, xi. 16. ii. They wear crowns of gold, and are clothed in white garments, iv. 4. iii. They are called πρεσβύτεροι (ὑιοτεω). iv. They are four and twenty in number. v. They occupy these thrones not at the Final Judgment or the consummation of the world, but in the present and apparently in the past (since the
creation?). vi. The Seer addresses one of them, vii. 13, as κύριε. vii. They act as angeli interpretes, vii. 13. viii. They discharge a priestly function in presenting the prayers of the faithful to God in golden bowls, v. 8. ix. They encourage the Seer when in the spirit he beholds the inhabitants of heaven, v. 5. x. They discharge the office of praising God by singing and playing on the harp, v. 8, 14, xi. 16, xix. 4.

Now these Elders have been variously taken as

I. Glorified men.

II. A College of angels—earlier angelic assessors—originally Babylonian star-gods.

IIIa. Angelic representatives of the twenty-four priestly orders.

IIIb. And in their present context Angelic representatives of the whole body of the faithful.

I. Glorified men.—Thus (1) Bleek, 198 sq.; De Wette, 72; Weizsäcker, 617, take them to be representatives of the Jewish and heathen communities. (2) Victorinus, Andreas, Arethas, Bousset, Stern, Hengstenberg, Ebrard, Düsterdieck, 221; B. Weiss, 438, hold them to be representatives of the O.T. and N.T. communities, twelve of them being the O.T. patriarchs from whom the nation of Israel arose, and twelve the N.T. apostles by whom the Christian Church was founded. It is true, indeed, that the name πρεσβύτεροι suggests in itself representatives of the community: cf. Isa. xxiv. 23, quoted above, and Ex. xxiv. 11. As representatives of the entire community of believers there would belong to them the kingly dignity; for since faithful believers share the throne of their Lord, and reign, iii. 21, i. 6, xx. 4, 6, xxii. 5 (2 Tim. ii. 12), and wear crowns, iii. 11, it is pre-eminently fitting that their representatives should enjoy such kingly privileges. In the Ascension of Isaiah vii. 22, viii. 26, ix. 10–13, 18, 24, 25, xi. 40, the idea of crowns (στέφανοι not διαδήματα) and thrones as the rewards of the righteous is repeatedly dwelt upon. Such views, therefore, must have been widely current in early Christendom. Moreover, the idea of crowns as the reward of righteousness is pre-Christian; see T. Benj. iv. 1. Further, it might be urged that there are some grounds for the identification of these Elders with the twelve Patriarchs and the twelve Apostles; for they are closely brought together in the description of the New Jerusalem. Thus the names of the twelve Patriarchs are written on the twelve gates, xxi. 12, and those of the twelve Apostles on the twelve foundations of its wall, xxi. 14. Furthermore, the homogeneity of the Jewish and Christian Churches emerges from the fact that the redeemed sing the song of Moses and the Lamb, xv. 3 (?).
But it has been rejoined, there is no true co-ordination of Jewish and Christian Churches in xxi. 12, 14, else there would be twenty-four gates or twenty-four foundations. Moreover, there is not a hint in the text that the Elders refer to definite persons such as the Patriarchs and Apostles.

But the real difficulty does not lie here, but in the fact that the *Elders cannot be men but must be angels.* This follows from the characteristics mentioned in v., vi., vii., viii., ix. above. These we must now treat more in detail. The Seer addresses one of the Elders as κύριε, vii. 13, a fact which, though not conclusive, is in favour of the angelic nature of the Elders. That they act, however, as angeli interpretes, vii. 13 (cf. xvii. 3, xxii. 6), is conclusive against their being of human origin. Such duties belong to angels only; cf. Dan. ix. 22 sqq.; 1 Enoch xvii. 1, xix. 1, xxi. 5, xxii. 6, etc.; 2 Enoch, 4 Ezra, 2 Bar. *passim.* No more is the function of offering encouragement to the Seer, v. 5, reconcilable with their being men: cf. Dan. x. 11.

Furthermore, it is angels and not men that offer the prayers of the faithful in golden bowls, T. Levi iii. 7; Chag. 13 b; Sebach, 62 a; Menachoth, 110 a, and so in our text, v. 8; it is angels that sing hymns, 2 Enoch xviii. 9, xix. 3, xx. 4, etc., and so in our text, v. 9, xiv. 3; but this last point must not be pressed.

And again the fact that the elders sit on thrones *prior to the consummation of the kingdom or the final judgment* is against their being conceived as men. Not till this period arrives will the faithful wear crowns and sit on thrones. This holds also in Judaism, as appears from a passage of Tanchuma, fol. 52, quoted by Spitta and others: "Tempore futuro Deus S. B. sedebit et angeli dabunt sellas magnatibus Israelis, et illi sedent. Et Deus S. B. sedet cum senioribus tanquam †כניך לועס, princeps senatus, et judicabunt gentiles." To the above passage we might add Dan. vii., where the thrones are set for the angelic assessors of the Most High. Thrones were thus not unfitting for angels, according to pre-Christian Judaism. On the above grounds, therefore, the Elders are to be taken as angels. Whatever the twenty-four Elders may have been originally, in the view of our author, they are not men, but an order of angels.

II. *A College of angels—earlier angelic assessors—originally Babylonian star-gods.*—Gunkel (Schöpfung und Chaos, 302-308) and Zimmern (*K.A.T.* 3 633) examine the various interpretations adduced, including that given under the next heading, and conclude that neither in Judaism nor in Christianity can any true interpretation of the twenty-four Elders seated on thrones be found. For they urge that the thrones imply that the Elders are kings and judges: that these Elders are supernatural beings,
and that the number twenty-four is no invention of the Seer, but that the whole conception has been taken over from apocalyptic tradition.

They are of opinion that the twenty-four Babylonian star-gods are the original of the twenty-four Elders, and that these gods were transformed by Judaism into angels. They support their view with the following citation from Diodorus Siculus, ii. 31: μετὰ δὲ τὸν ξυδιακὸν κύκλον εἴκοσιν καὶ τέτταρας ἀφορίζοντον ἀστέρας, ὃν τοὺς μὲν ἡμίσεις ἐν τοῖς βορείοις μέρεσι, τοὺς δὲ ἡμίσεις ἐν τοῖς νοτίοις τετάχθαι φασί, καὶ τοῦτον τοὺς μὲν ὁρωμένους τῶν ζώντων εἶναι καταρριμοῦσι, τοὺς δὲ ἄφανεῖς τοῖς τετελευτηκόσι προσωπικοῖς νομίζοντων, οὓς δικαστὰς τῶν ὅλων προσαγορεύουσιν. With the Babylonian star-gods Gunkel (Zum Verständniss des N. Testaments, 43) thinks the twenty-four Yazata of the Persians are related (Plutarch, De Iside et Osiride, 47). 1 Gunkel admits that the Seer has lost consciousness of the original meaning of these beings in that he assigns them priestly functions, though they were originally kings, senators of the Most High.

This interpretation has received the support of Bousset, J. Weiss, Holtzmann², and is undoubtedly attractive, but the evidence of connection between the Babylonian conception and that which appears in our text is too slight to build upon. It seems to be, in fact, not more than a coincidence; for the points in common between the two can be explained within Judaism.

There is not a trace of what, according to Gunkel, was the original character of these Elders; for the στέφανοι and θρόνοι do not necessarily in themselves imply kingship. If διαδήματα were used instead of στέφανοι² the matter might be different. Nor need the possession of θρόνοι involve judicial powers, if we may reason from the passages cited above from the Ascension of Isaiah; while as regards the number twenty-four, it can be satisfactorily accounted for within Judaism.

Since the Elders are not conceived in any way as kings, since they never act as judges and are never consulted by God as His assessors,³ but are described as angels discharging priestly (v. 8) and Levitical functions (v. 8), the most reasonable interpretation is that which identifies them with the angelic representatives of the twenty-four priestly orders.

III. Angelic representatives of the twenty-four priestly orders.—A great number of scholars in past times derived the number

1 2 Enoch iv. i might be compared: "And they brought before my face the elders and rulers of the stellar orders."
2 I find, however, that στέφανος is used of the crown of the sun in 3 Bar. vi., viii.
3 In i Enoch xiv. 22, Sir. xlii. 22, it is expressly stated that God stands in no need of counsel though thousands of thousands of angels stand around Him.
twenty-four from the twenty-four priestly orders, such as Alcasar, Vitringa, Eichhorn, Ewald, Hilgenfeld, Renan, Erbes; but it was Spitta (275 sqq.) who first recognized in the Elders the heavenly representatives of the twenty-four orders (1 Chron. xxiv. 7–18). The chief priests were designated not only מנהיגים, “princes” (so angels are designated in Dan. x. 13, 20, 21), and מנהיגים, “heads,” but also “elders of the priesthood,” מנהיגים (Joma i. 5), and מנהיגים, “Elders of a father’s house” (Tamid i. 1); Middoth i. 8. See Schürer², ii. 236. They are also called מנהיגים, “princes of God,” in i Chron. xxiv. 5. Spitta quotes the passage from Tanchuma, 52 (cited above), to show that angels sat on thrones. These angels, then, would be the heavenly counterpart of the heads of the twenty-four priestly orders. As such they themselves offered sacrifice¹ in heaven, v. 8—they presented the prayers of the faithful a bloodless offering: cf. T. Levi iii. 6 sq. If, then, this order of angels sat on thrones, it is to be expected also that they should wear crowns. Spitta might further have added that there were also twenty-four orders of Levites, i Chron. xxv. 9–31, whose duty was to “prophesy with harps, with psalteries, and with cymbals” (1 Chron. xxv. 1). This duty is discharged by the Elders in our text: cf. v. 8. In favour of this interpretation it may be observed that, since the archetypes of the temple and its accessories, as the altar and the ark, are represented by the Seer as already existing in heaven, it is natural to find the archetypes of the twenty-four priestly orders there also.

These angels Spitta identifies with the ῥαβῶνι mentioned in T. Lev. iii. 8, where their duty, as in several passages in our text, is to offer praise to God (ἀδεί υπνον τῷ θεῷ προσφέροντες).

That they sat on thrones is clear from the Ascension of Isaiah vii. 14, 15, 21, 27, 29, 31, 33, 35, xi. 25.

Finally, this view of the Elders is preserved in the writing, αἰ διαταγαί αἰ διὰ Κλήμεντος (Lagarde, Juris ecclesiastici antiquissima, 1856, 74 sqq.): εἰκόσι γὰρ καὶ τέσσαρες εἰσὶ προσβύτεροι, δώδεκα εκ δεξιῶν καὶ δώδεκα εξ εὐωνύμων . . . οἱ μὲν γὰρ εκ δεξιῶν δεχόμενοι ἀπὸ τῶν ἁρχαγγέλων τὰς φιάλας προσφέρουσι τῷ δεσπότῃ, οἱ δὲ εἴ ἀριστερῶν ἐπέχουσι τῷ πλῆθει τῶν ἁγγέλων (quoted by Harnack, Lehre der l2 Ap, 233). This passage is an early expansion of our text. It still preserves the priestly element in the conception.

IIIb. And in their present context the Elders may be the

¹ The priestly character of the Elders may be hinted at in their great hymn in v. 9–10, where the Elders dwell on the self-sacrifice of the Lamb as manifesting His worthiness to take the Book of Destiny and open its seals. However, it is just possible that the Living Creatures also join in that hymn.
heavenly representatives of the faithful in their twofold aspect as priests and kings.

It is, of course, possible that the Jewish character of the Elders may persist in our text: but it is not improbable that for our author the Elders have become the heavenly representatives of the faithful, all of whom are priests, i.e. 6. The risen martyrs are both priests and kings, xx. 6. This conception presents no difficulty, seeing that every man had his guardian angel, Acts xii. 15; Tob. v.; Targ. Jer. on Gen. xxxiii. 10; Chag. 16a; Ber. 60b, and particularly "the little ones," Matt. xviii. 10. This phrase has in Matthew a secondary meaning, "the weaker brethren in the faith." The Elders, therefore, may be the heavenly representatives of the whole body of the faithful.


11. ἄξιος εἰ, ὁ κύριος καὶ ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν, λαβεῖν τὴν δόξαν καὶ τὴν τιμὴν καὶ τὴν δύναμιν, ὅτι σὺ ἐκτισας τὰ πάντα,
καὶ διὰ τὸ θελημα σου ἔσων [καὶ ἐκτισθησαν].

ἄξιος εἰ ὁ κύριος καὶ ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν. The nominative is used here as the vocative: see Blass, Gram. p. 87; Moulton2, 71. It is possible that the Seer has chosen this title in reference to God in contrast to Domitian's blasphemous claim to be called Dominus et Deus noster (Suet. Domitian, 13).

The phrase ἄξιος... λαβεῖν recurs in v. 9, 12. In Enoch such doxologies are frequent, and have, as a rule, a close connection with their respective contexts: cf. ix. 4, 5, xxii. 14, xxv. 7, xxxvi. 4, xxxix. 9–13, xlviii. 10, lxxi. 3, lxxiii. 11, lxxxiv., xc. 40. The same rule can be traced in the doxologies of our text: cf. v. 12, 13, vii. 12.

As the doxology of the Cherubim in 8 has for its theme the holiness, omnipotence, and everlastingness of God,—i.e. the essential nature of God,—so the doxology of the four and twenty
Elders has for its theme the glory of God in His works; for that all things were created by Him.

πὴν δοξαν καὶ πὴν τιμὴν καὶ πὴν δύναμιν. Cf. 1 Chron. xvi. 27–28.

διὰ τὸ θέλημά σου ἡσαν [καὶ ἐκτίσθησαν]. Cf. Ps. cxlvi. 5, "He commanded, and they were created." 1 Enoch lxxxi. 3, "I blessed the great Lord, the King of glory for ever, in that He hath made all the works of the world." Our text is certainly difficult. We should naturally expect ἐκτίσθησαν καὶ ἡσαν. The various corrections in the critical footnotes show how deeply this difficulty was felt. But none of them is helpful. If any change of the text were admissible, it would be best to read ἐκτίσθησαν καὶ ἡσαν, or to omit καὶ ἐκτίσθησαν with A as an explanatory gloss added by a scribe who misunderstood ἡσαν. Then we should have

“For Thou didst create all things,
And because of Thy will they had their being”—

i.e. to Thy will they owed their existence.

But, if the text is correct, there are two possible interpretations. 1. Because of Thy will they had their being (i.e. existed in contrast to their previous non-existence) and were created. So Düsterdieck. But this involves an awkward inversion of thought. 2. “Because of Thy will they existed (in the world of thought) and were (then by one definite act) created.” So also practically Swete, who writes: “The Divine Will had made the universe a fact in the scheme of things before the Divine Power gave material expression to the fact.”

But I confess that the text of A seems best, and from it all the other variations can be explained.

With the idea in our text we might contrast contemporary Jewish speculation. According to 2 Bar. xiv. 18, Ezra viii. 1, 44, the world was created on account of man; but this was only a loose way of putting the idea which is definitely expressed elsewhere, to the effect that the world was created on account of Israel, 4 Ezra vi. 55, 59, vii. 11; Ass. Mos. i. 12, or rather on account of the righteous in Israel, 2 Bar. xiv. 19, xv. 7, xxi. 24. Such was the belief of the Rabbis: see Weber, jud. Theol. 2 208 sq.

CHAPTER V.

§ 1. Contents and Authorship.

As in iv. we have the vision of Him that sitteth on the throne, to whom the world and all that is therein owe their
being, in v. we have the vision of the Lamb into whose hands
the destinies of the world and all that is therein are committed.
By His victory once and for all (ἐνίκησεν, v. 5, and ὡς ἐσφαγμένον,
v. 6) He has shown Himself equal to this task, for whose
achievement none else could be found. And as in iv. the
Living Creatures praise God as the All Holy, the Almighty and
the Everlasting One, and the Elders fall down and worship Him
as the Creator of all things, in v. 8 sqq. first the Living Creatures
and the Elders fall down and worship the Lamb who through His
redeeming death had won the right to carry God’s purposes into
effect, next (11 sq.) the countless hosts of angels praise the Lamb
as God, and finally (13) the whole world of created things in
heaven, in earth and under the earth joins in a universal burst of
thanksgiving to Him that sitteth upon the throne and to the
Lamb. Thus as in iv. God the Creator is the centre of worship,
in v. it is God the Redeemer, who thereby carries God’s pur-
poses into fulfilment, while the chapter closes in the joint adora-
tion of Him that sitteth on the throne and of the Lamb.

As regards the authorship, every clause of it is from the hand
of our author except two glosses in 8, 11, which are intended to
be explanatory and supplementary, but are both in conflict with
the thought of the writer. Whilst the diction and the idiom
(§ 2), which latter is not so pronounced as in the earlier chapters,
are clearly those of our Seer, there is not an idiom or phrase that
is not his.

§ 2. Diction and Idiom.

There can be no doubt as to this chapter being from the hand of our author.

(a) Diction.


3. ὑποκάτω. Cf. 13, vi. 9, xii. 1. Elsewhere in NT 7 times.

4. ἐξεος εὐρέθη. For εὐρεῖν with part. or adj. cf. ii. 2, iii. 2, xx. 15.

6. ἀρνίον. This word is applied to Christ 29 times in our author and not elsewhere in the N.T., where ἰμιόσ is used (Fourth Gospel, Acts, i Pet.).


10. βασιλεῖαν καὶ ἱερεῖς: cf. i. 6. βασιλεύουσιν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς:
The form.—(a) Grotius (ii. 166), Zahn (Einführung ii. 599), Nestle Text-Crit. of NT, 330, take it to be not a roll but a codex, for (i) it is said to be Τῆς Σάλας. Had it been a roll it would have been Τῆς Σάλας. This argument is already answered above. (2) "The word used for opening the Book is αὐτοῦ (v. 4) and not, as in the case of rolls, ἀνάρχω, ἀναύσαντος. Hence αὐτοῦ (v. 4) and not, as in the case of rolls, ἀνάρχω, ἀναύσαντος. Hence αὐτοῦ (v. 4) and not, as in the case of rolls, ἀνάρχω, ἀναύσαντος. Hence αὐτοῦ (v. 4) and not, as in the case of rolls, ἀνάρχω, ἀναύσαντος.
or ἀναπτύσσειν." But this is not so. ἀνοίζειν is used in Isa. xxxvii. 14 (Ἠνοίζειν αὐτό = τὸ βιβλίον) as a rendering of ψάλτης, the word which Ezekiel uses in ii. 10, and which the LXX renders there by ἄνειλησεν.

ἄνοιζειν is used of unrolling a book also in Luke iv. 17, where νΔ correct the ἄνοιζεις into ἀναπτύζεις, against ABL and most Versions. In Luke iv. 20 πτίζεις is used of rolling up the book. Nestle further adds: "That it was not written on the outside is also shown by the fact that it was sealed with seven seals, the purpose of which was to make the reading of the book impossible. Not till the seventh seal is broken is the book open and its contents displayed." But the idea in our text is that with the opening of each successive seal a part of the contents of the book-roll is disclosed in prophetic symbolism. Hence these scholars read γεγραμμένον ἐσωθὲν καὶ ὁπισθὲν κατεσφραγισμένον, taking the two latter words together. To this it has been reasonably rejoined that such a description is superfluous, as a roll is never written on the outside and sealed on the inside.

(b) Spitta, 281, supposes that the βιβλίον is a book consisting of parchment leaves, each pair of which is fastened with a seal.

(c) But with most scholars we take the βιβλίον to be a book-roll. In Ezek. iii. 1, Ezra vi. 2 this is simply called κεφαλις (ῥήματος), in Ezek. ii. 9 and Ps. xxxix. 8 κεφαλισ βιβλιον (Ῥήματος). The roll was ὑποσθογραφον, written on the back also as in Ezek. ii. 10. In the latter passage it is described as "written before and behind"—γεγραμμένα . . . τὰ ἐξερησθέν καὶ τὰ ὁπίσθω (ὑπόθεντος και ὁπίσθης), but in our text as "written within and without"—γεγραμμένον ἐσωθὲν καὶ ὁπισθὲν. This may be due, as Bousset suggests, to the fact that in Ezekiel the roll is open, but that in our text it is closed. On the use of such ὁπισθογραφα amongst the Greeks and Romans, Wetstein quotes Lucian, VII. Auct. 9, ἡ πίρα δὲ σοι βέρμων ἔσται μεστή καὶ ὁπισθογράφου βιβλίων; Juvenal, i. 6, "Summi plena jam margine libri scriptus et in tergo necdum finitus Orestes"; Martial, viii. 62, "Scribit in aversa Picens Epigrammata charta,"

ii. The contents.—(a) According to Huschke (Das Buch mit den sieben Siegeln, 1860), Zahn (op. cit.), and J. Weiss1 (Die Offenb. 57 sqq.) the Book represents a Will or Testament relating to the Old and New Testament Covenant. A will, according to the Praetorian Testament, in Roman law bore the seven seals of the seven witnesses on the threads that secured the tablets or

1 A colleague of J. Weiss (op. cit. p. 57, n. 3) has shown that it is possible to construct a roll in which the seals fastened to the cords can be so fastened that with the removal of one a part of the roll can be unrolled, while the rest remains secure.
parchment (see Smith, *Dict. of Greek and Roman Ant.*, p. 1117). Such a Testament could not be carried into execution till all the seven seals were loosed.

The Seal visions are, therefore, on this view only signs of the end, the “woes” of the Messiah. But, if this view were right, then our author could not have omitted the most significant part of the whole procedure—the opening of the Book itself after the undoing of the seventh seal.

(b) The roll contains the divine decrees and the destinies of the world. It deals with the things ἀ μέλλει γενέσθαι. With the loosing of each seal a part of its contents is revealed in symbolic representation. In other words, the Book is a prophecy of the things that fall out before the end. Owing to the solemnity with which it is introduced and the importance attached to it by the Seer, it should contain all the future history of the world described in the Apocalypse to its close; and so Nicolas de Lyra, Corn. a Lap., Bengel, Düsterdieck, Bousset, etc., explain. This appears to be the right view, though it is hard to reconcile this view with the rest of the Apocalypse.

That this Book is sealed with seven seals shows that the divine counsels and judgments it contains are a profound secret (cf. x. 4, xxii. 10; Isa. xxix. 11; Dan. viii. 26, xii. 4, 9), which can only be revealed through the mediation of the Lamb.

In apocalyptic literature we have conceptions closely related to that of the Book in our text. It recalls the thought expressed by the phrase “the heavenly tablets” (αἱ πλάκες τοῦ οὐρανοῦ) which is found in the Test. XII Patriarchs, the Book of Jubilees, and in I Enoch. The conception underlying this phrase is to be traced, partly to Ps. cxxxix. 16; Ex. xxv. 9, 40, xxvi. 30, where we find the idea that heaven contains divine archetypes of certain things that exist on earth; partly to Dan. x. 21, where a book of God’s plans is referred to; but most of all to the growing determinism of thought, for which this phrase stands as a concrete expression. The conception is not a hard and fixed one: in I Enoch and Test. XII Patr. it wavers between an absolute determinism and prediction pure and simple. In the following passages as in our text the heavenly tablets deal with the future destinies of the world in I Enoch lxxxi. 1 sq., xciii. 1–3, cvi. 19, cvii. 1; and the blessings in store for the righteous cvii. 2. They are apparently called the Book of the Angels, cvii. 2 (γσμ, θ), and are designed for the perusal of the angels, cviii. 7, that they may know the future recompenses of the righteous and the wicked. Here there is a divergence between the Book in our text and the books in Enoch. The Book in our text is closed, and can only be opened by the Lamb. Those in Enoch are open to be perused by the angels. Notwithstanding the
ideas are closely related. See my notes on 1 Enoch xlvii. 3 and Jub. iii. 10.

2. καὶ εἶδον ἄγγελον ἱσχυρὸν κηρύσσοντα ἐν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ. A “strong angel” is referred to again in x. 1, xviii. 21. The strength of the angel is dwelt upon, as his voice penetrates to the utmost bounds of heaven and earth and Hades. The phrase ἐν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ (see note on x. 3) recurs in xiv. 7, 9, 15; κηρύσσοντα ἐν is a Hebraism.

τίς ἄξιος ἀνοίξαι τὸ βιβλίον καὶ λύσαι τὰς σφραγίδας αὐτοῦ. ἄξιος here = ἱκανός. Matt. viii. 8: cf. 2 Cor. ii. 16, πρὸς τάντα τίς ἱκανός; In John i. 27 it is combined with ὅν. The “worthiness” (ἀξίότης) is the inner ethical presupposition of the ability (ἱκανότης) to open the Book. In ἀνοίξαι καὶ λύσαι there is a hysteron proteron, or else we may take λύσαι as defining more nearly the preceding word ἀνοίξαι.

3. καὶ οὐδεὶς εὗραν ἐν τῷ ὑφαρω ὦδὲ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς οὐδὲ ὄποκάτω τῆς γῆς ἀνοίξαι τὸ βιβλίον ὦδὲ βλέπειν αὐτό. Our author uses εὗραν, never ἐυνύχθη. In the whole sphere of creation none was worthy to open the Book. This threefold division is found already in Ex. xx. 4 (cf. xx. 11; Ps. cxlvi. 6), though in an earlier and different form: “that is in the heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth.” This latter agrees exactly with the Babylonian division of the world into heaven and earth and water (ἀρχαῖος = water under and around the earth: see Zimmern, K. A. T. 8 ii. 350, 615), each of which had its own god. In Ex. xx. 4 the Babylonian polytheism has of course disappeared, though the cosmic division has survived. But, inasmuch as there has been a great eschatological development between Ex. xx. 4 and the time of our Apocalypse, the third division has become synonymous with Hades. This appears clearly in Phil. ii. 10. On a fourfold division of creation see note on 13.

4. καὶ ἐκλαίων πολὺ, ὅτι οὐδεὶς ἄξιος εὐρέθη ἀνοίξαι τὸ βιβλίον οὔτε βλέπειν αὐτό. The Seer began to weep unrestrainedly because no being in creation was found worthy to open the Book. Others think that his weeping was due to his fear that the hoped for revelation would now be withheld, as it depended on the opening of the Book.

5. καὶ εἰς ἐκ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων λέγει μοι Μὴ κλαίει· ἵδον ἐνίκησεν ὁ λέων ὁ ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς ιουδαία, ἡ μία Δαυείδ, ἀνοίξαι τὸ βιβλίον καὶ τὰς ἐπτὰ σφραγίδας αὐτοῦ. εἰς ἐκ is found twelve times in the Fourth Gospel and eight times in the Apocalypse. One of the Elders here, as again in vii. 13, intervenes, as elsewhere do other angels, x. 4, 8 sqq., xvii. 1, xix. 9, xxii. 9, xxii. 8, in order to inform or guide the Seer. μὴ κλαίει: cf. John xx. 13. The actual phrase is used by Christ in Luke vii. 13, viii. 52.
iôdô eînîkîsr ev. The iôdô serves to introduce vividly the scene represented in the next verse. eînîkîsr ev is to be taken here, as always in the LXX and the N.T., absolutely. It states that once and for all Christ has conquered: cf. iii. 21, ós kâγw eînîkîsr, and the object of this conquest was to empower Him to open the book of destiny and carry the history of the world throughout its final stages. Thus the ánoîzai is to be taken as an infinitive of purpose. The victory has been won through His death and resurrection. The Victor is designated as ò leòn ò ek tîs phulîs 'Ióuda in dependence on Gen. xlix. 9, sôkîmînos lêontos 'Ióuda . . . ánapeasôn ékoumênhês òs leòn, and as ÷ ríza Dâveîd in dependence on Isa. xi. 1, ëxelwôstatai râbdos òk tîs rìzêss (vîzîzîs) 'Iêssai, kai ánnhôs òk tîs rìzêss (vîzhîs) ánabêôstatai, and xi. 10, kai ëstai eîn tî ÷ mhêrâ êkelîn ÷ ríza (wîshîzîs) tòv 'Iêssai. The first passage was interpreted Messianically in the 1st cent. B.C., as we see from the Test. Judah xxiv. 5, and the second in Rom. xv. 12. Since Isa. xi. 4, “He shall smite the earth with the rod of his mouth,” is applied to the Messiah in Pss. Sol. xvii. 39, we may conclude that Isa. xi. 1-10 was interpreted Messianically in pre-Christian times. In xxii. 16 of our text the author returns to these designations of the Messiah: êgô eîmî ÷ ríza kai tò gêvôs Dâveîd.

6. kai eîdôn eîn mésw tòv thronou kai tòv têssârôn ðÎnôn kai eîn mésw tîv prêeëvûtêrôn ðÎnîov èstîkêss òs èspafâmêvôv. The position of the Lamb, in the scene depicted, depends on the rendering assigned to eîn mésw . . . eîn mésw. 1. The text may mean “between the throne and the four Living Creatures (on the one side) and the Elders (on the other).” In this case the Greek would be Hebraistic = צייו יד. The LXX constantly translate in this way the Hebrew preposition literally, and not idiomatically, as in Gen. i. 4, 7, 18, iii. 15, ix. 16, 17, etc. On this view the Lamb would stand somewhere between the inner concentric circle of the Living Creatures and the outer concentric circle of the twenty-four Elders. 2. Or the two phrases eîn mésw may be parallel and emphasize the fact that the Lamb stood in the centre of all the beings above named. In favour of the latter view may be cited vii. 17, tò ðÎnîon tò ãnà méswon tòv thronou. If this view is correct it would imply that the Lamb is standing in immediate closeness to the throne. But v. 7, kai ÷lîthên kai eîlîfêven, is against this. Accordingly the text seems to teach that the Lamb, when first seen by the Seer, appeared in the space between the circles of the Living Creatures and the twenty-four Elders.

The term ðÎnîon as applied to our Lord is peculiar to the Apocalypse—elsewhere in the N.T. it is ðÎpîvôs that is used: John
i. 29, 36; 1 Pet. i. 19; Acts viii. 32. This last passage is a quotation from Isa. liii. 7, ὃς πρόβατον ἐπὶ σφαγῆν ἤχθη καὶ ὃς ἀμνὸς ἑναντίων τοῦ κείροντος αὐτὸν ἄφωνος. That this passage was interpreted of Christ by the first Christians is shown by Acts viii. 34 sqq. The prophet applies it to himself in Jer. xi. 19, ἐγὼ δὲ ὃς ἀρνίον ἄκακον ἁγόμενον τοῦ θυσίαν οὐκ ἔγνων κτλ. The word is used twenty-nine times in twelve chapters of the Apocalypse as a designation of the crucified Messiah. Vischer (38-46) has tried to show that ἀρνίον is an interpolation in the present passage as well as throughout the rest of the Apocalypse, but unsuccessfully save perhaps in xiii. 8. So far, however, is Vischer from being right as to the present passage, that with J. Weiss (p. 57) the conceptions of the Book and the Lamb are to be regarded as “the kernel of the Vision.” ὃς ἐσφαγμένον, ἀ.σ. as though slain in sacrifice and still retaining the appearance of death wounds on its body. These wounds are tokens that the sacrifice has been offered. The Lamb is represented ὃς ἐσφαγμένον, because in very truth He is not dead but alive: cf. i. 18, ii. 8.

ἐκών κέρατα ἐπτά. The horn first of all symbolizes power in the O.T. Cf. Num. xxiii. 22; Deut. xxxiii. 17; 1 Sam. ii. 1; 1 Kings xxii. 11; Ps. lxxv. 4, lxxxix. 17, etc. Next it marks kingly dignity, Ps. cxii. 9, cxlviii. 14; Zech. i. 18; Dan. vii. 7, 20, viii. 3 sqq.; Apoc. xiii. 3, xiii. 1, 11, xvii. 3. In 1 Enoch xc. 9 the Maccabees are symbolized by “horned lambs”: “And I saw till horns grew upon those lambs”: and in Test. Joseph xix. 8 sq., one of this family is designed under the term ἀμνός, which destroys the enemies of Israel. While the idea underlying ἀρνίον ὃς ἐσφαγμένον is clearly derived from Isa. liii. 7, it is very probable that the conception underlying ἐκών κέρατα ἐπτά is sprung from apocalyptic tradition. It is probable also that it is the Jewish Messiah that is designated ἀμνός in the above passage of the Test. Joseph; and such is certainly the case in 1 Enoch xc. 37, “And I saw that a white bull was born with large horns.” “The Lamb,” then, “with the seven horns” is the all-powerful (observe the perfect number “seven” is used) warrior and king. Cf. Matt. xxviii. 18; John xvii. 1, 2. Over against the Christ so represented we have His counterpart in the Beast with the seven heads in xiii. 1.

καὶ ὄφθαλμος ἐπτά, οἱ ἐἰσών τὰ [ἐπτά] πνεύματα τοῦ θεου ἀπεσταλμένοι εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν. Omniscience appears to be here attributed to the Lamb. The possession of the seven eyes has this import: for these belong to Yahweh in the O.T.: cf. Zech. iv. 10, ἐπτά οὗτοι ὄφθαλμοι ἐἰσών κυρίον οἱ ἐπιβλέποντες (τὰ οὐσιώδη) ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν. The clause οἱ ἐἰσών ... γῆν has been rejected by Weyland, Spitta (p. 67), Völter, iv. p. 12, Wellhausen
(p. 9) as an explanatory addition. Its removal would certainly make the interpretation of the text easier. But there is no objection to this clause as coming from our author's hand: cf. iii. 1. In iv. 5, on the other hand, we found that alike the verse structure of iv. 1–8 and the order of the words were against the originality of iv. 5\(^b\) (?), but not against its insertion, when he edited his visions as a whole. Furthermore, since ἀπεσταλμένοι or ἀπεσταλμένα seems to be a very loose but independent translation of ἀπεστάλλομαι (LXX, ἐπιβλέποντες), and since we have already found that our author does not depend for his knowledge of the Hebrew on the LXX, this forms a presumption in favour of his authorship of this clause. Accordingly recognizing its originality, we should next determine the true text. This, we fear, cannot be done with any certainty. The authorities are divided between ἀπεσταλμένοι, ἀπεσταλμένα, and ἀποστελλόμενα. This word could be used either of the "eyes" or of the "spirits," and hence gives us no help, though the original passage in Zechariah is in favour of connecting the words ὀφθαλμοὺς and ἀπεσταλμένοι.

B. Weiss (p. 442) decides definitely for this view and accordingly reads ἀπεσταλμένοι. On the other hand, the context is rather in favour of connecting πνεύματα and the participle. In this case Bousset thinks we should read ἀποστελλόμενα or ἀπεσταλμένα. But there is no necessity whatever for so doing. Such a construction as πνεύματα . . . ἀπεσταλμένοι is quite a normal one in our author, however abnormal in itself. The seven eyes are here identified with the seven spirits of which the Lamb is Lord and Master, iii. 1. The conception of spirits being sent forth as the agents of Divine Providence is easier of comprehension than that in Zech. iv. 10.

On the probable origin and meaning of the eyes and "spirits" in this connection, see note on p. 12 sq.

It is quite impossible to conceive a figure embodying the characteristics of the Lion of the tribe of Judah, the Root of David, and the seven-horned Lamb with seven eyes. The Apocalypse deals with ideas, not with plastic conceptions. The terms used have become for the most part purely symbolical and metaphorical. They have been derived from various sources. Taken by themselves and separately, they are but one-sided and partial representatives of the Messiah of our author. Without any fear of seeming contradiction he combines apparently in one concrete whole these various conceptions, in order to embody fitly the Messiah of his faith and visions. If we confine ourselves to the ideas, and ignore the conflicting plastic manifestations, we shall find no difficulty. The Lion of the tribe of Judah is the one strong member par excellence of this tribe; the Root of
Jesse, is, of course, the plant springing from the root of Jesse (cf. Isa. liii. 2; Deut. xxix. 18).

Thus in xxii. 16 ἡ βίζα and τὸ γένος are practically synonymous. These two expressions designate in tradition the expected Messiah of the tribe of Judah. When we combine with these the further one, “the Lamb with seven horns and seven eyes,” we have a being possessing full power and omniscience—the supreme ruler under God descended from the tribe of Judah. Quite another idea underlies the phrase ἀρνίον ὡς ἐσφαγμένον. As in the former expressions supreme power and omniscience are indicated, by this latter it is supreme self-surrender and self-sacrifice. But there is no contradiction between the ideas, however it may be with their symbols; for this absolute self-sacrifice which has already been undergone, as our author indicates, has become the avenue to supreme power and omniscience.

Such appears to have been the meaning attached to the conception of the Lamb by our author. But some of the elements in the conception may possibly, as Gunkel (Zum Verständniss NT, 60 sqq.) and Bousset (259) point out, go back to an ancient heathen myth. One such element is the opening of the sealed Book. Magical books, magical rings, magical oaths and formulas were everywhere current in the East. He who could make himself master of such books or oaths became to a great degree lord of the universe, and a new deity. By virtue of his magical power, however won, he has power to loose the seals of the book of destiny, to bring the old world to a close and enter on the sovereignty of the new, and thus be enthroned among the ancient deities, as Marduk in the Babylonian creation myth. Gunkel and Bousset assume the currency of some such heathen myth which was subsequently adopted into Judaism and from Judaism into Christianity. However this may be, our author has no consciousness of the existence of this myth, even if in the above form it ever existed. Some elements of the picture, however, do appear to go back to a heathen original.

7. καὶ ἡλθεν καὶ εἴληφεν ἐκ τῆς δεξιᾶς τοῦ καθημένου ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου. In ἡλθεν καὶ εἴληφεν we have a Semiticism (cf. viii. 3) not found in the Fourth Gospel; cf. viii. 3, xvii. 1, xxi. 9. See Dalman’s Words of Jesus, p. 21. But the ἡλθεν may not be a mere Semiticism, but may describe the actual advance of the Lamb from the place where He appeared between the Living Creatures and the Elders to the throne of God. Weiss, followed

---

1 In Jer. xix. 19 the expressions “lamb” and “tree” are applied to the same subject, i.e. Jeremiah.

2 Compare the magical oath in 1 Enoch lxix. 15 sqq., by virtue of which the heavens were made fast, the sea created, the earth founded on the waters, and all the planets and stars kept in their courses. Michael the greatest of all the angels and the patron of Israel had the charge of this oath.
by Bousset and Swete, takes the perfect εἰληφεν as pointing to the permanent results of the action. "Christ receives the revelation of the secrets of the future as an abiding possession." On the other hand, Moulton (Gram. N.T. Greek, i. 145) and Blass (p. 200) regard εἰληφεν as a genuinely aoristic perfect, as well as the perfect in vii. 14, viii. 5, xix. 3, and probably in iii. 3, xi. 17, ii. 27. Other examples are found in 2 Cor. ii. 13, i. 9, vii. 5; Rom. v. 2a; Mark v. 15. It is characteristic of the Apocalypse.

8–14. Adoration of the Lamb—first by the Living Creatures and the Elders, 10; next, by the countless hosts of angels, 11–12; next, by all creation, 13; whereupon the Living Creatures say "amen" and the Elders fall down and worship, 14.

8. καὶ ὅτε ἔλαβεν τὸ βιβλίον, τὰ πέσαρα Ἴδα καὶ οἱ εἰκοσιτέσσαρες πρεσβύτεροι ἔπεσαν ἐκώπιον τοῦ ἀρνίου. Spitta (p. 67) removes ἔπεσαν . . . ἀρνίον as a gloss, (1) because elsewhere not the Living Creatures, but only the Elders fall down and worship. But this is not so in xix. 4, and there is no reason why the Cherubim in our author's view of them should not prostrate themselves. (2) As the Elders had harps and censers in their hands they could not fall down. But Hirscht (Apocalypse und ihre neueste Kritik, p. 47) adduces the Egyptian picture, in which Rameses ii. is represented as falling down before the sun-god Amen-Ra, holding the offering in his left hand and a crozier and a whip in his right (Lepsius, Aegypt. Wandgemälde d. Königl. Museen 3, 1882, p. 26). (3) The falling down of the Elders first takes place in v. 14. This prostration removes, as Bousset points out, the difficulty alleged in (2). Besides, as Hirscht states, 11 seems to presuppose that the Living Creatures are again standing, and the Elders are sitting on their thrones. (4) Through the addition of the verb the following participles are brought unsuitably into relation with the Living Creatures. There is no more cogency in this objection than in the first. The Living Creatures, i.e. the Cherubim, were simply angels, and no longer bearers of the throne of God. As such there would be nothing strange, even if the Cherubim were conceived as holding harps and censers in their hands. But the latter belong exclusively to the Elders. On the other hand, J. Weiss (p. 55) would explain the clauses referring to the Elders as additions of the final editor, as in iv. 4, v. 6, and would thus represent the Living Creatures as holding the harps and censers. But though iv. 4 appears to have been added by our author when re-editing an earlier vision, there seem to be no adequate grounds for the view of Weiss with regard to the other passages.

ἐχοντες ἐκαστοι κιβάραν καὶ φίλας χρυσᾶς γεμούσας θυμιαμάτων [αἱ εἰσὶν αἱ προσευχαὶ τῶν ἁγίων]. The words ἐχοντες ἐκαστοι
appear to refer only to the Elders, though, so far as the
grammar goes, the ἐξοντες could refer to the τα ζηα taken
κατὰ σύνεσιν. Cf. ἐχον in iv. 7. But the office of the
Cherubim is not of a priestly nature, as we have already seen
above, whereas that of the Elders is (see note). They have
harps (cf. xiv. 2, xv. 2) and censers in their hands, and the
theme of their hymn is the self-sacrifice of the Lamb, by the
which He has won the salvation of His people chosen from every
race and tongue. The αι refers to θυμιαμάτων and not to φιάλας.
Its gender is to be explained by attraction from προσευχαί. The
prayers of the saints are symbolized by the incense: Ps. cxl. 2,
κατευθυνθήτω ἡ προσευχή μου ὅς θυμίαμα ἐνώπιόν σου. The αἰγιοι
are those dedicated to God, i.e. the Christians; for so the
latter are frequently designated in the Apocalypse: cf. viii. 3, 4,
xi. 18, xiii. 7, 10, xiv. 12, xvi. 6, xviii. 20, xx. 9. Spitta (p. 67)
and Völter (iv., p. 13) bracketed the clause αἰ... αἰγιοι
as an explanatory gloss, and a wrong one to boot; for the
incense and the prayers are not identical. At most they can
be compared to incense. The gloss is due to a spiritualizing
of the idea in viii. 3, to the effect that prayer is the true incense
of heaven. This is no doubt a true idea, but it does not belong
to the Apocalypse. The true relation of prayer and incense in
our Book is given in viii. 3.

The office of presenting the prayers of the faithful before God,
which the gloss attributes to the Elders, is assigned to Michael
in Origen, De Prin. i. 8. 1, and to the guardian angels in the
Apoc. Pauli, 7-10. In 3 Bar. xi., Michael descends to the
fifth heaven to receive the prayers of mankind. According to
the Apoc. Pauli, 7-10, the doors of heaven were opened
at a definite hour to receive these prayers. Judaism is the
source of these views, as we see by going back to an earlier
work, the Test. Levi iii. 5-6, where it is said that in the highest
heaven the archangels, of whom Michael is the chief, “minister
and make propitiation to the Lord for all the sins of the
righteous, Offering to the Lord ... a reasonable and a bloodless
offering.” Next, in iii. 7, in the fifth heaven, is the order of
angels who present the prayers of the faithful to the archangels,
who in turn lay them before God. (See my edition with notes
in loc.) Cf. Tob. xii. 12, 15. Thus in our text (except in
viii. 3-5) the four and twenty Elders have definitely taken the
part assigned in many circles of Judaism to the Archangels,
if the gloss is a valid interpretation of the text. They present
before God the prayers of the saints, which they have probably
received from a lower order of angels. It is a priestly function,
as that of the Archangels in Test. Levi iii. 5-7; Origen, De
Orat. 11 on Tobit. In the O.T. and later Judaism, as I have
shown in my notes on Test. Levi iii. 5, the angels acted as intercessors for mankind. But in the face of viii. 3–5 the rôle of the Elders can hardly be that of presenting the prayers of the faithful to God. They exercise priestly functions, it is true, but their chief function is the praise of God and of the Lamb, who has redeemed humanity.

9. καὶ ἔδοσεν ὁ θεὸς καὶ πάντες λέγοντες. This song is sung exclusively by the Elders, who play on their harps to the accompaniment of their song. “Heaven is revealed to earth as the homeland of music” (C. Rossetti). The ὁθεὸς καὶ πάντες (ῥήμα ῥηθὸς) was originally a song of praise inspired by gratitude for new mercies. As such it occurs six times in the Psalter: xxxii. (xxxiii.) 3, xxxix. (xl.) 4, xcv. (xcvi.) 1, xcvi. (xcviii.) 1, cxliii. (cxliv.) 9, cxlix. 1. But in Isa. xlii. 10 the phrase has a fuller content, corresponding to the deeper sense of “new things” in xlii. 9. The one cycle of events is fulfilled, the other is about to begin. However great the glories of things of old time, they shall be dimmed by the splendour of things to come. To this new cycle the new song belongs. Suddenly in our text the old God-appointed Jewish dispensation, with its animal sacrifices and racial exclusiveness, is brought to a close, and the new Christian dispensation is initiated, as the “new song” declares, by the self-sacrifice made once and for all (ἐσφάγγη) by the Lamb, and the universal Church thereby established and drawn from every people and nation and language. The continuous song (ἔδοσεν) is the note of continuous thankfulness and joy.

The καὶ πάντως—the newness in character, purity, and permanence of the New Kingdom is a favourite theme in the Apocalypse, and rightly; for from the beginning of and throughout apocalyptic literature there had been a promise of a new world and a new life. Although in earlier times the expected world may have been in most respects merely a glorified repetition of the world that then was, in later times the expectation became transformed and a world was looked for that was new, not as regards time (νεός), but as regards quality (καὶ πάντως). And so our Apocalypse, as closing the long development of Apocalyptic in the past, dwells naturally on this theme. The Seer beholds in a vision the οὐρανὸν καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς and the ἑρωοῦσαλήμ καὶ πάντως—the new universe created by God, who in the vision declares ἐδόθη καὶ θεὸς πάντα, xxi. 5, 2 (cf. iii. 12). Each citizen, moreover, of this New Kingdom is to bear a new name ὄνομα καὶ πάντως, ii. 17, iii. 12, and in praise of this kingdom the Elders sing the new song ὁθεὸς καὶ πάντως, and likewise the angels, xiv. 3, and the blessed company of the martyrs before the throne, xv. 2.

"Αξιός εἶ λαβεῖν τὸ βιβλίον
καὶ ἀνοίξαι τὰς σφραγίδας αὐτοῦ,"
σφαξεσθαι is, as Swete points out, used to describe the death of Christ in this Book (6, 9, 12, xiii. 8) in dependence on Isa. l.iii. 7, ὅς πρόβατον ἐπὶ σφαγὴν ἡχὴν, and the death of the martyrs in vi. 9, xviii. 24. ἀγοράζεων expresses the idea of salvation as one of purchase. Christ has bought the faithful for God by the shedding of His blood (cf. i Pet. i. 19). The power or sphere from which the purchase sets free is not mentioned here. In (xiv. 3 it is from the earth and its evils, and in—a gloss) xiv. 4 from wicked men that they are withdrawn through the purchase. ἀγοράζεων is a Pauline word, 1 Cor. vi. 20, vii. 23; 2 Pet. ii. 1. B. Weiss (p. 443) holds that the word points back to i. 5, so far as the loosing of the bands of sin makes this possible, in order that the redeemed may become ἀγιοί.

Bousset is of opinion that the word suggests release from a hostile power. In later ages many Christian theologians held that Christ purchased His disciples from the devil by His death.

ἐν τῷ αἰματὶ σου. Here as in i. 5 ἐν = the Hebrew ה, denoting price: "at the cost of Thy blood."

ἐκ πάσης φυλῆς κτλ. This expression does not attribute the same universal scope to the redemptive power of Christ’s death as i John ii. 2, αὐτὸς ἐλασμός ἐστιν . . . περί ὀλου τοῦ κόσμου.

φυλῆς καὶ γλώσσης καὶ λαοῦ καὶ ἐθνοῦς. These four words occur, but in different order, in v. 9, vii. 9, xi. 9, xiii. 7, xiv. 6. In no two instances is the order the same. They recur twice more, but not only in a different order but with βασιλείαν instead of φυλαίς in x. 11, and ἄκλωι instead of φυλαί in xvii. 15. But this last occurs in a gloss. There is a similar enumeration in 4 Ezra iii. 7, “Gentes et tribus, populi et cognitiones” (= ἐθνῶν καὶ φυλαί, λαοί καὶ συγγένειαι (?)). Now the source of all these is ultimately the Book of Daniel, iii. 4, 7, 29, v. 19, vi. 25, vii. 14, whether it be the Massoretic, Theodotion, or the LXX. In the printed texts of the LXX it is found also in iii. 31, but it is to be observed here that iii. 31-32 were borrowed by Origen from Theodotion. Now, since the Massoretic has in all the above passages ἐθνῶν ἔθνων ἔθνως and Theodotion λαοί, φυλαί, γλώσσαι, it will become clear as we proceed that the enumerations in our text, which in every case consist of four members and one of these members ἐθνος or ἔθνη, cannot be derived from either the Massoretic text or Theodotion. On the other hand, the LXX has ἐθνος or ἔθνη always as one member of the enumerations, and in iii. 4 there are four members in the enumeration.
—ἐθνὴν καὶ χώρας (=ΔΗΜΟΥ?), λαοὶ καὶ γλῶσσαι. In the remaining four passages iii. 2, 7, 29, vi. 25, only three are mentioned: in the first three of these ἐθνὴν καὶ φυλαὶ καὶ γλῶσσαι (in various cases), and in vi. 25, ἐθνεῖτο κ. γλῶσσαις καὶ χώραις. Here we observe that, whereas λαός is found in all the passages in the Apocalypse and in Theodotion, it is found only once in the LXX (iii. 4). Thus this list is more nearly related to the LXX than to the Massoretic and Theodotion, but diverges also from the former. Hence our text presupposes either the existence of a translation differing both from the LXX and Theodotion though more akin to the former, or the independent use of an older Aramaic text of Daniel than that preserved in the Canon.

10. βασιλείαν καὶ ζερεῖς κτλ. On the expression βασιλείαν καὶ ζερεῖς see note on i. 6. The present βασιλεῖόνων, which is the harder reading, is also the right reading. It resumes the idea in βασιλεία and explains it. In the vision the Seer sees the saints already reigning. Thus the expression is proleptic, and refers primarily to the Millennial Kingdom in xx. Or βασιλεῖόνων may, like συντρίβεται in ii. 27, be a Hebraism for βασιλεῖόνων. Others explain it as preserving its natural sense on the ground that the Church even then was reigning on earth, and that all things were being put under her feet as under those of her Lord: cf. Eph. ii. 6; 1 Cor. xv. 25. Not the Caesars, but the persecuted Christians are the true kings of the earth. But this sovereignty is not referred to here: it is only potential and is not realized till xx. 4.

11. καὶ εἴδον καὶ ἦκουσα φωνὴν ἀγγέλων πολλῶν κύκλῳ τοῦ θρόνου [καὶ τῶν ζων καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων], καὶ ἦν δὲ ἀριθμὸς αὐτῶν μυριάδες μυριάδων καὶ χιλιάδες χιλιάδων. The καὶ εἴδον introduces a new feature in the vision: see note on iv. 1. Round about the two smaller concentric circles of the highest angels, the Seer sees and hears innumerable angelic hosts acclaiming the Lamb with one voice.

I have bracketed καὶ τῶν ζων κ. τῶν πρεσβυτέρων as a gloss. Their special thanksgiving has already been recorded in 9—10: that of the countless hosts of the angels comes in 12; then the thanksgiving of all creation. Further, when the various orders of heavenly beings are mentioned, they are given in the following order: Living Creatures, Elders, angels; or angels, Elders, Living Creatures, according as the Seer’s description proceeds from the throne outwards, or vice versa. See note on iv. 4. The order of the words μυριάδες . . . χιλιάδες is surprising, and Bousset therefore brackets μυριάδες μυριάδων καὶ as an addition. They are omitted by the Vulgate and Primasius. The combination is already found, but in its natural order, in 1 Enoch xl. 1, lx. 1, lxxi. 8 = χιλιάδες χιλιάδων καὶ μυριάδες μυριάδων, and
these passages may have been in the mind of our author. The same combination is found also in Dan. vii. 10, though verbs intervene: χίλαι χιλιάδες ἐλευθηργοῦν αὐτῷ καὶ μύριαι μυριάδες παριστήκεισαν αὐτῷ (Theodotion). For partial parallels, cf. 1 Enoch xiv. 22; Ps. lxvii. (lxviii.) 18 (μυριοσπάσιον, χιλιάδες εὐθηνούσων), Deut. xxxii. 30; Gen. xxiv. 60, and our text, ix. 16.

12. ἀξιῶς ἐστιν τὸ ἀρνίον τὸ ἐσφαγμένον λαβεῖν τὴν δύναμιν καὶ πλοῦτον καὶ σοφίαν καὶ ἴσχυν καὶ τιμήν καὶ δόξαν καὶ εὐλογίαν.

The doxology is uttered either in recognition of the power already possessed by the Lamb, or on its immediately impending assumption by Him. The fact of this assumption is subsequently referred to in xi. 17, εἰληφας τὴν δύναμιν . . . καὶ ἔβασιλενσας.

In iv. 9, 11 there are only three predicates over against four in v. 13, and seven in v. 12, vii. 12. Next, whereas in iv. 11, vii. 12 the article precedes each number of the ascription, here one article includes them all, as though they formed one word. Again, the seven members of the ascription in our text recur in vii. 12, though in a different order, except that for πλοῦτος in v. 12 we find εὐχαριστία in vii. 12. The latter doxology, moreover, is addressed to God, as also those in iv. 9, 11. The septenary number may indicate completeness. Two heptads of such titles of honour are found as early as 1 Chron. xxix. 11, 12, though each member does not always consist of a single word, but in xxix. 11 of a clause in two instances, and in three in xxix. 12. In the latter verse four of the members are the same as those in our text, πλοῦτος . . . δόξα . . . ἴσχυς . . . δύναμις (ἀκαλλιο . . . καὶ . . . ἄλφη). These are not the renderings of the LXX. If our author made any use of 1 Chron. xxix. 11, 12 here, he did not use the LXX version of it.

Bousset points out that the seven members of the ascription fall into two divisions of four and three: the four deal with the power and wisdom that the Lamb assumes; the three with the recognition of the Lamb on the part of mankind. In this way he accounts for the different order in v. 12 and vii. 12. Spitta (285) thinks that the different order in the attributes in iv. 11, v. 12, vii. 12 is due to the wish of the writer to bring out more fully the contrast between τὸ ἀρνίον τὸ ἐσφαγμένον and the attributes δύναμις, πλοῦτος, σοφία, ἴσχυς. Thereupon follow the δόξα, τιμή, εὐλογία, which in the doxologies addressed to God, however, are at the beginning.

13. καὶ πάν κτίσμα δ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ ὑποκάτω τῆς γῆς καὶ ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ ἐστιν, καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς πάντα, ἥκουσα λέγονταs.
Again the circle of the worshippers is extended, and on the
doxologies and thanksgivings of the Cherubim and Elders, and
the innumerable hosts of angels, follows the great finale pro-
nounced by all creation.

Here the writer, who in 3 had given the usual threefold
division of creation, now gives a fourfold one. Since the inhabit-
ants of heaven have already been fully (?) enumerated, we should
expect the mention of those in the air (ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ), on the earth,
and in the sea (cf. Ps. viii. 7-8); and this is actually the text of Κ,
some cursive, and two Versions, which omit ἐποκάτω τῆς γῆς.

But the textual evidence strongly supports this clause, which
is, therefore, to be interpreted of the inhabitants of Hades, as it
cannot well admit of any other meaning. That the inhabitants
of Hades join in the doxology, shows the vast progress that
theology has made from O.T. times, when no praise of God
was conceived of as possible in Sheol: Ps. vi. 5, xxx. 9, lxxviii.
10-12; Isa. xxxviii. 18. This being the meaning of this clause,
what meaning are we to attach to δὲ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ? (a) If we follow
the interpretation suggested above, we have the birds of the air,
the men and the animals on the earth, the souls in Hades, and
the fish of the sea. This is a very unsatisfactory list. Other
explanations of δὲ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ have accordingly been offered.
(b) Thus Corn. a Lap. has suggested that it refers to the sun,
moon, and stars. This is quite possible, since we know that the
Jews attributed a conscious existence to these luminaries,
1 Enoch xviii. 13 sqq., and according to 2 Enoch xi. they belong
to the fourth heaven. (c) Or the clause may be taken as referring
to all the inhabitants of heaven except the Cherubim and the
Elders, who pronounce the amen on this doxology. (d) Or, finally,
the clause is to be taken resumptively as including all that went
before. In favour of this view it may be observed that at the
close of the enumeration in 13 we have another resumptive clause
embracing exhaustively all the creation of God (καὶ τὰ ἐν αὕτοις
πάντα). Thus the universe of created things, the inhabitants of
heaven, earth, sea, and Hades, join in the grand finale of praise that
rose to the throne of God. Yet 14 might seem, but not necessarily,
to exclude from these the Cherubim and the Elders.

For a parallel resumptive expression cf. Mark xv. 1, οἱ
ἀρχιερεῖς μετὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων καὶ γραμματέων καὶ ὅλων τὸ
συνεδρίον. The phrase τὰ ἐν αὕτοις πάντα is already found in
Ex. xx. 11; Ps. cxxxv. (cxxxvi.) 6.

ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ. So Κ and various Versions. ἐπὶ, cum gen. impos-
sible here.

τῷ καθημένῳ ἐπὶ τῷ θρόνῳ καὶ τῷ ἄρνῳ
ἡ εὐλογία καὶ ἡ τιμή καὶ ἡ δόξα
καὶ τὸ κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.
The sentence xxviii. different, referred i. xxvii. found in 6, by Church 48. Such Cherubim beginning, of Cherubim, closing conjunction attests This doxology and entire Creatures doxologies and offered iv. in the Lamb, and pronounce Him as worthy to rule it and to receive the sevenfold attributes of God (cf. vii. 12). And now the climax of the world’s adoration has come, and the worship offered to God in iv., and that to the Lamb in v. i–12, are united in one great closing doxology, in which all created things throughout the entire universe acclaim together God and the Lamb, with praise and honour and glory and power for ever and ever. The doxology has four members, consisting of the last three attributes in the doxology in 12 together with one which is elsewhere found only in the doxology in i. 6.

14. καὶ τὰ τέσσερα ζωὰ ἐλεγον Ἀμήν. It is fitting that the Cherubim, the highest order of angels, should close the doxology of all creation with the solemn Ἀμήν of confirmation, as at the beginning, iv. 8, they had pronounced the first doxology. Both Cherubim and Elders join in this Ἀμήν in xix. 4. Cf. Deut. xxvii. 15 sqq.

Amen is used in the Apocalypse in probably four senses. i. The initial amen in which the words of a previous speaker are referred to and adopted as one’s own: v. 14, vii. 12, xix. 4, xxii. 20. The earliest instances of this use are found in 1 Kings i. 36; Jer. xxviii. 6, xi. 5. ii. “The detached Amen, the complementary sentence being suppressed (Deut. xxvii. 15–26; Neh. v. 13).” Such may be the use in v. 14 of our text. This amen was used liturgically, in the time of the Chronicler, 1 Chron. xvi. 36 = Ps. cxi. 48—though not in the Temple service, when the response was different, but in the services of the synagogue (Schürer, G. F. V. ii. 453–454, 458), whence the custom passed over to the Christian Church (cf. 1 Cor. xiv. 16). This usage is vouched for by Justin Martyr, Apol. i. 65, ὅ παρὼν λαὸς ἐπενεφημένει λέγων Ἀμήν, and later by Jerome. iii. The final amen with no change of speaker, i. 6, 7. This use is frequent from the N.T. onwards, but not found in the O.T. save in the subscriptions to the four divisions of the
Psalter, xli. 14, lxxii. 18, lxxxix. 52, cvi. 48. iv. See note on iii. 14. For other uses of this word see the article in Encyc. Bib. i. 136 sq., by Professor Hogg, which I have drawn upon for the above notes; and that in Hastings’ D.B. τωθ is rendered in the LXX by γένευτο in the Law, the Prophets, and the Psalter, but by ἄμην in the Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Apocrypha. (See note on ναὶ, ἄμην, in i. 7.)

With the doxology in 13βc and the succeeding amen we should compare 1 Chron. xvi. 36, εὐλογημένος κύριος ὁ θεός Ἰσραήλ ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος καὶ ἦς τοῦ αἰῶνος, καὶ ἐρεῖ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς ἴμην. That the doxologies in the Psalter were in the mind of our writer will become clearer when we come to xix. 4.

Swete well remarks in loc., “the whole passage is highly suggestive of the devotional attitude of the Asiatic Church in the time of Domitian towards the person of Christ. It confirms Pliny’s report: ‘(Christianos) carmen Christo quasi deo dicere secum invicem.’” This was already remarked by Völter, Das Problem d. Apok. p. 512, “Wenn Plinius an Trajan schreibt, dass die Christen am Tag ihrer Zusammenkünfte gewöhnt seien, carmen Christo quasi Deo dicere, so erinnert man sich dabei . . . der Lobpreisung des Lammes in Apok. v. 13.” Here the Elders prostrate themselves before God and the Lamb, as in iv. 10 they had done before God.

Appendix.

Writers have dealt very variously with this chapter. Vischer, 54 sqq., Schmidt, 35, are obliged from their standpoint of an original Jewish Apocalypse to reject v. 9–14, since the glorification of the Lamb and His redemption of the Gentiles cannot appear in such an Apocalypse. The former rejects also the words ἀκρινον . . . ὡς ἑσφαγμένον in v. 6 and ἀκρινον in v. 8. Weyard, 148 sqq., from the same standpoint goes farther and assigns v. 6–14 to the Christian redactor, and X. (in Z.A.T.W., 1887, No. 1) is still more drastic and regards v. 25, 3–6, 8–14 as derived from a Christian redactor. Rauch, 79 sq., 121 sq., is content with excising v. 9b, 10, the explanatory relative sentences in v. 6, 8, and the phrase καὶ τῷ ἀρνῷ in v. 13.

Even critics who start from the basis of a Christian Apocalypse remove v. 11–14. So Völter2, i. 156, ii. 27 sq., iii. 84–86, iv. 13 sq., 27, mainly on the grounds that the chronology is expressed only in general terms and takes no account of the Lamb taking the Book and opening the seals, and that He is set on equality with God. This addition he variously assigns to a reviser of the year 129 or 114. In iv. 145 he finds additions made by a redactor of Trajan’s time, in v. 6b
because of the exalted view of the Lamb, and in v. 9 because of the contradiction existing between this universalistic conception and vii. 1–8, and in v. 10 where the final clause is added on the basis of xx. 4, xxii. 5. Erbes, 50, 102, regards v. 11–14 as an intrusion in their present context, and thinks that it stood originally after xv. 2–4. Spitta, 280–287, maintains the integrity of the chapter on the whole, but excises as additions of a redactor the relative clauses in v. 6, 8, the final clause of v. 10, and ἵδον . . . ἀπεστῶ in v. 5, and ἐπέσεν . . . ἀπετίνον in v. 8. But no valid grounds exist for any such mutilations of the text of this chapter or the preceding one, seeing that the ideas are so closely wrought together and elaborated in a growing crescendo (cf. closing note on v. 13), and that the diction and idiom are so distinctively characteristic of our author. To the intrusion of certain glosses in iv.–v. we have already drawn attention.

CHAPTER VI.

The first six Seals—preliminary signs of the End.

§ 1. Subject of this Section.—This section gives an account of the six Seals, which in the Gospels and in contemporary and earlier Judaism were the Messianic woes or signs of the immediate destruction of the present world. The world in all its phases subserves a moral end—the training and disciplining of the children of God. When this end is attained, i.e. when the number of God’s children is complete, 9–11, the present order of things will be destroyed.

The approach of this consummation will be heralded by the breaking up of political and social order, 1–8, and the partial destruction of the present cosmic order, vi. 12–17, will follow. Our author thought that the time of the end was at hand; for he expected a universal persecution and a universal martyrdom. But that hour had not yet come; for the roll of the martyrs was still incomplete. Accordingly the cosmic woes in vi. 12–vii. 3 are still future, and even when fulfilled, are partial and not universal.\(^1\) History has still some time to run, and the happenings of that time are mainly the theme of the rest of the book.

§ 2. The entire chapter is from our author’s hand. Inde-

\(^1\) In the Gospels, Mark xiii., Matt. xxiv., Luke xxii., and analogous descriptions of the last times, these woes are to be literally and fully realized, and so to be taken as the immediate heralds of the final judgment; but in our author’s hands they have ceased to be the immediate heralds of the end, and are to be realized only partially.
pendently of the fact that it forms an organic part of his work, the diction and idiom are obviously his.

(a) Diction.

1. καὶ εἶδον See p. 106. ἕνοεῖν—passim. τὸ ἄρνιον: used twenty-seven times in our author, but not elsewhere in the N.T. of Christ.

2. καὶ εἶδον καὶ ἴδου: also in 5, 8: see p. 106.


9. τὸν ἐσφαγμένων: cf. v. 6, 9, 12, xiii. 8, xviii. 24. Only once in rest of N.T. διὰ τ. λόγου τ. θεοῦ: cf. i. 2, note, 9, xii. 11, xx. 4. διὰ τ. μαρτύριαν: cf. i. 2, note.


18. ἐπεσαν εἰς τ. γῆν: cf. ix. 1.

14. πάν ὅρος καὶ νήσος ἐκ τ. τόπων ἐκκινήθησαν: cf. xvi. 20, where the same idea and in fact the same words recur.

15. οἱ βασιλεῖς τ. γῆς: cf. xix. 18, 19, xxi. 24. βασιλεῖς . . . χιλιάρχοι . . . ἵσχυροι . . . δοῦλος καὶ ἔλευθερος. These recur in xix. 18.

16. ἡ ἡμέρα ἡ μεγάλη (i.e. of judgment). Recurs in xvi. 14, and not elsewhere in N.T. save in Acts ii. 20, where it is a quotation from Joel.

(b) Idiom.

1. μιαν ἐκ: cf. ἐνός ἐκ in next clause: frequent in our author. ὡς φωνῇ—a Hebraism for ὡς φωνῇ. See note in loc.

2. ὁ καθημένων ἐπὶ αὐτῶν: cf. 5: also 16, τοῦ καθημένου ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου. In 4 τῷ καθημένῳ ἐπὶ ἀὐτῶν ἀὐτὸν ἀὐτῷ, the αὐτῶν is corrupt for αὐτῷ; see p. 112 sq.

3. ἄλλος ἵππος πυρρός = “another, a red horse.” This classical idiom recurs in xiv. 8, 9, and John xiv. 16 (yet see Abbott, Gram. p. 612 sq.) may be interpreted in the same way. Otherwise it is not found in the N.T. ἐτερος is used in this sense in Luke x. 1, xxiii. 32.

4. ἵνα . . . σφάξουσιν: cf. ii. ἵνα, cum inf., nine times in our author, fourteen in rest of N.T.

6. ὡς φωνὴν. See note on p. 35 sq.

7. φωνῇ τ. τετάρτου ξῆς = “the voice,” etc.

11. αὐτοῖς ἐκάστῳ: cf. ii. 23. Outside our author only once in N.T.

§ 3. Method of interpreting the Seven Seals.—A short inquiry as to the right method of interpreting the Seven Seals is necessary,
since the bulk of interpretations proceed on wholly arbitrary lines. We can take account only of the most notable interpretations, and then try to arrive at one which is justifiable on historical and critical grounds. Our inquiry relates to the first five seals, since the sixth is universally taken eschatologically. The methods may be given as follows:

i. Contemporary Historical Method.—Völter in all his four volumes, Erbes, 37 sqq., Holtzmann, and Swete seek to explain the first five seals by the Contemporary Historical Method. The first three seals reproduce, Erbes asserts, an ancient eschatological scheme, but correspond to events of the present, and in regard to the fourth and fifth Seals these writers find corresponding historical events. The first Rider is the Parthian King Vologäses, who in 62 A.D. forced a Roman army to capitulate. Erbes explains the second Rider by the great insurrection in Britain, 61 A.D., which led to the loss of 150,000 lives and by contemporary wars in Germany and troubles in Palestine; the third Rider by a famine in 62 affecting Armenia and Palestine; the fourth by pestilences in Asia and Ephesus, 61 A.D.; the fifth by the Neronic persecution. Erbes has here, on the whole, gone on the same lines as his predecessors. Völter, Holtzmann, and Swete take the first Rider to represent the Parthian empire, the second to represent Rome, the third they explain by the famine in Domitian’s time (see note on 6). Though in his earlier editions Holtzmann seeks to explain the fourth figure as referring to the failure of the harvests in 44, the famines in Nero’s time and the great pestilence throughout the Empire in 65 (Tac. Ann. xvi. 13; Suet. Nero, 39, 45), in the last he prefers to abandon the Contemporary Historical Method, though it is true he refers the fifth Seal to the Neronic persecution.

This method proceeds mainly on the principle that the symbols used in the Seals are either devised or at all events arranged in their present order with a view to represent certain historical events. Now since, as we shall see later, the Apocalypticist has received from tradition both the materials of this vision and almost the very order in which they are cast, it will not be possible to acknowledge it as a free composition, as the Contemporary Historical Method would in the main require, and though a few clear references to historical events are to be found, we shall recognize these as reinterpretations of pre-existing materials, or as additions to a pre-existing eschatological scheme.

ii. Contemporary-Historical and Symbolical with Traditional Elements.—Bousset feels himself obliged to use these two methods in this interpretation of the Seals. The first Seal must, he holds, be interpreted by the Contemporary-Historical of the Parthian empire on two grounds: (a) The meaning of the white
horse cannot be explained from stereotyped eschatological ideas. (b) The white horse is placed first in our text in contradistinction to the order in Zech. vi. The latter reason, already advanced by Spitta, 291, is not of much weight; for though the horses are mentioned three times in Zech. vi., they occur in a different order each time. The second and fourth Seals are explained symbolically of war and pestilence, though, of course, individual features in the Riders are derived from tradition. In regard to the third Seal, Bousset accepts the Contemporary-Historical explanation, and interprets this Seal by Domitian's Edict in 92 (see note on 6 of my text).

The fifth Seal is likewise interpreted by the same method (p. 274). Thus the first, third, and fifth are to be explained by this method. Spitta, 287 sqq., explains these three Seals by the same method, but arrives at very different results. The first Seal refers to Rome, the third to definite famines, and the fifth (p. 300) to the persecutions of the Christians by the Jews.

Although Bousset's exegesis is, of course, good, it has in my opinion missed the key to the interpretation of the Seals as a whole, and therefore has a show of arbitrariness.

iii. The Traditional-Historical.—This method has been applied to the interpretation of the first four Seals by Gunkel (Zum religionsgesch. Verst. d. N.T. 53 sq.), who is of opinion that primitive Oriental materials lie behind this vision and help to explain some of its details. The four horsemen, which in the Apocalypse are conceived as plague spirits, must originally have had a wholly different significance. This, he holds, is quite clear in the case of the first victorious and crowned horseman, which has ever been a crux interpretum. These four horsemen were originally the four world gods, which ruled each over one of the four world periods, and are distantly related to the four beasts in Dan. vii., each of which represents a world empire. The first horseman was originally a sun-god: his horse is white (as in vi. 2, ἵππος λευκός: cf. the white horse of the divine slayer of the dragon, xix. 11; the white horses of Mithras in the Avesta—Cumont, Mystères de Mithra, p. 3). He carries a bow (so vi. 2, ξύλων τόξον) as the sun-god (Zimmern, K.A.T.9 368, note 5): he wears a crown (so vi. 2, ἄδειαν αὐτῷ στέφανος) as Mithras (Cumont, op. cit. 84; Dieterich, Mithrasliturgie, 11, 15), and is always victorious (so vi. 2, νικῶν καὶ ἵνα νικήσῃ), and hence is called ἀνικητός, "invictus" (Cumont, op. cit. 82). The second horseman is the god of war, and the third, originally the god of grain, is here transformed into a famine god: thence is explained his sparing the oil and wine.

Now, whilst the above theory is ingenious and offers some attractive explanations, it is nevertheless unsatisfactory and
inconsistent. For, first of all, how can the first of the four horsemen, who are said to have been originally world gods who preside over the four world periods, be afterwards described as the sun-god, the war-god and grain-god! Gunkel makes no attempt to find the original (?) equivalent of the fourth horseman, \(\ddot{\text{b}}\alpha\upsilon\alpha\upsilon\rho\alpha\upsilon\sigma\), in our text. In regard to the first horseman, however, his theory is interesting; but that the Seer had any idea of the original meaning of this figure cannot be entertained for a moment.

iv. Contemporary-Historical and Traditional-Historical. Under this heading J. Weiss (59 sqq.) is to be mentioned, though it is difficult to characterize his exegesis accurately. The Apocalyptist, according to Weiss, was using traditional material, and the particular form into which he cast this material was due to the eschatological ideas in the Parousia discourses of our Lord, which he had learnt from the Gospels or from oral tradition. The recognition of the connection of the Seals with the Woes in the Parousia discourses, which is already to be found in Alford, is the chief merit in his exegesis of this passage. And yet he has only partially appreciated the permanent importance of this fact, as we shall see presently. In the original Johannine Apocalypse (\textit{circa} 60 A.D.) which Weiss assumes, the following plagues were enumerated: "pestilence, war, famine, Hades, persecution, earthquakes"; or "war, famine, pestilence, Hades, persecution, earthquakes."\(^1\) This Apocalypse the final Apocalyptist re-edited, and this particular passage he transformed by prefixing the victorious Rider on the white horse and displacing the mention of mere persecution by an account of actual martyrdom (vi. 9–11) already in the past. The victorious Rider represents the victorious course of the Gospel, which must be preached to all nations before the woes come (so Weiss interprets Mark xiii. 10). Thus, while in the completed Apocalypse the fifth Seal represents events already in the past, the first represents a present process: while in the Johannine Apocalypse the second, third, and fourth represent future events, yet it is to be presumed that these too in the completed Apocalypse refer to past events. This exposition is no more satisfying than those which precede. I proceed, therefore, to offer another explanation of the Seals, which explains more or less fully all the difficulties of this Vision.

\(^1\) Weiss (p. 60) is of opinion that originally the four figures were war, famine, pestilence, and Hades, which gathered the victims of the first three, and that then the Apocalyptist affixed the first figure, which represents the victorious course of the Gospel. But to this we reply that our author had before him an eschatological scheme of seven woes which he found in the document behind Mark xiii., Matt. xxiv., Luke xxi.
v. Traditional-Historical Method with incidental references to contemporary Events.—The more closely we study the Seals in connection with Mark xiii., Matt. xxiv., Luke xxi., the more strongly we shall be convinced that our author finds his chief and controlling authority in the eschatological scheme there set forth. By putting these authorities and our text in parallel columns we shall make this close connection undeniable.

**Matt. xxiv. 6, 7, 9*, 29.**

1. Wars.
2. International strife.
3. Famines.
4. Earthquakes.
5. Persecutions.
6. Eclipses of the sun and moon; falling of the stars; shaking of the powers of heaven.

**Luke xxi. 9-12*, 25-26.**

1. Wars.
2. International strife.
3. Earthquakes.
4. Famines.
5. Pestilence.
6. Persecutions.
7. Signs in the sun, moon, and stars; men fainting for fear of the things coming on the world; shaking of the powers of heaven.

**Mark xiii. 7-9*, 24-25.**

1. Wars.
2. International strife.
3. Earthquakes.
4. Famines.
5. Persecutions.
6. (As in Matt.)

**Rev. vi. 2-17, vii. 1.**

Seal 1. War.
2. International strife.
3. Famine.
4. Pestilence. (Death and Hades.)
5. Persecutions.
6. (vi. 12-vii. 3) Earthquakes, eclipse of the sun, ensanguining of the moon, falling of the stars, men calling on the rocks to fall on them, shaking of the powers of heaven, four destroying winds.

Even a cursory comparison of these lists shows that they practically present the same material.²

If we accept the Domitian date of the Apocalypse, there can be no question as to the dependence of our author on the tradition represented in the Gospels. The six Seals embrace the seven ³ woes of Luke by combining two woes, i.e. the third

---

1 This feature may have its parallel in Luke xxii. 25, where the nations are said to be distressed, ἐν ἀπορίᾳ ἡχοὺς βαλόσσεις καὶ σάλοι. The winds in our text, vii. 1, are not to blow upon the sea till the final judgment. The storm winds of Yahweh are a well-known eschatological element in O.T.

2 Other signs preluding the end are given in connection with the predicted fall of Jerusalem (cf. Mark xiii. 14 sqq. and parallels, Luke. xxii. 20 sq.); but since Jerusalem had fallen over twenty years before, our author is not concerned with these.

3 A scheme of seven plagues was already current in Jewish literature: see Sir. xl. 9; Test. Benj. vii. 2; Sayings of the Fathers, v. 11. Also Lev. xxvi. 21, "I will bring seven times more plagues upon you according to your sins." It is noteworthy that in P parsim we find many of the above signs mentioned as precursors of the end of the world, such as the following: wars
and seventh, under the sixth Seal. It is remarkable that neither in Luke on the one hand nor in Matthew or Mark on the other can we find the full list of woes that appears in Revelation. In this respect they are complementary. On the one hand, our text agrees with Luke rather than with Mark and Matthew. Thus while pestilence, the fourth plague in Revelation, is omitted in the first and second Gospels, it is found in the third; and, while the predictions in Rev. vi. 15–17 are wanting in the first two, their equivalent is found in Luke xxi. 25. This shows a greater dependence on the Lucan form of the narrative. On the other hand, whereas the eclipse of the sun and moon and the falling of the stars (Rev. vi. 12–13) are only referred to in the Lucan account as “signs in the sun, moon, and stars,” they are described in Matt. xxiv. 29 and Mark xiii. 24 in almost the same language as in our text. The question naturally arises therefore: Did our author make use of two of the Gospels, Luke together with Matthew or Mark; or did he use the document behind the Gospels—the Little Apocalypse, the existence of which so many scholars have felt themselves obliged to assume; or thirdly, was he simply dependent on oral tradition for his material? The first and third alternatives are possible, but less likely than the second. The second seems highly probable, if we may assume the independent existence of the Little Jewish-Christian Apocalypse (= Mark xiii. 7–8, 14–20, 24–27, 30–31, and parallels in Matthew and Luke). In this Little Jewish Apocalypse, so far as it is preserved in the Gospels, there is no reference to the persecution of the faithful. But since in the Psalms, Daniel and later apocalyptic literature this is a constant subject of complaint to God, it cannot have been wanting in the original form of the Little Apocalypse. If such an Apocalypse were current, it is but natural to assume that such a profound master of this literature as our author would be acquainted with it. However this may be, the conclusion that our text is dependent on the Gospel accounts, or rather on the document behind them, seems irresistible. The subject-matter, then, of the Seals is derived from a pre-existing eschatological scheme. The number seven in such a connection is known to tradition (see note in loc.); but independently of this fact it is postulated by our author's plan, in which seven plays a predominant rôle—Seven Churches, Seven Bowls.

The dependence of our author on a pre-existing eschatological scheme is further shown by his seeming abandonment of it in two

(Bahman—Vasht ii. 24 sqq.); social divisions (op. cit. ii. 30); earthquakes, famines, and pestilences (op. cit. iii. 4); falling of the star Gurzihar on the earth (op. cit.; Bundahish xxx. 18); the sun losing its light (ii. 31). See Böklen, Verwandtschaft der jüdischchristlichen mit der Parsischen Eschatologie, p. 88 sqq.)
particulars. 1. Although he gives a new character to the seventh woe quite distinct from that of the last woe in these Gospels, he is careful not to omit the subject-matter of this last woe, and accordingly embodies it under the sixth Seal. Thus the sixth Seal embraces the two Gospel woes—earthquakes and signs in the powers of heaven. Our author therefore preferred including these two woes under one Seal to omitting these elements of tradition. 2. Our author has changed the order of the woes. He has relegated the “earthquakes” to the sixth Seal, whereas it is third in Mark and Luke and fourth in Matthew. Two valid reasons for this change can be given.

1. In his fresh reproduction of the traditional material, our author personifies four 1 of the woes under forms borrowed from Zech. i. 8, vi. 1–8. Now, since “earthquakes” cannot be so personified, they are relegated to the sixth Seal, and their place is taken by “pestilence.” Thus the four Riders represent war, international strife, famine, and pestilence.

2. But there is another and weightier reason. The more closely the vision is studied, the more manifest becomes the dramatic fulness of the order of the Seals, and the growing intensity of the evils they symbolize. These begin with social cataclysms (Seals 1–4) and end with cosmic (Seal 6). Human society is overthrown by war, revolutions, famines, and pestilences (Seals 1–4), which rage without ceasing, till a large proportion of the number of the martyrs is accomplished (Seal 5). Social catastrophes are followed by cosmic in the sixth Seal. The solid crust of the earth breaks, the heaven is rent above, sun and moon are darkened or ensanguined, and the stars of heaven fall. From the standpoint of our author, therefore, the necessity of transposing “earthquakes” from the third or fourth place to the sixth is obvious.

Thus the subject-matter of the Seals, which is derived from a pre-existing eschatological scheme, is recast under new forms.

But, further, in this reproduction of the first five woes our author so recasts them as to give three or possibly all of them a more or less clear historical reference to contemporary events. Thus the first Rider with the bow refers to the Parthian empire that was to overthrow the hated Rome; the second may have a secondary reference to Rome, as the source of social disorder and destruction, though earlier regarded as the upholder of order and peace; the third possibly (?) to the edict of Domitian, and the fifth certainly to the martyrdoms under Nero.

But these references are due to our author, and do not belong to the original eschatological scheme. Such contemporary

1 This number is already suggested by the number of the four Living Creatures who severally summon the four Riders.
historical references are, however, to be looked for, though primarily the subject-matter is traditional: cf. i John ii. 18.

1. καὶ εἰδὼν ὅτε ἣνοςεν τὸ ἄρνιον μιᾶν ἐκ τῶν ἐπτά σφραγίσων. The loosing of the Seals is a symbolical action. The visions are not read out from the Book, but the contents of the Book are forthwith translated into action in the visions of the Seer. On καὶ εἰδὼν see note on iv. 1. In μιᾶν ἐκ = “the first of,” we may have a Hebraism =ἡ ἑκάστη; but there is the possibility, of course, as Moulton, Gram. i. 95 sqq., contends, that εἰς came in Byzantine Greek to be used as an ordinal, and that we have such an instance here. The partitive use of ἐκ is frequent in the Apocalypse: cf. Blass, Gram. p. 97. But the fact that in μιᾶν ἐκ we have a double Hebraism, and that it occurs in a book containing so many Hebraisms, is in favour of the phrase being taken as such. We might compare Ezek. x. 14, “the face of the first.” =τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦ ἐνός =ἡ ἑκάστη ἡ, where four are mentioned: Job xlii. 14. But the phrase may simply mean “one of.” The occurrence of the ordinals, however, in v. 3, 5, 7, appears to be against this.

καὶ ἡκουσα ἐνός ἐκ τῶν τεσσάρων ζώων λέγοντος ὡς φωνὴ βροντῆς Ἑρχοῦ. On ἐνός ἐκ = “the first of,” see preceding note. The four Cherubim in succession summon the four Riders. This is the most natural interpretation, as J. Weiss, 59, Bousset 2, 264, Wellhausen, 10, and Holtzmann 3, 444, have recognized. Others have taken the words as addressed to the Seer; but elsewhere xvii. i, xxii. 9, where the Seer is summoned, δεῦρο is used. Moreover, as J. Weiss observes, it is inconceivable that the Ἑρχοῦ should be addressed four times to the Seer. Others—Alford and Swete—again suppose it to be addressed to Christ, and cite as parallels xxii. 17, 20.

ὡς φωνὴ. Nearly all the textual evidence is against reading φωνῆ, which in order to arrive at an intelligible text we must read.

But ὡς φωνῆ is susceptible of explanation. The writer may have had ἡλπι ἐν his mind and rendered this as ὡς φωνῆ, whereas idiomatically it =ὡς φωνῆ, the ἡ being suppressed after ἡ. Cf. Isa. v. 17, ix. 3.

2. καὶ εἴδον καὶ ἴδον ἵππος λευκὸς. On the apocalyptic phrase καὶ εἴδον καὶ ἴδου, which recurs in vi. 5, 8, xiv. 1, 14, xix. 11, see note on iv. 1.

The subject-matter of the first four Seals appears, as we have seen (see p. 157 sqq.), derived from the woes mentioned in (the Jewish-Christian Apocalypse) Mark xiii. 7 sqq.; Matt. xxiv. 6 sqq.; Luke xxi. 9 sqq., i.e. war, international or civil strife, famine, pestilence (i.e. death).

The form of the Vision in vi. 2–8 is based on the vision of
the four sets of horses and chariots in Zech. i. 8, vi. 1–8—so far as regards the four horses and their colours. But the functions and character of the O.T. figures are transformed, and the messengers of God to the four quarters of the heaven are changed into agents of destruction.

Next as regards the different colours, these are chosen from Zechariah to suit the woes they symbolize. Thus red naturally corresponds to the sword, black to famine, and pale yellow to death, being a corpse-like colour. The white remains, and this naturally belongs to the horse on which triumphant war is seated. Thus Xerxes rode on white Nisaean horses (Herod. vii. 40; Philostr. Vit. Apoll. i. 30), and Mardonius, one of his chief generals, rode on a white horse (Herod. ix. 63). White was the colour of victory: cf. Virg. Aen. iii. 537, "Quattuor hic, primum omen, equos in gramine vidi Tondentes campum late candore nivali." Here Servius notes: "candore nivali. Hoc ad victoriae omen pertinet." According to Dio Cassius, H.R. xliii. 14 (quoted by Swete), the four horses which drew the car in Julius Caesar's triumph were white: τὰ ἐπτυκία τὰ προευγγραμένα ἐπὶ τὰ λευκὰ φάταν.

Our author was at liberty to arrange the colours in any order that suited his purpose; for in Zech. i. 8, vi. 2–7, they are given three times, and in each in a different order: i. 8, red, sorrel (or reddish-yellow), white (defective); vi. 2, 3, red, black, white, speckled; vi. 7, 8, black, white, speckled, red.¹

¹ The passages in Zechariah call for treatment since they are manifestly corrupt. Zech. i. 8, vi. 30, ἰφαίνομαι καὶ διδάσκω; LXX, τυρποι καὶ [φαροὶ καὶ] πουκιλλοι καὶ λευκολ. Here it is admitted that the text is defective and omits μανιτες, which is found in vi. 2, 6. The LXX gives it, it is true, four colours, but φαρο and τουκιλλοι appear to be duplicate renderings; for, according to Hesychius, they have the same meaning. So also Eustathius on the IIiad, xvi. ad fin., ψαρος ἱππος ὁ κατὰ τὸν ψαρα πουκιλλος. Next, in vi. 2, 3 we have ἰφαίνομαι καὶ διδάσκω. LXX τυρποι μελανοι λευκοι... τουκιλλοι [ψαροι]. Here also it is admitted that the text is corrupt. ἰφαίνομαι = "strong," cannot denote a colour. It has possibly been inserted here from vi. 7. By its omission we have the needed four colours. Finally, in vi. 6, 7 we have τυρποι μελανοι λευκοι... τουκιλλοι... τουκιλλοι... τουκιλλοι... ιφαίνομαι... φαροὶ (but Aquila has οἱ τυρπολ). Here ιφαίνομαι is rightly taken to be a corruption of ἰφαίνομαι = "red," a reading which is attested by the Peshitto and Aquila. The text is thus restored so far as the colours go, but there are evidently two lacunae in vi. 6, 7; for since the four bodies of horses represent the four winds, vi. 5, the four quarters of the world to which they go as God's messengers should be mentioned, whereas only the north and the south are. In the next place, while the black horses rightly go towards the north, the red should go to the south and not the spotted, the white to the east, and the yellow ("spotted" in text) to the west; for the four colours of the horses are said to symbolize the four quarters (Zimmern, K.A.T. ³ 339, 616, 633; Marti on Zech. i. 8) We can now reconstruct Zech. vi. 6, 7, τυρποὶ καὶ διδαγώ µελανοὶ λευκοὶ τοῦκιλλοὶ φαροὶ. I have with previous scholars emended the unintelligible φορίς into
kaî de kathimenoj ep' autôn exwn toû koxou, kai ékósth autô stêfanos, kaî ékholen nukwv kai Ína vnkhv. As has already been pointed out, the rider here symbolizes war in the first instance; for this is the first woe in the source from which the woes in the Seals are derived (see pp. 157–9); but owing to the rider carrying a bow and riding on a white horse, we can hardly evade the conclusion that a secondary reference to the Parthian empire is here designed as representing triumphant war. The great victory of Vologäses in 62 over the Romans gave birth to the idea that Rome would be finally overthrown by an Oriental power. This idea recurs later in our author (see xvii. 16). The very form of the words favours this view. ékholen nukwv would refer to past achievements of this empire, and Ína vnkhv to its ultimate conquest of the west. The gift of the stêfanos is equivalent to a promise of victory. Furthermore, as regards the stêfanos, which, as a symbol of victory, was given to him, it may be mentioned, though the fact probably does not concern our text, that Seleucus, the Parthian king, who founded Seleucia on the Tigris, was named Nikátov. The Parthian leaders, according to Wetstein, rode white horses in battle.

Other interpretations are as follows:
1. The text points first and solely to the Parthian empire:
   so Holtzmann, Schmidt, 11; Ramsay, 58; Swete, Bousset.
2. Volter in his different works, and Erbes, 37 sqq., interpret the first Rider of Vologäses. This is a less defensible view than 1.
3. Spitta, 290, interprets the text of Rome; but this view is generally rejected.

And changed Ínà into Ínà three times (with Wellhausen). Next I have restored the lost Býnà Ínà, "to the west country," and finally I have transposed Ínà before the beginning of 7, where they are meaningless. Thus we have, "The black horses go forth to the north country, and the white go forth to the east country, and the spotted go forth to the west country, and the red go forth to the south country." All appears right here except the word Ínà, vi. 2, 8 = "spotted." In i. 8 Ínà = "sorrel," a yellowish or reddish brown colour, appears in its stead. Since in i. 8 red is already mentioned, we should take this word with Bochart, Hierosolicon, i. 50, as meaning "yellow." Thus the "yellow" horses go to the quarter of which yellow is the symbol. This may be the source of the word χλαρός, "pale" or "pale yellow," in our text, vi. 8. As regards Ínà I see no way of explaining it from an archaeological standpoint, nor of reconciling it with the apparently right word Ínà in Zech. i. 8. Here again our author does not follow the LXX. The above four colours are said to be connected with the planets Jupiter, Mars, Mercury, and Saturn. But among the Babylonians white has never been discovered to be the colour of Jupiter or of the other three. The speculations of Jeremias (Babylonisches im N.T. 24 sq., and in Das A.T. im Lichte des alten Orients) on this question are often merely fantastic. See Müller, "Die Apokal. Reiter," Z.N.T. W., 1907, 290–316.

1 See Herod. v. 49, vii. 61; Ovid, Trist. ii. 227; Ammianus Marcellinus, xxii. 8; and Wetstein in loc.
4. A great number of interpreters—Victorinus, Primasius, Bede, Bullinger, Paraeus, Grotius, Vitringa, Düsterdieck, B. Weiss, 445, have identified the first horseman with the Rider on the white horse in xix. 11 sqq., i.e. the Messiah. But the Messiah cannot appear before the Messianic woes; nor can he be at once the Lamb who opens the Seals, and the Rider who appears in such opening. Moreover, the details are distinct. The former carries a τὸ δὲ, the latter a ἰδαμαὶα; the former wears a στέφανος, the latter διαδήματα πολλά. Not a bow, but the sword of the word belongs to Christ. In fact the two Riders have nothing in common but the white horse.

5. Hilgenfeld (Z. W. T., 1890, p. 425), Zahn, ii. 592, Alford, Kübel take this horseman to represent the victorious course of the Gospel. J. Weiss, 59 sqq., accepts this interpretation, and maintains that it receives support from the Parousia discourses of Christ. For although Mark xiii. 9 treats of the beginning of the Messianic woes, yet according to xiii. 10 the Gospel must first be made known to all nations. The woes, therefore, in both passages begin when the victory of the Gospel is decided. Despite all tribulations, the victory is once and for all assured. This view with modifications was earlier put forward by Andreas, Arethas, Lyra, and Ribeira.

Over against explanations 4 and 5, it is to be maintained that there is an essential likeness among the Riders: they clearly belong together, and represent the ἀρχὴ ὁδύνων (Mark xiii. 8). All four have to deal with judgments—“the beating down of earthly powers, breaking up of earthly peace, the exhausting of earthly wealth, the destruction of earthly life” (Alford). The first horseman like the rest, therefore, is to be interpreted of woe—denoting first of all war, as it did in its immediate source, and in a secondary aspect through its fresh remoulding by our author, the Parthian empire.

3. καὶ ὅτε ἤνοιξεν τὴν σφραγίδα τὴν δευτέραν, ἡ κούσα τοῦ ἀρχέτου ζώου λέγοντος Ἡρχον. 4. καὶ ἐκλήθην ἀλός ἵππος πυρρός, καὶ τῷ καθημένῳ ἐπ᾽ αὐτῶν ἐδόθη [αὐτῷ] λαβεῖν τὴν εἰρήνην [ἐκ] τῆς γῆς καὶ ἡ ἄλλη ἑπεξεσώσειν, καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτῶ μάχαιρα μεγάλη. This second horseman is a symbol of international and civil strife. The immediate source of our author is, as we have seen, the document behind the Gospel accounts, Matt. xxiv. 7; Mark xiii. 8; Luke xxi. 10 (see pp. 157–9). But there are other references to such civil strife as preluding the Parousia in Jewish literature: cf. Jub. xxiii. 19; 1 Enoch lvi. 7; 4 Ezra v. 9, vi. 24, xiii. 31; 2 Bar. xlviii. 32, lxx. 3, 6. The expectation that civil strife would herald the end of the world is found also in Babylonian literature.) See Zimmern, K. A. T. 393. Since we have here to deal with a stereotyped prediction, which exhibits no
new elements pointing to historical events, there is no occasion to enumerate the various historical interpretations that have been advanced.

As in the case of the first Seal the Rider is furnished with a bow (which gives the Seal an historical reference), so here the second Rider is provided with a sword. This symbol, however, belongs to eschatological tradition. This sword is mentioned in this eschatological sense in Isa. xxvii. 1, xxxiv. 5, xlv. 10, xlvii. 6; Ezek. xxi. 3 sqq., where it is wielded by Yahweh Himself. In the next stage of development it is committed to Israel to take vengeance on their own and God's enemies. The very words ἐδόθη ... μάχαιρα μεγάλη are found in 1 Enoch xc. 19, "A great sword was given to the sheep, and the sheep proceeded against all the beasts of the field to slay them." This sword is again mentioned in xci. 12, xc. 34. The object with which it is given in Enoch is that the faithful Israelites may therewith destroy their enemies, who are the enemies of God.

In the third stage of development it is given to the enemies of God that they may destroy one another with it. This stage is found in 1 Enoch lxxxviii. 2, where Gabriel causes the giant offspring of the fallen angels and the daughters of men to destroy each other by giving them a sword. "And one of them drew a sword and gave it to those elephants and camels and asses: then they began to smite each other, and the whole earth quaked because of them." The command to do so is given in apocalyptic language in x. 9, "Proceed against the bastards ... and destroy the children of fornication, and the children of the watchers ... send them one against another that they may destroy each other in battle." In our text, as also in Matt. x. 34, μὴ νομίσητε ὅτι ἥλθον βαλεῖν εἰρήνην ἐπί τὴν γῆν ὥστιν ἢ ἥλθον βαλεῖν εἰρήνην ἀλλὰ μάχαιρα (cf. Luke xii. 51), the symbol has the same eschatological force. Our text, λαβέων τὴν εἰρήνην [ἐκ] τῆς γῆς ... ἐδόθη αὐτῷ μάχαιρα, looks like a reminiscence of the words of our Lord just cited. The Massoretic text of Ezek. xxxviii. 21 seems to attest the same idea, but it is corrupt, and the text of the LXX (B) is to be followed here (see Marti in loc.).

Holtzmann and Moffatt have taken the "sword" as symbolizing Rome, just as the "bow" symbolizes the Parthian empire, and holds that the two world empires are here designated. But this is not so. The "bow" is characteristic of the first Rider; but the sword is not characteristic of this Rider, but is given to him, just as the "crown" is given to the first Rider. As the "crown" is given to foreshow conquest, the sword is given to bring about civil and international strife. There may, however, be a remote reference to Rome as the destroyer of order.
and life as opposed to the rôle it was conceived to play by St. Paul.

λαβεῖν τὴν εἰρήνην [ἐκ] τῆς γῆς. The object of this woe is to take away the false peace of the earth. Contrast John xiv. 27. Thus it seems best here to follow A and some cursive s in omitting ἐκ. Cf. the kindred phrase “children of earth,” 1 Enoch c. 6, cii. 31, over against “children of heaven,” cf. 1. For ἵνα with the fut. Ind. see Robertson, *Gram.* 998 sq.

5. καὶ ὥσπερ ἣνοιξεν τὴν σφραγίδα τὴν τρίτην, ἡκουσα τοῦ τρίτου ἱδρου λέγοντος Ἑρχοῦ. καὶ εἰδον, καὶ ἱδοὺ ὑπὸς μέλας, καὶ δ’ καθήμενος ἐπ’ αὐτὸν ἐχὼν ἱδρυν ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ. Famine is here symbolized by the black horse, as we have seen (see p. 161). For the more detailed explanation see next verse. The ἵδρυν is literally the beam of the balance from which the scales are suspended. That bread is sold by weight is a token of scarcity. Cf. Ezek. iv. 16, φάγονται ἄρτον ἐν σταβμῷ καὶ ἐν ἑνδέᾳ, and Lev. xxvi. 26, ἀπόδοσον τοὺς ἄρτους ὑμῶν ἐν σταβμῷ καὶ φάγεσθε καὶ οὐ μὴ ἐμπληρήσητε.

6. καὶ ἡκουσα ὡς φωνὴν ἐν μέσῳ τῶν τεσσάρων ἱδρῶν λέγουσαν Χοίνιξ σίτου δημαρίου, καὶ τρεῖς χοίνικες κριθῶν δημαρίου, καὶ τὸ ἐλαιὸν καὶ τὸν οἶνον μὴ ἀδικήσης. On the peculiar use of ὡς here see note on p. 33 sq. We have the same use on xix. 1, 6. The voice, as Bousset suggests, may be that of the Lamb.

The voice states a coming price of the wheat and barley—almost a famine price; for a χοίνιξ of wheat—about two pints—constituted the daily consumption of a man. So Herodotus assumes in estimating the amount of food consumed by Xerxes’ army: vii. 187, εὑρίσκω γὰρ συμβαλλόμενος εἰ χοίνικα πυρῶν ἐκαστὸς τῆς ἡμέρης ἐλάμβανε καὶ μηδὲν πλέον. Thucydides, iv. 16, mentions as the allowance made for the Spartans in Sphacteria—σῖτον . . . δύο χοίνικας ἐκάστῳ Α’ττικας ἀλφίτου καὶ δύο κοτύλας οἶνου καὶ κρέας, θεράποντι δὲ τούτων ἡμισέα. The quantity here stated was the ordinary allowance made at the Spartan mess, the allowance both of grain and wine being double of that which was supposed to be necessary. Similarly in Athenaeus, iii. 20, τὴν δὲ χοίνικα ἡμεστραφίδα, and Diog. Laert. *Pythag.* viii. 18, and Suidas under *Pythagoras*: ἥ γὰρ χοίνιξ ἡμερήσιος τροφῆ. For other references see Wetstein.

The denarius, which was worth about 914d. (see Hastings’ *D.B.* i 427), was the ordinary daily wage (cf. Matt. xx. 2 sqq.). The following passages from Cicero are instructive. Cicero, *Verr.* iii. 81, “Idque frumentum Senatus ita aestimasset, quaternis H.S. tritici modium, binis, hordei. . . . Cum in Sicilia H.S. binis tritici modius esset . . . summum H.S. ternis . . . tum iste pro tritici modii singulis ternos ab aratoribus denarios exegit. 84, Cum esset H.S. binis aut etiam ternis . . . duodenos sestertios
Here wheat appears to have been twice the price of barley in Sicily; whereas it was three times in our text. In the next place the modius of wheat cost 2 or 3 sesterces, or according to the estimate of the Senate 4. Now, since a modius contains 8 choeniaces, and a denarius = four sesterces, it follows that the price in our text was 16 times the lowest price of wheat in Sicily, 10\frac{2}{3} times the highest, and 8 times the estimate made by the Senate.

Thus at the time designed in our text a denarius—a man's daily wage—could purchase only two pints of wheat—a quantity sufficient merely for his own immediate needs, whereas at other times its purchasing power was 8, 12, or 16 times as great, if we may use the data supplied by Cicero. But since the workman would not buy wheat but barley, he could earn enough to procure something for his family as well, though the supply was inadequate and deaths occurred through starvation (see 8). The text, then, speaks of a time of very great dearth, but not of absolute famine, that was coming upon the world. It is the λημοί predicted in Mark xiii. 8; Matt. xxiv. 7.

But the words that follow, τὸ ἔλαιον καὶ τὸν ὀἶνον μὴ ἀδικήσῃς, when taken in conjunction with what precedes, may point to a special time when the necessaries of life were scarce and its superfluities abundant.

According to Erbes, 40, the more moderate the scarcity is represented, the more manifestly it belongs not to the region of fancy but to history, and in his opinion to the year 62 (Tac. Ann. xv. 5; Joseph. Ant. xx. 9. 2); whilst Völter in his various works assigns this event to the latter half of Nero's reign (Suet. Nero, 45; Tac. Ann. xv. 18). But a more satisfactory explanation has recently been advanced by Harnack (T. L. Z., 1902, col. 591 sq.) in a short notice on S. Reinach's "La mévente des vins sous le haut-empire romain," Rev. Archéol., sér. iii. t. xxxix., 1901, pp. 350-374. Owing to the lack of cereals and the superabundance of wine, Domitian issued an edict (Suet. Dom. 7: cf. Euseb. Chron., on 92 A.D.) that no fresh vineyards should be planted in Italy, and that half the vineyards in the provinces should be cut down. But, as Suetonius observes, Domitian did not persevere in this matter; for the edict set the Asiatic cities in an uproar, and owing to their agitation they prevailed on Domitian not only to withdraw his edict, but to impose a punishment on those who allowed their old vineyards to go out of cultivation (cf. τὸν ὀἶνον μὴ ἀδικήσῃς of our text). Our author from his ascetic standpoint had sympathized with Domitian's decree, which according to its own claims was directed against

Our author, according to Harnack, added the oil of his own initiative, or else found it in a decree unknown to us.
luxury, and was accordingly the more indignant when it was recalled. Accordingly, he predicts an evil time, when men will have oil and wine in abundance, but suffer from lack of bread. In favour of this view it may be added that the date of the Apocalypse therein implied would agree with that assigned to it by Irenaeus and Epiphanius. This explanation is accepted by Bousset and Swete, but is treated as doubtful by Holtzmann and rejected by Wellhausen.

Though Wellhausen suggests no alternative explanation, he is right, I think, in rejecting the last mentioned. At all events the decree of Domitian, if here operative at all, was not the cause, but only the occasion of the statement in our text. The scarcity of bread and the plentifulness of the vintage in the last days was an old Jewish expectation. Thus we have in Sotah, 49, "In the times when the Messiah is at hand shamelessness will increase, and there will be a dearth: the vine will yield its fruit, but wine will be dear (יוֹרֵטָה יְהוָה וְתֵחַת הָרִיתָיִית בֵּית) ; the empire of the world will become minaean: there will be no discipline... the son will despise the father, the daughter resist the mother, the daughter-in-law the mother-in-law: a man's foes shall be they of his own household (יְהוָה וְתֵחַת הָרִיתָיִית בֵּית)." The last clauses here may have been in the mind of our Lord when He uttered Matt. x. 35 sq. (=Luke xii. 53), while the opening words may explain our text. Rabbi Nehemiah (in Hadrian's time) quotes the first part of the above, and R. Nehorai and R. Judah, his contemporaries, other portions of it in Sanh. c74. It seems, therefore, to have been in an old apocalypse. This apocalypse states that there will be a general dearth, but not of the vintage, though, owing to the disorder, wine would be dear. Domitian's edict may have occasioned the mention of this old eschatological expectation.

7. καὶ ὅτε ἦνοιξεν τὴν σφαγιάδα τὴν τετάρτην, ἤκουσα φωνήν τοῦ τετάρτου ζύγου λέγοντος Ἕρχου. 8. καὶ εἶδον, καὶ ἔδοξον ὑποσ χλωρός. The fourth horse is described as χλωρός, "pale yellow," "pallid," or "pale." This appears to be an independent rendering by our author of ἤρχησθι in Zech. i. 8 (see note on p. 162). The LXX has here ποικίλος. Now ποικίλος evidently presupposes σφαγιάδα, as in Zech. vi. 3, 7, and not σφαγαὶς. But as we have seen in the note referred to, we require in Zechariah a word signifying "yellow" or "pale yellow." Bochart (Hieronzoicon, i. 50) gives good grounds for assuming this to be the meaning of ποικίλος, and holds that ποικίλος and ἤρχησθι were related colours, since in Lev. xi. 18, Deut. xiv. 17, the same bird is called ἤρχησθι in

1 In Jub. xxiii. 18 the first Messianic woe is given thus: "There shall be no seed of the vine and no oil."
Onkelos and ἄροι in Ps. Jon. The Nisaean horses were something of this colour, as Phavorinus attests: Νισαῖῶς ἵππος ὁ ἐστὶ ἐχανθὸς. ἡ γὰρ Νίσα πάσας τᾶς ἱπποὺς ἐχανθὰς ἔχει (see Bochart, loc. cit.). Now Aristotle (Meteor, 3, 4, 5) defines ἐχανθὸς as the colour in the rainbow between red and green. “Pale yellow” then is the meaning required by our text and most probably by that of Zech. i. 8. Possibly our author found a form ὄροι or ἄροι instead of ὑφῖ in Zech. i. 8; for χλωρός is the most frequent rendering of this word in the LXX. ἄροι means “paleness,” “lividness.”

8b. ὁ καθήμενος ἐπάνω αὐτοῦ ὄνομα αὐτῷ ὁ θάνατος 1
[kai ὁ θάνατος ἱκολούθει μετ’ αὐτοῦ]
kai ἐξέθη αὐτῷ ἐξουσία ἔπι τὸ τέταρτον τῆς γῆς,
[ἀποκτείνα ἐν ῥομφαίᾳ καὶ ἐν λίμῷ
kai ἐν θανάτῳ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν θηρίων τῆς γῆς].

Either the above text is corrupt or the writer confused beyond all precedent. I have come to the former conclusion, the grounds for which are given below. The Rider symbolizes “the pestilence” (ὁ θάνατος). And the original text is to be translated as follows: “He that sat upon him was named Pestilence, and there was given to him authority over the fourth part of the earth.”

Let us now study the text as it stands. First of all, Death and Hades are personified as in i. 18, xx. 13, 14. But how are we to conceive them in the present passage? There is only one horse and there are two figures. From the analogy of the preceding Seals we expect here only one figure. Hence J. Weiss, 59, thinks that Hades is here “suspiciously” thrust into the corner and granted only a shadowy existence, since he scarcely appears to be aught else than a double of Death. This writer then goes on to conjecture that θάνατος here was in the original conception a personification of pestilence (יָרָד), and that Hades then represented Death in a general sense, whose function was to gather the victims of the preceding plagues. Originally, therefore, the four were War, Famine, Pestilence, and Hades, and not as in our text. These four became in our author’s hands five, when he prefixed the first Rider, who, according to J. Weiss, symbolizes the progress of the Gospel. Death and Hades were then of necessity represented as one. This theory is attractive, but the evidence, as I have sought to show (p. 157 sqq.), is in favour of the vision of the Seals being based on the material given in Mark xiii., Matt. xxiv., Luke xxi., by means of which we can explain the first six Seals. Besides, we cannot accept this

1 The irregular construction here is due to a Hebraism (cf. ix. 11). The line is עָשַׁה חָפַז לְעָלֵי בְּכָלָם.
scholar's explanation of the first Seal (see p. 163). How then are we to recover the original text? By a careful study of the details.

1. There is only one horse mentioned under the fourth Seal: there could not be two; for there are only four horses altogether presupposed. Hades then cannot be riding a separate horse, as there is only one horse; nor can he be riding on the same horse as Death, for then we should expect οἱ καθήμενοι and not οἱ καθήμενοι. Hence the clause καὶ ὁ ἄδης . . . αὐτῶ δειν λαβεῖ introduces confusion of thought and diction, and looks like an intrusion.

2. We should expect λοιμός here, as in Luke xxii. 41. But θάνατος can be used in the same sense, as it frequently appears in the LXX as a translation of רָדִי. In Sir. xxxix. 29 we have the combination רָדִי; LXX, λιμός καὶ θάνατος: Vulg. "famines et morts"; and also in Pss. Sol. xiii. 2, λιμοῦ καὶ θανάτου. But the fact that θάνατος and not λοιμός is used is instructive. It forms an additional argument that our author is using not our Canonical Gospels, but the document behind Mark xiii., Matt. xxiv., Luke xxi.; for the word in this Aramaic document would be ἁθημ;¹ for this is the rendering in the Targum of Onkelos of רָדִי in Ex. ix. 15; Num. xiv. 12; Targ. Jon. of Jer. xiv. 12, xxi. 6, 7, 9, xxiv. 10, xxix. 17, 18, xliv. 13; Ezek. v. 12, 17, xiv. 21, xxxiii. 27, etc. Now ἁθημ can mean either "death" or "pestilence." Luke rendered it by the unmistakable word λοιμός in xxii. 41, but our author by θάνατος, which might mean either "death" or "pestilence." But to return. We expect, as we saw in 1, a single Rider: in the next place we expect him to be named "the pestilence," as in the source used by our author. And this, in fact, θάνατος could mean, and not only the source, but the context requires such a meaning; for such a plague as "the pestilence" would be in keeping with what precedes and what follows; for all these refer to plagues or evils which bring about death, but are not synonymous with death. Death conceived generally, according to the traditional text, as the lord of all kinds of destroying agents, and Hades do not belong to the present category of evils.

3. The reading ἔδωθη αὐτῷ, strongly attested by the Versions and Q, is in favour of one figure only, i.e. θάνατος, "pestilence."

Accordingly we reject καὶ ὁ ἄδης ἥκολοὺθει μετ' αὐτῶ as the interpolation of a scribe who was familiar with our author's combination of these two conceptions, Death and Hades. Cf. i. 18, xx. 13, 14. But his perverse industry did not stop here; for to him we owe the final clause, as will appear from the next paragraph.

¹ If the source were in Hebrew, רָדִי (=λοιμός in Aq. or Sym., or θάνατος in the LXX) would account for the above facts.
4. If the above conclusions are right that only one Rider is referred to and that his name is "pestilence," then the last clause of the verse, ἀποκτεῖναι . . . γῆς, can hardly be genuine. It cannot be said that power was given to "the pestilence" to destroy "with the sword, and with famine, and with pestilence," etc. Even if by any possibility θάνατος in the first instance meant death itself, the lord of destruction, it would have been culpably careless to use the same word again in the same sentence with quite a different meaning.

It is further to be observed that the clause ἀποκτεῖναι . . . γῆς, which seems intended to resume the evil activities of the second, third, and fourth plagues, is clearly otiose here. The statement adds nothing to the weight of what is already better said, and the reference to θάνατος is extremely awkward, since it obliges us to assume θάνατος (= lord of all the plagues) controlling θάνατος (= a single plague), or θάνατος (= pestilence) controlling its underling θάνατος (= pestilence).

Hence I conclude that the clause is an interpolation. Furthermore, its subject-matter and, in fact, its diction are based on Ezek. xiv. 21, ῥομφαίαν καὶ λιμῶν καὶ θηρία πονηρὰ καὶ θάνατον. This borrowing explains the presence of ῥομφαίαν instead of μάχαιραν (cf. vi. 10) and the concluding phrase, ἢ. e. ὑπὸ τῶν θηρίων τῆς γῆς, which has no connection with the context as the other three plagues have. The construction of ὑπὸ after an active verb is unexampled elsewhere in the N.T. and is found very rarely in classical Greek. With θηρίων τῆς γῆς (Gen. i. 30; Ezek. xxxiv. 28), the only near parallel in the N.T. is Acts xi. 6.

The fact that there are four plagues described in our text, and that Ezekiel in xiv. 21 speaks of "four sore judgments," may have led to the incorporation of this gloss in our text.

9-11. In a certain mechanical manner the first four plagues are grouped together and the last three. The first four possess one characteristic in common—the impersonation of their leading features: another is their connection with the four living beings. But in another aspect the first five are more nearly related to each other as evils affecting man directly, whereas the two evils which are combined in the sixth Seal—the breaking up of earth and heaven—are in their first reference cosmic, and affect man indirectly.

The fifth Seal.—Verses 9-11 deal with Christian martyrdom. In the corresponding sections in Mark xiii. 9-13, Matt. xxiv. 9-10, Luke xxi. 12-18, persecutions and martyrdom are foretold. In our text they are in part already accomplished. The standpoint, therefore, is wholly changed. Instead of reproducing the stereotyped description of persecutions still to come carrying with them the sanction of Christ Himself, our author refers in
unmistakable language to a great persecution in the past: nay more, with his own eyes—for he is in heaven—he beholds the souls of the martyrs already offered on the heavenly altar before God; hears them supplicating for judgment on the heathen world, and sees them being clothed with their heavenly bodies—a spiritual privilege limited exclusively to the martyred righteous; for the rest of the righteous could not receive their heavenly bodies till the final resurrection.

9. καὶ ὅτε ἦνοιεν τὴν πέμπτην σφραγίδα, εἶδον ὑποκάτω τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν ἐσφαγμένων διὰ τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ διὰ τὴν μαρτυρίαν ἤν εἶχον. In this verse we have to deal with three questions: 1. The altar in heaven. 2. The souls under the altar—in Judaism and Christianity. 3. The reasons for which the faithful suffered martyrdom.

1. The altar in heaven.—The fact that the altar, though not mentioned hitherto, is preceded by the article, points to a current belief in the existence of an altar of burnt-offering in heaven. That, according to Jewish and Christian Apocalyptic, there was only one altar in heaven, and that this altar had the characteristics partly of the earthly altar of incense and partly of the altar of burnt-offering, but mainly of the former, I have shown later on at some length. (See note on viii. 3.) How early this belief arose cannot be definitely determined. Since, however, according to Ex. xxv. 9, 40, Num. viii. 4, the earthly altar and tabernacle were to be made after the likeness of heavenly patterns or originals,—a view which recurs in Heb. viii. 5, ix. 23,—the belief in question may be of very early origin—as early as Isa. vi. 1 sqq., though scholars are divided as to the scene of the vision in that chapter, Duhm, Whitehouse, Gray, Marti contending that it is in the earthly temple, while Delitzsch, Dillmann, and Jeremias maintain that it is in the heavenly. At all events it was current in the 2nd cent. B.C., as we have seen above.

2. The souls under the altar in Judaism and Christianity.—The souls in our text are those of the martyrs. It has been generally supposed that our text is to be explained from the Jewish ritual, according to which the blood of the victim was to be poured on the base of the altar (Lev. iv. 7, τὸ αἷμα τοῦ μόσχου ἐκχεῖ παρὰ τὴν βάσιν τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου). Since the life was in the blood, the souls were thus conceived to be beneath the altar.

1 Spitta, 296 sqq., argues strongly for the altar in Jerusalem; but most of his arguments are beside the mark. On the other hand, the whole vision implies a heavenly scene, witnessed by our Seer en πνεύματι. All the visions in iv. 1—x. the Seer beheld while in heaven (see p. 109). The white garments in which the martyrs were arrayed is a heavenly vesture. Furthermore, the situation implies the age of Domitian, when the Temple was no longer standing.
But this is unsatisfactory. The souls are beneath the heavenly altar; for they have already been sacrificed thereon. Let us examine the evidence. That a sacrificial death of the martyrs is implied in our text is clear from the words θυσιαστηρίων and ἐσφαγμένων. Elsewhere in the N.T. the martyrs are regarded as victims offered to God, 2 Tim. iv. 6; Phil. ii. 17; and in later times cf. Ignatius, Ad Rom. ii. 2, πλέον δὲ μοι μὴ παράσχῃσθε τοῦ σπονδιαζῆναι θεῶ, ὃς ἐπὶ θυσιαστήριον ἐτομοῦ ἐστὶν: iv. 2, ἵνα . . . θεοῦ θυσία εὑρέθω. But the belief that the martyrs were a sacrifice was already current in pre-Christian Judaism, as appears from the passages quoted from 4 Maccabees below.1

These passages refer to martyrs. In later times the souls of the righteous are conceived by the Christians as well as by the Jews (see later) as offered in sacrifice. Cf. Questions of Bartholomew i. 29, ὃ δὲ Βαρθολομαίος ἀποκρίθης εἶπεν πρὸς τὸν Ἰησοῦν· Κύριε, τίς ἐστιν ἡ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ ἀναφερομένη θυσία; ὃ δὲ Ἰησοῦς λέγει· ψυχαὶ δικάων. Vita Pachomii abbatis tabennensis xxxviii. “Multitudo sanctorum angelorum cum magna laetitia sumentes animam ejus velut electam hostiam Christi spectatibus obtulerunt.”

In Judaism also we find the belief that the souls of the righteous were under the altar in heaven. This in the Aboth R.N. xxvi., “Rabbi Akiba declares . . . that whoever was buried in the land of Israel was just as if he were buried under the altar, and whoever was buried under the altar was just as if he were buried under the throne of glory.”

In Shabb. 152b it is stated that “the souls of the righteous are preserved under the throne of glory,” and in Debarim rabba, 11, God says to the soul of Moses: “Go forth, delay not, and I will bring thee up to the highest heaven, and cause thee to dwell under the throne of My glory amidst the Cherubim and Seraphim and heavenly hosts.” But if the souls of the righteous were under the heavenly altar, they had first been offered upon it. Thus in the Tosaphoth on Menachoth, 110a, it is said, according to some teachers, that Michael sacrifices upon the heavenly altar the souls of the students of the law. In the

1 According to 4 Macc. vi. 29 the martyr’s death was conceived to be a true sacrifice and possessed an atoning power. καθάρασιν αὐτῶν παλησον τὸ ἐμὸν αὐτὰ καὶ ἀντὶψυχὸν αὐτῶν λάβε τὴν ἐμὴν ψυχήν. Cf. also op. cit. xvii. 21, 22. Moed Qatan, 28a, where the death of the righteous is said to atone as a red heifer. In Gittin, 57b, the mother of the seven martyrs exclaims: “My sons . . . tell Abraham your father, Thou didst build an altar whereon to offer thy son as sacrifice. I have built seven altars.” Now, if the Jewish martyrs were regarded in pre-Christian times as an atoning sacrifice, it is more than probable that the belief in the abode of righteous souls under the heavenly altar arose first in connection with the martyrs, and that this privilege was afterwards extended to the righteous generally. See 1 Enoch xlvii. 4, which is quoted under 11.
THE REVELATION OF ST. JOHN [VI. 9-10.

(ed. Jellinek, *Bet ha Midrasch*, iii. 137), “And there stands . . . the great prince Michael and the altar before him, and he offers all the souls of the righteous on that altar (נסויה ובריהות הרוחיקים על הפצותthern והחיים).” In the Jalkut Rub. f. 112b (Schöttgen, *Horae*, i. 1220), “Et ille (i.e. Michael) stet et offert animas justorum”; and similarly in Jalkut Chad. f. 118, col. 4.

Again in Jalkut Rub. fol. 14, col. 3 (*Horae*, i. 1215), the souls of the righteous are offered (on the heavenly altar): “Ex quo tempore conditum est altare terrenum dixit Deus: Nolo ut mihi in altari caelestì oves aut boves offerantur nisi tantum animae justorum.” See, further, Lueken, *Michael*, 48 sq.

The above Jewish authorities are late, but they must represent, when taken with analogous phenomena, a Jewish tradition —anterior at all events to Christianity; for it is not reasonable to suppose that it was borrowed from early Christian sources.

We conclude, therefore, that by our author the martyr was conceived first and chiefly as a sacrifice to God, and that though his body was slain on earth, the sacrifice was in reality made in heaven, where his soul was offered on the heavenly altar. Our text, therefore, has come to represent symbolically the consumption of the idea expressed by St. Paul in Rom. xii. 1, where he exhorts his readers, παρεστήσας τα σώματα υμῶν θυσίαν ζωσαν ἁγίαν τῷ θεῷ εὐάρεστον, τὴν λογικὴν λατρείαν υμῶν. Cf. Rom. vi. 13; Phil. ii. 17; Col. i. 28.

3. The reasons for which the faithful suffered martyrdom.—The martyrs were put to death because of the word given by God and the witness borne by Jesus. The testimony no less than the word is an objective possession of the faithful. Many scholars have taken the witness to be that which the martyrs had borne to Christ; but the expression εἰκον is against such a view, and implies a testimony that has been given them by Christ and which they have preserved. John iii. 32, ὁ ἑωρακεν καὶ ἠκούσεν τοῦτο μαρτυρεῖ, καὶ τὴν μαρτυρίαν αὐτοῦ οὐδεὶς λαμβάνει: ὁ λαβὼν αὐτοῦ τὴν μαρτυρίαν ἐσφράγισεν δὴ τὸ θεὸς ἅλθης ἐστιν. Thus the clause in our text is the exact equivalent of the fuller clause in xii. 17, xx. 4. The martyrs are incontestably Christian martyrs, to wit, the martyrs of the Neronian times.1

10. καὶ ἐκρασαν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ λέγοντες "Εσω πότε, ὁ δεσπότης ὁ ἁγίος καὶ ἁλθηνός, οὗ κρίνεις καὶ ἐκδικεῖς τό αἵμα ἡμῶν ἐκ τῶν κατοικοῦντων ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς;

ἐκρασαν. The aorist appears here to refer to a single definite prayer; the righteous souls made one appeal to God and it was immediately answered. They are not represented as continuing

1 Spitta, 300, is of opinion that only Jewish persecutions of the Jews are referred to here.
to urge such supplications, as in the Jewish Apocalypses quoted below.

έως πότε. Cf. Matt. xvii. 17 = Mark ix. 19; John x. 24. The phrase is frequent in the LXX, especially in the Psalms. Cf. iv. 2, vi. 3, xii. (xiii.) 1, 2, lxi. (lxii.) 3, etc. ο δεσποτής = δέσποτα. On the vocative with the article see Moulton, Gram. 70 sq., 235; Blass, Gram. p. 87. δεσποτής (=', ὁ θεός or ὁ νόμος, Gen. xv. 2, 8; Josh. v. 14; Isa. iii. 1; Dan. ix. 8, 15, 16, etc.) is applied to God in only two other passages in the N.T., Luke ii. 29; Acts iv. 24. It is applied to Christ twice, in 2 Pet. ii. 1; Jude 4. ο ἀγίος καὶ ἀληθινός. These epithets are used in reference to Christ in iii. 7 (see note). κρίνεις καὶ ἐκδίκεις. For this combination cf. xix. 2, ὧν ἐκμαθην ... καὶ ἐξεδίκησεν, and 1 Sam. xxiv. 13 in the Hebrew, קיהֶל ... אֶפֶן. xix. 2 affords another parallel to our text in the epithets ἀληθιναὶ καὶ δίκαιαι which are applied to κρίνεις. In fact, xix. 2 describes the fulfilment of the prayer in our text.

ἐκδίκεις τὸ αἷμα ... ἐκ (= ἃς ἐν τοῖς θανάτοις). Cf. xix. 2, where this phrase recurs. ἐκδίκειν is followed by ἐκ (Deut. xviii. 19; 1 Sam. xxiv. 13) or ἄπο (Luke xviii. 3) in reference to the persons from whom the vengeance is exacted. Cf. also 2 Kings ix. 7, ἐκδικήσεις τὰ αἷματα τῶν δούλων μου. On the meaning of the phrase κατοικούντων ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς see note on iii. 10.

As regards the thought of the words, it has been maintained that they "only assert the principle of Divine retribution which forbids the exercise of personal vengeance (Rom. xii. 19)." It has been urged also that Luke xviii. 7, ο δὲ θεὸς οὐ μὴ ποιήσῃ τὴν ἐκδίκησιν τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν αὐτοῦ τῶν βωστῶν αὐτῷ ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός, practically expressed the same view.

The teaching of the Gospel passage and of our text is, however, different. In Luke the entire passage refers to the living elect (cf. xviii. 1), and the spirit of the teaching must be construed in keeping with the context. In our text, however, the departed souls are referred to, and the note of personal vengeance cannot be wholly eliminated from their prayer. The living pray to God to free them from unjust oppression and secure them their just rights. On the other hand, the departed pray for vengeance for what they have suffered or lost. The former is prospective and breathes the spirit of justice, the latter is retrospective as well as just. Both Luke xviii. 1-8 and our text appears to go back to Jewish originals or Jewish traditional views. The former has several elements in common with Sir. xxxii. 15-22, where it is said that God is a just God, and hearkens to the prayer of him that is wronged, and to the supplication of the widow, and that He will not be slack in doing justice to them, nor will He be slow over them
(μακροθυμήσει ἐπὶ αὐτοῖς: cf. Luke xviii. 7, καὶ μακροθυμεῖ ἐπὶ αὐτοῖς), "till He have smitten in sunder the loins of the unmerciful." Both Luke xviii. 1-8 and Sir. xxxii. 15-22 refer to the living; and the former, at all events, when taken in conjunction with Christ's other teaching, postulates the surrender of all desire for personal vengeance. The same postulate cannot be said to hold for the Sirach passage; for in Sirach, policy is laid down no less frequently than principle as the motive of action.

We thus discriminate the temper underlying our text from that in Luke xviii. 1-8.

The true forerunners of our text are to be found in 1 Enoch xlvii. 2, 4, "The prayer of the righteous (that the shedding of their blood) may not be in vain before the Lord of Spirits, That judgment may be done unto them, And that they may not have to suffer for ever." 4, "And the hearts of the holy were filled with joy, Because . . . the prayer of the righteous had been heard, And the blood of the righteous been required before the Lord of Spirits." In xxii. 5, 7 the spirits of the righteous, who are in Sheol and had suffered persecution or violent death, pray for vengeance. In a contemporary work, i.e. 4 Ezra iv. 35, the souls of the righteous in the chambers of Sheol ask, "How long are we to remain here? when cometh the fruit upon the threshing-floor of our reward?" Prayer for vengeance is taught as a continuous duty in 1 Enoch xcix. 3, civ. 3, therefore it was the manifestation of a permanent attitude of mind. This is not so in our text.

The prayer of the souls under the altar for a righteous vindication on their persecutors, made here once and for all and not uninterruptedly pressed as in Judaism, is represented as fulfilled in xviii. 20, xix. 2. Therein is reflected the temper that in part animated the Church in the persecutions of the 1st century. We might compare the attitude of the martyrs towards their judges in Polyc. Mart. 11, or the later Acts of the Martyrs.

11. καὶ ἑδόθη αὐτοῖς ἐκάστῳ στολὴ λευκή. This white robe was their heavenly body (see note on iii. 5, and Additional Note at close of this chapter: cf. vii. 9).

The martyrs have thus in a great degree attained their consummation. Their reception of the heavenly body at this stage is a special privilege accorded to the martyrs, just as they exclusively are to return with Christ to reign for the 1000 years; cf. xx. 4.1 To all the righteous these white robes are given finally.

καὶ ἔφεσθαι αὐτοῖς ἵνα ἀναπαύσωνται ἐτὶ χρόνον μικρὸν. Augustine, Alcasar, Ribiera, Bengel, De Wette, Bleek, Holtzmann, Bousset, etc., explain these words as meaning that the martyrs

1 Erbes, 42 sq., seeks to explain the text by the individual martyrdoms of Jews and Christians before 62 A.D.
VI. 11.]  THE FIFTH SEAL  177

are to be patient and to abstain from their cry of vengeance; but Hengstenberg, Düsterdieck, Kliesoth, Alford, Swete, and others, as meaning that they are to rest in blessedness, as in xiv. 13, ἵνα ἀναταύσωνται ἐκ τῶν κόπων αὐτῶν.

ἔως πληρωθῶσιν καὶ οἱ σύνδουλοι αὐτῶν καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτῶν οἱ μέλλοντες ἀποκτέννεσθαι ὡς καὶ αὐτοί. The martyrs are kept waiting until their fellow-servants also (i.e. καὶ), who with them have the same Master (δεσπότης, 10), and their brethren (i. 9), have also been slain. The σύνδουλοι and the ἀδελφοὶ are the same persons viewed under different aspects. The repeated αὐτῶν can best be explained as an unconscious Hebraism.

The above clause looks back to the martyrdoms under Nero, and anticipates a final and universal persecution under Domitian which would follow “in a little time.” In this persecution he expects the number of the martyrs to be completed. Then would ensue the end.

Instead of either of the above explanations of ἀναταύσωνται ἐτη, the evidence of contemporary literature is perhaps in favour of the following: the souls of the martyrs, now clothed in spiritual bodies (cf. Asc. Isa. ix. 6 sq., where Abel, Enoch, and others are represented as being so clothed, and in the seventh heaven, but not yet in possession of their full privileges), are bidden to enjoy their present rest and quietness for a little while longer, when, on the completion of the roll of the martyrs, the judgment they demanded would ensue. In a much earlier work, 1 Enoch c. 5, the righteous souls in the intermediate state are referred to:

“And over all the righteous and holy He will appoint guardians from amongst the holy angels,

To guard them as the apple of an eye.”

In cii. 5 they are bidden “to wait for the day of the judgment of sinners,” and in civ. 3 (cf. xxii. 5–7, xlvi. 2, xcvi. 3–5), to pray for judgment on their oppressors. From the contrast of the conditions of the righteous and wicked in Sheol in xci.–civ., it is clear that, though the righteous demand vengeance on the evil-doers, they are enjoying peace and rest.

In 4 Ezra vii. 85 part of the torment of the wicked souls after death will consist in seeing “how the habitations of the other souls are guarded by angels in profound quietness,” whilst part of the blessedness of the righteous souls will consist in beholding the present evil condition of the souls of the wicked, and the still greater torments that await them (vii. 93), and in appreciating “the rest which they now, being gathered in their chambers, enjoy in profound quietness guarded by angels” (vii. 95).

From the standpoint of the Gospels we cannot understand
how the souls of the righteous could enjoy such rest in the presence of such suffering.

The view that the end of the world would ensue when the roll of the martyrs was complete was current in pre-Christian Judaism.

This thought is highly characteristic of later Judaism, which held that everything was carried out in the divine government of the world according to a certain predestined number, time, or measure. This appears in 4 Ezra iv. 36 sq.:

“For He has weighed the age in the balance,
And with measures has measured the times,
And by number has numbered the seasons:
Neither will He move nor stir things
Till the measure appointed be fulfilled.”

In I Enoch xlvii. the end will come when the number of the martyrs is complete.

Thus in xlvii. 1 it is said that

“In those days (i.e. the last) shall have ascended the prayer of the righteous,
And the blood of the righteous from earth before the Lord of Spirits.”

In the next verse (xlvii. 2) the angels supplicate and intercede

“On behalf of the blood of the righteous which has been shed,
And that the prayer of the righteous might not be in vain before the Lord of Spirits,
And that judgment should be done unto them,
And that they may not have to suffer for ever.”

Here clearly the souls of Jewish martyrs are referred to, which demand vengeance and pray against the further postponement of it. In xlvii. 3 the books are opened and the Lord of Spirits seats Himself on the throne of judgment. In xlvii. 4 reads:

“And the hearts of the holy were filled with joy,
Because the number of the righteous had been offered,
And the prayer of the righteous had been heard,
And the blood of the righteous been required before the Lord of Spirits.”

Here, as the context shows, the righteous are martyrs. This is the earliest form of this conception, and is reproduced in our text. A later development of it (see p. 173) is found in 4 Ezra iv 35. “Were not these questions of thine asked by the souls
of the righteous in their chambers? How long are we to remain here? When cometh the fruit upon the threshing-floor of our reward? And to them the archangel Jeremiel made reply and said: Even when the number of those like yourself is fulfilled!"

And in 2 Bar. xxx. 2, "And it will come to pass at that time that the treasuries shall be opened in which is preserved the number of the souls of the righteous."

From the above passages it follows that our author is following a current Jewish tradition. There is no need for supposing that he had any acquaintance with 4 Ezra; for the latter represents a later development of this conception, as we have shown. Bousset, as Spitta, 298, had already done, regards our text and 4 Ezra iv. 35 sq. as independent, but as derived from a common older source. He represents our author as transforming the current Jewish tradition, that the world would come to an end when the number of the souls of the righteous was completed, into the form given in our text; but Bousset’s view was due to the unintelligible text of 1 Enoch xlvii. 4, which, however, when retranslated into Hebrew, presents the same tradition as our text. The unintelligibleness was due to the Greek translator rendering ררה as “had drawn nigh” (a possible meaning), instead of “had been sacrificed,” as the context here required (so in later Hebrew and Aramaic). See p. 172.

11–VII. 8. The sixth Seal—its plagues and the ensuing pause during which the faithful Israelites are sealed to secure their safety.—These woes are still in the future. They are not in our author the immediate heralds of the end, as in the Gospels. The end cannot come till the great persecution and martyrdom of the faithful have taken place. With the text compare Mark xiii. 8, 24–25; Matt. xxiv. 7, 29; Luke xxi. 11, 25–26, xxiii. 30. The woes, therefore, are not to be taken in their full literal significance. This is manifest from the fact that after the stars of heaven had fallen, the heaven been removed as a scroll, and every mountain and island had been removed out of their places, the kings of the earth and the mighty, the bond and the free, could hardly be described as hiding themselves in the caves and rocks of the earth and imploring the mountains to fall upon them.

12. καὶ εἶδον ὅτε ἦνοιξεν τὴν σφραγίδα τὴν ἔκτην, καὶ σεισμὸς μέγας ἐγένετο, καὶ ὁ ἱλλος ἐγένετο μέλας ὡς σάκκος τρίχινος, καὶ ἡ σέληνη ὡς ἐγένετο ὃς αἰμα.

The earthquake here is not to be explained by that in Laodicea in 61, or at Pompeii in 63. It is rather a single great earthquake, which is a precursor of the end of the world. Thus
the σεισμοί κατὰ τόπους (= Mark xiii. 8) has not only been transformed into a single world catastrophe, but also transposed from holding the third or fourth place in the list of woes to the sixth, as we have already pointed out.

Earthquakes belong, of course, to the traditional eschatological scheme. Cf. Amos viii. 8, ix. 5; Ezek. xxxviii. 19; Joel ii. 10; Ass. Mos. x. 4; 4 Ezra v. 8, ix. 3; 2 Bar. lxx. 8. See Gressmann, i. 2 sqq. There are further references to an earthquake in our text: viii. 5, xi. 13, xvi. 18. The darkening of the sun is also a constant eschatological phenomenon: Amos viii. 9; Isa. xiii. 10, l. 3, ἐνδύσω τὸν οὐρανὸν σκότος καὶ ὃς σάκκον βῆσω τὸ περιβόλαιον αὐτοῦ: Ezek. xxxii. 7; Joel ii. 10, 31 (= Mass. iii. 4), ὁ ἡλίος μεταστραφήσεται εἰς σκότος καὶ ἡ σελήνη εἰς αἷμα πρὶν ἐλθεῖν ἡμέραν κυρίου: Matt. xxiv. 29; Mark xiii. 24; Luke xxiii. 45; Ass. Mos. x. 5; Acts ii. 20 (quotation from Joel ii. 31); Rev. ix. 2.

To Joel ii. 31 (see quotation above) and Ass. Mos. x. 5, "(luna) tota convertet se in sanguinem," we have a very remarkable parallel in our text. The passage in Ass. Mos. appears to be directly dependent on the text of Joel save that it adds tota. Now our text, while it gives a free rendering of the Hebrew behind both passages (ὁ ξυρνάριος τῆς Κύρης), embodies the addition of ὅλη in the Ass. Mos. This might be a coincidence, but it seems to be more. Our author may not improbably have had the text of this book before him in some form; for the Ass. Mos. x. 4–5 contains references to earthquakes, the eclipse of the sun, the ensanguining of the moon, and the disorder of the stars: "Et tremebit terra . . . sol non dabit lumen . . . et (luna) tota convertet se in sanguinem et orbitis stellarum conturbabitur." In any case he is not dependent on the LXX. For the expectation in Babylonian literature that the sun and moon would be darkened, see Zimmern, Κ.Α.Τ. 3 393.

13. καὶ οἱ ἀστέρες τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἔπεσαν εἰς τὴν γῆν, ὡς συκῆ βάλλει τοὺς δύλους αὐτῆς ὑπὸ ἀνέμου μεγάλου σεισμοῦ, 14. καὶ ὁ οὐρανός ἀπεχωρίσθη ὡς βιβλίον ἐλισσόμενον. This passage appears to be based on Isa. xxxxiv. 4, καὶ τακύρωται πᾶσαι αἱ δυνάμεις τῶν οὐρανῶν, καὶ ἐλυγήσεται ὡς βιβλίον ὁ οὐρανός, καὶ πάντα τὰ ἄστρα πεσεῖται ὡς φύλλα . . . ἀπὸ συκῆς. If this is so, then our author may seem dependent on the LXX, since the Massoretic has ἤρε, "will fade," and not ἤρε = πεσεῖται, but that Symmachus also has πεσεῖται. This clause is found also in Matt. xxiv. 29, καὶ οἱ ἄστρες πεσοῦνται ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ; also in Sibyll. iii. 83, καὶ πέσεται πολύμορφος ὄλος πόλος ἐν χθονὶ δύσι, ii. 202, viii. 190; and the same expectation in the Bundehesh xxx. 18 (Böklen, p. 87).

The world and its wellbeing depend on the faithfulness with
which the luminaries of heaven fulfil their parts. The unvarying order and loyalty with which they do so was a favourite theme with apocalyptic writers: cf. 1 Enoch ii. 1, xli. 5, xliii. 2, lxix. 16 sqq.; T. Naph. iii. 2; Pss. Sol. xviii. 11-14; 4 Ezra vi. 45. When, then, the sun and moon and stars forsook this order, the end of the world was at hand. Cf. 1 Enoch lxxx. 5, 6; 4 Ezra v. 4, 5; Sibyll. iii. 801 sq.

The darkening of the sun and the ensanguining of the moon and the falling of the stars in our text, have a like significance.1

The mention of the fig-tree appears to be due wholly to Isa. xxxiv. 4, and to have no connection with Matt. xxvii. 32 and its parallels. ὄλυμθος = τὸ μῆ πεπεμένον σῶκον (Hesychius). The figure in ἀπεχωρίσθη . . . ἐλιοσώμενον is that of a papyrus rent in two, whereupon the divided portions curl and form a roll on either side. With this clause we might compare 2 Pet. iii. 10, οἱ οὐρανοὶ ἤριζον παρελεύσονται, though the thought is here different. An excellent parallel appears in Sibyll. iii. 82, οὐρανὸν ἐλεύξ, καθ’ ἄπερ βιβλίον εἴλειται. Cf. viii. 233, 413. In the O.T. the heavens are said to be “shaken” and “rent” (יָרַד): cf. Isa. xiii. 13, lxiii. 19; Hagg. ii. 6, 21.

καὶ πᾶν ὄρος καὶ νῆσος ἐκ τῶν τόπων αὐτῶν ἐκινήθησαν. This statement recurs in xvi. 20, πᾶσα νῆσος ἔφυγεν, καὶ ὤρη οὐχ ἐφέθησαν. No real parallel has hitherto been found for these words. Nah. i. 5 is adduced by some, and Jer. iv. 24 by others, but neither is at all likely. Such cosmic phenomena must in their original context have been immediate precursors of the end; but as they are not such in our author, the words are not to be taken literally.

15. καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς καὶ οἱ μεγιστάνες καὶ οἱ χιλιάρχοι καὶ οἱ πλοῦσιοι καὶ οἱ ἰσχυροί καὶ τὰς δουλός καὶ ἐλεύθερος ἐκρυθαν ἑαυτοὺς εἰς τὰ στήλαια καὶ εἰς τὰς πέτρας τῶν ὄρων. With the above enumeration compare xiii. 16, xix. 18. The number of classes in our text is seven—a favourite number with our author. It includes every one from the emperor down to the slave. For similar enumerations see Jub. xxiii. 19; 2 Bar. lxx. 3, 4, 6, though these are mentioned in connection with what is given in our text under the second Seal.

With the thought of 15-16 cf. Luke xxi. 26, ἀποψωκήτων ἀνθρώπων ἀπὸ φόβου καὶ προσδοκίας τῶν ἐπερχομένων τῇ οἰκουμένῃ, αἰ γὰρ δυνάμεις τῶν οὐρανῶν σαλευθήσονται. The βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς (cf. xvii. 2, 18, xviii. 3, 9; Isa. xxiv. 21) are the heads of the heathen nations. The μεγιστάνες are probably here to be

1 Gressmann (Ursprung d. Isr.-Jüd. Eschat. 27-28) traces back the ideas in our text and such as underlie Isa. xxxiv. 4 to the mythical conception of a heavenly tree with the stars as its fruit and the sirocco which casts them to the ground.
identified with the Parthian princes (cf. Mommsen, v. 343 sq.). So Holtzmann and Bousset. The word is used six times in Theodotion's translation of Daniel as a rendering of ἐρρήν, who were an order of great nobles and court officials under Belshazzar and Darius. Swete takes them to be civil officials, i.e. the persecuting proconsuls. As distinguished from the Parthian nobles we have the Roman military tribunes referred to in οἱ χιλιάρχοι.

With ἐκρυψαν ἐαυτοὺς κτλ. cf. Isa. ii. 10, 18 sq., εἰσέλθησα εἰς τὰς πέτρας καὶ κρύπτασθε εἰς τὴν γῆν ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ φῶσον κυρίου. . . καὶ τὰ χειροποιήματα πάντα κατακρύψασιν, εἰσενέγκαντες εἰς τὰ στήλαια καὶ εἰς τὰς σχισμὰς τῶν πετρῶν. See also Isa. ii. 21; Jer. iv. 29.

With 15-16 cf. i Enoch lxii. 3, “And there shall stand up in that day all the kings and the mighty, | And the exalted and those who hold the earth, | And they shall see and recognize | How He sits on the throne of His glory”; lxii. 4, “Then shall pain come upon them as upon a woman in travail . . .”; lxii. 5, “and they shall be terrified.” Cf. also lxii. 9, lxiii. 1.

16. καὶ λέγουσιν τοῖς ὀρεσιν καὶ ταῖς πέτραισιν Πέσατε ἐφ' ἡμᾶς καὶ κρύψατε ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ καθημένου ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ὄργης τοῦ ἀρνητοῦ. These words are drawn from Hos. x. 8, where the LXX has ἐρωτότων τοῖς ὀρεσιν Καλύψατε ἡμᾶς, καὶ τοῖς βούνοις Πέσατε ἐφ' ἡμᾶς. Here our text differs from the LXX in its renderings, λέγουσιν, πέτραισι, κρύψατε, and in the order of its verbs. This order is found also in Luke xxiii. 30, where this quotation is given: ἄρεσον τοῖς ὀρεσιν Πέσατε ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, καὶ τοῖς βούνοις Καλύψατε ἡμᾶς. It may not be necessary to assume an independent translation of Hos. x. 8 here, but only the use of a current collection of eschatological passages, or a collection of the sayings of our Lord. Either of these hypotheses would account for the inversion of the order of the verbs. The use of κρύψατε and πέτραις could be accounted for by the occurrence of these words in 15.

Against the genuineness of the clause, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ὄργης τοῦ ἀρνητοῦ, Vischer, 40; Spitta, 78; Weyland, 150; Volter, i. 51, iv. 22; J. Weiss, 64, and others have variously urged that elsewhere in the Apocalypse the Lamb has always a peaceful rôle, whereas the wrath of God is frequently spoken of: xi. 18, xiv. 10, 19, xv. 7, xvi. 1, 19, xix. 15. Further, that six verses earlier, i.e. vi. 10, where the martyrs cry for judgment, God and not the Lamb is addressed; and that this is so in the present passage is shown by the ἀυτοῦ in 17. Spitta urges that the words disturb the unity of the situation, since in iv.-vi. God is the Judge on the throne, whereas the Lamb appears elsewhere in these chapters before the throne, surrounded by angels. J. Weiss
regards the clause as a later addition of the final editor, according
to whose view the enmity of the Beast is directed against the
Lamb and His followers, xvii. 14-15.

Two rejoinders have been made to the above arguments.
1. The clause is to be retained; for the Lamb is the central figure
of this chapter. Since He opens the Sealed Book, He is in a
certain sense the cause of the woes that follow: it is Christ that
pronounces the great κατάρα in Matt. xxv. 41 sqq. on the wicked,
and the irregular αὑτοῦ, where we should expect αὐτῶν, has its
parallel in 1 Thess. iii. 11, where sing. verb follows δ θεὸς . . .
καὶ ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν: moreover, God and Christ are set on an
equality by our author, i. 17, 18, xxii. 13. See Hirsch, 58 sq.

2. The clause is to be retained; for the αὐτοῦ refers not to
God, but to the Lamb only. So Bousset.

It is perhaps best to accept the clause on the second ground.
The Messiah was expected to be the judge of the world in
Judaism, 1 Enoch lxix. 27: our author, who took a far higher
view of His Person, regarded Him in the same light, xxii. 12.

17. οτὲ ἠλθεν ἡ ἡμέρα ἡ μεγάλη τῆς ὁργῆς αὐτοῦ, καὶ τῖς δύναται
σταθῆναι. The verse seems to be based on Joel ii. 11, μεγάλη
ἡμέρα τοῦ κυρίου . . . καὶ ἐπιφάνεις σφόδρα, καὶ τίς ἐσται ἴκανὸς
αὐτῇ (οἰκητή): ii. 31b, πρὶν ἐλθεῖν ἡμέραν κυρίου τὴν μεγάλην. That
our author had the Hebrew of these passages before his mind
may be inferred also from the fact that in 12 he has already
borrowed from Joel ii. 31a directly or indirectly.

In Zeph. ii. 2 we have another close parallel, πρὸ τοῦ ἐπελθεῖν
ἔφ' ὑμᾶς ὁργὴν κυρίου, πρὸ τοῦ ἐπελθεῖν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἡμέραν θυμοῦ
κυρίου. To the last clause in our verse, the original of which is
probably in Joel ii. 11 (see above), we have further parallels in
Nah. i. 6, ἀπὸ προσώπου ὁργῆς αὐτοῦ τίς ὑποστήσεται καὶ τίς
ἀντιστήσεται ἐν ὁργῇ θυμοῦ αὐτοῦ. “The great day” and
equivalent phrases are very frequent in Enoch and later Jewish
literature: see Bousset, Religion d. Judenthums, 246; Volz, Jud.
Eschat. 188; i Enoch xliv. 2 (note in my edition).

This verse expresses the alarm of the conscience-stricken inhabi-
tants of the earth, but not the thought of our author.

The woes already past, which had hitherto been regarded as
the immediate forerunners of “the great day,” might well have
justified such a cry of despair; but our author teaches that the
end is not yet; the roll of the martyrs is not yet complete; the
unbelieving world has worse woes still to encounter.

With τίς δύναται σταθῆναι; we might contrast the picture in
vii. 9 sqq. of the innumerable host standing (ἐστῶτας) before
God.
Additional Note on vi. 11.

εδόθη αὐτοῖς στολὴ λευκὴ. It is best to give at the outset the interpretation of the στολὴ λευκὴ that can be justified by Jewish and Early Christian literature, and this is that the στολὴ λευκὴ signifies the spiritual bodies which were forthwith given to the martyrs, but not to the rest of the faithful departed till after the Final Judgment. Attempts have been made by Böcklen (Verwandtschaft d. jüdisch-christlichen mit d. Parischen Eschatologie, pp. 61–62) to find this conception in the Zend-Avesta (Yasht xiii. 49 sq.: see S.B.E. xxiii. 192–193 1), but it cannot be regarded as successful. In the Pahlavi literature (8th cent. A.D. or later) to which he appeals (p. 62), there is a doctrine approximating, but only approximating, to that of our author: see Bund. xxx. 28 (S.B.E. v. 127). “This too, it says, that whoever has performed no worship, and has ordered no Geti-kharid, and has bestowed no clothes as a righteous gift, is naked there; and he performs the worship of Aûharmazd, and † the heavenly angels provide him the use of clothing †.” Cf. also Dâdistân-i Dinik, xlili. 19 (S.B.E. xviii. 149 sq.), and Sad Dar, lxxxviii. 2–6 (S.B.E. xxiv. 351). There is therefore no evidence to prove that Judaism or Christianity is beholden to the Zend religion for this doctrine.

We now return to pre-Christian and later Judaism, where we find this view undoubtedy prevalent.

In Ps. civ. 2, “Thou clothest Thyself with light as with a garment,” we find one of the sources of the conception with which we are dealing. Now as God was clothed in light, the risen faithful were likewise so conceived, as in I Enoch cviii. 12, “I will bring forth in shining light those who have loved My holy name, and I will seat each on the throne of his honour.” But since the light going forth from God was likewise the glory of God, the resurrection bodies of the righteous could be described as “garments of glory.” Thus in I Enoch lxii. 16:

“And they shall have been clothed with garments of glory, And these shall be the garments of life from the Lord of Spirits”;

and in 2 Enoch xxii. 8, “And the Lord said to Michael: Go and take Enoch from out his earthly garments . . . and put

1 Here the departed souls revisiting the earth say: “Who will receive us with meat and clothes in his hand and with a prayer worthy of bliss?” The clothes so given are supposed to clothe the soul in the next world. This idea is poles apart from that in our text, and yet Clemen (Erklärung d. NT, 135) and many other Germans accept this view without any attempt to consult the S.B.E.
him into the garments of My glory." The garments are "white," as the white garment is a symbol of the light streaming forth from a supernatural being. Thus the raiment of the angels is "white," Mark ix. 3 (τὰ ἵματα αὐτοῦ . . . λευκὰ λίαν), xvi. 5 (στολὴν λευκὴν); Acts i. 10 (ἐσθήσεσιν λευκάς), or "dazzling," Luke ix. 29 (ὁ ἤματισμὸς αὐτοῦ λευκὸς ἐξαστράτων), xxiv. 4 (ἐν ἐσθήτι ἀστραπτούσῃ).

So far we see that the bodies of the risen righteous were described as "garments of glory," i.e. the supernatural glory or light belonging to God Himself (2 Enoch xxii. 8), and that the garments of the angels in the N.T. are described in analogous terms as "white" or "dazzling." The angels are then apparently to be conceived of as having spiritual bodies. But the identification of the "white garments" or "white raiment" of the blessed with their spiritual bodies can be fully established. For in the Ascension of Isaiah (circ. 88–100 A.D., or 100–120 A.D. according to Beer) we have a writing contemporary, or almost contemporary, with that of our author, which deals definitely with this question. Thus in iv. 16 we read: "But the saints will come with the Lord with their garments which are (now) stored up on high in the seventh heaven: with the Lord they will come, whose spirits are clothed . . . and He will clothe (i.e. reading ἐπενδύσει for ἐνσχύσει, which latter the Ethiopic presupposes) the saints who have been found in the body . . . in the garments of the saints." Again in viii. 14 we find: "When from the body . . . thou hast ascended hither, then thou wilt receive the garment which thou seest." For other references to these "garments" or spiritual bodies see vii. 22, viii. 26, ix. 9, 17, 24–26, xi. 40. These garments were most probably termed ἐνδυμάτα in the lost Greek original, since this term is found in the Greek Legend, ii. 35, which is based on the Asc. Isa. See p. 145 of my edition of this work. From the Ascension we may proceed to Hermas, Sim. viii. 2. 3, ἵματισμὸν δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν πάντες ἐξὸν λευκὸν ὡσεὶ χιόνα, and 4 Ezra ii. 39, "Qui se de umbra saeculi transiturunt, splendidas tunicas a domino acceperunt . . . 42. Ego Esdras vidi in monte Sion turbam magnam, quam numerare non potui . . . 44–45. Tunc interrogavi angelum et dixi: Qui sunt hi, Domine? Qui respondens dixit mihi: Hi sunt qui mortalem tunicam deposuerunt et immortalem sumpserunt."

From the evidence given in the preceding paragraph we conclude that, in the circles best fitted to understand apocalyptic symbols, the symbolism of the white garments from 88 or thereabouts to 200 A.D. was clearly understood as given above. We may now return to the N.T., to the Pauline Epistles, and our author. That St. Paul held analogous beliefs though he expressed them somewhat differently, is clear from 1 Cor. xv. 44,
where he distinguishes the σῶμα ψυχικόν from the σῶμα πνευματικόν, the latter of which is said (xv. 49) to be “the likeness of the heavenly” (τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ ἐπουρανίου). This heavenly body he calls in 2 Cor. v. 1 an οἴκοδομήν ἐκ θεοῦ . . . οἰκίων ἀσυρμομένων αἰώνιοι ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς: in the next verse he defines it as τὸ οἰκητήριον ἡμῶν τὸ ξύ οὐρανοῦ, being clothed with which we shall not be found naked (ἐνδώσαμεν οὐ γυμνοὶ εὑρεθήσομεθα). Finally he declares (Phil. iii. 21) that this body of our humiliation will be fashioned anew so as to be conformed to the body of His (i.e. Christ’s) glory (σύμμορφον τῷ σώματι τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ). Here the σῶμα τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ1 denotes the same thing as the “garments of glory” in 1 Enoch lxii. 16, though the form of expression is different.

Let us next examine the views of our author on this question. In this connection he uses two words, στολή and ἰμάτιον. Since the meaning is less clear with regard to ἰμάτιον we shall begin with στολή.

First of all, in vi. 11, when the souls under the altar appealed for judgment on their oppressors, a στολή λευκή (i.e. a spiritual body) was given to each, and they were bidden to rest till their fellow-servants on earth should suffer martyrdom even as they had. Here there is no definite answer given to their collective cry for retribution, but a definite boon is accorded—even the gift of spiritual bodies. But thereby their complete blessedness is not yet fulfilled. This cannot be accomplished till all the faithful have finished their warfare on earth. They are not to enjoy perfect blessedness till the roll of the martyrs is complete and the Millennial Kingdom established on the earth. In this kingdom they are to reign with Christ for 1000 years (xx. 4), sitting on His throne (i.e. sharing in His authority), iii. 21 (cf. Luke xxii. 29, 30; Matt. xix. 28), and to be crowned as victors in the strife on earth, ii. 10, iii. 11 (cf. 2 Tim. iv. 7, 8). We might compare with our

1 It is noteworthy that this idea of a resurrection body of glory or light is used in a purely spiritual sense in the Odes of Solomon:

Cf. Ode xi. 9-10. “I forsook the folly which is spread over the earth And I stripped it off and cast it from me: And the Lord renewed me in His raiment And formed me by His light.”

Ode xxii. 2. “I put off darkness and clothed myself with light, And my soul acquired a body Free from sorrow or affliction or pains.”

Ode xxv. 7-8. “In me there shall be nothing but light, And I was clothed with the covering of Thy Spirit, And I cast away from me my raiment of skin.”

Rendel Harris (Odes of Solomon, p. 67) points out that according to Rabbi Meir, Adam was originally clothed with “coats of light” (נש תופך), but that after the Fall he was clothed with “coats of skin” (נש תנש).
VI. 11.] ADDITIONAL NOTE ON VI. 11 187

author's expectation Asc. Isa. ix. 9, where the Seer sees all the righteous from Adam onwards "stript of the garments of the flesh" (= τὰ τῆς σαρκὸς ἐνδυμάτα, cf. Greek Legend, ii. 33) and clothed in "their garments of the upper world," and appearing "like angels." 10. "But they sat not on their thrones, nor were their crowns of glory on them. 11. And I asked the angel who was with me: How is it that they have received the garments but not the thrones and the crowns? 12, 13. And he said unto me: Crowns and thrones of glory they do not receive till the Beloved has descended into the world and ascended (17-18). Here, though the time limit differs, the idea is similar. The idea in our text is that of the solidarity of the Church of the Martyrs. That of the entire Church, Jewish and Christian, is well set forth in Heb. xi. 39-40, "These all . . . received not the promise, God having provided some better thing concerning us, that apart from us they should not be made perfect."

The στυλή λευκή in vi. 11 is, then, clearly the spiritual bodies which are given by God to the martyrs, and according to our author to the martyrs only at this stage. This phrase used in connection with the glorified martyr host in heaven in vii. 9 (ὀγλος πολύς . . . περιβεβλημένως στυλὰς λευκὰs) and in vii. 13 (οὕτως οί περιβεβλημένοι τὰς στυλὰς τὰς λευκὰs) has, of course, the same meaning.

There are two other passages, vii. 14, xxii. 14, in which this phrase occurs, and which at first sight seem to place considerable difficulty in the way of the above interpretation. But the difficulty is more seeming than real. To solve it, however, we must turn to our author's use of ἴματιον 1 as a synonym of στυλή, and likewise βύσσινος—a second synonym for στυλή. Faithful discipleship in Christ provides the spirit with a spiritual body: otherwise it is naked, as we saw above in 2 Cor. v. 1-5. Now this spiritual body is the joint result of God's grace and man's faithfulness. It is, on the one hand, a divine gift: in iii. 18, where Christ declares in συμβουλεύω σοι ἀγοράσαι παρ' ἐμοῦ . . . ἴματια λευκά ἵνα περιβάλῃ καὶ μὴ φανερωθῇ ἡ αἰωνίων τῆς γυμνότητος σου (cf. 2 Cor. v. 1-5), and most probably in iii. 5, ὁ νικῶν οὗτος περιβαλεῖται ἐν ἴματιοις λευκοῖς, and again in xix. 8, ἐδόθη αὐτῇ ἵνα περιβάληται βύσσινοι λαμπρὸν καθάρον. On the other hand, the spiritual body is in a certain sense the present possession of the faithful, and can, therefore, only be preserved through faithful-

1 In iv. 4 the ἴματιοι λευκοῖς are the spiritual bodies of the Elders, which they have as heavenly beings. In xix. 14, ἐνδεδυμένοι βύσσινοι λευκῶν καθάρων, and in xv. 6, ἐνδεδυμένοι λευκὸν καθάρον λαμπρὸν, the heavenly bodies of the angels are referred to in any case, even if there is a secondary reference to their white garments. In xix. 13, 16 ἴματιον is apparently used in its literal sense. See footnote on p. 82.
ness: cf. iii. 4, ἀ οὐκ ἐμόλυναν τὰ ἵματα αὐτῶν: xvi. 15, μακάριος δὲ ... τηρῶν τὰ ἵματα αὐτοῦ ἵνα μὴ γυμνὸς περιπατῇ. The faithful disciple will walk with Christ in white (ἐν λευκοῖς, i.e. will possess a spiritual body, iii. 4). These promises are eschatological and relate to the future. Christ may come at any hour (iii. 3), and according to the faithfulness or unfaithfulness of His disciples, so will they be clothed or naked hereafter.

It must be confessed that iii. 4 (ἀ οὐκ ἐμόλυναν τὰ ἵματα αὐτῶν) taken in and by itself could be interpreted as relating wholly to the spiritual experience of the Christian in the present; but the clause that follows is against this, being purely eschatological, καὶ περιπατήσουσιν μετ’ ἐμοῦ ἐν λευκοῖς, and still more so is the next verse. The being clothed in white garments is the result of faithfulness unto death (δ νικῶν). The “nakedness” in iii. 18, xvi. 15, is, as we have seen, the same thing as in 2 Cor. v. 1–5, and denotes the loss of the spiritual body.

Now let us return to vii. 14, xxii. 14 (οἱ πλύνοντες τὰς στολὰς αὐτῶν). If it is possible to defile the heavenly body (iii. 4), or even to destroy it (iii. 18, xvi. 15), it is no less possible to cleanse it (vii. 14, xxii. 14) and make it white (λευκάνειν, vii. 14) in the blood of the Lamb.

Thus to sum up. The present life of faith has within it the promise and the potency of a blessed immortality of the soul endowed with an organism (symbolized in our author by στολὴ λευκή or ἵματων λευκῶν) adapted to its spiritual environment. Every true Christian has potentially and actually this spiritual body, which he can defile (iii. 4) or cleanse (vii. 14, xxii. 14) and make white (vii. 14), or destroy wholly (iii. 18, xvi. 15). Every act of the present life is thus linked up inexorably with the future. Moreover, while it is true on the one hand that God bestows on us the spiritual body (iii. 18, vi. 11), it is equally true on the other that we have our share in the creation of this body (iii. 4, xvi. 15), through the fellowship of our spirit with that of Christ, and can destroy alike its possibilities and itself by unfaithfulness to Christ (iii. 18, xvi. 15).

CHAPTER VII.

§ 1. In the preceding three chapters there has been continuous movement, and the Seer has placed before his readers a progressive drama, advancing in a series of visions, dealing in iv. with God the Creator of the world and the Source of all goodness and power and glory therein, and in v. with Christ the Redeemer, who, by undertaking the opening of the seven-sealed book, had thereby taken upon Himself the destinies of
the world and the fulfilment of God's purposes; and in vi. with
the opening of the first six Seals, which were followed by a
succession of social and cosmic woes. But to this divine drama,
moving onwards inexorably and ceaselessly, there comes a pause
in vii. The preceding Seals (the first four and the sixth) had
been purely physical and had affected all men alike; but the
three Woes, each heralded by a trumpet blast, were to be of
a demonic character and to affect only the inhabiter of the
earth—"such men as had not the seal of God on their fore-
heads" (ix. 4). Hence to secure the faithful against these
impending demonic woes a pause is made (vii. 1-3), and during
it the living faithful—Jew and Gentile alike—and so far the
spiritual Israel, are marked with the seal of the Living God
(vii. 4-8). There is thus a pause in the movement of the divine
drama in vii. 1-8, but in vii. 9-17 there is more: there is an
actual breach in that unity of time which has been so carefully
observed in iv.-vii. 8. But this breach (and it recurs under like
circumstances later) is purposeful. The faithful have indeed
been sealed in vii. 4-8, but since this sealing does not secure
them against physical suffering and martyrdom, to encourage
and inspire them in the face of these impending evils the Seer
recounts that wonderful vision in vii. 9-17 in which, looking to
the close of the great tribulation, he beholds those who had
been sealed and had died the martyr's death already standing
blessed and triumphant before the throne of God.

§ 2. This chapter presents many difficult questions. Owing to
the apparently Jewish or Jewish-Christian character of vii. 1-8,
and the universalistic character of vii. 9-17, critics have for the
most part decided against the unity of the chapter. While
Spitta makes vii. 9-17 the immediate sequel and actual close of
i.-vi. (i.e. of "the original Christian Apocalypse," and assigns
vii. 1-8 to J I (the first Jewish source), Völter, Vischer, Pfleiderer
(1st ed.), Schmidt, regard vii. 9-17 as an interpolation in a
Jewish-Christian or Jewish groundwork. Others again seek to
reconstruct the original by making certain excisions. Thus
Erbes removes vii. 4-8, 13-17, as additions from a Jewish source;
while Weyland strikes out certain phrases in vii. 9, 10, 14, 17;
and Rauch deletes vii. 13, 14 wholly, as well as certain phrases
in vii. 9, 10, as additions of a Christian reviser.

But a more excellent way of dealing with the text is taken by
Weizsäcker, Sabatier, Schoen, Holtzmann, Bousset, Wellhausen,
Porter, Scott, Moffatt, who maintain the relative unity of the
chapter, and regard vii. 1-8 either as the work of our author or
as incorporated by him in his text and adapted thereto. Sabatier,
Holtzmann, Hirscht, and Bousset interpret vii. 1-8 as referring
to Jewish, and vii. 9-17 to Gentile-Christians; while Reuss,
Bovon, Schoen, Porter, Wellhausen, and Moffatt interpret the two passages as describing the same body under different conditions. My own studies have led me independently to the same view, though with a difference.

So far we have recorded in briefest form the conclusions of scholars on the critical structure of this chapter. We must now proceed to discuss the questions in detail, and first of all the relation of vii. 9–17 to the rest of the Apocalypse, since this is the easiest.

§ 3. vii. 9–17 is from the hand of our author. For (a) it proclaims the absolute universalism of Christianity, as does the entire Apocalypse so far as it comes from his hand. (b) Its dictum and idiom are those of our author. Here the evidence is conclusive.

9. μετὰ ταῦτα εἶδον καὶ ἴδου. So iv. 1 (see note in loc.). δὲν . . . αὐτών—Hebraism. Cf. iii. 8, xii. 6, xiii. 8, 12, xx. 8. δόχλος πολὺς. So xix. 1, 6, in same connection. ἐθνοῦς κ. φυλῶν κ. λαῶν κ. γλωσσῶν. Cf. v. 9. ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου (also vii. 15). So iv. 5, 6, 10, vii. 15, viii. 3, etc. ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου καὶ ἐν τοῦ ἄρνιον (cf. vii. 10). So xxii. 1, 3. περιβεβλημένους στολάς λευκάς (also vii. 13). So vi. 11 (note).


καθημένω ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνος. (See exceptional use in 15.) So iv. 2 (see note in loc.). The peculiar use of ἐπὶ after the participle is that of our author—ἐπὶ with dative after the dative participle and ἐπὶ with the accusative after the nominative participle.

11. κύκλῳ τοῦ θρόνου καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων καὶ τῶν τεσσάρων ξών. So iv. 4 (note).

ἐπεσαν ἐνώπιον. Cf. iv. 10.

ἐπεσαν . . . ἐπὶ τὰ πρόσωπα αὐτῶν καὶ προσεκύνησαν τῷ θεῷ. So xi. 16 (word for word).

12. ή εὐλογία καὶ ή δόξα κτλ. Seven members. Cf. the doxology addressed to the Lamb in v. 12, with seven members.


ἐπλυναν τὰς στολὰς αὐτῶν. Here and in xxii. 14 only. τῷ αἴματι τοῦ ἄρνιου. Cf. xii. 11 (i. 5, v. 9).

15. ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου. See under 10.

λατρεύουσιν αὐτῶν. Cf. xxii. 3.

ὁ καθημένως ἐπὶ † τοῦ θρόνου †. This construction is exceptional—a primitive scribal error (?); see note on iv. 2.

σκευώσει ἐπὶ αὐτοῦς. Cf. xxii. 3, σκευώσει μετ' αὐτῶν.

16. καῦμα. Here and in xvi. 9 only in N.T.

17. τὸ ἄρνιον τὸ ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ θρόνου. Cf. v. 6.

ἐπὶ ξωῆς πηγὰς ὑδάτων. Cf. xxii. 6 (cf. xxii. 1, 17).
VII. § 3–4.] VII. 1–8 FROM JEWISH SOURCES

εξαλείψει . . . πάν δάκρυν ἐκ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτῶν. So xxi. 4 (word for word).

From the above evidence it follows that vii. 9–17 is from the hand of our author.

§ 4. We have now to deal with vii. 1–8.

vii. 1–8 is derived from independent Jewish sources, which have however, been recast in the diction of our author.

I. The diction is that of our author.

VII. 1.1 μετὰ τούτο eίδον (see iv. 1, note). ἐστώτας ἐπὶ τῶς . . . γωνίας. So ἵστημι with ἐπὶ and acc. in iii. 20, viii. 3 (AP An), xi. 11, xii. 18, xiv. 1, xv. 2; except when followed by ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς (on these see next clause): in xix. 17 with ἐν, but in a different sense. πνεύμα ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς μήτε ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης μήτε ἐπὶ πᾶν δέντρον. We should expect either accusatives throughout or genitives; but our author uses εἰς τὴν γῆν or uses ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, and never ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, except in xiv. 16—an interpolation. Hence this clause exhibits a characteristic usage.

2 καὶ eίδον. See iv. 1 note. θεὸς ζωντός. See note on p. 128. ἀνατολῆς ἡλίου: cf. xvi. 12. ἐκραζέν φωνῆς μεγάλη—frequent in the Apocalypse, but only in xiv. 15 is it followed as here by the dative of the persons addressed. οἷς . . . αὐτοῖς, a Hebraism; see on δὲ . . . αὐτῶν, above. ἐδόθη αὐτοῖς ἀδικήσας. For this construction cf. ii. 7, iii. 21, xiii. 7, 15, xvi. 8.

ἀδικήσας τὴν γῆν = “to hurt the earth.” Outside the Apocalypse this use of ἀδικεῖν is not found elsewhere in the N.T. except Luke x. 19, but it is frequent in our text; cf. ii. 11, vi. 6, ix. 4, 10, 19, xi. 5 (bis).

3 τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν. Cf. vii. 10, 12, xii. 10, xix. 1, 5 (θεὸς μου, iii. 2, 12 (ii. 7 [])). ἐπὶ τῶν μετώπων. This phrase is characteristic. Our author uses ἐπὶ in this phrase with the genitive if the noun is in the plural: cf. ix. 4, xiv. 1, xxii. 4, but with the acc. if the noun is in the singular: cf. xiii. 16, xvii. 5, xx. 4, except in xiv. 9.

II. The subject-matter of vii. 1–8 is borrowed from Jewish sources.

Behind vii. 1–8 there are possibly two independent traditions or documents—the one relating to the four winds and the other to the sealing of the 144,000.

(a) vii. 1–3 from a Jewish source, which has not apparently undergone any essential transformation. The letting loose by the four angels of these destructive winds 2 was, as the text implies,

1 κρατεῖν is used in the sense of “holding in check” in 1—a meaning not elsewhere found in the Apocalypse. In ii. 13, 14, 15, 25, iii. 11, it means “hold fast,” i.e. “keep carefully.” πνεύμα here only in our author.

2 Compare the onset of these winds on the sea in the little Apocalypse—Luke xxi. 25, ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς συνοχῇ ἐδυνάμεν ἐν ἀπορίᾳ ἡχοῖς θαλάσσης καὶ σάλιν. 

---
to take place after the sealing of the faithful had been accomplished, or at all events shortly before the end. And yet these four angels and these four winds are not directly referred to again.\(^1\) Hence we conclude, as already other critics have done, that our author has here used fragmentarily an older tradition. For the existence of the tradition in various forms, later evidence can be adduced.\(^2\) The various elements in our text can be

\(^1\) I have shown in the note on ix. 14 that there are many grounds for believing that in their original context these winds at the bidding of the four angels brought plagues of natural locusts from the corners of the earth. In ix. 1 sqq., however, a plague, not of natural, but of demonic locusts arises from the pit, and, as such, not subject to the four angels, but to the angel of the abyss. Thus vii. 1-3 prepares the way, though indirectly, for ix. 1-13.

\(^2\) First of all we find analogous situations in Jewish Apocalyptic. In vii. 1-3 we are told that a "pause" in the judgments is commanded in order that during this pause the faithful may be sealed. Similarly in I Enoch a like pause takes place before the Deluge for the preservation of Noah and his family. Thus in lxvi. 1-2 it is said, "And after that he showed me the angels of punishment, who are prepared to come and let loose all the powers of the waters, which are beneath in the earth, in order to bring judgment and destruction on all who dwell on the earth." 2. And the Lord of Spirits gave commandment to the angels who were going forth, that they should not cause the waters to rise, but should hold them in check; for those angels are over the powers of the waters." From lxvii. it becomes clear that the object of this pause is to give time for the building of the Ark. For another like pause and, as regards the form of the tradition, a very remarkable parallel, we should compare 2 Bar. vi. 4 sqq., "And I beheld, and, lo! four angels standing at the four corners of the city, each of them holding a torch of fire in his hands." 5. And another angel descended from heaven and said unto them: 'Hold your torches, and do not light them till I tell you.' Here we have four angels standing at the four corners of Jerusalem, ready to destroy it, and a fifth angel bidding them pause and not destroy it till the sacred vessels of the Temple were secured and hidden away, vi. 7.

Independent developments of traditions relating to the four winds or probably independent traditions are to be found in later Apocalypses, as Bousset has pointed out; but these are not derived from our text. For the purpose of the four winds in our text is to destroy the earth, and the life thereon, before the judgment, whereas in the later Apocalypses the purpose of the four winds is to cleanse the earth after the judgment. Cf. the pseudo-Johannine Apoc. 15, στὸν ἀποβουλλῶσα (="I will unseal") τὰ τέσσαρα μέρη τῆς ἀδύσεως καὶ ἐξέλθωσιν τέσσαρες ἄνεμοι μεγάλοι καὶ ἐκλείψωσιν ἀπὸ τὸ πρῶτον τῆς γῆς, καὶ λευκανθήσονται πᾶσα ἡ γῆ ὡσπερ χιόν (MS F) : the Syriac Apoc. Peter: "Therefore I will order the four winds and they shall be let loose in one in the direction of the other. And when the sea-wind is let loose, there arises brimstone before it; and when the south wind is let loose, there arises a flaming fire before it; and when the west wind is let loose, the mountains and the rocks are cleft in twain." Cf. also Sibyll. vii. 204 sqq. : πάντας ἐν τοις καλαπαι θέων γαίαν ἐρμίσσει νεκρῶν δ’ επανάστασις εσται. (These quotations are from Bousset, p. 280.)

Now these latter passages do not appear to be based on our text, but all seem to be derived from an older tradition, which has its foundation in the O.T. and in I Enoch lxvi. First of all, the sirocco or south-east wind (κεφασμός, Jer. xxii. 19, and νηστική στίγμα, Hos. xiii. 15) was regarded as a special manifestation of God: Nah. i. 3; Zech. ix. 14. It is His chariot, Jer. iv. 13; Isa. lxvi. 15, it is His breath, Job xxxvii. 10. It rends the
satisfactorily explained from the tradition as we see from footnote 2 on preceding page.

The episode in vii. 1–3 is introduced because a new order of plagues is about to ensue, and a pause must be made in order that during it the faithful may be sealed before this new order of plagues, i.e. the demonic, sets in.

(b) vii. 4–8 is from a Jewish or Jewish-Christian source.

(a) The 144,000 were Jews or Jewish-Christians in the original tradition.—For since the tribes are definitely mentioned one by one, and the number sealed in each tribe is definitely fixed (even though symbolically), the twelve tribes can only have meant the literal Israel in the original tradition.

Thus Jewish particularism was the central idea of this section.1

(b) This tradition was thus originally a purely Jewish one, and recalls Ex. xii. 7, 13, 23 sq.; Ezek. ix. 3 sq.; but if the order of the tribes in our text is the same as that in the source used by our author, then this source was probably Jewish Christian and a recast of the original Jewish tradition.—In favour of this view might be adduced the remarkable order in which the tribes are given, Judah being put in the first place and Levi in the eighth.2

Now in the twenty different arrangements of the tribes in the O.T. (cf. Encyc. Bib. iv. 5207 sqq.; Hastings’ D.B. iv. 810 sqq.) Judah is found first in two, i.e. those in Num. ii., vii., x., and in 1 Chron. ii. 3–viii., xii. But Judah is first in the latter on purely geographical grounds (see Buchanan Gray, Encyc. Bib. iv. 5204),

mountains and the rocks, 1 Kings xix. 11; it withers up the grass, Isa. xl. 7, 24; and dries up the stream and river and sea, Nah. i. 4; Ps. xviii. 15, cxi. 9. Next the sirocco becomes an element in the eschatological expectations of Israel: Ps. lxxxiii. 14; Amos i. 14; Isa. xxxiv. 4: it is to destroy the enemies of God, Jer. xxiii. 19, xxx. 23; Hos. xiii. 14 sq. (See Gressmann, Isr.-jüd. Eschat. 20 sqq.)

This conception of the sirocco prepares us for a similar conception of “the four winds.” These are mentioned in a topographical sense in Zech. ii. 6, but in vi. 5 as God’s servants which present themselves before Him and execute His vengeance.

In this sense it is already a technical conception; they come as His ministers of judgment from the four ends of heaven, Jer. xliv. 36; they break forth on the sea, Dan. vii. 2. In 1 Enoch xxxiv. 3, lxxvi. 4, they come from the four corners and are bearers of plagues, two from each corner. The winds are conceived as having “spirits,” 1 Enoch lxix. 22; Jub. ii. 2.

1 The omission of the tribe of Dan would also point to the Jewish origin of the tradition. According to a 1st cent. B.C. fragment, i.e. Test. Dan v. 6–7, Satan is said to be the prince of Dan. For other evidence on this connection of Dan with the Antichrist see my notes (op. cit. v. 6–7).

2 Buchanan Gray (Encyc. Bib. iv. 5209) conjectures that 5–6 should be transposed after 8. This transposition makes the text normal (see note under vii. 5–8 (Judah, Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Issachar, Zebulun from Leah, etc.)). There are still the two outstanding irregularities to which we have drawn attention, the omission of Dan (Jewish), and the setting of Judah at the head of the list (Jewish-Christian).
and in the former, because of its pre-eminence among the tribes, is assigned this leading position in the camp, Levi being omitted in this warlike disposition of the tribes. But after the return from the Captivity Levi gradually acquired a predominant influence among the tribes, and after the Maccabean rising took the lead even of Judah. While, on the other hand, in Jub. xxviii. 11 sqq. the twelve sons of Jacob are enumerated in accordance with the date of their birth, and in xxxiv. 20 and in the order of the books of the Testaments of the XII Patriarchs are grouped according to their respective mothers and the groups arranged in order of birth; on the other hand, in the rest of the Testaments when Judah and Levi are mentioned together, as they frequently are, Levi is always placed first, unless in the Christian interpolations and the MSS manipulated by Christian scribes, where Judah is set before Levi (see my note on Test. of XII Patr., p. 13). The reason for this change is obvious from this standpoint: Christ was sprung from Judah. Since, therefore, in our text Judah is placed first, it is to be inferred either that the list of the twelve tribes had undergone a Jewish-Christian transformation, and that it was this Jewish-Christian recension that our author made use of, or that our author made this change himself.

§ 5. The sealing of the faithful in our text does not mean (a) preservation from physical evil, nor (b) from spiritual apostasy, but (c) from demonic and kindred influences under the coming reign of Antichrist.

(a) The sealing of the faithful in the original tradition meant preservation from physical evil and death, as in Ex. xii. 7, 13, 22 sq., and Ezek. ix. 3 sq. This Judaistic conception of preservation from physical evil is found also in the Little Jewish Apocalypse in the Gospels: cf. Mark xiii. 17-20; Matt. xxiv. 20-22.

That it was indeed a current Jewish expectation we see in part from the N.T. references just given, and we know that it was such from a 1st cent. B.C. authority. From Pss. Sol. xv. 8, 10—an eschatological psalm—we learn that “the sign of the Lord is to be upon the righteous unto their salvation” (τὸ σημεῖον τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπὶ δικαίων εἰς σωτηρίαν), and that accordingly “famine and the sword and pestilence were to be far from the righteous” (λύμος καὶ ῥομφαία καὶ δάνας ἀπὸ δικαίων μακρὰν). The contrast between the expectation in our text and in this psalm could not

1 Except Num. ii. 17, where the Levites encamp in the centre.
2 In Shabbath, 55a, we have an haggadic interpretation of this verse: “God said to Gabriel: Go and impress on the forehead of the righteous a mark of ink, רֶשֶׁת עַל בָּחֵרַת שָלָה כְּמוֹ שֶׁאָדָם מְלֵא מַחֲלָל, that the destroying angels may have no power over him; and on the foreheads of the godless a mark of blood, that the angels of destruction may have power over them.”
be greater. In the psalm the sign is placed on the brows of the righteous to secure them from the eschatological woes that follow; in our text the sign is not placed till after these very woes had taken place. In xv. 6, 7 of the same psalm the righteous are promised immunity from all the evils which are sent against the ungodly in the last days. Moreover, as the psalmist expected a sign to be impressed on the brows of the saints, so he declares, xv. 10, that “the sign of destruction will be set on the foreheads of the sinners” (τὸ γὰρ σημεῖον τῆς ἀπολέσεως ἐπὶ τῶν μετώπων αὐτῶν), and that accordingly “famine and the sword and pestilence” “would pursue and overtake the sinners” (xv. 8, 9), and that they would “perish in the day of judgment of the Lord for ever” (xv. 13).

If preservation from physical evil had been intended by our author, the sealing should have taken place before the first Seal and not in the midst of the cosmic catastrophies of the sixth. Vitringa feels this so strongly that he maintains that vii. 1–8 belongs essentially before vi. 12–17, while Hengstenberg would place it before vi. Holtzmann (3rd ed., p. 449), while maintaining that “die furchtbaren Plagen der Endzeit sie (die Versiegelten) nicht treffen, und sie daher vom Verderben verschont bleiben,” yet gives away his cause by admitting: “unerledigt bleibt allerdings die Frage, warum diese Versiegelung nicht vor das sechste Siegel . . . verlegt worden sei.”

Yet Bousset (287 sq.) interprets the sealing in this sense, but admits the possibility of (b) being right, or indeed of both being alike right.

(b) Now the consciousness of the wrongness of this interpretation led Düsterdieck to propound the view that it is not from physical evil but from spiritual apostasy under the last and greatest trials that should befall the world, that the sealing is designed to secure the faithful. But that this is not the immediate object of the sealing appears to follow from ix. 4, where the implication of

---

1 From the fact that the sealing does not take place before the first Seal, Erbes (p. 52) concludes that the first four Seals belong to the past and present, and that the sixth deals with the future. But even in that case the sealing should have taken place before the sixth Seal, if the sealing were intended to preserve from physical evil.

2 The view that the 144,000 are Jewish Christians, can only be advocated on the ground that our author, as a Jewish Christian, believes profoundly in the spiritual prerogatives of this nation. But since our author holds also that martyrdom is the highest consummation of the Christian faith, and that the highest place in the future life awaits the martyrs, and that none but martyrs share in Christ’s reign of 1000 years, he cannot at the same time entertain the belief that the elect 144,000 Jewish Christians are to be excluded from the supreme privilege of the faithful. On these and other grounds (see section 5) we conclude that the sealing does not exclude the possibility of martyrdom, and that the 144,000 include Gentile as well as Jewish Christians.
the text is that it is from demonic agencies that the sealed are
secured and not from physical evil in any form, from the visitations
of nature, even the greatest at the end of the world. This
last passage suggests the right interpretation of the text which
follows in (c).

(c) The sealing in our text secured the faithful against demonic
agencies in the coming reign of Antichrist.—As this reign, so full of
superhuman horrors, was about to begin, the sealing was carried
out just then and not earlier or later. This sealing did not
secure against social or cosmic evils, nor yet against martyrdom,
xviii. 24, but only against diabolic or demonic powers, as we see
from ix. 4. It is the special help that the faithful needed
against the coming manifestation of Satanic wickedness linked
with seemingly supreme power. With this help the weakest
servant of God need not dread the mightiest of his spiritual foes.
The seal of God engraven on his brow marked him as God's
property, and as such ensured him God's protection. But it did
not in itself secure him against spiritual apostasy. Against this
Christ warns the elect in Matt. xxiv. 24, and requires of them
unfailing endurance: Mark xiii. 13, ὁ δὲ ὑπομένας εἰς τέλος ὅντος
σωθῆσαι. If the elect bear with patience the natural trials inci-
dent to their faithful discipleship of Christ, then He will preserve
them from the superhuman trials which are about to come on
the whole world, as He promises in iii. 10 of our text: ὅτι ἐτήρησας
tὸν λόγον τῆς ὑπομονῆς μου, κἀγὼ σε τηρήσω ἐκ τῆς ἁρα τοῦ
πεισμοῦ τῆς μελλούσης ἐρχεσθαι ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης δόλης. The
reasonableness of this view appears clearly from another
standpoint. In the O.T., with its belief in a heathen Sheol, the
righteous had to be recompensed on earth if they were to be
recompensed at all—hence a long and happy life was the natural
prerogative of the faithful. But in later times, and above all in
the N.T., when the doctrine of a future life was fully and finally
established, the centre of interest passed from things material to
things spiritual. Protection not from physical death, but from the
demonic and Satanic enemies of the spirit, became the supreme aim
of the faithful. So far is it from being true that the faithful were
secured by the sealing from physical death, that it is distinctly
stated that they should all suffer martyrdom (xiii. 15).

The idea in another form appears in a contemporary writer,
Clem. Rom. ad Corinth. lix. 2: αἰτησόμεθα, ἐκτενῆ τὴν δέσον καὶ
ἱκεσίαν ποιοῦμενοι, ὅπως τὸν ἄρθρον τῶν κατηρθιμεμένων τῶν ἐκλεκ-
tῶν αὐτοῦ ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ διαφυλάξῃ ἄθραυστον ὁ δημιουργὸς τῶν
ἀπάντων.

1 As the sealing of the faithful secured them against demonic agencies and
temptations, so the seal of the Beast on the brow of his followers made them
the inevitable victims of the deceit of the second Beast: see xix. 20.
The above interpretation has apparently been lost to Christendom for 1600 years or more. The reason seems in part to have been that at a very early date the term σφραγίς was associated with baptism (cf. Hermas, *Sim.* ix. 16. 2–4). To baptism there is, of course, no allusion in our text, but baptism combined the two ideas here present: (1) it marked the baptized as God’s (or Christ’s property); (2) it secured the baptized against demonic powers. A very significant passage is to be found in the Acts of Thomas, 26, Δός ἡμῖν τὴν σφραγίδα· ἥκουσαμεν γὰρ σου λέγοντος ὅτι ὁ θεός. . . . διὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ σφραγίδος ἐπηγινώσκει τὰ ἰδια πρῶβατα. Here baptism is a seal: it is also the mark which distinguishes the believer from the unbeliever. For the passages designating baptism as σφραγίς—see 2 Clem. vii. 6, viii. 5–6; Acts of Thomas (p. 68, ed. Bonnet), τὴν ἐν Χριστῷ. . . πάρασχε μοι σφραγίδα καὶ . . . τὸ λοίπον λάβω τῆς ἀφθαρσίας: Acts of Paul, 28 = Martyrdom of Paul, 7; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* ii. 3. Other passages combine the ideas of a means of recognition and defence: Clem. *Eclog. Prophet.* 12, πληρωθέντων γὰρ τῶν κενῶν τότε ἡ σφραγίς ἐπακολουθεῖ ἵνα φυλάσσηται τῷ θεῷ τὸ ἁγιόν. *Excerpt ex Theod.* 80, διὰ γὰρ πατρὸς καὶ νιῦ καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος σφραγισθεὶς ἀνεπιληπτός ἐστι τῇ ἀλλῃ δυνάμει: ibid. 86; *Cyrill. Cat.* i. 3, ἐκεῖ τὴν σωτηρίωδη δίδωσαι σφραγίδα, τὴν θαμασίαν, ἣν τρέμουσι δαίμονες καὶ γινώσκονσιν ἀγγελοί, ἵνα οἱ μὲν φύγωσιν ἐλασθέντες, οἱ δὲ περιέπωσιν ὡς οἰκεῖον: ibid. iii. 12. See Heitmüller, *Im Namen Jesu*, p. 334. In Lactantius the entire meaning attaching to the sealing in our text is attributed to Christian baptism. Thus in his *Instit. Divin.* iv. 26 he speaks of “Christ being slain for the salvation of all who have written on their foreheads the sign of blood—that is, the sign of the cross” (“signum sanguinis, id est crucis”). The presence of Christians bearing this sign when attending on their masters at a heathen sacrifice put to flight the gods of their masters, *i.e.* the demons (iv. 27: “cum enim quidam ministrorum nostri sacrificantibus dominis assisterent, imposito frontibus signo, deos illorum fugaverunt”). “But since (the demons) can neither approach those in whom they have seen the heavenly mark, nor injure those whom the immortal sign as an impregnable wall protects, they harass them by men and persecute them by the hands of others” (“sed quoniam neque accedere ad eos possunt, in quibus coelestem notam viderint, nec iis nocere, quos signum immortale munierit,

1 J. Weiss (*Schriften des NTS.* ii. 634, 1908) might at first sight appear to have rediscovered this ancient and true interpretation (“der mit dem göttlichen Namen Geweihte ist mit ihm gefeit, geschützt gegen alle Feinde, gegen Dämonen und Teufel”); but this is not so. On the next page he writes: “Ihre Versiegelung bedeutet . . . sie sollen . . . von dem Martyrium bewahrt bleiben.” Thus even J. Weiss holds that the sealing secures against physical death.
tanquam inexpugnabilis murus, lacesunt eos per homines et manibus persequuntur alienis"). Here the sign of the cross discharges the very same function as the seal affixed to the forehead of the faithful in our text. This passage thus indirectly attests the right interpretation of the sealing in the Apocalypse.

An inroad of diabolic agencies on Israel and a special strengthening of Israel against this invasion by Michael is predicted in Test. Dan vi. 1, 5, προσέχετε ἑαυτοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ Σατανᾶ καὶ τῶν πνευμάτων αὐτοῦ . . . αὐτὸς γὰρ ὁ ἀγγέλος τῆς εἰρήνης ἐνιαυξᾷ τον Ἰσραήλ μὴ ἐμπεσεῖν αὐτὸν εἰς τέλος κακῶν. Cf. 2 Bar. xxvii. 9, where it is said that the final tribulation is to embrace "a multitude of portents and incursions of Shedim" (i.e. evil spirits).

The idea of sealing plays a large rôle in the Apocalypse. In vii. 2 sq., ix. 4, xiv. 1, xxii. 4 (here all the righteous are sealed) it is the servants of God who are sealed; but in xiii. 16 sq., xiv. 9, xvi. 2, xix. 20, xx. 4, the followers of the Beast, where the mark is engraven on the brow or right hand of the latter. This practice was apparently frequent among the earliest Christians. But it was current also in Judaism, as we have already seen from the Pss. of Solomon (see above, and compare Heitmüller, Im Namen Jesu, 132 sqq., 143 sqq., 153, 174, 234), and also in O.T. times: cf. Isa. xliv. 5, "Another shall write on his hand: Unto the Lord"; Ezek. ix. 4. Even Yahweh Himself the prophet represents by an anthropomorphism as engraving Zion on the palms of His hands (Isa. xlix. 16). Yet this custom was strictly forbidden by the Law. Cf. Lev. xix. 28, xxii. 5, 6; Deut. xiv. 1.

Clearly Isa. xlv. 5, xlix. 16, Ezek. ix. 4, saw no evil in it, if used in connection with the right persons. See Gal. vi. 17.1

1 This practice was prevalent in heathenism. Slaves were branded occasionally (see Wetstein's note on Gal. vi. 17), and soldiers sometimes branded themselves to show that they were in service and under the protection of their lords. But the true analogy to the practice in our text is that of slaves attached to some temple (ἱερόδουλοι), or individuals devoted to the service of some deity, whose persons were so branded. Thus Ptolemy iv. Philopator had the Alexandrian Jews branded with an ivy leaf, the sign of Dionysus, 3 Macc. ii. 29; and Philo, De Monarch. i. 8, reproaches apostate Jews for allowing their persons to be so branded, ἑν τοῖς σώμασιν . . . καταστησάντες. There was a temple of Heracles at one of the mouths of the Nile, from which a fugitive slave who had once been branded with the sacred stigma could not be reclaimed: cf. Herod. i. 113, Ἡρακλέος ἤρων, ἐσ τὸ ἡ ν καταφγυγὼν οἰκέτης ὅτε φαύλωσε καταγείρεται στίγματα ἵππα ἐκείνα διδοὺς τῷ θεῷ, οὐκ ἔχετο τοῦτον ἄβασαν: Lucian, de Dea Syr. § 59, στίγματα δὲ πάντες, οἱ μὲν εἰς καρποὺς, οἱ δὲ ἐς αὐχένας, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδ᾽ εἶναι ὁ Ἀσσυρίων στίγμα-φορέωσιν: Plutarch, Luciull. p. 507, Ββες . . . Ἀρτέμιδος, ἦν μάλιστα θεῶν οἱ πέραν βραβίων τιμῶν . . . χαράγματα φέρουσα τῆς θεοῦ λαμπάδα. See Wetstein and Lightfoot on Gal. vi. 17; Robertson Smith, Religion of the Semites, 334; Spencer, Leg. Rit. Heb. ii. 14. Heitmüller (op. cit. 184 sq.) points out how closely related were such beliefs in Babylon, Egypt, and Judea; and Giesebrech (Schätzung, 86) regards the former as distinctly operative on Jewish beliefs (see Clemen, Religionsgeschichtliche Erklärung des NT, 184). Heitmüller
Finally, we find references to this sign on the forehead in the Odes of Solomon (ed. Rendel Harris, 1909), iv. 7, "For who is there that shall put on Thy grace to be hurt?" iv. 8, "For Thy seal is known, and Thy creatures know it, and Thy hosts rejoice (emended) in it; and the elect archangels are clad with it"; viii. 16, "Before they came into being I took knowledge of them, and on their faces I set My seal." The seal here does not seem to be used in an eschatological sense, but simply marks its bearer as God's property.

§ 6. Chapter vii. refers only to the present generation of believers, first as militant on earth, vii. 1–8, and next as triumphant in heaven, vii. 9–17.

It is obvious that vii. 1–8 deals only with the present generation of the faithful; for in the thought of the Seer it is only this generation that has to endure the last and greatest tribulation. To preserve it against the superhuman evils that are about to burst on the world, the progress of the plagues is stayed and the faithful are secured against such as are of a demonic character, being sealed as God's own possession.

It is no less obvious that the great host in vii. 9–17 does not embrace the whole Church, but only those who had come ἐκ τῆς θλύσεως τῆς μεγάλης. Not only on account of the definite article and the distinctive epithet τῆς μεγάλης, but also on account of the whole vision and its relation to the rest of the book, it is wholly inadmissible to interpret "the great tribulation" quite generally as any or every tribulation that is incident to the life of faithful discipleship. "The great tribulation" is about to fall upon the present generation, and in vii. 9–17 are represented the great multitude which had come through it faithfully.

§ 7. The 144,000 in the present context are (a) Christians belonging not to Israel after the flesh, but to the spiritual Israel, (b) and are in this respect the same as the 144,000 in xiv. 1–5.

(a) We have seen above, § 4, II. (b), that these 144,000 were (op. cit. 333 sq.) connects the ideas of baptism and sealing. The name of Jesus marked the baptized as the property of Jesus, placed him under His protection, and assured him against alien powers. The name in this significance is a σφαργίς. Thence it becomes easy to designate baptism itself as a seal, though in this development the influences of the Greek Mysteries may have co-operated. But there is no reference to baptism in our text, although σφαργίζοντων here and βαπτιζόντων εἰς τὸ δύναμιν τῶν in the N.T. have practically the same meaning. The design of "the sealing" and "the baptizing into the name of" is to show that the person so affected was the property of God or Christ.

1 The scribe of A may have been conscious of the difficulty of the text and so read ἀπὸ θλύσεως μεγάλης. But N PQ and all the cursives agree in reading as above. Cf. Hermas, Vis. II. ii. 7, μακάριοι δόσον ὑπομένετε τὴν θλύσιν τὴν ἐρχομένην τὴν μεγάλην—which is based partly on vii. 14 and iii. 10 of our book, and which testifies to the form of our text between 110–140 A.D.
Jews or Jewish Christians in the original tradition. That they are Jewish Christians in their present context is maintained by Düsterdieck, Holtzmann, Bousset, and others. These scholars hold that the 144,000, vii. 4-8, and the countless host, vii. 9-17, are not to be identified; for in the one case we have a definite number, in the other an indefinite one; in the one a multitude of all nations and peoples, in the other a definite number of Jewish Christians; in the one case the last great woe is still impending, in the other it is already surmounted and left behind. Now the last objection is of no weight. The vision in vii. 9-17 is prophetic. It prophesies the outcome of the present strife, and therefore the two visions presuppose different conditions—the one a phase of the Church militant, the other a phase of the Church triumphant. From this standpoint no objection can be maintained against the identity of the two groups under different conditions of time and place.

The other objections, when considered in the light of the thought which underlies the sealing of the faithful, lose forthwith any force they seemed to have. For since we have already seen that “the great tribulation” was about to come upon the whole world (iii. 10), that the essential danger connected with this tribulation was its demonic character, and that the sole object of the sealing was to preserve the faithful against demonic powers, it follows inevitably that the sealing must be coextensive with the peril, and must therefore embrace the entire Christian community, alike Jewish and Gentile. For the necessary grace of preservation from demonic influence cannot be accorded to the faithful descended from Israel according to the flesh and withheld from the faithful descended from Israel according to the spirit, in a work of so universalistic import as the Apocalypse. In other words, the 144,000 belong not to the literal but to the spiritual Israel, and are composed of all peoples and nations and languages. From this standpoint the number 144,000 presents no difficulty. It is merely a symbolical and not a definite number. The real explanation of its appearance here is that it is a part of a tradition taken over by our author, and a part to which he attaches no definite significance in its new context. The part of the tradition with which he is concerned is the sealing. This element is of overwhelming significance. It is the measure

1 Here the spiritual Israel is intended, as in 1 Pet. i. 1. Cf. i. 14, 18, ii. 9, 10, iv. 3, 4, and Jas. i. 1. This was the view of Hippolytus, περὶ τῶν Ἀντίχριστων: vi. ἐδωκεν δὲ κύριος σφαγία τοῖς εἰς αὐτὸν πιστεύοντις, καὶ αὐτὸς (=οἱ Ἀντίχριστος) δῶσει ὅμοιος. Here all the faithful are saved. In his commentary, however, on this passage preserved only in the Arabic (see articles, Hippolyt’s Kleinere Schriften, p. 231, ed. Achelis) he takes the 144,000 to be Jewish Christians.
adopted by God to secure His servants against the manifestation and for the time victorious self-assertion of the Satanic world. The other elements of the tradition, though taken into the text, are of the slightest concern, or of none at all, to our author. This is frequently his practice. We have already seen it in vii. 1-3, where the main idea is the pause which is commanded in the succession of the plagues in order to effect this sealing. As regards the four winds—another element in the tradition there used—our author never again refers directly to them.

(b) The 144,000 in vii. belong to the spiritual Israel as do the 144,000 in xiv. 1-5.—If what we have above contended is valid, there can be no question as to the identity of the two bodies—at least as regards their origin. This identity of spiritual origin helps to confirm the conclusion arrived at on other grounds.

§ 8. vii. 9-17 is the work not of a redactor, but of our author; for every verse and nearly every phrase is related in point of diction and meaning to the rest of the Apocalypse.—Since we have shown in our commentary an overwhelming amount of evidence in support of the above statement, we must refer the reader to the notes in question.

§ 9. The ὁχλος πολὺς in vii. 9-17 is identical with the 144,000 in vii. 4-8.—In § 6 we have seen that the ὁχλος πολὺς embraces not the Christians or faithful of all time, but only the Christian contemporaries of the Seer—the faithful of the present generation. Since the 144,000 refer to the same body, it is clear that the ὁχλος πολὺς and the 144,000 are identical qualitatively if not quantitatively.

§ 10. In the original form of the vision of vii. 9-17 the ὁχλος πολὺς (a) represented the entire body of the blessed in heaven after the final judgment, but does not do so in its present context; but (b) represents the martyrs of the last tribulation serving God in heaven before the final judgment, or rather before the establishment of the Millennial Kingdom in chap. xx.

(a) The original form of this vision represented the entire body of the blessed in heaven or in the New Jerusalem on the new Earth (as in xxi. 1-4) after the final judgment. (a) For the same phraseology is used of God and the blessed (cf. vii. 15 and xxi. 3, xxi. 3; vii. 17 and xxi. 4) after the final judgment in the New Jerusalem. (β) There is no phrase in the section which in itself definitely limits the description to the martyrs. The phrases that demand such a limitation are, as we shall see, of an indirect though cogent character, and are due to our author's adaptation of one of his independent visions to a new context. (γ) The clause ὃν ἀριθμησαι αἶτων οὐδεὶς ἔστω cannot be rightly used of a section of the blessed, but fittingly describes the countless
hosts of all the blessed. (δ) Apart from the phrases οἱ ἐρχόμενοι, ἐκ τῆς θλίψεως τῆς μεγάλης, and ἐν τῷ ναῷ (not in xxii. 3), the whole impression of the vision is that it deals with the final condition of the blessed in heaven, in which they render perfect and ceaseless service to God, and all the sorrow and pain of the earthly life are in the past (vii. 17). (ε) After the final judgment all the faithful are to be clothed in white.

(δ) But this cannot be the meaning of the vision in its present context. (α) For in § 6 above, we have seen that the δόξας πολὺς embraces not all the faithful, but only the faithful that are to issue victoriously from the great tribulation. (β) Next, if we take οἱ ἐρχόμενοι strictly as an imperfect participle, the great tribulation is still in progress, the end of the world is not yet come, and all who belong to the great multitude are martyrs, for all are already clothed in white (vi. 9, 11). This vision in vii. 9–17 is proleptic, like that in xiv. 1–5. In both cases the multitudes are martyrs and martyrs only; for they are clothed in white, and the final judgment is not yet come. (γ) Our interpretation receives support from the general theme of the Book—the glorification of martyrdom, and especially from the place of this section in the Book; for the time which it deals with forms the very eve of the last and greatest tribulation.

Hence we conclude that the vision in its present form refers to the martyrs of the great tribulation, though it exhibits survivals of ideas and statements which show that originally it

1 In the sentence, οὗτοι εἰσιν οἱ ἐρχόμενοι ἐκ τῆς θλίψεως τῆς μεγάλης καὶ ἐπίλυσιν τῶς σωλάς αὐτῶν, the καὶ ἐπίλυσιν κτλ. is to be taken along with οἱ ἐρχόμενοι as the predicate of the sentence; i.e. "these are those who come through the great tribulation and washed," etc. So the ancient Versions—the Vulgate, Syriac (1, 2), Ethiopic—rightly rendered the Greek. So also the A.V.; but the R.V. is quite wrong in making καὶ ἐπίλυσιν κτλ. a coordinate sentence with οὗτοι εἰσιν οἱ ἐρχόμενοι, and translating: "these are they which have come out of the great tribulation, and they washed," etc. The R.V. always and the A.V. generally mistranslate this idiom in our author. We have here a Hebraism, in accordance with which Hebrew writers after using a participle or infinitive added other clauses not with participles or infinitives as we should logically expect, but with finite verbs. (See Driver, Hebrew Tenses, § 117.) This Hebraism is occasionally reproduced in the LXX. Thus Jer. xxiii. 32, σωσθήσεται . . . χρῆναι λύσιν = LXX, ἱδον ἐγὼ πρός τοὺς . . . προφήτησαντας πρὸς θεὸν ἑπένυσα . . . καὶ διηγήσατο αὐτὰ. The same construction both in the Hebrew and the LXX will be found in Amos v. 7; Gen. xlix. 17; Ps. xcii. 8, cv. 12 sq. (ἐν τῷ εἴναι . . . καὶ διήλθαν), etc. The Hebraism, therefore, which appears in our text (οὗτοι εἰσιν οἱ ἐρχόμενοι καὶ ἐπίλυσιν) = ἵστηθί . . . ἵστηθα καὶ ἐλήφθημεν. We have already had the same Hebraism in i. 5, 6, where see note.

2 The question in vii. 13, πόθεν ἔλθον, might imply that the number is complete. In that case οἱ ἐρχόμενοι would strictly = οἱ ἐλθόντες, and we should expect ἐκ θλίψεως μεγάλης as in A (a mere correction). The text would then refer to all the blessed, whether martyred or not. So the text may have stood in the original vision.
bore a very different meaning. One such is the clause ἀν
ἀγέλους ἐστώτας ἀνέμους τῆς γῆς μήτε ἐπὶ τῆς θάλασσης μήτε ἐπὶ τὸ
δένδρον. The words μετὰ τοῦτο ἐδοὺ τέσσαρας ἀγγέλους ἐστώτας ἐπὶ τὰς τέσσαρας γατα shielding[1] in on the winds that are
κρατοῦσας τῶν τέσσαρας ἀνέμους τῆς γῆς, ἵνα μὴ πνεύ ἄνεμος ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς μήτε ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης μήτε ἐπὶ τὸ
δένδρον. The words μετὰ τοῦτο ἐδοὺ introduce a new and important division of the sixth Seal (see note on iv. 1). The angels of
The winds, like those of fire, xiv. 18, and of water, xvi. 5 (cf.
John v. 7), belong to the lower orders of angelic beings. They are set over the works of nature, and, as such, they could not keep the Sabbath as the highest orders do according to Jub. ii. 18 sqq.
They were called the angels of service (ἱεραὶ τελευταῖαι) in the Talmud, and were said to be inferior in rank to righteous Israelites (Sanh. 93a). For other angels of this nature see
I Enoch lx. 11-21, lxv. 8, lxix. 22; Jub. ii. 2. An angel of
this class might be described as στοιχεῖον—a "spirit," "demon," or "genius." See Deissmann, Encyc. Bib. ii. 1261; Bousset, Religion des Judenthums, 317. On the destructive winds and the plagues introduced by them see the introduction to this chapter, p. 192. ἐστώτας ἐπὶ τὰς τέσσαρας γανάτια. On ἐστημι
with ἐπὶ and acc. see p. 191 sq. Our author regarded the earth as πετράγωνος, as Isa. xi. 12, Ezek. vii. 2 (וְהָיוּ חֹמָם), which the
LXX render οἱ πτέρυγες τῆς γῆς. The idea recurs in xx. 8 and in xxi. 16, where the heavenly Jerusalem is described as a cubiform city, whose length and breadth and height are equal. Ultimately this view may go back to a Babylonian cosmogony. On this question see Warren, The Earliest Cosmologies, 38 sq., 46 sq.
κρατοῦντας. There is here the idea that at the end of the world (the) four destructive winds would be let loose to injure the earth and the sea and the trees. No reference is made to this expectation in the rest of the Apocalypse in this form, but vii. 1–3 serves in part to introduce the plague of demonic locusts. See note on ix. 4. For this use of κρατεῖν as “holding in check,” cf. Luke xxiv. 16, where it is followed by τοῦ μῆ. Its meaning in Acts ii. 24; John xx. 23 is related but not the same, while still another holds in Rev. ii. 13, 14, 15, 25, iii. 11, and yet another in ii. 1.

τοὺς τέσσαρας ἀνέμους. These four winds came from the four angles or corners of the earth, which was regarded as an actual square, if not a cube. They came from the four angles and not from the four sides; for according to Jewish conceptions the winds that blew from the four quarters, i.e. due north, south, east, and west, were favourable winds, whereas those that came from the angles or corners, as N.E.N. and E.N.E., N.W.N. and W.N.W., etc., were hurtful. The subject is dealt with at length in i Enoch lxvi. and xxxiv. 3. There are two differences between the conceptions in our text and that in Enoch. The first is on the surface and not essential. Enoch represents two hurtful winds as issuing from each corner, whereas our text reduces each pair to a single wind. This difference may be accounted for by the fact that whereas i Enoch lxvi. represents an attempt at being full and scientific from the standpoint of the time, our text exhibits the same views in a popular and less precise form. The more important difference is that the winds which were characteristically injurious are here in our text assigned a special rôle of destruction at the world’s close. But the way for this development was already prepared in the O.T., and Christian literature attests its further developments. See above, p. 191 sq.

πνεύμα. . . ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς . . . μήτε ἐπὶ τῷ δεῖνδρῳ. On the cases with ἐπὶ here see above, p. 191, § 4.

2. καὶ εἶδον ἄλλον ἄγγελον ἀναβαίνοντα ἀπὸ ἀνατολῆς ἡλίου, ἐχοντα σφραγίδα θεοῦ ζωντος. Why the angel ascends from the east cannot be determined. Corn. a Lap., Hengstenberg, Ebrard, De Wette, Volkmar, Düsterdieck think that it is because the life-bringing sun comes from the east; Völter, iv. 24, because the revelation of divine salvation and glory were expected from the east (Ezek. xliii. 2): so also Swete; similarly Holtzmann, quoting Isa. xli. 2. Erbes (p. 51, note) refers to the last passage and Sib. Or. iii. 652, and implies that it is because the Messiah comes from the east.

θεοῦ ζωντος. This is a very familiar expression in the N.T. Thus it is found once in Acts, six times in the Pauline Epistles,
four times in Hebrews, and twice in Matthew in the form τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ζωντος. In the Apocalypse θεοῦ ζωντος does not recur, but we have the related forms, τῷ ζωντὶ εἰς τ. αἰώνας τ. αἰώνων, iv. 9, v. 10, x. 6, and a combination of the two in xv. 7, τοῦ θεοῦ τ. ζωντος εἰς τ. αἰώνας τ. αἰώνων (see note on iv. 9 ad finem). The Hebrew is 'יו ש. Cf. Josh. iii. 10; Ps. xlii. 3; Hos. i. 10 (ii. 2); 2 Kings xix. 4, 16; Dan. iv. 19 (LXX), v. 23 (dis), vi. 26; Jub. i. 25, xxi. 4; 3 Macc. vi. 28. In 2 Macc. vii. 33, xv. 4 we have the form ὁ ζων κύριος, and in Sibyl. Or. iii. 763 simply τῷ ζωντὶ. The expression in all its forms brings out the contrast between the one eternal God and the numberless ephemeral gods of the heathen.

καὶ ἐκραζεν φωνη μεγάλη τοῖς τέσσαριν ἀγγέλοις οἰς ἔδοθη αὐτοῖς ἀδικήσαι τὴν γῆν καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν.

οἰς . . . αὐτοῖς. On this Hebraism in our text see p. 87. On the construction, ἔδοθη . . . ἀδικήσαι see p. 54. The angels injured the earth by letting loose the winds under their charge. The idea that the angels cause injury to the earth by withholding the winds, as Bengel, Herder, and Wellhausen maintain, is contrary not only to the text, but to the tradition regarding these winds which blow from the corners of the earth; see p. 204.

3. Λέγων Ὁ ἀδικήσητε τὴν γῆν μήτε τὴν θάλασσαν μήτε τὰ δέντρα, ἀχρι σφραγίσωμεν τοὺς δούλους τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τῶν μετάπτων αὐτῶν. On the meaning of ἀδικεῖν in our text see xxii. 11, note.

σφραγίσωμεν. The sealing is to secure the servants of God against the attacks of demonic powers coming into open manifestation (see ix. 4, note). The Satanic host is about to make its final struggle for the mastery of the world. In the past their efforts had in the main been restricted to attacks on man's spiritual being, and had therefore been hidden, invisible, and mysterious, but now at the end of time they are to come forth from their mysterious background and make open war with God and His hosts for the possession of the earth and of mankind. The hidden mystery of wickedness, the secret source of all the haunting horrors, and crimes, and failures, and sins of the past was about to reveal itself—the Antichrist was to become incarnate and appear armed, as it were, with all but almighty power. With such foes the faithful felt wholly unfit to do battle. With the rage and hostility of man they could cope, but with their ghostly enemy and his myrmidons about to manifest themselves with soul- and body-compelling powers they dared not engage. And so just on the eve of this epiphany of Satan, God seals His servants on their foreheads to show that they are His own possession, and that no embodied (or disembodied) spirit of the wicked one can do them hurt. In its deepest sense this
sealing means the outward manifestation of character. The hidden goodness of God’s servants is at last blazoned outwardly, and the divine name that was written in secret by God’s Spirit on their hearts is now engraved openly on their brows by the very signet ring of the living God (σφραγίζει θεοῦ ζώντος). In the reign of the Antichrist goodness and evil, righteousness and sin, come into their fullest manifestation and antagonism. Character ultimately enters on the stage of finality.¹

τοὺς δούλους τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν. On the phrase τ. δ. τ. θεοῦ cf i. 1, ii. 20, xiii. 2, 5, xiiii. 3, 6; and on τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν cf. vii. 10, 12, xii. 10, xiii. 1, 5 (θεός μου, iii. 2, 12, ii. 7). By the addition ἡμῶν the angel acknowledges that angels and men are fellow-servants in the service of God; cf. xiii. 10, xiiii. 9.

ἐπὶ τῶν μετόπων αὐτῶν. Our author always uses ἐπὶ τῶν μετόπων when he uses the plural: cf. ix. 4, xiv. 1, xiiii. 4, and ἐπὶ τὸ μέτωπον; cf. xiii. 16, xvii. 5, xx. 4, when he uses the singular (except in xiv. 9, ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου). The idea in σφραγί-σωμεν ... ἐπὶ τῶν μετόπων αὐτῶν goes back ultimately to Ezek. ix. 4. See note on xiii. 16 with regard to the mark on the foreheads and right hand of the followers of the Beast.

4. καὶ ἥκουσα τῶν ἀριθμὸν τῶν ἐσφραγισμένων, ἐκατὸν τεσσεράκοντα τέσσαρες χιλιάδες ἐσφραγισμένοι ἐκ πάσης φυλῆς υἱῶν Ἰσραήλ. The Seer does not witness the sealing which is completed during the pause in the plagues, but he hears the number of the sealed and their description. The number of the sealed is purely symbolical. The number connotes perfectness and completion, being 12 × 12 taken a thousandfold (Alford). But it is not an infinite number; for it gives the number of the faithful in the present generation only (see p. 199, 209 sq.).

πάσης φυλῆς υἱῶν Ἰσραήλ. It is not believers descended from the literal Israel (1 Cor. x. 18) (though this was the original meaning of the tradition), but from the spiritual Israel that are here referred to (see p. 200). This transformation of meaning is found also in our text in xviii. 4. Cf. Rom. ii. 29, ὅ ἐν τῷ κρύπτῳ Ἰουδαίοις: Gal. iii. 29, εἰ δὲ ὑμεῖς Χριστοῦ, ἀρα τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ

¹ Logically, or perhaps historically, we may connect the thought in Rom. viii. 19 with that in our text. The sealing, which shows outwardly that the faithful are God’s sons, marks the first stage of their manifestation as such (τὴν ἀποκαλύψει τῶν υἱῶν τοῦ θεοῦ, Rom. viii. 19). They, too, shall be manifested as their Divine Master (Luke xvii. 30, ὅ υιὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἀποκαλύπτεται; 2 Thess. ii. 8, τῇ ἐπιφανείᾳ τῆς παρουσίας). Opposed to this we have the manifestation of the Antichrist (2 Thess. ii. 3, ἀποκαλυφθῇ: ii. 6, ἀποκαλυφθήσεται; ii. 8, ἀποκαλυφθήσεται). There is also the manifestation of his followers—at all events the first stage of it—in the sealing of the followers of the Beast (Apos. xiii. 16 sq., xiv. 9, xvi. 2, xiii. 20, xx. 4).

The manifestation of the Messiah was a familiar expectation in Jewish Apocalyptic about this time and earlier: cf. 4 Ezra vii. 28, xiii. 32; 2 Bar. xxxix. 7.
VII.

5. ἐκ φυλῆς Ἰουδα ῶδεκα χιλιάδες ἐσφραγισμένοι, ἐκ φυλῆς Ρουβῆν ὠδεκα χιλιάδες, ἐκ φυλῆς Γαδ ὠδεκα χιλιάδες;
6. ἐκ φυλῆς Ασηρ ὠδεκα χιλιάδες, ἐκ φυλῆς Νεφθαλίμ ὠδεκα χιλιάδες, ἐκ φυλῆς Μανασσή ὠδεκα χιλιάδες;
7. ἐκ φυλῆς Συμεών ὠδεκα χιλιάδες, ἐκ φυλῆς Λευτ ὠδεκα χιλιάδες, ἐκ φυλῆς Ἰσαχάρ ὠδεκα χιλιάδες,
8. ἐκ φυλῆς Ζαβουλῶν ὠδεκα χιλιάδες, ἐκ φυλῆς Ἰωσήφ ὠδεκα χιλιάδες, ἐκ φυλῆς Βεναμέν ὠδεκα χιλιάδες ἐσφραγισμένοι.

5-8. In the above list there are several irregularities. (a) Judah is placed first. (b) Dan is omitted. (c) Manasseh is given, though Manasseh is included in Joseph. (d) The rest of the tribes are enumerated in a wholly unintelligible order.

(a) Judah is mentioned first, because from him is sprung the Messiah (see p. 193 sq.).

(d) Before we discuss the difficulties in (b) and (c) we must examine that under (d), since if this can be solved the rest come easier. Now the present unintelligible order of the tribes cannot be explained by any such irrelevancy as that of Grotius: "Nullus servatur ordo, quia omnes in Christo pares." The text is unintelligible as it stands, and it is unintelligible because it is dislocated. This dislocation Buchanan Gray has recognized (Encyc. Bib. iv. 5208 sq.; Expositor, 1902, p. 225 sqq.) and set right by transposing vii. 5<sup>e</sup>–6 after vii. 8. By this transposition, sanity is restored to the text. The order then becomes intelligible and illuminating: first the sons of the first wife Leah—Judah, Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Issachar, Zebulun; next, the sons of Rachel the second wife—Joseph and Benjamin; next, the the sons of Leah’s handmaid—Gad and Assher; and, finally, we should have the sons of Rachel’s handmaid—Naphtali and Dan; but we have on certain grounds Naphtali and Manasseh instead.

Thus we have first Leah’s sons, then Rachel’s, then the sons of Leah’s handmaid, and finally, those of Rachel’s handmaid. Let us now proceed to deal with the remaining difficulties, and
to make these the more obvious we shall transcribe the list arrived at through Buchanan Gray’s suggestion.¹

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tribe</th>
<th>Tribe</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Judah</td>
<td>Joseph</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reuben</td>
<td>Benjamin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simeon</td>
<td>Gad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Levi</td>
<td>Assher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Issachar</td>
<td>Naphtali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zebulun</td>
<td>Manasseh</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The first difficulty (a) in this list arises from Judah being placed at the head of the list. But the reason for this order is obvious, as we have already seen (see p. 193 sq.). Christ is descended from Judah, therefore Judah comes first. The next difficulty (b) arises from the omission of Dan and the insertion of Manasseh (c) in his place. Here again the answer is, I think, of no questionable character. Manasseh is obviously de trop here, since Manasseh is already included in Joseph; and Joseph is original, since the list obviously aims at giving the sons of Rachel, as it has given the sons of Leah, and not two of her sons and one grandson as it does in its present form. Manasseh then has been substituted for Dan, the missing son of Rachel’s handmaid. The substitution has, as we have remarked, made the list illogical. We have now to ask, Why was Dan omitted? and by whom? Various explanations of the displacement of Dan by Manasseh have been offered. Gomarus, Hartwig, Bleek, Züllig, and Spitta propose that Δάν stood originally in the text, but was early corruptly written Μάν, and that hence Manasseh arose. But such abbreviations are highly improbable, and very seldom occur in Uncial MSS. and the corruption of Δάν into Μάν is unlikely in the case of such a well-known list as that of the twelve tribes. Others, as Grotius, Ewald, De Wette, and Düsterdieck are of opinion that Dan was omitted because the tribe had long ago died out. But the same statement might be made of many of the tribes. Others think the omission due to the fact that Dan early fell into idolatry; but this in itself would not distinguish Dan from the rest of the tribes.

There is, however, another explanation, and that at once the most ancient and most satisfactory of all, which was first propounded by Irenaeus. According to this explanation Dan was omitted because the Antichrist was to spring from his tribe. Irenaeus writes, v. 30. 2: “Hieremias . . . tribum ex qua veniet

¹ Another possible restoration of the text could be effected by transposing $5^c-6$ after $8^a$. We should then have Leah’s sons, the sons of Leah’s handmaids, the sons of Rachel’s handmaid, Rachel’s sons. But the other restoration is better.
manifestavit dicens . . . et propter hoc non annumeratur tribus haec in Apocalypsi cum his quae salvantur." Hippolytus, De Antichristo, 14, ὀσπερ γὰρ ἐκ τῆς Ἰουδα φυλῆς ὁ Χριστὸς γεγένηται, οὖτως καὶ ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Δαν φυλῆς ὁ ἀντίχριστος γεννηθήσεται. Andreas, ἡ φυλή τοῦ Δαν, ὅσ ἐκ αὐτῆς τικτομένου τοῦ Ἀντιχριστοῦ, ταῖς λοιπαῖς οὐ συντέκται. That this tradition of the origin of Antichrist is pre-Christian and Jewish I have shown in the notes on Test. Dan v. 6–7, in my edition of the Test. XII Patriarchs; and Bousset (The Antichrist Legend, 171 sq.) has proved at length that this interpretation of our text was that which was generally accepted in the early Christian Church, i.e. by Eucharius, Augustine, Jacob of Edessa, Theodoret, Arethas, Bede, etc. This interpretation is maintained by Erbes (77–79), Bousset, Holtzmann, J. Weiss, Swete, Anderson Scott, etc.

9–17. Proleptic vision of the martyrs from the last great tribulation, blessed and triumphant in heaven.

In the preceding chapters, iv.–vii. 8, the order of time has been observed in the visions recounted. There has been no breach of unity in this respect; no anticipation of the far distant future followed by a return to the more immediate. But to such a proleptic vision we have now come. The visionary gaze of the Seer leaves for the moment the steady, progressive unveiling of the events of the future, and beholds the more distant destinies of the faithful, triumphant and secure before the throne of God in heaven. These are they who had been sealed in the vision just recounted, and had already by martyrdom won the martyr's privilege of the immediate blessedness and perfection of being clothed in their spiritual bodies before the throne. They do not represent the entire Church of the redeemed, but only those who had come forth as martyrs from "the great tribulation." Their number is still incomplete: their host is still growing with fresh accessions of the martyred saints. The time to which the vision points is still prior to the final judgment. (On all these questions see pp. 200–202, and notes below.) When the last martyr joins the throng of the blessed, the roll of the martyrs (vi. 11) will be complete, and the hour of the final judgment have struck.

The vision is recounted to encourage and inspire the present generation, and confines itself to the destinies of the martyrs belonging to it; for the great multitude is composed of those who come from the last great tribulation (vii. 14) which, according to the belief of the Seer, is about to come upon the earth. The phrase τῆς θλίψεως τῆς μεγάλης (vii. 14) cannot be taken loosely as meaning any or every tribulation that befalls the faithful in this life, but only as the final and greatest tribulation that was to come on mankind (see pp. 44, 212). Since there is
no legitimate means of evading this conclusion, the clause ὁν ἀριθμήσαι αὐτῶν οὐδεὶς ἔδυνατο seems unjustifiable in its present context. And so indeed it is; but the explanation, as we have already seen (p. 201 sq., note), is that this clause belonged to the vision in its original form, in which its subject was the whole Church of the redeemed, triumphant in heaven after the final judgment.

We might perhaps recover the original form of the vision, with its reference to all the redeemed after the final judgment, by reading in 14,

οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ ἐλθόντες ἐκ θλίψεως μεγάλης
cαι ἐπλυναν κτλ.,

instead of οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ ἑρχόμενοι ἐκ τῆς θλίψεως τῆς μεγάλης κτλ., and omitting ἐν τῷ ναῷ αὐτοῦ in 15.

9. Ἔτσι ταῦτα εἶδον καὶ ἰδοὺ ὄχλος πολύς, ὅν ἀριθμήσαι αὐτῶν οὐδεὶς ἔδυνατο, ἐκ παντὸς ἔθνους καὶ φυλῶν καὶ λαῶν καὶ γλωσσῶν, ἐστῶτες ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου καὶ ἐνώπιον τοῦ ἁρωνίου, περιβεβλημένους στολὰς λευκὰς, καὶ φοίνικες ἐν ταῖς χερσίν αὐτῶν.

ὁ... ἔδυνατο. On this clause see the close of the preceding note, and p. 202, note.

The Seer is not looking here to the final blessedness of the faithful of all times, peoples, and countries, but, before the horrors of the last tribulation burst upon the faithful of his own generation, he shows them by way of encouragement the blessedness that awaits those who fall as martyrs in the great and closely impending catastrophe.

No contrast with the 144,000 is intended; for our author there is making use of traditional material, and is only concerned with the main thought of vii. 4–8, i.e. the sealing, and here he is adapting to a new context an earlier vision of his own which had originally a different meaning.

ἐκ παντὸς ἔθνους κτλ. See note on v. 9. ἐστῶτες. The plural refers to ὄχλος. The construction is κατὰ σύνεσιν. Cf. xix. 1.

περιβεβλημένους στολὰς λευκὰς. Since this vision relates to the faithful before the final judgment (see p. 209), and since they are nevertheless clothed in white raiment, they are to be regarded not as the faithful generally, but as the martyrs who immediately received their white robes (cf. vi. 11) and entered on perfect blessedness. The faithful who died a peaceful death were not to receive these robes till after the final judgment. See note on iii. 5. The acc. περιβεβλημένου is best explained as a slip on the part of our author for περιβεβλημένου. There are similar slips, which would have been removed if he had had the
opportunity of revising his MS. φοίνικες ἐν ταῖς χερεῖσ αὐτῶν. The palm branches are a symbol of victory and joy after war. Cf. 2 Macc. x. 7, φοίνικας ἔχοντες ἡγωνίστουν: 1 Macc. xiii. 51, εἰσῆλθεν εἰς αὐτὴν (i.e. Ιερονοσιλήμ) . . . μετὰ αἰνέσεως καὶ βαθῶν . . . ὅτι συνετρίβη ἐχθρὸς μέγας ἢ Ἱσραήλ: also John xii. 13. Tertullian, Scorp. 12, "palmis victoriae insignes revelantur scilicet de Antichristo triumphantes" (Swete). There is no ground for seeing in the text a reference to a heavenly Feast of Tabernacles—a season of eternal harvest joy—with Vitringa, Eichhorn, Hengstenberg, and others; nor for discovering, with Deissmann (Bible Studies, 368–369), traces of the influence of the Greek cultus in the neighbouring Ephesus, a suggestion which betrays a complete misconception of our text.

10. καὶ κράζουσιν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ λέγοντες: Ἡ σωτηρία τῷ θεῷ ἡμῶν τῷ καθημένῳ ἐπὶ τῷ θρόνῳ καὶ τῷ ἁρμίῳ.

κράζουσιν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ λέγοντες: cf. vii. 10, xviii. 2, xix. 17 (vii. 2, x. 3, xiv. 15). Ἡ σωτηρία τῷ θεῷ: cf. γὰρ ἡγησάθη, Ps. iii. 9, where the LXX has τοῦ κυρίου ἡ σωτηρία. The phrase recurs in xii. 10, xix. 1. Elsewhere (v. 13, xii. 10, xix. 1, etc.) there are many themes of praise; but here one theme only is dwelt on—victory, deliverance, salvation—by those who have just emerged in triumph from the strife; for though in one sense they have through martyrdom wrought out their own salvation, and now appear as victors before the throne, in another and deeper they know and proclaim that the victory, the deliverance (ἡ σωτηρία), is not their own achievement, but that of God and of the Lamb.

On τῷ θεῷ ἡμῶν: cf. note on vii. 3; on τῷ καθημένῳ ἐπὶ τῷ θρόνῳ, note on p. 113; and on τῷ ἀρμίῳ, note on v. 6.

11. καὶ πάντες οἱ ἀγγελοί ιστήκεισαν κύκλῳ τοῦ θρόνου καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων καὶ τῶν τεσσάρων ζώων καὶ ἔπεσαν ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου ἐπὶ τὰ πρόσωπα αὐτῶν καὶ προσκύνησαν τῷ θεῷ. In this verse the Seer enumerates the various concentric ranks of spiritual beings, beginning from without: first the angels, then the Elders, then the four Living Creatures (see note on iv. 4). We are possibly to infer that the great multitude of Martyrs (vii. 9) forms the outermost circle. ἔπεσαν ἐνώπιον: cf. iv. 10, v. 8. ἔπεσαν . . . ἐπὶ τὰ πρόσωπα αὐτῶν: cf. xi. 16. ἔπεσαν . . . καὶ προσκύνησαν: cf. iv. 10, v. 14, xi. 16, xiv. 4, 10, xxii. 8. προσκύνησαν τῷ θεῷ, προσκυνεῖν takes the dative when it means "to worship." Thus it is followed by τῷ θεῷ in iv. 10, vii. 11, xi. 16, xiv. 4, 10, xxii. 9; by τῷ ὑπακούτι, xiii. 4. In xix. 10 (an interpolation) when the Seer falls down to worship the angel (προσκυνήσαι αὐτῷ) the angel forbids him. On the other hand,
προσκυνεῖν takes the acc. when it means "to do homage to": cf. xiii. 4, τῷ θερίον (A 79), xiii. 12 (ACQ min plq 30). In xiv. 9, 11, xx. 4, it is followed by τῷ θερίον καὶ τ. εἰκόνα. We should, therefore, read τῶν εἰκόνα in xiii. 15 (with A and some cursive) and in xix. 20. In xvi. 2, where it is followed by the dative, the clause is an interpolation. προσκυνεῖν with the acc. is the older and more classical usage, but it takes the dative as the regular construction in the LXX. In his use of this verb our author differs from that in the Fourth Gospel: see Abbott, Johanne Vocabulary, 138–142. In the Fourth Gospel the two constructions with the acc. and dat. appear, but in exactly the opposite meanings to those which they have in our author.

12. λέγοντες Ἄμην ἡ εὐλογία καὶ ἡ δόξα καὶ ἡ σοφία καὶ ἡ εὐχαριστία καὶ ἡ τιμὴ καὶ ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ ἰσχύς τῷ θεῷ ἠμῶν εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων Ἄμην. By the first Ἄμην the angels adopt as their own and solemnly confirm the thanksgiving of the martyrs. On this doxology see note on v. 12.

13–17. Interpretation of the foregoing vision.

13. καὶ ἀπεκρίθη εἰς ἑκ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων λέγων μοι οὕτωι οἱ περιβεβλημένοι τὰς στολὰς τὰς λευκὰς τίνες εἰσών καὶ πόθεν ἠλθον;
καὶ ἀπεκρίθη . . . λέγων = ἐν . . . ὕπη. This form of diction, which is very frequent in the Fourth Gospel, is found only here in the Apocalypse. Ἀποκρίνεσθαι has been regarded as answering to the unexpressed question on the part of the Seer, but it is better to take it as a response to a certain fresh occasion or circumstance, as in Judg. xviii. 14; 2 Kings i. 11; Cant. ii. 10. On the dialogue form which the text assumes cf. Jer. i. 11; Zech. iv. 2, 5, καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς με τι σὺν βλέπεσί; . . . καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς μὲ λέγων Οὐ γινώσκεις τί ἐστιν ταῦτα; καὶ εἶπα Οὐκ ἐὰν κύριε: 4 Ezra ii. 44, "Tunc interrogavi angelum et dixi; Qui sunt hi, domine?" This form of dialogue is very frequent in the Shepherd of Hermas.

τίνες . . . ἠλθον: cf. Josh. ix. 8, "Who are ye, and whence do ye come?" (LXX, πόθεν ἐστέ, καὶ πόθεν παραγεγόνατε); Jonah i. 8. In classical literature see Virg. Aen. viii. 114, "qui genus? unde domo?" See other parallels in Wetstein. The ἠλθον does not necessarily imply that the number is yet complete. Hence the οἱ ἐρχόμενοι in the next verse may be taken in its natural sense, "who are coming."

14. καὶ εἶρηκα αὐτῷ Κύριε μου, σὺ οἶδας. εἶρηκα seems to be used as an aorist here. Cf. v. 7, viii. 5, xix. 3. See Moulton, Gram. 145. In iii. 3, xi. 17, the perfects retain their proper force. This aoristic use of the perfect is not found in the Fourth Gospel. κύριος is used in addressing an angel in Gen. xix. 2; Dan. x. 16 sq.; Zech. i. 9, iv. 4, 13; and in addressing a man, Gen. xxiii. 6, xxxi. 35; John xii. 21. σὺ οἶδας (cf.
Yet, Ezek. xxxvii. 3, καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς μέ . . . Εἰ ξήσεται τὰ ὅστ' ταῦτα; καὶ εἶπα Κύριε, σὺ ἐπίστη ταῦτα) expresses the speaker's ignorance and his desire for information (Bengel, De Wette, Swete, etc.), and herein it differs from σὺ οἶδας in John xxi. 15 sqq. The response of the elders is in verse:

καὶ εἶπεν μοι
οὐτοὶ εἰσὶν οἱ ἐρχόμενοι ἐκ τῆς θλίψεως τῆς μεγάλης
cαὶ ἐπλυναν τὰς στολὰς αὐτῶν
καὶ ἔλεικαναν αὐτὰς ἐν τῷ αἴματι τοῦ ἀρνίου.

We have already seen that ἐρχόμενοι is to be taken here as an imperfect participle. The martyrs are still arriving from the scene of the great tribulation. ἡ θλίψις ἡ μεγάλη is the last and final tribulation which the present generation is to experience. Cf. Dan. xii. 1; Mark xiii. 19, θλίψις οἰς οὐ γέγονεν τοιαύτη ἀπ' ἀρχῆς κτίσεως = Matt. xxiv. 21. It is quite wrong to take it as meaning generally the tribulation that the faithful must encounter in the world. This great tribulation is still in the future. It consists first and chiefly in the actual manifestation of the Satanic powers on earth, and only in a secondary degree in social and cosmic evils. Against the first the faithful are secured, being sealed as God's own. The latter they had, like the rest of mankind, to endure.

These blessed ones are martyrs who are coming from the great tribulation: martyrs—not the ordinary faithful—for the tribulation is still in progress and yet they have already received their white garments (see next verse and vi. 11), their spiritual bodies—a grace vouchsafed only to the martyrs. The rest of the faithful do not receive their white robes till or after the final judgment.

That this verse read originally οὐτοὶ εἰσίν οἱ ἐλθόντες ἐκ θλίψεως μεγάλης we have seen reason to believe (see p. 202, n. 2), though it would be possible to take ἐρχόμενοι as = ἐλθόντες by a Hebraism.

οἱ ἐρχόμενοι καὶ ἐπλυναν. On the Hebraism here and in i. 5, 6, ii. 20, see note on ii. 20.

The στολαὶ (cf. vi. 11, and Add. Note on vi. 11 at the close of that chapter) are the heavenly bodies which the martyrs receive immediately after death. On the one hand, it can be said that Christ or God gives the faithful ἵματι λευκά (iii. 5) or στολαὶ λευκαὶ (vi. 11); for a man's reception of the spiritual body is due not to works but to grace; yet, on the other hand, the faithful have their share in the acquisition or creation of this spiritual body; for they co-operate with God: to their faithfulness is it owing that they have spiritual bodies at all. They "wash their garments and make them white through the blood of the Lamb."
The two ideas of God’s grace and man’s work are combined in the Pauline words: Phil. ii. 12 sq., τὴν εὐαγγελίαν σωτηρίαν κατεργάσεσθε, θεὸς γάρ ἐστίν ὁ ἐνεργῶν ἐν υμῖν καὶ τὸ θέλειν καὶ τὸ ἐνεργεῖν. Ἐλεύθερον is taken by some interpreters as an explanation of ἐπληναν: by others ἐπληναν is referred to man’s justification, and Ἐλεύθερον to his sanctification. “The aorists,” as Swete observes, “look back to the life on earth when the cleansing was effected.”

ἐν τῷ αἵματι τοῦ ἁρμόνου. This phrase has been taken as (a) “in the blood of the Lamb.” In this case the text refers to the forgiveness of sins through faith in the sacrifice of Christ. Cf. 1 John i. 7; Rom. iii. 25, v. 9; Heb. ix. 14; 1 Pet. i. 2. The expression Ἐλεύθερον . . . ἐν τῷ αἵματι is then strongly paradoxical. “The O.T. is familiar with the idea of soiled garments (Isa. lxiv. 6; Zech. iii. 3) as well as of the symbolism of the washing of the garments (Ex. xix. 10, 14), and the λευκαίων recalls especially Isa. i. 18. As here also for the judgment of the saving worth of Christ’s death the Pauline category of sacrifice is adopted, so it lies specially at the foundation of i Cor. vi. 11, ἀπελούνασθε, as well as of i Cor. vi. 20” (Holtzmann). By such interpreters the great multitude is taken to include all the faithful and not merely martyrs, after the final judgment and before. (b) ἐν τῷ αἵματι is to be rendered “through the blood.” So Bousset, who holds that the parallel expression, xii. 11, καὶ εὐκράτησαν αὐτῶν διὰ τὸ αἵμα τοῦ ἁρμόνου, demands this rendering. The great multitude is composed only of martyrs, who through the sacrifice of Christ have become endowed with power to become martyrs. Ewald and J. Weiss from different standpoints uphold the reference of the text (in its present form) to the martyrs. But, even if “through the blood” is the only right rendering of ἐν τῷ αἵματι, I do not see that this expression necessarily implies that the faithful here referred to are martyrs. The grounds for such a conclusion have been already given (see pp. 186 sqq., 213).

15. διὰ τοῦτο εἰσὶν ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ λατρεύουσιν αὐτῷ ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς ἐν τῷ ναῷ αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου σκηνώσει ἐπ’ αὐτοῦς.

διὰ τοῦτο. The preceding verse explains their fitness for God’s service.

With λατρεύουσιν αὐτῷ cf. xxii. 3. This λατρεύων (=τῆς almost universally in the LXX) denotes the service rendered to Yahweh by Israel as His peculiar people: cf. Phil. iii. 3, οἱ πνεύματι θεοῦ λατρεύουσι: Acts xxvi. 7, εἰς ἤν τὸ δωδεκάφυλον ἡμῶν ἐν ἐκτενείᾳ νύκτα κ. ἡμέραν λατρεύον: Rom. ix. 4; Heb. ix. 1, 6. “It is,” as Lightfoot (on Phil. iii. 3) observes, “the
service not of external rites, but of spiritual worship": see also Rom. xii. 1, τὴν λογικὴν λατρείαν. As such it belongs to the whole people, and is distinct from the priestly service. For the latter the appropriate word is λειτουργεῖν (= ναὶ). This priestly service was rendered not only in the earthly temple, Ex. xxviii. 31, xxix. 30 and passim, but also in the temple in heaven, according to Jewish conceptions: cf. Test. Levi iii. 5 (on which see my notes), where the priestly office is discharged by the archangels. But in the Christian heaven no such exclusive priestly functions are discharged, and there is no room for any exclusive priestly caste. All the blessed are priests unto God, and it is their part λατρεῖν not λειτουργεῖν. 1

ἡμερὰς καὶ μυκτός. Cf. iv. 8 on the never-ceasing praise of the angels. This time division exists only for earth dwellers: cf. xxii. 5. ἐν τῷ ναῷ αὐτοῦ. On the combination of the ideas of the throne of God and the Temple in heaven, see note on iv. 2. This heavenly Temple stands in the existing heaven (xi. 19), but there will be no temple in the heavenly Jerusalem, xxii. 22, καὶ ναὸν οὐκ ἔδωκ ἐν αὐτῷ. In the original form of the vision, vii. 9-17, which dealt with the whole body of the blessed after the final judgment, the phrase ἐν τῷ ναῷ αὐτοῦ was probably absent. Cf. xxii. 22, iii. 12. God was their real temple.

οὐκ ἀπελθεῖν ἐπὶ. See note on iv. 2. σκηνώσει ἐπὶ αὐτοῦς = "His Shekinah shall abide upon them," or "He shall cause His Shekinah to abide upon them." This construction appears unexampled. Cf. Num. rab. sect. 13, 218, where שדה וסכין וכניה נושאים נודע; also Shabb. 22b 30b, etc., where the Shekinah is said to rest on the faithful Israelites. In xxii. 3 we have σκηνώσει μετ' αὐτῶν. In using the future σκηνώσει and those that follow, the Seer passes from the sphere of the visionary to the actual. σκηνόν is confined to Johannine writings in the N.T. Cf. John i. 14; Rev. vii. 15, xii. 12, xiii. 6, xxi. 3, and is always used of God or of heavenly beings. The Shekinah, or the immediate presence of God, is here promised. The Shekinah primarily means the manifestation of God amongst men either in the Tabernacle or Temple, or in Jerusalem, or amongst His people Israel. But the word is also used where God is spoken of as dwelling in heaven, Targ. Jon. on Isa. xxxiii. 5; Deut. iii. 24, iv. 39. Indeed the Shekinah only exceptionally came down to the earth. (See Jewish Encyc. xi. 258 sq.)

1 J. Weiss (Offenbarung des Johannes, 68 sq.), while maintaining that vii. 9-17 in its present form refers only to the martyrs, asserts that the phrase διὰ τοῦτο proves that this cannot have been its original meaning. It would, he writes, contradict the teaching of i. 6 to hold that only the martyrs could become priests of God. But as we have seen, it is not for any exclusive priestly function, but for God's worship and service that their redemption from sin had fitted them.
16. ὦ πεινάσουσιν ἐτι οὐδὲ διψήσουσιν ἐτι, 
οὐδὲ μὴ παίσῃ ἐτι αὐτοὺς ὁ Ἑλιος οὐδὲ πάν καῦμα, 
17. ὦτι τὸ ἄρνιον τὸ ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ θρόνου παιμανεὶ αὐτοὺς, 
καὶ ἰδηγήσει αὐτοὺς ἐτὶ Ζωῆς πηγὰς ὕδατων. 
καὶ ἐξαλείψει ὁ θεὸς πάν δάκρυον ἐκ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτῶν.

The first four lines are for the most part derived from Isa. xlix. 10, but hardly from the LXX, which runs:

οὐ πεινάσουσιν οὐδὲ διψήσουσιν, 
οὐδὲ παταξεῖ αὐτοὺς καῦσων οὐδὲ ὁ Ἑλιος, 
ἀλλ' ὁ ἐλεῶν αὐτοὺς παρακάλεσει, 
καὶ διὰ πηγὰν ὕδατων ἄξει αὐτοὺς.

16 is a translation of Isa. xlix. 10, and a translation independent of the LXX. παίσῃ is an equally good rendering with πατάξει of ὅρυ, and καῦσα is probably a better one than καῦσων. Our author has inverted the order of καῦμα and Ἑλιος and inserted ἐτι three times. These slight changes have greatly enhanced the wonderful beauty of the original. It will be observed that I read παίσῃ ἐτι—a suggestion of Swete, who thereby improves on the earlier suggestion of Gwynn (Apoc. of St. John in Syriac, p. 17) that we should read παίσῃ. πέσῃ ἐτι is here quite impossible. The same conception is found in ix. 5, where the Uncials and many of the Cursives read πέσῃ (for παίσῃ) ἀνθρωπον, which s1 corrects into πέσῃ ἐτι ἀνθρ. With παίσῃ ... ὁ Ἑλιος cf. Ps. cxxi. 6.

The thirst here spoken of means the pain of unsatisfied desire, just as in John iv. 14. It is satisfied at the springs of living water to which the Lamb leads the blessed (17). He that drinketh of this water shall never suffer the torments of thirst: God Himself is the fountain of life. Cf. Ps. xxxv. (xxxvi.) 10; 1 Enoch xlviii. 1. The blessed thereby win a satisfaction which is independent of all that is less than the divine. And yet in another sense their hunger and thirst will never cease; for they will never know satiety, but be ever reaching forward; for their object is nothing less than God Himself and His perfections. On the distinction carefully observed by our author between “the water of life” and “the tree of life,” see note on ii. 7, xxii. 14.

But 17 has very little connection with Isa. xlix. 10. First of all the line ὦτι τὸ ἄρνιον ... αὐτοὺς is altogether different from Isa. xlix. 10°. The diction of this line is wholly that of our author with the seeming exception of ποιμαίνειν, which elsewhere in the Apocalypse has an unfavourable meaning and is used with reference to the heathen nations, ii. 27, xii. 5, xix. 15. Its use here, however, recalls John x. 11, ἐγὼ εἶμι ὁ ποιμὴν ὁ καλὸς,
x. 14; Heb. xiii. 20; 1 Pet. ii. 25; and in the O.T. Isa. xl. i. ὡς ποιμὴν ποιμανεῖ τὸ ποιμνὸν αὐτοῦ, Ezek xxxiv. 23, where it is said of the Messiah, ποιμανεῖ αὐτούς . . . καὶ ἔσται αὐτῶν ποιμὴν (cf. xxxvii. 24). If we take this line along with the next we have an excellent parallel in Ps. xxiii. 1, 3, Κύριος ποιμανεῖ με . . . ὅψησέν με. Since the rest of 17b is wholly in the diction of our author, and as the idea was a familiar O.T. and N.T. one, we may regard ποιμανεῖν in the favourable sense as undoubtedly belonging to his vocabulary here. ἀνὰ μέτον = ἐν μέσῳ, v. 6: cf. Ex. xxvi. 28; Josh. xix. i (= יִלָּהָ). For its use = “between,” cf. Josh. xxii. 25; 1 Cor. vi. 5.

Next as regards 17b we see that it differs in several respects from Isa. xlix. 10d. ὅψησέν is not a rendering of בָּרוּךְ but of יָדָו, while the LXX ἐξεῖ implies בָּרוּךְ. Moreover, our author transposes the verb to the beginning of the verse. The phrase ἐπὶ ζωῆς πηγὰς ὕδατον is in part explicable from Isa. xlix. 10d. μῦθος, but still more from Jer. ii. 13, 14, 15, LXX, ζωῆς ὕδατος ζωντός. Cf. Ps. xxxv. (xxxvi.) 10, παρὰ σοὶ πηγῆ ζωῆς. We have a remarkable parallel to our text in 1 Enoch xlviii. 1, where in the new heaven and earth (xliv. 4, 5) Enoch sees “a fountain of righteousness which was inexhaustible: around it were many fountains of wisdom, and all the thirsty drank of them, and were filled with wisdom.” The plural πηγὰς may refer to some such conception; for men’s hunger and thirst seek satisfaction in the life of God, in His wisdom, righteousness, and other perfections. But the most immediate parallels are in John iv. 14, τὸ ὕδωρ δ ὅπου αὐτῷ γενῆσεται ἐν αὐτῷ πηγὴ ὕδατος ἀλλομένου εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον: vii. 38, δ ὅπου εἰς ἑμὲ . . . ποταμοῦ ἐκ τῆς κοιλίας αὐτοῦ ἐξύπνου ὕδατος ζωντός. The emphasis, as Swete observes, is given to the idea of life by the unusual order ζωῆς πηγὰς ὕδατον (with which 1 Pet. iii. 21, σαρκὸς ἀπόθεσεις ῥύπου, may be compared; but the parallel is imperfect). The phrase recurs in its more natural order in xxii. 6, τῆς πηγῆς τοῦ ὕδατος τῆς ζωῆς. With the expression cf. also xxii. 1, ποταμῶν ὕδατος ζωῆς, and xxiii. 17, ὕδωρ ζωῆς.

17b then is not a translation of Isa. xlix. 10d, but merely based upon it. So far as it is a translation it differs in order and largely in diction from the LXX.

καὶ ἐξαλείψει . . . ἐκ τῶν ὄφθαλμῶν αὐτῶν. This line is a translation of Isa. xxv. 8b, where the LXX reads καὶ πάλιν ἀφείλεν κύριος ὅθες πᾶν δάκρυν ἀπὸ παντὸς προσώπου. Since the Peshitto and Vulgate agree with the LXX in this rendering of παν we must here again maintain our author’s independence of the LXX. The rendering ἐξαλείψει is found in Symmachus, but the version of Symmachus was at the earliest seventy years later than our Book. The πᾶν before δάκρυν may point to some
dependence on the LXX, or there may be here simply a transposition of the ל in the Hebrew. Here and in xxi. 4, where the line recurs, our author writes ὁμαλῶν and not προσώπων or προσώπου.

CHAPTER VIII.-IX.

§ i. The first six Trumpets—but originally the first two Woes or Demonic Plagues—Original order and thought of viii.—ix.

These two chapters present as they stand insuperable difficulties. These will be duly discussed in turn, but for the sake of clearness I will at once lay before the reader the results of this criticism.

Results of present criticism.—(a) The first four Trumpets, viii. 7–12, are not original, but a subsequent addition, and deal only with cosmic phenomena; whereas the sealing in vii. 4–8 prepares the reader to expect not cosmic but demonic Woes.

(b) The last three Trumpets are the three Woes announced by the Eagle in viii. 13, and deal with the demonic and Satanic plagues, against which the faithful are sealed in vii. 4–8.

(c) viii. 2 is an intrusion in its present context and not original in its present form. If it is original it probably stood immediately after viii. 5, and read καὶ εἶδον ἄγγελους τρεῖς, καὶ ἐδόθησαν αὐτοῖς σάλπιγγες τρεῖς.

(d) viii. 6 should then follow in the form καὶ οἱ τρεῖς ἄγγελοι οἱ ἔχοντες τὰς τρεῖς σάλπιγγας ἠποίμασαν αὐτοὺς ἐνα σαλπίσμως, and then viii. 13 as it stands, save that λοιπῶν should be omitted (see note in loc.).

(e) In ix. 1 πέμπτος should be πρῶτος, and in ix. 13 ἐκτος should be δεύτερος, and in x. 7 ἐβδόμου should be τρίτου, and in xi. 15 ἐβδομος should be τρίτος.

(f) In ix. 16–19 there are certain redactional additions.

Original order of text and thought.—Thus we shall have viii. 1, 3–5, 2 (restored), 6 restored, 13, ix. By the excision of viii. 7–12 and the restoration of viii. 2, 6 to their original form and context, the chief difficulties of the text are overcome, the natural order in the development recovered, and the meaning of the hitherto dark sayings in viii. 1 brought to light. There was silence in heaven for half an hour, viii. 1, even the praises and thanksgivings of all the orders of angels were hushed, until the prayers of the saints should be presented before God, viii. 3–5. Thus assurance is given that God is mindful of His own. The prayers of the faithful on earth take precedence of the praises of the blessed hosts in heaven. Thereupon the Seer beholds three
angels being given three Trumpets (viii. 2), wherewith they prepared to sound, viii. 6; and, as they were doing so, he beheld another vision, even an angel flying in the midst of heaven and proclaiming woe, woe, woe to the inhabitants of the earth because of the voices of the trumpets which the three angels were about to sound, viii. 13. Thereupon the first angel sounded and there followed the first Woe—the plague of demonic locusts, ix. 1–11; and these tormented for five months all those who had not received the seal of God in their foreheads, ix. 4. And when the first Woe was over, the second angel sounded, ix. 12, and the 200,000,000 demonic horsemen, which were bound in the river Euphrates, were let loose, and by them one-third of the heathen and idolatrous world was destroyed, ix. 18, 20 sqq.

§ 2. **Grounds for preceding Conclusions.**

viii. 7–12—a later addition. I. They conflict with the expectation created by vii. 4–8. From vii. 4–8 we learn that after the six social and cosmic evils that followed on the opening of the six Seals, the faithful were sealed in order to secure them from the coming demonic and Satanic attacks. After the sealing—the right understanding of which is the key to what follows—the expectation is natural and inevitable that the next plagues to befall the inhabitants of the earth should be demonic. But so far is this from being the case that we find a fresh series of colourless cosmic visitations following on the first four Trumpets, viii. 7–12, whereas the demonic plagues do not begin till the fifth Trumpet. Thus the former not only arrest the natural development of the Book, but they also introduce an element that is alien at this stage. Something must be wrong here, and we are thus *a priori* disposed to doubt the originality of the first four Trumpets.

II. And when we come to examine these four Trumpets, our doubts are transformed into convictions,1 and we discover that whereas the heptadic structure of the Seals and of the Bowls is fundamental and original, the heptadic structure of the Trumpets is secondary and superinduced.

i. The first four Trumpets are conventional and monotonous. One-third of the chief things mentioned is destroyed in each except in viii. 11,2 where instead of τὸ τρίτον τῶν ἀνθρώπων—

1 I am glad to find myself at one with J. Weiss (74 sqq.) in the view that viii. 7–12 is secondary, though this writer has not recognized the fact that vii. 4–8 imply the immediate sequel of demonic plagues.
2 In viii. 7 we have πᾶς χῶρτος instead of τὸ τρίτον τῶν χῶρτων. Certainly τὸ τρίτον τῶν δέντρων καὶ τῶν χῶρτων τῶν χλωρῶν would be more natural than the present text. Besides, the stanza in viii. 7 would then have four lines as the next two stanzas.
clearly the original phrase,—even in viii. 9 τὸ τρίτον τῶν πλοίων
is destroyed—we have the strange phrase, πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων
(see note in loc.). But the reason for this redactional change is
manifest. Since the invasion of the earth by the 200,000,000
demonic horsemen results in the destruction of the third of
mankind, ix. 18 (sixth Trumpet = second Woe), the same result
cannot here fittingly be ascribed to the third Trumpet.

ii. The first Trumpet conflicts with the fifth, for πᾶς χόρτος
χλωρός is burned up (κατεκάψα) in viii. 7, and yet it is presup-
posed to be unhurt (μὴ ἀδικήσουσιν τὸν χώρτον τῆς γῆς) in the
fifth Trumpet in ix. 4.

iii. The first four Trumpets are, as J. Weiss has observed,
described as objective events, but the visionary nature of the
fifth and sixth is clearly marked: ix. 1, ἔδωκα; ix. 13, ἦκουσα.

iv. When compared with the Seals that precede, and the
Bowls that follow, the four Trumpets are colourless and weak
repetitions. Thus contrast the darkening of the third part of the
stars and the falling of two, viii. 12, 8, 10, with the falling to the
earth of all the stars as unripe figs when shaken of the wind,
vi. 13; the darkening of the third of the sun, viii. 12, with in-
tensification of its fires, xvi. 8 sq.; the change of one-third of
the sea into blood, and the embittering of one-third of the rivers,
viii. 8-11, with the turning of the entire sea and rivers and
springs into blood, xvi. 3-4.

v. But a comparison of the first four Trumpets and the first
four Bowls shows that the former are clearly modelled on the
latter. Thus, while the visitations in the first four Bowls are
directed respectively against the land (xvi. 2), the sea (xvi. 3),
the rivers and fountains of waters (xvi. 4), and the sun (xvi. 8-9),
so likewise are the visitations introduced by the first four
Trumpets. The correspondence in this respect is exact in each
case, save the fourth, where, instead of only the sun being affected
by the pouring forth of the fourth Bowl (xvi. 8-9), both the sun
and moon and stars are to some extent darkened after the fourth
Trumpet. But this difference is trifling. Hence this close
 correspondence can hardly be accidental.

vi. The first four Trumpets exhibit a somewhat different
diction and style.1 In viii. 8 we have πυρὶ καἰόμενον, but else-

1 In viii. 9, however, we have one syntactical irregularity found elsewhere
in the Apocalypse; i.e. τῶν κτισμάτων . . . τὰ ἔχοντα. See note on ii. 13.
Also in viii. 8 we have ὡς ὅπος μέγα, “the likeness of a great mountain,”
but this is a common use of ὡς in Apocalyptic. See notes on i. 10, iv. 6.
The phrases βάλλειν ἐλς, viii. 7, and πιπτεῖν ἐκ, viii. 10, are used elsewhere
in the Apoc., but they are not distinctive. Of course it is possible that
viii. 7-12 may be a fragment of an independent vision of our author added
subsequently by a scribe who did not understand the Book as a whole. But
this is most improbable.
where καὶο is followed by πυρ, or a like substantive: cf. xix. 20, xxi. 8. In viii. 7 μεμυγμένα εν, but the εν is omitted in xv. 2. In vii. 12 σκοτίζειν, but σκοτοῦν in ix. 2, xvi. 10.

vi. While in viii. 1, 3–5, 13 the order is purely Semitic, the verb in all cases beginning the sentence except in viii. 3, where the subject once precedes the verb for emphasis, in vii. 7–12 the subject precedes the verb three times\(^1\) in viii. 7, once in viii. 8, once in viii. 9, twice in viii. 11, and once in viii. 12. This fact points at all events to a different style.

viii. 2, 6, 13 redacted and transposed.—Having shown the secondary character of viii. 7–12, we have now to deal with the changes made in the text with a view to introducing viii. 7–12.

viii. 2 is an intrusion in its present position.—I. For, as J. Weiss (p. 7 n.) has observed, the mention in viii. of the seven angels to whom the seven trumpets were given comes as an interruption between the opening of the seventh Seal and the offering of the prayers of the saints, and yet the angels do not take any part in the action till viii. 6. This, it is true, would not in itself constitute a valid objection against the originality of viii. 2 and its present position, but there are other and stronger objections not hitherto observed.

2. viii. 2 in its present position is against the structure of the book in analogous situations elsewhere. Thus it is to be noted that the introduction to the events following on the seventh Trumpet (which embraces the third Woe), xi. 15, is closed by salvoes of thunderings and lightnings, xi. 19, and the introduction to the events following on the seventh Bowl, xvi. 17, by a series of like phenomena, xvi. 18; and that between the sounding of the seventh Trumpet and the thunderings, etc., and the pouring forth of the seventh Bowl and the like phenomena, there is no intrusive reference to any further fresh visitation.

In like manner we infer that between the opening of the seventh Seal and the salvoes of heaven which followed in viii. 5, there was originally no intrusive reference to any fresh visitation such as those of the Trumpets or Woes.

3. But viii. 2 not only comes as an interruption and conflicts with the structure of the book in analogous passages elsewhere, but it has also by its intrusion here debarred the recognition of the meaning of the solemn silence for half an hour in heaven, viii. 1. The prayers and thanksgivings of all the mighty hierarchies of heaven are hushed in order that the prayers of the suffering saints on earth may be heard before the throne of God.

4. Immediately after the seventh (i.e. the third) Trumpet and the seventh Bowl we hear what is done, not on earth, but in

\(^1\) Account is not here taken where the ordinals precede the verbs as their subjects in viii. 7, 8, 10, 12.
heaven: in the former instance a song of thanksgiving; in the latter a voice from the temple and throne saying, "It is done." In like manner immediately after the opening of the seventh Seal should be recorded what took place in heaven—i.e. the silence enjoined on all the heavenly hosts that the prayers of the suffering saints on earth might be heard before the throne.

5. Finally, the pouring out of the seven Bowls is prepared for by an announcement made in heaven: thus in xvi. 1 we read, "And I heard a great voice from the temple saying to the seven angels: Go and pour forth the seven bowls of the wrath of God upon the earth." Similarly, the opening of the seven Seals is heralded in heaven by the song of the four and twenty Elders; v. 9, "Worthy art Thou to open the book, and to open its seals." Now, on the ground of analogy we should expect some like announcement preparing for the blowing of the Trumpets; and there is such an announcement, but it is found not before the first four Trumpets, where it should appear if these were original, but before the last three. Thus in viii. 13 we find: "And I saw and heard an eagle flying in the midst of heaven, saying with a loud voice, Woe, woe, woe to the inhabitants of the earth because of the voices of the trumpets of the angels which are about to sound."

viii. 2, then, is an intrusion in its present position and in its present form. It probably stood after viii. 5, and together with viii. 6 read as follows: καὶ εἶδον ἀγγέλους τρεῖς καὶ ἐδόθησαν αὐτοῖς σάλπιγγες τρεῖς. καὶ οἱ τρεῖς ἀγγέλοι οἱ ἔχοντες τὰς τρεῖς σάλπιγγας ἢτοίμασαν αὐτοῖς ἵνα σαλπίσωσι.

Thereupon follows viii. 13, wherein an eagle proclaims to the inhabitants of the earth the three coming Woes. No change further than the omission of λοιπῶν is needed here.

ix. In ix. 1 for πέμπτος we should read πρῶτος, and in ix. 13 δεύτερος for ἐκτὸς. There are numerous glosses in this chapter. First we have the prosaic gloss ἰ βασανισμός . . . ἀνθρωπόν in ix. 5, where also it is to be observed that βασανισμός has an active meaning though elsewhere in the Apocalypse it has a passive one; see xiv. 11 n.: probably καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἑλληνικῇ . . . Ἀπολλών in ix. 11: almost certainly ἤκουσα τὸν ἀριθμὸν . . . ὀράει in ix. 16–17, and καὶ ἐν ταῖς οὐραῖς . . . κεφαλάς in ix. 19, since this directly conflicts with ix. 17–18.

It is more than probable that in ix. 13–20 we have a mutilated recast of an older vision of our author. 1 Wellhausen has already remarked that καὶ ἤκουσα . . . τοῖς τέσσαρας ἀγγέλους, ix. 13–14,

1 On the other hand, ἀπό (ix. 18) is not elsewhere used in the Apocalypse after ἀποκτείνων, but εὖν. Cf. ii. 23, vi. 8, ix. 20, xi. 13, xiii. 10, xix. 21. But this fact in itself would not militate against the vision in its original form being from the hand of the Seer.
is a redactional addition; but, as frequently, he gives no grounds for the assertion. If it is a redactional addition, the addition is wholly in the style of the Apocalypse. Thus we have φωνήν . . . λέγοντα and ἀγγέλω, δὲ ἔχων in ix. 13, 14, constructions which are characteristic of our author.

καθημένους ἦπί ἄυτῶν in ix. 17 is against the use of our author (see iv. 2, note) but may be due to the scribe who introduced 17\textsuperscript{ab}. On the other hand the four angels (τοὺς τέσσαρας ἀγγέλους) in ix. 14 are not to be identified with those in vii. 1–3, since they are distinct from them in every particular save that there are four in each case. Yet the article presumes them to be known. Again in ix. 16 we have hosts of horsemen introduced and presupposed to be known through the use of the article. If both elements are original, the original vision spoke of four angels in command of the hosts of horsemen on the Euphrates. Our author only partially reproduces his written vision. Part of this vision may possibly be recovered in its original form. It seems to have been written in tristichs. Thus

17. καὶ οἱ καθημένοι ἦπί ἄυτος ἔχοντες διάφανας . . . θεϊδεῖς καὶ αἱ κεφαλαὶ τῶν ἵππων . . . λεόντων καὶ ἐκ τῶν στομάτων ἄυτῶν . . . θεῖον

18. ἀπὸ τῶν τριῶν πληγῶν . . . ἀνθρώπων ἐκ τούτων πυρὸς καὶ . . . ἐκ τῶν στομάτων ἄυτῶν ἡ γὰρ ἐξουσία τῶν ἵππων ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ στόματι ἄυτῶν ἀδικησαί.

VIII. 1, 3–5. The seventh Seal.—When the seventh Seal was opened there was an arrest of the praises and thanksgivings in heaven, viii. 1, in order that the prayers of all the suffering saints on earth might be heard before the throne of God, viii. 3–5. In vii. 1–3 there was an arrest of the judgments on earth until the faithful had been sealed against the coming demonic plagues: here is a further and fresh pledge that the cause of the faithful is one with that of God and the heavenly hosts.

Ver. 2 is an intrusion here, and belongs to the three Trumpets or Woes, if it is original. Its form here is secondary. See Introduction to this Chapter, p. 221 sq., and also in loc.

1. καὶ ὅταν ἦνοιξεν τὴν σφραγὶα τὴν ἐβδόμην, ἐγένετο σιγὴ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ὡς ἡμίώρον. On ὅταν with the indicative see Robertson, Gram. 973. On the meaning of the σιγὴ see preceding paragraph. An analogous idea is found in Judaism: cf. Chag. 12\textsuperscript{b}, καὶ οἱ πνεύματα τοῦ θεοῦ πάντων ἐν τῇ ἐπιτύχῳ τῆς καταστάσεως τοῦ κόσμου οὐδὲν οὐκ ἀκούσανεν. That is, “in the ma'ôn (or fifth heaven) are companies of angels of service who sing praises by night, but are silent by day because of the glory of Israel,” i.e. that the praises of Israel may be heard in heaven. But the idea in our
text is infinitely nobler. The praises of the highest orders of angels are hushed that the prayers of all the suffering saints on earth may be heard before the throne. Their needs are of more concern to God than all the psalmody of heaven.

ημίωρον is a ἅπ. λεγ. ημώριον is the ordinary form.

2. καὶ εἶδον τοὺς ἐπτὰ ἀγγέλους σὲ καὶ ἐνάπιον τοῦ θεοῦ ἑστήκασιν, καὶ ἐδόθησαν αὐτοῖς ἐπτὰ σάλπιγγες. That this verse stood originally after viii. 5 and referred to three angels who received three Trumpets to announce the three Woes, I have sought to prove in the Introduction to this Chapter, see p. 221 sq. The position of ἐπτὰ before σάλπιγγες and without the article is suspicious. For ἐπτὰ when not preceded by the article stands after the noun in i. 16, v. 1 (bis), 6 (bis), xii. 3 (bis), xiii. 1 (bis), xv. 1a, xviii. 3 (bis). It can stand before the noun when the noun is followed by another noun in the genitive, iv. 5, or an adjective that is the equivalent to a noun in the Hebrew, i. 12, ἐπτὰ λυχνίας χρυσᾶς = בְּהָיָה הָעָרָה שְׁוֶשֶׁ, xv. 7. Only in four cases does ἐπτὰ stand without the article before a noun that is otherwise undefined, i.e. in i. 20, viii. 2, xii. 3b, xvii. 9. Now the two last passages are suspicious on other grounds—possibly also i. 20—and we have found that viii. 2 is likewise.¹ This verse, therefore, may have read as follows: καὶ εἶδον ἀγγέλους τρεῖς καὶ ἐδόθησαν αὐτοῖς σάλπιγγες τρεῖς.

But when the three Woes heralded by three Trumpets were transformed into the seven Trumpets, the nameless three angels

¹ The same rule holds good of δέκα. When anarthrous it is placed after the noun, ii. 10, xii. 3, xiii. 1, xvii. 3, except in xiii. 1b where the clause in which it occurs is probably a gloss. δώδεκα is also postpositive when anarthrous, xii. 1, xxi. 12, 14a, xxii. 2, except in xxi. 21, but can precede its noun when this noun is followed by another noun in the genitive, xxi. 14b. In vii. 5 sqq., xxi. 16, where it precedes numerals, it is necessarily prepositive. In John δώδεκα is prepositive when anarthrous. εἰς is always prepositive unless in ix. 13. δύο is twice anarthrous—once prepositive in ix. 12 and once postpositive, xiii. 11. τρεῖς when anarthrous is postpositive, xi. 9, xvi. 13, xxi. 13 (quater), but prepositive in vi. 6 where its noun is followed by another noun in the genitive: exception, xvi. 19. τέσσαρες, on the other hand, is prepositive even when anarthrous, iv. 6, vii. 1, because of the participles that follow the noun. τέσσαρες when anarthrous is postpositive in ix. 5, 10; εἰς postpositive in iv. 8. In Biblical Aramaic numbers over 10 are always postpositive: between 1 and 10 the postpositive order is much more frequent than the prepositive, 1, 2, and 6 are always postpositive, 7 always prepositive (five times), 3 nine times postpositive and twice prepositive, 4 three times postpositive and four prepositive, 10 three times postpositive and once prepositive: the numbers 5, 8, and 9 are not found in Biblical Aramaic. This is practically what we find in the Apocalypse except in regard to εἰς. One other usage of our author is to be noticed. In the case of ἐπτὰ (i. 20, viii 2b, xii. 3b, xvii. 9), δέκα (xiii. 1, xvii. 12), δώδεκα (xxi. 21), when a phrase or clause which contains any of these numerals preceded by the article is followed by a noun and the same numeral, the latter numeral precedes the noun, as in the above passages. But several of these passages are interpolated.
were transformed into the well-known seven archangels, οἱ ἑπτὰ ἄγγελοι.

This conception is already found in Tob. xii. 15, ἐγὼ εἰμι Ῥαφαήλ εἰς ἐκ τῶν ἀγίων ἑπτὰ ἄγγελων οἱ παρεστήκασιν καὶ εἰσπορεύονται ἐνώπιον τῆς δόξης τοῦ Ἁγίου (N).

They are designated "archangels" in 1 Enoch xx. 7 (Greek), and their names are, xx. 2–8, Οὐριήλ, Ῥαφαήλ, Ῥαγουήλ, Μιχαήλ, Σαραήλ, Γαβριήλ, Ῥεμειήλ. These seven are referred to in 1 Enoch xc. 21, 22, Pirke R. El. iv. and Hekalot iv., and most probably in Ezek. ix. 2, Test. Levi viii. 2. There are good grounds for assuming the original identity of the seven angels and the seven spirits, i. 4 note. But in our Apocalypse they are distinct and independent conceptions.

οἱ ἑνώπιοι τοῦ θεοῦ ἑστήκασιν. These angels are "Angels of the Presence": cf. Isa. lixiii. 9, ἡ ἡγεσία ἑνώπιον means "to attend upon," "to be the servant of." Cf. Luke i. 19, ἐγὼ εἰμι Γαβριήλ οἱ παρεστήκασιν ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ. It is the translation of the Hebrew יִנְסָל, ינש, 1 Kings xvii. i, xviii. 5; 2 Kings iii. 14, v. 16; Jer. xv. 19, where it is used of the servants of God. The phrase is used in the same sense of service or worship in vii. 9, but has merely a local signification in xi. 4, xx. 12.

ἐδόθησαν . . . σάλπιγγες. The trumpet is used already in an eschatological sense in the O.T. Cf. Isa. xxvii. 13; Joel ii. i, σαλπίσατε σάλπιγγί σε Σειών . . . διότι πάρεστιν ἡμέρα Κυρίου: Zeph. i. 16; in Zech. ix. 14, Pss. Sol. xi. 1 it heralds the glorious return from the Dispersion; in 1 Cor. xv. 52, 1 Thess. iv. 16, Mt. xxiv. 31, 4 Ezra vi. 23 ("et tuba canet cum sono, quam cum omnes audierint subito expavescent"), Ps. Apoc. Johannis ix. (ἐξέλθωσιν ἐξ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ σαλπίσοντος Μιχαήλ καὶ Γαβριήλ μετὰ τῶν κερατῶν ἐκείνων . . . καὶ . . . ἀναστήσεται τὰσα φύσις ἀνθρώπων), it announces the final judgment. See Boussot, The Antichrist Legend, 247 sq.

3. καὶ ἀλλος ἄγγελος ἤλθεν καὶ ἐστάθη ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον ἐξων λιβανωτῶν χρυσῶν, καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτῷ θυμίαμα πολλά, ἵνα δώσῃ ταῖς προσευχαῖς τῶν ἀγίων πάντων ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον τὸ χρυσόν τὸ ἑνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου. As we have already shown, viii. 3–5 should follow immediately on viii. 1.

ἀλλος ἄγγελος. Before the recasting of the text and the interpolation of the first four trumpets, the angel here referred to may have been Michael or possibly the angel of peace (see next paragraph). According to 1 Enoch lxxix. 76, Michael prays for Israel; and he may possibly be the angel who mediates between God and man, Test. Dan vi. 2. These mediatorial functions are presupposed in 1 Enoch lxviii. 3, 4. In 1 Enoch xl. 9, he is called "the merciful and long-suffering." According to Rabbinic tradition he offered sacrifices in heaven, even the
souls of the righteous: see my note on Test. Levi iii. 5; Luken, Michael, 30–32, 91–100. For like views in later Christian speculation see note on v. 8 of this text.

But as the text stands at present, Michael is one of the seven angels mentioned in 2, and he cannot therefore be the ἄλλως ἀγγελος in 3. If the present text could on any grounds be held to be original, we should have to inquire into the identity of the ἄλλως. Is he to be identified with one of the four and twenty Elders whose functions were of a priestly nature (see note on p. 128 sqq.)? This is unlikely; for when an Elder is mentioned singly elsewhere we have the phrase v. 5, vii. 13, εἰς ἐκ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων. Since this nameless angel is neither one of the seven archangels, if viii. 2 is original, nor yet one of the Elders, it is possible that we have here “the angel of peace” referred to in Test. Dan vi. 5, whose office is to “strengthen Israel that it fall not into the extremity of evil.” In my notes on Test. Levi v. 6–7, I have shown that these verses give probably a further description of this angel who “intercedeth for the nation of Israel and for all the righteous.” Again in Test. Dan vi. 2 it is probably he and not Michael that is described as “the mediator between God and man,” and one who “for the peace of Israel shall stand up against the kingdom of the enemy.” The angel of peace and Michael are referred to as distinct angels in 1 Enoch x1. 8, 9. The nameless angel in Dan. x. 5–6, 11, 12–14, 19–21 may then be this “angel of peace” (though he is generally identified with Gabriel).

The office of the angel of peace was pre-eminently that of an intercessor and mediator in Judaism. He could therefore in a Christian Apocalypse be naturally assigned the duty of presenting the prayers of the faithful to God. This great angel is nameless in 1 Enoch and the Testaments of the XII Patriarchs, and if I am right also in Daniel. Here, too, he is nameless: he is simply ἄλλος ἀγγελος in the present form of the text and was probably εἰς ἀγγελος originally. But whether this nameless angel is Michael or the angel of peace, the final clause in v. 8 is with Spitta and Völter to be rejected as a gloss. Michael or the great nameless angel—and not the Elders—presents the prayers of the faithful, censing them as he presents them. The Elders offer incense in the natural course of their priestly functions in heaven.

With ἄσταθη ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον (= ἄσταθη ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον) cf. Amos ix. 1, εἰδον τὸν Κύριον ἐφεστώτα ἐπὶ (ἐπὶ) τὸν θυσιαστήριον. The angel stands by or upon the altar. In favour of the former meaning cf. Gen. xxiv. 13, 43. What this altar is we have now to investigate.

An altar in heaven is mentioned seven times in the Apocalypse,

1 Outside Apocalyptic the term “the altar,” ὁ ἁγιάζων, generally means the altar of burnt-offering, but not in Apocalyptic.
vi. 9, viii. 3 (bis), 5, ix. 13, xiv. 18, xvi. 7. Most interpreters agree that the two altars—the altar of burnt-offering and the altar of incense—are referred to in our text. But if we assume a complete heavenly Temple with a holy place, a holy of holies, two altars, etc., we are forced to conclude (1) with Züllig and Hengstenberg, that the curtain of the holy of holies is closed in iv. and viii. 3 sqq. and not opened till xi. 19; or (2) with Hofmann, that the roof of the Temple was removed in order to make possible the vision of God on His throne of Cherubim and yet not that of the ark; or (3) with Ebrard, that in the vision in iv. the whole scene was disclosed without the Temple, and that later in vi. 9 and viii. 3 sqq. a heavenly Temple appeared on a terrace below the height on which the throne stood; or (4) with Bousset and Porter, that the conceptions in iv., vi. 7, viii. 3 sqq. referring to the throne scenery and the temple scenery—are wholly irreconcilable.

Now all these attempts at explanation or confessions of incapacity to explain proceed, in our opinion, on a wrong hypothesis. We have here to do with the conceptions of the heavenly Temple in Apocalyptic, and it is wholly unjustifiable to conclude that every characteristic part of the earthly Temple has its prototype in the heavenly Temple as conceived in Apocalyptic. What we have now to do is to try and discover what views were entertained in Jewish and Christian Apocalypses as to the altar or altars in heaven.

As a result of my research I would at once answer: there is no definite evidence in Jewish or Christian Apocalyptic of two altars in heaven.

Thus in Isa. vi. 6 a seraph takes a live coal from off the altar (τῆς ἱερᾶς). The altar is within the Temple, and therefore presumably the altar of incense. There is only one altar presupposed in the vision.2

In the second cent. B.C. only one altar is implied in Test. Levi iii. 6, where the archangels are described as προσφέροντες τῷ Κυρίῳ ὅσμην ἑωθίας λογικήν καὶ ἀναίμακτον θυσίαν.

Now, passing to Christian and Gnostic writings we find mention of only one altar. Cf. Hermas, Mand. x. 3. 2, λυπηροῦ ἄνδρος ἣ ἑντεύξεις σοῦ ἔχει δύναμιν τοῦ ἀναβηθῆναι ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον τοῦ θεοῦ. Cf. also 3. Sim. viii. 2. 5, εἶν ἐν τῖς σε παρέλθῃ, ἐγώ αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον δοκιμάσω. We might perhaps cite here Irenaeus, iv. 18. 6, "Est ergo altare in caelis, illuc enim preces

---

1 Ebrard and Bousset are of opinion that the altar of burnt-offering is referred to in vi. 9, viii. 3, 5, xvi. 7, and the altar of incense in viii. 3, ix. 13. Swete, that the former is referred to in vi. 9, and the latter in viii. 3, 5, ix. 13, and that there is no determining which is referred to in xiv. 18, xvi. 7. The altar in xi. 1 was in its original context the altar in the earthly Temple.

2 Some scholars regard the Temple here as the earthly one.
nostrae et oblationes nostrae diriguntur”; Apos. Pauli, 44 (ed. Tischendorf), καὶ ἔδω τὸ θυσιαστήριον καὶ τὸν θρόνον καὶ τὸ καταπέτασμα. In the Gnostic work preserved in the Excerpts from Theodotus in Clement of Alexandria (Dindorf, iii. 437), the soul is said to lay down its body παρὰ τὸ θυσιαστήριον τοῦ θυμίαματος, παρὰ τοὺς λειτουργούς τῶν ἀναφερομένων εἰχῶν ἀγγέλους (quoted from Lueken, Michael, p. 97).

In later Judaism the same view prevails. According to Aboth R.N., A 26 (12) (2nd cent. A.D.), the souls of the righteous rest under the heavenly altar. There is only one altar presupposed here, and if we may take with this statement another of the 2nd cent. (R. Eleazar’s), found in Shabbath, 152b, to the effect that “the souls of the righteous are preserved under the throne of glory” (הбалנ התשובה, we may reasonably conclude that the altar in question is close to the throne of God, and therefore within the heavenly temple. In any case there is only one altar in question. Finally, in Chag. 12b we find: “In Zebul (i.e. the fourth heaven) are Jerusalem and the Temple and a built altar (ייאב, and Michael the great prince standing and offering an offering thereon.” The same statement is made in Zebach. 62a relative to a built altar and Michael, and also in Menachoth, 110a.

According to Jewish Apocalyptic, therefore, and kindred literature, there is only one altar in heaven. This altar has all but universally the characteristics of the altar of incense. Such sacrifices as are offered thereon (Test. Levi iii. 6) are λογικαὶ καὶ ἀναίμακτοι. In the last three passages cited from the Talmud, however, we have an epithet that seems to recall the altar of burnt-offering, i.e. “built.”

However this may be, there was, according to Jewish Apocalyptic, only one altar in heaven; and since there could be no animal sacrifices in heaven, only bloodless sacrifices and incense could be offered thereon.

Let us now examine the passages in our text where an altar is mentioned, and see if the Apocalypse herein diverges from other apocalyptic literature.

First of all we remark, that as in other Apocalypses so here the phrase used is always “the altar” (τὸ θυσιαστήριον). Sometimes it is more nearly defined as τὸ θυσιαστήριον τὸ χρυσόν τὸ ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου, viii. 3b, or as ἠκούσα φωνήν μιᾶν ἐκ τῶν κεράτων τοῦ θυσιαστ. τοῦ χρυσοῦ τοῦ ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ λέγουτα, ix. 13.1 That these two references are to the altar conceived as an altar of incense (already presupposed in v. 8), there can be no question.

1 These expressions belong to the O.T. as applied to the altar of incense: cf. Lev. iv. 18, τοῦ θυσιαστήριον . . . 8 ἐστὶν ἐνώπιον Κυρίου: xvi. 12, τοῦ θυσιαστήριον τοῦ ἀκέναντι Κυρίου (ὅτι νῦν ἄρα ἐπιφέρει): Ex. xl. 5, τὸ θυσιαστήριον τὸ χρυσόν . . . ἐράντιον τῆς κηφώτου.
Next as regards viii. 5, our author has two O.T. passages before him, Isa. vi. 6 and Ezek. x. 2, and, since the former explicitly states that the coal was taken from the altar (i.e. the altar within the ναός) and the latter states that the coals were taken from between the Cherubim (i.e. in closest proximity to the throne of God), we infer that viii. 5, ἐγέμισεν αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου, refers also to the altar conceived as an altar of incense. From this we conclude that the altar mentioned in viii. 3 is also the altar of incense. Both are simply designated "the altar," though it is more fully described as "the altar of gold before the throne" in viii. 3b. The altar is referred to in only three other passages, vi. 9, xiv. 18, xvi. 7. In xiv. 18 (ἀλλος ἄγγελος ἔγιλθεν ἐκ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου) the evidence is indecisive unless taken in connection with the rôle that the altar plays throughout the rest of the Apocalypse. There can be no doubt that the interpolator of xiv. 15-17 conceived the altar to be the altar of incense, since the two angels in xiv. 15, 17 come forth from the Temple. There remain now only vi. 9, xvi. 7. xvi. 7 (ἤκουσα τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου λέγοντος . . . ἀληθιναὶ καὶ δίκαιαι αἱ κρίσεις σου) might refer to the altar conceived as in vi. 9, under which had reposed the souls of the martyrs; but it can just as well, and indeed more reasonably, be conceived as referring to the altar on which the prayers of the saints were censed and offered, and which is described in ix. 13 as ordering the infliction of judgment, just as in xvi. 7 it is represented as vindicating the righteousness of God's judgment. Only one passage now remains that seems to presuppose the existence of an altar of burnt-offering as well as an altar of incense. But there is not the slightest necessity for this presupposition. According to Shabbath, 152b, the souls of the righteous are (said by R. Eliezar, 2nd cent.) to be preserved underneath the throne of God;1 and according to Aboth R.N. (2nd cent.), they rest beneath the heavenly altar. In Debarim rabba, 11, the soul of Moses is bidden to dwell under the throne of Glory. The conception therefore in vi. 9 is Jewish, save that our author represents the martyrs, and not the righteous generally, as resting beneath the altar; and herein it is possible that our text represents the older form of the conception, just as under vi. 11 we have shown that our text again represents the older and not the later Jewish view.

The souls of the righteous, then, according to Judaism, rest under the altar that is beneath or near the throne of God, i.e. the one altar that is within the heavenly Temple. This altar has the characteristics of the earthly altar of incense, and in part those of the earthly altar of burnt-offering; for the souls of the martyrs,

1 In the same context Rabbi Abbahu (3rd cent.) is represented as defending this view.
as later the souls of the righteous generally, were conceived as being offered thereon—but as a living sacrifice. See note on vi. 11.

This idea of the offering of the souls of the martyrs on the heavenly altar is implied in our text (vi. 9 sqq.) for the first time in literature. The genesis of this idea can hardly be earlier than the 1st cent. B.C.; for before that period the souls of the faithful were conceived as going to Hades at death; but towards the close of the 1st cent. B.C. the belief that the soul ascends forthwith to heaven is found in Philo, 4 Macc., and probably in Wisdom (see my *Eschatology*, 2, 310, 314, 322).

λιβανωτόν. This word elsewhere means "frankincense," as in 1 Chron. ix. 29; 3 Macc. v. 2. The scholiast on Aristoph. *Nubes*, writes: λίβανος ... αυτὸ τὸ δένδρον, λιβανωτὸς δὲ ὁ καρπὸς τοῦ δένδρου, and Ammonius, λίβανος μὲν γὰρ κούσως τὸ δένδρον καὶ τὸ θυμίωμενον, λιβανωτός δὲ μόνον τὸ θυμίωμενον (quoted from Grotius). The word appears to mean "censer" in our text = ἀναθηματία; cf. Lev. x. i, xvi. 12. But this Hebrew word means not only τὸ θυμιατήριον, but also τὸ πυρεῖον, "fire-pan": cf. Ex. xxvii. 3, xxxviii. 3, Num. iv. 14. The fire-pan was used for conveying coals from the altar of burnt-offering to the altar of incense. In Ex. xxxviii. 3 it is composed of copper, but of gold in 1 Kings vii. 50; 2 Chron. iv. 22; 2 Kings xxv. 15. Spitta (321, 323) and Bousset interpret λιβανωτός in the latter meaning here; but this interpretation rests on the view that the two altars are referred to in this passage,—a view which appears to be controverted by all existing Apocalyptic. In viii. 3 it is first used for the reception of incense; the coals are already in it before the incense is placed in it.

ἐδῶθη αὐτῷ θυμιάματα. Spitta (325) remarks that the ritual here is analogous to that of the Great Day of Atonement, where the person who brought the coals also offered the incense, though not analogous to the usual O.T. ritual. But the analogy is only partial, since the priest on the Day of Atonement offered the incense, not on the altar of incense but before the Ark: cf. Lev. xvi. 12; Num. xvi. 46.

ινα δύσει ταῖς προσευχαῖς τῶν ἀγίων πάντων. On the intercession of angels in the O.T. see note on v. 8; Test. Levi iii. 5 (my edition); Lueken, Michael, 67 sq.

After δύσει we should understand θυμιάματα. Thus the clause practically means "that he might cense the prayers, and so make them acceptable before God." (See note on 4.) The prayers are those of all the faithful, vii. 4–8, and not of the martyrs only (vi. 9 sqq.).

tὸ θυσιαστήριον τὸ χρυσοῦν τὸ ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου. This phrase recurs in ix. 13, save that for θρόνου we find θεοῦ. The expres-
sion belongs to the O.T. See Lev. iv. 18, ἐκεῖνον δὲ τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ (cf. Lev. iv. 7, xvi. 12; i Kings ix. 25), but our author has not used the LXX. The earthly altar of incense was of gold, Nu. iv. 11. The single heavenly altar is naturally conceived as being of gold also.

Porter thinks that this was the first mention of an altar in heaven, and Bousset appears to be of the same opinion, and both agree in holding that the author has introduced irreconcilable contradictions by combining the temple scenery and the throne scenery. That contradictions exist to some extent it is true, but not at all to the extent these scholars maintain, when once the right interpretation of the altar is recognized. Besides, the combination of these two sceneries did not originate with our author, but are as old as the 2nd cent. B.C. and most probably Isa. vi.—see note on iv. 2, p. 11 sq.

4. καὶ ἀνέβη ὁ καπνὸς τῶν θυμιάματος ταῖς προσευχαῖς τῶν ἁγίων ἐκ χειρὸς τοῦ ἁγγέλου ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ. With the diction Swete compares Ezek. viii. 11, ἔκαστος θυμιάματος αὐτοῦ εἶχεν ἐν τῇ χειρί, καὶ η ἄτμις τοῦ θυμιάματος ἀνέβαινεν.

taῖς προσευχαῖς is here the dativus commodi.

The incense went up for the benefit of the prayers (Blass, Gramm. p. 111). The prayers are made acceptable by being offered with incense on the altar. All access to heaven lies through the avenue of sacrifice. Whether it be the prayers of the faithful or the martyrs themselves, both alike must be presented or offered on the heavenly altar that they may be cleansed thereby from the last taint of self, and be made acceptable to God. On the former idea cf. Hermes, Mand. x. 3. 2: πάντοτε γὰρ λυπηροῦ ἀνθρώπου ἡ ἐντευξία οὐκ ἔχει δύναμιν τοῦ ἀναβῆναι ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον τοῦ θεοῦ. 3. . . . μεμιγμένη οὖν ἡ λυπὴ μετὰ τῆς ἐντευξίας οὐκ ἀφίησιν τὴν ἐντευξίαν ἀναβῆναι καθαρὰν ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον.

5. καὶ ἐγείρθην ὁ ἁγγελὸς τῶν λιβανωτῶν, καὶ ἐγέμισεν αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου καὶ ἐβαλεν εἰς τὴν γῆν, καὶ ἐγένετο † βρονταὶ καὶ ἀστραπαὶ καὶ φωναὶ † καὶ σεισμὸς.

On ἐγείρθην see note on v. 7. After censoring the prayers the angel had laid down the censer, while the smoke of the incense was ascending, 4; now he takes it up again for a different purpose. It is not now to be used for the office of intercession but for judgment—a function that does not rightly belong to this sacrificial vessel. We might here compare Ezek. x. 2, πλῆσον τὰς δράκας σου ἀνθρώπων ψυρὸς ἐκ μέσου τῶν χερουβίων καὶ διασκόρπισον ἑπὶ τὴν πόλιν. The Seer in Ezekiel is in the earthly Temple, but the Seer in the vision before us is in heaven. This is clear from ἐβαλεν εἰς τὴν γῆν: cf. viii. 7, xii. 4, 9, 13, xiv. 19. The casting of the fire on the earth is followed by βρονταὶ καὶ φωναὶ.
κτλ. On the first three elements, where the lightning naturally precedes the thunder, see note on iv. 5. The lightnings, thunders, voices, and an earthquake are not the precursors of the plagues that are about to ensue in connection with the Trumpets, as has been assumed, but form the close of the introduction to the Seventh Seal, as they likewise do to the Seventh (i.e. Third) Trumpet or Third Woe, xi. 19, and to the Seventh Bowl, xvi. 18.

Corn. a Lapide and Düsterdieck point out that 5 represents the fulfilment of the prayers offered by “all the saints” in 3-4 and vi. 9, and that this connection is indicated by the fact that part of the fire on the altar that consumed the incense is cast on the earth and becomes an instrument of judgment to punish their enemies.

6. καὶ οἱ ἑπτὰ ἀγγέλου οἱ ἑχοντες τὰς ἑπτὰ σάλπιγγας ἠτοίμασαν αὐτοὺς ἵνα σαλπίσωσιν. σαλπίσω, ἐσάλπισα belongs to Biblical and late Greek.

This verse forms the immediate sequence of viii. 2, and probably read originally as follows: καὶ οἱ τρεῖς ἀγγέλου οἱ ἑχοντες τὰς τρεῖς σάλπιγγας ἠτοίμασαν αὐτοὺς ἵνα σαλπίσωσιν. On this verse viii. 13 should follow without break, viii. 7-12 being an intrusion in the text. It is noteworthy that ἀγγέλου ἠτοίμασαν αὐτοὺς ἵνα σαλπίσωσιν and ἀγγέλων τῶν μελλόντων σαλπίζειν in viii. 13 could represent exactly the same Hebrew, the former = τὰ τρεῖς τῶν ἄγγελων, and the latter ἔτοιμασαν αὐτοὺς ἵνα σαλπίσωσιν ἵνα σαλπίσωσιν, ἐσάλπισα.

7-12. The first four Trumpets.—A later addition, since the text originally recounted three Woes, or three Woes introduced by the three Trumpets. See Introduction to this Chapter, p. 219 sq. Individual incongruities are dealt with in the notes that follow.

These four Trumpets form a closely connected group. They are of a conventional character. Of the fifteen things affected by the plagues, one-third is injured or destroyed in twelve instances. Of the three exceptions, that in viii. 11, πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, is most probably a redactional correction from τὸ τρίτον τ. ἀνθ., seeing that the latter is the result of the sixth Trumpet (i.e. the second Woe) in ix. 18. The second in viii. 10, ἐπὶ τὰς πηγὰς, is probably a corruption of τῶν πηγῶν, or possibly a mistranslation of a Hebrew original (see note in loc.). The third deviation from the conventional uniformity is in viii. 7, πᾶς κόρος τοῦ κόσμου. This, no doubt, was the original form, but it is strange that it escaped correction, seeing that it conflicts with ix. 4. But, if it were not the original form, the change cannot have been made by the editor that transformed the three Trumpets or Woes into the seven Trumpets; for we cannot conceive of his deliberately multiplying contradictions between the added section, viii. 7-12, and the original context.
7. καὶ ὁ πρῶτος ἐσάλπισεν,
καὶ ἔγενετο χάλαζα καὶ πῦρ μεμιγμένα ἐν αἰματι,
καὶ ἔβληθη εἰς τὴν γῆν;
καὶ τὸ τρίτον τῆς γῆς κατεκάθη
cαὶ τὸ τρίτον τῶν δένδρων κατεκάθη,
καὶ πᾶς χόρτος χλωρὸς κατεκάθη.

χάλαζα καὶ πῦρ . . . ἐν αἰματι. These words recall Ex.
ix. 24, ἦν δὲ ἡ χάλαζα καὶ τὸ πῦρ φλογίζον ἐν τῇ χαλάζῃ, save that
there is a heightening of the terrors of the plagues by the substitution
of ἐν αἰματι for ἐν τῇ χαλάζῃ. But this new feature is
probably due to an actual experience of the Seer. Blood red
rain is a phenomenon well known to science. Swete draws
attention to a similar occurrence in Italy and the South of
Europe in 1901—“the result, it is said, of the air being full of
particles of fine red sand from the Sahara.” Volcanic eruptions
could account for the same phenomenon. In Or. Sibyll. v. 377
there is a reference to some such phenomenon, πῦρ γὰρ ἀπ'
οὐρανίων δαπέδων βρέξει μεροπέσων.

πῦρ . . . ἐν αἰματι. The combination of fire and blood as
an eschatological feature is found already in Joel ii. 30, δώσω τέρατα
. . . ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς αἷμα καὶ πῦρ καὶ ἀτμίδα καπνοῦ: and that this pass-
age was familiar to the early Christians appears from Acts ii. 19.
μεμιγμένα ἐν αἰματι. In xv. 2, where μέγνυμι recurs, it is not
followed by the ἐν.

χάλαζα καὶ πῦρ μεμιγμένα. This phrase is almost certainly
based upon Ex. ix. 24 (quoted above), but instead of μεμιγμένον
the LXX has φλογίζον as a rendering of ηπράξην; and the Targums
and Peshitto support this rendering. The Vulgate, on the other
hand, reads mista, and so supports the independent rendering of
the Hebrew word given by our text.

tὸ τρίτον τῆς γῆς κατεκάθη. Since in xviii. 8 we have κατα-
καυθῆσαι, we might expect κατακαύησεται (as in i Cor. iii. 15;
2 Pet. iii. 10) there, or κατακαύηθη here, if both passages were from
the same author. τὸ τρίτον (μέρος) with a genitive following is
found twelve times in viii. 7–12: elsewhere in this book three
times, ix. 15, 18, xii. 4. Cf. Babba Mezia, f. 59b: “I'nen was
the world smitten—a third of its olives, and a third of its wheat,
and a third of its barley . . . there was great war on that day;
for wherever Rabbi Eliezer looked the fire burned.”

The use of fractions to express relative proportions is already
found in Zech. xiii. 8, 9, τὰ δύο μέρη αὐτῆς ἐξολεθρευθήσεται καὶ
ἐκλείψει τὸ δὲ τρίτον ὑπολειφθήσεται ἐν αὐτῇ. Cf. Ezek. v. 2.

τῶν δένδρων. Cf. vii. 1, 3. πᾶς χόρτος . . . κατεκάθη. This
is absolutely at variance with ix. 4, where the locusts are hidden
not to destroy the grass. See preceding note on viii. 7–12.
8. καὶ ὁ δεύτερος ἄγγελος ἐσάλπισεν·
καὶ ὡς ὤρος μέγα πυρὶ καιόμενον ἐβλήθη εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν,
καὶ ἐγένετο τὸ τρίτον τῆς θαλάσσης αἷμα.

At the second blast a fiery mass like a mountain was hurled into the sea. The figure of a burning mountain is probably derived from 1 Enoch xviii. 13, ἰδον ἐπτὰ ἀστέρας ὡς ὤρη μεγάλα καιόμενα. But the parallel is clearer in xxi. 3, ἐκεῖ τεθέαμαι ἐπτὰ τῶν ἀστέρων . . . ἐρρυμένους εἰς αὐτῷ ὁμοίους ὤρειν μεγάλους καὶ ἐν πυρὶ καιόμενοις. Cf. also cviii. 4.

ἐγένετο αἷμα. There is obviously here an allusion to the first Egyptian plague. Ex. vii. 20, μετέβαλεν πᾶν τὸ θάνωρ τὸ ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ εἰς αἷμα; Ps. lxxviii. 44. As there the Nile was turned into blood, so here is the sea—at least a third part of it. Cf. xvi. 3.

9. καὶ ἀπέθανε τὸ τρίτον τῶν κτισμάτων τῶν ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ τὰ ἐχοντα ψυχᾶς καὶ τὸ τρίτον τῶν πλοίων διεφθάρησαν. Cf. Ex. vii. 21. On the destruction of the fish as an act in the eschatological drama, cf. Zeph. i. 3. With κτισμάτων τῶν ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ cf. v. 13, πᾶν κτίσμα δ . . ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς πάντα. The phrase τὰ ἐχοντα ψυχᾶς stands as a nominative in apposition to τῶν κτισμάτων, as in i. 5, iii. 12, ix. 14, but against Greek syntax. For similar syntactical incongruities cf. ii. 13; Ezek. xxiii. 7, 12 (LXX).

dιεφθάρησαν. Understand τὰ πλοῖα from τὸ τρίτον τῶν πλοίων. The diction ὡς ὤρος . . . πυρὶ καιόμενον . . . διεφθάρησαν, though not the thought, recalls Jer. xxviii. (li.) 25, τὸ ὦρος . . . τὸ διαφθείρον (ῥῆμα) . . . δόσω σε ὡς ὦρος ἐμπετυμισμένον (ἐμπανοῦσαν).

10. καὶ ὁ τρίτος ἄγγελος ἐσάλπισεν·
καὶ ἐπεσεν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἀστήρ μέγας καιόμενος ὡς λαμπτάς,
καὶ ἐπεσεν ἐπὶ τὸ τρίτον τῶν ποταμῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς πηγὰς τῶν ὑδάτων.

A omits the entire clause καὶ ἐπὶ . . . ὑδάτων, but I think wrongly. Instead of ἐπὶ τὰς πηγὰς we should expect τῶν πηγῶν. The accusative may be due to a mistranslation of ὡς τῆς νείλης. As the sea was smitten in the second plague, the fresh waters are smitten in the third. The two clauses recur in xvi. 4. We have no real parallel in Jewish Apocalyptic to the fall of a star of this nature. That all the stars of heaven were to fall before the end we have already seen in vi. 13, and this expectation goes back to the O.T.

But in none of the many references to this expectation is there any intention of an accompanying evil like that in our text.
Hence there is no real parallel in the fall of the star Gôkîhar in Zend eschatology (Bundahish, S.B.E. xxx. 18, 31) except in so far as it is a sign of the end. The fall of individual stars in viii. 8, 10 is very weak over against the vivid overwhelming vision of the stars falling from heaven as unripe figs fall from the fig-tree when shaken by the wind, vi. 13.

πηγας των ωδατων is a frequent expression in the LXX.

11. [καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ ἀστέρας λέγεται ὁ ἂψινθος]
καὶ ἐγένετο τὸ τρίτον τῶν ωδατων ἓι ο ἂψινθον,
καὶ πολλοί τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀπέθανον ἐκ τῶν ωδατων [ὁ τι ἐπικράνθησαν].

In this verse I have bracketed two clauses as glosses. The first interrupts the steady development of thought in the stanza. The expression τὸ ὄνομα . . . λέγεται is unique in the Apocalypse. See note on ix. 11. The latter gloss is explanatory. By the omission of the first gloss we recover in 10–11 a stanza of four lines as that in 8–9 and also in 12.

That such an expectation as that in our text was current in Palestine as to the waters becoming bitter or salt, is clear from 4 Ezra v. 9, “in dulcibus aquis salsae invenientur.” This expectation may have arisen from such statements as we find in Jer. ix. 15, xxiii. 15, that Jahweh would chastise his people for their idolatry by feeding them with wormwood and giving them water of gall (ὁνάρ, a poisonous herb) to drink. Though not itself poisonous, yet wormwood (nposn) is found as a parallel of ὀνάρ, which is poisonous, in Deut. xxix. 17; Lam. iii. 19; Amos v. 7, vi. 12, as well as in the two passages already referred to in Jeremiah. It was, therefore, conceived as having poisonous effects. Its bitter taste, which is referred to in our text, ἐπικράνθησαν, is mentioned in Prov. v. 4 and implied in Lam. iii. 15 where its parallel is μεραμόμ, “bitterness.” From these passages we can partly understand the genesis of the above expectation and the name given to the star. We shall observe also that in 4 Ezra v. 9 only a part of the waters is affected as in our text.

The word ὀνάρ, “wormwood,” is rendered by Aquila by ἂψινθον in Prov. v. 4; Jer. ix. 15, xxiii. 15, but in the LXX by a variety of words—ἀνάγκη, ἄδινη, πικρία, χολή. ἂψινθος is regularly feminine, but it is made masculine here probably because ἀστήρ is so.

The reading ἐγένετο . . . εἰς ἂψινθον (though in itself good enough Greek: cf. xvi. 19; Acts v. 36; John xvi. 20; Theognis, 164) is most probably corrupt. The waters do not become wormwood, but, remaining waters, are made bitter (ἐπικράνθησαν). Hence we should read ὡς with his Prim., and render “and the
third of the waters became like wormwood," *i.e.* "bitter." If, indeed, the writer of viii. 7-12 had wished to express the idea that the waters became wormwood he would probably have used the same idiom as he has in 8, ἐγένετο τὸ τρίτον τῆς θαλάσσης ἀλμα. In xvi. 19 ἐγένετο ... εἰς is found. If εἰς is original and ὡς a correction, then we have an additional ground for assuming a Hebrew original. εἰς ἄψυχον = ἄνθρωπον, corrupt in that case for ἀνθρώπον. The expression πολλοὶ τῶν ἄνθρωπων has no parallel in the Apocalypse. It is used here for πολλοὶ ἄνθρωποι. When πολλοὶ is followed by a genitive, the genitive is either a proper noun, John xii. 11, xix. 20, Acts xvii. 8, or a definite collective expression, Acts viii. 7, xix. 18. Here τῶν ἄνθρωπων stands for mankind as a whole. The use of πολλοὶ in this connection is therefore peculiar, and it is probable that instead of πολλοὶ the original form of the vision had τὸ τρίτον. This would be analogous to what followed on the second Trumpet: a third of the sea became blood, and accordingly a third of the creatures in it perished, and even a third of the ships with their crews. So here one-third of the fresh water of the world became of a poisonous nature, and a third of mankind died. But not only is the analogy of the second Trumpet in favour of τὸ τρίτον having stood in the original vision, but also every statement in 7-12 where the proportion affected in every (?) case is one-third. Besides, if already a third of the earth is burnt up, viii. 7, it is strange that it is not till after the second Woe, ix. 18, that the third of mankind is destroyed. Furthermore, the change of τὸ τρίτον into πολλοὶ was apparently due to the fact that in ix. 18 after the sixth Trumpet it is stated that one-third of mankind was destroyed by the three plagues of fire, smoke, and brimstone.

ἀπέθανον ἐκ. Cf. ix. 18, and M.-W.'s Gram. 460. δὲ ἐπικράνθησαν: cf. Ex. xv. 23. This clause I have bracketed as a gloss.

12. καὶ ὁ τέταρτος ἀγγελός ἐσάλπισεν·
καὶ ἐπιλήγη τὸ τρίτον τοῦ ἡλίου
καὶ τὸ τρίτον τῆς σελήνης καὶ τὸ τρίτον τῶν ἀστέρων,
ἔνα σκοτισθῇ τὸ τρίτον αὐτῶν
καὶ τὸ τρίτον αὐτῶν μὴ φανῇ ἢ ἡμέρα καὶ ἡ νύξ ἡ ὁμοίως.

The last verse is prose, and apparently corrupt, at all events it is unintelligible. For literary parallels see notes on vi. 12, 13. It is to be observed how weak the phenomena here are in comparison with those already described in vi. 12, where the entire sun is darkened and the moon ensanguined. The stars in vi. 13 have already fallen from heaven. Here only a third of them are darkened.

The limitation of the τὸ τρίτον αὐτῶν is obviously to the time of shining (cf. Amos viii. 9, one-half), not to the intensity
of brightness. There is no intelligible connection between the obscurations of the third part of the sun, moon, and stars and this limitation of their time of giving light.

The text is corrupt. The original is either preserved by the Bohairic Version only, or to be recovered by a happy conjecture. The text clearly meant originally that, since the third part of the sun, moon, and stars was smitten, this third part was darkened and did not shine either by day or night. But somehow instead of ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς the oldest Greek form of the text read ἡ ἡμέρα καὶ ἡ νύξ—the first stage in the corruption of the text. This rendered the text ungrammatical and unintelligible, and yet a considerable body of cursive (see crit. note) held fast to it. But the ancestor of Q and a larger body of cursive changed τὸ τρίτον αὐτῶν into τὸ τρίτον αὐτῆς, and yet still retained the primitive order of the words. This made the text grammatical but unmeaning. This constitutes the second stage of the corruption of the text. Finally, ἌΝΠ vg give the same text as Q, but change the order of the words. Here we have the third stage. It is possible that the original error is due either to a mistranslation of a Semitic source, or rather to a loss of a letter in that text. καὶ τὸ τρίτον αὐτῶν μὴ φάνη ἡ ἡμέρα καὶ ἡ νύξ ὀμοίως = καὶ ῥηματος ἀλάρι ὑμών. Here μ is a corruption of μοι = "by day." Hence read with the Bohairic as in note.¹

This partial obscurations of the luminaries corresponds in a modified degree to the ninth Egyptian plague of darkness; Ex. x. 21—23, σκοτισθη. Elsewhere in this Book σκοτοῦσ is used (ix. 2, ἐσκοτώθη ὁ ἠλιός, xvi. 10), and not σκοτίζειν. The latter, however, is used in the Little Apocalypse: cf. Mark xiii. 24; Matt. xxiv. 29; Luke xxiii. 45.

13. This verse, which should follow immediately on viii. 2, 6, proclaims the immediate coming of the Woes.

καὶ εἶδον καὶ ἢκουσα ἐνὸς ἄετος πετομένου ἐν μεσούρανήματι λέγοντος φωνῇ μεγάλῃ ὅθαλοι οὐαὶ οὐαὶ τοῖς κατακόουσιν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἐκ τῶν [λοιπῶν] φωνῶν τῆς σαλπιγγος τῶν τριῶν ἀγγέλων τῶν μελλόντων σαλπιζέιν.

For καὶ εἶδον καὶ ἢκουσα cf. v. 11, vi. 1. ἐνὸς is here equivalent to the indefinite article, as in ix. 13 (note), xviii. 21; cf. Blass, Gram. 144. The eagle appears (as a messenger also in 2 Bar. lxxvii. 19 sqq.) in the zenith, where the sun stands at midday: cf. xiv. 6, xix. 17. The threelfold "Woe" should introduce three visitations after the fifth, sixth, and seventh (i.e. first, second, and third) Trumpets. In ix. 12 it is declared that the first Woe is past, and that two are yet to come. Then at the close of the interlude (x. 1—xi. 13) that separates the sixth and seventh

¹ Here Boh. either recovers the original by a happy conjecture or preserves it: καὶ το τρ. αὐτῶν μὴ φάνη ἡμέρας καὶ ὀμοίως νυκτὸς.
Trumpets, it is stated that the second Woe is over and that the third is yet to come. This Woe, however, is not recounted, unless with Erbes, p. 60, and Bousset we recognize it as the descent of Satan to the earth in xii. 12.

οὗτα τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. The dative generally follows οὗται: the acc. occurs in xii. 12. On the exceptional construction with the nom. see note on xviii. 10. The Woes are directed against the heathens or pagans. See note on xi. 10 for this meaning of the phrase, and § 4 of the Introd. to xiii. on the Hebrew underlying it. These Woes, which are of a demonic character, cannot affect those who have received the seal of God on their brows (see note on vii. 3). Thus viii. 13–ix. should follow immediately on viii. 6, without the intervention of viii. 7–12. See p. 218 for original order of viii.–ix. We have seen that the first four Trumpets are weak and otiose.

tῶν [λοιπῶν] φονῶν τ. σάλπιγγος τ. τρίων ἀγγέλων. In the original vision these words stood as they are here save for the addition of λοιπῶν. λοιπὸς is not used elsewhere in the Apocalypse as a mere epithet. Together with the art. it forms a noun, as in ii. 24, iii. 2, ix. 20, xi. 13, xii. 17, xix. 21, xx. 5. Moreover, its position before the noun is against the usage of the writer with regard to epithets in viii. 1, 3–5, 13, ix. With the exception of ἀλλος, viii. 3, and εἰς, viii. 13, which always precede the noun in the Apocalypse save in ix. 13 (μέαν), epithets always follow after the noun, as in viii. 3 (τερ), 13, ix. 2, 5, 9, 10, 13 (bis), 20 (quinquies).

IX. 1–12. The Fifth Trumpet, or rather the first Trumpet, introducing the first demonic plague designed to torment those who were not sealed with the seal of God.

1. καὶ ὁ πέμπτος ἀγγέλος ἐσάλπισεν·
καὶ εἶδον ἄστέρα ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ πεπτωκότα εἰς τὴν γῆν,
καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτῷ ἡ κλεῖς τοῦ φρέατος τῆς ἀβύσσου.

For πέμπτος we should read πρῶτος. See Introduction, p. 218. The star is conceived as a personal being here, i.e. as an angel. See note on i. 20. The participle πεπτωκότα does not convey when connected with ἄστερα the idea of a fallen or lost angel, as very many expositors have taken it. Its use here is due to the fact that ἄστερα is used, and the text means essentially no more than that the Seer saw an angel descend (i.e. a star fall). Cf. 1 Enoch lxxxvi. 1, lxxxviii. 1. Possibly πεπτωκότα should be taken strictly as describing a completed action, as πέπτοντα would describe an incomplete action; in other words, the Seer saw the angel just alighting: cf. viii. 13, x. 1, xiii. 1, xiv. 6, etc. As we see from 1 Enoch lxxxvi. 3, stars can also be said to
"descend." Thus "to fall" (1 Enoch lxvi. 1 and lxxviii. 1) and "to descend" (1 Enoch lxxxvi. 3) are synonymous expressions when applied to stars symbolizing angels. It is different, however, when the subject of πέπτεων is not a star but an angel. Good or bad angels "descend" (1 Enoch vi. 6), but only bad angels "fall" (Luke x. 18) or are "cast down" (Apoc. xii. 9).

When angels descended they were conceived of as assuming human forms in the O. and N.T.

In 1 Enoch lxxxvi. the fallen angels are described as assuming the forms of bulls; but this is only due to the symbolical imagery of the Dream Vision, where the descendants of Seth are symbolized by various kinds of oxen. Hence there is no actual transformation in question.

While in apocalyptic language the Seer saw ἀστέρα . . . πέπτωκότα, in language free from symbol he would say as in xx. 1, εἶδον ἄγγελον καταβαίνοντα . . . ἐχοντα τὴν κλεῖν τῆς ἄβυσσου. Hence the star here represents an angel. This angel is sent down by God to execute one of the last judgments on the faithless. The key of the Abyss is here committed to him. This he retains in xx. 1.

Who is this angel who descends? He may be Uriel, if it is legitimate to compare 1 Enoch xx. 2, according to which he was the angel set over the world and Tartarus (ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τοῦ Ταρτάρου). In 1 Enoch, Tartarus is the nether world generally, cf. xxi.—xxii.; but in the N.T. Tartarus is, as we shall see presently, the intermediate abode of fallen spirits, just as the abyss is so conceived in our text.

ἔδοθη αὐτῷ. There is no angel who keeps the key of the abyss in the Apocalypse as in 2 Enoch xlii. 1. This key is committed to one angel for a special purpose for the time being: cf. xx. 1.

ἡ κλεῖς τοῦ φρέατος τῆς ἄβυσσου. In the Apocalypse the abyss is conceived of as the preliminary place of punishment of the fallen angels, of demons, of the Beast, and the false Prophet, and the prison for 1000 years of Satan. It is referred to in ix. 1, 2, xi. 7, xvii. 8, xx. 1, 3. As the abode of demons it is mentioned in Luke viii. 31, and possibly in Rom. x. 7, though in this last passage it has been universally taken as meaning Sheol. In our text, ix. 1, 2, it is a place of fire. It is referred to in 2 Pet. ii. 4 (ταρταρώσας). ¹

The final place of punishment, alike for Satan, the Beast, the false Prophet, and all not written in the Book of Life, is the λίμνη

¹ Tarhatarus was originally the place of punishment for Titans in the Iliad and in Hesiod. Hence there is a certain fitness in the use of the words in 2 Peter. Later it designated the nether world generally (1 Enoch xx. 2, Greek), or the abode of the damned.
THE REVELATION OF ST. JOHN

240

\[ \text{τοῦ πυρὸς καὶ θείου, \text{xx. 10, 14, 15.}} \]

Gehenna,\(^1\) which was essentially a place of punishment for man, is not referred to in the Apocalypse, save possibly in xiv. 10. Its place is taken by the λίμνη τοῦ πυρὸς. This “lake of fire,” as we shall see presently, was conceived originally as a place of punishment, not for men, but for Satan and the fallen angels. Thus the λίμνη τοῦ πυρὸς agrees exactly with the idea in Matt. xxv. 41, where the wicked are sent into τὸ πῦρ τὸ αἰῶνον τὸ ἦτοιμασμένον τῷ διαβόλῳ καὶ τοῖς ἀγγέλοις αὐτοῦ.

Now, turning to the earlier history of the word we find that ἀβυσσος is used about thirty times as a rendering of מַיָּה in the LXX. 1. The teḥōm in the O.T. is the ocean that once enfolded the earth but is now shut up in a subterranean abyss (Ps. xxxiii. 7), which was closed and sealed, and to which there was no access save through a shaft (Prayer of Manasses, 3), ὁ πεδόσας τὴν θάλασσαν τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ προστάγματός σου, ὁ κλείσας τὴν ἀβυσσον καὶ σφραγισάμενος αὐτὴν τῷ φοβερῷ καὶ ἐνδοξῷ ὀνόματί σου. So far as the ἀβυσσός is conceived as a surging, imprisoned flood, it has no connection with our text. 2. But there is another sense in which the ancient myth has influenced the thought of our author. The deep was conceived as the abode of Yahweh’s enemy, Amos ix. 3 (Job xli. 24 (LXX), τὸν τάρταρον τῆς ἀβύσσου). Yahweh had cut Rahab in pieces and pierced the dragon, Isa. li. 9, yea He had broken the head of the dragon in the waters, Ps. lxxiv. 13. (See, further, Gunkel, Schöpfung und Chaos, 91–98.) Henceforth he can do nothing without God’s permission (see Cheyne on “Dragon,” in Ency. Bib. i. 1131–34). The abyss, then, is the abode of God’s enemy. So much of the ancient idea has survived in the O.T. 3. But it is not the abyss conceived as a subterranean flood, but as a great chasm in the earth, that the idea has made its way into later literature. Possibly the transformation may be in part due to Isa. xxiv. 21–22, where it is said that God will punish the heavenly powers as well as the kings of the earth, and imprison them in the pit (גַּהֲב) as a place of intermediate punishment. We observe that as yet there is no idea of a fiery place of punishment.

We now proceed to the consideration of the conception of the ἀβυσσός in 1 Enoch. Here we find a great development on the ideas of the O.T. The term ἀβυσσός is used of the abyss of waters in 1 Enoch xvii. 7, 8; but, so conceived, it has no con-

\(^1\) Gehenna was originally regarded as a fiery and final place of punishment for men; and this meaning it retained in Judaism, so far as the Gentiles were concerned. Sheol, which was originally a dark, cheerless, non-fiery abode of the departed, began as early as 100 B.C. to acquire the fiery character of Gehenna, and in Luke xvi. 23 it acquires another characteristic of Gehenna, i.e. the departed in Hades are punished in the presence of the righteous.
nection of any kind with the prison of the fallen angels or Satan. Turning aside then from ἄβυσσος in this sense, we find that in other passages it is conceived as an intermediate and a final place of punishment for the fallen angels and demons.

1. Intermediate place of punishment for the fallen angels.—This abyss is referred to or described in 1 Enoch xviii. 12–16, xix. 1–2, xxi. 1–6. It is waterless, birdless, chaotic, horrible, fiery, and is situated beyond the confines of earth and heaven, xxi. 2, xviii. 12, 15, xxi. 3. It is the temporary place of punishment for the fallen angels, the stars and hosts of heaven, xviii. 12–16, and for the women who sinned with the angels, xix. 1–2. This place is somewhat differently described in the Noah sections of 1 Enoch. Thus the fallen angels are cast into valleys of utter darkness in the earth, x. 12, lxvii. 7, and covered by rocks, x. 5. These valleys, however, are traversed by streams of fire, according to lxvii. 7.

2. Final place of punishment for fallen angels and demons.—This inferno is referred to or described in 1 Enoch xxi. 7–10, x. 6, 13, xviii. 11, liv. 6, lvi. 4, xc. 24, 25. It is beyond the bounds of earth and heaven, xviii. 11, xxi. 7. It is called τὸ χάσμα τοῦ πυρός, x. 13; the ἄβυσσος, xxi. 7 (xc. 24?), and communicated with the world of space above by a great shaft—διακοπὴν ἔχειν ὁ τόπος ἐως τῆς ἄβυσσου, xxi. 7 (cf. φρέαρ in our text, ix. 2); the χάσμα μέγα, xviii. 11, which was πλήρης στῦλων πυρός μεγάλων καταφερομένων, xxi. 7, xc. 24; “the chasm of the abyss of the valley,” lvi. 3; “the burning furnace,” liv. 6.

3. Final place of punishment for Satan, angels, demons, and wicked men.—In 1 Enoch cviii. 3–6 a chaotic fiery wilderness is described as the final abode alike of fallen spirits and wicked men. This place is not Gehenna; for it is beyond the bounds of earth, cviii. 3. To this conception is very nearly related the λίμνη τοῦ πυρός in our text. This λίμνη τοῦ πυρός appears, like all the places of punishment just described in Enoch, to be outside the bounds of heaven and earth. If we could accept the present order of the text in xx.–xxii. we should have to conclude that it persists (xxi. 8), though a new heaven and a new earth have taken the place of the old, xxi. 1.

1 The demons, who according to 1 Enoch are the spirits that went forth from the slain children of the angels and the daughters of men, xv. 8, are not punished till the final judgment, xvi. 1, lvi. 4. Such appears to be the view behind Matt. viii. 29. But in the N.T. Apocalypse the demons are confined in a fiery abyss unless set free by the special permission of God, ix. 1 sqq.

2 A special place of punishment is assigned to Azazel, i.e. Beth Chaduda, the wilderness of jagged rocks, twelve miles from Jerusalem, where the scapegoat was cast down from a rough mountain cliff and destroyed, Yoma, 67b; Targ. Jer. on Lev. xiv. 10.

3 This looks like a conflation of two distinct conceptions.
From the last paragraph it appears to follow that the conception of Gehenna as a place of punishment for mankind exclusively, is absent from the Apocalypse, 1 and that its place is taken by the κάτω τοῦ πυρός (cf. xx. 14–15), which, though originally quite different from Gehenna, has become fused with it in xiv. 10 (cf. also Matt. xxv. 41). The final place of punishment prepared for the fallen angels has thus become also the final abode of wicked men. Cf. Matt. xxv. 41, also 4 Ezra vii. 36 ("the furnace of Gehenna . . . and over against it the Paradise of delight"). This is all the more remarkable since the conception of Gehenna is current in the Gospels and in 1 Enoch.

2. καὶ ἠνεβην τὸ φρέαρ τῆς ἀβύσσου,
καὶ ἄνεβη καπνὸς ἐκ τοῦ φρέατος ὡς καπνὸς καμίνου
μεγάλης,
καὶ ἐσκοτώθη ὁ ἥλιος καὶ ὁ ἀπή ἐκ τοῦ καπνοῦ τοῦ
φρέατος.

ἀνεβη καπνὸς ἐκ τοῦ φρέατος κτλ. Cf. Ex. xix. 18, ἄνεβαινεν
ὁ καπνὸς ὡς καπνὸς καμίνου: Gen. xix. 28, ἄνεβαινεν φλὸς τῆς γῆς
ὡς ἀτμίς καμίνου. The sun is not eclipsed here, but darkened
by the volume of smoke rising from the abyss. Cf. Joel ii. 10,
where, owing to the plague of locusts, "the sun and the moon
were darkened."

3. καὶ ἐκ τοῦ καπνοῦ ἐξῆλθον ἀκρίδες εἰς τὴν γῆν,
καὶ ἐδόθη αὐταῖς ἐξουσία ὡς ἔχουσιν ἐξουσιάν οἱ σκορπίοι
τῆς γῆς.

The locusts do not form the cloud, but come forth from it.
Locusts were the eighth of the Egyptian plagues. But these
locusts are unlike the ordinary earthly locust; for they had
stings like scorpions in their tails. It was with these that they
did hurt, and not as did the locusts with their mouths, for, indeed,
they are forbidden to touch the trees or any green thing.

οἱ σκορπίοι τῆς γῆς. Bochart (Hieroz. iii. 540) points out that
according to ancient writers (Lucian, De Dipsadibus, iii. p. 236,
ed. Reiz) there were two kinds of scorpions, τὸ μὲν ἐτερον ἐπίγειον
tε καὶ τεξόν . . . θάτερον δὲ ἐναέριον καὶ πτηνόν.

4. καὶ ἔρρεθη αὐτοῖς ἵνα μὴ ἀδικήσουσιν τὸν χόρτον τῆς γῆς
οὐδὲ πᾶν χλωρὸν οὐδὲ πᾶν δέντρον, εἰ μὴ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους
οἴνισε οὐκ ἔχουσιν τὴν σφαγίδα τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπὶ τῶν
μετώπων.

1 In xiv. 10 one characteristic of Gehenna seems to be given—the punishment of sinners in the presence of the angels and of the Lamb. Gehenna is referred to 1 Enoch xxvii. 1, xlviii. 9, liii. 3–5, liv. 1, lxii. 12, lxxxi. 6, xc. 26, 27.
If the first four Trumpets belonged to the original, the present verse would stand in contradiction with viii. 7, as we have already pointed out.

οἴτινὲς οὐκ ἔχουσιν τὴν σφραγίδα κτλ. The relative οἴτινὲς defines the special class of men. See Blass, Gram. 173. The statement here made is full of significance. It explains the meaning of the sealing of the 144,000 in vii. 4–8, where see notes. The sealing of the faithful secures them—not against physical evil, but—against the demonic world which is now coming into actual manifestation. The manifestation of the Antichrist and his demonic followers is the counterpart of the manifestation of Christ and His Church. God marks the faithful with His own seal to show that they are His. Thus the true sons of God are revealed. Character must ultimately attain to manifestation and finality.

vii. 4–8 is referred to in ix. 4. As regards vii. 1–3, it not only serves to provide a pause for the sealing of the faithful in vii. 4–8, but forms a sort of prelude to ix. 1–12, though the connection is one of the slightest. See note on ix. 14.

5. καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτοῖς, ἵνα μὴ ἀποκτείνωσιν αὐτοὺς, ἀλλ' ἵνα βασανισθῶσιν μὴνας πέντε' [καὶ ὁ βασανισμὸς αὐτῶν ὃς βασανισμὸς σκορπίου, ἄταν παίσῃ ἀνθρωπον].

For ἵνα followed by fut. ind., cf. iii. 9, vi. 4, viii. 3, xiii. 12. The locusts are commissioned not to slay men, but to torment them. The wound inflicted by scorpions is rarely fatal. The period of the visitation of these demonic locusts is limited to five months. This limitation is due to the fact noticed by Bochart (Hieroz. iii. 339), that the natural locust is born in the spring and dies at the end of the summer, and thus lives about five months in all. On the various types and natures of locusts see the "Excursus" in Driver's Joel and Amos, p. 82 sqq.

παίσῃ. This word and πλῆσσον were used occasionally as translations of ים in the O.T., though it is commonly rendered by παίσων.

6. καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις ἤσησον οἱ ἀνθρώποι τὸν θάνατον
καὶ ὃς μὴ εὑρὼσιν αὐτὸν,
καὶ ἐπιθυμῆσοσιν ἀποθανεῖν
καὶ φεύγει ὁ θάνατος ἀπ' αὐτῶν.

The writer has here passed from the rôle of the Seer to that of the prophet. As regards the thought we might compare Job iii. 21, ὀμείρονται τοῦ θανάτου καὶ ὃς τυχόνουσιν, and Jer. viii. 3, εἶλοντο τὸν θάνατον ἢ τὴν ζωὴν. Wetstein compares Ovid, Ibis 123, "Desit tibi copia lethi: Optatam fugiat vita coacta necem"; Seneca, Troad. 954, "mors miserors fugit";

Φεύγει is the present of habitual avoidance, as Alford observes. It not merely predicts; it affirms a certainty (Robertson, *Gram.* 870).

7. καὶ τὰ ὄμοιώματα τῶν ἄκριδων ὁμοία ἦπειοι ὑτοιμασμένοις εἰς πόλεμον,
καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς αὐτῶν ὡς στέφανοι ὁμοίοι χρυσῷ,
καὶ τὰ πρόσωπα αὐτῶν ὡς πρόσωπα ἄνθρωπων.

The first clause is a free rendering of Joel ii. 4 (where the prophet describes a plague of locusts), where the LXX has ὡς ὄρασις ἦπειοι ἡ ὄψεις αὐτῶν. Though ὄμοιώμα is a bad rendering of ἄκρις, we cannot suppose that it represents any other word. Hence we should perhaps translate, "And the forms of the locusts were like the forms of horses" = ὄμοιώμα is the general rendering of ἄκρις in Ezekiel. On the other hand, our author may have deliberately abandoned the original in Ezekiel here and chosen the word ὄμοιώματα to express a much less definite idea than ἄκρις does. Then the text would mean: "the similitudes" or "the likenesses" (in the vision) of the locusts were, etc. This resemblance between the head of the locust and that of the horse was early observed, as the text of Joel proves. This resemblance, as it has been pointed out, has given birth to the names Heupferd in German and Cavalletta in Italian. An Arabian poet (Muhammad Assarhuriensis) writes: "Habent femur camelorum, crura struthionis, alas aquilae, pectus leonis. Cauda iis ut viperarum terrae: et decorans eas equorum species in capite et ore" (quoted by Bochart, *Hieroz.* iii. 308, ed. Rosenmüller). Bochart also quotes Theodoret's commentary on Joel: εἰ γάρ τις ἄκριδως κατίδου τὴν κεφαλὴν τῆς ἄκριδος σφοδρὰ τῇ τοῦ ἵππου ἐμφανίαν εὐρήσει' ἐστι δὲ ιδεῖν καὶ πετομένην αὐτὴν κατ' οὐδὲν τῆς τοῦ ἵππου ταχύτητος ἥλαστορμένην.

Ὑτοιμασμένοις is also an independent rendering of Joel ii. 5, ἡμᾶλλα θυρήματι; LXX, παρατασώμονος εἰς πόλεμον.

ὡς στέφανοι . . . ὡς πρόσωπα ἄνθρωπων. Our author does not say that these demonic locusts had crowns on their heads, as in iv. 4, vi. 2, xii. 1, xiv. 14, but the semblance of crowns. It has been suggested that the phrase refers to the yellow greenish colour of their breasts. But their faces resembling those of man
and the semblance of crowns on their heads appear to belong to them not as natural, but as demonic locusts, i.e. demons.

8. καὶ εἶχαν τρίχας ὡς τρίχας γυναικῶν,
καὶ οἱ ὀδόντες αὐτῶν ὡς λεόντων ἦσαν,
9. καὶ εἶχαν θάρακας ὡς θάρακας σίδηρουσ.
καὶ ἡ φωνὴ τῶν πετρύγων αὐτῶν ὡς φωνὴ ἄρματων
ἵππων πολλῶν τρέχοντων εἰς πόλεμον.

The antennae of the locusts are said to be like a maiden’s hair in an Arabic proverb given by Niebuhr, Beschrieben vom Arab. iii. 172. καὶ οἱ ὀδόντες . . . λεόντων, from Joel i. 6, οἱ ὀδόντες αὐτῶν ὀδόντες λέοντος. Observe the insertion of the ὡς by our author. In the next clause the breast of the locust is compared to an iron cuirass. φωνὴ ἄρματων ἵππων . . . τρέχοντων εἰς πόλεμον. We have a combination of two distinct statements in Joel. The first is Joel ii. 4, ὡς ἵππες οὕτως καταδώξονται (οὕτως ἐν σοφίᾳ καταδώξονται). Here καταδώξονται is a bad rendering of ἐκάτερος, but τρέχω is a good one. The writer here is quite independent of the LXX. The second, Joel ii. 5, is ὡς φωνὴ ἄρματων.

10. καὶ ἔχουσιν οὐρὰς ὀμοίας σκορπίως καὶ κέντρα
καὶ ἐν ταῖς οὐραῖς αὐτῶν καὶ ἡ ἐξουσία αὐτῶν
ἀδικήσαι τοὺς ἄνθρωπους μήνας πέντε.

ὀμοίας (PQ and nearly all cursive) σκορπίως = ὁμ. ταῖς οὐραῖς
tῶν σκορπίων. This may be a condensation like that in xiii. 11, κέρατα ὀμοία ἄρνιψ (for ἀρνίψ κέρασι: cf. Matt. v. 20). De Wette, Winer, and others reject this explanation, and hold that the tails of the locusts are compared to scorpions, just as the tails of the horses in ix. 19 are compared to snakes (see W.·M., 307, 778).

11. ἔχουσιν ἑπτὰ οὖτων βασιλέα τῶν ἀγγέλων τῆς ἄβυσσου.
ὀνόμα αὐτῶν Ἐβραίστι Ἀβαδδών, [καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἑλληνικῇ ὄνομα
ἐξει Ἀπολλών].

‘Ἐβραῖστι is found also in John v. 2, xix. 13, 17, 20, xx. 16; Aproc. xvi. 16. For ἐν τῇ Ἑλληνικῇ (sc. γλώσσῃ), Ἑλληνιστή is used in John xix. 20; Acts xxii. 37.

We have no means of identifying the angel of the abyss beyond the statement here. In fact, as a person he does not exist outside this verse.1 The Hebrew word יָבֶן is found almost exclusively in the Wisdom literature, Job xxvi. 6, xxviii: 22, xxxi. 12; Prov. xv. 11, xxvii. 20; Ps. lxxxi. 11. Etymologi-

1 It is true that in Shabbath, 89a, we find the words דַּם יַעֲקֹב. These words are surely a quotation from Job xxviii. 22, and there is no real personification here; since the words Abaddon and Death are parallel with the earth, the sea, and the abyss (as in Job), from all of which Satan makes inquiry as to the abode of the Law.
cally it means "destruction," and is always rendered by ἀπώλεια in the LXX except in Job xxxi. 12. It is parallel to Sheol in Job xxvi. 6, xxviii. 22; Prov. xv. 11, xxvii. 20. In the Emek hammelch, f. 15. 3, it is the lowest part of Gehenna.

οἶνομα ἔχει \( \text{Ἀπολλώνων} \). This construction, where the proper name stands in apposition to οἶνομα, is found only here our author (= ἴσης τῆς). That in xiii. 17, ἔχεω ... τὸ οἶνομα θηρίου, is different, and likewise that in xiv. 1, ἔχουσα τὸ ὄνομα ... γεγραμένον, xvii. 5, xix. 12, 16. On the other hand, this construction οἶνομα αὐτῷ ... Ἀβαδδῶν is already found in vi. (John i. 6, xviii. 10). Here we might call attention to another construction only found once in the Apoc. viii. 11, τὸ οἶνομα τοῦ ἀστέρου λέγεται ὁ Ἀψυνθος. But more important still is the exceptional order οἶνομα ἔχει. We should expect ἔχει οἶνομα as in xiii. 17, xiv. 1, xix. 12, 16, xxi. 14. The latter part of the verse looks like a gloss. First, there is the unusual phrase οἶνομα ἔχει Ἀτρ., to which we have already called attention. 1 Next, the form Ἐβραιστί here and in xvi. 16 would lead us to expect Ἑλληνιστι, as in John xix. 20, instead of ἐν τῇ Ἑλληνικῇ. Finally, the excision of this clause leaves a vigorous distich. Thus we should have ἔχουσιν ἐπ' αὐτῶν βασιλέα [τὸν] ἀγγελον τῆς ἀβύσσου οἶνομα αὐτῷ Ἐβραιστί Ἀβαδδῶν. It is possible that the original was Hebrew: observe ἔτε ... αὐτῷ in N s1,2 vg., and the omission of τὸν before ἀγγελον in Q min 30. In that case Ἐβραιστί would be due to an addition: and βασιλέα 2 possibly due to a dittograph in the Hebrew, μνήμη μνήμη ἡ ἡ. Thus we should have

ἔχουσιν ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἀγγελον τῆς Ἀβύσσου οἶνομα αὐτῷ Ἀβαδδῶν.

Ἀπολλώνων. Grotius writes here: "Poterat dixisse ... ἔξολοθρεύων: sed maluit alludere ad nomen Apollinis, quod velut proprium numen Caesaribus." The name Ἀπολλών was derived by the Greeks (Aesch. Ag. 1082; Archil. 23) from ἀπόλλυμι. Erbes (p. 60, note) has supported this allusion by showing that the locust together with the mouse and the lizard was a symbol of the cult of Apollo: Preller, Grießschische Mythologie 2, i. 183, 195, 225. This is possible but not probable. ἀπόλλυμι is a natural rendering of הִרְבָּק. Völter, iv. 31, on the

1 On the other hand, it has been urged that the idea of the king of the locusts is already found in the LXX of Amos vii. 1, ἰδοὺ ἐπιγυνῇ ἀκρίδων ἐρχομένη ... καὶ ἰδοὺ βροῦξος εἷς, Γ'γν ὁ βασιλεὺς. But there is no thought of Gog here, and where our author draws upon Joel we have seen that he uses the Hebrew directly and not the LXX.

2 Possibly ὁ is an addition. οἶνομα αὐτῷ Ἀβαδδῶν would then = Ἰατρ. Cf. vi. 8.
other hand, identifies Apollyon here with the Persian Ahriman, who, when, according to Bundehesh iii. 26, he sought to storm the heavens, was cast down to the earth, and had then (op. cit. xi. 17) bored for himself a hole in the earth and leapt into it (Spiegel, Eranische Alterthumskunde, ii. 121). There in the abyss dwelt as lord of all the evil spirits and hurtful beasts, scorpions, and snakes (Saussaye. Lehrb. der Religionsgeschichte, ii. 183–192).

See xiii. 11, where ἐλάλει ὁς δράκων appears to represent an original corruption in the Hebrew, which probably = ὅν ἀπολλύων ὃς ὁ δράκων.

12. ἡ οὐαὶ ἡ μία ἀπῄλθεν' ἵδου ἔρχεται ἔτι δύο οὐαὶ μετὰ ταῦτα.1 See note on viii. 13. On ἀπῄλθεν see note on xi. 14. The feminine ἡ οὐαὶ is generally explained by its similarity to ἡ θλὺς or ἡ ταλαπτωρία (Thayer in loc.). ἡ μία is a Hebraism. ἡ οὐαὶ ἡ μία (see note on vi. 1) = ηῆρή

 Cf. Ezek. vii. 26, where οὐαὶ is a rendering of נרה. Only twice is οὐαὶ used in the LXX as a noun: in Ezek. vii. 26 and in Prov. xxiii. 29, where it renders וַנִּשׁ (only here used as a noun). Perhaps the gender of οὐαὶ may be influenced by נרה.

13–21. The sixth Trumpet, or rather the second Trumpet, introduces the second demonic plague which destroyed one-third of the unfaithful.

13. καὶ ὁ ἐκτός ἀγγέλου ἐσάλπισεν' καὶ ἤκουσα φωνὴν μίαν ἐκ τῶν κεράτων τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου τοῦ χρυσοῦ τοῦ ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ,

14. λέγοντα τῷ ἐκτῷ ἀγγέλῳ, ὦ ἔχων τὴν σάλπιγγα, Λύσον τοὺς τέσσαρας ἄγγελους τοὺς δεδεμένους ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ τῷ μεγάλῳ Εὐφράτῃ.

For ἐκτός we should read δεῦτερος. See Introduction, p. 218. μίαν is here the indefinite article (cf. viii. 13, xviii. 21), as occasionally in Hebrew (Dan. viii. 3, etc.) and frequently in Aramaic. It is true that this use of the article is found in the Papyri (Moulton, Gram. 97), but in a book like the Apocalypse the usage is best accounted for by the Semitic style of the writer. θυσιαστηρίου. See note on viii. 3. See crit. note. λέγοντα.

1 The text of Ξ s1 me may be original. Archetype of AP etc. trans. μετὰ ταῦτα to 12 and added καὶ at the beginning of 13. But the feeling that μετὰ ταῦτα belonged to 13 led 110, 385, 2016, etc., to begin 13 with μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ. This reading Q 69 emended into καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα and Euth Prim. into καὶ. The fact that eti ... μετὰ ταῦτα (AP etc.) is tautological is in favour of the reading of Ξ s1 me. Though eti occurs elsewhere twenty times in the Apoc. it is never used tautologically. Further, μετὰ ταῦτα is never used tautologically and never appears at the close of a sentence in the Apoc. except in i. 19, iv. 1, and there in a quotation from Dan. ii. 29. On the other hand, none of the other Trumpets, and none of the Seals or Bowls, is so introduced.
See note on λέγων in iv. 1. ὁ ἡχων. We have here the same anomalous construction as in ii. 20 (see note), iii. 12, xiv. 12, where, however, the irregularity could be explained as a translation of the Hebrew article and participle.

We have already observed that in vii. 4–8 measures were taken to secure the faithful against the two demonic plagues which were about to ensue, i.e. the fifth and sixth Trumpets. The interlude, therefore, of the four Trumpets, viii. 7–12, which refer wholly to natural phenomena, seems wholly unmotived. These show, moreover, signs of redaction, elements in contradiction with adjoining statements in the Seals and Bowls, and a general weakness and ineffectiveness as compared with the parallel plagues in the Seals and Bowls.

But to return. The saints have already been secured against the first demonic plague, which was to inflict not death but torment on the unfaithful, and against the second demonic plague, which was to destroy one-third of the unfaithful. This second demonic plague seems in some way to be connected with or to result from the prayers of the faithful; for the voice which commands its infliction arises from the altar, whereon the prayers of the faithful were offered, viii. 3–4.

These prayers, therefore, are of the same character as those offered by the martyrs beneath the altar, vi. 10. Thus chapters vi. 10, viii. 3–5, ix. 13 are linked together by this underlying fundamental idea.

The irregularity of ix. 13, where the sixth (i.e. the second) angel not only sounds the trumpet but also is bidden to take an active part, is due to the need of connecting viii. 3 sqq., i.e. the prayers of the faithful with the divine answer to them in ix. 13 sqq.

Ἀφεσις τῶν τέσσαρας ἁγίων κτλ. The presence of the definite article here is noteworthy. It points to a current tradition, not elsewhere referred to in the Apocalypse. They are not to be identified with the four angels in vii. 1; for the angels there are at the four corners of the earth, whereas here they are in the river Euphrates: there they are actively restraining the destructive winds of heaven, here they are themselves in restraint, till the hour of their action arrives. In one point both classes of angels are alike. They are both angels of divine wrath.

Now we might perhaps have expected that these two quartetns of angels would have introduced the two demonic plagues, that the first quaternion, vii. 1, would have brought in the plague of demonic locusts; and that the second quaternion would introduce, as in point of fact it does, the plague of demonic horsemen, ix. 15 sqq. The ground for the former expectation is found in vii. 1, where the first quaternion is represented as
holding in restraint the destructive winds. Now, according to 1 Enoch lxxvi., the destructive winds from three corners of the earth (see note on vii. i of our text) bring with them, amongst such inorganic evils as rain, frost, snow, only one organic evil—plagues of locusts. Since the destructive winds from the four corners of the earth are really the same in vii. 1-3 (see note in loc.) and 1 Enoch lxxvi., it is not unreasonable to suppose that these winds were conceived in both passages as exerting on the whole the same powers of destruction and in introducing plagues of locusts.\(^1\)

The words, vii. 3, μὴ ἀδικήσητε τὴν γῆν . . . μὴ τὰ δέντρα may point to the latter, which devour every blade of grass and every leaf on the trees. Now is it a pure coincidence that, when the demonic plagues are introduced in ix., the first plague should be that of locusts? It is true, indeed, that the locusts are no longer natural locusts—for they are monsters, having as it were the heads of men, the hair of women, the teeth of lions, and the tails of scorpions; and their mission is not to destroy the vegetation of the earth and the trees, but to torment those who had not the mark of God on their foreheads. Even in Joel i.–ii. the description of the plague of natural locusts, on which our author has drawn, shows elements which appear to spring from a mythological tradition.\(^2\)

For there the locusts are said to come from the north, ii. 20. Now, though such might possibly be the case (see Driver on Joel ii. 20), the recorded locust plagues appear always to have invaded Palestine from the S. and S.E. Here the Gog-Magog expectation seems to have influenced the prophet. In 1 Enoch lxxvi. i sqq. we have signs of this influence, seeing that the locusts are said to come from the N.E.N., the N.W.N. and the S.W.S. And finally, in the LXX of Amos vii. 1, where the locust plague is explicitly identified with the host of Gog, though there is not a hint of this in the Massoretic: καὶ ἰδοὺ βροῦχος ἐῖς Γογ ὁ βασιλεὺς. Now it is not improbable that the same combination of natural and mythological elements was reproduced in the original lying behind vii. 1–3 of our text. But in ix. 1–12 a further development of the tradition is attested, where it appears enriched and transformed under the influence of supernatural conceptions, and thus the plague of natural and semi-mythological locusts coming from the N.E. and N.W. quarters becomes a plague of demonic locusts coming from the pit, and thereby the four angels from the corners of the earth, which had control of the destructive winds that carried the locusts, had of necessity to give place to Abaddon, the angel of the abyss, who was set over this demonic tribe. The fact that we find the same

---

\(^1\) Locusts have but little power of flight, and are in the main dependent on the wind.

transformation of a natural visitation into a supernatural in the sixth Trumpet is in favour of our exegesis of the plague under the fifth.

τοὺς τέσσαρας ἄγγελους τοὺς δεδεμένους ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ τῷ μεγάλῳ Εὐφράτη. The last phrase is familiar from Gen. xv. 18; Deut. i. 7; Jos. i. 4. On the Euphrates lay the border province that was the subject of continual strife between the Romans and Parthians.

Who are these four angels? We have seen that the descriptive epithets applied to them in our text manifestly discriminate them from the four angels in vii. 1-3. We have shown grounds also for associating the four angels at the four corners of the earth with natural and semi-mythological plagues of locusts, and have therefore naturally treated vii. 1-3 as a sort of prelude to the demonic locusts in ix. 1-12. We shall see that it is possible to explain in like manner, though partially, the genesis of the description in ix. 13-21. These verses describe four angels at the head of 200,000,000 demonic horsemen coming from the Euphrates to attack the pagan world. Now there can hardly be a doubt that the older form of this tradition is found in I Enoch ivi. 5, "And in those days the angels shall return and hurl themselves to the East upon the Parthians and Medes. They shall stir up the kings so that a spirit of unrest shall come upon them. . . . 6. And they shall go up, and tread under foot the land of His elect ones." Here we have a recast of the Gog prophecy of Ezekiel. The Parthians and the Medes are for the time the historic representatives of the hosts of Gog, and their objective, as in Ezekiel, is Palestine; and they set out against it at the instigation of certain angels. In our text we have a further development of this tradition. The Euphrates is still the storm centre, but the hosts stationed there are no longer Parthians or even men, but demons 1 under four angels, whose objective is not Palestine, but the pagan, unbelieving, idolatrous world. These four angels, therefore, are angels of punishment. They are "bound" until the hour for their services arrives. Now the idea of angels of punishment is a very familiar one in preceding Apocalyptic; cf. I Enoch xl. 7, liii. 3, lvi. 1, lxii. 11, lxiii. 1; Test. Lev. iii. 3; 2 Enoch x. 3. Even the very diction in our text is already found i Enoch lxvi. 1, where, in reference to the first world judgment or the Deluge, the writer speaks of "the angels of punishment who are prepared to come and let loose all the powers of the waters which are beneath in the earth." Cf. ix. 15, ἄγγελοι οἱ ἱπτωμαισμένοι.

1 According to Mazdeism, Bahman—Yasht ii. 24, Persia was to be assailed by hordes of demons and idolators from the East. See Böklen, Verwandschaft d. Jüd.-Christl. mit der Persischen Eschatologie, p. 88.
We thus know some of the traditions from which the Seer drew his materials. The necessity for the transformation of a natural visitation into a supernatural is likewise manifest, even if the expectation of an invasion from the East by demonic hordes were not already current (see note, p. 249). For the Seer is concerned with the punishment not of nations as such, but of individuals as unbelieving and idolatrous. The agents, therefore, must be supernatural.

There is one element in the description for which no explanation or even parallel can be offered. We cannot discover "the four angels" in other apocalyptic writings, nor can we even conjecture why the number is "four." Yet the presence of the article points either to the previous mention of the tetrad in our text or the existence of a current tradition.¹

15. καὶ ἔλθησαν οἱ τέσσαρες ἄγγελοι
οἱ ἡτοιμασμένοι εἰς τὴν ὥραν καὶ ἡμέραν καὶ μῆνα καὶ ἕνατον,

ινα ἀποκτείνωσιν τὸ τρίτον τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

¹ Iselin (Theol. Zeitschr. aus der Schweiz, 1887, i. 64) quotes a passage from a late Christian Apocalypse of Ezra, chap. vi., published by Baethgen in the Z. A. T. W., 1886, 193 sqq., from the Syriac MS Sachau 131 in the Royal Library in Berlin: "And I saw an adder which came from the East, and it . . . went up into the land of promise, and there was a quaking upon the earth, and a voice was heard: Let these four kings which are chained in the great river Euphrates be loosed, which shall destroy one-third of mankind. And they were loosed." From this passage Iselin thinks that the original sense of our text is to be recovered, and that the presence of "Kings" in the Ezra Apocalypse over against ἄγγελοι in our text points to the fact that the author of the former found בֶּלֶד in the Hebrew original of the N.T. Apoc., but that the Christian redactor of the latter found מִלֶּדֵב. But that the author of a very late Christian Apocalypse, which dealt with the duration of the sovereignty of Islam, and which is derived from our text notwithstanding the objections of Schoen (p. 70), should have had such a Hebrew original before him is wholly wanting in probability as Spitta, p. 98, has shown. Spitta's own proposal (p. 99) to read ἄγελαις is just as improbable, and is of no service in the interpretation of the text.

Another explanation is offered by Bousset. He holds that at the base of ix. 13 sqq. lies the older tradition of the four destructive winds, which is actually preserved in its original form in vii. 1 sqq., and that the transformation of the four angels in command of the four winds at the four corners of the earth into the four angels chained in Euphrates, is due to the fears of the Parthian invasion that prevailed at the time throughout the Roman world. This transformation, he states, is already effected in i Enoch lvi. 5, which he cites as follows: "In jenen Tagen werden 'die' (sic) Engel sich versammeln," etc. But in the original there is no article before Engel. Certain angels are here, in keeping with the transcendent views of later times, assigned the task of stirring up the Eastern hordes—a task which in Ezek. xxxviii. 3-7 is ascribed to God Himself. Thus there is no ground of any kind for the statement that "the four angels" are set at the head of the Parthian hosts in Enoch. Who these angels are, or how many, there is no means of determining: no more can we as yet explain the origin of "the four angels" in our text.
On ἡτοιμασμένου see note on ix. 14. On ἡτοιμασμένου . . . ἱνα, cf. viii. 6. To the peculiar order of the divisions of time here we find parallels in Num. i. 1; Zech. i. 7; Hag. i. 15; and in 2 Enoch xxxiii. 2, "A time when there is no computation . . . neither years, nor months, nor weeks, nor days, nor hours." Cf. also lxv. 7.

The clause defines the actual fixing of the time in a definite hour of a definite day, in a definite month of a definite year. On εἰς = "with a view to," cf. ix. 7.

τὸ τρίτον τῶν ἀνθρώπων. The servants of God are exempt from this Woe, ix. 4, 20. Only the κατοικοντες ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, viii. 13, were to be destroyed. The presence of the phrase τὸ τρίτον τ. ἀνθρ. here probably led to the change of τὸ τρίτον τῶν ἀνθρώπων into πολλοί τῶν ἀνθρώπων in viii. 11. The fifth and sixth Trumpets, i.e. the first and second Woes, are original, but we have seen many grounds for regarding the first four Trumpets as a subsequent addition. In vi. 8 it is implied that one-fourth of mankind was destroyed.

16. καὶ ὁ ἀριθμὸς τῶν στρατευμάτων τοῦ ἵππικοῦ δίς μυριάδες μυριάδων,

[ἡκουσα τὸν ἀριθμὸν αὐτῶν. 17. καὶ οὕτως εἶδον τοὺς ἵππους ἐν τῇ ὥρᾳ.]

καὶ τοὺς (οἱ) καθημένους (-οι) ἐπὶ αὐτῶν ἔχοντας (-ες)

θώρακας πυρίνους καὶ υάκινθινους καὶ θειώδεις,

καὶ αἱ κεφαλαὶ τῶν ἵππων ὡς κεφαλαί λεόντων,

καὶ ἂ τῶν στομάτων αὐτῶν ἐκπορευέται πῦρ καὶ καπνὸς καὶ θείων.

I have bracketed the second line as a confused gloss. With ἡκουσα τ. ἀριθμον, vii. 4 has been compared. But there is no true parallel. The ἡκουσα in vii. 4 belongs as essentially to the description of the vision as the εἶδον in vii. 1, while the ἡκουσα τὸν ἀριθμὸν αὐτῶν here is a parenthetic aside. Such another aside is to be found in καὶ οὕτως εἶδον . . . ἐν τῇ ὥρᾳ. It is wanting in s². Nowhere else in the Apocalypse does the Seer speak of his own vision.¹

When the second line is removed we should read οἱ καθήμενοι ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππους, and change the αὐτῶν into αὐτοῖς and take it as referring to ἵππους contained implicitly in τοῦ ἵππικοῦ. The gen. αὐτῶν seems to be due to the scribe who interpolated ἰ6, ἰ7, for the gen. is against our author's usage (see iv. 2 n.). If the second line is retained against the sense of the context and the universal practice of our author, the thought and syntax are very confused. The οὕτως leads us to expect an immediate description of the horses, and therefore the description of the horses.

riders in the next line comes in as an unlooked for and disturbing element. But since both riders and horses are presupposed in the first line, the line καὶ τῶν (οἱ) καθημένων (-οι) κτλ. is original. With the διὰ μυριάδος μυριάδων we might compare Ps. lxviii. 18; but this expression is admittedly corrupt. Dan. vii. 10, is nearer to our text, which =...

The third line refers to the riders who are armed with breastplates which are fiery red (πυρίνους), smoky blue (υάκινθινους), and sulphurous yellow (θειώδεις), corresponding manifestly to the πῦρ and καπνός and θείων which proceeded out of the horses’ mouths. All the breastplates have these colours apparently, since analogously the fire, smoke and brimstone go forth together (ἐκπορευέται—sing.) from the mouths of the horses. The brimstone characterizes the host as demonic: cf. xiv. 10, xix. 20, xxi. 8. θακίνθινους is used frequently in the LXX as a rendering of ἀνδριά = "violet."
The hyacinthine colour of the breastplates corresponds to that of the smoke which issues from the jaws of the horses. For fire breathing monsters, cf. Ovid, Met. vii. 104 f.; Virg. Georg. ii. 140, "tauri spirantes narius ignem"; Lucret. v. 29; Job xii. 10–11, ἐκ στόματος αὐτῶν ἐκπορευόμενα λαμπάδες καλόμεναι, καὶ διαριπτοῦνται ἐσχάραι πῦρις ἐκ μυκτήρων αὐτῶν ἐκπορευέται καπνός.

In the riders and the demonic steeds there is a combination of two quite different ideas. Gunkel (Zum... Verständnis des NT. 52 sq.) well observes: "In the representation of the second host (i.e. ix. 17 sqqu.) two different traditions stand side by side: according to the one, the creatures spit forth fire, smoke, and brimstone, and have therefore a strong mythological character; according to the other, they are squadrons of cavalry clothed in corresponding colours, fiery red, smoky blue, and sulphurous yellow."

This second tradition has therefore conceived the creatures in a more human fashion. Even this doubleness is a clear sign that we have here to do with old traditions and not with the inventions of a dreamer. Such an example makes it manifest that apocalyptic Judaism and Christianity is partly dependent on an eschatology strongly coloured by mythology.

18. ἀπὸ τῶν τριῶν πληγῶν τούτων ἀπεκτάνθησαν τὸ τρίτον τῶν ἀνθρώπων
ἐκ τοῦ πυρός καὶ τοῦ καπνοῦ καὶ τοῦ θείου τοῦ ἐκπορευόμενου ἐκ τῶν στομάτων αὐτῶν
19. ἦ γὰρ ἔξωσία τῶν ἵππων ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτῶν ἐστὶν [καὶ ἐν ταῖς οὐραίς αὐτῶν.]
αἱ γὰρ οὐραί αὐτῶν ὄρμαι ὄφειν, ἔχουσαι κεφάλας], καὶ ἐν αὐταῖς (-οις) ἀδικοῦσιν.


\(\text{ἀπό (=} \text{ὑπό)}\) used with a passive verb: cf. xii. 6.

I have with some hesitation bracketed καὶ ἐν ταῖς ... κεφαλάς as an addition. From ix 17, 18 it is manifest that the destructive power lies in the three plagues, the fire, the smoke, and the brimstone, that issue from the mouths of the demonic steeds, and that it is these that kill the one-third of those who have not the mark of God on their forehead. There is no room then for any other destructive activity. All the unfaithful, that are slain, are slain by the above three plagues. The bracketed clause, therefore, is at variance with its present context. When it is removed there remains a tristich, of which the last line probably ran, ἡ γὰρ ἔξουσία τῶν ἔργων ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτῶν ἑστήκα, καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀδικοῦσιν (cf. ix. 10) = “for the power of the horses lies in their mouths, and with them they do hurt.”

The intruding clause was modelled on ix. 10. There is a fitness in demonic locusts having the stings of scorpions in their tails, but the grotesqueness of fire-breathing demonic horses with tails like snakes and running out into heads is too intolerable, even if it were not already excluded by the context itself. The parallel adduced by Holtzmann of the giants with snakes instead of legs on the altar of Zeus at Pergamon is no real help here (Manchot, \textit{Die Heiligen}, 44; Ussing, \textit{Pergamos}, p. 84).

On the Mazdean expectation of demonic hordes from the East, see note on p. 249.

20. καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, οἱ οὐκ ἀπεκτάνθησαν ἐν ταῖς πληγαῖς ταύταις,
οὔτε μετενόησαν ἐκ τῶν ἔργων τῶν χειρῶν αὐτῶν,

ίνα μὴ προσκυνήσουσιν τὰ δαμασκία καὶ τὰ εἴδωλα
tὰ χρυσὰ καὶ τὰ ἀργυρὰ καὶ τὰ χαλκὰ καὶ τὰ λίθινα καὶ
tὰ ξύλινα,

α ὦτε βλέπειν δύνανται οὔτε ἀκούειν οὔτε περιπατεῖν.

Notwithstanding the demonic plagues the survivors repented not of their idolatries. \(οὔτε=\) “not even”: cf. Mark vi. 31; 1 Cor. iv. 3.

On μετενόησαν ἐκ see note on ii. 21. In τῶν ἔργων τῶν χειρῶν αὐτῶν we have the familiar O.T. phrase שׁוֹאָל יְקֵר, Jer. i. 16: cf. Deut. iv. 28.

ίνα μὴ προσκυνήσουσιν. Here the infinitive of result with ὄστε is replaced as elsewhere in late writers by ἵνα: cf. Blass, \textit{Gram.}, p. 224. Our text carefully distinguishes demons and idols. On the worship of demons cf. Deut. xxxii. 17; Mic. v. 12; Ps. cvi. (cv.) 37, ἔθουσαν δαμασκίοις: 1 Cor. x. 20, ἀ δύναν, δαμασκίοις καὶ οὐ θεῷ δύναν: 1 Tim. iv. 1. The words τὰ χρυσὰ καὶ τὰ ἀργυρὰ . . . καὶ τὰ ξύλινα ὦτε βλέπειν δύνανται οὔτε ἀκούειν are drawn from Dan. v. 23 (save that our author has
omitted one phrase and added οὐτε περιπατεῖν], τοὺς θεοὺς τοὺς χρυσοὺς καὶ ἄργυρους καὶ χαλκοὺς καὶ σιδήρους καὶ ἔλεινος καὶ λιθίνους, οἵ οὐ βλέπουσιν καὶ οἶ οὐκ ἀκούοντον (Theod.). The Massoretic here = ἄργυρους καὶ χρυσοὺς, but the Peshitto supports the order in Theodotion, and both the text and versions of v. 4 support this order also. Hence this was originally the order of the Hebrew. Our author, however, did not necessarily use the version of Theodotion. He may have used the Hebrew that Theodotion and the Peshitto presuppose. He may also have had 1 Enoch xcix. 7 before him which = οἱ προσκυνήσουσιν λίθους καὶ οἱ γλυφούσιν εἰδωλα χρυσὰ καὶ ἄργυρα καὶ ἔλεινα [+ καὶ λιθίνα, Tert. De Idol., iv.] ... καὶ οἱ προσκυνήσουσιν ... δαιμόνια. Here we have the combination of εἰδωλα and δαιμόνια as in our text. We might also compare 1 Enoch xix. 1, ἐνθάδε οἱ μιγνέτες ἄγγελοι ταῖς γυναιξιν στηρισται καὶ τὰ πνεύματα αὐτῶν ... πλανήσει αὐτοὺς (i.e. ἀνθρώπους) ἐπιθύμην τοῖς δαιμονίοις: Jub. xi. 4, “They worshipped each the idol ... and malignant spirits assisted them”; Sibyll. v. 8o sqq. See Bousset, Rel. d. Jud. 172 sqq. On οὐτε περιπατεῖν cf. Ps. cxiii. 15 (cxv. 7), πόδας ἔχουσιν καὶ περιπατήσουσιν.

21. καὶ οὐ μετενόησαν ἐκ τῶν φόνων αὐτῶν οὐτε ἐκ τῶν φαρμακίων αὐτῶν ὡσε ἐκ τῆς πορνείας αὐτῶν οὐτε ἐκ τῶν κλεμμάτων αὐτῶν.

Immorality of every description was the natural sequel of demonic worship and idolatry. The order φόνων ... πορνείας ... κλεμμάτων is noteworthy. It recurs, so far as the first two are concerned, in xxi. 8, xxii. 15 (in the reverse order). This is the order of the Massoretic text in Ex. xx. 13. The same order is observed throughout Matthew, i.e. v. 21, 27, xv. 19, xix. 18. But there is another order—that found in the LXX (B) of Ex. xx. 13, οὐ μοιχεύσεις οὐ κλέψεις οὐ φονεύσεις: but Deut. v. 17-20 (LXX, B), οὐ μοιχεύσεις οὐ φονεύσεις οὐ κλέψεις. With this last agrees the order found in Luke xviii. 20; Rom. xiii. 9; Jas. ii. 11; and Philo, De Decal. 24 f. In Mark x. 19, on the other hand, the authorities are divided—the neutral text, according to Westcott and Hort, following the Massoretic order, and the Syrian (Greek, Lat. Syr. Eth.) following that of the LXX (B, in Deut. v. 17-20). With φόνων . . . φαρμακίων . . . πορνείας cf. xxi. 8, xxii. 15, where εἰδωλολατραῖς is added. φαρμακίων here means “sorceries,” as parallel lists in xxi. 8, xxii. 15 (Gal. v. 20) show, but its insertion here between φόνων and πορνείας is difficult. Cf. also 1 Pet. iv. 15.
CHAPTER X.

This chapter comes from the hand of our author. It is designed in part to assure the faithful that the hour of the final Woe, that must precede the end, has come, x. 7, when the mystery of God will be fulfilled. It is designed further to serve as an introduction to xi. 1–13, which is a proleptic digression dealing with Jerusalem and the Jews during the reign of the Antichrist (see § 5 which follows).

Attempts have been made by some critics to disintegrate this chapter and assign it to different sources. The best means of testing such hypotheses will be a close study of the diction, and to this task we shall at once proceed.

§ 1. The Diction of this Chapter is decisive in favour of its being from the hand of our Author.

Thus in i with ἀγγελον ἵσχυστον cf. v. 2. καταβαινοντα ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ: cf. iii. 12, xiii. 13, xvi. 21, xviii. 1, xx. 1, etc. περιβεβλημένον, a favourite word in the Apoc. ἰρὶς: cf. iv. 3. τὸ πρὸς ὁμοίου αὐτοῦ ὡς ὁ ἥλιος: cf. i. 16. ἤχον ... βιβλαρίδιον ἰνεωγγυμένον: for same construction cf. xix. 12, ἤχ. ἀνομα γεγραμμένον, and xix. 16. On the use of ἤχον as a finite verb cf. xii. 2, xix. 12, xxi. 12, 14. 2. ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης, v. 13, vii. 1 (cf. x. 5, 8) ... ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, v. 3, 10, 13, vi. 10, vii. 1, etc. These uses are characteristic. See p. 191. ἐκραζεν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ. See note xiv. 15. 4. ἡμελιλον γράφειν. μέλλω belongs to the diction of our author: cf. i. 19, ii. 10 (bis), iii. 2, 10, etc. See note on 7. 5. ἐστώτα ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης. See note on 2. 6. ἐν τῷ ξόντι εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰῶνων: cf. i. 18, iv. 9, 10, xv. 7. ὅς ἐκ ταῖς ὕμνοι τῶν οὐρανῶν ... καὶ τ. γῆν ... καὶ τ. θαλάσσην: cf. xiv. 7, where the same triple enumeration is found, iv. 11. 7. ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τῆς φωνῆς. For same phrase cf. ii. 13. μέλλῃ σαλπίζειν, see note in loc. ἐτελέσθη —a favourite word of our author. ἐνγεγέλισεν, c. acc., cf. xiv. 6 (cum ἐπὶ). τοὺς ἐαυτοῦ δούλους τ. προφήτας: cf. xi. 18, i. 1, ii. 20, xv. 3, xix. 2, 5, xxii. 4, 6. 8. φωνῇ ἦν ἡκουσα ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ: cf. (x. 4), xi. 12, xiv. 2, 13, xviii. 4. λαλοῦσαν μετ' ἐμοῦ καὶ λέγουσαν: cf. iv. 1 note, xvii. 1, xxii. 9. ὑπαγε λάβε: cf. xvi. 1, ὑπάγετε καὶ ἐκκέηστε: ἐστῶτος ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης. See on 2. 10. ἔλαβον ... ἐκ τῆς χειρός: cf. v. 7, ἐστήθησαν ἐκ τῆς δεξιᾶς. 11. λαοὶς κ. ἐθνεὶς κ. γλώσσασαι κ. βασιλεῖσαι. This phrase is a recast by our author of the characteristic phrase found six times elsewhere in this Book; see note on v. 9.

§ 2. Hebraisms.—It is to be observed also that there are frequent Hebraisms, as is the manner of our author. Cf. i. οἱ πόδες αὐτοῦ = “his legs” (see note in loc.); 2. καὶ ἤχον. This use
of the participle as a finite verb is Semitic: cf. iv. 7, 8, xii. 2, xix. 12, xxi. 12, 14. 7. καὶ ἔτελεοθῆ. Best explained as a Hebraism. See note in loc. In 8 ὑπάγε λάβει is Hebraistic.

§ 3. From the above study we must recognize that it would be a highly hazardous proceeding to break up this chapter and assign some portions to one writer and some to another. Yet this is what Wellhausen, p. 114, attempts. He first brands x. 8–11 as an intrusion, for which the way has been prepared by the earlier addition, x. 2a. Next he regards x. 5–7 also as an addition, which explains why Christ or God in x. 1 has been transformed into an angel (see my note on x. 1). This explanation is quite unconvincing in itself, and the fact that the diction is wholly against it removes it from the field of serious speculation. Spitta’s analysis of this chapter is open to still more weighty objections. He assigns x. 1a, 2b, 3, 5–7 to his first Jewish source; x. 1b, 2a, 9b, 10–11 to his second; and x. 4, 8b, 9a to a Redactor.

§ 4. As opposed to the views of chap. x. which we have just considered, we might mention those of Weyland, Völter, and J. Weiss, who, though differing from each other in nearly every other respect, agree in assigning x. and xi. 1–13 to one and the same hand. x. and xi. 1–13 are undoubtedly closely connected; but, as the diction and other characteristics prove, they are not the work of the same author.

§ 5. The third view, which regards x. as written by our author to introduce xi. 1–13, is represented by Weizsäcker, Schoen, Sabatier, Bousset, Pfleiderer2, Jülicher, Porter.

Sabatier was of opinion that the author breaks away in x. from the order of development originally designed by him in order to insert a succession of fragments from Jewish sources. Bousset, following in the steps of this scholar, regards x. as the work of our author, which is indeed not a supplement but a digression, and is designed to explain the further course of his revelation, since the fulness of the visions threatens to introduce a certain degree of disorder. Furthermore, he points out that x. is not only an introduction to xi. 1–13, but takes within its purview xvii.–xviii. and thus binds together the composite elements.

With this statement of Bousset I am on the whole agreed, but I should like to put the matter differently and bring out other features which my own study of the problem has suggested to me. xi. 1–13 is, as I shall show later, a proleptic digression. It is a digression; for the author is practically concerned with Rome firstly and lastly, and not with Jerusalem. It is proleptic; for the vision belongs essentially to the third Woe (or third Trumpet), when the Antichrist is actually reigning and in Jerusalem. Thus the unities of subject, time, and place are
sacrificed for the nonce by the insertion of xi. 1–13 in its present context. How little our author is concerned with Jerusalem is shown by his drastic abbreviation of the vision in Jerusalem, xi. 1–13, which is abridged, indeed, to such a degree as to be well-nigh unintelligible. Now it is for this abbreviated vision that our author writes x. as an introduction. He is not suffered to leave out all mention of Jerusalem. He has had a vision touching Jerusalem. The contents of this vision are not given to him by direct inspiration as in the earlier chapters (cf. also x. 3–4), but through a book which he is bidden to eat. It is probable that in this particular instance our author implies that the vision is already written, and that he has had a vision (see x. 1 sqq.) authorizing him to publish it with the visions directly received. But in the direct vision in x. 11 he is told with regard to the visions that follow xi. 1–13, δεὶ σε πάλιν προφητεύσαι ἐπὶ λαοῖς . . . καὶ βασιλεύσων πολλοῖς—in other words, his inspiration in regard to xii. sqq. is to come directly through the organs of spiritual vision as in the earlier chaps. i.–ix., though the use of tradition, oral or written, is not thereby precluded. The words λαοῖς . . . βασιλεύσων in some measure define the contents of these later chapters, but the reader is already aware that they must deal with the third Woe, viii. 13, x. 7.

But x. serves not only to introduce xi. 1–13. It announces through the solemn oath of an angel that there will be no further delay, but that the time of the third Woe has come, when the mystery of God will be fulfilled—the whole purpose of God which has run through all the ages. The introduction to this Woe begins with xi. 15, but xi. 1–13 is essentially a part of this Woe.

1. καὶ εἶδον ἀλλ' ἄγγελον ἴσχυρὸν καταβαίνοντα ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ,
    περιβεβλημένον νεφέλην, καὶ ἡ ἱρις ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ,
    καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ ὡς ὁ ἡλιος,
    καὶ οἱ πόδες αὐτοῦ ὡς στύλοι πυρὸς.

The Seer has returned to earth. He hears a voice twice from heaven, x. 4, 8, and he receives the book from the angel that stood on the earth and the sea, x. 8; 10.

ἀλλ' ἄγγ. ἴσχυρόν. To be rendered: “another angel, a mighty one”: cf. vi. 4, xiv. 9, xv. 1. The diction recalls v. 2, xviii. 21. If Michael is referred to in viii. 3–5, it is possible that Gabriel is referred to here. In that case ἴσχυρός (ὡς τῆς) would

---

1 οἱ δύο μάρτυρες, xi. 3, are, in spite of the art., not mentioned before; nor yet is τὸ θῆραν, xi. 7. We can at the best guess at the relation in which the Beast stands to Jerusalem and to the nations and peoples, xi. 8, and to the witnesses, xi. 3, 7, etc.
imply a play on the name of the angel. Another argument in favour of this identification is that the author of this chapter almost quotes verbally from Dan. xii. 7, and that the angel there, who raises both hands to heaven and "swears by Him that liveth for ever," is by many scholars identified with Gabriel (cf. x. 5, 6—yet see note on viii. 2 of our text).

Wellhausen holds that the strong one is not an angel, but is "according to the description Christ or God Himself," and that the echoes of His voice are the seven peals of thunder of the Ps. xxix. This latter identification is ingenious, but is wholly against not only the present context, but the spirit of later Jewish and Christian Apocalyptic. Nor is the strong angel to be identified with Christ, as Christ is never designated as an angel in the Apoc. The voice in x. 4, 8 is probably that of Christ.

cataβαίνουτα ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. This phrase is found in xviii. 1, xx. 1, and frequently in various forms in the Apoc. Cf. iii. 12, xiii. 13, xvi. 21, xx. 9, etc. περιβεβλημένον νεφέλην. Cf. Ps. ciii. (civ.) 3; Dan. vii. 13. With the phrase ἡ ἱρις ἐπὶ τ. κεφ. cf. iv. 3, and with τ. πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ ὡς ὁ θηλιος cf. i. 16. The rainbow is due to the light from the angel's face on the cloud. The expression οἱ πόδες αὐτοῦ ὡς στῦλοι πυρός is very peculiar. στῦλοι as applied to the feet seems unintelligible. If it had been used of the legs, the comparison would have been expressive: cf. Cant. v. 15, "his legs were like pillars of marble." The mistake, if there is a mistake, must lie either in πόδες or in στῦλοι. Since our author had the angel described in Dan. x. 6, xii. 7 before his mind, we infer that the error lies in the former; for though Dan. x. 6 has יִתְנָה יַעֲרָה, this is rendered in Theod. by τὰ σκέλη (though the LXX has οἱ πόδες, as our text here and in i. 15).  לֹא has also the meaning of "leg" in 1 Sam. xvii. 61 and Ezek. i. 72 (See Oxford Hebrew Lexicon, 919 sq., and on 595 under הָנָה. Cf. also Deut. xxviii. 57; Isa. vii. 20.) Accordingly we should render here "and his legs were like pillars of fire." This secondary meaning of the Hebrew word לֹא is attached by the author to the Greek word. He thinks in Hebrew, and as he embodies Hebrew idiom in his Greek, so also he has transferred to a Greek word a meaning which only legitimately belongs to the Hebrew of which it is a rendering.

Furthermore, in Palestinian Aramaic it is used as meaning the thigh of an animal, being a translation of מִעֲרָה: cf. Ex. xxix. 17; Lev. i. 13, viii. 21, ix. 14. In Arabic this word means either "foot" or "leg." From these facts we see that, while our author had in his mind the word לֹא, he attached to it not its

1 So rightly LXX, Peshitto, and Vulg. crura.
2 Here the LXX and Vulg. render לֹא rightly. But the Massoretic needs to be corrected. See Cornill and Marti.
ordinary meaning “foot,” but its less usual one “leg,” and that he transferred this secondary meaning of the Hebrew word to its Greek equivalent. It might appear at first sight that he was wholly unjustified in supposing that the primary and secondary meaning of the Hebrew word, i.e. “foot” and “leg,” belonged also to the Greek word; and yet it is possible that this secondary meaning of παύς (when used as a rendering of the Hebrew) was not unexamined at the time. For in the LXX it appears as the equivalent of אידו, “thigh,” as we have already observed above.

This explanation removes the objection advanced by J. Weiss (p. 42), that the position of the clause relating to the βιβλαρίδοι between the representation of the feet and the placing of them on the sea and land, gives it the impression of an interpolation. The ποδεῖς should be rendered “legs,” and a full stop put after βιβλαρίδοι ἑνεβρυγμένοι. With these words the description of the angel closes. Wellhausen (p. 14) also regards it as an addition, the aim of which is disclosed by x. 8, 11. These verses, it is true, do disclose the aim, but x. 8–11 come from the hand of the Seer himself, and the contents of “the little book” are not a mere digression, but a proleptic vision of the reign of the Antichrist. Such proleptic visions occur elsewhere in our author.

ἐκουν ὑν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ βιβλαρίδοι. Just as in v. 1 βιβλίον γεγρ. ἐσωθέν καὶ ὄπωσθέν is based in Ezek. ii. 9, so is the text here also: καὶ ἰδοὺ χειρ ἐκτεταμένη πρός με, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ κεφαλίς βιβλίον. We have here independent visions of the same Seer. βιβλαρίδοι (a ἀπ. λεγ., a diminutive of βιβλάριον: cf. παιδάριον, John vi. 9. βιβλιδάριον is the form used in Classical Greek) means a very small book. This fact is of importance when we seek to determine the amount of the sequel that is to be assigned to it. If the seven-sealed Book embraces only chaps. vi.–ix., the small booklet (βιβλαρίδοι) should naturally embrace very much less. Its contents have been reasonably limited to xi. i–13, which comes in as a proleptic digression among the events contained in the Seven-sealed Book. This clause properly belongs to 1.

2. ἔθηκεν τὸν πόδα...γῆς. The message concerns the whole earth. Perhaps the idea was remotely suggested by Dan. xii. 5. With the phrase ἔθηκεν...πόδα cf. i. 17, ἔθηκεν τῷν δεξιὰν αὐτοῦ.

ἐκραξεν φωνὴ μεγάλη. This is the more normal—apparently the only legitimate—form of this phrase in the Apoc.: cf. vi. 10, vii. 2, 10. It is true we find also κραξεῖν ἐν φ. μεγάλῃ in xiv. 15; but the passage is from an interpolator’s hand, and the wholly unusual form κραξεῖν ἐν ἰσχυρᾷ φ. in xviii. 2. After λέγειν the phrase φωνῆ μεγάλη may follow without ἐν, as in v. 12, viii. 13; or with it, as in xiv. 7, 9. Cf. λέγοντος ὡς φωνῆ βροντῆς, vi. 1; φωνεῖν
\( \phi. \mu., \text{xiv. 18.} \) None of these phrases is found in the Johannine Gospel. The nearest is in \text{xii. 43, } \phi. \mu. \, \varepsilon \kappa \rho \alpha \gamma \alpha \sigma \varepsilon \nu. \) For kindred phrases in the O.T. cf. Dan. iii. 4; Isa. xl. 9; Ps. xxix. 4; Jonah iii. 8.

\( \omega \sigma \pi \varepsilon \rho \lambda \varepsilon \omega \nu \mu \nu \kappa \alpha \tau \alpha \iota. \) \( \omega \sigma \pi \varepsilon \rho \) is found only here in the Apoc. Elsewhere \( \omega \) is used in this sense. It is found twice in John v. 21, 26. The clause itself is an independent rendering of the Hebrew of Hos. xi. 10, \( \varepsilon \kappa \alpha \rho \alpha \acute{\omega} \tau \alpha \iota. \) where the LXX has \( \omega \varepsilon \nu \omega \nu \varepsilon \tau \alpha \iota. \)

Practically the same words recur in Amos i. 2, iii. 8; Joel iii. (iv.) 16. The LXX gives different renderings of \( \kappa \nu \alpha \eta \), as \( \omega \rho \nu \varepsilon \sigma \tau \alpha \iota \), Hos. xi. 10; \( \phi \theta \varepsilon \gamma \varepsilon \sigma \tau \alpha \iota \), Amos i. 2; \( \varepsilon \rho \varepsilon \gamma \varepsilon \sigma \tau \alpha \iota \), Hos. xi. 10, Am. iii. 8; \( \alpha \nu \kappa \rho \alpha \zeta \varepsilon \sigma \tau \alpha \iota \), Joel iii. (iv.) 16, but never \( \mu \nu \kappa \alpha \sigma \tau \alpha \iota \), which is not found in the LXX. \( \mu \nu \kappa \alpha \sigma \tau \alpha \iota \) is properly used of oxen; but since Theocritus, xxvi. 21, has \( \mu \nu \kappa \eta \mu \alpha \lambda \varepsilon \omega \iota \nu \eta \), and 4 Ezra xi. 37, xii. 31 has "\( \lambda \varepsilon \omega \) . . . mugiens" (= \( \mu \nu \kappa \alpha \sigma \tau \alpha \iota \)), we may reasonably infer that \( \mu \nu \kappa \alpha \sigma \tau \alpha \iota \) was used of the roar of a lion.

In all these passages the words are used of God. In 4 Ezra xi. 37 (xii. 31) the phrase "\( \lambda \varepsilon \omega \) . . . mugiens" is used of the Messiah. But the context here limits the reference to an angel, \( \text{i.e.} \) Gabriel.

3. The loud voice of the angel seems at the outset to have been inarticulate, but not so the seven thunders that followed. Since the article is present here, the idea is clearly a familiar or current one. Bouisset rightly protests against Spitta (followed by Wellhausen) representing the seven peals of thunder (known already from Ps. xxix. 3–9) as echoes of the voice just referred to. Nor can we with Völter, iv. 69, who appeals to Wisd. xix. 13, take them as merely conveying warnings announcing the wrath of God and heralding the final issues. Nor yet again can we accept the explanation offered by Weizsäcker, Schoen, Pfleiderer, J. Weiss (p. 43), and Bouisset, who take the aim of this intermezzo to be a purely literary one. On this hypothesis a source which contains the cycle of visions connected with the Seven Thunders is excluded from his work by the Seer, either because it may have been known to his readers and therefore not have needed incorporation here, or because it may have been to a large extent a repetition of the foregoing visions. In that case the Seer has fallen from his rôle and plays the part of an editor, who gives account to his readers of the contents and order of his book. As against these explanations I am inclined to treat the statement as a \textit{bona fide} one, and view it in the same light as that of St. Paul in 2 Cor. xii. 4 in regard to his vision in the third heaven: \( \hat{\eta} \kappa \omega \upsilon \sigma \varepsilon \nu \, \acute{\alpha} \rho \rho \iota \gamma \tau \alpha \, \rho \acute{\varepsilon} \mu \acute{\alpha} \tau \acute{\alpha} \, \acute{\alpha} \nu \kappa \ \acute{\varepsilon} \acute{\xi} \acute{\nu} \, \acute{\alpha} \nu \acute{\beta} \omega \varepsilon \acute{\nu} \, \lambda \alpha \hat{\iota} \sigma \acute{\tau} \iota. \)

The Seer witnessed the vision referred to in x. 3–4 in connection with that of the strong angel, and has accordingly recorded the fact that he so witnessed it, although he was forbidden to
disclose it. ἐλάλησαν... φωνᾶς. With this construction we might compare xiii. 5, λαλοῦν μεγάλα, and Mark ii. 2. The voices of the Seven Thunders are intelligible to the Seer, as he forthwith prepares to write down their message.

4. καὶ ὅτε ἐλάλησαν αἱ ἑπτὰ βρονταί, ἤμελλον γράφειν καὶ ἥκουσα φωνὴν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ λέγουσαν Σφραγίσων & ἐλάλησαν αἱ ἑπτὰ βρονταί, καὶ μὴ αὐτὰ γράφης.

The Seer is forbidden by a voice, i.e. probably that of Christ, to write down the disclosures of the Seven Thunders. The non-writing is equivalent to sealing. σφραγίζειν is a technical apocalyptic term (cf. xxii. 10), and thus σφράγισον and μὴ γράφης are practically synonymous. With this passage Swete aptly compares John xii. 28, ἤλθεν οὖν φωνὴ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ... οὐ οὖν ὄχλος ὁ ἑστῶς καὶ ἠκούσας ἠλευθερώσεις την γεγονότα ἄλλοι ἠλευθερώσον Ἀγγέλος αὐτῷ λελάληκεν.

The words φωνὴν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ (cf. x. 8) show that the Seer is now on earth. See note on iv. 1, p. 109.

5. After the intermezzo of 3–4 dealing with the Seven Thunders, the Seer resumes the description of the strong angel and his action.

καὶ ὁ Ἀγγέλος, ὃν εἶδον ἑστῶτα ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς,

Τίρνην τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ τὴν δεξιὰν εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν,

καὶ ὤμοσεν ἐν τῷ ᾑώντι εἰς τοὺς αἰώνιοι τῶν αἰώνων.

ιστάναι ἐπὶ takes the acc. with the sense of "to stand at," iii. 20, ἐπὶ τ. θύραν: vii. 1, ἐπὶ τ. γωνίας: also with the sense of "to stand on," viii. 3, ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον (AP): xi. 11, ἐπὶ τ. πόδας: xii. 18, ἐπὶ τ. ἀμμοῦ: xiv. 1, ἐπὶ τὸ ὅρος: xv. 2, ἐπὶ τ. θάλασσαν; but takes the gen. with the same sense in x. 5, 8, ἐπὶ τ. θαλάσσης (+ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, x. 8); for it is characteristic of our author to write ἐπὶ τ. γῆς, or εἰς τὴν γῆν and ἐπὶ τ. θαλάσσης. See note on vii. 1, p. 191.

Next we observe that the text is clearly derived from Dan. xii. 7—but the diction is not from the LXX or Theod.; for they render ὑψώσε (ὑψη) τὴν δεξιὰν (+ αὐτοῦ, Τ) καὶ τὴν ἀριστερὰν (+ αὐτοῦ, Τ) εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν, καὶ ὤμοσε τὸν ξύντα εἰς τὸν αἰώνα θεοῦ (ἐν τῷ ξύντι τὸν αἰώνα, Τ). For αἴρω never occurs as a rendering of ὑψη when the verb is used technically of raising the hand to swear. Here the Versions give ὑψώσεν. But αἴρω is the usual translation of ἔψις when it is used technically of raising the hand to swear. In fact ἔψις (ἕρειν or ἔξειρεν or ἔστειλεν τὴν χειρὰ) is a synonym for ὀρνύναι, and so it is actually rendered (ὑψη) in the three Targums on Ex. vi. 8, Num. xiv. 30, and in the Jer. and Jon. Targums on Deut. xxxii. 40, and in the Jon. Targ. on Ezek. xx. 5, 6, 15, 23, 28, 42, xxxvi. 7, etc.
X. 6.] ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE THIRD WOE 263

From the above we conclude that our author did not use the Versions but the Hebrew of Daniel, which he rendered freely to suit his purpose, ἀναθήματα ... ἐρωτήματα ... I do not know of the combination "he lifted up his hand and sware" occurring elsewhere in canonical literature save in these two passages:

δς ἐκτίσεν τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ ὅτι χρόνος οὐκέτι ἐσται.

This statement that God has created all things, serves to introduce the announcement that affects all created things.

Such references to the creative activity of God (cf. iv. 11, xiv. 7) are very frequent in later Judaism (cf. Bouquet, Rel. d. Judithems, 296) but very rare outside the Apocalypse in the N.T.: cf. Acts xiv. 15, xvii. 24; Heb. xi. 3. In the O.T.: cf. Gen. i. 1 sqq.; Ex. xx. 11; Is. xxxvii. 16, xiii. 5; Jer. xxxi. 17, li. 15; Ps. xxxiii. 6, cii. 25, cxv. 15, cxxiv. 8, cxxxiv. 3, and especially cxlv. 6, τὸν ποιήσαντα τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν, τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς. Also Wisd. ix. 1, xi. 17; 2 Enoch xxiv. 2, xlviii. 5.

χρόνος οὐκέτι ἐσται. The idea underlying χρόνος here is that of an interval of time. Hence the clause means that there will be no delay. Cf. Heb. x. 37, ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἡξει καὶ οὐ χρονίσει (= ἡχήν, Νμ, Hab. ii. 3).

We have now to inquire the meaning of the clause in relation to its context—a matter of much importance. With regard to what is there to be no delay? This question we cannot investigate apart from Dan. xii. 7, which was before the mind of the Seer, and yet we must not do violence to our text by simply forcing upon it the meaning in Daniel. Now Dan. xii. 7, vii. 25, speaks of "a time, times and half a time," i.e. 3½ years, the period during which the Antichrist was to have power. But this period was a period already in progress in the visions of Daniel.

But this is not the case in our text. The reign of the Antichrist has not yet begun in the visions of the Seer. All the evils and plagues—even the two demonic plagues, are only forerunners of that period. But the hour for the reign of the Antichrist has all but struck. There will be no further delay (χρόνος οὐκέτι ἐσται). The evil of the world must now culminate in the revelation of the Antichrist; for the day of the Lord cannot come, ἐὰν μὴ ἔλθῃ ἡ ἀποκάλυψις πρῶτον καὶ ἀποκάλυψις ὁ ἀνθρωπος τῆς ἀνομίας (2 Thess. ii. 3). The reign of the Antichrist which is about to begin is to be introduced by and embraced in the third Woe, to which our author refers in 7.1

1 Of other interpretations two may be mentioned. 1. The words are said to predict the ending of the state of time and the beginning of eternity. This view, which was in vogue as early as Bede, I supported in my edition of
7. ἀλλ' ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τῆς φωνῆς τοῦ ἐβδόμου ἀγγέλου, ὅταν μέλλῃ σαλπίζειν, καὶ ἐτέλεσθη τὸ μυστήριον τοῦ θεοῦ, ὡς εὐηγγέλισεν τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ δούλους τοὺς προφήτας.

This verse presents a difficult problem. Are we to regard ἀλλ'.. σαλπίζειν as original or not? Spitta (p. 110) rejects the clause as an addition of the redactor; Völter (iv. 59) likewise rejects it, and J. Weiss (p. 41). These writers do not advance definite grounds for the excision of the clause, which could be stated and either accepted or rejected. The only definite objection is that of J. Weiss, who contends that it destroys the rhythm. But, as Bousset rejoins, there is no real rhythm in this chapter.

But though these critics have not furnished any just grounds for the rejection of this clause, the very fact that all three, though approaching the book from different standpoints, felt that there was something wrong about the clause, points to certain inherent difficulties. With these difficulties which arise in connection with the meaning which we attach to the phrases ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις and μέλλῃ, we shall now proceed to deal. We have already seen that as in ix. 1 we were obliged to change πέμπτος into πρῶτος, and in ix. 13 ἔκτος into δεύτερος, so here for ἐβδόμου we must read τρίτον. The reference is to the third Trumpet (or third Woe, cf. xi. 14), in which the kingdom of the Antichrist is manifested and destroyed and God's kingdom established throughout the world. But the three Woes are Woes only to the inhabitants of the earth, i.e. the unfaithful: cf. viii. 13. To the faithful they are merely stages in the realization of the secret purpose of God (μυστήριον τοῦ θεοῦ, x. 7), which secret purpose leads ultimately to the blessedness of the faithful (cf. εὐηγγέλισεν, x. 7 and xi. 17-18).

Let us now return to μέλλῃ and ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις. First as regards μέλλῃ. What meaning are we to assign to this word? It is used in three senses in the Apocalypse. 1. As an auxiliary with an infinitive to express simple futurity, iii. 16 (possibly also ii. 10 bis). 2. Cum inf. = to be about to do or suffer something, iii. 2, 10, viii. 13, x. 4, xii. 4, 5, xvii. 8 (possibly ii. 10 bis). But μέλλειν is practically an auxiliary here also. 3. Cum inf. = to be destined, i. 19, vi. 11. Now x. 7 clearly does not belong to 3. Hence it belongs either to 1 or 2. It is generally assigned to 2 (see R.V., Holtzmann, etc.), and it must be con-

2 Enoch, p. xxiii, in relation to xxxiii. 2, lxv. 6, 7, where the absolute cessation of time is foretold. But this interpretation is wrong. 2. Nor is it right, with Alford, Bousset, and others, to connect our text with vi. 11, καὶ ἐρρέθη αὐτοῖς ἵνα διαπάλαισσωται ἐτὶ χρόνοιν μικρῶν: for there the martyrs pray for the speedy appearing of the day of judgment, and they are assured that that day will come in a little while, when the roll of the martyrs is complete. But in our text the period referred to is the reign of Antichrist on earth, which begins with his expulsion from heaven.
fessed this is the usual meaning of μέλλειν in the Apocalypse. But if we accept it, it follows that the mystery of God will be accomplished “in the days when the seventh angel is about to sound,” *i.e.* before this angel has sounded. Now this is against every reasonable meaning that can be assigned to the μυστήριον τοῦ θεοῦ in this context (see note in loc.). If μέλλην has this meaning here, then we must excise ἄλλα . . . σαλπίζειν as an addition from the same hand that expanded the three Trumpets (or Woes) into seven, and explain the addition as due to a misunderstanding of the *proleptic* character of xi. 1–13. Not observing the proleptic character of xi. 1–13, the interpolator assumed that the Antichrist came before the seventh (*i.e.* third) Trumpet.

But it is possible to take μέλλῃ in the first sense. In that case we should translate ὅταν μέλλῃ σαλπίζειν simply as “when he shall sound.” We have now to deal with ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις. This phrase might in itself denote a point of time or a period. But the words τὸ μυστήριον τοῦ θεοῦ, however we interpret them, are in favour of the latter. The text then would run: “in the days of the voice of the third angel when he shall sound.”

καὶ ἔτελεσθη. This can be explained as a Hebraism, *i.e.* ἐλευθήσεται, or with *W.M.*, p. 346 sq., as the aor. of anticipation, “in the days when the third angel shall sound, then the secret of God is finished.” καὶ introduces the apodosis in xiv. 10.

τὸ μυστήριον τοῦ θεοῦ. 1. This phrase has been taken by Bousset as referring to the casting down of Satan from heaven, xii. 8–9. This interpretation has much in its favour, but it is not wide enough. The thanksgivings in xi. 17–18 lead us to expect something greater. 2. Vischer (p. 21), Völter (ii. 18, iv. 73), Holtzmann (? *in loc.*) refer it to the birth of the Messiah. In this case Vischer assumes that xii. is from a Jewish hand, and Völter, that it belongs to an Apocalypse of Cerinthus. 3. While the first view is inadequate the second is impossible. Hence we take the phrase in a wider sense than Bousset. The phrase appears to mean the whole purpose of God in regard to the world, which must finally be accomplished.1 This purpose is

---

1 To determine the meaning of this phrase it must be studied in its several contexts. Thus in Rom. xvi. 25, 26, Col. i. 26, 27, ii. 2, iv. 3, Eph. i. 9, 10, iii. 3–6, 9, vi. 19, the μυστήριον means the inclusion of the Gentiles in the Christian Church. (See Robinson, *Eph.* 234 sqq.) This is actually designated τὸ μυστήριον τοῦ θεοῦ in Col. ii. 2. But this cannot be the meaning in our text. Again the unbelief of Israel is described as a μυστήριον in Rom. xi. 25, and as bound up with God’s mercy to the Gentiles. Other meanings of the word are found in the Pauline Epistles, and one in particular calls for attention, *i.e.* that in 2 Thess. ii. 6–8, εἰς τὸ ἀποκαλυφθῆναι αὐτὸν (=τὸν ἀνθρωπόν τῆς ἀνομίας) ἐν τῷ αὐτῶ καὶ ἀργῷ τὸ γὰρ μυστήριον ἐνεργεῖται.
not secret; for it has already been made known to His servants the prophets. καὶ ἐτελέσθη τὸ μ. τ. θεόù means the consummation of this growing purpose of God that has run through all the ages. It presents a twofold aspect: one of woe to the inhabiters of the earth (= the third Woe), and, so far, it is equivalent to the manifestation of the Antichrist on earth: and one of joy to the faithful (εὐηγγέλισεν, x. 7): for the Antichrist cannot overcome them spiritually, however much he may persecute them, and, moreover, he is to reign but a short time and their recompense is at hand. The contents of the divine purpose may be inferred from the thanksgivings of the 24 Elders after the seventh Trumpet (i.e. third Trumpet or Woe). Thus the kingdom of God is to be set up, xi. 17—a fact which carries with it the casting down of that of Satan and the Antichrist, "the destroyers of the earth" are to be destroyed, i.e. Rome as the servant of the Antichrist, xi. 18 (cf. xiv. 6–20, xix. 2), the saints recompensed, and the dead judged, xi. 18.

τὸ μυστήριον τοῦ θεοῦ, ὃς εὐηγγέλισεν τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ δούλους τοὺς προφήτας. These words seem to be a reminiscence of Amos iii. 7 (LXX), διότι οὐ μὴ ποιήσῃ κύριος ὁ θεὸς πράγμα ἐὰν μὴ ἀποκαλύψῃ παιδεῖαν (= ἀνομία corrupt for ἀδικία) αὐτοῦ πρὸς τοὺς δούλους αὐτοῦ τοὺς προφήτας (καὶ ἀρνήσεται ἄλλοι ἀνθρώπων ἡ δικαιοσύνη). If our text is based on Amos iii. 7, then our author clearly did not use the LXX, since it presupposes a different text. εὐηγγέλισεν c. acc. as an active is found only here in the N.T., as is also εὐαγι. c. ἐτί in xiv. 6. Cf. LXX of 1 Sam. xxxi. 9; 2 Sam. xviii. 19. εὐαγγελίζεσθαι c. acc. is frequent in Luke. "His servants the prophets" is a well-known O.T. expression: cf. 2 Kings xvii. 13, 23, xxi. 10, xxiv. 2; Ezek. xxxviii. 17; Zech. i. 6; Jer. vii. 25, xxv. 4; Dan. ix. 10. But in our text we may take it that the phrase refers to the Christian prophets, the contemporaries of the Seer. The O.T. prophets touched very slightly, and generally not at all, on the great problems with which the Seer deals. As regards ἑαυτῷ, if it is used, it is placed before the noun as here in x. 3. Otherwise αὐτοῦ is used, and placed after the noun: cf. i. 1, 4, 5, 6, 14, etc. etc. But the former expression is, of course, stronger.

τῆς ἀνομίας· μόνον ὁ κατέχων ἄρτι ἐως ἐκ μέσου γένηται καὶ τότε ἀποκαλυφθήσεται ὁ ἀνόμος. The principle of evil will at last be revealed and culminate in a personality; for the advent of the Lord cannot take place unless this apostasy come first and the man of lawlessness be revealed (2 Thess. ii. 3). Here the μυστήριον refers to the Antichrist who is still hidden, but about to be revealed. This use is very nearly allied to that in our text, but it is much more limited in meaning, τὸ μυστ. τ. θεοῦ in our text embraces the whole purpose of God in history. The manifestation of evil in the Antichrist is only a part of this all-embracing purpose, which issues in the complete triumph and manifestation of goodness. The conceptions underlying 2 Thess. ii. are related essentially to those in our text.
The Seer asks for the Book

8. καὶ ἡ φωνὴ ἢν ἤκουσα ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ πάλιν λαλοῦσα μετ' ἐμοῦ καὶ λέγουσαν Υπαγε λάβε τὸ βιβλίον τὸ ἴνεφιμένον τὸ ἐν χειρὶ τοῦ ἀγγέλου τοῦ ἐστῶτος ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.

In the above text I have followed the uncialists. The solecism seems to go back to the Seer himself. If he had had the opportunity of revising his MS. he would probably have written ἐλάλησεν ... λέγουσα or λαλοῦσα μετ' ἐμοῦ, λέγουσα. (Cf. iv. 1, xvii. 1.) The reading of the majority of the cursive, λάλουσα ... καὶ λέγουσα, is simply a scribal correction and not in our author's style. Nor is the text read as in 7 vulgar.  

The expression ὀπαγε λάβε is a Hebraism, and exactly reproduces the clause in Gen. xxvii. 13; Hos. i. 2, ἐπὶ τῷ. Cf. Gen. xxix. 7, xxxvii. 14—in all about 57 times (in Oxford Heb. Lex., p. 234). It occurs also in Matt. v. 24, viii. 4, xix. 21, etc.; John iv. 16, ix. 7. In our text in xvi. 1 we have ὀπαγετε καὶ ἐκχέτετε. See note on x. 5. From x. 9—10 we know that our author had Ezek. iii. 1 sqq. before him: now this idiom occurs in Ezek. iii. 1, ἐστώτως ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης. See 6 n.

9. καὶ ἀπῆλθα πρὸς τὸν ἀγγέλον λέγων αὐτῷ δοῦναι μοι τὸ βιβλαρίδιον καὶ λέγει μοι λάβε καὶ κατάφαγε αὐτό, καὶ πικρανεὶ σου τὴν κοιλίαν, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ στόματί σου ἐστάι γλυκύ ὡς μέλι.

With λέγων ... δοῦναι, “bidding him to give,” cf. xiii. 14; Acts xxi. 21, λέγων μὴ περιτέμενειν. See Blass, Gram. 232, 240. The incident here undoubtedly recalls Ezek. iii. 1 sqq. Our author is not dependent on the LXX, which reads here: iii. 1, 3, κατάφαγε τὴν κεφαλίδα ταύτην ... καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ στόματί μου ὡς μέλι γλυκάζων.

There is a difference between the description in our text and in Ezekiel. Ezekiel's roll was sweet as honey in the mouth, but there is no direct reference to its being bitter in the belly. And yet even the latter idea, which is emphasized in our text, seems to be derived from Ezekiel. For this contrast implicitly underlies the description in Ezekiel, where, though the book was sweet in the mouth, its contents with regard to Israel were full of "lamentation and mourning and woe." The same contrast is found also in Jer. xv. 16, 17 according to the Mass., “Thy words ... I did eat (symbolically), and thy words were unto me the joy and rejoicing of my heart. ... I sat not in the assembly of them that make merry ... for thou hast filled me with indignation” (i.e. hast given me nought but wrath to announce). But it is noteworthy that for μέλι, “I did eat,” the LXX reads μέλι = συντέλεσον αὐτοῦ, a text accepted by
Duhm and Cornill. Bertholet (Ezek. iii. 3) suggests that our author may have taken iii. 14 in this sense: "So the spirit lifted me up . . . and I went in bitterness" (יְמָלַךְ יְסוּפָא). This suggestion seems probable.

Next as to the meaning of the sweetness followed by bitterness in our text various explanations are offered. Most expositors are of opinion that the reception of a revelation is in itself a joy, but that its contents carry with them grief and bitterness. This is the meaning supported by the passages just cited from Ezekiel and Jeremiah.

But Ewald, Heinrici, Holtzmann hold that the sweetness and bitterness point to the diverse nature of the contents of the book. For of the book (which=xii. 1–13), xi. 1, 3–6, xi–13 disclose mercy and redemption, whereas xi. 2, 7–10 predict disappointment and death even for the righteous.

The introduction of this episode points to the use of a foreign source by our writer. The inspiration is not direct. There is not a single mention of this Little Book through the remaining chapters, and the Seer speaks of seeing the visions himself. The inspiration-theory underlying the idea of acquiring superhuman knowledge through eating is lower than that which prevails elsewhere in the Apocalypse. And yet this idea is not without parallel in the Apocalypse; for the eating of the Tree of Life in xxii. 14 appears to impart immortality, but there the words are symbolically used.

In the O.T. the conception appears more natural. According to the Paradise story, the Tree of Knowledge gave to those who ate of it spiritual knowledge. The ancients did not distinguish sharply, as we do, between the material and spiritual life. And yet even we moderns believe in the close relation of these two; for we hold that with the material elements of the bread and wine spiritual gifts are imparted to the faithful in the Holy Communion.

10. καὶ ἔλαβον τὸ βιβλαρίδιον ἐκ τῆς χειρὸς τοῦ ἀγγέλου καὶ κατέφαγον αὐτὸ καὶ ἦν ἐν τῷ στόματί μου γλυκὸ ὡς μέλι καὶ ὅτε ἔφαγον αὐτὸ ἐπικράνθη ἡ κοιλία μου.

In the importance of the results that followed the eating of the book is emphasized, and accordingly these are placed first; in this verse the events are given in the order of the Seer's experience.

1 The LXX reads καὶ ἐπορεύθην μετέωρος here, where the last word=οἶ, corrupt for ὄν.
2 ἐγεμίσθη κ αὐτὸν γι̂ μ; LXX, ἡ κοιλία σου πλησθήσεται. Swete thinks that it is "the first word of a gloss ἐγεμίσθη πικρίας, accidentally transferred into the text from the margin."
XI. Xl. kai lēγουσιν μοι Δεί σε πάλιν προφητεύσαι ἐπὶ λαοῖς καὶ ἔθνεσιν καὶ γλώσσαις καὶ βασιλεύσιν πολλοῖς.

The plural lēγουσιν is difficult. We cannot determine whether the words come from the heavenly voice (4, 8), or from the angel (9). Probably it is simply the plural of indefinite statement, as in xiii. 16, δώσων : xvi. 15, βλέψωσιν—an idiom sometimes found in Hebrew, and frequent in Biblical Aramaic. Cf. Dan. iv. 13, 22, 23, 29, v. 20, 21, vii. 12, 26; Ezr. vi. 5. See Wellhausen, Einleitung in d. Evang. 25 sq.

The construction προφητεύειν ἐπὶ (c. dat. or acc.) is found not infrequently in the LXX as a rendering of ἔπι ἡ ζῆ. ἐπὶ = “in regard to” is found in John xii. 16 after γράφειν. The phrase πάλιν προφητεύσαι refers backward in πάλιν to what precedes, and forward in προφητεύσαι to the chapters that follow xi. 15, as the βιβλαρίδιον embraces only xi. 1–13. The prophecies are to deal with “peoples and nations and languages and many kings.” It is interesting that this enumeration, which occurs seven times in the Apocalypse (see note on v. 9), is here given a different form, and βασιλεύσιν is put in the place of φυλαῖς. The “kings” are specially those mentioned in xvii. 10, 12. The Seer is recasting this characteristic phrase with a view to the contents of his later visions.

CHAPTER XI.

§ 1. The contents of the Little Book, being a proleptic Digression on the Antichrist in Jerusalem.

The measuring (i.e. the securing against demonic powers) of the faithful, 1–2, and the preaching of the two Witnesses, 3–6, are a preparation against the appearance of the Antichrist in Jerusalem—the Beast from the abyss, who will reign for three and a half years, and will war against and put to death the Witnesses to the great joy of the unbelievers, 7–10: the Witnesses raised anew to life, and the rest of the Jews converted to Christianity, 11–13.

Such appears to be the meaning of this section in its present context. This section is proleptic, because it really belongs to the third Woe or Trumpet, when Satan had already been cast down from heaven (xii.) and the Kingdom of the Antichrist established (xiii.). It is, therefore, contemporary in point of time with xii.–xiii. It is a digression, because the author has turned aside for the moment from his main theme of the Antichrist as identified with Rome and its empire, in order to describe his appearance in Jerusalem. This task done, he can pursue without interruption to its close the struggle between Christ and the Antichrist as embodied in the Roman Empire. If we ask why he
introduced this section at all, we might perhaps reply that in one
respect its presence here is a tribute to the older form of the
Antichrist tradition (before 70 A.D.), which regarded Jerusalem,
as the scene of the manifestation of the Jewish Antichrist, as
in 2 Thess. ii.; and that in another respect it was designed to
represent the Conversion of the Jews to Christianity under the
pressure of fear and after the preaching of Moses and Elijah—
the two companions of Christ on the Mount of Transfiguration
—was completed.

§ 2. But 1–13 had originally a different meaning and was
borrowed by our author from an early source.

But though §1 gives the meaning of this section in its
present context, this was not its original meaning; for it was
not the original composition of our author, but consisted origin-
ally of two independent fragments which were borrowed and
revised by him to suit his own ideas.

The grounds for this statement are as follows:

1. xi. 1–13 consists of two independent fragments, both
written before 70 A.D.

2. The diction differs very perceptibly from that of our author.

3. The order of the words, which is largely non-Semitic,
differs decidedly from that of our author.

4. The meaning of certain phrases in xi. 1–13 differs absolutely
from that which they bear in the rest of the Apocalypse.

5. Certain ideas common to xi. 1–2 and xi. 3–13 are expressed
in different phraseology and appear to point to different author-
ship (whether Greek or Aramaic).

1. xi. 1–13 consists of two independent fragments both written
before 70 A.D.

The first fragment is xi. 1–2. Owing to Wellhausen’s recogni-
tion of the fact that xi. 1–2 was originally an independent oracle
written before 70 A.D. (Skizzen und Vorarbeiten, vi. 221 sqq.; cf.
also his Analyse der Offenb. Johannis, 1907, p. 15), the task of
subsequent critics has been rendered easier.

This oracle predicted the preservation of the Temple and
those who worshipped in it (i.e. the Zealots, who during the siege
had taken up their quarters in the Temple and the inner court; see
my note in loc.), while the outer court and city would be trodden
down of the Gentiles.1 There is here no idea of the destruction,
but only of the capture of Jerusalem. There were many prophets
among the Zealots, according to Josephus. This fragment would
naturally be the work of one of these.

Amongst the older scholars, Corrodi, Herren, Schneider,

1 On the expectation that Jerusalem would be captured by the Romans,
see Josephus, B.J. vi. 5. 3.
Eichhorn, Semler, Bleek, Ewald, De Wette, and Lücke interpreted xi. 1–2 of the preservation of the Temple; and, as they held to the unity of the Apocalypse, they naturally concluded that the Apocalypse was written before 70 A.D. J. Weiss accepts the date thus found for xi. 1–13 and takes xi. 3–13 to be from the same hand. But Bousset and Porter distinguish xi. 1–2 and xi. 3–13.

xi. 3–13. This fragment, as Wellhausen has rightly observed (Analyse, p. 16), stands in an isolated position. οἱ δύο μάρτυρες (xi. 3) are in spite of the article not previously mentioned, nor is τὸ δῆμον (xi. 7). He thinks that xi. 3–13 originally referred to Rome, and that the Redactor adapted it by his additions to Jerusalem. The reasons he advances for this last view are not tenable, and are dealt with in my notes where necessary. In the course of his criticism Wellhausen reduces the original document to xi. 3a, 7, 8a, 9 (four words), 10–13 (with excisions).

The criticism of Bousset is sounder. He shows first of all how fragmentary xi. 3–13 is, seeing that it leaves us in doubt as to whether the Antichrist appears as a purely mythological figure or an historical personage: as to the relation in which he stands to Jerusalem, or to the nations and people mentioned, or to the Witnesses. Next he takes xi. 3–13 in connection to xi. 1–2. The binding together of these two fragments could not, he holds, have been effected by an author who wrote after 70 A.D.; for that only under the presupposition that they were combined in an apocalypse written before 70, could they possess a good sense and an inner connection. For according to xi. 1–2, Jerusalem is to be given over to the Gentiles, but the Temple is to be preserved. And only in this situation is the following prophecy conceivable. The two Witnesses and the Beast from the abyss appear in the city beleagured by the Romans. I confess that I find this reasoning unconvincing. The writer who could adapt to his own Apocalypse of 95 A.D., when Jerusalem was in ruins, a fragment that bore definitely on its face the date of 70 A.D. when Jerusalem still stood, would have found less difficulty in adapting to it a fragment dealing with eschatological expectations of the reign of the Antichrist and written at some undiscoverable date before 70 A.D.; for xi. 3–13 also presupposes Jerusalem to be still standing.

But, as we shall discover later, there are some grounds for regarding xi. 7 as wholly recast by our author and xi. 4 (?) 8be, 9a as added by him, and that xi. 5d is possibly a gloss.

2. The diction and idiom differ very perceptibly from those of our author.

First we observe that in 1 ἐγείρειν, in 2 ἐκβάλλειν and ἀυλή, in 5 (and 12) ἔχθρος, in 6 ὑπόταυς βρέχειν and ὅσικες ἐὰν, and ἀφείναι c. inf. in 9, and in 11 ἐπιπίπτειν are found here only in the Apoc. These facts in themselves prove nothing, but the follow-
ing prove much. Thus πτωμα = "corpse," is used in 8, 9, whereas our author uses νεκρός in this sense, xvi. 3, xx. 13; θεωρεῖν in 11, 12, whereas our author uses βλέπειν or ὄραν in this connection; προφητεία = "period of prophetic activity" in 6, but "prophecy" in the rest of the Apoc. Again in xi. 6 we have τὴν ἔξωσιαν, whereas in such a passage where limited authority is implied the article is omitted; see note on ii. 26: the pres. inf. στρέφειν though the aor. inf. only is used, except in the case of βλέπειν, i. 12, v. 3, 4, ix. 20, and καταβαίνειν in xiii. 13, and of infinitives after μέλειν; see note on i. 19. Again in xi. 11 ἐστήσαν stands (cf. xviii. 17) where our author would probably have used ἵστακειςαν (cf. vii. 11) or ἵσταθςαν (cf. viii. 3, vi. 1). In xi. 13 ἐπτά stands after χιλιάδες. See viii. 2 n. Finally, in 3 we have δῶσω ... καὶ προφητεύοσουν where our author would have used δῶσον ἔξωσιαν ... προφητεύειν or ἵνα προφητεύσουσιν, see note on xi. 3; in 5b we have ei with subj., which is against our author's usage; in 6 ὀδόκις ἔταν to denote indefinite frequency, whereas our author uses ὤταν: cf. iv. 9 (ix. 5); and in 11 εἰσῆλθεν ἐν, whereas εἰσέρχεσθαι is followed either by εἰς or πρὸς c. acc. elsewhere in the Apoc.

3. The order of the words, which is largely non-Semitic, differs decidedly from that of our author.—The subject precedes the verb in xi. 5, πῦρ ἐκπορεύεται ... καὶ κατεσθίει: xi. 6, ὑπὲρ βρέχῃ: xi. 10, καὶ οἱ κατοικοῦντες ... χαίρονσιν: xi. 11, πνεῦμα ἥως ... εἰσῆλθεν and φόβος ... ἐπέπεσεν: xi. 13, τὸ δέκατον ... ἐπέσεν and οἱ λοιποὶ ... ἐγένοντο. But more noteworthy are the cases where the object precedes the verb: xi. 2, μὴ αὐτὴν μετρήσῃς, τὴν αἰλίν ... ἐκβάλε, τὴν πόλιν ... πατήσουσιν: xi. 5, αὐτοῦ ... ἀδικήσαι: xi. 6, ἔξωσιαν ἔχουσιν (here only in this order in the text of the Apocalypse): xi. 9, τὰ πτώματα ... οὐκ ἄφιονσιν ἐνθημαί: xi. 10, δώρα πέμψουσιν.

I leave out of consideration xi. 7, which has been recast by our author; xi. 4(?), 8bc, 9a, which have been probably added by him.

Now the force of this evidence becomes clearer if we compare the order of words in this chapter with the five preceding chapters. In these

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject precedes verb</th>
<th>Prepositional phrase precedes verb</th>
<th>Object precedes verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chap. vi. . . 10 times.</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>1 (for emphasis: vi. 6).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; vii. . . 4 &quot;</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; viii. I, 3-5, 13.1 time.</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>7 times.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chap. viii. 7-12. 7 times. (addition to text).</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chap. viii. 2, 6. . 2 &quot; (recast).</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chap. ix. . . 1 time.</td>
<td>3 times.</td>
<td>1 (in a gloss: ix. 11).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; x. . . 4 times.</td>
<td>1 time.</td>
<td>1 (object a pronoun: x. 4. Cf. xi. 2).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Thus in five chapters from the hand of our author the object precedes the verb only twice, whereas in eleven verses in chap. xi. it precedes it seven times. This evidence speaks for itself.

4. The meaning of certain phrases in xi. 1-13 differs absolutely from that which they bear in the rest of the Apocalypse. The phrase ὁ ναὸς τοῦ θεοῦ is used in xi. 1 of the Temple in Jerusalem. But our author does not apply this phrase to the earthly Temple, as he reserves it for the Temple in heaven. Next our author could not have described the actual Jerusalem as τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἁγίαν in xi. 2. This phrase he reserves for the heavenly Jerusalem which cometh down from heaven (xxi. 10). Again, ἡ πόλις ἡ μεγάλη is used in xi. 8 of Jerusalem, but in our author this phrase technically designates Rome. See note in loc. Finally, οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς = the dwellers in Palestine in xi. 10, but elsewhere in the Apocalypse the inhabitants of the whole earth. Owing to the above facts our author must have attached a symbolical meaning (if he did attach a definite meaning) to the first phrase as well as to πόλις in xi. 13 (see notes in loc.).

5. Though the ministry of the Witnesses is of the same duration as the occupation of Jerusalem by the Gentiles, the incidents in xi. 3-13, culminating in the destruction of one-tenth of Jerusalem, suggest quite a different situation from that implied in xi. 1-2.

6. Certain ideas common to both xi. 1-2 and xi. 3-13 are expressed in different phraseology and may point to different authorship (whether Greek or Aramaic).

Thus over against μῆνας τεσσαράκοντα δύο in xi. 2 we have the same idea expressed by ἡμέρας χιλίας διακοσίων ἐξήκοντα in xi. 3, and over against τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἁγίαν in xi. 2 we have τῆς πόλεως τῆς μεγάλης in xi. 8.

In xi. 1-2 of this section we have a notable instance of reinterpretation on the part of our author. The inviolable security which the Jews attached to the Temple is reinterpreted by him as meaning the spiritual security of the Christian community despite the Satanic kingdom of the Antichrist about to be manifested.

The same process of reinterpretation runs through xi. 3-13, as will be seen in the notes. In addition to the transformations of meaning thus effected it is possible that our author would here impress the general lesson that underlies the entire Apocalypse, that fidelity to Christ, while it ensures spiritual security against the demonic world, entails martyrdom, but that this martyrdom in its turn leads to ultimate victory in all things.

VOL. I.—18
XI. 1–13. A PROLEPTIC DIGRESSION ON THE ANTICHRIST IN JERUSALEM.

1. καὶ εἰσόθη μοι κάλαμος ὁμοιος βασιλεύς, λέγων Ἑγεῖρε καὶ μέτρησον τὸν ναὸν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον καὶ τοὺς προσκυνοῦντας ἐν αὐτῷ.

These two verses, xi. 1–2, are a fragment, as Wellhausen was the first to recognise, of an oracle written before 70 A.D. by one of the prophets of the Zealot party in Jerusalem, who predicted that, though the outer court of the Temple and the city would fall, the Temple and the Zealots who had taken up their abode within it would be preserved from destruction. These verses, therefore, originally dealt partly with contemporary history and partly with eschatological forecasts. But in their present context they cannot possibly be interpreted by the Contemporary Historical Method. The Temple is destroyed and the Zealots with it, and the prophecy of Christ, Mark xiii. 2 = Matt. xxiv. 2 = Luke xxii. 6, has been fulfilled to the letter. Hence no literal interpretation is here possible. The verses must be taken wholly eschatologically, and several of the phrases symbolically, as μέτρησον τὸν ναὸν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον, τὴν αἰλήν τὴν ἐξωθήν τοῦ ναοῦ. For the temple of God is here the spiritual temple of which all the faithful are constituent parts; the outer court is the body of unbelievers who are given over to the sway of the Antichrist; and the measuring, like the sealing in vii. 4 sqq., denotes the preservation of the faithful, not from physical evil, but from the spiritual assaults of the Antichrist and his demonic following during the reign of the Antichrist. The grounds for the above interpretation will be found in the introduction to this chapter and in the notes that follow.

The construction εἰσόθη μοι . . . λέγων is very abnormal for εἴσωκεν μοι . . . λέγων. We have, however, an analogous construction in Gen. xxii. 20, ἀνηγγέλη . . . λέγοντες ( . . . τὴν τίνα) : xxi. 24, xlviii. 2 ; Jos. ii. 2, x. i7, xvi. 2, etc. ; Clem. 1 Cor. xi. 1, Δῶτε, ἐσώθη ἐκ Σοδόμων . . . πρόδηλου ποιήσας δ ἐκστότης. Here we should expect ἐσωθεὶ. But eleven words intervene between ἐσώθη and ποιήσας here. Cf. Thuc. iii. 36. 1.

κάλαμος. Ezek. xl. 3–xlii. 20 was in the mind of the author of this verse. In xli. 13 the angel measures the Temple. The Hebrew is נֵרָה נָר in Ezekiel.

μέτρησον. Three explanations have been given of the measuring.

1. Measuring may be done with a view to rebuilding and restoring, as in Ezek. xl. 2 sqq., 47, xli. 13, xliii. 13 ; Zech. ii. 2–8 ; Jer. xxxi. 39. So Vitringa, Bengel. But this meaning is excluded by the context.
2. It may be done with a view to destruction, as in 2 Kings xxii. 13; Isa. xxxiv. 11; Amos vii. 7-9; Lam. ii. 8; 2 Sam. viii. 2. So Baumgarten and Erbes (69-74). But this sense also is inadmissible in our text, since the exclusion of the outer court in 2 from measurement is the same as its surrender, not indeed to destruction, but to profanation by the Gentiles. The ideas underlying μετρήσαν and ἔβαλε are here essentially opposed.

3. There remains, therefore, the third and only meaning applicable to this word in its original context, i.e. the measuring means physical preservation, as in 2 Sam. viii. 2. So Storr, Oeder, Semler, Corrodi, Bleek, Ewald, Züllig (ii. 163-169), De Wette, Lücke, Bousset, etc. The text here in its original form dealt with the actual Temple, altar, outer court, and city. It does not, however, follow that our Seer attached the same meaning to these words. Rather we shall see grounds for believing that in re-editing this earlier document, xi. 1-13, he attached to them symbolical meanings. And such is the case with the word "measure" in its present context. Thus we must have recourse to a measuring different from the above three.

4. In its present context the measuring does not mean preservation from physical, but from spiritual danger. Thus the measuring comes to be practically synonymous with the sealing in vii. 4 sqq. A related meaning is attached to measuring like 1 Enoch lxii. 1-5:

1. "And I saw in those days how long cords were given to those angels and they ... flew ... towards the north.
2. And I asked the angel saying: Why have those (angels) taken these cords and gone off? And he said unto me: They have gone to measure ... 
3. ... These shall bring the measures of the righteous ... to the righteous

1 Bousset rejects every attempt at a symbolical explanation; but there is no other kind of explanation admissible, if we hold that xi. 1-13 is borrowed material, and that our author attached a certain meaning to it in its new context. On p. 330 Bousset gives the following attempt at an explanation. He admits (because he rejects an allegorical interpretation) that the meaning attached to xi. 1-13 by "the Apocalyptist of the last hand" can scarcely be made out. He holds that, in case he reflected on its meaning, he would at all events have seen in xi. 1-2 a prophecy of the destruction of Jerusalem. But the very phraseology is against this view: the city is "trodden down" but it is not destroyed. Moreover, Bousset recognizes that in xi. 3-13 the city is still presupposed to be standing (cf. xi. 13 specially). From this attempt we may conclude that it is impossible to interpret xi. 1-2 in its present context from the standpoint of the Contemporary Historical hypothesis.
That they may stay themselves on the name of the Lord of Spirits for ever . . .  
4. . . . And those are the measures which shall be given to faith,  
And which shall strengthen righteousness.  
5. And these measures shall reveal all the secrets of the depths of the earth,  
And those who have been destroyed by the desert,  
And those who . . . have been devoured by the fish of the sea,  
That they may return and stay themselves  
On the day of the Elect One;  
For none shall be destroyed before the Lord of Spirits,  
And none can be destroyed."

The exact meaning of measuring in this passage is difficult to determine, but its general sense is clear. It does not signify preservation from physical destruction, but the spiritual preservation, lxi. 3–4, or restoration of those who had been physically destroyed, to the spiritual community of the Messianic Kingdom, lxi. 5. The last words imply that all the faithful live unto God, whether quick or departed. Physical death in their case is a thing without meaning.

τοῦ ναὸν τοῦ θεοῦ. This phrase here denoted originally the actual Temple in Jerusalem. But our Seer would never have so described it; for in his own diction it means one of two things.
1. The spiritual temple, iii. 12, of which the faithful are pillars.  
2. The temple in heaven, vii. 15, xi. 19 (bis), xiv. 15, 17, xv. 5, 6, 8 (bis), xvi. 1, 17. Next, it is noteworthy that at the close of Christ’s ministry (Matt. xxiii. 38 = Luke xiii. 35) the actual Temple is called by Christ the Jew’s house, no longer God’s house, though at the beginning He had called it His Father’s house (John ii. 16 = Mark xi. 17 = Matt. xxi. 13 = Luke xix. 46), and that there is no temple at all in the heavenly Jerusalem, xxi. 22. To our Seer the Jews are ἡ συναγωγὴ τοῦ Σατανᾶ, ii. 9, iii. 9, and in John viii. 44 they are the children of the devil (ὁμεῖς ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ διαβόλου ἐστέ). But since our Seer has incorporated into his text xi. 1–13 with certain editorial changes, he must have attached some meaning to the above phrase and taken it symbolically.¹ To him, therefore, it meant the spiritual temple (iii. 12; Eph. ii. 19 sqq.) of which all the faithful are constituent parts, the Christian community of God generally, or rather he took the Temple, altar, and worshippers together as representing this community. This idea was a very familiar one

¹ Our Seer’s addition in xi. shows that he attaches a symbolical or rather non-literal meaning to certain expressions.
in the N.T.: cf. i Cor. iii. 16, ναὸς θεοῦ ἐστίν: 2 Cor. vi. 16, ἥμεῖς γὰρ ναὸς θεοῦ ἐσμέν ζώντος: 1 Pet. ii. 5, καὶ αὐτοὶ ὡς λίθοι ζώντες οἰκοδομεῖσθε οἶκος πνευματικός.

τὸ θυσιαστήριον. In our note on viii. 3 we have shown that τὸ θυσιαστήριον in the Apocalypse refers always, with the exception of this passage, to the one altar in heaven. As regards the present passage expositors are divided. Some take this altar to be the altar of incense within the ναὸς: others, the altar of burnt-offering. In the case of the two altars in the earthly Temple, τὸ θυσιαστήριον, when it is used without any additional defining phrase or attribute, means the altar of burnt-offering.

But we have already found that our author has not, and indeed could not have, taken the words μέτρησον and τὸν ναὸν τοῦ θεοῦ literally. If he attached any special meaning to θυσιαστήριον here, it must also be a figurative one. He appears to have taken it together with the ναὸς and οἱ προσκυνοῦντες ἐν αὐτῷ as forming one idea. But in the case of borrowed apocalyptic material, it is not necessary to explain every detail of such material, and indeed it is frequently impossible; for the material is often borrowed on account of certain of its chief ideas which fit in with the borrower’s own, or easily lend themselves to entire transformation in their new context. The very presence of such inexplicable details, moreover, in apocalyptic texts is *prima facie* evidence that the contexts in which they occur are not original and spontaneous creations of the Seer, but are derived from traditional material.

τοὺς προσκυνοῦντας ἐν αὐτῷ. For the meaning of measuring in connection with this phrase see the quotation from i Enoch above. Since the Temple, the altar, and the worshippers are set over against the outer court, the worshippers must include those in the men’s and women’s courts, i.e. Jews in opposition to Gentiles, who were restricted to the outer court. But the writer did not mean that all Jews, as worshippers in the inner court, would be saved, but a certain definite body of Jews worshipping at a certain definite time, i.e. when Jerusalem was trodden down by, and in the hands of, the Gentiles—the Romans. At this period the inner courts were occupied by the Zealots. Safety was assured to them by one of their prophets in the above fragment, xi. 1–2.

2. While the community of God is to be preserved against spiritual evils, i.e. against the assaults of its spiritual foes, the Antichrist and the demonic world about to be revealed, the unbelievers are left a prey to the Antichrist and his demonic followers for the forty and two months.

τὴν αὐλὴν τὴν ἔξωθεν τοῦ ναοῦ. In Herod’s Temple the inner court, with its various divisions accessible only to Jews, was
separated from the outer by a breastwork of stone—δρύφακτος
(Joseph. B.J. v. 5. 2) or το μεσότοιχον τοῦ φραγμοῦ, Eph. ii. 14.
On this breastwork stood pillars at equal distances from one
another with inscriptions, some in Greek and some in Latin,
forbidding the Gentiles to pass this barrier on pain of death
(Ant. xv. ii. 5).

This outer court was in later times called the Court of the
Gentiles, but this designation is not found in the Mishna or
Josephus. This court was not regarded by the Jews as strictly
sacred (Jew. Encyc. xii. 88), but was recognized as such by our
Lord, who (Mark xi. 17 = Matt. xxi. 13 = Luke xix. 46) quoted
the words of Isa. ixi. 7 (LXX), δ γὰρ ὁικὸς κυρίος προσευχῆς
cληθήσεται πάσιν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν.

The original reference in this verse is to the capture of the city
and the outer court of the Temple by the Romans, by whom, ac-
cording to its writer, these were to be trodden down for 42 months.
Thus the words were written while the Temple itself was still in
the possession of the Zealots, and therefore before 70 A.D. The
writer of xi. 1–2, who was a prophet of this fanatical party,
assured his fellow Zealots that the Temple itself would not be
destroyed. But in its present context there is a transformation of
the original sense. Since the Temple, altar, and the worshippers
in the Temple represent to our Seer the Christian community
of the faithful (see note in loc.), the outer court and the city
symbolize those who are given over for 3½ years to the domina-
tion of the Antichrist, irrespective of their race, whether Jew or
Gentile. But probably only the former are here in the
foreground.

ἐκβάλε ἐξώθεν καὶ μὴ αὐτὴν μετρήσῃς. These words make it
very clear that μετρεῖν here means to preserve, and that the non-
measuring of the outer court is equivalent to its rejection. The
Temple and the outer court are to experience exactly opposite
fortunes.

ἐδοθῆ τοῖς ἔθνεσιν καὶ ... πατήσουσιν. This construction is
regarded by many scholars as the same as that in 3. But the
constructions are quite dissimilar. The latter forms one idea and
the tenses are the same; but in the former the ἐδοθῆ is to be taken
literally. The outer court and the city “have been given over
(in the counsels of God) to the Gentiles, and they shall,” etc.
For the idiomatic uses of δδόνα to which the present instance
does not belong, see 3, note. It is not here implied that
Jerusalem will be destroyed. The following clause defines the
degree of devastation and the duration of it.

1 One such inscription is still extant, discovered in 1871 by Clermont-
Ganneau. See Encyc. Bib. iv. 4945; Hastings’ D.B. iv. 713; Jewish
Encyc. xii. 85.
This phrase could not be used of the actual Jerusalem by our Seer. It stood in the oracle he borrowed, and he left it there unchanged, as we find it frequently in the case in this and other apocalypses in the case of borrowed material. This phrase is only used by our Seer of the new Jerusalem and the heavenly Jerusalem, as in xxi. 2: cf. xxi. 10, xxi. 19. His true attitude to the actual city, Jerusalem, is revealed in the clause he adds in xi. 8, ἡτεις καλεσαι πνευματικῶς Σόδομα καὶ Αἰγυπτος κτλ. The phrase itself is a familiar one in Jewish prophecy and Apocalyptic: cf. Isa. xlvi. 2, lii. 1; Dan. ix. 24, τῷ σῷ ἡμῖν; the prayer of Azariah in Dan. (LXX and Theod.) iii. 28; Neh. xi. 1, 18; Pss. Sol. viii. 4, πόλει ἀγάματος. The heavenly Jerusalem, which was to be the abode of Christ and the martyrs for 1000 years, is called τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἡγατημένην in our text, xx. 9, in contrast to the earthly Jerusalem, which our author designates as Σόδομα καὶ Αἰγυπτος.

The future as contrasted with εὐθὺς here implies that this event is still in the future.) Cf. Luke xxi. 24, Ἰερουσαλημ ἐσται παισομένη ὑπὸ ἐθνῶν. In the Pss. Sol. this verb or a compound of it is used in relation to the Temple, vii. 2, μὴ πατησάτω ὁ πόις αὐτῶν κληρονομίαν ἀγάματος σοι, ii. 2 (κατεπαίτου), 20: and in relation to Jerusalem in xvi. 25. In all these passages from the Pss. Sol. profanation but not destruction is implied as in our text. But the expression is not infrequent in the O.T. and Apocrypha. Cf. Zech. xii. 3, θύσιμαι τὴν Ἰερουσαλημ λίθον καταπατούμενον πάσιν τοῖς ἑθνεσιν: Isa. lxiii. 18; Dan. viii. 10, 13; Ps. lxxix. 1; 1 Macc. iii. 45, τὸ ἀγάματον καταπατούμενον, 51, iv. 60; 2 Macc. viii. 2.

This period is derived from Dan. vii. 25, xii. 7, where, however, it is described as "a time and times and half a time," i.e. 3½ times or years, and defines the duration of the reign of the Antichrist. It is noteworthy that this idea appears under three forms in our text: i. as here and in xiii. 5. 2. xi. 3, xii. 6, ἡμέρας χλίας διακοσίας ἡξήκοντα: cf. Dan. xii. 11, where, however, the number is 1290, owing to the insertion of an intercalary month. 3. xii. 14, καιρὸν καὶ καιροὺς καὶ ἡμέρας καιροῦ. This is a literal rendering of Dan. vii. 25, xii. 7. It is somewhat peculiar that two different forms occur in xi. 2, 3 to express the same idea, but this is no longer a difficulty when we assume the different provenance of xi. 1-2 and xi. 3-13. Similarly on independent grounds we assume that xii. 6 and xii. 14 are from different sources. This explains the double form of the phrase in these verses also.

The origin of the 3½ years has never been satisfactorily explained. Gunkel, Z. ref. Verst. d. NT. 79-82, traces it to a mythological source, and thinks that it meant originally the evil
time, i.e. the winter months (cf. K.A.T.3 389); but this is fanciful.

How strongly this period had impressed itself on the imagination of the early Christians may be inferred from the fact that the drought caused by Elijah in 1 Kings xviii. 1 sqq., which lasted 3 years, is said to have lasted 3½ in Luke iv. 25; Jas. v. 17. Thus it is transformed into a type of the great and final Woe that should befall the world. It is referred to as the καιροί ἔθνων in Luke xxi. 24 (which belongs to the interpolated Jewish Christian Apocalypse) and also in 4 Ezra v. 4.

xi. 3-13. (See Introduction to chapter.) Concurrently with the advent of the Antichrist (in Rome?) the two Witnesses—Moses and Elijah, our Lord’s companions on the Mount of Transfiguration—appear in Jerusalem as preachers of repentance to the Jews. Towards the close of his reign the Antichrist suddenly comes to Jerusalem and slays the Witnesses, whereat his followers rejoice. After three days the spirit of life enters into the two Witnesses and they ascend into heaven, while an earthquake destroys part of Jerusalem. Under the influence of fear the Jews are converted to Christianity.

3. καὶ δῶσω τοῖς δυσὶν μάρτυσιν μου, καὶ προφητεύσουσιν ἡμέρας χιλίας διακοσίας ἐξήκοντα περιβεβλημένους σάκκους.

The construction καὶ δῶσω . . . καὶ προφητεύσουσιν is Hebraic.

Ἀκούστε . . . καὶ λέγετε: “I will commission (or give permission to) my two witnesses to prophesy.” Some scholars think that it occurs also in xi. 2, εἴδοθη . . . καὶ πατήσουσιν: but this seems wrong, for we should then require δοθῆσαι . . . καὶ πατήσουσιν. Besides εἴδοθη is used in a literal sense in xi. 2, whereas δῶσω in xi. 3 is used in an idiomatic sense. Hence this is the only instance of this idiom in the Apocalypse which uses three different constructions of διδοναι in this sense. 1. διδόναι, c. inf. = “to permit”: cf. ii. 7, iii. 21 (ὁ νικῶν δῶσω αὐτῷ καθίσαι), vi. 4, vii. 2, xiii. 7, 15, xvi. 8. This is the normal construction in this sense in our book. It is noteworthy that in xiii. 15 we find this idiomatic sense and the literal close together, εἴδοθη αὐτῷ δοναι. This idiom is Hebraic: cf. Esth. ix. 13, . . . ἀρχηγὸς ἐπικυρίως. It is found once in John v. 26. 2. διδόναι, c. ἐνα and subjunctive: cf. ix. 5, xix. 8. 3. εἴδοθη αὐτῷ ἐξουσία ποιῆσαι, xiii. 5. This is found twice in John i. 12, v. 27. It is also a well-known Hebrew idiom, i.e. לְתַשֵׁר לְלַמִּי. The speaker is either God or Christ.

τοῖς δυσὶν μάρτυσιν. The presence of the article shows that the writer is dealing with two well-known figures, or that the present section is fragmentary, and that the article refers to a portion of it now lost.
The origin and identification of the two Witnesses are problems of great difficulty. Here the apocalyptic tradition does not give us the help we should expect; for the apparent meaning of xi. 5–6 and apocalyptic tradition are here at variance. The latter, which Bousset holds is really the older, identifies the two Witnesses with Enoch and Elijah. The oldest Christian attestation of this view belongs to the 2nd cent. A.D. Cf. Tert. De Anima, 50, "Translatus est Henoch et Elias, nec mors eorum reperta est, dilata scilicet. Ceterum moriturui reservantur ut Anti-christum sanguine suo exstinguant." Ps. Johannine Apoc. 8; Ps. Cyprian, De Montibus Sina et Sion, 5, and other authorities, for which see Bousset, The Antichrist Legend, xiv. To these we may add the remarkable fact that in i Enoch xc. 31, if the text is correct, it is said that Enoch and Elijah would return before the judgment.

2. The text of xi. 5–6 apparently identifies the two Witnesses with Moses and Elijah. The Witnesses are empowered to turn the water into blood and to smite the earth with every plague, xi. 6. These words point to the first Egyptian plague, Ex. vii. 14 sqq., and the rest that were inflicted by Moses on the Egyptians. But the rest of the text points just as clearly to Elijah. For the Witnesses have power to consume with fire (cf. 2 Kings i. 10 sqq.; Sir. xlviii. 3), and to close the heaven so that there should be no rain upon the earth, 1 Kings xvii. 1 sqq.; Sir. xlviii. 1–3; Luke iv. 25; Jas. v. 17. We are here undoubtedly reminded of Elijah. Moreover, their assumption into heaven is in harmony with 2 Kings ii. 11 and the tradition in regard to Moses embodied in the Assumption of Moses. In the next place their return before the end of the world was expected amongst the Christians and the return of Elijah among the Jews. The belief in the return of Moses would naturally arise from Deut. xviii. 18, cf. John vi. 14, vii. 40, and in that of Elijah from Mal. iv. 5: cf. Sir. xlviii. 10; Mark ix. 11; Matt. xi. 14; Eduj. viii. 7: see Jew. Encyc. v. 126. Possibly both expectations may be combined in John i. 21. Again the account of the Transfiguration (Mark ix 1 sqq. and parallels), in which Moses and Elias appear with Christ, taken with the preceding evidence, may also point to the existence of an expectation of their return. And a reference to this expectation is actually found in Debar. R. x. 1, where, according to Jochanan ben Zakkai (1st cent. A.D.), God said to Moses, "If I send the prophet Elijah, ye must both come together"; see Volz, 193.

The duty assigned to Moses and Elijah here is to spread repentance. This idea is found in Pirke El. xlii., xlvi., in regard to Elijah, though generally in Judaism his duties are differently described. It is remarkable that in later Judaism it
is said in regard to Elijah that his Messianic activity would begin three days before the coming of the Messiah (Elijahu Rabba, 25 sqq.). The number three here is significant in regard to our text.

We may, therefore, conclude with some confidence that the author of the Jewish fragment, xi. 3–13, meant Moses and Elijah by the two Witnesses.¹

But, though Moses and Elijah were designed by the phrase “the two witnesses” in the original document, there is much doubt as to the denotation of this phrase in its present context. Many allegorical interpretations have been given of it, but not one of them is satisfactory when taken in connection with the work of the witness in xi. 5–6. Apparently, therefore, we are to conclude that the phrase retains its original significance, as we shall see more clearly presently. In any case the question is of very small moment; for throughout the rest of the Apocalypse our Seer’s thoughts and visions are concerned with Rome and not with Jerusalem, as they are in this fragmentary section, xi. 1–13. For the moment the steady progressive current of our author’s thought has been checked, and he has here turned aside into a backwater, but with xi. 14 we return again into the main current.

χιλίας διακοσίας ἐξήκοντα. See note on 2.

περιβεβλημένους σάκκους. An uncorrected slip of our author. The raiment typifies the sombre nature of their message.

4. οὔτοι εἰσὶν αἱ δύο ἐλαίαι καὶ αἱ δύο λυχνίαι αἱ ἐνώπιον τοῦ κυρίου τῆς γῆς ἐστῶτες. This verse is based on Zech. iv. 2, 3, 14, but the writer departs widely from both the text and the ideas. Thus in Zechariah there is one candlestick with its seven lamps which are the eyes of the Lord running to and fro through the whole earth, iv. 2, 10, and on either side of this candlestick are the two olive trees, which are Joshua and Zerubbabel, iv. 3, 12, 14. But the one candlestick is changed into two in our text, and the two candlesticks and the two olive trees are treated as synonymous; for the two Witnesses are said to be the two candlesticks, and the two olive trees which stand before the Lord, i.e. in Zechariah’s prophecy. Several links in the development of thought between our text and Zechariah may be lost, which might have served to explain the wide divergence between

¹ Moffatt suggests that the Zoroastrian expectation of the two apostles, Hûshêdâr and Hûshêdârmâh, after the temporary triumph of the evil spirit, may have been fused into the Jewish expectation of Enoch and Elijah. But the beliefs are not analogous. Not two but three reformers were expected: the above two and Saoshyant; and these are not contemporary, but appear in successive millenniums. None of them is slain by the power of evil, but the second slays the serpent, and the third slays Ahriman himself. See S.B.E. xxiii. 195; v. lli. 233–235, xxiv. 15, 99.
them. But more probably we have here a bold and independent interpretation of these symbols. The two olive trees are not, as Zechariah thought, Joshua and Zerubbabel, but really the two Witnesses, Moses and Elijah, who are also candlesticks, in so far as they are bearers of the divine light of God in the Law and in Prophecy. The idea that the Law is a divine light was familiar to pre-Christian Judaism, cf. Prov. vi. 23: “The law is light”; Test. Lev. xiv. 4, τὸ φῶς τοῦ νόμου τὸ δοθὲν εἰς φωτισμὸν παντὸς ἄνθρωπον: Wisd. xviii. 4, τὸ ἄφθαρτον νόμου φῶς. Moreover, that an apocalyptic writer should assign a like value to prophecy is only to be expected. The O.T. was commonly described as “the Law and the Prophets” (Luke xvi. 16; Matt. vii. 12), “Moses and the Prophets” (Luke xvi. 29, 31, xxiv. 27), “the Law of Moses and the Prophets” (Acts xxviii. 23). As Moses could represent the Law, so Elijah could represent the Prophets.

Thus we have not one candlestick but two, not one witness to God but two.

Hence, if xi. 4 belongs to the original document, the doubling of the Witnesses may be due to the reinterpretation of Zech. iv. 14; for in Judaism alike before and immediately after the Christian era only one forerunner appears to have been expected, whether Elijah or Moses (see note on 2) or Jeremiah (Matt. xvi. 14). This reinterpretation of the olive trees might have led to a reinterpretation of the candlestick and the transformation of the one candlestick into two and also of the ideas underlying the candlestick. There is no reason to suppose that the writer of xi. 4 drew on any tradition independent of Zech. He borrows the technical terms directly from the Hebrew text of Zech. (see next note). His interpretation of the olive trees is natural, and that of the candlesticks intelligible when taken in connection with the interpretation of the former and their new context. If the origins of the two witnesses are to be sought ultimately in non-Semitic religions, no such origins have yet been discovered, and, even if such non-Semitic originals ever existed, the writer of xi. 4 was unacquainted with them.¹

The return of Moses and Elijah is to be interpreted in the first instance literally and in the next symbolically, as represent-

¹ Gunkel (Verständnis, 60) thinks that an older tradition lies behind xi. 3-13, and that, since the Beast is said to wage war with the two Witnesses, the latter were originally heavenly warriors. So also Bousset, 321. But the same reasoning would prove that every member of the Church was a heavenly warrior in xii. 17. These anthropological features recall, he holds, the hopeless struggle of the Babylonian Anu and Nudimmut against Tiāmat till Marduk intervened and overcame Tiāmat. But this suggestion is purely hypothetical. The attempt to establish a connection between Parsism and our text is far-fetched and nugatory. See Böklen, Verwandschaft, 100 sqq.; Clemen, Erklärung des N. T. 109.
ing Law and Prophecy. While xi. 5-6 point to their literal return, xi. 4 attaches a new symbolical meaning to these two great figures in giving a new interpretation to O.T. symbols.

ai ἐνώπιον τοῦ κυρίου τῆς γῆς ἐστῶτες. Here the LXX of Zech. iv. 14 has παρεστήκασιν κυρίῳ πάσης τῆς γῆς. Hence our text is independent of the LXX, ai ἐνώπιον . . . ἐστῶτες. The insertion of a preposition with its case between the art. and participle is found occasionally in the Apocalypse, as in xi. 16, xii. 12, xiii. 6, 12, xiv. 13, xviii. 17, xix. 1. κυρίου τῆς γῆς is found only here in the Apocalypse.

There is the possibility that xi. 4 is due to our author. Three things point in this direction.

First, there is the free reinterpretation of Scripture, which is characteristic of him; secondly, the abnormal construction ai . . . ἐστῶτες, which is likewise characteristic; and thirdly, his direct translation from the Hebrew. Contrast xi. 6.

5. καὶ εἰ τις αὐτῶν θέλει ἀδικήσαι, πῦρ ἐκπορεύεται ἐκ τοῦ στόματος αὐτῶν καὶ κατεσθείει τοὺς ἐχθροὺς αὐτῶν [καὶ εἰ τις θελήσῃ αὐτῶν ἀδικήσαι, οὕτως δεὶ αὐτὸν ἀποκτανθῆναι].

The use of θέλω here is peculiar. It is generally rendered "to desire." But this rendering gives an unsatisfactory meaning. Are we to suppose that whoever cherished even a wish to injure the witnesses was to be destroyed by fire? This difficulty could be escaped by taking θέλω as a mere auxiliary. Thus we should have, "If any man will hurt them." The fact that θέλω means "to desire" in 6 does not make this impossible.

The verse is based on 2 Kings i. 10, 12, but with a modification of the details, and probably on Jer. v. 14, δέωκα τοὺς λόγους μου εἰς τὸ στόμα σου πῦρ καὶ τὸν λαὸν τοῦτον ξύλα, καὶ καταφάγεται αὐτῶν. In this passage the language is figurative, but not so in our text. In Sir. xlviii. 3 we have a combination of Elijah's twofold powers of destruction—ἐν λόγῳ κυρίου ἀνέσχεν οὐρανόν, κατῆγαγεν οὕτως τρῖς πῦρ—which appear in xi. 5 and xi. 6a of our text. In Sir. xlviii. 1 the meaning is mainly figurative, ἀνέστη Ἡλίας προφήτης ὃς πῦρ, καὶ ὁ λόγος αὐτοῦ ὃς λαμπτά ἐκαετο.

εἰ θελήσῃ. On the use of εἰ with the subj. see Blass, Gram. 216.

cαὶ εἰ τις θελήσῃ . . . ἀποκτανθῆναι, seems to be the weak gloss of a scribe based on the preceding clause and on xiii. 10. It adds nothing to the sense.

dεὶ αὐτὸν . . . ἀποκτανθῆναι. Cf. xiii. 10.

6. οὕτω ξοσαίνῃ τὴν ξοσαίαν κλείσαι τοῦ οὐρανόν, ἵνα μὴ ὑπὸ τοῦ βρέχη τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς προφητείας αὐτῶν, καὶ ξοσαίαν ξοσαίον ἐπὶ τῶν ὑδάτων στρέφειν αὐτὰ εἰς αἷμα καὶ πατάξαι τὴν γῆν ἐν πάσῃ πληγῇ ὡσάκις ἐὰν θελήσωσιν.

The first clause refers to Elijah, 1 Kings xvii. 1. Cf. Sir.
The phrase ἐν τῇ γῆν ἐπὶ πᾶσῃ πλῆγῇ is not only unusual, as Swete observes, but extraordinary. For κλείσαι τ. οὐρ. cf. Luke iv. 25 (ἐκλεῖσθη ὁ οὐρανός), where alone the phrase is found in this connection. For στρέφειν ἢ ἠμα in this phrase the LXX gives μεταβάλλειν, Ex. vii. 17.

As regards the first clause it is noteworthy that according to Josephus (B.J. v. 9. 4) the fountain of Siloam and other springs outside the city almost wholly dried up so as to create a famine of water before the coming of Titus against Jerusalem, but that after Titus' coming these began to flow in such abundance that they sufficed not only for the Romans and their cattle, but also for watering their gardens. Josephus adds that this same sign occurred in the days of Zedekiah, when the King of Babylon warred against the Jews, and took the city and burnt the Temple. This fact may have suggested the above reference.

ἐξοσσίαν ἐχοσσίν. Here only in this order in the Apocalypse. 

This phrase primarily refers to the Egyptian plagues, Ex. vii. 17, xi. 10, but it recalls directly the LXX of 1 Sam. iv. 8, οὗτοι οἱ θεοὶ οἱ πατάξαντες τὴν Αἰγύπτου ἐν πᾶσῃ πλῆγῇ (ῥᾶραρὰς ἵτα . . . ἱναὶπίπτῃν).

7. καὶ ὅταν τελεσώσων τὴν μαρτυρίαν αὐτῶν, τὸ θηρίον τὸ ἄναβαινον ἐκ τῆς ἀβύσσου ποιησει μετ' αὐτῶν πόλεμον καὶ νικήσει αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀποκτενεῖ αὐτοὺς.

In this section, xi. 1—13, where the diction and the meanings attached to so many of the phrases brand it as derived for the most part from independent sources (see Introd. p. 270 sq.), this verse stands out in strong relief as exhibiting the diction and thought of our Seer. Thus τελεύω (x. 7, xv. 1, 8, xvii. 17, xx. 3, 5, 7), μαρτυρία (i. 2, 9, vi. 9, xii. 11, etc.), τὸ θηρίον τὸ ἀναβαίνον ἐκ τῆς ἀβύσσου (xiii. 1, xvii. 8), ποιησει μετ' αὐτῶν πόλεμον καὶ νικήσει αὐτοὺς (almost verbally in xiii. 7), ἀποκτενεῖν (12 times). Whatever, therefore, stood in its place in the original document, the verse in its present form is the work of our author.

And yet in the original form of this verse there must have been some reference to the Antichrist; for to him is due the death of the Witnesses referred to in what follows. If, as we infer on other grounds, the scene of the Antichrist's appearance here is Jerusalem and the time of the composition of this fragment is anterior to 66 A.D., then the Antichrist was in all probability originally the Jewish Antichrist described somewhat as in 2 Thess. ii., and had therefore mainly a religious significance; but if this section was written during the siege, 67—69, the Antichrist may already have been identified with the Roman Empire, though not, of course, with Nero. In this latter case the conception would have had a political reference. So much for the conception of the Antichrist in the original document. As to its meaning in
its present context, it cannot, of course, be other than that in xiii. i, xvii. 8, in so far as our author assigned it a definite meaning at all. The Beast from the abyss, therefore, i.e. Nero *redivivus* or the demonic Antichrist, appears here proleptically. See App. to xvii., vol. ii., p. 76.

But there is another feature which should be observed in this conception. Here for the first and last time in our author is the traditional connection of the Antichrist with Jerusalem set forth. In the rest of the Apocalypse this traditional connection is broken, and Rome takes the place of Jerusalem either as the seat of the Antichrist's empire or the object of his attack. This marks a revolution in the expectation of the Antichrist, but one which, independently of the immediate historical situation of 95 A.D., had already in part taken place and left its mark in the reinterpretation of the Fourth Kingdom in Dan. vii. as that of Rome and no longer as that of the Greek Empire. If τὸ θηρίον ἐκ τῆς ἀβύσσου stood in the original document, representing a pseudo-Messiah and non-political Antichrist, as in 2 Thess. ii., or else the Roman Empire, in its present context it can only represent Nero *redivivus* as in chaps. xiii. and xvii. Since the Antichrist is first introduced as θηρίον (without the art.) in xiii. i, he appears here proleptically. But, as we have shown (see p. 269), the whole section xi. 1–13 is in its present context proleptic.

ποιήσει μετ' αὐτῶν πόλεμον καὶ νικήσει αὐτοὺς. These clauses represent an independent rendering of Dan. vii. 21, *καὶ ἀραβεῖς ἱγγανὲς πολέμησαι* καὶ ἵσχυσεν πρὸς αὐτοὺς. The LXX is very divergent in vii. 21, but in vii. 8 its rendering of the last clause (lost in Mass. and Theod.) is ἐποίει πόλεμον πρὸς τοὺς ἀγίους. Hence, since Apoc. xiii. 7* (= ποιήσαι πόλεμον μετὰ τῶν ἁγίων καὶ νικήσαι αὐτοὺς) is, and xi. 7* is not, an exact equivalent of the Aramaic of Dan. vii. 21, xiii. 7* cannot be derived from xi. 7*, but the converse is possible. And not only possible but highly probable, since νικᾶν, which does not occur in the LXX or Theod. as a rendering of הָּּוַּיַּו, is a favourite word with our author.

We conclude, therefore, that ποιήσει . . . καὶ νικήσει αὐτοὺς is from his hand.

8. καὶ τὸ πτώμα αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τῆς πλατείας τῆς πόλεως τῆς μεγάλης, ἥτις καλεῖται πνευματικὸς Σόδομα καὶ Αἰγυπτος, ὅπου καὶ ὁ κύριος αὐτῶν ἔσται ὁμολόγησις.

The use of τὸ πτώμα here and in 9* as a collective is difficult, especially as in 9* the plural is used. In xi. 5 we have στόμα used collectively, and the collective use of πρόσωπον, κεφαλῆς, καρδία is well known in the N.T. See Blass, Gram. 83.
Possibly the writer may have been influenced by the Hebrew or Aramaic usage by which תָּנָאְאָי is used collectively = "corpses."

τῆς πόλεως τῆς μεγάλης. This phrase is used of Rome throughout the rest of the book: cf. xvi. 19, xvii. 18, xviii. 10, 16, 18, 19, 21, and under the figure of Βασιλέων ἡ μεγάλη, xiv. 8, xvi. 19, xvii. 5, xviii. 2. The latter use is decidedly that of our author; the former belongs to the original document, and is left there by our author. That Jerusalem, however, could be so designated we see from Or. Sib. v. 154, 226, 413; Joseph. c. Apion. i. 197, 209, Ἰουναῖοι πόλιν οἰκονύμες ἡμεροτάτην πασῶν: Appian, Syr. 50, μεγίστη πόλις Ἱεροσόλυμα: Pliny, Hist. Nat. v. 14. 70.

Spitta and Wellhausen take the city to be Rome; but whatever evidence there is is against this identification. As the text stands, "the great city" can only be Jerusalem. Also in the original document it designated Jerusalem and not Rome. 1. For there is every connection between Moses and Elijah and Jerusalem, but none between them and Rome. 2. According to apocalyptic tradition the Witnesses appear always in Jerusalem. 3. xi. 13 refers to Jerusalem; for the numbers there given suit Jerusalem but not Rome (see note in loc.). 4. The phrase oi κατοικοῦντες ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς (xi. 10) appears to denote the inhabitants of a single country, i.e. the Palestinians, not the inhabitants of the whole world. 5. The original document, xi. 3–13, which I take to be of Jewish origin, naturally dealt tenderly with the Jews; for these are represented as repenting: whereas the inhabitants of Rome are represented as refusing to repent, ix. 21, xvi. 9. From the repentance of Jerusalem it follows that the final judgment is directed not against the Jews, but against the heathen world. In this respect this fragment suits our author. In the original document, xi. 1–2, the temple is spared; in xi. 3–13 the bulk of the Jews are converted.

ἤτις καλεῖται πνευματικῶς . . . ἐσταυρώθη. I take these two clauses to be an addition of our author. ὅπου καὶ . . . ἐσταυρώθη is generally admitted by critics to be a later addition. It is quite in the style of our author: cf. xx. 10, ὅπου καὶ, and ii. 13, ὅπου δ Σατάνας κατοικεῖ (observe the order in contrast with that in xii. 6, 14). ἤτις καλεῖται . . . Αἰγυπτιος is also in the style of our author. First of all ἤτις, which is properly the relative of indefinite reference, seems here = ἦ, the relative of definite reference, as in i. 12, xii. 13, xvii. 12, xix. 2—a usage which is rather frequent in the Lucan writings of the N.T. but which is not (?) found in Matthew, Mark, the Johannine writings, or the Pauline Epistles. Next, ἤτις καλεῖται in the form ἦ (ὁ) καλομένη (-ος) is found in i. 9, xii. 9, xvi. 16.

Σύνομα καὶ Αἰγυπτιος Cf. Isa. i. 9, 10, where Judah is com-
pared to Sodom, ὡς Σόδομα ἄν ἐγενήθημεν (quoted in Rom. ix. 29), iii. 9; Ezek. xvi. 46, 48, 49.

Sodom and Egypt are alluded to in Wisd. xix. 14, 15, as types of wickedness.

Jerusalem was, therefore, the city meant both by the original writer and also by our author. And yet the latter cannot have taken the entire section literally, for Jerusalem no longer existed in his time. It is impossible to reinterpret from the standpoint of the author the various details of this section, which originally set forth the expectations of an earlier time.

9. καὶ βλέπουσιν ἐκ τῶν λαῶν καὶ φυλῶν καὶ γλωσσῶν καὶ ἑθῶν τὸ πτώμα αὐτῶν ἡμέρας τρεῖς καὶ ἡμισε, καὶ τὰ πτώματα αὐτῶν οὐκ ἀφίουσιν τεθηναι εἰς μνήμα. βλέπειν belongs to the diction of our author: cf. especially i. 11, 12, iii. 18, v. 3, xvi. 15, xvii. 8, etc. In xi. 11, 12 its place is taken by θεωρεῖν, where the sense is exactly the same. But θεωρεῖν does not occur elsewhere in the Apocalypse. Again, the use of ἐκ τῶν λαῶν = “some of the peoples,” is a familiar idiom in our text, but it occurs elsewhere in the N.T. and is not therefore distinctive: see note on ii. 10. Next, the enumeration λαῶν καὶ φυλῶν κτλ. is characteristic of our author, yet it may have been a current phrase: cf. 4 Ezra iii. 7, where it occurs. See note on v. 9.

Finally, the position of the verb (βλέπουσιν) at the beginning of the sentence is suggestive of the style of our author. The evidence of the diction, therefore, though not decisive in favour of regarding βλέπουσιν . . . πτώμα αὐτῶν as an addition of our author, supports the idea that the verse is his addition, or has undergone revision at his hands. If it is an addition, then the original was written before 66 (cf. xi. 13), and xi. 8–9 ran as follows: καὶ τὸ πτώμα αὐτῶν ἐτι τῆς πλατείας τῆς πόλεως τῆς μεγαλῆς ἡμέρας τρεῖς καὶ ἡμισε, καὶ τὰ πτώματα κτλ., and ἀφίουσιν would be the plural of indefinite statement (cf. x. 11) or an Aramaism. The object of the addition would be to bring out the contrast of the Jews (cf. xi. 13) and the hostile Gentiles, and to declare that for the former an opportunity of repentance was reserved (as in the Pauline Epp.), but not for the latter (xvi. 9). On the other hand, if the enumeration λαῶν καὶ φυλῶν κτλ. stood in the original document, two interpretations of it in that document are possible. 1. It could refer to members of different nations present in Jerusalem—observe the partitive use of ἐκ, “some of.” In this case ἀφίουσιν would be the plural of indefinite statement (cf. x. 11) or an Aramaism, and xi. 3–13 was written before 70 a.D.; for the city is still standing (xi. 13), but there is no terminus a quo discoverable. 2. It could refer to the beleaguering hosts of Rome—the subject of ἀφίουσιν.

When we turn from the meaning of this clause in its original
context to its present, I can offer none better than that suggested in the preceding paragraph.

ημέρας τρεις καὶ ημισυ. These three and a half days correspond to the three and a half years of their prophetic activity.¹

άφιόυσιν. This verb c. inf. (cf. John xi. 44, xviii. 8) is not found elsewhere in the Apocalypse. It occurs with different meanings in ii. 4, 20.

Burial was refused to the Witnesses in order to put them to greater shame: cf. Ps lxix. 3; i Kings xiii. 22; Pss. Sol. ii. 31; and Joseph. B. J. iv. 5, 2, in reference to the high priests Ananias and Jesus.

10. καὶ οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς χαίρουσιν ἐπὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ εὐφραίνονται, καὶ δώρα πέμψουσιν ἄλληλοις, ὅτι οὐδὲ οἱ δύο προφήται ἐβασάνισαν τοὺς κατοικοῦντας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.

The phrase (οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς οἵ τούς καθημένους ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς) is the equivalent of the Hebrew קָרֵץ יִשְׂרָאֵל. See xiii. Introd. § 4. In the O.T. this phrase can denote either (1) “the inhabitants of the land,” i.e. Palestine, Hos. iv. 1; Joel i. 2, 14, ii. 1; Jer. vi. 12, x. 18, etc.; or (2) “the inhabitants of the earth,” Isa. xxiv. 6, xxvi. 21, etc.; 1 Enoch xxxvii. 2, 5, xl. 6, 7, xlviii. 5, etc.

Both these O.T. meanings appear in our text. The latter is found in iii. 10, vi. 10, viii. 13, xiii. 8, 14, xvii. 8, and the former at all events originally in the verse we are now dealing with. For, as Bousset in loc. has rightly urged, it is hard to see what the inhabitants of the earth would have to do with the two prophets who appear in Jerusalem in the struggle against the Beast from the abyss. And besides, when the Witnesses fell, the inhabitants could within three and a half days hear of their death, rejoice and send presents to each other; but this could not be possible if the phrase were taken to mean the inhabitants of the earth.

In the next place, the phrase can either have a good ethical meaning, as in 1 Enoch xxxvii. 2, 5, xl. 6, 7, xlviii. 5, or a neutral meaning as in our text in xiv. 6; where, however, in most MSS, though not in A, it has the form τοῦς καθημένους ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς; or it can have a bad ethical meaning, as in 1 Enoch liv. 9, lv. 1, lx. 5, lxv. 6, 12, lxvi. 1, lxvii. 8, and in our text in iii. 10, vi. 10, viii. 13, xi. 10 (bis), xiii. 8, 14, xvii. 8. Thus in the original document the phrase meant the inhabitants of Palestine, and there is no convincing ground for

¹ Gunkel thinks (Zum Verständnis, 80) that the three days go back to the three winter months during which the sun-god is hidden or dies. But it is three and a half days that we have to explain, and apart from this difficulty the speculation is wholly wanting in probability.
assigning a different meaning to it in its new context. The city which is mentioned in xi. 8, 13 is clearly Jerusalem, and, lest there should be any mistake on this head our author adds the damning clause in xi. 8. The κατοικοῦντες ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς are Palestinians—likewise Jews; and though they rejoice over the martyrdom of the Witnesses, they are not painted in such dark colours as the inhabitants of Jerusalem, xi. 8bc.

δῶρα πέμψουσιν κτλ. These words recall Esth. ix. 19, 22, εξαισθησάσθησας μερίδα... τοῖς φίλοις καὶ τοῖς πτωχοῖς: Neh. viii. 10, 12.

11. καὶ μετὰ τὰς τρεῖς ἡμέρας καὶ ἡμίσις πνεύμα ζωῆς ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ εἰσήλθεν ἐν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἐστησάν ἐπὶ τοὺς πόδας αὐτῶν, καὶ φόβος μέγας ἐπέπεσεν ἐπὶ τοὺς θεωροῦντας αὐτοὺς.

The τάς refers back to xi. 9. πνεύμα ζωῆς is the ἔννοι ἡ χάρα, Gen. vi. 17, vii. 15, 22, though the phrase is there used of the lower animal creation and not of man. But it has become for the writer the same as the phrase in Gen. ii. 7, δύνασθαι. εἰσήλθεν ἐν αὐτοῖς. Cf. Luke ix. 46, εἰσήλθεν διαλογισμὸς ἐν αὐτοῖς, and see Blass, Gram. 130. These words and the following look like an independent translation of Ezek. xxxvii. 10... οἱ δὲ οἱ χαῖρον ἀνευρέσθαι ἐν τῷ καταλήψει τῶν πολεμίων πρὸς τὸν οὐρανόν. Here the LXX has εἰσήλθεν εἰς αὐτοὺς τῷ πνεύμα (A, πνεύμα ζωῆς)... καὶ ἐστησάν ἐπὶ τῶν ποδῶν αὐτῶν. Since in xxxvii. 5 the LXX has πνεύμα ζωῆς, which is accepted by Cornill and others as representing the original over against the Mass. Μάρια ἡ γάτη, the writer may have had this reading before him. Cf. also 2 Kings xiii. 21, ἔγγευσεν καὶ ἀνέστη ἐπὶ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ.

φόβος... ἐπέπεσεν ἐπὶ, c. acc. This is a Lucan phrase: cf. Luke i. 12; Acts xix. 17; but it is also an O.T. one: cf. Ex. xv. 16; Ps. liv. (lv.) 5.

τοὺς θεωροῦντας. This verb occurs twice in this verse and not elsewhere in the Apoc. It is a Johannine word (over 20 times). The words which our author uses in this sense are δράν (2), ὁφεσθαί (3), εἴδων (56), and βλέπειν (12).

12. καὶ ἦκουσαν φωνὴν μεγάλην ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ λέγουσαν αὐτοῖς 'Ανάβατε ὁδε' καὶ ἀνέβησαν εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐν τῇ νεφέλῃ, καὶ θεωρήσαν αὐτοὺς οἱ ἐχθροὶ αὐτῶν.

In defence of ἦκουσα, xiii. 10 might be adduced, but the textual evidence is overwhelming in favour of ἦκουσαν. On the other hand, since the Seer constantly says ἦκουσα throughout the Book (24 times), it is more likely that ἦκουσαν would be changed into ἦκουσα than vice versa. The words of invitation are addressed not to the Seer but to the resuscitated Witnesses, and they are heard by their enemies, who also see their ascension into heaven.
XI. 12-13.] ASCENSION OF THE WITNESSES 291

εν τῇ νεφέλῃ. As Elijah (2 Kings ii. 11) and as Moses (according to a lost portion of the Ass. of Moses, referred to by Clem. Alex. Strom. vi. 15, and Origen, In Josuam hom. ii. 1, Jellinek, Beth Ha-Midrash, i. 115-129, vi. 71-78) the Witnesses went up to heaven.

But the tradition that Moses was removed from the sight of his followers by a cloud, while he was still talking with them, is given in Joseph. Ant. iv. 8. 48, προσομελοῦντος ἐτὶ, νέφους αἰνώνυμον ἐπέρ αὐτὸν στάντος, ἀφανίζεται κατὰ τινός φάραγγος. See also James, Apocrypha anedota, ii. 3. 170-171. Our text presupposes the combination of both these traditions—the disappearance of Moses in a cloud and his ascension into heaven. Hence we explain the use of the art. before νεφέλη from the current tradition. In the passages above referred to in Clement Alex. and Origen and in the Apocalypse of Elias (ed. Steindorff, p. 164), a peculiar but quite intelligible account of the resuscitation of the two Witnesses will be found. There it is said that Moses was carried to heaven in the spirit, but that his body was left on the earth. We see here the influence of the Alexandrian doctrine of the resurrection.

13. καὶ ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ὃρᾳ ἐγένετο σεισμὸς μέγας, καὶ τὸ δέκατον τῆς πόλεως ἔπεσεν, καὶ ἀπεκτάνθησαν ἐν τῷ σεισμῷ οὐρανατο ἀνθρώπων χιλίαδες ἐπτά, καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ἐμφοβοι ἐγένοντο καὶ ἐδωκαν δῶξαν τῷ θεῷ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.

With the earthquake here mentioned we might compare vi. 12 and Ezek. xxxviii. 19, 20, where there is the prediction of a great earthquake that is to precede the end.

tῆς πόλεως. While this expression was used literally in the original document it could not be so understood by our author; for only the ruins of the city remained in his time (see note on 8). If he attached a new and definite meaning to it, this meaning would be symbolical. The city would represent the Jewish people.

ὁνόματα ἀνθρώπων = “persons.” See note on iii. 4.

χιλιάδες ἐπτά. This number suits the population of Jerusalem, which according to the statement of the Ps.-Hecataeus in Josephus (c. Apion. i. 22), was about 120,000; but in no case could it suit Rome.

ἐδωκαν δῶξαν τῷ θεῷ. This phrase is here used of Jews, and means to glorify God by turning from their apostasy and repenting. They had become servants of the Antichrist. In xiv. 7, xvi. 9, it is used of the Gentiles, who are exhorted to repent, or who refuse to repent and turn from idols to God. Repentance appears also to be the meaning of the phrase in Josh. vii. 19; Jer. xiii. 16. In iv. 9, xix. 7 of our text it means to glorify or praise God, and so perhaps in Luke xvii. 18;
John ix. 24; Acts xii. 23; Rom. iv. 20. In the O.T. it is of frequent occurrence: cf. 1 Sam. vi. 5; Isa. xlii. 12; Ezra x. 11.

In the original document, xi. 3–13, which was Jewish (for the preservation of the city is presupposed in opposition to Christ's prophecy, Mark xiii. = Matt. xxiv. = Luke xxii.), this verse simply meant the repentance of the Jews and their return to the worship of God. But in its present context it could only mean, if it had a definite meaning for our author, the conversion of Israel to Christianity in the last days—an expectation that agrees with Rom. xi. 25, 26, according to which this conversion is to follow when the full number of the Gentiles has entered into Christ's Kingdom.

τὸ θεῖον τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. This phrase recurs in xvi. 11, where it is used in reference to the heathen. Wellhausen (p. 16) thinks that it would be sheer nonsense to speak of converting Jews to the God of heaven. But, if the Jewish elders in Ezra v. 12 can speak of their fathers as having provoked the God of heaven, it is fitting that Jews should be said to repent, i.e. to be converted to the God of heaven. Neh. i. 4, 5 prays and fasts before the God of heaven. This expression, as Bousset (Rel. d. Judenthums, 306) points out, was probably derived in the first instance from foreign sources. It and kindred phrases are of very frequent occurrence in the later canonical and apocryphal books: cf. Ezra i. 2, v. 11, 12, vi. 9, 10, vii. 12, 21, 23; Dan. ii. 18, 19, 37, 44. See Bousset, op. cit.

**XI. 14b–XIII. THE SEVENTH TRUMPET, i.e. THE THIRD TRUMPET AND THE THIRD WOE.**

**XI. 14b–19.** The proleptic digression in xi. 1–13, to which x. is an introduction, has come to a close, and our author returns to the steady and progressive development of the divine drama in the third Woe,¹ the casting down of Satan to the earth, xii.; the manifestation of the Kingdom of the Antichrist in imperial Rome and the imperial cultus, xiii.; the judgments on Rome, xiv.–xix. and on Satan, xx. 1–3; the 1000 years' reign of the martyrs, xxi. 9–xxii. 2, 14–15, 17, xx. 4–6; the overthrow of the unbelieving hosts of Gog and Magog, xx. 7–10; the final judgment, xx. 11–15; the blessed consummation of the Kingdom of God, xxi. 5ᵃ 4ᵈ 5ᵇ 6ᵃ 1–4ᵃᵇᶜ; xxii. 3–5. To these great themes the heavenly songs in xi. 15–18 are an introduction. The divine decree for all these happenings of the coming days has gone forth, and the heavenly hosts burst into song, as though they were already fulfilled in actuality as they are in essence.

¹ Spitta (p. 124) identifies the seventh Trumpet with xii.–xiii.
Thus the heavenly voices declare that God has become King of the world, xi. 17—hence no longer Satan (xii.) or Antichrist (xiii.); that the time has come to destroy "those that destroy the earth," xi. 18, i.e. Rome, xiv. 6–xix., Satan, Antichrist, and the False Prophet, xx. 10; to judge the dead, xi. 18, i.e. xx. 11–15; to recompense the saints, xi. 18, i.e. xiv. 1–5, xx. 4–6, xxi. 9–xxii. 2, xxi. 14, 15, 17; and to bring to its blessed consummation the everlasting Kingdom of God, xi. 15, i.e. xxi. 1–4, xxii. 3–5.

xi. 14–19 is undoubtedly from the hand of our author. Thus in 14 ἀπήλθεν (= "is past") and ἔρχεται ταχύ are our author's; see note in loc.


The second Woe is, as we have already seen, the same as the sixth Trumpet, that is, originally the second Trumpet. See pp. 217 sqq., 231.

ἀπήλθεν = "is past," is found only elsewhere in N.T. in ix. 12, xxi. 1, 4. This usage, which is classical, is distinctive of our author. More ordinary uses of it occur in x. 9, xii. 17, xvi. 2, xviii. 14. In ἔρχεται ταχύ we have another phrase characteristic of our author: cf. ii. 16, iii. 11, xxii. 7, 12, 20.

15–18. In these verses, which are proleptic in their outlook, we have two great anthems of praise. The first (15ed), consisting of a distich and sung most probably by the Cherubim or Living Creatures, celebrates the divine conquest of the world as though already achieved and the establishment of the Millennial Kingdom, xxi. 9–xxii. 2, xx. 4–6, and heralds the advent of the everlasting kingdom that is to follow on its close, xxi. 1–4, xxii. 3–5. The second anthem (17–18), consisting of twelve lines and sung by the Elders, first recognizes the establishment of God's sovereignty in the Millennial Kingdom (17ed) and the outbreak of Gog and Magog at its close, and then proclaims
that the time has come for the final judgment, the recompense of the faithful, and the destruction of those that destroy the world (18). Here, except in the last clause, which appears to be displaced or interpolated, the chronological order of development is followed.

It is noteworthy that in xix. 1b–3 we have a corresponding anthem from the angelic hosts, at the close of which the Elders and the Cherubim simply respond with the words Ἄμην, ἀλληλουία, as they have already sung their anthems in this chapter (xi. 15–18); while in xix. 6b–8 there is given the loud paean of the glorified martyrs in heaven on the establishment of the Kingdom of God and the advent of the Millennial Kingdom. Further, it is to be noted that whereas xix. 1–8 refers to the epoch immediately preceding the Millennial Kingdom, the present passage refers to the chief eschatological events from the establishment of the Millennial Kingdom to that of the Kingdom that dureth for ever and ever.

15. καὶ δὲ ἐβδομος ἄγγελος ἐσάλπισεν καὶ ἐγένοντο φωναὶ μεγάλαι ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, λέγοντες

Ἐγένετο ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ κόσμου τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν
καὶ τῶν Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ,
καὶ βασιλεύσει εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰῶνων.

Whether the heaven or the earth is here the scene of the Seer’s vision is uncertain; but the former is more probable, as he hears the thanksgivings of the angels. See note on iv. 1.

φωναί. These voices may be those of the Living Creatures or Cherubim. Their praise precedes that of the Elders: cf. iv. 9. Ἐγένετο . . . τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν κτλ. The heavenly voices celebrate the divine conquest of the world as if it were already achieved. The words are therefore proleptic, as are those of the thanksgiving of the 24 Elders in xi. 16–18. With the phrase ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ κόσμου cf. Matt. iv. 8. τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν καὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ is an O.T. expression: cf. Ps. ii. 2, κατὰ τοῦ κυρίου καὶ κατὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ. That this Psalm was early quoted as a Messianic Ps. appears from Acts iv. 26. See also xii. 10 of our text. But the first book in which δ’ Χριστοῦ means technically the Messianic King is 1 Enoch: cf. xlivii. 10, “They have denied the Lord of Spirits and His Anointed”; lii. 4. Subsequently it appears in Pss. Sol. xvii. 36, xviii. 6, 8 (also in the inscription of this Ps.). Cf. Luke ii. 11.

βασιλεύσει. The Kingdom begins with the Millennial Kingdom (xxi. 9–xxii. 2, xx. 4–6), which after the final judgment passes over into the everlasting Kingdom of God (xxi. 1–4, xxii. 3–5). The Kingdom of God and Christ is one. In Eph. v. 5 we find τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ θεοῦ, whereas in the
earlier Epistle, 1 Cor. xv. 24–28, the Son resigns His mediatorial Kingdom to the Father, that God may be “all in all.” But later Christ, too, was conceived as “all in all,” Eph. i. 23; Col. iii. 11. The Kingdom is to be for everlasting: cf. Dan. ii. 44, vii. 14, 27; Luke i. 33.

16. καὶ οἱ εἰκόσι τέσσαρες πρεσβύτεροι οἱ εἰνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ καθήμενοι ἐπὶ τοὺς θρόνους αὐτῶν ἐπεσαν ἐπὶ τὰ πρόσωπα αὐτῶν καὶ προσεκύνησαν τῷ θεῷ, λέγοντες.

For the unusual order οἱ εἰνώπιοι . . . καθήμενοι, see note on xi. 4.

17. Ἐὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι Κύριε ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ, ὃν καὶ ὁ ζήν, ὅτι εἰλήφας τὴν δύναμιν σου τὴν μεγάλην καὶ ἐβασίλευσας.

On the witness of the Cherubim follows the thanksgiving of the Elders. On Κύριε ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ see i. 8, iv. 8; and on ὃν καὶ ὁ ζήν see i. 4, 8, iv. 8. Here and also in xvi. 5 ὁ ἐρχόμενος is omitted, because at this stage it is already fulfilled. On the combination of tenses in εἰλήφας . . . καὶ ἐβασίλευσας cf. iii. 3, v. 7, viii. 5. τὴν δύναμιν κτλ. The supreme and final authority over all things. ἐβασίλευσας = “hast become king,” “begun thy reign”: cf. Ps. xciii. 1; 2 Sam. xv. 10, xvi. 8. Thus the power of Satan on earth (xii.) and the kingdom of his agent the Antichrist (xiii.) are overthrown. God’s reign being now established on earth, the setting up of the Millennial Kingdom (xxi. 9–xxii. 1–2, xx. 4–6) follows in due course. See note on 15.

18. καὶ τὰ ἔθνη ὁργίσθησαν, καὶ ἠλθεν ἡ ὀργὴ σου, καὶ ὁ καιρὸς τῶν νεκρῶν κριθήναι, καὶ δοῦναι τὸν μισθὸν τοῖς δούλοις σου τοῖς προφήταις καὶ τοὺς ἁγίους καὶ τοὺς φοβουμένους τὸ ὄνομα σου, τοὺς μικροὺς καὶ τοὺς μεγάλους, καὶ διαφθείραι τοὺς διαφθείροντας τὴν γῆν.

καὶ τὰ ἔθνη ὁργίσθησαν, ἠλθεν ἡ ὀργὴ σου . . . ὁ καιρὸς τῶν νεκρῶν κριθήναι . . . καὶ δοῦναι τὸν μισθὸν τοῖς δούλοις σου . . . τοῖς μεγάλοις. There is progressive movement in these words,—the recognition of a development of events in their true order. After the close of the Millennial Kingdom mentioned in the preceding verse the song refers to the twofold uprising of nations (τὰ ἔθνη ὁργίσθησαν: cf. xix. 19, xx. 8–9ab), and their destruction (ἠλθεν ἡ ὀργὴ σου: cf. xix. 21, xx. 9c), the judgment of the dead (ὁ καιρὸς τῶν νεκρῶν κριθήναι: cf. xx. 11–15), the final recompense of all the righteous in the New Jerusalem, which together with
the new heaven and the new earth should become their eternal abode (καὶ δοῦναι τὸν μισθόν τοῖς δούλοις σου . . . τοῖς μικροῖς καὶ τοῖς μεγάλοις: cf. xxi. 1-4, xxii. 3-5). It is remarkable that the chronological order is abandoned in the last line—καὶ διαφθείραι κτλ. It is possible that we have here a dislocation of the text, and that after καὶ ἡλθεν ἡ ὥργη σου we should read

καὶ ὁ καιρὸς > διαφθείραι τοὺς διαφθείροντας τὴν γῆν 
καὶ ὁ καιρὸς τῶν νεκρῶν κριθήναι.

In this case, since Rome is already judged in the preceding verse, the διαφθείραι τ. διαφθείροντας would refer to the destruction of the Beast, the False Prophet, and Satan, by their being cast into the lake of fire (cf. xix. 20, xx. 10). Thus we should have the eschatological events in their chronological order. The words καὶ ἔβασιλεύεις: 18, καὶ τὰ ἔθνη ὥργισθήσαν, certainly recall Ps. xcviii. (xcix.) 1, LXX, κύριος ἔβασιλεύειν, ὥργισθησαν λαοί, where ὥργισθησαν, though a possible, is not a right rendering of ἔβασιλεύεις, which here should have been translated by ταρασσόσθησαν or the like. Probably Ps. ii. 1, 5 was also in the mind of the writer as it was in 15. With "the wrath of the nations here cf. xvi. 9-11, 21, but especially xix. 15-21, xx. 8-9. In vi. 15-17 the thought of coming judgment makes the mighty ones of the earth fear and tremble. ἡλθεν ἡ ὥργη σου: cf. vi. 17, xiv. 10, xvi. 19, xix. 15.

ὁ καιρὸς τῶν νεκρῶν κριθήναι: τ. e. xx. 11-15. The aim of the impending event is here expressed by the inf. = ἔνα κριθώσων οἱ νεκροί. See Blass, Gram. 228, note. δοῦναι τὸν μισθόν: cf. xxii. 12. τοῖς δούλοις σου τοῖς προφήταις: cf. x. 7, also i. 1, xxii. 6. These are the Christian prophets: cf. xviii. 10; i Cor. xii. 28, 29; Eph. ii. 20, iii. 5, iv. 11. τοὺς ἄγιους καὶ τοὺς φοβουμένους. A primitive slip for τ. ἄγιοις κ. τ. φοβουμένοις. There is some difficulty in defining these two categories. Bousset proposes with hesitation to omit the καὶ; then we should have the parallel clauses, "Thy servants the prophets, and the saints who fear Thy name." But since the καὶ appears to be original, we should, with Völter (ii. 8) and others (including Bousset), interpret the two clauses ("the saints and those who fear Thy name") as referring to Jewish and Gentile Christians. In i Clem. xxi. 7 (cf. xxiii. 1) the Greek Christians so designated themselves, as Harnack (Vischer, Offenb. Johannis, 133, note) points out: τὴν ἀγάπην αὐτῶν μὴ κατὰ προσκλίσεις, ἀλλὰ πᾶσιν τοῖς φοβουμένοις τὸν θεὸν ὁσίως ἵστην παρεχέτωσαν. Vischer (p. 19) and Spitta (p. 584) and Harnack, who assume a Jewish origin of xi. 15-19, take these words to represent Jews and Proselytes, on the ground that the phrase οἱ φοβουμένοι τὸν θεὸν was the usual designation for the heathen who had joined the Jewish community in the Dispersion.
So the phrase means in Ps. cxv. 11, 13, cxviii. 4, cxxixv. 20 (see Duhm) But this phrase has different meanings according to the context. From 1 Clem. xxi. 7 it has above been shown that it is a designation for Christians; in Pss. Sol. ii. 37 it designates "the pious Pharisees, whose object was to maintain the purity of theocratic principles" (Ryle and James): cf. Pss. Sol. iii. 16, iv. 26, v. 21, xiii. 11, xv. 15.

τοὺς μικροὺς καὶ τοὺς μεγάλους. A slip for the dative. This phrase is characteristic of our author: cf. xiii. 16, xix. 5, 18 [xx. 12]. The two phrases τοὺς φοβουμένους τὸ δόμομα σου and τοὺς μικροὺς καὶ τοὺς μεγάλους are derived from Ps. cxv. 13, μὴ φοβήσητε τὸ κύριόν ημῶν τοὺς μικροὺς καὶ τοὺς μεγάλους (but hardly from the LXX, which renders τοὺς φοβουμένους τὸν κύριον τοὺς μικροὺς μετὰ τῶν μεγάλων.

diaφθείραι τοὺς διαφθείροντας τὴν γῆν: cf. xix. 2, ζητεὶ ἐφθειρότων τὴν γῆν. The phrase may be borrowed from Jer. li. (xxviii.) 25, τὸ ὄρος τὸ διεφθαρμένον, τὸ διαφθείρον (τὴν γῆν) πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν. On the probability that this line originally stood after καὶ ἠλθεν ἡ δράγη σου see first note on this verse.

19. καὶ ἦν αὐτὸς ὁ ναὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ ἐν τῷ ὕψω, καὶ ὄψις ἡ κοίμησις τῆς διαφθείρησις αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ ναῷ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐγένετο ἀστραπηθεῖ, καὶ φωνῆ αὐτοῦ καὶ βρονταὶ καὶ σεισμοὶ καὶ χάλαξα μεγάλη.

As the first Woe or Trumpet is preceded by the prayers of all the saints which are offered on the altar within the holy place of the heavenly temple, viii. 3, and the second Woe opens with the answer to those prayers from the same altar, ix. 13, so the third begins with the opening of the holy of holies and the manifestation of the Ark of the Covenant. This last act is symbolical. As the earthly ark was a witness to the covenant between God and Israel, the heavenly ark is a witness to the covenant between God and the Christian community, which is the true Israel. By the manifestation of the latter at this stage God has pledged Himself to the fulfilment of all the great deeds celebrated in the heavenly song just sung.

On the heavenly temple see note on iv. 2. The ark of the covenant (τὴν κοίμησιν τοῦ ναοῦ) originally stood within the veil of the tabernacle, and subsequently in the holy of holies in Solomon’s Temple. What became of it is unknown. The fragment preserved in Jer. iii. 16–18 forbids in the name of Yahweh the hope of its restoration to the second Temple. It was no longer needed; for (iii. 17) Yahweh would make Zion His dwelling-place, and Jerusalem would be called “Yahweh’s Throne.” But later the legend arose that Jeremiah at the bidding of God (2 Macc. ii. 4–8; Rest of the Words of Jeremiah, iii. 8) hid, in a cave-like dwelling in the mountain which Moses climbed, “the tabernacle and the ark and the altar of incense.” The same account is found in
2 Bar. vi. 5–10, lxxx. 2, though there it is an angel or angels by whom this task is discharged.¹

But it is quite a mistake with some scholars to identify the hidden ark with the ark in the temple in heaven. The latter is the archetype of the former, and existed prior to it. The earthly ark was, according to the above tradition, buried somewhere on the earth: see Yoma, 53⁵⁻⁴⁵⁶; Joseph. Ant. xviii. 4. 1; Rest of the Words of Jeremiah, iii. 7–8, 14: see note on ii. 17. ἡνοίγη δὲ ναὸς τοῦ θεοῦ—i.e. the holy of holies. Since the first two Woes open with events connected with the heavenly altar, viii. 3, ix. 13, the third Woe begins with the throwing open of the holy of holies. ἀστραπαὶ κτλ. See note on viii. 5.

CHAPTER XII.

A RETROSPECT.

Introduction.

Chap. xii. represents the conflict of good and evil as a cosmic one—not one originating on earth. The idea is Pauline: Eph. vi. 12, etc. The presupposition of O. and N.T. apocalyptic is that the world’s disorder and sin is only a part of the disorder and sin affecting the spiritual world. Cf. Isa. xxiv. 22; Daniel and Rev. xii.; Eph. i. 3, 10, etc. (see Robinson, p. 20 sqq.); Luke x. 18. The conflict is not limited to this earth or to this life. It is a warfare from which there is no discharge until the kingdom of this world is become the kingdom of the Lord and of His Christ.

§ 1. The meaning of this Chapter in its present Christian context.

The third Woe or the third Trumpet deals with the climax of Satan’s power on earth. This crowning evil, however, was not a sign of his growing power, but the closing stage of the strife which had its beginning in heaven and was destined to have its ending on earth. In heaven the strife had already terminated in the vindication of God’s sovereignty and the hurling down of Satan to earth (chap. xii.). Hence however Satan may rage and his minions—the Roman and heathen powers (chap. xiii. sqq.)—they are not to be feared: this final persecution of the Church is but the last struggle of a beaten foe, whose venom and malignity are all the greater since he knows how short a time he has.

¹ In 2 Bar. vi. 7 the text is corrupt. Instead of reading “ark” it reads “ephod.” But ναὸς is here corrupt for ναῶν = “ark.” The converse corruption in the Mass. text is found in 1 Sam. xiv. 18, as the LXX and several Talmudic authorities prove.
Such is the object of this and the coming chapters, in which chap. xii. gives the reader a spiritual insight into the past in order to prepare him for the crowning evil of the manifestation of Satanic power on earth in chap. xiii. sqq. In setting forth his theme the Seer borrows the main part of the present chapter from Jewish sources, in which international myths have been used and transformed to higher ends. In our text the Seer takes account alike of the past, the present, and the time to come. His vision goes back before the birth of Christ. Of a glorious goddess of the sun is born a wondrous child, against whom, alike before and after his birth, the Dragon showed a ceaseless enmity (1-5). But from this enmity He is rescued and rapt to the throne of God, and His mother, i.e. the Church, is preserved from the attacks of the Dragon (5c-6). Thither the Dragon and his angels storm after him, but are met by Michael and his angels and hurled down to earth (7-9). Thereupon, on the eve of the last and fiercest persecution about to burst on the community of Christ through the rage of the baffled fiend, the Seer hears the glorified martyrs in heaven raise a paean of triumph in honour of their brethren still on earth, who, too, are to be martyred in this persecution (10-12). In the course of this persecution part of the community—the Jewish Christian—makes its escape (13-16)—a meaningless survival in our present text—a work of 95 a.d.; see notes in loc.: thereupon the Dragon turns against the rest of the seed of the woman—the Gentile Christians scattered throughout the world (17). Thus the Seer leads up to his main theme—the persecution of the Church by the Empire of Rome.

§ 2. But this was not the original meaning of this Chapter: its chief section could not have been written originally for the Apocalypse by a Christian: nor could it have been the original creation of a Jew.

Vischer (Offenb. Johannis, 19 sqq.) and Gunkel (Schöpfung, 173 sqq.) have shown that this chapter could not have been composed by a Christian. It is simply inconceivable that a Christian writing freely could have so represented the birth and life of Christ. Whatever his visions may have been, they could not have failed to be more in unison with the facts on which the Christian community was founded and which were embodied in the heart of its most cherished beliefs. No Christian could spontaneously have depicted the life of our Lord, under the figure of a child, born of a sun-goddess,1 perse-

1 Even if the sun-goddess is taken to represent the Community, it cannot be the Christian community that is here primarily designed; for it is never
cuted by the seven-headed dragon and rapt to the throne of God, and have suppressed every reference to His earthly life and work, His death and resurrection. Nor could a Christian have represented the overthrow of Satan as due to Michael and not to Christ. The passive and subordinate rôle assigned to the Messiah here is quite in keeping with Jewish, but not with Christian conceptions.

This chapter, moreover, is full of mythological features which could not have been the original creations of a Jew or a Christian. These are—1. A goddess clothed with the sun, crowned with the signs of the zodiac, and standing on the moon as her footstool. 2. This goddess is with child—an idea wholly foreign to Jewish conceptions of the angels. 3. The great fiery Dragon with seven heads and ten horns and seven diadems, whose tail can hurl down a third of the stars of heaven. 4. The birth of the young sun-god and his rapture into heaven. 5. The flight of the woman into the wilderness by means of the wings of the great eagle. 6. The flood cast forth by the Dragon after the woman, and the earth opening its mouth and swallowing it.

And yet, since this vision occurs in a Christian apocalypse, it must have had a Christian meaning for our author: he must have interpreted it in a Christian sense. What this meaning was we have in some measure seen already in § 1. Our author either took literally or allegorised the mythological features that were susceptible of such treatment, and neglected the rest—a course that was usual in dealing with traditional material. Their lack of connection with their present context and their unintelligibility are undoubtedly evidence that they are wrested from their original context and belong to earlier forms of the myth.

§ 3. The Idiom and Diction of this Chapter are those of our Author—facts which are against his use of Greek sources here.

1. The clause σημεῖον (xii. 3, xv. 1: in xiii. 13, 14, xvi. 14, xix. 20 in another meaning) μέγα ὀφθή (i. 7, xi. 19, xii. 3) ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ which recurs in xii. 3 is found also in xv. 1, εἴδον ἄλλο σημεῖον ἐν τῷ οὐρ. μέγα. μέγα follows after the noun. Cf. x. 1, xiv. 9, xv. 1, etc.

περιβεβλημένη—12 times in Apoc. and 12 times in rest of N.T. 8 times in rest of Apoc. c. acc. as here. ὀτοκάτω, v. 3, 13, vi. 9. ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς. Only here in our author has ἐπὶ the gen. said to be the mother of Jesus. On the other hand, the Jewish Messiah could be regarded as a child of the community: cf. Test. Jos. xix. 11; 4 Ezra ix. 43 sqq., x. 44 sqq. Besides, the true Israel in the O.T. was the spouse of God; whereas in the N.T. the true Israel, or Church, is the bride of Christ.
in this phrase, though this is the natural construction as denoting rest on. In x. i (see textual evidence) xix. 12 it occurs c. acc. in sing. Elsewhere in Apoc. always c. acc. in plural (five times). In the rest of the N.T. ἐπὶ τὴς κεφαλῆς occurs four times and ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλήν twice. δώδεκα—post-positive: see notes on viii. 2, xii. 3.

2. ἐν γαστρὶ ἐχοῦσα—participle used as finite verb as in x. 2, xxi. 14. On κράζει ktl. see note on text. 

βασανίζω (ix. 5, xi. 10, xiv. 10, xx. 10) is never used in LXX of the pangs of childbirth, and only here in the N.T.

3. ὄφθη κτλ.: see on i. πυρρός: see vi. 4. For the position of the last ἐπτά see footnote on viii. 2. ἐπὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς αὐτοῦ. This is the usual idiom in the Apoc. See note on i above.

4. ἐστηκεν ἐνώπιον: cf. vii. 9, viii. 2, xi. 4. τῆς μελλούσης 13 times in Apoc., 10 times with pres. inf. and 3 times with aor. inf., iii. 2, 16, xii. 4. On the order ἵνα δοθὲν τέκνη ... καταφάγη: cf. xiii. 15, ἵνα δοθῇ ... προσκυνήσωσιν ... ἀποκτανθῶσιν. καταφάγη: cf. x. 9, 10, xi. 5, xii. 4, xx. 9. τέκνον: cf. ii. 23.

5. The clause δὲ μέλλει ... σιδηρᾶ is from the hand of our author: cf. ii. 27, xix. 15.

6 is a dooublet of xii. 13b 14 from the hand of our author. ὅπου ... ἐκεῖ: cf. xii. 14. For analogous Semiticisms, cf. ii. 7, 17, iii. 8, vii. 2, 9, xiii. 8, 12, xvii. 9, xx. 8. ὅπου occurs 5 times elsewhere without complementary adverbal phrase. ἡτοιμασμένων: cf. vii. 6, ix. 7, 15, xvi. 12, xix. 7, xii. 2. On this rare use of ἅποι after a passive verb see note on ix. 18. τρέφωσιν. On this indefinite use of plural, cf. x. 11 (xi. 9 originally). ἡμέρας χιλ. διακοσίας ἐξήκοντα (cf. xi. 3)—an interpretation of the phrase in xii. 14.

7-8. πολεμῆσαι μετά: cf. ii. 16, xiii. 4, xvii. 14 (xix. 11). This phrase is found in the N.T. only in the Apoc., and outside the Apoc. without metā in Jas. iv. 2. It is common in the LXX. On the irregular syntax see note in loc. τοῦ before the infinitive occurs only here in our author: not at all in the Fourth Gospel. οὔδε τόπος εὐρέθη: cf. xx. 11, τόπος οὐχ εὐρέθη αὐτοῖς.

9. On the original form of this verse see note in loc. ὁ ὃφις ὁ ἄρχαιος ... Σατανᾶς: cf. xx. 2. ὁ καλούμενος: cf. xi. 8 n. διάβολος ... ὁ πλανῶν: cf. xx. 8. τὴν οἰκουμένην ἄλην: cf. iii. 10, xvi. 14. The writer of the Fourth Gospel would have used κόσμος, which, indeed, is used in Apoc. xi. 15 (xiii. 8, xvii. 8).

This verse is word for word the diction of our author. évnikíasan—characteristic of our author. dia tó àima toú árniou: cf. étv toú aìmati átòv, i. 5, v. 9, vii. 14. dia tón lógon tis márturías autòv: cf. vi. 9, dia tón lógon toú theou kai dia tìn márturian: also i. 9, xx. 4. ἕ γάπησαν: cf. i. 5, iii. 9, xx. 9. ἀχρι θανάτου occurs already in ii. 10. ἀχρι occurs 11 times in Apoc. but not in Johannine Gospel or Epistles.

12. dia tòútò: cf. vii. 15, xviii. 8 (15 times in Fourth Gospel). eüfpraiénsete oubranóI. This phrase is difficult and would point to the existence of xii. 7–10, 12 in a Greek form. We should expect eüfprai invocation as in xviii. 20; for the plural is not found elsewhere in the Apoc. See note on xii. 12. di . . . σκηνούντες, used of heavenly dwellers: cf. viii. 15, xiii. 6, xxi. 3, as katoikein of dwellers on earth. Though the LXX uses σκηνον and katasteknon of the dwellers on the earth, our author does not. 

13. Ὑπειδεν and ὅτι ἐβλήθη . . . γῆ (from xii. 9) added as connecting links after incorporation of xii. 7–12. ἡτις = ἦ— a usage of our author: see xi. 8 n.


15. ὡς ποταμόν. See Additional Note on ὡς, p. 35 sq. ὡς αὕτην ποταμοφόρητον ποιήσῃ. On ποταμοφόρητον see note in loc. Next, ὡς is followed by object and verb also in vi. 4, xiii. 13; and adverbial phrase or clause and verb in xii. 4 (ὡς ὅταν . . .), xiii. 15; by substantive clause and verb, xiii. 15 (ὡς ὅσοι . . .); though immediately by verb as a rule: cf. ii. 10, iii. 9, vi. 11, vii. 3, 12, ix. 5, 15, xii. 6 (ὡς ἐκεῖ), 14, xiii. 12, 15, 16, xiv. 13, xvi. 12, xix. 8, 18, xxi. 15, xxii. 14. ὡς μὴ is followed by verb 6 times; by subject and verb, iii. 11, xii. 12, xvi. 16; by adjective and verb, xvi. 15. The combination ποταμοφόρητον ποιεῖν is Hebrew as well as Greek: see note on xvii. 16.

also to the Johannine vocabulary. Gospel 18 times, 1 Ep. 7 times. τὴν μαρτυρίαν ἱησοῦ: cf. i. 2, 9, xix. 10, xx. 4.


Before passing on attention ought to be drawn to words or expressions that are ἀπ. λεγ. in the Apos. 5. ἡρπάσθη. 12. ὀλέγων κατὰφόν. 13. ἐδώξεν. 14. ἀπὸ προσώπου = "because of." Contrast its meaning in vi. 16, xx. 11. 15. ποσαμοφόρητον. 16. ἐβοήθησεν . . . κατέπειν.

Thus the entire chapter exhibits the peculiar idioms and diction of our author—with two slight exceptions. The first is in xii. 1, ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς, instead of which he uses ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν (or τὰς κεφαλὰς). The second irregular usage is the use of ὄφανοι in xii. 12, but this may be due to the source which our author is translating; see § 4. In any case these two expressions are of no weight against the overwhelming agreement in point of idiom and diction of this chapter with the style of our author. The evidence is distinctly against the hypothesis that we have here a recast of existing Greek sources from another hand or hands.

§ 4. Yet since our author undoubtedly used sources (see § 7) and not Greek sources as we have just seen, there remains the hypothesis that he used Semitic sources oral or written—a hypothesis for which there is considerable evidence, considering the paucity of the text.

From what precedes it follows that our author found the originals of xii. 1–5, 13–17, xii. 7–9, 12 in Semitic sources oral or written, and that he translated them into Greek with certain additions of his own as xii. 6, 10–11, and in xii. 3, 5, 9, 13, 17. The evidence for the existence of such Semitic sources is as follows.

Some evidence pointing to a Semitic source or influence has already been advanced in the past. Thus νιόν, ἀρσεν = רָּן נ in xii. 5, ὅπου . . . ἐκεῖ = שָׁנָה . . . רַּךְ in xii. 6, 14, οὐκ ἵσχυσεν = בְּנִי נָבָה in xii. 8, and κατέβη xii. 12, ἐβλήθη xii. 9, 13, as renderings of the same verb הָרִי (Aram. ḫaherent), have been adduced by various scholars in the past. Gunkel (Schöpfung, 200 sq.) has enumerated the above and sought to strengthen the evidence for a Semitic original by the following arguments. Thus ὁδηγοῦ καὶ βασανικομένη τεκεῖν, xii. 2, is, he claims, a Hebrew construction such as הָרִי לֵּךְ, i Sam. iv. 19 (itself an isolated idiom), but as I have sought to show in the note in loc., τεκεῖν should be immediately connected with κρᾶζει, or taken as a complement of the preceding clause as "about to be delivered." The mistranslation of the Hebrew dual which he finds in xii. 14 was over
200 years old. He thinks that the construction in xii. 7, if we omit ὁ Μ. καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοί, is Semitic, and thus misses the point.

But the above evidence, though suggestive, is in no respect conclusive—not indeed that it is possible to discover absolutely conclusive evidence where the text is so exiguous, but there is further evidence that makes the hypothesis of a Semitic original the only reasonable solution of the problem before us.

xii. 1-5, 13-17ab and xii. 7-9, 12 will here be treated together as derived from Semitic sources. (1) First of all the force of the evidence in ὅπου... ἐκεῖ xii. 14 (repeated in xii. 6), has not been observed. The addition of ἐκεῖ after ὅπου is contrary to the usage of our author when writing independently. Cf. ii. 13 (bis), xi. 8, xiv. 4, xx. 10. And yet analogous Semiticisms are used by our author elsewhere (see iii. 8 n.), but not this particular one. This idiom is repeated in xii. 6, which is merely a doublet of xii. 13b, 14.

(2) Next the use of ὁπανοῖ instead of ὁπανός in xii. 12 is best explained by our author's use of a Semitic source (contrast xviii. 20 εὐφραίνων... ὁπανῶ); for he always uses the sing. when writing independently, and even when translating a Semitic original, as in xii. 7, 8, 10, where the use of the plural might suggest the idea of a plurality of the heavens: an idea he rejects—though it was held by St. Paul and the author of the Hebrews, and was current in the O.T., and enforced in the Testament of XII Patriarchs, 2 Enoch, Ascension of Isaiah, etc. (see note on iv. 1, p. 108). Since there is here no risk of misconception he renders ὁπανοῖ by the familiar rendering of the LXX, εὐφραίνεσθε ὁπανοῖ.

(3) Our author nowhere else uses τῶν before the infinitive (xii. 7). Nor is it found in any of the Johannine writings. Hence its appearance here can be best explained as due to a Semitic background. The explanation is given under (8) below.

(4) There seems to lurk a mistranslation in the clause οὕσε τὸτος εὐρέθη αὐτῶν in xii. 8. For nowhere else in the Apocalypse is there such a separation of αὐτῶν from the noun on which it depends as here.1 Next, in xx. 11, where the clause recurs, we find τὸτος οὕσε εὐρέθη αὐτῶι. This is the natural form of this expression: moreover, it is the Hebrew לָלָמֹק לָלָמֵהוּ or the Aramaic לָלָמֹק לָלָמֶהוּ. But αὐτῶι is a possible, though here an incorrect, rendering of ως (οὕσε). Hence for

---

1 This differentiates the usage of the Apocalypse from the Johannine Gospel. ὧμιζον, ὧμιζε, αὐτῶι, αὐτῶι can in John either precede or follow the noun: they can only follow in the Apocalypse. In John these possessives can be separated from their noun by an adj.: cf. iii. 19, viii. 17, by a preposition, ix. 15, xi. 32, or by a verb, ix. 28 (bis), xi. 32, xii. 47, xiii. 6, 14, xix. 35, xx. 23. See note on iii. 2 above.
§ 5. Order of Verb, Subject, and Object.

In the original form of xii. 1–5 there are 11 verbs: 7 times the verb comes first, 3 times it is preceded by the subject, and once by the object.

In the original form of xii. 7–9, 12 there are 10 verbs: 6 times the verb comes first, 4 times it is preceded by the subject.

In the original form of xii. 13–18 there are 16 verbs, all coming first save 2: 1 of these is necessarily preceded by the subject (xii. 13) and one by the object (xii. 15). In the latter instance the object and verb together almost certainly represent a Semitic verb and therefore this case does not count.

The above facts, though they do not help to differentiate xii. 7–9, 12 from the rest of the chapter, manifest the Semitic order of the words throughout the entire chapter.

§ 6. This Chapter was not originally a unity, but was derived from two independent Jewish sources.

That this chapter is composite is clear from many facts. It is sufficient, to begin with, to mention two. First, xii. 10–11 is clearly an addition, since it breaks the connection and conflicts with its immediate context. Next, the flight and rescue of the woman are recounted in xii. 6 before the casting down of Satan,
and yet in xii. 13–17 it is placed after that event and treated at fuller length. Owing to these and other difficulties various hypotheses are advanced.

Spitta (130 sqq.) thinks that the difficulty can be got over by excising xii. 6 as a short preliminary redactional addition, which constitutes in fact a doublet of xii. 13–17. Other additions he finds in xii. 9, ὀ πλανῶν ... τῇ γῆ: in xii. 11, 13, ὅτε εἶδεν and ὅτι ἐβληθή ... γῆ: and in xii. 17, καὶ ἐχόντων ... Ἰησοῦ. Pfleiderer (332 sqq.), Völter, iii. 146 sqq., regard xii. 12–17 as well as xii. 11 as later additions. They conceive the overthrow of Satan to be the last or last but one scene of all. Völter says that the addition of xii. 6 is incomprehensible on the presupposition of the original unity of xii. 1–10, 12–17. Why should this notice of the flight of the woman be inserted, if this were recounted fully in xii. 12–17? On the other hand, the shortness of the account in xii. 6 would naturally lead to a fuller statement as in xii. 12–17.

Dieterich, Abraxas, 118, reconstructs the chapter as follows: xii. 1–4, 14–16, 5 (6, 17, 12), 7–12a.

None of the above hypotheses is satisfactory, though some of Spitta’s suggestions are of permanent value. The remaining chief hypotheses seek to explain the chapter as consisting of (a) two parallel visions, or of (b) two distinct sources.

(a) Under this head come Gunkel’s and Wellhausen’s. Gunkel (Schöpfung, 274 sqq.) sees in xii. 6 and xii. 7–16 parallel accounts. The first writer had concluded the section with xii. 6. He was acquainted with xii. 7–16, but owing to his aversion to the mythological element he not only abbreviated the account of the flight of the woman but he also left out wholly the narrative of the overthrow of the Dragon. A reviser subsequently added the original account, xii. 7–16. But why then, it may be asked, did he not excise the disturbing xii. 6? Wellhausen (Anal. d. Offenb. Joh. 18 sqq.) finds that xii. 1–6 and xii. 7–14 are parallel accounts, which terminate in a common conclusion xii. 15–17. Both are incomplete, and they must both be used to supplement each other. xii. 10–12 and certain clauses in xii. 3, 5, 9, 17 are added by the redactor, with a view to giving a Christian character to the whole. The rest is purely Jewish. From a combination of xii. 1–6 and xii. 7–9, 13–14 he recovers the original contents of the narrative. The Dragon warred in heaven and was overcome and cast down to the earth. There he assails the woman who had borne the male child. The child was thereupon rapt into heaven and the woman, i.e., the élite of the community, fled into the wilderness, where she stayed for 3½ years. The Dragon then attacks the rest of her seed in Jerusalem which had not fled into the wilderness. The conclusion of the Apocalypse which dealt with the returning Messiah is lost.
We have, therefore, in xii. a Pharisaic counterblast to the Zelotic oracle in xi. 1–2.

But the above hypotheses labour under one and the same difficulty. They both assume two parallel visions—an assumption which can only be justified by the further assumption that one of them is considerably abbreviated. In either case a reconstruction of the parallel accounts in their completeness is impossible. Moreover, Gunkel’s reconstruction is based on the Marduk myth, which as reproduced by Gunkel is itself a reconstruction and without any actual basis in tradition.

(6) Two distinct sources. J. Weiss (87 sq.) is of opinion that we have here two distinct sources. The first dealt with the birth of the Messiah, His persecution by the Dragon, the flight and persecution of the woman, and the persecution of the remaining children of the woman. The second dealt with the strife of Michael with the Dragon in heaven: the casting down of the Dragon and his reign on earth.

In support of this hypothesis (88 sq.) Weiss urges that the war with the Dragon has no connection of any kind with the persecution of the Child. The angels are not conscious of contending on behalf of the Messiah, and it is nowhere said that the Dragon is overthrown as an enemy of the Messiah. If the war with the Dragon and the enmity between the Dragon and the Messiah had been conceived in relation with each other, then the final strife between the Messiah and the Dragon must have been recounted at the close. And the fact that this is not so is a proof that the war with the Dragon had originally nothing to do with the Messiah, His birth and persecution.

In this matter Weiss appears to have established his contention and is herein followed by Bousset. His further contention that xii. 7–12 was an original constituent of a Christian Apocalypse is against the evidence of the section itself, which in form and idiom points to a Semitic origin (see § 4 (8), § 5) and in matter to a Jewish.

§ 7. These two sources were borrowed by our Author from Jewish Tradition, xii. 7–10, 12 being probably an original product of Judaism, but not so xii. 1–5, 13–17.

xii. 7–10, 12 is an original product of Judaism. All the elements in this section can be found in pre-Christian Judaism, as I have shown in the notes on xii. 7 (p. 323 sq.). Yet even in the case of this section some of the subject-matter may go back to the Zend religion. Thus in the Bund. (S.B.E. v. 17) iii. 10–11 it is stated that the evil spirit or Ahriman attacked the heaven with his confederate demons, and they “sprang like a
snake down to the earth" (cf. Apoc. xii. 12, κατέβη ὁ διάβολος πρὸς ὑμᾶς).

For 90 days and nights the heavenly angels contended with the demons of the evil spirit and hurled them down to hell (Bund. iii. 26). In some degree the Zend tradition may in turn be dependent on the Babylonian myth of the primeval chaos monster Tiāmat which was overcome by Marduk. But the same idea was found in Greece in the wars of the Titans and at a later date among the Mandaeans (Brandt, Mandäische Schriften, 128 sqq., 138 sqq., 178, 181 sqq., 231 sq.) and the Manichacans (Flügel, Mani, 87); see Gunkel, Verständnis, 57. The myth had an international currency in the ancient world.

xii. 1-5, i3-17. We have already seen (§ 2) that this section could not have been written originally either by a Jew or by a Christian. It was therefore taken over from a heathen source by a Jew or by a Christian.

That it was taken over by a Jew and not by a Christian is probable on the following grounds. 1. It shows signs of being a translation from Hebrew or Aramaic (§ 4). Even if this could be established conclusively, it does not, of course, prove a Jewish original as against a Jewish-Christian, though it makes it more likely. 2. It exhibits several characteristics which differentiate the Jewish and the Christian Messiah. Thus the Messiah is here conceived as playing a passive rôle so far as the present text is concerned (cf. 1 Enoch xc. 37; Shemone Esre, 15 (14); 4 Ezra vii. 28 sq.; 2 Bar. xxix. 3). He is rapt away after His birth: and remains in concealment after His birth. 3. The same three characteristics belong to the Jewish Messiah, but are positively at variance with the universally accepted views of Jesus, the Christian Messiah.

1 These two facts, though impossible in a first-hand description of Jesus, would be possible in a Jewish apocalypse: for we find a kindred tradition in the Jer. Talmud, Berachoth, 5a (chap. ii.), the Midrash Echa Rabbati, i. 16, according to which an Arab had come to a Jew at Bethlehem and told him of the destruction of Jerusalem and the birth of the Messiah. Thereupon the Jew went off to Bethlehem and saw the mother of the Messiah; but when he returned a second time he was informed that the child had been carried off by a strong wind. With this legend we might compare the tradition in the Targ. Jon. on Mic. iv. 8, that the Messiah was already born but was concealed on account of the sins of the people; and in Justin, Dial. 8, that, according to Trypho, the Messiah was possibly already born but would remain unknown till Elijah came and anointed Him; and in Sanh. 98b, that He was already born but living in concealment at the gates of Rome. The same idea underlies the statement of certain Jews in John vii. 27, ὁ δὲ Χριστὸς δὴν ἔρχεται οὐδεὶς γινώσκει πόθεν ἐστίν, and 2 Bar. xxix. 3; 4 Ezra vii. 28, xiii. 32. The birth of the Messiah, therefore, followed by His sudden disappearance, was an idea familiar to Judaism, but impossible as a purely Christian conception. Whether He remained on earth or was carried off to heaven as in our text is a subordinate question.
from the Christian conception in the way of omission. The Person, life, death, and resurrection of Christ are here wholly ignored. 4. The description of the birth and rapture of the Messiah could well represent an event still impending in the view of the writer (and therefore a Jew), but not in that of a Christian. 5. A Jewish writer could accept the divine figure—a sun-goddess, in a general sense as symbolizing the true Israel, since in the O.T. Israel was the spouse of God. But in the N.T. the true Israel is the spouse of Christ.

Hence, since the original of xii. 1-5, 13-17 is alien in nearly every respect to the Christian conception, but shows affinities in certain definite respects to the Jewish, it is immeasurably more probable that the myth was adopted and adapted first by a Jew, then by a Christian. When once it was incorporated in Jewish Apocalyptic, its adoption by our author for his own purposes is easily intelligible. It is only le premier pas qui cotte. He sees in it a prophecy of the last times, a prophecy likewise that was coming to fulfilment in the events of the present.

xii. 1-5, 13-17 is a torso. In accordance with the primitive forms of the myth we should expect a return of the Messiah from heaven in order to destroy the Dragon, but this expectation is not fulfilled here or later in our Apocalypse. Christ destroys the two agents of the Dragon, chap. xix., but not the Dragon himself.

§ 8. The two sections, xii. 1-5, 13-17 and xii. 7-10, 12, were adapted to their new Christian context by the addition of xii. 6, 11, and by changes and additions in xii. 3, 5, 9, 10, 17.

Since these questions are dealt with in the notes on the text they require no further consideration here.

§ 9. Whether the sections were first brought into connection by our author, or already formed a unity in a Semitic original is doubtful, though the evidence perhaps points to the former alternative.

If the two sections existed already as a whole, then our author translated his source and inserted xii. 11 and certain additions in xii. 3, 5, 9, 10, 17 to adapt it to its new context. In this case xii. 6 was already before him and due to the Jewish writer who had joined the two sections. 1 ὅπου . . . ἐκεῖ would thus be explained as due to the source as in xii. 14 (see § 4, p. 304). But the other hypothesis, that our author first brought the two sections together, is perhaps preferable. On this hypo-

1 That the two sections existed already as a whole (whether as Jewish or Christian, in Semitic or Greek) is the view of Weizsäcker, Sabatier, Schoeck, Pfleiderer, Gunkel, Wellhausen.
thesis he added xii. 6, 11 and certain clauses in xii. 3, 5, 9, 10, 13, 17. On this hypothesis we could explain in xii. 6 the indefinite Semitic plural τρέφοντα (which our author uses elsewhere, x. 11) as opposed to τρέφοντας in xii. 14, the use of ἡγομαιμένον (cf. ix. 7, 15, xvi. 12), the different phrasing of the period of the Antichrist, ἡμέρας χιλιας κτλ. Cf. xi. 3. The unusual ός τον ... ἑκεῖ would in that case be simply transferred from xii. 14.

The decision of this question depends on the authorship of xii. 6.

§ 10. xii. 1-5, 13-17ab—essentially a heathen myth—may have been adopted and adapted originally by a Pharisaic Jew about 67-69 A.D., but xii. 14-16 are meaningless in their present context.

This is Wellhausen’s view as to the date of the entire chapter, and it appears right, though we cannot follow him in regarding the chapter as an original Jewish creation. It was only a Jewish adaptation of a heathen myth—a question which will be discussed presently.

xii. 1-5, 13-17ab represents at the outset two great powers—the sun-goddess and the Dragon, which symbolized for the Jewish adapter the Jewish Community and its spiritual foe, the Antichrist. The Dragon, who after his overthrow in the war in heaven (xii. 4) descended to earth, besets the Jewish Community with a view to destroying the Messiah, who was to come forth from it. But the Messiah who was to be born in the hour of Israel’s sorest need, as was foretold in Mic. v. 3, Isa. vii. 14 sqq., was carried off to heaven, and so escaped the dragon, who therefore fell upon the Jewish Community through his agent the Roman Empire. The Pharisees, who were the elite of the nation, fled to the wilderness, xii. 14-16, and so escaped; but the Zealots clung to the Temple, and so were exposed to the fury of the Dragon, xii. 17ab (cf. xi. 1, 2). In its present context (95 A.D.) xii. 17 is reinterpreted, but xii. 14-16 are meaningless.

§ 11. Original source of xii. 1-5, 13-17ab to be found in a primitive international myth.

Scholars have sought the source of this chapter variously in Babylonian, Persian, Greek, and Egyptian myths. It is not, however, directly and wholly from any one of these, but from an early international myth. The chief attempts of the above nature are as follows.

1 The Messiah, according to Jer. Berachoth, f. 5. c. 1, was born on the day of the destruction of Jerusalem.
Babylonian origin.—Gunkel (Schöpfung, 379 sqq.) traces the entire chapter to an old Babylonian myth which dealt with the war between Tiâmat, the seven-headed dragon, and the gods, which was not decided till Marduk the god of light arose. In this strife Tiâmat cast down a third of the stars (cf. Dan. viii. 10). Tiâmat was a water monster—a fact which would explain the action of the dragon in xii. 15. The great eagle is the constellation called the Eagle, which Gunkel supposes to have been the servant of Marduk. Tiâmat, knowing the destiny of the child, seeks to kill it the moment it is born, but it is rescued and borne off to a place of safety. Then Tiâmat turns against the mother, but through the help of the eagle and the earth she is saved. Thereupon his fury is directed against the rest of her sons. At last Marduk grows up and returns and overcomes Tiâmat.

But the incurable weakness of this hypothesis is that it is not found in Babylonian mythology, but reconstructed on the basis of the very chapter it is invoked to explain. In that mythology indeed there is found Tiâmat and Marduk and Damkina his mother, who is, in fact, described in terms similar to those in xii. 1. But of her persecution by Tiâmat, because she was about to bear a child dangerous to the dragon, of the removal of the child, and of the flight of the woman into the wilderness, there has not been found a trace in Babylonian mythology. But perhaps the most telling criticism of this hypothesis is to be found in the fact that as the one exclusive explanation of our text it is abandoned by its author. See Verständnis, 59 sq.

Zend origin.—Völter (iv. 86 sq.) traces the myth in our text to a Persian origin. Ormuzd and Ahriman contend for “the great kingly glory.” The parallel to this Völter finds in the woman in xii. 1, who represents the theocracy. Ahriman sends Azhi Dahak—the dragon—to secure this treasure. The twelve stars with which the woman was crowned were the twelve constellations created by Ormuzd, while the seven diadems of the dragon had their counterparts in the seven planets which were created by Ahriman.

To the statement that the dragon cast down a third of the stars of heaven, Völter adduces the parallel that in Bund. iii. 11 the serpent stood on a third part of the heaven and sprang therefrom to the earth. So far the parallels are interesting, but of the woman with child, the birth of a son, his removal, the rescue of the mother, there is naturally not a word in Persian mythology in connection with “the great kingly glory” and the serpent. These ideas Völter would trace to Mic. iv. 8–10, though he thinks that our author may have combined the marvellous tradition of the book of Zoroaster with the myth about “the great kingly glory” which Azhi Dahak sought to obtain.
The above hypothesis, though it offers interesting parallels, cannot be accepted as the source of our text.

Greek origin.—Dieterich 1 (Abraxas, 117 sqq., Nekyia, 217, n. 3) finds the original of chap. xii. in Greek mythology, i.e. in the myth of the birth of Apollo, as transmitted by Hyginus. It was announced in prophecy to Python the son of Earth, the great Dragon, that he should be slain by the son of Leto, who was with child by Zeus. Out of jealousy Hera contrived that Leto could give birth only where the sun shone not, and Python observing that she was soon to have a child pursued her in order to slay her. But Boreas carried her off to Poseidon (cf. xii. 14), who placed her in Ortygia and submerged the island in the sea. Accordingly Python failing to find her returned to Parnassus. On the island, which was brought to the surface by Poseidon, Leto bare Apollo, who burst at once his infant bands and in the fulness of his divine form and strength hastened the fourth day after his birth to Parnassus and slew Python.

Dieterich (Abrax. 120, note 4) recalls also another form of the myth. According to this, owing to the water floods of the chaotic world which Python threw into such an uproar, Leto could not have borne her child had not the earth come to her help and raised up the waste, desolate island of Delos. Further, he adduces the facts that Leto was portrayed with a veil of stars (cf. xii. 1), and that the bronze masterpiece of Euphranor, which Schreiber thinks may have originally stood in Ephesus, represented Leto as fleeing before the dragon with Apollo and Artemis in her arms.

If we may combine the above myths we obtain very striking parallels to chap. xii., and particularly so if we recognize that xii. 1-5, 13-17ab is from a distinct source, as Dieterich did not. The chief figures, such as the woman, the child, the persecuting dragon, correspond closely to both: also individual traits, such as the assisted flight of the woman, the waters menacing the woman, the help given by the earth to the woman. It is only indeed by the combination of conflicting forms of the Greek myth that we can arrive at the above remarkable parallels. For one form of the Greek myth (that on the coin) represents Apollo as already born before Leto's flight, whereas another represents his birth as after it. One form represents the waters as helpful to her, the other as hostile. Both forms agree in making an island the place of refuge and not the wilderness as in our text. Notwithstanding, the Greek myth stands incomparably nearer to our text than does the Babylonian or Persian.

1 This view was propounded in 1794 by Dupuis, Origine de tous les cults, iii. 49, and in 1819 by Richter, Das Christenthum u. d. ältesten Religionen d. Orients, 212, and adopted by O. Pfleiderer (Das Christenbild des urchristlichen Glaubens, 1903, 38 sqq.).
XII. § 11.] SOURCE OF XII. 1–5, 12–17

Again, if our conclusions above as to a Jewish source of xii. 1–5, 13–17* are valid, then the ultimate derivation of xii. 1–5, 13–17* from a Greek myth through this source is quite possible; and such an hypothesis is free from the chief objection that told against Dieterich’s theory, that the entire chap. xii. was taken over first hand from a Greek myth by a Christian Apocalyptist.

Egyptian source.—Bousset (354 sq.) has recourse to Egyptian mythology for the source of our text, and finds in the myth of Hathor, Osiris, Horus and Set as startling parallels as Dieterich found in the Greek myth. The woman, who is the mother of the child, is the goddess Hathor (*i.e. Isis), who is represented with a sun upon her head (Brugsch, Rel. u. Mythol. d. Ägypten, 211); cf. xii. 1. The child is Horus, the son of Osiris; the dragon is Typhon (Set), the favourite symbols for whom are the dragon, serpent, or crocodile (op. cit. 709). Set was usually described as red (710); cf. Plutarch, De Iside, 22, 30. After Osiris (the declining sun) is slain by Set, Isis though pursued by Typhon collects the bones of Osiris, and in a marvellous manner bears the child, the young sun-god. Then she escapes on a boat of papyrus, makes her way through the marshes and gets safe to a legendary floating island, Chemnis (op. cit. 400 sq.). According to another variant, Hathor does not bear Horus till she reaches Chemnis (403, 405), while an Osiris hymn represents Hathor as producing wind with her wings 1 (398) in her flight, and as bearing Horus in the solitude whither she had fled. Finally, Horus overcomes Typhon (as Apollo the Python), 399, 717, 721. Typhon is subsequently imprisoned and destroyed by fire (722).

As in the Greek myth, the woman flees to an island and not into the wilderness as in our text. Similarly Horus (like Apollo) is not separated from Hathor as the child is from the woman in our text. Finally, water is not hurled after Hathor to destroy her; on the contrary, she finds deliverance on the face of the waters.

Conclusion.—From the foregoing discussion it follows that the myth in chap. xii. 1–5, 12–17* is not borrowed wholly and directly from any of the above sources, but that it is akin to elements in all of them cannot be denied. The oldest of the four is in all probability the Babylonian, but at a very early date the tradition of a World- Redeemer had become international. So Gunkel, abandoning the strict derivation of our text from the primitive Babylonian myth, now holds (Verständnis, 55), and so also Cheyne (Bible Problems, 195, 206) and Clemen (Erklärung. d. NT 237). This primitive myth is in reality “the old story of the conflict between light and darkness, order and disorder, transferred to the

1 As Cheyne (Bible Problems, 199) points out, the vulture was the second bird of Hathor-Nechbit. This recalls “the wings of the great eagle,” xii. 14.
latter days and adapted by spiritualisation . . . to the wants of faithful Jews” (Cheyne, op. cit. 80). Into this primitive international tradition Judaism had read its own religious history and its longings for a divine Redeemer (cf. Gunkel, op. cit. 58).

On the general meaning of this chapter see Introduction, § 1.

1. καὶ σημεῖον μέγα ὥμηθι ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, γυνὴ περιβεβλημένη τῶν ἠλιων, καὶ η σελήνη ὑποκάτω τῶν ποδῶν αὐτῆς, καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτῆς στέφανος ἀστέρων δώδεκα.

This verse is to be taken as constituting a complete sentence. γυνὴ περιβεβλημένη is a phrase standing in apposition to σημεῖον μέγα. We have exactly the same construction in xv. 1, εἶδον ἀλλο σημεῖον . . . ἀγγέλους ἔπτα, save that the verb in xv. 1 is active, whereas in xii. 1 it is passive. Most editors connect the καὶ ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχουσα of 2 with περιβεβλημένη κτλ. and treat it as merely a participial phrase, but wrongly. In καὶ ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχουσα the participle stands for a finite verb, as in i. 16, vi. 2, etc. σημεῖον has two meanings in our Apocalypse. In xii. 1, 3, xv. 1, it seems to denote a heavenly marvel; but in xiii. 13, 14, xvi. 14, xix. 20, a sign wrought by the Antichrist or his agents in order to deceive the inhabitants of the earth. The latter is thus a caricature of the sign wrought by Christ: cf. John ii. 11, 23, etc. The word in this latter sense does not naturally occur till the Satanic reign begins on earth. With the first meaning cf. σημεῖον ἔξορανῳ, Luke xi. 16; Mark viii. 11; Matt. xvi. 1; τὸ σημεῖον τοῦ νόου τοῦ ἀνθρώπου (Matt. xxiv. 30).

The first Woe was introduced by καὶ εἶδον (ix. 1), the second by καὶ ἡκοῦσα, ix. 13, whereas the third opens with καὶ σημεῖον μέγα ὥμηθ. We have come at last to the climax of the apocalyptic vision.

ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ. This is taken as: 1 = “in the heaven” (so De Wette, Düsterdieck, Spitta, Gunkel, B. Weiss, Holtzmann). In this case the scene of action is the same as in xi. 19, and the ornaments of the woman—the sun, moon, and twelve stars—fall in fitly with this tradition; or 2 as = “on the heaven,” i.e. “in the sky” (so Vischer, Völter, Bousset, Swete, J. Weiss, Anderson Scott). In favour of this view is the fact that the woman flies into the wilderness, which cannot be supposed to be in heaven. But in the original context of this tradition, as Wellhausen (p. 19) points out, while heaven was clearly the scene of action in xii. 1–3, in 4 a descent to earth on the part of the woman and the Dragon is silently presupposed, as well as the overthrow of the latter. But the overthrow of the Dragon was omitted here by the Seer since he deals with it later in xii. 7 sq.

It is hard to determine the place of the Seer during the various scenes in this chapter, since he is using independent traditions in a very abbreviated form. See note on iv. 2, p. 109.
VISION OF THE WOMAN

\[\gamma\nu\nu\hat{h}~\text{peribeblemén}~\tau\nu\~\hat{h}λ\iota\nu\~\kappa\tau\lambda. \] In its present context this woman\(^1\) represents the true Israel or the community of believers. This community embraces Jewish and Gentile Christians, all of whom are to undergo the last great tribulation. But the original expectation of the source xii. 1–5, 13–17 (67–69 A.D.), that the Jewish Christians would escape (see xii. 14–16 notes, Introd. § 10), survives in the text and is meaningless in 95 A.D. “The rest of her seed” (=originally “Gentile Christians”) in xii. 17 must in its present context be taken as including all Christians.

But since the woman is represented as the mother of the Messiah, the community which she symbolizes must embrace the true O.T. Israel. The conception in the present context is very elastic. The Seer did not here create his symbols freely, but used those that had come to him by tradition. J. Weiss (p. 137) takes the woman to symbolize the heavenly Jerusalem, which St. Paul calls “our mother” (Gal. iv. 26), and which thus forms a contrast to the woman that symbolizes Babylon or Rome in chap. xvii. But this cannot have been the original meaning of the description in our text. If the Seer had been creating freely, he would not have introduced into the picture a number of notable characteristics which were without further significance for his purpose, and were, therefore, wholly superfluous. Thus the woman wearing a crown of twelve stars, clothed with the sun, and having the moon beneath her feet, the heads, horns, and diadems of the dragon, the wings of the great eagle, the stream cast forth from the mouth of the dragon after the woman and swallowed up by the earth, are ideas that can be best explained from a mythological background. See Introduction to this chapter, p. 310 sqq., for the larger consideration of these questions. Here, however, we should observe that in the crown of twelve stars we are probably to recognize the twelve signs of the zodiac, as Gunkel (*Schöpfung*, 386), Zimmerm (*K.A.T.*\(^3\) 360), Bousset, and Jeremias (*Babylonisches*, 35 sq.) have done. Jeremias (*Babylonisches*, 35 sq.) draws attention to the fact that, according to Martianus Capella (*De Nupt. Philol. et Merc*. i. 75), the Assyrian Juno wore a crown with twelve precious stones, amongst which were the smaragdus, jasper, hyacinth. These stones, Clemen (*Erklärung d. N.T.* p. 78) states, have been shown by

---

\(^1\) This designation of the theocratic community by \(\gamma\nu\nu\hat{h}\) has parallels in Isa. liv. 5; Jer. iii. 6–10; Ezek. xvi. 8\(^b\); Hos. ii. 19, 20. Zion appears as a woman in the vision in 4 Ezra ix. 38–x. 59. The spiritual Israel was the spouse of God in the O.T. The true Israel in the N.T. becomes the spouse of Christ: cf. *Apoc*. xix. 7, xxi. 9. The blending of the O.T. conception with that of the N.T. introduces confusion. But this is owing to the use of the Jewish source.
Kircher (Oedipus Aegyptiacus, 1653, ii. 177 sq.) to correspond to the twelve signs of the zodiac. The twelve stones on the breastplate of the high priest are interpreted by Philo (Vita Mos. iii. 14) and Josephus (Ant. iii. 7. 7) of these signs. The original, then, of the woman in our text was a goddess,¹ whose crown was studded with the signs of the zodiac, whose body was clothed with the sun, and whose feet rested on the moon as a footstool.

With the actual phrase περιβεβλημένη τὸν ἥλιον cf. Ps. ciii. (civ.) 2, ἀναβαλλόμενος φῶς ὑπὸ ἑμάτιον. Τὸ ἡ σελήνη ὑποκάτω... δώδεκα we have a remarkable parallel in T. Naph. v. 3-4, ὁ Λευτέριος ἔκρατησε τὸν ἥλιον καὶ ὁ Ἰουδαίος φθάσας ἐπίσησε τὴν σελήνην, καὶ ὑψώθησαν ἄμφοτερα σὺν αὐτοῖς. 4, καὶ ὄντος τοῦ Λευτέριου ὁ ἥλιος, ἴδιον νέος τις ἐπὶ δύοσυν αὐτῷ βαία φοινίκων δώδεκα, καὶ Ἰουδαίος ἐγένετο λαμπρὸς ὡς ἡ σελήνη, καὶ ἤσαν ὑπὸ τῶν πόδων αὐτῶν (αὐτοῦ, Ἡ, A) δώδεκα ἀκτίνες. Here Levi is like the sun, and receives twelve branches of palm, and Judah is bright like the moon, and beneath his (or "their") feet are twelve rays of light. The symbolism in both passages is the same. The twelve ἀκτίνες, which are evidently the twelve "stars" in our text, seem to symbolize in both passages the twelve tribes. The diction recalls Joseph's dream: Gen. xxxvii. 9, ὁ ἥλιος καὶ ἡ σελήνη καὶ ἐνθεῖκα ἀστέρες.

2. καὶ ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχουσα καὶ κράζει ὁδίνουσα καὶ βασανίζομένη τεκεῖν.

ἔχουσα is here used as a finite verb by a Semiticism; for in Biblical Aramaic and Syriac the participle is more frequently used as a finite verb than in its proper signification. This usage is found in late Biblical Hebrew, and frequently in Mishnaic Hebrew. It is reflected occasionally in the Greek translations: cf. Dan. ii. 21, where the four Aramaic participles (=four finite verbs) are rendered in the LXX by one finite verb and three participles, and by Theodotion by three finite verbs and one participle: cf. also ii. 22, iii. 9, 16, vi. 10, vii. 7 (here three participles = finite verbs are rendered by two participles and one finite verb). This Semiticism is found again in our text in iv. 7, 8, x. 2, xxi. 12, 14. Instances of this usage are to be found in St. Paul; cf. 2 Cor. v. 12, vii. 5. See Blass, Gram. 284 sq.

With σημείων... ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχουσα cf. Isa. vii. 14, δώσει κύριος αὐτὸς ὑμῖν σημείων· ἵδιον ἡ παρθένος ἐν γαστρὶ ζεῖ (λήμψεται, B) καὶ τέμεται νίκην.

¹ Amongst the Egyptians the goddess Hathor is represented with the sun upon her head (Brugsch, Rel. und Myth. d. alten Aegypten, 211); amongst the Greeks, Leto wears a veil of stars (Dieterich, Abraxas, 120, n. 4), whilst among the Babylonians Damkina, the mother of Marduk, is called "the lady of the heavenly tiara " (K. A. T. 360, n. 3).
There are many close parallels in the O.T. in which the theocratic community is described as a travelling woman. Cf. Isa. xxvi. 17, ὃς ἡ ὄδυνουσα ἐγγίζει τοῦ τεκεῖν καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ ὄδυνι αὐτῆς ἐπέκραζεν... ἐν γαστρὶ ἐλάβομεν καὶ ὄδυνήσαμεν: Mic. iv. 10, ὃδοινε... θυγάτηρ Σειών ὃς τίκουσα: Isa. lxvi. 7, πρὶν τὴν ὄδυνουσαν τεκεῖν, πρὶν ἐλθεῖν τὸν πόνον τῶν ὄδυνων, ἐξέφυγεν καὶ ἐτέκεν ἀρσεν.

The above passages, which compare the theocratic community to a woman in travail (cf. also Jer. iv. 31, xiii. 21, xxii. 23; Isa. xiii. 8, xxi. 3; Hos. xiii. 13), and the birth of the new Israel to that of a man child (Isa. lxvi. 7 sq.), point to the fact that this vision in its Jewish form dealt with the expected birth of the Messiah from the Jewish nation, and that in its present and Christian context it refers to the birth of Christ.

As regards the construction, τεκεῖν is generally taken as an epexegetical infinitive dependent on βασανιζομένη. Perhaps it would be best to take it closely with κράζει. Thus we should have: “and cried in her travail and pain to be delivered.” The text seems to be based on Isa. xxvi. 17 but not on the LXX, and would = ῥοίρις ἡλεκτρισμός ἡγεῖται. βασανίζω is used of the pangs of childbirth in profane Greek (see Thayer in loc.) but not in the LXX or N.T. Or else τεκεῖν is to be translated according to the familiar Hebrew idiom (= πᾶρρα) “ready to be delivered.”

3. καὶ ἀφθη ἄλλο σμήνευν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, καὶ ἰδου δράκων μέγας πυρρος, ἐχων κεφαλας ἐπτα καὶ κέρατα δέκα, καὶ ἐπὶ τας κεφαλας αυτου ἐπτα διαδῆματα.

The sevenheaded Dragon is ultimately derived from Babylonian mythology. The monster appears as the chief enemy of God in the O.T., and is variously designated or hinted at under such titles as Rahab, Isa. li. 9-10; Ps. lxxxix. 10; Job xxvi. 12-13, etc.: Leviathan, Ps. lxxiv. 12-19; Isa. xxvii. 1: Behemoth, Job xl. 15-24: the dragon in the sea, Job vii. 12; Ezek. xxix. 3-6, xxxii. 2-8; Jer. li. 34, 36, 42 (cf. Pss. Sol. ii. 28-34): the Serpent, Amos ix. 2 sqq. (see Gunkel, Schöpfung und Chaos, 29-82; Genesis³, 121 sqq.; Zimmern, K.A.T.³ 507 sqq.; Jeremias, Das AT.² 177 sqq.; Clemen, Religionsgeschichtliche Erklärung des NT. 99 sqq.

The many names by which this monster was designated point to a manifoldness of the tradition. The dragon appears in some passages as a personification of the ocean, and specially of the primeval ocean, Isa. li. 9-10; Ps. lxxxix. 10 sqq.; Job xxvi. 12, etc.: in others as a dweller in the Nile, and so Egypt is named Rahab, Isa. xxx 7; Ps. lxxxvii. 4: in others as the monster which prevents the rising of the sun, Job iii. 8, or from which the darkness comes, Job xxvi. 13. Hence Gunkel concludes (Genesis³ 122) that other mythologies in addition to that
of Babylon may have contributed towards the dragon myth in the O.T.

The dragon and the primeval ocean are brought together in Isa. li. 9 sq. These were overcome by Yahweh in the prehistoric foretime. And what happened at the beginning of days will be repeated on a greater scale at the end of time. The primeval strife between Yahweh and the powers of chaos is transformed into a final struggle between God and Satan at the world's close, in which the latter will manifest himself as a world-power, hostile first to Judaism and then to the Christian Community. The transformation of cosmological myth into eschatological doctrine is found also in Isa. xi. 6–8, lxv. 25, Hos. ii. 18–22, which assign to the blessed coming time the peace that reigned in Eden; in Isa. lxv. 17, lxvi. 22; I Enoch xci. 16, where the creation of the foretime is to be succeeded by the creation of a new heavens and a new earth.

The manifoldness of the ancient eschatological myth is to some extent repeated in the eschatological expectation. Thus in Isa. xxvii. 1, it is said that "in that day Yahweh with His sore and great and strong sword shall punish leviathan, the swift serpent, and leviathan, the crooked serpent, and He shall slay the dragon that is in the sea." Similarly in our Apocalypse we have a variety of evil agents—the Dragon, i.e. Satan, and his two agents, the Beast and the False Prophet. The Beast was originally none other than the dragon himself, the chaos monster, since he came up from the sea, xiii. 1. As such he pours forth a flood of water from his mouth after the woman, xii. 15. The same idea seems to underlie xvii. 1.

Δράκων . . . πυρρός κτλ. The fiery red or scarlet colour, xvii. 3, of the dragon may (K. A. T. 3 503 sq. 512) go back to the μυσρωσσύς τάμτιμ, the "raging" or "red gleaming" serpent, which was set up in the Temple of Marduk, Esagil, and is to be regarded as the chaos monster since with the Babylonians no monster had a serpent-like form. The Babylonian representations of this μυσρωσσύς have two horns—a feature with which we may compare the horns in our text. But the number ten comes most probably from Dan. vii. 7, 24. The Babylonian tradition speaks also of the μυσμαχα, the "great serpent" with "seven heads." 1 Zimmern (K. A. T. 3 507, 512) takes these to be descriptions of one and the same mythological chaos monster. The combined characteristics of these two conceptions serve to account for the colour 2 of the dragon in our text, the number of

1 In the Gnostic Pistis Sophia (ed. Schmidt, lxxviii. 34) a serpent is mentioned having the form of "a basilisk with seven heads." Wetstein quotes Qiddushim 29° where a demon with seven heads appears

2 But the red colour of the Dragon is found in the Egyptian myth. The
his heads and the fact that he was horned. The idea, therefore, in our text is composite, and embraces characteristics (i.e. ten horns and seven heads) that cannot be reconciled or at all events understood. If the writer had been creating freely the conception before us, we should naturally have expected the Dragon to have had seven heads and seven and not ten horns. But the number ten has come from tradition, i.e. Dan. vii. 7, 24.

καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς αὐτοῦ ἐπτά διαδήματα. This clause cannot be illustrated from any ancient source. But its presence here is not difficult in itself. If the Christ has διαδήματα πολλά, xix. 12, the Dragon, His great foe, would not unnaturally be represented as likewise crowned with diadems. But we cannot in this way explain xiii. i, where the ten horns of the beast are similarly crowned, and where these ten horns appear to refer to the Parthian kings. It is not improbable that both here and in xiii. i the clauses are later interpolations, and from the same hand that was at work in i. 20, viii. 2, xvii. 9. The position of the ἐπτά (in xiii. i of the δέκα) before the noun and without the article is difficult. As a rule our author placed ἐπτά after its noun when anarthrous. See, however, footnote on viii. 2.

4. καὶ ἡ οὐρὰ αὐτοῦ σύρει τὸ τρὶτον τῶν ἀστέρων τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ ἐβαλεν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν γῆν. καὶ ὁ δράκων ἐστήκεν ἐνώπιον τῆς γυναικὸς τῆς μελλούσης τεκείν, ἵνα ὅταν τέκνη τὸ τέκνον αὐτῆς καταφάγῃ.

In the first clause we have not only a reference to but a loose rendering of Dan. viii. 10, where it is said of the little horn ἀναθεμᾶτα ἁγίου ἁρπαγμῶν κυρίως. Since both the LXX and Theodotion give here wholly divergent renderings resting on a different text, the rendering in our text is an independent version. The third part of mankind was destroyed after the sixth (i.e. second) Trumpet: here the third part of the stars was cast down after the seventh (i.e. third).

To this last statement we have a remarkable parallel in Bund. iii. 11, “He (the evil spirit) stood upon one third of the inside of the sky, and he sprang like a snake out of the sky down to the earth.”

καὶ ἡ οὐρὰ αὐτοῦ σύρει . . . εἰς τὴν γῆν. These words refer to a war in heaven between the good angels and Satan and his angels, and it is implied that the latter were cast down to earth, where already the woman is supposed to be, and that it was not till then that the woman brought forth her child. When the child was born He was carried off to the throne of God. Then in

dragon Typhon which sought to slay Horus the child of Hathor was according to Plutarch (De Iside et Osiride, 22, 30) of a red colour. See Gunkel, Zum Verständnis, 57, note.
xii. 7 sqq. a second war in heaven is recounted. This second
was intended by our author to be understood as Satan storming
heaven in pursuit of the child. Thus xii. 4 would refer to the
primeval war in heaven when Satan was hurled down from his
first abode to earth, and xii. 7 sqq. to Satan's final attempt to
storm heaven, and his final overthrow after the birth of the child.
The story is told in symbolic language. The birth of the child
marks the end of Satan's power in heaven. With this idea we
might compare our Lord's language, Luke x. 18, ἑθεώρον τὸν
Σατανᾶν . . . ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ πεσόντα. But originally xii. 4\textsuperscript{bb} and
xii. 7 sqq. were doublets, and referred to one and the same war
in heaven. xii. 7–9 had originally no reference whatever to the
child, nor were Michael and his angels in the least conscious that
they were fighting on His behalf, nor is it anywhere stated that
the dragon was overthrown because of his enmity to the child.

Behind this casting down of the stars Gunkel (\textit{Schöpfung}, 387)
would discover an astronomical myth, which accounted for the
gap in the starry heaven. In the present context this subject of
a war in heaven is rehandled in xii. 7–10, \textit{12}.

ο θράκων ἐστηκεν ἐνώπιον τῆς γυναικος. In their present
context these words are, as J. Weiss, p. 83, writes, intended to
Teach that the enmity of mankind which Jesus had to endure
was in reality an enmity of the devil (cf. Luke xxii. 1 sqq.; John
xiii. 27) which had beset Him from the beginning (cf. Luke iv.
13; Mt. ii. 4). But this was not their original meaning. See
Introd. to Chapter, § 10, p. 310.

δ. καὶ ἔτεκεν υἱόν, ἀρσεν, δὲ μέλλει ποιμαίνειν πάντα τά ἐθνη ἐν
ῥάβδῳ σιδήρου; καὶ ἡρπάσθη τὸ τέκνον αὐτῆς πρὸς τὸν θεον καὶ πρὸς
τὸν θρόνον αὐτοῦ.

The peculiar phrase υἱόν, ἀρσεν is found also in Tob. vi. 12
(\textit{N}) καὶ υἱός ἀρσην οὐδὲ θυγατὴρ ὑπάρξει αὐτῷ, and the corresponding
Hebrew in Jer. xx. 15, ἐφ' ἂν ἐκτεθηκέναι, \textit{6}, where the LXX gives only ἀρσην
(B, ἀρσεν), but the Vulgate Peshitto and Targum of Jonathan
support the text. Notwithstanding the text is peculiar. The
neuter ἀρσεν is also peculiar. Yet we find it in the LXX, Isa.
lxvi. 7, ἐξεφύγε καὶ ἔτεκεν ἀρσεν; Jer. xxxvii. (\textit{xxx.}) 6.

dὲ μέλλει ποιμαίνειν . . . σιδήρῳ. This clause which comes from
the hand of our author (cf. ii. 27; xix. 15) and refers to Christ,
makes clear the meaning which he attaches to the text. It is just
this child (Ps. ii. 9) that will with irresistible power overcome
the Antichrist and his heathen followers.

ἡρπάσθη κτλ. Our author makes these words refer to the
removal of Christ from the sphere of Satan's power and to His
ascension. Thus the whole life of Christ and all His redemptive
activities are ignored and only His birth and ascension are here
mentioned. Jesus, moreover, is represented as a child in need
of protection, and as such rapt to heaven. These facts can only
be explained by the hypothesis that our author did not write this
chapter himself, but by his editorial additions made the text,
which had originally quite a different meaning, refer to Christ's
birth and ascension. See Intro. to Chapter. ἀρπάξω is
used in the same sense as in our text in 2 Cor. xii. 2, 4;
1 Thess. iv. 17; Acts viii. 39.
καὶ πρὸς τὸν θρόνον αὐτοῦ = "even unto His throne." It is
probably an addition of our author: cf. iii. 21, v. 1, viii. 1ο, and
possibly the idea in xxii. 1, 3, τοῦ θρόνου τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἄρνιον.
6. καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἐφυγεν εἰς τὴν ἐρήμον, ὅπου ἔχει ἐκεῖ τότον
Ητοιμασμένον ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, ἵνα ἐκεῖ τρέψωσιν αὐτὴν ἡμέρας
χιλίας διακοσίας ἐξήκοντα.
The Church is to be sheltered from persecution during the
reign of Antichrist. But this statement does not accord with
our author's teaching elsewhere. See notes on 14–16 (p. 330),
and on 17 (p. 332).
This verse is a doublet (see pp. 301, 304) of xii. 13b, 14, and
anticipates what takes place after the conflict in heaven about to
be described. On the meaning of the γυνὴ here, see note, p. 315.
The 1260 days is an interpretation of the corresponding but
less definite phrase in 14. It denotes the period of the Anti-
christ's reign.
tότον Ἡτοιμασμένον ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ in xiii. 6 is an expansion
and explanation of εἰς τὸν τότον αὐτῆς in 14. The ἀπὸ (= ἐπὶ)
after a passive verb—very rare in N.T.—belongs to the style of
our author (see ix. 18, note). The phrase τότον Ἡτοιμασμένον is
found in John xiv. 2, 3.
7. καὶ ἐγένετο πόλεμος ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ.
ὁ Μιχαὴλ καὶ οἱ ἀγγέλοι αὐτοῦ τοῦ πολεμῆσαι μετὰ τοῦ
δράκοντος,
καὶ ὁ δράκων ἐπολέμησεν καὶ οἱ ἀγγέλοι αὐτοῦ, 8. καὶ οὐκ ἔχυσεν
οὐδὲ τότος εὑρέθη αὐτῶν ἐτι ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ.
καὶ ἐγένετο πόλεμος . . . ὁ Μιχαὴλ . . . τοῦ πολεμῆσαι.
We have here an abnormal construction. Some scholars
compare Acts x. 25, ἐγένετο τοῦ εἰσελθεῖν τὸν Πέτρον, but this
construction is not a true parallel.
Düsterdieck makes many suggestions. He proposes ἐπολέ-
μησαν as the original text, and explains the τοῦ as a dittograph of
αὐτοῦ preceding it: or he suggests the loss of ἀνέστησαν or ἦλθον
(so Swete) before τοῦ πολεμῆσαι: or again, the excision of τόλεμος
ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ as a marginal gloss. Viteau (Etudes, i. 168)
assumes the loss of ήσαν, but Bousset and Swete think it better to
repeat ἐγένετο with Μιχαὴλ. Buttmann and Blass take τοῦ
VOL. I.—21
πολεμήσαι as depending on ἐγένετο πόλεμος and δ Μιχαήλ καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι αὐτῶν as the subject of πολεμήσαι. "There was war in heaven, so that Michael and his angels fought," etc. The nom. would then appear here irregularly for the acc., i.e. τοῦ πολεμήσαι τὸν Μιχαήλ καὶ τοὺς ἄγγελους αὐτῶν. Robertson, Gram. 1066, takes τοῦ πολεμήσαι to be "in explanatory apposition with πόλεμος," but none of the examples he gives from the LXX are parallels. Herein he follows Moulton², 218, who seeks to illustrate the construction by a quotation from Virgil which is not analogous. His illustration of this abnormal Greek by an abnormal piece of English—"There will be a cricket match—the champions to play the rest," throws no light on the difficulty.

But all these explanations are only counsels of despair. The first step to the true explanation was taken by Ewald, Bleek, and Züllig, who recognized τοῦ πολεμήσαι as a Hebraism = ἡλθάντες = "they had to fight." But none of these scholars attempted to deal with the chief difficulty, i.e. the nominatives δ Μιχαήλ καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι αὐτῶν before τοῦ πολεμήσαι. Some acquaintance with the LXX would have solved this difficulty. So far from being a unique construction in Greek, it is a construction found several times in the LXX, and found as a literal reproduction of a pure Hebraism. Thus in Hos. ix. 13 we have Ἐφραὰμ τοῦ ἐξαγαγεὼν (= ἡλθόν ἐν παρασκευή), "Ephraim must bring forth," P. xxv. 14, ἡ διαθήκη αὐτῶν τοῦ δηλῶσαι¹ (cf. Vulg. = ורויח להודיע), 1 Chron. ix. 25, ἀδελφοὶ αὐτῶν . . . τοῦ εἰσπορευτέσθαι κατὰ ἕπτα ἡμέρας (= לונת לשבה ורדים), "their brethren had to come in . . . every seven days"; Eccles. iii. 15, ὁσα τοῦ γίνεσθαι ἀμή γέγονεν (= יאוש להוית זכר אה), "what is to be hath already been." Thus in the Hebrew the subject before כ and the inf. is in the nom., and the Greek translators have literally reproduced this idiom in the LXX.

There can, therefore, be no doubt that we have here a literal Greek reproduction of a pure Hebraism, which recurs in a less correct form in xii. 10 (see note). Hence this passage admits of easy retroversion into Hebrew.

7. "And war burst forth in heaven:
   Michael and his angels had to fight with the Dragon,
8. And the Dragon," etc.

¹ Here the LXX and the Vulg. take מר in the nom., whereas modern scholars render it as the acc. after ויהיה.
πόλεμος ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ. Battles in the sky are referred to in 2 Macc. v. 2 sq.; Joseph. B.J. vi. 5, 3; Sibyll. iii. 796–808, ἐν νεφέλῃ δ’ ὄψεσθε μάχην πετῶν τε καὶ ἵππων. But our text refers not to a mere spectacle in the sky but to an actual war. Many of the features in this account we can find in pre-Christian Judaism. i. Thus Michael, who was earlier conceived as the patron angel of Israel as opposed to the patron angels of the Gentiles, came later to be regarded as the guardian of the righteous of all nations—a conception which set Michael in direct antagonism to Satan, the protagonist of evil. ii. Michael’s greatest struggle was to take place in the last days on behalf of Israel. If this expectation is combined with the preceding, the conflict of Michael and Satan is to come to a climax in the last days. iii. According to Jewish tradition Satan was cast down from heaven in the beginning of time, but according to a widely attested belief he had still access to heaven. The fusion of these two beliefs could readily issue in the eschatological expectation that Satan was to be cast down from heaven in the last times, and, if we take the evidence of i. and ii. into account, his great angelic opponent was to be Michael.

i. In Dan. x. 13, 21, xii. 1 Michael is described as the guardian angel of Israel, and fights on their behalf against the guardian angels of the Gentile nations, Dan. x.–xii. But in 1 Enoch xx. 5 he is represented not as the patron angel of Israel, but as the patron angel of the saints in Israel. Furthermore, he is expressly distinguished from the seventy angelic patrons of the nations (Deut. xxxii. 8–9 LXX; Sir. xvii. 17; Jub. xv. 31–32), since Israel is not put under an angelic patron like the nations but is God’s own portion. But another stage in the development emerges. In the larger ethical universalism of the Testaments of the XII Patriarchs, Michael is regarded not merely as the intercessor on behalf of the saints in Israel but of the righteous in all nations, T. Levi v. 7, as the mediator between God and man, T. Dan vi. 2. This radical change of conception brought with it of necessity other changes. Michael’s antagonists are no longer the patron angels of the nations but the spiritual foe—first of the righteous Israelite and next of the righteous of all nations. In either case alike this foe is Mastema (Jub. x. 8, 11), or Beliar, i.e. Satan,1 T. Dan vi. 1 (T. Benj. vi. 1). Thus Michael is the angelic representative of the power of goodness in the strife with evil, and as such fights with Satan. This conception, which is that which appears in our text, had already been arrived at in Judaism. See my edition of the Testaments

1 In later Judaism Michael’s opponent is frequently called מַשְׂכָלָה שָׁמַיִם, which is practically = δ’ δῆσι δ’ ἀρχαῖος. See Eisenmenger, Entdecktes Judenthum, i. 822, 826, 837, 842.
XII Patriarchs, pp. 39-40, 132; Lueken, Michael, 23-30; Bousset, Religion des Judenthums, 320 sq.

ii. The intervention of Michael in the last times of greatest need is referred to already in Dan. xii. i; 1 Enoch xc. 14, and later in Ass. Mos. x. 2.1

iii. Once more we find in 2 Enoch xxix. 4-5 and in the Book of Adam and Eve i. 6. (Malan’s transl.) the statement that Satan once attempted to set his throne on an equality with that of God, and was thereupon hurled down from heaven. But alongside this tradition there existed the belief that Satan had still his place in heaven: cf. Job i. 6, 7; Zech. iii. i sqq.; 1 Enoch xl. 7 (Eph. i. 3, 10, ii. 6, iii. 10, vi. 12; Asc. Isa. vii. 9 sqq.; 2 Enoch vii. 1). The existence of these two views in Judaism naturally led to their fusion in an eschatological expectation, such as we find in our text, according to which Satan is to be cast down from heaven by Michael in the first of the last great final struggles between the Kingdom of God and Satan.2

With this conception we might compare the spiritual form given to it by our Lord in Luke x. 18, ἐθεώρον τὸν Σατανᾶν ὡς ἀστραπῆν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ πέσοντα, and John xii. 31, νῦν ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ κόσμου τούτου ἐκβληθήσεται ἐξω.

These words mean that evil is already hurled from its seat of power which it had hitherto held, and that the first and most important stage in the conquest of Satan had already been achieved. His sphere is henceforth more limited.

To the cosmological myth referred to above there are parallels in the Persian mythology where Ahriman in the beginning of the world’s history storms heaven and is hurled down, Bund. iii. 11, 26; and in those of the Manichaean, Mandeans, and Greeks.

But in the Persian religion we find not only the cosmological myth but also this eschatological expectation. In the last days there was to be war in heaven, Ahuramazda and the Amshapands were to contend with Angra Mainyu and his followers and overcome and destroy both him and the serpent Gokihar (see Böcklen, Verwandschaft d. jüd.—Christlichen mit d. Parsischen Eschatologie, 125 sqq.).

8. ἵππους = 63, as in Ps. xiii. 4; Dan. vii. 21. This Hebrew

1 This expectation appears also in the LXX and Theod. renderings of Dan. viii. 11, εὖς ὁ ἄρχων ὁδήγησαν ἡμᾶς (Theod. ἡμᾶς) τὴν αἱμαλωσιαν, though the Hebrew is quite different. This designation of Michael as “the captain of the host” or “chief captain” appears in 2 Enoch xxii. 6, xxxiii. 10. Thus the LXX expected Michael to free Israel from its subjection to Antiochus.

2 In the Pesik. R. iii. 6 (ed. Friedmann, p. 161b) Satan declares that he and his angels will be cast down to hell by the Messiah (see Jewish Encyc. xi. 70): cf. Lueken, Michael, 29.
verb is used absolutely in the sense of "to be victorious" in Gen. xxx. 8, xxxii. 28; Hos. xii. 4, etc. ἐπολέμησεν . . . καὶ ὥν ὦγχυσεν recalls Dan. vii. 21, γὰρ ἦλθεν . . . ὅτε ἀνέβη, Theod. ἐπίθει τόλμην . . . καὶ ὦγχυσεν. οὔτε τόπος εὑρέθη κτλ. This phrase, which is found in Dan. ii. 35 (cf. Zech. x. 10), recurs in xx. 11.

9. καὶ ἐβλήθη ὁ δράκων ὁ μέγας, ὁ ὁφις ὁ ἄρχαιος, ὁ καλούμενος Διάβολος καὶ ὁ Σατανᾶς, ὁ πλανῶν τὴν οἰκουμένην ὄλην—ἐβλήθη εἰς τὴν γῆν καὶ οἱ ἁγγελοὶ αὐτοῦ μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐβλήθησαν.

On the casting down of Satan see note on ver. 8. The earth is now to be the scene of his activities. The ὁ μέγας points back to ver. 3, ἵδεν δράκων μέγας. It is not improbable that the words ὁ ὁφις . . . ἐβλήθη are an addition on the part of our author. See p. 309 sq. The diction and ideas are essentially his. In that case the original of ver. 9 ran—

καὶ ἐβλήθη ὁ δράκων ὁ μέγας εἰς τὴν γῆν καὶ οἱ ἁγγελοὶ αὐτοῦ μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐβλήθησαν.

ὁ ὁφις . . . Διάβολος καὶ ὁ Σατανᾶς. Cf. xx. 2. First of all, Διάβολος is the LXX rendering of ἵτου. Hence Διάβολος and Σατανᾶς are synonymous in our text. We have now to consider the connections here established between Σατανᾶς and ὁ ὁφις ὁ ἄρχαιος. The conceptions were originally quite distinct. The old serpent—cf. the Rabbinical expressions ἥδεν φερΜὲνιν and κειράνθη: see Wetstein and Schöttgen in loc.—is manifestly the serpent in Gen. iii. 1 sq. that tempted Eve. The serpent in this passage was distinct from the rest of the animal creation. It stood upright apparently (see note in my edition on Jub. iii. 23): it possessed supernatural knowledge—the secret of the tree—which none but God besides knew: it was opposed to God and calumniated Him. These facts point to a mythological element in the background, and that the serpent was originally a demon of a serpentlike form and hostile to God and man.

That supernatural beings had such a form was believed among the Semites, Egyptians, Greeks, Indians, and others. (See Gunkel on Gen. iii. 1–5.)

The word Satan, ἰτου, is of purely Semitic origin. Satan appears as a distinct superhuman personality only in three passages in the O.T., Zech. iii.; Job i. 6; i Chron. xxi. 1. In the earlier he is completely subject to Yahweh, and appears among "the sons of God" in Job, though he is regarded as distinct from them, Job i. 6. "The development of the conception moves along two lines; (a) from being subordinate to, Satan
becomes largely independent of, Yahweh; (b) from being the (not necessarily unjust) accuser, he becomes the tempter and enemy of men. In N.T. both developments are complete, in O.T. both are in process” (Encyc. Bib. iv. 4298).

But in the O.T. there is not the slightest hint of the later identification of the serpent and Satan beyond the combination in the tempter of Eve in the Paradise story of the demonic character and the serpent-like form. The next step in this direction is to be found in i Enoch lxix. 6, where Gadreel is said to have tempted Eve. He was probably a Satan, since he was a leader of the fallen angels, and the guilt of the angels consisted in their becoming subject to Satan, liv. 6. In Wisd. ii. 24 the entrance of death into the world is attributed to Satan: φθόνῳ δὲ διαβόλου θάνατος εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸν κόσμον. Some scholars explain this passage by the entrance of death into the world by the murder of Abel by Cain, but the above is to be preferred, and it is that taken by Jos. Ant. i. 1. 4.

Thus we come to the complete and absolute identification of the serpent and Satan in our text. Cf. Stave, Ueber d. Einfluss des Parsismus auf das Judenthum, 265 sqq.

10-11. The second of these verses and part of the first are from the hand of our author, and not from the source from which he is translating.

10. καὶ ἰκουσα φωνὴν μεγάλην ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ λέγουσαν "Αρτι ἐγένετο ἡ σωτηρία καὶ ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν καὶ ἡ ἐξουσία τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ, διὰ ἐρήμη ὁ κατήγῳρ τῶν ἄδελφῶν ἡμῶν, ὁ κατηγορῶν αὐτοὺς ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός.

The diction of 10 is wholly from the hand of our author, but this is to be expected as he was the translator. First as to the use of ἀρτι: cf. xiv. 13. καὶ ἰκουσα .. λέγουσαν is of constant occurrence: cf. especially vi. 1, 3, 5, 7, x. 4, xix. 1. ἡ σωτηρία means here “victory” as in vii. 10, xix. 1, and thus = ἡμερία (so Eichhorn and Ewald). Cf. Ex. xiv. 13; 2 Chron. xx. 17. With ἡ δύναμις cf. vii. 12, xix. 1. The δύναμις is the power of God which has been manifested in the victory over the Dragon. ἡ ἐξουσία = the delegated power of the Messiah. This word occurs twenty times in our text. ἡ βασιλεία, the empire, unshared and unqualified, of God: cf. xi. 15; Ps. ii. 2, 6. ὁ κατήγῳρ is a Hebraism: see below. τῶν ἄδελφῶν ἡμῶν: cf. i. 9, vi. 11, xix. 10, xxii. 9. ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός: cf. iv. 8.

As regards the subject matter, the evidence is not so clear. Most of ver. 10 follows aptly on 9 and connects naturally and
directly with 12. But there is an unsurmountable difficulty in the phrase τῶν ἁμῶν ἡμῶν. This could not be used by angels of men. On what grounds Bousset thinks this possible, I know not. Hence, if the singers are not angels, they must be men. And since in Judaism the faithful were not glorified before the Judgment, the singers in our text must be the Christian martyrs in vi. 9–11, who in vi. 11 have already received their glorified bodies. (See further discussions on these questions below.) Hence we conclude that this phrase in xii. 10 is from the hand of our author. See below.

**κατηγορ.** If this is the right reading, then it is a transliteration of ῥαγίνια, which in turn is the Hebraised form of κατηγορος. συνήγορος exhibits the same formation. In later Judaism Michael and Satan are the protagonists of good and evil: the former, moreover, is the champion or advocate (σατράν) of the faithful, while the latter is their accuser (κατηγορος) before God. See T. Levi v. 6, note: T. Dan vi. 2, 3. According to Shem. R. sect. 18 (f. 117) on Ex. xii. 29 (Schöttgen, i. 1120, ii. 660), "Michael and Sammael are like the advocate and the accuser (ῥώμιος ἀδικήτων ἡγεμόν) who stand before the Court... Satan accuses (μακαρι) but Michael upholds the merits of Israel." Cf. also Midr. Teh. on Ps. xx. and cf. also Midr. R. on Ruth at the opening in Lueken, Michael, 21 sqq. The Satans are spoken of as accusers of mankind before God, 1 Enoch xl. 7—"I heard the fourth voice sending off the Satans and forbidding them to come before the Lord of Spirits to accuse them who dwell on the earth."

τῶν ἁμῶν ἡμῶν. Who are these brethren? In their present context they cannot be those who have already suffered martyrdom; for in that case they would no longer be exposed to Satanic assaults, but they are clearly the faithful who are still living, and who are therefore still exposed to the accusations of Satan. To understand this passage we must remember that xii. 11 (see note in loc.) is an addition of our author, and that in the original document, i.e. xii. 7–9, 10 (in part), 12, the time presupposed is antecedent to the Judgment. Now, if xii. 10 in its present form belonged to the original Jewish source, the heavenly voices must be those of angels and not of men; for in Judaism the martyrs were not glorified before the Judgment, and could not therefore bear their part in the praises of heaven. Rather they were concerned as unclothed spirits supplicating for vengeance underneath the heavenly altar (see note on vi. 9–11). Since, therefore, the song of triumph is, on the presupposition that xii. 10 belongs to the source, sung by angels, possibly by the angels who had fought against the dragon and overcome him, the phrase τῶν ἁμῶν ἡμῶν could not have stood in the original document or tradition; for men
are never said to be "brethren" of the angels: in our text they are called "fellow-servants." (Cf. xix. 10, xxii. 9.) Hence instead of τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν there would have stood some such phrase as τῶν δικαίων (i.e. δικαίους) as in I Enoch i. 8, v. 6, xcv. 4, xxxix. 4, xlv. 6, etc. Thus the angels praised God in that the accuser of the righteous was cast out of heaven. Hence we conclude that in xii. 10 our author replaced an original phrase such as δικαίους in this Jewish source by the words τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν. By the substitution of this phrase he has transformed the original meaning of the passage, which in its present form recalls the scene in vi. 9–11. The singers are not angels but men; for they speak of the faithful on earth as "our brethren." They are, moreover, the martyrs, who in vi. 11 have already received their glorified bodies, and are bidden to wait till "their brethren" (οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτῶν—observe the recurrence of this phrase), who were also to be slain, should be fulfilled. These glorified martyrs, who sing the heavenly song, can look forward in xii. 11 and declare prophetically that their brethren have already overcome the Dragon by their martyrdom. Thus in their vision the martyr roll is already complete.

ημέρας καὶ νυκτὸς, i.e. uninterruptedly. According to Wajjikra R. § 21, Satan accuses men all the days of the year except the Day of Atonement. κατηγορῶν αὐτοὺς ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ: cf. Job i. 6 sqq.; 1 Chron. xxii. 1; 1 Enoch xl. 7.

11. καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐνίκησαν αὐτὸν διὰ τὸ αἴμα τοῦ ἄρνιού,
καὶ διὰ τὸν λόγον τῆς μαρτυρίας αὐτῶν,
καὶ οὐκ ἡγάπησαν τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτῶν ἄχρι θανάτου.

Every phrase in this verse belongs to our author. See p. 302. It was added by him to his translation of his original document. It interrupts, according to Völter, ii. 146, Vischer, 28, Spitta, 130, J. Weiss, 89, Gunkel, 192, etc., the close connection between vv. 10 and 12. The διὰ τοῦτο in 12 referred immediately to ver. 10 in the original source. The heavens are bidden to rejoice because in the overthrow of the Dragon the sovereignty of God and His Christ has been vindicated, and the accuser of the righteous has been cast out of heaven, and the earth and its inhabitants are bidden to mourn because the Dragon has gone down to them. But in 11 the victory of the saints on the earth is already past. They have overcome the Dragon by their martyrdom and the roll of the martyrs is now complete (cf. vi. 11). Yet in 12 the advent of this last period of martyrdom is only just announced. The Dragon has only just come down to earth, and his rage is now directed against the rest of the seed of the

1 The function of the archangel Phanuel was to prevent the Satans from appearing before God to accuse mankind, 1 Enoch xl. 7.
woman, which does not take effect till 17. Hence, even though 11 be entirely proleptic, it comes in rather incongruously between 10 and 12. See also final note on 10.

The διὰ τὸ αἶμα. The διὰ here has been taken by Ewald, De Wette, Bouset to denote the means and not the ground; iv. 11, xiii. 14 are quoted as other instances of this use. Certainly in xii. 11, xiii. 14 this meaning seems more natural. But it is best to take διὰ as denoting the cause. Then the death of the Lamb is the primary and the testimony of the martyrs the secondary ground of their victory.

τὸν λόγον κτλ. Since τὸν λόγον is here parallel to τὸ αἶμα it may give a second objective ground for their victory, and so mean the divine word of revelation, for which they offer their testimony. But the next clause shows that we should take the words to mean their personal testimony to Jesus. Thus the two sides of man's redemption are here brought forward together.


12. διὰ τούτο εὐφραίνεσθε, οἱ οὐρανοὶ καὶ οἱ ἐν αὐτοῖς σκηνοῦντες: οὐάτι τὴν γῆν καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν, ἤτοι κατέβη ὁ διάβολος πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἔχων θυμὸν μέγαν, εἰδὼς ὅτι ὅλιγον καιρὸν ἔχει.

See note on 11. This phrase goes back to ver. 10 in the present form of the text. οὐρανοὶ is found only here in the plural in the Apocalypse. For the phrase εὐφραίνεσθε οἱ οὐρανοὶ, cf. Isa. xliv. 23, xlix. 13, ἄγιος θό. where the LXX has εὐφρ. οὐρανοὶ as here. Cf. also Ps. xciv. 11. We should therefore expect εὐφραίνον οὐρανέ (or οὐρανος) as it is in xviii. 20. The use of a plural here points to a source. See Introd. p. 302, and compare the unusual ἐποῦ . . . έκεί in ver. 14. The word σκηνοῦν is technically used of God in vii. 15, xxi. 3, and of heavenly beings in xiii. 6; κατοικεῖν is used of those who dwell on the earth. No such usage prevails in the LXX. ὅλιγον καιρόν, i.e. the period specified in 14 (see 16).

13. καὶ ὅτε εἴδεν ὁ δράκων ὁτι ἐβλήθη εἰς τὴν γῆν, ἐδώσεν τὴν γυναίκα Ἡτίς ἑτεκεῖ τὸν ἄρσενα.

As we saw above (see note on 1), the woman in the present context represents the true Israel or the community of believers.

The clauses ὅτε εἴδεν (cf. i. 17) and ὅτι ἐβλήθη εἰς τὴν γῆν appear to be additions of our author in order to bind the divergent elements together. See also Spitta, p. 134. The ὅτε εἴδεν is rather weak, but the second clause, ὅτι ἐβλήθη εἰς τὴν γῆν (repeated from ver. 9), is inserted because of the incorporation of
xii. 7-12 in the text. This verse therefore in all probability simply read in the original document as follows: καὶ ὁ δράκων ἐδίωξεν τὴν γυναῖκα κτλ., and formed the immediate sequel of 5. When the Child was rapt to heaven in 5, the Dragon thereupon pursued His mother, 13.

ητίς = ἦ. See note on xi. 8.

14-16. The expectation expressed here is merely a survival of an earlier time and was found by our author in his source. But in our author it is meaningless, as it is against his own expectation of a universal martyrdom: cf. xiii. 15. For other like survivals see xviii. 4 n.: also p. 43, § 4. Our Book is only a first sketch, which our author had not the opportunity of revising.

14. καὶ ἐδόθησαν τῇ γυναικὶ αἱ δύο πτέρυγες τοῦ ἄετου τοῦ μεγάλου, ἵνα πέτηται εἰς τὴν ἐρημον εἰς τὸν τόπον αὐτῆς, ὅπου τρέφεται ἕκει καίρον καὶ καιροὺς καὶ ἡμίσιν καιροῦ ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ ὄφεως.

αἱ δύο πτέρυγες τοῦ ἄετου. The definite article here renders nugatory the various attempts made to explain this conception from supposed parallels in the O.T., as Ex. xix 4; Deut. xxxii. 11 (Spitta); Isa. xl. 31 (Holtzm.) or Mic. iv. 9–10 (Völter, iv. 76, 79), where the points of similarity are purely accidental. The eagle was originally a definitely conceived eagle in the tradition. ὅπου ... ἕκει—a Hebraism, ἔνυπνον. The addition of the ἕκει is contrary to the usage of our author: hence we infer the use of a Semitic source here. See Introd. p. 301.

καιρὸν καὶ καιροὺς καὶ ἡμίσιν καιροῦ, a mistranslation (but a mistranslation that had secured a prescriptive right by reason of its ambiguity): cf. Dan. vii. 25, ἥδειν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐνότου, and xii. 7, ἥδειν μὴ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐνότου. This translation which renders a dual as a plural is first found in the LXX and Theod. of Dan. vii. 25, xii. 7. The text does not necessarily show dependence on the Greek versions. ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ ὄφεως = ἔνυπνον. We have here a Hebrew idiom. This phrase is to be connected not with πέφηται but with τρέφεται ἕκει, and to be rendered (1) “at a distance from,” cf. Judg. ix. 21: ἔφυγεν . . . καὶ ἀκήσται ἕκει ἀπὸ προσώπου Ἀβίμελέχ ("ὁ νεκρός"); or (2) “because of.” This latter meaning is to be preferred, for it is a very frequent meaning of ὄφεως; whereas the meaning it has in Judg. ix. 21 is unattested in any other passage. The sojourn of the woman in the wilderness for three and a half years is due to the serpent who reigns over the world for that period. See note on xi. 2.

15. καὶ ἐβαλεν ὁ θεὸς ἐκ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ ὅπισω τῆς γυναικὸς ὅπως ὡς ποταμόν, ἵνα αὐτὴν ποταμοφόρητον ποιήσῃ.

The word ποταμοφόρητος is formed on the analogy of


It is found in Hesychius in his note on II. vi. 348, ἀπόερσεν ποταμοφόρητον ἐπούσεν, but as early as 78 a.d. in Ap. lxxxv. 16 and later in StrP. v. 10 (see Expositor, Mar. 1911, p. 284).

To the statement in our text there are no real parallels in the O.T. or in Judaism. The passages which represent God as putting forth His wrath like water, Hos. v. 10; or the streams of ungodliness overwhelming the righteous, Ps. xxxii. 6, cxxiv. 4, Isa. xliii. 2; or the march of the Israelites through the Red Sea, have no bearing on our text. On the other hand the Dragon is referred to as a water monster in Ezek. xxix. 3, xxxii. 2, 3; Ps. lxxiv. 13; T. Asher vii. 3. See note on 3.

On the meaning of this verse for our author see next verse.

16. καὶ ἐβοήθησεν ἡ γῆ τῇ γυναικί, καὶ ἠνοιξεν ἡ γῆ τὸ στόμα αὐτῆς καὶ κατέπειν τὸν ποταμὸν δὲν ἐβάλεν ὁ δράκων ἐκ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ.

With the diction we may compare Num. xvi. 30, ἀνοίξασα ἡ γῆ τὸ στόμα αὐτῆς καταπίεσαι αὐτοὺς: xvi. 32, xxvi. 10; Deut. xi. 6.

As regards the original meaning of this verse we are wholly in the dark. In the war between land and water mythological features are discoverable which have no longer any significance in their present connection. But we have not the same difficulty with regard to the meaning they bore in 68-70 a.d. Vv. 14-16, if the source is Christian, refer to the flight of the primitive Christian community to Pella before the fall of Jerusalem (cf. Euseb. H.E. iii. 5); but, if the source is Jewish, to that of the elite of the Jews to Jabneh, which became the seat of Jewish scholarship after the fall of Jerusalem (Jewish Encyc. vii. 18). In either case 14-16 are without significance in their present context.

17. καὶ ὄργανον ὁ δράκων ἐπὶ τῇ γυναικί, καὶ ἀπῆλθεν ποιήσαι πόλεμον μετὰ τῶν θεωτῶν τοῦ στέρματος αὐτῆς, τῶν τηροῦντων τὰς ἐντολὰς τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἐχόντων τὴν μαρτυρίαν Ἰησοῦ.

In this verse the words τῶν τηροῦντων . . . Ἰησοῦ are with Wellhausen (19) and J. Weiss (136 sq.) to be regarded as an addition of our author to the Jewish source he here uses. They belong specially to his vocabulary. (See note on xiv. 12.) Vischer (p. 35) regards Ἰησοῦ only as an addition here, Spitta (131) καὶ ἐχόντων . . . Ἰησοῦ, while Bousset, though maintaining that ch. xii. is of Christian origin, assigns xii. 17 to the Apocalypticist of the last hand, and Völter (iv. 75, 146) to a redactor of the age of Trajan. This verse comes wholly or in part from our author, or it comes from the Jewish source: it must be from one or other; for there is no counterpart to it in the international myth from which many of the chief features in this chapter were ultimately derived.
In its original source 17\textsuperscript{ab} is interpreted by Wellhausen as follows: The woman whose flight is represented in xii. 14 is here identified with the élite of the Jews who fled before the destruction of Jerusalem and so escaped destruction. These embraced pious Scribes and Pharisees who refounded Judaism after the destruction of Jerusalem. Their attitude was opposed to that of the Zealots, and thus ch. xii. forms a counterblast to the Zelotic oracle, xi. 1–2. The λοιποὶ, on the other hand, from whom the woman is distinguished, are the Jews who remained in Jerusalem and were destroyed by the Romans.\textsuperscript{1}

In the present context, however, the interpretation must be different. The outlook is now Christian. This being so, ver. 14, which originally referred to the divine oracle (Euseb. \textit{H.E.} iii. 5) that commanded all Christians to leave Jerusalem before it was beleaguered by the Romans 67–68 A.D., or to the flight of certain Jews to Jabneh before 70 A.D., does not admit of any intelligible reinterpretation in its present context. Our author incorporated in his text this Jewish or Christian source, as it stood, save for certain changes and additions in 3, 5, 17, and his second source with like alterations in 7, 9, 10–11. These sources of a Vespasianic or earlier date expect the escape of the faithful, but this expectation was abandoned by our author. According to him no part of the Church was to escape persecution and martyrdom. Hence 14–16 is simply a meaningless survival. “The rest of her seed” symbolize the Gentile Christians or the Church in general throughout the Roman Empire, which forms the theme of the next chapter.

\textbf{Chapters XII. 18–XIII., XIV. 12–13.}

\textbf{Introduction.}

\textbf{§ 1. The Original and Leading Thoughts of this Chapter.}

This Section (xii. 18–xiii., xiv. 12–13) is in the style of our author, but the greater part of it was translated by him from Hebrew sources. These, as we shall see later, dealt with two\textsuperscript{2}

\textsuperscript{1} If this verse belonged to the Jewish source, then the phrase of λοιποὶ had not the technical meaning that sometimes belongs to it in Apocalyptic as “the remnant.” Cf. 4 Ezra vi. 25, vii. 28, ix. 7, 8, xii. 34, xiii. 24, 26, 48; Apoc. Bar. xxix. 4, xl. 2. It has, moreover, no technical meaning in our text here or in ii. 24, ix. 20, xi. 13, xix. 21, xx. 5.

\textsuperscript{2} The first Beast, which here represents the antichristian world power of Rome, goes back ultimately to the Dragon himself, \textit{i.e.} the primeval monster of chaos. It comes up from the sea. In the preceding chapter the Dragon
earlier and different conceptions of the Antichrist, but, as transformed and incorporated in the present context, they refer to the antichristian Empire of Rome as incarnated in Nero redivivus and the heathen priesthood of the imperial cult. With masterful hand here as everywhere our author adapts his materials to suit his own purpose. In chap. xii. the author carried us back into the past and represented the strife in heaven and the hurling down of Satan to earth. He next told how Satan, when cast down to earth, forthwith proceeded to persecute the Woman, whose offspring was destined to destroy him, and how, on her marvellous deliverance from his hands, he turned in fury on the rest of her seed. In order to help him in this struggle Satan takes his stand by the shore of the sea (xii. 18) and summons to his aid his two servants, the Neronic Antichrist from the sea (xiii. 1-10) and the False Prophet, i.e. the heathen imperial priesthood from the land (xiii. 11-17). The present chapter opens with the appearance of these two monsters in response to his summons, and thereupon the time changes from the past to the future. Our Seer beholds the first monster emerge from the sea with seven heads and ten horns, and amongst the heads he discovers one that was wounded unto death but had again recovered (xiii. 3). In the first monster we have the Roman empire—the antichristian kingdom—which becomes incarnated in Nero redivivus. The last and drearest hour has now arrived—the personal reign of the Antichrist for the destined period of three and a half years, who goes to war with the saints and overcomes them in physical strife. All the faithless forthwith worship him, while the faithful are banished or slain. Thereupon the Seer adds the comment: "Here is the endurance and the faith of the saints" (10°). But the Antichrist is not the sole demonic foe of the faithful. He is helped by a second monster—the heathen priesthood of the imperial cult (11-18). By means of this priesthood the claims of patriotism and religion were identified, in which the interests of religion were wholly subordinated to those of the State, and thus ensued the inevitable conflict between the imperial cult and Christianity. This final persecution of the Church was to be mainly carried out by this priesthood, which was to set up images of the Neronic Antichrist everywhere and enforce their worship on the world, and have all that represents Satan. Here the two conceptions, Satan and the antichristian world power of Rome, appear side by side as master and servant. See note on xii. 3. This twofold development is as old as Dan. vii., where the monster of chaos is manifested in four successive world powers, which came up from the sea.

But in the second Beast, i.e. the false prophet, we have a third conception, developed from the original conception of the monster of chaos—a conception already found in 2 Thess. ii., though there it has only a religious significance.
refused such worship put to death. Furthermore, this second Beast was to compel all men to bear the mark of the first Beast and to enforce the antichristian claims of the demonic Emperor of Rome by an economic warfare (16–17), that would make life impossible for all that did not bear the mark of the Beast. Next the Seer discloses in a cryptic verse the number of the name of the Beast, which was also the number of a man—Nero Caesar.

Finally, just as the Seer in 10° declares that the faithful must endure captivity, exile, or death in the persecutions just foretold in 10ab, so here (xiv. 12–13)1 he again declares the duty of the faithful—even endurance unto death in the worldwide persecution that he has just witnessed in the vision in 16–17. Martyrdom, he declares, is inevitable for those who keep God's commandments and the faith of Jesus. And thereupon a voice from heaven declared the blessedness of those who suffered martyrdom in this strife; for that rest would follow thereupon and the victor's joy.

§ 2. But the meaning of the Hebrew sources which were used by our author is somewhat different. We shall now proceed to a detailed examination of the text, and in due course attempt to determine the present extent of such sources and their original meaning so far as the data render this possible.

§ 3. The diction and style of this Chapter come from the hand of our author, but it appears in part to be translated from Hebrew sources.

XII. 18. ἔστάθη ἐπί. Cf. acc. as in iii. 20, vii. 1, viii. 3, xi. 11, xiv. 1, xv. 2. The same use of the passive aorist of this verb is to be found also in viii. 3, but in a derived sense in vi. 17: whereas ἔστησα is used in same sense in xi. 11, xviii. 17, which are probably from another hand.

XIII. 1. ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης . . . ἀναβαίνον. On this order see note in loc. Observe order of numerals κέρατα δέκα καὶ κεφαλάς ἐπτά (see note on viii. 2). καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν κερατῶν αὐτοῦ δέκα διαδήματα is a gloss. See note in loc. The phrase ἐπὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς is characteristic of our author. 2. . . ὡς ἄρκου. Pregnant construction: cf. i. 10, iv. 1, 7, τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ ὡς τὸ στόμα. Cf. i. 15. 3. ὡς ἐσφαγμένη. Cf. v. 6. πληγῇ here and in xiii. 12, 14 in the sense of "blow"=πέτα. Elsewhere as meaning "plague" in ix. 18, 20, xi. 6, xv. 1, 6, 8, xvi. 9, etc., a meaning also of ἁλά. 4. ὅλη ἢ γη. Elsewhere this adjective follows the noun as in iii. 10, vi. 12, xii. 9, xvi. 14. Also instead of this phrase ἡ οἰκουμένη ὅλη is used, iii. 10, xii. 9, xvi. 14. ἐθαυμάσθη . . .

1 xiv. 12–13 have been restored to their original position at the close of xiii.
§ 4. This Chapter exhibits many Hebraisms, which in certain cases presuppose an independent source or sources.

Now, as we shall see later, xiii. 3, 7, 8, 9, 12, 14 appear to be additions to this chapter made by our author and in
part from a Hebrew source. We shall, therefore, first study the Hebraisms in the rest of the chapter.

(a) XIII. 4. τίς δύναται πολεμήσαι μετ' αὐτοῦ = ὁ πολέμος αὐτοῦ.

10. εἰ τίς ἐν μαχαίρῃ ἀποκτανθῆναι, αὐτόν (τοῦ αὐτοῦ) ἐν μαχαίρῃ ἀποκτανθῆναι. See note in loc. on this Hebraism.

11. ἀλαλεῖ ὡς δράκων. There seems to be no intelligible explanation of this clause save on the supposition that it is the translation of a corruption in a Hebrew source. See note in loc.

12. τὴν ἐξουσίαν . . . πᾶσαν. Since only twice (once?) elsewhere, v. 13 (?), viii. 3, does πᾶς follow its noun it is not improbable that the Greek here is a rendering of the Hebrew מִלָּה: cf. Ezek. xxii. 12, λοιμοὶ ἀπὸ ἐθνῶν πάντες = μιμοῖς; see also xxxii. 30; Jer. xlviii. 31.

Again τὴν ἐξουσίαν . . . ποιεῖ is peculiar Greek but good Hebrew = "exercises the authority": cf. 1 Kings xxiv. 7, ἐν ὑπηκοότητι μιμοῖς = "exercises sovereignty."

tοὺς εἰν αὐτῇ κατοικοῦντας. Our author expresses the idea contained in these words by the phrase τοὺς κατοικοῦντας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς (nine times), and once by οἱ κατοικοῦντες τὴν γῆν (xvii. 2). This can hardly be accidental, seeing that these three forms of expression occur in the LXX and correspond as a rule in the later books to three different forms in the Hebrew. Our author's own use is clearly i. πάντες οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, i.e. κατοικεῖν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς: whereas 2. οἱ κατοικοῦντες εἰν τῇ γῇ = κατοικεῖσθαι ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς (or κατοικεῖσθαι ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς), and 3. πάντες οἱ κατοικοῦντες τῆν γῆν = κατοικεῖσθαι τῆς γῆς. These phrases are comparatively frequent in the Prophets. In Isaiah the renderings are irregular (cf. xxiv. 5, xxvi. 9, 18, 21), but in Jer. and Ezek., though the LXX of these books comes from at least four hands (see Thackeray, Gramm. of O. T. in Greek, p. 11), the renderings are as a rule those given above. In Jer. xxix. (xlvii.) 2 the two latter Hebrew phrases occur, i.e. κατοικεῖσθαι τᾳ̂ κατοικεῖσθαι τῇ γῇ, and which are respectively rendered by τοὺς εἰνοικοῦντας εἰν τῇ γῇ and οἱ κατοικοῦντες τῆν γῆν.

Hence I conclude that the forms of this phrase in xiii. 12, xvii. 2, which are abnormal, so far as our author's usage is concerned, are due either to his close rendering of a Hebrew source or to his use of a Greek source. But the evidence is against the latter hypothesis in xii. 12.

XIII. 16. δῶσων αὐτοῖς χάραγμα. The plural is here a Hebraism. (See note in loc.)

(b) The Hebraisms in xiii. 3, 7b–8, 12d, 14c.

XIII. 3. οὐς ἐσφαγμένην εἰς θάνατον = ὁμοίως κατοικεῖσθαι. Cf. 2 Kings
xx. 1, 2, 3. Next ἡ πλευρὰ τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ, ὡς ἡ μεταβολή. Cf. xiii. 12, 14 for similar Hebraisms.

εἴθαυμάσθη... δύσιω. This un-Greek and un-Hebraic expression can be explained by retroversion into Hebrew (see note in loc.). In fact in xiii. 3°, 8 and xvii. 8 we have an undoubted doublet.

XIII. 8. καὶ εἴθαυμάσθη ὄλη ἡ γῆ ἡ δύσιω τοῦ θηρίου, xiii. 8, καὶ προσκυνήσουσιν αὐτοῦ πάντες οἱ κατοικούντες ἔπι τῆς γῆς οὐδὲ γέργανται τὸ οἴνομα αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ τῆς ζωῆς τοῦ ἀρνίου τοῦ ἐσφαγμένου ἀπὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου.

Now in the note on xiii. 3 I have shown that καὶ εἴθαυμάσθη... δύσιω τοῦ θηρίου = ἡ μεταβολή... ἡ γῆ, where the rendering should be καὶ εἴθαυμάσθη... βλέπωσα τὸ θηρίον. Thus the identity of the two passages is established. But xvii. 8 does not appear to be a translation from the hand of our author; for he uses ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ (cf. xiii. 8, xx. 12, xxl. 27, xxii. 18, 19) and not ἐπὶ τὸ βιβλίον. Further, in rendering Hebrew he always, so far as we can discover, reproduces the Hebraisms of his source. But in xvii. 8 the αὐτῶν after οἴνομα is omitted, whereas it is carefully reproduced in xiii. 8. Yet the rendering in xvii. 8 is from a purer text, as we have seen above. The abnormal position of ὄλη in ὄλη ἡ γῆ (elsewhere ὄλος follows its noun in the Apocalypse) is probably due to the order of the Hebrew καταβολής. In the LXX, except in the free translation of Isaiah, ὄλος almost invariably precedes the noun, or follows it in accordance with the order in the Hebrew. For the latter cf. Ex. xix. 18, τὸ ὄρος τὸ Σινά... ὄλον = ἔλλειπον ὡς. See Ezek. xxix. 2, etc. The use of οἴνομα for ὄνοματα in xvii. 8, xiii. 8, is a Hebraism (see note in loc.), and προσκυνήσουσιν in xiii. 8 should be προσεκύνησαν in keeping with the tenses of the other verses in the vision, but προσκυνήσουσιν may be an unconscious reproduction of the imperfect tense in his original source: cf. xvii. 8.


The verb precedes both subject and object (object and subject, xiii. 8), or object or subject 27 (28) times: subject
precedes verb 4 times, xiii. 2, 3, 15, 18 (the interrogative τις naturally precedes in xiii. 4 and the indefinite τις twice in xiii. 10, but these do not count): the object precedes verb 2 times (xiii. 12, 13). The structure of the sentences is thoroughly Hebraic, and so far as the order goes no conclusions can be drawn as to the provenance of the different sections.

§ 6. Conclusions from preceding Sections. Chapter based on Hebrew sources.

The diction is that of our author. This follows from § 3. But there are certain features in the text which make it practically impossible to assume that the whole chapter is his own free creation linguistically. Thus the position of ἔλοπ, xiii. 4 (see § 3), of πᾶσαν, xiii. 12 (see § 3), the form of the phrase τοῦς ἐν αὐτῷ κατοικοῦντας, xiii. 12, are against our author's usage. And yet these are not to be explained as due to our author's use of a Greek source: for the style of the chapter as a whole is thoroughly his own. They could, however, be explained on the hypothesis that he used Hebrew sources. And this hypothesis is strongly confirmed by the fact that unintelligible clauses in xiii. 3, 10, 11 are hardly susceptible of any explanation save through retroversion into Hebrew. I therefore assume the use of Hebrew sources by our author in this chapter. One such source we have already discovered (see § 4) in xiii. 3, 8, the translation of which is our author's, whereas in xvii. 8 he makes use of a translation of it from another hand.

§ 7. Theories of Erbes, Spitta, Wellhausen, and J. Weiss as to the sources of this Chapter.

Erbes and Spitta discern in xiii. an Apocalypse written in the reign of Caligula, and reflecting the condition of Palestine in the years 39–41. According to Erbes this Apocalypse was Christian and consisted of chapters xii. 1–13, 18, xiv. 96–12 (pp. 1–33). It referred to Caligula's attempt to set up his statue in the Temple in Jerusalem. Spitta's criticism is much more drastic (see Offenbarung des Johannis, 136–141, 392 sqq.). The source was, as Vischer supposed, of Jewish origin. Caligula was symbolized by the sevenheaded Beast. Spitta attempts to recover the original Caligula Apocalypse by excising μίαν ἐκ τῶν . . . εἰς θάνατον in xiii. 3, καὶ προσεκύνησαν τῷ θηρίῳ . . . μετ’ αὐτοῦ in xiii. 4, καὶ ἔσοβη αὐτῷ ἔξοψετι . . . δύο in xiii. 5, τοῦς ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ . . . νικήσαι ἑντοὺς in xiii. 6, 7, τοῦ ἀριων τοῦ ἐσφαγμένου in xiii. 8 and xiii. 9–10 wholly, ὧς ἤκει . . . ἔξοψεν in xiii. 14, ἕ τον ἀριῳν τοῦ ἀνάματος . . . ἀνθρώπου ἔστιν in xiii. 17–18. Finally
he adopts the reading 616 in xiii. 18. After these excisions xiii.
1-8 could easily be interpreted of Caligula. Thus xiii. 3 would
refer to his dangerous illness, xiii. 4 to the joy of the people on
his recovery (see my note in loc.), xiii. 6 to his attempt to set up
his statue in the Temple, and xiii. 8 to the worship offered him.
But Spitta’s interpretation of the second Beast by Simon Magus
and Erbes’ interpretation of it by the Magi at the court of
Caligula are wholly inadequate.

Bousset (p. 376) thinks that this hypothesis belongs only to
the region of possibilities. He observes that to carry it out
Spitta is obliged to excise one third of the chapter, and that xiii.
7, 16 betray the hand of our author, and must also on this
hypothesis be excised. Further, he rightly objects to the accept-
ance of so badly attested a reading as 616.

Quite a different analysis of this chapter has been propounded
by Wellhausen. He finds two sources in this chapter. The
first referred to the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 in the 3\frac{1}{2}
years’ war, and consisted of xiii. 1 (om. ἐχον . . . ἐπτά), 2, 4-7\textsuperscript{a},
10\textsuperscript{b}. This source dealt not with the duty of patient endurance
on the part of the Christian during the persecution under
Domitian, but with the wretched lot of the Jews after the
destruction of Jerusalem. The σκηνή αὐτοῦ is Jerusalem: the
Beast is not Nero but the Roman Empire.

The second is of uncertain date and embraces only xiii. 11\textsuperscript{a},
12\textsuperscript{abc}, 16\textsuperscript{b}, 17 (om. τὸ ὄνομα and ἦ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τοῦ ὄνοματος
αὐτοῦ). xiii. 18 was introduced by the same hand, which has left
traces in xiii. 10\textsuperscript{c}, xiv. 12, xvii. 9. In this source, as in the
erlier, Nero redivivus has been introduced by the Apocalyptist,
and also the False Prophet as the ἄλλο θηρίον. This Beast,
according to Wellhausen and Mommsen, represents the imperial
power exercised in the provinces by the state officials. There
was, however, only one θηρίον, and instead of ἄλλο θηρίον there
stood εἰκὼν. Thus in xiv. 9, 11, xv. 2, xvi. 2, xix. 20, xx. 4 the
θηρίον and his εἰκὼν are mentioned together. The εἰκὼν is the
alter ego of the empire just as Jesus was called the εἰκὼν of God.

Thus in Wellhausen’s opinion xiii. 3, 7\textsuperscript{b}-9, 10\textsuperscript{a}, 11\textsuperscript{bc}, 12\textsuperscript{d}, 13-
15, 16\textsuperscript{a}, 17\textsuperscript{b} are from the hand of the final editor. Let us deal
with the last list of passages first.

If these are additions of our author, then we find him writing
first hand unintelligible Greek such as ἡθαμάσθη . . . ὅπισώ, 
xiii. 3\textsuperscript{a}, an unintelligible clause such as ἡλᾶλε ως δράκων, xiii. 11,
and such a phrase as ἄλη ἦ γῆ, xiii. 3, whereas his universal
practice is to write ἦ γῆ ἄλη, or rather ἦ οἰκουμένη ἄλη. Again, in
xiii. 13 the pres. inf. in τοιῇ . . . καταβάινει is unusual in our
author, and the order εκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καταβαίνει unexampled.
The occurrence of so many anomalies and breaches of out
author's usage in so few verses would be extraordinary, if this part of Wellhausen's theory is right. But the rest is still less tenable. Wellhausen, as we have seen above, finds two distinct sources in this chapter. Since there is not even a hint that these sources are Semitic, he evidently assumes that they are Greek. But this is impossible. We have seen in § 3 that the diction and style of these two sources are decidedly those of our author save in certain passages, which are dealt with in § 4. Hence it appears impossible to explain this chapter save on the hypothesis that it is in a large degree translated from Hebrew sources by our author.

J. Weiss (Offenbarung des Johannes, pp. 93 sq., 111, 115, 139-142; Schriften des NT. ii. 653-662) likewise assigns this chapter to two different authors: xiii. 11-18 to the original Johannine Apocalypse written about 60 a.d., and xiii. 1-2, 3-7 (written in strophes of four lines each) to a Jewish Apocalypse of the year 70. These two sources were united by the final Apocryphonist, who by means of various additions made the entire chapter refer to the Roman Empire, Nero redivivus and the imperial cult.

The original source of xiii. 11-18 dealt with a Jewish Antichrist or False Prophet, but the final author in Weiss's scheme transformed him into an agent of the Roman Empire, i.e. the priesthood of the imperial cult. This False Prophet has thus become the ἄλλο θηρίον.

There is much that is true in Weiss's view as to different sources, but it is open to the same objections as Wellhausen's, and perhaps in a greater degree. By taking δράκων in xiii. 11 (Offenbarung, p. 94) as if it were ὁ δράκων he tries to make the passage parallel to 2 Thess. ii. 9, but this is, of course, inadmissible. He holds that xiii. 1-7 already existed in a literary form, but does not explain how the diction is with certain exceptions the same throughout the entire chapter, though on his hypothesis it is derived from three distinct authors.

§ 8. The sources behind this Chapter according to the present Editor.

(a) The two sources behind xiii. 1-10. We have already seen, § 4, that xiii. 3, 8 and xvii. 8 are doublets, and that in all probability they are independent translations of the same Hebrew source, the former translation being by our author. In the next place xiii. 7, 9 are clearly from the hand of our author. By the removal of xiii. 7, 9 the original connection of the text is here restored, as Wellhausen has already recognized. Again xiii. 3ab, 6c are characteristic of the standpoint and diction of our author. They transform the entire character of
xiii. 1–10. xiii. 3 interrupts the connection between xiii. 2 and xiii. 4–7\(^a\). Of these additions xiii. 3\(^ab\), 7\(^b\), 9 are obviously his own, whereas xiii. 3\(^c\), 8 are from a source. Furthermore, we shall see in the notes in loc. that xiii. 1\(^c\) \((καὶ ἐπὶ . . . διαδήματα)\) is probably a later addition.

We are now in a position to reconstruct in some measure the source behind xiii. 1–10. It consisted of xiii. 1\(^ab\), 2, 4–7\(^a\), 10, and was a Jewish Apocalypse written in Hebrew by a Pharisaic Quietist before or after 70 A.D., and dealing with the Beast that came up from the sea \(i.e.\) the Roman Empire, the siege of Jerusalem \((τὴν σκηνὴν αὐτοῦ)\) by the Romans for three years, and the woeful plight of the survivors \(xiii. 10\).

Thus there are two sources behind xiii. 1–10, \(i.e.\) xiii. 3\(^c\), 8, and that just given. This hypothesis accounts, so far as I am aware, for all the difficulties in the text. The source as rendered by our author ran:

\[\text{Jewish Apocalypse directed against Rome—the impersonation of the Antichrist.}\]

\textbf{XIII. 1.} καὶ εἴδον ἐν τῆς θαλάσσης θηρίων ἀναβαίνων, ἔχον κέρατα δέκα καὶ κεφαλάς ἐπτά, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς αὐτοῦ ὀνόματα βλασφημίας.

\textbf{2.} καὶ τὸ θηρίον ὃ εἴδον ἤν ὄμοιον παράδειγμα, καὶ οἱ πόδες αὐτοῦ ὡς ἄρκου καὶ τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ ὡς στόμα λέοντος. καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ ὃ δράκων ἐξοςίαν μεγάλην,\(^1\)

\textbf{4.} καὶ προσεκύνησαν τῷ δράκοντι ὅτι ἔδωκεν τὴν ἐξουσίαν τῷ θηρίῳ. καὶ προσεκύνησαν τὸ θηρίον, λέγοντες τῖς ὄμοιος τῷ θηρίῳ; καὶ τῖς δύναται πολεμήσαι μετ’ αὐτοῦ;

\textbf{5.} καὶ ἔδόθη αὐτῷ στόμα λαλοῦν μεγάλα καὶ βλασφημίας καὶ ἔδόθη αὐτῷ ἐξουσία ποιῆσαι μήνας τεσσαράκοντα καὶ δύο.

\textbf{6.} καὶ ἤνωξεν τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ εἰς βλασφημίας πρὸς τὸν θεόν, βλασφημήσαι τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν σκηνὴν αὐτοῦ.

\textbf{7.} καὶ ἔδόθη αὐτῷ ποιῆσαι πόλεμον μετὰ τῶν ἀγίων καὶ νικῆσαι αὐτοὺς.\(^1\)

\(^1\) I have omitted τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν θρόνον αὐτοῦ as an addition of our Apocalyptist. The diction is his at all events, and the removal of the clause restores the parallelism.
10. "e'i tis eis aichmalwosian,
eis aichmalwosian utaigei;' 
ei tis en makairh apoxtanbheinai,
autos en makairh apoxtanbheinai.

In this source the Beast is the Roman Empire. The date of the composition is shortly after 70. The destruction of Jerusalem is referred to in xiii. 7, and the massacres that followed in xiii. 10.

(b) xiii. 11-18.—We have now to deal with the source of xiii. 11-18. This is a more difficult problem than the former, but it is still possible to recognize the original character of this source, and the extent to which it survives in our text. Certain facts help to guide us in this quest.

1. The style, though on the whole that of our author, postulates a Hebrew source (see § 3, 4) in two verses, 11, 12ab, the very verses which have as their subject the False Prophet. The theme, then, of this fragment of the source is the False Prophet. We shall find that the same subject is dealt with in the greater part of this section.

2. Next the False Prophet (ψευδοπροφήτης) is just as undeniably the theme of xiii. 13, 14a, 16b, 17a as it is of verses xiii. 11, 12ab; xiii. 11c clearly defines the False Prophet, who, as in Matt. vii. 15, outwardly simulates the character of the Lamb (the ἀρνίον or Messiah), but is in reality an ἀπολλύων like his master the Dragon (see ix. 11: cf. also xi. 18, xix. 2). For his mission he is armed with the power of the Dragon, 12a (here δράκοντας and δράκοντα originally stood instead of πρ. θηρίον and θηρίον το πρ.), as in 2 Thess. ii. 9-10: o'ti estin ς παροντα κατ' ενέργειαν του Σατανᾶ εν πάσῃ δυνάμει και σημείοις και τέρασιν ψεύδους καὶ εν πάσῃ ἀπάτῃ ἀδικίας τοῖς ἀπολυμένοις: Didache, xvi. 4. The object of these signs and wonders is to deceive. Thus in xiii. 14 the False Prophet deceives those who dwell upon the earth (cf. 2 Thess. ii. 10 just quoted; Mk. xiii. 22, ἐγερθῶσιν γὰρ ψευδόχριστον καὶ ψευδοπροφήτης καὶ δώσοντι σημεία καὶ τέρατα πρὸς τὸ ἀπολλαγέν εἰ δύνατον τοὺς ἐκλεκτούς, Matt. xxiv. 11, 24, etc. Finally he causes all who have rendered him worship to place a mark on their right hand and on their forehead, xiii. 16b, and, to make this effective and universal, ordains that none shall buy or sell save such as have this mark, xiii. 17a.1

3. From the foregoing—especially the parallel passages in the Gospels and 2 Thess.—it follows that the ψευδοπροφήτης was originally a Jewish or a Christian Antichrist. That he was the

1 The object of the marking of the faithful in vii. 3 sqq. is to secure them against demonic or Satanic attack: the object of the marking of the followers of the Antichrist—at all events a secondary object—is to secure them against physical injury and to make physical life impossible for the faithful.
former may be reasonably concluded from xiii. 16, seeing that the Antichrist there requires his worshippers to place his mark on their right hand and brow—an antichristian travesty of the practice of orthodox Judaism, which required the faithful to wear it on the left hand and forehead (see my note in loc.).

4. The above interpretation of the source xiii. 11, 12ab, 13–14a, 16b, 17 is borne out by the subsequent references to the subject of this source as the ψευδοπροφήτης, xvi. 13, xix. 20, xx. 10. This word testifies to the meaning of the idea in the original source, i.e. the Jewish Antichrist conceived as a ψευδόχριστος or ψευδο-

5. We have already inferred that the ψευδοπροφήτης of this source was really the Jewish Antichrist (see 3), and not a mere agent of the Antichrist. This inference is confirmed by the fact that in xiii. 11, he is associated directly with the Dragon (i.e. Satan), and declared (xiii. 11; cf. 15) to be an ἀντιλάβωμι like his master. Hence all phrases that transform this Antichrist into a mere agent of the Antichrist do not belong to the original source.

6. From the above facts and inferences we conclude that the source did not mention a θηρίον as in 11, but an ἀντίχριστος or a ψευδοπροφήτης. Hence ἄλλο θηρίον, xiii. 11, and τὸ πρῶτον θηρίον in xiii. 12 are from the hand of our author as well as the additions of ἐθεραπευθη . . . αὐτοῦ, xiii. 12, ἐνόπιον τοῦ θηρίου . . . ἀποκτανθῶσιν, xiii. 14b–15, τοὺς μικροὺς . . . δουλοὺς, xiii. 16, τὸ δύναμα . . . ἐξικοντα ἔξ, xiii. 17b–18. By means of these additions the Jewish Antichrist was transformed into a secondary personage (ἄλλο θηρίον) that waited on the Antichrist (τὸ πρῶτον θηρίου), and formed, in fact, the heathen priesthood of the imperial cult. It was this priesthood that set up the εἰκῶν of the beast and required all the inhabitants of the earth to worship it on pain of death, xiii. 14b, 15. Thus the εἰκῶν is not an original constituent of the source, as Wellhausen supposed, but an addition of our author. By the above additions also Nero redivivus is represented to be Antichrist: cf. xiii. 12, 14c, 18. These additions, as we have already seen, are in the style and from the hand of our author: the rest of the section is his translation from a Hebrew source. Finally, xiv. 12–13 should be read undoubtedly after xiii. 15. Just as the first stage of the persecution of the saints ended in the emphasizing of patience and faithfulness on their part (xiii. 10), so its final stage is accompanied by a like emphasizing of the patience of the saints and a declaration of the blessedness of those who suffered martyrdom in the Lord; xiv. 12–13 are from the hand of our author.
We are now in a position to sum up the character and present limits of the source of xiii. 11-18. It was written in Hebrew. All that survives of it is xiii. 11, 12<sup>ab</sup>, 13-14<sup>ab</sup>, 16<sup>cd</sup>-17<sup>a</sup>. It dealt with a conception of the Jewish Antichrist such as we find in 2 Thess. ii., who like that Antichrist was to claim the prerogatives of Deity, i.e. the worship of mankind, and required all men to bear his mark, just as the faithful bore the mark of God. The date cannot be definitely determined.

We might now hypothetically and partially restore this second source in the Greek of our author. It may originally have been written in verse.

**Jewish Apocalypse directed against the Antichrist in the form of the False Prophet.**

**XIII. 11.** καὶ εἰδον τὸν ψευδοπροφήτην, καὶ εἶχεν κέρατα δύο ὃμοια ἄρνις, καὶ ἀπώλλυε ὡς ὁ δράκων.

**12.** καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ δράκοντος πάσαν ποιεῖ ἐνώ πιον αὐτοῦ, καὶ ποιεῖ τὴν γῆν καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ κατοικοῦντας ἵνα προσκυνήσουσιν τὸν δράκοντα.

**13.** καὶ ποιεῖ σημεία μεγάλα, ἵνα καὶ πῦρ ποιῇ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καταβαίνειν εἰς τὴν γῆν ἐνώπιον τῶν ανθρώπων.

**14.** καὶ πλανᾷ τοὺς κατοικοῦντας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς διὰ τὰ σημεῖα ἀ ἐδόθη αὐτῷ ποιῆσαι,

**16.-17.** καὶ ποιεῖ πάντας ἵνα δῶσιν αὐτοῖς χάραγμα ἐπὶ τῆς χειρὸς αὐτῶν τῆς δεξιᾶς ἢ ἐπὶ τὸ μέτωπον αὐτῶν, ἵνα μὴ τις δύνηται ἄγοράσαι ἢ πωλῆσαι εἰ μὴ ὁ ἔχων τὸ χάραγμα.

**The Two Beasts, xii. 18–xiii.**

**XII. 18.** καὶ ἐστάθη ἐπὶ τὴν ἄμμον τῆς θαλάσσης.

There can be no question here as to the original text. The textual evidence in itself is overwhelming in behalf of ἐστάθη. In the next place the sense is in favour of it. The dragon foiled in his attempt to destroy the Messiah and His Community proceeds to the shore of the sea and summons from it the Beast (i.e. the Roman Empire) in order to arm it with his own power. Thus ch. xiii. follows naturally after xii. Again the order of the words in the next sentence, καὶ ... ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης θηρίων ἀναβαίνων, is in favour of ἐστάθη: ἐστάθη ἐπὶ τ. ἄμμον τῆς θαλάσσης, καὶ εἶδον ἐκ τ. θαλάσσης θηρίων ἀναβαίνων. And, finally, ἐστάθη preserves the continuity ἀπῆλθε, xii. 17, and ἐδωκε in xiii. 2.
The First Beast, xii. 1-10.

XIII. 1. καὶ εἶδον ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης θηρίον ἀναβαίνον, ἔχων κέφαλα δέκα καὶ κεφαλὰς ἔπτα, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν κεφάτων αὐτοῦ δέκα διαδήματα, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς αὐτοῦ ὄνόματα βλασφημίας.

The order of the words ἐκ τῆς θαλ. . . . ἀναβαίνον is unusual. It differs from that in Dan. vii. 3, τέσσαρα θηρία . . . ἀνέβαινων ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης: 4 Ezra xi. 1, Ecce ascendebat de mari aquila, and xi. 7, xiii. 11, xvii. 8 (vii. 2), in our text. On the other hand, we find one parallel in xvi. 13-14, εἶδον ἐκ τοῦ στόματος τοῦ δράκοντος . . . πνεύματα τρία . . . ἀ ἑκπορεύεται. The unusual order in our text may be due to the order in the Hebrew source or may be adopted for the sake of emphasis. Stress may be laid on the quarter from which the Beast comes. The second Beast comes from the land, xiii. 11.

The first Beast is the Roman Empire. The description of this Beast in xiii. 1-2* is clearly based on Dan. vii. 2-7. It comes up from the sea, as the four beasts in Daniel did: the number of its heads may be directly derived from adding together the heads of the four beasts, though this characteristic has probably an older history; its ten horns are from the fourth beast, and its likeness to a leopard, its possession of the feet of a bear, and the mouth of a lion, are borrowed from the first three beasts. It is evidently the representation of the fourth kingdom in Daniel, though it is a still more terrible monster than that depicted there.

But in Daniel the fourth beast represents the Greek Empire of Alexander and his successors. When did the reinterpretation which appears in our text arise? Possibly, even probably, in the first century B.C.; for with the assertion of the power of Rome in the East this reinterpretation was inevitable. Probably from Pompey's time onward the Roman Commonwealth came in certain circles in Palestine to be identified with the fourth kingdom. Thus in Pss. Sol. ii. 29 Pompey is called ὁ δράκων—a term associated with the Antichrist. He impersonates the power of Rome, as Nebuchadnezzar did that of Babylon in Jer. xxviii. 14. Rabbinic literature shows many traces of this identification. Thus, according to Cant. rab. ii. 12; Gen. rab. xliiv. 20; Lev. rab. xiii.; Midr. Teh. Ps. lxxx. 14 (see Jewish Enyc. x. 394), it was the last wicked kingdom whose end was to usher in the Messianic Kingdom. In the Aboda Zara, 2a, Sheb. 6b, Rome is declared to be the fourth kingdom in Dan. vii. 23. In the Rabbinic writings the usual designation of Rome is Edom (Schürer, Gesch. iii. 236 sqq.; Weber, Jüdisch. Theol. 2 365 sqq., 383 sq., 395). Though the date of the Jewish writings just mentioned is late, the fact of the reinterpretation of Dan. vii. 23
is unquestionable in the first century A.D. In the Assumption of Moses, x. 8. (7-30 A.D.), and 2 Bar. xxxix. 5 sqq., xxxvi. 5-10; 4 Ezra xii. 11 sq., this reinterpretation is not only given, but in the latter book it is implied that the angel, who instructed Daniel as to the fourth kingdom being Greek, was wrong. In Josephus (Ant. x. 11. 7) the same interpretation occurs, but the passage is rejected by Niese. Turning now to the Christian Church, we find the first identification of the Roman Empire with the fourth kingdom of Daniel in the Little Apocalypse as it is given by Luke xxii. 20; for, whereas in Mark xiii. 14; Matt. xxiv. 15 (ὅταν δὲ ἴδητε τὸ βασίλειον τῆς ἐρημώσεως), the phrase of Daniel, τὸ βασίλειον τῆς ἐρημώσεως, is used generally as referring to the profanation of the Temple by the Antichrist, this phrase is interpreted by Luke of the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans—ὅταν δὲ ἴδητε κυκλομενύν ὑπὸ στρατοπέδων Ἰερουσαλήμ. Thus the rôle of the fourth kingdom is assigned by Luke in some degree to Róme. The date of this reinterpretation is probably between 70 and 80 A.D. From this period we pass onwards to the Ep. Barn. iv. 4-5 (100-120 A.D.), where the same interpretation of the fourth kingdom is set forth.

From the above survey, therefore, we conclude that from 30 A.D. onwards Jewish exegesis universally and Christian exegesis generally took the Roman Empire to be the fourth kingdom in Daniel. So far, therefore, as our text sets forth this view it contains no new development: it merely expresses a current and apparently undisputed interpretation. But there is more than this in our text, as we shall see, and we cannot on the above grounds as well as on others acquiesce in any interpretation of the mysterious numbers in xiii. 18 which would limit it to the disclosure of a mere exegetical platitude of the times. The first advance on this interpretation appears in xiii. 3, where see note.

κέρατα δέκα καὶ κεφαλὰς ἐπτά. This clause and the following present great difficulties. The first clause has already occurred in xii. 3 as a description of the Dragon save that the order of the heads and horns is reversed. What meaning did our author attach to the heads or to the horns? As the text at present stands, the heads refer to the Roman emperors. This is clear from xiii. 3 (μιᾶν ἐκ τῶν κεφαλῶν αὐτῶν), 12, 17, 18, and xvii. 9, 10. The reference here is clearly contemporary. This being so the horns cannot refer to the same persons.1

1 This latter illegitimate interpretation has been adopted by many who have accordingly concluded that the Apocalypse was written under the tenth Caesar. But, however the counting is done, it fails to lead to Domitian, under whom the Apocalypse was written. If, beginning with Caesar (as in 4 Ezra xii. 15) or Augustus, we include Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, we find the tenth in Titus or Vespasian: if we exclude these three we arrive at Nerva or Trajan. To reckon the three as one, as some do, and so make Domitian the tenth, is inadmissible.
Since this reference has been excluded, it has been proposed to treat the phrase κέρατα δέκα as an archaic survival here, and therefore meaningless in the present context. We have already met with such archaic survivals in the preceding chapters, but this explanation is not so satisfactory here. If the phrase were such, would it have been given this emphatic position? for the horns seem to be placed before the heads in contrast to the order in xii. 3, and the diadems are shifted from the heads to the horns. The difficulty is increased when we turn to xvii. 3, and find there that the Beast has “seven heads and ten horns” like the Dragon. The only explanation remaining, and it is not satisfactory, is that the horns are mentioned first, because they first became visible as the Beast rose from the sea in the vision.

Wellhausen thinks that xiii. 1b and xii. 3, ἐχον κεφαλας ἐπτὰ καὶ κέρατα δέκα, are additions, since they have no bearing on the text till ch. xvii. But the seven-headed monster is derived from tradition, and is not a mere symbol created by our author.

That the number seven is not due to the fact that our author already knew or expected seven emperors we have already seen. See note on xii. 3. He gives an ancient tradition a new meaning by interpreting it of the seven Roman emperors.

καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν κεφαλῶν αὐτοῦ δέκα διαδήματα. These words have been inserted in the text to prepare for the account in xvii. 12 of the Parthian kings, where the horns are expressly said to denote ten kings. In Daniel’s visions a horn “represents either a king (see vii. 24, viii. 5, 8a, 9, 21) or a dynasty of kings (viii. 3, 6, 7, 8b, 20, 22) rising up in, or out of, the empire symbolized by the creature to which the horn belongs” (Driver, Daniel, vii. 7). The ten horns in Dan. vii. 7 refer to the successors of Alexander on the throne of Antioch—that is, to a single division of Alexander’s empire. Similarly here the ten horns would refer to the kings of the eastern division of the Antichrist’s empire, i.e. the Parthian. διαδήματα are elsewhere assigned only to Christ, xix. 12, and to the Dragon, xii. 3. The latter conception is permissible since the Dragon is in many respects a caricature of Christ. It would be permissible also, if the clause could be interpreted of the Roman emperors, since they could be regarded as incarnations of the Beast. But it is difficult to take them in connection with Rome’s vassal kings. The position of δέκα before διαδήματα is found only in xvii. 12 in our author; see note on viii. 2. Hence the clause may be a gloss. For the phraseology we might compare the Egyptian royal title “Lord of diadems.” (Mommsen, Rom. Gesch. v. 565, note, quoted from Erbes, p. 95.)

καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς αὐτοῦ ὀνόματα βλασφημίας. Cf. xvii. 3, θριόν . . . γέμοντα ὀνόματα βλασφημίας. The evidence for ὀνομα
and δυόματα is fairly balanced. If we take the singular then the blasphemous name on each head is no doubt Σεβαστός, i.e. divus Augustus—a blasphemous title involving divine claims and connected with the imperial cult. The terms θεός and θεοῦ νῖός were freely applied to the emperors in inscriptions from Augustus onward. This interpretation is found in Bede, as Düsterdieck has pointed out: "Reges enim suos deos appellant tam mortuos et velut in cœlum atque inter deos translatos, quam etiam in terris Augustos, quod est nomen ut volunt deitatis."

If, on the other hand, we read δυόματα, the seven heads are to be regarded as bearing respectively the seven names of the Caesars.

2. καὶ τὸ θηρίον ὤ εἴδον ἣν ὅμοιον παρθαλαίη,
καὶ οἱ πάδες αὐτοῦ ὡς ἄρκου,
καὶ τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ ὡς στόμα λέοντος.
καὶ ἐδώκεν αὐτῷ ὅ δράκων τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ
cαὶ τὸν θρόνον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐξουσίαν μεγάλην.

Our text as it stands combines the characteristics of the three beasts which arise out of the sea in succession in Dan. vii. 1 sqq.—the lion, the bear, and the leopard. In Hos. xiii. 7, 8 the lion, leopard, and bear are referred to. The third line suggests a combination of the traits of the first beast (i.e. the lion), Dan. vii. 4, and of the fourth and unnatural ten-horned beast, which had iron teeth wherewith it devoured and brake in pieces, vii. 7.

It is impossible to conceive the complex figure here portrayed by our author, unless we take it that he regards each of the seven heads as having a lion's mouth. But the text appears to imply that it had only one mouth. The figure therefore is wholly fantastic and not plastically conceivable. This inconceivableness is possibly somewhat in favour of regarding the line καὶ τὸ στόμα . . . λέοντος as a later addition.

But this argument is hardly valid here. It is noteworthy, however, that we have here the full construction τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ ὡς στόμα λέοντος, whereas in accordance with what precedes we should expect τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ ὡς λέοντος as in i. 10, iv. 1, 7. Yet in ix. 8, 9 we have the same combination of full and pregnant constructions.

3. καὶ μίαν ἐκ τῶν κεφαλῶν αὐτοῦ ὡς ἐσφαγμένην εἰς θάνατον. We must here supply εἴδον from ver. 1 as in iv. 4

1 Temples were erected to Augustus in his lifetime bearing the dedication: θεὸς Ὁμήρη καὶ Σεβαστὸν καίσαρος (Dittenberger, Or. Gr. inscr. ii. 11—quoted from Swete, p. lxxvii.). Hicks (Epheusis, p. 150) records the following inscription at Ephesus [αὐτοκράτωρ] καίσαρ θεὸν Τραϊανοῦ Παρθικοῦ υἱὸς θεοῦ Νεροῦα υἱωνός, Τραϊανὸς 'Αδριανὸς Σεβαστὸς.
(both additions from the hand of our author). The phrase ὃς ἐσφαγμένον has already occurred in connection with the Christ, v. 6. It marks the Beast, or rather one of its heads, as the Satanic counterpart of the Christ, and therefore as the Anti-christ. It has, moreover, a twofold significance. It not only implies that the being so described was put to a violent death (ἐσφαγμένην), but also that he was restored to life (ὁς ἐσφαγμένην). With these words the text makes a new advance. From the current identification of Rome with the fourth or last kingdom in Daniel, it proceeds to deal with one of the heads of the Beast, i.e. an emperor of Rome who sums up in himself all its anti-christian characteristics. The next step whereby this head is identified with the Beast itself is taken in xiii. 12, 14.

καὶ ἡ πληγῇ τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ κτλ. The αὐτοῦ limits the statement to the wounded head, though in xiii. 12, 14 this head is identified with the entire Beast. It is this head and none other that is healed.1 Hence the interpretation (of Zuschlag, Bruston, Gunkel, Clemen, Porter) which would find a reference to Julius Caesar here is excluded. The choice therefore lies between Caligula and Nero. The former view was advocated at an early date by Weyers (see Züllig, ii. 239), Holtzmann (Stade's Gesch. Israels, ii. 388 sq.), Erbes (p. 29), and Spitta (392). In 1885 Zahn proposed it by way of a jest (Z.K.W. 568 sqq.). The words ἡ πληγῇ τοῦ θανάτου would then refer to a very dangerous illness of Caligula from which he recovered (Suet. Caligula, 14; Dio Cassius, lix. 8; Philo, Legatio ad Caïum, ii. 548, μέμνηται γάρ οἴδεις τοσαῦτην μιᾶς χώρας ἡ ἑνὸς εἴθνους γενέσθαι χαράν ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ καὶ καταστάσει ἡγεμόνον, ὅσην ἐπὶ Γαλιττήν συμπάθης τῆς οἰκουμένης, καὶ παραλαβόντες τὴν ἄρχην καὶ ῥυθέντες ἐκ τῆς ἀσθενείας. See Spitta, 139 sq., 369 sq., 392–95; Erbes, 17 sqq.). There is much to recommend this view. It would explain many of the difficulties in this chapter. It is the natural explanation of the thrice-recurring clause relating to the healing of the wound, xiii. 3, 12, 14, of the wonder of the whole world at his recovery, xiii. 3 (cf. Philo quoted above), and of the horror in Palestine at his attempt to set up his statue in the Temple,

1 Since the text refers to the healing of the wounded head and not to the healing of the Beast itself with seven heads, the interpretation of Düsterdieck, O. Holtzmann, B. Weiss, and Moffatt is also out of court here. These scholars explain the text as referring to the convulsions which shook the Empire to its foundation in 69 A.D. after Nero's death, and from which it recovered only by the accession of Vespasian. Moffatt rightly observes that 4 Ezra xii. 18, which refers to this crisis in Roman affairs, requires this explanation: "Post tempus regni illius (i.e. Nero's) nascentur contentiones non modicae, et periclitabitur ut cadat, et non cadet tunc, sed iterum constituetur in suum initium," and compares Suet. Vesp. i.; Jos. Bell. iv. 11. 5, vii. 4. 2.
Again it offers a satisfactory explanation of xiii. 8, καὶ προσκυνήσουσιν αὐτὸν πάντες οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, for we find in Joseph. Ant. xviii. 8. 1 that all the subjects of the Roman Empire erected altars to Caligula and regarded him as a god: πάντων γοῦν ὑπὸ τῷ Ρωμαίοις ἄρχῃ ὑποτελείς εἶνεν βωμοὺς τῷ Γαίῳ καὶ νεὼς ἱδρυμένων τά τε ἅλλα πάντα αὐτὸν ὁπερ τοὺς θεοὺς δεχομένων. Spitta (p. 369) and Erbes (p. 18) in opposing the Nero redevisus interpretation rightly argue: "Who in all the world would say of a wound, which was bringing a man to the grave, that he was healed because in a marvellous manner he rose again (as Nero redevisus) from the dead?" But however just these contentions may be, the text as it stands cannot refer to Caligula. To make it do so requires the change of the number 666 to 616, and the excision of xiii. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9–10, 14, 18, and a phrase in xiii. 8 (so Spitta). The text as it stands refers, as both Spitta and Erbes admit, to Nero redevisus. That, however, our author is probably using here an earlier source referring possibly to Caligula we have already seen (see p. 349).

As the text stands the only satisfactory explanation is that which takes the text as referring to Nero redevisus. The two renderings 666 and 616 can be explained thereby, and no excisions are necessary, though certain expressions are difficult, owing probably to the fact that they were applied differently in an earlier source. The origin and belief in Nero’s return has been investigated by Zahn, Z.K. W.L. 1885–86; Bousset, Offenb. Johannis, 410–18; and Charles, Ascension of Isaiah, li.–lxiii.; and in a revised form in the Appendix to chap. xvii. of the present work. Several forms of the Antichrist tradition lie behind different sections of our Apocalypse. There is the Beliar Antichrist in xi. 7, which apparently had in its original form only a religious significance as in 2 Thess. ii. Of the first stage of the Neronic myth there is no trace, but there are ample traces of the second stage in xvi. 12 and in the original document or tradition behind xvii. 12–17, according to which Nero was to return from the far East at the head of ten Parthian kings for the destruction of Rome. The third stage which represents Nero redevisus, i.e. Nero as returning with demonic powers from the abyss, is that which was present to the mind of our author alike in the passage before us and throughout the book. See ch. xvii. and the Appendix. Only when so conceived "does the one head," as Bousset remarks, "become the complete antitype of the ἁρνίον ὃς ἐκφαγμένον." The wounded head is identified with the Beast in xiii. 12, 14, xvii. 8, 11.

καὶ ἔθαμμαθη ... ὂπισω τοῦ θηρίου. We have here a construction which is neither Greek nor Hebrew, as Gunkel
has observed. Blass (p. 129) observes rightly that the prepositional use of ὅπισω is foreign to profane writers, and takes its origin from the LXX (= ἐν τῷ), and compares in this connection the construction in Acts v. 37, xx. 30. The present phrase ἐθαναμάσθη ... ὅπισω he admits (p. 118, note 3) is very strange, but he thinks it can be taken as a pregnant construction for ἐθαναμάσθη ἐπὶ τῷ θρήνῳ καὶ ἐπορεύθη ὅπισω αὐτοῦ. Such an explanation can satisfy no one. Gunkel assumes that we have here a translation from the Hebrew נְתֵנָה, where נְתֵנָה is corrupt for תְּחִרָא וְ. Thus we should have "and wondered at the end of the beast," i.e. that it remained alive. But the meaning Gunkel assigns to the Hebrew here is quite unnatural. "The end" of the beast was not this temporary restoration. And yet it is possible to explain the difficulty through retroversion into Hebrew: i.e. תְּחִרָא וְ נְתֵנָה, where נְתֵנָה is corrupt for תְּחִרָא רְבָּא (i.e. תְּחִרָא רְבָּא or חָרָא, though this last is a rarer construction). Thus the Greek should run: καὶ ἐθαναμάσθη ὅλη ἡ γῆ ἵδουσα (ὁρ βλέπουσα) τὸ θηρίον. This restoration is supported by the parallel passage dealing with the very same subject in xvii. 8, καὶ θαναμασθήσωνται οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐν τῷ γῆς ... βλέποντων τὸ θηρίον κτλ. The construction recurs again in xvii. 6, ἐθαυμάσα ἵδον αὐτῷ.

The meaning therefore of this clause is exactly the same as in xvii. 8. The world was astonished at the marvellous return of Nero redivivus.

4. καὶ προσεκύνησαν. The power of the Roman Empire is derived from the Dragon, and the Dragon is worshipped as the source of this power. The words wherewith the inhabitants of the earth belaud the Beast are an intentional parody of certain expressions of praise in the O.T. Ex. xv. 11, τὸς ὅμοιος σοι ἐν θεοῖς, κύριε; Ps. xxxv. 10, lxxxix. 6, cxiiii. 5; Isa. xl. 25, xlii. 5; Mic. vii. 18. The motive for the worship is given in the words that follow, τὸς δύναται πολεμῆσαι μετὰ αὐτοῦ; as Swete remarks, "it was not moral greatness but brute force which commanded the homage of the provinces."

In this verse our author takes up the theme which led really to the composition of the book as a whole, the worship of the Beast, the imperial cultus. Since this meant a subordination of the interests of religion to those of the State, it became the chief source of strife between Christendom and the Roman Empire. Again and again this subject recurs throughout the chapters that follow.

These passages are no more analogous to our text than 1 Tim. v. 15, εἰστάκησαν ὅπως τοῦ Σατανᾶ; for all three admit of good Hebrew renderings, but our text does not.
5. καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτῷ στόμα λαλοῦν μεγάλα καὶ βλασφημίας, 
καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτῷ ἐξούσια ποιῆσαι μῆνας τεσσαράκοντα καὶ δύο.

The words στόμα λαλοῦν μεγάλα are from Dan. vii. 8, 20: 
cf. Ps. xii. 3; 2 Bar. lxvii. 7. With καὶ βλασφημίας cf. Dan. 
xi. 36, where it is said of Antiochus, ἐπὶ τὸν θεὸν τῶν θεῶν ἐξαλλα 
(ὑπερογκα, Th.) λαλήσει, and vii. 25, δῆματα εἰς (λόγους πρὸς, Th.) 
tὸν ὑπίστον λαλήσει: also i Macc. i. 24. "ποῖησαι (=πῦρ) may 
mean either "to do," "to act with effect": cf. Dan. viii. 12, 
xi. 28. It could mean "to spend the time," a sense that πῦρ 
also has in Hebrew. On μῆνας κτλ. see note on xi. 2. Nero 
redivivus is to hold sway for the usual apocalyptic period.

6. καὶ ἦνοικεν τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ εἰς βλασφημίας πρὸς τὸν θεὸν, 
βλασφημήσας τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν σκηνὴν αὐτοῦ, 
καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ σκηνοῦτας.

With our text we might compare Dan. viii. 10-12. The 
claims of the Empire were expressed in ever deepening terms 
of blasphemy. Cf. what is said of the Antichrist in 2 Thess. 
ii. 4, ἀντικείμενος καὶ ὑπεραιρόμενος ἐπὶ πάντα λεγόμενον θεὸν ἢ 
σέβασμα . . . ἀποδεικνύτα ἐαυτὸν ὅτι ἔστιν θεὸς: Asc. Isa. iv. 6 
(before 100 A.D.) "he will say: I am God and before me there 
has been none": Sibyll. Or. v. 33-34 (=xii. 85, 86), εἶτα 
ἀνακάμψει ἵσταυν θεῷ αὐτόν. The impious claims of the Cæsars 
are here in the mind of the writer. Of Caligula Philo writes 
(Leg. ad Caium, 23), δ ἔστιν οὗτος ἐαυτὸν ἐξετύφωσεν ὄν 
λέγων μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὀφθαλμοὶ εἶναι θεῶς. Domitian's claims here are very 
explicit: Suetonius, Domitian. 13, "Dominus et deus noster hoc 
 fieri jubet. Unde institutum posthac, ut ne scripto quidem ac 
sermone cuiusquam appellaretur aliter."

βλασφημήσας τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ. Cf. Ass. Mos. viii. 5, where it is 
said that the Jews "will be forced . . . to blaspheme . . . the 
name." Cf. Lev. xxiv. 11, שׁנָה בְּרִי.

The attempt to explain τὴν σκηνὴν αὐτοῦ (see § 8 in the 
Intro. to this chapter on the meaning of this phrase in the 
original source) of the earthly temple is against the context here 
and the usage of our author in xxi. 3, and especially the use of 
σκηνοῦν, as in vii. 15, xii. 12, xxi. 3. It is probably heaven itself 
that is here referred to: not the temple in heaven. But it is 
possible that our author means τὴν σκηνὴν αὐτοῦ to be taken 
as meaning "His Shekinah," especially if the words that follow 
are original. See note on xxi. 3. Those who find a Caligula 
Apocalypse behind the present text interpret the σκηνὴ of the 
earthly temple, in which Caligula wished to have his statue set 
up, according to Jos. Ant. xviii. 8. 2; Bell. ii. 10. 1; Philo, Leg. 
ad Caium, 29, 43. σκηνὴ could be taken in the same sense also, 
if the source referred to the siege of Jerusalem under Titus.
καὶ τὸς ἐν τῷ οὐφρανῷ σκηνοῦτας. The καὶ though weakly supported may be original. If the clause is original then too is the καὶ, and the beings referred to are the angels: cf. xii. 12. In that case we should compare xxi. 3, ἡ σκηνὴ τοῦ θεοῦ . . . καὶ σκηνώσει. Since we have οὐφρανός definitely mentioned in this third phrase, τὴν σκηνὴν αὐτοῦ can hardly be taken as its equivalent. Hence again we conclude to its meaning “His Shekinah.”

7. καὶ ἔδοθῇ αὐτῷ ποίησαι πόλεμον μετὰ τῶν ἁγίων καὶ νικῆσαι αὐτοὺς,
καὶ ἔδοθῇ αὐτῷ ἐξουσία ἐπὶ πᾶσαν φυλὴν καὶ λαὸν καὶ γλώσσαν καὶ ἐθνος.

The first line (as also xi. 7) goes back to Dan. vii. 21—to the Aramaic rather than to the Versions. Theod. has θεωροῦν καὶ τὸ κέρας ἐκεῖνο ἔποιει πόλεμον μετὰ τῶν ἁγίων καὶ ἰσχύσει πρὸς αὐτοὺς. LXX has πόλεμον συνιστάμενον πρὸς τοὺς ἁγίους καὶ προσοπέμενον αὐτοὺς. Νικήσαι is our author’s own rendering here: cf. xii. 11, xvii. 14, etc., and ποίησαι πόλεμον μετὰ is found in xi. 7, xii. 17, xix. 19, and is a literal rendering of the Aramaic ׳ֹֽוָּ רְֽבֵּ רֵי נָֽהֲרִּי. The rôle of the little horn (i.e. Antiochus Epiphanes) in Daniel is here taken by Nero redivivus. The persecution referred to is not the first, i.e. the Neronic, but in the future; for it is to be world wide.

1 Enoch xli. 7 speaks of the rulers and kings “casting down the stars of heaven” (i.e. the righteous) in dependence on Dan. viii. 10.

ἐπὶ πᾶσαν φυλὴν κτλ. See v. 9, note, on this favourite enumeration of our author.

7°–9. καὶ ἔδοθῇ αὐτῷ ἐξουσία . . . ἀκουσάτω, like ver. 3, looks like an insertion. By their removal we seem to recover the original form of the verses xiii. i–10. See Introd. to Chap. xiii. § 8, p. 342 sqq. But the present form is due to our author.

8. καὶ προσκυνήσουσιν αὐτῶν πάντες οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς οὗ οὗ γέγραπται τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ τῆς Ἰωῆς τοῦ ἄρνιον τοῦ ἐσφαγμένου ἀπὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου.

This verse combined with xiii. 3° forms a doublet of xvii. 8. See Introd., p. 337. The future προσκυνήσουσιν may be due to the fact that the author has dropt his rôle of Seer and passed over into prophecy, or that he has translated Ἡλιασθη in his original source as if it were Ἡλιασθῆ instead of Ἡλιασθῇ. Cf. xvii. 8. In any case we pass here from the present to the future. All do not yet worship the beast. See 15. The phrase τοῦ ἄρνιον τοῦ ἐσφαγμένου is generally regarded by critics as a scribal gloss, but it appears to be from the hand of our author; for, in the first place, in xxi. 27 we find ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ τῆς Ἰωῆς τοῦ ἄρνιου, and, in the next, the phrase in our text forms a contrast to that in xiii. 3. The

VOL. I.—23
subjects of the Neronic Antichrist who was ὡς ἐσφαγμένος εἰς θάνατον are set over against those of τοῦ ἀρνίου τοῦ ἐσφαγμένου: (cf. v. 6, 12).

The reading ὅν . . . τὸ ὄνομα αὐτῶν, though weakly attested, has something to be said for it. The use of ὄνομα, where a plurality is referred to, is a Hebraism. Thus in Num. xxvi. 33 (in xxvii. 1 where the phrase is repeated we have the plural), xxxii. 38; Deut. xii. 3; 1 Sam. xiv. 49 ἡσυχία is used with reference to a number. This Hebraism would explain the correction of ὅν . . . αὐτῶν into οὖ . . . αὐτοῦ on the one hand and of τὸ ὄνομα into τὰ ὄνόματα on the other. Cf. xvii. 8.

The phrase ἀπὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου is by almost all scholars connected with γέγραπται, as in xvii. 8. In favour of this connection the following passages are quoted: Eph. i. 4, ἐξελέξατο ἡμᾶς ἐν αὐτῷ πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου, and Matt. xxv. 34, ἦτοι μακροεννέαν ἐν ψαλμοίν ἀπὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου. Thus the election is from the beginning, and the presupposition is that only the elect can withstand the claims of the imperial cult backed by the might of the empire itself. To acknowledge such claims on the part of the State is in reality to acknowledge the supremacy of Satan. The faithful are thus secured by their election from the foundation of the world. In vii. 3 sqq., having already exhibited their steadfastness in actual temptation, they have been marked on their brows as God’s own possession, and have thus been secured against the spiritual assaults of Satan but not against martyrdom. The above interpretation is right in the case of xvii. 8 but possibly wrong in the present passage, and Bede, Eichhorn, and Alford may be right in connecting the above phrase with ἐσφαγμένου. This connection is suggested by 1 Pet. i. 19, 20, ἐλευθερώστε . . . αἵματί ὡς ἄμνοι . . . προεγγυσμένου μὲν πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου. What has been foreordained in the counsels of God is in a certain sense a fact already. The principle of sacrifice and redemption is older than the world: it belongs to the essence of the Godhead. In favour of this view I would adduce further evidence. In the 2nd cent. B.C. Michael was regarded as the mediator between God and man, Test. Dan vi. 2 (see my note in loc.), and about the beginning of the Christian era this mediatorship was assigned to Moses in Ass. Mos. i. 14 (see next paragraph). If Judaism claimed that Moses was ordained to be mediator of God’s covenant from the foundation of the world, Christianity claimed that Christ was ordained as the Redeemer of mankind from that period. This, I think, is the meaning of the words in their present context, though it was not the meaning in the older form of the passage, which has been preserved in xvii. 8.

The phrase ἀπὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου is found eight times in the
N.T. outside the Apocalypse, but does not occur in the LXX. The word καταβολή is only once found in the LXX, *i.e.* in 2 Macc. ii. 29, where it is used of the foundation of a house. The idea, however, is found in Job xxxviii. 4, נֵרָי רִיבֶּשׁ; LXX, ἐν τῷ θεμελίῳ με τὴν γῆν, and the phrase itself recurs three times in the Ass. Mos. i. 13, 14, "ab initio orbis terrarum," the Greek of which is happily preserved in Gelasius of Cyzicum (see Fabricius, *Cod. Pseud. V.T.* i. 845, and my edition of the Assumption, pp. 6, 7, 58, 59), ὅς γέγραπται ἐν βιβλίῳ Ἀναλήψεως Μουσέως . . . καὶ προεθεάσατο μὲ θεοῦ πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου εἰναί με τῆς διαθήκης αὐτοῦ μεσίτην. Here as in our text the idea of predestination is forcibly expressed.

9. εἰ τίς ἔχει οὗτ, ἀκουσάτω. See note on ii. 7.

10. εἰ τίς εἰς αἰχμαλωσίαν,
     εἰς αἰχμαλωσίαν ὑπάγει
     εἰ τίς ἐν μαχαίρῃ ἀποκτανθῆναι
     ἀὐτὸν ἐν μαχαίρῃ ἀποκτανθῆναι
     ὡδὲ ἐστιν ἡ ὑπομονὴ καὶ ἡ πίστις τῶν ἀγίων.

10. The textual evidence is very divided, and allows of three different forms of text.

1. The first, *i.e.* A, which I have given above, alone is right. Hort admits that ἀποκτανθῆναι gives the right sense but, failing like all other scholars to understand the construction, does not adopt it into his text. Wellhausen (p. 22, note) declares that ἀποκτενεῖ is impossible, and that it must be changed into the passive. It is strange that he does not refer to the reading of A. Its object is to enforce an attitude of loyal endurance. The day of persecution is at hand: the Christians must suffer captivity, exile or death: in calmly facing and undergoing this final tribulation they are to manifest their endurance and faithfulness. This prophetic admonition undoubtedly suits the context and the tone of the entire Apocalypse. It has, moreover, the support of Jer. xliii. 11 and xv. 2, on one or other of which it is based. The former is מָלַת קֶרֶב אַשָּׁר יִשָּׂרָאֵל לְצָבָא מֵהֶלֶךְ, while the LXX of Jer. xv. 2 gives ὅσοι εἰς θάνατον, ἐκ θάνατον καὶ ὅσοι εἰς μάχαιραν εἰς μάχαιραν . . . καὶ ὅσοι εἰς αἰχμαλωσίαν εἰς αἰχμαλωσίαν. I have printed the text of A: it is not Greek, but it is a literal rendering of a distinctively Hebrew idiom: *i.e.* of קָרָב אַשָּׁר יִשָּׂרָאֵל לְצָבָא מֵהֶלֶךְ, where the translator read מַלָּת twice instead of מִלָּה. The άὐτόν is corrupt for αὐτός. See xii. 7, note, where this idiom has already occurred.
But the former, I have no doubt, is the right explanation, and the text should be rendered: "If any man is to be slain with the sword, he is to be slain with the sword." This being so, αὐτόν is to be taken as a corruption of αὐτὸς. In αὐτὸς ἐν μαχαίρῃ ἀποκτανθήναι we have a translation of the same Hebraism as in δὲ Μιχαὴλ καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι αὐτὸν τού πολεμήσαι in xii. 7. The Greek, it is true, differs in xii. 7 by the insertion of τοῦ before the inf. But we find the same variation in the LXX. To render ἢ before the inf. in this idiomatic sense was evidently a matter of no little difficulty to the Greek translators, who reproduced it in many ways: 1. by a fut. ind. as in Ps. xlix. 15; Jer. li. (xxviii.) 49; 2. once (?) by δεῖ, cum. inf. See 2 Sam. iv. 10, ὃ δεὶ μὲ δοῦναι θὰ ῥηθῇ ἡμῖν; 3. by εἰ with the aor. ind., 2 Kings xiii. 19; 4. by a paraphrastic form consisting of two verbs, 2 Chron. xi. 22; 5. frequently by τοῦ with the inf. as in Eccles. iii. 15; 1 Chron. ix. 25, and in our text in xii. 7; 6. once simply by the inf. Ps. xxxii. 9, ἐν χαλινῷ καὶ κημῷ ... ἀγξαῖ (B Ν) = מגליו ... המים. Here we have the same rendering as in our text, αὐτὸς (αὐτόν, A) ἐν μαχαίρῃ ἀποκτανθήναι. In xii. 7, just as here, Ν Ο omit the τοῦ before πολεμήσαι, but τοῦ cum inf. is a better rendering. There are also other renderings in the LXX of this idiom.

2. The second form of the text is that of some cursives and Versions:

\[ \text{εἰ τις εἰς αἰχμαλωσίαν ἀπάγει,} \]
\[ \text{εἰς αἰχμαλωσίαν ἵπάγει.} \]
\[ \text{εἰ τις ἐν μαχαίρῃ ἀποκτενεῖ,} \]
\[ \text{δεὶ αὐτόν ἐν μαχαίρῃ ἀποκτανθήναι.} \]

This is the text preferred by Bousset. As in the former text so in this the parallelism of the two clauses is perfect. But the meaning is of course different. While in the former we have an appeal to the loyalty of the faithful, in the latter there is simply a promise of requital. The saints are assured that the \textit{jus talionis} will be enacted to the full on their persecutors.

3. The third form of text is that of the R.V., which agrees with the second save that it omits ἀπάγει. This third form is accepted by B. Weiss, Swete, and Moffatt, but, whatever the textual evidence is, it has the parallelism against it and also the source from which it is derived. Its advocates have supported it by maintaining that both clauses refer to the Christian: he is to suffer exile if necessary, xiii. 10\textsuperscript{ab}: he is to abstain from using the sword, xiii. 10\textsuperscript{cd}, \textit{if he would not perish by the sword.} But here the idea of the law of requital is introduced. Hence, since according to this text 10\textsuperscript{ab} enforces simply the duty of resignation, and 10\textsuperscript{cd} is clearly an expression of the law of
requital, this third form of text combines two ideas consorting very ill with each other, inappropriate to their context and at variance with the source from which they are ultimately drawn. B. Weiss interprets the whole verse as expressing requital.

It is true that this form is fairly supported by the textual evidence; but it was probably due to Matt. xxvi. 52.

The first corruption of the text (i.e. of ἀποκτάνθηνα into ἀποκτενεῖ as in the R.V.) seems to have been due to Matt. xxvi. 52, πάντες γὰρ οἱ λαβόντες μάχαιραν ἐν μαχαιρῇ ἀπολοῦται. This change once effected, introducing as it did the idea of a jus talionis, could easily lead to the next corruption, i.e. the addition of ἀπάγει after αἰχμαλωσίαν (10). Thus this third form of text conveys to the Christians the promise that, whatever be the fate they endure, it will recoil on their persecutors.

*The Second Beast, 11–18.*

11. καὶ εἶδον ἄλλο θηρίον ἀναβαίνον ἐκ τῆς γῆς,
καὶ εἴχεν κέρατα δύο ὁμοία ἀρνίω,
καὶ ἔλαλεν ὡς δράκων ἡ.

In our text this second Beast is identified with the False Prophet: cf. xvi. 13, xix. 20, xx. 10. Mommsen thinks that this second Beast symbolizes the state officials throughout the provinces, but the express identification of this Beast with the False Prophet renders Mommsen’s view untenable. From Victorinus downwards a number of notable scholars have identified the Beast with the heathen priesthood, but it is best with Holtzmann, Pfleiderer, Bousset, J. Weiss to understand it in relation to the imperial priesthood of the provinces.

In this second Antichrist figure we have an independent development of the Antichrist expectation. See p. 342 sqq. Originally this expectation had a radically different object, i.e. a Jewish false prophet in Jerusalem, or a Christian false prophet in the Christian community, as in 1 John ii. 18, 22, iv. 3; 2 John 7. But since the vision of our author is not limited to Judaism or Christianity, but takes in the entire world, he finds that the truths he had already learnt in Judaism and Christianity attained their fullest exemplification in the heathen world. Thus this Antichrist is now heathen and the scene of his activity the heathen world.

This Antichrist comes up ἐκ τῆς γῆς. This phrase seems to indicate the locality of the beast, i.e. the priesthood of the imperial cultus in Asia Minor. Some scholars trace it to Dan. vii. 17, but this can only be a mere accident. Moreover that passage is corrupt. It is true indeed that according to
ancient tradition, 1 Enoch lx. 7 sqq.; 4 Ezra vi. 49 sqq., there were two monsters, Leviathan and Behemoth, the one inhabiting the deep, the other the dry land. These monsters sprang ultimately from the cosmological myths of Babylon, and, representing the primeval chaos monster Tiāmat, appear under many names in the O.T. as opponents of God, Isa. li. 9; Ps. lxxix. 10 sqq.; Job xxvi. 12 sq. etc. (see K.A.T. 3 507), but in later times they came to be regarded as the impersonations of the evil power in the last days, when cosmological myths were transformed into eschatological expectations—as in Isa. xxvii. 1 (leviathan, serpent, dragon); Pss. Sol. ii. 28 sqq.; Rev. xii., xvi. 13, xx. 2 (δράκων); 1 Enoch lx. 7 sqq.; 4 Ezra vi. 49–52; 2 Bar. xxix. 4 (Behemoth and Leviathan); Dan. vii. (זָרִית); Rev. xiii., xvi. 13, xvii., xix. 19 sqq. (θηρίων). See K.A.T. 508.

κέφατα δύο ὄμοια ἄρνιώ. This phrase may be illustrated by Matt. vii. 15, προσέχετε ἀπὸ τῶν ψευδοπροφητῶν, οίτινες ἔρχονται πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐν ενδυμασί προβάτων, ἐσωθεν δὲ εἰς τοὺς λύκους ἄρπαγες. The words in our text therefore may point to the mild appearance of the second Beast.

What is the meaning of ἔλαλει δος δράκων? Like Gunkel I must confess that I can make nothing of it. On the ground that it is unintelligible Gunkel, assuming a Semitic source, retranslates καὶ ἔλαλει into רמאנה, which he takes to be a corruption of רמאנה—“and a form.” But the Hebrew equivalent of λαλεῖν is not רבע but לבע. I have two suggestions. The corruption lies either in the Greek or in the Hebrew behind the Greek. In the former case we should add the article before δράκων, which is meaningless without it. If then we might read δ δράκων, and take δράκων as synonymous with ὄφις as in xii. 9, 14, 15, xx. 2, then the text becomes intelligible and would refer to the seductive and deceitful character of the serpent in the Garden of Eden. If this is right, the text would imply appeals to patriotism, gratitude for the great services of the empire, self-interest. If, on the other hand, the text goes back to a Hebrew original, then רבע רמאנה (i.e. καὶ ἔλαλει) might be corrupt (as in 2 Chron. xxii. 10, where רבע רמאנה is corrupt for רמאנה: cf. 2 Kings xi. 1) for רמאנה. The original would then have been רמאנה רמאנה. “And the beast had two horns like a lamb (herein simulating the Messiah—τὸ ἄρνιον in xiv. 1), but he was a destroyer (an ἀπολλυόν) like the dragon” (i.e. his master). This gives us the same antithesis as in Matt. vii. 15 (quoted above)—the fair outward show contrasting with the real nature. Moreover, in confirmation of this view, the second Beast is called a ψευδοπροφήτης in xvi. 13, xix. 20, xx. 10, just as the false teachers are in Matt. vii. 15. Furthermore in רמאנה we might have an allusion to Ἀβαδῶν in ix. 11; for this being appears to be Satan
or the Dragon. If this is right, instead of ἐλάλει ὡς δράκων we ought to have ἀπώλευ (or ἀπολλύων) ὡς ὁ δράκων (cf. ix. 11).

12. καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ πρώτου θηρίου πάσαν ποιεῖ ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ: 
καὶ ποιεῖ τὴν γῆν καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ κατοικοῦντας ἢν προσκυνήσουσιν τὸ θηρίον τὸ πρῶτον, 
οὐ ἐθεραπεύθη ἡ πληγή τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ.

The construction τοῖς ἐν αὐτῇ κατοικοῦντας is strange on two grounds. First, the order is against the general usage of our author, though it is found occasionally. See note on xi. 4 (p. 284). Observe that a strong minority of textual authorities are in favour of the order τοῖς κατοικοῦντας ἐν αὐτῇ. Secondly, the construction κατοικεῖν ἐν is found here only in the Apocalypse. Nine times we have κατοικεῖν ἐπί and once κατοικεῖν c. acc. See note on xi. 10 and § 4 of the Introd. to this Chapter.

The imperial priesthood uses its delegated authority to enforce the worship of the Empire, which is here identified with Nero redivivus. It is no longer the death stroke of one of the heads of the Beast (xiii. 3) that is spoken of, but of the Beast itself.

13. καὶ ποιεῖ σημεία μεγάλα, ἢν καὶ πῦρ ποιή ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ 
καταβαίνειν ἐις τὴν γῆν ἐνώπιον τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

ἲνα has here the force of the classical ὅστε as in ix. 20: cf. 1 John i. 9: John ix. 2. See Blass, Gram. 224 sq.

In this verse the writer is thinking of the magic and lying wonders practised by the priesthood devoted to the worship of the emperors. They caused fire to come down from heaven. All oriental cults had recourse to such deceits.

An outburst of miracles was expected to mark the advent of the Antichrist: cf. Mark xiii. 22, ἐγερθήσονται . . . ψευδοπροφῆται καὶ δώσουσιν σημεία καὶ τέρατα πρὸς τὸ ἀποτλανάν εἰ δυνατόν τοῖς ἐκλεκτοῖς; 2 Thess. ii. 9, οὐ ἐστὶν ἡ παρουσία κατ' ἐνέργειαν τοῦ Σατανᾶ ἐν πάσῃ δυνάμει καὶ σημείοις καὶ τέρασιν ψευδών. Asc. Isa. iv. 10: “And there will be the power of his (i.e. the Neronic Antichrist) miracles in every city: And at his word the sun will rise at night and he will make the moon to appear at the sixth hour”: also 4 Ezra v. 4; Sibyll. Or. iii. 63–70. See Ramsay, Letters to the Seven Churches, 99 sq. The special miracle recorded in our text recalls that of Elijah, 1 Kings xviii. 38. For diction cf. Luke ix. 54.

14. καὶ πλανᾷ τοὺς κατοικοῦντας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς διὰ τὰ σημεία & ἑδόθη αὐτῷ ποιήσαι ἐνώπιον τοῦ θηρίου, λέγων τῶν κατοικοῦσιν ἐπὶ
The second Beast has power to deceive only the unbelieving world. This is explicitly the teaching of xix. 20 and implicitly that of xii. 9, xviii. 23, xx. 3, 8, 10.

The faithful received the mark of God on their foreheads, vii. 4 sqq. (see note in loc.), ix. 4, and were henceforth secured against satanic assaults in the form of deception and temptation to sin. But the unbelieving world, which had received the mark of the Beast, xiii. 16, were thereby just as inevitably predisposed and prepared to become victims of every satanic deceit and temptation, and to believe a lie. We have here a deep spiritual truth. In the degree in which a man's character approaches finality, he has in that degree, if he has been faithful, become one with God and been rendered secure against spiritual evil powers in whatever form. If, on the other hand, he has been faithless, he has in that degree by his own action predisposed and prepared himself to be at once the unconscious victim of further spiritual wrong and the helpless slave of evil powers.

On the moral significance of the phrase τοῦς κατουκ. ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, see note on xi. 10, and xiii., Introd. § 4.

There is no real occasion here and in iv. 11, xii. 11 to take διά in an instrumental sense as Bousset proposes. The imposture succeeds because of the signs that are wrought ἐνωπίων τοῦ θηρίου. The signs were wrought by the priesthood (the second Beast) before the official representatives of the emperor (the first Beast).

λέγων ... ποιήσαι. For the construction see note on x. 9. The imperial priesthood made every effort to spread the imperial cult by the setting up of statues of the emperor and insisting on their religious significance. In our text the ἑκάων is that of Nero redivivus, as the last clause of the verse shows. With this expectation we might compare that expressed in Asc. Isa. iv. 11, "And he (probably 'they' should be read) will set up his image (i.e. that of the Neronic Antichrist) before him in every city."

15–18. The connection of these verses has been generally misapprehended. The meaning simply is—the worship of the Beast gives the right to assume the mark of the Beast: these two—the worship and the reception of the mark are always associated together: cf. xiv. 9, 11, xvi. 2, xix. 20, xx. 4, as in xiii 15°, 16: the mark cannot be had without the act of worship. Next, since the refusal of such worship inevitably entails death, xiii. 15°, in order to escape death all are forced to wear the mark (xiii. 16) in evidence of having rendered such worship. And that none should escape this requirement, the necessities of life are to be
withheld from such as do not exhibit the mark, xiii. 17. Thus every individual is reached—small and great, rich and poor, bond and free, and none can evade the inquisition and none the dread alternative of worship or death.

15. καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ δούναι πνεύμα τῇ εἰκόνι τοῦ θηρίου, ἵνα καὶ λαλήηη ἢ εἰκὼν τοῦ θηρίου καὶ ποιήηη ἵνα δόσω ἕνα μή προσκυνήσωσιν τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ θηρίου ἀποκτανθώσιν.

The belief in speaking and wonder-working statues was a well established one in the ancient world. According to Clem. Recognitions, iii. 47 (Clem. Hom. ii. 32), Simon Magus declared: “Statuas moveri feci: animavi exanima.” Besides such wonder-workers as Apollonius of Tyana, and Apelles of Ascalon at the court of Caligula of the first century, we find remarkable parallels in the second century. Statues were regarded as the natural means by which gods or demons could have intercourse with their worshippers, and were accredited with the power of working miracles (Theophil. ad Autol. i. 8), and of possessing supernatural energies (Athenagoras, Leg. 18). At Troas a statue of a certain Neryllinus (op. cit. 26) was supposed to utter oracles and to heal the sick, and the statue of Alexander and Proteus at Parium to utter oracles. Athenagoras admits the actuality of these phenomena but ascribes them to demons.

Most oriental cults had recourse to magic and trickery, and that the imperial cult availed itself of their help, as our text states, there is no just ground for doubting. The association of Roman officials and sorcerers is attested in Acts xiii. 6. Irenaeus, in his comment on our text, writes (v. 28. 2): “Haec ne quis eum divina virtute putet signa facere, sed magica operatione. Et non est mirandum si daemoniiis et apostaticis spiritibus ministrantibus ei, per eos faciat signa in quibus seducat habitantes super terram.” See Weinel, Wirkungen des Geistes und der Geister, 9 sq.

ἲνα δοσοὶ . . . ἀποκτανθῶσιν. As in 8 the writer passes over into the future, so here in 15. There all the inhabitants of the earth who were not written in the Book of Life were to worship the Beast: Here all that did not worship its image were to be put to death. That refusal to worship the image of the emperor carried with it capital punishment in Trajan’s time is clear from Pliny’s letter to Trajan (x. 96). Those who refused to recant “duci jussi.” As regards the rest he writes: “Qui negarent se esse Christianos, aut fuisset, cum praecunte me deos appellarent, et imaginii tuae, quam propter hoc iusseram . . . afferri, thure ac vino supplicarent . . . ego dimittendos putavī.”

16. καὶ ποιεῖ πάντας τοὺς μικροὺς καὶ τοὺς μεγάλους, καὶ τοὺς πλουσίους καὶ τοὺς πτωχοὺς, καὶ τοὺς ἐλευθέρους καὶ τοὺς δουλοὺς, ἵνα δῶσων αὐτοῖς χάραγμα ἐπὶ τῆς χειρὸς αὐτῶν τῆς δεξίᾶς ἢ ἐπὶ τὸ μέτωπον αὐτῶν,
17. καὶ ἣνι μὴ τις δύνηται ἀγοράσαι ἡ πωλήσαι εἰ μὴ ὁ ἐξων τὸ χάραγμα, τὸ δύομα τοῦ θηρίου ἢ τὸν ἄριθμὸν τοῦ ὄνοματος αὐτοῦ.

On the familiar τοὺς μικροὺς καὶ τοὺς μεγάλους cf. xii. 18, xix. 5, and in reverse order in xx. 12: on τοὺς πλουσίους καὶ τοὺς πτωχοὺς cf. Prov. xxii. 2; Sir. x. 22. τοὺς ἔλευθερους καὶ τοὺς δουλοὺς recurs in xix. 18 and in reverse order in vi. 15.

Ina δώσιν αὐτοῖς χάραγμα. On the impersonal plural cf. x. 11, xii. 6, xvi. 15. For the phrase διδόναι χάραγμα cf. Ezek. (LXX) ix. 4, δόσ σημείων (where, however, the Hebrew is ותּוֹ אֱלֹהִים) επὶ τὰ μετώπα. But διδόναι ... χάραγμα is good Hebrew, and is found in Megillah, 24b, where in reference to the tephilla it is said רְאוּ בְּעָלָה הָנָה.

The mark1 was to be placed on the right hand and on the brow of the followers of the Beast. This is full of significance. For the orthodox Jew wore the tephillin (which were translated in Greek φιλακτήρια—cf. Matt. xxiii. 5, πλατύνουσι γὰρ τὰ φιλακτήρια—owing to the circumstance they were practically amulets and used as a protection against evil spirits) on the left hand and on the head (see Schürer, Gesch.3 ii. 485; Friedländer, Der Anti-

christ, 158 sq., 161).2 Hence the worshippers of the Beast travesty (xiii. 16) this usage by wearing the mark on their right hand or their brow. In xiv. 9 and xx. 4 this double mark on the hand and the brow of the worshippers of the Beast is referred to, though which hand is not specified. In xiii. 17, xiv. 11, xvi. 2, xix. 20 only the mark without specification of the brow or hand is mentioned, though it is defined simply as τὸ χάραγμα τοῦ θηρίου in xvi. 2, xix. 20, and in xiii. 17, xiv. 11 the mark is said to consist in the name of the beast (or the number of his name, xiii. 17). In our present text, as in xiv. 9, the mark is said to be on the brow or on the hand, whereas in xx. 4 it is stated to be on the brow and on the hand. In the face of Jewish usage and xx. 4 we may fairly assume that the mark was in both places. It is to be observed that alike with regard to the faithful and the followers of the Antichrist the mark is placed on the brow (not over the brow), just as in Deut. vi. 8 the tephillin were to be set as frontlets “between the eyes.” The Rabbis, however, declared that this usage was heretical, Megillah, 24b: “Whoever placed the tephillin on the brow or on the hand (לע מְצָבָה וּלָעָב מִסָּמִים) follows the practice of the Minim,” and required that they should

---

1 The word χάραγμα may, as Deissmann suggests, be chosen because it was the technical designation of the imperial stamp.

2 Targum on Cant. viii. 1, “The Community of Israel saith: I am chosen from among the heathen nations because I bind the tephillin on my left hand and about my head,” מְצָבָה וּלָעָב מִסָּמִים, כְּשָׁם נִנְבֹּא, and on the upper third of the right doorpost next the lintel, in order that evil spirits may have no power to do me injury.”
be worn over the brow and on the hands or rather forearms (יָדָּי נַעַר). Thus the worshippers of the Beast, as Friedländer (*op. cit. 161 sq.) and Bousset recognize, travesty in these respects the practice of orthodox Judaism in the first century of the Christian era, but not of the faithful in vii. 3 sqq., etc., of our text. The mark on the brow of the faithful in our author has no connection with the tephillin. Hence this fact points to the Jewish origin of this section with regard to the Antichrist or of part of it. *But ultimately the marks on the brows of the faithful, vii. 3 sqq., etc., and of the worshippers of the Beast had the same origin. Both were intended to show that the wearers of the marks are under supernatural protection—the former under the protection of God, the latter of Satan. The former marks were to be made on the brow only: the latter on the brow and right hand owing to the influence of the Antichrist expectation amongst the Jews, as we have just seen.1

ἐπὶ τῆς χειρὸς αὐτῶν τῆς δεξιᾶς. Upon the significance of the mark being upon the right hand see preceding note. See note on p. 335, on the order and fulness of this expression as contrasted with i. 17, 20, etc., as well as on the case.

καὶ ἵνα μὴ τις κτλ. The object of enforcing the wearing of the mark is not the minor one of cutting off the recusants from buying and selling (which the MSS which omit the καὶ would imply); for the penalty of such recusancy is immediate death. The necessaries of life are to be withheld from such as have not the mark of the beast in order to bring them under the notice of the imperial authorities, and that thus none should escape. A ruthless economic warfare is here proclaimed with a view to the absolute supremacy of the State. This is not represented as a fact of the present but as the future in store for the inhabitants of the earth. Thus shortly the sense of xiii.

1 Other views propounded are: 1. The marks were those used in the case of domestic slaves. Those so marked were called στεγματαί, literati, and such marks were regarded as a badge of disgrace. They were not used generally amongst the Greeks and Romans unless in the case of misconduct. 2. Soldiers sometimes branded themselves with the name of their general: see Wetstein on Gal. vi. 17. 3. Deissman (*Biblical Studies, 241 sq.) thinks that he finds the clue in the seals (χαράγματα) which were stamped with the name and year of the emperor in Egypt in the first and second centuries on papyrus documents relating to buying and selling. But this practice does not explain the mark on the person. The mark of the beast was, as Ramsay observes, “a preliminary condition” of buying and selling, “and none who wanted it were admitted to business transactions.” 4. Ramsay, *Letters to the Seven Churches* (110 sq.), suggests that the mark was an official certificate of loyalty which was issued to those who had complied with the ritual of the imperial religion. But this does not meet the case. 5. Spitta, Erbes and Mommsen interpret the text with reference to the Roman coins bearing the image and superscription of the emperor. But this interpretation does not explain the stamping of the marks on the right hand and brow.
16–17 is: He made every one to wear the mark, and that none should escape his scrutiny he forbade the means of life to such as had not the mark. ἰνα μὴ ... ἀγοράσαι ἡ πωλήσαι. For the diction cf. 1 Macc. xiii. 49, οἱ δὲ τῆς ἀκρας ἐν Ἡρωσαλήμ ἐκωλύντο ἐκπορεύεσθαι εἰς τὴν χώραν καὶ ἀγοράζειν καὶ πωλεῖν.

ο δ ἔχων το χάραγμα. Our author when writing independently would probably say ὁ λαβὼν τ. χ. See note on xvi. 2.

tο χάραγμα, τὸ ὄνομα κτλ. The name and the number of the name are one and the same thing. In the former case it is written in letters: in the latter its equivalent is given in numbers by a kind of gematria. To the diction in our text τὸν ἄριθμόν τοῦ θηρίου (18) and τὸν ἄριθμὸν τοῦ ὄνόματος αὐτοῦ (17) there are two exact parallels in the inscriptions given by Mau in the *Bulletino del Instituto*, 1874, p. 90, one of which is φιλῶ ὡς ἄριθμος φιλε (cf. τὸν ἄριθμόν τοῦ θηρίου) and the second ἀμέριμνος ἐμνήσθη ἀρμονίας τῆς ἱδιάς κ(υ)ρίας ἐπ’ ἁγαθὸ, ὡς ὁ ἄριθμος με (or αλε) τοῦ καλοῦ ὄνόματος (cf. τὸν ἄριθμόν τοῦ ὄνόματος αὐτοῦ).

18. ὅδε ἡ σοφία ἐστίν· ὁ ἔχων νοῦν ψηφισάτω τὸν ἄριθμόν τοῦ θηρίου, ἀριθμὸς γὰρ ἀνθρώπου ἐστίν· καὶ ὁ ἄριθμός αὐτοῦ ἐξακόσιοι ἕξικοντα ἕξ.

ὅδε ἡ σοφία ἐστίν. With this expression Eichhorn compares the cabbalistic phrase ἡ σοφία ἐστίν (Sohar Chadash, f. 40. 3). ὅδε here as in xvii. 9 refers to what follows, but in xiii. io, xiv. 12 to what precedes. With the idea in ὅδε ἔχων νοῦν we should compare Dan. i. 17 (LXX), τῷ Δανιήλ ἐδοκεὶ συνέειν ἐν ... ἐνυπνίους καὶ ἐν πάσῃ σοφίᾳ, v. 12 (Theod.), σύνεσις ἐν αὐτῷ συγκρίνων ἐνύπνια καὶ ἀναγγέλλων κρατοῦμενα. Cf. v. ii. 14. The word νοῦς is not found in the Versions of the canonical Daniel, but σύνεσις (i.e. πνεύμα) has the same meaning. Thus in viii. 15, where Daniel has a vision, it is said that he “sought to understand it” ἐξήτων σύνεσιν (Theod.). In ix. 22 an angel is sent συμβιβάσας σε σύνεσιν (Theod.) in reference to the prophecy of the 70 years, and in x. 1 σύνεσις αὐτῷ ... ἐν ὀπτασίᾳ. In such mysteries οὗ νόησαν ... ἄνωμοι (A), xii. 10. νοῦς or σύνεσις (i.e. πνεύμα) is what is needed for the interpretation of the problem in this verse.

ψηφισάτω τὸν ἄριθμόν κτλ. This passage is difficult and has been the subject of controversy since the second century. Much of it has been due to inaccurate interpretation of the words involved, but even when every care is taken there remains a hypothetical element in every solution that is offered. The two clauses that have caused difficulty are ψηφισάτω ... θηρίων and ἄριθμὸς γὰρ ... ἐστίν. Let us take the latter first. This clause is susceptible of two meanings. It. It has been proposed by a number of scholars—Düsterdieck, Holtzmann, Gunkel, Clemen, Swete, etc., to take ἄριθμὸς ἀνθρώπων as meaning a
human intelligible number, not a supernatural one. They compare xxi. 17, μέτρον ἀνθρώπου ὅ ἐστιν ἄγγελον. But whereas the statement in xxi. 17 is significant, seeing that it is an angel that is measuring the heavenly Jerusalem, the emphasizing of the fact here that the number is such as a man uses is pointless. For the writer to set down any other than an intelligible number would be highly absurd. 2. Volkmar, Kliefoth, Corssen, Bousset, Jülicher, Moffatt maintain that the number here is that of a certain individual. To this it has been objected that in that case τινός or ἕνος would have stood in connection with ἀνθρώπου. But this is not so: cf. Ps. cv. 17, ἀπέστειλεν ἐμπροσθεν αὐτῶν ἀνθρώπου (ἀν ἰησοῦς ἀνθρώπου), "He sent a man before them."

The evidence, therefore, of the words themselves is in favour of the latter interpretation. But further, and this argument may fairly be regarded as conclusive, the Beast and one of its heads, though conceived separately in xiii. 1, 3, are subsequently in xiii. 12, 14 treated as identical. The man here, i.e. one of the heads of the Beast, is himself the Beast. If we discover the name of the man it is for the time the name of the Beast. This conclusion is of paramount importance in the interpretation of the verse as a whole. 1

Having reached this conclusion, we have next to discover the form of cryptogram used by the writer, and here I will quote

1 This conclusion is an answer (i) to P. Corssen's contention in the Z. f. NTliche Wissenschaft, iii. 238-242, iv. 264-267, v. 86-88, that we have here an instance of isopsephism, which consists in establishing relations between two different conceptions—here the Beast and a man—by means of the numerical equivalence in value of the letters by which the two are expressed. As we have seen above the Seer identifies the Beast with one of its heads. Hence we have only to deal with a single conception in xiii. 18, and not with an isopsephism such as he quotes from Boissonade, Anecdota, ii. 459, to the effect that θεός = ἄγιος = ἀγάθος, since the numerical value of each is σπό, i.e. 284, that Παῦλος = σοφία (ψα = 781), κοσμός = λύρα (φλα = 531), and from Berosus according to Alexander Polyhistor, Eusebii Chronic., Liber I. (ed. Schoen, p. 14 sq.), ἀρχεῖν δὲ τούτων πάντων γνωάκα ἡ ὀνομα ὄμόρκα (read ὄμόρκα) εὑρά δὲ τούτῳ χαλαβιτὶ μὲν βαλατθ, Ἐλληνιστὶ δὲ μεθερμηνεύεται βάλασσα, κατὰ δὲ ἰσόψυφον σελήνη. ὄμόρκα (an Aramaic word = κράτων, "mother of the depth") as σελήνη = 301.

Like isopsephisms have been discovered by the Rabbis in the O.T. Thus under περίς κα' in Gen. xlix. 10 χοῦν (Messiah) is found, because both expressions = 358. Similarly μήμα ("Comforter") was found to be designed in νηξ ("branch") for each word = 138. On the possibility of such a phenomenon in Ezek. v. 2 see Bertholet on Ezek. iv. 5. A cryptographic acrostic has been detected by Jewish scholars in the initial letters of Deut. xxxii. 1-6. These = 345 = Moses. See Jewish Encyc. v. 589.

(2) Secondly, it is an answer to all scholars who would discover the name of the Beast in the Roman Empire. The name of the Beast is the name of a man and the number is 666. Hence we reject on this ground ἀρτένος first found in Irenaeus, and ἦ λατινή βασιλεία = 666, ἦ ἱταλή βασιλεία = 616 of Clemen.
my friend Professor J. A. Smith of Magdalen College, who, having had much experience in solving cryptograms, has sent me the following letter (Dec. 1910): "The solution of a cryptogram with no further clue than that the numerical values of the letters composing the answer should add up to 666 was almost indeterminate. I therefore suspected a restricting addition. Assuming that the digits, decades and hundreds must add up separately, I found the possible solution much narrowed. A very obvious one presented itself in

I. \[\begin{align*} \tau &= 300 \\
\sigma &= 300 \\
\nu &= 50 \\
\iota &= 10 \\
\epsilon &= 5 \\
\alpha &= 1 \end{align*}\]

The clue that the answer must be "the name of a man" suggested the ending -os or -as.

II. \[\begin{align*} \tau &= 300 \\
\sigma &= 200 \\
\lambda + \theta &= 100 \\
\nu &= 400 \\
\theta + \alpha &= 10 \\
\epsilon &= 5 \\
\alpha &= 1 \end{align*}\]

III. \[\begin{align*} \sigma &= 200 \\
\sigma &= 200 \\
\nu &= 400 \\
\theta + \alpha &= 10 \\
\epsilon &= 5 \\
\alpha &= 1 \end{align*}\]

"I thus seemed to have hit upon the method employed by Irenaeus or his authority. I next applied this to the number 888 in the Sibyl. Oracles, i. 328 (apud Swete2, p. 176), and find it gives at once

\[\begin{align*} \sigma &= 200 \\
\sigma &= 200 \\
\nu &= 400 \\
\theta &= 70 \\
\iota &= 10 \\
\eta &= 8 \end{align*}\]

"It then occurred to me to see if anything in the Apocalypse suggested this restriction, and I thought it might be contained in ψηφισάω—literally to calculate with numbers. It was, I believe, common to use an abacus in a way which practically amounted to using a decimal system. You will see that if no column can contain more respectively than 6, 60 and 600 the number of possible solutions is greatly restricted. τευταν and Ἰησοῦς are rigorous solutions: each of the others requires the licence of once having a compound.

"As regards the Apocalypse itself, all this does not advance matters much. All, I think, I have shown is how Irenaeus got his solutions, and why he preferred τευταν, and that the method is found at least once elsewhere."

We are now in a position to deal with the problem before us. The Beast and the man are identical. In other words, the Beast is for the time incarnated in a man. There is no isopsephism
here, and all solutions which propose the name of a country or nation are thereby excluded. Next, if Professor Smith's method is here valid, the name of the man must be such that in three columns of hundreds, tens and units, the total must in each case be six. The solution favoured by Irenaeus, i.e. τετράβυ, complies rigorously with the numerical postulates, and has recently been supported by Abbott (Notes on N.T. Criticism, 80 sq.). But τετράβυ is not a man's name, though it is construed as referring to Titus or to the Flavian dynasty, or to the third Titus, i.e. Domitian. Abbott (op. cit. 83, note) points out that the Talmud transliterated τετράβυ by רֵעַ אֵלֶּךָ. But this solution will not do. The references to “the man” in xiii. 3, 12, 14 could not be explained of Titus or Domitian. We are, therefore, thrown back on Nero redivivus—the independent proposal of four scholars, Holtzmann, Benary, Hitzig and Reuss. The solution is to be sought not in Greek but in Hebrew. Nero Caesar = נְטָא כָּרָס = 666. It has been objected that רְאִיל is the proper spelling, but according to Jastrow's Talmudic Lexicon רְאִיל also is found. Besides καίσαρεία is transliterated by נְטָא as well as by רְאִיל. The defective form רְאִיל has therefore been chosen, because thereby the symmetrical 666 is attained, or because the number 666 is older than the name.\(^1\) This solution appears to satisfy every requirement: for

1. It explains every reference in our text: see notes on xiii. 1, 3, 12, 14, and on the present verse.

2. It explains the twofold reading 666 and 616. In C, two lost cursives and Tyconius (see Iren. v. 30. 1), the reading 616 occurs instead of 666. This can be explained from the Latin form of the name Nero, which by its omission of the final \(n\) makes the sum total 616 instead of 666.

3. It satisfies the numerical method

\[
\begin{align*}
1 + 3 &= 100 \\
\gamma &= 200 \\
\rho &= 100 \\
600 &= 600
\end{align*}
\]

\[\text{Greek: } \rho = 60, \gamma = 6, \text{ Hebrew: } \gamma = 666\]

\(^1\) Irenaeus (v. 28. 2) says with regard to 666: In recapitulationem universæ apostasiae ejus quæ facta est in sex millibus annorum (see 29 and 30. 1). The number 6 is full of significance for him. Some recent scholars (Milligan, Baird Lecture, p. 328; Briggs, Messiah of the Apostles, 324; Porter, Hastings' D.B. iv. 258; Vischer, ᾽Ζ. ᾽f. NTliche Wissensch. iv. 167-174) take the number as having a symbolical force, as signifying the one who persistently falls short of perfection (i.e. the number 7), and support this view by the parallel of 3½ years, or the period of the Antichrist's reign, as symbolizing the destruction of evil within the half of the perfect period—seven. But to this it may be objected, why was 666 chosen? and not simply 6 or 66? The origin of this number is not yet clear.
I am not sure that this was intended; for among the many varieties of Gematria given in the Jewish Encyc. v. 589-592, the above variety is not mentioned. It may, however, have been borrowed by the Apocalypticist from Greek usage.¹

**XIV. 12-13.** These verses have no connection with chap. xiv., but should follow directly on xiii. 17 or 18 as they do in this edition. 1. For there is no connection of thought between the endless torments of the worshippers of the Beast in Gehenna and the patient endurance of the saints. If xiv. 6-11 had been a description of the persecutions awaiting the saints, then such a statement as xiv. 12 and such a beatitude as xiv. 13 would have been in the highest degree appropriate, just as xiii. 10 comes in most aptly after xiii. 10a. 2. At the close of xiii. 10 we find xiv. 12a repeated with an additional phrase, and in the earlier clauses of xiii. 10 we find exactly such acts of persecution referred to as justify wholly the final clause of the verse ὃς ἐστιν ἡ ὑπομονὴ καὶ ἡ πίστις τῶν ἀγίων.

Hence we conclude that xiv. 12-13 should similarly be preceded by a persecution which issued in death (μακάριοι . . . οἱ ἐν κυρίῳ ἄποθνησκόντες) on the part of all who refused to worship the Beast. Now in xiii. 15 we find such a persecution foretold in the vision of the Seer. We have here the final stage of the persecution described, and it is just in such a context and none other in the Apocalypse that xiv. 12-13 has its right setting. Hence xiv. 12-13 should be transposed to xiii., and read immediately after 17 or 18. It is possible that xiii. 18 is an interpolation.

12. Here as in xiii. 10, 18, xvii. 9 our author abandons his rôle as Seer and addresses words of admonition directly to his readers. ὅσον ἡ ὑπομονὴ τῶν ἀγίων. Cf. xiii. 10. On ὑπομονή cf. i. 9. ii. 2, 3, 19, iii. 10. Practically all men are capable of some momentary exhibition of heroism or self-sacrifice, and exactly in the measure in which they show themselves capable in this respect they have affinity with all true saints and heroes. But it is not such temporary manifestations of self-sacrifice or heroism that form the distinguishing mark of the saints, but sustained persistent faithfulness in the face of continuous persecution—even unto death. In our text the Seer has in his mind the last great tribulation, which would strengthen and mature those who encountered it faithfully.

¹ Of the great number of suggestions which have been offered a few deserve to be mentioned. In Greek Πάσος καὶ ἄργα = 616. In case a Caligula source lies behind this chapter, this suggestion would have much to say for itself. In Hebrew letters Manchot and Weyland propose כִּפְרֵי מִחוּצִים = 666, and Ewald כָּפַר הַמֶּלֱאךְ = 616. All these are under certain conditions possible, but not so Gunkel's proposal הַקָּבִיל הַקִּמיד = primal chaos, Tiāmat (G. F. Moore, *Journ. Amer. Oriental Soc.*, 1906, p. 315 sq.).
oι πηροῦντες τὰς ἐντολὰς τοῦ θεοῦ. We have here a break in the construction which is characteristic of our author, and to be explained as in the note on i. 5. The participial clause defines the τῶν ἀγίων. This clause has already occurred in xii. 17. Here as in that passage the keeping of the commandments is combined with faith in Jesus. The especially Johannine character of the dictum is to be observed. Outside the Johannine writings the phrase τηρεῖν τ. ἐντολήν (ἐντολάς) is found twice in the N.T.—and not found in the LXX—where διατηρεῖν and συντηρεῖν are used: whilst in the Johannine writings exclusive of the Apocalypse it is found 9 times. But this is not all. Our author uses also the phrase τηρεῖν τ. λόγον (λόγους) in iii. 8, 10, xxii. 7, 9. Now this phrase occurs 9 times in the Johannine Gospel and Epp. and not once throughout the rest of the N.T. The use of τηρεῖν in i. 3, iii. 3 is analogous. We might further observe that ἐντολή is a favourite Johannine word, occurring 27 times in the Gospel and Epp. and 37 in the rest of the N.T. πίστιν Ἰησοῦ, i.e. the faith which has Jesus for its object: cf. ii. 13, τὴν πίστιν μου: Mark xi. 22, πίστιν θεοῦ: Rom. iii. 22; Gal. ii. 16, iii. 22; Jas. ii. 1.

13. καὶ ἡκουσα φωνῆς ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. As the thought of the great tribulation, which was to involve the martyrdom of the entire body of the faithful, presses heavily on the heart of the Seer, he hears a new beatitude proclaimed from heaven on their behalf: “Blessed are those who are martyred in the Lord from henceforth.”

In such a conflict—with the world human and satanic arrayed against them—the faithful needed strong consolation, and the mercy of God stooped to the need that called it down. The ground, on which they were declared to be blessed, is that they are at once to rest from their labours and enter into the full recompense of their faithfulness on earth. Here for the first time the departed are described as μακάριοι. They have entered on the consummation of their blessedness; for they have suffered martyrdom for their Lord, and with their martyrdom the roll of the martyrs is now complete. In vi. 9—11, though the martyrs were given white robes (i.e. heavenly bodies) and bidden to rest a little while till their fellow-servants, which should be martyred even as they, should be fulfilled, it is clearly implied that their blessedness is only in part consummated. But not so with the martyrs of this final persecution. They are to enter forthwith into their final blessedness; 1 for with them the number of the martyrs is accomplished, and therefore the hour for judgment has come.

1 This final blessedness of the martyrs will not be fully consummated till the entire body of the righteous is fulfilled.
In fact in xiv. 6–11, and in 14, 18–20 we have two proleptic visions of judgment. Of these the first summarizes the judgment of Rome, which is subsequently described in detail in xvi. 18–xviii., while the second, xiv. 14, 18–20, gives in brief a proleptic vision of the judgment which is to be executed in part before the Millennial reign and in part after it, and which is represented more fully in xix. 11–21 and xx. 7–10. Neither of these proleptic visions takes any account of the judgment to be meted out to the Beasts and the False Prophet (xiv. 20) or to Satan (xx. 1–3, 10), nor do they refer to the final judgment of all the dead (xx. 12–15). But the righteous have little concern with these judgments; for to none of them are they subjected. They have already been swept from the earth by a universal martyrdom, and before the plagues of the seven Bowls begin the Seer beholds them already standing before the Sea of Glass and singing the song of [Moses and] the Lamb.

In xviii. 4 the faithful are apparently presupposed to be still on earth, but, as we shall see later, xviii. was originally a vision belonging to the reign of Vespasian, and xviii. 4, as well as some other passages, reflect the facts and expectations of that time.

\[ \text{makariou oi nekroi oi ev kuriw apologhiskontesapat artri.} \]

With \( \text{oj ev kuriw apologhiskontes cf. I Cor. xv. 18, oj koumhetentes ev Xristo; i Thess. iv. 16, oj nekroi ev Xristo; also iv. 14. ap' artri, "from henceforth," is to be taken not with makariou but with apologhiskontes.} \]

The object of the beatitude is to comfort those who in the great tribulation need strength and consolation. In the age of the author it is a message for those called to martyrdom in the immediately-impending persecution, but it can rightly be used by the Church generally of those who die \( \text{ev kuriw.} \) Real faithfulness to Christ demands in all ages some measure of the martyr's courage and endurance. Indeed the worst martyrdoms are not always, or even generally, those which terminate in a speedy and violent death.

\[ \text{va}, \text{legei to pneuma.} \]

On this clause cf. ii. 7, 11, 17, 29, iii. 6, etc., xxii. 17. For \( \text{va} \) cf. i. 7 (note), xvi. 7, xxii. 20.

\[ \text{iva anapaseontai kat.} \]

Cf. vi. 11. The \( \text{iva} \) here is practically equivalent to \( \text{oti} \) ("in that"). Cf. xxii. 14; John viii. 56, ix. 2. On the form of \( \text{anapaseontai} \) see Blass, \textit{Gram.} p. 44. The use of \( \text{ek} \) after \( \text{anapaseontai} \) is unusual, but it is found in Plato.

\[ \text{t}a \text{gar erga auton akolouthei met' auton. akolouthein met' auton (a rare construction: cf. Luke ix. 49) means (as in vi. 8) "accompany them" (= σαλ γεγονεν (?) : cf. Pirke Aboth vi. 9). In xiv. 4, 9, xix. 14, akolouthein is followed by the dative and means "to follow after." This slight distinction is important when} \]

\[ \text{XIV. 13.} \]
we come to consider ῥα ῥγα. But what meaning are we to attach to ῥγα? Two explanations have been advanced here.

1. Some scholars like Böcklen (Verwandschaft, p. 40) will have it that the idea in our text is derived from Zoroastrian sources. According to the Gathas the soul was escorted to blessedness by its good deeds, S.B.E. xviii. 64. By virtue of these it passes over the Kinvat Bridge, xviii. 76; but the more general view in later Zoroastrianism is that the soul of the righteous man was received by its good works in the shape of a beautiful maiden (S.B.E. iv. 219, xviii. 47 note, 49 note, 54, 117 note, 150, xxiii. 315 sq., xxiv. 19 sq.). This maiden is his religion, the sum of his righteous deeds. It was also taught that the sins and good works of the soul were weighed in the scales of Rashnû, S.B.E. v. 241 sq., xviii. 232 note, xxiii. 168, xxiv. 18.

It is clear that the teaching of our text differs from this somewhat crude realism, though originally they may have been related. In any case our author was not beholden to Zoroastrianism.

2. Inside Judaism this subject was developed pretty fully. In the O.T. both the actions and the spirits of men are weighed, Job xxxi. 6; Prov. xvi. 2, xxi. 2, and the wicked are found wanting, Ps. lxxii. 9; Dan. v. 27. This idea of the weighing of men's actions reappears in 1 Enoch xli. 1. In Enoch as in the O.T. this idea is not incompatible with the doctrine of divine grace. But in later works it tends to become materialised, and a man's salvation depends on an actual preponderance of his good deeds over his evil: see Weber, Jud. Theol. 2 279–284.

But not only are the works weighed: they have been stored up in heaven in advance, and preserved by God, 1 Enoch xxxviii. 2, in treasuries, 2 Bar. xiv. 12. At the last judgment these treasuries will be opened, 2 Bar. xxiv. 1. Sometimes the righteous man is said to have a treasure of good works, 4 Ezra vii. 77; Shabb. 31b. In these conceptions the personality tends to be resolved into a series of individual acts. A higher conception finds expression in Pss. Sol. ix. 9, where the righteous man is said to acquire for himself with the Lord life itself as a spiritual treasure (θησαυρίζει ζωήν αὑτῷ παρὰ κυρίῳ). Cf. Matt. vi. 19, 20.

But none of these passages conveys exactly the idea of our text (τά γὰρ ῥγα ἀκολουθεῖ κτλ.). But there is a nearer parallel in Pirke Aboth vi. 9: “In the hour of a man's decease, not silver, not gold, nor goodly stones, nor pearls accompany the man, but Torah and good works.” But, since the attitude of our author to the Law is absolutely different from that of the writer of this passage, it is probable that, though there is a literal likeness in the two passages, the thought conveyed is different.

Let us, therefore, return to our text, and restudy it in the
light of the passages just dealt with, and in connection with the contexts in our author in which the word "works" occurs.

3. First we observe that "works" are not laid up in heaven in advance, but accompany the righteous soul. Next, since our author takes up an antagonistic position to the Synagogue (ii. 9, iii. 9), and deliberately omits all mention of the Law, we reasonably infer that his conception of works must be different from that of the Synagogue. In other words, works are taken by our author not as goods in themselves, by means of which salvation is purchased, but are conceived as the necessary manifestation of a life that is already redeemed in essence by Christ (v. 9, xiv. 3, 4). They are wrought by virtue of their redemption through Him (xii. 11). There is, therefore, no reliance on works as in Judaism. Thus works in the mind of our author are the outward expression of the character of the soul that wrought them.

Let us now test this view by a short consideration of the passages in our author, which are definitive on this head. These are ii. 2, oîda tâ èrga sou kai tôn kópoton kai tîn ὑπομονήν sou. Here the omission of σου after τ. κόπον binds τ. κόπον and τ. ὑπομονήν together. Nay, more, as has been rightly recognized, the first και is used epexegetically, and thus the ἐργα are here defined as self-denying "labour and endurance." The next passage is still more instructive, ii. 19, oîda sou tâ èrga kai tîn ἀγάπην kai tîn πίστιν kai tîn διακοινίαν kai tîn ὑπομονήν sou kai tâ ἐργα sou tâ ἐσχάτα πλείον τῶν πρῶτων. Here "love, faith, service and endurance" are taken closely together and form a definition of the ἐργα. The third passage in iii. 2, ou γὰρ ἐνημέρα σου ἐργα πεπληρωμένα ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ μου. Here the ἐργα fell short of the divine standard, though the world approved of them (iii. 1). Lastly, iii. 15, oîda sou tâ ἐργα κτλ. The works here are neither hot nor cold. Even complete apostasy would be preferable according to the divine voice. And yet no special sin—such as those urged against the other Churches—is brought against the Church of Laodicea, save that its works lack spiritual fire and their doers are self-complacent.

We may, therefore, conclude that works are regarded by our author simply as the manifestation of the inner life and character.

In the Fourth Gospel we find this use of ἐργα: cf. v. 36, ix. 3, 4, x. 25, xiv. 10, etc. καρπός (though not used in our author with this meaning) has this significance in the Fourth Gospel (cf. xv. 2, 5, 8, etc.), and, so conceived, was a characteristic term on the lips of our Lord, as in Matt. vii. 16, 20, ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιγνώσετε αὐτοῦ: also vii. 17, 18, 19, xii. 33, etc. It is likewise used by St. Paul with a like significance: cf. Gal. v. 22; Phil. i. 11, etc.

In keeping with this conclusion are our author's statements
in regard to works and judgment. In ii. 23 Christ declares δύναμιν ἐκάστῳ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα ὑμῶν. This award (in some sense external) is spoken of as a recompense or wage, or reward in xxii. 12.

ιδοῦ ἔρχομαι ταχύ,
καὶ ὁ μισθός μου μετ' ἐμοὶ ἀποδοῖναι ἐκάστῳ ὡς τὸ ἔργον ἐστίν αὐτοῦ.

In the case of the righteous generally this μισθός is, in part at all events, the reception of spiritual bodies (see Additional Note on vi. ii, p. 184 sqq.): in the case of the martyrs—spiritual bodies and a share in the Millennial Kingdom.

From the conclusion thus arrived at, that “works” in our author are regarded as a manifestation of character and are in fact synonymous with character, we are enabled to deal with the perplexing words in xix. 8, τὸ γὰρ βύσσινον τὰ δικαιώματα τῶν ἀγίων ἔστιν. This clause has been rightly rejected by many critics (J. Weiss, Bousset, Moffatt, etc.) as a gloss, but no definite and conclusive grounds have been adduced. But if, as we have seen in the note on iii. 5 and the Additional Note on vi. ii, the “fine linen” is the heavenly body of the righteous, and if, as we found in the present note, a man’s righteous acts are simply the manifestation of his inner character, then it follows that the clause above quoted in xix. 8 is the gloss of a scribe who failed to apprehend the views of our author on this question. “The fine linen,” i.e. the spiritual body, is not identical with the character but a product of it.