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Psalms in the Book of Revelation

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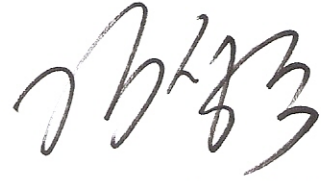
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Declaration

I declare that this thesis has been composed by myself, and that the work contained therein is my own, and has not been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'Sung Kuk Kim', written in a cursive style.

Sung Kuk Kim

Abstract

The book of Revelation includes more references to the Hebrew Scriptures than any other NT book. Even the sheer volume of scriptural references in the book of Revelation seems to suggest that the study of scriptural references is fundamental to understanding the book, as scholars have recognised for some time. Unlike the prophetic books, scholars have not given significant attention to the Psalms, although they do recognise the presence of many allusions to the Psalms. Through in-depth examination of the use of Psalms in Revelation this thesis demonstrates how significantly the Psalms influenced on the composition of the book of Revelation and offers a fresh insight of the structure and theology of the book.

Part I (chapters 2–3) offers the background of this study. Chapter 2 discusses the use of Psalms in Second Temple Judaism, focusing on how the book of Psalms was employed in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the characteristics of the Greek translation of the Hebrew Psalms. Chapter 3 considers the significance of the Psalms for the early Christian communities. The Syriac version of the Psalms and the use of Psalms in the NT provide significant data/evidence for its use in early Christianity.

Part II (chapters 4–7) examines all detectable cases of Psalms in Revelation. The cases are divided into four categories: strong allusion (chapter 4), probable allusion (chapter 5), possible allusion (chapter 6) and influence (chapter 7). In total, thirty-seven cases are considered: eight for strong allusion, seven for probable, nine for possible, and twelve for influence.

As a conclusion of the study, Part III (chapter 8) presents the significance of the Psalms in the book of Revelation. The chapter sheds light on liturgical use of Psalms in the book of Revelation and in relevance with the Psalms some theological themes important for understanding the book will be set forth.

ABBREVIATIONS

This thesis typically follows the *Chicago Manual of Style* (16th ed.) published by the University of Chicago Press, 2010. This includes, whenever possible, abbreviations of ancient literature. The *Society of Biblical Literature Handbook of Style* (1999) was utilised for any additional abbreviations that were not indicated in the *Chicago Manual*.

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Why the use of Psalms¹ in the book of Revelation should be considered

The book of Revelation includes more references to the Hebrew Scriptures than any other NT book.² The sheer volume of scriptural references in the book of Revelation seems to suggest that the study of scriptural references is fundamental to understanding the book, as scholars have recognised for some time.³ Unlike the prophetic books, scholars have not given significant attention to use of the Psalms in the book of Revelation, although they do recognise the presence of many allusions to the Psalms.⁴ This is because John⁵ understood himself as a prophet and the book itself exhibits much dependence on the Prophets. Moreover, the use of the Psalms in the book has also often been treated as prophetic.⁶ Admittedly, there is some legitimacy to this approach to the Psalms since most NT writings use the Psalms in a prophetic manner and liturgy often functioned prophetically in ancient times.⁷ However, this association has led to an under-appreciation of the use of the Psalms in Revelation. Accordingly, John's use of the Psalms deserves careful attention in order to grasp a fuller picture of the content of Revelation.

¹ As will be discussed more later, the 'Psalms' in this study means the 'book of Psalms' as in the Hebrew text.

² For statistics, see Beale, *The Book of Revelation: A Commentary on the Greek Text*, New International Greek Testament Commentary (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999), 77; Steve Moyise, *The Old Testament in the Book of Revelation*, Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series 115 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1995), 15–16.

³ Selected book lists: Ferrell Jenkins, *The Old Testament in the Book of Revelation* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1976); G. K. Beale, *John's Use of the Old Testament in Revelation*, Journal for the Study of the New Testament 166 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1998); Jan Fekkes, *Isaiah and Prophetic Traditions in the Book of Revelation: Visionary Antecedents and Their Development* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1994); Moyise, *The Old Testament in the Book of Revelation*.

⁴ E.g., see the lists in NA²⁷, 783–88 and *UBSGNT*, 4rd edn, 897–911. See also Henry Barclay Swete, *The Apocalypse of St John: The Greek Text with Introduction, Notes and Indices*, 2nd ed. (London: Macmillan, 1907), cliii (Isaiah: 46, Daniel: 31, Ezekiel: 29, Psalms: 27). Moyise, *The Old Testament in the Book of Revelation*, 16 (Isaiah: 122, Daniel: 74, Ezekiel: 83, Jeremiah: 48, Psalms: 97).

⁵ The present study does not deal with the authorship of Revelation. The book of Revelation in itself names its author as John.

⁶ Steve Moyise, 'The Psalms in the Book of Revelation,' in *Psalms in the New Testament*, ed. Steve Moyise and M. J. J. Menken, *The New Testament and the Scriptures of Israel* (London: T. & T. Clark, 2004), 246. Cf. Fekkes, *Isaiah and Prophetic Traditions in the Book of Revelation*, 145–46.

⁷ G. J. Botterweck, 'כְּנֹר,' *TDOT* vol. 7, 200–203.

1.2 Research context

1.2.1 OT in the book of Revelation

Since R. V. G. Tasker published *The Old Testament in the New Testament* in 1946,⁸ the use of the OT in the NT has been a burgeoning field.⁹ The book of Revelation, however, was often passed over in this area¹⁰ until G. K. Beale's *The Use of Daniel in Jewish Apocalyptic Literature and in the Revelation of St. John* was published in 1984.¹¹ Most scholars acknowledge that although Revelation contains no formal quotations of the OT, it contains more references to the OT than any other NT book. Accordingly, the terms 'echo,' '(literary) parallel,' or 'allusion' have been appropriated for the OT references in the book of Revelation. The usual method is to search for allusions to the scriptural texts, categorize them into clear/certain allusions, probable allusions and possible allusions, and trace John's purpose and intent through the relationship of the scriptural texts with the book of Revelation. There are some ongoing debates. Many scholars argue that John directly depended on the Hebrew text whilst others argue that John mainly used the Greek version (LXX).¹² The majority of the Scripture quotations in the NT come from the LXX and the dependence of the NT writings on the LXX is acknowledged in general.¹³ The absence of direct quotations of Scripture in Revelation, however, makes it difficult for scholars to identify the source with certainty and requires them even to consider the possibility of John's use of the pre-MT and

⁸ R. V. G. Tasker, *The Old Testament in the New Testament* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1946).

⁹ Selected works: Charles Harold Dodd, *According to the Scriptures* (London: Nisbet, 1953); E. Earle Ellis, *Paul's Use of the Old Testament* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1957); Jan de Waard, *A comparative study of the Old Testament text in the Dead Sea scrolls and in the New Testament*, (Leiden: Brill, 1965); Krister Stendahl, *The School of St. Matthew and Its Use of the Old Testament*, 2nd ed., Acta Seminarii Neotestamentici Upsaliensis (Lund: Gleerup, 1968); Peter Runham Ackroyd, *The Cambridge History of the Bible: From the Beginnings to Jerome*, The Cambridge History of the Bible (Cambridge: University Press, 1970); Matthew Black, 'Christological Use of the Old Testament in the New Testament,' *New Testament Studies* 18, no. 1 (1971): 1–14; James M. Efrid, ed., *The Use of the Old Testament in the New and Other Essays* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1972); Samuel E. Balentine, 'The Interpretation of the Old Testament in the New Testament,' *Southwestern Journal of Theology* 23, no. 2 (Spring 1981): 41–57; C. K. Barrett, 'The Interpretation of the Old Testament in the New,' in *Authoritative Word* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1983), 37–58; Donald Juel, *Messianic Exegesis: Christological Interpretation of the Old Testament in Early Christianity* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1988).

¹⁰ See D. Moody Smith, 'The Use of the Old Testament in the New,' in *Use of the Old Testament in the New and Other Essays*, 58; Beale, *The Book of Revelation*, 76.

¹¹ The book was based on his PhD dissertation at Cambridge University in 1980.

¹² Swete assessed that John depended mainly on the LXX (Swete, *The Apocalypse of St John: The Greek Text with Introduction, Notes and Indices*, 2nd ed [London: Macmillan, 1907], clv–clvi). R. H. Charles argued against Swete's position that John was influenced by the Hebrew rather than the Greek OT (R. H. Charles, *The Revelation of St. John*, vol. 1, The International Critical Commentary [Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1920], lxvi–lxvii). Beale argues that there is a possibility that 'John draws from both Semitic and Greek biblical sources and often modifies both' (*John's Use of the Old Testament in Revelation*, 62.) See also Moyise, *The Old Testament in the Book of Revelation*, 17.

¹³ Robert Henry Pfeiffer, *Introduction to the Old Testament*, rev. ed (New York: Harper, 1948), 1:511. He argued that 80% of the OT quotations in the New are found in the Septuagint.

pre-LXX (or proto-Septuagint) texts/traditions.¹⁴ Indeed, it may be virtually impossible to reach any concrete conclusion.

The topics pertaining to John's interpretation of the Scriptures have been more hotly debated. Some maintain that John simply used language/wording from the Scriptures to establish the Christian prophetic/apocalyptic message in his own writings.¹⁵ Though John's dependence on the Scriptures is certain, one should not assume that the meaning of the passages in the book has to be identical to the meaning found in the earlier scriptural texts. On the other hand, some contend that the Scripture is a vital key to understanding the book of Revelation since John interpreted it in a creative way.¹⁶ From this perspective, the message of the book could hardly be discerned without an understanding of the scriptural context. Since the prophetic/apocalyptic characteristics of the book are clear, scholars regard Revelation as a Christian prophecy/apocalypse, and this genre decision has influenced the historical preoccupation with studying the use of OT prophetic books.

1.2.2 Psalms in the book of Revelation

Many commentators have acknowledged the use of the Psalms in the book of Revelation, but the extent and content of their studies are limited. Prior to Steve Moyise's two articles on the subject in 2003 and 2004,¹⁷ a focused study of this kind was absent from the field of NT studies. Moyise discerns 'four unmarked quotations' of the Psalms and argues that these four quotations are strong evidence for John's dependence on the LXX, at least in the use of the Psalms.¹⁸ He also claims that the Psalms were used prophetically in Revelation. Moyise does not believe, however, that the prophetic use of the Psalms indicates a single fulfilment; some texts of the Psalms are used in more than one place, suggesting multiple fulfilments. In Moyise's conclusion, therefore, John freely and creatively reconfigured the texts of the Psalms into various subjects in Revelation. The textual

¹⁴ For further details on the issue, see Karen H. Jobes and Moisés Silva, *Invitation to the Septuagint* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2000); Natalio Fernández Marcos, *The Septuagint in Context: Introduction to the Greek Version of the Bible*, trans. Wilfred G. E. Watson (Boston: Brill, 2000); Sidney Jellicoe, *The Septuagint and Modern Study* (Winona Lake, Ind: Eisenbrauns, 1993); Gilles Dorival, Marguerite Harl, and Olivier Munnich, eds., *La Bible grecque des septante: du judaïsme hellénistique au christianisme ancien*, Initiations au Christianisme Ancien (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, Éditions du C.N.R.S., 1988); Olivier Munnich, 'Écarts principaux entre la Septante et le texte massorétique (Livre Par Livre),' in *La Bible grecque des Septante: du judaïsme hellénistique au christianisme ancien*, 173–82. See also n. 85 in Chapter 2.3 The Septuagint Psalter.

¹⁵ E.g., E. S. Fiorenza, 'Composition and structure of the Book of Revelation,' *CBQ* 39, no. 3 (July 1977): 344-366; Jean-Pierre Ruiz, *Ezekiel in the Apocalypse: The Transformation of Prophetic Language in Revelation 16:17 - 19:10* (Frankfurt: Lang, 1989); Steve Moyise, 'Intertextuality and the Study of the OT in the NT,' in *The Old Testament in the New Testament: Essays in Honour of J. L. North*, ed. Steve Moyise, Journal for the Study of the New Testament 189 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000).

¹⁶ E.g., R. Bauckham, *The Climax of Prophecy: Studies on the Book of Revelation* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1993); Beale, *The Book of Revelation*.

¹⁷ Moyise, 'The Language of the Psalms in the Book of Revelation,' *Neotestamentica* 37, no. 2 (2003): 246–61; Moyise, 'The Psalms in the Book of Revelation,' 231–46.

¹⁸ Moyise, 'The Psalms in the Book of Revelation,' 238.

affinity is a primary indicator to substantiate John's allusion to the Psalms; in contrast, the contextual relationship seems to have been understated. There is also a distinct lack of focused study on the liturgical use of the Psalms in the book of Revelation. Since John deliberately adopts the texts from the Psalms into the liturgical passages in Revelation, an examination of the liturgical use of the Psalms will shed light on the way the author evokes the Psalms.

1.3 Aims and Objectives of the Thesis

1.3.1 General Aims

The book of Psalms is 'one of the most frequently quoted Scriptural books in both the NT and in the sectarian Jewish writings from Qumran.'¹⁹ In light of his familiarity with the Jewish Scriptures, I suspect that the 'ancient popularity' of the Psalms would not have escaped the author of the book of Revelation.²⁰ Given the author's frequent use of the Psalms in his writing, the key questions are: With what purpose did he use the Psalms? How do the psalmic allusions/influences contribute to the meaning/message/structure of the book of Revelation? To answer these questions, the primary concern of this study is with what John specifically derives from the Psalms. For the background to the use of Psalms in Revelation, the study first investigates how the book of Psalms was used in Second Temple Judaism as well as early Christianity. The allusions/influences to/of the Psalms in Revelation are then examined. During the course of this study, the author's purpose, method, and pattern of use of the Psalms will be articulated. The study finally aims to add a fresh insight to the understanding of the book of Revelation and demonstrate the significance of its use of Psalms.

1.3.2 Objectives

The present study is conducted with the following objectives. First, (1) its main objective is to understand fully the use of the Psalms in the book of Revelation. As mentioned, the Psalms were used prophetically in the first century. Yet it is unwise to assume that John simply employed the Psalms for the same purpose as he did the Prophets. While the prophetic books supply Revelation with visionary expressions and an overarching frame of eschatological judgment and salvation,²¹ I argue that the Psalms significantly contribute both to liturgical texts in the book of Revelation and

¹⁹ Peter C. Craigie, *Psalms 1-50*, Word Biblical Commentary 19 (Waco: Word Books, 1983), 45; Swete, *The Apocalypse of St John*, cliii.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ See G. K. Beale, *The Use of Daniel in Jewish Apocalyptic Literature and in the Revelation of St. John* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1984); Jean-Pierre Ruiz, *Ezekiel in the Apocalypse: The Transformation of Prophetic Language in Revelation 16:17 - 19:10*, European University Studies (Frankfurt: Lang, 1989); Fekkes, *Isaiah and Prophetic Traditions in the Book of Revelation*; Marko Jauhiainen, *The Use of Zechariah in Revelation*, Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2/199 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005).

to the Christology of the book. Accordingly, (2) a second objective is to examine the liturgical/hymnic texts of Revelation, manifest their relationship with the Psalms, and show their meaning and function. (3) The third goal is to find out the theological contributions of the Psalms to the book of Revelation. In so doing, (4) I intend to claim the author's conscious (deliberate, interpretative) use of Psalms, not an unconscious (haphazard, even merely rhetorical) use.²² In order to attain such objectives, the thesis first and foremost considers all discernible uses of the Psalms. The following research questions are helpful for the experiment of each psalmic case, without a presupposition that John somehow used the Psalms. For, though not always comprehensible, the questions establish the basis of the experiment and indeed drive the entire study.

1.4 Research Questions

1.4.1 Did the author of Revelation use the book of Psalms?

- i. What Psalms were circulated as sacred Scripture in the first century?
- ii. Were Jewish and Gentile Christians in Asia Minor familiar with the Psalms?
- iii. How were the Psalms used in both the Jewish synagogue and early Christianity?
- iv. Which version (the Hebrew or Greek Psalms) of the Jewish Scriptures did the author of Revelation use?
 - iv.1 Did the author follow the same pattern since most of the scriptural quotations in the NT are from the Septuagint.²³?
 - iv.2 Did the author use the pre-MT/pre-LXX texts of the Psalms?
- v. Did the author rely on his memory of the Psalms (hearing) or on written texts (reading)?
- vi. Did the author refer to other Psalm texts that are (now) considered outside the canonical Psalms?

1.4.2 How did the author use the Psalms?

- i. Did the author interpret the Psalms or simply use it to formulate his linguistic expressions?
- ii. Did the author respect the original meaning of the Psalms or did he employ them to suit his own purpose(s)?
- iii. Did the author use the Psalms along with other canonical/extra-canonical texts?

²² Cf. Steve Moyise, *The Old Testament in the New: An Introduction*, Continuum Biblical Studies Series (London: Continuum, 2001), 126; Moyise, *The Old Testament in the Book of Revelation*, 12–13. See also under 'Methodology' below.

²³ See n. 13.

1.4.3 Why did the author use the Psalms in Revelation?

- i. What was the author's main intention in writing Revelation in the first century setting?
- ii. Who was the author's audience?
- iii. Did any historical (social, cultural, political, religious) setting of first-century Christianity affect the composition of Revelation?
- iv. Did his use of Psalms convey a specific theological message to the early Church?

1.4.4 What did the author of Revelation distinctively derive from the Psalms?

- i. What themes does the author highlight in the book of Revelation by using the Psalms?
- ii. Is there any pattern to be found in his use of Psalms?
- iii. To what types of Psalms (praise, lament, etc.) does the author often allude?
- iv. In what Revelation texts does the author often allude to the Psalms?
- v. What differences can be identified between the use of the Psalms and the use of the prophetic books or Jewish apocalyptic literature?
- vi. What contributions from the use of the Psalms can be made to the study of the OT in the book of Revelation and to understanding the theology of the Apocalypse?

Without explicit quotation, some of the questions listed are not fathomable with certainty. The issue of what text—Greek or Hebrew—was known by the author of Revelation, in particular, can never be satisfactorily solved. In many cases, it is not possible to affirm that the author only depended on a specific text of a particular book like the Psalms since he appears to have often simultaneously alluded to several texts of the Scriptures in Revelation. The main interest of the present study is to explore the possibility or probability of John's use of Psalms. The following methodology focuses on how to increase the possibility/probability of each putative use of the Psalms in Revelation.

1.5 Methodology

1.5.1 Intertextuality and Relevance Theory (RT)

Since being coined,²⁴ the term 'intertextuality' has been widely debated. Various disciplines use the term for their own ends and, as a result, invite much confusion.²⁵ In biblical studies, especially

²⁴ Roland Barthes, 'Texte théorie du,' in *the Encyclopédie universalis* (Paris: Encyclopædia universalis France, 1968); Julia Kristeva, *Séméiotikè: recherches pour une sémanalyse* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1969).

²⁵ See Mary Orr, *Intertextuality: Debates and Contexts* (Cambridge: Blackwell Pub, 2003); Jonathan D. Culler, *The Pursuit of Signs: Semiotics, Literature, Deconstruction* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1981). See also John

within the fields of historical criticism, ‘intertextuality’ was not initially accepted because the classical meaning of the term holds that every text is an ‘intertext’ and that there is no autonomous text, which rules out the concept of authorial intent. In the study of the use of the scriptures in the NT, the terms ‘intertext,’ ‘intertextual,’ or ‘intertextuality’ are frequently used since the study always involves one text drawing on another.²⁶ Hence, historical-critical scholars in this area of study limited the extent of the term and redefined it.²⁷

Moyise first applied the concept of intertextuality to the study of the book of Revelation.²⁸ He redefines it into three categories, *intertextual echo*, *dialogical intertextuality* and *postmodern intertextuality*. Since having much interest in *dialogical intertextuality*, he maintains that the use of the Scriptures in the NT should not be determined by the imposition of the Scripture but by a dynamic interaction in tension between the scriptural text and the NT text.²⁹ According to Moyise, the author of Revelation left room for such dialogical tension between the two texts to the readers, opening a new meaning of a given Revelation text based on the readers’ understanding of the Scriptures in Revelation.³⁰ That is, the authorial intent cannot be decisively known so that the interpretation of the text is reserved to the readers. Though he did not explicitly mention ‘the open-endedness’ of a text, his viewpoint seems to have some relevance with the traditional concept of ‘intertextuality.’³¹

Similar with the idea of intertextuality, Pattemore uses Relevance Theory (RT) for his study of the book of Revelation.³² Developed by Sperber and Wilson, RT explains how

Hollander, *The Figure of Echo: A Mode of Allusion in Milton and After* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981); Stephen Hinds, *Memoria, Arte Allusiva, Intertestualità = Memory, Allusion, Intertextuality* (Pisa [u.a.]: Ist. Ed. e Poligraf. Internazionali, 1997).

²⁶ See C. H. Dodd, *The Old Testament in the New* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1963); Willem S. Vorster, ‘Intertextuality and Redaktionsgeschichte.’ in *Intertextuality in biblical writings*, 15-26 (Kampen: J. H. Kok, 1989); Richard B. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989). See also Moyise, ‘Intertextuality and the Study of the OT in the NT,’ 41, who suggests that the term ‘intertextuality’ is ‘best used as an “umbrella” term for the complex interactions that exist between “texts”.’

²⁷ E.g., George Aichele and Gary A. Phillips, ‘Introduction: Exegesis, Eisegesis, Intergesis,’ *Semeia* no. 69–70 (1995): 7–18. They understood ‘intertextuality’ in a cultural and ethical viewpoint.

²⁸ Moyise, ‘Intertextuality and the Study of the OT in the NT,’ 14–41; Moyise, *The Old Testament in the Book of Revelation*.

²⁹ Moyise, *The Old Testament in the Book of Revelation*, 137–38.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Moyise (ibid.) says, ‘Previous studies on John’s use of the Old Testament have concentrated on what John has done to the text in order to meet the needs of his readers. They have concentrated on what they believed to be John’s purposes rather than asking what effect an allusion has on a reading of the text (p. 135)... He (John) does not advertise the past context through explicit quotation. Rather, by incorporating the words and images of the Old Testament into his own composition, the reader is unsure whether he or she is reading John’s words or words from another context. This can be resolved by allowing one context to swallow up the other without remainder, but this misses the true dynamics of the work. Meaning in Revelation “is in the tension between its previous contextual definition and its present context”’ (pp. 137–38).

³² Stephen Pattemore, *The People of God in the Apocalypse Discourse, Structure, and Exegesis* (Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 1–13.

communication (encoding – decoding) between two or more people works. In the theory, there must be a shared ‘cognitive environment’ in which the meaning of the speaker/communicator can be better understood. The environment is, thus, a vital factor for RT. Applying such theory to the study of the book of Revelation, Pattemore recognises its similarity with the concept of intertextuality but criticises Moyise’s approach to intertextuality because Moyise overlooks the cognitive environment.

But for Moyise, it is the text of the OT, rather than the social and geographical environment of the ‘seven churches’, which forms the primary context within which to understand the text of Revelation. From the perspective of RT, this is only partly true. Cognitive environments defined by prior texts must always be evaluated alongside those defined by local situations to determine which yields the most positive cognitive effects for the least processing effort. The priority claimed by Moyise of earlier texts over situational context cannot be taken for granted and must be evaluated in each instance.³³

According to Pattemore, the authorial intent is distinguished ‘through an evaluation of how an audience might optimize the relevance of the text itself.’³⁴ The evaluation of the prior texts that the author used is entirely ascribed to the readers.³⁵ For the understanding of the use of the Scripture in the book of Revelation, therefore, it is most important to consider how its readers would have read the book.

As for ‘intertextuality,’ Moyise’s dialectical approach is commended for the study of Revelation. However, by relying on the term ‘intertextuality,’ he appears to preclude the author’s interpretative use of the Scriptures in Revelation. There is no reason to eliminate the possibility that the author of Revelation intentionally interpreted the scriptural text in its own context and applied it to a given Revelation text. Relevance Theory gives no credit to the author of Revelation for his use of the scriptural texts without consideration of the circumstance of its readers. Regardless of the readers’ circumstance, though, the author could have delivered his own message, making use of the texts, e.g., a new prophetic message into the book in his own right. For these reasons, I do not adopt the term ‘intertextuality’ as well as RT for the present study. This is not to say that my methodology is totally unrelated to these ideas. In terms of the author’s intentionality in the use of the Scripture in Revelation, my viewpoint has some differences with them (they will be discussed later).³⁶

³³ Ibid., 40.

³⁴ Ibid., 41.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Moyise suggests three categories for defining a textual relationship (intertextuality) in the study of the OT in the New: ‘echo,’ ‘dialogical,’ and ‘postmodern.’ The term ‘echo’ includes the concepts of clear/certain, probable, and possible allusion, which have been traditionally used to classify ‘allusion’ in the OT in the New (See Beale, *The Book of Revelation*. Cf. Fekkes, *Isaiah and Prophetic Traditions in the Book of Revelation*, 15,—‘certain/virtually certain,’

The present study regards John as the author of the book of Revelation as well as the reader of the book of Psalms in the first century. The primary concern is with how John read the book of Psalms and employed it within his composition of Revelation. This study is less concerned with a first century readers' understanding of the book of Revelation. From the author-oriented perspective, I pursue how the author of Revelation understood the book of Psalms for his writing and what the book of Psalms contributes to the understanding of the book of Revelation. In so doing, this study hopes to shed light on both the authorial intent and the message to be conveyed within the book of Revelation.

1.5.2 Criteria

For greater accuracy, my method in this study will consist of three steps that seek to clarify how the NT writers read and used the Scriptures within their writings. These steps can be envisaged with a simple, clear-cut picture, as diagrammed below.

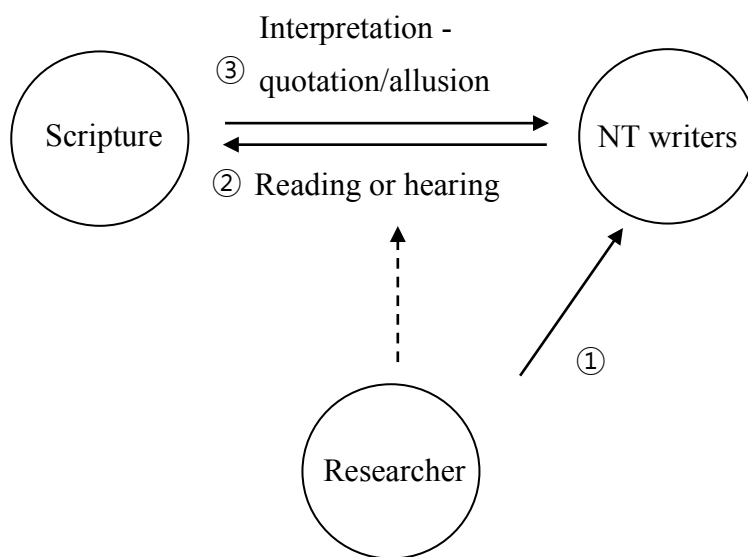


Diagram 1.1

‘probable/possible,’ ‘unlikely/doubtful’). ‘Postmodern’ represents a radical intertextuality that biblical studies tend to rule out due to its disregard for the authorial intent. The ‘dialogical’ category also seems to me problematic. Moyise sets forth 1 Cor. 15:3–4 and 2 Cor. 3:15 as evidence for this aspect: the former is to see the relation between the OT and the NT in view of prophecy/fulfilment (OT → NT) whilst the latter exhorts us to see the true meaning of the OT in Christ (OT ← NT). To the NT writers, however, the Scripture was the written text but the NT was not yet in a written form. In other words, as seen in diagram 1.1 (dotted line), we as researchers hold two clear texts (OT and NT) but the writers of the NT in the first century had only one. Thus the ‘dialogical’ approach could not virtually be the case for the writers of the first century. To my understanding, 2 Cor. 3:15 is better explained as a typical christological understanding of the Scripture among the contemporary readers, rather than as a dialogical interaction. Likewise, when Jesus announced his new words in Matt. 5:17–48, he reinterpreted the Law of Moses in himself and presented it in a new setting, rather than requiring the Law to be reshaped or reconstructed—‘Do not think that I came to abolish the Law or the Prophets; I did not come to abolish but to fulfil’ (v. 17).

First, I will explore each text from the book of Revelation in its own context (①). Essential components include: authorship/readership, social/religious/political circumstance, situations of the Christian community, and the real issues within the community, etc. These will establish the background of the text, which possibly affected/shaped the author's use of the Psalms, and thus help illuminate the author's reason and design for the inclusion of the Psalm allusions. The language and literary structure of the text should also be examined to see what the author really wrote. In so doing, the message of the text will be correctly understood, which, in turn, will support the investigation of what/how/why the author derived from the Psalms (step two). Rather than a reader-oriented approach, this study takes an author-oriented approach. It does not mean to ignore the setting of readers of the book of Revelation. It is assumed that the author took consideration of his readers' situation.

Secondly, the author becomes a reader of the Scripture and interacts with it (②)—his way of interacting would be different from that of modern scholars. The NT writers would have read the Scripture as a sacred book, the word of God (Matt. 5.8; 2 Tim. 3.16). If this is true, then one should ask how the NT writers drew on the Scripture within their writings. The probability is that the NT writers interpreted the Scripture in view of the fulfilment of OT prophecy for its genuine authority to the first century Christian community, rather than simply borrowing some wording from it. However, one cannot be absolutely certain whether the NT writers interpreted the Scripture (conscious use) or merely exploited it to back up their composition (unconscious or rhetorical use). Particularly it is always difficult to discern whether conscious use or unconscious use of the OT text in a book like Revelation, which does not have any formal quotations. For example, while there are discernible similarities of words/phrases between the two texts (OT and Revelation), no one can be sure whether John used the OT text consciously or unconsciously. It is possible that he unconsciously employed the OT text by means of his memory, perhaps even a long phrase from the texts (especially from the Psalms). By the same token, we cannot assume that John never alluded to or must have unconsciously used the OT text because only one equivalent word is found in the Revelation texts. John might have deliberately used just a single, similar word of a certain OT text in his writing, in which case, this would be a case of conscious allusion. Thus it is not possible to ascertain with absolute certainty whether or not John consciously alluded to any given OT text. Nonetheless, this problem does not necessarily eradicate the possibility per se of detecting the authorial intent in using the OT text. In other words, given that the NT author consciously used the OT text, his intent for its use should somehow be discovered and known to his audience. Thus it is unwise to study John's use of the Psalms without considering any authorial intent presumptive in referring to the scriptural text. Such study of allusion is based upon a certain level of subjectivity,

not upon objective certainty.

The key question then is how one perceives the intent of the NT author in using of the OT text. As discussed above, textual affinity alone cannot inherently give an answer to the question. Contextual affinity, if it exists, along with textual affinity will augment the probability that the NT author alluded to/used the OT text consciously.³⁷ For this reason, I will not stop at textual affinity alone, but I will go on to examine contextual affinity. By examining contextual affinity I do not mean that the two aspects (textual affinity/contextual affinity) will be always dealt with separately/step by step, but that textual affinity will be scrutinised within consideration of contextual affinity.³⁸ If no contextual affinity is found in conjunction with textual affinity, it would be safer to say that the case is ‘influence,’ rather than ‘allusion.’³⁹ By doing so, John’s intent or purpose in employing the Psalm text in a given Revelation text will become clear, leading on to the next step.

The third step pertains to what John took from the Psalms and how he used it in Revelation (③). In the second, ‘allusion’ and ‘influence’ have been distinguished. The ‘allusion’ cases in this step require the comparison of what a given Psalm says in its own context with what John derives from the Psalm text into his writing. The comparison will probably expose any differences between the two texts and tell us how John interpreted the Psalm and by alluding to the Psalm what message he brought to his audience. There is a clear example for this approach: Having seen differences between the two records of the Davidic covenant in Ps. 89 and 2 Sam. 7,⁴⁰ Michael Fishbane argued that the foci in 2 Sam. 7 were changed appropriately as the psalmist incorporated the

³⁷ Beale (*Revelation*, 81–85) also argues for the contextual use of the OT, whilst saying, ‘Informal citation or allusion does not logically entail noncontextual use of the OT or that John made no attempt to interpret the OT, especially since the majority of references to the OT elsewhere in the NT are also informal and allusive, and it would be unduly presumptive to think that all these other OT references are being interpreted by the NT writers without the OT context in mind.’ He suggests several factors to be considered for the contextual use of the OT in Revelation: (1) John identified himself as a prophet probably having an equal authority to the OT prophets ‘to demonstrate his message stands in continuity with their message’; (2) Some considerations support the readers’ acquaintance with the OT context/tradition, such as Jewish believers’ familiarity with the synagogue, Christians’ general recognition of the fulfilment of the OT in Jesus as Messiah, linguistic evidence in the Revelation texts itself (John’s vast use of the OT terms: ‘manna,’ ‘Jezebel,’ ‘Balaam,’ ‘Temple,’ ‘new Jerusalem’), the early church being trained in the OT as its Bible (in Acts and elsewhere in the NT).

³⁸ E.g. Rev. 4:2 / Pss. 9:5,8; 47(46):9; 103(102):19 in chapter 6.

³⁹ In the present study, I strictly separate between allusion and quotation. Without a direct quotation mark, the case cannot be defined as ‘quotation’ in this thesis.

⁴⁰ Michael Fishbane listed differences between the two texts: (1) the omission in Ps. 89 of reference to the temple project in 2 Sam. 7.10–13, (2) the application of the promise to the entire Davidic dynasty in 2 Sam. 7.19 to David alone in Ps. 89.23–24, (3) the father-son relationship between Yahweh and David’s son in 2 Sam. 7.14 but in Ps. 89.27–28 between Yahweh and David alone, (4) Yahweh’s punishment on David’s son in 2 Sam. 7.14 whilst on the entire Davidic dynasty in Ps. 89.31–33, (5) the absence in 2 Sam. 7 of the vision account in Ps. 89.20, and (6) a strong emphasis on covenant in Ps. 89.4, 35–36, 50 which is not found in 2 Sam. 7. (Nahum M. Sarna, ‘Psalm 89: A Study in Inner Biblical Exegesis,’ in *Biblical and Other Studies*, ed. Alexander Altmann [Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963], 29–46; Michael A. Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* [Oxford: Clarendon, 1985], 466–67).

Davidic covenant in 2 Sam. 7 into a new historical situation.⁴¹ His treatment of how a later writer interprets an already existing text has much to commend itself. In the case of Psalm ‘influence,’ on the other hand, the comparison between two texts (Psalms and Revelation) is less relevant because there is no certain allusion to the Psalms. One can simply discuss why John uses a certain wording/phrase of a given Psalm in the Revelation text and what role the wording/phrase plays within the text. Still, it may be helpful, whenever possible, to compare the usage of the wording/phrase in the Psalms and its use in Revelation in order to shed more light on how John applies it within his writing.

To sum up, textual relationship/affinity between two texts (OT and NT) is the starting point of the study of the OT allusion. Despite similarities, however, such a criterion cannot be the decisive evidence to argue whether the NT author uses the OT text consciously or unconsciously and whether he intended to point to the OT text/verse or simply made use of its wording for his argument. Contextual relationship/affinity will strongly supplement the essential uncertainty of textual affinity in such a study of the OT allusion. One cannot simply presuppose that John read every Psalm contextually, but one can ask whether the text of Revelation shows contextual affinity to certain Psalm texts or not. Then we may say that John had the intent to refer to the text, which is ‘allusion.’ In the thesis, therefore, I will draw on contextual affinity as one of the crucial aspects in examining John’s ‘allusion’ to the Psalms and aim to demonstrate it as one of the significant contributions of my work to the study of the book of Revelation. The case with no contextual affinity is classified as ‘influence.’ The following criteria, though not always distinct, will set the parameters of the study.

	Textual affinity	Contextual affinity
Strong allusion	Clear	Clear
Probable allusion	Less clear	Clear
Possible allusion	Less clear	Less clear
Influence	Found	Not clear

1.6 Outline of this Study

The dissertation consists of three parts. Part I (chapters 2–3) offers the background of this study. Chapter 2 discusses the use of Psalms in Second Temple Judaism. Particularly I will focus on how the book of Psalms was employed in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the characteristics of the Greek

⁴¹ Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel*, 467.

translation of the Hebrew Psalms. Chapter 3 considers the significance of the Psalms for the early Christian communities. Additionally, the Syriac version provides some important data on the use of Psalms by early Christians. However, the use of Psalm texts in the NT provides the best evidence for the reading of the book of Psalms by the author of Revelation and his readers.

Part II (chapters 4–7) examines all detectable cases of Psalms in Revelation. Using the criteria listed above, the cases are divided into four categories: strong allusion (chapter 4), probable allusion (chapter 5), possible allusion (chapter 6) and influence (chapter 7). In total, thirty-seven cases are considered: eight for strong allusion, seven for probable, nine for possible, and twelve for influence.

As a conclusion of the study, Part III (chapter 8) presents the significance of the Psalms in the book of Revelation. This study suggests that the author of the book purposely drew on the Psalms to manifest its own message and theology.

PART I. SETTING

Introduction

The significance of the book of Psalms for both Judaism and Christianity is evident from the very early period up through the modern day. The book has been used in both religions for public worship (praise/prayer), individual reflection, religious instruction, etc. In the discovery of the Judean desert scrolls, the earliest evidence of the Jewish scriptures, the Psalms scrolls and the texts relating to the Psalms have the highest number of manuscripts. Not surprisingly, the early Christian writers quoted in their writings the Psalms more than any other scriptural books. Part 1 of this thesis concerns itself with the historical background of the use of the book of Psalms, the background in which the book of Revelation employs the Psalm texts. It would be mainly in the first century Christian community that the status of the book of Psalms has to be scrutinized for the current study. Given the relationship between Second Temple Judaism and early Christianity, the use of the Psalms in Judaism should also be discussed: In what way and to what extent was the book of Psalms used in the Second Temple period? Does the Jewish understanding of the book of Psalms in the period anticipate that in the NT? If so, to what extent should this broader Jewish understanding of the book affect an approach to the NT?

This part consists of two chapters: Psalms in Second Temple Judaism and Psalms in first century Christianity. The first chapter—i.e., Chapter Two—begins with the problem of the composition of the Psalms and its collection/edition, since in the Second Temple period the Psalms were probably being shaped into a book. Provided that such an editorial process occurred in the period, each psalm would have been understood in its context, i.e., in relation to adjacent psalms or the whole book of Psalms. There are no precise data of the composition, collection and edition of the Psalms into a book.¹ Scholarly discussions on those issues will be introduced. The major interest of Chapter Two is in the Psalms in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Septuagint Psalms, which provide immediate evidence for the Psalms in Second Temple Judaism. Due to their significance in understanding the location of Psalms and its use in Second Temple Judaism, 11QPs^a, the most important manuscript out of the Psalms scrolls, and *Pesharim* to Psalms provide the focus of Chapter Two. Characteristics in the Greek translation of the Psalms may illuminate the perception of the book of Psalms of the community to which it belongs. Because of its late date, the significance of the book of Psalms in rabbinic Judaism (e.g., Mishnah, Targum Psalms, *Midrash*

¹ See Brevard S. Childs, 'Reflections on the Modern Study of the Psalms,' in *Magnalia Dei, the Mighty Acts of God: Essays on the Bible and Archaeology in Memory of G. Ernest Wright*, ed. Frank Moore Cross, Werner E. Lemke, and Patrick D. Miller, 1st ed. (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1976), 381; Brevard S. Childs, *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture* (London: SCM Press, 1979), 52–68.

Tehillim) will be mentioned later in the second chapter of Part 1, the Psalms in Early Christianity.

In the chapter on the Psalms in Early Christianity, the Syriac version of the Psalms (the Peshitta Psalms) is first explored. Its similarity and difference from the MT Psalms and the LXX Psalms may represent its own translation tradition, giving some background for an understanding of the book of Psalms in Early Christianity. Following this, I will examine the Psalms texts in the NT, which provide direct evidence for the use of the book of Psalms in first-century Christianity. Other early Christian writings are then considered for a further understanding of the use of the Psalms in the early church. In so doing, the use of the book of Psalms in early Church will be articulated. This not only establishes the setting for the Psalms in the book of Revelation but it also helps further an understanding of early Christianity itself.

To avoid possible confusion with some terminologies, in the thesis I will use ‘the Psalms’ as a general term for any biblical psalms either in part or as a whole. ‘The book of Psalms’ or ‘the MT (–150) Psalter’ specifically indicates the 150 canonical Psalms. The Psalms/Psalter(s) in the DSS will be designated as ‘the Qumran/DSS Psalms or Psalter(s).’ The ‘Hebrew Psalter’ can specify either the MT Psalter or the Qumran Psalter, though in the thesis I usually use it for the MT Psalter. The ‘Greek/Septuagint/LXX Psalter’ means the Greek translation of the Hebrew Psalter. If necessary, the Greek Psalter will be differentiated from the ‘Old Greek Psalter’ (the OG Psalter) pointing to the original Greek translation of the Hebrew Psalms.

Chapter 2

Psalms in Second Temple Judaism

When the Temple was rebuilt in 516 BC, it per se did not bring about the restoration of the ancient Jewish hope, such as the eternal Davidic kingship and worship of Yahweh in the promised land of Canaan. The monarchy had already been demolished long ago and the Jews were now dispersed in Palestine, Babylon and Egypt. As the people of Yahweh, the Israelites necessitated a new understanding of themselves and their situation and thereby had a new expectation of the glorious future. This led Second Temple Judaism to renewed study of and reflection on the sacred texts.²

2.1 The Origin of the book of Psalms

Though with many uncertainties, scholars often assume that a canonized Torah, the first part of the Jewish scriptures, was available to Ezra and Nehemiah in the fifth century BC. As to the Prophets and Writings, no consensus has been reached on their fixation and even their demarcation between themselves in the Second Temple period.³ Some books of the Writings might have been closed earlier than the Prophets while some others still grew until the first century AD. By the second century BC, Ben Sira's grandson appears to have referred to the tripartite Hebrew scripture ("Torah, Prophets and the rest of books", *The Prologue of Sirach* 1:2–25). It is not certain, though, whether by 'the other books' (τῶν ἄλλων πατρῶν βιβλίων, 10) or 'the rest of the books' (τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν βιβλίων, 25) he meant "the Writings" in our definition or merely various post-Prophetic books in the period.⁴ Since David was regarded as a prophet (cf. Acts 2:29–30; Josephus, *Ant.* 6.166), the

² Bruce K. Waltke, James M. Houston, and Erika Moore, *The Psalms as Christian Worship: A Historical Commentary* (Cambridge, U.K.: Eerdmans, 2010), 19–21.

³ Lawrence H. Schiffman argues for the late Persian period, probably around the fourth century BC, depending on later rabbinic perception of the cessation of prophecy with the conquest of Alexander the Great in 332 BC and, thus, Daniel and Chronicles were to be excluded from the Prophets (Lawrence H. Schiffman, *From Text to Tradition: A History of Second Temple and Rabbinic Judaism* [Hoboken, N.J.: Ktav Pub. House, 1991], 57–58.); Sid Z. Leiman sees the canonization of the Prophets to have occurred shortly after the Samaritan schism (from 722 BC to the second or first century BC), perhaps in the third century BC, for otherwise the Samaritan canon would have had the Prophets (Sid Z. Leiman, *The Canonization of Hebrew Scripture: The Talmudic and Midrashic Evidence* [Hamden Conn.: Archon Books, 1976], 16–17). For the problem of the division between the Prophets and the Writings, see John Barton, *Oracles of God: Perceptions of Ancient Prophecy in Israel After the Exile* (London: Darton Longman and Todd, 1986), 44–55; Philip R. Davies, *Scribes and Schools: The Canonization of the Hebrew Scriptures* (Louisville Ky.: Westminster J. Knox Press, 1998), 89–90.

⁴ See David M. Carr, 'Canonization in the Context of Community,' in *A Gift of God in Due Season: Essays on Scripture and Community in Honor of James A. Sanders*, ed. Richard D. Weis and David McLain Carr, *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 225 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1996), 43–44. Carr points out that the prologue of Ben Sira's grandson cannot be the evidence for the tripartite Jewish scriptures on the basis of its use of the unfixed

Psalms may have been considered among the Prophets. Some references to its separation from the Law and Prophets are still found, showing its distinctive status (Philo, *Contempl.* 1:25; 4QMMT C10; Luke 24:44). As mentioned, the problem of the origin of the Psalms in ancient Israel and their collection/edition into the Hebrew Psalms is unsettled due to the lack of concrete evidence. Royal musicians, temple singers, private prayers, priests, sages, scribes, visionaries and storytellers are broadly assumed to have been the writers of individual psalms (Cf. 2 Chron. 29:26-30).⁵ In Psalms scholarship, the *Gattungen* and *Sitz im Leben* of the Psalms have typically been examined for determining the provenance of the Psalms and its classification.

2.1.1 Scholarship on the Composition of the Book of Psalms

The flourishing of the Enlightenment provoked the rejection of a traditional view on the origin of the Psalms (i.e., the Davidic work) by Psalms scholarship in the nineteenth century, claiming that the book of Psalms is a haphazard collection of texts dating from the post-exilic period to the Maccabean period.⁶ The form criticism (*Gattungsforschung*) developed by Gunkel and his student Mowinckel has since predominated among twentieth-century Psalms scholarship up until relatively recent years. Gunkel identified the Psalms by their *Gattungen*: hymns, communal laments, royal psalms, thanksgiving psalms, pilgrimage psalms, liturgies, etc.⁷ Mowinckel, on the other hand, seemingly focused on *Sitz im Leben*, seeking the cultic setting of almost all the Psalms.⁸ He argued

terminology of the third group of books – ‘the other writers succeeding them’ (*Sir. Prolog.* 1:2), ‘other books of the Fathers’ (*Sir. Prolog.* 1:10) and ‘the rest of the books’ (*Sir. Prolog.* 1:25). He concludes, ‘There is no evidence for Jewish consensus on the overall structure of the canon during the Second Temple period, whether tripartite or bipartite. Instead, just as there was a plurality of Jewish groups during this time, there seems to have been a plurality in conceptions of Scripture.’

⁵ See Jörg Jeremias, *Kultprophetie und Gerichtsverkündigung in der späten Königszeit Israels*, Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament 35 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verl., 1970), 127; Hans-Joachim Kraus, *Psalms 1-59: A Commentary*, trans. Hilton C. Oswald (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1988), 66; Donn F. Morgan, *Between Text and Community: The “Writings” in Canonical Interpretation* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1990), 5; Duane L. Christensen, ‘The Book of Psalms Within the Canonical Process in Ancient Israel,’ *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 39, no. 3 (S 1996): 421–22. Based upon the headings of the Psalms, the writers are: David (less than half of 150 psalms), Moses (Ps. 90), Solomon (Pss. 72, 127), the sons of Korah (Pss. 42–49, 84–85, 87–88), Asaph (Pss. 50, 73–83), Etan the Ezrahite (Ps. 89) and many psalms with no designation.

⁶ J. Olshausen, *Die Psalmen* (Leipzig, 1853); Heinrich Ewald, *Die Psalmen* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1835); F. Baethgen, *Die Psalmen: Handkommentar zum Alten Testament* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1892). Cf. Ernst Wilhelm Hengstenberg, *Commentar über die Psalmen* (Berlin: Ludwig Oehmigke, 1842); Franz Delitzsch, *Biblischer Commentar über die Psalmen* (Leipzig: Dörffling und Franke, 1883); Claus Westermann, *Der Psalter* (Stuttgart: Calwer, 1967). For discussions, see David M. Howard Jr., ‘Editorial Activity in the Psalter: a State-of-the-field Survey,’ *Word & World* 9, no. 3 (Sum 1989): 274–85; David C. Mitchell, *The Message of the Psalter: An Eschatological Programme in the Book of Psalms*, *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 252 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 15–64.

⁷ See Hermann Gunkel, *Einleitung in die Psalmen die Gattungen der religiösen Lyrik Israels*, ed. Joachim Begrich (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1933), 1–33.

⁸ Mowinckel suggests that some ‘wisdom psalms’ (Pss. 1; 19B; 34; 37; 49; 78; 105; 106; 111; 112; 127) are non-cultic (Sigmund Mowinckel, *The Psalms in Israel’s Worship*, vol. 2 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004), 104–25).

for the festivals in ancient Israel, particularly the annual ‘enthronement of Yahweh’ festival, as linked to the cultic setting from which the Psalms originated.⁹ While recognizing the cultic origin of some psalms, Gunkel held that most psalms were post-exilic spiritualized imitations of the earlier cultic psalms, derived from private ‘conventicles’ of pious laymen.¹⁰ The majority of the Psalms were therefore deemed as being composed in the post-exilic period, except for a few psalms (e.g., wisdom and Torah psalms) possibly dating up to the pre-exilic period. Recent scholarship seems not to give full credit to such predominance of the late composition of the Psalms for many psalms are still counted as originating from the pre-exilic period, hence rather admitting the co-existence of a number of pre- and post-exilic psalms.¹¹

Under the influence of form criticism, Psalms studies until about the 1970s had had much interest in individual psalms and tended to overlook the relationship of a psalm to its adjacent psalms (inter-psalm links) and its position in its context (i.e., reading the Psalms as a book).¹² The collection/edition of the Psalms into a book and its structure were often thought to be an ‘accidental’ process.¹³ A new approach to the Psalms arose in the late twentieth century, departing from form criticism.¹⁴ Canonical analysis by Brevard S. Childs was not just a new methodology applied to the study of the Psalms but a catalyst to change the direction of Psalms study, arguing that the original setting of an individual psalm is intrinsically undetectable, thus in a sense hypothetical.¹⁵ Since a psalm is often blended with more than one form, the categorization of the Psalms into single forms has been questioned. Scholarly interest has since moved on from the original setting of an individual psalm to the editorial process of the book of the Psalms as a whole.¹⁶ The community in which the editorial activity took place, in turn, has received much

⁹ Sigmund Mowinckel, *The Psalms in Israel's Worship*, vol. 1 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004), 106–92.

¹⁰ Recited from John Day, *Psalms*, Old Testament Guides (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990), 14–15.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 16. See also William P. Brown, ‘Psalms, Book of,’ in *The New Interpreters Dictionary of the Bible*, ed. Katharine Doob Sakenfeld (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2009), 654.

¹² Gunkel appreciated the necessity of understanding the psalms in their adjacent context; he did not seem to have a real interest in it (Hermann Gunkel, *Einleitung in die Psalmen die Gattungen der religiösen Lyrik Israels*, 1–33).

¹³ *Ibid.*, 436.

¹⁴ See David J. A. Clines, ‘Psalm Research Since 1955,’ *Tyndale Bulletin* 20 (1969): 105–25; Childs, ‘Reflections on the Modern Study of the Psalms,’ 377–88; Gerald H. Wilson, *The Editing of the Hebrew Psalter* (Chico, Calif.: Scholars Press, 1985); Erich Zenger, ‘New Approaches to the Study of the Psalms,’ *Proceedings of the Irish Biblical Association* 17 (1994): 37–54.

¹⁵ See Childs, ‘Reflections on the Modern Study of the Psalms,’ 377–88; Childs, *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture*, 56–57. Cf. In response to Childs, James A. Sanders points out, ‘All historical reconstruction is speculative to some extent, and the Persian period perhaps more than most. But to use this as excuse to give up entirely and to absolutize in great degree a particular form of literature unrelated to the trials and tribulations and other facets of history of the believing communities that shaped it would be to me both intolerable in terms of our common claims about function of Scripture in those communities, and very limited in terms of concept of canon’ (James A. Sanders, *From Sacred Story to Sacred Text: Canon as Paradigm* [Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1987], 174).

¹⁶ See Joseph P. Brennan – ‘For a proper understanding of the Psalter it is not enough to study each of its 150 components in the historical context from which it originally sprang. They must all be studied in their relationship to

attention in the field.¹⁷ Psalms studies then seem to have brought the spotlight back onto a unitary concatenation in the book of Psalms, its purposeful arrangement,¹⁸ which, if that is the case, probably reflects the religious/theological propensity of the editors or the community the editors belong to, and their understanding of the book. Temple singers or scribes in the Second Temple period are regarded as the compilers of the Psalms.¹⁹ For the book of Psalms was allegedly primarily used as a temple hymnbook or synagogue lectionary, rather than for private use.²⁰ Still, in light of the existence of the psalms not related to a public cult in the book, the non-liturgical (including individual or private) usage of the book of Psalms should not be neglected.²¹ Whether for public worship or private devotion, the book of Psalms in the Second Temple period appears to

each other, since all of them together convey more than they do if looked at separately' ('Some Hidden Harmonies of the Fifth Book of Psalms,' in *Essays in Honor of Joseph P Brennan by Members of the Faculty, Saint Bernard's Seminary*, ed. Robert F. McNamara (Rochester, N.Y.: St Bernard's Seminary, 1976), 126–27). See also Joseph Reindl – 'Der ursprüngliche Sitz im Leben verblaßt (nicht: verschwindet!) vor dem neuen Sitz im Leben, den der Psalter erhalten hat' (Joseph Reindl, 'Weisheitlich Bearbeitung von Psalmen,' in *Congress volume: Vienna, 1980*, ed. John Adney Emerton, *Supplements to Vetus Testamentum* 32 [Leiden: Brill, 1981], 340).

¹⁷ See James A. Sanders, *Canon and Community: a Guide to Canonical Criticism* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1984); James A. Sanders, *From Sacred Story to Sacred Text*; Wilson, *The Editing of the Hebrew Psalter*; Gerald H. Wilson, 'Evidence of Editorial Division in the Hebrew Psalter,' *Vetus Testamentum* 34, no. 3 (Jl 1984): 336–52; Gerald H. Wilson, 'The Qumran Psalms Scroll Reconsidered: Analysis of the Debate,' *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 47, no. 4 (1985): 624–42.

¹⁸ Delitzsch, *Biblischer Commentar über die Psalmen*; Gerald H. Wilson, *The editing of the Hebrew Psalter* (Chico: Scholars Press, 1985); Leslie C. Allen, *Psalms* (Waco: Word Books, 1987); James Luther Mays, 'The Place of the Torah–Psalms in the Psalter,' *Journal of Biblical Literature* 106 (1987): 3–12; Norbert Lohfink, 'Psalmengebet und Psalterredaktion,' *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft* 34 (1992): 1–22; Georg P. Braulik, 'Psalter and Messiah: Towards a Christological Understanding of the Psalms in the Old Testament and the Church Fathers,' in *Psalter and Liturgy*, ed. Dirk J. Human and C. J. A. Vos (Edinburgh: T. & T., 2004), 15–40; Frank-Lothar Hossfeld and Erich Zenger, *Psalmen, Herders theologischer Kommentar zum Alten Testament* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 2000).

¹⁹ Cf. Murphy – 'sages' (R. E. Murphy, 'A Consideration of the Classification "Wisdom Psalms",' in *Congress volume: Bonn 1962*, ed. J. A. Emerton, *Supplements to Vetus Testamentum* 9 [Leiden: Brill, 1963], 160); Reindl – 'practitioners of wisdom.' He argues that the practitioners of wisdom were the successors of the pre-exilic 'wise men' and the predecessors of Ben Sira, other than temple singers or scribes (Joseph Reindl, 'Weisheitlich Bearbeitung von Psalmen,' 335–56).

²⁰ 'Synagogue worship' (Erhard S. Gerstenberger, *Psalms, Part 2, and Lamentations*, *Forms of the Old Testament Literature* 15 [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001]). John Day rejects this, saying, 'We know nothing about synagogue worship in the Persian period – it is not even certain that synagogues existed then...' (John Day, *Psalms*, 15–16). Cf. Olshausen – 'spiritual hymnbook' ('...als die, der israelitischen Gemeinde zum geistlichen Gesangbuche zu dienen,' J. Olshausen, *Die Psalmen*, *Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch zum Alten Testament* 14 [Leipzig, 1853], 4).

²¹ Gunkel saw 'wisdom psalms and Torah psalms' not involved in public cult (Hermann Gunkel, *Einleitung in die Psalmen die Gattungen der religiösen Lyrik Israels*, 381–97). See George W. Anderson, "'Sicut Cervus': Evidence in the Psalter of Private Devotion in Ancient Israel,' *Vetus Testamentum* 30 (1980): 388–97; R. Alter, 'Psalms,' in *The Literary Guide to the Bible*, ed. R. Alter and F. Kermode (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, Belknap Press, 1987), 244–62; Mays, 'The Place of the Torah–Psalms in the Psalter,' 3–12; Roger N. Whybray, *Reading the Psalms as a Book*, *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series* 222 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996). See also William P. Brown, 'Psalms, Book of' in *NIB*, 664: 'Some psalms seem to have little connection to corporate liturgy, at least as associated with the Temple. Many of the individual prayers for help, e.g., do not presuppose the background of worship'. E.g., the quotation of Ps. 34:20 in *4 Macc.* 18:15 concerning a family suffering persecution (see Steve Moyise and Maarten J. J. Menken, eds., *Psalms in the New Testament* [T&T Clark, 2004], 1).

have been understood in various ways, such as: prophetic (eschatological) interpretation, messianic expectation of Davidic kingship, didactic or instructional purpose, and reflectional/devotional reading.²²

It was generally assumed until the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls that the edition of the Hebrew Psalter had been finished in the Second Temple period. This notion has been put into dispute where the Psalms scrolls in the DSS show some discrepancies from the MT Psalms. The scrolls are crucial in understanding not only the composition of the book of Psalms but also the position of the Hebrew Psalms and their use in Second Temple Judaism. Prior to examining the Qumran Psalms scrolls, I will briefly examine of the use of the Psalms in the Temple and the synagogue for providing a general picture of the Psalms in Second Temple Judaism.

2.1.2 Psalms in the Temple in Jerusalem and the Synagogues

The Temple in Jerusalem offers the *Tamid* service (daily in the morning and evening) and some additional sacrifices on Sabbath or the Feasts (e.g., Passover, Feast of Weeks, Feast of Tabernacle, or days of the new moon).²³ According to the scriptural references and other Jewish literature (e.g., the LXX Psalms; 11QPs^a XXVII – David’s composition, 4–7; *m. Tamid* 7:4, cf. 1 Chron. 23:30–32; *Sir.* 50:1–29), the Psalms—not necessarily all from the present book of Psalms—were sung in the Temple services. The liturgical use of the Psalms in the Second Temple, though, seems relatively limited in amount: seven psalms for the *Tamid* service (Ps. 24 – Sunday, Ps. 48 – Monday, Ps. 82 – Tuesday, Ps. 94 – Wednesday, Ps. 81 – Thursday, Ps. 93 – Friday, Ps. 92 – Sabbath) and the *Hallel* psalms (Ps. 113–118) for the Feasts.²⁴

Unlike the Temple, no singing of the Psalms with music was found in the synagogue because of the absence of animal sacrifice.²⁵ Since the synagogue most likely came into being with

²² See Wilson, *The Editing of the Hebrew Psalter*; Howard, ‘Editorial Activity in the Psalter’; J. Clinton McCann, ‘The Psalms as Instruction,’ *Interpretation* 46, no. 2 (1992): 117–28; Susan Gillingham, ‘From Liturgy to Prophecy: The Use of Psalmody in Second Temple Judaism,’ *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 64, no. 3 (2002): 470–89; Erich Zenger, ‘Das Buch der Psalmen,’ in *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, ed. Erich Zenger, 7th ed. (Kohlhammer, 2008), 348–70; Whybray, *Reading the Psalms as a Book*.

²³ For details on the Temple services, see Shmuel Safrai, ‘Temple, Ritual,’ in *Encyclopedia Judaica*, vol. 19, ed. Michael Berenbaum and Fred Skolnik, 2nd ed. (Detroit: Macmillan Reference USA, 2006), 616–25; James W. McKinnon, ‘On the Question of Psalmody in the Ancient Synagogue,’ *Early Music History* 6 (1986): 159–91; Peter L. Trudinger, *The Psalms of the Tamid Service: a Liturgical Text from the Second Temple* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2004).

²⁴ Graham Woolfenden, ‘The Psalms in Jewish and Early Christian Worship,’ *Priests & People* 4, no. 8 (1990): 310. He points out, ‘The important thing to realize is that even then, it is probable that a great many psalms were never used, some were only used once or twice a year, but those that were used, were used as integral parts of the Temple liturgy chosen for their suitability for that role. The psalms that were appointed for particular days of the week or for times of the day were comparatively free, most were probably used only on certain festivals.’

²⁵ McKinnon, ‘On the Question of Psalmody in the Ancient Synagogue,’ 169–73. He even argues against the synagogue as a place for prayer, instead just a meeting place for the Jews.

the Babylonian exile,²⁶ it became a place to the Diaspora Jews for their social, religious meetings; the meetings primarily consisting of a reading of the Torah, its discourse and prayer. In terms of Psalmody in the synagogue practices—communal, not private—in the Second Temple period, we do not have direct evidence.²⁷ According to the Talmud, only a few *Hallel* psalms are referred to as being used elsewhere in the Temple.²⁸ Perhaps, not surely, this also includes the synagogues. It is in the late Jewish work, Mishnah (ca. AD 200), that the traits of the use of Psalms in the Jerusalem Temple liturgy and the synagogues are mostly found.²⁹ In order to understand the use of the Psalms in the Second Temple period properly, one needs to look into immediate textual evidences from the period, which are the Qumran Psalms scrolls and the Septuagint Psalms.

2.2 Psalms in the Dead Sea Scrolls

The discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls (DSS) has led scholars to rethink Second Temple Judaism as multifarious not unitary.³⁰ Of over 900 manuscripts, roughly two-thirds of them are extra-biblical texts (sectarian works and other Jewish documents) containing thoughts, rules and religious practices in various Jewish groups possibly existing at the time. More than 200 biblical texts in DSS have all the books in the Hebrew Bible, except for Esther. A variety of readings and corrections toward the MT in the texts are significant in understanding the textual transmission history of the scriptural books.³¹

²⁶ Even the existence and status of the Jewish synagogue in the Second Temple period may be in dispute. See Brian De Breffny, *The Synagogue* (New York: Macmillan, 1978), 15–25.

²⁷ McKinnon sees the eighth-century tractate *Sopherim* as an earlier possible reference to Psalms in the synagogue service ('Question', 180–82). Scholars set forth the reasons behind the absence of its evidence in the Second Temple period. Bradshaw thinks of the private recitation of the Psalms rather than its formal use in the synagogue liturgy (Paul F. Bradshaw, *The Search for the Origins of Christian Worship: Sources and Methods for the Study of Early Liturgy* [New York: Oxford University Press, 1992], 38). Falk mentions the fall of the Temple (70 AD); before then, temple was the place for liturgy (Daniel K. Falk, 'Qumran and the Synagogue Liturgy,' in *The Ancient Synagogue from Its Origins Until 200 C.E. Papers Presented at an International Conference at Lund University, October 14-17, 2001*, ed. B. Olsson and M. Zetterholm, *Coniectanea Biblica, New Testament Series 39* [Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 2003], 404–34). By resorting to the middle age texts, Carey argues that the Psalms were sometimes chanted with music (Holly J. Carey, *Jesus' Cry from the Cross: Towards a First-Century Understanding of the Intertextual Relationship Between Psalm 22 and the Narrative of Mark's Gospel* [London: T. & T. Clark, 2009], 113). In the Gospels, the singing of hymns in the home occurs at the Passover feast (Matt. 26:30; Mark 14:26; cf. Eph. 5:19; 1 Cor. 14:26; Col. 3:16). Still, it does not specify whether this refers to the book of Psalms or merely any psalms or hymns (see Gerhard Delling, 'ὕμνος, ὕμνέω, ψάλλω, ψαλμός,' *TDNT*, 8:489-503). The primary concern of the present study is on the book of Psalms.

²⁸ Woolfenden, 'The Psalms in Jewish and Early Christian Worship,' 310.

²⁹ For the reliability of Mishnah as its source, see Trudinger, *The Psalms of the Tamid Service*, 23.

³⁰ See Lawrence H. Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls: The History of Judaism, the Background of Christianity, the Lost Library of Qumran* (Philadelphia; Jerusalem: Jewish Publication Society, 1994), 35; Casey D. Elledge, *The Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, *Archaeology and Biblical Studies 14* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2005), 97.

³¹ George J. Brooke points out, 'In a majority of MSS containing scriptural books with corrections, those corrections are toward a form of the text now represented by the MT. This implies that during the late Second Temple period, at least for some books, a text-type like that later authoritatively adopted by the rabbis was apparently becoming

The Psalms scrolls are represented in the DSS more than any other scroll, showing its significance in the Qumran community.³² The thirty-nine Psalms scrolls and seven other manuscripts relating to the Hebrew Psalms such as the *Pesharim* to Psalms were found in the Qumran caves and the Judean desert.³³ The Psalm manuscripts contain 126 MT Psalms³⁴ and at least fifteen “apocryphal” Psalms.³⁵ While most of them are very fragmentary, a few scrolls retain relatively large amounts of the Psalm text (11QPs^a, 4QPs^a, 5/6Hev-SePs, 4QPs^b, 4QPs^c and 4QPs^e). Among those texts, 11QPs^a (=11Q5) has drawn special attention in the study of the book of Psalms not only because it is the largest extant Psalms scroll but also because of its distinctiveness in order and content when compared with the MT Psalter.³⁶ The following section compares 11QPs^a to the MT Psalms. Discrepancies between the two corpora may provide some important hints at the editorial process of the Hebrew Psalter and may help to understand the location of the book of Psalms in the late Second Temple period. Interpretations in the *Pesharim* to Psalms will be consulted next because *the Pesharim* tells how and in what perspectives the community read the Psalms at the time. Following this, some other uses of the Psalms in the community will be introduced, demonstrating the significance of the Psalms in the period.

2.2.1 11QPs^a and the Masoretic Psalter

The Psalms scroll (11QPs^a) was discovered only with the latter part of the book of Psalms (Book

increasingly dominant’ (George J. Brooke, ‘Dead Sea Scrolls,’ in *The New Interpreters Dictionary of the Bible*, ed. Katharine Doob Sakenfeld, vol. 2 [Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2009], 56).

³² See Peter W. Flint, ‘Of Psalms and Psalters: James Sanders’s Investigation of the Psalms Scrolls,’ in *A Gift of God in Due Season: Essays on Scripture and Community in Honor of James A. Sanders*, ed. David J. A. Clines and Philip R. Davies, Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 225 (Sheffield, Eng.: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996), 65–66.

³³ Three scrolls in Cave 1; one scroll each in Cave 2, 3, 5, 6, 8; twenty-three scrolls in Cave 4; six scrolls in Cave 11; two scrolls at Masada and one at Nahal Hever. The seven other relevant manuscripts are 1Q16(1QpPs), 4Q171(4QpPs^a), 4Q173(4QpPs^b), 4Q174(4QFlor), 4Q176(4QTanh), 4Q177 (4QCatena A) and 11Q13 (11QMelch). For the full list of the Psalms scrolls, see Peter W. Flint, ‘The Book of Psalms in the Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls,’ *Vetus Testamentum* 48, no. 4 (1998): 454.

³⁴ Flint argues that the remaining twenty-four psalms were all included in the Psalms scrolls but have been lost due to damage and deterioration of the scrolls (Ibid., 455.)

³⁵ In the four Psalms scrolls, 11QPs^a, 4QPs^f, 11QPs^b and 11QPsAp^a, there are Pss. 151a, 151b, 154, 155; David’s Last Words (2 Sam. 23:1–7); *Sir.* 51:13–23, 30; the Apostrophe to Judah; Apostrophe to Zion; David’s Composition; Eschatological Hymn; Hymn to the Creator; Plea for Deliverance; three Songs Against Demons; Catena. Later in the chapter, Pss. 151a/b, 154 and 155 will be specially focused in comparison with LXX and Peshitta Psalms.

³⁶ James A. Sanders, *The Psalms Scroll of Qumrân Cave 11 (11QPs^a)*, Discoveries in the Judean Desert of Jordan (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965); Y. Yadin, ‘Another Fragment (E) of the Psalms Scroll From Qumran Cave 11 (11QPs^a),’ *Textus* 5 (1966): 1–10; James A. Sanders, ‘Variorum in the Psalms Scroll (11QPs^a),’ *Harvard Theological Review* 59, no. 1 (Ja 1966): 83–94; Shemaryahu Talmon, ‘Pisqah Be’emsa’ Pasuq and 11QPs^a,’ *Textus* 5 (1966): 11–21; M. H. Goshen-Gottstein, ‘The Psalms Scroll (11QPs^a): A Problem of Canon and Text,’ *Textus* 5 (1966): 22–33; James A. Sanders, ‘Cave 11 Surprises and the Question of Canon,’ *McCormick Quarterly* 21, no. 3 (Mr 1968): 284–98; James A. Sanders, ‘The Qumran Psalms Scroll (11QPs^a) Reviewed,’ in *On Language, Culture and Religion* (Hague: Mouton, 1974), 79–99.

IV and V, Psalms 90–150). It bears different arrangements and some apocryphal psalms, some of which have never been known before the DSS discovery.³⁷ Since, moreover, on palaeographic and archaeological grounds, 11QPs^a dates to the middle of the first century AD (ca. 30–60),³⁸ the scroll has challenged the traditional view of the canonization of the Hebrew Psalms, the view in which the scriptural Psalter was closed around 400 BC. Some claim that the composition of the book of Psalms was not fixed until the late Second Temple period.³⁹ Seeing its deviations from the MT Psalms as specifying its non-canonicity, others, on the other hand, argue that 11QPs^a—depending on the MT-150 Psalter—was bound for liturgical use in the Qumran community (‘a synagogue Psalter, an incipient prayer book,’ ‘a library edition’).⁴⁰ The following table displays differences in superscriptions between 11QPs^a and the MT Psalms.

Table 2.1 Comparison of 11QPs^a to the MT-150 Psalms (‘[]’: Reconstructed by space, ‘?’: Not sure)

Arrangement	Not in MT	Superscription	MT-Superscription
101		[לדויד מזמור]	לדוד מזמור
102		[תפלה] לעני כריעטוף...	תפלה לעני כריעטוף...
103		[לדויד]	לדוד
109		?	למנצח לדוד מזמור
118		?	No superscription
104		לדויד	No superscription
147		?	הללו יה
105		No superscription	No superscription
146		?	הללו-יה
148		No superscription	הללו יה
[120]		?	שיר המעלות
121		שיר למעלות	שיר למעלות
122		שיר המעלות לדויד	שיר המעלות לדוד
123		שיר לדויד המעלות	שיר המעלות
124		?	שיר המעלות לדוד
125		[שיר המעלות]	שיר המעלות
126		שיר המעלות	שיר המעלות
127		[שיר המעלות] לשלמה	שיר המעלות לשלמה

³⁷ Plea for Deliverance, Apostrophe to Zion, Hymn to the Creator, David’s Compositions.

³⁸ James A. Sanders, ‘Variorum in the Psalms Scroll (11QPs^a),’ 83–84.

³⁹ See James A. Sanders, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scroll* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1967), 3–21; Peter W. Flint, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls and the Book of Psalms*, Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah, Vol. 17 (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 63–92.

⁴⁰ See M. H. Goshen-Gottstein, ‘The Psalms Scroll (11QPs^a): A Problem of Canon and Text,’ 29–33; Shemaryahu Talmon, ‘Pisqah Be’emsa’ Pasuq and 11QPs^a,’ 12–13; Patrick W. Skehan, ‘The Scrolls and the Old Testament Text,’ *McCormick Quarterly* 21, no. 3 (Mr 1968): 273–83; Patrick W. Skehan, ‘Qumran and Old Testament Criticism,’ in *Qumrân: Sa piété, sa théologie et son milieu*, ed. M. Delcor, Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium 46 (Paris; Louvain: Editions Duculot; Louvain University Press, 1978), 163–82; Menahem Haran, ‘11QPs^a and the Canonical Book of Psalms,’ in *Minḥah le-Naḥum*, ed. Marc Zvi Brettler and Michael A. Fishbane (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993), 193–94; Ben Zion Wacholder, ‘David’s Eschatological Psalter 11Q Psalms^a,’ *Hebrew Union College Annual* 59 (1988): 23–72; Mitchell, *The Message of the Psalter*, 21–26.

128		?	שיר המעלות
129		[שיר המעלות]	שיר המעלות
130		שיר המעלות	שיר המעלות
131		[שיר המעלות לדוד]	שיר המעלות לדוד
132		?	שיר המעלות
119		No superscription	No superscription
135		No superscription	הללו יה
136		No superscription	No superscription
Catena (136; 118)	O	N/A	N/A
145		תפלה לדוד	תהלה לדוד
154	O	?	No superscription
Plea for Deliverance	O	?	N/A
139		?	למנצח לדוד מזמור
137		No superscription	No superscription
138		לדוד	לדוד
Sir. 51:13–20, 30	O	No superscription	N/A
Apostrophe to Zion	O	No superscription	N/A
93		הללויה	No superscription
141		?	מזמור לדוד
133		שיר המעלות לדוד	שיר המעלות לדוד
144		No superscription	לדוד
155	O	No superscription	No superscription
142		?	משכיל לדוד בהיותו במערה תפלה
143		מזמור לדוד	מזמור לדוד
149		?	הללו יה
150		No superscription	הללו יה
Hymn to the Creator	O	No superscription	No superscription
2 Sam. 23:7	O	N/A	N/A
David's Compositions	O	No superscription	N/A
140		למנצח מזמור לדוד	למנצח מזמור לדוד
134		?	שיר המעלות
151A	O	הללויה לדוד בן ישי	N/A
151B	O	תהלת גב[ו]רה ל[ד]וד משמשחו נביא אלוהימ	N/A

Psalms 104 and 123 in 11QPs^a have a Davidic title while Ps. 144 excludes it. The title of Ps. 145 in the MT, ‘a praise of David’ (תהלה לדוד) differs with its scroll’s, ‘a prayer of David’ (תפלה לדוד). The term ‘תהלה’ only occurs here in the superscription of Ps. 145 MT.⁴¹ Dahood suggests that the MT title is correct in light of the presence of תהלת יהוה in Ps. 145:21.⁴² The wording הללו יה in the MT Psalms—if it is regarded as a superscription—seems to be often omitted in 11QPs^a (Pss. 148; 135; 150; cf. in Pss. 146, 147 and 149 such omission is not to be

⁴¹ For this reason, 11QPs^a may have chosen תפלה לדוד instead of תהלה לדוד.

⁴² Mitchell J. Dahood, *Psalms 101–150*, The Anchor Bible 17A (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1966), 336.

confirmed).⁴³ Apart from such differences, the superscriptions in 11QPs^a are, as seen in *Table 2.1*, almost identical with their counterparts in the MT Psalms.

The main divergences of the Psalms scroll from the MT are its arrangement and the eleven Psalms not found in the MT. 11QPs^a exhibits variant orders for Psalms 90–150 while little disagreement is to be observed for Psalms 1–89 in the DSS. Because of this, Sanders suggests a gradual progression of the fixation of the Hebrew Psalter, which is that Psalms 1–89 were closed by the time of 11QPs^a but Psalms 90 and beyond were open-ended until the first century AD.⁴⁴ Wilson presents another possibility of ‘parallel collection’ that two separate traditions (11QPs^a and MT-150) existed prior to the finalization of the Hebrew Psalms but 11QPs^a was finally rejected.⁴⁵ Assuming at least two distinct stages in the edition of the book of Psalms (Psalms 1–89/90–150), Flint suggests multiple editions of the Hebrew Psalter perhaps being circulated among the then-Jewish circles: early Psalter (Psalms 1–89), 11QPs^a-Psalter,⁴⁶ MT-150 Psalms etc.⁴⁷ If that is correct, then the question arises: which Psalter was accepted as a scriptural book by the Qumran sectarians? Seeing its origin outside Qumran, Flint asserts the ‘11QPs^a-Psalter’ to be the foremost representative of the book of Psalms in the DSS on the basis of three grounds: its Davidic

⁴³ The omission of יה הללו apparently takes place when following a psalm having ‘יה הללו’ as its postscript (146–148; 149–150). The editors of 11QPs^a may have read 146–148 and 149–150 in a one psalm respectively. This is not consistent, though (in case of 119–135). Note also the inclusion of יה הללו in Ps. 93. Cf. Gerald H. Wilson, ‘The Qumran Psalms Scroll (11QPs^a) and the Canonical Psalter,’ *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 59, no. 3 (1997): 456–57. He views the Hallelujah psalms as being placed in the end of segments; it is still noted that 11QPs^a omits יה הללו in the title of Ps. 135 differently from that in the MT.

⁴⁴ See James A. Sanders, ‘Cave 11 Surprises and the Question of Canon,’ 294–95. See also Flint’s analysis of agreements and conflicts of the Qumran Psalms scrolls to the MT in arrangement (Book I – 90% agreement, 10% conflict; Book II – 92% agreement, 8% conflict; Book III – 100% agreement, 0% conflict; Book IV – 39% agreement, 61% conflict; Book V – 39% agreement, 61% conflict). See also Peter W. Flint, ‘The Book of Psalms in the Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls,’ 460.

⁴⁵ Gerald H. Wilson, *The Editing of the Hebrew Psalter*, 91–92. In his postscriptum of *the Dead Sea Psalms Scroll* (1967, p. 158), Sanders seems to have had in mind such a parallel collection: ‘Before A.D. 70, however, there was an open-ended Psalter tradition, independent of whatever proto-Masoretic Psalter existed before the end of the first century, which was both stable enough and fluid enough to satisfy the piety of those Jews who adhered to it.’

⁴⁶ Sanders postulates the existence of a scriptural Psalter in the Qumran community, naming ‘the Qumran Psalter’ (see James A. Sanders, ‘Variorum in the Psalms Scroll (11QPs^a)’; Sanders, ‘Cave 11 Surprises and the Question of Canon’; Sanders, ‘The Qumran Psalms Scroll (11QPs^a) Reviewed’). Pointing out that the composition of the Psalms scrolls was not necessarily confined to the Qumran community, Flint would call it ‘11QPs^a-Psalter’ [‘The “11QPs^a-Psalter” in the Dead Sea Scrolls, Including the Preliminary Edition of 4QPs^e,’ in *Quest for Context and Meaning* (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 174–75.] Whether the ‘11QPs^a-Psalter’ or the ‘Qumran Psalter,’ this hypothetical Psalter is represented in the DSS by at least three manuscripts: 11QPs^a, 11QPs^b and 4QPs^c (see J. P. M. van der Ploeg, ‘Fragments D’un Manuscrit de Psaumes de Qumran, 11QPs^b,’ *Revue Biblique* 74, no. 3 (1967): 408–12; Flint, ‘The ‘11QPs^a-Psalter’ in the Dead Sea Scrolls, Including the Preliminary Edition of 4QPs^e’).

⁴⁷ Though very fragmentary and not verifiable, 4QPs^f differs from both the MT and 11QPs^a-Psalter (see Flint, ‘The Book of Psalms in the Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls,’ 464).

ascription, structural principles and usage.⁴⁸ Haran, on the other hand, strongly argues against it, claiming 11QPs^a as a reproduction of the canonical book of Psalms, in light of a false argument of the Davidic ascription, its overall agreement with the MT Psalter, the existence of many other Qumranic writings of the canonical book, such as *Pesharim*, the Thanksgiving Hymns and the conformity between the LXX Psalter and the MT Psalter.⁴⁹

It is true that the 11QPs^a-Psalter (or the Qumran Psalter) appears to have been commended in the DSS more than the MT-150 Psalter. Its fragmentary nature, though, makes difficult an exclusive claim of the scriptural status of 11QPs^a-Psalter against the MT-150 Psalter. Several manuscripts also still show some relationship with the MT Psalter (e.g., 4QPs^a, 4QPs^c, 4QPs^f, 5/6Hev-SePs, 1QPs^a, 11QPs^d, MasPs^b). Given the reception of the 11QPs^a-Psalter as a true scriptural book from outside the Qumran community into the community, in addition, one may expect to find some traits of its scriptural existence outside the Qumran caves but there seems to be no such evidence. 5/6Hev-SePs and MasPs^b, on the contrary, buttress the MT Psalter. The Greek translation from the MT-type Psalter also implies the recognition of the MT-150 Psalter among other Jewish groups outside and earlier than the Qumran community.⁵⁰ My view is that the latter part of the MT-type Psalter was fixed just before or around the time when the Qumran community left Jerusalem; the community hesitated to endorse the MT Psalter as the canon, which was effected by those whom they rejected; they might have willingly produced their own Psalter. Whether the ‘Qumran Psalter’ (the ‘11QPs^a-Psalter’) was a true scripture in the community (restricted to the community) or an edition of the MT-150 Psalter, the discrepancies of 11QPs^a from the MT Psalter perhaps serve to signify their sectarian character, resulting from the purposeful work of the Qumran community.⁵¹

⁴⁸ Ibid., 468–71. Flint welcomes Wilson’s structural analysis on the edition of the MT Psalter to see common principles applying to both the MT Psalter and 11QPs^a, thus supporting the scriptural status of 11QPs^a-Psalter. The three manuscripts (4QPs^c, 11QPs^a, 11QPs^b) may expose the significance of 11QPs^a-Psalter in the community.

⁴⁹ Menahem Haran, ‘11QPs^a and the Canonical Book of Psalms.’ – ‘There is no real indication that either the Masoretic Text or the LXX tend to attribute the whole Psalter to David; more than half of the psalms are not attributed to him or refer expressly to other personalities... Psalm 134, which is not attributed to David in the Masoretic Text or in the LXX, appears in these columns... It is true that Psalm 151, which closes both 11QPs^a and the LXX version, is attributed to David. However, this in no way changes the fact that in LXX the Psalms are attributed to a great variety of writers, no less – perhaps even more – than in the Masoretic Text’ (pp. 200–201). He also questions why the eight apocryphal psalms in 11QPs^a were dropped out of the book of Psalms later if they had been equal in sanctity to other psalms at that stage (p. 199).

⁵⁰ Since the LXX Psalter follows the MT Psalter’s sequence, it is hardly deniable that the MT Psalter was fixed before the Greek translation.

⁵¹ Sanders points out, ‘Although the Psalms Scroll cannot be taken as typical either of general Judaism or of Essene Judaism in the first century, it nonetheless admits us to a view of how the Psalter could be arranged and used by some Jews of the time; and though they may not have been orthodox by Pharisaic or later Masoretic standards, we may assume they were nonetheless equally as pious as the “orthodox” sects and certainly men of as deep faith as they’ (Sanders, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scroll*, 7).

2.2.2 Eleven Psalms Not Found in the MT

11QPs^a contains eleven Psalms not included in the MT Psalter. By examining these additions, the purpose or intent of the composition of 11QPs^a may be perceived.⁵² As regards the authorship of these Psalm texts, some of them bear a direct Davidic tone (Pss. 151A/B, David's Compositions and 2 Sam. 23:7) while some others (Pss. 154; 155; Plea for Deliverance; Apostrophe Zion; Hymn to the Creator and *Sir.* 51:13ff.) have no real indication of the Davidic ascription.⁵³ Superscriptions of 11QPs^a, as suggested earlier, do not seem to fully support its David authorship.⁵⁴ Its structural arrangement in which some Davidic texts (2 Sam. 23:7, David's Composition and 151 A/B) are placed to the end of 11QPs^a, on the other hand, seems to underline the Davidic ascription. This does not mean, though, that such an arrangement attests the editorial intent to ascribe all the psalms of the scroll to David.⁵⁵ The content of the texts in question should be considered.

The eleven psalms in 11QPs^a mainly concern (1) the kingship of David and his prophecy (e.g., 151:5–6; 2 Sam. 23:7; David's compositions; Cf. *Sir.* 51:13ff.) and (2) the hope for Yahweh's forgiveness, deliverance of the righteous and judgment over the evil (154:10–20; 155; Plea for Deliverance; Apostrophe to Zion. cf. Hymn to the Creator).⁵⁶ These texts highlight an eschatological restoration of the community in the Davidic kingship. Such theological propensity becomes more evinced in the Psalms not included in 11QPs^a but found in the MT. Wilson views these Psalms absent in 11QPs^a as unfolding a distinctive character of 11QPs^a when he points out the Psalms as the *Yahweh-king Psalms* against the Davidic failure (Pss. 90–92; 94; 100; 106–108), rather than the Davidic kingship, and the *Hallelujah Psalms* (Pss. 110–117).⁵⁷ Accordingly, the Psalms scroll emphasizes David and his kingship rather than Yahweh's kingly reign itself. This may pertain to the later messianism of Qumran, that is, the Qumran writings (e.g., 4Q161, 1QS, 1QS^a, 1QS^b, 4Q175, CD) in the Hasmonaean dynasty show a many-sided messiah concept or a

⁵² See Wilson, 'The Qumran Psalms Scroll (11QPs^a) and the Canonical Psalter,' 448–64.

⁵³ Sanders seems to regard all the 11 texts as having Davidic attribution (Sanders, 'The Dead Sea Psalms Scroll,' 134–35).

⁵⁴ See Table 2.1 Comparison of 11QPs^a to the MT-150 Psalms. Cf. Wilson, 'The Qumran Psalms Scroll (11QPs^a) and the Canonical Psalter,' 454.

⁵⁵ Cf. Armin Lange, *Handbuch der Textfunde vom Toten Meer, Band 1: Die Handschriften biblischer Bücher von Qumran und den anderen Fundorten* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009), 439–44.

⁵⁶ Following Psalm 138, *Sir.* 51:13ff seems to depict David; Hymn to the Creator describes the sovereign ruler as the Creator.

⁵⁷ 'The centrally placed *yhwh malak* psalms offered a distinct challenge to any reader who would place exclusive hope in the restoration of the human Davidic kingship.... Without these important, central psalms, 11QPs^a takes on a character very different from that of the masoretic Psalter – a character that deemphasizes one of the most dominant themes of the canonical Psalter: the kingship of Yhwh.... Psalms 110–17 are also an important structural element in the final form of the masoretic Psalter. With the exception of Psalm 110, all the psalms in this group are *halleluyah* psalms... Once again, the absence of this group of psalms from 11QPs^a certainly gives that scroll a character distinct from that of the canonical Psalter' (Wilson, 'The Qumran Psalms Scroll (11QPs^a) and the Canonical Psalter,' 452–53.)

‘two messiah doctrine’ but the writings (e.g., 1QpHab, 4Q171, 1QM, 4Q174, 4Q246) of the Herodian dynasty only exhibit a Davidic messianism.⁵⁸ On the basis of 11QPs^a (AD 50), the Qumran community would have hoped for Yahweh’s divine interruption to their bitter situation by the David-like messiah.⁵⁹

To sum up, (1) a scriptural Psalter was distinguished from the Prophets in the Qumran community (see 4MMT, 4Q491 and Pesharim). (2) Nevertheless, the DSS do not specify a single Hebrew Psalter. (3) Considering some evidence outside the Qumran caves, the MT Psalms may have been closed prior to the Qumran community. (4) Various potential Psalters in the DSS including 11QPs^a themselves represent the sectarian character of the community. (5) The different arrangement and eleven psalms in 11QPs^a (not found in MT) reflect the hope for the eschatological restoration in the Davidic messianic kingly reign. The eschatological perception of the Psalms is also found in the interpretation of the Psalms, *Pesharim* Psalter and in quotations in other scrolls.

2.2.3 The Psalms Pesharim and Other Scrolls Citing the Psalms

There are three pesharim to Psalms: 1QpPs (1Q16), 4QpPs^a (4Q171) and 4QpPs^b (4Q173) and many other manuscripts citing/alluding to the Psalms: e.g., 4QFlor (4Q174), 4QTanh (4Q176), 4QCatena A (4Q177), 11QMelch (11Q13), 1QH^a, 4Q437, 11Q5, 4Q418^b, 4Q381, 4Q393 and etc.⁶⁰ The three pesharim fragments are very small, unidentified, except for 4QpPs^a interpreting Pss. 37, 45 and 60. The interpretation of Psalm 37 seems to particularly epitomize a reading of the Psalms in the Qumran community.⁶¹ In the pesharim to Ps. 37:32–33, ‘The wicked man observes the righteous man and seeks [to kill him. But the LO]RD [will not leave him in his power and will not co]ndemn him when he comes to trial.’⁶² Here ‘the wicked one’ is identified with ‘the Wicked Priest’ (or ‘the Man of the Lie,’ ‘the ruthless ones of the covenant,’ ‘Ephraim and Manasseh’) and ‘the righteous one’ with ‘the Teacher of Righteousness’ (or ‘the interpreter of knowledge,’ ‘the congregation of the community’). Noticeably, the Qumran commentators in frags. 1–10, col. 4.9

⁵⁸ Gerbern S. Oegema, ‘Messianic Expectation in the Qumran Writings: Theses on their Development,’ in *Qumran-Messianism: studies on the Messianic expectations in the Dead Sea scrolls*, ed. James H. Charlesworth, Hermann Lichtenberger, and Gerbern S. Oegema (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998), 53–82. See also John J. Collins, ‘Jesus, Messianism and the Dead Sea Scrolls,’ in *ibid.*, 102–103.

⁵⁹ Cf. Ps. 22:17 in 5/6Hev-SePs has a unique reading among the Psalms scrolls, possibly reflecting a Christian perspective of a suffering messiah: in the MT כִּאֲרִי while in the scroll כִּאֲרִי, as in the LXX – ‘They have pierced (ὤρυσαν) my hands and feet.’ The scroll probably dates to the second half of AD 1, so it might have reflected such a perspective.

⁶⁰ For details, see Lange, *Handbuch der Textfunde vom Toten Meer, Band 1: Die Handschriften biblischer Bücher von Qumran und den anderen Fundorten*, 420–25.

⁶¹ According to Horgan, it was first entitled 4QPs 37 (Maurya Horgan, *Pesharim: Qumran Interpretations of Biblical Books* [Washington: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1979], 193–94).

⁶² Michael Owen Wise, Martin G. Abegg, and Edward M. Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: a New Translation [translated and with Commentary]*, 1st ed. (San Francisco: Harper, 1996).

refer to the judgment of the wicked man by the power of the Gentiles: ‘But to the [wicked God will give] his just [de]serts, by putting him into the power of the tyrant[s of] the Gentiles to do with him [what they want].’ In the following lines of 10–12 for Ps. 37:34, they further construe the ‘inheritance of the earth’ for ‘the righteous one’ into the ‘inheritance of truth.’⁶³ The Pesher interpretation of Psalm 37 is obviously eschatological.⁶⁴

Such an eschatological reading of the Psalms is more clearly manifested in some manuscripts that have Psalm references.⁶⁵ In 4QFlor (4Q174), Pss. 2:1 and 5:2–3a are quoted with regard to ‘the Last days.’⁶⁶ 4QCatena A (4Q177) includes several citations/allusions (Pss. 6:1–4; 11:1–2; 12:6; 13:1–2, 4; 16:3; 17:1–2) to describe ‘a time of tribulation’ in the last days.⁶⁷ By citing Pss. 7:7–8 and 82:1–2, 11QMelch (11Q13) depicts Melchizedek as a divine being in the day of vengeance to judge the nations, which applies to Belial and his hosts.⁶⁸ Psalm 79:2–3 in 4QTanh (4Q176) frags. 1–2 col. 1 (‘Your sanctuary, and so contend with kingdoms for the blood of [Your servants...] Jerusalem, and see the corpses of Your priests [...] with no one to bury them’)⁶⁹ does not immediately point to an occasion in the end-time but is certainly used in a context in which Israel’s future comfort is to be secured.⁷⁰

2.2.4 Use of the Psalms in the DSS

In the DSS, many psalms, hymns and prayer collections were used for the liturgy of the Qumran community: e.g., Hodayat (1QH), *Bless, O My Soul* (4Q434–438), *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* (4Q400–407, 11Q17 and Mas1k), 4QApoc Psalm and Prayer (4Q448), 4QApoc Lamentation B (4Q501), Rituals of Purification (4Q284, 4Q414, 4Q512), Daily Prayers (4Q503) and ‘*Words of the*

⁶³ ‘Inheritance of truth’ – Horgan, *Pesharim*, 199.

⁶⁴ Horgan sees the pesher to Ps. 37 as eschatological, pointing out that there are no clear allusions to identifiable historical events (Ibid., 194). Cf. Timothy Lim, *Pesharim* (London: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002), 38–39. Seeing a clear eschatological tone in the pesher, Lim says, ‘The pesherist saw in the words of the biblical text a reference to what actually took place in his own time. If the reconstruction is correct, then the Wicked Priest attempted to put the Teacher of Righteousness to death. Moreover, this violent act was provoked because the Teacher of Righteousness had sent the law to the Wicked Priest.’

⁶⁵ Annette Steudel sees the four manuscripts (4Q174, 4Q177, 11Q13, 4Q176) as ‘thematic midrash’ which is paralleled to the early *Pesharim* [‘ein thematischer Midrasch mit Parallelen zu den (frühen) Pescharim,’ in Steudel, *Der Midrasch zur Eschatologie aus der Qumrangemeinde (4QMidrEschat^{a,b}): materielle Rekonstruktion, Textbestand, Gattung and traditions-geschichtliche Einordnung des durch 4Q174 ("Florilegium") und 4Q177 ("Catena A") repräsentierten Werkes aus den Qumranfunden* (Leiden; New York; Köln: Brill, 1994), 187–201].

⁶⁶ Wise, Abegg, and Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 228.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 233–36.

⁶⁸ See Mitchell, *The Message of the Psalter*, 26. See also Steudel, *Midrasch*, 196.

⁶⁹ Wise, Abegg, and Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 261.

⁷⁰ Flint, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls and the Book of Psalms*, 46–47; Steudel, *Midrasch*, 187.

Luminaries (4Q504-506),’ etc.⁷¹ These collections contain a number of scriptural texts (citation or allusion).

The Hodayot, whose basic expression is ‘I thank you, (O Lord)’ from which its title *Thanksgiving Hymns* comes, exemplifies non-biblical Psalms in the DSS. It uses the book of Psalms more than any other scriptural book.⁷² The content of the Hodayot is primarily concerned with man’s sin and weakness (e.g., 1QH^a 13); God’s unapproachable magnificence is underscored; the only hope of man in misery lies in God’s mercy (e.g., 1QH^a 15-16). Lament or complaint psalms and thanksgiving hymns in the Hebrew Psalms are thus prominently adopted in the Hodayot. By using Psalm 18, some texts in the Hodayot (e.g., 1QH^a 11. 6–19 [3. 5–18]; 1QH^a 11. 20–37 [3. 19–36]) disclose an eschatological, messianic expectation.⁷³

The rest of the collections in question draw on numerous Psalm texts in order to express praise to God for deliverance from evil and divine help in persecution, delineate heavenly worship of angelic beings⁷⁴ and offer (daily) prayers and petition to God (e.g., *Bless, O My Soul* – Pss. 103–104; *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* – Pss. 146–150; *4QApoc Lamentation B* – Pss. 44, 74, 79, 80; *Words of the Luminaries* – Pss. 25:6; 78:12, 15, 32; 89:50; 106:4, 7, 9, 14, 22; 137:7).

In addition, there are a few liturgical texts to be used for specific purposes: e.g., 4Q502, 11QPsAp^a and *Plea of Deliverance* (11QPs^a 19:1–8).⁷⁵ 4Q502, though with much uncertainty, has some wordings possibly being elicited from Psalm 148, connoting a sort of a ritual ceremony relating to marriage. 11QPsAp^a and *Plea of Deliverance* have often been appreciated as functioning as apotropaic in the community.⁷⁶ Particularly, 11QPsAp^a contains texts against demons, the texts

⁷¹ For a full list, see Donald W. Parry and Emanuel Tov, *Poetic and Liturgical Texts*, The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader Part 5 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2005).

⁷² See Svend Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot: Psalms from Qumran* (Aarhus: Universitetsforlaget, 1960), 301–15; Mansoor, *The Thanksgiving Hymns* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1961), 25–27.

⁷³ As to their relationship with Psalm 18, see Esther G. Chazon, ‘The Use of the Bible as a Key to Meaning in Psalms from Qumran,’ in *Emanuel: Studies in Hebrew Bible, Septuagint and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov*, Supplements to Vetus Testamentum 94 (Boston: Brill, 2003), 85–96.

⁷⁴ Elledge points out, ‘The Angelic Liturgy provides one of the most complete illustrations of an important idea alluded to elsewhere in Qumran literature: the men of Qumran understood themselves to be living and worshiping upon the threshold of the heavenly world’ (Elledge, *The Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 84).

⁷⁵ The *Songs of the Sage*, 4Q510 and 4Q511, have also been discussed as the demonology manuscripts, which parallel to some Jewish apocalyptic literature (*I Enoch* – the Book of Watchers, *Jubilees* and 4QVisions of Amram), rather than to the Scriptural text [see Matthias Henze, ‘Psalm 91 in Premodern Interpretation and at Qumran,’ in *Biblical Interpretation at Qumran*, Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature (Grand Rapids; Cambridge, UK: Eerdmans, 2005), 188–91.] Cf. Maurice Baillet, *Qumrân Grotte 4. T 3, 4Q482-4Q520*, Discoveries in the Judean Desert, Vol. 7 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), 215; E. Chazon, ‘Psalms, Hymns and Prayers,’ in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman and James C. VanderKam (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 712.

⁷⁶ For a detailed bibliography, see Hermann Lichtenberger, ‘Demonology in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament,’ in *Text, Thought, and Practice in Qumran and Early Christianity* (Boston: Brill, 2009), 271.

which comprise four songs including Psalm 91 as a fourth.⁷⁷ According to Lichtenberger, two modes for preventing demons are found in 11QPsAp^a and *Plea of Deliverance*: (1) incantation to God, (2) prayer to God.⁷⁸ By using Psalm 91, the two modes are combined in 11QPsAp^a.⁷⁹

Since the use of the Hebrew Scriptures in other Jewish writings was prevalent in the Second Temple period, it is to be expected that the Qumran hymns and prayer scrolls made recourse to the Psalms. The various uses of the Psalms in the DSS for worship, daily prayers, ritual purification, marriage and exorcism, etc., therefore suggest its crucial status/role in the religious/devotional life of the Qumran community, whether communal or individual. That in some scrolls the Psalm texts express the eschatological hope for God's intervention and divine rescue from persecution may indicate the use of the Psalms in the DSS to be interpretive rather than a simple imitation or reiteration of the Scriptural texts.⁸⁰

2.2.5 Summary

It is not certain that the MT-150 Psalter was accepted as a scriptural book in the Qumran sect. Books I, II and III of the Psalter were plausibly fixed earlier but the latter parts of it seem ambiguous. Such status of the MT-150 Psalter in the sect does not necessarily extend to all Second Temple Jewish groups. Inconsistencies between the Psalms scrolls and the MT may only underscore the sectarian character of the sect. The Hebrew Psalms were put to use in the Qumran community for various purposes in various ways (reproduction, interpretation, modification or imitation).⁸¹ One of the distinguishing features of the Psalms in the DSS is that, along with the Prophets, the Psalms scrolls set forth the end-time theology of the Qumran community (e.g., the last days, an end-time war, an expectation of the messianic age, etc.). In this regard, the Psalms were likely welcomed not only for liturgy but also as prophecy. The prophetic reading and eschatological interpretation of the Psalms in the DSS is also a characteristic of the Greek Psalms.

⁷⁷ Sanders leaves a note on 'songs for making music over the stricken' in David's Compositions of 11QPs^a: 'Psalm 91 is noted in rabbinic literature as a psalm to be recited over those stricken by demons or evil spirits' (*The Dead Sea Psalms Scroll*, 137 n. 4.) For the relationship between the two scrolls and Psalm 91 regarding their demonology, see Hermann Lichtenberger, 'Ps 91 und die Exorzismen in 11QPsAp^a,' in *Dämonen/Demons* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), 416–21; Lichtenberger, 'Demonology in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament.'

⁷⁸ Lichtenberger, 'Demonology in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament,' 272–74.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ See Elledge, *The Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 86. Cf. William A. Tooman, 'Between Imitation and Interpretation: Reuse of Scripture and Composition in Hodayot (1QH^a) 11:6-19,' *Dead Sea Discoveries* 18, no. 1 (January 2011): 54–73.

⁸¹ Cf. Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 315. – 'The main impression remains that the authors were quite free in their use of the Old Testament.'

2.3 The Septuagint Psalter

In the Prologue to the Wisdom of Sirach (132 BC) Ben Sira's grandson implies the existence of the Greek translation of the Hebrew Psalter at least prior to the first-half of the second century BC.⁸² While no immediate reference to the book of Psalms is found in the Prologue, it is unlikely that the Psalter was not included in his classification of the Jewish Scripture (the Laws, the Prophets and the rest of the books).⁸³ Since the Qumran Psalter (11QPs^a-Psalter) likely dates to the first century AD, the earlier date of the Greek Psalter has aroused scholarly disputes on the fixation date of the MT-150 Psalter.⁸⁴ The present discussion does not intend to engage in such a chronological matter but is primarily concerned with how the Greek Psalms were understood in the Second Temple period. For this, characteristics of the Greek translation of the Psalms, the translators' intent, its usage and theological influence in the period are explored. By comparing the Greek Psalms with the Hebrew Psalms (including the Qumran Psalter), the characteristics and intents of its translation can be discerned.⁸⁵ To understand its usage and theological implications, the use of the Greek Psalms in other ancient writings will be examined.

2.3.1 The Old Greek Psalter and its Hebrew *Vorlage*

The Greek book of Psalms as represented by most Psalm manuscripts may have differed from the Old Greek Psalms (proto-Septuagint Psalms).⁸⁶ Seeking the status of the Greek Psalms in the

⁸² Nahum M. Sarna, 'Psalms, Book Of,' in *Encyclopedia Judaica*, ed. Michael Berenbaum and Fred Skolnik, vol. 16, 2nd ed. (Detroit: Macmillan Reference USA, 2007), 16:668; Haran, '11QPs^a and the Canonical Book of Psalms,' 194; Tyler F. Williams, 'Towards a Date for the Old Greek Psalter,' in *The Old Greek Psalter: Studies in Honour of Albert Pietersma*, ed. Robert J. V. Hiebert, Claude E. Cox, and Peter J. Gentry, Journal for the Study of the Old Testament: Supplement Series 332 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 249; Mitchell, *The Message of the Psalter*, 16. Cf. for its earlier date – 'the first century B.C.,' A. Posner, 'Stoischer Einfluss im LXX-Psalter,' *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 43 (1925), 276; Arie van der Kooij, 'On the Place of Origin of the Old Greek of Psalms,' *Vetus Testamentum* 33 (1983): 73.

⁸³ Haran, '11QPs^a and the Canonical Book of Psalms,' 194. Cf. Barton, *Oracles of God*, 47–48. He argues that at the times the Psalms belonged to the Prophets.

⁸⁴ For the late date (about the first century BC) – Sanders, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scroll*, 158; Wilson, 'The Qumran Psalms Scroll Reconsidered,' 624–42; Flint, 'The Book of Psalms in the Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls.'

⁸⁵ According to the discovery at Qumran, Tov suggests five text groups: (1) texts in the Qumran scribal practice, (2) proto-Masoretic tradition, (3) proto-Samaritan texts, (4) proto-Septuagint, and (5) independent texts different from other text groups (Emanuel Tov, 'Die biblischen Handschriften aus der Wüste Juda - Eine Neue Synthese,' in *Die Textfunde vom Toten Meer und der Text der Hebräischen Bibel*, ed. Ulrich Dahmen, Armin Lange, and Hermann Lichtenberger [Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 2000], 1–34).

⁸⁶ For the discussion of the original Old Greek (proto-Septuagint), the 'Lagarde-Kahle controversy' should be noted. Paul de Lagarde argues for a single origin of the Greek translation and so the original OG text can be recovered. Paul E. Kahle, on the contrary, claims its plural origin, denying the theory in which all extant manuscripts of either Hebrew text or Greek text go back to a single mother text (proto-Masoretic text/proto-Septuagint). Lagarde's theory was later confirmed by Barthelemy's work on the Greek Minor Prophets Scroll from Nahal Hever (see Dominique Barthélemy, 'Redécouverte d'un chaînon manquant de l'histoire de la Septante,' *Revue Biblique* 60, no. 1 [1953]: 18–29); Dominique Barthélemy, *Les devanciers d'Aquila: Premières Publication intégrale du texte des fragments du Dodécaprophète*, *Vetus Testamentum Supplement* 10 (Leiden: Brill, 1963), 48–78. For more details, see also Karen

Second Temple period vis-a-vis the Hebrew Psalms, one should in principal consult with the original readings, such as a proto-Septuagint Psalter, its Hebrew *Vorlage* (possibly not identical with the Masoretic tradition) and the proto-MT Psalter. The problem is that those manuscripts are not extant but only to be reconstructed by the ‘sum of individual cases of original readings.’⁸⁷ The immediate comparison of the Old Greek Psalter with the other original Psalters is thus hardly feasible unless one completes the reconstruction of all the original readings.⁸⁸ The present study does not merely assume Alfred Rahlfs’ *Psalmi cum odis* as representing the Old Greek Psalter and the current MT Psalter as substituting for either the proto-MT Psalter or the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the Old Greek Psalter.⁸⁹ Some books in the LXX are obviously inconsistent with those in the MT tradition (e.g., Jeremiah, Joshua, Ezekiel, etc.).⁹⁰ As the critical works on manuscripts usually do,⁹¹ nevertheless, it would be wise to have an underlying text for such comparative work at the outset.⁹² Some suggest the MT-type Psalter to be the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the Greek Psalter.

H. Jobs and Moisés Silva, *Invitation to the Septuagint* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2000), 273–79; Natalio Fernández Marcos, *The Septuagint in Context: Introduction to the Greek Version of the Bible*, trans. Wilfred G. E. Watson (Boston: Brill, 2000), 67–84.

⁸⁷ Anneli Aejmelaeus, ‘What Can We Know About the Hebrew Vorlage of the Septuagint,’ *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 99, no. 1 (1987): 88.

⁸⁸ Cf. Albert Pietersma, ‘Septuagint Research: a Plea for a Return to Basic Issues,’ *Vetus Testamentum* 35, no. 3 (Jl 1985): 297–98. While arguing the primacy of reconstructing original readings in the Septuagint studies, Pietersma points out such reconstruction is so close with the text history of the LXX that doing one inevitably means doing the other. Since the text history cannot be written without considering its relevant corpuses (the Hebrew *Vorlage*, the proto-LXX, proto-MT and the Qumran texts), therefore, the comparisons between those texts take place in tracing original readings.

⁸⁹ Alfred Rahlfs, *Psalmi Cum Odis*, vol. 10, 3rd ed., Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1979); Rudolf Kittel et al., eds., *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelstiftung, 1977).

⁹⁰ See Olivier Munnich, ‘Écarts principaux entre la Septante et le texte massorétique (livre Par Livre),’ in *La Bible grecque des Septante: du judaïsme hellénistique au christianisme ancien*, 173–82.

⁹¹ The Sixtine edition (1587) – Codex Vaticanus or B; Rober Holmes and James Parsons (1798–1827) – the Sixtine edition; H. B. Swete (1909-1922) & the Cambridge Septuagint (the 1800s; the Larger Cambridge Septuagint, 1906–1940) – a diplomatic edition of B; Alfred Rahlfs’ *Handausgabe* (1935) – B, [S (Sinaiticus), A (Alexandrinus)]. For details, see Karen H. Jobs and Moisés Silva, *Invitation to the Septuagint*, 70–75.

⁹² Emanuel Tov suggests, ‘Most of the rules for the reconstruction from G (LXX) also apply to the other translations. In reconstructing the Hebrew source of ancient translations one can take several points of departure. Every reconstruction is made with M (MT) in mind because of the large degree of congruence between M and the presumed *Vorlage* of the ancient translations and because of the centrality of M in the textual procedure. Indeed, a first rule in our approach to the ancient translations is that when the content of an ancient translation is identical with M, in all probability its Hebrew Vorlage was also identical with M’ (Emanuel Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*, 2nd rev. ed [Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001], 122–23.) Cf. ‘Scholars were more and more reluctant to admit that every variant of the LXX was based on a Hebrew *Vorlage* distinct from the MT’ (D. Barthélemy, ‘Text, Hebrew, History Of,’ in *The Interpreter’s Dictionary of the Bible Supplement*, ed. George Arthur Buttrick [New York: Abingdon Press, 1976], 880). Against Barthélemy, Marcos points out, ‘However, there was no lack of scholars in this period who succeeded in discovering the high value of the LXX: for the restoration of the Hebrew text in some books in which the Masoretic text was particularly corrupt’ (Marcos, *The Septuagint in Context*, 69).

Despite the slight differences between the Masoretic text and LXX when it comes to the conjunction of chapters, the two versions are essentially the same in their arrangement of the actual material.⁹³

The Greek Psalms by and large constitute a faithful rendering of a Hebrew text that must have been quite close to the one produced and secured by the Masoretes.⁹⁴

In what follows the characteristics of the Greek Psalter are presented in comparison or contrast with the MT Psalter.

2.3.2 Characteristics of the Greek Psalter

Differences between the Greek Psalter and the MT are found in its arrangement and superscriptions. On a micro-level, translation techniques (including pluses and minuses,⁹⁵ linguistic phenomena), translator's working habits, theological/exegetical implications need to be considered. Since this chapter mainly proposes to understand the use or position of the LXX Psalms in Second Temple Judaism, variations emerging from its translation related to the translators' habits and different vocalization of the consonantal Hebrew text may not be applicable to the present study. What are applicable are divergences of the Greek translation from the MT Psalms, the divergences reflecting the peculiar status of the Greek Psalms in its community, its translators' intent and theological impression. In the following, the arrangement, superscription and textual deviations from the MT of the LXX Psalms are discussed.

The arrangement of the LXX Psalms is virtually identical with that of the MT Psalter except for a few numberings. Psalms 9, 10 in the MT combine into one psalm, Psalm 9, in the LXX and Psalms 114–115 MT into Psalm 113 LXX. Psalm 116 and 147 in the MT, on the contrary, divide respectively in the LXX into Psalms 114–115 and Psalms 146–147. In addition, the LXX Psalter contains the additional Psalm 151 (not in the MT), which translators apparently thought of as

⁹³ Quote from Haran, '11QPs^a and the Canonical Book of Psalms,' 194.

⁹⁴ Quote from Joachim Schaper, *Eschatology in the Greek Psalter* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1995), 13. See also Albert Pietersma, 'Greek Psalter: a Question of Methodology and Syntax,' *Vetus Testamentum* 26, no. 1 (1976): 60–69; Albert Pietersma, 'The Present State of the Critical Text of the Greek Psalter,' in *Der Septuaginta-Psalter und seine Tochterübersetzungen: Symposium in Göttingen 1997*, ed. Anneli Aejmelaeus and Udo Quast, *Mitteilungen Des Septuaginta-Unternehmens* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000), 12–32; Randall X. Gauthier, 'Examining the "Pluses" in the Greek Psalter: a Study of the Septuagint Translation Qua Communication,' in *Septuagint and Reception: Essays Prepared for the Association for the Study of the Septuagint in South Africa*, ed. Johann Cook, *Supplements to the Vetus Testamentum* 127 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2009), 45–76. Cf. Raija Sollamo, 'Repetition of Possessive Pronouns in the Greek Psalter,' in *The Old Greek Psalter*, 44–53; Siegfried Kreuzer, 'From "Old Greek" to the Recensions: Who and What Caused the Change of the Hebrew Reference Text of the Septuagint?,' in *Septuagint Research: Issues and Challenges in the Study of the Greek Jewish Scriptures*, ed. Wolfgang Kraus and R. Glenn Wooden (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2006), 225–37. Kreuzer argues the Hellenistic convulsions in Jewish society (the time of Antiochus IV, the Maccabean revolt, the establishment of the Hasmonean dynasty) led to the change of the Hebrew reference text and so the subsequent revisions of the OG towards the MT.

⁹⁵ 'A more neutral terminology was devised taking MT as a point of departure. In the comparison of MT with other texts elements are thus described as either a plus or a minus of MT.' (Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*, 236).

“supernumerary” (ἐξωθεν τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ). The translators situated it as the closing of the Psalter, perhaps suggesting that the LXX Psalter would have been treated as one book. Along with superscriptions in the LXX Psalter, Zenger points out that Psalm 151 was intended to strengthen the putative authorial connection with David, who was regarded as one of ‘scriptural prophets.’⁹⁶

The superscriptions in the LXX Psalter have some differences from those in the MT. It is uncertain whether the superscriptions were expanded at later times or they belonged to the Old Greek Psalter.⁹⁷ In either case, the superscriptions still disclose a distinctive feature of the Greek Psalter in its own right, bringing to light the interest of contemporary Jews toward the Psalter.⁹⁸ While in the MT Psalms there are twenty-four psalms that have no superscriptions,⁹⁹ the LXX Psalms contain superscriptions in each instance except for Psalm 1 and 2, seemingly all claiming David as the author.¹⁰⁰ The emendation of some superscriptions into the Davidic ascription substantiates a propensity of the Greek Psalter for the Davidic authorship (Pss [MT] 41[42]; 44[45]; 45[46]; 46[47]; 47[48]; 48[49]; 49[50]; 78[79]).¹⁰¹ With the description of David’s adolescence in Ps. 151, the superscriptions of the LXX Psalter highlight the Jewish expectation in the Second Temple period of the Davidic messiah.¹⁰²

⁹⁶ Erich Zenger, ‘Der Psalter im Horizont von Tora und Prophetie: Kanongeschichtliche und kanonhermeneutische Perspektiven,’ in *The Biblical Canons*, ed. Jean-Marie Auwers and Henk Jan de Jonge (Leuven: University Press, 2003), 134.

⁹⁷ For discussions, see van der Kooij, ‘On the Place of Origin of the Old Greek of Psalms,’ 72–73.; Pietersma, ‘The Present State of the Critical Text of the Greek Psalter,’ 27.

⁹⁸ Schaper mentions, “The fact that most superscriptions are later additions need not occupy us at the moment: as they were known to and rendered into Greek by the translators they are as much of a clue to the context of the Greek Psalter as anything else in it” (*Eschatology in the Greek Psalter*, 78).

⁹⁹ Pss. 1, 2, 10, 33, 43, 71, 91, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 99, 104, 105, 107, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 136 and 137.

¹⁰⁰ In light of the consistent addition of superscriptions in the rest of the psalms, the omission of the superscriptions of Psalms 1 and 2 is unusual in the LXX Psalms. David M. Howard Jr. suggests that Psalms 1 and 2, without superscriptions, may have been regarded as the title of the whole Greek Psalms (‘Editorial Activity in the Psalter,’ 278). If this is true, the placement of Psalms 1 and 2 along with Psalm 151 may confirm the fact that the LXX translators edited the Psalms as a book.

¹⁰¹ Rahlfs seems not to have taken the Davidic ascription (...του δαυιδ...) in those psalms for his reconstructed Greek Psalter. The ascription in Pss. 41; 44; 45; 46; 47; 48; 49 are almost only found in Codex Alexandrinus (A) and the Davidic ascription of Ps. 78 is seen in Codex Sinaiticus (S) alone. Cf. The LXX Psalms 121 and 123 omit τῷ Δαυιδ (717) which is found in the MT Pss. 122 and 124. The Codex S, however, adds τῷ Δαυιδ in Pss. 121 and 123. Briggs argues for their ‘late conjecture’ that Pss. 121 and 123 could not be the Psalter of David (Charles A. Briggs and Emilie Grace Briggs, *Psalms*, vol. 2, The International Critical Commentary [Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1906], 448, 452). 11QPs^a casts some doubt on his claim when the scroll retains in Ps. 122 the reading of 717 while not in Ps. 124.

¹⁰² See Natalio Fernández Marcos, ‘David the Adolescent: On Psalm 151,’ in *The Old Greek Psalter*, 205–17; Esther M. Menn, ‘Sweet Singer of Israel: David and the Psalms in Early Judaism,’ in *Psalms in Community: Jewish and Christian Textual, Liturgical and Artistic Traditions*, ed. Harold W. Attridge and Margot Fassler, Symposium 25 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003), 61–74; C. Rösel, ‘Die Psalmüberschriften des Septuaginta-Psalter,’ in *Der Septuaginta-Psalter: Sprachliche und theologische Aspekte*, ed. Erich Zenger, Herders Biblische Studien 32 (Freiburg; New York: Herder, 2001), 125–48.

Apart from a Davidic messianic overtone shown in arrangement¹⁰³ and superscriptions, the Greek Psalms in its translation itself embraces some other messianic impressions. Schaper claims that the Greek Psalms offer two distinct messianic views.¹⁰⁴ (1) A traditional view based on political development: as in Pss (LXX) 59:9 and 107:9 the phrase מִמְּקַרְיִי הַיְהוּדָה was translated into *Ιουδας βασιλεύς μου* ‘Judah my king’, the word *βασιλεύς* signifies a messianic *king* restricted to the tribe of Judah.¹⁰⁵ (2) A Hellenistic idea of a transcendent messianic figure: the Greek translator of the Psalms presumably thought of an ‘angel-like, pre-existent being’ in Ps. 109:3 LXX: *μετὰ σοῦ ἡ ἀρχὴ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ τῆς δυνάμεώς σου ἐν ταῖς λαμπρότη-σιν τῶν ἀγίων ἐκ γαστρὸς πρὸ ἑωσφόρου ἐξεγέννησά σε*, “With thee is dominion in the day of thy power, in the splendours of thy saints: I have begotten thee from the womb before the morning star” (Brenton).¹⁰⁶ While depending on the views of Volz¹⁰⁷ and Bousset¹⁰⁸ on Ps. 109:3, Schaper clarifies such a messianic notion in its context and further suggests the messianic figure of the psalm as linking to a “Son of Man” imagery in the Enoch tradition (*I En.* 48:3).¹⁰⁹ As seen in the superscriptions and arrangement in the Greek Psalter, a Davidic messianic conception seems to have prevailed over all the other Jewish messianic ideas at some point. We do not exactly know when it took place and what historical occasions possibly lay behind it.¹¹⁰ What is certain, though, is that the Greek Psalter conveys various Jewish views of the eschatological, messianic hope burgeoning in the Second Temple period and, beyond that, shows a transition/incorporation of such views into a Davidic messianic expectation.

Lastly, the LXX Psalter contains numerous textual differences from the MT Psalter: pluses

¹⁰³ Joseph P. Brennan points out that the placing of the royal Psalm 2 (with Psalm 1) at the beginning of the Psalms leads to an ‘eschatological and messianic interpretation of many texts which had originally only a limited national and historic setting’ (Brennan, ‘Psalms 1–8: Some Hidden Harmonies,’ *Biblical Theology Bulletin* 10 (1980): 29).

¹⁰⁴ Schaper, *Eschatology in the Greek Psalter*, 138–44.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 83–84, 139–40.

¹⁰⁶ Schaper, *Eschatology in the Greek Psalter*, 140. The Greek translation seems distinctive from Ps (MT) 110:9: *עַמְּךָ נִדְבַת בַּיּוֹם חֵילְךָ בְּהַדְרֵי־קֹדֶשׁ מִרַחֵם מִשְׁחַר לְךָ טֵל יִלְדוּתֶיךָ* ‘Thy people will volunteer freely in the day of Thy power; in holy array, from the womb of the dawn, Thy youth are to Thee as the dew.’ See also Miriam von Nordheim, *Geboren von der Morgenröte? Psalm 110 in Tradition, Redaktion und Rezeption*, Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 2008).

¹⁰⁷ Paul Volz, *Die Eschatologie der jüdischen Gemeinde im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter, nach den Quellen der rabbinischen, apokalyptischen und apokryphen Literatur dargestellt* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1934), 205.

¹⁰⁸ Wilhelm Bousset, *Die Religion des Judentums im späthellenistischen Zeitalter*, ed. Hugo Gressmann, 4., photomechanisch gedr. Aufl., Handbuch zum Neuen Testament (Tübingen: Mohr, 1966), 265.

¹⁰⁹ Schaper, *Eschatology in the Greek Psalter*, 101–106.

¹¹⁰ Schaper suggests a resurgence of the belief in a Davidic messiah (propagated by the *Psalms of Solomon*) was due to the corruption and defeat of the Hasmonaeans (*Ibid.*, 151.) Albert Pietersma points out that the Davidic ascription was already popular in the pre-Greek period and thus whether that belonged to the OG or was a later insertion in the process of textual transmission becomes one of the essential issues of the Greek Psalms (Albert Pietersma, “David in the Greek Psalms,” *Vetus Testamentum* 30, no. 2 [Ap 1980]: 213).

and minuses, linguistic characteristics.¹¹¹ This is not the place to examine every single instance of textual divergence. Some distinctive occasions are instead adduced in this section, characterizing linguistic phenomena in the Greek Psalter. Pluses and minuses in the Greek Psalms from the MT Psalms could always be attributed to a different Hebrew *Vorlage* if that is the case.¹¹² Otherwise, the pluses and minuses may derive from translation technique related to grammar or syntax, or, different interpretive intent.¹¹³ (1) The Greek translation of the Psalms frequently supplements several parts of speech in the interest of explicit communication. For example, the verb ἐστίν (Pss. 11:5; 25:3; 36:39; 49:8; 57:12; 91:16; 101:26; 129:4, etc.), the pronouns ὁ, ὧν, οἷς, etc. (Pss. 82:15; 18:4; 31:9, etc.), the personal pronouns ἡμεῖς, σύ, εἶ σύ and μοι (Pss. 45:2; 73:13; 55:10; 118:84), etc. are inserted for clarification.¹¹⁴ (2) For a similar purpose, several idiomatic or exegetical/explicatory phrases are found. Due to a common couplet ‘Jacob and Israel,’ the phrase τῷ Ιακωβ seems to have been added in the translation of Ps. 97:3 so that the MT’s זָכַר חַסְדּוֹ וְאֱמוּנָתוֹ לְבֵית יִשְׂרָאֵל (‘He has remembered his love and his faithfulness to the house of Israel’) was rendered into ἐμνήσθη τοῦ ἐλέους αὐτοῦ τῷ Ιακωβ καὶ τῆς ἀληθείας αὐτοῦ τῷ οἴκῳ Ἰσραηλ (‘He has remembered his mercy to Jacob, and his truth to the house of Israel’).¹¹⁵ Contrasted with their MT counterparts, לְעוֹלָם, a distinctively expanded Greek phrase of εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα καὶ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ αἰῶνος in Pss. 9:6, 37; 44:18; 47:15; 51:10; 71:19; 118:44; 144:1-2, 21; 148:6 may have marked an interpretive tendency (as in Pss. 40:2 and 97:3) or its liturgical use.¹¹⁶

Compared with the Qumran Psalms scrolls, the Greek Psalms has presented itself as being much closer to the MT Psalms and it is often asserted that the Greek Psalms was translated literally. As discussed, however, its exegetical predisposition in translation cannot be overlooked.¹¹⁷ Most

¹¹¹ This section mostly depends on the following materials: Albert Pietersma, ‘Exegesis in the Septuagint: Possibilities and Limits (The Psalter as a Case in Point),’ in *Septuagint Research: Issues and Challenges in the Study of the Greek Jewish Scriptures*, ed. Wolfgang Kraus and R. Glenn Wooden (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2006), 33–45; Anneli Aejmelaeus, ‘Characterizing Criteria for the Characterization of the Septuagint Translators: Experimenting on the Greek Psalter,’ in *The Old Greek Psalter*, 54–73; Gauthier, ‘Examining the “Pluses” in the Greek Psalter: a Study of the Septuagint Translation Qua Communication.’

¹¹² Prior to the discovery of DSS, it had been a typical idea that deviation of the LXX from the MT is due to translation technique, different theological perspective or scribal activities.

¹¹³ Scribal errors or redaction are not to be considered here for their later times.

¹¹⁴ For more, see Gauthier, ‘Examining the “Pluses” in the Greek Psalter: a Study of the Septuagint Translation Qua Communication,’ 53–58. See also Pietersma, ‘Greek Psalter.’

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 67–71. See also Ps. 40:2 has the wordings ‘poor and needy’ while in the MT the word לָדָל (‘poor’) appears alone.

¹¹⁶ For more exegetical/explicatory additions, see Ps. 70 (71 MT):8; 139 (140 MT):9.

¹¹⁷ Scholarly view divides concerning its literal translation. See Olivier Munnich, ‘Contribution à l’étude de la première révision de la Septante,’ in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt: Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung*, ed. Wolfgang Haase and Hildegard Temporini (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1987), 192–220; Isaac L. Seeligmann, ‘Problems and Perspectives in Modern Septuagint Research,’ *Textus* 15 (1990): 199; Staffan Olofsson, ‘The Kaige Group and the Septuagint Book of Psalms,’ in *IX Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Cambridge, 1995* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997), 189–230; Peter J. Gentry, ‘The

deviations from the MT pointed out here result from such interpretive translation.¹¹⁸ It is concluded that the Greek translation of the Psalms incorporated the religious and theological viewpoints of Second Temple Judaism in its translation. This includes an eschatological restoration of the Jews, an expectation of the Davidic messiah and also any liturgical needs.

2.3.3 Use of the Greek Psalms in Jewish literature

Philo Judaeus quoted the Psalms about twenty times (e.g., Ps. 77:49 LXX/*Gig.* 1:17; Ps. 22:1/*Agr.* 1:50; Ps. 93:9/*Plant.* 1:29; Ps. 36:4/*Plant.* 1:39; Pss. 79:6, 41:4/*Migr.* 1:157; Ps. 113:25/*Fug.* 1:59; Ps. 22:1/*Mut.* 1:115; Pss. 26:1/*Somn.* 1:75; Ps. 36:4/*Somn.* 2:242; Ps. 64:10/*Somn.* 2:245; Ps. 45:5/*Somn.* 2:246; etc.).¹¹⁹ In light of his favoring the LXX across his work, it is probable that he employed, though not always, the Greek Psalms rather than the MT.¹²⁰ Naomi G. Cohen suggests that some of Philo's citations of the Psalms were likely linked with their liturgical use in his day (Pss. 22, 26, 93 and 113 LXX).¹²¹ Some texts in Maccabees also employ the Greek Psalms texts (Ps. 78:2–3/*1 Macc.* 7:16–17; Ps. 34:20/*4 Macc.* 18:15; Ps. 105:1/*1 Macc.* 4:24).¹²² In *1 Macc.* 7:16–17, for example, Ps. 78:2–3 LXX is cited: *κατὰ τὸν λόγον ὃν ἔγραψεν αὐτόν, σάρκας ὀσίων σου καὶ αἷμα*

Greek Psalter and the *Katyē* Tradition,' in *The Old Greek Psalter*, 74–97. Cf. Martin Flashar, 'Exegetische Studien zum Septuagintapsalter,' *Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 32, no. 4 (1912): 241–68; Aejmelaeus, 'Characterizing Criteria for the Characterization of the Septuagint Translators: Experimenting on the Greek Psalter,' 70. Aejmelaeus argues, 'In lexical choices, the translator of the Psalter was by no means literal.' Takamitsu Muraoka also points out, 'The Psalms translator does not appear to be aiming at consistent translation equivalence. Rather, he has a pool of related or synonymous words or phrases which he draws upon... His translation also appears to be coloured by certain doctrinal concerns' (Muraoka, "Pairs of Synonyms in the Septuagint Psalms," in *The Old Greek Psalter*, 43).

¹¹⁸ Another linguistic characteristic of the Greek translation is to avoid physical divine epithets of God, such as, 'rock,' 'shield,' or 'stronghold.' Staffan Olofsson points out that it has relevance to a 'theological development which is manifest in both Palestinian and Hellenistic Judaism, to emphasize the invisibility of God' (Olofsson, *God Is My Rock: A Study of Translation Technique and Theological Exegesis in the Septuagint*, Coniectanea Biblica. Old Testament [Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1990], 17). Aejmelaeus also states, 'I do not believe that the translation of the divine epithets is a fully isolated phenomenon in the Psalter, or that it somehow contradicts the general mode of translation in this biblical book... I think that the avoidance of concrete epithets for God indicates that the translator was very conscious of his duty to create a Greek book of Psalms which could be used by his religious community in prayer and praise to God – nothing less. It is only natural that the translator had a religious or theological motivation for several of his choices.' (Aejmelaeus, 'Characterizing Criteria for the Characterization of the Septuagint Translators: Experimenting on the Greek Psalter,' 72.)

¹¹⁹ See H. Burkhardt, *Die Inspiration heiliger Schriften bei Philo von Alexandrien*, TVG Monographien und Studienbücher 340 (Giessen; Basel: Brunnen, 1988), 134. For details of the use of Psalms in Philo, see also D. T. Runia, 'Philo's Reading of the Psalms,' *Studia Philonica Annual* 13 (2001): 102–21; Naomi G. Cohen, *Philo's Scriptures: Citations from the Prophets and the Writings: Evidence for a Haftarah Cycle in Second Temple Judaism*, JSJSup (Boston: Brill, 2007), 140–56. More cases are to be considered: Pss. 100:1, 74:9, 61:12 and 90:11 in *Deus* 74, 77–81, 82–84 and 182; Pss. 30:19 and 79:7 in *Conf.* 39 and 52; Ps. 83:11 in *Her.* 290; Ps. 113:13–16 in *Decal.* 74.

¹²⁰ See M. J. Mulder and Harry Sysling, eds., *Mikra* (Assen; Minneapolis: Van Gorcum ; Fortress Press, 1990), 440–44.

¹²¹ See Cohen, *Philo's Scriptures*, 151–56.

¹²² For the case of Ps. 34:20 in *4 Macc.* 18:15, see n. 21.

αὐτῶν ἐξέχεαν κύκλῳ Ἱερουσαλημ καὶ οὐκ ἦν αὐτοῖς ὁ θάπτων (‘in accordance with the word which was written, “The flesh of thy saints have they cast out, and their blood have they shed round about Jerusalem, and there was none to bury them”.’) The Hebrew word כָּסַף (Ps. 79:2 MT) was exclusively translated into ὄσιος throughout the Greek Psalms. The Greek word ὄσιος (cf. ὀσίων in Ps. 78:2, quoted in *1 Macc.* 7:17) may be connected to Ἀσιδαῖος (‘Hasidean’) in *1 Macc.* 7:13. On the basis of these observations, Tyler argues for the use of the Greek Ps. 78:2–3 in *1 Macc.* 7:16–17.¹²³ In light of this case, it is plausible that LXX Psalms was prophetically interpreted in a given historical circumstance (the massacre of the Hasideans in *1 Macc.* 7:13–18). Devorah Dimant states,

In this case the quotation is taken from a psalm and is applied to a real historical event. The introductory formula ‘in accordance with’ (κατὰ τὸν λόγον ὃν ἔγραψεν αὐτόν, *1 Macc.* 7:16) establishes a relationship between the written word and the historical event. Such relationship rests primarily on an exegetical equation between the Hasidim mentioned in the psalm with the historical Asideans. As a result, also the contemporary situation is read into the psalm, which is apparently considered as a prophecy. In both purpose and method this quotation is strikingly reminiscent of the Qumranic pesharim.¹²⁴

2.3.4 Summary

There is no clear-cut evidence of the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the Greek Psalms. However, the MT Psalms shows much similarity to the Greek Psalms. Yet, the Greek translation of the Psalms was not just a literal rendering of the Hebrew Psalms. Rather it is coloured with the translators’ explicatory/exegetical endeavour here and there. With the inclusion of an additional psalm, Psalm 151, and some varied superscriptions, the LXX Psalms accentuates its Davidic authorship. From a theological viewpoint, the Jewish hope in the Second Temple period for an eschatological restoration and a Davidic-messiah was embodied in the Greek Psalms,¹²⁵ showing that the Greek Psalms were read as prophecy and applied to their own historical milieu. In the Greek Psalms, in particular, various messianic ideas found in the DSS seem to have disappeared except for a Davidic messianic concept, which would be one distinctive phenomenon in Second Temple Judaism.

2.4 Conclusion

¹²³ Williams, ‘Towards a Date for the Old Greek Psalter,’ 270–71. He considers Psalm 105:1 in *1 Macc.* 4:24 as possible case.

¹²⁴ Devorah Dimant, ‘Use and Interpretation of Mikra in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha,’ in *Mikra*, ed. M. J. Mulder and Harry Sysling (Assen; Minneapolis: Van Gorcum; Fortress Press, 1990), 391.

¹²⁵ See Holger Gzella, *Lebenszeit und Ewigkeit: Studien zur Eschatologie und Anthropologie des Septuaginta-Psalter* (Berlin; Wien: Philo, 2002); Holger Gzella, ‘Das Kalb und das Einhorn,’ in *Der Septuaginta-Psalter: Sprachliche und theologische Aspekte*, 257–90; Stefan Seiler, ‘Theologische Konzepte in der Septuaginta,’ in *Der Septuaginta-Psalter: Sprachliche und theologische Aspekte*, 197–225.

The Psalms were regularly chanted or sung with music in the rituals of the Second Temple (daily services or the Feasts). The Temple rituals were gradually replaced with religious, spiritual ceremonies (prayer, worship) in the synagogues. Without animal offering, the liturgical use of the Psalmody seems to have no longer existed in the synagogue in the Second Temple period. Instead, the book of Psalms were read and taught along with the Prophets.

Due to their deviations from the MT Psalms, the Psalms scrolls in the DSS have cast some doubts on the scriptural status of the MT Psalms in Second Temple Judaism. That is not to say that the MT-type Psalms did not exist by the time. In light of its correspondence to the LXX Psalms, the MT-150 Psalms probably came into being before the Greek translation. Conceivably the fixation of the MT Psalms took place in Palestine shortly after or around the time when the Qumran sectarians left there. Departure of the Psalms scrolls from the MT-150 Psalms may specify their sectarian character, or, otherwise, the scrolls might have been produced for liturgical purposes within the Qumran community.¹²⁶ In the Second Temple period, at any rate, the Psalms were collected/edited into one book and played a significant role for various religious uses (hymns, prayers, communal rituals, personal reflection). The Psalms scrolls and the LXX Psalms share a characteristic manifestation of an eschatological, messianic interpretation of the Psalms, highlighting the futuristic Davidic kingship.

The use of the Psalms in Second Temple Judaism is multifaceted—prophetic, eschatological, liturgical and didactic (wisdom). Such notions regarding the book of Psalms in the period would not be expected to be isolated from that in Early Christianity. Because the first Christians came from the Jews, the newly emerging religious sect of Christianity must be understood within the parameters of Second Temple Judaism.¹²⁷ It is to the Early Christian context that this study now turns.

¹²⁶ Peter L. Trudinger, *The Psalms of the Tamid Service*, 256–62. Based on the order and role of the Tamid psalms, Trudinger supports for the scriptural status of the MT Psalms and suggests that 11QPs^a was a collection of psalms for liturgical purposes.

¹²⁷ Schiffman, *From Text to Tradition*, 150. He points out, ‘The Qumran materials, if properly understood, provide the background for Christianity, showing that it was on the foundation of this type of Judaism, and not that of the Pharisees, that the church was erected.’ See also Paul Barnett, *Jesus & the Rise of Early Christianity: A History of New Testament Times* (Downers Grove, Ill.: InterVarsity, 1999); F. Gerald Downing, *Making Sense in (and of) the First Christian Century*, *Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement* 197 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000).

Chapter 3

Psalms in Early Christianity

On the Sabbath day, Jesus went into the synagogue, as was his custom, read the Scripture and taught what he read (Luke 4:15–30). Paul with his companions took part in the synagogue meeting on the Sabbath day (Acts 13:14–43). As Jews, the earliest Christians probably met in synagogues with fellow Jews until they were expelled from there (John 9:22; 12:42; 16:2; cf. Mark 13:9; Luke 6:22).¹ It is natural that Jewish synagogue practices would influence early Christian worship and meetings in form or language, e.g., the Eucharist (‘the breaking of the bread’) and baptism.² As regards the use of the book of Psalms, however, we do not find any textual evidence in the Temple or synagogue that parallels the use of Psalms in first-century Christian worship.³ In order to see how first-century Christianity understood the book of Psalms, one needs to directly investigate the use of the Psalms in the NT and other early Christian writings. Chronologically later than the NT and geographically restrained to the Syriac community, it is still worthwhile to consult with the Syriac translation of the Psalms, the Peshitta Psalms. For the Syriac version of the Psalms can establish some background for the understanding of the book of Psalms in early Christianity, especially in between Second Temple Judaism and early Christianity.

¹ For the expulsion of Christians from the synagogue, see James D. G. Dunn, *The Parting of the Ways: between Christianity and Judaism and their significance for the character of Christianity* (London; Philadelphia: SCM Press; Trinity Press International, 1991), 187–89; Margaret Barker, *Temple themes in Christian worship* (London; New York: T. & T. Clark, 2007), 32–44; Brian De Breffny, *The Synagogue* (New York: Macmillan, 1978), 19; Peter Wick, *Die urchristlichen Gottesdienste: Entstehung und Entwicklung im Rahmen der frühjüdischen Tempel-, Synagogen- und Hausfrömmigkeit*, 2nd ed., Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament 150 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2003). Barker sees Jesus’ self-recognition as the Messiah as causing the expulsion (also Dunn). Breffny argued that the Christians became disengaged with Judaism since the Jewish revolt against the Roman Empire (AD 66–68) and the fall of Jerusalem at AD 70.

² C. F. D. Moule, *Worship in the New Testament* (Richmond: John Knox Press, 1961), 9–60; Ralph P. Martin, *Worship in the Early Church* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1974), 18–27; Eric Werner, *The Sacred Bridge: Liturgical Parallels in Synagogue and Early Church* (New York: Schocken, 1970); Geoffrey J. Cuming and Ronald Claud Dudley Jasper, *Prayers of the Eucharist: Early and Reformed*, 3rd rev. (New York: Pueblo Publishing, 1987), 7; Paul F. Bradshaw, *Early Christian Worship: a Basic Introduction to Ideas and Practice* (Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 2010), 2–7; De Breffny, *The Synagogue*, 19; Gerard Rouwhorst, ‘The Roots of the Early Christian Eucharist: Jewish Blessings or Hellenistic Symposia?’, in *Jewish and Christian Liturgy and Worship*, ed. Albert Gerhards and Clemens Leonhard, Jewish and Christian Perspectives Series 15 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2007), 295–308. Cf. James W. McKinnon, ‘On the Question of Psalmody in the Ancient Synagogue,’ *Early Music History* 6 (1986): 191. He argues, ‘But church and synagogue have less in common than is frequently claimed with respect to the process by which these items came to be fixed in liturgical orders.’

³ Graham Woolfenden, ‘The Psalms in Jewish and Early Christian Worship,’ 310. He says, ‘We know that St Paul exhorted his hearers to sing psalms, hymns and spiritual songs to God but we do not know exactly what he meant and whether it was in the course of an act of public worship or not.’ Cf. Geoffrey J. Cuming and Ronald Claud Dudley Jasper, *Prayers of the Eucharist*, 13. They argue, ‘It should not be forgotten that almost the entire New Testament originated in readings at the liturgical assembly.’

3.1 The Peshitta Psalter

The Syriac version of the Jewish Scriptures, the Peshitta,⁴ has long been debated for its origin (place, date) and authorship. Being the heart of classical Syriac, Edessa is often thought to be the place of origin. Since Josephus, *Ant.* 20.17–53, 71 and 75 and *Gen. Rab.* 46:10, reports the conversion of the king of Adiabene to Judaism, the city of Adiabene near the Upper Tigris River is also possibly the case.⁵ Some quotations of the Peshitta are represented in the Syriac version of the Greek Gospels, which traces back to the *Diatessaron* of Tatian (ca. late second century AD).⁶ This suggests that the Peshitta probably appeared by around the middle of the second century.⁷ Controversy is sharp on the issue of whether the authorship is Jewish or Christian. If its provenance is Jewish, the issue at stake seems even more complicated. Whether the Peshitta was translated directly from the Hebrew *Vorlage* or the Aramaic Targums (in turn whether Palestinian or Babylonian) and whether it emerged from rabbinic or non-rabbinic Judaism are debated.⁸ The influence of the LXX on the Peshitta has been frequently noted to support the Christian origin.⁹ The contact from any other traditions to the Peshitta, though, does not necessarily validate its origin from that tradition. Because the Peshitta was translated book by book just as other ancient versions

⁴ The term Peshitta probably denotes ‘simple or straightforward’ both in Syriac (Jewish Aramaic) and Hebrew. As Weitzman pointed out, however, the term is first found in the works of Moses bar Kepa (ca. 813–903) and the words פשוט, פשוט refers to biblical interpretation that was recognized as obviously authoritative rather than simple interpretation (see Michael P. Weitzman, *The Syriac Version of the Old Testament: An Introduction*, University of Cambridge Oriental Publications [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999], 2–3).

⁵ See *Ibid.*, 1, 247.

⁶ Jan Joosten argues that some scriptural quotations in the Syriac Gospels can be explained only on the basis of the Old Testament Peshitta, not of the Greek Gospels: Ps. 91:12/Matt. 4:6; Ps. 91:12/Luke 4:11; Ps. 118:22/Luke 20:17; Isa. 7:14/Matt. 1:23; Ps. 91:12/Matt. 4:6; Isa. 6:10/John 12:40. For details, see Joosten, ‘The Old Testament Quotations in the Old Syriac and Peshitta Gospels: A Contribution to the Study of the Diatessaron,’ *Textus* 15 (1990): 60–68. See also Weitzman, *The Syriac Version of the Old Testament*, 258; Ignacio Carbajosa, *The Character of the Syriac Version of Psalms: a Study of Psalms 90-150 in the Peshitta* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2008), 2.

⁷ Cf. “1st – 2nd century AD” (Sebastian P. Brock, ‘Versions, Syriac Versions’ in *ABD*, 6:794-99); Weitzman maintains that, given Adiabene as its origin place, the date of the Peshitta can be ‘as early as the middle first century AD’ since the king of Adiabene, Izates, converted to Judaism during Claudius’ reign (AD 41–54) (*The Syriac Version of the Old Testament*, 1–2).

⁸ See Sebastian P. Brock, ‘The Peshitta Old Testament Between Judaism and Christianity,’ *Cristianesimo Nella Storia* 19 (1998): 483–502.

⁹ Joshua Bloch, ‘The Authorship of the Peshitta,’ *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* 35, no. 4 (July 1, 1919): 215–22; James A. Sanders, ‘Text and Canon: Old Testament and New,’ in *Melanges Dominique Barthélemy* (Fribourg: Editions Universitaires, 1981), 376; Anthony Gelston, *The Peshitta of the Twelve Prophets* (Oxford University Press, 1987), 160–77; Johann Cook, ‘The Composition of the Peshitta Version of the Old Testament (Pentateuch),’ in *The Peshitta: Its Early Text and History: Papers Read at the Peshitta Symposium, Leiden, Aug 1985*, ed. Peter B. Dirksen and Martin Jan Mulder, Monographs of the Peshitta Institute, Leiden (Leiden: Brill, 1988), 147–68; Peter B. Dirksen, ‘The Peshitta and Textual Criticism of the Old Testament,’ *Vetus Testamentum* 42, no. 3 (Jl 1992): 376–90; Weitzman, *The Syriac Version of the Old Testament*, 240–44; Heidi M. Szpek, ‘On the Influence of the Septuagint on the Peshitta,’ *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 60 (1998): 251–66. Cf. Jerome A. Lund, ‘Grecisms in the Peshitta Psalms,’ in *The Peshitta as a Translation: Papers Read at the Second Peshitta Symposium Held at Leiden 19-21 August 1993*, ed. Peter B. Dirksen and Arie van der Kooij, Monographs of the Peshitta Institute (New York; Leiden: Brill, 1995), 85–102. Lund argues, ‘The LXX gave no significant shape to our present Peshitta text. In the past, the direct influence of the LXX on the Peshitta has been grossly exaggerated.’

(LXX/Targum), it is always possible that some books could have been rendered in the synagogue and some others in the church. The later Christian revisions of the Peshitta should not be overlooked as well. As to the appearance of the Peshitta, an increasingly accepted theory is that the Jews were responsible for the origin of the Peshitta and any linkage, if it exists, to the LXX (especially, Isaiah and Psalms) is due to Jewish translators who converted to Christianity, specifically those who were not from rabbinic circles.¹⁰ Such intricate notions of the Peshitta between Judaism and Christianity highlight its significance not only for the textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible but also for the understanding of the nature of early Syriac-speaking Christianity itself.¹¹

3.1.1 The Status of the Peshitta Psalms

The Peshitta Psalms (hereafter P-Ps) is one of the oldest Syriac translations along with the Pentateuch and Prophets.¹² The surviving Syriac manuscripts that contain the Psalms all indicate P-Ps as being used in the church service.¹³ In P-Ps, the term *dt*, ‘*congregation, assembly or (Christian) church*’, which has a high frequency in the earliest Christian literature, may denote the Christian origin of P-Ps.¹⁴ Granting the influence of the LXX on P-Ps,¹⁵ recent scholarship agrees with the Hebrew *Vorlage* of P-Ps and its Jewish origin.¹⁶ Since the earliest extant Syriac manuscript dates to the sixth century AD,¹⁷ which is at a distance from when it was actually translated (first or second century AD), some alterations in P-Ps have plausibly been made in the process of its textual transmission. The present section focuses upon the characteristics of P-Ps in translation from the Hebrew *Vorlage* rather than the history of the textual transmission of P-Ps or revisionary phenomena during the transmission. Prior to considering the characteristics, two features in the

¹⁰ For the relationship between the Peshitta and rabbinic Judaism, see Weitzman, *The Syriac Version of the Old Testament*, 234–40.

¹¹ See Han J. W. Drijvers, ‘Syrian Christianity and Judaism,’ in *Jews Among Pagans and Christians in the Roman Empire* (London: Routledge, 1992), 124–46; Michael P. Weitzman, ‘From Judaism to Christianity: The Syriac Version of the Hebrew Bible,’ in *ibid.*, 147–73; Brock, ‘The Peshitta Old Testament Between Judaism and Christianity,’ 483–502.

¹² Based on the evidence of citations of the P-Ps in the Old Syriac Gospels. See Joosten, ‘The Old Testament Quotations in the Old Syriac and Peshitta Gospels,’ 60–68; Weitzman, *The Syriac Version of the Old Testament*, 253.

¹³ W. Emery Barnes, *The Peshitta Psalter according to the west Syrian text* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1904), xxxv. See also Weitzman, ‘From Judaism to Christianity,’ 147. He points out that the Peshitta has been preserved only by the church and there is no evidence of its use in the synagogue.

¹⁴ See Carbajosa, *The Character of the Syriac Version of Psalms*, 164–73.

¹⁵ Weitzman thinks that the impact of the Greek speaking churches on the Syriac Christian community possibly brought in some influx of the LXX into P-Ps (Weitzman, ‘From Judaism to Christianity,’ 147–73.)

¹⁶ Lund, ‘Grecisms in the Peshitta Psalms,’ 85–102; Weitzman, *The Syriac Version of the Old Testament*, 1–14; Carbajosa, *The Character of the Syriac Version of Psalms*. Carbajosa suggests a ‘pre-Masoretic text that was circulating around the 2nd century AD’ (p. 352). Weitzman points out that the traits of the LXX’s influence on P-Ps are attributed to the edition/revision of the Christian community in the process of the textual transmission (pp. 84–86).

¹⁷ Codex *Ambrosianus* B. 21 (ca. 6th century, the West Syrian Church) and *British Museum Add 17110* (ca. 7th century, the East Syrian tradition)

Syriac Psalms—headings and five apocryphal psalms—will be discussed. Though there are not directly related to translation activity, they still convey some theological views on P-Ps in the Syriac-speaking churches.

3.1.2 Headings and Syriac Apocryphal Psalms

Not all MSS contain the headings of P-Ps; some involve no headings at all.¹⁸ It is not clear whether P-Ps was translated with no superscriptions and later edited or came into being with the headings from the beginning but finally omitted them. What is clear though is that the headings of P-Ps in the extant Syriac MSS are very different from those in the Hebrew texts (MT/DSS) and the Greek text (LXX).¹⁹ Even among the Syriac MSS some headings in P-Ps vary from each other.²⁰ Such differentiations are often attributed to the influence of the commentary of Theodore of Mopsuestia (ca. 350–428), in which the headings of P-Ps were revised based on his interpretation of the Psalms.²¹ Theodore's exegetical headings led to the classification of P-Ps into the four different groups of the Psalms: historical psalms, prophetic psalms, ethical psalms and messianic psalms.²² In light of these interpretative headings, scholars tend to see the headings of P-Ps as being of Christian origin.²³ The Psalms headings were expanded in P-Ps, in which, as an example, a historical account of David in P-Ps 45 was interpreted in a prophetic, messianic and eschatological manner ('He prophesies about the Messiah our Lord and about the establishment of the faithful church').²⁴ Still, it is not certain whether such interpretive tendency of the Psalms' titles

¹⁸ Harry F. van Rooy, 'The Headings of the Psalms in the Two Syriac Versions of the Commentary of Athanasius,' *Old Testament Essays* 17 (2004): 1–2.

¹⁹ Bloemendaal states, 'Nowhere in the West or East Syrian traditions do we come across the titles of the Masoretic text or the LXX' (W. Bloemendaal, *The Headings of the Psalms in the East Syrian Church* [Leiden: Brill, 1960], 1).

²⁰ For examples in detail, see van Rooy, 'The Headings of the Psalms in the Two Syriac Versions of the Commentary of Athanasius'; David G. K. Taylor, 'The Psalm Headings in the West Syrian Tradition,' in *The Peshitta: Its Use in Literature and Liturgy* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2006), 365–78.

²¹ See Friedrich Baethgen, 'Der Psalmencommentar des Theodor von Mopsuestia in Syrischer Bearbeitung,' *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 5, no. 1 (1885): 66; Bloemendaal, *The Headings of the Psalms in the East Syrian Church*, 12. Bloemendaal concludes, 'It is generally accepted that the titles of the Psalms in the East Syrian Church have their origin in the commentary of the great Theodore of Mopsuestia.' See also Taylor, 'The Psalm Headings in the West Syrian Tradition,' 371. Taylor suggests the influence of Theodore on the West Syrian manuscripts too.

²² Otto Fridolin Fritzsche, *De Theodori Mopsuesteni vita et scriptis commentatio historico theologica* (Halae, 1836), 31. For more, see also Bloemendaal, *The Headings of the Psalms in the East Syrian Church*, 3–17.

²³ Friedrich Baethgen, *Untersuchungen über die Psalmen nach der Peschita* (Keil: Schwerts'sche buchhandlung, 1878); 'Der Psalmencommentar des Theodor von Mopsuestia in Syrischer Bearbeitung', 53–101; Bloemendaal, *The Headings of the Psalms in the East Syrian Church*, 3–17.

²⁴ Translation of the title of P-Ps 45 from Harry F. van Rooy, "The Psalms in Early Syriac Tradition," in *The Book of Psalms: Composition and Reception*, ed. Peter W. Flint and Patrick D. Miller, Formation and Interpretation of Old Testament Literature (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2005), 544. For more examples, see David C. Mitchell, *The Message of the Psalter: An Eschatological Programme in the Book of Psalms*, *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 252 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 21; van Rooy, 'The Headings of the Psalms in the Two Syriac Versions of the Commentary of Athanasius,' 659–77; van Rooy, 'The Psalms in Early Syriac Tradition,' 542–46.

belongs to later Christian revision (Theodore's influence) or existed from its Syriac translation.²⁵ Of five apocryphal psalms in P-Ps, three of Pss. 151, 154 and 155 are found in 11QPs^a and Ps. 151 appeared in the LXX as well.²⁶ These three psalms therefore came into being at least before 11QPs^a, which is in turn supposedly the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the three psalms.²⁷ According to Skehan, Pss. 152 and 153 are linked to Ps. 151 and all three together ascribed to David, while Pss. 154 and 155 in their headings to Hezekiah.²⁸ Because of lack of evidence in the Syriac MSS,²⁹ the five apocryphal psalms did not receive much attention in the early Syriac church, except for Ps. 151, which was added to the 150 canonical Psalms in three early Syriac Psalms commentaries.³⁰ Even the five apocryphal psalms do not appear in the liturgy of the Syriac church.³¹ The role of the five psalms in early Syriac Christian community and their contribution to the characteristics of P-Ps are unsettled.

3.1.3 Characteristics of P-Ps in Translation

As with the LXX Psalter, the MT Psalms provides the relevant reference text for the Syriac translation of the Psalms. Some considerations need to be pointed out in advance. As discussed earlier, differences between P-Ps and the MT Psalms can be due to (1) translation techniques of P-Ps, (2) a different Hebrew *Vorlage* from the MT-type Psalms, (3) influence from other ancient versions (LXX, Targum) or (4) alteration during its textual transmission. Except for (4), each point relates to the translators' activity. As regards the influence of the ancient versions on P-Ps, one may further recognize that both P-Ps and the other versions stand on common translation techniques, a

²⁵ It is possible that the headings of P-Ps developed in several different Syriac traditions and later received some understanding of the Psalms in the early Syriac church (see van Rooy, 'The Psalms in Early Syriac Tradition,' 549; Lucas Van Rompay, 'The Christian Syriac Tradition of Interpretation,' in *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Vol 1, Pt 1, From the Beginnings to the Middle Ages (until 1300). Antiquity* [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996], 612–41; Lucas van Rompay, 'Between the School and the Monk's Cell: The Syriac Old Testament Commentary Tradition,' in *The Peshitta: Its Use in Literature and Liturgy* [Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2006], 27–51).

²⁶ The Syriac manuscript, 6h22, which has Ps. 151, is older than the Syro-Hexapla and thus the Peshitta Ps. 151 was translated in Syriac before the translation of the Syro-Hexapla from the LXX (See Harry F. van Rooy, *Studies on the Syriac Apocryphal Psalms*, Journal of Semitic studies Supplement [Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press on behalf of the University of Manchester, 1999], 109).

²⁷ Ibid., 51, 54. Cf. Wacholder argues Pss. 154 and 155 originated during the Persian or early Hellenistic periods (Ben Zion Wacholder, 'David's Eschatological Psalter 11Q Psalms^a,' *Hebrew Union College Annual* 59 [1988]: 68). For further discussion of dating, see *ibid.*, 23–72.

²⁸ Patrick William Skehan, 'Again the Syriac Apocryphal Psalms,' *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 38, no. 2 (Apr 1976): 147–50.

²⁹ Psalm 151 has relatively early manuscripts, e.g., 6h22, 8SH1 (identical to 9SH1) but the rest of the apocryphal psalms are of very late date. Only one MS 12t4, including all the five psalms, dates to the 12th century, although it is generally accepted as the most faithful Syriac version of the five psalms (van Rooy, *Studies on the Syriac Apocryphal Psalms*, 134).

³⁰ 6h22, the Scholia of Bar Hebraeus, the British Museum Manuscript Oriental 9354 (G)

³¹ Bryan D. Spinks, 'A note on the Peshitta Psalms and their use at Ramsa (Evening prayer) in the East Syrian tradition,' in *Psalms in Community: Jewish and Christian Textual, Liturgical, and Artistic Traditions*, ed. Harold W. Attridge and Margot Elsbeth Fassler, Society of Biblical Literature Symposium 25 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 209.

common Hebrew *Vorlage*, a reciprocal textual tradition or common exegetical perspective, rather than influence upon one from the other. Apart from the translation process, in other words, various factors could have yielded divergences of P-Ps from the MT. The present study does not discuss all the considerations in question for the scope of the study, i.e., the first century setting of the Psalms.

The following observations in this section are mainly based on Carbajosa's published dissertation (English version, 2008), *The Character of the Syriac version of Psalms*, which is a significant work on translation technique in P-Ps.³² Even though he only considers Psalms 90–150, it still allows us to see many significant aspects of the P-Ps translation.

First, the most distinctive encompassing characteristic in the Syriac translation of the Psalms is the clarification of implicit expression in the Hebrew text into being explicit in P-Ps. Theodore's commentary on the Psalms as mentioned earlier seems to have affected this phenomenon. For example, (1) rhetorical questions in the Hebrew text have often been modified into a sentence form (e.g., Ps. 139:21 MT, 'Do I not hate, Lord, those who hate you?'; in Syriac, 'those who hate you, Lord, I have hated'). In some cases, P-Ps retains the question form rather than modifying it, instead adding some explanations to make the meaning plain (e.g., Ps. 94:8 MT, 'Understand, O dullest of the people! Fools, when will you be wise?'; in Syriac, 'Understand, fools of the people. Fools, how long will you not understand?'). (2) Pluses or minuses have been found here and there in P-Ps: pluses of negative particle, existential particle, subject, possessive pronoun, etc. (e.g., Pss. 121:6; 146:6; 147:10; 106:3; etc.) and minuses of the Hebrew conjunction, particles, pronoun, adjective, adverbs and etc. if no equivalent Syriac word was available (e.g., כִּי in Ps. 107:1 and etc.; וְ, אֶ, אֵ, הֵן, הֵם, אֵז, אֵם in Ps. 93:1 and many places; מִן in Ps. 119:103; כֹּל in Ps. 111:10 and etc.; כֵּן, וְ, אֵז and etc. in Ps. 95:9 and etc.).³³ All these pluses and minuses aim to make the translation of the Hebrew texts more clear.

Secondly, the poetic style in the MT Psalms is altered with a prose style in P-Ps by using

³² Carbajosa, *The Character of the Syriac Version of Psalms*. For the Psalms 1-40, see Jan-Erik Eriksson, *The Hymns of David Interpreted in Syriac: A study of Translation Technique in the First Book of the Book of Psalms in the Peshitta* (Uppsala: Reprocentralen HSC, 1989). For more general notions of translation technique in the Syriac Old Testament, see Sebastian P. Brock, 'Towards a History of Syriac Translation Technique,' in *III Symposium Syriacum 1980, Goslar 7-11 sept. 1980: les contacts du monde syriaque avec les autres cultures*, ed. René Lavenant, *Orientalia christiana analecta* 221 (Roma: Pontificium Institutum Orientale, 1983), 1-14; Heidi M. Szpek, *Translation Technique in the Peshitta to Job: A Model for Evaluating a Text with Documentation from the Peshitta to Job*, Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992); Michael P. Weitzman, 'The Interpretative Character of the Syriac Old Testament,' in *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Vol 1, Pt 1, From the Beginnings to the Middle Ages (until 1300). Antiquity* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996), 587–611; Peter B. Dirksen and Arie van der Kooij, eds., *The Peshitta as a Translation*, Monographs of the Peshitta Institute (New York; Leiden: Brill, 1995); Robert R. Gordon, 'The Syriac Old Testament: Provenance, Perspective and Translation Technique,' in *The Interpretation of the Bible* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 355–69; Richard A. Taylor, 'The Syriac Old Testament in Recent Research,' *Journal for the Aramaic Bible* 2 (2000): 119–39.

³³ For details, see Carbajosa, *The Character of the Syriac Version of Psalms*, 42–44.

direct speech and copulative conjunction (*w* in Syriac).³⁴ Weitzman claims that this feature is found throughout the Peshitta OT, saying that it is because the Syriac translation was produced based on sentences, not on word-by-word equivalents.³⁵ This does not necessarily mean that the Peshitta is a less correct translation. Each Hebrew sentence was understood in its context and, in so doing, the Syriac translation was made to convey the meaning of the Hebrew reference text as accurately as possible. The significance of the context in the P-Ps translation is more clearly articulated in the following features.

P-Ps has some alterations in grammar and lexicon in accordance with context. For example, the verb tenses in the Hebrew Psalms often change in its Syriac translation according to the verbal nuance in the Hebrew texts: e.g., Ps. 144:8 (perfect tense but present nuance → participle in Syriac); Ps. 110:6 (perfect → imperfect); Ps. 94:18 (imperfect → perfect); Ps. 106:17–19 (preterite → imperfect); etc.³⁶ Regarding lexical correspondence to its Hebrew counterpart, P-Ps betrays a lack of consistency and hardly has a criterion in translation.³⁷ The same Hebrew word was translated into several different Syriac terms in P-Ps, even within the same psalm.³⁸ In some cases a Syriac term was chosen based on its context in P-Ps (e.g., Ps. 139:14) while other cases made their choices irrespective of their context (e.g., Ps. 107:6, 13, 19, 28).³⁹ Such an atypical translation is one of the most prominent characteristics not only in P-Ps but also throughout the Peshitta.⁴⁰ This is also to enhance the clarity of translation. Some other cases, which seem not to be associated with translation technique in the P-Ps translation, may reflect the exegetical viewpoint of translators and disclose their theological viewpoints, such as, the avoidance of polytheism, the plural ‘gods’ אלהים (Pss. 82:1; 89:7; etc., *gods* → *angels* or *kings*) and a disputable image of God (Pss. 105:25; 108:14), the use of some Christian terms (e.g., ‘church’ or ‘assembly’) and the ‘*elect*,’ messianic implication (Pss. 2:12; 110:3; 121:1), etc.⁴¹

To sum up, the Syriac translation of the Psalms is characterized by its tendency to clarify

³⁴ See Ibid., 38–40. He points out that over 300 cases in P-Ps use the copula *waw*.

³⁵ Weitzman, *The Syriac Version of the Old Testament*, 22–23; Weitzman, ‘The Interpretative Character of the Syriac Old Testament.’

³⁶ For details, see Carbajosa, *The Character of the Syriac Version of Psalms*. He maintains, ‘This phenomenon should not, therefore, cause us to see a different Hebrew Vorlage or an error in the Syriac translation. It seems clear that the translator lets himself be guided by the context when applying the notions of past, present or future to the Hebrew verb forms. It is this context that pushes him to use the perfect, the imperfect or a participle’ (pp. 51–52).

³⁷ Ibid., 55, 58.

³⁸ Ibid., 56.

³⁹ Ibid., 55–57.

⁴⁰ Weitzman points out, ‘The translators did not hesitate to depart from the regular equivalent, e.g., to enhance the clarity or attractiveness of their translation, or to resolve figurative or anthropomorphic language’ (Weitzman, *The Syriac Version of the Old Testament*, 27). See also Gelston, *The Peshitta of the Twelve Prophets*, 142–43.

⁴¹ In Ps. 105:25 MT: ‘He (Yahweh) changed their heart so that they hate his people...’ → P-Ps: ‘They (Yahweh’s enemies) changed their heart to hate his people...’; In Ps. 121:1 MT: ‘I lift my eyes to the mountains. Where will my help come from?’ → P-Ps: ‘I lift my eyes to the mountain where my helper will come from.’ For details, see Carbajosa, *The Character of the Syriac Version of Psalms*, 136–76; Weitzman, ‘From Judaism to Christianity,’ 147–73.

the Hebrew Psalms. The translators of P-Ps read the Hebrew Psalms in context and translated them at the sentence level. When a Syriac equivalent text generates some ambiguity in its context, the translators—though not always consistent—often added, omitted or changed certain words, phrases or verbal tenses so that their translation was more clearly understood. While the Syriac translation of the Psalms is not a less accurate translation, in this respect it is deemed as a free translation from its Hebrew *Vorlage*. Such characteristics of translation reflect the exegetical interests of the translators in the early Syriac community to which P-Ps belongs.

3.1.4 Summary

Because there is no textual evidence of P-Ps until the sixth century AD, it is difficult to reconstruct by whom and for whom it was translated in the second century.⁴² According to the extant Syriac MSS, it is likely that P-Ps was widely used for exegesis and liturgy in early Syriac Christianity, though no ‘undeniably’ Christian statements are to be seen in it.⁴³ Unlike the MT Psalms, the existence of five apocryphal psalms in P-Ps, some of which are found in 11QPs^a (Pss. 151, 154 and 155) and the LXX (Ps. 151), may indicate that P-Ps had its own tradition. The five psalms were possibly used in the early Syriac church in a certain religious circumstance. As the MT tradition increasingly gained ground in Judaism, the gradual rejection of the psalms could have taken place by the Jewish Christians in the Syriac church. In light of the headings and translation techniques in P-Ps, it is clear that the early Syriac community actively interpreted the book of Psalms and read it prophetically. In the NT, such prophetic interpretation of the Psalms is highlighted as the NT designates Jesus as the messiah by using texts from the Psalms.

3.2 Psalms in the New Testament

It has long been acknowledged that the book of Psalms, along with the book of Isaiah, was employed in the NT more than any other scriptural book. More than 400 quotations and allusions have been found in the NT.⁴⁴ Not surprisingly, the study of the use of Psalms in the NT has attracted much scholarly attention in the field.⁴⁵ Because of its preference for the book of Psalms,

⁴² David J. Lane, “‘Come Here...and Let Us Sit and Read...’: The Use of Psalms in Five Syriac Authors,” in *Biblical Hebrew, Biblical Texts* (New York: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 412–30. See also van Rooy, ‘The Psalms in Early Syriac Tradition,’ 546–49.

⁴³ Weitzman, ‘From Judaism to Christianity,’ 168.

⁴⁴ See *Index* in USB 4th and NA²⁷. Craig counts 130 Psalm quotations in the NT, of which 70 cases have a quotation formula (Craig A. Evans, ‘Praise and Prophecy in the Psalter and in the New Testament,’ in *The Book of Psalms: Composition and Reception*, ed. Peter W. Flint and Patrick D. Miller, Formation and Interpretation of Old Testament Literature [Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2005], 551).

⁴⁵ See Joachim Schaper, *Eschatology in the Greek Psalter* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1995); Karl Loning, ‘Die Funktion des Psalters im Neuen Testament,’ in *Der Psalter in Judentum und Christentum*, ed. Erich Zenger, Herders Biblische Studien 18 (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1998); Evans, ‘Praise and Prophecy in the Psalter and in the New Testament’; Braulik, ‘Psalter and Messiah: Towards a Christological Understanding of the Psalms in the Old Testament

the NT provides some crucial hints at understanding the use of the Scripture in the early Church and the theology of early Christianity. Apart from its direct quotations, there are many indirect but significant references to the Psalms in the NT (allusion or influence). Thus, one would need to examine all the cases in order to understand the use of Psalms in the NT. However, to scrutinize all textual cases is beyond the extent and intent of the present study. In this section, instead, I will deal with distinctive quotations that have an introductory formula (e.g., ‘as it is written...’). I do not mean to neglect important allusions to the Psalms. Still, quotations accompanying such a formula offer explicit examples as the writers draw upon a specific text to see characteristics, tendencies and overarching perspectives regarding the use of the Psalms. Definitions of ‘quotation’ vary among biblical scholars.⁴⁶ In this thesis the term ‘quotation’ strictly means to accompany with an introductory formula.⁴⁷ When this strict definition is applied, sixty quotations from the Psalms in the NT are found.

Table 2.2 *Quotation of the Psalms in the NT*

NT	Psalms	Content/Context of the NT	Purpose
Matt. 4:6	Ps. 91:11–12	Satan’s second temptation of Jesus	
Matt. 13:35	Ps. 78:2	Jesus’ disclosure of hidden things: ‘So was fulfilled what was spoken through the prophet...’	
Matt. 21:15–16	Ps. 8:3	Children’s praise to Jesus as the son of David	
Matt. 21:42	Ps. 118:22–23	Jesus’ suffering and his ultimate victory	Prophecy-fulfilment
Matt. 22:43–45	Ps. 110:1	Jesus’ self-vindication against the Pharisees	
Mark 12:10–11	Ps. 118:22–23	Jesus’ suffering and his ultimate victory	
Mark 12:36	Ps. 110:1	Jesus’ self-vindication against the Pharisees	
Mark 15:24 ⁴⁸	Ps. 22:19	Jesus’ passion on the cross	

and the Church Fathers,’ 15–40; Ulrich Rüsen-Weinhold, *Der Septuagintapsalter im Neuen Testament: Eine textgeschichtliche Untersuchung* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 2004); Stefan Koch, ‘Der Psalter im Neuen Testament,’ in *The Composition of the Book of Psalms*, ed. Erich Zenger, Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium 238 (Leuven: Peeters, 2010).

⁴⁶ Scholars generally define quotation, distinguishing between explicit/formal quotation (a citation formula) and implicit/informal quotation (substantial amount of textual repetition). See Michael Thompson, *Clothed with Christ: The Example and Teaching of Jesus in Romans 12.1 - 15.13* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991), 30; Stanley E. Porter, ‘The Use of the Old Testament in the New: A Brief Comment on Method and Terminology,’ in *Early Christian Interpretation of the Scriptures of Israel: Investigations and Proposals*, ed. Craig A. Evans and James A. Sanders, Journal for the Study of the New Testament (Sheffield, England: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 79–96; Jan Fekkes, *Isaiah and prophetic traditions in the book of Revelation: visionary antecedents and their development* (Sheffield, England: JSOT Press, 1994), 64–67; Hermann Lichtenberger, ‘Die Schrift in der Offenbarung des Johannes,’ in *Die Septuaginta und das frühe Christentum: the Septuagint and Christian origins*, eds. T. S. Cauley and H. Lichtenberger (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), 383–84. Some alternatively call them marked quotation and unmarked quotation. See Steve Moyise and Maarten J. J. Menken, eds., *Psalms in the New Testament*.

⁴⁷ Without a citation formula, it is intrinsically impossible to discern whether a writer intends to quote a given text or whether the author has been unconsciously influenced by the text. In my definition, quotation is intentional. See Chapter 1: Introduction.

⁴⁸ Mark 15:24 does not have a formula for Ps. 22:19. But the formula found in John 19:24 / Ps. 22:19 may confirm its quotation in first-century Christianity.

Luke 4:10–11	Ps. 91:11–12	Satan’s second temptation of Jesus	
Luke 20:17	Ps. 118:22	Jesus’ suffering and his ultimate victory	
Luke 20:42–43	Ps. 110:1	Jesus’ self-vindication against the Pharisees	Prophecy-fulfilment
John 2:17	Ps. 69:10	Jesus’ cleansing of the Temple	
John 6:31	Ps. 78:24	The request of Jesus’ disciples to show a messianic sign – ‘As it is written: “He gave them bread from heaven to eat”’	Jesus as the messiah
John 10:34	Ps. 82:6	Jesus’ self-identification as the son of God	Jesus as the son of God
John 13:18	Ps. 41:10	Jesus’ prediction of Judas’ betrayal: ‘This is to fulfil the scripture...’	
John 15:25	Pss. 35:19; 69:4–5	Jesus’ prediction of his death: ‘But this is to fulfil what is written in their Law...’	Prophecy-fulfilment
John 19:24	Ps. 22:19	Jesus’ passion on the cross: ‘This happened that the scripture might be fulfilled which said...’	
Acts 1:20a	Ps. 69:26 ⁴⁹	Peter’s reference to Judas’ cursed death before choosing Matthias	
Acts 1:20b	Ps. 109:8		
Acts 2:25–28	Ps. 16:8–11	Peter’s preaching of Jesus’ resurrection	
Acts 2:30–31	Ps. 132:11	Peter’s preaching of Jesus as the Davidic messiah	
Acts 2:34–35	Ps. 110:1	Peter’s preaching of Jesus’ victory	Prophecy-fulfilment
Acts 4:11 ⁵⁰	Ps. 118:22	Peter’s defence against the Jews about Jesus	
Acts 4:25–26	Ps. 2:1–2	The believers’ petition of their persecution	
Acts 13:33	Ps. 2:7	Paul’s witness Jesus as the Saviour	
Acts 13:35	Ps. 16:10	Paul’s testimony of Jesus’ resurrection	
Rom. 3:4	Ps. 51:4	God’s faithfulness	
Rom. 3:10–12	Ps. 14:1–3 (=53:1–3)		
Rom. 3:13a	Ps. 5:9	All men are under sin	
Rom. 3:13b	Ps. 140:3		
Rom. 3:14	Ps. 10:7		
Rom. 3:18	Ps. 36:1		
Rom. 4:6–8	Ps. 32:1–2	God’s justification by faith	Supportive (complementary /explanatory) for the writer’s argument
Rom. 8:36	Ps. 44:22	Endurance in persecution	
Rom. 11:9–10	Ps. 69:22–23	Israel’s failure to receive God’s grace	
Rom. 15:3	Ps. 69:10	‘For even Christ did not please himself but, as it is written: “The insults of those who insult you have fallen on me”’ (Not matched in context)	
Rom. 15:9	Ps. 18:50	The Gentiles’ praise for God’s grace (Not matched in context)	
Rom. 15:11	Ps. 117:1	The Gentiles’ praise for God’s grace	
1 Cor. 3:20	Ps. 94:11	Argument against human wisdom: ‘As it is written... “The Lord knows that the thoughts of the wise are futile”’	Supportive
1 Cor. 15:27	Ps. 8:6–7	Risen Christ’s victory and kingly reign: ‘For he has put everything under his feet. Now when it says that “everything” has been put under him, it is clear that this does not include God himself, who	Supportive (Interpretative)

⁴⁹ See Carl. R. Holladay, ‘Luke’s use of the LXX in Acts,’ in *Die Septuaginta und das frühe Christentum; the Septuagint and Christian origins*, ed. Thomas Scott Cauley and Hermann Lichtenberger (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), 233–300.

⁵⁰ Judged as a quotation because of the quotation of Ps. 117:22 in Luke 20:17.

		put everything under Christ'	
2 Cor. 4:13	Ps. 116:10	While being slandered, preach the gospel: 'It is written: "I believed; therefore I have spoken"'	Supportive
2 Cor. 9:9	Ps. 112:9	Encouragement of giving offerings for the poor	Supportive
Eph. 4:8 ⁵¹	Ps. 68:19	God's just distribution of Christ's gift (Not matched in text and context)	Supportive
Heb. 1:5a	Ps. 2:7	Exaltation of Christ	Supportive (Interpretative)
Heb. 1:7	Ps. 104:4		
Heb. 1:8–9	Ps. 45:6–7		
Heb. 1:10–12	Ps. 102:26–27		
Heb. 1:13	Ps. 110:1		
Heb. 2:6–8	Ps. 8:4–6		Interpretative
Heb. 2:12	Ps. 22:22		Supportive
Heb. 3:7–11	Ps. 95:7–11	A warning against being hardened in heart	Interpretative /Supportive
Heb. 3:15	Ps. 95:7–8		
Heb. 4:3, 5	Ps. 95:11	God's rest given to the believers	Interpretative
Heb. 4:7	Ps. 95:7–8		
Heb. 5:5	Ps. 2:7	Jesus is the High Priest	Supportive
Heb. 5:6	Ps. 110:4		
Heb. 7:17	Ps. 110:4		
Heb. 10:5–10	Ps. 40:6–8	Christ's once-for-all sacrifice	Interpretative /Supportive
1 Pet. 2:7 ⁵²	Ps. 118:22	Admonishment to the people of God for being a holy priesthood through Jesus	Supportive (Interpretative)
1 Pet. 3:10–12 ⁵³	Ps. 34:13–17	Encouragement for doing good	Supportive

3.2.1 Gospels & Acts

The Psalm quotations in the Gospels and Acts, as seen above, are all presented in direct relationship to Jesus or describing him. Some quotations in the Synoptic gospels overlap with each other, particularly focusing on the Passion narratives. The suffering of the righteous in lament psalms is applied to Jesus for the fulfilment of the prophecy of the suffering messiah. This may be in line with the image of the righteous one in persecution, a frequent theme in Second Temple Jewish texts. Only two quotations of the Psalms are found in the Gospel of Matthew—Ps. 78:2 in Matt. 13:35; Ps. 8:3 in Matt. 21:16. The wording, *ἐρεύξομαι κεκρυμμένα ἀπὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου*, 'I will utter things hidden since the foundation of the world' in Matt. 13:35 may specify the role of the Messiah.⁵⁴ Matthew 21:16 also indicates Jesus as the messianic Son of David when it quotes Ps.

⁵¹ It contains two problems for identification as an explicit quotation: (1) a somewhat unclear introductory formula (*διὸ λέγει*); (2) an opposite content ('taking' in Ps. 68:19 *but* 'giving' in Eph. 4:8). It may be a misquotation or an uncautious quotation. Cf. Thorsten Moritz, 'The Psalms in Ephesians and Colossians,' in *Psalms in the New Testament*, ed. Steve Moyise and Maarten J. J. Menken, 191–92. He argues that it is not a quotation.

⁵² According to Ps. 118:22–23 in Matt. 21:42 and Mark 12:10–11

⁵³ Commentators see *γάρ* in 1 Pet. 3:10 functioning as a sort of quotation formula and the preceding statement *διότι περιέχει ἐν γραφῇ* ('for in Scripture it says') in 1 Pet. 2:6 as applying to 1 Pet. 3:10–12 as well (see Sue Woan, 'The Psalms in 1 Peter,' in *Psalms in the New Testament*, ed. Steve Moyise and Maarten J. J. Menken, 214, n. 6).

⁵⁴ Krister Stendahl, *The School of St. Matthew and Its Use of the Old Testament*, 2nd ed., Acta Seminarii Neotestamentici Upsaliensis (Lund: Gleerup, 1968), 116–17; Georg Strecker, *Der Weg der Gerechtigkeit*:

8:3 (ἐκ στόματος νηπίων καὶ θηλαζόντων κατηρτίσω αἶνον, ‘From the mouth of children and infants you have ordained praise?’). Preceding Matt. 21:16, a strong allusion⁵⁵ in Matt. 21:9 to Ps. 118:25–26 (ὡσαννὰ τῷ υἱῷ Δαυίδ· εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου, ‘Hosanna to the Son of David; Blessed is He who comes in the name of the Lord’) buttresses the messianic proclamation of Jesus, ‘the Son of David.’ In the Gospel of Matthew, it is one of the unique features to highlight Jesus as the Son of David.⁵⁶ Unlike the Synoptic gospels, the Gospel of John emphatically underscores that the Scriptures, including the Psalms, were fulfilled in Jesus (John 13:18; 15:25; 19:24; cf. Ps. 22:19 in Mark 15:24). This accentuates his identity as the prophecy-fulfilling messiah.⁵⁷ Overall, the use of Psalms in the Gospels and Acts features the prophecy-fulfillment frame. Since David was regarded as a prophet and the book of Psalms was attributed to him, it is not surprising at all that the book of Psalms was understood as prophecy in first-century Christianity. Reading the Psalms in a prophetic/eschatological manner, however, was not only the way that early Christians understood the Psalms.⁵⁸

Although Matt. 27:46 and Mark 15:34 contain no quotation formulas, it is quite likely that these two Gospel texts introduce Jesus’ crying out on the cross, derived from wording in Ps. 22:1–2: ‘My God, my God, why have you forsaken me?’ (ἡλι ἡλι λεμα σαβαχθανι; τοῦτ’ ἔστιν· Θεέ μου θεέ μου, ἵνατί με ἐγκατέλιπες;). From an exegetical point of view, by using Ps. 22:1–2 in Matt. 27:46 and Mark 15:34, Jesus is identified as the messiah in suffering (being abandoned from God) and the psalm was prophetically employed.⁵⁹ Insofar as the phrase ‘My God, my God, why have you forsaken me’ connotes Jesus’ desperate heartache on the cross to God, however, it may represent a personal, devotional or reflectional reading of the Psalms at the time.⁶⁰

Untersuchung zur Theologie des Matthäus, Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des AT und NT (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1962), 71.

⁵⁵ Cf. J. Samuel Subramanian (*The Synoptic Gospels and the Psalms as Prophecy*, Library of New Testament Studies 351 [London: T. & T. Clark, 2007], 104–107) and Maarten J. J. Menken (‘The Psalms in Matthew’s Gospel,’ in *Psalms in the New Testament*, ed. Steve Moyise and Maarten J. J. Menken, 62) refer to this as quotation (unmarked quotation).

⁵⁶ See James M. Gibbs, ‘Purpose and Pattern in Matthew’s Use of the Title “Son of David”,’ *New Testament Studies* 10, no. 4 (Jl 1964): 446–64; Jack Dean Kingsbury, ‘Title “Son of David” in Matthew’s Gospel,’ *Journal of Biblical Literature* 95, no. 4 (D 1976): 591–602; Robert Horton Gundry, *Matthew: A commentary on His Handbook for a Mixed Church Under Persecution* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994), 411; L. Novakovic, *Messiah, the Healer of the Sick: A Study of Jesus as the Son of David in the Gospel of Matthew*, Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2/170 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003); W. Baxter, ‘Healing and the “Son of David”: Matthew’s Warrant,’ *Novum Testamentum* 48, no. 1 (2006): 36–50.

⁵⁷ See John Ashton, *Understanding the Fourth Gospel*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 142.

⁵⁸ Cf. Mitchell, *The Message of the Psalter*, 26–28. When (over-) emphasizing the eschatological use of the Psalms in the NT, Mitchell seems to have ignored many cases in the Epistles.

⁵⁹ See Subramanian, *The Synoptic Gospels and the Psalms as Prophecy*, 121; Menken, ‘The Psalms in Matthew’s Gospel,’ 76–77.

⁶⁰ Suggested by Bernd Janowski in a personal conversation (2012, Tübingen).

3.2.2 The Epistles

Differently from the use of Psalms in the Gospels and Acts, the Epistles do not draw on the Psalms in the prophecy-fulfilment frame, at least in terms of direct quotations. The Psalmic quotations in the Epistles primarily back up the writers' argumentation and in a few cases the Psalmic texts are interpreted. In the Letter to the Romans, Paul quotes lament psalms or petitionary prayers in several places, excepting Ps. 117 (psalm of praise). In the book of Psalms, lament psalms or petitionary prayers feature the longing for Yahweh's imminent, immediate redemption from a miserable situation or evil power. By using such psalms, Paul appears to exhibit the spiritual impasse in which the then-Christians were struggling between the power of sin and the law of God, the impasse being compared to the past suffering of the Israelites in the biblical Psalms.⁶¹ Some quotations in Romans do not have contextual parallels with the psalms that are cited (e.g., Rom. 15:3/Ps. 69:10; Rom. 15:9/Ps. 18:50).

The use of Psalms in the Letters to the Corinthians, on the contrary, gives prominence to the contextual relationship between two texts. For example, 1 Cor. 3:20 (vagueness of human wisdom) and 2 Cor. 9:9 (offerings for the poor) agree with Ps. 94:11 and Ps. 112:9 (wisdom psalms), respectively. First Corinthians 15:27 and 2 Cor. 4:13 also partly correspond in context to Ps. 8:6–7 (thanksgiving song) and Ps. 116:10 (praise for Yahweh's redemption).

The Letter to the Hebrews mainly cites the Psalms for its interpretation of Jesus. While in the Gospels and Acts the Psalms are evoked to mark Jesus as the one who fulfils what was prophesied in the Scripture, as a result identifying him as the messiah, the use of Psalms in Hebrews, on the other hand, singles out Jesus as the son of God (the nature of Jesus), the true High Priest (the position of Jesus), and a sacrificial offering (the work of Jesus).

3.2.3 Summary

The NT often reads the Psalms as prophecy. Jesus is depicted as the Davidic messiah who fulfills prophecies in the Scripture. In the Gospels and Acts, the Psalms texts were exclusively rendered to illustrate the works of Jesus in the prophecy-fulfilment frame. Of the Epistles, Hebrews strengthens such a messianic understanding of Jesus by using the Psalms. Obviously the book of Psalms in the NT has contributed to the formation of the Christology of the Early Church (e.g., Pss. 2, 22, 89, 110, 118 and etc.).⁶² Besides, the authors of the Epistles made use of the Psalms to

⁶¹ Cf. Richard B. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the letters of Paul* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 35–55; Sylvia C. Keesmaat, 'The Psalms in Romans and Galatians,' in *Psalms in the New Testament*, ed. Steve Moyise and Maarten J. J. Menken, 139–61.

⁶² See Martin Hengel, *Studien zur Christologie*, ed. Claus-Jürgen Thornton, Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 201 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006); Adela Yarbro Collins, 'The Psalms and the Origins of Christology,' in *Psalms in Community: Jewish and Christian Textual, Liturgical, and Artistic Traditions*, ed. Harold W. Attridge and Margot Elsbeth Fassler, Society of Biblical Literature Symposium 25 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2004), 113–

support their statements by applying, exemplifying or interpreting the Psalms texts. The NT community, accordingly, understood the book of Psalms in various ways. (1) The book of Psalms as a whole was ascribed to David, a prophet. The book was construed as prophecy. (2) The explanatory/interpretative use of the Psalms in the Epistles to persuade its readers implies that the readers were familiar with the Psalms texts adopted in the NT. (3) It is likely that the book of Psalms was widely used in Christian worship (reading/prayer) and personal devotion or reflection. It needs to be pointed out, however, that, in light of immediate quotations of the Psalms in the NT and Woolfenden's earlier notion, no hard evidence for liturgical use of the Psalms in first-century Christianity is found.⁶³ As will be shown later, the use of Psalms in a Christian worship setting overtly appears at a relatively late date (second through third century AD). The study of the Psalms in the book of Revelation, though no single Psalm quotation is found in it, may provide some fresh insights on how the book of Psalms was used in the liturgical setting of first-century Christianity.

3.3 Psalms in Early Patristic Period and Rabbinic Judaism

This section may not be immediately associated with the current interest in the study of how the Psalms was used in Second Temple Judaism and first-century Christianity. Still, the Psalmic usage in early patristic writings and rabbinic works may provide a more robust understanding of the Psalms in the first century. The understanding of the Psalms in early patristic writings is in accordance with that in the NT. The Church fathers thought of David as a prophet, ascribing the book to him and reading it prophetically. Jesus was thus referred to as the messiah who fulfilled what had been prophesied in the Psalms (e.g., *1 Clem.* 36:4/Ps. 2:7–8; 36:5/Ps. 110:1; *Barn.* 11:13–15/Ps. 110:1; *Gos. Nic.* 16:7/Ps. 107:15–16; 13–15/Ps. 24:7–9; 19:13/Ps. 98:1; Justin Martyr, *1 Apol.* 40/Ps. 2; 60/Ps. 24:7–10; *Inf. Gos.* 21:3–4/Ps. 110:1; Ignatius, *Magn.* 12:3/Ps. 8:4–5). Apart from such prophetic use of the Psalms, the Church fathers, just as the NT writers, also corroborated their arguments by the use of the Psalms (e.g., *1 Clem.* 22:8/Ps. 69:31; *Barn.* 9:12–15/Ps. 1:1). Unlike the NT, it is testified that Psalms was read in early Christian worship along with 'the records of the apostles or the writings of the prophets' (Justin Martyr, *Apology*; Hippolytus)⁶⁴ and used for personal prayers (family, private) (e.g., Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* VII chap. 7).⁶⁵

23; Harold W. Attridge, 'Giving Voice to Jesus: Use of the Psalms in the New Testament,' in *ibid.*, 101–12; Alec Basson, "'You Are My Rock and Fortress.'" Refuge Metaphors in Psalm 31: A Perspective from Cognitive Metaphor Theory,' *Acta Theologica* 25, no. 2 (2005): 1–17; Robert D. Rowe, *God's Kingdom and God's Son: The Background in Mark's Christology from Concepts of Kingship in the Psalms* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2002), 229–304.

⁶³ Woolfenden, 'The Psalms in Jewish and Early Christian Worship,' 310–11. See also n. 24 in Chapter 2 and n. 3 in Chapter 3.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 311. For details of Justin and Hippolytus' descriptions of early Christian Eucharist, See Cuming and Jasper, *Prayers of the Eucharist*, 24, 31.

⁶⁵ See Adalbert-G. Hamman, *La prière dans l'Eglise ancienne* (Berne; New York: P. Lang, 1989). See also Cuming and Jasper, *Prayers of the Eucharist*, 15–20; S. J. Brian Daley, 'Finding the Right Key: The Aims and Strategies of

The Mishnah (esp. *Tractate Tamid*) (ca. AD 200), as mentioned earlier, has endorsed that Psalms was regularly used in temple rituals in the Second Temple period. A number of places in the Mishnah, in addition, utilize the Psalms for teaching the Jews.⁶⁶ An Aramaic translation of the book of Psalms, the Targum of Psalms, seems not to have been widely recognized in early rabbinic Judaism until a later date.⁶⁷ Stec states,

The only reference in the Talmud to an Aramaic translation of at least part of the Psalms is in *b. Meg. 21b*: ‘During the Hallel and the Megillah, even ten people can read ten translate.’ However, at least one manuscript and some early commentators omit the word ‘Hallel’ here.⁶⁸

Although being a literal translation from the Hebrew text, the Targum of Psalms also features midrashic expansions. As a result, it is often regarded as closely relating to the *Midrash Tehillim* (Midrash to Psalms) in which single verses in the Psalms are expounded. According to its midrashic interpretations on the Psalms, the Aramaic version was often employed in rabbinic Jewish liturgy and for religious instruction. The *Midrash Tehillim* and the Targum of Psalms demonstrate that the Davidic authorship of the Psalms, the prophetic reading of the Psalms and its messianic interpretation were prominent in early rabbinic Judaism.⁶⁹

3.4 Conclusion

Two characteristics shown in the use of Psalms in the NT—prophetic/eschatological use, explanatory/interpretative use—are representative of how first-century Christianity understood the book of Psalms. Not only in early Christianity but also in rabbinic Judaism are the two usages confirmed with respect to the use of Psalms. For the prophetic use of the Psalms, there is a unique

Early Christian Interpretation of the Psalms,’ in *Psalms in Community: Jewish and Christian Textual, Liturgical and Artistic Traditions*, ed. Harold W. Attridge and Margot Fassler, Society of Biblical Literature Symposium 25 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003), 189; R. E. Heine, *Reading the Old Testament with the Ancient Church: Exploring the Formation of Early Christian Thought, Evangelical Ressourcement* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2007), 144.

⁶⁶ The word mishnah (Heb. מִשְׁנָה) means ‘repetition,’ probably denoting ‘instruction by repetition.’ For the occurrences of the Psalms, see Index in Herbert Danby, *The Mishnah* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933), 810.

⁶⁷ Due to its late date (the 7th through 9th centuries), the present study does not deal with the Psalms Targum any further. Cf. for its relevance to Second Temple Judaism, see Edward M. Cook, ‘Covenantal Nomism in the Psalms Targum,’ in *The Concept of the Covenant in the Second Temple Period*, eds. Stanley E. Porter and Jacqueline C. R. de Roo, vol. 71, Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 204; Bruce K. Waltke, James M. Houston, and Erika Moore, *The Psalms as Christian Worship: A Historical Commentary* (Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2010), 33–34.

⁶⁸ David M. Stec, *The Targum of Psalms* (Collegeville, Minn: Liturgical Press, 2004), 1–2. Stec also quotes Emanuel White, ‘A Critical Edition of the Targum of Psalms a Computer Generated Text of Books I and II’ (National Library of Canada, 1989), 12–13.

⁶⁹ See *Ibid.*, 4–10; Mitchell, *The Message of the Psalter*, 28–33. See also Esther M. Menn, ‘Sweet Singer of Israel: David and the Psalms in Early Judaism,’ in *Psalms in Community: Jewish and Christian Textual, Liturgical and Artistic Traditions*, ed. Harold W. Attridge and Margot Fassler, Society of Biblical Literature Symposium 25 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003), 61–74.

feature found in early Christianity. The Psalms in the NT and early patristic writings distinctively apply the Psalms texts to Jesus and his works. With the use of Psalms, Jesus is accentuated as the Messiah, who fulfilled the prophecies in the Scripture (the Gospels), who is now exalted as the Son of God, the High Priest (Hebrews). It is, thus, not an exaggeration that the book of Psalms played a key role in establishing the Christology of the Early Church. The explanatory/interpretative use of the Psalms was also common in the first-century Christianity. In this way, the writers of the Epistles and the Church Fathers frequently incorporated the Psalms into their writings for consolidating their reasoning. The readers of the writings were probably familiar with the Psalms by reading or hearing the book of Psalms in communal worship or private prayers/reflection.⁷⁰ In light of the Syraic translation of the Psalms and the Psalms in rabbinic writings, the interpretative rendering of the Psalms seems to have been a common, acceptable practice at the time. As regards the liturgical use of the book of Psalms, the first-century Christian writings, unlike in Second Temple Judaism, do not approve its use in the Christian worship.

Conclusion

Chapters 2 and 3 have provided the background and milieu in which the book of Psalms was used by the early Church in Asia Minor. The Psalms in Second Temple Judaism were chanted with music for temple services and practised in the synagogues for prayer, reading and instruction. Some special usages of the Psalms have also been found in the DSS: 4Q284, 4Q414, 4Q512 (purification), 4Q502 (marriage), 11QPsAp^a (exorcism). Having been variously used in that period, the book of Psalms was primarily understood as prophetic, often interpreted with an eschatological view (e.g., the Davidic/messianic perspective in the so-called Royal Psalms). In between the use of Psalms in Second Temple Judaism and that in first-century Christianity, there is both continuity and discontinuity. By continuity with its use in Second Temple Judaism, the prophetic reading of the Psalms is marked in early Church. The Davidic/messianic perspective of the Royal Psalms in Second Temple Judaism, for example, has been being applied to Jesus, reinforcing the Christology of early Christianity. It is therefore continuous in that the prophetic message of the Psalms in Judaism is to be eschatologically fulfilled in the NT. What is discontinuous is seen in its liturgical use. Whereas the Psalms were used with music in rituals in the Temple, no such occurrence is found in public worship of first-century Christianity.⁷¹ As will be discussed in Part II of this thesis,

⁷⁰ Cf. Christopher D. Stanley, *Arguing with Scripture: The Rhetoric of Quotations in the Letters of Paul* (New York: T. & T. Clark, 2004)

⁷¹ See also ns. 24, 25 and 27 in Chapter 2; n. 3 in Chapter 3.

the Psalm texts are distinctively integrated into worship scenes (praise or prayer) with a musical instrument in the book of Revelation. Since the Revelation scenes do not necessarily represent early Christian worship, the Psalms in worship scenes of Revelation cannot be maintained as epitomizing its liturgical use in the early Church. Nevertheless, it may impart some useful insights to the understanding of the Psalms in the early Church. Now I turn to discuss what Psalms were drawn upon and how they were used in the book of Revelation, spelling out the significance of Psalms in understanding the book of Revelation.

PART II. ALLUSIONS AND INFLUENCES

Chapter 4

Strong Allusions

As discussed earlier, 'allusion' as defined in the thesis has textual affinity and contextual affinity. Both affinities in 'strong allusions' are clear.

4.1 Rev. 1:5a / Ps. 89(88):28, 38

The book of Revelation is often divided into three sections, Rev. 1:1–8 (prologue), 1:9–22:5 (visions), 22:6–21 (epilogue).¹ The prologue of Rev. 1:1–8 clearly spells out a unique feature of the book, a mix of prophecy, letter and apocalypse.² It identifies the book as 'prophecy' (1:3) and presents prophetic statements (Rev. 1:7–8); as in many of the epistles in the NT, it contains epistolary elements such as a beatitude (1:3), salutation (1:4–5a), and doxology (1:5b–6). Most distinctly, the prologue defines the book as an 'apocalypse' in Rev. 1:1.

As G. B. Caird noted, if the book of Revelation is a prophecy, then its distinguishing feature as prophecy is the title; it is the apocalypse of Jesus Christ.³ The term ἀποκάλυψις ('apocalypse') does not necessarily indicate the book's genre⁴ or prove conclusively that the book is a particular 'apocalypse' of Jesus Christ. Still, it is true that the term ἀποκάλυψις in Rev. 1:1 has been considered as the starting point for genre discussions.⁵ Additionally, the book itself retains

¹ See Adela Yarbro Collins, *The Combat Myth in the Book of Revelation* (Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press for Harvard Theological Review, 1976), 5–55; David E. Aune, *Revelation 1-5*, Word Biblical Commentary 52A (Dallas, Tex.: Word Books, 1997), xc–cv. Cf. G. K. Beale, *The Book of Revelation: A Commentary on the Greek Text*, New International Greek Testament Commentary (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999), 108–51. Beale sees Rev. 1:1–20 as a prologue instead of Rev. 1:1–8.

² 'A proximate classical prophecy' – F. D. Mazzaferri, *The Genre of the Book of Revelation from a Source-Critical Perspective*, Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche 54 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1989), 383. Bauckham suggested that prophetic groups in the early church possibly used Jewish apocalyptic traditions for their own intentions (*The Climax of Prophecy*, 38–91.) Grabbe states, 'Prophecy as such did not cease, despite some texts, but continued in a variety of forms into later Judaism and Christianity' (Lester L. Grabbe, 'Introduction and Overview,' in *Knowing the End from the Beginning: The Prophetic, the Apocalyptic and Their Relationships*, ed. Lester L. Grabbe and Robert D. Haak, Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha 46 [London: T. & T. Clark, 2003], 2–43). Collins argues that the book of Revelation is anomalous because of the absence of pseudepigraphy which is 'a constant feature of the Jewish apocalypses' (John J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction to Jewish Apocalyptic Literature*, 2nd ed. [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998], 269–79). Aune sees its genre as 'prophetic apocalypse' (*Revelation 1-5*, lxx–xc). 'Conjunction of the prophetic tradition with apocalyptic,' in Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, *The Book of Revelation: Justice and Judgment* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1985), 133–52.

³ G. B. Caird, *A Commentary on the Revelation of St. John the Divine*, Black's New Testament Commentaries (London: A. & C. Black, 1966), 11. See also Frederick J. Murphy, *Fallen Is Babylon: The Revelation to John*, The New Testament in Context (Harrisburg, Pa.: Trinity Press International, 1998), 59–60.

⁴ John J. Collins points out that Jewish apocalyptic literature includes both writings which do not have 'apocalypse' as their title and others which are combined with more than one genre (Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination*, 2–11.)

⁵ Paul D. Hanson, 'Apocalypse, Genre,' in *The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*, ed. George Arthur Buttrick, Bibls

several characteristics that distinguish it from the prophetic books. The nature of the book is reflected in John's presentation of Jesus Christ in Rev. 1:1–8.

Ἀποκάλυψις Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ can mean the revelation about Jesus Christ (objective genitive) as well as the revelation that Jesus conveys to John (subjective genitive).⁶ The description of the delivery of the revelation in Rev. 1:1 is more or less atypical compared to similar descriptions in Jewish apocalyptic literature. In Revelation, God delivers his message to John through Jesus Christ, whereas in the comparable literature, God conveys his message to seers through angelic beings.⁷ In Revelation, Jesus Christ is portrayed as the only one who has been appointed by God in order to unveil and carry out God's secret. This view of Jesus appears to be connected with John's self-recognition as a prophet⁸ and his treatment of the book as prophecy. John sees Jesus as the messiah who has been predicted in the prophecies of Scripture and displays the revelation from/about him in the form of an apocalypse. Thus, it is natural for John to highlight Jesus Christ in Rev. 1:1–8. The textual unit of Rev. 1:5–7, in particular, clearly manifests John's view of Jesus (see Table 3.1 – Structural Relationship of Rev. 1:5–7).

Revelation 1:5a involves three immediate titles of Jesus Christ: (1) ὁ μάρτυς, ὁ πιστός ('faithful witness'), (2) ὁ πρωτότοκος τῶν νεκρῶν ('the firstborn of the dead'), (3) ὁ ἄρχων τῶν βασιλέων τῆς γῆς ('the ruler of the kings of the earth'). Though the first, 'faithful witness,' can be seen not only in Ps. 89:38 but also in Prov. 14:5 and Isa. 55:4,⁹ the allusion in Rev. 1:5a to Ps. 89 has been undoubtedly accepted on the basis of the other two titles, which exhibit strong dependence on Ps. 89:28.

Ps. 89:28, 38 MT	Ps. 88:28, 38 LXX	Rev. 1:5a
אני בכור אתנה עליון למלכי־ארץ	πρωτότοκον θήσομαι αὐτόν ὑψηλὸν παρὰ τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν τῆς γῆς	ἀπὸ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὁ μάρτυς, ὁ πιστός ὁ πρωτότοκος τῶν νεκρῶν ὁ ἄρχων τῶν βασιλέων τῆς γῆς
כירח יכון עולם ועד בשחק נאמן	ὡς ἡ σελήνη κατηρτισμένη εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα ὁ μάρτυς ἐν οὐρανῷ πιστός διάψαλμα	

The vast agreement on the allusion seems to have been established mostly because of textual

(New York: Abingdon Press, 1962), 27–28.

⁶ Jürgen Roloff, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes* (Zürich: Theologischer Verlag, 1984), 28.

⁷ See D. S. Russell, *The Method & Message of Jewish Apocalyptic, 200 BC - AD 100*, The Old Testament Library (London: SCM Press, 1964), 104–39. In apocalyptic tradition angelic beings directly sent by God deliver divine messages to the seer in vision or dream. Cf. John's five-step process: God → Jesus → his angel → John → his servants (ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ ὁ θεὸς δεῖξαι τοῖς δούλοις αὐτοῦ ... διὰ τοῦ ἀγγέλου αὐτοῦ τῷ δούλῳ αὐτοῦ Ἰωάννῃ).

⁸ Mazzaferri, 'a prophet but a neo-classical one' (F. D. Mazzaferri, *The Genre of the Book of Revelation from a Source-Critical Perspective*, 383). See also Bauckham, *The Climax of Prophecy*, 38–91.

⁹ See Swete, *The Apocalypse of St John*, 6.

affinity.¹⁰ The significance of its contextual affinity, however, has been relatively underestimated. This includes the messianic outlook found in the psalm¹¹ that is agreeable with John's perspective of Jesus as the messiah in the book.¹²

2 Sam. 7:8b–16 and Ps. 89

While the historical setting of Ps. 89 is not certain,¹³ the literary context of the psalm shows that the psalmist has in mind the Davidic covenant introduced in 2 Sam. 7:8b–16. Differences between the two texts have been noted¹⁴: (1) the omission in Ps. 89 of reference to the temple project in 2 Sam 7:10–13; (2) the application of the promise to the entire Davidic dynasty in 2 Sam. 7:19 but to David alone in Ps. 89:23–24; (3) the father-son relationship between Yahweh and David's son in 2 Sam. 7:14 but in Ps. 89:27–28 between Yahweh and David alone; (4) Yahweh's punishment on David's son in 2 Sam. 7:14 while on the entire Davidic dynasty in Ps. 89:31–33; (5) the absence in 2 Sam. 7 of the vision account in Ps. 89:20; and (6) a strong emphasis on the covenant in Ps. 89:4, 35–36, 50 which is not found in 2 Sam. 7.¹⁵

While 2 Sam. 7:8b–16 appears to concern the establishment of the Davidic covenant itself, Ps. 89 focuses on the meaning of the covenant and its significance. The covenantal promise in 2 Sam. 7:13 that וְכִנְנִיתִי אֶת־כִּסֵּא מַמְלַכְתּוֹ עַד־עוֹלָם ('I will establish the throne of his kingdom forever') extends to the entire Davidic dynasty. Yet the psalmist seems to confirm that the covenant remains legitimate only with David himself (see points 2 and 3 in the preceding paragraph). The psalmist likely adopted the term בְּכוֹר ('first-born,' Ps. 89:28) instead of זֶרְעֶךָ ('your offspring,' 2 Sam. 7:12) to emphasize David as the representative of the covenant. John was probably informed

¹⁰ Fiorenza suggested another possible allusion to Isa. 55:4 based on the similar wordings μαρτύριον, 'witness'), ἄρχοντα ('ruler') but with no words for ὁ πρωτότοκος τῶν νεκρῶν (Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, *Priester für Gott*, German [Münster: Aschendorff, 1972], 199–200). See also Fekkes, *Isaiah and Prophetic Traditions in the Book of Revelation*, 110–11.

¹¹ מְשִׁיחַ יְהוָה in royal psalms was no doubt understood as an eschatological figure in Judaism. See Brevard S. Childs, *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture* (London: SCM Press, 1979), 517; Samuel L. Terrien, *The Psalms: Strophic Structure and Theological Commentary*, Eerdmans Critical Commentary (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003), 639–40. Terrien states, 'Judaism differs from patriarchal and monarchic Hebraism for many reasons, the most important of which is that the motif of the "the King" became eschatological.' For messianic interpretations of Ps. 89 in the Jewish literature, see David C. Mitchell, *The Message of the Psalter: An Eschatological Programme in the Book of Psalms*, *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 252 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 255–56.

¹² See Caird, *A Commentary on the Revelation of St. John the Divine*, 16–17; Steve Moyise, 'The Psalms in the Book of Revelation,' in *Psalms in the New Testament*, ed. Steve Moyise and M. J. J. Menken, 236–37. Cf. Beale, *The Book of Revelation*, 190–92.

¹³ Mitchell J. Dahood, *Psalms 51-100*, The Anchor Bible 17 (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1966), 311; Marvin E. Tate, *Psalms 51-100*, Word Biblical Commentary 20 (Waco, Tex.: Word Books, 1990), 416–19.

¹⁴ Nahum M. Sarna, 'Psalm 89: A Study in Inner Biblical Exegesis,' in *Biblical and Other Studies*, ed. Alexander Altmann (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963), 29–46; Michael A. Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), 466.

¹⁵ Tate, *Psalms 51-100*, 417–18.

of both texts, was perhaps aware of their differences, and considered what each text intended to communicate. The term בכור certainly refers to David as the anointed king in Ps. 89, particularly in the sense of being first chosen by Yahweh. The king (מלִכְנוּ) of Israel in Ps. 89:19 thus means the descendents of David.¹⁶ Doubtless, John would have seen in Ps. 89 one of the main tenants of the Davidic covenant, namely, that Yahweh made a covenant with David so that the sons of David could stay in it.

Threefold Statement

Unlike Ps. 88:28 LXX, Rev. 1:5a has ὁ πρωτότοκος τῶν νεκρῶν ('the firstborn of the dead'). It reflects a typical understanding of Jesus Christ in early Christianity.¹⁷ Inasmuch as ὁ πρωτότοκος τῶν νεκρῶν evokes Christ's death and resurrection,¹⁸ Ps. 89:39–52 may be regarded to suggest such an image of the suffering messiah.¹⁹ Sin is mentioned in the Davidic covenant both in 2 Sam. 7:14 (בהעותו, 'when he does wrong') and in Ps. 89:31–33 (אם־יעזבו בני־תורתִי, 'if his sons forsake my law,' v. 31) where it does not mark David's sin but unmistakably his sons' iniquity.²⁰ Yahweh's punishment is to be determined for their transgression against the covenant. Yahweh's wrath surprisingly advances onto David himself, the anointed one (ותמאס התעברת עם־משיחך) in Ps. 89:39. The rejection of the messiah, the firstborn of Yahweh, which had not been mentioned at all in 2 Sam. 7 was devastatingly depicted in the latter part of Ps. 89: e.g., חללת לארץ נזרו ('thou hast profaned his crown in the dust', v. 40); היה חרפה לשכניו ('he has become a reproach to his neighbors, v. 42); etc. At the end of Ps. 89:49–51, nevertheless, the psalmist reaffirms Yahweh's faithfulness to the covenant with praise. The closing part of the psalm is to a certain extent similar to the structure of Ps. 22 which has long been noticed in relation with the suffering of Jesus on the cross.²¹ John might well have grasped the word רבכּו ('firstborn') in the context of Ps. 89 and drawn on it in Rev. 1:5a, adding the words τῶν νεκρῶν to manifest his Christological view of Jesus as the Davidic messiah.

The words τῶν βασιλέων τῆς γῆς ('the kings of the earth') is almost verbally equivalent to

¹⁶ Hans-Joachim Kraus, *Theology of the Psalms* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1986), 109.

¹⁷ Aune, *Revelation 1-5*, 38–39.

¹⁸ Being applied to Jesus, the term πρωτότοκος means a new humanity, simply indicating Christ's resurrection. See Charles, *The Revelation of St. John*, vol. 1, 14; Ibsen T. Beckwith, *The Apocalypse of John: Studies in Introduction with a Critical and Exegetical Commentary* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1967), 428; Robert H. Mounce, *The Book of Revelation* (London: Marshall, Morgan and Scott, 1978), 70–71. Because of the words τῶν νεκρῶν, the implication of Jesus' death cannot be excluded here.

¹⁹ Artur Weiser, *The Psalms: A Commentary*, The Old Testament Library (London: SCM Press, 1962), 593–94.

²⁰ Cf. Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel*, 466–67.

²¹ For details, see Holly J. Carey, *Jesus' Cry from the Cross: Towards a First-Century Understanding of the Intertextual Relationship Between Psalm 22 and the Narrative of Mark's Gospel* (London: T. & T. Clark, 2009), 147–50.

the counterpart wordings in Ps. 88:28 LXX. In Revelation, the kings of the earth have never been on God's side, except in Rev. 21:24—more precisely indicating God's enemies who aggressively stand up against God and his kingdom. The phrase *ὁ ἄρχων τῶν βασιλέων τῆς γῆς* in Rev. 1:5a thus implies Christ's victory/subjugation of the kings of the earth and Rev. 21:24 probably depicts such an eschatological victory/kingly rule.²² The psalm does not directly link the 'kings of the earth' as Yahweh's or his messiah's enemy. Nonetheless, in its context the existence of the enemies of Yahweh's messiah is clearly mentioned in Ps. 89:23, 24, 51–52 and all the nations (*כְּלִרְבִּים עַמִּים*) are specifically meant in Ps. 89:51, 52 as the enemy of the messiah. In Ps. 89:23, 24 Yahweh himself destroys the enemy of his messiah and the horn of the messiah in Ps. 88:25 LXX is exalted (*ὑψωθήσεται*). The phrase *ὑψηλὸν παρὰ τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν τῆς γῆς* ('the exalted of the kings of the earth') in Ps. 88:28 LXX represents the ultimate triumph/kingly rule of Yahweh's messiah. The contextual affinity regarding this wording is, therefore, as strong as its textual affinity. Revelation 1:5a reads *ἄρχων* ('ruler' or 'lord'), while Ps. 88:28 LXX translates *עֲלִיּוֹן* as *ὑψηλός* ('high, exalted'). It is possible that John singled out *ἄρχων* instead of *ὑψηλός* to better mark the kingship of Christ in consideration of the contextual relationship between the two texts.

The allusion of *ὁ μάρτυς, ὁ πιστός* in Rev. 1:5a to Ps. 89(88):38 is complicated. Beale advocates Ps. 88:38 by noting the grammatical idiosyncrasy of *ὁ μάρτυς, ὁ πιστός*: the nominative does not agree with *ἀπὸ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ* (Rev. 1:5a) but it does agree with *ὁ μάρτυς ἐν οὐρανῷ πιστός* in Ps. 88:38.²³ The verbal association of *ὁ μάρτυς, ὁ πιστός* with Ps. 88:38 is obvious. However, the identification of *עַד בְּשָׁמַיִם* (*ὁ μάρτυς ἐν οὐρανῷ*) 'the witness in the sky' in Ps. 89(88):38 is ambiguous in the context.²⁴ Possible referents have been suggested, including divine councils like the sun or the moon (Mullen), the Davidic throne (Mosca) and Yahweh (Veijola), none of which appears to be entirely satisfactory. Moreover it is unclear that the psalmist employed *עַד בְּשָׁמַיִם נִאֲמַר* with a messianic outlook in Ps. 89 or that the OG/LXX translator took advantage of *ὁ μάρτυς ἐν οὐρανῷ* in that way. It is thus uncertain how John himself acknowledged *עַד בְּשָׁמַיִם* (MT) or *ὁ μάρτυς ἐν οὐρανῷ* (LXX) as designating the messiah in the psalm. What is convincing is that John would have directly applied *ὁ μάρτυς ἐν οὐρανῷ πιστός* to Jesus Christ in light of two preceding clear allusions (*ὁ πρωτότοκος; ὁ ἄρχων τῶν βασιλέων*) to the psalm.

Since, more than any psalm, Ps. 89 calls attention to Yahweh's faithfulness,²⁵ John

²² Beale sees it as 'the conversion of some of defeated kings' (*The Book of Revelation*, 191, 1097).

²³ *Ibid.*, 192.

²⁴ See E. Theodore Mullen, 'The Divine Witness and the Davidic Royal Grant: Ps 89:37-38,' *Journal of Biblical Literature* 102, no. 2 (Je 1983): 207–18; Paul G. Mosca, 'Once Again the Heavenly Witness of Ps 89:38,' *Journal of Biblical Literature* 105, no. 1 (Mr 1986): 27–37; Timo Veijola, 'The Witness in the Clouds: Ps 89:38,' *Journal of Biblical Literature* 107, no. 3 (S 1988): 413–17.

²⁵ *נִאֲמַר* (LXX: ἀλήθεια) – vv. 2, 3, 6, 9, 25, 34, 50; *נִאֲמַר* (πιστός) – vv. 29, 38, 53. All point to Yahweh's character

possibly understood עַד בְּשֹׁהֶק נֶאֱמַן as indicating Yahweh himself.²⁶ Notably, Yahweh’s faithfulness in the psalm is only referred to in connection with the Davidic covenant. The implication of the psalm is plain—Yahweh himself is the witness and he will be faithful to the covenant. It is plausible that John simply thought that Jesus Christ was the only one who was appointed by God himself for God’s message (Rev. 1:1) and thus the one who must be called the ‘faithful witness’ on behalf of God’s faithfulness.

Alternatively, John may have interpreted ὁ μάρτυς ἐν οὐρανῷ πιστός as referring to Jesus Christ in order to support his high Christology and thus to establish that Jesus has power and authority equal to God’s. Such a high view of Jesus will be seen again in the allusion of Rev. 1:5b to Ps. 130:8.

Assessment

The sequence of three expressions in Rev. 1:5a is different from that in Ps. 89. While Ps. 89 placed ‘firstborn,’ ‘the king of kings,’ and ‘faithful witness’ in this order, the ‘faithful witness’ comes first in Rev. 1:5a. This reordering could simply indicate John’s perception of Jesus Christ. As mentioned earlier, John noted in the prologue (Rev. 1:1–8) Jesus’ crucial role of the conveying of God’s revelation to humanity; John twice employed the words τὴν μαρτυρίαν Ἰησοῦ (Χριστοῦ) ‘the testimony of Jesus (Christ)’ (vv. 2, 9). The faithful witness of the word of God seems to have been emphasized more than any other definitions or conceptions in the introduction of the book. Further, John probably put the ‘faithful witness’ first in the sequence because the arrangement in Rev. 1:5a demonstrates to some degree both his own theological perspective on Christ’s work and his literary technique in writing the eulogy of Jesus Christ in Rev. 1:5a–7. From a theological perspective this means that John presents Christ’s redemptive work in sequence: proclamation (teaching) of God’s kingdom → death and resurrection → eschatological reign. The literary technique means that John’s description of Jesus Christ in Rev. 1:5a shows a structural relationship to Rev. 1:5b–7²⁷ as follows:

Table 4.1 – Structural Relationship of Rev. 1:5–7

Rev. 1:5a	Rev. 1:5b–6	Rev. 1:7	
<i>The faithful witness</i>	<i>To him who loves us</i>	<i>Every eye will see him coming</i>	Faithfulness
<i>The firstborn of the dead</i>	<i>Freed us from our sins by his blood</i>	<i>Even those who pierced him (will see him)</i>	Death and resurrection
<i>The ruler of the kings of the earth</i>	<i>Made us to be a kingdom and priests to serve his God and Father</i>	<i>All the people of the earth will mourn because of him</i>	Eschatological reign

except for v. 38.

²⁶ Yahweh as witness in the OT means judge as well as accuser (Gen. 31:50; 1 Sam. 12:5, 6; 20:12) (see HALOT).

²⁷ Revelation 1:5a–7 divides into three subsections (1:5a; 1:5b–6; 7), each of which refers to Jesus Christ.

In Table 4.1, the first line represents Jesus' faithfulness to what he promised/witnessed to his people; the second indicates his death and resurrection; the last suggests his eschatological reign over the nations. In a sense three categorized dimensions in Rev. 1:5a–7 pertain to Jesus' threefold role to be the ideal messiah: prophet, priest, king. As we have discussed, John brings much attention to Jesus' testimony (v. 1, 2 and 9) and designates him as the 'faithful witness' (v. 5). The testimony of Jesus evidently stands for his prophetic role. Jesus' death and resurrection implies his eternal priesthood to cleanse sin and restore people.²⁸ The reign over the nations is an archetypal function of the messiah as an eschatological king. Such a notion of Jesus is developed throughout the book to some degree. The messages to the seven churches in chapters 2–3 were in a prophetic form delivered by Jesus Christ himself, who is depicted in Rev. 1:13–18. Then Jesus is delineated as the Lamb who had been slain and redeems men by the Lamb's blood (Rev. 5:6, 9; 7:14; 12:11; 14:4–5). In the latter chapters of the book the eschatological reign of the Lamb is consummated (chs. 19–22). In this respect, the threefold statement of Jesus Christ in Rev. 1:5a plays an essential role in understanding Jesus as the messiah in the book, as well as in understanding the book as a whole. By using significant expressions from the Davidic covenant in Ps. 89(88), John demonstrated his intent to present Jesus as the messiah.

4.2 Rev. 2:26–27, 12:5, 19:15 / Ps. 2:8–9

The Revelation texts in question lie in different locations throughout the book and are used in different literary ways. Following Rev. 1:9–20, a son of man vision, the letters to the seven churches in Asia Minor in Rev. 2:1–3:22 are comprised of prophetic messages given by the son of man. Revelation 2:26–27 contains an eschatological promise to those who overcome in the letter to the church in Thyatira in Rev. 2:18–29. Revelation 12:5 is placed in the visionary scene of the conflict between the pregnant woman and the dragon in Rev. 12:1–6. The passage of Rev. 12:1–6 is situated in a pause (see Table 4.3 – Structural Analysis of Rev. 8:1–6, 11:14–19, 15:1–8) between the second and the third woe, i.e., the seven trumpets and the seven bowls. Revelation 19:15 comes after all the series of the seven plagues and before the inauguration of the millennium (Rev. 20). The three texts are positioned roughly at the introduction, middle, and last part of Revelation respectively, and thus perform different functions in the book. Still, there are some similarities between them. The texts of Rev. 2:26–27, 12:5, 19:15 are all seen in the context of battle between God's side (his messiah/people) and Satan's side (the nations/dragon). Most obviously, they include the same phrase of 'break/rule them with a rod of iron.' The phrase is verbally found in Psalm 2:9.

²⁸ Cf. Beale, *The Book of Revelation*, 191.

Ps. 2:8–9 MT	Ps. 2:8–9 LXX	Rev. 2:26–27; 12:5; 19:15
		2:26-27 δώσω αὐτῷ ἐξουσίαν ἐπὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν ποιμανεῖ αὐτοὺς ἐν ῥάβδῳ σιδηρᾷ ὡς τὰ σκεύη τὰ κεραμικὰ συντρίβεται
אתנה גוים נחלתך אחזתך אפסי־ארץ	δώσω σοι ἔθνη τὴν κληρονομίαν σου καὶ τὴν κατάσχεσίν σου τὰ πέρατα τῆς γῆς	12:5 ἔτεκεν υἱὸν ἄρσεν, ὃς μέλλει ποιμαίνειν πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἐν ῥάβδῳ σιδηρᾷ
תרעם בשבט ברזל ככלי יוצר תנפצם	ποιμανεῖς ²⁹ αὐτοὺς ἐν ῥάβδῳ σιδηρᾷ ὡς σκεῦος κεραμέως συντρίψεις αὐτούς	19:15 ἐν αὐτῇ πατάξῃ τὰ ἔθνη, καὶ αὐτὸς ποιμανεῖ αὐτοὺς ἐν ῥάβδῳ σιδηρᾷ

The allusion to Ps. 2:8–9 in Rev. 2:26–27, 12:5, 19:15 has been generally accepted by scholars as one of the strongest cases for the Psalms in the book of Revelation.³⁰ The key phrase ποιμανεῖς αὐτοὺς ἐν ῥάβδῳ σιδηρᾷ (‘break/rule them with a rod of iron’) in Ps. 2:9 LXX is not used in the NT³¹ except for these three texts of Revelation. Without a doubt, the textual affinity is distinct. In particular, Ps. 2:9 in Rev. 2:26–27 is often deemed a quotation.³² It also exemplifies the use of the Psalms in the book of Revelation and even supports seeing the other two allusions in Rev. 12:5 and 19:15 in relation to Ps. 2. Nonetheless, the assessment of the allusion to Ps. 2:9 in Rev. 2:26–27, 12:5, 19:15 based on textual affinity faces two problems.

First, the reference to Ps. 2:9 in Rev. 2:26–27 seems different from Rev. 12:5 and 19:15. In Rev. 12:5 the authority to rule over the nations with a rod of iron (ἐξουσίαν ἐπὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν) is to be given to the son³³ of the woman clothed with the sun. In Rev. 19:15 the authority belongs to the one sitting on a white horse called Faithful and True. In Rev. 2:26–27, however, the authority is not granted to the messiah but to Christians. In this respect, Ps. 2:8–9 in Rev. 2:27 may not be considered as messianic though its use of the psalm is identifiable.³⁴ On account of the inconsistent use of Ps. 2:8–9 in Revelation, one may also argue that John did not allude/point to Ps. 2:9 in Rev.

²⁹ Symmachus (cf. *Pss. Sol.* 17:24), συντρίβω.

³⁰ Charles, *The Revelation of St. John*; Martin Rist, ‘The Revelation of St. John the Divine’ in *The Interpreter's Bible 12* (New York: Abingdon Press, 1957), 347-613; Beckwith, *The Apocalypse of John*; Caird, *A Commentary on the Revelation of St. John the Divine*; J. Massyngberde Ford, *Revelation*.

³¹ Cf. *Pss. Sol.* 17:24.

³² Moyise classifies it as ‘unmarked quotation in terms of verbal affinity,’ suggesting four quotations of the Psalms in Revelation (Ps. 2:1–2 → Rev. 11:15, 18; Ps. 2:8–9 → Rev. 2:26, 12:5, 19:15; Ps. 86:8–10 → Rev. 15:3–4; Ps. 89:28, 38 → Rev. 1:5a). See Moyise, ‘The Psalms in the Book of Revelation,’ 231. Cf. Caird – ‘echo’ (*A Commentary on the Revelation of St. John the Divine*, 45).

³³ The male child is identified as the ‘Messiah figure of Jewish expectation’ (Ian Paul, ‘The Use of the Old Testament in the New Testament,’ in *The Old Testament in the New Testament: Essays in Honour of J. L. North*, ed. Steve Moyise, Journal for the Study of the New Testament 189 [Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000], 266).

³⁴ Sam Janse, ‘You Are My Son’: *The Reception History of Psalm 2 in Early Judaism and the Early Church* (Leuven: Peeters, 2009), 182.

2:26–27, but rather merely took the wordings from it for his argument.

However, it is worth noting that the origin of the authority in Rev. 2:27 is underlined by adding *καὶ γὰρ εἴληφα παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς μου* ('I myself have received power from my father,' RSV) in Rev. 2:28. John makes it clear that the authority to be granted to Christians was in essence a unique power of the messiah, the only one authorized by God to rule over all the nations, as suggested by Ps. 2:8. In the larger context of Rev. 2:18–29, the letter to Thyatira, John indeed emphasizes Jesus Christ's authority; the letter begins with the designation of the 'son of God' (ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ) in Rev. 2:18, a title granted to Yahweh's messiah in Ps. 2. The 'authority' in Rev. 2:26–27 should be regarded as messianic, drawing on Ps. 2:8–9. Considering such contextual aspects, thus, John's allusion to Ps. 2:8–9 in Rev. 2:26–27, 12:5, 19:15 are more probable.

Secondly, the word **תַּרְעַם** ('smash' or 'rule') in Ps. 2:9 MT is differently interpreted in the phrases *ποιμανεῖ αὐτοὺς ἐν ῥάβδῳ σιδηρᾷ* (Rev. 2:26–27; 19:15) / *ποιμαίνειν πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἐν ῥάβδῳ σιδηρᾷ* (Rev. 12:5). The verb *ποιμαίνω* is used with a positive sense of 'rule' in Rev. 2:26–27 and 12:5 while Rev. 19:15 holds its negative sense of 'destroy/shatter.' If John consciously alluded to Ps. 2:9 in Rev. 2:26–27, 12:5, 19:15, we must see such meanings/usage of *ποιμαίνω* in Ps. 2:9. Otherwise, one should argue that John would have been influenced by Ps. 2:9 in the Revelation texts. Further, the problem of **תַּרְעַם** is coupled with the issues of its vocalization and Greek translation, and thus is much more complicated. A contextual approach will help with the two issues pertaining to the word **תַּרְעַם**.

The vocalization of **תַּרְעַם** (רַעַע II³⁵, 'smash') in Ps. 2:9 MT is controversial. Wilhelmi suggested that **רַעַה** ('pasture' or 'rule') is to be judged as original in light of the usage of *ποιμαίνω* ('shepherd') in the OG/LXX.³⁶ Considering synonymous parallel of **תַּרְעַם** with **תַּנְפֵּצֵם** ('smash'), **רַעַע** is tenable.³⁷ Psalm 2:4–9 is a strong warning of Yahweh to the kings of the nations who rebel against Yahweh and his anointed one in Ps. 2:1–3. The words **הוֹסִירוּ** ('have insight'), and **הוֹסִירוּ** ('be warned') in Ps. 2:10 bear out Yahweh's warning of Ps. 2:4–9. Psalm 2:12 reaffirms that Yahweh's destroying wrath will take place (**וְתִאבְדּוּ דֶרֶךְ כִּי־יִבְעַר כַּמְעַט אִפּוֹ**) if the nations reject the warning.³⁸ In light of the context of the psalm, **רַעַע** is more plausible. The choice of **רַעַע** causes a

³⁵ Aramaic loanword, equivalent to **רַצִּיץ** in Hebrew (*HALOT*).

³⁶ Gerhard Wilhelmi, 'Der Hirt mit dem eisernen Szepter: Überlegungen zu Psalm 2:9,' *Vetus Testamentum* 27, no. 2 (Ap 1977): 196–204.

³⁷ Franz Delitzsch, *Biblical Commentary on the Psalms* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1887), 126; Kraus, *Psalms 1-59*, 124; Mitchell J. Dahood, *Psalms 1-50*, The Anchor Bible 16 (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1966), 13; Craigie, *Psalms 1-50*, 64. Cf. Wilhelmi, 'Der Hirt mit dem eisernen Szepter: Überlegungen zu Psalm 2:9' – 'antithetical parallelism' (**רַעַע/ποιμαίνω**, 'rule'; **תַּנְפֵּצֵם/στυπτεριβω**, 'smash').

³⁸ Cf. In response to H. Schmidt's questioning 'how foreign to the picture of the crucified is that of the king who smashes peoples with an iron rod!', Kraus argued that Yahweh's warning in Psalm 2 that the nations are to be smashed has been metaphorically expressed (*Psalms 1-59*, 134).

conflict between the phrase ‘I will give the nations as your inheritance’ (וְאֶתְנָהּ גוֹיִם נַחֲלֶתָךְ) in Ps. 2:8 and ‘You will smash break them with a rod of iron and dash them to pieces like pottery’ (תִּרְעַם בְּשֹׁבֵט בְּרִזְל כִּכְלִי יוֹצֵר תִּנְפְּצֵם) in Ps. 2:9. John probably recognized in Ps. 2:8–9 these two conflicting dimensions: blessing/inheritance and judgment/destruction. He then employed them in Rev. 2:26–27, 12:5, and 19:15 to underscore an eschatological reign of the messiah.³⁹ The Greek translation of תִּרְעַם strengthens this observation of John’s use of the psalm in Rev. 2:26–27, 12:5, 19:15.

The OG/LXX translators apparently understood the unpointed consonant תִּרְעַם as תִּרְעָם (רַעָה, ‘pasture’ or ‘rule’), thus into ποιμαίνω. The verb ποιμαίνω is used in a negative context as in Mic. 5:4 LXX; still, it is questionable how the translators came to decide תִּרְעַם was derived from רַעָה in view of the preference of רַעַע in the context of the psalm. Some suggest a mistranslation of the OG/LXX.⁴⁰ The OG/LXX translators should have seen the textual ambiguity of תִּרְעַם and faced difficulties when selecting συντριβω (‘break’),⁴¹ προσρήσσω (‘shatter’)⁴² or ποιμαίνω, depending upon on the vocalization of תִּרְעַם. It is also assumed that they were acquainted with a double meaning of ποιμαίνω: ‘shepherd’ or ‘rule’ (‘destroy’ in negative sense). Possibly the translators chose ποιμαίνω in their interpretative/theological decision⁴³ in vacillating between poetic parallelism (רַעַע) and traditional vocalization (perhaps רַעָה).⁴⁴

Ποιμαίνω in Ps. 2:9 LXX is employed by Rev. 2:26–27, 12:5, and 19:15 but its usage varies. As mentioned earlier, while Rev. 2:26–27 and 12:5 use the term for power granted to Jesus and believers, allowing their reign over the nations (positive sense), in Rev. 19:15 it implies a destruction of the nations in the war scenario (negative sense).⁴⁵ This substantiates the possibility

³⁹ 4Q174 (the *Florilegium*, the so-called *Eschatological midrash*) interprets Ps. 2:1 as eschatological, thus in the Last days the nations being against the chosen of Israel (see 4Q174, col. 3, line 18 – col. 4, 7).

⁴⁰ See Charles, *The Revelation of St. John*, 1:75–76; Kraus, *Psalms 1-59*, 124; Joachim Jeremias, ‘Ποιμαίνω,’ in *TDNT*, 6:494.

⁴¹ It is found 134 times in the OG/LXX, translated from the Hebrew original שָׁבַר (Georg Bertram, ‘Συντριβω,’ *TDNT*, 7:920).

⁴² Only two occurrences in the NT (Luke 6:48, 49).

⁴³ Natalio Fernández Marcos, *The Septuagint in Context: Introduction to the Greek Version of the Bible*, trans. Wilfred G. E. Watson (Boston: Brill, 2000), 22–25. Cf. Beale sees such an intentional mistranslation ‘a dynamic equivalence rendering’ (*The Book of Revelation*, 267).

⁴⁴ Though uncertain about tradition, the OG/LXX translators might have kept some kind of tradition of vocalization. See also Lichtenberger, *Die Schrift in der Offenbarung des Johannes*, 385.

⁴⁵ Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination*, 278–79. He says, ‘it is of the essence of the apocalyptic vision in both Judaism and Christianity that the defeat of evil and the wicked is a real, public event that only takes place at the end of history’ (p. 278) and ‘the impact of apocalyptic conventions is most obvious in the portrayal of Jesus as divine warrior in Revelation 19’ (p. 279). Charles argued for ‘destroy’ as the secondary meaning of ποιμαίνω in parallel of ποιμαίνω in Rev. 19:5. Black understood John’s use of ποιμαίνω only meaning ‘rule’ and Moyise argues that John borrowed paradoxical exaggeration from Ps. 2, whereby rule means subjugation described in the language of destruction.

that John knew various meanings of the verb⁴⁶ and took advantage of it to interpret Ps. 2:8–9 in its context, possibly avoiding the issue of vocalization of תרעם.

Assessment

It is not certain whether John appreciated the mistranslation of the OG/LXX or the problem of vocalization of the MT. Yet the allusions to Ps. 2:8–9 in Rev. 2:26–27, 12:5 and 19:15 are clearly marked by verbal affinities and authorial intent to use the psalm in its contextual relationship. John seems not to have read Ps. 2:8–9 as conflicting, but rather seen the two aspects as two sides of one coin. Steven Thompson recognizes this possibility, arguing that the concepts of ‘rule’ and ‘smash’ the nations in Ps. 2:9 are to be combined in the book of Revelation. Thompson writes,

Certainly behind both passages (Rev. 2:27 and 19:15) lies the idea of conquest, patterned after the conquest of Canaan by the Hebrews under Yahweh’s command, with the goal of “possessing” the territory promised to the patriarch Abraham. In this sense ποιμαίνω means “push aside” or “shepherd away” the heathen to make way for Yahweh’s chosen people.⁴⁷

By alluding to Ps. 2:8–9 in Rev. 2:26–27, 12:5 and 19:15, John unveiled the essence of the coming age of the Messiah in first-century Christian expectation: the Messiah’s eternal victory, reign over all the nations, and granting of his power to the overcomers.

4.3 Rev. 5:8–9; 14:2–3 / Pss. 33(32):2–3; 98(97):1, 5; 144(143):9; 149:1, 3

There are three singing scenes associated with the harp/lyre in the book of Revelation: Rev. 5:8–14, 14:2–3 and 15:2–4. Revelation 5:8–14 is comprised of four parts of songs of praise to the Lamb and God. In vv. 8–10 the four living creatures and the twenty-four elders sing to the Lamb about his atonement (ὅτι ἐσφάγης καὶ ἡγόρασας τῷ θεῷ ἐν τῷ αἵματί σου, v. 9) as he took a scroll sealed with seven seals. Encircling the living creatures and the elders, many angels in vv. 11–12 sing to the Lamb as well and all the creatures in v. 13 praise the Lamb and God, followed by the closing ‘Amen’ of the four living creatures in v. 14. The object/content of the songs of praise in Rev. 5:8–14 is thus mainly the Lamb who was slain and his salvific work. Revelation 14:2–3 does not immediately disclose either the subject of the singing or its object. Revelation 14:2–3a announce a sound from heaven (φωνὴν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ) singing a new song; Rev. 14:3b pronounces, ‘no one could learn the song except for the 144,000 who have been redeemed.’ Hence, the song in Rev. 14:2–3 is probably a thanksgiving hymn for the redemption brought about by the Lamb. Revelation

⁴⁶ In Rev. 7:17, the verb ποιμαίνω is used to mean to ‘shepherd’ the faithful.

⁴⁷ Steven Thompson, *The Apocalypse and Semitic Syntax* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 16. Cf. Moyise, ‘The Psalms in the Book of Revelation,’ 234.

15:2–4 contains a song whose title is the ‘song of Moses, song of the Lamb,’ which those who overcame the number of the name of beast and its image sing. Differently from Rev. 5:8–9 and 14:2–3, Rev. 15:2–4 praises God alone for his salvific work (τὰ ἔργα σου, v. 3; τὰ δικαιώματά σου, v. 4) rather than the Lamb and does not refer to the ‘new song.’⁴⁸ The term ‘new song’⁴⁹ in the Jewish scriptures is concerned with Yahweh’s redemption of the sufferer,⁵⁰ being applied to thanksgiving or praise for Yahweh’s salvific action: Jdt. 16:13; Pss. 3:1; 15:3; 33(32):3; 40(39):4; 96(95):1; 98(97):1; 144(143):9; 149:1; Isa. 42:10.⁵¹ Of the scriptural texts which include the term ‘new song,’ only Pss. 33, 98, 144 and 149 include the phrase ‘new song’ (שִׁיר חֲדָשׁ) along with musical instrument (‘harp’ or ‘lyre,’ כַּנּוֹר or נַבֵּל).⁵² Early Christianity incorporated an eschatological aspect into the term ‘new song’ (ὠδὴ καινός) to signify the age of the messiah.⁵³ The phrase ‘new song’ only occurs in the NT in Rev. 5:8–9 and 14:2–3,⁵⁴ which include musical instruments and pertain to the redemption of God or the Lamb. The association of Rev. 5:8–9 and 14:2–3 with Pss. 33(32):2–3, 98(97):1, 5; 144(143):9 and 149:1, 3 is to be considered.

Pss. 33:2–3; 98:1,5; 144:9; 149:1,3 MT	Pss. 32:2–3; 97:1,5; 143:9; 149:1,3 LXX	Rev. 5:8–9; 14:2–3
הודו ליהוה בכנור בנבל עשור זמרו-לו שירו-לו שיר חדש	τῶ κυρίῳ ἐν κιθάρα ἐν ψαλτηρίῳ δεκαχόρδῳ ψάλατε αὐτῶ ἄσατε αὐτῶ ἄσμα καινόν	ἔχοντες ἕκαστος κιθάραν... ἄδουσιν ὠδὴν καινὴν λέγοντες...
שירו ליהוה שיר חדש זמרו ליהוה בכנור	ἄσατε τῶ κυρίῳ ἄσμα καινόν ψάλατε τῶ κυρίῳ ἐν κιθάρα ὠδὴν καινὴν ἄσομαι σοι ἐν ψαλτηρίῳ	κιθαρῶδῶν κιθαριζόντων ἐν ταῖς κιθάραις αὐτῶν... ἄδουσιν [ὡς] ὠδὴν καινὴν...

⁴⁸ For more about the song of Rev. 15:3–4, see Rev. 15:3b–4 / Ps. 86:8–11.

⁴⁹ See also F. F. Bruce, ‘New,’ in *IDB*, ed. George Arthur Buttrick (New York: Abingdon Press, 1962), 542.

⁵⁰ In ancient religions, ritual was often performed with music, the music being regarded as having power to rescue people from the earthly prison and open the gate of the heaven. See A. Leo Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia: Portrait of a Dead Civilization*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964), 188–90; Siegfried Morenz, *Egyptian Religion* (London: Methuen, 1973), 88; Tomas Arvedson, *Das Mysterium Christi: Eine Studie zu Mt 11:25-30* (Uppsala: Wretmans Boktryckeri, 1937), 233.

⁵¹ Pss. 33(32):3, 40(39):4, 96(95):1, 98(97):1 and 149:1 – ἄσμα καινός; Ps. 144(143):9 – ὠδὴ καινός; Isa. 42:10, Jdt. 16:13 and Ps. 3:1 – ὕμνος καινός. Cf. Ps. 15:3 – ψαλμὸς καινός (‘new psalm’).

⁵² Isaiah 42:10 denotes a cosmic and eschatological nuance but it is unclear whether those who sing ‘new song’ (without musical instrument) are designated as the righteous or not. Cf. 1QS 10:9 (אֲזַמְרָה...בְּנַבְלִי, ‘I will sing... my lyre’) – ‘concrete evidence that songs and musical instruments formed part of the liturgical complex’ (Eileen M. Schuller, ‘Some Reflections on the Function and Use of Poetical Texts Among the Dead Sea Scrolls,’ in *Liturgical Perspectives: Prayer and Poetry in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. Esther G. Chazon, Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 48 [Leiden: Brill, 2003], 180).

⁵³ ‘Messianic’ – Pierre Prigent, *Apocalypse et liturgie* (Neuchâtel: Delachaux et Niestlé, 1964), 76; Beale, *The Book of Revelation*, 358. ‘Eschatological’ – Kraus, *Theology of the Psalms*, 179; Aune, *Revelation 1-5*, 359–60; Moyise, ‘The Psalms in the Book of Revelation,’ 241–42. See also Raymond F. Collins, ‘New,’ in *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, ed. David Noel Freedman (New York: Doubleday, 1992), 4:1087–88.

⁵⁴ Cf. Origenes Theol., *Selecta in Psalmos.*, vol. 1292, 1672.

שיר חדש אשירה לך	δεκαχόρδω ψαλῶ σοι
בנבל עשור אזמרה-לך	ἄσατε τῷ κυρίῳ ἄσμα καινόν
שירו ליהוה שיר חדש	ψαλτηρίῳ ψαλάτωσαν αὐτῷ
בתף וכנור יזמרו-לו	

The wordings שיר חדש ('new song') in the MT is mostly translated into ἄσμα καινός ('new song') in the OG/LXX although the term ᾠδή tends to be commonly used for 'song'.⁵⁵ The term ἄσμα ('song') occurs five times only in the Psalms and the occurrences are all found in the wording 'new song'.⁵⁶ The OG/LXX translators seem to exclusively adopt the word ἄσμα for the 'new song' in the Psalms except for ᾠδή καινός in Ps. 143(144):9. Verbally Rev. 5:9 and 14:3, with the terms ᾠδή καινός, can be thus deemed as equivalent only to Ps. 143:9. In the NT, however, the term ἄσμα is not used at all and the three singing texts of Rev. 5:8–14; 14:1–5 and 15:2–4 all have the word ᾠδή.⁵⁷ Possibly the NT writers intentionally avoided employing the word ἄσμα due to its secular use. If so, John would have used the expression ᾠδή καινός, either translating immediately from שיר חדש in the MT or replacing ἄσμα in the OG/LXX with ᾠδή.

The words נבל, כנור ('harp' or 'lyre')⁵⁸ often occur either separately or together in the songs of praise to Yahweh in the Psalms.⁵⁹ The OG/LXX translates נבל or כנור into κιθάρα (27 times), ψαλτήριον (21 times) or κινύρα (18 times).⁶⁰ Psalms 32 and 97 have the word κιθάρα ('lyre' or 'harp'), which occur in Rev. 5:8 and 14:2. In Ps. 143 and 149, the term is rendered ψαλτήριον ('string instrument'). In the NT the word κιθάρα only appears in 1 Cor. 14:7, Rev. 5:8, 14:2 and

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	LXX	Psalms	NT	Revelation
ᾠδή	95	44	5	3
ἄσμα	16	5	0	0

In the Scripture the word שיר seems to have been widely used for a secular song as well as in ritual setting. The Greek translation appears to employ the word ᾠδή for 'song' to God in liturgical setting while using ἄσμα in general (e.g., Eccl. 7:5; Sg. 1:1; Isa. 5:1; 23:15).

⁵⁶ See n. 51 and 55.

⁵⁷ See n. 55.

⁵⁸ כנור – KJV, ERV, NIV translate 'harp' / RSV, ESV, NAS translate 'lyre'; נבל – RSV, ESV, NAS translate 'harp' / NIV 'lyre' / KJV 'instrument' / ERV 'psaltery.' See n. 59.

⁵⁹ In the Psalms כנור occurs 14 times while נבל occurs 8 times. The words occur together 7 times (Pss. 33:2; 57:9; 71:22; 81:3; 92:4; 108:3; 150:3). The word כנור often appears alone; but, נבל always comes along with כנור except Ps. 144:9.

⁶⁰ In ancient times, נבל ('plucking instrument / stringed instrument') and כנור ('lyre') were treated as different musical instruments. In the OG/LXX, however, their identification became unclear so that the two terms were recognized as equivalent (K. Seybold, 'נבל', TDOT 4:172–73; G. J. Botterweck, 'כנור', TDOT 7:202–203). In the Psalms, כנור is primarily translated into κιθάρα and נבל into ψαλτήριον. In any case, one acknowledges that both have been used for a variety of musical instruments.

15:2.⁶¹ Considering the Greek terminology of musical instruments, thus, the two Revelation texts in question are seemingly linked with Pss. 32 and 97.⁶² As pointed out, however, both *κιθάρα* and *ψαλτήριον* are used in the OG/LXX without a difference and the NT only uses the word *κιθάρα*.⁶³ For some reason, the word *κιθάρα* appears alone for the use of a stringed instrument among the early Christians. Similarly to the usage of *ὠδή* in the book, John may have chosen *κιθάρα* on the basis of the contemporary preference for the term. Alternatively he possibly merely derived *κιθάρα* from *כנור*, which more frequently occurs in the Psalms and which was used as a tool for prophecy in the Jewish temple cult.⁶⁴ Therefore, the allusion in Rev. 5:8–9 and 14:2–3 to the psalmic texts would be feasible, in light of the textual affinity regarding the ‘new song’ and ‘harp/lyre.’

Taking into account the contextual relationship, the allusion becomes even clearer. The ‘new song’ in the Scripture, mostly in the Psalms, as mentioned earlier, is coupled with Yahweh’s redemption; Pss. 33(32), 98(97), 144(143) and 149 all, in various ways, refer to his deliverance of the Israelites from the invasion of the foreign nations. The determination of the precise cultic setting of the psalms is difficult to ascertain.⁶⁵ In their internal literary contexts, though, Pss. 33, 98 and 149 present themselves as ‘hymn(s) of praise’ because the psalms each begin with a call to praise.⁶⁶

Psalm 33 portrays Yahweh as the Creator, the master of human history (vv. 4–15),⁶⁷ highlighting his love and salvation (vv. 16–22). However, salvation is prefaced by motifs associated with Yahweh’s judgment: *צדקה ומשפט* (‘righteousness and justice,’ v. 5), *יִירָאוּ מִיְהוָה כָּל־הָאָרֶץ* (‘all the earth fear the Lord,’ v. 8), *הַפִּיר עֲצַת־גּוֹיִם הַנִּיא מַחֲשָׁבוֹת עַמִּים* (‘foiling the plans of the nations/thwarting the purposes of the people,’ v. 10). The psalm thus proclaims Yahweh’s sovereignty to create all the world, perform judgment on the nations and deliver his people.

⁶¹ In the OG/LXX and other Jewish literature, various terms of musical instruments occur (e.g., *κιθάρα* – *1 Macc.* 4:54, *κινύρα* – *1 Macc.* 3:45; 4:54; 13:51; *Sir.* 39:15, *ψαλτήριον* – *Odes* 11:20; *Wis.* 19:18; *Sir.* 40:21, etc.).

⁶² Cf. Moyise, ‘The Psalms in the Book of Revelation,’ 241. He argued for Ps. 143:9 LXX based on the only appearance of *ὠδή*, *καινός*, *ψαλτήριον* together in the same verse.

⁶³ See n. 60.

⁶⁴ See Botterweck, ‘כנור,’ *TDOT* 7:202–203.

⁶⁵ As a hymn of praise to Yahweh as the Creator, the master of human history, the cultic setting of Ps. 33 was probably related to an annual festival, though not overtly known (‘an autumnal festival or covenant festival’ – Kraus, *Psalms 1-59*, 375; Craigie, *Psalms 1-50*, 271). In a strong relationship with Ps. 96, Ps. 98 would have been used in the cultic celebration of Yahweh’s enthronement. The setting of Ps. 144 is quite uncertain (Gunkel – ‘royal psalm for military campaign’; Schmidt, Weiser – ‘royal festival’; Eaton – ‘royal ritual of humiliation.’ See also Kraus, *Psalms 1-59*, 541) while Ps. 149:2–3 likely has a cultic setting in Jerusalem. The musical instruments, *נבל*, *כנור* (‘harp’ or ‘lyre’) may allow us to think of the settings of the four psalms somehow linked to a cultic festival/worship.

⁶⁶ James Luther Mays, *Psalms*, Interpretation (Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox, 1994), 148–49; J. H. Eaton, *Psalms: Introduction and Commentary*, Torch Bible Commentaries (London: SCM Press, 1967), 98. Cf. Claus Westermann, *Praise and Lament in the Psalms* (Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox, 1981), 122–32.

⁶⁷ Dahood, *Psalms 1-50*, 200.

Scholars often note the close relationship between Pss. 98(97) and Ps. 96(95) in structure, vocabulary, and thematic elements.⁶⁸ Additionally, both begin with the ‘new song’ and underscore Yahweh’s kingship.⁶⁹ In Ps. 98 the kingship secures deliverance of his people (vv. 1–3) and extends to his eschatological judgment of all the world/peoples (v. 9).⁷⁰ The psalm depicts Yahweh the king (המלך יהוה, v. 6) as a divine warrior in the expression ‘מינו זרוע קדשו (‘his right hand and his holy arm,’ v. 1), which in the Scripture is often used for Yahweh’s victory in a battle (Exod. 15:6, 12, 16; Pss. 44:4, 89:14; Isa. 52:10).⁷¹

Psalm 149 also extols Yahweh as the king of the people of Zion in v. 2 (בני־ציון/חסידיים). Differently to Pss. 33 and 98, the saints/people of Zion (בני־ציון יגילו במלכם) in Ps. 149:1,2,5 exercise Yahweh’s judgment as vengeance on the nations, having ‘a double-edged sword in their hands (חרב פיפיות בידם, v. 6) to inflict vengeance on the nations (לעשות נקמה) ...to execute punishments on them (לעשות בהם משפט, v. 9a)...the glory belongs to the saints (בגוים)...to execute punishments on them (הדר הוא לכל־חסידיו, v. 9b)’ in Ps. 149:5–9. There is a scholarly debate on whether the psalm is eschatological.⁷² In Jewish apocalyptic literature, the vengeance of the righteous on the foreign nations (the evil) is one of the typical characteristics to be unveiled in the eschaton. The expression of ‘judgment written’ in v. 9 probably indicates the heavenly books in which all the deeds were recorded.⁷³ For the readers in the first century—even in the postexilic period—the psalm could have been understood as eschatological without difficulties.

Psalm 144, on the contrary, is somewhat peculiar as it is more likely a song of petitionary prayer for Yahweh’s redemption with praise, not a lament.⁷⁴ The praise in Ps. 144:9, where the phrases שיר חדש (‘new song’) and נבל עשור (‘ten-stringed harp’) occur, is isolated to a degree in

⁶⁸ Weiser, *The Psalms*; Westermann, Kraus, Tate, Wallace [Howard N. Wallace, *Psalms* [Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2009]].

⁶⁹ Psalms 96 and 98 were probably intoned in the same cultic situation (Weiser, Kraus). No occurrence of musical instrument leads to the exclusion of Ps. 96 in the discussion of the allusion in Rev. 5:8–9; 14:2–3. Weiser also mentions that Ps. 96 may be a reminiscence of Ps. 33 (*The Psalms*, 628).

⁷⁰ H. Gunkel – ‘eschatological hymn’; Kraus – ‘new eschatological song.’ See also Richard D. Patterson, ‘Singing the New Song: An Examination of Psalms 33, 96, 98, and 149,’ *Bibliotheca Sacra* 164, no. 656 (2007): 418–21.

⁷¹ Tate, *Psalms 51-100*, 524.

⁷² H. Gunkel, R. Kittel, D. Kidner, Allen – eschatological/final judgment; S. Mowinckel, H. Schmidt, Weiser, Anderson – cultic/festival enthronement of Yahweh.

⁷³ Arnold Albert Anderson, *The Book of Psalms*, vol. 1 (London: Oliphants, 1972), 954. Cf. Kraus sees it a later addition (Hans-Joachim Kraus, *Psalms 60-150: A Commentary*, trans. Hilton C. Oswald [Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1989], 567).

⁷⁴ Kraus, *Psalms 60-150*, 541. Cf. ‘The petition introduced with praise of God’ (Westermann, *Praise and Lament in the Psalms*, 204). The psalm largely divides into two sections: vv. 1–11 (royal petition) and vv. 12–15. Verses 12–15 is uncertain in its unity and function: Gunkel – ‘hymn or thanksgiving’ as separated from 1–11 (*die Psalmen*, 607); H. Schmidt (*die Psalmen*, 250), A. Weiser (*Psalms*, 823) and Eaton (*Kingship and the Psalms*, 2nd ed., The Biblical Seminar 3 [Sheffield: JSOT, 1986], 127) – ‘cultic liturgy of a royal festival’ as a unit; Kraus – ‘petition or prayer’ of king (*Psalms 1-59*, 541–42).

its context.⁷⁵ It does not connote the present victory/salvation, but rather praise for Yahweh's past victory displayed in vv. 10–11,⁷⁶ thus expressing supplication for his future protection from enemies.⁷⁷ In other words, the praise in v. 9 functions as procuring Yahweh's determined judgment of the nations, resulting in his deliverance. It is notable that the four psalms all indicate the psalmist's antagonist as 'nations/peoples/foreign nations (foreigners)/kings/nobles' (נַכְבְּדֵיהֶם/מְלָכִים/נַכְרֵי עַמִּים/גּוֹיִם), rather than merely 'enemy(ies)/foe(s)/evil.' Psalms 33, 98, 144 and 149 vividly delineate Yahweh's victory bringing about his redemption by annihilating all the nations' persecution against his people.

Revelation 5:8–14 and 14:1–5 illustrate God and the Lamb's redemption of his people from the nations/earth, as the texts say, ἡγόρασας τῷ θεῷ ἐν τῷ αἵματί σου ἐκ πάσης φυλῆς καὶ γλώσσης καὶ λαοῦ καὶ ἔθνους ('with your blood you purchased men for God from every tribe and language and people and nation,' 5:9), οἱ ἡγορασμένοι ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ('who had been purchased from the earth,' 14:3), οὗτοι ἡγοράσθησαν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ('these have been purchased from mankind,' 14:4). In a sense, Rev. 5:8–10, 14:2–3 and 15:2–4 all evoke the 'song of Moses' (Exod. 15:1–21) in the exodus occasion. Apart from Rev. 15:2–4, whose distinctive title is the 'song of Moses,'⁷⁸ Rev. 5:10, 'You have made them a kingdom and priests to our God' (ἐποίησας αὐτοὺς τῷ θεῷ ἡμῶν βασιλείαν καὶ ἱερεῖς), points to the exodus event (Exod. 19:6). Revelation 14:2–3 has no explicit reference to the exodus incident. Nonetheless, by announcing in its context that the only redeemed who conquered the beast (Rev. 15:2) offer praise to God and to the Lamb, some connection to the Red sea occasion can be posited.⁷⁹ As will be discussed later, these worship segments in the book of Revelation are directly incorporated into God's final judgment of all the nations/worlds against his people as well.⁸⁰ Therefore, the songs of praise in Rev. 5:8–9 and 14:2–3 contextually correspond to those in Pss. 33, 98, 144 and 149.

One may look into differences between the psalms to further clarify this allusion. In Ps. 144:9, David is the one who sings the new song (שִׁיר הַדָּשׁ אֲשֶׁר לַיהוָה) while Ps. 33, 98, 149 call the righteous/right (צַדִּיקִים, 33:1), all the earth/all who live in it (יְשֻׁבֵי בְּהַ/כְּלֵהָאָרֶץ, 98:4, 7), the

⁷⁵ 'Ambivalent' – see Allen, *Psalms 101-150*, 289. Kraus points out that v. 9 has a different meter (4+3) from that in the preceding verses (3+3) (*Psalms 60-150*, 541). Terrien claims, "V. 9, with its intention to sing and play music, did not fit with preceding or following context" (Terrien, *The Psalms*, 898).

⁷⁶ See Allen, *Psalms 101-150*, 291, 'A vow of thanksgiving.'

⁷⁷ William L. Holladay claims that Ps. 144, at least vv. 1–11, was a prayer before battle (see William L. Holladay, *The Psalms Through Three Thousand Years: Prayerbook of a Cloud of Witnesses* [Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993], 38).

⁷⁸ Revelation 15:2–4 enjoys an academic consensus that its background is the Exodus occasion. The 'song of Moses, the song of the Lamb' probably retains the same nuance of the new song in the book of Revelation. In terms of this allusion, nevertheless, Rev. 15:2–4 is ruled out due to the absence of the wordings ὡδὴ καινός ('new song').

⁷⁹ See also Beale, *The Book of Revelation*, 735–36.

⁸⁰ See Rev. 15:3b–4 / Ps. 86:8–11.

saints/people of Zion (בְּנֵי־צִיּוֹן/בְּקִהְלֵי הַסִּידִים, Pss. 149:1, 2, 5, 9) to praise. In its literary context, in other words, Ps. 144 is an individual praise; yet, the others more likely display a cosmic level of scale in praise. The scenes of praise in Rev. 5:8–14 and Rev. 14:1–5 have a cosmic and eschatological dimension rather than an individual, thus differentiating them from Ps. 144.⁸¹ The agents of the ‘new song’ in Ps. 33(32) and 149, δίκαιοι / ὅσιοι / υἱοὶ Σιων (‘righteous/saints/people of Zion’) are identified in Rev. 14:1–5,

...On Mount Zion stood the Lamb, and with him 144,000 who had his name... The voice I heard was like the sound of harpists playing on their harps, and they were singing a new song... No one could learn that song except the 144,000 who had been redeemed from the earth. It is these who have not defiled themselves with women, for they are virgins... in their mouth no lie was found, for they are blameless...

In addition, Ps. 33(32):6–8 depicts Yahweh as Creator and calls upon all the earth and all the people to fear God and worship him (τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ κυρίου οἱ οὐρανοὶ ἐστερεώθησαν... συνάγων ὡς ἄσκον ὕδατα θαλάσσης... φοβηθήτω τὸν κύριον πᾶσα ἡ γῆ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ δὲ σαλευθήτωσαν πάντες οἱ κατοικοῦντες τὴν οἰκουμένην, ‘By the word of the LORD the heavens were made... he gathers the waters of the sea as a heap... Let all the earth fear the LORD; let all the inhabitants of the world stand in awe of him’). This has much similarity with Rev. 14:7, which states: φοβήθητε τὸν θεὸν καὶ δότε αὐτῷ δόξαν... προσκυνήσατε τῷ ποιήσαντι τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν καὶ πηγὰς ὑδάτων (‘Fear God and give him glory... worship him who made the heaven, the earth, the sea and the springs of water’). On the other hand, the praise of ‘all the earth (πᾶσα ἡ γῆ), the sea, the world, and all who live in it (ἡ θάλασσα καὶ τὸ πλήρωμα αὐτῆς ἢ οἰκουμένη καὶ οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐν αὐτῇ)’ in Ps. 98:4, 7–8 is mirrored in the phrase of Rev. 5:13, πᾶν κτίσμα ὃ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ ὑποκάτω τῆς γῆς καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς πάντα (‘every creature in heaven and on earth and under the earth and in the sea, and all that is in them’). Consequently, Rev. 5:8–9 and 14:2–3 (‘new song,’ ‘harp/lyre’) allude to Pss. 33(32):2–3, 98(97):1, 5, 144(143):9 and 149:1, 3

⁸¹ From scholarly point of view of an eschatological aspect, Ps. 144:9 does not have much support (Kraus, Allen, Cf. R. Kittel); Ps. 33 has also some objectors (Weiser, Kraus – ‘Ps. 33 is not eschatological in the sense that it presents an end-time picture; its eschatology is intrahistorical’; Cf. Craigie ‘eschatological overtones’). Scholars seem to agree that Ps. 98 is an eschatological hymn (Gunkel, Weiser, Westermann, Kraus) and Ps. 149, though debated, has some legitimacy in this category (Gunkel, Kidner, Allen – ‘It is most probable that the psalm is an eschatological hymn.’ Cf. Kraus – ‘It is surely more realistic to apply the warlike characteristics of the Jerusalem cultus... than to assume an eschatological victory festival’). Gunkel argued that by their contents that eschatological hymns are distinguishable (Hermann Gunkel, *Einleitung in die Psalmen die Gattungen der religiösen Lyrik Israels*, ed. Joachim Begrich [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1933], 344). Rejecting Gunkel, Kraus agrees with Schmidt, ‘the eschatology in the Psalms cannot be judged by its forms or terms, rather should be examined in a detailed determination of its setting’ (*Psalms 60-150*, 251.) Possibly John read the four psalmic texts with a sense of their similar eschatology, both in light of his own circumstances and the content of each psalm. See Allen, *Psalms 101-150*, 319, who suggests that ‘Ps. 149 appears to have emanated from a similar tradition to that of Ps. 96–98 and to develop its themes.’

textually and contextually. More precisely, Rev. 5:8–9 is closer to Ps. 98 while Rev. 14:2–3 fits better with Pss. 33, 149.

Assessment

The settings of the four psalms (Pss. 33, 98, 144, 149) as well as their usage in the first century are uncertain. It is likely, however, that the early Christians read the psalms eschatologically because the themes to be discerned in those psalms are characteristically found in apocalyptic literature—e.g., God’s judgment of the nations/enemies and redemption of his people, the reign of God as the king over all the nations/earth.⁸² In conjunction with such themes, the term ‘new song’ is used in the Scripture.⁸³ The occurrence of the ‘new song’ along with a musical instrument ‘harp/lyre’ is only found in the psalmic texts in question.

Revelation 5:8–9 and 14:2–3, where the words ‘new song’ and ‘harp’ occur together, contain songs of praise to God and to the Lamb. The songs consist of praise to God’s sovereignty and judgment, thanksgiving for God’s answer to the petition of the suffering of saints and his redemption and proclamation of an eschatological reign. The two Revelation texts are textually and contextually connected with Pss. 33(32), 98(97), 144(143), and 149. Though, in some details, Ps. 144(143) can be deemed as relatively less strong than the other psalmic texts. Also, Rev. 5:8–9 is viewed closer to Ps. 98 while Rev. 14:2–3 to Pss. 33 and 149. By alluding to the four psalms in Rev. 5:8–9 and 14:2–3, John accentuates the eschatological and kingly reign of God and the Lamb, instantly entailing the final judgment of all the world and the salvation of his people. A compositional pattern (worship-judgment) in the book will be discussed later.⁸⁴

4.4 Rev. 6:10, 19:2 / Ps. 79(78):5, 10

The position of Rev. 6:9–11 and its role in the book of Revelation have received some significant scholarly attention.⁸⁵ The text involves several arguable issues, such as ‘souls under the altar,’⁸⁶

⁸² E.g., *1 En.* 18–27, 46–48; *Sib. Or.* 3; 1QH 11; 4Q161; 4Q285; etc.

⁸³ Psalms 33:3; 40:3; 96:1; 98:1; 149:1; 144:9; Isa. 42:10.

⁸⁴ See *Table 4.3 – Structural Analysis of Rev. 8:1–6, 11:14–19, 15:1–8* and *Table 4.5 – Composition Pattern*.

⁸⁵ E.g., Aune says, ‘The fifth seal in Rev. 6:9–11 is set apart by its particular subject matter... It seems somewhat out of place’ (David E. Aune, *Revelation 6-16*, Word Biblical Commentary 52B (Dallas, Tex.: Word Books, 1998), 390). For the literary role of Rev. 6:9–11, see John Paul Heil, ‘The Fifth Seal (Rev 6,9-11) as a Key to the Book of Revelation,’ *Biblica* 74, no. 2 (1993): 220–43; Gregory Stevenson, *Power and Place: Temple and Identity in the Book of Revelation*, Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche 107 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2001), 288–89.

⁸⁶ For details, see Charles, *The Revelation of St. John*, 1:172–73, 227–29. Cf. Leon Morris, *The Revelation of St. John: An Introduction and Commentary*, The Tyndale New Testament Commentaries (London: Tyndale Press, 1969), 108. He argued that none of the Jewish references refer to souls under the altar. For debate on whether the altar is for burnt offering or for incense offering, see Grant R. Osborne, *Revelation*, Baker Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2002), 284.

‘the “how long” question in prayer,’ and ‘completion of the number of martyrs.’ Of them, the ‘how long’ question in Rev. 6:10 is an archetypal prayer formula used by the Jews to petition for divine intervention into their bitter situation.⁸⁷ The expression ‘how long?’ by nature embodies two conflicting factors: impatience and patience.⁸⁸ In the Scripture, no answer to the question is to be expected,⁸⁹ rather showing a petitioner’s eager hope for Yahweh’s prompt help. As such, the question of ‘how long’ in Rev. 6:9–11 mirrors its character in suggesting both long-suffering and the saints’ endurance. Unlike other cases in the Scripture, however, in Rev. 6:11 God appears to immediately respond to the question, saying that ἐρρέθη αὐτοῖς ἵνα ἀναπαύσονται ἔτι χρόνον μικρόν, ἕως πληρωθῶσιν καὶ οἱ σύνδουλοι αὐτῶν καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτῶν οἱ μέλλοντες ἀποκτείνεσθαι ὡς καὶ αὐτοί (‘they were told to rest a little longer, until the number of their fellow servants and their brothers should be complete, who were to be killed as they themselves had been’). The response implies a limited duration of suffering and God’s final judgment to come soon.⁹⁰

Much attention has been paid to Jewish texts similar to Rev. 6:9–11, such as *1 En.* 47:1–4, *4 Ezra* 4:35–37 and *2 Bar.* 23:4–5a.⁹¹ The contemporaneousness and resemblance in content of these four texts to Rev. 6:9–11 bear out their dependence upon a common source or tradition.⁹² Bauckham postulated the existence of a common tradition, saying,

It seems best to conclude that the relationships between the four texts we have studied do not result from direct literary dependence between them, but on a common tradition which had already taken different forms in the sources used by each.⁹³

Not much about the tradition Bauckham mentions is known. What seems obvious in comparing the four texts, though, is that Rev. 6:9–11 somehow parallels the affliction of the Christian community in the first century with the eschatological recognition of the Jews on their own situation in the Second Temple period.⁹⁴

⁸⁷ Westermann argued for the complaint of ‘How long?’ to have become a ‘specifically liturgical expression down through the ages, from primitive religions through the time of Babylon and Israel until the Christian hymn’ (Claus Westermann, *The Psalms: Structure, Content and Message*, 2nd rev. ed. [Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1980], 55). E.g., Ps. 6:4; 13(12):2–3; 74(73):10; 79(78):5; 80(79):5; 89(88):47; 90(89):13; 94(93):3; Zech. 1:12; *1 Macc.* 6:22; *4 Ezra* 4:35; Dan. 8:13 (Theod.); 12:6–13 (Theod.).

⁸⁸ See Russell, *The Method & Message of Jewish Apocalyptic, 200 BC - AD 100*, 176–77.

⁸⁹ Weiser, *The Psalms*, 519. Cf. Zech. 1:12–13.

⁹⁰ Cf. similar implications for limited duration of persecution elsewhere in the book: Rev. 2:10 – θλίψεις ἡμέρα δέκα (‘persecution for ten days’); Rev. 15:1 – ἐτελέσθη ὁ θυμὸς τοῦ θεοῦ (‘the wrath of God is finished’); Rev. 22:10 – ὁ καιρὸς ἐγγύς ἐστιν (‘the time is near’).

⁹¹ See P.-M. Bogaert, *L’Apocalypse syriaque de Baruch*, Sources chrétiennes 144 - vol. 1 / 145 - vol. 2 (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1969); Bauckham, *The Climax of Prophecy*, 43–56; Aune, *Revelation 6-16*, 390–91. Cf. *Sib. Or.* 3:307–13 (Charlesworth, *OTP* 1:369).

⁹² Bogaert, *L’Apocalypse syriaque de Baruch*, 26–27: 2 Baruch → Revelation → 4 Ezra; Bauckham, *The Climax of Prophecy*, 53: 1 Enoch → Revelation → 4 Ezra → 2 Baruch.

⁹³ Bauckham, *The Climax of Prophecy*, 54.

⁹⁴ In Jewish apocalyptic literature the final end time usually points to the time when the evil reaches its zenith. The

As to the allusion in Rev. 19:2, the account of vengeance on Jezebel in 2 Kings 9:7 has been often referred to as a plausible case.⁹⁵ In the NT, the figure of Jezebel only appears as a prophetess in Rev. 2:20, whose allurements caused the servants of the Son of God to engage in sexual immorality (πλανᾷ τοὺς ἑμούςσ δούλους πορνεῦσαι). A ‘great harlot’ (ἡ πόρνη ἡ μεγάλη) in Rev. 19:2 points to Babylon the great city depicted in Rev. 18, which led all the nations astray. The ‘great harlot’ in Rev. 19:2, therefore, is alleged to be the same entity as the prophetess Jezebel in Rev. 2:20, thus alluding to 2 Kings 9:7.⁹⁶

While granted to a degree, it is noteworthy that God’s answer in Rev. 6:11 to the ‘how long’ question in v. 10 is completed in Rev. 19:2.⁹⁷ A common expression of ‘avenging the blood of (God’s servants)’ is used in Rev. 6:10 as well as in Rev. 19:2, in which the verb ἐκδικέω (‘take vengeance for’) only occurs in the book of Revelation. The ‘how long’ question of Rev. 6:10 appears to be linked with the phrase the ‘vengeance of the blood of God’s servants’ in Rev. 19:2. Probably John had in mind bringing together the two segments of Rev. 6:9–11 and 19:2 together during his composition of the book. In the book of Revelation, consequently, the whole range of judgment can be regarded as God’s retaliatory judgment for the blood of his servants, as being consummated in Rev. 19. In light of the combination of the ‘how long’ question in Rev. 6:10 and the ‘vengeance of the blood of God’s servants’ in Rev. 19:2, the allusion in Rev. 6:9–11 and 19:2 to Ps. 79 is well defended.⁹⁸

Ps. 79:5, 10 / 2 Kings 9:7 MT	Ps. 78:5, 10 / 2 Kings 9:7 LXX	Rev. 6:10, 19:2
...עד־מָה יְהוָה תִּאֲנַף לְנֹצָחַ. נְקַמַת דַּם־עַבְדֶּיךָ הַשָּׁפוּךְ	ἕως πότε κύριε ὀργισθήσῃ εἰς τέλος... ἢ ἐκδίκησις τοῦ αἵματος τῶν δούλων σου τοῦ ἐκκεχυμένου	ἕως πότε, ὁ δεσπότης... οὐ κρίνεις καὶ ἐκδικεῖς τὸ αἷμα ἡμῶν...
וּנְקַמְתִּי ... וְדַמִּי כִלְעַבְדֵי יְהוָה מִיַּד אִיזְבֵּל	ἐκδικήσεις τὰ αἵματα... πάντων τῶν δούλων κυρίου ἐκ χειρὸς Ἰεζαβελ	ἐξεδίκησεν τὸ αἷμα τῶν δούλων αὐτοῦ ἐκ χειρὸς αὐτῆς

expression ἕως πληρωθῶσιν ... οἱ μέλλοντες ἀποκτένεσθαι (‘until the number of those who were to be killed was completed’) in Rev. 6:11 probably means the peak of the spread of the evil. Cf. Schüssler Fiorenza, *The Book of Revelation*, 47. She sees Rev. 6:9–11 referring to ‘the present situation of the community and the date of God’s judgment.’

⁹⁵ David E. Aune, *Revelation 17-22*, Word Biblical Commentary 52C (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 1998), 1025–26; Beale, *The Book of Revelation*, 927–28.

⁹⁶ Caird, Beckwith, Aune, Beale. Cf. Mounce, Buchanan.

⁹⁷ Aune, *Revelation 6-16*, 407. See also Beale, *Revelation*, 392, including his citation of John Paul Heil, ‘The Fifth Seal (Rev 6,9-11) as a Key to the Book of Revelation,’ 220–43.

⁹⁸ Deuteronomy 32:43, 2 Kings 9:7, and *1 En.* 47:1–4 – absence of the ‘how long’; *4 Ezra* 4:35–37 – missing the ‘blood of servants.’

It is no wonder that in the Scripture most of the ‘how long’ questions appear in the Psalms since several psalms incorporate the question in their petitioning expression.⁹⁹ The verbal expression itself of ‘How long, O Yahweh’ (ἕως πότε κύριε) in Ps. 79:5, therefore, cannot make any exclusive claim to this allusion in Rev. 6:10. It is to be considered, however, that the phrase ἡ ἐκδίκησις τοῦ αἵματος τῶν δούλων σου τοῦ ἐκκεχυμένου (‘the avenging of the outpoured blood of your servants’) in Ps. 78:10 LXX is detected in Rev. 19:2. In other words, Rev. 6:10 and Rev. 19:2, which, as mentioned earlier, construct a characteristic compositional combination in the book, have a textual relationship with Ps. 79:5, 10. John probably alluded to Ps. 79(78):5 for a petition to God in Rev. 6:10 and to Ps. 79(78):10 for praise to him answering to the petition in Rev. 19:2.¹⁰⁰ An examination of contextual associations between the Revelation texts and the psalm consolidates the allusion in Rev. 6:10, 19:2 to Ps. 79(78). More effective examination is made by considering the following questions: Who makes a petition in both texts of Rev. 6:10, 19:2 and Ps. 79? What is the content of the petition? What setting is found in each context?

In Rev. 6:9–11 the petitioners are the souls of those who had been slain, i.e., the group of people/martyrs, not an individual petition.¹⁰¹ Among the psalms with the ‘how long’ question (Pss. 6:4; 13[12]:2–3, 74[73]:10; 79[78]:5; 80[79]:5; 89[88]:47; 90[89]:13; 94[93]:3), only Pss. 74, 79 and 80 are laments of people, presenting complaints to Yahweh from his people in distress by foreign nations.¹⁰² Given that Rev. 6:10 (ἐκδικεῖς τὸ αἷμα ἡμῶν ἐκ τῶν κατοικούντων ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς; ‘Will you avenge our blood on those who dwell upon the earth’) is a call for God’s immediate vengeance on the enemy, Ps. 80 is then ruled out since the psalm includes no judgment of the enemy. In Ps. 74 Yahweh’s judgment of the enemies is demanded in its petition but in a somewhat indirect way using the words, זָכַר (‘remember,’ vv. 2, 18, 22) and אַל-תִּשְׁכַּח (‘do not forget,’ v. 19).¹⁰³ Psalm 79, by contrast, plainly claims Yahweh’s direct vengeance of the blood of the

⁹⁹ See n. 87.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. Beale, *The Book of Revelation*, 392.

¹⁰¹ See Caird, *A Commentary on the Revelation of St. John the Divine*, 84–85; George Eldon Ladd, *A Commentary on the Revelation of John* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1972), 106.

¹⁰² Psalms 6 and 13 are laments of individual; Ps. 89 is not clear. Westermann classifies the psalm as lament of the people (Claus Westermann, *The Praise of God in the Psalms* [Richmond, Va.: John Knox Press, 1965], 53–57, 68–69). Cf. ‘Royal psalm’ – Kraus, *Psalms 60-150*, 202–203. Psalms 90 and 94 seem not to be the case on the basis of the absence of foreign oppressors (Tate, *Psalms 51-100*, 488; Kraus, *Psalms 60-150*, 214). According to Westermann’s categorization, the ‘how long’ question occurs less frequently than the ‘why’ question in lament of the people; in particular, in the early history of the lament in Israel the question is not found at all. However, in the Babylonian psalms, it appears more frequently than the ‘why’ question (Westermann, *Praise and Lament in the Psalms*, 177.) By using the ‘how long’ question, the Babylonian psalms might well tend to portray the oppressed community’s complaint to God.

¹⁰³ Psalm 74:11 seems to render a strong request for divine judgment of the enemy. In Ps. 74:11, however, the phrase וְיִמְיֵנְךָ מִקְרָב חֹקֵךְ כִּלְיָהּ (‘Take it from the fold of your garment and destroy it!’ ESV) is in debate. The *kethiv* חֹקֵךְ receives little support; Kraus argues for its *qere* חִיָּקֵךְ. The verb כִּלְיָהּ (piel imperative, ‘to bring to an end’) should be read כִּלְיָהּ (כִּלְיָהּ, ‘restrain, withhold’) – *trans.* ‘Hold your right hand back in your bosom?’ (*Psalms 60-150*, 96).

righteous with the expressions *שֶׁפַךְ חַמַּתְךָ* ('pour out your wrath,' v. 6), *יָדַע בְּגֵיִים לְעֵינֵינוּ נִקְמָה* ('let vengeance be known among the nations before our eyes,' v. 10) and *הָשֵׁב לְשִׁכְנֵינוּ שִׁבְעַתַּיִם* ('return to our neighbors sevenfold,' v. 12). In light of its corporate petition and its content to seek Yahweh's judgment, Rev. 6:10 relates more closely to Ps. 79 than to the other psalmic texts with the 'how long' question.¹⁰⁴

The contextual setting of Rev. 6:9–11 and 19:2 is obviously a temple ritual, as Rev. 6:9–11 displays the prayer of the souls under the heavenly altar and Rev. 19:2 constitutes a song of praise in Rev. 19:1–8. The phrase *ὑποκάτω τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν ἐσφαγμένων* ('under the altar the souls of those who had been slain') in Rev. 6:9 possibly alludes to a sacrificial offering in view of the fact that in ancient Israel the blood of the bull was poured down below the altar (cf. Lev. 4:7, Exod. 29:12).¹⁰⁵ Then the blood (*τὸ αἷμα ἡμῶν*) of the souls in Rev. 6:10 can be specified as the sacrificial blood to be scattered at the temple ritual.¹⁰⁶ Psalm 79 refers to the invasion of Jerusalem and the desecration of the Temple (v. 1); the blood of Yahweh's servants was poured out like waters all around Jerusalem (v. 3). This account does not exude any sense of sacrificial offering by nature. However, it is worth noting that the verb *שֶׁפַךְ* ('pour') in Ps. 79:3, when used with people's blood (*דָּם*), is not a neutral word for *to kill* but often a considered judgment about the action.¹⁰⁷ If this is true, the blood of Yahweh's servants in Ps. 79:3 is possibly caused by Yahweh's punishment of Israel's iniquity, and thus an expiatory sacrifice. Beyond this, the song of praise in Rev. 19:1–8 is a thanksgiving hymn for the completion of God's judgment, the hymn to which the prayer of petition in Rev. 6:9–10 is converted, just as the song of thanksgiving into which in Ps. 79:13 the petitionary prayer of the psalmist turns with the words *נֹדֵה לְךָ לְעוֹלָם* 'I will give thanks forever.'¹⁰⁸ In these regards, Rev. 6:9–11, 19:2 and Ps. 79 have a similar literary setting—at least, both alike reflect the temple background.¹⁰⁹ Overall, the constituent elements of the context of Rev. 6:9–11, 19:2—the 'how long' petition, altar/temple, the blood of the souls, vindictory judgment and a thanksgiving song—are indubitably found in Ps. 79.

There is an additional contextual proximity to be considered in this allusion. In Ps. 79:2 the expression *נָתַנוּ אֶת־נַבְלַת עַבְדֶּיךָ מֵאֵכֶל לְעוֹף הַשָּׁמַיִם* ('They [foreign nations] have given the bodies

Dahood suggested *כִּלֶּה* (imperative, 'destroy') to be attached to v. 12 (*Psalms 51-100*, 204.) For more details, see Tate, *Psalms 51-100*, 243.

¹⁰⁴ Though referring to the destruction of the sanctuary and the judgment of the enemies, Ps. 74 is not considered to be the case because it contains no mention of the blood of Yahweh's servants.

¹⁰⁵ See also Beale, *The Book of Revelation*, 391–92.

¹⁰⁶ Caird, 84; Beckwith, 525.

¹⁰⁷ See *HALOT*.

¹⁰⁸ Kraus, *Psalms 60-150*, 136.

¹⁰⁹ Note Rev. 11:1–2 immediately indicates Jerusalem being trampled.

of your servants to the birds of the heavens for food') has a thematic affinity with Rev. 19:17–18, 21, where as God's judgment (Rev. 19:11–21) the birds (ὄρνεα) are allowed to eat the flesh of all men.

An angel standing in the sun, who cried in a loud voice to all the birds flying in midair (τοῖς ὀρνέοις τοῖς πετομένοις ἐν μεσουρανήματι), 'Come, gather together for the great supper of God so that you may eat the flesh of kings, generals, and mighty men, of horses and their riders, and the flesh of all people'.... All the birds gorged themselves of their flesh. (Rev. 19:17–18, 21)

That in Ps. 79:1–2 foreign nations give the bodies of Yahweh's servants as food to the birds turns into a scene for the kings of the nations to be prey for the birds in Rev. 19:17–18, 21. This upside-downness may well be matched with this allusion in that the blood of Yahweh's servants in Ps. 79:10 is, in Rev. 19:2, now avenged upon Babylon the great who afflicted God's servants, more precisely, shedding their blood (Rev. 16:6; 17:6). The prayer of petition in Ps. 79 is answered in a converse way in Rev. 19. This demonstrates that John deliberately used Ps. 79 in Rev. 6:9–11 and 19:2 to highlight God's judgment as both his response to the prayer of the saints and his retributive judgment on the evil powers.

Assessment

Separately, Rev. 6:10 and Rev. 19:2 have some relevance to *1 En.* 47:1–4, *4 Ezra* 4:35–37 and *2 Bar.* 23:4–5a and *2 Kings* 9:7, respectively. Still, the structural connection of Rev. 6:10 with Rev. 19:2 in the book of Revelation—that is, the petition of prayer of the saints in Rev. 6:9–10 is answered in Rev. 19:2—is incontrovertible, thus making a connection to Ps. 79:5,10 more convincing. Verbal similarity between Ps. 79:5, 10 and Rev. 6:10, 19:2 is found both in the 'how long' question (Ps. 79:5; Rev. 6:10) and in God's vengeance of his servants' blood (Ps. 79:10; Rev. 19:2). Contextual affinity between the psalmic texts and the Revelation texts has been proven to be clear.¹¹⁰ Psalm 79:2–3 was paraphrased in *1 Macc.* 7:16–17 as the Seleucid governor Bacchides killed a delegation of Jewish scribes.¹¹¹ The psalm probably continued to be known as a community lament to the Jews in the Hellenistic period.¹¹² In the first-century Christian community, by alluding in Rev. 6:10, 19:2 to Ps. 79, John suggests that the petition of prayer of the saints is eventually answered as ushering in God's eschatological judgment on the evil power.¹¹³

¹¹⁰ In *2 Kings* 9:7 no petitionary prayer for Yahweh's judgment is found, nor a thanksgiving for the fulfillment of the judgment.

¹¹¹ Holladay, *The Psalms Through Three Thousand Years*, 96.

¹¹² *Ibid.*

¹¹³ See Martin Kiddle, *The Revelation of St. John*, The Moffatt New Testament Commentary (London: Hodder and

Along with some other psalmic allusions,¹¹⁴ this allusion exemplifies the liturgical use of the Psalms in the book of Revelation.

4.5 Rev. 8:3–5 / Ps. 18(17):7–16

There is a literary pattern in Rev. 5:8, 6:9–10 and 8:3–5 in conjunction with the ‘prayer’ of the saints, a pattern that the prayer before the heavenly throne ushers in God’s judgment.¹¹⁵ In Rev. 19:2 the fulfillment of the judgment turns out to be God’s answer to the prayer of the saints. There are some differences between Rev. 5:8, 6:9–10 and 8:3–5: (1) While Rev. 8:3–5 depicts a heavenly ritual comparable with that in the earthly temple,¹¹⁶ Rev. 5:8 has no description of an actual process of a heavenly ritual—though it does refer to *φιάλη χρυσοῦς* (‘golden bowls’), which are supposed to be used for a ritual. (2) Rev. 8:3–5 probably purports to be the prayer of ‘all the saints’ on the earth; Rev. 6:9–10 points out the prayer of ‘souls of martyrs.’ What is not clear is whether the saints in Rev. 8:3–5 are the deceased saints in Rev. 6:9–10 or all the saints in general.¹¹⁷ In light of the context of the book of Revelation, nonetheless, ‘all the saints’ (*τῶν ἁγίων πάντων*) in Rev. 8:3 are assumed to be the entire people of God who were in persecution. (3) In Rev. 5:8 and 6:9–10, the linkage between the prayer and the judgment is rendered in an indirect way. Yet in Rev. 8:3–5 the prayer of the saints and God’s judgment are immediately connected with each other. Revelation 8:3–5, hence, demonstrates more clearly than the other two Revelation texts that God’s final judgment is to be exercised as the answer to the prayer of the saints in the midst of deadly suffering: the prayer of the saints (vv. 3–4) → thunder, rumblings, flashes of light, and earthquake (v. 5) → seven trumpet judgment (v. 6). This arrangement is clearly manifested in Ps. 18:7–16. The allusion to the psalm in Rev. 8:3–5, though, is scarcely noted among commentators.¹¹⁸

Stoughton, 1940), 147; Beckwith, *The Apocalypse of John*, 270; Robert L. Thomas, ‘Imprecatory Prayers of the Apocalypse,’ *Bibliotheca Sacra* 126, no. 502 (Ap-Je 1969): 123–31.

¹¹⁴ Revelation 5:8–9, 14:2–3 / Pss. 33(32):2–3; 98(97):1, 5; 144(143):9; 149:1, 3; Rev. 8:3–5 / Ps. 18(17):7–14; Rev. 11:15, 18 / Ps. 2:1–2; Rev. 15:3b–4 / Ps. 86(85):8–11

¹¹⁵ See Martin Rist, ‘The Revelation of St. John the Divine,’ in *The Interpreter’s Bible 12*, ed. George Arthur Buttrick (New York: Abingdon Press, 1957), 426–27; Thomas, ‘Imprecatory Prayers of the Apocalypse,’ 123–30.

¹¹⁶ Aune points out, ‘Though the conception of a heavenly temple is an ancient one in Judaism, there is never any hint in the OT or in early Jewish literature that a counterpart to conventional sacrificial practice was carried out in the heavenly world’ (*Revelation 6-16*, 511).

¹¹⁷ ‘The whole church’ – Beckwith, *The Apocalypse of John*, 553; Ladd, *A Commentary on the Revelation of John*, 125. Cf. Charles, *Revelation*, 231; Caird, *Revelation*, 107.

¹¹⁸ See Beale, *The Book of Revelation*, 458. He lists the texts having similar scene but no mention of an allusion to it. He suggests the allusion of Rev. 8:3–5 to Rev. 6:9–11(p. 461).

Ps. 18:7–16 MT	Ps. 17:7–16 LXX	Rev. 8:3–5
ישמע מהיכלו קולי (7) ושועתי לפניו תבוא באזניו	ἤκουσεν ἐκ ναοῦ ἀγίου αὐτοῦ φωνῆς μου καὶ ἡ κραυγὴ μου ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ εἰσελεύσεται	(3) δώσει ταῖς προσευχαῖς τῶν ἀγίων... τὸ ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου
עלה עשן באפו (9, 13) ואש־מפיו תאכל גחלים עברו ברד וגחלי־אש...	ἀνέβη καπνὸς ἐν ὀργῇ αὐτοῦ καὶ πῦρ ἀπὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ κατεφλόγισεν ἄνθρακες... διήλθον χάλαζα καὶ ἄνθρακες πυρός	(4-5a) ἀνέβη ὁ καπνός... ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ... ἐκ τοῦ πυρός τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου καὶ ἔβαλεν εἰς τὴν γῆν
וירעם בשמים... (14-16) יתן קלו... וברקים רב... ויגלו מוסדות תבל	ἐβρόντησεν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ... ἔδωκεν φωνὴν αὐτοῦ... ἀστραπάς... ἀνεκαλύφθη τὰ θεμέλια τῆς οἰκουμένης	(5b) ἐγένοντο βρονταὶ καὶ φωναὶ καὶ ἀστραπαὶ καὶ σεισμὸς

In terms of verbal similarity, the case can be seen to be untenable. Still, there is some textual relationship to be noted. Revelation 8:3–4 clarifies that the prayer of the saints is taken up before God by saying, ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου (v. 3) and ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ (v. 4). Psalm 17:7 also expresses that the psalmist's cry for help came before God. In Rev. 8:4–5, smoke went up (ἀνέβη ὁ καπνός) with the prayer of the saints and fire from the altar is poured down upon the earth. Psalm 17:9, 13 also have similar wordings, ἀνέβη καπνός, πῦρ ἀπὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ ('fire from his presence'), ἄνθρακες πυρός. In particular, theophany expressions are much more similar between the two texts even though the term σεισμὸς ('earthquake') in Rev. 8:5 is not found in the psalm (cf. Ps. 18[17]:7, 16).

Turning to contextual examination, Psalm 18 shows closer relationship with Rev. 8:3–5. The title of Psalm 18 (parallel to 2 Sam. 22) indicates its background where the psalm was composed: 'On the day when Yahweh delivered him (David) from the hand of all his enemies.' The central theme of the psalm lies in Yahweh's unequivocal deliverance of the Davidic king by defeating the enemies in a battle. Psalm 18:7–16 involves a desperate cry of the psalmist for deliverance, Yahweh's cosmic reaction to that cry brings in his destroying judgment. The images/words used in Yahweh's reaction in Ps. 18:8–15 specify the typical expression of theophany in the Scripture, thus showing the 'prayer-theophany' pattern which the Revelation text holds. This so-called 'prayer-theophany' scene, a scene in which the sufferer prays for one's despair and Yahweh responds to it by his theophany, is found not only in Ps. 18:7–16 but also in Hab. 3:1–15.

Table 4.2 Prayer, theophany and judgment in Ps. 18:7–16 and Hab. 3:1–15

	Ps. 18:7–16	Hab. 3:1–15
Temple setting	יִשְׁמַע מִהִיכָלוֹ <i>He heard from his temple</i> (7)	וַיְהוֹה בְּהִיכַל קִדְשׁוֹ (Hab. 2:20) ¹¹⁹ <i>The Lord is in his holy temple</i>
Prayer	בְּצַר־לִי אֶקְרָא...אֲשׁוּעַ (7) <i>In my distress, I called...cried</i>	תְּפִלָּה לַחֲבֻקֹק הַנְּבִיא (3:1) <i>A prayer of Habakkuk the prophet</i> (2) חַיִּיהוּ...בְּרַגְזֵי רַחֵם תִּזְכּוֹר <i>Revive...in wrath remember mercy</i>
Acceptance	וַשׁוּעַתִּי לִפְנֵי תְּבוֹא בְּאָזְנוֹ (7) <i>My cry came before him, into his ears</i>	----
Yahweh's wrath	כִּי־חָרָה לּוֹ... <i>because he was angry</i> (8) אֲשֶׁמְפִיֹּי תֹאכַל...גַּחְלִים בְּעֵרוֹ (9) <i>Fire from his mouth devoured... burning coals blazed</i> *Ps. 17:9 LXX: ἀνέβη καπνὸς ἐν ὄργῃ αὐτοῦ ¹²⁰	----
Theophany	וַיִּט שָׁמַיִם וַיֵּרֵד (10) <i>He bowed the heavens and came down</i> סִכְתּוֹ חֲשֹׁכֵי־מַיִם עֲבֵי שְׁחָקִים (12) <i>Darkness of water, thick clouds</i> מִנְגֵּה... עֲבִי... בְּרֵד וּגַחְלֵי־אֵשׁ (13) <i>Brightness, clouds, hailstones and coals of fire</i>	(3) אֱלֹהִים...יָבֹא...כְּסֵה שָׁמַיִם הוֹדוֹ <i>God came...his splendor covered...</i> (4-5) וּנְגַה כְּאוֹר...יֵצֵא רֵשֶׁף לְרִגְלָיו <i>Brightness... flame from...</i> (6) עָמַד וַיִּמְדַּד אֶרֶץ...וַיִּתֵּר גּוֹיִם <i>He stood and shook the earth...</i>
Judgment	וַיִּרְעַם... קֶלֶד וּגַחְלֵי־אֵשׁ (14) <i>Thunder...sounds, hailstone and coals of fire</i> (15, 16) וַיִּגְלוּ מוֹסְדוֹת תְּבֵל <i>lightnings...the foundation of the world</i>	(11) לְאוֹר חֲצִיץ...לְנֶגַה בְּרֵק חֲנִיתְךָ <i>Light of your arrows...</i> (12) בְּאֵף תְּדוֹשׁ גּוֹיִם <i>Lightning of your glittering spear...</i>

Habakkuk 3:1–15 largely coheres with the ‘prayer-theophany’ pattern. The evidences for the allusion in Rev. 8:3–5 to the Habakkuk text, however, are less compelling, though conceivable, than Ps. 18:7–16. Habakkuk 3:1–15 does not contain the words ‘thunder’ (רעם) or ‘sound’ (קול), which are equivalent to βροντή, φωνή in Rev. 8:5.¹²¹ Contextual similarity between Hab. 3 and Rev. 8:3–5 is also lacking. The literary setting of Rev. 8:3–5 is obviously in the heavenly temple while the setting of Hab. 3 is uncertain.¹²² Moreover, the affliction of the people of Yahweh in Hab. 3 did not originate from the evil power itself but is on account of their sin. That is, it is Yahweh’s wrath on his people. In light of an apocalyptic sense that the saints are being persecuted by evil, some distance can be seen between Hab. 3 and Rev. 8:3–5.

In Ps. 18 (cf. 2 Sam. 22) the Davidic king is blameless (Ps. 18:22–25) and his adversaries stand against him (Ps. 18:5–6, 18). Several phrases in Ps. 18(17):4–6 illustrate a bitter situation of

¹¹⁹ This verse may have less relation with the following prayer in Hab. 3. Ralph L. Smith said that the separate title of Hab. 3 implies its being used apart from the rest of the book (Ralph L. Smith, *Micah-Malachi*, Word Biblical Commentary 32 [Waco, Tex.: Word Books, 1984], 115).

¹²⁰ The OG/LXX more effectively unveiled the wrath of Yahweh by rendering בְּאֵפוֹ into ἐν ὀργῇ αὐτοῦ ‘in his wrath’ (see 2 Sam. 22:9).

¹²¹ The word קול occurs in Hab. 3:16 but it does not seem to indicate theophany.

¹²² See n. 119.

the psalmist as if already in the reach of death: חבל־יָמוֹת / ὠδῖνες θανάτου (‘cords of death’), חבלי־שְׁאוֹל / ὠδῖνες ᾄδου (‘cords of Sheol’), מוקשי־מוֹת / παγίδες θανάτου (‘snares of death’).¹²³ In Ps. 18:7 the prayer for help in the context of such deadly suffering and prayer being taken before Yahweh in the heavenly temple¹²⁴ parallels Rev. 8:3–4, in which the prayers of all the saints went up before God. In Rev. 8:5a the phrase ἐγένευσεν αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου καὶ ἔβαλεν εἰς τὴν γῆν (‘[the angel] filled it with fire from the altar...threw it on the earth’) is elucidated with Ps. 18:9,¹²⁵ in which the words עֶשֶׁן בְּאַפּוֹ (‘smoke from his nostril’),¹²⁶ אֵשׁ מִפִּי (‘fire from his mouth’)¹²⁷ and גַּחְלִים בְּעֵרָו מִמֶּנּוּ (‘coals were kindled by it’)¹²⁸ denote Yahweh’s severe wrath. Most specifically, the theophany language in Rev 8:5b, with its allusive language of thunder (βροντή), sound (φωνή), lightning (ἀστραπή) and earthquake (σεισμός), which repeatedly occurs along with God’s judgment throughout the book of Revelation,¹²⁹ virtually corresponds to Ps. 17:8–16 LXX: ἐβρόντησεν (v. 14a), φωνήν (v. 14b), ἀστραπάς (v. 15), ἀνεκαλύφθη τὰ θεμέλια τῆς οἴκουμένης (v. 16).¹³⁰ The Sinai theophany in Exod. 19 does not include the term βροντή, but instead קוֹל (φωνή). The (divine) voice in the ancient Near East was often signified by ‘thunder.’¹³¹ Revelation 8:3–5 is closely tied with Ps. 18:7–16.

¹²³ Weiser, *The Psalms*, 188–89; Craigie, *Psalms 1-50*, 174. See also Dahood, *Psalms 1-50*, 105. He suggests יָבִיחַ in Ps. 18:4 describing ‘Death, the adversary par excellence’ on the basis of its plurality. Cf. Kraus, ‘without question “foreign powers”’ (*Psalms 1-59*, 259); Weiser, ‘Babylonians and Greeks’ (*The Psalms*, 188).

¹²⁴ Dahood – ‘His temple’ (הֵיכָלֹ) in Ps. 18:7 refers to God’s palace in heaven as in Ps. 11:4; 29:9 (*Psalms 1-50*, 106.) Weiser, ‘heavenly sanctuary’ (*The Psalms*, 189). Briggs, ‘A palace because royal help is given’ [Charles A. Briggs and Emilie Grace Briggs, *Psalms*, vol. 1, The International Critical Commentary [Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1906], 1:142). Kraus, ‘The temple (of Jerusalem), in which the song of thanksgiving is presented’ (*Psalms 1-59*, 260). Cf. Aune sees the scene of Rev. 8:3–5 as taking place on the earth (*Revelation 6-16*, 515).

¹²⁵ Ezekiel 10:2 can be the case as it says ‘fill your hands with burning coals..., and scatter them over the city’ (πλήσον τὰς δράκας σου ἀνθράκων πυρὸς ἐκ μέσου τῶν χειρουβιν καὶ διασκορπίσον ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν). However, there are distinctive contextual discrepancies: (1) the fire in Ezek. 10:2 pours out on Yahweh’s sinful people for their own defilement while that in Rev. 8:5 (in Ps. 18) targets his enemy. Aune suggests that the casting of fire upon the earth metaphorically anticipates the seven trumpets that follow (*Revelation 6-16*, 515). Cf. Beale, *The Book of Revelation*, 459–60. (2) While there is no theophany language in the Ezekiel text, some is found in Rev. 8:3–5.

¹²⁶ In Ugaritic, *bi* (in Biblical Hebrew בִּי) can be rendered as ‘from’ (e.g., Ps. 141:4; Prov. 9:5). See Daniel Sivan, *A Grammar of the Ugaritic Language: Second Impression with Corrections*, 2nd ed. (Leiden: Society of Biblical Literature, 2008), 195. See also Anderson, *The Book of Psalms*, 1:157.

¹²⁷ Psalm 17:9 LXX reads אֵשׁ מִפִּי as πῦρ ἀπὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ (‘fire from his presence’). In the OT ‘fire from his presence’ primarily signifies Yahweh’s judgment (e.g., Lev. 10:2; Num. 11:1, 3; 16:35; Deut. 9:3; 2 Kings 1:10; Ezek. 10:2; Zeph. 3:8), rites of purification (e.g., Isa. 6:6) or answering by fire (e.g., Lev. 9:24; 1 Chron. 2:26; 1 Kings 18:38).

¹²⁸ Briggs interpreted, ‘whatever the fiery breath of his anger reached became coals, were kindled, and burned like coals’ (Charles A. Briggs and Emilie Grace Briggs, *Psalms*, vol. 2, The International Critical Commentary [Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1906], 142).

¹²⁹ See Bauckham, *The Climax of Prophecy*, 199–209.

¹³⁰ For the element of ‘earthquake’, see Ps. 17:8 LXX: ‘the earth shook and quaked, and the foundations of the mountains were trembled’ (ἐσαλεύθη καὶ ἔντρομος ἐγενήθη ἡ γῆ καὶ τὰ θεμέλια τῶν ὀρέων ἐταράχθησαν).

¹³¹ Jeffrey Jay Niehaus, *God at Sinai: Covenant and Theophany in the Bible and Ancient Near East*, Studies in Old Testament Biblical Theology (Carlisle: Paternoster, 1995), 125–41. For further discussion, see Rev. 10:3 / Ps. 29:3.

Assessment

The phenomena of God's final judgment in Rev. 8:3–5—thunder, sounds, lightning and earthquake—are the classic elements of the Sinai theophany.¹³² In the same pattern, the Sinai theophany has often been portrayed in the Hebrew Bible both in Yahweh's deliverance and in his judgment.¹³³ In Rev. 8:3–5 John possibly alluded to (or was influenced by) the Sinai theophany in general, marking God's ultimate deliverance of his people by means of the judgment of the enemies. The distinguished structure of 'prayer-theophany' in Rev. 8:3–5 is explicitly demonstrated within Ps. 18:7–16 and their verbal proximity is also plausible. As has been seen, Ps. 18 is itself dependent on the account of the theophany at Sinai.¹³⁴ The psalm was also used in composing eschatological poems in the Qumran community (e.g., 1QH^a col. 11, 6–19 and 20–37; *the Tehillah of the Man of God* in 4Q381), perhaps suggesting its common usage among the Jews.¹³⁵ The wordings in question in Rev. 8:3–5 alludes to the Sinai theophany displayed in Ps. 18:7–16. As with Rev. 5:8 and 6:9–11, John's preference of using the Psalms in Revelation for the prayer of the saints in ritual scenes should not be overlooked.

4.6 Rev. 11:15, 18 / Ps. 2:1–2, 5

In the structure of the book of Revelation, two interludes (Rev. 7:1–17; 10:1–11:13)¹³⁶ lie between the sixth and the seventh plagues in the description of the seven seals and the seven trumpets. When each of the seventh plagues is announced by opening the seventh seal or blowing the seventh trumpet (Rev. 8:1–2; 11:14–15a), pauses are located before the actual initiation of the last plagues (Rev. 8:3–5; 11:15b–15:8).¹³⁷ Revelation 11:15b–18 corresponds to the beginning of the pause of Rev. 11:15b–15:8. Interestingly both Rev. 8:3–5 and Rev. 11:15b–18 comprise ritual scenes. Revelation 8:3–5 illustrates a cultic scene of prayer in the transition from the seven seals to the seven trumpets, and Rev. 11:15b–18 portrays a praise scene in the transition from the seven trumpets to the seven bowls. Notably, there is another praise scene (Rev. 15:2–4) at the end of the

¹³² See Bauckham, *The Climax of Prophecy*, 200. He says, 'In apocalyptic writings the eschatological theophany, the day of the Lord, is clearly portrayed as a new Sinai theophany.'

¹³³ Niehaus, *God at Sinai*, 208, 302–304.

¹³⁴ Briggs and Briggs, *Psalms*, 1:142–43; Anderson, *The Book of Psalms*, 1:153.

¹³⁵ See Julie A. Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions and Exegesis in the Hodayot*, Studies on the Text of the Desert of Judah (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2006), 185–230; Esther G. Chazon, 'The Use of the Bible as a Key to Meaning in Psalms from Qumran,' in *Emanuel: Studies in Hebrew Bible, Septuagint and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov*, Supplements to Vetus Testamentum 94 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2003), 85–96. Hughes thinks that Ps. 18 was a suitable 'template' for composition of new prayers and poems (p. 230); Chazon sees *the Tehillah of the Man of God* as a 'reworked version' of Ps. 18 (p. 89).

¹³⁶ For the function of interlude in the book, see Beale, *The Book of Revelation*, 784–85; Yarbro Collins, *The Combat Myth in the Book of Revelation*, 16–19.

¹³⁷ Cf. 'The Sevenfold Pattern of Woes' in Beale, *The Book of Revelation*, 128.

pause of Rev. 11:15b–15:8. In other words, the pause of Rev. 11:15b–15:8 in the seven trumpets begins with the praise of Rev. 11:15b–18 and ends with the praise of Rev. 15:2–4.¹³⁸ The two songs of praise are even similar in content and are followed by the same scenes in which the heavenly temple opens and the last plagues are prepared (Rev. 11:19; 15:5–8).

Table 4.3 – Structural Analysis of Rev. 8:1–6; 11:14–19, 15:1–8

	Seven Seals	Seven Trumpets
1–6 th plagues	1–6 th seals (6:1–17)	1–6 th trumpets (8:7–9:21)
Interlude	144,000 (7:1–17)	Two witnesses (10:1–11:13)
Pause	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Announcement (8:1-2) Ritual (prayer) (8:3–5) Judgment (8:6 ~) - thunder, sound, lightning, earthquake 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Announcement (11:14) Ritual (praise) (11:15–18) Judgment implication (temple opened) (11:19) : - lightning, sound, thunder, earthquake, hailstorm (12:1–14:20) Announcement (15:1) Ritual (praise) (15:2–4) Judgment preparation (temple opened) (15:5–8) : - Seven golden bowls filled with the wrath of God
Judgment	7 th seal → Seven Trumpets	7 th trumpet → Seven Bowls

In the tightly woven structure of Revelation, John employs the psalms to highlight the sovereign power of God and the Lamb at the final judgment.¹³⁹ Revelation 11:15b–18 proclaims the final victory of God and his messiah (ἐγένετο ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ κόσμου τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν καὶ τοῦ χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ, v. 15b), the enthronement and eternal reign (βασιλεύσει εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, v. 15b, 17).¹⁴⁰ This plausibly alludes to Ps. 2:1–2, 5.¹⁴¹

¹³⁸ For the structure of Rev. 15:1–8, see Rev. 15:3–4 / Ps. 86:8–10 (96:3–9).

¹³⁹ Cf. Aune, *Revelation 6-16*, 635. He sees Rev. 11:15–18 to be a short isolated textual unit between preceding and following sections, not organized by a careful compositional plan.

¹⁴⁰ See also Caird, *A Commentary on the Revelation of St. John the Divine*, 141.

¹⁴¹ Cf. Moyise, ‘The Psalms in the Book of Revelation,’ 240. He suggests the allusion in Rev. 11:17–18 to Ps. 99:1 on the basis of the ‘unusual expression’ in Rev. 11:17–18, which is only found in Ps. 99:1: ὁ κύριος ἐβασίλευσεν ὀργιζέσθωσαν λαοί. He argues that Yahweh’s reign entails ‘its negative consequences for the peoples of the earth’ only in Ps. 99:1 among four psalms where the phrasing κύριος ἐβασίλευσεν occurs (Pss. 93:1; 96:10; 97:1; 99:1). In light of their contexts, in fact, Yahweh’s reign in all these psalms brings about his judgment of the nations/peoples except in Ps. 93:1. Psalm 99(98):1 bears two words βασιλεύω and ὀργίζω, which are found in Rev. 11:17–18; however, Yahweh’s rage does not seem to go on to the nations in the context of Ps. 99. The contextual relationship is not agreeable. It is complicated because of the two similar Hebrew words, רגז, רגז (only in Ps. 2:1, meaning ‘restless,’ aramaic loan word – ‘gathering in rage’). The word ὀργίζω (← רגז) was used in the OG/LXX for both ‘tremble’ and ‘rage.’ First, I am not convinced that the words ὀργιζέσθωσαν λαοί in Ps. 98:1 LXX are translated ‘let the peoples rage’ because its parallelism more likely supports ‘let the peoples tremble’ (יהוה מלך ירגזו עמים ישב כרובים תנוט הארץ) ‘The LORD reigns, let the nations tremble; he sits enthroned between the cherubim, let the earth shake’). It is possible that John employed ὀργίζω of Ps. 98:1 LXX with different meaning in Rev. 11:18. Yet I think that John did not need to use Ps. 99(98):1 in Rev. 11:18 if he knew the meaning of ὀργίζω in Ps. 98:1 LXX was different from Rev. 11:18 since knows another, clearer

Ps. 2:1–2, 5 MT	Ps. 2:1–2, 5 LXX	Rev. 11:15, 18
(1) למה רגשו גוים ו ולאמים יהגוריק	ἵνα τί ἐφρύαξαν ἔθνη καὶ λαοὶ ἐμελέτησαν κενά	ἐγένετο ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ κόσμου τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν καὶ τοῦ χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ, καὶ βασιλεύσει εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων
(2) יתיצבו מלכי־ארץ ורוזנים נוסדו־יחד על־יהוה ועל־משיח	παρέστησαν οἱ βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες συνήχθησαν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ κατὰ τοῦ κυρίου καὶ κατὰ τοῦ χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ διάψαλμα	καὶ τὰ ἔθνη ὠργίσθησαν, καὶ ἦλθεν ἡ ὀργή σου καὶ ὁ καιρὸς τῶν νεκρῶν κριθῆναι
(5) אז ידבר אלימו באפו ובחרונו יבהלמו	τότε λαλήσει πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐν ὀργῇ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν τῷ θυμῷ αὐτοῦ ταραξεί αὐτούς	

The wording τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν καὶ τοῦ χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ in Rev. 11:15b is found in Ps. 2:2 (τοῦ κυρίου ... τοῦ χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ). The expressions τὰ ἔθνη ὠργίσθησαν ('the nations raged') and ἦλθεν ἡ ὀργή σου ('your wrath has come') in Rev. 11:18 are similar to the phrases τί ἐφρύαξαν ἔθνη ('why do the nations rage,' Ps. 2:1 LXX) and ἐν ὀργῇ αὐτοῦ ('in his wrath,' Ps. 2:5 LXX). Yet these verbal affinities are not fully justified in their own right. The clause τοῦ κυρίου ... τοῦ χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ in Ps. 2:2 LXX does not refer to the reign of the victor over the nations as Rev. 11:15b does. It designates the anointed one being rebuked by the nations. And, in Rev. 11:18, John used the verb ὀργίζω while Ps. 2:1 LXX contains φρυάσσω. In particular, along with καὶ ἐβασίλευσας in Rev. 11:17, the words καὶ τὰ ἔθνη ὠργίσθησαν in v. 18 bear stronger textual correspondence to Ps. 99:1: ὁ κύριος ἐβασίλευσεν ὀργιζέσθωσαν λαοί.

The contextual understanding of John's use of Ps. 2:1–2 makes the dissonances acceptable. Revelation 11:15–18 is constituted by two praises: the heavenly proclamation of the final victory of the Lord and his Christ (v. 15) and the twenty-four elders' response to it (v. 17–18). Revelation 11:18 has the following sequence: the rage of the nations → the Lord's wrath towards them → judgment of those who destroy the earth → the reign of the Lord and his Christ (vv. 15, 17). In Ps. 2:1–3, the nations' rage against Yahweh and his anointed one brings Yahweh's immediate wrath against them in Ps. 2:4–9, resulting in the anointed one reigning over the nations with an iron rod. The contextual relationship between Rev. 11:15–18 and Ps. 2 is hardly deniable. John probably made use of τοῦ κυρίου ... τοῦ χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ of Ps. 2:2 LXX in Rev. 11:15b, bearing in mind the result of the rage of Yahweh in Ps. 2:4–9 LXX.

text the uses the word—namely Ps. 2:12. Secondly, though רגש is only used in Ps. 2:1, in parallelism the word should be translated to be 'raged' (aramaic loan word) – יהגוריק / ולאמים גוים – 'Why do the nations conspire (Hebrew; Septuagint 'rage') and the peoples plot in vain?' John could have read רגש by ὀργίζω if he recognized that ὀργίζω could be translated as either 'tremble' or 'rage.' Thirdly, Ps. 99:1 does not specify God's rage/wrath over the nations while Rev. 11:18 clearly indicates the nations raged. Thus I have excluded Ps. 99(98):1.

Psalm 2:1 LXX renders $\Psi\Gamma$ ¹⁴² as $\phi\rho\upsilon\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\omega$ meaning ‘rage.’¹⁴³ John seems not to follow the OG/LXX verbatim as he has $\delta\rho\gamma\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$ (‘angry’) instead of $\phi\rho\upsilon\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\omega$.¹⁴⁴ Insofar as $\Psi\Gamma$ conveys the nuance of ‘assemble with rage,’ the MT is the likely source, since $\Psi\Gamma$ follows the context of the psalm more closely. Three factors suggest the primacy of the MT for John: (1) Parallelism in Ps. 2:1 supports the translation of $\Psi\Gamma$ as ‘rage.’ (2) נִסְדְּרוּ יַחַד (‘take counsel together’) in Ps. 2:2 fits well with $\Psi\Gamma$ in Ps. 2:1. (3) רַגְזוּ גוֹיִם (‘the rage of the nations’) in Ps. 2:1 can be considered as counterpart to אָפּוֹ (‘his anger,’ v. 5, 12), קִרְוֹנוֹ (‘his fury,’ v. 5), הִאָּנַח (‘to anger,’ v. 12). Still, it is uncertain whether John directly rendered the MT: $\Psi\Gamma$ into $\delta\rho\gamma\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$ in Rev. 11:18 for the reason presented above or rather he simply substituted the OG/LXX’s translation, $\phi\rho\upsilon\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\omega$ with $\delta\rho\gamma\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$ on the basis of occurrences of $\delta\rho\gamma\acute{\iota}$, $\delta\rho\gamma\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$ in Ps. 2:5, 12 LXX. What is clear, however, is that John exposes his engagement with Ps. 2 as the phrase $\tau\acute{\alpha} \xi\theta\nu\eta \acute{\omega}\rho\gamma\acute{\iota}\sigma\theta\eta\sigma\alpha\nu, \kappa\alpha\iota \eta\lambda\theta\epsilon\nu \eta \delta\rho\gamma\acute{\iota} \sigma\upsilon$ (‘the nations were enraged and your wrath has come’) in Rev. 11:18 distinctly reflects the contextual flow of Ps. 2.¹⁴⁵

Assessment

As seen in Table 4.3, Rev. 11:14–19 is deliberately positioned at the beginning of the pause before the seventh trumpet in a structural parallel with Rev. 15:1–8. The three segments of Rev. 8:1–6, 11:14–19 and 15:1–8 contain cultic scenes (prayer/praise), all of which allude to the psalms (Pss. 18:7–16; 2:1–2; 86:8–11).¹⁴⁶ The authorial style and intent in composition can be perceived, if only in part, by means of the allusions to Ps. 2:1–2 in Rev. 11:15b and 18. John seems to have used the Psalms with consistency in the liturgical sections in the book of Revelation. Moreover, Rev. 11:15b and 18 expose two apparently contradictory aspects of an eschatological reign in the book. In a positive sense, the messiah will be the eternal king of all the nations (the nations need to exist); whereas in a negative sense, the reign will entail divine judgment/destruction of the nations (the nations are to be destroyed). While Rev. 11:15b indicates the messiah’s eternal kingship, Rev. 11:18 illustrates the destruction of the nations by the wrath of God. By alluding to Ps. 2, John effectively connotes in Rev. 11:15b and 18 a double-sided messianic reign which the psalm specifies as such.

¹⁴² Aramaic loanword, usually ‘assemble’ in Aramaic; See also *HALOT*, meaning ‘to come flocking to surge, roar, rage.’

¹⁴³ Cf. the quotation of Ps. 2 in Act. 4:25 using $\phi\rho\upsilon\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\omega$.

¹⁴⁴ Cf. Steve Moyise, ‘The Language of the Psalms in the Book of Revelation,’ *Neotestamentica* 37, no. 2 (2003): 246–61; Moyise, ‘The Psalms in the Book of Revelation,’ 232–33.

¹⁴⁵ Osborne, *Revelation*, 444; Morris, *The Revelation of St. John*, 153. See also Wilfrid J. Harrington, *Revelation*, ed. Daniel J. Harrington, Sacra Pagina 16 (Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 1993), 126. Harrington and Osborne noted word-play ($\acute{\omega}\rho\gamma\acute{\iota}\sigma\theta\eta\sigma\alpha\nu\dots\delta\rho\gamma\acute{\iota}$) in Rev. 11:18.

¹⁴⁶ For Rev. 15:1–8, see Rev. 15:3b–4 / Ps. 86:8–11.

4.7 Rev. 15:3b–4 / Ps. 86(85):8–11

The title τὴν ᾠδὴν Μωϋσέως ('the song of Moses')¹⁴⁷ in Rev. 15:3a seems to indicate which text or event in the Scripture John had in mind. The scriptural texts which can be called 'the song of Moses' are Exod. 15:1–18 and Deut. 32.¹⁴⁸ As in many other allusions, Rev. 15:3b–4 does not limit itself to a single allusive context.¹⁴⁹ Nonetheless, it has been observed that Rev. 15:3–4 recalls the Red sea occasion¹⁵⁰ in consideration of some reminders from the context of Revelation: the song of Moses, sea, fire,¹⁵¹ victory against the beast, etc. In light of this, Rev. 15:3b–4 appears to be closer to Exod. 15 than Deut. 32. Contextual similarity between Rev. 15:3b–4 and Exod. 15:1–18 can also be found.

Exodus 15:1–18 was the song of the Israelites who came out of their suffering by means of Yahweh's defeat of their enemy in the Red sea. The content of the song is comprised of Yahweh's judgment and his sovereignty over the nations. Notably in the song, the sanctuary is set forth as the goal to where the Israelites should head, not a place the redeemed have already gained.¹⁵² The literary context of the book of Exodus holds up such a view of the sanctuary in the song. In Exod. 25 Yahweh commanded Moses to establish a sanctuary. Even though the sanctuary was finally completed in the end of the book of Exodus (Exod. 36–40), Moses could not enter into the tabernacle because it was full of Yahweh's glory.

Revelation 15:2–3a declares that the song of Rev. 15:3b–4 is a song of those who

¹⁴⁷ Probably 'the song *about* the Lamb' (objective genitive), not 'the song *by* the Lamb' (subjective genitive). See Aune, *Revelation 6-16*, 873. Cf. Roloff, who sees Moses as a risen one, i.e., the Lamb (Jürgen Roloff, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes*, 158–59).

¹⁴⁸ Psalm 90 entitled 'a prayer of Moses' is not considered. It is vividly a communal lament having no sense of victory through the Red sea event, though there are some parallels to be found between Ps. 90 and the song of Moses (Exod. 15; Deut. 32). The communal distress in the psalm would refer to either the servitude of Israel (Mosaic date) or the experience of exile after 587 BC (post-exilic date) (see Tate, *Psalms 51-100*, 438).

¹⁴⁹ Most scholars suggest several texts to be associated together with each verse of Rev. 15:3b–4. The views for the main source which was primarily in John's mind for the song of Moses are divided. For Deut. 32: Beckwith, *The Apocalypse of John*, 677; Beale, *The Book of Revelation*, 793; J. Massyngberde Ford, 'The Structure and Meaning of Revelation 16,' *Expository Times* 98, no. 11 (Ag 1987): 247. For Exod. 15: Mounce, *The Book of Revelation*, 287; Aune, *Revelation 6-16*, 872; Bauckham, *The Climax of Prophecy*, 306. For the Psalms (Ps. 86): Roloff, *The Revelation of John*, 184. 'Mostly from the Psalms': Moyise, 'The Psalms in the book of Revelation,' 236. See also Schüssler Fiorenza, *The Book of Revelation*, 135. She denied any literary connection of the song in question to either Exod. 15 or Deut. 32, arguing that the song in Rev. 15:3–4 is an 'amalgamation of various OT themes' because she considers the issue of quotation, not allusion.

¹⁵⁰ R. H. Charles, *The Revelation of St. John*, vol. 2, The International Critical Commentary (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1920), 34; Kiddle, *The Revelation of St. John*, 300–301; Caird, *A Commentary on the Revelation of St. John the Divine*, 197. Cf. 'Throne-room' – Beckwith, *The Apocalypse of John*, 674; Ladd, *A Commentary on the Revelation of John*, 204.

¹⁵¹ For details of the 'fire' in the Red sea event, see Beale, *The Book of Revelation*, 789–92.

¹⁵² Exod. 15:13 – נחית בחסדך עִמָּזו גֵּאלַת נְהַלַת בְּעֶזְךָ אֱלֹהֵי קְדֹשְׁךָ ('You have led...the people whom you have redeemed; you have guided them...to your hold abode,' ESV).

Verse 17 – תבאמו ותטעמו בהר נחלתך מכון לשבתך פעלת יהוה מקדש אדני כוננו ידיך ('You will bring them in and plant them on your own mountain, the place, O Lord, which you have made for your abode, the sanctuary, O Lord, which your hands have established,' ESV).

conquered the beast. Its content involves the Lord's sovereign kingship over all the nations. Specifically, preceded by the song of Moses in Rev. 15:2–4, Rev. 15:5–8 portrays the heavenly temple as open and announces that no one could enter the temple until the seven plagues were finished (οὐδείς ἐδύνατο εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὸν ναὸν ἄχρι τελεσθῶσιν αἱ ἑπτὰ πληγαί). This could suggest to the audience that the heavenly temple is not yet to be entered. Rather, it is the ultimate goal to where all the redeemed must advance (cf. Rev. 21–22). Because the exodus occasion resonates with this context, Rev. 15:3b–4 is arguably correlated to the song in Exod. 15:1–18. Regarding the Revelation text, commentators have generally mentioned four primary scriptural texts as allusions: Exod. 15, Deut. 32, Ps. 86:9–10 and Jer. 10:7.¹⁵³ None of them has been exclusively attested to be the case for Rev. 15:3b–4. Psalm 86(85):11 has not been counted here. Provided that Ps. 86:11 is considered along with Ps. 86:9–10, the verbal association of Rev. 15:3b–4 with the psalm becomes even clearer than the other relevant texts.

Ps. 86:8–11 MT	Ps. 85:8–11 LXX	Rev. 15:3b–4
אין־כמוך באלהים אדני ואין כמעשיך	οὐκ ἔστιν ὁμοίός σοι ἐν θεοῖς κύριε καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν κατὰ τὰ ἔργα σου	ἄδουσιν τὴν ᾠδὴν Μωϋσέως μεγάλα καὶ θαυμαστά τὰ ἔργα σου ... δίκαιαι καὶ ἀληθιναὶ αἱ ὁδοί σου, ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν ἐθνῶν
כל־גוים אשר עשית יבואו וישתחוּו לפניך אדני ויכבדו לשמך	πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ... ἤξουσιν καὶ προσκυνήσουσιν ἐνώπιόν σου κύριε καὶ δοξάσουσιν τὸ ὄνομά σου	τίς οὐ μὴ φοβηθῆ δοξάσει τὸ ὄνομά σου; ὅτι μόνος ὁσῖος
כי־גדול אתה ועשה נפלאות אתה אלהים לבדך	μέγας εἶ σὺ καὶ ποιῶν θαυμάσια σὺ εἶ ὁ θεὸς μόνος ὁ μέγας	ὅτι πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἤξουσιν καὶ προσκυνήσουσιν ἐνώπιόν σου ὅτι τὰ δικαιώματά σου ἐφανερώθησαν
הורני יהוה דרכך אהלך באמתך ליראה שמך...	ὁδήγησόν με κύριε τῇ ὁδῷ σου καὶ πορεύσομαι ἐν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ σου ... τοῦ φοβεῖσθαι τὸ ὄνομά σου	

On the basis of parallelism, the word דרכך ('your way') in Ps. 86:11a can be deemed as a counterpart of אמתך ('your truth or trustworthiness') (subjective genitive). Psalm 86 was probably composed in the post-exilic period,¹⁵⁴ skillfully made up in a written form since the beginning¹⁵⁵ and used as a prayer for public worship in the synagogue.¹⁵⁶ John would have known the psalm

¹⁵³ Exodus 15:11 → Rev. 15:3b (Beale); Deut. 32:4 → Rev. 15:3c (Aune; Beale); Ps. 86:9–10 → Rev. 15:4 (Bauckham, Aune, Beale, Moyise); Jer. 10:7 → Rev. 15:3c–4a (Bauckham, Aune, Beale).

¹⁵⁴ Carroll Stuhlmueller, *Psalms 2* (Wilmington, Del.: M. Glazier, 1983), 51.

¹⁵⁵ Anneli Aejmelaeus, *The Traditional Prayer in the Psalms / Literarische Studien zur Josephsgeschichte* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1986), 104–106.

¹⁵⁶ Briggs and Briggs, *Psalms*, 2:235.

well and possibly read τῆ ὁδῶ σου ... ἐν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ σου ('...your way, O Lord...in your truth') in Ps. 85:11 LXX into ἀληθινὰ αἱ ὁδοὶ σου ('your ways are trustworthy') in Rev. 15:3c.¹⁵⁷ Psalm 86(85):11b is also viewed in Rev. 15:4a.

Table 4.4 – Textual similarity between Ps. 85:8–11 LXX and Rev. 15:3b–4

Ps. 85:8–11 LXX	Rev. 15:3b–4
τὰ ἔργα σου (8), μέγας ...ποιῶν θαυμάσια (10a)	μεγάλα καὶ θαυμαστὰ τὰ ἔργα σου (3b)
ὁδήγησόν... τῆ ὁδῶ σου καὶ πορεύσομαι ἐν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ σου (11a)	δίκαιαι καὶ ἀληθινὰ αἱ ὁδοὶ σου (3c)
τοῦ φοβεῖσθαι τὸ ὄνομά σου (11b) δοξάσουσιν τὸ ὄνομά σου (9b)	τίς οὐ μὴ φοβηθῆ, κύριε, καὶ δοξάσει τὸ ὄνομά σου; (4a)
σὺ εἶ ὁ θεὸς μόνος ὁ μέγας (10b)	μόνος ὁσῖος ¹⁵⁸ (4b)
πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ὅσα ἐποίησας ἤξουσιν καὶ προσκυνήσουσιν ἐνώπιόν σου (9a)	πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἤξουσιν καὶ προσκυνήσουσιν ἐνώπιόν σου (4c) ¹⁵⁹

The contextual relationship reinforces the dependence of Rev. 15:3b–4 upon the psalm. Revelation 15:1 announces that the last plagues will come and soon be finished, but then, Rev. 15:2–4 immediately begins the praise as if the plagues were already finished. It probably suggests that the song of praise in Rev. 15:3–4 relates to the judgment to come rather than the preceding one.¹⁶⁰ Especially the reference to ‘those who had been victorious over the beast and his image and over the number of his name’ (τοὺς νικῶντας ἐκ τοῦ θηρίου καὶ ἐκ τῆς εἰκόνης αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ) in Rev. 15:2 nearly confirms the fact that the song in Rev. 15:3–4 hardly concerns itself with the previous judgment as the activities of the beast and his image referred to in Rev. 15:2 have increased even in Rev. 16–18. The judgment on them which will bring the end of

¹⁵⁷ אֱמֻנָה is concerned with ‘reliability’ in relationship with Yahweh in the OT (A. Jepsen, ‘אֱמֻנָה,’ *TDOT*, 1:313).

Possibly אֱמֻנָתְךָ in Ps. 86:11b is understood ‘in my faithfulness to you’ (‘objective genitive’) because v. 2 keeps the same concept (cf. Kraus, *Psalms 60-150*, 182). For the Hebrew usage of ‘objective genitive,’ see Ronald J. Williams, *Williams’ Hebrew Syntax*, 3rd rev. ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007).

¹⁵⁸ The use of μόνος and ὁσῖος together reveals God’s incomparability (Bauckham, *The Climax of Prophecy*, 303; Beale, *The Book of Revelation*, 796). Cf. Moyise argues that John adopted ὁσῖος instead of μέγας because of the repetition of the epithet ‘great’ in v. 3 (Steve Moyise, ‘The Psalms in the Book of Revelation,’ 235).

¹⁵⁹ That all the nations come and worship God appears to violate the judgment motif against them evident in the book. In the OT and other Jewish literature, expressions that the nations will come and worship God are not lacking (Isa. 2:3; 14:1–2; 45:14; 49:22–23; 60:1–3; Mic. 4:2; Zech. 8:20–22; *Pss. Sol.* 17:31; *Tob.* 13:11; *1 En.* 10:21; 90:30–33; 91:14; *2 Bar.* 72:1–6; etc.). It specifies God’s eschatological salvation and reign (or cosmic transformation) in the apocalyptic tradition, which are preceded by judgment of the nations (see Aune, *Revelation 17-22*, 1171–72; Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination*, 3–12). John simply exposed his dependence on the tradition, not the sense of universalism (for discussion on universalism, see Bauckham, *The Climax of Prophecy*, 307–18; Beale, *The Book of Revelation*, 799–800; Moyise, ‘The Psalms in the Book of Revelation,’ 235–36).

¹⁶⁰ See Beckwith, *The Apocalypse of John*, 674. Cf. Beale, *The Book of Revelation*, 784–85.

the plagues comes later in Rev. 19:19–21.¹⁶¹ Therefore, the song of praise in Rev. 15:2–4 reflects in the midst of the suffering an eager petition of the saints of God’s final judgment to come, an assurance of the judgment, a conviction of the end of distress and final victory of the saints. Such a dramatic fashion is a standard way to call for God’s decisive judgment in the lament song in the Psalms.¹⁶²

Psalm 86 is such a lament song,¹⁶³ which contains the combination of supplications (vv. 1–7, 14–17) and praise (vv. 8–13). The literary structure of the psalm is as follows:¹⁶⁴

- A 1–4 (עבדך, your servant)
- B 5–6 (רב־חסד, abounding loyal-love)
- C 7 (ביום צרהי, in the day of my distress)
- D 8–10 (יִכְבְּרוּ לְשִׁמְךָ, they will glorify your name)
- E 11 (שִׁמְךָ, your name)
- D' 12–13 (אֶכְבְּדָה שִׁמְךָ, I will glorify your name)
- C' 14 (אֱלֹהִים זָרִים קָמוּ-עָלַי, O God, the godless have risen against me)
- B' 15 (רב־חסד, abounding loyal-love)
- A' 16–17 (עבדך, your servant)

Psalm 86:8–13 is the center of the psalm and can be divided into two parts: vv. 8–11, vv. 12–13.¹⁶⁵ Psalm 86:8–11 is the praise for Yahweh’s incomparable majesty, superiority and sovereignty and functions as a plea for Yahweh’s immediate intervention into the distress of the psalmist. It is likely that the praise of Ps. 86:8–11 forms the central themes of Rev. 15:3b–4.

Notable, in addition, is John’s compositional pattern to be discerned in three sevenfold judgment series. Revelation 15 largely consists of three sections, each of which begins with *καὶ εἶδον* (vv. 1, 2, 5), that is, three visionary scenes—the first and third seem to be classified as in the same platform.¹⁶⁶ In Rev. 15:1 (scene #1) John announces the seven last plagues. Revelation 15:2–4 (scene #2) displays the song of Moses, the song of the Lamb of the redeemed standing on the sea of glass mixed with fire. Revelation 15:5–8 (scene #3) is about to begin the seven last plagues anticipated in Rev. 15:1.

¹⁶¹ Revelation 11:15b–18, 15:2–4, 19:1–8 can be thanksgivings for the preceding, as well as the following, judgment. Interestingly, judgment in the book of Revelation almost always conjures up a worship scene, e.g., in Rev. 20:10–22:7.

¹⁶² Westermann, *Praise and Lament in the Psalms*, 75–81. See also Walter Brueggemann, *Israel’s Praise: Doxology Against Idolatry and Ideology* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1988), 140–45.

¹⁶³ Dahood, *Psalms 51-100*, 292.

¹⁶⁴ Pierre Auffret, ‘Essai sur la structure littéraire du psaume 86,’ *Vetus testamentum* 29, no. 4 (Oct 1979): 385–402.

¹⁶⁵ Weiser, *The Psalms*, 577–78. H. Schmidt places vv. 12–13 in the end of the whole psalm. Cf. Tate, *Psalms 51-100*, 382, divides into vv. 8–10, 11–13.

¹⁶⁶ Michael Wilcock, *I Saw Heaven Opened: The Message of Revelation* (InterVarsity Press, 1975), 39–41.

- V. 1: Announcement of the seven bowls judgment
 - Vv. 2–4: The song of Moses, the song of the Lamb
- V. 5–8: Preparation of the seven bowls plagues

Such a pattern of a ritual scene to be placed in between the announcement of judgment and the actual beginning of the judgment has been consistently found elsewhere in the book of Revelation.¹⁶⁷

Table 4.5 Composition Pattern

Rev. 5:1–14	Rev. 8:1–6	Rev. 11:15–19	Rev. 15:1–8
Announcement (1–7) Ritual (8–14) Judgment (6:1 ~)	Announcement (1–2) Ritual (3–5) Judgment (6 ~)	Announcement (14) Ritual (15–18) Judgment implication : temple opened (19)	Announcement (1) Ritual (2–4) Judgment Preparation : temple opened (5–8) Judgment (16:1 ~)

By illustrating the worship scene to the Lamb and God before each series of judgment, John seems to have stressed the judgment itself to be God’s glory which unmask his righteous power as well as his faithful response to the prayer of the saints. Interestingly, the worship scenes depicted in Rev. 5:8–14, 8:3–5, 11:15b–18 have all alluded to the Psalms in a direct or an indirect way.¹⁶⁸ In the light of both a compositional pattern and the allusions coherent to the Psalms in the four Revelation texts, the allusion to Ps. 86(85):8–11 in Rev. 15:3b–4 is more valid than any other of the relevant texts.

Whether or not the psalmist employed Exod. 15:1–18, John might have thought of Ps. 86:8–11 as deriving from the key ideas of Exod. 15:1–8 on the basis of verbal similarities. It is not surprising, then, that when John used Ps. 86:8–11 in light of Exod. 15:1–18, he designated Rev. 15:3–4 as the ‘song of Moses.’¹⁶⁹

Assessment

Revelation 15:3b–4 undoubtedly alludes to the themes of the Red sea event. That is not to say, however, that the Revelation text directly alluded to Exod. 15:1–18. While commentators have

¹⁶⁷ See also Rev. 11:15, 18 (19:19) / Ps. 2:1–2.

¹⁶⁸ See Rev. 5:8–9, 14:2–3 / Ps. 33(32):2–3; 98(97):1, 5; 144(143):9; 149:1, 3; Rev. 8:3–5 / Ps. 18:7–14; Rev. 11:15, 18 / Ps. 2:1–2.

¹⁶⁹ This is, perhaps, similar to when the psalmist put a label on Ps. 90 as the ‘prayer of Moses.’ Moses’ authority was used as the ‘man of God’ (Weiser, *The Psalms*, 595; Kraus, *Psalms 60-150*, 215). Note also Emil L. Fackenheim, a Jewish scholar who pointed out that all Jewish tradition rests upon two ‘root experience’: Exodus and Sinai covenant (Emil L. Fackenheim, *God’s Presence in History: Jewish Affirmations and Philosophical Reflections*, The Deems Lectures 1968 [New York: New York University Press, 1970], 8–13). John’s significant notice of the Exodus motif is vivid in the book of Revelation and he would willingly have named the song of Rev. 15:2–4 the ‘song of Moses.’

noticed several allusions in Rev. 15:3–4, Ps. 86(85):11 has not been appreciated among them. Psalm 85:8–11 LXX has a closer textual relationship with Rev. 15:3b–4. In the literary context, the praise of Ps. 85:8–11 LXX is located in between the two expressions of a bitter situation (Ps. 85:7 and 14) and exemplified as a strong petition for deliverance. The song in Rev. 15:3b–4 is preceded by the announcement of the seven last plagues and followed by the judgment. Contextually, thus, Ps. 86(85):8–11 is reflected in Rev. 15:3b–4. In the book of Revelation, such a characteristic function of praise has been demonstrated.

4.8 Rev. 19:4 / Ps. 106(105):48

In the NT, the word ἀλληλουϊά ('hallelujah')¹⁷⁰ occurs only in the book of Revelation (Rev. 19:1, 3, 4, 6). Revelation 19:1–8 is considered to be the most distinctive hymnic text in the book.¹⁷¹ Its literary location is significant to the structure of the book. The seventh bowl, the judgment of Babylon the great (Rev. 16:17–18:24), precedes this text. And the text is followed by the three final sceneries: the casting of the beast, the false prophet and the dragon into the lake of fire (εἰς τὴν λίμνην τοῦ πυρός, Rev. 19:20; 20:10), the judgment of the dead (Rev. 20:11–15) and the New Jerusalem in Rev. 21:1–22:5. No more praise or prayer occur after Rev. 19:1–8. It is the final hymn to proclaim the end of God's judgment and the beginning of his new reign. Revelation 19:1–8 divides into two parts: vv. 1–4, 5–8.¹⁷² Verses 1–4 are deemed as a response to the heavenly exhortation in Rev. 18:20, εὐφραίνου... ὅτι ἔκρινεν ὁ θεὸς τὸ κρίμα ὑμῶν ἐξ αὐτῆς ('Rejoice... O heaven! Rejoice..., God has judged for you against her...'). As such, they are a thanksgiving praise for the judgment of Babylon the great. Revelation 19:5–8, in conjunction with Rev. 19:9–10, functions as an anticipatory praise for God's eschatological reign (v. 6) and the marriage of the Lamb (vv. 7–8) to come.¹⁷³

In the subdivision of Rev. 19:1–8, the placement of Rev. 19:4 is somewhat ambiguous in

¹⁷⁰ A Greek transliteration of יהללה. In the OG/LXX, it occurs in *Tob.* 13:18, *3 Macc.* 7:13, Pss. 104–106, 110–118, 134–135, 145–150.

¹⁷¹ Cf. Rev. 4:8–11; 5:8–14; 7:9–12; 11:15–18; 14:2–3; 15:2–3; 16:5–7; 19:1–8. See also Jean-Pierre Ruiz, *Ezekiel in the Apocalypse: The Transformation of Prophetic Language in Revelation 16:17 - 19:10*, European University Studies (Frankfurt: Lang, 1989), 483–84.

¹⁷² The structure of Rev. 19:1–8 varies among scholarship. Mounce separates vv. 1–5 as a set of hymn of vindication, being composed of three parts: vv. 1–3, v. 4 and v. 5. Verses 6–8 are arranged within Rev. 19:6–10, the announcement of the marriage of the Lamb (*The Book of Revelation*, 336–39). Farrer sees Rev. 19:1–8 as an introduction of Rev. 19:11–22:5, 'the last things' (Austin Farrer, *The Revelation of St. John the Divine: Commentary on the English Text* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964], 196). Ruiz argues Rev. 19:1–8 as a whole responds to the call to rejoice of Rev. 18:20 and Rev. 19:2–3, in particular, is a recapitulation of what precedes (Ruiz, *Ezekiel in the Apocalypse*, 483–88). Aune sees Rev. 19:1–8 to be the conclusion of Rev. 17:1–18:24, not the introduction of Rev. 19:11–21:8. Rather it is the introduction of Rev. 21:9–22:9 (*Revelation 17-22*, 1019–23). Beale believes that vv. 1–3 and vv. 6–7 together are an answer to Rev. 18:20 (Beale, *Revelation*, 926–27). Cf. William H. Shea, 'Revelation 5 and 19 as Literary Reciprocals,' *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 22, no. 2 (Summer 1984): 249–51.

¹⁷³ See 3.2.6 *Rev. 15:3b–4 / Ps. 86:8–11*. See also Beckwith, *The Apocalypse of John*, 720.

comparison with those of Rev. 19:1–3 and Rev. 19:5–8. Revelation 19:1–3 clearly discloses the fall of Babylon by mentioning ἔκρινεν τὴν πόρνην τὴν μεγάλην (‘he has judged the great prostitute,’ v. 2), ὁ καπνὸς αὐτῆς ἀναβαίνει (‘her smoke rises up,’ v. 3).¹⁷⁴ In Rev. 18:9, 18 her burning smoke depicts the fall of Babylon. The heavenly voice that calls for worship to God in Rev. 19:5 immediately brings out the praise of a great multitude in Rev. 19:6–8 and thus Rev. 19:5–8 seems to be the same unit. Revelation 19:4 seems to be isolated in between the two segments. The four living creatures and the twenty-four elders in Rev. 19:4 conduct heavenly worship (cf. Rev. 4:8, 10, 5:8, 14; 11:16; 19:4). As with ἀμήν (‘Amen!’) in Rev. 5:14, the phrase ἀμήν ἀλληλουϊά (‘Amen, Hallelujah!’) in Rev. 19:4 is likely employed to close the thanksgiving praise for the judgment of Babylon in Rev. 19:1–3.¹⁷⁵

The terms ἀμήν, ἀλληλουϊά are transliterated from the Hebrew words, יָמֵן (‘surely’) and הַלְלוּ־הַיְהוָה (‘praise Yah’). In the MT, the word יָמֵן occurs in various contexts while the expression הַלְלוּ־הַיְהוָה is mainly found in the hymnic texts.¹⁷⁶ The two expressions are viewed together in Neh. 5:13, 1 Chron. 16:36 and Ps. 106:48. In the OG/LXX, none of them has the Greek transliteration, ἀμήν ἀλληλουϊά,¹⁷⁷ although the Greek transliterations are separately present here and there in the OG/LXX.¹⁷⁸ Rather than transliterating, the OG/LXX primarily translates יָמֵן into γένοιτο (‘may it be so’) and הַלְלוּ into αἰνέω (‘to praise’).¹⁷⁹ In the Psalms, however, the so-called the ‘Hallel psalms’ markedly use ἀλληλουϊά, the Greek transliteration of הַלְלוּ־הַיְהוָה.¹⁸⁰ It is probable that the transliterated terms ἀμήν, ἀλληλουϊά were well known to the Jewish people and, in particular, the acclamation ἀλληλουϊά was often used in their worship. Though Ps. 105:48 LXX has different wordings, Ps. 106:48 contains the only combination of the equivalent Hebrew words הַלְלוּ־הַיְהוָה אִמֵּן in the Psalms.¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁴ See Aune, *Revelation 17-22*, 1026; Caird, *A Commentary on the Revelation of St. John the Divine*, 232. Cf. Beale, *Revelation*, 929. He sees the smoke as a ‘picture of the saints’ prayers.’

¹⁷⁵ Caird, Aune, Beale. Cf. Morris, 225.

¹⁷⁶ E.g., in Jer. 28:6 the term יָמֵן is in relation with God’s blessing; by contrast, in Deut. 27:15; Num. 5:22; Neh. 5:13, it is used for accepting curses (See Jepsen, “יָמֵן” in *TDOT*, vol. 1:320–22). For the words הַלְלוּ־הַיְהוָה, see J. Hempel, ‘Hallelujah,’ in *IDB*, E-J, ed. George Arthur Buttrick (New York: Abingdon Press, 1962), 514–15).

¹⁷⁷ Neh. 5:13: הַיְהוָה יִהְיֶה לְרֵי הַיְהוָה אִמֵּן / αμην και ἤνεσαν τὸν κύριον; 1 Chron. 16:36 – הַיְהוָה לִי הַלְלוּ־הַיְהוָה / αμην και ἤνεσαν τῷ κυρίῳ. Cf. *4 Macc.* 18:24.

¹⁷⁸ Αμην – 1 Chron. 16:36; *1 Esd* 9:47; Neh. 5:13, 8, 6; *Tob.* 8:8; *3 Macc.* 7:23; *4 Macc.* 18:24; *Odes Sol.* 12:15; 14:28, 35. For ἀλληλουϊά, see n. 170.

¹⁷⁹ The word הַלְלוּ is translated variously into ἐπαινέω (‘to praise’), καυχάομαι (‘to boast’), ὑμνέω (‘to praise’ or ‘sing (hymn)’), εὐλογέω (‘to extol’), etc.

¹⁸⁰ A designation of the psalms containing the phrase ‘Praise the Lord!’ (104–106, 111–118, 120–136 and 146–150). The Hallel psalms were regularly used in three great feasts of Israel: Passover, Pentecost and Tabernacles, not at the New Year and the Day of Atonement, where ‘confession and self-examination predominated’ (Steven R. Swanson, “Hallel,” in *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, 3:30).

¹⁸¹ Cf. the *Martyrdom of Matthew* 26:39.

Ps. 106:48 MT	Ps. 105:48 LXX	Rev. 19:4
ואמר כל־העם אמן הללו־יה	ἐρεῖ πᾶς ὁ λαός γένοιτο γένοιτο	προσεκύνησαν τῷ θεῷ... λέγοντες· ἀμὴν ἀλληλουϊά

Beyond its liturgical use as an independent acclamation in Jewish worship, the term ἀλληλουϊά was used in Christian worship.¹⁸² Thus, Rev. 19:4 could have drawn on the expression ἀμὴν ἀλληλουϊά idiomatically without any allusion to a certain scriptural text. As mentioned, nonetheless, verbal agreement in a hymnic expression of ‘Amen hallelujah!’ between Rev. 19:4 and Ps. 106(105):48 is exclusive and scholars advocate this allusion.¹⁸³ The contextual relationship between the two texts further substantiates the allusion in Rev. 19:4 to Ps. 106(105):48.

Almost all texts having the transliterated term ἀλληλουϊά, including *Tob.* 13:18 and 3 *Macc.* 7:13, pertain to God’s judgment of the enemy and his redemption of his people. In the Psalms, the Hallel psalms have been used in the feasts of Passover, Pentecost and Tabernacles.¹⁸⁴ The psalms regarding Tabernacles (120–134), however, do not involve ἀλληλουϊά. The word ἀλληλουϊά appears to have been solely employed as an acclamatory expression for God’s saving deeds in the Psalms. Psalm 106 stresses Yahweh’s salvation of his people from the foreign nations. Although the literary background spans from the Exodus to the Babylonian exile, its historical setting relates more closely with the Babylonian exile: the Israelites are in distress by being scattered to all lands (v. 27), the oppression of the enemies (v. 41–42), they petition for Yahweh’s deliverance and are gathered from among the nations (v. 47).¹⁸⁵ With the doxology of Ps. 106:48 (ברוך־יהוה אלהי ישראל מן־העולם ועד העולם ואמר כל־העם אמן הללו־יה), ‘Blessed be the Lord, the God of Israel, from everlasting to everlasting! And let all the people say, Amen! Praise the Lord!’), the psalmist expresses his assurance of Yahweh’s response to the petition. Various contextual considerations fit well with a song of praise in Rev. 19:1–4 for God’s judgment of Babylon: Yahweh’s salvation from the nations, his people’s suffering by Babylon, their petition for deliverance. The expressions in Ps. 106(105):38–39, וישפכו דם נקי / ἐξέχεαν αἷμα ἀθῶον (‘pouring out the innocent blood’), ותחנף הארץ בדמים / ἐφονοκτονήθη ἡ γῆ ἐν τοῖς αἷμασιν (‘the land was defiled by the blood’), and ויזנו במעלליהם / ἐπόρνευσαν ἐν τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασιν αὐτῶν (‘they prostituted by their deeds’) can be semantically linked also with Rev. 19:2 (ἔφθειρεν τὴν γῆν ἐν τῇ

¹⁸² See Schlier, ‘Αλληλουϊα,’ in *TDNT*, 1:264; Hempel, ‘Hallelujah’; Aune, *Revelation 17-22*, 1027.

¹⁸³ Mounce, 338, Buchanan, 494, Beale, 930 – ‘the wording (ἀμὴν ἀλληλουϊά) is not haphazard.’ Cf. Moyise, 240 – ‘the phrase came to John through liturgical repetition.’

¹⁸⁴ See n. 177. Cf. James W. McKinnon, ‘On the Question of Psalmody in the Ancient Synagogue,’ *Early Music History* 6 (1986): 164.

¹⁸⁵ Kraus, *Psalms 60-150*, 319.

πορνεία αὐτῆς... ἐξεδίκησεν τὸ αἷμα τῶν δούλων αὐτοῦ). As discussed earlier, Rev. 19:4 is treated as a closing of a song in Rev. 19:1–4. In the book of Revelation, this song is the final, thanksgiving praise to the fulfillment of God’s judgment of Babylon the great. It is likely that the terms ἀμὴν ἀλληλουϊά in Rev. 19:4 were carefully chosen to show the end of all the songs of praise in the book of Revelation regarding God’s judgment and salvation. This may parallel the fact that the terms יהללה יהוה in Ps. 106:48 represent the conclusion of Book IV of Psalms.¹⁸⁶ It is noteworthy that the book of Revelation does not use ‘Amen’ along with ‘Hallelujah’ until Rev. 19:4, not even in similar hymnic settings (cf. Rev. 5:14, 7:12). In the allusion to Ps. 106(105):48, Rev. 19:4 underscores the completion of God’s judgment of Babylon.¹⁸⁷

Within the NT, the Greek transliteration ἀλληλουϊά (‘hallelujah’) occurs only in Rev. 19:1–8, strengthening the connection between this passage and the Psalms. The combination of ἀλληλουϊά (‘hallelujah’) with ἀμὴν (‘amen’) in Rev. 19:4 is exclusively connected with Ps. 106(105):48 textually and contextually, thus establishing the allusion to the psalm.

Assessment

There are eight hymnic texts in the book of Revelation—i.e., Rev. 4:8–11; 5:8–14; 7:10–12; 11:15–18; 14:3; 15:2–4; 16:5–7; 19:1–8—each of which refer to God’s judgment and salvation. Of these, only Rev. 19:1–8 includes the word ἀλληλουϊά (‘hallelujah’). The term ἀμὴν (‘amen’) is often used in the book too (Rev. 1:6, 7; 3:14; 5:14; 7:12; 19:4; 22:20) but the combined expression ἀμὴν ἀλληλουϊά is uniquely found in Rev. 19:4. Though each term occurs frequently in the Psalms and other literature, Ps. 106(105):48 is convincingly the text alluded to in Rev. 19:4. Psalm 105:48 LXX does not adopt the Greek transliteration ἀμὴν ἀλληλουϊά. In this regard, Rev. 19:4 depends upon the MT more than the OG/LXX. Moyise suggests that it is because the two Greek transliterated words were used repetitively in the Jewish liturgical setting.¹⁸⁸ It is possible that Rev. 19:4 was influenced by the expression ἀμὴν ἀλληλουϊά without any allusion. Nonetheless, contextual similarities between Rev. 19:4 and Ps. 106(105):48 strengthen the case. In the form of a praise-song of Yahweh’s salvation (Ps. 106:1–3, 48), the psalm is a petitionary prayer of the oppressed (v. 47), seeking their deliverance from the foreign nations. This psalmic feature is clearly

¹⁸⁶ It is not certain whether the compiler situated Psalm 106(105) in the end of the Fourth book of the Psalter due to the phrase יהללה יהוה (ἀμὴν ἀλληλουϊά) or if the doxology of Ps. 106:48 was added to the psalm at a later time to place it at the end of Book IV (Cf. Weiser, *The Psalms*, 682; Kraus, *Psalms 60-150*, 322). Nor is it clear whether the word ἀλληλουϊά was used at the beginning or the end of the praise section (for details, see Schlier, ‘Αλληλουια,’ in *TDNT*, 1:264). In view of the use of the phrase יהללה יהוה in 1 Chron. 16:36, the phrase would have been familiar with the Jews to end a psalm (cf. Neh. 5:13).

¹⁸⁷ Mounce, *The Book of Revelation*, 338.

¹⁸⁸ Moyise, ‘The Psalms in the Book of Revelation,’ 240.

reflected in the hymnic text of Rev. 19:1–8. The Revelation text is a thanksgiving song for God’s judgment of Babylon and salvation of his people. At the same time, it conveys a strong expectation of the first-century Christian community for God’s intervention within their bitter situation. Some wording in Ps. 105:38–39 LXX is plausibly associated with the description of the judgment of Babylon the great in Rev. 19:2 (... ἔφθειρεν τὴν γῆν ἐν τῇ πορνείᾳ αὐτῆς, καὶ ἐξεδίκησεν τὸ αἷμα τῶν δούλων αὐτοῦ ...): ἐξέχεαν αἷμα ἀθῶον (‘pouring out the innocent blood’), ἐφονοκτονήθη ἡ γῆ (‘the land was defiled’) and ἐπόρνευσαν (‘fornicating’). In light of the fact that Ps. 106 is a prayer of Yahweh’s people for deliverance and Rev. 19:1–4 is a thanksgiving praise for God’s salvation, the book of Revelation would have composed the hymn in Rev. 19:1–8 as the answer to the petition of Ps. 106. Such a pattern has been identified elsewhere in the book.¹⁸⁹ The phrase ‘Amen hallelujah’ (אֲמֵן הַלְלֹּהּ) in Ps. 106:48 indicates the end of the Book IV of the Psalms. Given that this is a typical hymnic closing in Jewish worship, the words ἀμὴν ἀλληλουϊά in Rev. 19:4 alludes to Ps. 106:48 to denote the end of hymns in the book of Revelation. Revelation 19:1–4 is the final scene of praise for God’s judgment and salvation, thus articulating the consummation of God’s eschatological judgment of Babylon.

4.9 Summary

This chapter has dealt with eight strong allusions. Some considerations should be pointed out. Of the eight allusions, six cases are found in liturgical texts in Revelation:

Rev. 5:8–9 (prayer and praise), 14:2–3 (praise) / Pss. 33(32):2–3, 98(97):1, 5; 144(143):9; 149:1, 3
 Rev. 6:10 (prayer), 19:2 (praise) / Ps. 79(78):5, 10
 Rev. 8:3–5 (prayer) / Ps. 18(17):7–16
 Rev. 11:15, 18 (praise) / Ps. 2:1–2
 Rev. 15:3b–4 (praise) / Ps. 86(85):8–11
 Rev. 19:4 (praise) / Ps. 106(105):48

Revelation 5:8–9 is an expression of praise to God and the Lamb for the redemption of the saints, articulating their eschatological kingly reign over all. Revelation 6:10 and 19:2 have shown an interesting structure when the petitionary prayer in Rev. 6:10 is answered by judging the evil power in Rev. 19:2. The ritual ceremony of Rev. 8:3–5 is also to launch God’s judgment of the nations. Using Psalm 2, Rev. 11:15 and 11:18 suggest a double-sided messianic reign: being an eternal king of all the nations (v. 15), the destruction of the nations by God’s wrath (v. 18). The cases of Rev. 1:5a / Ps. 89(88):28, 38 and Rev. 2:26–27; 12:5; 19:15 / Ps. 2:8–9 are depicting the status of Christ,

¹⁸⁹ See Rev. 6:10; 19:2 / Ps. 79:5, 10; Rev. 11:18; 19:5 / Pss. 22(21):24; 61(60):6; 115:13 (113:21); Rev. 18:6 / Ps. 137(136):8

articulating the Christology of Revelation.

These strong allusions reveal that the author of Revelation deliberately employed the Psalms for ritual scenes of Revelation and for the formation of its Christology. The song of Moses in Rev. 15:3b–4 functions as ushering in the seven bowls plagues and Rev. 19:1–6 with ‘Amen, Hallelujah’ close the hymns in the book of Revelation.

The two remaining cases, Rev. 1:5a / Ps. 89:28, 38 and Rev. 2:26–27; 12:5; 19:15 / Ps. 2:8–9, manifest the eschatological kingship of messiah. The threefold description of Jesus in Rev. 1:5a represents his three messianic roles (king, prophet, priest) across the book of Revelation. Revelation 2:26–27, 12:5 and 19:15 emphasize the messianic kingship to rule over the nations. As observed earlier, Rev. 11:15 and 18 also accentuate a messianic reign. Therefore, those three cases may underscore the Christology of the book of Revelation.

Chapter 5

Probable Allusions

Unlike strong allusions, ‘probable allusions’ have textually less clear textual affinity while their contextual affinity is clear.

5.1 Rev. 1:5b / Ps. 130(129):8

As noted earlier in Rev. 1:5a / Ps. 89(88):28, 38 (§4.1), Rev. 1:1–8, the prologue of the book, declares itself to be the ‘apocalypse of Jesus Christ’ (v. 1) and, in particular, Rev. 1:5–7 specifically presents Jesus as the messiah. While Rev. 1:5a sets out the all-embracing, threefold description of Jesus,¹ Rev. 1:5b–6 more likely emphasizes his salvific work. The textual reference of the words *ἐποίησεν ἡμᾶς βασιλείαν, ἱερεῖς τῷ θεῷ καὶ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ* (‘He has made us to be a kingdom, priests to His God and Father’) in Rev. 1:6 to Exod. 19:6 is so obvious that it might imply Rev. 1:5b–6 as a whole should be understood against the background of Exodus.² As such, in Rev. 1:5b the phrase *λύσαντι ἡμᾶς ἐκ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν ἐν τῷ αἵματι αὐτοῦ* (‘having loosed us from our sins by means of his blood’) may well be a reflection on the salvific events of the exodus narrative.³

This phrase ‘having loosed us from our sins’ is unique here in the NT, and somewhat unusual in the book of Revelation because, given its apocalyptic nature, the mention of the matter of the sin of the saints would be unexpected.⁴ Some consider Rev. 1:5b as being derived from Isa. 40:2 LXX on the basis of two equivalent words, *λύω* (‘untie’) and *ἁμαρτία* (‘sin’).⁵ Fekkes introduces Ps. 129:8 LXX along with Isa. 40:2 but he concludes that any specific OT text to which Rev. 1:5b alludes cannot be confirmed, adducing the use of *λύω* in the sense of ‘to release from’ and its appearance with *ἁμαρτία* outside biblical sources.⁶ While granted, that conclusion seems to

¹ ‘The firstborn of the dead’ (ὁ πρωτότοκος τῶν νεκρῶν), ‘the kings of the earth’ (ὁ ἄρχων τῶν βασιλέων τῆς γῆς) and ‘the faithful witness’ (ὁ μάρτυς, ὁ πιστός). For details, see Rev. 1:5a / Ps. 89(88):28,38.

² G. R. Beasley-Murray, *The Book of Revelation*, New Century Bible (London: Oliphants, 1974), 57.

³ Beale, *The Book of Revelation*, 191–92. Cf. Aune, *Revelation 1-5*, 45. Not directly pointing to the exodus event, he says, ‘No other doxology incorporates such a brief narrative (the central salvific events of the Christian dispensation) into its structure.’

⁴ The apocalyptic tradition is unacquainted with the concept of sin. See John J. Collins, *Daniel: A Commentary on the Book of the Prophet Daniel*, Hermeneia (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1993), 358–59; George W. E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch*, ed. Klaus Baltzer (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2001), 54.

⁵ Caird, *A Commentary on the Revelation of St. John the Divine*, 18; Fekkes, *Isaiah and Prophetic Traditions in the Book of Revelation*, 112; Beale, *The Book of Revelation*, 192. See also Swete, *Apocalypse*, cxli; Louis Arthur Vos, *The Synoptic Traditions in the Apocalypse* (Kampen: J. H. Kok, 1965), 40 n. 63.

⁶ Aristophanes, *Ran.* 691 (Cf. Sophocles, *Phil.* 1224) (Fekkes, *Isaiah and Prophetic Traditions in the Book of Revelation*, 112). See also O. Procksch, ‘Λύω and Compounds,’ *TDNT*, 4:328–335. Λύω originally pertains to being free from being enclosed in prison, so its nuance involves the destruction of chains or fetters. Procksch pointed out, ‘This idea is present when ἁμαρτία “sin” is the object of λύω’—release from the fetter of sin. Cf. *Sir.* 28:2; Antiphon, *Orat. De Caede Herodis*, 89. One should recognize that there was a concept in use of ‘being released from sin.’

have much dependence upon the verbal similarity alone.

Isa. 40:2 LXX	Ps. 130(129LXX):8	Rev. 1:5b
λέλυται αὐτῆς ἡ ἁμαρτία ὅτι ἐδέξατο ἐκ χειρὸς κυρίου διπλᾶ τὰ ἁμαρτήματα αὐτῆς	יְפֹדֵי אֶת־יִשְׂרָאֵל מִכָּל עֲוֹנוֹתָיו αὐτὸς λυτρώσεται τὸν Ἰσραηλ ἐκ πασῶν τῶν ἀνομιῶν αὐτοῦ	λύσαντι ἡμᾶς ἐκ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν ἐν τῷ αἵματι αὐτοῦ

Psalm 129:8 LXX includes λυτρόω (‘redeem’) and ἀνομία (‘lawlessness’) while Isa. 40:2 LXX has λύω and ἁμαρτία. Less apparent textual affinity may speak against the allusion in Rev. 1:5b to Ps 129. The verb פֹּדֵי in Ps. 130:8 is variously translated in the OG/LXX, primarily into λυτρόω, but never into λύω.⁷ The Psalms, in particular, render the verb only into λυτρόω, though the term λύω is used for the meaning of ‘set free, liberate’ in Ps. 101:21; 104:20; 145:7 LXX.⁸ In light of the facts both that the OG/LXX never translates פֹּדֵי into λύω and that the Psalms only render it into λυτρόω, the denial of the allusion in Rev. 1:5b to Ps. 130(129):8 seems to be reasonable. Conversely to the OG/LXX, however, the preference of the NT writers for λύω is observed and in the book of Revelation the verb λυτρόω does not occur. Possibly John was reluctant to employ λυτρόω and, in any case, thus, the allusion in Rev. 1:5b to the psalm cannot be examined with its textual affinity. In their contexts, the thematic consistency of ‘liberating from sin’ between Rev. 1:5b and Ps. 130(129):8 is clearly found.

In the MT, the verb פֹּדֵי in Ps. 130:8, a Hebrew counterword to λυτρόω, generally means ‘to redeem or set free’ with Yahweh’s power as the acting agent. The term פֹּדֵי was often used as a juridical term and in postexilic texts only comes in the apocalyptic sense—God’s liberation from enemies or oppression.⁹ Given the meaning of פְּדִיָּה (‘ransom’), the word פֹּדֵי can also imply a sort of payment.¹⁰ Probably the OG/LXX translators of the Psalms differentiated the verb פֹּדֵי as ‘to liberate (by paying a ransom)’ from merely ‘to loosen/free’ (פָּתַח – Ps. 101:21, נָתַר – Ps. 104:20; 145:7), thus translating פֹּדֵי and פָּתַח/נָתַר into λυτρόω and λύω respectively. Specifically, the word סְלִיחָה (‘pardon from God’) in Ps. 130(129):4 occurs only three times in the Hebrew Scripture (Neh. 9:17; Dan. 9:9; Ps. 130:4). Differently from Neh. 9:17 and Dan. 9:9, Ps. 129:4 LXX translates סְלִיחָה as ἱλασμός (‘sin-offering, sacrifice to atone’).¹¹ In conjunction with the term

⁷ Ibid., 489. Cf. in Job. 5:20, פֹּדֵי seems to be rendered into both ῥύομαι (‘rescue’) and λύω.

⁸

	LXX	Psalms	NT	Revelation
λυτρόω	108	27	3	×
λύω	32	3	42	6

⁹ See H. Cazelles, ‘פֹּדֵי,’ in *TWAT* 6:514–22.

¹⁰ O. Procksch, ‘λύτρον,’ *TDNT*, 4:331. The ‘object of פְּדִיָּה is never inanimate’ (animal or human).

¹¹ Nehemiah 9:17 and Dan. 9:9 – ἔλεος. Cf. Dan. 9:9 (Theod.) – ἱλασμός.

ἰλασμός ('sacrifice to atone'), the verb λυτρόω 'redeem (by paying a ransom)' in Ps. 129:8 semantically stands for Yahweh's redemption by his atonement of Israel's sin as Ps. 130(129):3 announces no one could stand before Yahweh with sin. In its context, accordingly, Ps. 129 LXX draws much attention to Yahweh's redemption as being gained by expiation in the way of paying a ransom for sin by translating הָלַו as ἰλασμός. This conception seems to have been reflected in the early Christian tradition. The only three occurrences of the verb λυτρόω in the NT always come in relation with the Messiah's salvific work: Luke 24:21; Titus 2:4; 1 Pet. 1:18,¹² thus indicating how the early Church understood the verb λυτρόω.

Luke 24:21 – ἡμεῖς δὲ ἠλπίζομεν ὅτι αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ μέλλων λυτροῦσθαι τὸν Ἰσραήλ. *We had hoped that he was the one who was going to redeem Israel.*

Titus 2:14 – ὃς ἑδωκεν ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, ἵνα λυτρώσῃται ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ πάσης ἀνομίας. *who gave himself for us to redeem us from all wickedness.*

1 Pet. 1:18,19 – εἰδότες ὅτι οὐ φθαρτοῖς, ἀργυρίῳ ἢ χρυσίῳ, ἐλυτρώθητε ἐκ τῆς ματαίας ὑμῶν ἀναστροφῆς πατροπαραδότου ἀλλὰ τιμίῳ αἵματι ὡς ἀμνοῦ ἀμώμου καὶ ἀσπίλου Χριστοῦ. *For you know that it was not with perishable things such as silver or gold that you were redeemed from the empty way of life handed down to you from your forefathers, but with precious blood, as of a lamb unblemished and spotless, the blood of Christ.*

Luke 24:21 and Titus 2:14 are dependent upon Ps. 129:8 LXX. Luke 24:21 enunciates a classic expectation of the Jews toward their messiah at that time—an expectation that the messiah would redeem the Israelites. Titus 2:14 uses λυτρόω with the expression of 'giving his life for us' (ἑδωκεν ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν). First Peter 1:18–19 refers to the 'blood of Christ' per se as a ransom, rather than gold or silver. The verb λυτρόω in those verses is somehow coupled with the blood of Jesus. In the book of Revelation, though using different verbs—λύω ('set free') in Rev. 1:5b and ἀγοράζω ('buy') in Rev. 5:9—the same concept as elsewhere in the NT is found that the blood of Christ was paid as a ransom for redemption. Revelation 5:9 explicitly describes the death of Christ and his redemption through his blood: ὅτι ἐσφάγης καὶ ἠγόρασας τῷ θεῷ ἐν τῷ αἵματί σου ἐκ πάσης φυλῆς καὶ γλώσσης καὶ λαοῦ καὶ ἔθνους ('you were slain, and with your blood you purchased men for God from every tribe and language and people and nation'). By adding the phrase ἐν τῷ αἵματι αὐτοῦ ('by his blood'), Rev. 1:5b, even if using λύω instead of λυτρόω, manifests the same notion of the redemption elucidated in Ps. 130(129) – הָלַו (ἰλασμός, v. 4), הָלַו (λυτρόω, v. 8).¹³ Aune states,

The phrase λύειν τίνα ἐκ / ἀπὸ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν, 'to free someone from sin,' occurs only here in the NT and in the Apostolic Fathers... 'To free someone from sin' is a metaphor that implies that individuals are held captive by their sins and that release from this captivity has been secured by Christ. In effect, λύειν ἐκ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν means 'to forgive sins,' and this meaning

¹² See also Matt. 20:28 and Mark 10:45 (λύτρον); Luke 1:68; 2:38 and Heb. 9:12 (λύτρωσις); Acts 7:35 (λυτρωτής).

¹³ Jesus Christ was possibly regarded as a living ransom (see n. 10).

(though not using this idiom) occurs in later Christian literature.¹⁴

Again, Ps. 130(129) articulates Yahweh's redemption from sin by his forgiveness/paying a ransom. In Isa. 40:2, on the contrary, the release of Jerusalem from sin (λέλυται αὐτῆς ἡ ἁμαρτία) does not result from Yahweh's forgiveness/lovingness; rather, it is due to the termination of Yahweh's double retribution of his people's sin (כִּי לִקְהָה מִיַּד יְהוָה כַּפְּלַיִם בְּכָל־חַטָּאתֶיהָ)(Isa. 40:2b). In the book of Revelation, the concept of God's judgment of his people's own sin has never been found. In apocalyptic literature, as pointed out earlier, the persecution of the saints should be attributed to the evil power, not to the sin of the saints.¹⁵ In Rev. 1:5b, the phrase ἀγαπῶντι ἡμᾶς ('having loved us'), which is tightly connected with λύσαντι ἡμᾶς ('having loosed us'),¹⁶ along with the words ἐν τῷ αἵματι αὐτοῦ ('by his blood'), designates God's unilateral forgiveness on the cross in first-century Christian thought, rather than his forgiveness by the consummation of his punishment. Though the wording does not seem to correspond to Ps. 130(129), then, Rev. 1:5b has far more dependence upon the psalm to which John alluded to reassure the contemporary Christians' general notion that λύειν ἐκ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν means to forgive sins. Finding Rev. 1:5b in the concept of the Day of Atonement, Buchanan correctly comments on it,

Forgiveness, redemption, removal from sins, and atonement are all related to the theological implications of the Day of Atonement... The Day of Atonement functioned on the basis that sins accumulated and were recorded just as debts were. Once sins were recorded and held against a person they were called 'iniquities.' Psalm 130 is the prayer of a defendant before a judge in court. The defendant realized that he was guilty of the accusations made against him. He pleaded only for mercy and forgiveness. The poem concludes with the assurance that the Lord would redeem Israel from its iniquities (Ps. 130:8)... John was just as confident as the Psalmist that atonement would be complete, not just because he had two Psalm texts to prove it, but because that atonement offering had already been made through the blood of Jesus. Whereas the Psalmist said God would redeem Israel, John said Jesus had already released the faithful from their sins by means of his blood.¹⁷

Assessment

In the Jewish liturgy there are nine lament/penitential psalms, of which Psalms 6 and 130 remained penitential in the Christian tradition.¹⁸ Psalm 130 occurs only in recitations of the Songs of Ascents

¹⁴ Aune, *Revelation 1-5*, 47.

¹⁵ See n. 4.

¹⁶ See Beckwith, *The Apocalypse of John*, 428. He sees this relationship as appositive construction. The appositive construction, however, is not in grammar but in function because of the grammatical inconsistency as mentioned earlier (cf. Beale, *The Book of Revelation*, 192).

¹⁷ George Wesley Buchanan, *The Book of Revelation: Its Introduction and Prophecy*, The Mellen Biblical Commentary, vol. 22 (Lewiston, N.Y.: Mellen Biblical Press, 1993), 48–49.

¹⁸ In the Jewish liturgy, 'individual laments' – Pss. 6, 120, 130; 'community laments' – Pss. 82, 90, 94, 123, 126, 136. In the Christian church, Pss. 6, 32, 38, 51, 104, 130, 143 were 'penitential' (William L. Holladay, *The Psalms Through Three Thousand Years: Prayerbook of a Cloud of Witnesses* [Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993], 144–45).

(Pss. 120–134),¹⁹ thus was possibly well-known to the first-century Jewish Christians. Psalm 130 has featured no description of the plight, which is typical in the Lamentations of the Individual.²⁰ Rather, the psalm discloses the psalmist’s intense hope (vv. 5–7a) and highlights Yahweh’s redemption (Ps. 130:8) by his forgiveness and lovingness (Ps. 130:4, 7b). In Rev. 1:5b John sets forth the love of Jesus (τῷ ἀγαπῶντι ἡμᾶς, ‘to him who loves us’) as the ground for his redemption (καὶ λύσαντι ἡμᾶς).²¹ Both texts present the same logical structure of cause and effect (love-redemption). It is uncertain whether Rev. 1:5b is closer to the MT or the OG/LXX. However, it is conceivable that Rev. 1:5b relies more on Ps. 129 LXX, in light of the OG/LXX translation of הַפִּלְיָה into ἰλασμός meaning ‘atonement’ rather than merely ‘pardon’, a translation which supports Christ’s savior role in Rev. 1:5. The words ‘forgiveness/atonement’ (הַפִּלְיָה/ἰλασμός), ‘lovingness’ (רַחֲמִים/ἔλεος), ‘redemption’ (לְפָדוֹן/λυτρόω) and ‘iniquity’ (רָעָה/ἀνομία) in Ps. 130(129) are parallel to the expressions ‘by his blood’ (ἐν τῷ αἵματι αὐτοῦ), ‘having loved us’ (ἀγαπῶντι ἡμᾶς), ‘having freed us’ (λύσαντι ἡμᾶς) and ‘sin’ (ἁμαρτία) in Rev. 1:5b. This makes clearer the contextual affinity of Ps. 130(129):8 to Rev. 1:5b. Revelation 1:5b corroborates John’s understanding of Jesus Christ within Rev. 1:5–7. The significance of Rev. 1:5b in its own right is underscored in the image of Jesus as the Lamb. Commentators agree on the critical function of the so-called Lamb Christology in the book of Revelation, seeing the appearance of ‘the Lamb’ in Rev. 5 as a striking, unexpected reversal or contrast of imagery,²² since a lamb that triumphs by being slaughtered is highly unconventional.²³ The Lamb of Rev. 5, however, should not be seen as wholly abrupt as Rev. 1:5b offers a strong hint that the messiah, Jesus, can be conceived of as a triumphant lamb because v. 5b refers to our liberation from sin by his blood.²⁴ In other words, the startling combination of ‘his redemption’ (victory) and ‘by his blood’ (death) in Rev. 1:5b is a pre-announcement of Rev. 5:9 (ἡγόρασας τῷ θεῷ ἐν τῷ αἵματι σου, ‘by your blood you ransomed people for God,’ ESV) with which the Lamb is explicitly identified. To sum up, the distinctive phrase ‘having loosed us from our sins’ in Rev. 1:5b has been examined as contextually alluding to Ps. 130(129):8, though

¹⁹ Ibid., 145.

²⁰ Arnold Albert Anderson, *The Book of Psalms*, vol. 1 (London: Oliphants, 1972), 874; Claus Westermann, *Praise and Lament in the Psalms* (Westminster John Knox Press, 1981), 80.

²¹ Aune mentions that ‘redemption from sins’ stands for ‘forgiveness of sins’ in later Christian literature (e.g., Ps.-Clement *Ep. James* 2, 6; Ps.-Clement *Hom.* 54.2) (*Revelation 1-5*, 47).

²² See Donald Guthrie, ‘The Lamb in the Structure of the Book of Revelation,’ *Biblical and Historical Essays from London Bible College* 12 (1981): 64–71; David L. Barr, ‘The Apocalypse as a Symbolic Transformation of the World: a Literary Analysis,’ *Interpretation* 38, no. 1 (Ja 1984): 39–50; M. Eugene Boring, ‘Narrative Christology in the Apocalypse,’ *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 54, no. 4 (O 1992): 708.

²³ J. Massyngberde Ford postulates the powerful lamb by noting the lamb’s possession of seven horns and seven eyes in Rev. 5:6 (*Revelation*, The Anchor Bible, vol. 38 [Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1975], 89).

²⁴ Loren L. Johns says, ‘This is a powerful and mind-wrenching switch of images for which the reader is unprepared... the reader has had no hint that he would be followed throughout the rest of the book primarily as lamb’ (Loren L. Johns, *The Lamb Christology of the Apocalypse of John*, Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 167 [Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003], 168).

showing less verbal affinity. By using Ps. 130(129):8, John presumably intended to modify Yahweh's redeeming action in Jesus as being the redeeming agent in the Christian tradition and thus to underline Jesus as the Messiah having the power to cleanse people's sin, the power which had previously been God's alone.

5.2 Rev. 3:5 / Ps. 69(68):29

The idea of writing down a name in a heavenly book (the Book of Life) in biblical/Jewish literature may originally relate to a ritual act used in the ancient Near East to manipulate a person's fate as a name was thought to contain the essence of the person.²⁵ It is primarily in the setting of God's judgment that the recording or erasing of a name in the book of life has been widely found in Scripture, early Judaism and Christianity.²⁶ Being admonished for having a dead name in Rev. 3:1, the church in Sardis is promised in Rev. 3:5 that the names of the overcomers will never be blotted out from the book of life. Exodus 32:32; Ps. 69:29; Dan. 12:1; Mal. 3:16 are to be mainly considered for the allusive texts in the phrase οὐ μὴ ἐξαλείψω τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῆς βίβλου τῆς ζωῆς in Rev. 3:5.²⁷

Exod. 32:32; Dan. 12:1; Mal. 3:16	Ps. 69(68):29	Rev. 3:5
(Exod. 32:32) εἰ δὲ μὴ ἐξάλειψόν με ἐκ τῆς βίβλου σου		
(Dan. 12:1) σωθήσεται...πᾶς ὁ εὐρεθεὶς γεγραμμένος ἐν τῇ βίβλω	מִי מִסְפָּר חַיִּים וְעַם צְדִיקִים אֲלֵיכֶתּוּב	οὐ μὴ ἐξαλείψω τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῆς βίβλου τῆς ζωῆς
(Mal. 3:16) ἔγραψεν βιβλίον μνημοσύνου ... τοῖς φοβουμένοις τὸν κύριον εὐλαβουμένοις τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ	ἐξαλειφθήτωσαν ἐκ βίβλου ζώντων καὶ μετὰ δικαίων μὴ γραφήτωσαν	

²⁵ William M. Schniedewind, *How the Bible Became a Book: The Textualization of Ancient Israel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 29–34. See also Shalom M. Paul, 'Heavenly Tablets and the Book of Life,' in *Gaster Festschrift*, ed. David Marcus (New York: Ancient Near Eastern Society, 1974), 345–53.

²⁶ Ezra 4:15; Esth. 6:1; Dan. 7:9–10; *1 En.* 47:3; 90:20; *Odes Sol.* 9:11. For details, see Aune, *Revelation 1-5*, 223–25. Aune points out that it originally comes from the ancient Near East royal court where records were made for dispensing king's justice. Durham suggested that the idea refers to 'a register of those loyal to Yahweh' for his blessing (John I. Durham, *Exodus*, Word Biblical Commentary 3 [Waco, Tex.: Word Books, 1987], 432).

²⁷ Commentators usually exclude Mal. 3:16 because of no mention of 'the book of life', instead 'the book of remembrance' (סֵפֶר זְכוֹרֹת). Cf. *Apoc. Zeph.* 3:15–4:13; 14:5; 4QDibHam (=4Q504), col. 6, 13; *1 En.* 47:3.

While Aune sees Exod. 32:32 as the relevant background text,²⁸ Beale argues for Dan. 12:1–2 because Exod. 32:32 and Ps. 69:29 involve different metaphorical ideas from that of Rev. 3:5.²⁹ Exodus 32 mentions an erasure of the name of the righteous (Moses) out of a heavenly book. Psalms 69 requests for the name of the wicked not to be written on the book of life. On the contrary, Dan. 12 refers to the confirmation of salvation of those who are written in the book. In this respect, Dan. 12 can be regarded as closer to Rev. 3:5. Moreover, Exod. 32:32 and Ps. 69:29 postulate the case of deleting the names of those who were once written in the book (Exod. 32:32) or the book of life (Ps. 69:29), seemingly contradictory to Rev. 3:5. Beale thus suggested, ‘The metaphor from Exodus 32 and Psalm 69 is read in the light of Daniel rather than the other way around or even that on an equal footing with Daniel.’³⁰ Moyise disagrees with Beale, claiming that the most likely source is either Exod. 32:32 or Ps. 69:29, on the basis of mainly textual proximity (‘being blotted out,’ ‘the book of life’) and in part its context of warning.³¹

It is necessary to point out two things: (1) None of the scriptural texts listed can be justified with a textual relationship to Rev. 3:5. While Exod. 32:32, Dan. 12:1 and Mal. 3:16 have ‘the book’ (or ‘your book’), Ps. 69:29 only bears a word ζώντων ‘living’ or ‘life’ (ἐξ βίβλου ζώντων, the book of life) which is seen in Rev. 3:5 (ἐξ τῆς βίβλου τῆς ζωῆς). However, it is not sufficient to verify the allusion of Rev. 3:5 to the psalm; (2) The four texts somehow all associate the motif of recording or erasing a person’s name in a heavenly book or the book of life with Yahweh’s judgment. It is not to say, though, that the texts contextually contain the same aspect/content.

Viewed in the texts are the criteria of being written in the book of life or erased from the book as Yahweh’s judgment. The sin of Yahweh’s people is clearly expressed as the cause of being erased in Exod. 32:32–33 (מי אשר חטא-לי אמחנו מספרי) as well as in Ps. 69 (68):28–29.³² Malachi 3:16 announces those who fear Yahweh and love his name will be kept in the book of remembrance. Yet Dan. 12:1 does not mention about whose name is going to be written in a heavenly book. Apart from a problematic theological issue of how one who was written once in the book of life can be removed later, a difference between one who has never been written in the book from the beginning and one who was written in once but is about to be blotted out is distinguished among the texts. Exodus 32 and Ps. 69 conform to the latter case while Mal. 3 seems to relate to the former. Daniel 12:1–2 in effect does not indicate either case, but merely states Yahweh’s final salvation of those who are written in a book.

²⁸ Aune, *Revelation 1-5*, 223. He does not explain why.

²⁹ Beale, *The Book of Revelation*, 281–82.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 281.

³¹ Moyise, ‘The Psalms in the Book of Revelation,’ 231–39.

³² Psalm 69:28 – תנה-עון על-עונם ואל-יבאו בצדקתך (‘add iniquity unto their iniquity; and let them not come into thy righteousness,’ KJV) (also Ps. 109:13–14; *1 En.* 108:3).

Revelation 3:1 draws attention to *ὄνομα* by saying *ὄνομα ἔχεις ὅτι ζῆς, καὶ νεκρὸς εἶ* ('you have a name that you are alive but you are dead,' NAS). The iniquity of the church in Sardis, *οὐ γὰρ εὗρηκά σου τὰ ἔργα πεπληρωμένα ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ μου* ('for I have not found your deeds completed in the sight of my God'), is presented in Rev. 3:2 as the reason for which the church received such a name. Still, Rev. 3:3 brings a chance for the church to be saved if only they repent. Then John introduces a few people in the church, who have been blameless, announcing that their names will never be blotted out of the book of life in Rev. 3:4–5. One may see the structure of Rev. 3:1–5 as follows:

- A Name³³ which is dead (*ὄνομα*, v. 1)
- B No complete deed (*τὰ ἔργα πεπληρωμένα*, v. 2)
- C Remember...keep *it* and repent... or I will come like a thief
(*μνημόνευε...τήρει...μετανόησον, ἐὰν οὖν μὴ...ἴξω ὡς κλέπτης*, v. 3)
- B' No defilement (*ὀλίγα ὀνόματα... οὐκ ἐμόλυναν*, v. 4)³⁴
- A' Name which is never blotted out (*ὄνομα αὐτοῦ*, v. 5)

Three imperative verbs *μνημόνευε*, *τήρει* and *μετανόησον* in Rev. 3:3 imply that the church in Sardis was not entirely corrupted sometime in the past. Particularly in Rev. 3:4–5 the mentioning of a few people to be preserved in the book of life insinuates that the rest of the members of the church have been blotted out of the book. The reproach to the church in Rev. 3:1, *ὄνομα ἔχεις ὅτι ζῆς, καὶ νεκρὸς εἶ*, may support such an implication. The ancient cities had a civic registry system in which every citizen was written by their name.³⁵ Given that living citizens were written on the register and, the name, if died, was erased,³⁶ the dead name in Rev. 3:1 possibly signifies a name which has been blotted out while Rev. 3:5 specifies the name which is alive forever. In that perspective, Rev. 3:5 would be more related to Exod. 32 and Ps. 69 rather than Dan. 12.

In addition, as seen in the structure above, God's final judgment can be treated the focal point of Rev. 3:1–5, representing a typical motif of the book of life in the Scripture. A lack of complete deeds brings about God's judgment of being blotted out of the book of life (v. 2); an absence of defilement allows the names to be recorded in the book (vv. 4–5). This also fits with

³³ ESV, NIV, NAB translate *ὄνομα* with 'reputation'; RSV, KJV, NAS 'name' (Cf. Mark 6:14). 'Name' may be preferred in light of the phrase *νεκρὸς εἶ* 'you are dead' as well as the occurrences of *ὀνόματα* / *ὄνομα* in v. 4 and 5.

³⁴ *ὄνομα* can be used just as an individual person (Hans Bietenhard, "ὄνομα," in *TDNT*, 5:270). John may have engaged in word-play here (vv. 1, 4, 5) for the emphasis on remaining in the book of life.

³⁵ See Caird, *A Commentary on the Revelation of St. John the Divine*, 49; George Eldon Ladd, *A Commentary on the Revelation of John* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1972), 57–58; Kiddle, *The Revelation of St. John*, 47.

³⁶ Douglas K. Stuart explains a management system of population in the ancient world that, 'when someone was born into or moved into a clan/town/region, the name of that person was added in the listing book; when someone died or moved away, the name was removed from the book' (Douglas K. Stuart, *Exodus*, The New American Commentary 2 [Nashville: B&H Publishing Group, 2006], 685).

Exod. 32 and Ps. 69 in that both texts refer to the sin of Yahweh's people and in their contexts emanate a warning against the sin.³⁷ In the light of the assurance of God's salvation, one can still hardly deny the relationship between the phrase כְּלִי־הַנְּמֻצָא כְּתוּב בַּסֵּפֶר 'Your people shall be delivered, everyone whose name shall be found written in the book' in Dan. 12:1–2 and the phrase οὐ μὴ ἐξ᾿αλείψω τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῆς βίβλου τῆς ζωῆς ('I will not erase his name from the book of life') in Rev. 3:5. Nonetheless, it does not necessarily mean that Rev. 3:5 more likely reflects a metaphor of a name's being blotted out of the book of life in Exod. 32 and Ps. 69 on the basis of Dan. 12:1–2.³⁸

There are some considerations for Rev. 3:5 to allude to Ps. 69 rather than Exod. 32: (1) In the post-exilic Israelite community it is highly probable that the psalm, as a lament song (similarly Ps. 22), was used during services of fasting and penitence³⁹ and Ps. 69:29 in itself holds a nuance of an eschatological judgment,⁴⁰ the judgment being embedded in Rev. 3:5. In Exod. 32:32 Moses in fact pleads with Yahweh to forgive the people's sin by asking for his sacrificial death.⁴¹ It does not likely denote an eschatological judgment. (2) A clear division between the wicked and the righteous is shown in the context of Ps. 69. The psalm refers to the erasure of the name of the wicked (v. 29a) and concurrently suggests the recording of the name of the righteous (v. 29b). These two aspects are revealed in the context of Rev. 3:1–5. By contrast, Moses identifies himself with the people who committed sin and requests his name ('the righteous') to be blotted out of a book in Exod. 32:32.⁴² (3) Following from (2), the righteous and the sinner in the psalm appear to be originally in the same group. The psalmist calls his foe by אָחִי ('my brothers') and בְּנֵי אִמִּי ('my own mother's sons,' v. 9).⁴³ The foe of Ps. 69 would not be viewed as Gentiles. Rev. 3:2–3 hint that both a few people whose name will not be blotted out and the rest whose names have been supposedly erased originally belonged to the same church in Sardis. The latter group of people is just being asked to revert to the previous stage. Accordingly, Rev. 3:5 has a closer relationship with Ps. 69:29 than Dan 12:1, and even than Exod. 32:32.

³⁷ Moyise, 'The Psalms in the Book of Revelation,' 231.

³⁸ See Beale, *The Book of Revelation*, 281. Cf. Moyise, 'The Psalms in the Book of Revelation,' 239.

³⁹ Tate, *Psalms 51-100*, 196.

⁴⁰ Dahood, *Psalms 51-100*, 164. Cf. Frank-Lothar Hossfeld and Erich Zenger, *Psalms 2: A Commentary on Psalms 51-100*, ed. Klaus Baltzer, trans. Linda M Maloney, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2005), 183: 'It is difficult to decide whether the psalm is here thinking of the heavenly book in which God first records all "living things" and then rubs out the sinners if their guilt is great—with the crucial point being that at the final judgment only those will be saved who are recorded in God's book—or whether the background here is the idea of a "register of citizens".'

⁴¹ R. W. L. Moberly, *At the Mountain of God: Story and Theology in Exodus 32-34*, Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 22 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1983), 58.

⁴² Stuart, *Exodus*, 684–85.

⁴³ Tate, *Psalms 51-100*, 192. Internal confliction could have been taken place because of an excessive zeal of a reformation of temple (v. 10).

Assessment

In terms of the phrase *ἐξαλείψω τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῆς βίβλου τῆς ζωῆς* ('being blotted out of the book of life') in Rev. 3:5, the textual affinity between Rev. 3:5 and Exod. 32:32 or Ps. 69(68):29 is more likely than other scriptural texts. That the overcomers' names will never be blotted out of the book of life in the Revelation text paradoxically, strongly suggests the erasure of one's name who does not repent. Such warning is found in Exod. 32:32 and Ps. 69(68):29. As already pointed out, none of them however can be claimed to be the case on the basis of textual affinity. In light of contextual proximity, Exod. 32:32 does not fit with Rev. 3:5 while Ps. 69:29 intimates eschatological judgment and contains both being written of the righteous and being blurred out of the sinner. The psalmic text is more plausible than Exod. 32:32.

The relevant texts elsewhere in the book of Revelation such as Rev. 13:8; 17:8; 20:14–15; 21:27 are somewhat distant for the allusion to Ps. 69.⁴⁴ Revelation 13:8 and 17:8 point to those whose names have never been written in the book of life since the creation of the world, i.e., not the case of being blotted after their names were written. And the wordings in both texts do not agree with Ps. 69:29 as well. Revelation 20:14–15 and 21:27 seem dependent on Dan. 12:1–2.

5.3 Rev. 5:8 / Ps. 141(140):2

Worship in heaven to the Lamb in Rev. 5:8–14 is located in between the Lamb's taking a scroll sealed with seven seals (Rev. 5:1–7) and the Lamb's opening the seals (Rev. 6:1). The worship scene functions as the prelude of the seven seals of judgment. The four living creatures and the twenty-four elders in Rev. 5:8 hold a harp (*κιθάρα*) and golden bowls (*φιάλη*), full of incense. The harp and golden bowls probably signify 'praise' and 'prayer,' respectively,⁴⁵ and the incense contained in the golden bowls represents 'prayers of the saints.' In the book of Revelation, the 'prayer of the saints' scenes are Rev. 5:8, 6:9–10 and 8:3–4, of which the immediate occurrence of the wordings *αἱ προσευχαὶ τῶν ἁγίων* ('the prayers of the saints') are present in Rev. 5:8 and 8:3–4. In Rev. 5:8 the term *θυμίαμα* ('incense/incense-offering') is identified with the 'prayers of the saints,' while Rev. 8:3–4 somehow distinguishes incense from the prayers of the saints (*ἐδόθη αὐτῷ θυμιάματα πολλά, ἵνα δώσει ταῖς προσευχαῖς τῶν ἁγίων / τῶν θυμιαμάτων ταῖς προσευχαῖς τῶν ἁγίων*).⁴⁶

In the Scripture, the temple items in Rev. 5:8, *κιθάρα* ('harp'), *φιάλη χρυσοῦς* ('golden

⁴⁴ Kraus, *Theology of the Psalms*, 192–93. He says that Rev. 13:8; 17:8; 20:15; 21:27 are of only secondary significance of reference to Ps. 69 because 'being blotted out of book' is mentioned only in Rev. 3:5.

⁴⁵ The terms *κιθάρα*, *φιάλη* by nature do not necessarily immediately associate with the Israelite temple cult because they were common in the Greek and Roman worlds (see Aune, *Revelation 1-5*, 355–58.) However, Rev. 5 is obviously the heavenly worship scene.

⁴⁶ Cf. *Ibid.*, 258; Beale, *The Book of Revelation*, 358. See also Rev. 8:3–4 / Ps. 141(140):2.

bowl') and *θυμίαμα* ('incense') are often seen as part of typical elements in ancient Israel's ritual ceremony. Revelation 5:8 thus evokes incense-offering. However, the incense-offering here is metaphorically applied to the 'prayers of the saints,' not as a substitute. Such an idea seems not to have been purely invented in the early Church as Psalm 141(140):2 pre-typifies it.⁴⁷ Commentators admit Ps. 141(140):2 as the likely backdrop.⁴⁸

<i>Tg. Mal.</i> 1:11	Ps. 141(140):2	Rev. 5:8
...כל עדן...צלותכון...	תכון תפלתי קטרת לפניך	...κιθάραν και φιάλας χρυσᾶς γεμούσας θυμιαμάτων, αἱ εἰσιν αἱ προσευχαὶ τῶν ἁγίων
צלותכון כקרבן דכי קדמי	הַ προσευχή μου ὡς θυμίαμα ἐνώπιόν σου	

By translating it with the Aramaic term *צלו* ('prayer'), *Tg. Mal.* 1:11 understands the Hebrew *hapax legomenon* *מקטר* ('frankincense') as prayer, which is likened to *קורבן דכי* ('pure sacrifice'), while Ps. 141:2 immediately textually indicates a prayer as *קטרת* ('incense'). In the Hebrew Scripture, the term *קטרת* does not always point to 'incense-offering' itself (1 Sam. 2:28; Isa. 1:13; Ps. 66:15); it could be used for any sacrifice burned on the altar on the basis of its meaning of the verbal root *קטר*.⁴⁹ Possibly both *Tg. Mal.* 1:11 and Ps. 141:2 indicate sacrifice in general or can be applied to 'incense-offering' alike. Apparently, still, Ps. 141(140):2 holds closer textual affinity to Rev. 5:8 on account of the Greek translation of the term *קטרת* as *θυμίαμα* ('incense-offering').

In its context, the targumic Malachi text underlines 'pure offering' in blaming the depraved sacrifice/offering of the Israelites.⁵⁰ In other words, prayer as the 'pure offering' supplants the existing sacrifice for its negation before Yahweh and contextually it does not necessarily specify incense-offering. On the contrary, Rev. 5:8 appears not to denounce the temple ritual (incense-offering) and invalidate it, rather it spiritualizes it with prayer in the heavenly temple setting. Besides, as discussed earlier in other cases,⁵¹ the paradigm that the prayer of the saints ushers in

⁴⁷ See also *Tg. Mal.* 1:11.

⁴⁸ Beckwith, *The Apocalypse of John*; Morris, *The Revelation of St. John*; Mounce, *The Book of Revelation*; Roloff, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes*; Buchanan, *The Book of Revelation: Its Introduction and Prophecy*; Aune, *Revelation 1-5*; Beale, *The Book of Revelation*.

⁴⁹ The verb *קטר* can simply mean 'to make a sacrifice/go up in smoke' (*HALOT*). For details, see Julius Wellhausen, *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels* (Berlin: Druck und verlag von Georg Reimer, 1886), 63–64. Cf. Kjeld Nielsen, *Incense in Ancient Israel*, Supplements to Vetus Testamentum 38 (Leiden: Brill, 1986), 54. He claims four usages of the term *קטרת*: (1) incense material, (2) incense offering, (3) smoke or odour of any offering, and (4) sacrifice in general.

⁵⁰ Targum Malachi 1:7, 10 – *מרחק* – *קורבן* ('unclean sacrifice'); 1:8 – *דעויר* ('the blind'), *דחגיר ודמריע* ('the lame and sick').

⁵¹ See Rev. 8:3–5 / Ps. 18(17):7–16; Rev. 11:15, 18 / Ps. 2:1–2; Rev. 15:3b–4 / Ps. 86(85):8–11

God's final judgment in the way of his response to the prayer is obvious in the book of Revelation, and not perceived in *Tg. Mal.* 1:11. In this respect, *Tg. Mal.* 1:11 is at a distance from Rev. 5:8.

In Ps. 141:2 the term מְנַחֶה refers to a daily grain offering. According to Exod. 29:38–42 and 30:7–10, the daily grain offering is viewed to have taken place along with regular incense-offering (קְטֹרֶת תְּמִיד). By its parallelism to מְנַחֶת־עֶרֶב ('evening grain offering'), therefore, the term קְטֹרֶת ('incense') in Ps. 141:2 probably designates incense-offering.⁵² The psalm provides no clue to replace the formal offering with prayer, merely showing the same efficacy of 'prayer' or 'lifting up of hands'.⁵³ Possibly the psalmist could not participate in the sacrificial temple cult in such a circumstance.⁵⁴ Such symbolic comparison of prayer to incense-offering in Ps. 141 is appropriated in Rev. 5:8. In the literary context of Ps. 141, furthermore, the content of the prayer is articulated to seek Yahweh's deliverance (vv. 3–9) and his judgment over the prosecutor (v. 10). The psalmist is distressed by the wicked. The distress is not just for persecution but for temptation to evil things as well (Ps. 141:4, אֲלֵת־לְבִי לְדַבֵּר רָע, 'do not let my heart incline to evil things'). Psalm 141:6–10 expresses such a desperate situation and beseeches Yahweh for his urgent intervention.⁵⁵ The prayer in Ps. 141:2 is thus characterized as a strong petition to bring in deliverance and judgment.

Revelation 5:8 does not contain details of the 'prayers of the saints.' As outlined above, however, its structural function as a petition for God's immediate involvement is undisputable, as the prayers of the saints always entails his final judgment and salvation (5:8; 6:10; 8:3).⁵⁶ In the book of Revelation, the saints suffer persecution and more severely seduction to evil (2:14, 20; 3:4, 18; 13:14; 14:4, 17–18; 19:20; 20:3, 10 – woman Jezebel, Babylon the whore, etc.). Contextually, therefore, Rev. 5:8 corresponds with Ps. 141(140):2. Along with its textual affinity with Ps. 141(140):2, the allusion in Rev. 5:8 to the psalm is likely.

Assessment

The relation between incense-offering and prayer has long been observed. In the ancient Egyptian cult, incense-offering is often shown along with prayer raising hands.⁵⁷ Its analogous concept is

⁵² See Menahem Haran, 'Uses of Incense in the Ancient Israelite Ritual,' *Vetus Testamentum* 10, no. 2 (Ap 1960): 113–29; Nielsen, *Incense in Ancient Israel*, 53, 80.

⁵³ Arnold Albert Anderson, *The Book of Psalms*, vol. 2 (London: Oliphants, 1972), 2:919.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 2:918–19; Dahood, *Psalms 101-150*, 309.

⁵⁵ Commentators vary at Ps. 141:7 – 'a sudden judgment against רָשָׁעִים' (Kraus, *Psalms 60-150*, 528); 'king's lament for slaughter of his people' (Eaton, *Kingship and the Psalms*, 84–85); Anderson adopts עֲצְמוֹתֵיהֶם ('their bones') instead of עֲצְמוֹתֵינוּ ('our bones'). Cf. 11QPs^a has 'my bones' (Anderson, *The Book of Psalms*, 2:921).

⁵⁶ See Table 3.3 – Structural Analysis and Table 3.5 – Composition Pattern. See also Rev. 6:10; 19:2 / Ps. 78(77):5, 10.

⁵⁷ Menahem Haran, *Temples and Temple-Service in Ancient Israel: An Inquiry into the Character of Cult Phenomena and the Historical Setting of the Priestly School* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), 240–41.

detected in the ancient ritual of Israel (Num. 16:37–50).⁵⁸ In the Prophets, a negative recognition of temple rite emerges here and there (Amos 5:21–24; Mic. 6:6–8; Isa. 1:10–17; Mal. 1:12; Ps. 50:7–15). Possibly the sacrificial ceremony was then symbolized/spiritualized by prayer or praise (or the like). In the Hellenistic period in which the temple service became corrupt, the spiritualization seems to be widespread.⁵⁹ After the Second Temple was destroyed, the temple sacrifice no longer could exist and prayer probably remained alone in temple ceremony.⁶⁰ In light of the Epistle to the Hebrews (the book of Revelation too), particularly among first-century Christians, the spiritualization of the temple cult thus seems obvious.⁶¹

There is a certain level of ambiguity of knowing whether in Rev. 5:8 John communicated with early Christians' spiritual understanding of sacrificial rituals or specifically alluded to a scriptural text. Nonetheless, it should be noticed that Rev. 5:8 does not refer to any offering, but rather to the 'incense-offering.' The phrase ἡ προσευχή μου ὡς θυμίαμα ἐνώπιόν σου ('my prayer as incense before you') in Ps. 140:2 LXX shows literal relevance to the Revelation text. Another Revelation text, Rev. 8:3–5, in which the 'prayer of the saints' is treated as an offering being lifted up to the throne together with incense, may corroborate John's use of Ps. 141(140):2 in Rev. 5:8.

Based on the thematic similarity of God's judgment in his response to the 'prayer of the saints,' the contextual relationship between Rev. 5:8 and the psalm is highly visible. The prayers

⁵⁸ Ibid., 234–45. It is presupposed that the 'apotropaic significance' of the Egyptian burning incense is imparted to the Israelite cult. According to Deut. 33:10 and Exod. 30:1–10, an incense-offering probably took place on the altar of gold separately from burning-offering.

⁵⁹ The Qumran sectarians believed that the Second Temple was defiled so that the reinterpretation of sacrificial language and its cultus were required. Prayer and praise became appropriate sacrifice in the community (1QS 9:4–5, 26; 10:18, 22 – 'sacrifice of praise'). See Georg Klinzing, *Die Umdeutung des Kultus in der Qumrangemeinde und im Neuen Testament*. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1971), 11–44. James W. Thompson claims that the rejection by the OT prophets, the Qumran community, rabbinic Judaism and even apocalyptic texts of animal sacrifice is undemonstrated; but in the Greek literature it is a frequent theme (e.g., Euripides, Plato, Pythagoras) (Thompson, 'Hebrews 9 and Hellenistic Concepts of Sacrifice,' *Journal of Biblical Literature* 98, no. 4 [Dec 1979]: 573–78). Frances M. Young suggests that the Hellenistic enlightenment led to the widespread belief that true sacrifice demands neither the blood of animals nor a physical sanctuary (Young, 'Temple Cult and Law in Early Christianity: a Study in the Relationship Between Jews and Christians in the Early Centuries,' *New Testament Studies* 19, no. 3 [Apr 1973]: 325).

⁶⁰ Of the relationship between sacrifice and prayer, a traditional view is that sacrifice in the temple was gradually replaced by prayer because the former became inadequate and outmoded practice (see George Foot Moore, *Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era: The Age of the Tannaim* [Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1927], 217–19; Joseph Heinemann, *Prayer in the Talmud: Forms and Patterns* [Berlin: de Gruyter, 1977], 123). Joseph Heinemann says, 'We do find various types of prayers in the Temple during the last centuries of the Second Temple period, although we must keep the above-mentioned strictures in mind – viz., that these prayers always remained on the fringes of the cult proper and were never considered to be on an equal footing with the sacrifices. But even if the prayers in the Temple were at first only marginal phenomena, they nonetheless ultimately came to hold a prominent place in the Temple ritual.' This traditional view has been challenged by recent studies that prayer never replaced sacrifice but they coexisted, and then one ceased while the other continued (Jonathan Klawans, *Purity, Sacrifice, and the Temple: Symbolism and Supersessionism in the Study of Ancient Judaism* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006], 207).

⁶¹ Cf. Wayne A. Meeks, *The First Urban Christians: The Social World of the Apostle Paul* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983), 140–63.

which are portrayed with incense-offering in the Egyptian cult and Num. 16 are of ‘apotropaic significance’ to avoid one’s own disaster, rather than to call for divine judgment against the enemy.⁶² Provided that incense was not typically used in Christian worship,⁶³ the metaphor of incense-offering to prayer in Rev. 5:8 probably developed from Ps. 141(140):2 in which the psalmist spiritualized the older practice of sacrifice.⁶⁴ With this allusion, John helps establish a prominent theme of judgment through prayer, contributing to the spiritualization of the temple tradition throughout the book and clarifying the legitimacy of Christian worship in the first century.

5.4 Rev. 7:12 [19:1] / Ps. 96(95):2–9 (1 Chron. 16:8–36)

Scenes of praise or prayer occur in several places in the book of Revelation (Rev. 4–5; 6:9–11; 7:9–12; 8:1–5; 11:15–18; 14:2–3; 15:2–4; 16:5–7; 19:1–8). It has already been stated that some of them show a certain pattern in the three septet plagues, the pattern in which a ritual (prayer or praise) precedes each judgment series (see *Table 3.3 and 3.5* in Rev. 11:15, 18 / Ps. 2:1–2, 5 and Rev. 15:3b–4 / Ps. 86[85]:8–11). Revelation 7:12 contains words of praise that are characteristically repeated here and there in the book of Revelation: ‘Praise and glory and wisdom and thanks and honor and power and strength be to our God for ever and ever’ (ἡ εὐλογία καὶ ἡ δόξα καὶ ἡ σοφία καὶ ἡ εὐχαριστία καὶ ἡ τιμὴ καὶ ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ ἰσχύς τῷ θεῷ ἡμῶν εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων).

Examples are as follows:

1:6 – αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας [τῶν αἰώνων]· ἀμήν

4:9 – δόξαν καὶ τιμὴν καὶ εὐχαριστίαν τῷ καθημένῳ ἐπὶ τῷ θρόνῳ τῷ ζῶντι

4:11 – ἄξιός ἐστίν, ὁ κύριος καὶ ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν, λαβεῖν τὴν δόξαν καὶ τὴν τιμὴν καὶ τὴν δύναμιν

5:12 – ἄξιόν ἐστιν τὸ ἄρνιον τὸ ἐσφαγμένον λαβεῖν τὴν δύναμιν καὶ πλοῦτον καὶ σοφίαν καὶ ἰσχύον καὶ τιμὴν καὶ δόξαν καὶ εὐλογίαν

5:13 – τῷ καθημένῳ ἐπὶ τῷ θρόνῳ καὶ τῷ ἄρνιῳ ἡ εὐλογία καὶ ἡ τιμὴ καὶ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος

7:12 – ἡ εὐλογία καὶ ἡ δόξα καὶ ἡ σοφία καὶ ἡ εὐχαριστία καὶ ἡ τιμὴ καὶ ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ ἰσχύς τῷ θεῷ

19:1 – ἀλληλουϊά· ἡ σωτηρία καὶ ἡ δόξα καὶ ἡ δύναμις τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν

The underlined words are frequently present in the eulogy of God in Jewish writings (e.g., Deut. 3:24; Exod. 15:11; 1 Chron. 29:11; Job 12:16; 37:22; Isa. 12:2; 35:2; 40:26; Pss. 29:1; 62:12; 96:2–9; *1 En.* 3:1; *Gk. Apoc. Ezra* 7:16; *T. Ab.* B 14:9; *Apoc. Mos.* 43:4; *Apoc. Sedr.* 16:7; *T. Ab.* A 20:15; *T. Sol.* A 1:1). In the NT such expressions were also used in the acclamation of God and Jesus (e.g., Eph. 3:21; Heb. 2:9; 13:21; 1 Tim. 6:16; 2 Tim. 4:18; 1 Pet. 4:11; 5:11; Jude 1:25; etc.).

⁶² Haran, *Temples and Temple-Service in Ancient Israel*, 240–41.

⁶³ Ladd points out, ‘there is no evidence that incense was used in Christian worship in the first three centuries’ (*A Commentary on the Revelation of John*, 89).

⁶⁴ Kraus, *Psalms 60-150*, 527.

The use of similar expressions in the NT, however, are more limited in vocabulary. For example, ‘glory,’ ‘glory and honor’ (δόξα και τιμή) or ‘glory and power’ (δόξα και κράτος) mainly occur. Differently from elsewhere in the NT, the praising phrases in Revelation listed contain various terms found across the Scripture.

The word εὐχαριστία in Rev. 4:9 and 7:12 is not used in the LXX except for 2 Macc. 2:27; Wis. 16:28 and Sir. 37:11. In the Hebrew Bible, the verb הָדָה is often translated into ἔξομολογέω and in the book of Psalms it is prominently employed for a thanksgiving song.⁶⁵ With reference to the word σοφία in Rev. 7:12, Job 12:13, Dan. 2:20 and Ps. 104:24 indicate הַכְּבוֹד as a character belonging to Yahweh. Other expressions in the Revelation texts are also seen in Job 12:16; 1 Chron. 29:11; Isa. 12:2; 38:20; Exod. 15:11. The praising phrases in the Revelation texts in question are thus deemed to have a general scriptural background.

The book of Psalms includes many such wordings for praising Yahweh such as εὐλόγει/εὐλογεῖτε/εὐλογήσατε, ἔξομολόγησις/ἔξομολογέω, σωτηρία, δόξα, τιμή, δύναμις, ἰσχύς (e.g., Pss. 17:2; 28:1; 44:4; 51:14; 68:30; 71:15; 95:7; 117:14; 146:5 LXX). Psalm 96(95), in particular, displays several expressions in vv. 2–9 that are similar to those in the Revelation texts. The psalm is a thanksgiving hymn for Yahweh’s redemption and judgment, which fits more likely to Rev. 7:12 and 19:1. In light of the fact that Ps. 96 is already found in several places in the book of Revelation, the case of Ps. 96(95):2–9 in Rev. 7:12 and 19:1 is noteworthy to be considered.

Ps. 96:2–9 MT	Ps. 95:2–9 LXX	Rev. 7:12 [19:1]
ברכו שמו בשרו...ישועתו	εὐλογήσατε τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ εὐαγγελίζεσθε...τὸ σωτήριον αὐτοῦ	ἡ σωτηρία τῷ θεῷ ἡμῶν (7:10)
ספרו...כבודו	ἀναγγείλατε...τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ	ἡ εὐλογία καὶ ἡ δόξα
הודוהדר לפניו עז ותפארת	ἔξομολόγησις καὶ ὡραιότης ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ ἀγιωσύνη καὶ μεγαλοπρέπεια	ἡ σοφία καὶ ἡ εὐχαριστία ἡ τιμή καὶ ἡ δύναμις ἡ ἰσχύς τῷ θεῷ ἡμῶν (7:12)
הבו ליהוה...כבוד ועז הבו ליהוה כבוד שמו	ἐνέγκατε τῷ κυρίῳ...δόξαν καὶ τιμὴν ἐνέγκατε τῷ κυρίῳ δόξαν ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ	ἤκουσα ὡς φωνὴν μεγάλην ὄχλου πολλοῦ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ λεγόντων· ἀλληλουϊά·
...השתחו ליהוה... חילו מפניו כל־הארץ	προσκυνήσατε τῷ κυρίῳ... σαλευθήτω ἀπὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ πᾶσα ἡ γῆ	ἡ σωτηρία καὶ ἡ δόξα ἡ δύναμις τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν

⁶⁵ In the LXX, the Hebrew words from יָדָה (e.g., הַדָּוָה, הַדָּוָה and הַדָּוָה) are translated into the Greek words from ἔξομολογέω including ἔξομολόγησις (79 times out of 114 occurrences, cf. αἰνέω [11 times], ἔξαγορεύω [9 times]). The translation of יָדָה into ἔξομολογέω is mostly found in the Psalms (68 out of 79 times).

Psalm 95:2–9 LXX does not verbally contain the terms σοφία, εὐχαριστία, δύναμις and ἰσχύς, which are found in Rev. 7:10, 12 and 19:1. Some of verbal expressions in Ps. 95:6–7 LXX, e.g., ἐξομολόγησις καὶ ὠραιότης and ἁγιωσύνη καὶ μεγαλοπρέπεια, show some differences from Rev. 7:12 and 19:1. In the LXX, however, the Hebrew words in three hendiadyses, כְּבוֹד וְעֹז and חַיִּים וְחַיִּים in Ps. 96:6–7 MT are variously translated in Greek and various Greek terms are used interchangeably (δόξα, ἐξομολόγησις, μεγαλοπρέπεια, εὐπρέπεια, τιμή, δύναμις, ἰσχύς, ὠραιότης, ἁγιωσύνη/ἁγίασμα, etc.). For example, the word כְּבוֹד is primarily translated into δόξα ('glory') or ἐξομολόγησις ('praise'), while the words ἁγιωσύνη ('holiness,' Ps. 145:5), ἰσχύς ('might,' 1 Chron. 29:11) are also employed for its Greek translation. The Hebrew term עֹז is rendered mainly to ἰσχύς, δύναμις and κράτος in the LXX but in a few cases in the Psalms to ἁγιωσύνη/ἁγίασμα as well (e.g., Pss. 95:6; 132:8 LXX). Given the use of Ps. 96:2–9 in the Revelation texts, hence, the Hebrew words כְּבוֹד and עֹז in Ps. 96:6–7 could have been rendered directly to ἰσχύς and δύναμις in the book of Revelation. It is noted, in addition, that the word ἐξομολόγησις in Ps. 95:6 LXX translated from כְּבוֹד was often rendered as a 'thanksgiving' in the LXX (1 Chron. 25:3; Pss. 94:2; 99:4; 147:7; Isa. 51:3; Jdt. 15:14; 2 Macc. 10:38; 3 Macc. 6:35; 7:19; Odes 6:10; Sir. 17:28; 39:15; 51:10; cf. Ps. 110:3) but not used in the NT at all. Instead, in the NT the term εὐχαριστία seems to have been taken for 'thanksgiving' (Acts 24:3; 1 Cor. 14:16; 2 Cor. 4:15; 9:11, 12; Eph. 5:4; Phil. 4:6; Col. 2:7; 4:2; 1 Thess. 3:9; 1 Tim. 2:1; Rev. 4:9; 7:12; etc.), which, as pointed out earlier, was not much found in the LXX except only in 2 Macc. 2:27; Wis. 16:28 and Sir. 37:11 (none in the Scripture). Since there is no use of ἐξομολόγησις in the NT, John possibly simply adopted a more common word in the LXX, εὐχαριστία, for a 'thanksgiving.' In fact, the Greek terms in Ps. 95:6–7 LXX, ἐξομολόγησις καὶ ὠραιότης and ἁγιωσύνη καὶ μεγαλοπρέπεια, are not used in the NT except in only three occurrences of ἁγιωσύνη (Rom. 1:4; 2 Cor. 7:1; 1 Thess. 3:13).⁶⁶ With regards to the praising expressions in question, Rev. 7:12 and 19:1, among other Revelation texts (e.g., Rev. 1:6; 4:9, 11; 5:12–13; 7:12; 19:1) have some contextual relevance with Ps. 96.

First, in Ps. 96, all the earth (כָּל־הָאָרֶץ), all the nations (בְּגוֹיִם), all the peoples (הָעַמִּים כָּל), families of the peoples (מִשְׁפָּחוֹת עַמִּים) are commanded to praise Yahweh. Similar to that in the Epistles in the NT, Rev. 1:6 as the last statement of the introduction of the book of Revelation seems to function as a benediction. Revelation 4:9, 11 are not the praise of a great multitude in heaven but that of four living creatures and twenty-four elders. On the contrary, Rev. 5:12–13; Rev. 7:11 and 19:1 contain praise of a great multitude in heaven (ὁ ἀριθμὸς αὐτῶν μυριάδες μυριάδων καὶ

⁶⁶ Elsewhere in the LXX: ἐξομολόγησις – Josh. 7:19; Job 8:21; Tob. 14:1; 2 Macc. 10:38; etc.; ὠραιότης – Isa. 44:13; Ezek. 16:14; ἁγιωσύνη – 2 Macc. 3:12; μεγαλοπρέπεια – Ode. 12:5. Some of the words, if not often, are present in the Apostolic Fathers (e.g., Herm. Sim. 2, 1:5; 1 Clem. 60:1). It is possible that John recognized those Greek words but simply chose familiar terms for Ps. 96:6–7.

χιλιάδες χιλιάδων, 5:11; ὄχλος πολὺς, ὃν ἀριθμῆσαι αὐτὸν οὐδεὶς ἐδύνατο, ἐκ παντὸς ἔθνους καὶ φυλῶν καὶ λαῶν καὶ γλωσσῶν, 7:9; ὄχλου πολλοῦ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, 19:1). In terms of the extent of those who praise, Rev. 5:12–13; 7:11 and 19:1 are closer to the psalm.

Secondly, praise in Rev. 5:12–13 in its context focuses more on the Lamb, although in v. 13 both God and the Lamb are praised together. On the contrary, in Rev. 7:12 and 19:1 God alone is praised (προσεκύνησαν τῷ θεῷ, 7:11; προσεκύνησαν τῷ θεῷ, 19:4; τῷ θεῷ προσκύνησον, 19:10). This fits with the psalm, especially with Ps. 95:9 LXX, ‘Worship Yahweh... tremble before him...’ (προσκυνήσατε τῷ κυρίῳ... σαλευθήτω ἀπὸ προσώπου...).

Lastly, the structural flow of Ps. 96 is similar to that of Rev. 7:12 and 19:1. The first part of the psalm is a summons to praise/worship for Yahweh’s salvation, glory, marvellous work and so on (vv. 2–9).⁶⁷ The second part of vv. 10–13 is, as a climax of the psalm, to declare that Yahweh is to come as the king to judge the earth in righteousness and truth. His ruling provides the reason for praise (vv. 1–9).⁶⁸ The psalm eloquently highlights Yahweh’s kingship through Yahweh’s saving work and judgment of the earth. After the six seal plagues, Rev. 7:3–8 refer to the sealed to whom no harm can reach (μὴ ἀδικήσητε ... ἄχρι σφραγίσωμεν τοὺς δούλους τοῦ θεοῦ, v. 3), showing God’s salvation of the saints through his judgment of the earth. Then in Rev. 7:10 a great multitude in heaven praise God for salvation (ἡ σωτηρία τῷ θεῷ ἡμῶν). For the theme of praise to God, the contextual similarity between Ps. 96 and Rev. 17 is clear. Revelation 19:1–8 is also a thanksgiving song for God’s salvation preceded by the judgment of Babylon the great, the evil powerhouse, followed by the marriage celebration of the Lamb. By employing the praising expressions from Ps. 96, John announces in Rev. 7:10–12 God’s salvation by judgment and declares in Rev. 19:1 the completion of the salvation and judgment.

Assessment

In his article, ‘Marking Innerbiblical Allusion in the Book of Ezekiel,’ Michael A. Lyons proposes a ‘splitting and redistribution of elements’ allusion technique.⁶⁹ One example he adduces is Lev. 25:36 / Ezek. 18:8, 13, in which the Leviticus phrase, ‘Do not take interest or accrued interest from

⁶⁷ For the structure of the psalm, Terrien divides it by strophe into vv. 1–3, 4–6, 7–9, 10–12 and 13 (*The Psalms*, 674–77). Brueggemann understands the psalm in view of Yahweh’s new governance – vv. 1–6 (summons to praise); 7–9 (vocatives); 10 (a key of the psalm); 11–13 (new regime) (Walter Brueggemann, *The Message of the Psalms: A Theological Commentary*, Augsburg Old Testament Studies [Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1984], 144–45). Mays sees it in a frame of the summons to praise plus the reason of praise: vv. 1–3 plus 4–6 and vv. 7–12 plus 13 (*Psalms*, 307–308). Tate separates it into two sections: vv. 1–6 and 7–13 (*Psalms 51-100*, 513–15).

⁶⁸ Seeing primarily v. 10 as pivotal, scholars (e.g., Mowinckel, Brueggemann, Tate) classify the psalm as the enthronement festival hymn. For the coming of Yahweh, Mowinckel notes, ‘The fundamental thought in the festal experience and the festal myth is that Yahweh is coming and “revealing himself”, “becoming revealed” and “making himself known”, appearing as the one he really is, manifesting his works and his will’ (*The Psalms in Israel’s Worship*, vol. 1, 142).

⁶⁹ M. A. Lyons, ‘Marking Innerbiblical Allusion in the Book of Ezekiel,’ *Biblica* 88 (2007): 245–50.

him' (אל־תקח מאתו נשך ותרבית) was split in Ezek. 18:8, 13 into 'At *interest* he does not give, and *accrued interest* he *does not take*' (בנשך לא־יתן ותרבית לא יקח).⁷⁰ He states,

The techniques of inverting elements or splitting and redistributing elements borrowed from the source text are ways to mark an allusion in order to make it more conspicuous and highlight its purposeful nature. These techniques presume the readers' knowledge of the source text, and they make the allusion more prominent because they represent deviations from the known pattern.⁷¹

The case having been discussed here would be opposite to Lyons'. The sporadically split expressions in Psalm 96 (source text) are combined back into the Revelation texts (target text). I suggest that, given the reader's knowledge of the source text, either a 'splitting and redistribution of elements' or a 'combining of elements' can mark the allusion unless the context of the source text denies it. In light of its reference to the new song (v. 1) and the coming of Yahweh as the king to judge the earth in justice (vv. 10–13), Ps. 96 embraces a futuristic, eschatological sense of a new age.⁷² Its praising words were combined in Rev. 7:12 and 19:1 to articulate God's sovereignty over all.

5.5 Rev. 11:15 [19:16] / Ps. 22(21):28–29

In Rev. 11:15, the sound of the seventh trumpet initiates heavenly voices declaring, 'The kingdom of the world has become the kingdom of our Lord and of his Christ, and he will reign for ever and ever.' As with the shift of the seventh seal plague to the seven trumpets judgment series, the seventh trumpet is linked to seven last plagues (πληγὰς ἑπτὰ τὰς ἔσχατας) in Rev. 15:1, which follow some interval visions (Rev. 12–14) and launch the seven bowl judgments (15:5). The proclamation of the kingly reign of God and Christ in Rev. 11:15 is thus situated before commencing the last plagues, the seven bowl judgment. On the contrary, the phrase in Rev. 19:16, 'King of kings and Lord of lords' comes after the judgments of the kingdom of the world, including the bowl plagues (15:5–16:21), the judgment of Babylon the Great (17:1–18:24). The wording is applied to the one who rides on the white horse defeating the beast and the false prophets (19:11–21). The remarks of the kingship of God and Christ in Rev. 11:15 and 19:16, accordingly, are presented respectively in the beginning and end of the scene of the last judgment. Such placement infers the nature of the judgment in the book of Revelation to be part of God and Christ's kingly

⁷⁰ Ibid., 248.

⁷¹ Ibid., 249.

⁷² Brueggemann, *The Message of the Psalms*, 144–46; Tate, *Psalms 51-100*, 514; Mays, *Psalms*, 308–309; David C. Mitchell, *The Message of the Psalter: An Eschatological Programme in the Book of Psalms*, *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 252 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 288.

reign. The Psalmic wording, **ליהוה המלוכה ומשל בגוים** ('The dominion belongs to Yahweh and he rules over the nations') in Ps. 22:29 shows a close relationship with Rev. 11:15 and 19:16.

Ps. 22:28–29 MT	Ps. 21:28–29 LXX	Rev. 11:15; 19:16
יזכרו וישבו אל־יהוה כל־אפסי־ארץ וישתחוּו לפניך כל־משפחות גוים	Μνησθήσονται και ἐπιστραφήσονται πρὸς κύριον πάντα τὰ πέρατα τῆς γῆς και προσκυνήσουσιν ἐνώπιόν σου πᾶσαι αἱ πατριαὶ τῶν ἔθνῶν	ἐγένετο ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ κόσμου τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν και τοῦ χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ, και βασιλεύσει εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰῶνων
כי ליהוה המלוכה ומשל בגוים	τοῦ κυρίου ἡ βασιλεία και αὐτὸς δεσπόζει τῶν ἔθνῶν	Βασιλεὺς βασιλέων και κύριος κυρίων

Psalm 22 was a favourite text in early Christianity for reflection on Jesus' death and resurrection.⁷³ The psalm divides distinctively into two parts. The first of vv. 1–22 is lament and prayer, in which an innocent psalmist suffers from his enemies. This is often employed within the passion narratives of Jesus in the Gospels (e.g., Matt. 27:35, 39, 40–46; Mark 15:24b, 29, 30–34; Luke 23:34–39; John 19:24).⁷⁴ The latter part of Ps. 22:23–32 contains a thanksgiving psalm to Yahweh for his salvific act. In the thanksgiving praise, vv. 28–32 specifically proclaims Yahweh's eternal kingship over all the generation (**זרע יעבדנו יספר לאדני לדור... ויגידו צדקתו לעם נולד**) 'Posterity will serve him. It shall be told of the Lord to the coming generation... his righteousness to a people to be born'). The abrupt transition in the psalm from lament to praise is engendered from Yahweh's answer to the petitionary prayer of the righteous sufferer and in salvation from death ('I cry out... but you do not answer'; **ולא תענה**; **אקרא... ונעניתני**⁷⁵ in v. 3 → 'You have answered me!'; **נעניתני**⁷⁵ in v. 22). This is true of the structure of the book of Revelation. The petition of the saints in persecution is answered in God's judgment over the nations (see my discussions of Rev. 5:8 / Ps. 141[140]:2; Rev. 6:10; 19:2 / Ps. 79[78]:5, 10; Rev. 8:3–5 / Ps. 18[17]:7–16). Such pattern is distinctive in the book. By the same token, John likely presents, by the allusion to Ps. 22:28–29, the seven bowl judgments between Rev. 11:15 and 19:16 as God's response to the suffering of first

⁷³ See Hartmut Gese, 'Psalm 22 und das Neue Testament: der älteste Bericht vom Tode Jesu und die Entstehung des Herrenmahles,' *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche* 65, no. 1 (1968): 1–22; Mays, *Psalms*, 113–14; Richard J. Clifford, *Psalms 1–72* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2002), 129; Bruce K. Waltke, James M. Houston, and Erika Moore, *The Psalms as Christian Worship: A Historical Commentary* (Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2010), 376–81; Holly J. Carey, *Jesus' Cry from the Cross: Towards a First-Century Understanding of the Intertextual Relationship Between Psalm 22 and the Narrative of Mark's Gospel* (London: T. & T. Clark, 2009).

⁷⁴ Cf. Carey, *Jesus' Cry from the Cross*, 187.

⁷⁵ LXX has a reading of *τῆν ταπείνωσιν μου* ('my lowliness') and in Symmachus' Greek version *τῆν κάκωσιν μου* ('my affliction'). For its textual ambiguity in the MT, some versions omit the translation of **נעניתני** (e.g., RSV, ESV, NIV).

century Christians at the Asia Minor, articulating the judgment as the kingly reign of God and Christ.

Assessment

Verbal conformity between Ps. 22:28–29 and Rev. 11:15; 19:16 is scarce; but the contextual affinity is noteworthy. Revelation 11:15 constitutes a thanksgiving hymn of Rev. 11:15–18 highlighting God’s eschatological reign, the reign which inaugurates his final judgment of the nations and the worldly system, Babylon the great (Rev. 12–18). A messianic figure of the ‘one who rides on the white horse’ in Rev. 19:15–16 (cf. Rev. 2:27) holds the title, ‘King of kings and Lord of lords,’ consummating God’s judgment of the earth by defeating the armies of the nations, the beast and the false prophet. Psalm 22 was prophetically read in early Christianity, referring to Jesus’ affliction on the cross. Yahweh’s universal kingship prophesied in Ps. 22:28–32 has been applied to Christ’s eschatological reign in Rev. 11:15 and 19:16. The allusion in Rev. 11:15; 19:16 to Ps. 22:28–32 finds itself in a prophecy-fulfillment frame, in which the announcement of Christ’s kingly reign in Rev. 11:15 is actualized by the victory of the messianic figure at the end of the judgment in Rev. 19:11–21. Referring to the book of Psalms, John holds similar compositional patterns which are part of a ‘prophecy-fulfillment’ or a ‘prayer-answer’ mode (see Rev. 6:10; 19:2 / Ps. 79(78):5, 10). The following case also shows itself in similar modes.

5.6 Rev. 11:18; 19:5 / Pss. 22(21):24; 61(60):6; 115:13 (113:21)

The seventh trumpet of Rev. 11:15–19 is a praise song for God and Christ’s kingly reign and the final judgment by loud voices in heaven and the twenty-four elders.⁷⁶ Revelation 11:15 proclaims God’s reign; the twenty-four elders in Rev. 11:17–18 reaffirm it and announce God’s final judgment. Revelation 11:18, in particular, spells out two contrary aspects of the judgment: rewarding those who fear God’s name (δοῦναι τὸν μισθὸν... τοῖς φοβουμένοις τὸ ὄνομά σου, τοὺς μικροὺς καὶ τοὺς μεγάλους) and destroying those who destroy the earth (διαφθεῖραι τοὺς διαφθεύοντας τὴν γῆν).

Revelation 19:1–8, as mentioned in Rev. 19:4 / Ps. 106(105):48, is the most distinctive hymn in the book of Revelation.⁷⁷ This hymn is, as a whole, a thanksgiving song for God’s judgment of Babylon the great and his eschatological reign to come, though, more specifically, Rev. 19:1–4 is judged as thanksgiving. Revelation 19:5 has a similar phrase to Rev. 11:18, saying αἰνεῖτε τῷ θεῷ ἡμῶν πάντες οἱ δοῦλοι αὐτοῦ [καὶ] οἱ φοβούμενοι αὐτόν, οἱ μικροὶ καὶ οἱ μεγάλοι (‘Praise our God, all you his servants, you who fear him, small and great’). The expression of

⁷⁶ For details, see the introductory part of Rev. 11:15, 18 / Ps. 2:1–2

⁷⁷ For details, see the introductory part of Rev. 19:4 / Ps. 106(105):48

‘those who fear God, the small and the great’ in both Rev. 11:18 and 19:5 is verbally found in Ps. 115:13 (113:21). Because of its appearance with the wordings, ‘(the) small and (the) great,’ Ps. 113:21 LXX seems to have an exclusive claim to this allusion.⁷⁸ The phrasing of ‘those who fear Yahweh/God’ (οἱ φοβούμενοι αὐτόν), however, idiomatically presents itself in the Psalms (Pss. 14:4; 21:24; 24:12; 60:6; 111:1; 113:19, 21; 117:4; 127:1, 4; 134:20).⁷⁹ Though the verbal similarity of Ps. 113:21 to Rev. 11:18 and 19:5 is most striking, some other psalmic texts can be also examined for the allusion here. Psalms 21:24; 60:6 and 113:21 might have a claim in terms of context.

Pss. 22:24;61:6;115:13 MT	Pss. 21:24; 60:6; 113:21 LXX	Rev. 11:18; 19:5
יראי יהוה הללוהו נתת ירשת יראי שמך	οἱ φοβούμενοι κύριον αἰνέσατε αὐτόν ἔδωκας κληρονομίαν τοῖς φοβουμένοις τὸ ὄνομά σου	δοῦναι τὸν μισθὸν τοῖς δούλοις σου... τοῖς φοβουμένοις τὸ ὄνομά σου, τοὺς μικροὺς καὶ τοὺς μεγάλους
יברך יראי יהוה הקטנים עם־הגדלים	εὐλόγησεν τοὺς φοβουμένους τὸν κύριον τοὺς μικροὺς μετὰ τῶν μεγάλων	αἰνεῖτε τῷ θεῷ ἡμῶν... οἱ φοβούμενοι αὐτόν, οἱ μικροὶ καὶ οἱ μεγάλοι

There are some similarities and differences between Rev. 11:18 and 19:5. Primarily as seen earlier the two texts include the same textual expression of ‘those who fear God, (the) small and (the) great.’ Both texts lie in the heavenly hymnic setting in which God is worshipped. The praises of both Rev. 11:15–18 and 19:1–8 equally represent the thanksgivings of God’s judgment (11:17; 19:2) and of God’s eternal reign (11:15, 17, 18; 19:6), thus being specified as thanksgiving songs. The literary position of Rev. 11:15–18 and 19:1–8, moreover, is analogous in the book of Revelation. Revelation 11:15–18 is placed in between the account of the first woe, second woe and the third woe to come. Likewise Rev. 19:1–8 is preceded by the judgment of Babylon the great city (Rev. 17:1–18:24) and followed by the last judgment of the beast and the kings of the earth (Rev. 19:11–21). In other words, both texts come in just before the last judgment, presumably playing the same role in the composition of the book.

Although Rev. 11:18 and 19:5 use the same expression of praise to God for his judgment, some differences are observed in their wordings. Revelation 11:18 has a phrase of ‘those who fear

⁷⁸ Charles, *The Revelation of St. John*, vol. 1, 297; Moyise, ‘The Psalms in the Book of Revelation,’ 241; Beale, *The Book of Revelation*, 618, 930–31. Beale argued that some variations (P⁴⁷, A [2351] *pc*) of τοῖς ἁγίοις καὶ τοῖς φοβουμένοις in Rev. 11:18 were changed to agree with the psalm. See also Aune, *Revelation 6-16*, 645.

⁷⁹ יראי יהוה / ירא – Pss. 15:4; 22:24; 25:12; 112:1; 115:11, 13; 118:4; 128:1, 4; 135:20. יראי אלהים – Ps. 66:16. שמך יראי – Ps. 61:6. See also Mal. 3:16, 20, ‘A scroll of remembrance was written in his presence concerning those who feared the LORD and honored his name’ (ויכתב ספר זכרון לפניו ליראי יהוה ולחשבי שמו) (v. 16b).

your name’ (τοῖς φοβουμένοις τὸ ὄνομά σου) while Rev. 19:5 does not contain ‘your name,’ but instead ‘him’ (οἱ φοβούμενοι αὐτόν). In Rev. 11:18 the ‘twenty fours elders’ (οἱ εἴκοσι τέσσαρες πρεσβύτεροι) praise God for his judgment and within their praise announce a reward (μισθός) for those who fear the name of God. In Rev. 19:5, on the contrary, a ‘voice from the throne’ (φωνή ἀπὸ τοῦ θρόνου) asks those who fear God to praise him and no reward is immediately referenced. While Rev. 11:18 does not require those who fear God’s name to praise, rather requesting God to bless them, Rev. 19:5 demands those who fear God to praise him.

The psalmic texts which include the expression ‘those who fear the Lord’ are divided into two categories as follows:

[MT(LXX)]

Blessed	<p>25(24):12 – <i>He will instruct him (one who fears Lord) in the way chosen for him.</i></p> <p>61(60):6 – <i>O God; you have given me the heritage of those who fear your name</i></p> <p>112(111):1 – <i>How blessed is the man who fears the Lord</i></p> <p>115:11 (113:19) – <i>You who fear him, trust in the Lord-- he is their help and shield</i></p> <p>115:13 (113:21) – <i>he will bless those who fear the Lord-- small and great alike</i></p> <p>128(127):1 – <i>How blessed is everyone who fears the Lord</i></p> <p>128(127):4 – <i>Thus is the man blessed who fears the Lord</i></p> <p>*15(14):4 – <i>...honors those who fear the Lord...</i> τοὺς δὲ φοβουμένους κύριον δοξάζει</p>
Praise	<p>22(21):24 – <i>You who fear the Lord, praise him!</i></p> <p>118(117):4 – <i>Let those who fear the Lord say: ‘His love endures forever’</i></p> <p>135(134):20 – <i>you who fear him, bless the Lord</i></p> <p>*66(65):16 – <i>all you who fear God, I will tell... δεῦτε ἀκούσατε καὶ διηγῆσομαι πάντες οἱ φοβούμενοι τὸν θεόν ὅσα ἐποίησεν τῇ ψυχῇ μου</i></p>

The eight texts from the Psalms (i.e., 24:12; 60:6; 111:1; 113:19, 21; 127:1, 4; 14:4) disclose a sense of blessing given to one who fears the Lord (or his name) while in Pss. 21:24; 117:4 and 134:20 those who fear the Lord are somehow asked to extol him for his salvation. The psalmist(s) possibly exploited the expression ‘those who fear Yahweh/God’ either to seek Yahweh’s blessing or to exhort the Israelites to praise him. If that is true, John might have been aware of such usage associated with the phrase ‘one who fears God’ and applied it to his writing. The difference between Rev. 11:18 and 19:15 is elucidated in this categorization: Rev. 11:18 relates more to the former part (Blessed) and Rev 19:15 to the latter part (Praise).

Psalm 61(60):6 immediately refers to a blessing (inheritance) given by the Lord to those who fear his name (ἔδωκας κληρονομίαν τοῖς φοβουμένοις τὸ ὄνομά σου) and also specifically

contains the words ‘your name.’ In its context, the blessing is closely linked with Yahweh’s salvation from distress.⁸⁰ In this regard, Rev. 11:18 is more dependent upon Ps. 61(60):6. Psalm 135(134):20 employs the word εὐλογέω (cf. בָּרַךְ), ‘bless,’ instead of αἰνέω (לָלַח), ‘praise,’ which occurs in Ps. 22(21):24 as well as Rev. 19:5. Though blessing is a form of praising in the Psalms,⁸¹ Rev. 19:5 thus shows closer affinity with Ps. 22(21):24 than Ps. 135(134):20.

As discussed in Rev. 6:10; 19:2 / Ps. 78(77):5, 10, the petition regarding the blood of the saints in Rev. 6:10 is answered in Rev. 19:2 as avenging their blood on Babylon. A similar pattern is viewed in the allusion in Rev. 11:18; 19:5 to the Psalms. ‘Those who destroy the earth’ (τοὺς διαφθείροντας τὴν γῆν) in Rev. 11:18 probably indicates ‘the great prostitute who corrupted the earth’ (τὴν πόρνην τὴν μεγάλην ἣτις ἔφθειρεν τὴν γῆν) in Rev. 19:2.⁸² The judgment of those who destroy (διαφθείρω) the earth in Rev. 11:18 is completed in Rev. 19:2 when God judged the great prostitute who corrupted (φθείρω) the earth. The reward in Rev. 11:18 assigned to those who fear God’s name is also given in Rev. 19:9 by inviting them to the Lamb’s marriage supper (μακάριοι οἱ εἰς τὸ δεῖπνον τοῦ γάμου τοῦ ἀρνίου κεκλημένοι). Announcement in the praise of Rev. 11:16–18 of God’s final judgment of the destroyer of the earth and of God’s rewarding one who fears him is accomplished in the praise of Rev. 19. By alluding in Rev. 11:18; 19:5 to Pss. 22(21):24; 61(60):6; 115:13 (115:21), John would have retained the following compositional structure: announcement – completion.

Assessment

Those who fear your name/him (οἱ φοβούμενοι τὸ ὄνομά σου / αὐτόν) is designated as the entire Christian community in light of the words ‘small and great.’⁸³ The term μισθός (‘reward’) in Rev. 11:18 is pertinent to God’s eschatological deliverance of the community and his eternal blessing for them in the book of Revelation (e.g., Rev. 2:7, 10, 17, 26; 3:5, 12, 21; 7:15–17; 19:7–9; 20:4; 21:7; 22:1–5). In the form of a hymn, Rev. 19:1–8 declares the fulfillment of the deliverance; following the hymn, the blessing is eventually actualized in Rev. 19:9. Revelation 11:18 and 19:5, drawing on a psalmic theme, emphasize that Yahweh blesses those who fear him. With their combination with the phrase τοὺς μικροὺς μετὰ τῶν μεγάλων in Ps. 115:13 (113:21), Pss. 61(60):6 (*blessing*) and

⁸⁰ Weiser, *The Psalms*, 444–45.

⁸¹ Kraus, *Psalms 60-150*, 494; Beckwith, *The Apocalypse of John*, 285-99.

⁸² See Rev. 17:2, 5, 8; 18:1, 3–4, 8–9, 11, 23–24.

⁸³ See Beckwith, *The Apocalypse of John*, 610; Mounce, *The Book of Revelation*, 232; Jürgen Roloff, *The Revelation of John: A Continental Commentary*, Continental Commentaries (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993), 211; Beale, *The Book of Revelation*, 930–31. For further discussion on distinction between Jewish and Gentile Christians, see Charles, *The Revelation of St. John*, 1:296–97. Cf. André Feuillet, ‘Essai d’interprétation du chapitre 11 de l’Apocalypse,’ *New Testament Studies* 4, no. 3 (Ap 1958): 183. He sees ‘those who fear your name’ as Christians of Gentile origin.

22(21):24 (*praise*) are respectively alluded to in Rev. 11:18 (*blessing*) and Rev. 19:5 (*praise*).⁸⁴ It is noted that John positions these two combinations—Pss. 61:6 and 115:13, Pss. 22:24 and 115:13—in the two thanksgiving hymns of Rev. 11:15–18 and 19:1–6. In so doing, again, he draws much attention to God’s answer to the prayer of the martyrs (Rev. 6:10) as Pss. 61:6 and 22:24 immediately express Yahweh’s answer to the petition of the psalmist(s) in distress. Considered with another use, as previously discussed, i.e., Ps. 22(21):28–29 in Rev. 11:15 [19:16], this case may be considered probable for John’s use of Ps. 22(21):22–31 in Rev. 11:15–18.

5.7 Rev. 18:6 / Ps. 137(136):8

The demise of Babylon the great is depicted in Rev. 16:17–18:24.⁸⁵ Revelation 16:17–21 announces the final judgment of Babylon as the seventh bowl is poured out into the air. Revelation 17 presents a vision in which John saw a woman sitting on a beast, whose name is ‘Mystery, Babylon the great, the mother of prostitutes and of the abominations of the earth’ (μυστήριον, Βαβυλῶν ἡ μεγάλη, ἡ μήτηρ τῶν πορνῶν καὶ τῶν βδελυγμάτων τῆς γῆς) (vv. 1–7) and its interpretation (vv. 8–18). While Rev. 17 provides a brief narration of the judgment of Babylon,⁸⁶ Rev. 18 describes the judgment in greater detail, consisting of three heavenly/angelic voices to lead it: vv. 1–3, vv. 4–20 and vv. 21–24.⁸⁷ Revelation 18:4–20 is largely divided into two segments: the exhortation of God’s people (vv. 4–8) and laments of those cooperating with Babylon (vv. 9–20). Among scholars, the exhortation of Rev. 18:4–8 is mainly understood as an allusion to Jer. 50–51 (27–28 LXX) which contain its equivalent expressions, צאו מתוכה עמי (‘Come out of her, my people,’ Jer. 51:45), כִּי־נִגַע אֱלֹהִים־שָׁמַיִם מִשָּׁפְטָה, (‘Her judgment has reached up to heaven,’ 51:9),⁸⁸ שְׁלֹמוֹ-לָהּ כַּפְעָלָהּ כִּכְלֵהּ אֲשֶׁר עָשְׂתָה עִשְׂוֹ-לָהּ (‘Repay her according to her deeds; do to her according to all that she has done,’ 50:29),⁸⁹ and וְשָׁלַמְתִּי ... אֶת כָּל־רַעְתָּם אֲשֶׁר־עָשׂוּ בְצִיּוֹן לְעֵינַיִכֶם (‘I will repay...for all their evil that they have done to Zion before your eyes,’ 51:24). Thus, Rev. 18:6 has been generally accepted to allude to Jer. 50:29 (27:29 LXX).⁹⁰

⁸⁴ With reference to the allusion techniques discussed in Rev. 7:12 [19:1] / Ps. 96(95):2–9 (1 Chron. 16:8–36), it may be another example in the book of Revelation of a ‘combining of elements,’ and not a ‘splitting and redistribution of elements.’ This may be an example in Revelation of the so-called a ‘two-way’ allusion skill.

⁸⁵ Cf. Beale, *The Book of Revelation*, 827. He sees the sixth (Rev. 16:12–16) and the seventh (Rev. 16:17–21) bowls together relate to the judgment of Babylon. I would consider the six bowl rather to be linked with Rev. 19:11–21, instead of being placed for the fall of Babylon, along with the seventh bowl because the description of the war and the occurrence of the dragon, the beast and the false prophet in the sixth bowl seems to be connected with the war scene of Rev. 19:11–21.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 890–91.

⁸⁷ See Adela Yarbro Collins, ‘Revelation 18: Taunt-song or Dirge?’, *Apocalypse johannique et l’apocalyptique dans le Nouveau Testament* (1980): 187–88. Cf. Aune, *Revelation 17-22*, 973–94.

⁸⁸ See P. E. Hughes, *The Book of the Revelation: A Commentary* (Leicester: Inter-Varsity, 1990), 190.

⁸⁹ Beale, *The Book of Revelation*, 901; Aune, *Revelation 17-22*, 983. See also Fekkes, *Isaiah and Prophetic Traditions in the Book of Revelation*, 87.

⁹⁰ Swete, Kiddle, Beckwith, Ladd, Beasley-Murray, Mounce, Aune, Beale. Cf. *Sib. Or.* 3:556–60. Note that the idea of

Revelation 18:6 features an imperative of a harsh retaliation on Babylon the great as it says ἀπόδοτε αὐτῇ ... διπλώσατε τὰ διπλά ... κέρασατε αὐτῇ διπλοῦν ('Pay her back... repay her double... mix her a double portion...'). The idea of *lex talionis* in the text (ἀπόδοτε αὐτῇ ὡς καὶ αὐτὴ ἀπέδωκεν) is fairly widespread in the Scripture, Jewish literature and the New Testament.⁹¹ Given that the subject of ἀπόδοτε and διπλώσατε in Rev. 18:6 is the Christian community (for further discussion, see below), this idea yields a contradiction in the NT because of its teaching of love, not retaliation, for one's enemy.⁹² Such a retributive judgment, nonetheless, is marked in apocalyptic literature as an eschatological punishment against foreign power.⁹³

Woe to you who requite your neighbor with evil; For ye shall be requited according to your works... Woe to you who love the deeds of unrighteousness: wherefore do ye hope for good hap unto yourselves? know that ye shall be delivered into the hands of the righteous, and they shall cut off your necks and slay you... (*I En.* 95:5; 98:12).⁹⁴

Collins pointed out that an ideology of apocalyptic movement in Enoch literature is obviously compatible with that of the Maccabean revolt;⁹⁵ *I Macc.* 2:68 includes a similar motif, 'give back to the Gentiles in full' (ἀνταπόδοτε ἀνταπόδομα τοῖς ἔθνεσιν).⁹⁶ In this perspective, the reprisal for Babylon in Rev. 18:6 is alleged to accentuate the final/eschatological judgment of the evil power. In fact, the notion of a vengeful phrasing of Babylon in Rev. 18:6 is held up across the book of Revelation (Rev. 2:20–23; 6:9–11; 11:5–6, 18, 13:10; 14:8–10; 16:6; 19:2; 20:4).⁹⁷ The Psalms significantly characterize the call for vengeance in their petitionary prayers as the expectation of the oppressed to Yahweh's judgment of the nations.⁹⁸ Psalm 137(136):8, in particular, manifests a revengeful judgment against Babylon.⁹⁹ Scholars, therefore, note the psalmic allusion in Rev. 18:6

double repayment (διπλώσατε τὰ διπλά) in Rev. 18:6b is found in Isa. 40:2; Jer. 16:18; Exod. 22:3, 6, 9.

⁹¹ See Aune, *Revelation 17-22*, 993. Exodus 21:23–25; Pss. 28(27):4; 61:13; Isa. 59:18, 65:6–7; Ezek. 9:10; 11:21; 16:43; 17:19; 22:31; 23:49; Hos. 4:9, 12:2; Joel 4:4, 7; Obad. 15–16; *Sir.* 16:12, 14; *Sib. Or.* 3:312–14; *Apoc. Ab.* 29:19; Matt. 7:1–2; 2 Tim. 4:14. Revelation 18:6 seemingly brings up double retribution, not equivalent punishment. Beckwith pointed out, 'to requite her in double measure is a conventional expression for *full requital*' (*The Apocalypse of John*, 715; Cf. Morris, *The Revelation of St. John*, 217). For more details, see Beale, *The Book of Revelation*, 901.

⁹² Aune states, 'the argument against Christians as agents of divine retribution is based not on the exegesis of the text but rather on a theological norm' (*Revelation 17-22*, 994). Cf. Beale, *The Book of Revelation*, 900–902; Buchanan, *The Book of Revelation*, 475.

⁹³ See George W. E. Nickelsburg, 'Apocalyptic Message of 1 Enoch 92-105,' *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 39, no. 3 (Jl 1977): 309–28; John J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction to Jewish Apocalyptic Literature*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 11. Collins states, 'All the apocalypses involve a transcendent eschatology that looks for retribution beyond the bounds of history.'

⁹⁴ Cf. Obad. 15–16; Zech. 9:12–13; *Jub.* 23:30; *Apoc. Ab.* 29:17–20; CD 14; 1QM 1, 6, 11, 12, 15–16; 4Q169; 1QS 10.

⁹⁵ Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination*, 71.

⁹⁶ See also *I Maccabees: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1976), 242.

⁹⁷ Caird, *A Commentary on the Revelation of St. John the Divine*, 224.

⁹⁸ Kraus, *Theology of the Psalms*, 67.

⁹⁹ Psalms 74 and 79 also denote the destruction of the Jerusalem temple. However, the psalms have no immediate reference to the Babylonian invasion (see Charles A. Briggs and Emilie Grace Briggs, *Psalms*, vol. 2, The International

along with Jer. 50:29 (27:29 LXX).¹⁰⁰

Jer. 50:29 MT (27:29 LXX)	Ps. 137(136):8	Rev. 18:6
<p>שְׁלֹמֹה־לֵה כַּפְעֵלָה כִּכְל אִשֶׁר עֲשִׂתָה עֲשׂוֹר־לָהּ</p>	<p>אִשְׁרֵי שִׁישְׁלֹם־לֶךְ אֶת־גְּמוּלָךְ שִׁגְמַלְתָּ לָנוּ</p>	<p>ἀπόδοτε αὐτῇ ὡς καὶ αὐτῇ ἀπέδωκεν</p>
<p>ἀνταπόδοτε αὐτῇ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτῆς κατὰ πάντα ὅσα ἐποίησεν ποιήσατε αὐτῇ</p>	<p>μακάριος ὃς ἀνταποδώσει σοι τὸ ἀνταπόδομά σου ὃ ἀνταπέδωκας ἡμῖν</p>	

Jeremiah 27:29 LXX shows a close relationship to Rev. 18:6 textually and contextually. It has been questioned, though, owing to some discrepancies between the two texts. First, Rev. 18:6, as mentioned earlier, evinces a revengeful judgment of Babylon on behalf of God’s people. Jeremiah 50:29 (27:29 LXX) textually does not convey such a sense of retaliation since in its expression Babylon is judged based not on what she gave Yahweh’s people but on her deeds to Yahweh. The Jeremiah text seems to expose a typical recognition of divine judgment that one is judged according to what one did, not exemplifying an exact vengeance on the enemy as in the Revelation text. Secondly, in its context, Jer. 50:29 (27:29 LXX) enunciates the northern nations (Jer. 50:9, 41–42) or Yahweh (Jer. 50:15, 18, 24) alike as the origin of the judgment of Babylon. It is the foreign nations rather than the Israelites who, as Yahweh’s instrument, stand against Babylon and pay back to her. As for Rev. 18:6, the issue is controversial in the context of Rev. 18:4–8 as there are three alternatives for those who judge Babylon: (1) Christians (‘my people’, Rev. 18:4), (2) divine agents, (3) kings/foreign nations (‘ten kings’, Rev. 16:12–16; 17:16).¹⁰¹ The argument for ‘my people’ is defended more strongly than the others because its grammatical consistency with the second person imperatives is undisputable: ἐξέλθατε (v. 4), ἀπόδοτε, διπλώσατε, κεράσατε (v. 6), δότε (v. 7).¹⁰² The ‘foreign nations’ seems less satisfactory in the Revelation texts because in Rev. 18:9 they weep and mourn for Babylon’s disruption. Elliot argues, in this regard, ‘If a parallel (to

Critical Commentary [Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1906], 151–52, 197–98; Weiser, *The Psalms*, 518, 544; Cf. John Day, *Psalms, Old Testament Guides* [Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990], 34–35). On the contrary, Ps. 137 is widely considered to have its background in the Babylonian exile. For the time of its composition, see Holladay, *The Psalms Through Three Thousand Years*, 57. Cf. Kraus, *Psalms 60-150*, 502.

¹⁰⁰ Swete, Beckwith, Buchanan, Beale, Moyise. Steve Moyise argues that Ps. 136:8 LXX is a stronger case than Jer. 27:15, 29; 28:24 LXX (‘The Psalms in the Book of Revelation,’ 241).

¹⁰¹ ‘Christians’ – Mounce, Ford, Elliott, Aune, Beale; ‘divine/heavenly beings’ – Swete, Ford, Caird, Beckwith, Mounce, Bousset, Yarbro Collins; ‘kings’ – Bousset, Zahn, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes*. In the Scripture and Jewish apocalyptic literature, those three entities alike often occur as God’s judgmental instrument. Cf. Ruiz – no particular group; Beale, while arguing ‘my people,’ notes God himself in Rev. 18:8.

¹⁰² See Susan M. Elliott, ‘Who Is Addressed in Revelation 18:6-7,’ *Biblical Research* 40 (1995): 98–113; Aune, *Revelation 17-22*, 994.

Rev. 18:4-8) is drawn in Jer. 50:1-11, it informs us more by contrast than by similarity.¹⁰³ While retaining some correlations, Jer. 50:29 (27:29 LXX) would not be adequate enough for the allusion in Rev. 18:6.

Similarly to the Jeremiah texts (Jer. 50:15, 18, 24), Ps. 137 indicates Yahweh as the subject of judgment (Ps. 137:7). Differently to them, however, the psalm does not immediately refer to any human agent of the judgment (cf. Jer. 50:9, 41–42). In Ps. 137(136):8–9 one may postulate a kind of human retaliator(s) as the texts surely evoke a scene of warfare,¹⁰⁴ containing the expression ...שׁ אִשְׂרַי (μακάριος ὅς... ‘blessed shall he be who...’). Still, it is textually unclear whether the avenger is human or divine. What is clear, though, is that Ps. 137:8 explicitly expresses an accurate requital to Babylon, which to be done according to how she treated the Israelites (וְלִי/לְךָ... שׁוֹמֵר, ‘one who pays back to you what you have done to us’). Such a vindictive judgment in Ps. 137:8 is commensurate with its own context as Ps. 137:3 designates Babylon as ‘our captors’ (שׁוֹבֵינֵנוּ) and ‘our tormentors’ (תּוֹלְלֵינוּ). The MT text draws attention to a surplus expression (שׁוֹמֵר לְךָ, ‘what you have done to us’)¹⁰⁵ by a word-play, שׁוֹמֵר...לְךָ (cf. Jer. 50:29). Psalm 136:8 LXX translates שׁוֹמֵר, גְּמוּלָה, גְּמוּלָה into ἀνταποδώσει, ἀνταπόδομά, ἀνταπέδωκας, respectively.¹⁰⁶ These probably underscore an infallible retribution to Babylon. In Rev. 18:6 the double use of a word in kind is characterized: ἀπόδοτε–ἀπέδωκεν, διπλώσατε–διπλά, ἐκέρασεν–κεράσατε,¹⁰⁷ articulating the judgment of Babylon. The textual affinity of Rev. 18:6 to Ps. 137:8 is more reliable than with Jer. 50:29 (27:29 LXX).

Contextual affinity between the two texts, Rev. 18:6 and Ps. 137:8, validates the allusion in Rev. 18:6 to the psalm. In the book of Revelation, God’s remembrance of Babylon pertaining to its judgment is referred to twice, Rev. 16:19 (Βαβυλῶν ἡ μεγάλη ἐμνήσθη ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ) and Rev. 18:5 (ἐμνημόνευσεν ὁ θεὸς τὰ ἀδικήματα αὐτῆς).¹⁰⁸ Revelation 16:19, as mentioned earlier, functions as an announcement of the final judgment of Babylon in Rev. 16:17–18:24. By repeating an equivalent expression of God’s remembrance, Rev. 18:5 clarifies that the fall of Babylon is God’s

¹⁰³ Elliott, ‘Who Is Addressed in Revelation 18,’ 105.

¹⁰⁴ Kraus, *Psalms 60-150*, 504; Allen, *Psalms 101-150*, 242.

¹⁰⁵ For text critical discussions, see Allen, *Psalms 101-150*, 237; Kraus, *Psalms 60-150*, 501.

¹⁰⁶ In the OG/LXX the word שׁוֹמֵר (‘recompense’) is translated into either ἀποδίδωμι (22 times) or ἀνταποδίδωμι (28 times) while the word גְּמוּלָה into ἀνταποδίδωμι (11 times), not into ἀποδίδωμι.

¹⁰⁷ In the NT the term ἀποδίδωμι (48 times) has been used much more frequently than ἀνταποδίδωμι (6 times – Luke 14:14; Rom. 11:35; 12:19; 1 Thess. 3:9; 2 Thess. 1:6; Heb. 10:2). Considering the NT usage, John seems to have employed a word of relatively high frequency. It is not certain, though, whether he simply drew on ἀποδίδωμι instead of ἀνταποδίδωμι from the OG/LXX or immediately used the MT text (see n. 106). Cf. Moyise, ‘The Psalms in the Book of Revelation,’ 241.

¹⁰⁸ The book of Revelation contains both terms μιμνήσκομαι (16:19), μνημονεύω (2:5; 3:3; 18:5). In the NT, the two words μιμνήσκομαι, μνημονεύω are equally used, occurring 23 and 21 times, respectively. In the OG/LXX, however, the use of the term μιμνήσκομαι (298 times) is more predominant than the other μνημονεύω (47 times). The Hebrew counter word זָכַר is translated in the OG/LXX primarily into μιμνήσκομαι (174 times), but a few into μνημονεύω (8 times). For some reason, the use of the word μνημονεύω seems to gradually grow.

sovereign judgment of her own sin.

In the Scripture Yahweh's remembering (זָכַר) primarily occurs with a sense of favor in responding to the petition of his people, forgiving (not remembering) their sin, and thus keeping his covenant with them.¹⁰⁹ In some texts, conversely, it is present in seeking Yahweh's punishment on one's iniquity.¹¹⁰ Insofar as the Psalmists often request Yahweh to condone one's wrongdoing or chasten the enemy, Yahweh's remembering, whether pardoning or punitive, frequently appears in the Psalms. Psalm 137 employs the term זָכַר three times in vv. 1, 6, 7 in remembrance of Zion/Jerusalem. By remembering Zion/Jerusalem in vv. 1 and 6, the psalmist expresses himself full of grief for the destruction of Jerusalem (cf. also v. 5, אִם-אֲשַׁכַּח יְרוּשָׁלַם תִּשְׁכַּח יְמִינִי, 'If I forget you, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget'). Then he pleads in Ps. 137:7 with Yahweh to remember the destruction of Jerusalem in order to pursue his judgment of the Edomites who were on Babylon's side (cf. Obad. 8–15; Ezek. 25:12; 35:5). Psalm 137:8 does not immediately include the expression of 'Yahweh's remembrance' (זָכַר יְהוָה). In that the psalm appeals only to Yahweh's remembering for a vengeful judgment, however, the imprecation of Babylon of Ps. 137:8 in its context can be regarded as being closely linked with the entreaty of his remembrance in v. 7.

As has been noted, the book of Revelation has shown a pattern: announcement – completion.¹¹¹ The repetition of a similar expression of God's remembering in Rev. 16:19 and 18:5 can be understood within the framework of that pattern. As mentioned, the seventh bowl of Rev. 16:17–21 plays an introductory part of the judgment of Babylon, which is illustrated in Rev. 17 and 18. Revelation 16:19 discloses that the judgment of Babylon is to be carried out by God's remembering of her. Revelation 18:5 seems to issue a confirmatory proclamation of the 'judgment by God's remembrance.' In this repetition of an equivalent phrase, John highlights the nature of God's judgment of the enemy against God's people, the nature of which is hardly found in early Christianity but often in Judaism.¹¹² Only in Psalm 137, in essence, does the judgment of Babylon occur with Yahweh's remembering (cf. Jer. 50–51[27–28 LXX]).

As a further implication of this contextual examination, one may interpret Rev. 18:5–6 as an answer to Ps. 137:7–9. The lamentation of the psalmist arose from his remembrance of the exile of Babylon (vv. 1, 5, 6); his petitionary prayer to avenge on Babylon has recourse to Yahweh's

¹⁰⁹ See H. Eising, 'זָכַר,' in *TWAT*, 2:571–93. זָכַר has been used in the two cases: God is the subject, God is the object. Anderson also points out that the word זָכַר means not only 'to remember, call to mind,' but also 'to act upon (something)' (*The Book of Psalms*, 2:579.)

¹¹⁰ See H. Eising, 'זָכַר,' E.g., Hos. 7:2; 8:13; 9:9; Jer. 14:10; Lam. 2:1; Ps. 137:7; Neh. 6:14; 13:29.

¹¹¹ Announcement → completion: Rev. 6:9–10 (affirmation of revenge of the blood of saints) → Rev. 19:5 (completion of judgment of the blood), Rev. 11:15–18 (preannouncement of end-time rewarding and judgment) → Rev. 19:1–8 (thanksgiving song for fulfillment of the judgment). For details, see Rev. 6:10; 19:2 / Ps. 79(78):5, 10 and Rev. 11:18; 19:5 / Ps. 22(21):24; 61(60):6; 115:13 (113:21).

¹¹² See n. 109. See also Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination*, 11, 278–79.

remembrance of the day on which Jerusalem was destroyed (τὴν ἡμέραν Ἰερουσαλημ, v. 7). The prayer is now answered in Rev. 16:17–18:24 in which Babylon the great is judged by God’s remembrance. This notion of the allusion in Rev. 18:6 to Ps. 137:8 can be advocated by the allusion in Rev. 6:10; 19:2 to Ps. 79(78):5, 10. The supplication of the blood of Yahweh’s servants in Ps. 79(78):10 is justified in Rev. 6:10 and 19:2.¹¹³ In light of both the textual and contextual linkage of Rev. 18:6 with the psalm, consequently, the allusion in Rev. 18:6 to Ps. 137(136):8 is plausible.

Assessment

The Jeremiah texts under discussion, though vividly associated with the Babylonian invasion, have not been found to be the focus of the allusion in Rev. 18:6. Textually Jer. 50:29 (27:29 LXX) does not correspond with Rev. 18:6. A reference to foreign nations in the Jeremiah text as Yahweh’s instrument for the judgment of Babylon is not convincing in the context of Rev. 18:6. Psalm 137:8 clearly portrays the judgment of vengeance against Babylon, fitting more closely with Rev. 18:6. Contextually, the double reference to God’s remembering of Babylon in Rev. 16:19 and 18:6 regarding her judgment is characteristic in the book. The peculiar expression of God’s remembering for the judgment of Babylon in the Revelation texts is likely connected with Ps. 137 as the psalmist requests Yahweh’s remembrance of the cruelties of the enemy.

As with the psalm, Rev. 18:4–8 may leave some room to question Yahweh’s agent of the judgment of Babylon. The ‘Christians’ (ὁ λαός μου) have been judged to be the ones in Rev. 18:4–8. The implication of Christians’ vengeful performance in God’s judgment does not necessarily contradict with God’s love in the NT. Rather, it is in the book of Revelation an eschatological expectation of God’s people in suffering, the expectation of such judgment, which was traditionally expressed in the Psalms by the oppressed against their enemy.

By alluding in Rev. 18:6 to Ps. 137:8, the book of Revelation consistently unveils that the petitionary prayer (Ps. 137:7–9) of God’s people under the evil power/Babylon is to be answered (Rev. 18:8, 20). In light of the reference to the wording אֲשֶׁרִי שִׁשְׁלֶמְלֶךְ / μακάριος ὅς ἀνταποδώσει σοι (‘Blessed is one who repays you’) in Ps. 137(136):8 and the implication of Christian’s enforcement of the judgment in Rev. 18:4–8, this allusion imparts that the judgment/destruction of the worldly power is a real reward to the Christian community, i.e., an eschatological deliverance of God’s people.¹¹⁴

¹¹³ For details, see Rev. 6:10; 19:2 / Ps. 79:5, 10.

¹¹⁴ The term אֲשֶׁרִי in Ps. 137:8 is used for the ‘formal introduction of a blessing’ (*HALOT*. Cf. Walther Zimmerli, ‘Zur Struktur der alttestamentlichen Weisheit,’ *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 51, no. 1 (1933): 177–204.) See also Rev. 11:18; 19:5 / Ps. 22(21):24; 61(60):6, 115:13 (113:21).

5.8 Summary

The present chapter has examined seven cases of probable allusions. Five find an association with the worshipping texts of God or Jesus/Christ in Revelation.

Rev. 1:5b / Ps. 130:8

Rev. 5:8 / Ps. 141:2

Rev. 7:12 [19:1] / Ps. 96:2–9

Rev. 11:15 [19:16] / Ps. 22:28–29

Rev. 11:18 [19:5] / Pss. 22:24; 61:6; 115:13

Revelation 1:5b acclaims Jesus for redeeming people from their sin by his blood, stressing his messianic work of salvation. Revelation 5:8 spiritualized an incense-offering to the Lamb with the prayers of the saints, which brings in God's judgment. The psalmic praising words are combined in Rev. 7:12 and 19:1 to extol God. Revelation 11:15 and 19:16 declare Christ's kingship over all. With a phrase *οἱ μικροὶ καὶ οἱ μεγάλοι*, Rev. 11:18 and 19:5 applaud the completeness of God's salvific work. In that Rev. 1:5b and Rev. 11:15 [19:16] specify the work/status of Christ, the psalmic texts in the Revelation texts furnish the Christology of Revelation.

Revelation 3:5 is a strong exhortation of the church in Sardis to repent lest one's name should be blotted out of the book of life. Revelation 18:6 betrays a distinctive feature of an eschatological judgment as retributive.

These seven probable allusions in Revelation to the Psalms express the worship of God and Christ, highlighting the final judgment and Jesus as the Messiah.

Chapter 6

Possible allusions

'Possible allusions' in this chapter mean that textual affinity and contextual affinity are both less clear.

6.1 Rev. 4:2 [4:9, 10; 5:1, 7, 13; 6:16; 7:10, 15; 19:4; 20:11; 21:5] / Pss. 9:5, 8; 47(46):9; 103(102):19

As the main body of the book of Revelation, Rev. 1:9–22:5 is composed of various visions, excepting chapters 2–3, the letters to the seven churches. While Rev. 1:9–20 is an introductory vision (of a son of man) to the letters to the seven churches,¹ Rev. 4–5 is an introductory vision to the rest of the visions of three septet plagues and the New Jerusalem in Rev. 6:1–22:5. The vision of the heavenly throne in Rev. 4–5 contains the very scenes of praise for God and the Lamb. As has been repeatedly pointed out in the thesis, it is John's compositional pattern in the book of Revelation to follow ritual ceremony (praise or prayer) to God/the Lamb by judgments.² Revelation 4 has praise only to God while in Rev. 5 the Lamb is worshipped together with God. Christopher Rowland claims that Rev. 4 is 'incidental' in the book on account of there being no explicit indication of John's Christian influence.³ Hurtado disagrees with Rowland by saying, 'The writer gives the readers this unified vision (the whole of Rev. 4–5) of the heavenly "logic" that will serve to explain the rest and will show that their cause is God's.'⁴

God, in Rev. 4:2, is designated as 'one who sits on the throne' (ἐπὶ τὸν θρόνον καθήμενος). The word, θρόνος, occurs 47 times in the book of Revelation out of 62 times in the NT. John seems to have characteristically employed it in his writing. In Rev. 4:4 the twenty four elders are seated on their own thrones and Rev. 20:4 portrays the overcomers sitting on heavenly thrones to judge and reign with Christ. Throughout the book, the term, 'throne,' however, is mostly used in connection with God. Apart from the Revelation texts in question, in which 'one who sits on the throne' indicates God, Rev. 7:10 and 19:4 contain a direct appellation, '(to) God who sits on the

¹ Revelation 1:9–20 is viewed as either part of prologue of Rev. 1:1–20 (Beale, *The book of Revelation*; Kiddle, *The Revelation of St. John*) or part of a unit of Rev. 1:9–3:22 (Aune, *Revelation 1-5*; Beckwith, *The Apocalypse of John*).

² For details, see Rev. 15:3b–4 / Ps. 86:8–11.

³ Christopher Rowland, 'The Visions of God in Apocalyptic Literature,' *Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Period* 10, no. 2 (D 1979): 150.

⁴ Larry W. Hurtado, 'Revelation 4-5 in the Light of Jewish Apocalyptic Analogies,' *Journal for the Study of the New Testament*, no. 25 (1985): 118.

throne' (τῷ θεῷ ἡμῶν τῷ καθημένῳ ἐπὶ τῷ θρόνῳ). The Lamb is never designated as 'one who sits on the throne' (see 4:10–11; 5:1, 13, etc.).⁵ The phrase, 'one who sits on the throne' is exclusively treated as a circumlocution for God in the vision section of Rev. 1:9–22:5.⁶ In the book of Revelation, as mentioned, the twenty-four elders (4:4) and the redeemed (20:4) are depicted as sitting on their own thrones. From ancient times, such an expression has idiomatically denoted kingship/king's sovereignty. The ancient Near Eastern texts delineate the gods' kingly reign/dominion with the expression of 'sitting on a throne,' in particular prominently symbolizing the king/gods as judge.⁷ It is not surprising, thus, that in the Hebrew Bible/other Jewish literature the phrase 'sitting on a throne' frequently occurs in connection with a king or Yahweh since the ancient Israelite kingship was influenced by the regime and practices of her neighboring nations (1 Sam. 8:5).⁸ Among the scriptural texts referring to Yahweh's throne, Pss. 9:5, 8; 47:9; 103:19 (cf. 122:5) and Dan. 7:9 employ such a phrase to announce Yahweh's kingly reign and judgment.⁹ In the book of Revelation, God's kingly reign and eschatological judgment underlies the main visions of Rev. 4:1–22:5. The phrase 'one who sits on the throne' in Rev. 4:2 is, as a starting point of the visions, descriptive, declarative of God and his sovereignty, who causes the final judgments of Rev. 6.1–22:5. The allusion in Rev. 4:2 to Ps. 9:5, 8; 47:9; 103:19 is to be examined.

⁵ Cf. 'one like a son of man' sitting on the cloud (Rev. 14:14, ἐπὶ τὴν νεφέλην καθήμενον ὅμοιον υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου); 'one sitting on the white horse' (the messianic figure) (Rev. 19:11, ἵππος λευκὸς καὶ ὁ καθήμενος ἐπ' αὐτόν).

⁶ Aune, *Revelation 1-5*, 284.

⁷ See Gary V. Smith, 'The Concept of God/the Gods as King in the Ancient Near East and the Bible,' *Trinity Journal* 3, no. 1 (Spr 1982): 18–37.

⁸ 'King' - Exod. 11:5; 12:29; 1–2 Kings; 1–2 Chron.; Est. 5:1; Ps. 132:12; Jer. 13:13; 17:25; 22:2, 4, 30; Zech. 6:13; 11Q19 col. 59; etc. 'Yahweh (divine epithet)' - 1 Kings 22:19 (2 Chron. 18:18); Isa. 6:1; 66:1; Pss. 9:5, 8; 47:9; 103:19; Ezek. 1:26–28; Dan. 7:9; *Sir.* 1:8; *Apoc. Mos.* 37:4; 39:3. See also L. E. Toombs, 'Throne,' in *IDB*, ed. George Arthur Buttrick, *Bibles* (New York: Abingdon P, 1962). Cf. Aune, *Revelation 1-5*, 284–85. He pointed out that the wordings ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ as a divine epithet frequently occurs in Greco-Roman magical formulas in the magical papyri.

⁹ Mowinckel strongly argued for the interrelationship between the Israelite psalmography and that of the rest of ANE, saying, "...there was a constant cultural intercourse; in fact we are justified in speaking of a common old oriental culture, comprising the material as well as the ideological, the religious as well as the literary aspects of life, and going back originally to the ancient Sumerian culture. Israel, too, absorbed this common oriental culture... So we can hardly doubt that it was through the Canaanites that the Israelites got to know the common oriental psalmography with its ideas and mode of expression, and so received an impulse from without to furnish the cult of Yahweh in a like manner.' (*The Psalms in Israel's Worship*, vol. 1, 176–192). If this is true, the expressions of Yahweh's kingship in Pss. 9:5, 8; 47:9; 103:19; 122:5 seems to have reflected the concept of the ANE kingship (see, Smith, 'The Concept of God/the Gods as King in the Ancient Near East and the Bible,' 18–37).

Pss. 9:5, 8; 47:9; 103:19 MT	Pss. 9:5, 8; 46:9; 102:19 LXX	Rev. 4:2
(9:5, 8) ... יִשְׁבֵת לְכֹסֵא שׁוֹפֵט צַדִּיק וְיִהְיֶה לְעוֹלָם יֹשֵׁב כּוֹנֵן לְמִשְׁפַּט כֹּסֵא	(9:5, 8) ἐκάθισας ἐπὶ θρόνου ὁ κρῖνων δικαιοσύνην... ὁ κύριος εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα μένει ἡτοίμασεν ἐν κρίσει τὸν θρόνον αὐτοῦ	θρόνος ἔκειτο ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν θρόνον καθήμενος
(47:9; 103:19) אֱלֹהִים יֹשֵׁב עַל־כֹּסֵא קְדֹשׁ יְהוָה בְּשָׁמַיִם הַכִּיָּן כֹּסֵא	(46:9; 102:19) ὁ θεὸς κάθεται ἐπὶ θρόνου ἁγίου αὐτοῦ κύριος ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ἡτοίμασεν τὸν θρόνον αὐτοῦ	

The phrases in Rev. 4:2, *θρόνος ἔκειτο ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ* ('a throne was set in heaven'), *ἐπὶ τὸν θρόνον καθήμενος* ('one sitting on the throne') are seen in LXX Psalms 9:5, 8; 47(46):9; 103(102):19. Although not lexically identical to each other as Rev. 4:2 uses *κεῖμαι* ('set')/*κάθηναι* ('sit') while the psalms have *ἐτοιμάζω* ('prepare,' 9:8; 102:19)/*καθίζω* (9:5), *κάθηναι* (46:9), their semantic expressions are almost equivalent. Given John's allusion in Rev. 4:2 to the psalms, still, the use of the term *κεῖμαι* in lieu of *ἐτοιμάζω* or *τίθημι* is a bit puzzling because the Hebrew verb *יָוַן* in Ps. 9:8 and 103:19 is translated in the OG/LXX mostly into *ἐτοιμάζω*, twice into *τίθημι*, and never with *κεῖμαι*.¹⁰ In consideration of the use of the word, *κάθηναι* in Rev. 4:2, Ps. 46:9 can be deemed as closer to Rev. 4:2 since the psalm has *κάθηναι*.¹¹ The frequency with which the two words *καθίζω* and *κάθηναι* are used in the OG/LXX is similar (229, 206 times). In the NT, however, the term *κάθηναι* occurs twice as often as *καθίζω* (91, 46 times). Even in the book of Revelation, the word *καθίζω* is present only twice in Rev. 3:21; 20:4 while the word *κάθηναι* is dominantly used (33 times). John seems to have had a tendency to draw on the verb *κάθηναι* or he possibly derived it merely from *יָוַן* in Psalms 9:5, 8; 47:9. Apart from the psalms in question, some other scriptural texts also include similar wordings to Rev. 4:2, e.g., 1 Kings 22:19 (2 Chron. 18:18); Isa. 6:1 (cf. 66:1); Ezek. 1:26; Dan. 7:9. As pointed out, the expression, 'sitting on the throne' is found here and there from the ancient Near Eastern mythologies to the Greco-Roman texts;¹² the phrase, 'a throne stood in heaven' (*θρόνος ἔκειτο ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ*) in Rev. 4:2 is seen in *Cebetis Tabula 5.1*. Textual

¹⁰ The verb *κεῖμαι* has a relatively low frequency in the NT when compared with *ἐτοιμάζω* and *τίθημι*.

¹¹ See Moyise, 'The Psalms in the Book of Revelation,' 243.

¹² E.g., Herodotus, *Hist.* 1, 14, 3; Xenophon, *Cyr.* 6, 1, 6; Herodianus Historicus, *Ab excessu divi Marci* 1, 8, 4; Sophocles, *Ant.* 1041.

affinities between Rev. 4:2 and Ps. 9:5, 8; 47:9; 103:19, hence, cannot exclusively support the allusion.

Rev. 4:1–22:5 comprises mainly a heavenly vision since Rev. 4:1 says, ‘Behold, a door standing open in heaven! ... Come up here, and I will show you...’ (ἰδοὺ θύρα ἠνεωγμένη ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ... ἀνάβα ὧδε, καὶ δείξω σοι). Considering such a literary setting of the heavenly vision of Rev. 4:1–22:5, Ezek. 1:26 and Dan. 7:9 appear to be closer to Rev. 4:2. Ezekiel 1:1 clearly indicates what the prophet Ezekiel sees are heavenly visions (‘the heavens were opened and I saw visions of God,’ נפתחו השמים ואראה מראות אלהים). The four living creatures are adopted in the book of Revelation from Ezekiel 1 as they repeatedly occur in the visions of Revelation.¹³ The placement of the four living creatures around the throne in Rev. 4 is also similar to Ezekiel 1. The phrase, ‘seated above the likeness of a throne was a likeness with a human appearance’ (ועל דמות הכסא דמות כמראה אדם עליו מלמעלה) in Ezek. 1:26, though not having verbatim equivalence to Rev. 4:2, ‘a throne stood in heaven’ (θρόνος ἔκειτο ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ) and ‘one sitting on the throne’ (ἐπὶ τὸν θρόνον καθήμενος), shows some textual relation with the Revelation text. Some commentators in this respect argue for Ezekiel 1:26 as the allusion in Rev. 4:2–3.¹⁴ Suggesting Ezekiel 1 and Daniel 7 as primary background texts for Rev. 4:2 on the basis of the similar order of the four living creatures in Rev. 4, Beale specifically thinks of Dan. 7:9 as the allusion in Rev. 4:2.¹⁵ In Dan. 7:9 (Theod.) ‘thrones were set in place, and the Ancient of Days took his seat’ (ἐθεώρουν ἕως ὅτου θρόνοι ἐτέθησαν καὶ παλαιὸς ἡμερῶν ἐκάθητο) and in Rev. 4:2, ‘thrones are set up,’ and there is ‘one sitting on the throne.’ The close proximity between ‘what must take place after this’ (ἃ δεῖ γενέσθαι μετὰ ταῦτα) in Rev. 4:1 and ‘what must happen hereafter’ (ἃ δεῖ γενέσθαι μετὰ ταῦτα) in Dan. 2:28–29, 45 corroborates his argument for the dependence of Rev. 4:2 on Dan. 7.¹⁶ In addition, in each context of Ezekiel 1–3 and Daniel 7, the heavenly throne in Ezek. 1:26 and Dan. 7:9 is followed by a ‘son of man/one like a son of man’ and a ‘scroll’ pertaining to the final judgment (Ezek. 2:9–3:3; Dan. 7:10). Such contextual variables as heavenly throne, son of man,

¹³ Swete, *The Apocalypse of St. John*; Morris, *The Revelation of St. John*; Mounce, *The Book of Revelation*; Ford, *Revelation*; Harrington, *Revelation*.

¹⁴ Caird, *A Commentary on the Revelation of St. John the Divine*; Beckwith, *The Apocalypse of John*; Kiddle, *The Revelation of St. John*; Beale, *The Book of Revelation*.

¹⁵ Beale, *The Book of Revelation*, 320. Rev. 4:7 – like a ‘lion’ – like an ‘ox’ – like a ‘man’ – like a flying ‘eagle’; Dan. 7:4–6 – like a ‘lion’ with the wings of an eagle – like a ‘bear’ – like a ‘leopard’ – terrifying and frightening and very powerful one with large iron teeth; Ezek. 1:10 – a ‘man’ – a ‘lion’ – an ‘ox’ – an ‘eagle.’ Revelation 4:2 uses the verb κείμεαι, instead of τίθημι, which is found in Dan. 7:9. If John primarily read the Daniel text, the verb τίθημι could have been chosen in Rev. 4:2 as it was extensively used in the Hebrew Bible and the NT.

¹⁶ Ibid., 152–70. Discussing the significance of the phrase, μετὰ ταῦτα in Rev. 1:19 in the book of Revelation, Beale sees that its similar wordings in Dan. 2:28–29, 45 are connected to Rev. 1:1; 4:2; 22:6.

scroll, etc., are evinced in the heavenly vision of Rev. 4–5, thus showing a strong relationship between Ezek. 1 and Dan. 7 and Rev. 4–5.

Table 6.1 Heavenly visions in Ezek. 1, Dan. 7 and Rev. 4–5

	Revelation 4–5	Ezekiel 1–3	Daniel 7
Heavenly throne	throne (4:2)	likeness of throne (1:26)	throne (7:9)
God	one sitting on the throne (4:2)	a figure like that of a man (1:26)	the Ancient of Days (7:9)
Four living creatures	lion – ox – man – eagle (4:7)	man – lion – ox – eagle (1:10)	lion – bear – leopard – fourth one (7:4–6)
Scroll	scroll (5:1)	scroll (2:9)	scroll (7:10)
Son of man	a Lamb (5:6)	Son of man (2:1)	one like a son of man (7:13)

The Psalm texts in question do not immediately display heavenly visions as in Ezekiel 1–3 and Daniel 7. In terms of Yahweh’s universal reign and sovereignty, however, it is worth noting that the expressions/languages/concepts in the book of Psalms have influenced Jewish apocalyptic writings to some degree,¹⁷ and that the NT writers understood the Psalms as functioning as prophecy.¹⁸ The notion that heaven is God’s throne/dwelling place is pervasive throughout Judaism, and coheres with the expression, ‘a throne stood in heaven’ (θρόνος ἔκειτο ἐν τοῖς οὐρανῶν) in Rev. 4:2. Granted this general Jewish idea of heaven, the recognition that God’s throne is in heaven is frequently found in the Psalms.¹⁹

In light of the fact that Rev. 4–5 is, as a whole, praise to the one who sits on the throne and the Lamb, the relationship between Pss. 9:5, 8; 47:9; 103:19 and Rev. 4:2 is plausible.²⁰ The phrase, ‘one who sits on the throne’ occurs 13 times designating God in the book of Revelation, in 9 occurrences the one is referred to as being praised (4:2, 3, 9, 10; 5:1, 7, 13; 6:16; 7:10, 15; 19:4; 20:11; 21:5). Of these 9 occurrences, 7 are found in Rev. 4–5 and the phrase, ‘one who sits on the throne’ in Rev. 4:2 possibly relates to the psalms in which Yahweh, who sits on the throne, reigns, and judges, is praised. Psalms 9 and 103 are thanksgiving songs for salvation (9:1, 14, 19; 103:3–4); Ps. 47 praises Yahweh as the king of all the earth and his reign (47:2, 6, 7). The praise for Yahweh’s salvation and kingly reign is clearly manifested in Rev. 4–5. In particular, in Ps. 103:20–

¹⁷ See Russell, *The Method & Message of Jewish Apocalyptic, 200 BC - AD 100*, 123–39. Paul D. Hanson, *The Dawn of Apocalyptic*, Rev. ed. (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1979), 305–309.

¹⁸ Subramanian, *The Synoptic Gospels and the Psalms as Prophecy*.

¹⁹ Psalms 2:4; 14:2; 18:14; 20:7; 33:13; 53:3; 57:4; 76:8; 80:14; 102:20; 103:19; 115:3; 123:1; 136:26. Cf. Isa 66:1 – ‘Heaven is my throne’ (יְשֵׁב עַל־כִּסֵּאִי); 1 Kings 22:19 (2 Chron. 18:18) – (יְשֵׁב עַל־כִּסֵּאֵי יְהוָה, θεὸν Ἰσραηλ καθήμενον ἐπὶ θρόνου αὐτοῦ); Dan. 7:9 (θρόνοι ἐπέθησαν).

²⁰ Cf. Isa. 6:1. Fekkes notes the allusion in Rev. 4:8 to Isa. 6:2–3 (*Isaiah and Prophetic Traditions in the Book of Revelation*, 143).

22 the psalmist calls on angels (ברכו יהוה מלאכיו), heavenly hosts (ברכו יהוה כל־צבאיו) and all the creatures (ברכו יהוה כל־מעשיו) to praise Yahweh. This call in the psalms is seemingly responded to by Rev. 4–5 as the Revelation texts involve praises of the twenty-four elders, four living creatures, many angels, and all the creatures.

Besides, as mentioned earlier, the praise to ‘one who sits on the throne’ in Rev. 4–5 is structurally linked with heavenly visions of God’s judgment in Rev. 6–22. Considering John’s consistent compositional pattern in which a ritual scene precedes God’s judgment, the praise to the ‘one who sits on the throne’ in Rev. 4–5 underscores God’s coming eschatological reign, the final judgment in the rest of the book. In Psalm 9 Yahweh’s sitting on the throne is for his judgment as vv. 5, 9 say, ‘you have sat on the throne, giving righteous judgment’ (ישבת לכסא שופט צדק), ‘he judges the peoples with uprightness’ (ידין לאמים במישרים). Moreover, in the psalm the conflict between the righteous and the wicked is distinctive; the righteous are saved and the wicked are judged. The wicked being judged are designated as ‘the nations’ in Ps. 9:6; in the book of Revelation the ‘nations’ are distinctively indicated as the object of God’s eschatological judgment (11:18; 14:8; 16:19; 17:15; 18:3, 23, etc.). Psalm 47:3, 7–9 declares that Yahweh is the king of all the earth, i.e., Yahweh’s sitting on the throne in v. 9 points to his kingly reign over peoples (v. 4), all the earth (vv. 8, 10) and nations (vv. 4, 9, 10). In Ps. 103:19 Yahweh’s throne in heaven stands for his rule over all and in v. 6 Yahweh’s righteous deeds (עשה צדקות יהוה) indicates his judgment for all who are oppressed (ומשפטים לכל־עשוקים). In the book of Psalms, in fact, most of the psalms referring to Yahweh’s throne connect the throne to Yahweh’s reign and his judgment of the nations (Pss. 9, 11, 45, 47, 89, 93, 94, 97, 103, 122). This understanding of Yahweh’s sitting on the throne in Pss. 9, 47, 103 fits with the perception of the throne and one sitting on the throne in the book of Revelation. In light of this coherence, the allusion in Rev. 4:2 to the psalms in question seems conceivable.

Elsewhere in the NT, Matt. 23:22 portrays God as ‘one who sits on the throne’ when it says, ‘whoever swears by heaven swears by the throne of God and by him who sits upon it’ (ὁ ὁμῶσας ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ὁμνύει ἐν τῷ θρόνῳ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἐν τῷ καθημένῳ ἐπάνω αὐτοῦ). This implies that early Christianity received a long-standing Jewish tradition that heaven is God’s throne and God is designated as the ‘one who sits on the throne.’ In early Christian writings (including the NT), the ‘Son of man’ sits on his throne and the Twelve Disciples sit on their own thrones and judge the nations.²¹ However, the phrase, ‘one who sits on the throne’ only applies to God (Matt.

²¹ E.g., *the Assumption of the Virgin*, Greek Narrative 38 and *the Narrative of Pseudo-Melito* 16:2 (J. K. Elliott, *The Apocryphal New Testament: A collection of Apocryphal Christian Literature in an English Translation* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 706, 713.

19:28; 25:31; Mark 10:37; Luke 22:30; cf. Rev. 20:4; 22:1). The NT writers probably recognized ‘one sitting on the throne’ as an exclusive circumlocution of God. In the book of Revelation, John prominently draws on the phrase ‘one sitting on the throne,’ highlighting God who is praised and judges all the nations, which possibly alludes to Pss. 9:5, 8; 47:9; 103:19.

Assessment

The wording, ‘sitting on the throne,’ has been a typical expression for any king or governor from ancient times. In early Christianity, the expression was broadly used for a messianic figure (Christ, Son of man), even for Jesus’ disciples. When it comes to the ‘one who sits on the throne,’ however, it only applies to God. The heavenly vision in Rev. 4–5 reflects a general Jewish notion of God in heaven and that his throne is in heaven is characteristic of ancient Jewish religion.²² Similar wordings to Rev. 4:2, ‘thrones are set up,’ ‘one sitting on the throne,’ are frequently found in the Hebrew Bible—e.g., 1 Kings 22:19 (2 Chron. 18:18); Isa. 6:1 (cf. 66:1); Ezek. 1:26; Dan. 7:9; many psalms. Psalms 9:5, 8; 47:9; 103:19 have been considered as possible allusions in Rev. 4:2. In the book of Revelation, the phrase, ‘one who sits on the throne’ exclusively indicates God as King who reigns and judges over all the earth. In Rev. 4–5, in particular, the ‘one who sits on the throne’ is praised for the salvation of his people and the judgment of all the earth. The psalms in question all praise Yahweh for his kingly reign/judgment of the world and in their literary context that reign/judgment is rendered as eschatological. Compared to other scriptural texts, therefore, the Psalm texts are closer to Rev. 4:2. Perhaps John employed these expressions from the Psalms to point to God’s eschatological, kingly reign and judgment of all the nations, especially in Rev. 4–5 highlighting God’s being praised for his reign.

6.2 Rev. 5:13a / Ps. 96:11–12 (98:7–8)

As mentioned in the discussion of Rev. 4:2 / Pss. 9:5, 8; 47:9; 103:19, chapters 4–5 of Revelation, which contain praises for the one who sits on the throne and the Lamb, function as the opening to the heavenly visions across Rev. 4–22. Revelation 5, though, contains some differences in content to Rev. 4. The ‘one sitting on the throne’ holds a scroll sealed with seven seals (5:1). The Lamb who is worthy to open the scroll takes it from the one who sits on the throne (5:7). A major difference is that both the ‘one who sits on the throne’ and the Lamb are worshipped. More specifically, the ‘one who sits on the throne’ in Rev. 4 is praised by the four creatures and the twenty-four elders while in Rev. 5 three heavenly groups sing to the ‘one who sits on the throne’

²² Larry W. Hurtado, ‘Revelation 4-5 in the Light of Jewish Apocalyptic Analogies,’ 106.

and the Lamb and the size of that heavenly group seems to gradually enlarge—four living creatures, vv. 8–10; many angels, vv. 11–12; every creature, v. 13.

Revelation 5:13 depicts the praise of every creature to the ‘one who sits on the throne.’ In light of the fact that the twenty four elders in Rev. 4:10–11 sing to the ‘one who sits on the throne’ for his creation of all things, Rev. 5:13a can be viewed as a parallel with Rev. 4:10–11 as the term *κτίσμα* indicates a ‘created being by God.’ These two praises in Rev. 4:10–11 and 5:13 alike are to imply the ‘one who sits on the throne’ as Creator. Elsewhere in the book of Revelation, Rev. 10:6 and 14:7 have similar wordings to ‘every creature in heaven and on earth and under the earth and in the sea, and all that is in them’ (...ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ ὑποκάτω τῆς γῆς καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς...) (Rev. 5:13a), saying that God creates the ‘heaven and what is in it, the earth and what is in it, the sea and what is in it’ (Rev. 10:6; 14:7). While Rev. 5:13 has no explicit mention of God as Creator, Rev. 10:6 and 14:7 immediately refer to God as Creator. Revelation 10:6 and 14:7 will be discussed later (see Rev. 10:6; 14:7 / Ps. 146:6).

The expression in Rev. 5:13a, ‘heaven, earth and under the earth, and the sea,’ is a typical understanding of the ancient Hebrews’ conception of the whole created world.²³ Stadelmann says,

The whole vision of the world and of physical phenomena is colored by the ancient Hebrews’ conviction that God is creator and preserver of the natural order. Hence, God is the pivotal point of the Hebrews’ universe, and to this fact the biblical authors submitted their understanding of the structure and purpose of the world.²⁴

It is assumed that the expression ‘every creature in heaven and on earth and under the earth and in the sea, and all that is in them’ in Rev. 5:13a accentuates God’s creation, reflecting such a Jewish notion in general, and now ‘every creature’ praises God. Many scriptural texts include similar phrases to that in Rev. 5:13a. For example, Gen. 1:26, 28; Exod. 20:11; Neh. 9:6; Ps. 146:6; Amos 9:6 specify God’s creation while 1 Chron. 16:31–32; Pss. 69:35; 96:11–12; 98:7–8; Isa. 34:1 suggest all created things with similar phrases, though not indicating directly God’s creative act. Containing an ascription of praise from every creature to God, Pss. 69:35, 96:11–12 and 98:7–8 (1 Chron. 16:31–32) can be judged as closer to Rev. 5:13 than other texts. Psalm 96:11–12 (98:7–8) is possibly best considered as allusion in Rev. 5:13 as this text is linked to Yahweh’s judgment.

²³ See Luis I. J. Stadelmann, *The Hebrew Conception of the World: A Philological and Literary Study*, Analecta Biblica 39 (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1970).

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 177.

Ps. 96:11–12 [98:7–8] MT	Ps. 95:11–12 [97:7–8] LXX	Rev. 5:13a
ישמחו השמים ותגל הארץ ירעם הים ומלאו יעלזו שדי וכל־אשר־בו	εὐφραινέσθωσαν οἱ οὐρανοί καὶ ἀγαλλιέσθω ἡ γῆ σαλευθήτω ἡ θάλασσα καὶ τὸ πλήρωμα αὐτῆς χαρήσεται τὰ πεδία καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς	πᾶν κτίσμα ὃ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ ὑποκάτω τῆς γῆς καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς πάντα

Beale sees in Rev. 5:13a a collective reflection of Exod. 20:11; Ps. 146:6; and Neh. 9:6, in which ‘God is praised as Creator of his manifold creation and as the king of Israel, who has delivered his people from bondage.’²⁵ He does not refer to Pss. 96 and 98, presumably for the absence of an immediate expression of God as Creator in these psalms. No textual indication to God as Creator in the psalms, however, would be rather supportive for the allusion in Rev. 5:13. The Revelation text does not indicate ‘one who sits on the throne’ as Creator. The expression πᾶν κτίσμα ὃ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ ὑποκάτω τῆς γῆς καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς πάντα in Rev. 5:13a merely describes all the created universe, having no relationship with the depiction of the ‘one who sits on the throne.’ Exodus 20:11; Ps. 146:6 and Neh. 9:6 all evince Yahweh as Creator. Psalms 96:11–12 and 98:7–8, by contrast, do not verbally mention Yahweh’s creation. Instead, they merely list all the creatures, which does suggest Yahweh as Creator. Thus Rev. 5:13 textually relates to Pss. 96:11–12 and 98:7–8 more closely.

The literary structures of Psalm 96 and 98 are well matched to the context of Rev. 5:13. The psalms begin with Yahweh’s salvation of his people (96:1–3; 98:1–3). Psalm 96:4–9 represents Yahweh’s reign over the nations and in vv. 10–13 Yahweh is depicted as coming to judge. This contextual flow is also true in Ps. 98. Following the declaration of Yahweh’s salvation of Israel in 98:1–5, v. 6 designates Yahweh as the King. The psalm ends with Yahweh’s judgment in righteousness just as Psalm 96 does. The literary contexts of the two psalms include a thanksgiving for salvation, Yahweh’s kingly reign, and his final judgment. Psalms 96:11–12 and 98:7–8 consist of praise for Yahweh’s kingly reign. The literary function of Rev. 5:13 in its context is similar to that of Ps. 96:11–12 and 98:7–8. Revelation 5:8–12 contains two thanksgiving songs to the Lamb for his salvific action. In the following song of Rev. 5:13, every creature praises ‘one who sits on the throne’ and the Lamb, suggesting the sovereign reign of God and the Lamb over all the world.

²⁵ Beale, *The Book of Revelation*, 366.

As pointed out earlier, the praise scenes in Rev. 4–5 proceed the subsequent final judgment of Rev. 6:1–22:5. Just as Psalms 96 and 98 declare thanksgiving for salvation, praise for Yahweh’s reign of all nations and his coming to judge, the context of Rev. 5:13 is composed of thanksgiving for salvation, praise of every creature and the final judgment. Such contextual similarity supports the allusion in Rev. 5:13 to Pss. 96:11–12 and 98:7–8. In addition, the words, *εὐλογία, τιμή, δόξα, κράτος* in Rev. 5:13b are characteristic expressions often used for praise to one sitting on the throne and the Lamb in the book of Revelation (1:6; 4:9, 11; 5:12, 13; 7:12; 15:8; 19:1; 21:26). Psalm 96(95 LXX) contains such expressions for praising Yahweh: *εὐλογέω* (v. 2), *δόξα* (v. 3, 8), *δόξα και τιμή* (v. 7).²⁶

In this thesis, Psalms 96 and 98 are discussed for several allusive cases in the book of Revelation, such as, Rev. 5:8–9; 14:2–3 / Pss. 33(32):2–3; 98(97):1, 5; 144(143):9; 149:1, 3, Rev. 19:11 / Ps. 96:13 (98:9) and Rev. 7:10–12 / Ps. 96. It is possible, therefore, that those two psalms were specifically used in John’s writing, which in turn supports the presence of an allusion in Rev. 5:13a to Ps. 96:11–12 (98:7–8).

Assessment

Three Revelation texts, 5:13; 10:6; 14:7, have similar expressions. Revelation 5:13 is followed by the seven seals (ch. 6); Rev. 10:6 precedes the seventh trumpet (‘There will be no more delay!’); Rev. 14:7 immediately proclaims that the time of the judgment has come (*ὅτι ἦλθεν ἡ ὥρα τῆς κρίσεως αὐτοῦ*). John appears to have used such an expression, ‘every creature in heaven and on earth and under the earth and in the sea, and all that is in them,’ to announce God’s final judgment to come, and to emphasize his judgment of all the created order.

Different from Rev. 10:6 and 14:7, Rev. 5:13 depicts the praise of every creature to the ‘one who sits on the throne’ and the Lamb, while Rev. 10:6 and 14:7 merely refer to God’s creation. The verbal expression in question is widespread in Jewish literature, mainly in relation to God’s creation. Psalms 96:11–12 and 98:7–8 have the heavens, the earth, the sea and every creature in it praise Yahweh who comes to judge the world. The praising phraseology, ‘Be blessing, honor, glory and power’ in Rev. 5:13b, used elsewhere for praise to God in the book of Revelation (4:9, 11; 5:12, 13; 7:12; 19:1), is also found in Ps. 96 (for more details, see Rev. 7:10–12 / Ps. 96). In this regard, Psalm 96:11–12 has more relevance to Rev. 5:13a. It is possible, though, that the song in 1 Chron. 16:23–36, irrespective of its collection into the Psalmody, could have been employed in the Jewish/early Christian service. If this is true, Rev. 5:13a might be alluding to 1 Chron. 16:31–32

²⁶ For details, see Rev. 7:10–12 / Ps. 96.

rather than Ps. 96:11–12 (98:7–8). There is, however, a difference between 1 Chron. 16:7–36 and Ps. 96 (98). First Chronicles 16 does not mention Yahweh's judgment while both psalms clearly end with reference to his judgment. Insofar as the song of Rev. 5:9–13 is a prelude to the subsequent judgment of the seven seals, Rev. 5:13a well reflects Pss. 96 and 98.

Psalm 96:11–12 (98:7–8) calls every creature to praise Yahweh who saves his people (96:2–3; 98:1–3) and comes to judge all the nations (96:13; 98:9). In Rev. 5:13 every creature praises the 'one who sits on the throne' and the Lamb, who reign over all the nations by redeeming his people (Rev. 5:9) and judging the nations (Rev. 6:1-22:5). Revelation 5:13a is a possible allusion to Ps. 96:11–12 (98:7–8) and, understood as such, reads it as prophecy-fulfillment.

6.3 Rev. 8:3–4 / Ps. 141(140):2

As has been discussed, liturgical texts played an important role in the composition of the book of Revelation.²⁷ The ritual scenes consistently precede each of the seven judgmental plagues.²⁸ In Revelation, most of the rituals are relevant to praise and its liturgical ceremonies are illustrated in praising scenes (4:8–11; 5:8–14; 7:10–12; 11:15–18; 15:2–4; 19:1–6). By contrast, the prayer scenes in liturgical texts are relatively limited in the book, e.g., Rev. 6:9–11; Rev. 8:3–5.²⁹ Revelation 6:9–11 is the prayer of the souls who had been slain and with reference to an altar it suggests itself as part of a ritual ceremony in the temple. It is in Rev. 8:3–5 that prayer is coupled with incense to illustrate a sacrificial offering.

Two other related allusions to the present case of Rev. 8:3–4 / Ps. 141(140):2 have been discussed in this thesis: Rev. 8:3–5 / Ps. 18:6–15 and Rev. 5:8 / Ps. 141(140):2. In Rev. 8:3–5 / Ps. 18:6–15, a literary pattern has been noted that the prayer of the saints ushers in God's final judgment. This pattern is repeated elsewhere in the book of Revelation (e.g., Rev. 5:8; 6:9–11).³⁰ In view of the fact that prayer is immediately applied as an incense-offering in Psalm 141(140):2, this text has been considered as the allusion in Rev. 5:8.³¹ Differently from Rev. 5:8, Rev. 8:3–4 does not compare the 'prayer of the saints' to 'incense.' The case of Rev. 8:3–4 / Ps. 141(140):2 is to examine its allusion in terms of liturgical ceremonies. In other words, Rev. 8:3–4 is a unique scene in the book to depict a prayer ritual in association with an incense-offering. In that Ps. 141:2

²⁷ See Rev. 5:8–9; 14:2–3 / Pss. 33(32):2–3; 98(97):1, 5; 144(143):9; 149:1, 3; Rev. 8:3–5 / Ps. 18(17):7–16; Rev. 11:15, 18 / Ps. 2:1–2, 5; Rev. 15:3b–4 / Ps. 86(85):8–11

²⁸ See Rev. 15:3b–4 / Ps. 86(85):8–11.

²⁹ Revelation 5:8 refers to incense as the 'prayers of the saints' but it is not the scene of prayer by definition. Only Rev. 5:8–14 as a whole show itself liturgy. Cf. Rev. 5:8–9; 14:2–3 / Pss. 33(32):2–3; 98(97):1, 5; 144(143):9; 149:1, 3.

³⁰ See also Rev. 6:10; 19:2 / Ps. 78(77):5, 10.

³¹ For details, see Rev. 5:8 / Ps. 141(140):2.

seemingly suggests a temple service (פטרת, מנחת־ערב), Rev. 8:3–4 possibly alludes to Ps.

141(140):2.

Ps. 141:2 MT	Ps. 140:2 LXX	Rev. 8:3–4
תכון תפלתי		ἵνα δώσει ταῖς προσευχαῖς τῶν ἁγίων πάντων ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον τὸ χρυσοῦν
קטרת לפניך	κατευθυνθήτω ἡ προσευχή μου	τὸ ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου...
משאת כפי	ὡς θυμίαμα ἐνώπιόν σου	ἀνέβη ὁ καπνὸς τῶν θυμιαμάτων ταῖς προσευχαῖς τῶν ἁγίων ἐκ χειρὸς τοῦ ἀγγέλου
מנחת־ערב		ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ

As mentioned, the ‘prayer of the saints’ is not necessarily signified as ‘incense’ in Rev. 8:4. Nonetheless, a textual relationship is suggested between these two texts by the similar expressions ἡ προσευχή μου ὡς θυμίαμα ἐνώπιόν σου (Ps. 140:2) and τῶν θυμιαμάτων ταῖς προσευχαῖς τῶν ἁγίων... ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ (Rev. 8:4). As pointed out in Rev. 5:8 / Ps. 141(140):2, commentators generally agree that a rendering of ‘incense/incense-offering’ as the ‘prayer of the saints’ originated from Ps. 141:2.³² John possibly applied such a psalmic notion to two different places, each of which exhibit varying degrees of verbal similarity. Revelation 5:8 appears to have directly employed Ps. 141:2. The verbal similarity in Rev. 8:4 to the psalm, however, is to be explained on the contextual background of an incense-offering ritual scene of Rev. 8:3–4. Revelation 8:3–5 is a unique, distinctive sacrificial ritual scene displaying its actual process in the book of Revelation.³³ Ritual scenes in Revelation clearly reflect ancient Israel’s rituals shown in the Scripture. The ‘golden censer’ (λιβανωτὸν χρυσοῦν), ‘golden altar’ (τὸ θυσιαστήριον τὸ χρυσοῦν) and ‘smoke of incense/burning incense’ (ὁ καπνὸς τῶν θυμιαμάτων) all represent incense-offering.

The term, λιβανωτός is never used as ‘censer’ in the LXX. It typically means ‘frankincense’ (1 Chron. 9:29; 3 Macc. 5:2).³⁴ The ‘dish/censer’ containing incense takes the terms, θυμιατήριον (מקטרת),³⁵ θύισκη (התה, ככ). In the ancient Israelite sacrifice, the container/pan holding incense was one of necessary temple implements. A sacred fire is placed in the

³² Beckwith, Morris, Mounce, Roloff, Buchanan, Aune, Beale.

³³ See also Rev. 8:3–5 / Ps. 18(17):7–16.

³⁴ λιβανωτός was only used as incense, not as censer (1 Chron. 9:29; 3 Macc. 5:2), so John’s use of λιβανωτός is not attested elsewhere (W. Michaelis, ‘λιβανωτός,’ TDNT 4:263–64). In the OT the word for ‘censer’ is הַתְּנִיף, which was translated into θύισκη πυρεῖον or πυρεῖον, meaning: (1) firepan (gold or bronze, carrying burning coals or ashes), (2) censer (bronze), (3) snuffdish (gold, lampstand). See David J. A. Clines, ed., *The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew*, 8 vols. (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993), 5:233–34.

³⁵ In the LXX, the word θυμιατήριον is generally used for ‘censer’ (2 Chron. 26:19; Ezek. 8:11; 4 Macc. 7:11). Hebrews 9:4 has θυμιατήριον, indicating an incense altar. The term θυμιατήριον seems to be interchangeably used for both ‘censer’ and ‘incense altar’ (censer – Herodotus, *Hist.* 4.162.3; Thucydides, *Hist.* 6.46.3; Aelian *Var. hist.* 12, 51; POxy 523, 19; incense altar – SIG 996, 12; Philo, *Her.* 226, *Mos.* 2:94; Josephus, *Ant.* 3:147).

container/pan having incense and it functions as a censer (Lev. 10:1; Num. 16:6).³⁶ In Rev. 8:3–5 the smoke of incense goes up from the λιβανωτός χρυσοῦν (v. 3, 5); the λιβανωτός is filled with fire from the golden altar (v. 5); thus the term, λιβανωτός probably indicates ‘censer.’ The golden censer (λιβανωτός χρυσοῦν) plays a double role in Rev. 8:3–5: one containing incense with the prayer of the saints, one pouring down God’s wrath with fire.³⁷ Such a double function is also found in the golden bowl, φιάλας χρυσαῖς³⁸ in Rev. 5:8. The bowl is depicted as a container of incense, which is the prayer of the saints (5:8); while in the seven bowl plagues the bowls contain God’s wrath which is poured out (15:7; 16:1, 2, 3, 4, 8, 10, 12, 17; 17:1; 21:9).³⁹ It is notable that in the book of Revelation the prayer of the saints consistently brings God’s wrathful judgment upon the earth. John probably used both the golden bowl and the golden censer as a pan containing prayers as well as a pan pouring out plagues.

The golden altar, τὸ θυσιαστήριον τὸ χρυσοῦν, in Rev. 8:3 probably points to the altar of incense (תַּרְטִיקָה פַּזְזִים, τὸ θυσιαστήριον τοῦ θυμιάματος, Exod. 30:7–8, 27). In ancient Israelite sacrifice, the altar in general and the altar of incense appear to have been distinguished from each other (2 Chron. 30:14). And the altar of incense was also seemingly thought of as equivalent to the golden altar (1 Kings 7:48).⁴⁰ According to Rev. 8:3–5; 9:13, the golden altar would also mean the altar of incense in the book of Revelation, while Rev. 6:9; 11:1; 14:8; 16:7 indicate the altar in general, θυσιαστήριον.

The ‘smoke of the incense’ in Rev. 8:4 directly indicates incense-offering. Menahen Haran argues that there are two types of incense-offering found in the Scripture: one offered in a censer (Lev. 10:1–2; Num. 16; Ezek. 8:11), the other on the golden altar (Exod. 30:7–8).⁴¹ The incense-offering in a censer is not necessarily connected nor subordinated to other rites, but constitutes an ‘independent offering.’⁴² On the other hand, the so-called ‘*tamid*-incense offering’ which is offered

³⁶ L. E. Toombs, ‘Censer,’ in *IDB*, ed. George Arthur Buttrick, Bibls (New York: Abingdon Press, 1962).

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ The term φιάλη χρυσοῦς (‘golden bowl’) in the book of Revelation probably always, even if not explicit, refers to the same bowl. This may apply to תַּרְטִיקָה (τρυβλίον, ‘dish’) in Exod. 25:29 but the word τρυβλίον has never been used for φιάλη χρυσοῦς. As in Rev. 15:7 the seven golden bowls are to pour out the plagues to the ground, John possibly alluded to תַּרְטִיקָה (θύσκη, ‘censer’) in lieu of φιάλη χρυσοῦς.

³⁹ Φιάλη in Rev. 5:8 is brought up as a cultic utensil in the heavenly ritual setting of Rev. 5:8–14. As seen earlier, the heavenly cultic ceremony in Rev. 5:8–14 is immediately connected to the following judgment of the seven seals plagues (Rev. 6:1–17). Therefore, the prayers of the saints being contained in the golden bowl in Rev. 5:8 can be deemed as driving God’s judgment in Rev. 6:1–22:5. Similarly in Rev. 8:3–5, the golden censer (λιβανωτός χρυσοῦν) contains the prayers of the saints along with incense (vv. 3–4), and then, filled with fire, it is hurled on the earth to be peals of thunder, rumblings, flashes of lightning and an earthquake.

⁴⁰ See also K. Galling, ‘Incense Altar,’ in *IDB*, ed. George Arthur Buttrick, Bibls (New York: Abingdon Press, 1962).

⁴¹ Menahem Haran, ‘Uses of Incense in the Ancient Israelite Ritual,’ *Vetus Testamentum* 10, no. 2 (Ap 1960): 122–23.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 129.

on the altar is ‘inexplicably bound up with all the other inner *tamid* rites (like the kindling of the lamps and the setting out of the shewbread).’⁴³ It is not known whether John was aware of differences in Rev. 8:3–5 between those two incense-offerings. Having said that, Rev. 8:3–5 does not immediately state that incense was burnt in a censer in which the incense is received (ἔχων λιβανωτὸν χρυσοῦν, καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτῷ θυμιάματα πολλά).⁴⁴ The wording, ‘he was given much incense to offer with the prayer of all the saints on the golden altar’ (ἐδόθη αὐτῷ θυμιάματα πολλά, ἵνα δώσει ταῖς προσευχαῖς τῶν ἁγίων πάντων ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον τὸ χρυσοῦν) in Rev. 8:3b probably means that the incense along with the prayer of the saints is placed on the golden altar which is the altar of incense and then the smoke of incense goes up before God in Rev. 8:4. The incense-offering depicted in Rev. 8:3–5 seems to be the one offered on the golden altar, not one offered directly from the censer, thus probably the ‘*tamid* incense-offering,’ which is offered twice a day in the morning and evening.

The terms קטרת, מנחת־ערב, in Ps. 141:2 together represent ‘unbloody sacrifices’ (cf. Isa. 1:13; Jer. 41:5; Neh. 13:5, 9).⁴⁵ Incense-offering was offered daily in the morning and evening (Exod. 30) and the incense in Ps. 141:2 is thought to be the *tamid*-incense.⁴⁶ Psalm 141:2 includes a parallelism: ‘prayer’ – ‘lifting up of one’s hands,’ ‘incense before Yahweh’ – ‘evening offering.’ Comparing ‘incense’ to ‘prayer,’ the psalmist describes an incense-offering. Returning to the book of Revelation, although in Rev. 5:8 the prayer of the saints is immediately counted as incense, Rev. 8:3–4 does not directly equate the ‘prayer of the saints’ with ‘(much) incense’ (θυμιάματα πολλά, v. 3) but displays an ‘incense-offering’ in connection with the prayers. Two Revelation texts both show the close relationship between incense and prayer but use its relationship differently in each text. Revelation 5:8 makes no mention of any ritual process of incense offering. This is probably because Rev. 5:8–14 as a whole exhibits a praising scene and does not present a prayer ritual. Revelation 8:3–4, on the other hand, focuses on the prayer of the saints being offered before God so that it may be better linked to the incense-offering process. In Ps. 140:2 LXX, the wording, κατευθυνθήτω ἡ προσευχή μου ... ἐνώπιόν σου suggests that the prayer in the psalm is directly taken up to Yahweh. Such an expression is possibly found in Rev. 8:3–4, δώσει ταῖς προσευχαῖς τῶν ἁγίων ... τὸ ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου (v. 3), ἀνέβη ὁ καπνὸς τῶν θυμιαμάτων ταῖς προσευχαῖς τῶν ἁγίων ... ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ (v. 4). In terms of prayer rituals and their process, Ps. 141:2 shows some relationship with Rev. 8:3–4 in which the prayer of the saints is offered on the altar of incense-

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ λιβανωτός possibly simply indicates a dish to contain incense, without functioning as censer to burn incense.

⁴⁵ Kraus, *Psalms 60-150*, 527.

⁴⁶ Weiser, *The Psalms*, 810–12; Allen, *Psalms 101-150*, 343–44.

offering. By alluding to Psalm 141, John seems to have used Ps. 141:2 first in Rev. 5:8 to immediately indicate the prayer of the saints as incense in the temple service, secondly in Rev. 8:3–4 to describe how the prayers are to be taken up before God in Christian worship.

Assessment

In Jewish literature, incense-offering often occurs in connection with the heavenly temple.⁴⁷

Martha Himmelfarb points out,

The heavenly cult presents certain obvious difficulties. Even for people who saw sacrifice as an essential mode of connection between God and humanity, it must have been hard to imagine the blood and fat of animals on a heavenly altar... the offering of incense seems more appropriate to heaven than does animal sacrifice.⁴⁸

The heavenly temple in the book of Revelation is portrayed as the center of judgment. Revelation 8:3–4 shows the preference for an incense-offering in connection with the heavenly temple. As mentioned in the discussion of Rev. 5:8 / Ps. 141:2, incense was often used along with prayer in ancient sacrifice and John could have applied such an old idea in his writing. In the book of Revelation, incense directly indicates the prayer of the saints (Rev. 5:8) and God's reception of the prayer is depicted as the ritual of incense-offering (Rev. 8:3–4). Psalm 141:2 identifies prayer with incense-offering offered on the altar every morning and evening.

The psalmic text is used in two different Revelation texts (Rev. 5:8; 8:3–4).⁴⁹ By alluding to Ps. 141:2, those two texts possibly together show that the prayer of the saints in the book of Revelation (cf. Rev. 6:9–11) is an offering before God and in responding to the prayer God brings his judgment upon the nations. 'Prayer-response' is thus the relationship of Ps. 141:2 to the Revelation texts. Associating with Ps. 141:2, Rev. 8:3–4 in particular illustrates an incense-offering ritual in the heavenly temple. This may show the position of prayer in early Christian worship and

⁴⁷ 11QShirShabb 8–7, lines 2–3; *T. Levi* 3:6; *Jub.* 2:18; 6:18, 22; 31:14. See Martha Himmelfarb, 'Earthly Sacrifice and Heavenly Incense: The Law of the Priesthood in Aramaic Levi and Jubilees,' in *Heavenly Realms and Earthly Realities in Late Antique Religions*, ed. Ra'anan S Boustan and Annette Yoshiko Reed (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 121.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ John often alludes to a scriptural text in more than one location in the book of Revelation. For example, Rev. 2:26–27; 12:5; 19:15 / Ps. 2:8–9; Rev. 4:2, 9, 10; 5:1, 7, 13; 6:16; 7:10, 15; 19:4; 20:11; 21:5 / Pss. 9:5, 8; 47:9; 103:19. Psalm 2:8–9 has been employed differently in each text from Revelation (for details, see Rev. 2:26–27; 12:5; 19:15). On the other hand, a typical Jewish expression of God in heaven, the 'one sitting on the throne' consistently repeats throughout the book of Revelation. If John alluded to a scriptural text differently in more than one place in his writing, he possibly intentionally did so for some reason. The literary setting of Rev. 5:8 is a praise song, not a ritual prayer, thus, alluding to Ps. 141:2, he may have merely presented that incense is the prayer of the saints. Since Rev. 8:3–4 describes the ritual scene on the heavenly altar, however, the Revelation text seems to have focused on the incense-offering at which the prayer of the saints has been received.

its correlation with the Jewish temple service.

6.4 Rev. 9:20 / Ps. 115:4–7 (113:13–16 LXX)

The three septet plagues (Rev. 6:1–20:15) in the book of Revelation are used to indicate not three different judgment series, nor those being chronologically displayed, but to represent an eschatological judgment as a unit.⁵⁰ Some literary traits support such an understanding. The seventh plagues in each septet of judgments is structurally interlocked with the first plague of the next series: the seventh seal – the seven trumpets (in Rev. 8:1–2); the seventh trumpet – the seven bowls (Rev. 11:15; 15:1–16:1). The announcement of the judgment of ‘those who dwell on the earth’ (τοὺς κατοικοῦντας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς) in Rev. 8:13 would be another significant hint at understanding how the three septet plagues are tightly linked with each other. Revelation 8:13 renders the fifth, sixth and seventh trumpets as three ‘woes,’ saying, ‘Woe, woe, woe to those who dwell on the earth, at the blasts of the other trumpets that the three angels are about to blow!’ Namely, the last three trumpets focus on the judgments of ‘those who dwell on the earth’ (Rev. 9:1–16:21)⁵¹ while the plagues of the first four trumpets pour out onto the created world (Rev. 8:7–12). This is a recapitulation of the seven seal judgments. The first four seals bring in plagues on the earth (Rev. 6:1–8).⁵² The fifth and sixth seals are regarding the judgment of those who dwell on the earth (ἐκ τῶν κατοικούντων ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, 6:10; οἱ βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς καὶ οἱ μεγιστᾶνες καὶ οἱ χιλιάρχοι καὶ οἱ πλούσιοι καὶ οἱ ἰσχυροί, 6:15). The judgment of ‘those who dwell on the earth,’ therefore, is the last step of the three septet plagues.

Revelation 9:20, as part of the sixth trumpet, presents the response of those who dwell on the earth to their judgment when it says, ‘The rest of mankind, who were not killed by these plagues, did not repent of the works of their hands, so as not to worship demons and idols...’ (οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, οἱ οὐκ ἀπεκτάνθησαν ἐν ταῖς πληγαῖς ταύταις, οὐδὲ μετενόησαν ἐκ τῶν ἔργων τῶν χειρῶν αὐτῶν, ἵνα μὴ προσκυνήσουσιν τὰ δαιμόνια καὶ τὰ εἰδῶλα). In Revelation, those who dwell on the earth specifically characterize evildoers who worship the beast, belong to the kings of the earth, and distress the saints (Rev. 3:10; 6:10; 8:13; 11:10; 13:8, 12, 14; 17:2, 8). In Rev. 9:4, thus, the phrase, ‘only those people who do not have the seal of God on their foreheads’ (τοὺς

⁵⁰ See Beale, *The Book of Revelation*, 808–12. See also Dale Ralph Davis, ‘Relationship Between the Seals, Trumpets, and Bowls in the Book of Revelation,’ *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 16, no. 3 (Sum 1973): 149–58.

⁵¹ The seven bowls plagues, which are interlocked with the seventh trumpet, appear as the third woe—the judgments of those who dwell on the earth (Rev. 16:2–21).

⁵² In a sense, the relationship between the fifth and sixth seals (the fifth and sixth trumpets as well) is identified with the prayer–answer structure. In the fifth seal (Rev. 6:9–11), the judgment of ‘those who dwell on the earth’ (ἐκ τῶν κατοικούντων ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς) is asked by the souls of the martyrs and the sixth seal denotes the judgment upon them (Rev. 6:15–17). In Rev. 8:13 the prayer of the souls for the judgment of ‘those who dwell on the earth’ (Rev. 6:9–11) seems to have been answered in the following three trumpet plagues.

ἀνθρώπους οἵτινες οὐκ ἔχουσι τὴν σφραγίδα τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπὶ τῶν μετώπων) means those who dwell on the earth. In Rev. 9:5–6, the first woe of the fifth trumpet plague does not bring death to the inhabitants on the earth, instead only distress. At the second woe, the sixth trumpet in Rev. 9:13–21, a third of mankind is killed. The judgment of ‘those who dwell on the earth’ is gradually intensified. However, in Rev. 9:20–21, those who were not killed under the plague do not repent but rather keep worshipping demons and the idols of gold, silver, bronze, stone and wood.

The significance of Rev. 9:20 in the book of Revelation lies in the problem of the worship of demons and idols. The warning against worshipping Satan, the dragon, the beast and the idols of the beast hereafter repeats throughout the rest of the book (9:20; 13:4–6, 12–15; 14:9, 11; 15:2; 16:2; 19:20; 20:4). In addition, Rev. 9:20 reveals that the judgment of those who dwell on the earth is not merely a retributive judgment for the blood of the saints but also due to their worshipping demons and idols. The description of the idol, ‘of gold and silver and bronze and stone and wood, which cannot see or hear or walk’ (τὰ εἰδῶλα τὰ χρυσᾶ καὶ τὰ ἀργυρᾶ καὶ τὰ χαλκᾶ καὶ τὰ λίθινα καὶ τὰ ξύλινα, ἃ οὔτε βλέπειν δύνανται οὔτε ἀκούειν οὔτε περιπατεῖν) is frequently found in the Jewish literature (Deut. 4:28; Ps. 115:4–7; Isa. 2:8; 37:7, 19; Jer. 1:16; 25:6; Mic. 5:13; Dan. 5:4, 23; *1 En.* 99:7; *Wis.* 15:15; *Ep. Jer.* 1:3, 10, 29, 50; *Sib. Or.* 3:588; 5:83; 8:123). Deuteronomy 4:28, Dan. 5:4, 23 and Ps. 115:4–7 (113:12–15) are primarily considered as precedents to Rev. 9:20.⁵³

Deut. 4:28 MT Dan. 5:23 Ps. 115:4–7	Deut. 4:28 LXX Dan. 5:23 (Theod.) Ps. 113:12–15	Rev. 9:20
(Deut. 4:28) ועבדתם־שם־אלהים מעשה ידי אדם עץ ואבן אשר לא־יראון ולא ישמעון ולא יאכלון ולא יריחן	λατρεύσετε ἐκεῖ θεοῖς ἑτέροις ἔργοις χειρῶν ἀνθρώπων ξύλοις καὶ λίθοις οἱ οὐκ ὄψονται οὐδὲ μὴ ἀκούσωσιν οὔτε μὴ φάγωσιν οὔτε μὴ ὀσφρανθῶσιν	οἱ οὐκ ἀπεκτάνθησαν ἐν ταῖς πληγαῖς ταύταις, οὐδὲ μετενόησαν ἐκ τῶν ἔργων τῶν χειρῶν αὐτῶν, ἵνα μὴ
(Dan. 5:23) ולא־להי כספא־ודהבא נחשא פרזלא אעא ואבנא די לא־חזין ולא־שמעין ולא ידעין...	τοὺς θεοὺς τοὺς χρυσοῦς καὶ ἀργυροῦς καὶ χαλκοῦς καὶ σιδηροῦς καὶ ξυλίνους καὶ λιθίνους οἱ οὐ βλέπουσιν καὶ οὐκ ἀκούουσιν καὶ οὐ γινώσκουσιν ἦνεσας ... καὶ πᾶσαι αἱ ὁδοί σου αὐτὸν οὐκ	προσκυνήσουσιν τὰ δαιμόνια καὶ τὰ εἰδῶλα τὰ χρυσᾶ καὶ τὰ ἀργυρᾶ καὶ τὰ χαλκᾶ καὶ τὰ λίθινα

⁵³ Charles, *The Revelation of St. John*, vol. 1, 254–55 (Dan. 5:23); Bousset, *Die Offenbarung Johannis*, 306 (Dan. 5:4, 23); Roloff, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes*, 105 (Pss. 115:4; 135:15; Jer. 1:16; Dan. 5:4, 23); Mounce, *The Book of Revelation*, 204 (Deut. 4:28; Ps. 115:5–7; cf. Ps. 135:15; Dan. 5:23); Harrington, *Revelation*, 142 (Ps. 115:4–7; Dan. 5:23); Morris, *The Revelation of St. John*, 135 (Pss. 115:4; 135:15; Dan. 4:23); Aune, *Revelation 6-16*, 541–54 (Ps. 115:4); Beale, *The Book of Revelation*, 518–19 (Dan. 5:4, 23); Moyise, ‘The Psalms in the book of Revelation,’ 240 (Ps. 115:4–7).

<p>וכל־אֲרַחֲתֶךָ לֵה לֹא הִדְרַת (Ps. 115:4-7)</p>	<p>ἑδόξασας τὰ εἰδῶλα τῶν ἐθνῶν ἀργύριον καὶ χρυσίον ἔργα χειρῶν ἀνθρώπων στόμα ἔχουσιν καὶ οὐ λαλήσουσιν ὀφθαλμοὺς ἔχουσιν καὶ οὐκ ὄψονται ὅσα ἔχουσιν καὶ οὐκ ἀκούσονται ῥίνας ἔχουσιν καὶ οὐκ ὀσφρανθήσονται χεῖρας ἔχουσιν καὶ οὐ ψηλαφήσουσιν πόδας ἔχουσιν καὶ οὐ περιπατήσουσιν οὐ φωνήσουσιν ἐν τῷ λάρυγγι αὐτῶν</p>	<p>καὶ τὰ ξύλινα, ἃ οὔτε βλέπειν δύνανται οὔτε ἀκούειν οὔτε περιπατεῖν</p>
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The descriptions of idols in Rev. 9:20 can be divided into three parts: (1) τῶν ἔργων τῶν χειρῶν αὐτῶν, ‘the work of their hands,’ (2) τὰ εἰδῶλα τὰ χρυσᾶ καὶ τὰ ἀργυρᾶ καὶ τὰ χαλκᾶ καὶ τὰ λίθινα καὶ τὰ ξύλινα, ‘idols of gold and silver and bronze and stone and wood,’ and (3) ἃ οὔτε βλέπειν δύνανται οὔτε ἀκούειν οὔτε περιπατεῖν, ‘which cannot see or hear or walk.’ In so doing, the textual relationship of Rev. 9:20 to the scriptural texts in question is more precisely observed as those three subdivided descriptions of idols often occur separately or combined in the Scripture.

The phrase, ‘the work of the hands,’ without its material composition and its nature, is most frequently used to stand for idols (Deut. 4:28; 27:15; 2 Kings 19:18; 22:17; 2 Chron. 32:19; 34:25; Pss. 115:4; 135:15; Hos. 14:4; Mic. 5:12; Hag. 2:17; Isa. 2:8; 17:8; 31:7; 37:19; Jer. 1:16; 10:9; 25:6; 51:8; Ep. Jer. 1:50). Daniel 5:4, 23 does not involve the phrase while Deut. 4:28 and Ps. 115:4–7 do.

As for materials from which idols are made, Rev. 9:20 lists gold, silver, bronze, stone and wood. A description of idols by their material alone is also often found in the Scripture (Deut. 4:28; 29:17; Pss. 115:4; 135:15; Isa. 2:20; 30:22; 31:7; 40:19; Ezek. 16:17; Hos. 8:4; Dan. 2:23, 35, 45; 5:4, 23). Only Dan. 5:4, 23 contain all the elements listed in Rev. 9:20. The Daniel texts, in fact, have iron as well and its order is gold, silver, bronze, iron, wood and stone. In Ps. 115:4 (135:15), gold and silver only appear while Deut. 4:28 has wood and stone(s). The scriptural texts in which the materials used to make idols occur along with the expression, ‘the work of their hands’ are Deut. 4:28; Isa. 31:7; Pss. 115:4; 135:15.

In terms of the nature of idols, Rev. 9:20 says, ἃ οὔτε βλέπειν δύνανται οὔτε ἀκούειν οὔτε περιπατεῖν (‘see or hear or walk’). Deuteronomy 4:28 involves ‘see, hear, eat, smell’ (יריחן) (לֹא יִרְאוּ, ὄραω – ἀκούω – ἐσθίω – ὀσφραίνομαι) while Dan. 5:23 has ‘see, hear, know’ (לֹא יִדְעוּ) (לֹא יִדְעוּ, βλέπω – ἀκούω – γινώσκω). Psalm 115:5–7

(113:13–15), on the other hand, has ‘speak, see, hear, smell, feel, walk’

ולא ידברו... ולא יראו... ולא ישמעו... ולא יריחון... ולא ימישון... ולא יהלכו) (λαλέω – ὄράω – ἀκούω – ὀσφραίνομαι – ψηλαφάω – περιπατέω).

Table 6.2 Comparison between Rev. 9:20 and Deut. 4:28; Ps. 115:4–7; Dan 5:4, 23

Rev. 9:20	Deut. 4:28	Ps. 115:4–7 (113:12–15)	Dan. 5:4, 23
The work of their hands	The work of man’s hands	The work of man’s hands	×
Gold, silver, bronze, stone, wood	Wood, stone	Silver, gold	Gold, silver, bronze, iron, stone, wood
See, hear, walk	See, hear, eat, smell	Speak, see, hear, smell, feel, walk	See, hear, know

Beale suggests Dan. 5:4, 23 as the allusion in Rev. 9:20 on the basis of similar lists of materials from which idols are made.⁵⁴ As pointed out, however, the Daniel text does not contain the phrase ‘the work of the hands.’ In light of the fact that Ps. 115:4–7 (113:12–15) contains ‘see, hear, walk’ for the nature of the idol in the same order as the Revelation text, Moyise claims the psalm as the basis.⁵⁵ It is to be granted that none of the scriptural texts are exclusive for the allusion in Rev. 9:20. John probably had in mind various scriptural texts, primarily using the three texts in combination. As seen in Table 6.2, Deut. 4:28 and Ps. 115:4–7 (113:12–15) have all three phrases that describe the idol. The verb, περιπατέω, ‘walk’ in Rev. 9:20 for the nature of idols is only found in Ps. 113:15 LXX in the Scriptures.⁵⁶ In terms of textual proximity, thus, the psalmic text can be regarded as the most likely source for the allusion.

When it comes to contextual similarities between Rev. 9:20 and those three scriptural texts, Dan. 5:4, 23 is closer to the Revelation text than the others. In Dan. 5:17–28, Daniel introduces Yahweh’s judgment of Nebuchadnezzar’s pride and obstinateness, thereby rebuking Belshazzar’s worship of idols, being aware of his father, Nebuchadnezzar’s collapse. The praise for the idols in Dan. 5:4, 23 draws attention to Belshazzar’s rebelliousness against Yahweh though he knows Yahweh’s judgment of his provocation. The thrust of Rev. 9:20–21 is the stubbornness of the rest of those who were not killed in the sixth trumpet judgment. Though receiving God’s judgment, they do not repent of what they have done, but rather keep worshipping idols. On the contrary, the context of Deut. 4:28 postulates the Israelites’ repentance from their serving idols, resulting in Yahweh’s restoration (‘You seek Yahweh and you will find him,’ v. 29; ‘You will return to Yahweh your God and obey him,’ v. 30; ‘He will not abandon or destroy you or forget the

⁵⁴ Beale, *The Book of Revelation*, 518–19.

⁵⁵ Moyise, ‘Psalms in the book of Revelation’, 240–241.

⁵⁶ Cf. Jer. 10:5 - צעב/ἐπιβαίνω (‘to walk’).

covenant,' v. 31). These notions are not present in Rev. 9:20.

Psalm 115:4–7 specifies the idols of the nations, in which they trust, while Deut. 4:28 indicates the apostasy of Yahweh's people to the idols. As pointed out earlier, 'those who dwell on the earth' in Rev. 8:13, on which the last three trumpet plagues pour out, are alleged not to belong to God's people (see Rev. 9:4: 'only those people who did not have the seal of God on their foreheads'). Hence, the foreign nations in Ps. 115:8, who make idols and trust in them, possibly show some relevance with those who worship the idols without repenting in Rev. 9:20. Besides, in Ps. 115:2, the nations mock Yahweh's presence and power,⁵⁷ saying, 'Where is their God?' (אֵי־הוּא אֱלֹהֵיהֶם). A similar sneering of God is presented in Rev. 9:20 by worshipping idols deliberately while having undergone God's overwhelming judgment (Rev. 9:16–19). Psalm 115 (113 LXX) makes no mention/implication of whether the nations repent or refuse to do so. Its contextual similarities to Rev. 9:20, though, are discernible to some degree.

Assessment

A similar description of idols in Rev. 9:20 is found elsewhere in Jewish writings.⁵⁸ Textually no allusion to a specific text in Rev. 9:20 can be exclusively claimed. Daniel 5:23 does not include the phrase, 'the work of man's hands,' but its contextual relationship to the Revelation text seems apparent. While Deut. 4:28 contains all three parts of the description of idols to some degree, its context does not fit with that of Rev. 9:20. Psalm 115:4–7, on the other hand, shows stronger verbal similarities with Rev. 9:20 than the other two scriptural texts and in its context some relationship to the Revelation text has also been detected. In addition, Ps. 115 on the whole contrasts fearing Yahweh and trusting in idols, declaring in v. 13–17 that those who fear Yahweh will be blessed. In the book of Revelation, the worship of idols (9:20; 13:15; 14:9, 11; 19:20; 20:4) clearly opposes the worship of God (Rev. 4–5). As discussed in chapter five's examination of Rev. 11:18; 19:5 / Pss. 22(21):24; 61(60):6; 115:13 (113:21), recourse to Ps. 115 has already been found in Revelation. Thus, Ps. 115 may have been used in the book to highlight Christian worship to God and Christ and concurrently admonish the judgment of those who serve the idols.

6.5 Rev. 10:3–4 / Ps. 29(28):3

⁵⁷ Kraus, *Psalms 60-150*, 379.

⁵⁸ Philo, *Decal.* 74, refers to Ps. 115:5–8 (113:13–16) (or Ps. 135(134):15–18). See my Chapter 2: 'Psalms in Second Temple Judaism.' Additionally, see Naomi G. Cohen, *Philo's Scriptures: Citations from the Prophets and the Writings: Evidence for a Haftarah Cycle in Second Temple Judaism*, Journal for the Study of Judaism Supplements (Boston: Brill, 2007), 141–43.]

As with Rev. 7 during the seven seals plagues, Rev. 10:1–11:13 functions as a pause between the sixth and seventh trumpets. While Rev. 7 centers on the redemption of God’s servants (144,000, the countless multitude) before launching the seventh seal plague, Rev. 10:1–11:13 is concerned with the commissions of John and the two witnesses to prophesy (10:11; 11:3) before the seventh trumpet blows. Three angelic voices authorize John’s commission in Rev. 10:1–11: a voice of ‘another mighty angel’ (ἄλλον ἄγγελον ἰσχυρόν) (vv. 3a, 6–7), the voices of the seven thunders (αἱ ἑπτὰ βρονταί) (v. 3b), and an unidentified voice from heaven (φωνήν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ) (vv. 4, 8–9, 11). The ‘unidentified heavenly voice’ in Rev. 10:4 prohibits John from recording what the seven thunders have sounded that is unknown. From the context, though, it may be inferred. The sounds of the seven thunders (v. 4) are structurally enclosed by the voices of the ‘another mighty angel’ in vv. 3 and 5–6. The first loud utterance of ‘another mighty angel’ initiates in Rev. 10:3 the sounds of the seven thunders (ὅτε ἔκραξεν, ἐλάλησαν αἱ ἑπτὰ βρονταί τὰς ἑαυτῶν φωνάς). Following the statement that what the thunders said should not to be written, ‘another mighty angel’ takes an oath before God in Rev. 10:5–6, ‘there should be no more delay⁵⁹, but in the days of one trumpet call to be sounded by the seventh angel, the mystery of God...should be fulfilled,’ (RSV; χρόνος οὐκέτι ἔσται... ἐτελέσθη τὸ μυστήριον τοῦ θεοῦ). The strong angel is, though uncertain, suggestively identified as the one who is entitled to reveal God’s message of imminent judgment and the fulfilment of God’s mystery.⁶⁰ In light of the fact that the sounds of the seven thunders are intertwined with that angel’s utterances, the seven thunders are, perhaps, tied with God’s mystery of judgment and salvation,⁶¹ which ‘another mighty angel’ proclaimed (Rev. 10:6–7).⁶²

In the book of Revelation, ‘thunder’ (βροντή) mostly occurs as God’s presence, voice or judgmental means, along with ‘voices’ (φωνή), ‘lightning’ (ἀστραπή), ‘earthquake’ (σεισμός) or ‘hail’ (χάλαζα)

⁵⁹ Cf. James Barr, *Biblical Words for Time* (London: SCM Press, 1962), 80 n. 2. He points out, ‘It is true that χρόνος sometimes amounts to “delay” when it is the object of certain verbs, but this hardly proves this sense for χρόνος οὐκέτι ἔσται, and actually the arguments for “delay” here have been built largely upon the verb χρονίζεω, which certainly means “to delay”; but this is hardly evidence for χρόνος itself.’ See also Aune, *Revelation 6-16*, 568.

⁶⁰ Charles – ‘Gabriel’ based on the Hebrew word גַּבְרִיֵּל (“mighty one” for ἰσχυρός (*Revelation*, 1:258–59); Van Schaik – ‘one modeled after the angel’ in Dan. 12:5–7 (“Ἄλλος ἄγγελος in Apk 14,” in *L’Apocalypse johannique et l’apocalyptique dans le Nouveau Testament*, ed. Jan Lambrecht, Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium [Gembloux, Belgium; Louvain: Éditions J Duculot; University Press, 1980], 221–22); Beckwith, *The Apocalypse of John*, 580 – ‘A messenger from God’ (cf. Bauckham, *The Climax of Prophecy*, 253–54; Carid, *A Commentary on the Revelation of St. John the Divine*, 125).

⁶¹ Aune points out that the verb εὐαγγελίζω in Rev. 10:7 has semantically a neutral sense; only the context indicates whether it is negative or positive (*Revelation 6-16*, 570). According to Stuhlmacher, it reflects the usage of early Palestinian Jewish Christianity in which that which is proclaimed is the message of the coming of God to judge and save (Peter Stuhlmacher, *Das paulinische Evangelium. Vol. 1, Vorgeschichte* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1968), 210–18).

⁶² Plus the content of the voices of the seven thunders, the intent not to be revealed is also veiled. Scholars are vexed at the issues. For details, see Beale, *The Book of Revelation*, 534–37; F. W. Horn, ‘Die sieben Donner: Erwägungen zu Offb 10,’ *Studien zum Neuen Testament und seiner Umwelt* 17 (1992): 215–29.

(4:5; 8:5; 10:3–4; 11:19; 16:18; cf. 6:1; 14:2; 19:6).⁶³ It certainly stands on an early Jewish thought that in thunder Yahweh speaks to humans and reacts against their misbehavior, indicating it as the voice or weapon of Yahweh (Exod. 9:23; 1 Sam. 12:17; 2 Sam. 22:14; Job. 37:4–5; 40:9; Isa. 29:6; Pss. 18:14; 29:3; 77:19; 104:7; Joel 2:11; 4:16; Amos 1:2). This function is widespread from ancient times to the Hellenistic period.⁶⁴

The seven thunders (αἱ ἑπτὰ βρονταί) in Rev. 10:3 is anaphoric, implying that the readers would have recognized what our author applies this to if no antecedent were given in Revelation. There is a hypothesis of the existence of a certain apocalyptic source containing seven thundervisions, which was well known to John’s readers.⁶⁵ Psalm 29 is alternatively favorable when the late Jewish tradition often understood Yahweh’s voices at Sinai as seven thunders of Ps. 29:3–9.⁶⁶

Ps. 29:3 MT	Ps. 28:3 (LXX)	Rev. 10:3–4
קול יהוה על־המים אל־הכבוד הרעים יהוה על־מים רבים	φωνή κυρίου ἐπὶ τῶν ὑδάτων ὁ θεὸς τῆς δόξης ἐβρόντησεν κύριος ἐπὶ ὑδάτων πολλῶν	ὅτε ἔκραξεν, ἐλάλησαν αἱ ἑπτὰ βρονταί τὰς ἑαυτῶν φωνάς ὅτε ἐλάλησαν αἱ ἑπτὰ βρονταί, ἡμελλον γράφειν, καὶ ἤκουσα φωνὴν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ λέγουσαν· σφράγισον ἃ ἐλάλησαν αἱ ἑπτὰ βρονταί, καὶ μὴ αὐτὰ γράψῃς

Due to the significance of the number ‘seven’ in the ancient Near East, it is possible that the Jews simply considered the words ‘seven thunders’ as pointing to God’s voice in theophany.⁶⁷ If this is

⁶³ Revelation 6:1; 14:2 and 19:6 do not immediately refer to ‘thunder,’ but instead ‘like the sound of thunder’ (ὡς φωνὴ βροντῆς).

⁶⁴ See Niehaus, *God at Sinai*, 125–41. He states that in ancient Near East ‘thunder’ was one of the elements used to introduce divine presence, voice/utterance and even divine weapons in theophany. He points out that Hebrew קָלַח (qal: ‘to roar,’ hip ‘il: ‘to thunder’) is often replaced by קָלַח. See also Aune, *Revelation 6-16*, 561.

⁶⁵ See discussion on ‘the seven thunders’ in Beckwith, *The Apocalypse of John*, 577–78. While he argues against this, he does list several others to support it. Cf. Mounce’s view of the seven thunder as another series of plagues but not to be released (*The Book of Revelation*, 209–10).

⁶⁶ *Midrash Exodus* 28:6 (also 15:28): ‘...R. Johanan said: it was one voice that divided itself into seven voices, and these into seventy languages’ (Harry Freedman and Maurice Simon, eds., *Midrash Rabbah Vol. 3, Exodus* [London: Soncino Press, 1951], 336). See also Louis Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews*, trans. Henrietta Szold and Paul Radin (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 2003), 604–605. Many scholars see Ps. 29 as providing the allusion in Rev. 10:3–4 (see the lists from Beckwith, *The Apocalypse of John*, 577 and Beale, *The Book of Revelation*, 535). For implications in the Greco-Roman tradition, see Aune, *Revelation 6-16*, 560.

⁶⁷ See John Day, ‘Echoes of Baal’s Seven Thunders and Lightnings in Psalm 29 and Habakkuk 3:9 and the Identity of the Seraphim in Isaiah 6,’ *Vetus Testamentum* 29, no. 2 (Ap 1979): 143–51. In terms of the sevenfold manifestation of the deity, he observes a close parallel of Ps. 29 with Baal’s seven thunders in RS (Ras Shamra) 24.245 lines 3b–4. Based on it, he further argues, ‘Whether their immediate derivation was from Ps. Xxix, as is often held, or from some independent tradition, it is clear that the seven thunders in Rev. x 3-4 constitute another example of apocalyptic’s

true, John, without any implication, could have enabled to use the anaphoric term, ‘the seven thunders’ for God’s voice.⁶⁸ Psalm 29, however, is the only place in the Scripture where the voice of Yahweh is displayed seven times in thunder, though not referring to ‘seven thunders’ verbatim. As mentioned (see n. 66), reference to Yahweh’s seven voices in Judaism may reinforce the derivation from Ps. 29 and the notion that the ‘seven thunders’ is a sign of Yahweh’s voice.

It has been discussed that the context of Rev. 10:3–4 clearly manifests God’s intervention to be imminent and conclusive (ἐκτίσεν τὸν οὐρανόν, v. 6; ἐτελέσθη τὸ μυστήριον τοῦ θεοῦ, v. 7). In Rev. 10:6 God is specifically characterized as the one ‘who lives for ever and ever’ and ‘who created the heavens, the earth, the sea and all that is in them.’ Furthermore, Rev. 10:7 affirms that the mystery of God will be fulfilled just as God announced to his prophets. Two epithets of God in Rev. 10:6 and the fulfillment of God’s will in Rev. 10:7 single out God’s eternal, sovereign ruling over nature and history. We do not find direct parallels of the Revelation texts to Ps. 29 in context. Yet Psalm 29:3–9 portrays Yahweh as a victorious divine warrior over all the powers symbolized by mighty waters (v. 3), cedars of Lebanon and the mountainous Lebanon/Sirion (vv. 5–6).⁶⁹ Psalm 29:10–11 declares Yahweh’s enthronement as the eternal King and his blessing of his people. Such perception of Yahweh in the psalm fits well with God in the book of Revelation. Given that Rev. 10:6–7 foreshadows God’s eschatological, kingly reign, contextual similarity between Rev. 10:3–4 and Ps. 29:3 cannot be denied. The anaphoric term ‘the seven thunders’ in Rev. 10:3–4 thus possibly points to the sevenfold reference to Yahweh’s voice in thunder in Ps. 29.

Assessment

In the ancient Near East, the voice of deity was often symbolized with thunder (see n. 64). It is not sure whether such an ancient consciousness of thunder influenced Ps. 29, nor whether in Rev. 10:3–4 John alluded to the psalm or simply reflected the ancient thought. Provided that the early Jews had the same idea of thunder in common with the ancient Near East and, based on this, later Judaism read Yahweh’s seven voices in Ps. 29 as the ‘seven thunders’, such notion of the ‘seven thunders’ derived from Ps. 29 was unlikely new to early Christianity. In the psalm, the sevenfold thunderous voices of Yahweh present Yahweh’s sovereignty over the earth and his blessings to his

ultimate indebtedness to Canaanite mythology.’

⁶⁸ The number ‘seven’ occurs 55 times in the book of Revelation. It functions significantly in the vision accounts, mainly of God and the Lamb, except for a few occurrences in Rev. 12:3 and 17:7–11, where it refers to the seven heads of a dragon or a beast.

⁶⁹ Craigie, *Psalms 1-50*, 247. For a notion of Yahweh as divine warrior in the Psalms, see also the discussion of Rev. 19:11 / Ps. 96:13 (98:9) and Tremper Longman, ‘Psalm 98 : a Divine Warrior Victory Song,’ *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 27, no. 3 (S 1984): 274.

people. By indicating Yahweh's seven voices in Ps. 29, the presence of 'the seven thunders' in Rev. 10:3–4 may have reassured the original readers of God's rule over all before proceeding to the seventh trumpet plague which transferred into the last judgment, the seven bowls plagues.

6.6 Rev. 11:9–10 / Ps. 79(78):2–4

As discussed in the previous case, Rev. 10:1–11:14 leaves a pause before the seventh trumpet sounds (11:15), consisting of two visions: 'another mighty angel' (10:1–11) and the 'two witnesses' (11:1–13). In the vision of Rev. 10:1–11, John is given a book opened by 'another mighty angel' and appointed to prophesy again ('You must prophesy again,' *δεῖ σε πάλιν προφητεῦσαι*, v. 11). In Rev. 11:1–13 the two witnesses are authorized to prophesy for 1,260 days. Similar to Rev. 7:1–17, the reference to the commission of prophesying in Rev. 10:1–11:14—prior to the third woe (11:14)—calls attention to God's salvific action even during the seven trumpets plagues. The fulfillment of prophesying by the two witnesses in Rev. 11:3–10 leads to their deaths (vv. 3–7); their bodies were not buried in a tomb (vv. 8–9) and those who dwell on the earth rejoice over their deaths (v. 10). Psalm 79, frequently used for the persecution of the saints,⁷⁰ is befitting with Rev. 11:3–10 by referring to the murder of Yahweh's servants, the lack of burial for their bodies and the derision of their neighbours.⁷¹

Ps. 79:2–4 MT	Ps. 78:2–4 LXX	Rev. 11:9–10
נתנו את־נבלת עבדיך מאכל לעוף השמים	ἔθεντο τὰ θνησιμαῖα τῶν δούλων σου βρώματα τοῖς πετεινοῖς	βλέπουσιν ἐκ τῶν λαῶν καὶ φυλῶν καὶ γλωσσῶν καὶ ἐθνῶν τὸ πτώμα αὐτῶν ἡμέρας τρεῖς καὶ ἡμισυ καὶ τὰ πτώματα αὐτῶν οὐκ ἀφίουσιν τεθῆναι εἰς μνημα
שפכו דמם כמים סביבות ירושלים ואין קובר	ἐξέχεαν τὸ αἷμα αὐτῶν ὡς ὕδωρ κύκλω Ἱερουσαλημ καὶ οὐκ ἦν ὁ θάπτων	οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς χαίρουσιν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς καὶ εὐφραίνονται καὶ δῶρα πέμψουσιν ἀλλήλοις, ὅτι οὗτοι οἱ δύο προφητῆται ἔβασάνισαν τοὺς κατοικοῦντας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς
היינו חרפה לשכנינו לעג וקלס לסביבותינו	ἐγενήθημεν ὄνειδος τοῖς γείτοσιν ἡμῶν μυκτηρισμὸς καὶ χλευασμὸς τοῖς κύκλω ἡμῶν	

⁷⁰ The cases of Rev. 6:10, 19:2 / Ps. 79(78):5, 10; Rev. 11:9–10 / Ps. 79(78):2–4; Rev. 11:2b / Ps. 79(78):1 and Rev. 16:1 / Ps. 79(78):6. For the use of Ps. 79 in Jewish literature, see 4QTanh (4Q176) frags. 1–2 col. 1; *I Macc.* 7:16–17; *Pss. Sol.* 2:27.

⁷¹ Bousset, *Die Offenbarung Johannis*, 322 (Ps. 79:3; *Pss. Sol.* 2:27; Josephus, *J.W.* 4:314); Charles, *The Revelation of St. John*, vol. 1, 289 (Ps. 79:3; 1 Kings 13:22; *Pss. Sol.* 2:31; Josephus, *J.W.* 4.5.2); Mounce, *The Book of Revelation*, 221 (Ps. 79:1; Isa. 63:18); Beale, *The Book of Revelation*, 595 (Ps. 79:2–3; *I Macc.* 7:10–30; 4QTanh(4Q176), cf. Dan. 11:30–35); Aune, *Revelation 6-16*, 588–92 (*Apoc.El. (C)* 4:7–19; Lactantius, *Inst.* 7:17); 622 (Ps. 79:1–3; *I Macc.* 7:16–18; 4Q176, cf. Josephus, *J.W.* 4:314–17; *Jub.* 23:23).

Although no verbal consistency is viewed between these two texts, they each express themes that are almost identical. Indeed, as may be seen, the contextual similarity is remarkable.

Psalm 79	Revelation 11
They have <u>defiled your holy temple...laid Jerusalem in ruins</u> (v. 1)	... they will <u>trample over the holy city</u> for forty-two months (v. 2)
They have given <u>the bodies of thy servants to the birds...for food, the flesh of thy saints to the beasts...</u> (v. 2)	Their <u>dead bodies will lie in the street</u> of the great city (v. 8)
...there was <u>none to bury them</u> (v. 3)	...men from the peoples and tribes...gaze at their dead bodies and <u>refuse to let them be placed in a tomb</u> (v. 9)
We have become a <u>taunt to our neighbors, mocked and derided</u> by those round about us (v. 4)	Those who dwell on the earth will <u>rejoice over them and make merry and exchange presents...</u> (v. 10)
Let the avenging of the outpoured blood of thy servants be <u>known among the nations before our eyes!</u> (vv. 5–11)	...they stood up on their feet, and <u>great fear fell on those who saw them</u> (v. 11)... <u>in the sight of their foes</u> they went up to heaven in a cloud (v. 12)
<u>Return sevenfold</u> into the bosom of our neighbors (v. 12)	There was a great earthquake, and <u>a tenth of the city fell; seven thousand people were killed</u> in the earthquake (v. 13a)
...will <u>give thanks to thee</u> for ever; from generation to generation we will <u>recount thy praise</u> (v. 13)	...the rest were terrified and <u>gave glory to the God of heaven</u> (v. 13b)

The ‘holy city’ in Rev. 11:2 apparently indicates the city of Jerusalem.⁷² Elsewhere in the book of Revelation, the ‘holy city’ mainly specifies the city of God coming down from heaven, viz., the ‘New Jerusalem’ (Rev. 21:2,10; 22:19, cf. 3:12). Because the ‘holy city’ in Rev. 11:2 is given to the Gentiles to be trampled, it is difficult to think that John here had the ‘New Jerusalem’ in mind. Perhaps the ‘holy city’ of Rev. 11:2 symbolically means the whole body of the Christian communities, earthly not yet heavenly, who have often suffered persecution in the book of Revelation.⁷³ The problem in the context of Rev. 11:1–10 is the relationship between the ‘holy city’ (v. 2) and the ‘great city’ (v. 8) when Rev. 11:8 defines the ‘great city’ as the place ‘where the Lord was crucified’ (*ὅπου καὶ ὁ κύριος αὐτῶν ἐσταυρώθη*), which was Jerusalem. The ‘great city’ in the book of Revelation, however, exclusively points to Babylon except in Rev. 11:8, 13 (Rev. 16:19; 17:18; 18:10, 16, 18, 19, 21). No reason is found in Rev. 11:3–13 to argue that the two witnesses prophesied in Jerusalem and died there. The ‘great city’ in Rev. 11:8 is not necessarily identical with the ‘holy city’ in Rev. 11:2, i.e., Jerusalem, but more likely with the ‘kingdom of the world’

⁷² Jerusalem is called the ‘holy city’ (Neh. 11:1; Isa. 52:1; 66:20 LXX; Joel 4:17 LXX; Dan. 9:16; Zech. 8:3; *Pss. Sol.* 8:4; *1 Macc.* 2:7; *2 Macc.* 3:1; 15:14; *3 Macc.* 6:5; *Sir.* 36:12; 49:6; b. Sanh. 107b, n.17; 11QTemple 47:13; Matt. 4:5; etc.).

⁷³ See Kiddle, *The Revelation of St. John*, 188–89; Caird, *A Commentary on the Revelation of St. John the Divine*, 132; Morris, *The Revelation of St. John*, 146; Mounce, *The Book of Revelation*, 220.

(11:15).⁷⁴ Since Ps. 79 enunciates the defilement of Jerusalem and the killing of Yahweh's servants in Jerusalem by foreign nations, it can be argued that Rev. 11:9–10 does not pinpoint the occasion in the psalm.

Still, three points need to be noted. First, in the book of Revelation John already applies the tribes of Israel to the entirety of Christian believers (cf. Rev. 7). Obviously in the NT, Jerusalem is symbolically rendered as the body of Jesus or of the Christian churches (John 2:12–21; Gal. 4:24–26; Heb. 12:22–23; Rev. 3:12; 21:2, 10). It is thus possible that Rev. 11:3–13 employs the assailment of Jerusalem, especially the death of Yahweh's servants, in Ps. 79 for the murder of the two witnesses to whom the Christian prophetic work was accredited, that is, the churches.⁷⁵ Secondly, in its literary context, the main interest of Ps. 79 is not the defilement of Jerusalem itself but the persecution of Yahweh's servants and his retribution to it (vv. 2–4, 10–12). This is clearly manifested in the death of the two witnesses and God's intervention in Rev. 11:7–13. As in the discussion of Rev. 6:10; 19:2 / Ps. 79:5, 10, in addition, the petitionary prayer of Yahweh's servants in Ps. 79:5–12 appears to have been answered in Rev. 11:11–13. In light of this, the death of the two witnesses in Rev. 11:7–10 alludes to the persecution of Yahweh's servants in Jerusalem in Ps. 79. The reference to the destruction of the holy city in Rev. 11:1–2, which implies the defilement of Jerusalem, supports of the allusion in Rev. 11:9–10 to Ps. 79:2–4.⁷⁶

Assessment

The murder of Yahweh's servants by the nations in Ps. 79 has often been used in Jewish literature as an eschatological tragedy for the saints.⁷⁷ According to my examinations, this psalm is one of the most frequently occurring scriptural texts (along with Ps. 96) in the book of Revelation. The desolate occasion of the fall of Jerusalem in the past expressed in a petitionary psalm is prophetically interpreted and applied to the bitter situation of the churches in first-century Asia Minor. The invocation of the psalmist for Yahweh's intervention is answered in Revelation when God's judgment has been completed.

⁷⁴ See Kiddle, 199; Mounce, 226; Morris, 150. Cf. Charles, *The Revelation of St. John*, vol. 1, 287 – 'Jerusalem'; Caird, 138 – 'Rome.'

⁷⁵ Kiddle, 193; Morris, 147; Mounce, 223; Ford, 171; Harrington, 155; Beale, 572–73. Cf. Wilhelm Bousset, *The Antichrist Legend: A Chapter in Christian and Jewish Folklore* (Atlanta, Ga.: Scholars Press, 1999), 210; R. H. Charles, *The Revelation of St. John*, vol. 1, The International Critical Commentary (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1920), 281. For more details, see Beale, 572–73.

⁷⁶ For the separation between Rev. 11:1–2 and 11:3–13, see Aune, *Revelation 6-16*, 593–98.

⁷⁷ See n. 70.

6.7 Rev. 14:10 / Ps. 75:8 (74:9 LXX)

The three septet plagues in the book of Revelation have interludes (7:1–17; 12:1–15:4) in between the sixth and seventh plagues, except for the seven bowls judgment.⁷⁸ Each interlude reveals the redemption of the saints in the midst of the plagues. Revelation 7:1–17 refers to God’s servants, the sealed 144,000 and their praise for salvation to God and the Lamb. In Rev. 12:1–15:4 the redeemed 144,000/victors over the beast sing a new song/the song of the Lamb (14:1–5 / 15:1–4) while evil (Satan/two beasts) makes an appearance (12:1–13:18) and God’s wrathful judgment on those who worship the beast and his idol is announced (14:8–20).

In the announcement of such judgment in Rev. 14:8–20, there is a characteristic expression, ‘the wine of the wrath’ (τοῦ οἴνου τοῦ θυμοῦ) which occurs only five times in the book of Revelation (14:8, 10; 16:19; 18:3; 19:15; Cf. 14:19: τὴν ληνὸν τοῦ θυμοῦ). With the phrase, the ‘wine of the wrath,’ God’s judgment is emphatically delineated in Rev. 14:8–20. This wording of the ‘wine of the wrath’ in Rev. 14:8–20 continues to appear in the final judgment of Babylon (16:19; 17:2) and all the nations/kings who are deceived by her (18:3, 6). Revelation 19:15, in particular, is reminiscent of Rev. 14:17–20 when it says, ‘He treads the winepress of the fury of the wrath of God Almighty’ (αὐτὸς πατεῖ τὴν ληνὸν τοῦ οἴνου τοῦ θυμοῦ τῆς ὀργῆς τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ παντοκράτορος). John may have purposely chosen the phrase, τοῦ οἴνου τοῦ θυμοῦ in Rev. 14:8–20, prior to the seventh bowl plague, and used it for God’s final judgment in the rest of the book.

Revelation 14:10 has a further description of the wine of the wrath, a wine that is ‘poured in full strength in the cup of his anger,’ (ESV; τοῦ κεκρασμένου ἀκράτου ἐν τῷ ποτηρίῳ τῆς ὀργῆς αὐτοῦ). The unusual phrase, κεκρασμένου ἀκράτου (lit. ‘mixed unmixed’), renders ‘extremely strong’ wine when Greek wine called a κρατήρ was diluted/mixed with water.⁷⁹ In the OG/LXX, the term ἄκρατος (‘unmixed/undiluted [wine]’) is used to express God’s wrath (Ps. 74:9; Pss. Sol. 8:14; Jer. 32:15). The ‘cup of the wrath’ (τῷ ποτηρίῳ τῆς ὀργῆς αὐτοῦ) is particularly prominent in indicating God’s wrath in the Scripture. J. L. Kelso points out,

The cup was widely used in figurative language. It was symbolic of the kind of life experience which God the Host pours out for his world. For the saints there was the cup of the blessings of God (Pss. 23:5; 116:13). For the wicked there was the wine cup of the wrath of God (Pss. 11:6; 75:8--H 75:9; Isa. 51:17, 22; Jer. 25:15; 49:12; Hab. 2:15-16). Babylon was the golden wine cup in the Lord’s hand from which all the nations drank (Jer. 51:7).⁸⁰

⁷⁸ See Beale, *The Book of Revelation*, 128.

⁷⁹ See Aune, *Revelation 6-16*, 833.

⁸⁰ J. L. Kelso, ‘Cup,’ in *IDB, A-D*, ed. George Arthur Buttrick (New York: Abingdon Press, 1962), 748-49.

Commentators agree that a ‘cup of wrath’ in Rev. 14:10 is a scriptural allusion.⁸¹ Some consider Jer. 25(32):15 and Ps. 74:9 (75:8) as the two possibilities for the use of the term, *ἄκρατος* (cf. 3 *Macc.* 5:2; Ps. 8:14).⁸²

Ps. 75:9; Jer. 25:15 MT	Ps. 74:9; Jer. 32:15 LXX	Rev. 14:10
<p>כי כוס ביד־יהוה ויין חמר מלא מסך ויגר מזה אֶךְ־שִׁמְרִיהָ יִמְצו יִשְׁתּוּ כָל רְשָׁעֵי־אָרֶץ</p> <p>קח את־כוס היין החמה הזאת מידי השִׁקִּיתָהּ אֶת־כָּל־הַגּוֹיִם</p>	<p>Ποτήριον ἐν χειρὶ κυρίου οἴνου ἀκράτου πλήρες κεράσματος καὶ ἔκλινεν ἐκ τούτου εἰς τοῦτο πλὴν ὁ τρυγίας αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἐξεκενώθη πίονται πάντες οἱ ἁμαρτωλοὶ τῆς γῆς</p> <p>λαβὲ τὸ ποτήριον τοῦ οἴνου τοῦ ἀκράτου τούτου ἐκ χειρός μου καὶ ποτιεῖς πάντα τὰ ἔθνη</p>	<p>Αὐτὸς πίνεται ἐκ τοῦ οἴνου τοῦ θυμοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ κεκερασμένου ἀκράτου ἐν τῷ ποτηρίῳ τῆς ὀργῆς αὐτοῦ</p>

Jeremiah 25(32):15 translates כוס היין החמה (‘the cup of the wine of rage’) into τὸ ποτήριον τοῦ οἴνου τοῦ ἀκράτου (‘the cup of the unmixed wine’), while in Ps. 75(74):9, the phrase, ויין חמר מלא מסך (‘full of foaming wine, mixed with spices’) is rendered as οἴνου ἀκράτου πλήρες κεράσματος (‘unmixed wine, full of mixture’).⁸³ In so doing, the OG/LXX translators of Jer. 25:15 possibly articulated the severeness of Yahweh’s wrath. Revelation 14:10 can be seen as linked with Jer. 25:15 LXX. Moyise suggests Ps. 74:9 LXX as the allusion in Rev. 14:10 since the characteristic psalmic text, ‘unmixed wine, full of mixture’ (ἀκράτου πλήρες κεράσματος) would fit with the unusual phrase, ‘mixed unmixed’ (κεκερασμένου ἀκράτου) in the Revelation text.

In terms of contextual similarities, the two scriptural texts, Jer. 25(32):15 and Ps. 75(74):9 both have some relevance to Rev. 14:10. In both texts, Yahweh’s judgment is figuratively described as drinking the ‘cup of the wrath.’⁸⁴ While Ps. 75(74) indicates all the evildoers of the earth as the ones who drink the cup of God’s wrath, in Jer. 25(32), on the other hand, Judah’s idolatry is specifically referred to in vv. 1–14 and in the following segment of vv. 15–29 Judah/Jerusalem’s drinking the cup is thus deemed as the result of their worshipping other gods. This warning of idolatry in the Jeremiah text is reflected in Rev. 14:9 when it says, ‘If anyone worships the beast and his image and receives his mark on the forehead or on the hand, he also will

⁸¹ See Mounce, *The Book of Revelation*, 275; Aune, *Revelation 6-16*, 833–34.; Beale, *The Book of Revelation*, 759.

⁸² Swete; Beckwith; Morris; Ladd; Aune; Beale; Buchanan; Moyise.

⁸³ Wine mixed with spices as the general usage of the ancient Near East means intoxicating (J. F. Ross, ‘Wine,’ in *IDB*, R-Z, ed. George Arthur Buttrick (New York: Abingdon Press, 1962), 850).

⁸⁴ William McKane, ‘Poison, Trial by Ordeal and the Cup of Wrath,’ *Vetus Testamentum* 30, no. 4 (O 1980): 474–92.

drink of the wine of the wrath of God.’ In its broad context, therefore, the Jeremiah text is probably understood as the allusion in Rev. 14:8–10 as Jer. 51:7 says, ‘Babylon was a gold cup in Yahweh’s hand, she made all the earth drunk. The nations drank her wine; therefore they have gone mad,’ which is obviously found in Rev. 14:8. The emphasis on the judgment of Yahweh’s people, the city of Jerusalem in Jer. 32:1–14, 18, 29, nevertheless, is somewhat unfit for the context of Revelation in which Jerusalem is called the holy city (Rev. 11:2, cf. 20:9: τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἠγαπημένην, ‘the city he loves’) and God’s people are to be secured, not to be punished.

Psalm 75 is mostly understood as prophetic, which includes praise, oracle, exhortation, promises and threats.⁸⁵ The theme of the psalm is Yahweh’s upright judgment by which the wicked are cut off and the righteous are exalted. Kraus assumed, ‘It was a liturgy at the center of which a cultic-prophetic announcement of judgment and a judgment doxology found a place.’⁸⁶ Unlike Jer. 25(32):15–29, in Psalm 75 the victory of the righteous occurs at the end of the psalm while emphasizing the judgment of the evildoers. As mentioned earlier, Rev. 14 is part of an interlude in between the seven trumpets and the seven bowls, which begins with the praise of the redeemed 144,000 to the Lamb, and in Rev. 14:12–13 the saints/the dead who die in the Lord are also blessed. In other words, the contrast between the wicked (עֲשָׂרִים) and the righteous (קְדוֹשִׁים) in Psalm 75 is found in Rev. 14.⁸⁷

Associated with the concept of the cup of wrath in general, John might have depended primarily upon Jer 25(32):15–29 as it depicts Yahweh’s judgment of Babylon and all the nations. It is possible, though, that Rev. 14:10 employed the expression, οἴνου ἀκράτου πλήρες κεράσματος, from Ps 75(74):9 on the basis of the Jeremiah text in order to underline the intensity and fierceness of God’s final judgment against the idolaters in Asia Minor (cf. 14:19–20; 16:19; 19:15).⁸⁸

Assessment

In the book of Revelation, the ‘wine of wrath’ or the ‘wine of adultery’ only occurs along with the judgment or adultery of Babylon (Rev. 14:8, 10; 16:19; 17:2; 18:3; 19:15; cf. 6:6; 18:13). Following Rev. 14:8 in which Babylon the Great made all the nations drink the wine of her adulteries, Rev. 14:10 refers to the ‘wine of God’s wrath’ for the judgment of those who have followed/worshipped the beast and its idols; that is, the ‘wine of God’s wrath’ in Rev. 14:10 is

⁸⁵ Tate, *Psalms 51-100*, 257–58.

⁸⁶ Kraus, *Psalms 60-150*, 104.

⁸⁷ Cf. Mays, *Psalms*, 249.

⁸⁸ See S. R. F. Price, *Rituals and Power: The Roman Imperial Cult in Asia Minor* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 220–22.; Leonard L. Thompson, *The Book of Revelation: Apocalypse and Empire* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 158–64.

caused by the ‘wine of Babylon’s adultery’ in Rev. 14:8. In this connection, Jer. 25(32):15–29 is often considered to stand behind Rev. 14:10.

Still, it is worth noting that the unusual expression for the wine of God’s wrath in Rev. 14:10, τοῦ οἴνου τοῦ θυμοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ κεκερασμένου ἀκράτου (‘...which is mixed with the unmixed...’) has been found in Ps 74:9, οἴνου ἀκράτου πλῆρες κέρασματος (‘unmixed wine mixed with spices’).⁸⁹ Particularly, the psalm itself emphatically declares Yahweh’s upright judgment of all the wicked of the earth, not including his people’s (Judah/Jerusalem’s) iniquity as it was in Jer. 25(32):15–29. In the context of the book of Revelation, it is unlikely that in Rev. 14:9–10 those who are judged with the wine of God’s wrath are his people rather than the worshippers of the beast and its idols. In Rev. 14:12 the saints are praised in contrast with the idolaters (vv. 9–11); the contrast between the wicked and the righteous is displayed in Ps 75(74):10. In light of the textual and contextual relationship of Rev. 14:10 to Ps. 75(74):9, John possibly read the psalmic text prophetically in Rev. 14:10 to accentuate God’s final judgment over the evil powers and their followers.

6.8 Rev. 19:6 [11:17] / Ps. 97(96):1 [93:1; 96:10; 99:1]

Revelation 19:1–8 involves three ‘hallelujah’ praises for the judgment of Babylon the great and the marriage of the Lamb. The first praise of Rev. 19:1–2 is a thanksgiving of the heavenly multitudes for God’s retribution to Babylon for the blood of his servants. The judgment of Babylon is consolidated by the second ‘hallelujah’ followed in Rev. 19:3, saying, ‘Hallelujah! The smoke from her goes up forever and ever’ (ἀλληλουϊά· ὁ καπνὸς αὐτῆς ἀναβαίνει εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων). As a third, the proclamation in Rev. 19:6, ‘Hallelujah! For the Lord God Almighty reigns’ (ἀλληλουϊά, ὅτι ἐβασίλευσεν κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ), relates to both the judgment of Babylon and the marriage of the Lamb (cf. Rev. 19:5 / Ps. 135:1, 20).⁹⁰ God’s reign, in other words, has executed the judgment of the evil power, Babylon, and will bring in an eternal salvation of his people in the marriage covenant with the Lamb (cf. 7:17). The words ‘Yahweh reigns’ often occur as a formula in the so-called ‘Enthronement Psalms’ (cf. 93:1; 96:10; 97:1; 99:1).⁹¹

⁸⁹ This atypical psalmic phrase was referred in by Philo in *Deus 77*; it may have been known in early Christian churches.

⁹⁰ Mounce places v. 6 in the following segment of Rev. 19:6–8, the marriage of the Lamb (*The Book of Revelation*, 339). Beale sees vv. 1–6 as the same section (*The Book of Revelation*, 931).

⁹¹ See Hermann Gunkel, *Einleitung in die Psalmen die Gattungen der religiösen Lyrik Israels* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1933); Mowinckel, *The Psalms in Israel's worship*, vol.1, 106–189.

Ps. 97:1 MT	Ps. 96:1 LXX	Rev. 19:6 [11:17]
יהוה מלך תגל הארץ ישמחו איים רבים	ὁ κύριος ἐβασίλευσεν ἀγαλλιάσθω ἢ γῆ εὐφρανθήτωσαν νῆσοι πολλαί	ἀλληλουϊά, ὅτι ἐβασίλευσεν κύριος ὁ θεὸς [ἡμῶν] ὁ παντοκράτωρ κύριε ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ... ὅτι εἴληφας τὴν δύναμίν σου τὴν μεγάλην καὶ ἐβασίλευσας

Scholars note an unusual word order יהוה מלך (subject before predicate) in Pss. 93:1; 96:10; 97:1; 99:1, showing the significance of Yahweh's kingship.⁹² Differently from Pss. 93 and 99, the reign of Yahweh in Pss. 96:10 and 97:1 is to be exalted in connection with his judgment on the earth and causes the whole world to be full of joy. In Rev. 19:6, as mentioned, the declaration of the reign of the Lord God Almighty refers back to his judgment of the earth and Babylon and now in Rev. 19:7 the 'great multitude' in heaven (vv. 1 and 6) rejoices for the marriage of the Lamb. The bride of the Lamb is given the fine linen which is the 'righteous deeds of the saints'; the deeds implying the endurance in faith of the saints despite persecution.⁹³ Again, the judgment of Babylon has become God's answer to the petition of the saints and the marriage with the Lamb is their reward from God. The relationship of God's universal reign with his judgment of the earth depicted in Pss. 96 and 97 (MT) is one of the most marked ideas of John in the book of Revelation. Psalm 97:8–12, which is possibly closer to the text of Revelation, refers to rejoicing for Yahweh's judgment of the daughters of Judah (v. 8) and the righteous (vv. 10–12).

A divine epithet, the 'Lord God Almighty' (κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ), in Rev. 19:6 is certainly derived from the most well-known name of Yahweh in the Hebrew Bible, 'the Lord, the God of hosts (Almighty)' (יהוה אלהים/אלהי הצבאות) or 'the Lord of hosts, the God (of Israel)' (יהוה הצבאות אלהי ישראל).⁹⁴ The epithet itself implicates Yahweh's kingship and divine judgment.⁹⁵ Nowhere else in the NT is such a threefold combination found except for its frequent occurrences in the book of Revelation (1:8; 4:8; 11:17; 15:3; 16:7; 19:6; 21:22; cf. 2 Cor. 6:18).

⁹² Ludwig Koehler, 'Syntactica III: IV Jahwäh malak,' *Vetus Testamentum* 3, no. 2 (1953): 188. He renders it, 'Es ist Jahwä und nicht ein anderer Gott (Baal, Marduk, Schamasch, usw.), der König ist.' See also J. Ridderbos, 'JAHWÄH MALAK,' *Vetus Testamentum* 4, no. 1 (1954): 87–89; Diethelm Michel, 'Studien zu den sogenannten Thronbesteigungspsalmen,' *Vetus Testamentum* 6, no. 1 (1956): 40–68; Anthony Gelston, 'Note on Yhwh Mlk,' *Vetus Testamentum* 16, no. 4 (1966): 507–12; Dahood, *Psalms 51-100*, 340.

⁹³ Beale, *The Book of Revelation*, 935.

⁹⁴ See R. Feldmeier and H. Spieckermann, *Der Gott der Lebendigen: Eine biblische Gotteslehre* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011):197-99.

⁹⁵ See D. F. O'Kennedy, 'The Use of the Epithet Yhwh Sbwt in Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi,' *Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages* 33, no. 1 (2007): 77–99.

Concerning its order (Lord, God, Almighty), the book of Revelation has only the ‘Lord, God, Almighty’ and not ‘Lord, Almighty, God.’ The threefold combination of the “Lord God Almighty” (יהוה אלהים הצבאות) is seen only in the Psalms (Pss. 59:6; 80:5, 20; 84:9 MT).⁹⁶ John draws on this designation to represent God’s sovereignty over human history and specifically the judgment in the eschaton (11:17; 15:3; 16:7; 19:6). The phrase ‘the Lord God Almighty reigns’ in 11:17 and 19:6 alludes to Ps. 97:1.

Assessment

M. Eugene Boring understood Rev. 19:6 as the summary of John’s theology in Revelation, which was yielded from the historical suffering of the churches in Asia Minor and answered for John’s readers the ‘most concrete political question of their time and place.’⁹⁷ The answer, ‘Hallelujah! The Lord God Almighty reigns’ (ἀλληλουϊά, ἐβασίλευσεν κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ) was induced not merely from John’s theological contemplation of the first-century political milieu around the churches but from his prophetic interpretation of God’s kingly reign prominent in the book of Psalms.⁹⁸

6.9 Rev. 19:11 / Ps. 96(95):13 [98(97):9]

The literary position of Rev. 19 is significant in the book. It turns from the scene of the septet plagues to the final defeat of the evil power by a messianic figure, thus leading to the climactic end (e.g., the Millennium/the New Jerusalem). Chapter 19 divides into two parts: (1) Rev. 19:1–10 is a thanksgiving song for the judgment of the great Babylon, which is, as the seventh bowl plague, preceded by Rev. 16:17–18:24;⁹⁹ (2) Rev. 19:11–21 introduces the rider on the white horse waging war against the nations and the beast and links to the following unit of Rev. 20:1–10 in light of the

⁹⁶ The psalms have צבאות (absolute) אלהים (absolute) יהוה though the LXX renders it as κύριε ὁ θεὸς τῶν δυνάμεων. Cf. צבאות (absolute) אלהי (construct) יהוה in Hos. 12:6, Amos 3:13; 4:13; 5:14, 6:8; etc.; otherwise, יהוה צבאות אלהי ישראל (mostly in Jeremiah and Isaiah).

⁹⁷ M. Eugene Boring, ‘The Theology of Revelation: “the Lord Our God the Almighty Reigns”,’ *Interpretation* 40, no. 3 (JI 1986): 257–69.

⁹⁸ See J. H. Eaton, *Psalms of the Way and the Kingdom: A Conference with the Commentators* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), 116–23. Consulting with several known commentators on Pss. 93, 97 and 99 (with the relevant psalms 96 and 98), he states, ‘So long as the cultic experience was not explored, the eschatological explanation seemed to be the only way to do justice to the scope of this newly assumed kingship. This approach was reinforced by the fact that expressions similar to the key idioms of our psalms came to be used in prophetic or apocalyptic materials such as Zech. 14.9, Obadiah 21, Rev. 11.7 and 19.6. But the lack of directly predictive expressions in our psalms led to equally strained rival interpretations—that the inauguration of sovereignty was a metaphor for some new political success, or was not an inauguration at all, but an ever-abiding, unchanging reign’ (p. 122).

⁹⁹ Jan Lambrecht, ‘A Structuration of Rev 4,1-22,5,’ in *L’Apocalypse johannique et l’Apocalyptique dans le Nouveau Testament*, ed. Jan Lambrecht, Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium 53 (Gembloux, Belgique: J. Duculot, 1980), 77–104. See also Rev. 19:4 / Ps. 106:48.

defeat of Satan.¹⁰⁰ In the book of Revelation, the martial image of the rider on the white horse occurs not only here in Rev. 19:11–21 but also in Rev. 6:2. While a reference to Christ in Rev. 6:2 is debated,¹⁰¹ the rider on the white horse in Rev. 19:11 most likely indicates Jesus Christ as the Messiah/the returning king. This is evidenced by the appellations applied to the rider, e.g., ‘Faithful and True’ (cf. Rev. 1:5; 3:14), ‘King of kings and Lord of lords’ (cf. Rev. 17:14). The messianic figure in Rev. 19:11–21 is portrayed as a victorious warrior against the evil power.

The warrior imagery of the messiah in the Revelation text was probably not uncommon in the Roman Empire.¹⁰² Kiddle thinks that John had in mind the white horse symbolizing the Parthians’ power (cf. Rev. 6:2).¹⁰³ It is possible that John reflected the contemporary warriors’ appearance in Rev. 19:11–16 in order to draw attention to the messiah’s power/victory. As pointed out, nonetheless, the rider in the Revelation text clearly designates an eschatological future king: v. 11: ‘in righteousness he judges’ (ἐν δικαιοσύνη κρίνει), v. 15: ‘he will rule them with an iron rod’ (αὐτὸς ποιμανεῖ αὐτοὺς ἐν ῥάβδῳ σιδηρᾷ), v. 16: ‘King of kings and Lord of lords’ (Βασιλεὺς βασιλέων καὶ κύριος κυρίων). In this regard, John’s use of the Roman warrior imagery in Rev. 19:11–16 seems less likely.

In ancient Jewish tradition, the king as an anointed one (messiah) was expected to be a warrior and God himself is thus illustrated as divine warrior.¹⁰⁴ Having a double-image of a victorious warrior and an eschatological king, the rider on the white horse in Rev. 19:11–21 is best

¹⁰⁰ R. J. McKelvey, ‘The Millennium and the Second Coming,’ in *Studies in the Book of Revelation*, ed. Steve Moyise (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 2001), 94–99.

¹⁰¹ ‘Christ’ - Zane Clark Hodges, ‘The First Horseman of the Apocalypse,’ *Bibliotheca Sacra* 119, no. 476 (O-D 1962): 324–34.; Beckwith, *The Apocalypse of John*, 517–18; Michael Bachmann, ‘Der erste apokalyptische Reiter und die Anlage des letzten Buches der Bibel,’ *Biblica* 67, no. 2 (1986): 240–75; Homer Hailey, *Revelation, an Introduction and Commentary* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1979); George Eldon Ladd, *A Commentary on the Revelation of John* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1972), 96. ‘Not messianic figure’ - Johannes Weiss, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes: ein Beitrag zur Literatur- und Religionsgeschichte*, Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten Und Neuen Testaments Heft 3 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1904); André Feuillet, ‘Le premier cavalier de l’Apocalypse,’ *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche* 57, no. 3–4 (1966): 258–59; Morris, *The Revelation of St. John*, 102–105; Mathias Rissi, ‘Rider on the White Horse: A Study of Revelation 6:1-8,’ *Interpretation* 18, no. 4 (1964): 407–18; Beale, *The Book of Revelation*, 377. For more details, see Aune, *Revelation 6-16*, 393–94; Beale, *The Book of Revelation*, 375–77.

¹⁰² See Aune, *Revelation 17-22*, 1050–51.

¹⁰³ Kiddle, *The Revelation of St. John*, 384. Cf. Caird, *A Commentary on the Revelation of St. John the Divine*, 242–43.

¹⁰⁴ In Judg. 8, Gideon won a battle and the Israelites then asked Gideon to be their king – ‘Rule over us (מִשָּׁל), you, your son and your grandson, because you have saved us out of the hand of Midian’ (8:22). Gideon refused it, saying, ‘I will not rule over you, nor will my son rule over you. Yahweh will rule over you’ (v. 23) (לֹא־אֲמַשֵּׁל אֲנִי בְכֶם וְלֹא־יִמְשָׁל בְּנֵי בְכֶם יְהוָה יִמְשָׁל בְכֶם). We note two things here. First, the recognition of the Israelites is that a king would clearly be a warrior who brings victory of war. That is, the king, who is the anointed one (messiah), would be the warrior of victory in battle. Secondly, in Gideon’s refusal that ‘I will not rule over... Yahweh will rule over you,’ it is likely that the leadership like Gideon and Samuel strongly recognized that YHWH was the true warrior and king for Israel. See also Patrick D. Miller, *Divine Warrior in Early Israel*, Harvard Semitic Monographs (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1973).

understood within this Jewish background.¹⁰⁵ Roloff sees such a double image of the rider of Rev. 19:11–16 in Zech. 9:9–10 as it portrays the future king riding on a donkey, destroying chariots, horses and the bow of war, and ruling over all the earth.¹⁰⁶ Beale argues that Rev. 19:11–21 probably alludes to 3 *Macc.* 2 on the basis of its verbal (πιστὸς εἶ καὶ ἀληθινός, 2:11; δικαία περιπεπληγμένον κρίσει, 2:22) and contextual similarity to the Revelation text.¹⁰⁷ In terms of the phrase, ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ κρίνει in Rev. 19:11, he further claims a ‘collective allusion to a favorite expression in the Psalms.’¹⁰⁸ Charles suggested Isa. 11:4 as the case when it says, ‘with righteousness he will judge the poor’ (κρινεῖ ταπεινῶ κρίσιν).¹⁰⁹ Responding to Charles, Moyise states, ‘However, the negative focus (καὶ πολεμεῖ, “and makes war”) makes it more likely that John is drawing on a number of psalms where this phrase occurs (e.g., 96:13: “He will judge the world with righteousness”).’¹¹⁰

Ps. 96:13 (98:9) MT	Ps. 95:13 [97:9] LXX	Rev. 19:11
<p>כי בא כי בא לשפט הארץ ישפט־תבל בצדק ועמים באמונתו</p>	<p>ὅτι ἔρχεται ὅτι ἔρχεται κρίναι τὴν γῆν κρινεῖ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ λαοὺς ἐν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ αὐτοῦ</p>	<p>ἰδοὺ ἵππος λευκός καὶ ὁ καθήμενος ἐπ’ αὐτὸν [καλούμενος] πιστὸς καὶ ἀληθινός, καὶ ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ κρίνει καὶ πολεμεῖ</p>

In early Christianity, the expression ‘to judge with righteousness/to judge rightly/a righteous judge’ is found here and there (John 7:24; Rom. 2:5; Acts 17:31; 2 Tim. 4:8; 1 Pet. 2:23; Rev. 19:11; *Barn.* 4:12; 19:11; *Did.* 4:3; *Gos. Nic.* 5:1; *Gos. Pet.* 1:3; *Der. Er. Rab.* 2:7). In the NT, that expression is mainly used to designate God as judge (cf. John 7:24), probably emerging from the Jewish recognition of Yahweh’s upright judgment as king.¹¹¹ John might have merely been inclined in Rev. 19:11 to a popular descriptive phrase for an ideal king or judge (Lev. 19:15; 1 Kings 3:9; Pss. 9:5, 9; 8:24, 26; 17:29; 35:24; 58:2; 72:2; 96:13; 98:9; *Wis.* 9:3; *Sir.* 45:26; Isa. 11:4; 16:5). Yet, in light of a characteristic identification of the rider as a victorious warrior and an eschatological king illustrated in Rev. 19:11–16, the phrase καὶ ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ κρίνει in Rev. 19:11 possibly alludes to Ps. 96:13 (98:9) as the psalms distinctively illustrate Yahweh as a coming king

¹⁰⁵ Tremper Longman, ‘The Divine Warrior: the New Testament Use of an Old Testament Motif,’ *Westminster Theological Journal* 44, no. 2 (Fall 1982): 297–300.

¹⁰⁶ Jürgen Roloff, *The Revelation of John: A Continental Commentary*, Continental Commentaries (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993), 217.

¹⁰⁷ Beale, *The Book of Revelation*, 950.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 951.

¹⁰⁹ Charles, *The Revelation of St. John*, vol. 2, 131. Aune also argues for Isa. 11:4 (*Revelation 17-22*, 1053).

¹¹⁰ Moyise, ‘The Psalms in the Book of Revelation,’ 244.

¹¹¹ Genesis 15:14; Deut. 32:36; 1 Sam. 2:10; Pss. 7:9; 9:9; 76:9; 110:6; 135:14; Job 35:14; 36:31; Dan. 7:22; etc.

to save his people, reign over the nations and judge the world. P. D. Miller says,

It has long been thought that the kingship of Yahweh originated out of the Jerusalem cultus, but that view is no longer tenable and in the light of extra-biblical material should have been suspect from the beginning. It is precisely in the early poetry of Israel that we see the kingship of Yahweh asserted (for example, Ex. 15:18; Deut. 33:5; Ps. 68:25; Num. 23:21; Ps. 24:9; 29:10). Yahweh's sovereignty is established by his victories over the enemies of Israel. He who defeats the foe claims dominion. The conception of the kingship of God is therefore from the beginning fully wrapped up in the early representations of the divine warrior.¹¹²

Longman attests in the book of Psalms these three roles of Yahweh as the divine warrior: saving, ruling and judging (Pss. 18, 20, 21, 24, 29, 46, 47, 66, 68, 76, 93, 96, 97, 98, 114, 118, 124, 125, 136).¹¹³ Especially he underlines in Psalm 98 the return of Yahweh after waging victorious holy war.¹¹⁴ In Rev. 19:11–21, the three roles are found in the acts/description of the rider (ἐν δικαιοσύνη κρίνει καὶ πολεμεῖ, Βασιλεὺς βασιλέων) and in a broad context of Rev. 19 are more clearly displayed—God's salvation (vv. 1–5), his reign (vv. 6–10) and the rider's judgment (vv. 11–21). The phrase κρινεῖ ... ἐν δικαιοσύνη καὶ ... ἐν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ αὐτοῦ in Ps. 96:13 are additionally supportive to the use of the psalm in Rev. 19:11 as calling the rider πιστὸς καὶ ἀληθινός. This very expression of Yahweh's coming to judge in righteousness and truth¹¹⁵ is reflected in Rev. 19:11 on the final judgment of Jesus as the Messiah, whose name is "Faithful and True," in which he judges the nations in righteousness.

Assessment

To judge with righteousness was a standard to be applied to kings and judges in Judaism and early Christianity, even to interpersonal relationships (John 7:24; *Barn.* 4:12; 19:11; *Did.* 4:2; *Der. Er. Rab.* 2:7).¹¹⁶ In the book of Psalms, the concept of judging justly is mostly used for Yahweh's judgment (Pss. 7:9; 9:5, 9; 35:24; 72:2; 96:13; 98:9). Psalms 96(95):13 and 98(97):9, two similar psalms in content and form, distinctively pronounce that Yahweh is coming to judge in righteousness (ἔρχεται κρῖναι...κρινεῖ...ἐν δικαιοσύνη). The phrase καὶ ἐν δικαιοσύνη κρίνει in Rev. 19:11, though not necessarily exclusive, has verbal similarities to the psalmic text. The contextual affinity between the two psalms and the Revelation text makes its allusion to the psalms more

¹¹² Miller, *Divine Warrior in Early Israel*, 174.

¹¹³ Longman, 'Psalm 98,' 271–73.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 268.

¹¹⁵ Kraus, *Psalms 60-150*, 254.

¹¹⁶ Cf. Aune, *Revelation 17-22*, 1053.

possible. Psalms 96 and 98 offer praise for Yahweh's redemption, reign and judgment. This thematic flow in the psalms has been fittingly elucidated in Rev. 19. In Rev. 19:11–21, in particular, the rider on the white horse is delineated as a victorious warrior and king; this messianic figure judges in righteousness. On account of the impression in the psalms that Yahweh is coming to judge the earth, 'he comes, he comes to judge the earth' (כי בא כי בא לשפט הארץ), it is possible that by using Ps. 96:13 (98:9) John underscores Jesus' return as an eschatological king to judge all the nations.

Psalms 96 and 98 have been noticed earlier in the reference to a 'new song' in Rev. 5:8–9; 14:2–3 to Pss. 33(32):2–3; 98(97):1, 5; 144(143):9; 149:1, 3. Though having the word, 'new song' (Ps. 96:1), Ps. 96 was ruled out in that discussion because of the absence of a musical instrument. When it comes to the term, 'new song,' however, Ps. 96 along with Ps. 98 should be considered because the word, 'new song' is characteristic psalmic terminology (see Section 3.2.3 above; Rev. 5:8–9; 14:2–3 / Pss. 33(32):2–3; 98(97):1, 5; 144(143):9; 149:1, 3). In addition, there are possible allusions to Pss. 96 and 98 in Rev. 5:13 (see Section 4.2.2; Rev. 5:13 / Ps. 96:11–12 [98:7–8]). Given John's preference for using the psalms, these earlier allusions may also increase the possibility of the allusion in Rev. 19:11 to Ps. 96:13 (98:9).

6.10 Summary

Compared with Chapters 4 and 5, it is interesting that the cases discussed in this chapter are mostly deployed in regard to God other than Christ. There are two exceptions to this: Rev. 11:9–10 and Rev. 19:11.

The expression of 'one who sits on the throne' in the book of Revelation (4:2, 9, 10; 5:1, 7, 13; 6:16; 7:10, 15; 19:4; 20:11; 21:5) specifically represents God's kingly reign. The phrase *πᾶν κτίσμα...* in Rev. 5:13a indicates God as Creator. Revelation 8:3–4 illustrates an incense-offering ritual to God in temple service while Rev. 5:8 immediately indicates the prayers of the saints as incense-offering. Psalm 141:2 is used in both cases in Revelation to underscore prayer as an offering to God. By criticizing those who refuse to repent of their worshipping of demons and idols, Rev. 9:20 contrasts it with the worshipping of God. The seven thunders in Rev. 10:3–4 allude to Yahweh's voice in Ps. 29. Revelation 14:10 presents God's wrathful judgment on those who worship the beast and its idols. Revelation 19:6 makes an extolment of God's sovereignty over all. In these seven cases the author of Revelation made use of the Psalms for praising God and spotlighting his kingship.

The fall of Jerusalem of Ps. 79 has been reflected on the persecution of two witnesses in

Rev. 11:9–10, which stand for the body of the churches. Yahweh, who will come as the righteous judge of the earth in Ps. 96:13 and 98:9, is delineated as a messianic figure for the judgment of the nations in Rev. 19:11.

Chapter 7

Influences

'Influences' include the cases which do not have contextual affinity though showing textually some textual similarity.

7.1 Rev. 2:23 / Pss. 7:10; 62(61):13

A woman called 'Jezebel' in the church of Thyatira in Rev. 2:20–23 is presumably educed from king Ahab's wife, Jezebel, in 1 Kings 16–19 and 2 Kings 9.¹ Jezebel, daughter of the Ethbaal king of the Sidonians, in 1 Kings 16:31 promoted the worship of Canaanite fertility deities. Her actions are called 'harlotries and sorceries' (2 Kings 9:22).² In 1 Kings 18:4 Jezebel slaughtered the prophets of Yahweh and, because of this, Yahweh paid her back with death under the reign of Jehu (cf. 2 Kings 9:7–10). In Rev. 2 the Thyatiran Jezebel is depicted as a false prophetess, being accused of misdirecting the church's leaders ('my servants') to fall into sexual immorality (πλανῶ τοὺς ἐμοὺς δούλους πορνεῦσαι, v. 20) and commit adultery with her (τοὺς μοιχεύοντας μετ' αὐτῆς, v. 22).³ Against such a trespass of the Thyatiran Jezebel, Rev. 2:22–23 pronounces the requital judgment upon her by the Son of God (v. 18). The Jezebel narrative in the books of Kings most likely forms the background of Rev. 2:20–23.

When it comes to the wordings in Rev. 2:23b, 'all the churches shall know that I am he who searches mind and heart, and I will give to each of you as your works deserve' (γνώσονται πᾶσαι αἱ ἐκκλησίαι ὅτι ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ ἐραυνῶν νεφροὺς καὶ καρδίας, καὶ δώσω ὑμῖν ἐκάστω κατὰ τὰ ἔργα ὑμῶν), many texts in early Judaism are to be considered as relevant to Rev. 2:23b: 'to search one's

¹ Swete, *The Apocalypse of St. John*, 42–43; Charles, *The Revelation of St. John*, 1:70; Caird, *A Commentary on the Revelation of St. John the Divine*, 44; Harrington, *Revelation*, 91–92; Mounce, *The Book of Revelation*, 104–105; Aune, *Revelation 1-5*, 203; Beale, *The Book of Revelation*, 261. Cf. Morris, *The Revelation of St. John*, 70 – 'Certainly no Jew would have borne it in view of the evils practiced by Ahab's wife'; Humphrey argues that 'Jezebel' echoes the 'Old Testament judgments of "the daughter of the Chaldeans" (Isa. 47:1-15)' (Edith M. Humphrey, 'A Tale of Two Cities and (At Least) Three Women,' in *Reading the Book of Revelation: A Resource for Students*, ed. David L. Barr, Resources for Biblical Study 44 [Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003], 84).

² See Gale A. Yee, 'Jezebel,' *ABD* 3:848–49.

³ For the identification of the 'Thyatiran Jezebel,' scholars vary. Schürer – 'A prophetess and priestess of the temple of a Chaldean Sibyl in Thyatira' (Emil Schürer, 'Die Prophetin Isabel in Thyatira: Offenb. Joh. 2 20,' in *Theologische Abhandlungen: Carl von Weizsäcker* [Freiburg: Mohr Siebeck, 1892], 37–58). Swete – 'The wife of the Bishop of the Church at Thyatira' (Swete, *The Apocalypse of St John*, 43). Disagreeing with Schürer, Ramsay describes the Thyatiran Jezebel as being 'a person of broad views and reasonable mind, who played a prominent part in a great religious movement, and perished defeated and decried' (William Mitchell Ramsay, *The Letters to the Seven Churches*, ed. Mark W. Wilson [Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson Publishers, 1994], 248).

mind and heart' (1 Kings 8:39; Jer. 11:20; 17:10; 20:12; Pss. 7:10; 17:3; 26:2; 139:23; 1 Chron. 29:17; 2 Chron. 6:30), 'to recompense according to one's work' (Pss. 28:4; 62:13; Prov. 24:12; Isa. 3:11; Lam. 3:64; *Sir.* 16:12, 14; *Pss. Sol.* 2:16, 34; 17:8). Revelation 2:23b was likely derived from some popular awareness of Yahweh in the Scripture that he inspects one's mind and heart and judges humans according to their deeds.⁴ Scholars commend Jer. 11:20 and 17:10, which not only contain similar expressions but in their contexts the Jezebel occasion is also involved.⁵ Psalms 7:10 and 62:13 may also be influential to Rev. 2:23.

Pss. 7:10; 62:13 MT	Pss. 7:10; 61:13 LXX	Rev. 2:23
ובחן לבות וכליות... ... אלהים צדיק	...ἐτάζων καρδίας και νεφρούς ὁ θεός δικαία...	ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ ἐραυνῶν νεφρούς και καρδίας δώσω ὑμῖν ἐκάστῳ
אתה תשלם לאיש כמעשהו	...σὺ ἀποδώσεις ἐκάστῳ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ	κατὰ τὰ ἔργα ὑμῶν

A verbal dissimilarity between Rev. 2:23b and Ps. 7:10 LXX is seen. The verb ἐραυνῶ ('to examine') used in Rev. 2:23 only occurs in the NT (6 times) but never in the OT. On the contrary, the word ἐτάζω ('to test') employed in Ps. 7:10 LXX (Jer. 17:10 LXX) is not of use in the NT. Differently from Jer. 17:10, 'according to his ways' (κατὰ τὰς ὁδοὺς), though, the psalmic text contains the same expression as in Rev. 2:23, 'according to one's deeds.'⁶ Regarding the Revelation text, one thing should be noted. That is, in Rev. 2 the woman Jezebel and her side are to be punished for their evildoings. The punishments are worked out in several ways: (1) Jezebel is thrown on a bed of suffering (βάλλω αὐτήν εἰς κλίνην, v. 22a). (2) Those who committed adultery with her fall into a great tribulation (τοὺς μοιχεύοντας μετ' αὐτῆς εἰς θλίψιν μεγάλην, v. 22b). (3) Jezebel's children are to be stricken with a deadly disease (τὰ τέκνα αὐτῆς ἀποκτενῶ ἐν θανάτῳ, v. 23a). Yet, such punishments displayed in Rev. 2:22–23a are conditional in that the repentance of Jezebel and her accomplices could nullify the punishments (ἐὰν μὴ μετανοήσωσιν ἐκ τῶν ἔργων αὐτῆς, v. 22b). Revelation 2:21, however, emphatically states she, Jezebel, refuses to repent even when the chance is given to her (ἔδωκα αὐτῇ χρόνον ἵνα μετανοήσῃ, καὶ οὐ θέλει μετανοῆσαι ἐκ τῆς

⁴ The phrase γινώσκονται... ὅτι in Rev. 2:23 is an OT form of expression (Charles, *The Revelation of St. John*, 1:72).

⁵ Charles, 71; Harrington, 92; Morris, 24 – 'Jer. 11:20'; Swete, 45; Mounce, 105; Aune, 206; Beale, 264 – 'Jer. 17:20.'

⁶ In the Scripture, the phrase κατὰ τὰς ὁδοὺς is often used just as κατὰ τὰ ἔργα for Yahweh's retributive judgment (1 Kings 8:39; Hos. 12:3; Zech. 1:6; Jer. 17:10; Ezek. 7:27; 20:44; 24:14; 2 Chron. 6:30; cf. *Sir.* 11:26). Similarly to Jer. 17:10, in particular, in Hos. 12:3; Zech. 1:6; Ezek. 20:44 (cf. 24:14), the phrase κατὰ τὰς ὁδοὺς is idiomatically used for Yahweh's repayment along with κατὰ τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα ('according to the way of living'). Though in the LXX having ἐνθύμημα instead of ἐπιτηδεύματα, Ezek. 24:14 MT includes the same combination of הַלִּילִי and חַיִּי as in Ezek. 20:44.

πορνείας αὐτῆς). By denying this opportunity for repentance, Jezebel and the fornicators would have presented themselves as innocent—not needing to repent. As a result, they deceive the church in Thyatira. By drawing on a well-known scriptural idea that God inspects one’s mind (secret) and thought and pays back according to one’s works, John cautions the church not to follow the false prophetess Jezebel in Rev. 2:23.

It is noticeable that Ps. 7 immediately refers to the matter of repentance. Verse 11 encourages men to gain God’s salvation by being upright in heart (מוֹשִׁיעַ יִשְׂרָאֵל) and v. 13 warns men that they will be judged by his sword and bow unless they repent (אִם-לֹא יֵשׁוּב חֲרָבוּ יִלְטֹשׁ קִשְׁתּוֹ דֶּרֶךְ וַיִּכּוֹנֵנָה). In Ps. 62, meanwhile, there is no direct implication of repentance to be viewed. The psalm instead strongly admonishes men to trust in God alone and pour out men’s hearts before him (...בְּכָל-עַתָּה...שִׁפְכוּ-לִפְנֵי לַבְּבֹכִים, v.9) and not to trust in human beings and set one’s heart on property (אֲךָ הַבֵּל בְּנֵי-אָדָם כֹּזֵב, v.10; חֵיל כִּי-יִנּוֹב אֶל-תְּשִׁיתוֹ לֵב, v.11). The church in Thyatira suffered the Nicolaitans’ principle of ‘assimilating of the church usage to the character of existing society.’⁷ The society of Thyatira, which was a trading and manufacturing center, had an exceptionally large and varied series of trade guilds. Perhaps most prominent among them was the bronzesmiths and modelers in bronze.⁸ John renounces the church’s tolerance to such a double-sided attitude, equating it with idolatry (Rev. 2:20), and repeatedly urges the church to repent (Rev. 2:21–22). While other relevant scriptural texts of 1 Kings 16–19; 2 Kings 9; Jer. 11:20; 17:10 do not involve the issue of repentance, Ps. 7:10 (possibly Ps. 62:13) supports that which is marked in the context of Rev. 2:20–23.⁹

7.2 Rev. 7:17 / Ps. 23(22):1–2

Revelation 7 divides into two sections (7:1–8; 7:9–17), which are often juxtaposed to each other: ‘144,000 sealed’ vs ‘a great multitude redeemed,’ ‘(the 144,000) from Israel’ vs ‘(the multitude) from all nations.’¹⁰ The second section of Rev. 7:9–17 may subdivide into heavenly praise to God and the Lamb (vv. 9–12) and God and the Lamb’s eternal protection of those who are saved (vv. 13–17). In Rev. 7:17 the Lamb is depicted as a shepherd leading the redeemed (ποιμανεῖ αὐτοὺς καὶ ὀδηγήσει αὐτοὺς) to ‘springs of living water’ (ζωῆς πηγὰς ὑδάτων). Of four occurrences of ποιμαίνω

⁷ Ramsay, *The Letters to the Seven Churches*, 246

⁸ *Ibid.*, 242, 246.

⁹ Cf. Kyōng-Shik Kim, *God Will Judge Each One According to Works: Judgment According to Works and Psalm 62 in Early Judaism and the New Testament*, *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche / Beihefte* 178 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2011)

¹⁰ See Richard Bauckham, ‘The List of the Tribes in Revelation 7 Again,’ *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 42 (1991): 99–115.

in the book of Revelation (2:27; 7:17; 12:5; 19:15), Rev. 7:17 evinces a shepherd imagery of Christ,¹¹ an imagery which is very common both in Judaism and Christianity.¹² Commentators usually consider three scriptural texts for the background of Rev. 7:17—Isa. 49:10; Ezek. 34:23; Ps. 23(22):1–2.¹³ Isaiah 49:10 LXX shows textual equivalence to Rev. 7:16–17.

Isa. 49:10 LXX	Rev. 7:16–17
οὐ πεινάσουσιν οὐδὲ διψήσουσιν οὐδὲ πατάξει αὐτοὺς καύσων οὐδὲ ὁ ἥλιος	Οὐ πεινάσουσιν ἔτι οὐδὲ διψήσουσιν ἔτι οὐδὲ μὴ πέση ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ὁ ἥλιος οὐδὲ πᾶν καῦμα
ὁ ἐλεῶν αὐτοὺς παρακαλέσει καὶ διὰ πηγῶν ὑδάτων ἄξει αὐτούς	ποιμανεῖ αὐτοὺς καὶ ὁδηγήσει αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ ζωῆς πηγᾶς ὑδάτων

The phrase, ‘He who has pity on them will lead them... guide them’ (ὁ ἐλεῶν αὐτοὺς παρακαλέσει...ἄξει αὐτούς, Isa. 49:10) reflects the image of the Lamb described in Rev. 7:17. The Israelites (‘they’) are illustrated in Isa. 49:9 to have been in exile and in darkness but in its context the Servant, the agent of Yahweh, now declares that they are being released (λέγοντα τοῖς ἐν δεσμοῖς ἐξέλθατε καὶ τοῖς ἐν τῷ σκότει ἀνακαλυφθήνα).¹⁴ The ‘great multitude’ who came out of the great tribulation (οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ ἐρχόμενοι ἐκ τῆς θλίψεως τῆς μεγάλης) in Rev. 7:14 can be connected with the Israelites who are to be released from their oppression in Isa. 49:10. The Isaiah text, however, does not contain the verb ποιμαίνω, which most distinctively connotes the metaphor of a shepherd. Provided its dependence on Isa. 49:10, Rev. 7:17 perhaps utilized the MT, מִרְחֲמֵם יְנַהֵגם וְעַל-מְבוּעֵי מַיִם יְנַהֵלם.¹⁵

Ezekiel 34:23 announces a future, Davidic shepherd (וְהִקְמַתִּי עֲלֵיהֶם רֹעֶה אֶחָד... אֵת עַבְדֵי דָוִד). In Rev. 5:5–6, the Lamb is described as the Lion of the tribe of Judah, the Root of David. Contrasting 144,000 from the twelve tribes of Israel (Rev. 7:4–8) and the great multitude from all nations (Rev. 7:9–17), Bauckham states, ‘The contrasting images are parallel to those of 5.5–6: the 144,000 are the Israelite army of the Lion of Judah, while the international multitude are the followers of the slaughtered Lamb.’¹⁶ If he is correct, the Lamb

¹¹ Cf. Rev. 2:26–27; 12:5; 19:15 / Ps. 2:8–9

¹² For details, see Aune, *Revelation 6-16*, 477–78.

¹³ Charles, 216–17 – Ps. 23:1, 3; Isa. 40:11 and Ezek. 34:23 but ‘very little connection with Isa. 49:10’; Swete, 105; Caird, 102; Beckwith, 546 – Ps. 23:1–2 and Ezek. 34:23; Mounce, 175 – Ps. 23:1 and Isa. 40:11; Aune, 477 – Isa. 49:10 and Ezek. 34:23; Fekkes, *Isaiah and prophetic traditions in the book of Revelation*, 171 – Isa. 49:10; Beale, 442–43.

¹⁴ See John N. Oswalt, *The Book of Isaiah: Chapters 40-66* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 298; Øystein Lund, *Way Metaphors and Way Topics in Isaiah 40-55* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007), 236–38.

¹⁵ In Ps. 48:15, the Hebrew verb נָהַג is translated into ποιμαίνω. See also Jan Fekkes, *Isaiah and Prophetic Traditions in the Book of Revelation*.

¹⁶ Bauckham, ‘The List of the Tribes in Revelation 7 Again,’ 103.

shepherd in Rev. 7:17 alludes to the ‘one Davidic shepherd’ in Ezek. 34:23, highlighting in Revelation the fulfillment in Christ of Ezekiel’s prophecy of a ‘single Davidic shepherd.’¹⁷ In its context, the allusion in Rev. 7:17 to Ezek. 34:23 finds ancillary support when Yahweh’s protection of his flock after rescuing them (וְהוֹשַׁעְתִּי לְצִאֲנִי וְלֹא־תַהֲיִינָה עוֹד לְבַז) in Ezek. 34:22 is compared with God’s protection in Rev. 7:15b–16. Differently from the texts of Isaiah and Ezekiel, Ps. 23(22):1–2 subsumes both of two key expressions of Rev. 7:17 together: ‘to shepherd them’ (ποιμανεῖ αὐτούς), ‘to lead them to springs of living water’ (ὁδηγήσει αὐτούς ἐπὶ ζωῆς πηγὰς ὑδάτων) as the text of the Psalm says, ‘Yahweh tends me as a shepherd...he leads me beside still waters’ (ποιμαίνει με... ἐπὶ ὕδατος ἀναπαύσεως ἐξέθρεψέν με, על-מי מנחות ינהלני).¹⁸

Ps. 23:1–2 MT	Ps. 22:1–2 LXX	Rev. 7:17
יהוה רעי לא אחסר בנאות דשא ירביצני על-מי מנחות ינהלני	Κύριος ποιμαίνει με καὶ οὐδέν με ὑστερήσει εἰς τόπον χλόης ἐκεῖ με κατεσκήνωσεν ἐπὶ ὕδατος ἀναπαύσεως ἐξέθρεψέν με	τὸ ἀρνίον τὸ ἀνά μέσον τοῦ θρόνου ποιμανεῖ αὐτούς καὶ ὁδηγήσει αὐτούς ἐπὶ ζωῆς πηγὰς ὑδάτων

The metaphor of ‘Yahweh as shepherd’ in Ps. 23 is one of the oldest epithets of God in the Hebrew tradition (Gen. 49:24).¹⁹ In the Hebrew Bible, the image of a shepherd often describes Yahweh, who saved his people from Egypt and continued to protect them in the wilderness (Isa. 40:11; 49:9–10; Jer. 31:10; Mic. 7:14; Pss. 77:21; 78:52–53; 80:2; 95:7. Cf. Pss. 23:1–2; 28:9; 74:1; 100:3). Although Ps. 23 does not point or allude to a specific historical occasion, nonetheless vv. 4–5, at least, imply that the psalmist experienced Yahweh’s salvation while in distress from his enemies. Craigie points out,

¹⁷ Cf. Aune, *Revelation 6-16*, 478, ‘The imagery of Rev. 7:17 is based on traditional conceptions associated with the Davidic Messiah.’

¹⁸ See Moyise, ‘The Psalms in the Book of Revelation,’ 243. He points out, ‘The specific use of ποιμαίνω to mean “shepherd” rather than “rule”, in conjunction with the fact that Psalm 23 does speak of guiding to water, suggests that Psalm 23 lies in the background.’ Note that the verb ὁδηγέω, which occurs in Rev. 7:17, does not appear in Ps. 22:2 LXX (instead ἐκτρέφω) though it is present in Ps. 22:3 LXX. In fact, however, the word ὁδηγέω is relatively less used in the NT (only 5 times) while in the OT, especially in the Psalms, with reference to Yahweh’s guidance it occurs 27 times (cf. Ps. 44:5). The verb ἐκτρέφω rarely occurs in the OT, only in Ps. 22:2 LXX. Given John’s use of Ps. 23(22):2–3, he might have simply chosen a more general term, ὁδηγέω, for God’s shepherding in the Psalms. In addition, the Hebrew verb נהל (which occurs in Ps. 23:2 MT) is not translated in the LXX into ὁδηγέω at all. The MT’s influence on Rev. 7:17 is more plausible rather than the LXX.

¹⁹ Craigie, *Psalms 1-50*, 206. See also Jack W. Vancil, ‘The Symbolism of the Shepherd in Biblical, Intertestamental and New Testament Material’ (Ph.D. diss., Dropsie University, 1975), 346. Cf. in *ANET*, ‘Hymn to the Sun-God,’ for Shamash, ‘Thou indeed art their shepherd both above and below’ (James B. Pritchard, ed., *Ancient Near Eastern Texts: Relating to the Old Testament*, 3rd with supp. [Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1969], 387).

The metaphor (Ps. 23) is loaded in another sense, too; the terminology of the metaphor associates it with the Exodus from Egypt and the Hebrews' travels in the wilderness, when God's provision and protection had been known like that of a shepherd.²⁰

The great multitude in Rev. 7:9–17 are those who were redeemed from the great tribulation (ἐκ τῆς θλίψεως τῆς μεγάλης, v. 14) and are given God's protection (vv. 15b–16) and the Lamb's shepherding (v. 17). As already mentioned, the Lamb in the book of Revelation is Davidic (5:5–6) and Rev. 7:17 represents the shepherding of the Davidic Lamb. Thus, it is possible that along with Ezek. 34:23, John had in mind Ps. 23:1–2 in Rev. 7:17. Additionally, as has been discussed in the present study, the book of Psalms contributes to an understanding of Christology in Revelation. Yahweh's kingship (salvation and judgment) is rendered as the work of Christ the Lamb at several places in the book (e.g., Rev. 1:5; 2:26–27; 5:12–13; 7:9–12, 17; 11:15; 19:15–6). In light of this, the psalmic influence is more conceivable.

7.3 Rev. 10:6 [14:7] / Ps. 146(145):6

The book of Revelation tends to use indirect epithets of God rather than direct ones—e.g., 'one who is, who was and who is to come' (1:4); 'the Alpha and the Omega' (1:8); 'the Almighty' (1:8; 4:8; 11:17; 15:3; etc.); 'one who sits on the throne' (4:2; etc.); 'one who lives for ever and ever' (4:10; 10:6); 'one who created the heavens...and what is in it' (10:6; 14:7). Revelation 5:13; 10:6 and 14:7 are three texts in the book of Revelation that mention God's creation of the heavens, the earth and the sea. As has been discussed in Rev. 5:13 / Ps. 96(95):11–12, Rev. 5:13 introduces praise of all creatures—in heaven, on earth, under the earth, in the sea, and all that is in them—to God (πᾶν κτίσμα ὃ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ ὑποκάτω τῆς γῆς καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς πάντα). However, it does not emphasize God's creative act nor mention God as Creator.²¹ On the contrary, Rev. 10:6 and 14:7 specify God as Creator who made (ὃς ἔκτισεν, 10:6; τῷ ποιήσαντι, 14:7) the heavens, the earth, the sea and all that is in it. This is one of the most significant designations for God in Jewish literature (e.g., Gen. 1:1; Exod. 20:11; 31:17; 2 Kings 19:15; Neh. 9:6; Isa. 37:16; Amos 5:8; Pss. 89:11; 115:15; 121:2; 124:8; 134:3; 146:6; Dan. 4:37 LXX; *I En.* 101:6, 8; Aristob. 5:4; etc.).²² Jews also seemingly incorporated a further theological implication to this epithet. They meant not just the one who created all the universe but also the

²⁰ Craigie, *Psalms 1-50*, 206.

²¹ For details, see Rev. 5:13 / Ps. 96(95):11–12

²² For the more general descriptions of God as Creator in the Scripture, see Jack Cottrell, *What the Bible Says About God the Creator* (Joplin, Mo.: College Press, 1983), 134–42; Robbert M. Van den Berg, 'God the Creator, God the Creation: Numenius' Interpretation of Genesis 1:2 (frg. 30),' in *The Creation of Heaven and Earth: Re-interpretations of Genesis 1 in the Context of Judaism, Ancient Philosophy, Christianity, and Modern Physics*, ed. Geurt Hendrik van Kooten, Themes in Biblical Narrative (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2005), 109–23.

‘one and unique’ God and his power and superiority over nature.²³ The NT writers brought into their writings the descriptive notion of ‘the one who made heaven and earth and sea and all that is in them,’ highlighting God as the sovereign Lord (Acts 4:24; 14:15; Rev. 10:6; 14:7; cf. 1 Cor. 10:26). Noticeably, the Revelation texts in question (including Rev. 5:13) refer to the worship of God. John C. Endres points out, ‘In the book of Psalms creation awareness stands out in the hymns of praise, where God’s ongoing creative activity serves as motivation to praise God.’²⁴ Among such hymns, Ps. 146(145):6 shows closer relevance to Rev. 10:6 and 14:7.²⁵

Ps. 146:6 MT	Ps. 145:6 LXX	Rev. 10:6 [14:7]
עֲשֶׂה שָׁמַיִם וָאָרֶץ אֶת־הַיָּם וְאֶת־כָּל־אֲשֶׁר־בָּם הַשֹּׁמֵר אֶמֶת לְעוֹלָם	τὸν ποιήσαντα τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς τὸν φυλάσσοντα ἀλήθειαν εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα	ὃς ἔκτισεν (10:6) τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ τὴν γῆν καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ προσκυνήσατε (14:7) τῷ ποιήσαντι τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν καὶ πηγὰς ὑδάτων

Textually, in Ps. 146(145):6 Yahweh is depicted as ‘the one who made heaven, earth, the sea and all that is in them,’ which is found also in Rev. 10:6 and 14:7 (cf. Neh. 9:6). In its context, the psalm negates the power of foreign rulers (ἄρχων) / human beings (vv. 2–3) and, in contrast, acclaims Yahweh’s creative power and faithfulness for his justice, salvation of the afflicted and judgment of the wicked (vv. 5–9). The Psalm ends with a declaration of Yahweh’s eternal kingship in v. 10. Prior to the last plague, i.e., the seventh trumpet (interlocked with the seven bowls judgment), interestingly, Rev. 10:6 and 14:7 contain a similar expression, which immediately

²³ Winfried Thiel, ‘God as Creator and Lord of Nature in the Deuteronomistic Literature,’ in *Creation in Jewish and Christian Tradition* (New York: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002), 54–71. He states, ‘From their early history the Israelites were aware of the power of their God over nature. In the oldest account of the rescue at the sea—except for the short victory song in Exod. 15:21b—YHWH drives away the sea by a strong east wind. At the right moment he brings back the sea and shakes the Egyptians into the water (Exod. 14:21, 27). The Israelites were probably convinced of the superiority of God over nature, before they took over the idea of creation from the Canaanites’ (p. 69). See also Jack Cottrell, *What the Bible Says About God the Creator* (Joplin: College Press Pub., 1983); Robbert M. Van den Berg, ‘God the creator, God the creation: Numenius’ interpretation of Genesis 1:2 (frg. 30),’ 109–123; Robert C. Neville, ‘God the Creator: on the Transcendence and Presence of God (Reprint of 1968 Ed.),’ *Calvin Theological Journal* (April 1, 1998): 213–14. Cottrell argues, ‘The fact that he is the Creator of heaven and earth is interjected in order to emphasize his power or his trustworthiness or his authority’ (p. 140).

²⁴ John C. Endres, ‘Praising God the Creator: Praying with Psalms During the Spiritual Exercises of Ignatius,’ *Ex Auditu* 18 (2002): 93–115. See also Allen, *Psalms 101-150*, 303; David J. MacLeod, ‘The Adoration of God the Creator: An Exposition of Revelation 4,’ *Bibliotheca Sacra* 164, no. 654 (Ap-Je 2007): 198–218. Allen said that a customary element in the hymn is the work of Yahweh as creator.

²⁵ Cf. Pss. 8:3–4; 33:6–9; 69:35; 89:11; 90:2; 95:3–6; 100:3; 102:25; 104:5–8; 115:15; 119:73; 121:2; 124:8; 134:3; 136:3–6; 148:5.

indicates the imminence of God's judgment (ὅτι χρόνος οὐκέτι ἔσται, 10:6; ὅτι ἦλθεν ἡ ὥρα τῆς κρίσεως αὐτοῦ, 14:7). Though, as pointed out earlier, somewhat different from these two texts, praise of all creatures to God in Rev. 5:13 is also located right before the beginning of the seven seal judgment. In other words, the description of God as creator in Revelation seems to have been deliberately employed in order to draw attention to God's judgment to come, which is regarded in the book as part of God's sovereign reign. Considering its prominent usage in the hymnic psalms, laudatory expressions to God as creator in Rev. 5:13, 10:6 and 14:7 probably have a psalmic background in general (or possibly a scriptural influence in a broad sense). Regarding Rev. 10:6 and 14:7, it should not be overlooked that, apart from textual affinity between the two Revelation texts and Ps. 146(145), Yahweh's reign, by saving the righteous and judging the wicked in the psalm, is distinctively found in the Revelation contexts. The designation of God as 'the one who made heaven, earth, the sea and all that is in them' in Rev. 10:6 and 14:7 likely originated from Ps. 146(145):6.

7.4 Rev. 11:2b / Ps. 79(78):1

Revelation 10:1–11:13 is an interlude before the seventh trumpet plague that comprises two segments of the commissions of prophesying to John (10:1–11) and to the two witnesses (11:3–13). In between those two segments, Rev. 11:1–2 seems isolated and is arguably one of the more problematic texts in Revelation.²⁶ Though apparently disconnected in its literary context, Rev. 11:1–2 still shows the same pattern as one repeated throughout the book of Revelation, the pattern in which God's protection/salvation of his people is continually underlined during judgments (e.g., Rev. 7:3, 15–17; 9:4–5; 12:6, 16; 14:4–5, 13; 20:9; 21:3–4). In Rev. 11:1–2, the temple, the altar and the worshippers are measured for protection while the outer court of the temple is given to the Gentiles and the 'holy city' is to be trampled by them.²⁷ As noted earlier, the 'holy city' mentioned in Rev. 11:2 does not necessarily pinpoint the city of Jerusalem in Palestine but rather the entire

²⁶ For the issue of the location of Rev. 11:1–2 in its literary structure of Rev. 10:1–11:13, see Aune, *Revelation 6-16*, 593–98; Beale, 557–71. See also the case of Rev. 11:9–10 / Ps. 79(78):2–4 in this thesis.

²⁷ Beale, 558–59. Cf. Marko Jauhiainen, 'The Measuring of the Sanctuary Reconsidered (Rev 11,1-2),' *Biblica* 83, no. 4 (2002): 507–26. Jauhiainen suggests a different perspective, 'The commands to measure and not to measure create a contrast between the measured and non-measured item(s). Measuring is thus a device that draws a line of demarcation between the two groups or entities. If John is consciously using OT motifs, he deviates from them in at least two ways. First, the fact that John is told *not* to measure something is a signal to the audience to pay attention especially to the excluded items.... Second, while nothing is said about the fate of the thing measured, the contrast with that which is not measured suggests that it will not be cast out. Thus the prophetic act of measuring the sanctuary is not intended to convey that Christians are spiritually protected during the final tribulation, while physically vulnerable. Rather, John is being more subversive. Traditionally, the whole temple compound is trampled, but John takes a different tack. Unlike the sanctuaries of the past, this one will be protected from God's judgment' (p. 525).

Christian community in Revelation. The motif of the Gentiles trampling on the ‘holy city’ in the Revelation text, nevertheless, is most likely elicited from the historical destruction of the city of Jerusalem by the Gentiles (Isa. 63:18; Zech. 12:3; Dan. 8:13; Ps. 79:1. Cf. *Ps. Sol.* 7:2; 17:25; 1 *Macc.* 3:45, 51).²⁸ In light of the frequent uses of Ps. 79 in Revelation (cf. Rev. 6:10; 19:2 / Ps. 79[78]:5,10; Rev. 11:9–10 / Ps. 79[78]:2–4; Rev. 16:1 / Ps. 79[78]:6), the portrayal of the fall of Jerusalem in Ps. 79(78):1 can be considered.

Ps. 79:1 MT	Ps. 78:1 LXX	Rev. 11:2b
באו גוים בנחלתך טמאו את־היכל קדשך שמו את־ירושלם לעיים	ἤλθοσαν ἔθνη εἰς τὴν κληρονομίαν σου ἐμίαναν τὸν ναὸν τὸν ἅγιόν σου ἔθεντο Ἱερουσαλημ εἰς ὄπωροφυλάκιον	ὅτι ἐδόθη τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, καὶ τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἁγίαν πατήσουσιν μῆνας τεσσαράκοντα καὶ δύο

Two expressions in Rev. 11:2b – ‘It is given over to the nations’ (ὅτι ἐδόθη τοῖς ἔθνεσιν); ‘they (the Gentiles) trample on the holy city for forty two months’ (καὶ τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἁγίαν πατήσουσιν μῆνας τεσσαράκοντα καὶ δύο, cf. Luke 21:24)—emphatically reveal God’s permission for the Gentiles to take over the holy city and for the trampling of the city for a limited period of time. Zechariah 12:3 and Dan. 8:13 delineate Yahweh as the generator of the affliction to Jerusalem/the temple.²⁹ More precisely Dan. 8:14 refers to its period, ‘2,300 evenings and mornings’ (עד ערב בקר אלפים ושלש מאות), showing that Dan. 8:13 is closer to Rev. 11:2b. Psalm 79:1, on the other hand, makes no direct mention of the city of Jerusalem being trodden and, instead, refers to the defilement of the temple (μιαίνω, טמא). The LXX even contains a different expression of ‘Jerusalem into ruins’ (שמו את־ירושלם לעיים): a ‘storehouse of fruits’ (ἔθεντο Ἱερουσαλημ εἰς ὄπωροφυλάκιον). Moreover the psalmic text does not suggest God’s responsibility for the violation of foreign nations of the temple and Jerusalem nor its duration. Still, it clearly postulates Yahweh’s wrath pouring out over his people and its duration in the psalmist’s plea at the end of Ps. 79:5–12: ‘How long, O Lord? Will you be angry forever?’ (עד־מה יהיה תאנף לנצח, 79:5). Such a plea has been already considered in the discussion of Rev. 6:10 (see Rev. 6:10; 19:2 / Ps. 79(78):5, 10). Possibly John placed Rev. 11:2 as the answer to the petition of ‘How long?’ in Rev. 6:10, alluding

²⁸ See the discussion of Rev. 11:9–10 / Ps. 79(78):2–4 in Chapter 6 (see n. 70 in the chapter).

²⁹ Swete, 133 (Zech. 12:3 and Dan. 8:13); Ford, 170 (‘The idea of trampling to destroy, defile, or show contempt is found in Ps. 79:1, Isa. 63:18; 1 *Macc.* 4:60, 2 *Macc.* 8:2. But the texts most influential on this verse are Dan. 8:13–14; 1 *Macc.* 3:45’); Aune, *Revelation 6–16*, 607–608 (Zech. 12:3 LXX – ‘a trampled stone’ [λίθον καταπατούμενον] rather than ‘heavy stone’ [אבן מעמסה] in the MT); Caird, 132 and Beale, 569 – Dan. 8:13.

to the same psalm. If this is the case, Ps. 79(78):1 can be considered as the source of John’s use in Rev. 11:2. Because John constructs both the petition and the answer with recourse to the same psalm, his use should be considered as conscious rather than unconscious.

7.5 Rev. 12:12; 18:20 / Ps. 96(95):11–13

There are two places in the book of Revelation, Rev. 12:12 and 18:20, where heaven and the people who belong to it—i.e., the saints—are commanded to rejoice. The reason why they should make themselves joyful is because of the judgment of their enemies. Satan and Babylon the great are to be executed: ‘For the devil has come down to you in great wrath, because he knows that his time is short!’ (ὅτι κατέβη ὁ διάβολος πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἔχων θυμὸν μέγαν, εἰδὼς ὅτι ὀλίγον καιρὸν ἔχει, 12:12b); ‘For God has given judgment for you against her!’ (ὅτι ἔκρινεν ὁ θεὸς τὸ κρίμα ὑμῶν ἐξ αὐτῆς, 18:20b). Such exhortations have much similarity with those in the Scripture when, because of Yahweh’s judgment of the nations, the created world is commanded to rejoice (Deut. 32:43; Ps. 96:11 (=1 Chron. 16:31); Isa. 44:23; 49:13; Jer. 51:48). Some suggest that Ps. 96(95):11 provides the closest parallels.³⁰

Ps. 96:11–13 MT	Ps. 95:11–13 LXX	Rev. 12:12; 18:20
<p>ישמחו השמים ותגל הארץ ירעם הים ומלאו יעלו שדי וכל־אשר־בו אז ירננו כל־עצי־יער כי בא לשפט הארץ ישפט־תבל בצדק ועמים באמונתו</p>	<p>εὐφραινέσθωσαν οἱ οὐρανοὶ ἀγαλλιάσθω ἡ γῆ σαλευθήτω ἡ θάλασσα καὶ τὸ πλήρωμα αὐτῆς χαρήσεται τὰ πεδία καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς τότε ἀγαλλιάσονται πάντα τὰ ξύλα τοῦ δρυμοῦ πρὸ προσώπου κυρίου ὅτι ἔρχεται ὅτι ἔρχεται κρῖναι τὴν γῆν κρινεῖ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ λαοὺς ἐν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ αὐτοῦ</p>	<p>Εὐφραίνεσθε, [οἱ] οὐρανοὶ καὶ οἱ ἐν αὐτοῖς σκηνοῦντες. οὐαὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν, ὅτι κατέβη ὁ διάβολος πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἔχων θυμὸν μέγαν, εἰδὼς ὅτι ὀλίγον καιρὸν ἔχει εὐφραίνου ἐπ’ αὐτῆ, οὐρανὲ καὶ οἱ ἅγιοι καὶ οἱ ἀπόστολοι καὶ οἱ προφῆται, ὅτι ἔκρινεν ὁ θεὸς τὸ κρίμα ὑμῶν ἐξ αὐτῆς</p>

One simply finds a distinctive difference between Rev. 12:12; 18:20 and Ps. 96(95):11 (including other scriptural references listed above). In terms of the agent(s) of praise, Rev. 12:12 and 18:20 restrain the action to heaven and the saints (apostles, prophets) while in the scriptural texts ‘all

³⁰ Swete, 238 – Deut. 32:43; Isa. 54:23; Charles, 329 – Isa. 44:23; 49:13; Kiddle, 370 – Jer. 51:48; Ford, 299 – Deut. 32:43; Jer. 51:48; Mounce, 244 – Isa. 49:13; Ps. 96:11; Aune, *Revelation 17-22*, 1007 – Ps. 96:11; Beale, 666 – Deut. 32:43; 1 Chron. 16:31; Ps. 96:11; Isa. 44:23; 45:8; 49:13.

created worlds' are included. Not only are they excluded from participating in joy, the earth and the sea are also left in woe as the object of God's judgment in the two Revelation texts. Such a dichotomy between heaven and earth (and/or sea) in Rev. 12:12 (18:20) is found elsewhere in the book of Revelation: those who are sealed (7:4) and those who did not have the seal of God (9:4), measuring the temple, the altar and the worshippers and its exclusion of the outer court (11:1–2)³¹, people entering into the new Jerusalem and people outside the gates of the city (21:27; 22:15). Revelation 12:12 and 18:20 exhibit God's judgment of Satan and Babylon as the basis of the saints' exultation. Of the scriptural texts, Isa. 44:23; 45:8 and 49:13, in fact, focus on Yahweh's redemption while Deut. 32:43; Jer. 51:48 and Ps. 96(95):11 feature Yahweh's judgment of the enemies of Israel (Egypt, Babylon) or the earth. None of these provide a satisfactory background for Rev. 12:12 and 18:20. However, Ps. 96(95) concerns God's eschatological judgment of the earth, seemingly being closer to the Revelation context. Furthermore, Ps. 96(95) has been employed elsewhere in Revelation several times – Rev. 7:12 [19:1] / Ps. 96(95):2–9; Rev. 5:13 / Ps. 96(95):11–12 [98(97):7–8]; Rev. 19:11 / Ps. 96(95):13 [98(97):9] and this may support strengthen the case. The rhetorical adjustment of the scriptural phraseology happened in Rev. 12:12 and 18:20 in order to accentuate the central message of Revelation, the protection of God's people and the judgment of the earthly powers.

7.6 Rev. 14:5 / Ps. 32(31):2

Following the great disturbances of the dragon and two beasts against the woman, Rev. 14:1–5 illustrates the saved 144,000 standing on Mount Zion with the Lamb, singing a new song and accompanying the Lamb. They were already introduced in Rev. 7 where 144,000 were selected from the twelve tribes of Israel and sealed. The reintroduction of 144,000 in Rev. 14:1–5 spells out their identification—those who have not defiled themselves with women (v. 4a), who are virgins (v. 4b), who follow the Lamb wherever he goes (v. 4c), who are redeemed from mankind and are the firstfruits to God and the Lamb (v. 4d), who have no guile in their mouth and are blameless (v. 5). The phrase 'No guile was found in their mouth' in Rev. 14:5 is, according to Aune, a Semitic idiom and reflects a Jewish tendency to favor the negative expression of this moral virtue.³² Commentators find it in the Jewish scriptures: Isa. 53:9; Zeph. 3:13; PsLXX. 31:2.³³

³¹ See n. 27.

³² Aune, *Revelation 6-16*, 823.

³³ Isaiah 53:9 – Swete, Ford, Fekkes (*Isaiah and Prophetic Traditions*, 191–92), Beale; Zeph. 3:13 – Swete, Harrington, Morris, Mounce, Aune, Beale; Ps. 31:2 – Aune.

Isa. 53:9; Zeph. 3:13; Ps. 32:2 MT	Isa. 53:9; Zeph. 3:13; Ps. 31:2 LXX	Rev. 14:5
לא־חַמַּס עָשָׂה וְלֹא מִרְמָה בִּפְיוֹ	ἀνομίαν οὐκ ἐποίησεν οὐδὲ εὐρέθη δόλος ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ	
וְלֹא־יִמְצָא בְּפִיהֶם לְשׁוֹן תְּרֵמִית	οὐ μὴ εὐρεθῆ ἔν τῷ στόματι αὐτῶν γλῶσσα δολία	ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτῶν οὐχ εὐρέθη ψεῦδος, ἄμωμοί εἰσιν
לֹא יִחַשֵׁב יְהוָה לוֹ עוֹן וְאִין בְּרוּחוֹ רִמְיָה	οὐ μὴ λογίσηται κύριος ἁμαρτίαν οὐδὲ ἔστιν ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ δόλος	

Isaiah 53:9 applies to the suffering ‘servant’ of Yahweh while Zeph. 3:13 indicates the ‘remnant of Israel.’ Both texts somehow specify the people of Israel to be the saved by Yahweh from national distress. In the book of Revelation, 144,000 are selected from the Israelites, secured by the seal of God (7:3–8) and redeemed from the earth (14:1–5). It is likely that the phrase in question in Rev. 14:5 mainly alludes to Isa. 53:9 and Zeph. 3:13. Psalm 32:2 MT does not contain the phrase ‘No guile was found in their mouth,’ but in the LXX the phrase is found (‘there is no guile in his mouth,’ οὐδὲ ἔστιν ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ δόλος). Psalm 32(31):2 has no reminder of a particular historical or ritual setting. In content, however, it finds itself obviously a personal penitential psalm combined with two forms: wisdom (instruction) and thanksgiving.³⁴ The quotation in Rom. 4:17 demonstrates that the first century churches read the psalm.³⁵ Mays suggests, ‘After Paul quoted verses 1-2 in his exposition of God’s justification of the sinner, the church read and used the psalm in the light of the pardon offered to faith in Jesus Christ.’³⁶ The Revelation communities would have ascertained their blamelessness before God through the blood of the Lamb (Rev. 7:14; 14:4–5), having recourse to Yahweh’s forgiveness of sin in Ps. 32(31):1–2.

7.7 Rev. 14:7 / Ps. 33(32):8–9

Preceded by the portrayal of the redeemed 144,000 in Rev. 14:1–5, in Rev. 14:7 an angel commands people who live on the earth to fear God, give him glory, worship him for the hour of

³⁴ For modern scholars’ discussions on its genre or setting, see Mowinckel, *The Psalms in Israel’s Worship*, vols. 1 & 2; Frank-Lothar Hossfeld, *Die Psalmen I: Psalm 1-50*, Die Neue Echter Bibel Bd.29 (Würzburg: Echter Verlag, 1993), 200–205; Stephanus D. Snyman, ‘Psalm 32: Structure, Genre, Intent and Liturgical Use,’ in *Psalms and Liturgy* (London: T. & T. Clark, 2004), 155–67; Craigie, *Psalms 1-50*, 265.

³⁵ It is often noted that early Christianity had seven penitential psalms (Pss. 6, 32, 38, 51, 102, 130 and 143). See Hans Christian Knuth, *Zur Auslegungsgeschichte von Psalm 6*, Beiträge zur Geschichte der biblischen Exegese (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1971); Bernd Willmes, *Freude über die Vergebung der sünden: Synchroner und diachroner Analyse von Psalm 32*, Fuldaer Hochschulschriften (Frankfurt am Main: Josef Knecht, 1996), 87–88.

³⁶ Mays, *Psalms*, 146.

his judgment has come. The idea of the ‘fear of God’ is commonplace in Judaism.³⁷ Several places in the book of Revelation evoke the idea (Rev. 11:18; 14:7; 15:4; 19:5), possibly alluding to the Psalms in general (see Rev. 11:18; 19:5 / Pss. 22:24; 60:6; 113:21 and Rev. 10:6 [14:7] / Ps. 146:6). Differently from elsewhere in the book, Rev. 14:7 directly summons those who live on earth to fear God and give him glory (φοβήθητε τὸν θεὸν καὶ δότε αὐτῷ δόξαν). Psalm 33:8 is examined for Rev. 14:7 as it declares, ‘Let all the earth fear the LORD; let all the inhabitants of the world stand in awe of him!’ (φοβηθήτω τὸν κύριον πᾶσα ἡ γῆ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ δὲ σαλευθήτωσαν).³⁸ The imperative φοβήθητέω with its direct object ‘God or the Lord’ only occurs in Ps. 33:8 (1 Chron. 16:30) and Rev. 14:7 in the Scripture (cf. *T. Dan* 6:1; *Herm., Mand.* 37:1; *Commands of Hermes* 8:1, 6; *Gos. Nic.* 7:11; 10:2; 15:1; etc.).

Ps. 33:8–9 MT	Ps. 32:8–9 LXX	Rev. 14:7
יִירָאוּ מִיְהוָה כָּל־הָאָרֶץ מִמֶּנּוּ יִגְוְרוּ כָּל־יְשִׁבֵי תֵבֶל כִּי הוּא אֹמֵר וַיְהִי הוּא־צוּהוּ וַיַּעֲמֵד	Φοβηθήτω τὸν κύριον πᾶσα ἡ γῆ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ δὲ σαλευθήτωσαν πάντες οἱ κατοικοῦντες τὴν οἰκουμένην ὅτι αὐτὸς εἶπεν καὶ ἐγενήθησαν αὐτὸς ἐνετείλατο καὶ ἐκτίσθησαν	φοβήθητε τὸν θεὸν καὶ δότε αὐτῷ δόξαν, ὅτι ἦλθεν ἡ ὥρα τῆς κρίσεως αὐτοῦ, προσκυνήσατε τῷ ποιήσαντι τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν καὶ πηγὰς ὑδάτων

In Rev. 14:7 the main reason that one must fear God lies in his imminent judgment (ὅτι ἦλθεν ἡ ὥρα τῆς κρίσεως αὐτοῦ). Because of the references to the fear of God (vv. 4, 9) and his judgment of the earth (vv. 10, 13), Ps. 96(95) may be favored.³⁹ Psalm 33(32):6–9 characterizes Yahweh’s sovereign power of creation as the fundamental ground for the fear of God, which is different from Rev. 14:7. It is noted, however, that Rev. 14:7, though calling attention to God’s impending judgment in the interest of the fear of God, still contains the description of God as creator to be worshipped, which is highlighted in Ps. 33(32):6–9. In the context of Ps. 33, in addition, Yahweh’s judgment of the nations, though not explicit, is expressed in vv. 10–11 (‘The Lord brings the counsel of the nations to nothing; he frustrates the plans of the peoples,’
יהוה הפיר עצת־גוים הניא מחשבות עמים). Under the overall influence of the psalm, the imperatival phrase, ‘Let all the earth fear the Lord’ (Ps. 33:8) was possibly reflected upon in Rev. 14:7. In its

³⁷ See Aune, *Revelation 6-16*, 827; Patrick D. Miller, ‘Deuteronomy and Psalms: Evoking a Biblical Conversation,’ *Journal of Biblical Literature* 118, no. 1 (Spr 1999): 3–18.

³⁸ Due to its conjectural late date, *T. Sol.* 17:4, though having similar wordings (Φοβήθητι τὸν θεὸν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ εἰπέ μοι ποίῳ ἀγγέλω καταργεῖσαι), is not to be considered.

³⁹ See Willem Altink, ‘1 Chronicles 16:8-36 as Literary Source for Revelation 14:6-7,’ *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 22 (1984): 187–96.

broader context, the Revelation text in question follows Rev. 14:1–5 presenting the praise of 144,000 who are blameless (οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ μετὰ γυναικῶν οὐκ ἐμολύνθησαν, παρθένοι γὰρ εἰσιν...ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτῶν οὐχ εὐρέθη ψεῦδος, ἄμωμοί εἰσιν). This may also be associated with the singing of the righteous in Ps. 33:1, ‘Sing joyfully to the Lord, you righteous; it is fitting for the upright to praise him’ (רננו צדיקים ביהוה לישרים נאווה תהלה).

7.8 Rev. 16:1 / Ps. 79(78):6

The phrase, ‘Pour out on the earth the seven bowls of the wrath of God’ (ἐκχέετε τὰς ἑπτὰ φιάλας τοῦ θυμοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ εἰς τὴν γῆν) in Rev. 16:1 contains a typical expression of Yahweh’s judgment that occurs frequently across the Scripture. The expression, which is ‘Pour out curse or wrath,’ is typically constructed with חמה or זעם + שׁפ or ἐκχέω + θυμός or ὀργή (e.g., Isa. 42:25; Jer. 6:11; 10:25; Lam. 2:4; 4:11; Zeph. 3:8; Ezek. 7:8 [7:5 LXX]; 9:8; 14:19; 20:8, 13, 21; 21:36; 22:22, 31; 30:15; 36:18; Pss. 69[68]:25; 79[78]:6; *Sir.* 36:6). Revelation 16:1 is the only place in the NT with such phraseology of God’s judgment, perhaps depending on the scriptural expression in general. There is no reason to posit that Rev. 16:1 has an exclusive literary background. As concerns the Psalmic influence, though, it is worthwhile noting Ps. 79(78):6.

Ps. 79:6 MT	Ps. 78:6 LXX	Rev. 16:1
שׁפך חמתך אל־הגוים אשר לא־ידעוך ועל ממלכות אשר בשׁמך לא קראו	ἔκχεον τὴν ὀργὴν σου ἐπὶ ἔθνη τὰ μὴ γινώσκοντά σε καὶ ἐπὶ βασιλείας αἱ τὸ ὄνομά σου οὐκ ἐπεκαλέσαντο	ὑπάγετε καὶ ἐκχέετε τὰς ἑπτὰ φιάλας τοῦ θυμοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ εἰς τὴν γῆν

Of the scriptural texts listed, Pss. 69:25; 79:6; Zeph. 3:8; Jer. 10:25 and Ezek. 30:15 present Yahweh’s indignation being poured out over the foreign nations who do not know Yahweh. The rest of them, on the contrary, delineate Yahweh’s judgment against the sins of Judah and Jerusalem. Preceding Rev. 16:1, the ‘song of Moses’ in Rev. 15:4 insinuates on whom God’s wrath will be poured out in the last judgment that is to come. And, following that, Rev. 16:9 indicates on whom God’s wrath has been poured out during the seven-bowls judgment. It is those who ‘do not fear the name of God and give him glory’—τίς οὐ μὴ φοβηθῆ...δοξάσει τὸ ὄνομά σου (15:4); ἐβλασφήμησαν τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ...οὐ μετενόησαν δοῦναι αὐτῷ δόξαν (16:9). Because Ps. 79(78):6 and Jer. 10:25 involve the wordings, ‘Pour out your wrath...on the kingdoms (Ps. 79:6) / the peoples (Jer. 10:25) that do not call on your name’ (אשר בשׁמך לא קראו / משׁפחות / על ממלכות...שׁפך חמתך), Rev. 16:1 would be contextually closer to these two scriptural texts. In the

book of Revelation, God’s judgment of the three septet series of plagues, as has been discussed, is represented as God’s response to the petition of the saints in persecution. Psalm 79 has been used in such a prayer-answer frame (see Rev. 6:10, 19:2 / Ps. 79[78]:5, 10). Again, given its continual uses in Revelation,⁴⁰ the influence of Ps. 79(78):6 on Rev. 16:1 is plausible.

7.9 Rev. 16:4 [11:6] / Ps. 78(77):44 [105(104):29]

Scholars often see the exodus plagues as the background of the three series of plagues in the book of Revelation.⁴¹ The third bowl plague in Rev. 16:4—i.e., the rivers and the springs of the waters turn into blood—evokes the first Egyptian plague in Exod. 7:17–20, in which the water of the Nile changes into blood.⁴² Adducing several ancient texts that refer to the transformation of water into blood (e.g., *Apoc. Eli.* 5–7; *Asclepius* 3.24b; *Sib. Or.* 4.61; *Cicero Div.* 1.43.97; 2.27.58), Aune finds its accordance with the ancient Roman conception of prodigies while, at the same time, recognizing that the plagues of Revelation are different from the Roman prodigies.⁴³ Only three texts in the Hebrew Bible have the exodus plague of turning water into blood: Pss. 78:44; 105:29 and Exod. 7:17–20.⁴⁴

Ps. 78:44; 105:29 MT	Ps. 77:44; 104:29 LXX	Rev. 16:4 [11:6]
ויהפך לדם יאריהם ונזליהם בלי־ישתיון	μετέστρεψεν εἰς αἶμα τοὺς ποταμοὺς αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ ὀμβρήματα αὐτῶν ὅπως μὴ πίωσιν	ὁ τρίτος ἐξέχεεν τὴν φιάλην αὐτοῦ εἰς τοὺς ποταμοὺς καὶ τὰς πηγὰς τῶν ὑδάτων, καὶ ἐγένετο αἶμα
הפך את־מימיהם לדם וימת את־דגתם	μετέστρεψεν τὰ ὕδατα αὐτῶν εἰς αἶμα καὶ ἀπέκτεινεν τοὺς ἰχθύας αὐτῶν	ἐπὶ τῶν ὑδάτων στρέφειν αὐτὰ εἰς αἶμα

⁴⁰ See Rev. 6:10; 19:2 / Ps. 79(78):5, 10; Rev. 11:9–10 / Ps. 79(78):2–4; Rev. 11:2b / Ps. 79(78):1.

⁴¹ See Jay Smith Casey, ‘Exodus typology in the Book of Revelation’ (PhD diss., Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1982), 1–134; Pablo Richard, ‘Plagues in the Bible: Exodus and Apocalypse,’ in *Return of the Plague*, trans. Paul Burns (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis, 1997), 45–54; Scott F. Sanborn, ‘The New Exodus in the Risen Lamb: Revelation 1:4–8,’ *Kerux* 14, no. 1 (1999): 18–24; L. Gallus, ‘The Exodus Motif in Revelation 15–16: Its Background and Nature,’ *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 46, no. 1 (2008): 21–43.

⁴² Swete, 202; Caird, 201; Harrington, 200; Aune, 884; Beale, 816. Cf. Mounce, 294.

⁴³ Different from the Roman prodigies, the plagues of Revelation are not considered to be heavenly miraculous signs but divine judgment/punishment. See Aune, *Revelation 6–16*, 416–19, 884.

⁴⁴ For details of the use of the exodus plagues in Pss. 78; 105 and Exod. 7, see Svend Holm-Nielsen, ‘The Exodus Traditions in Psalm 105,’ *Annual of the Swedish Theological Institute* 11 (1977): 22–30; Archie C. C. Lee, ‘The Context and Function of the Plagues Tradition in Psalm 78,’ *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 48 (1990): 83–89; Archie C. C. Lee, ‘Genesis I and the Plagues Tradition in Psalm CV,’ *Vetus Testamentum* 40 (1990): 257–63; W. Dennis Tucker Jr., ‘Revisiting the Plagues in Psalm CV,’ *Vetus Testamentum* 55, no. 3 (July 2005): 401–11.

With scarce textual and contextual evidence, it is unknowable whether John was inspired by the Exodus tradition, the Psalmic tradition or merely the Greco-Roman prodigies. Moyise suggests the use of Ps. 78(77):44 in Rev. 16:4 because the double mention of ‘rivers and springs of water’ (τοὺς ποταμοὺς καὶ τὰς πηγὰς τῶν ὑδάτων) in the Revelation text is more commensurate with Ps. 78(77):44, ‘their rivers and their streams’ (יַרְיֵיהֶם וְנַזְלֵיהֶם, τοὺς ποταμοὺς αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ ὄμβρηματα αὐτῶν).⁴⁵ Exodus 7:17–18 and Ps. 105:29 have ‘water of the Nile/the river’ (הַמַּיִם אֲשֶׁר בַּיַּאֲרֵךְ) or ‘waters’ (מַיִמֵיהֶם), not ‘the river *and* waters’ as in Ps. 78:44. The early Christian community read Ps. 78 in a prophetic, apocalyptic fashion when Jesus quoted Ps. 78:2–3 in Matt. 13:35 saying, ‘This was to fulfill what was spoken by the prophet: “I will open my mouth in parables; I will utter what has been hidden since the foundation of the world”’ (cf. the uses of Ps. 78 in 2 Thess. 3:5 and 4 Ezra 1:19).⁴⁶ It is possible that the retelling of the Egypt plague of Ps. 78(77):44 was embedded in Rev. 16:4 to indicate God’s eschatological judgment.⁴⁷

7.10 Rev. 16:5, 7; 19:2 [15:3] / Ps. 119(118):7, 75, 137

It has been spelled out in this thesis that divine judgment in Revelation denotes itself as the kingly reign of God and the Lamb (Rev. 11:15–18; 14:7, 14; 15:3–4; 16:5, 7; 17:14; 18:20; 19:1–21; 20:11–15). In Rev. 15:3–4; 16:5–7 and 19:2, 11, the judgment is repeatedly said to be ‘true and just,’ apparently on the basis of a *lex talionis* principle marked in the book of Revelation. God’s judgment is to be a just retribution to the evil powers and concurrently a true reward to the saints in persecution. The concept for Yahweh’s judgment to be righteous is found across the Scripture (e.g., Gen. 18:25; Job 8:3; Pss. 9:5; 119:7, 75, 137; Isa. 26:9; cf. Isa. 16:5; 32:1; Ps. 72:2; *Tob.* 3:2; *Odes Sol.* 2:4; 7:27; *Sir.* 35:18). The Jewish notion of Yahweh’s righteousness in judgment is mainly ascribed to his nature, which is ‘one of the major motifs in the witness of God’s person’ throughout the Jewish Bible.⁴⁸ However, the justice of God’s judgment in the book of Revelation lies in, as mentioned, his requital judgment. Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza sees divine judgment in Revelation in that way: ‘It is God who has the power to make sure that all people have to bear the

⁴⁵ Moyise, ‘The Psalms in the Book of Revelation,’ 243. See also Mounce, 294.

⁴⁶ Nijay Gupta, ‘An Apocalyptic Reading of Psalm 78 in 2 Thessalonians 3,’ *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 31, no. 2 (D 2008): 179–94. See also Jeffery M. Leonard, ‘Identifying inner-Biblical Allusions: Psalm 78 as a Test Case,’ *Journal of Biblical Literature* 127, no. 2 (2008): 241–65.

⁴⁷ Melody D. Knowles, ‘The Flexible Rhetoric of Retelling: The Choice of David in the Texts of the Psalms,’ *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 67, no. 2 (2005): 236–49.

⁴⁸ E. R. Achtemeier, ‘Righteousness in the OT,’ in *IDB*, vol. 4 (New York: Abingdon Press, 1962), 80–85. See §5 ‘Yahweh as righteous.’

consequences of their actions.⁴⁹ Noting the word ‘true’ (ἀληθιναι) occurring in Rev. 15:3; 16:7 and 19:2, Bauckham disagrees with Fiorenza and states:

God’s judgment is not an external authority imposing its will on people, but the light of truth exposing evil for all to see. This is the case even when, as in the judgments of the bowls in Rev 16, the perpetrators of evil themselves refuse to acknowledge it. The ‘measure for measure’ judgment (16:4-7) should have brought the truth home even to them, but in fact they curse God and refuse to repent (16:9-11,21). They refuse the truth which therefore shows them to be people who choose to live a lie.⁵⁰

I am not sure whether Bauckham’s interpretation reflects John’s intent in Rev. 15:3–4; 16:5–7 and 19:1–21. Revelation 16:5–6 and 19:2 immediately specify God’s final judgment (the seven-bowls plagues and the fall of Babylon the great) as being retributive to the evil side. One thing to be sure, though, is that the primary concern viewed across the book of Revelation goes with the salvation/protection of Christian believers in persecution (1:5–6; 2:7, 11, 17, 25–28; 3:5, 12, 21; 5:8–12; 7:1–14; 10:7–11; 11:15–18; 14:1–13; 15:1–4; 19:1–21, 21–22). The scenes of judgment are displayed in Revelation as God’s answer to the cry of the believers. By defeating the persecutors, God and the Lamb accomplish their redemptive work. In the book, thus, God’s retributive judgment does not merely indicate his vengeful act itself but it rather gives prominence to his trustworthiness toward his people in distress. Psalm 119, in this regard, is worth examining in this case.

Ps. 119:7, 75, 137 MT	Ps. 118:7, 75, 137 LXX	Rev. 16:5,7; 19:2 [15:3]
בלמדי משפטי צדקך ידעתי יהוה כי צדק משפטיך ואמונה עניתני	ἐν τῷ μεμαθηκέναι με τὰ κρίματα τῆς δικαιοσύνης σου ὅτι δικαιοσύνη τὰ κρίματά σου καὶ ἀληθεία ἐταπείνωσάς με	δίκαιος εἶ, ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἦν, ὁ ὄσιος, ὅτι ταῦτα ἔκρινας... ναὶ κύριε ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ, ἀληθινὰ καὶ δίκαιαι αἱ κρίσεις σου ὅτι ἀληθινὰ καὶ δίκαιαι αἱ κρίσεις αὐτοῦ
צדיק אתה יהוה וישר משפטיך	δίκαιος εἶ κύριε καὶ εὐθής ἡ κρίσις σου	[δίκαιαι καὶ ἀληθινὰ αἱ ὁδοὶ σου]

The psalmists often invoke Yahweh’s righteousness in judgment for their redemption from persecutors or exploiters. His righteousness, then, here refers to his saving intervention for the

⁴⁹ Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, *Revelation: Vision of a Just World* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1991), 95.

⁵⁰ Richard Bauckham, “Judgment in the Book of Revelation,” *Ex Auditu* 20 (2004): 3.

righteous (Pss. 9:4–8; 51:6; 119:121).⁵¹ Psalm 119, in particular, emphatically highlights Yahweh’s righteousness (vv. 7, 62, 75, 106, 123, 137, 138, 142, 144, 160, 164, 172) and trustworthiness (vv. 43, 75, 86, 90, 138, 142, 151, 160). Verses 75, 138, 142 and 160 also contain the words *δικαιοσύνη* and *ἀλήθεια* together in praising Yahweh. The words are used to define God’s judgment in Rev. 16:7 and 19:2 (cf. 15:3). Psalm 119:7, 75, 137 directly express Yahweh’s righteous judgment, perhaps having some influence on Rev. 15:3; 16:7 and 19:2. In the shadow of the psalmic implication, John might have infused into Rev. 16:5–6 and 19:2 the Jewish apocalyptic perception of God’s retaliatory judgment to the unrighteous as part of his righteousness (*Wis.* 1:8; 12:13; 17:2; *Let. Aris.* 131; *1 En.* 97:1; *3 Macc.* 2:3; *Pss. Sol.* 2:34–35; 3:14; 17:21; etc.).⁵²

7.11 Rev. 19:5 / Ps. 135(134):1, 20

Revelation 19:1–8 is composed of four praising phrases: three Hallelujah hymns (vv. 1b–2, 3–4, 6b–8), by a great multitude in heaven (vv. 1b–2, 3, 6b–8), the twenty-four elders and the four living creatures (v. 4) and another hymn of praise in v. 5 by a voice from the throne. The voice coming from the throne in Rev. 19:5 exhorts God’s servants to praise.⁵³ Based on its expressions, ‘all his servants, all who fear him, both small and great’ (*πάντες οἱ δοῦλοι αὐτοῦ [καὶ] οἱ φοβούμενοι αὐτόν, οἱ μικροὶ καὶ οἱ μεγάλοι*), God’s servants who are summoned to praise God are the people of God in general, not any restricted group of the saints.⁵⁴ As has been noted (see Rev. 19:4 / Ps. 106[105]:48; Rev. 11:18, 19:5 / Ps. 22[21]:24; 61[60]:6; 115:13 [113:21]), Rev. 19:5 seems literarily somewhat isolated in the three Hallelujah hymns of Rev. 19:1–8. Along with vv. 1, 6–7, however, the Revelation text uses the first person plural, ‘our God’ or ‘we’ (*τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν; χαίρωμεν καὶ ἀγαλλιῶμεν καὶ δώσωμεν*), implying that a great multitude in heaven in vv. 1, 6–7 and a voice from the throne in v. 5 belong to the same side.⁵⁵ Revelation 19:5 may function as a prelude of its

⁵¹ Josef Scharbert, ‘Gerechtigkeit,’ in *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, ed. Horst Robert Balz et al., vol. 12 (Berlin; New York: de Gruyter, 1977), 409.

⁵² See §3 ‘Austere aspects of the divine implications of righteousness’ in Abraham Cronbach, ‘Righteousness in Jewish literature,’ in *IDB*, vol. 4 (New York: Abingdon Press, 1962), 89; Jutta Leonhardt-Balzer, ‘Righteousness in early Jewish literature,’ in *NIB* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2009), 4:812. See also Bauckham, ‘Judgment in the Book of Revelation,’ 2. He points out that the ‘*lex talionis* principle’ of justice is found throughout early Jewish and Christian literature.

⁵³ Of the identity of the heavenly voice: ‘one of the four cherubim or one of the twenty-four elders’ – Beckwith, Chales, Mounce; ‘an angel of the throne’ – Heinrich Kraft, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1974); ‘Christ’ – Beale; ‘the Lamb’ – Bousset; ‘divine authorization of the speaker’ – Aune. Several scholars points out that if the voice was Christ’s, he would say ‘my God’ instead of ‘our God’ (R. C. H. Lenski, *The interpretation of St. John’s Revelation* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Pub. House, 1963); Ernst Lohmeyer, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1953); Mounce). Beale argues against it, adducing John 20:17, ‘Jesus says, “I ascend to my Father and your Father, and my God and your God”’ (*The Book of Revelation*, 930).

⁵⁴ See Mounce, *The Book of Revelation*, 338.

⁵⁵ Cf. Aune points out that an anarthrous *φωνήν* in Rev. 19:6 suggests that it is incongruous with that in v. 1

subsequent praise, the third Hallelujah song of the marriage of the Lamb in Rev. 19:6–8. The phrase, ‘Praise our God, all you his servants, you who fear him’ (αἰνεῖτε τῷ θεῷ ἡμῶν πάντες οἱ δοῦλοι αὐτοῦ [καὶ] οἱ φοβούμενοι αὐτόν) in Rev. 19:5 is an expression found in various psalms (e.g., Pss. 22:24; 113:1; 134:1; 135:1, 20; cf. 115:11, 13; 118:4; 128:1, 4). Two Revelation phrases, ‘all you his servants’ (πάντες οἱ δοῦλοι αὐτοῦ), ‘you who fear him’ (οἱ φοβούμενοι αὐτόν) are especially found in Ps. 135:1, 20.

Ps. 135:1, 20 MT	Ps. 134:1, 20 LXX	Rev. 19:5
הללו יה	Αλληλουια	
הללו את־שם יהוה	αἰνεῖτε τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου	αἰνεῖτε τῷ θεῷ
הללו עבדי יהוה	αἰνεῖτε δοῦλοι κύριον	ἡμῶν πάντες οἱ δοῦλοι αὐτοῦ
בית הלוי ברכו את־יהוה	οἶκος Λευι εὐλογήσατε τὸν κύριον	οἱ φοβούμενοι
יראי יהוה ברכו את־יהוה	οἱ φοβούμενοι τὸν κύριον εὐλογήσατε τὸν κύριον	αὐτόν

Although Ps. 134:20 LXX employs the verb εὐλογέω instead of αἰνέω, two similar wordings to those of Rev. 19:5 are seen in sequence in Ps. 134:1, 20 (αἰνεῖτε δοῦλοι κύριον / οἱ φοβούμενοι τὸν κύριον εὐλογήσατε). As a hallelujah psalm, Ps. 135 MT begins with an imperative call to praise Yahweh (הללו יה...הללו יה...הללו יה, vv. 1–3) and ends in the same way (הללו יה...ברוך...ברכו, vv. 19–21). In Ps. 135:4–15 three occasions are recalled: creation (vv. 5–7), the exodus event (vv. 8–9) and the inheritance of the land of Canaan (vv. 10–12). The rehearsal of these occasions celebrates Yahweh’s sovereignty over all and his salvation of the Israelites from Egypt, the most powerful empire at the time.⁵⁶ Since the fall of Babylon the great, Rev. 19:1–4 is a thanksgiving hymn for the judgment of the worldly power and in the wake of it in Rev. 19:6–10 the redeemed from Babylon inherit God’s eternal blessing of being the bride of the Lamb (Rev. 20:4; 21:2, 7 – ὁ νικῶν κληρονομήσει ταῦτα). Prior to the marriage of the Lamb, the hymnic expression of Rev. 19:5, ‘Praise our God, all you his servants, you who fear him’ is brought in out of Ps. 135:1, 20, ‘Praise, you servants of Yahweh...you who fear Yahweh.’

7.12 Rev. 20:9 / Ps. 87(86):2–3

The names ‘Gog and Magog’ (Rev. 20:8) occur widely in Judaism, Christianity and even Islam, typically appearing in judgmental scenarios at the eschaton.⁵⁷ As a recapitulation of a war in Rev.

(Revelation 17–22, 1028).

⁵⁶ Cf. Terrien, *The Psalms*, 857–58.

⁵⁷ For details, see John Kaltner, ‘The Gog/Magog Tradition in the Hebrew Bible and the Qur’an: Points of Similarity

19:17–21 between the army of the beast and that of the one who sits on the white horse, the ‘Gog and Magog war’ in Rev. 20:7–10 alludes to the oracle of Gog in the land Magog in Ezek. 38–39.⁵⁸ In Ezek. 38–39, Gog hordes to attack Israel living securely (ועלית על-עמי ישראל כענן לכסות הארץ); Yahweh pours down his wrath from heaven onto Gog’s camp (וגפרית אמטיר עליו ועל-אגפיו ועל-עמים רבים אשר אתו, 38:22) and fire coming from heaven destroys the armies of Gog and Magog (38:23–39:10). These Ezekiel texts are clearly reflected in Rev. 20:8–9. The words, the ‘beloved city’ (τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἡγαπημένην), in Rev. 20:9 are viewed in Ps. 87:2–3, saying, ‘Yahweh loves the gates of Zion...the city of God’ (אהב יהוה שַׁעֲרֵי צִיּוֹן...עִיר הָאֱלֹהִים).

Ps. 87:2–3 MT	Ps. 86:2-3 LXX	Rev. 20:9
אהב יהוה שַׁעֲרֵי צִיּוֹן מכל משכנות יעקב	ἀγαπᾷ κύριος τὰς πύλας Σιων ὑπὲρ πάντα τὰ σκηνώματα Ἰακωβ	ἀνέβησαν ἐπὶ τὸ πλάτος τῆς γῆς καὶ ἐκύκλευσαν τὴν παρεμβολὴν τῶν ἀγίων καὶ τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἡγαπημένην, καὶ κατέβη πῦρ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ Καὶ κατέφαγεν αὐτούς
נכבדות מדבר בך עיר האלהים	δεδοξασμένα ἐλαλήθη περι σοῦ ἡ πόλις τοῦ θεοῦ	

The identification of the ‘beloved city’ in Rev. 20:9 is not precisely distinguishable. On the basis of the wording ἐπὶ τὸ πλάτος τῆς γῆς (‘on the broad plain of the earth’), though, two points are at least clear: (1) the city would not be limited to a certain geographical location; and (2) the city is terrestrial, not celestial. It means that the ‘beloved city’ is neither the city of Jerusalem nor the New Jerusalem (21:1). Along with the camp of the saints (τὴν παρεμβολὴν τῶν ἀγίων), the ‘beloved city’ indicates the entirety of the Christian churches.⁵⁹ Since Ps. 87:4–6 discloses a universal dimension of the city of God, Zion (‘these were born there,’ οὗτοι ἐγενήθησαν ἐκεῖ),⁶⁰ the city in Rev. 20:9 can be related with the city of God in the psalm.

A few other Jewish texts contain similar expressions: Ps. 78:68 (τὸ ὄρος τὸ Σιων ὃ ἡγάπησεν), *Sir.* 24:11 (ἐν πόλει ἡγαπημένη...ἐν Ἱερουσαλημ) and Jer. 49:25 (30:31 LXX) (ἐμήν

and Dissimilarity,’ *Union Seminary Quarterly Review* 49, no. 1–4 (1995): 35–48; Nicholas Railton, ‘Gog and Magog: The History of a Symbol,’ *Evangelical Quarterly* 75, no. 1 (Ja 2003): 23–43; Sverre Boe, *Gog and Magog: Ezekiel 38–39 as Pre-text for Revelation 19,17–21 and 20,7–10*, WUNT (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001); Aune, *Revelation 17–22*, 1094–95.

⁵⁸ Kiddle, 397; Caird, 256; Morris, 239; Mounce, 362. Cf. Swete, 267–68 (‘Possibly it comes not directly from Ezekiel, but from Jewish apocalyptic sources in which it had assumed a new connotation’).

⁵⁹ Some other versions have different readings (Bohairic – ‘new city’; Ethiopic – ‘holy city’) (H. C. Hoskier, *Concerning the text of the Apocalypse*, vol. II [London: B. Quaritch, 1929], 560).

⁶⁰ Mitchell J. Dahood, *Psalms 51–100*, The Anchor Bible 17 (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1966), 300.

κώμην ἠγάπησαν). Unlike those texts, in Ps. 87:2–3 it is the ‘gates’ of Zion, not the city itself, which God loves. As synecdoche (the use of a part for the whole), however, the ‘gates of Zion’ can represent the city of Zion itself.⁶¹ A notion that Zion (or Jerusalem) is God’s beloved city was probably well known in Judaism and echoed in Rev. 20:9, when John took a holistic spiritual conception of Zion the city of God from Ps. 87.

7.13 Summary

Twelve cases have been explored under the category of ‘influences’. Of them, seven cases lie in the judgmental texts of Revelation. Revelation 12:12 and 18:20, Rev. 14:7, and Rev. 19:5 are praising texts for God’s judgment. Another three cases are viewed in the seven bowl plagues: Rev. 16:1, Rev. 16:4 [11:6], and Rev. 16:5, 7; 19:2 [15:3]. And the case of Rev. 2:23 / Pss. 7:10; 62(61):13 refers to Christ’s requital judgment by searching one’s mind and heart.

Two cases of Rev. 10:6 [14:7] and Rev. 7:17 suggest the eschatological kingship of God and Christ. Illustrating God as Creator, Rev. 10:6 [14:7] emphasizes God’s sovereignty over all the nations. In Rev. 7:17 the Lamb is to be a shepherd who guides his people to springs of the water of life, reflecting his messianic role.

The rest of three Revelation texts—Rev. 11:2b, Rev. 14:5, and Rev. 20:9—have been influenced by the Psalms for the description of the status of the holy city or the people of God.

Part II demonstrates that the Psalms were purposely employed in the book of Revelation. The following part discusses the meaning and significance of the use of Psalms in the book.

⁶¹ Tate, *Psalms 51-100*, 391. He points out that in Pss. 9:15; 24:7–9; 69:13 and 122:2, ‘your gates’ is in apposition with Jerusalem.

PART III. SIGNIFICANCE AND CONCLUSION

Introduction

Section 3 deals with what we have learned from the present study—that is, the meaning and the function of the use of Psalms in the book of Revelation. Chapters 2 and 3 investigated the background of how the book of Psalms was understood in Second Temple Judaism and early Christianity. The Psalms were regularly sung with musical instruments in the Jewish Temple services (i.e., liturgical use). According to the Dead Sea scrolls and other Jewish literature, the book of Psalms was typically read prophetically and applied as such in various religious contexts—communal or private (i.e., prophetic, eschatological and instructional use). The Psalms also played a significant role among early Christians in their religious practices, e.g., praise, prayer and reading of scripture. In a similar manner to Judaism, the early Church interpreted the book of Psalms prophetically. However, the book of Psalms did not find a place in the early Church’s public, communal liturgy.¹ This is not to say that Psalms was not used at all in any liturgical setting in the primitive church community, since the early Christians perhaps put it to use in private rituals (prayer or praise).² But again, unlike the case of the Jewish liturgical service at the Temple or in a synagogue, there is no indication that the Psalms were used in the first-century Church’s liturgy. At this point, the present study of the use of Psalms in Revelation makes an important contribution. Even if there is no direct reference to the Psalms, Revelation includes many Psalmic texts in its liturgical/worshipping scenes, which are not as common as they are in other NT and early Christian writings. Through careful analyses of every detectable Psalmic text in the book of Revelation in Chapters 4, 5, 6 and 7, this study has found that the author of Revelation deliberately deployed Psalms in liturgical contexts. This calls for a reconsideration of the liturgical use of Psalms in early Christianity.

Based on textual/verbal and contextual/thematic affinity, I have classified the use of Psalms into: strong allusion (Chapter 4), probable allusion (Chapter 5), possible allusion (Chapter 6) and influence (Chapter 7). ‘Allusions’ have been examined with the assumption that the author sought to make use of the contextual similarity between a given Revelation text to its counterpart in the Psalms. On the other end of the spectrum, in the absence of a contextual relationship, ‘influences’ refers to when the author unconsciously employed psalmic wording. Not all influences, nonetheless, are thought to be an unconscious use, as the author could have intentionally employed the psalmic

¹ Cf. Eph. 5:19; Col. 3:16 – ‘psalms, hymns and spiritual songs’ (see also Matt. 26:30; Mark 14:26; Acts 2:47 – ‘hymns’). These verses, however, do not mention to which psalms the Epistles (or the Gospels) specifically indicated. See Graham Woolfenden, ‘The Psalms in Jewish and Early Christian Worship,’ 310–11.

² Woolfenden claims, ‘The earliest Christians use of psalms appears to be connected with the domestic rituals at evening and in the morning. The singing of such psalms in the home would require simple melodies, such as we know were used by Jews in their domestic rituals’ (ibid., 311.)

wording for rhetorical purposes (e.g., Rev. 19:5 / Ps. 135[134]:1, 20; Rev. 7:17 / Ps. 23[22]:1–2; Rev. 20:9 / Ps. 87[86]:2–3). Without exact quotation, the authorial intent of any scriptural text in Revelation is, as has been pointed out, intrinsically unverifiable. Probing textual and contextual relationships, the present study has attempted to increase the probability that any given Revelation text points to a specific text from the Psalms.

Given the author's intentional use of Psalms in Revelation, one should then ask what theological meaning is behind each usage. The meaning may reflect the theological interests of the early Churches in Asia Minor or the religious and socio-cultural difficulties they faced. To explore them will help us understand not only how the early Christians used the Psalms in Revelation, but it will also tell us something about the environment in which the Christian community in Asia Minor lived. The following chapter mainly discusses the significance (meaning and function) of the liturgical use of Psalms in Revelation. Some other theologically important implications will also be discussed.

Prior to discussing the issues just mentioned, I classify the use of Psalms examined in Chapters 4, 5, 6, and 7 according to their themes, articulating where and for what purpose the Psalms were used in Revelation. Each case is not exclusively bound to a single theme but often related to more than one theme. As will be seen in the *Table of Thematic Classification* below, worship (liturgy), Christology, judgment, kingship, and Jerusalem/people of God are the themes associated with the use of Psalms in Revelation. Worship scenes of Revelation have several strong and probable allusions, indicating that John deliberately exploited the psalmic texts for these scenes. As with elsewhere in the NT, the book of Psalms plays a significant role in forming the Christology of the book of Revelation. While in other NT writings the psalmic texts are adopted for representing Jesus as the Son of God or frequently in the Gospels Passion narratives of Jesus, in the book of Revelation the psalmic texts are employed to specify Jesus as the Messiah, depicting him as an eschatological judge, divine warrior and king. For the theme of kingship, as will be shown in the following table, the Psalms are used mostly to draw attention to the kingship of God and Christ in Revelation. In light of the fact that Yahweh's kingship is one of the main threads of the book of Psalms,³ the Psalms seem to have been heavily influential in establishing Revelation's central theology of God's sovereignty, indicating that the book of Revelation interpretatively used the psalmic texts, rather than merely for rhetorical purposes.⁴

³ Bernhard W. Anderson and Steven Bishop, *Out of the Depths: The Psalms Speak for Us Today* (Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox Press, 2000), 201–11; Eaton, *Kingship and the Psalms*; Terrien, *The Psalms*, 44–62; Corinna Körting, *Zion in den Psalmen* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006), 163–217.

⁴ See *Table 8.1 Structural Analysis of the Liturgical Texts in the Book of Revelation*. Cf. Franciszek Sieg, 'Das Königtum Gottes in Qumran und in der Offenbarung des Hl. Johannes Malkut Adonai--Basileia Tou Theou,' in *Mogilany 1989, 1* (Cracow: Enigma, 1993), 153–57.

Table of Thematic Classification

Themes in Revelation	Cases	Allusions/influences (S: Strong; PR: Probable, PO: Possible; I: Influence)	Relevance with kingship
Worship (liturgy)	Rev. 5:8-9; 14:2-3 / Pss. 33(32):2-3, 98(97):1, 5; 144(143):9; 149:1, 3	S	○
	Rev. 6:10; 19:2 / Ps. 79(78):5, 10	S	○
	Rev. 8:3-5 / Ps. 18(17):7-16	S	○
	Rev. 15:3b-4 / Ps. 86(85):8-11	S	○
	Rev. 19:4 / Ps. 106(105):48	S	○
	Rev. 5:8 / Ps. 141(140):2	PR	
	Rev. 7:12 [19:1] / Ps. 96(95):2-9	PR	○
	Rev. 11:18; 19:5 / Pss. 22(21):24; 61(60):6; 115:13 (113:21)	PR	
	Rev. 5:13a / Ps. 96(95):11-12 [98(97):7-8]	PO	○
	Rev. 8:3-4 / Ps. 141(140):2	PO	
	Rev. 12:12; 18:20 / Ps. 96(95):11-13	I	○
	Rev. 14:7 / Ps. 33(32):8-9	I	○
	Rev. 19:5 / Ps. 135(134):1, 20	I	○
Christology	Rev. 1:5a / Ps. 89(88):28, 38	S	○
	Rev. 2:26-27; 12:5; 19:15 / Ps. 2:8-9	S	○
	Rev. 11:15, 18 / Ps. 2:1-2	S	○
	Rev. 1:5b / Ps. 130(129):8	PR	
	Rev. 11:15 [19:16] / Ps. 22(21):28-29	PR	○
	Rev. 7:17 / Ps. 23(22):1-2	I	○

Themes in Revelation	Cases	Allusions/influences (S: Strong; PR: Probable, PO: Possible; I:	Relevance with kingship
Judgment	Rev. 3:5 / Ps. 69(68):29	PR	○
	Rev. 18:6 / Ps. 137(136):8	PR	○
	Rev. 9:20 / Ps. 115:4-7 (113:13-16)	PO	○
	Rev. 14:10 / Ps. 75:8 (74:9)	PO	○
	Rev. 19:11 / Ps. 96(95):13 [98(97):9]	PO	○
	Rev. 2:23 / Pss. 7:10; 62(61):13	I	○
	Rev. 16:1 / Ps. 79(78):6	I	○
	Rev. 16:4 [11:6] / Ps. 78(77):44 [105(104):29]	I	
Kingship	Rev. 16:5, 7; 19:2 [15:3] / Ps. 119(118):7, 75, 137	I	○
	Rev. 4:2 [4:9, 10; 5:1, 7, 13; 6:16; 7:10, 15; etc.] / Pss. 9:5, 8; 47(46):9;	PO	○
	Rev. 10:3-4 / Ps. 29(28):3	PO	○
	Rev. 19:6 [11:17] / Ps. 97(96):1 [93:1; 96:10; 99:1]	PO	○
Jerusalem / People of God	Rev. 10:6 [14:7] / Ps. 146(145):6	I	○
	Rev. 11:9-10 / Ps. 79(78):2-4	PO	
	Rev. 11:2b / Ps. 79(78):1	I	
	Rev. 14:5 / Ps. 32(31):2	I	
	Rev. 20:9 / Ps. 87(86):2-3	I	

Chapter 8

Significance of the Use of Psalms in Revelation

The chapter leads to the crux of the study, the significant contributions of the Psalms to an understanding of the book of Revelation. As seen in the *Table of Thematic Classification*, many uses of the Psalms appear in ritual/worship scenes within Revelation. Thus, I first deal with the liturgical use of the Psalms, claiming that the Psalms functioned as the main source for depicting Revelation's liturgical scenes. The idea of worship in the book of Revelation will be examined because its status, both in early Christianity and the book, itself may convey the importance of the use of Psalms in the worship scenes of Revelation. The structural location of the scenes in the book of Revelation will also be considered to illuminate their characteristic role and function in the book. Then some other implications of the Psalms in Revelation are followed up, such as a prophecy-fulfillment structure in its composition, Christology and kingship.

8.1 Liturgical Use of the Psalms

Based on allusions and influences to Psalms in Chapters 4, 5, 6 and 7, it is concluded that the book of Psalms was a primary source for liturgies (worship) in the book of Revelation. Such an assertion cannot be established with absolute certainty since, as has been repeatedly noted, the book of Revelation makes no exact quotation of any scriptural texts at all. The examinations of the psalmic cases in the present study, however, have shown the close relationship between the psalmic texts with liturgical texts of Revelation. According to the *Table of thematic classification*, in particular, almost all liturgical texts in Revelation allude to the Psalms—five strong, three probable and two possible allusions. Without recapitulating the relationship of each of the liturgical texts of Revelation with the Psalms, this chapter concerns itself with the role and function of worship scenes in the book of Revelation and highlights their theological and literary significance in relation with their use of Psalms. The following section, first of all, explores the notion of worship in the book of Revelation. Not only does it offer the background of the liturgical use of Psalms, but it also shows the importance of the use of Psalms in Revelation.

8.1.1 Worship in the book of Revelation

It is no exaggeration to say that worship is one of the most predominant themes in Revelation that has attracted the attention of scholars.⁵ In terms of the theme, an underlying question is for what

⁵ Otto A. Piper, 'The Apocalypse of John and the Liturgy of the Ancient Church,' *Church History* 20, no. 1 (1951): 10–22; M. H. Shepherd, *The Paschal Liturgy and the Apocalypse*, Ecumenical Studies in Worship no. 6 (London:

reason the book of Revelation, unlike other NT writings, contains such a large number of worship texts in conjunction with visionary scenes. Are the texts, in other words, deliberately arranged to deliver a key message of Revelation to its readers? If so, what message did the author possibly intend to convey in the book? The historical setting of the first-century Church has been often considered as the answer to those questions.⁶

Setting of the Asia Minor churches

It is generally accepted that the date of the book of Revelation lies sometime during Domitian's reign (AD 81–96).⁷ Since in early Christian tradition Domitian was a second Nero, the traditional viewpoint was that severe persecution by the Roman emperor was widespread and systematic in the first Christian century.⁸ Due to lack of evidence for massive harassment against Christianity in the period, however, scholars have had doubts about the view.⁹ Even in the book of Revelation itself a prodigious number of executions of church members is not clearly indicated (e.g., 'some of you in prison [ἐξ ὑμῶν εἰς φυλακὴν, Rev. 2:10], 'Antipas' [2:13]).¹⁰ According to the oft-quoted letters of Pliny the younger to the Emperor Trajan (*Letter 96* and *Letter 97*, dating to AD 98–117), maltreatment of Christians was more likely isolated, selective and local rather than widespread.¹¹

Lutterworth Press, 1960); Pierre Prigent, *Apocalypse et Liturgie*; John J. O'Rourke, 'Hymns of the Apocalypse,' *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 30, no. 3 (Jl 1968): 399–409; Leonard L. Thompson, 'Cult and Eschatology in the Apocalypse of John,' *Journal of Religion* 49, no. 4 (O 1969): 330–50; David R. Carnegie, 'The Hymns in Revelation: Their Origin and Function' (PhD diss., Council for National Academic Awards, 1978); Michael Harris, 'The Literary Function of Hymns in the Apocalypse of John' (PhD diss., Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1988); Barbara Wootten Snyder, 'Combat Myth in the Apocalypse: The Liturgy of the Day of the Lord and the Dedication of the Heavenly Temple' (PhD diss., Graduate Theological Union and University of California, Berkeley, 1991); Jean-Pierre Ruiz, 'Revelation 4:8-11; 5:9-14: Hymns of the Heavenly Liturgy,' *Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers* no. 34 (1995): 216–20; Marianne M. Thompson, 'Worship in the Book of Revelation,' *Ex Auditu* 8 (1992): 45–54; Petros Vassiliadis, 'Apocalypse and Liturgy,' *St Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 41, no. 2–3 (1997): 95–112; Mazie Nakhro, 'The Manner of Worship According to the Book of Revelation,' *Bibliotheca Sacra* 158, no. 630 (Ap-Je 2001): 165–80; W. Hulitt Gloer, 'Worship God! Liturgical Elements in the Apocalypse,' *Review & Expositor* 98, no. 1 (Wint 2001): 35–57; Mark S. Krause, 'The Seven Hymns of Revelation 4, 5 and 7,' *Leaven* 17 (January 2009): 177–183.

⁶ See Thompson, 'Worship in the Book of Revelation,' 45–47; Robert J. Karris, *Prayer and the New Testament* (New York: Crossroad, 2000), 135–38.

⁷ As to the date of Revelation, two major views (the reign of Domitian [AD 94/95], an earlier date before the fall of Jerusalem [AD 68/69]) and two other suggestive dates (the reign of Trajan [after the death of Domitian], the time of Caligula [AD 37–41]) are discussed (David Arthur deSilva, 'The Social Setting of the Revelation to John: Conflicts Within, Fears Without,' *Westminster Theological Journal* 54, no. 2 (Fall 1992): 273–74). For details, see David E. Aune, *Revelation 1-5*, lvi–lxx.

⁸ See Thompson, 'Worship in the Book of Revelation,' 45–46; deSilva, 'The Social Setting of the Revelation to John,' 274.

⁹ Adela Yarbro Collins, *Crisis and Catharsis: The Power of the Apocalypse* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1984), 69–73; Thomas B. Slater, *Christ and Community: A Socio-Historical Study of the Christology of Revelation*, *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 178 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 254.

¹⁰ Eusebius wrote on the death of Polycarp in *Hist. eccl.* 4.15.45, 'Such are the events that befell the blessed Polycarp, who suffered martyrdom in Smyrna with the eleven from Philadelphia. This one man is remembered more than the others by all...'

¹¹ Thompson, 'Worship in the Book of Revelation,' 46; Karris, *Prayer and the New Testament*, 136.

While sacrifice to the emperors was still forced upon Christians, those who recanted Christ and embraced the imperial cult were released. Given the Domitianic date for the book of Revelation, there seems to have been no reason that people were martyred simply for their Christian beliefs.

After a dreadful massacre of Christians by Nero, the nature of religious risk in first-century Christianity seems to have changed. A real crisis that the early churches encountered now came from the inside of the church, not from the outside. The pressures for conformity and participation by the local community to various religious practices associated with guilds and gods in the ancient world had increased, and the churches were being deceived by them (e.g., the practices of the Nicolaitans [Rev. 2:6], the teaching of Balaam [2:14], Jezebel [2:20] and etc.).¹² The author of the book of Revelation strongly admonishes believers not to fall into such temptation and as a result worship the beast and his image (Rev. 13:4, 15; 14:9, 11; 15:2; 16:2; 19:20; 20:4), repeatedly referring to ‘one who overcomes’ (2:7, 11, 26; 3:5, 12, 21; 12:11; 15:2; 21:7), ‘those who have come out of the great tribulation, washed their robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb’ (7:14), ‘those who did not defile themselves with woman, for they kept themselves pure’ (14:4), ‘Blessed is he who stays awake and keeps his clothes with him so that he may not go naked and be shamefully exposed’ (16:15), ‘Come out of her, my people, so that you will not share in her sins!’ (18:4). Thus, it can be asserted that by underscoring worship to God and the Lamb, the book of Revelation responds to this secular socio-religious circumstance.

Granted that the historical milieu of the early church can be one of the compelling reasons to read the book of Revelation with an emphasis on worshipping God and Christ alone, still, this alone does not seem to provide a fully satisfying explanation for the salient appearance of worship scenes in the book.¹³ For, as will be shown later in *Table 8.1 Structure of Liturgical Texts in the Book of Revelation*, the worship scenes are structurally organized in the book of Revelation. With a particular literary purpose, the author intentionally displayed the scenes to convey certain theological messages rather than merely to exhort the early Christians to worship God and the Lamb in the prevailing anti-monotheistic socio-cultural environment. The frequency of occurrences of liturgical texts in Revelation may also have been ascribed to a singular status of worship itself in early church. The following section discusses the place of worship in early Christianity, claiming that worship/liturgy is a means to bring God’s power, a channel to reach the heavenly realm.

¹² Thompson, ‘Worship in the Book of Revelation,’ 46.

¹³ Cf. for the understanding of worship scenes in Revelation as political, that is, the Christian resistance to the empire, see Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, *Revelation: Vision of a Just World*, 103; Jean-Pierre Ruiz, ‘Betwixt and Between on the Lord’s Day: Liturgy and the Apocalypse,’ *Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers* no. 31 (1992): 654–72; Ruiz, ‘The Politics of Praise: a Reading of Revelation 19:1-10,’ *Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers* no. 36 (1997): 374–93; Loren L. Johns, *The Lamb Christology of the Apocalypse of John*, 155.

Status of Worship in the Early Church

The earliest Jesus-followers' religious meeting is illustrated in Acts 1:13–26. They gathered together in a house, praying and reading/interpreting the Scripture.¹⁴ As such, the primitive Christian church began as a worshipping community (Acts 1:4–2:47. Cf. Eph. 1:4 and 1 Pet. 2:9–10) and worship was an essential religious activity in its own right.¹⁵ Early Christian worship was comprised in general of five elements: scriptural reading, prayer, praise, two sacraments (baptism and Lord's supper). The constituent elements, its features and form are similar to the Jewish synagogue worship.¹⁶ The Jewish religious meeting in the synagogue has three major parts: scripture reading, prayer and praise.¹⁷ These three components are, as mentioned, seen in early Christian worship. Two Christian sacraments of Lord's Supper and baptism are, to some degree, similar to two sacraments found in the Jewish ritual ceremonies: the Passover feast and Jewish sectarian/proselyte baptism.¹⁸ It is undeniable that the practices of the Jewish synagogue influenced early Christian worship. Both traditions even have in common their insistence on religious exclusivity, the most distinctive characteristic to the eyes of the first-century Roman pagan, which is that the Jews worshipped God alone and, for Christians, God and Christ alone.¹⁹

Despite these similarities, there is a significant difference between Jewish worship and that of early Christians. The Jewish synagogue meeting, as already mentioned, consisted of reading, prayer and praise; the most central part of the synagogue meeting was to read the Torah, interpret

¹⁴ Psalms 69:25 and 109:8 were read in Acts 1:20.

¹⁵ See Alexander B. MacDonald, *Christian Worship in the Primitive Church* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1935), 57–66; C. F. D. Moule, *Worship in the New Testament*, 9–60; Ralph P. Martin, *Worship in the Early Church*, 9–17. Macdonald points out that, though Sunday was the most important day for worship to Christians (e.g., 1 Cor. 16:2; Rev. 1:10; cf. *Did.* 14), they gathered for worship on a daily basis, saying, 'Christians should gather for worship as often as possible. Origen bids them gather "to the wells of Scripture" every day if possible, and not merely on Feast-days and Sundays. This suggests, not simply that Sunday was overshadowing the other days, but that the absence of worship on these days was deplored as a decline from a better practice. The evidence indicates that, during the early creative period, there was little or no tendency to exalt the Sunday worship at the expense of everyday worship. The New Testament depicts a remarkably rich and vigorous church life, with the Worship as its animating center; and the final impression is of frequent gatherings for worship' (pp. 65–66).

¹⁶ Shemuel Safrai, 'Religion in Everyday Life,' in *The Jewish People in the First Century. Historical Geography, Political History, Social, Cultural and Religious Life and Institutions*, ed. Shemuel Safrai et al. (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1974), 793–833.

¹⁷ Moule, *Worship in the New Testament*, 10, 'The Jewish synagogue was in essence simply a "gathering together" of a local group to hear the scriptures read aloud, to praise God and pray to Him together, and to be instructed.' See also Larry W. Hurtado, *At the Origins of Christian Worship: The Context and Character of Earliest Christian Devotion* (Grand Rapids; Cambridge, UK: Eerdmans, 2000), 31. Hurtado points out, 'The word "synagogue" derives from the Greek word *synagoge* and means a "gathering", but the earlier Greek term used for the religious meeting places of Diaspora Jews is *proseuche*, "[place of] prayer", indicating that worship of God was a major purpose of the gatherings in these places.'

¹⁸ For linkage between the Sacraments and the OT practices, see Martin, *Worship in the Early Church*, 88–90, 110–116. He sees Jewish sectarian and proselyte baptism for the background of that in the Early Church and the Passover meal for the Lord's Supper. Cf. Hurtado, *At the Origins of Christian Worship*, 34–36. He points out that there is difficulty to understand Jewish festal meals as 'sacramental.'

¹⁹ See Larry W. Hurtado, *Lord Jesus Christ: Devotion to Jesus in Earliest Christianity* (Grand Rapids; Cambridge, UK: Eerdmans, 2003), 29–53.

and teach it.²⁰ Early Christian worship employed much of the Jewish worship in form. With some distinctive features such as spiritual gifts or tongues, however, Christian worship distinguished itself from the synagogue meeting as it brought worshippers into religious fervor, accompanying spiritual power, ecstasy, and transcendent experience (e.g., Acts. 2:1–47; 1 Cor. 12:4–11; Gal. 3:5; 1 Thess. 5:19–21; etc.). The most characteristic part of early Christian worship was the presence of the Holy Spirit and religious experience prompted by the spirit. As regards Christian worship, thus, two unique aspects are found: (1) worship per se was thought to be a direct route to heavenly reality—e.g., in the book of Revelation John was raised by the spirit up to heaven to see the visions; then, (2) in one’s spiritual experience in worship, divine power exercises healing or miracles to worshippers.²¹ In worshipping in/with the spirit, the worshippers encountered God and regular worship activities were essential to their religious life. The content of prayer and praise in Christian worship was mainly concerned with the coming of Jesus (cf. the Aramaic watchword: *marana tha*, ‘our Lord, come!’). As such, early Christian worship was regarded as a practical event having an eschatological meaning.²² Hurtado states,

These little house-groups saw themselves as bearing salvation-historical significance, their meetings constituting God’s *ekklesia* called together in response to the divine summons issued in the gospel message. Their worship assembly was itself an event of eschatological meaning, a foretaste of the blessings of the coming age, and partook of heavenly realities, including the presence of holy angels and the presence and power of Christ experienced through the phenomena that they saw as manifestations of divine power.²³

Again, the historical setting of the first-century Christian churches in Asia Minor could partly explain the abundant existence of worship scenes in Revelation. Its significance and meaning in early Christianity have clarified the understanding of worship in the book of Revelation. The prominence of worship in Revelation does not merely result from the reaction to the external pressure of the imperial cult, but it results from its distinctive function and features in the early

²⁰ Charles Perrot, ‘The Reading of the Bible in the Ancient Synagogue,’ in *Mikra*, ed. M. J. Mulder and Harry Sysling (Assen; Minneapolis: Van Gorcum; Fortress Press, 1990), 137–59; Hurtado, *At the Origins of Christian Worship*, 33. See also Josephus, *Ag. Ap.* 2:175; Philo, *Somn.* 2:127.

²¹ See James D. G. Dunn, *Jesus and the Spirit: A Study of the Religious and Charismatic Experience of Jesus and the First Christians as Reflected in the New Testament* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1975); Luke Timothy Johnson, *Religious Experience in Earliest Christianity: A Missing Dimension in New Testament Studies* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1998).

²² For an eschatological aspect of early Christian worship, see Martin, *Worship in the Early Church*, 30–33; Hurtado, *Lord Jesus Christ*, 110–11; Paul F. Bradshaw, *Early Christian Worship: A Basic Introduction to Ideas and Practice* (Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 2010), 70–72. Bradshaw states, ‘The earliest Christians confidently expected the return of Christ and the consummation of the kingdom of God within the immediate future, and believed that they were called to be alert and watchful at all times for that final salvific event.... Several New Testament texts suggest that prayer was regarded as the proper mode of this eschatological vigilance.’

²³ Hurtado, *At the Origins of Christian Worship*, 62.

church, which are the appearance of the Holy Spirit, the connection with the heavenly realm in spirit, the manifestation and distribution of divine power by the spirit, and an eschatological expectancy of the messianic reign. In fact, the worship scenes exhibited in Revelation literarily function as bringing forth divine power, actualizing God's judgmental action, and consummating the eschatological reign of God and Christ (see *Table 8.1 Structural Analysis of the Liturgical Texts in the Book of Revelation*). Such recognition of worship and its function in Revelation, as we shall see below, are to be backed up by the fact that the worship scenes in Revelation mostly appear in the form of temple liturgy.

8.1.2 Why Does Christian Worship Appear in the Form of Temple Liturgy?

As already pointed out, Rev. 1:3–10 reflects a typical scene of Christian worship. Apart from v. 10, which appears to imply that the service was held on a Sunday, Rev. 1:3 displays the content of Christian worship: reading, hearing and teaching. At the end of the book of Revelation a Christian worship element reappears in Rev. 22:18: 'Everyone who hears the words of the prophecy of this book,' associating the reading and hearing of the scripture within a Christian worship setting.²⁴ Assuming monotheism, most liturgical texts in Revelation consist of prayer or praise to God and Christ alone as was typical in Christian worship. Notably, however, the author of Revelation often depicts such Christian worship as part of the temple ritual. The theme of the temple is as prevalent as the theme of worship in the book of Revelation. Several cultic objects are closely mingled with worship scenes in Revelation, such as the sanctuary, throne, altar (11:1), the outer court (11:2), the golden lamp-stand, harps, trumpets, libation bowls, etc. Considering the date of the book of Revelation (after the fall of the temple) and the unique features of early Christian worship, it is somewhat unusual that the worship of God and Christ is represented through temple liturgy.²⁵

Insofar as worship in Revelation features as an immediate media to incorporate worshippers within a heavenly reality, to cause a manifestation of God's power and to embody God's reign on the earth, it would have been natural for John to manipulate the temple motif for worship in Revelation. It is because the temple was symbolic, from the very beginning, of the place from which divine power to control the universe emanates.²⁶ Such a notion of the temple is found in

²⁴ For pervasiveness of liturgy in Revelation, see Vassiliadis, 'Apocalypse and Liturgy,' 103.

²⁵ Stevenson states, 'Early Christianity was comprised of Jewish and Gentile converts, for whom temples had formerly played a significant role in the ordering of religious and social life. Even Diaspora Jews, for whom the synagogue had acquired local prominence, still viewed the Jerusalem Temple as the center of Jewish religious identity. Early Christianity, however, was distinctive in the ancient Mediterranean world in having no physical temples at all. Any Jew or Gentile, therefore, who joined this movement left their temple(s) behind. Consequently, it is surprising when one turns to the book of Revelation and encounters therein. . . a temple' (Gregory Stevenson, *Power and Place: Temple and Identity in the Book of Revelation*, 2).

²⁶ Carol L. Meyers, 'Temple, Jerusalem,' in *ABD*, 6:350–69. She points out, 'The symbolic nature of the Jerusalem Temple, as for all major shrines in the ancient world, depended upon a series of features that, taken together,

Solomon's prayer when the first temple was completed in 1 Kings 8:12–60. The prayer requests Yahweh's transcendental ruling of the nations by responding to the people's prayer in the temple. As Stevenson says,

The temple was a place of access to the power of God, whether that be power for protection, blessings, atonement, victory, justice, vengeance, or freedom from oppression (p. 181)... The temple is a place of justice, whether in the form of visions of judgment from the heavenly temple or eschatological judgment accomplished on earth (p. 211).²⁷

As a rendezvous with God in heaven, worship in early Christianity operates heavenly power on earth. In order to highlight God's judgment and eschatological reign as his response to the saints' worship (prayer/praise), the book of Revelation takes advantage of the perception of the temple as the access point to the power of God and amalgamates it with Christian worship. In this regard, I would contend that John willingly employed the psalmic texts for the worship scenes in Revelation because the Psalms were used as the hymnbook in temple liturgy.²⁸ The injection of the temple motif into worship in the book of Revelation, though, is not necessarily the deciding factor for discerning the use of Psalms in Revelation. The literary dependence of each liturgical text in Revelation on its counterpart psalmic text (see Chapters 4, 5, 6 and 7) provides more direct evidence for the psalmic use in worship texts of Revelation. Apart from textual and contextual relationship of a given worship text in Revelation to the Psalms, the recurring uses of the temple ritual backgrounds in worship scenes in Revelation corroborates its use of Psalms.

8.1.3 Psalms as the Origin of Liturgical Scenes in Revelation

As to the provenance of worship scenes/hymnic texts in Revelation, scholars have set forth several views. While it is difficult to distinguish clearly one from another, the issue of the origin of hymnic texts in Revelation is largely classified into five categories: (1) Jewish ritual or worship²⁹, (2)

established the sacred precinct as being located at the cosmic center of the universe, at the place where heaven and earth converge and thus where God's control over the universe is effected. When the royal capital is brought into this sphere of divine activity through the construction of a temple, the regime acquires the might involved in the heavenly arena. A series of visual symbols, rooted in the mythic consciousness of the Israelites and their neighbors, provided the affective power of this notion of cosmic center' (p. 359).

²⁷ Stevenson, *Power and Place: Temple and Identity in the Book of Revelation*. See also Margaret Barker, *The Gate of Heaven: The History and Symbolism of the Temple in Jerusalem*. (London: SPCK, 1991), 133–77.

²⁸ See Margaret Barker, *The Great High Priest: The Temple Roots of Christian Liturgy* (London; New York: T. & T. Clark, 2003), 73–102; Margaret Barker, *Temple Themes in Christian Worship* (London; New York: T. & T. Clark, 2007), 19–44.

²⁹ Philip Carrington, *The Meaning of the Revelation* (London; New York; Toronto: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; Macmillan, 1931); José Comblin, *La liturgie de la Nouvelle Jérusalem* ([Louvain]; Bruges: Publications universitaires de Louvain; Desclée de Brouwer, 1953); R. J. McKelvey, *The New Temple: The Church in the New Testament* (London: Oxford University Press, 1969); Prigent, *Apocalypse et Liturgie*. Cf. Carnegie, *The Hymns in Revelation*.

Christian liturgy³⁰, (3) a mixture of Jewish and Christian origin³¹, (4) Greek influence (Greek tragedy)³², (5) John's own work.³³ None of these theories can be claimed with certainty because, as aforementioned, the book of Revelation contains various scriptural themes, language and expressions without any exact quotation, some of which have also been found even in other Jewish writings.³⁴ Revelation, as already pointed out, shows some unique features of early Christian worship, i.e., the engagement of the Holy Spirit (Rev. 1:10; 4:2; 17:3; 21:10), the reference to the Lord's day (Rev. 1:10) and worship of Christ the Lamb (Rev. 5:12–13; 7:9–10; 14:1–4; 15:3; 19:7), indicating a Christian background for worship in Revelation. The social, religious and cultural impact of the Roman Empire on worship in the book of Revelation should not be ignored either. Various sources/inputs might have been combined in forming each liturgical text of the book of Revelation.

The Jewish origin has much more to commend itself than any other source for the following reasons. (1) The use of the Jewish temple setting for the worship scenes of Revelation is obvious, thus favoring the view of Jewish origin. (2) Of five elements of the early Christian worship: scriptural reading, prayer, praise, baptism and the Lord's Supper, the two sacramental rituals (baptism and the Lord's Supper) that are more representative of Christian liturgy are missing.³⁵ Three other parts of reading, prayer and praise, on the other hand, are characteristically presented in most worship scenes in the book of Revelation, which are typical elements of the Jewish synagogue worship. (3) The predominant uses of Jewish scriptures throughout Revelation in themes and wording also buttress the Jewish origin of liturgical texts in Revelation. These notions, however, do nothing but suggest their affinity in general to the Jewish background, not necessarily bearing out the Jewish origin of the worship/hymnic texts in Revelation. Moreover, they do not qualify which Jewish writing or text is specifically taken for a given worship text in Revelation. The present study makes contributions to the current issue of the Jewish origin of the liturgical texts of Revelation. The exploration of the Psalms texts in Revelation in Chapters 4, 5, 6, and 7 of this thesis makes

³⁰ Piper, 'The Apocalypse of John and the Liturgy of the Ancient Church,' 17–19; Samuel Laeuchli, 'Eine Gottesdienststruktur in der Johannesoffenbarung,' *Theologische Zeitschrift* 16, no. 5 (S-O 1960): 359–78; Allen Cabaniss, 'Note on the Liturgy of the Apocalypse,' *Interpretation* 7, no. 1 (Ja 1953): 78–86; Vassiliadis, 'Apocalypse and Liturgy.' Cf. Vincent Taylor, *The Atonement in the New Testament Teaching* (London: Epworth, 1958); Moule, *Worship in the New Testament*.

³¹ O'Rourke, 'Hymns of the Apocalypse'; MacDonald, *Christian Worship in the Primitive Church*; Martin, *Worship in the Early Church*.

³² Raymond Rush Brewer, 'The Influence of Greek Drama on the Apocalypse of John,' *Anglican Theological Review* 18, no. 2 (Ap 1936): 74–92; J. W. Bowman, 'The Revelation to John: Its Dramatic Structure and Message,' *Interpretation* 9, no. 4 (1955): 436–53.

³³ Donald Guthrie, 'Aspects of Worship in the Book of Revelation,' in *Worship, Theology and Ministry in the Early Church* (Sheffield: JSOT, 1992), 70–83.

³⁴ See Bauckham, *The Climax of Prophecy*, 38–91.

³⁵ Cf. Vassiliadis, 'Apocalypse and Liturgy,' 103. Vassiliadis sees Rev. 1:5–6 as the 'baptismal formula' and Rev. 3:20; 7:16 and etc. as the 'eucharistic anaphoras.'

known to what extent, in what ways, and for what purpose the worship scenes in the book of Revelation drew upon the Psalms. Most of the worship texts in Revelation, as seen in the *Table of Thematic Classification*, allude to the book of Psalms, suggesting the Psalms as the primary source of worship texts of Revelation. Verbal expressions in the Psalms have not been just taken separately out of their contexts but rather interpreted and applied to the liturgical texts in Revelation, with the result that some theological themes of the Psalms were imported into the texts of Revelation. My argument is that John made recourse to the Psalms and combined its language, themes and format (prayer-answer) with the most distinctive characteristics of Christian worship, such as the manifestation of the Holy Spirit and worship offered to Christ. Just as the prayer and praise of the psalmists are answered in the Psalms in Yahweh's judgment on the wicked and his redemption of the saints, worship in the book of Revelation functions as entailing God's intervention in the world as a response to worshippers. Such intervention of God has been exhibited in the book of Revelation through his eschatological reign. The structural placement of the liturgical texts of Revelation is to highlight a key theme of the book that God reigns, meaning that its liturgical use of Psalms was not accidental but intentional. In the following section I discuss how the worship texts are arranged in the book of Revelation and linked with each other, demonstrating the significance of the liturgical texts in the composition of the book.

8.1.4 Structural Arrangement of Worship Scenes in Revelation

The texts containing hymns to God and the Lamb or liturgical scenes in Revelation are as follows:

Rev. 1:5–7; 4:8–11; 5:8–14; 7:9–12; 8:3–5; 11:15–18; 14:2–3; 14:7; 15:2–4; 16:5–7; 19:1–6.³⁶

³⁶ As for the number of the hymnic texts of Revelation, scholars slightly vary. Deichgräber suggested thirteen hymns – 4:8; 4:11; 5:9–10; 5:12; 5:13; 7:10; 7:12; 11:15; 11:17–18; 12:10–12; 15:3–4; 16:5–6; 19:1–8 (Reinhard Deichgräber, *Gotteshymnus und Christushymnus in der frühen Christenheit: Untersuchungen zur Form, Sprache und Stil der frühchristlichen Hymnen* [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1967], 44–59). Aune subdivides 19:1–8 into four hymns (19:1–2; 19:3; 19:5; 19:6–8), consequently sixteen hymns (Aune, *Revelation 1-5*, 315). Carnegie adds 1:5b–6; 13:4; 18:20 to these lists (Carnegie, *The Hymns in Revelation*, 243). Mountain considers Rev. 14:3 too and even proposes as possible hymns Rev. 7:14–17 and 18:2, 10, 14, 16, 17–20 (Charles M. Mountain, *The Liturgical Witness of the New Testament: 14 Worship Services Drawn from the New Testament* [Lima, Ohio: CSS, 1996], 46). I have excluded Rev. 7:14–17; 13:4 and 18:2–20 here in the present study. In discerning whether a text in the NT is hymnic, O'Brien suggests two criteria: stylistic and linguistic (Peter Thomas O'Brien, *The Epistle to the Philippians: A Commentary on the Greek Text* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1991], 188–89). By *stylistic* he means, 'A certain rhythmical lilt when the passages are read aloud, the presence of *parallelismus membrorum* (i.e., an arrangement into couplets), the semblance of some meter, and the presence of rhetorical devices such as alliteration, chiasmus, and antithesis.' And for *linguistic*, he explains, 'An unusual vocabulary, particularly the presence of theological terms, which is different from the surrounding context.' Regarding these criterion, Robert J. Karris states, 'As scholars have employed these criteria to hymnic passages in Revelation, it is clear that these passages generally meet the first criterion, especially through their extensive use of *parallelismus membrorum*' (Karris, *Prayer and the New Testament*, 143). As to the second, however, he points out that scholars fail to test it because the hymns in Revelation are closely linked to their contexts and their vocabulary is that of the author. In my view, being separate from its context is not necessarily a good reason for the identification of a given text as hymnic in Revelation. Having been examined, besides, an amount of vocabulary in the hymnic texts are employed from the Psalms (or at least pre-existing hymnic materials), not seemingly the author's own words.

Apart from the texts listed, there are two more imprecatory prayers to be added to the liturgical texts of Revelation: Rev. 6:9–11 and 8:1–5. Employing the Psalms texts, the fifteen liturgical texts in the book of Revelation are strategically positioned. If this is true, their arrangement itself discloses the author’s intent in using the liturgical texts, which is to highlight the theological theme of the book of Revelation.³⁷

Table 8.1 Structure of Liturgical Texts in the Book of Revelation

	Rev. 1:3–7	Blessing of those reading, hearing, or heeding the prophecies	
		4:8–11	Heavenly liturgy: God’s reign
		5:8–14	(Response: judgment)
	Seven seals	6:9–11	Liturgy: prayer
			(Response: judgment)
		7:9–12	Praise: salvation
		8:1–5	Heavenly liturgy: God’s reign
			(Response: judgment)
	Seven trumpets	11:15–18	Liturgy: praise of God’s reign
			(Response: judgment)
		(12:10–12)	
		14:2–4	Praise: salvation
		14:7	
		15:2–4	Heavenly liturgy: God’s reign
	Seven bowls	16:5–7	Response: judgment
	(18:20)	Rejoice: salvation (the fall of Babylon)	
	19:1–6	Hallelujah! God reigns	
(Rev. 22:18-19)	Cursing of those adding to or taking away the prophecies		

As shown in Table 8.1, two texts of Rev. 1:3–7 and 22:18-19 refer to the reading, hearing of the word of the prophecy (ὁ ἀναγινώσκων καὶ οἱ ἀκούοντες τοὺς λόγους τῆς προφητείας / παντὶ τῷ ἀκούοντι τοὺς λόγους τῆς προφητείας τοῦ βιβλίου τούτου), implying the early Christian worship and enclosing the book of Revelation. The hymnic texts show a certain pattern in the book of

³⁷ In the table I put the case of Rev. 1:5 into Christology but, when it comes to Rev. 1:5–7, it is definitely classified as a hymn text in early Church worship.

Revelation, which is a ‘liturgy–response’ pattern. In each of the three judgment scenes, liturgy consistently calls for a response in judgment and at the end of each series God’s salvific action is praised (7:9–12 / 12:10–12; 14:2–4; 14:7 / 18:20). Particularly the liturgies leading the three series are the most distinctive heavenly worship to God and the Lamb in the book (4:8–11; 5:8–14 / 8:1–5 / 15:2–4), emphasizing God’s sovereignty over all the earth. Then each series is linked, respectively, to Rev. 19:1–6, articulating the theme of the book of Revelation, ‘Hallelujah! The Lord our God the Almighty reigns’ (ἀλληλουϊά ὅτι ἐβασίλευσεν κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ παντοκράτωρ). A pattern of praise or prayer to God that is followed by his response in judgment or salvation is paradigmatic in the book of Psalms. When the psalmists frequently appeal to Yahweh’s intervention in prayer or praise, he answers them with judgment and salvation. Not only do the liturgical texts in Revelation textually depend on the book of Psalms, but the emphasis on the eschatological reign of God and Christ in the book of Revelation reflects a key theological emphasis of the Psalms: the reign of Yahweh as the king.

8.1.5 Summary

The early church understood worship as an eschatological catalyst for divine manifestation. Worship practices functioned to summon heavenly power, blessings, and intervention.³⁸ The idea of worship among the early Christians has been clearly evinced throughout the book of Revelation. For the book deliberately positions the worship scenes in order to actualize divine judgment and salvation in the eschaton. For the worship scenes of Revelation, the book of Psalms was used as the prayers or praises of the psalmists lead to Yahweh’s wrath on the wicked and redemption of the innocent. Using the Psalms in this way in the liturgical texts of Revelation, the just kingship of Yahweh explicitly depicted in the Psalms establishes the main theme of the book of Revelation (Rev. 19:6). In terms of the use of Psalms in Revelation, the linkage of its liturgies (prayer/praise) with God and Christ’s eschatological reign by judging and saving thus yields two points: (1) John interpretatively read the Psalms within their literary contexts, rather than merely, if partly true, rhetorically or unintentionally borrowing psalmic language devoid of that context. (2) The prophetic understanding of the Psalms common in Second Temple Judaism and early Christianity continues to be true in the book of Revelation and, beyond this, Revelation gives prominence to the eschatological fulfillment of such prophetic expressions/ideas of the Psalms. The following section will explore this use of Psalms in the prophecy-fulfillment framework in more depth.

³⁸ See Hurtado, *At the Origins of Christian Worship*, 10, 62. Hurtado sees that the Roman pagan religiosity already had a similar understanding of worship, saying, ‘The available evidence of Roman pagan religiosity indicates lively participation, and the many tangible expressions of thanks to the gods for answered prayers and various favours (e.g., the many *ex voto* artefacts that reflect popular religiosity) reflect a widely shared sense that the gods were active and that devotion to them ‘worked’ in bringing blessings of various types’ (p. 10).

8.2 Theological implications

Three theological threads are marked throughout the book of Revelation: a prophecy-fulfillment scheme, Christology, and kingship. The psalms discussed in this study have been deliberately used for the expression of the themes in Revelation. The petitionary prayers/laments or praises in the Psalms, as discussed in the earlier chapters, are read as prophetic in Revelation. God's final judgment and salvation of the saints are then illustrated as the fulfillment of the prophecies. The engagement with the Psalms in forming the Christology of Revelation is another crucial contribution of the Psalms to the book of Revelation. Some strong and probable allusions to the Psalms (Pss. 2; 22; 89) may demonstrate ideas drawn from the Psalms within the Christology of Revelation. For kingship, as seen in both the *Table of Thematic Classification* and *Table 8.1 Structure of Liturgical Texts in the Book of Revelation*, it is no exaggeration to say that the central use of the Psalms in Revelation is related to the theme of kingship. The following section will not cover an overview of each of these three themes in general but rather focus on how the psalmic texts have functioned in developing the three themes in question in the book of Revelation.

8.2.1 Prophecy-Fulfillment scheme

Chapters 2 and 3 have attested the prophetic reading of the Psalms in Second Temple Judaism and early Christianity. In the periods the book of Psalms was perhaps being treated as one of the Prophetic books. Since the NT quotes the Psalms in many places to specify the fulfillment of Jesus' work, it is natural in the book of Revelation that the author reads the psalmic texts as prophecies that are to be consummated in the eschaton (prophecy-fulfillment). In the book of Psalms, lament or petitionary Psalms often include a so-called prayer-answer pattern in which the psalmists plead for Yahweh's help and Yahweh answers their petition, finally inducing praises from the psalmists.³⁹ This thesis has shown that such a psalmic pattern of prayer-answer is incorporated within a prophecy-fulfillment schema within the use of Psalms in Revelation. The book of Revelation, while holding the prophecy-fulfillment concept as a base in its use of Psalms (as other NT writings do), distinctively makes use of the prayer-answer formula characterized in lament or petitionary psalms as one of its compositional techniques. As we have already seen in our discussion of Rev. 6:10; 19:2 / Ps. 79:5, 10, for example, Ps. 79:5, 10 contains a strong entreaty by the psalmist for Yahweh's alleviation of the suffering of the Israelites, i.e., a prayer for Yahweh's salvific action. The psalm texts are being taken in Rev. 6:10 for the prayer of martyr Christians and Revelation in itself answers that prayer in Rev. 19:2. Reading the psalm prophetically, the book of Revelation applies it to the present situation of the first-century Christians and unfolds its

³⁹ See Mowinckel, *The Psalms in Israel's Worship*, vol. 1, 193–246.

fulfillment by answering to the petition of the Christians. The author not only used the psalmic texts, therefore, but also appropriated the literary format of prayer-answering psalms. Though Rev. 11:15 is not technically a prayer, the allusion of Rev. 11:15 and 19:16 to Ps. 22:28–9 (see 5.6 Rev. 11:15; 19:16 / Ps. 22[21]:28–29) also shows the same literary format. A request in praise of God and Christ's kingly reign in Rev. 11:15–19 is answered in Rev. 19:1–21. Yahweh's kingship in Ps. 22:28–29 (e.g., 'For kingship belongs to the Lord, and he rules over the nations...') is fulfilled in the reign of God and Christ in Rev. 19 (prophecy-fulfillment) while the Revelation texts of 11:15 and 19:16 take on a prayer-answer pattern. The prayers/petitions of the Psalms have been understood in Revelation as prophecy and the answers to the prayers have been displayed as their fulfillment.

The combination of two schemes, prophecy-fulfillment and prayer-answer, has been frequently found in liturgical texts in Revelation. In light of the meaning and function of worship in early Christianity as discussed earlier, the author of Revelation deliberately utilized such combination in liturgy as a literary technique in order to accentuate the completion of God and Christ's kingly reign (an eschatological judgment) through God's response/answer to the prayer or praise of the saints, the reign which had been prophesied in the Psalms. Judaism often finds prophecy as being expressed in liturgy and Yahweh's intervention in the Psalms is being urgently invoked in prayers or praises.⁴⁰ The Psalms are used to spell out the fulfillment of prophecy in the book of Revelation.

To sum up, three points have been made as to the prophecy-fulfillment conception in the use of Psalms in Revelation. (1) As with elsewhere in the NT, Revelation reads the Psalms as prophecies which are to be fulfilled in God and Christ's ultimate reign. (2) John draws on a prayer-answer formula derived from the Psalms as one of the prime literary devices in Revelation. By the psalmic formula, the prophecy-fulfillment schema in Revelation is more clearly manifested when God's answer to the petition of the sufferers always brings forth his judgment. In turn, (3) liturgical texts in Revelation should draw much attention for this current issue. Liturgy in Judaism purportedly contains prophecy. The Christian liturgy itself was thought of as eschatological and regarded as a means for the fulfillment of prophecy in early Christianity. The generous usage of liturgical texts in the book of Revelation thus demonstrates that the book highly values the prophecy-fulfillment scheme in its composition. Of these eschatological fulfillments in the Psalms, the most developed in the book of Revelation relates to Christology. Elsewhere in the NT, as already pointed out, Christology primarily centers on Jesus' atonement on the cross (Matt. 21:42; Mark 12:10–11; 15:24; Luke 20:17; John 19:24; Acts 2:25–28). Although not absent in Revelation

⁴⁰ Gillingham, 'From Liturgy to Prophecy: The Use of Psalmody in Second Temple Judaism,' 470–89.

(e.g., Rev. 5:6), however, Jesus (Christ) is mostly depicted as the Messiah, an eschatological king, divine warrior, savior, etc. The psalmic texts play a key role in building such christological concepts in the book of Revelation.

8.2.2 Christology⁴¹

The christological images in the book of Revelation are varied: one like a son of man, lion, lamb, the root of David, shepherd, ruler, messiah, the one who sits on the horse, etc.⁴² Of them, three figures immediately specify christological characters: ‘one like a son of man’ (Rev. 1:13; 2:1, 8, 12, 18; 3:1, 7, 14), ‘the Lamb’ (5:6–13; 6:1, 16; 7:9–1, 14, 17; 12:11; 13:8; 14:1–4, 10; 17:14; 19:7–9; 21:9; 21:14–22:3) and ‘the rider on the white horse’ (19:11–21). The roles of the three christological figures are composite in the book of Revelation.

While its portrait is warrior-like in Rev. 1:13–16, the function of the ‘one like a son of man,’ in fact, is to deliver divine messages to the seven churches through John (Rev. 1:17–20).⁴³ In Rev. 2 and 3, the ‘one like a son of man’ carries seven letters to the seven churches respectively and at the same time to the end of each letter is described as a judge who initiates judgment upon those who do not repent (2:5, 10, 16, 22–28; 3:5, 11–12, 19–21). The ‘one like a son of man’ has been characterized as both a divine messenger and judge/divine warrior.

The ‘Lamb’ (ἀρνίον) is the most prominent christological image in Revelation with twenty-eight occurrences. The phrases, ‘the Lamb who had been slain’ or ‘the blood of the Lamb’ in Rev. 5:6–13; 7:14; 12:11 and 13:8, suggest that a significant role of the Lamb/Christ is to be a sacrificial offering, i.e., an atoning death. His redemptive works through death/blood also present the Lamb as savior or shepherd in Rev. 7:9–10, 17 and 14:1–4. Several places mark the Lamb as a wrathful judge (e.g., Rev. 6:16; 14:10), a victorious warrior (e.g., Rev. 17:14) and an eschatological king (e.g., Rev. 17:14; 21:14–22:3). Unlike the vulnerable image of the Lamb frequently found in

⁴¹ For the general understanding of the Christology of Revelation, see Dwight Marion Beck, ‘The Christology of the Apocalypse of John,’ in *New Testament Studies: Critical Essays in New Testament Interpretation with Special Reference to the Meaning and Worth of Jesus* (New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1942), 253–77; Traugott Holtz, *Die Christologie Der Apokalypse Des Johannes*, Geschichte Der Altchristlichen Lit, Texte Und Untersuchungen (Berlin: Akademie, 1962); M. Eugene Boring, ‘Narrative Christology in the Apocalypse,’ 702–23; Slater, *Christ and Community*; Johns, *The Lamb Christology of the Apocalypse of John*; Loren T. Stuckenbruck, *Angel Veneration and Christology: A study in Early Judaism and in the Christology of the Apocalypse of John* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1995); Peter R. Carrell, *Jesus and the Angels: Angelology and the Christology of the Apocalypse of John*, Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series 95 (Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

⁴² For viewing Jesus as an ‘angelic being’ in Revelation (angelomorphic Christology), see Stuckenbruck, *Angel Veneration and Christology*, 209–61; Carrell, *Jesus and the Angels*, 196–219.

⁴³ Given that the ‘one like a son of man’ indicates Jesus Christ, the prophetic role of the ‘one like a son of man’ is already found in Rev. 1:1, saying, ‘... God gave him (Jesus Christ) to show his servants what must soon take place....’ That is, Rev. 1:1 portrays Jesus Christ delivering to John what soon takes place and now in v. 19 the ‘one like a son of man’ brings the same message to John. The title of the ‘faithful witness’ in Rev. 1:5 is also reflected on the image of the ‘one like a son of man’ in vv. 13–20. Note that one of many features of messiah found in the Jewish writings is to be a revealer (*1 En.* 46:3) (Slater, *Christ and Community*, 79, 202–203).

Jewish literature (e.g., *1 En.* 89–90; *Pss. Sol.* 8; *T. Ben.* 3:8; cf. *T. Jos.* 19:8), the most idiosyncratic characteristic in the Lamb christology of Revelation is that it is a conquering, victorious lamb. While various roles and characters are involved in the Lamb/Christ, the victor through death/suffering, the one bringing in redemption by his blood is the most distinctive image in Revelation of Christ as the Lamb, highlighting his atoning death and implying his priestly role.

The third representative figure of Christ in Revelation is the divine warrior: ‘the rider on the white horse’ (Rev. 19:11–16). From ancient times, the image has been often coupled with a king.⁴⁴ A king had to be a warrior and through his victory in battles his kingship was endorsed and consolidated.⁴⁵ Due to the portrayal of the divine warrior as a messianic figure in Rev. 19:11–21, the title of ‘King of kings and Lord of lords’ of Rev. 19:16 thus indicates an eschatological king who reigns and judges all the nations.⁴⁶

In short, each of the three main christological images represents three key roles of the Messiah in Revelation. Having a role of judge or divine warrior, the ‘one like a son of man’ is more likely a divine messenger. The Lamb Christology as discussed highlights his being slain, that is, victory by being a sacrificial offering. The ‘rider on the white horse’ in Rev. 19 is pictured as a divine warrior named ‘King of kings and Lord of lords’, thus denoting the kingship of Christ. What is noticeable is that those three aspects of Christ—divine messenger (‘one like a son of man’), sacrificial offering/victory through death (‘the Lamb’), the kingly reign as divine warrior (‘the rider on the white horse’)—are in conjunction with Rev. 1:5a which conveys a threefold title of Jesus Christ: the ‘faithful witness,’ the ‘firstborn from the dead’ and the ‘ruler of the kings of the earth.’ This is significant in reference to the Psalms’ contribution to Christology in Revelation because Rev. 1:5a strongly depends on Ps. 89.

As discussed in Rev. 1:5a / Ps. 89(88):28, 38, Rev. 1:5–7 displays the most vivid understanding of Jesus Christ in the book of Revelation (see *Table 4.1 Structural Relationship of Rev. 1:5–7*), in which his roles as prophet (faithful witness), priest (firstborn from the dead) and king (ruler of the kings of the earth) are structurally combined. What I argue here is that such

⁴⁴ Divine warrior and king have in common their role of saving, ruling and judging. See Miller, *Divine Warrior in Early Israel*; Lynn Clapham, ‘Mythopoeic Antecedents of the Biblical World-view and Their Transformation in Early Israelite Thought,’ in *Magnalia Dei* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1976), 108–19; Gary V. Smith, ‘The Concept of God/the Gods as King in the Ancient Near East and the Bible,’ *Trinity Journal* 3, no. 1 (Spr 1982): 18–37; Tremper Longman, ‘Psalm 98: A Divine Warrior Victory Song,’ *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 27, no. 3 (S 1984): 267–74; Martin Klingbeil, *Yahweh Fighting from Heaven: God as Warrior and as God of Heaven in the Hebrew Psalter and Ancient Near Eastern Iconography*, OBO (Göttingen: Universitätsverlag, 1999), 158–301.

⁴⁵ See A. R. Johnson, ‘Hebrew Conceptions of Kingship,’ in *Myth, Ritual, and Kingship: Essays on the Theory and Practice of Kingship in the Ancient Near East and in Israel*, ed. S. H. Hooke (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958), 204–35.

⁴⁶ Cf. Slater, *Christ and Community*, 233. He explains the image of the ‘rider on the white horse’ as an eschatological judge, i.e., the one who judges and executes the judgment, rather than the king. Though king and judge are not necessarily separable in their roles, a Divine warrior, as stated, is more likely specified as king. Particularly Rev. 19:16 itself immediately designates the ‘rider on the white horse’ as ‘King of kings.’

threefold description of Jesus in Rev. 1:5a is clearly reflected by the three christological images predominant in Revelation: (1) ‘the faithful witness’ (prophet) – ‘the one like a son of man’ (divine messenger), (2) ‘the firstborn from the dead’ (priest) – ‘the Lamb who had been slain’ (sacrificial offering/victor by death), and (3) ‘the ruler of the kings of the earth’ (king) – ‘the rider on the white horse’ (an eschatological king). Given the centrality of the threefold title of Rev. 1:5a for the Christology of Revelation, its dependence on Ps. 89:28, 38 should not be underestimated. Psalm 89, in other words, provides the foundation of Christology of Revelation. In addition to it, some other allusions to the Psalms, in expressing the ‘rider on the white horse’ in Rev. 19:11–16, substantiate their utility to the formation of Christology of Revelation (Rev. 19:11 / Ps. 96:13 [98:9]; Rev. 19:15 / Ps. 2:8–9; Rev. 19:16 / Ps. 22:28–29). It is also worth pointing out that four strong, probable allusions to the Psalms are somehow related with liturgy (Rev. 1:5a / Ps. 89:28, 38; Rev. 11:15, 18 / Ps. 2:1–2; Rev. 1:5b / Ps. 130:8; Rev. 11:15 / Ps. 22:28–29) in which Jesus (Christ, the Lamb, Lord) alongside God is worshipped. This is one of the most conspicuous features of the Christology of Revelation and reflects a dependence on the Psalms.⁴⁷

8.2.3 Kingship

As seen in *Table 8.1 Structure of Liturgical Texts in the Book of Revelation*, the eschatological reign of God as king is the main theological theme of Revelation. Almost all psalmic cases are associated with the theme of kingship (see *Table of Thematic Classification*). Kingship is an overarching subject matter throughout the book of Revelation. Four types of kingship are found in the book: (1) God’s kingship, (2) Christ’s kingship, (3) the worldly/evil kingship (e.g., the kings of the nations, the angel of the Abyss, dragon, beast or Babylon), and (4) the co-kingship with Christ of the overcomer/redeemed. The lists below include occurrences containing direct reference to any of those four kingships.

	Occurrence	Kingship
1:5	<i>The ruler of the kings of the earth</i>	Christ
2:26	<i>To him who overcomes... I will give authority over the nations</i>	The redeemed
2:27	<i>He will rule them with an iron scepter...</i>	Christ
3:21	<i>To him who overcomes, I will give the right to sit with me on my throne, just as I overcame and sat down with my Father on his throne</i>	God, Christ, the redeemed
4:2, 9	<i>One who sits on the throne</i>	God
5:1	<i>One who sits on the throne</i>	God
5:10	<i>They (the redeemed) will reign on the earth</i>	The redeemed
5:13	<i>To him who sits on the throne and to the Lamb be praise, honor, glory, power...</i>	God, Christ

⁴⁷ Braulik, ‘Psalter and Messiah: Towards a Christological Understanding of the Psalms in the Old Testament and the Church Fathers,’ 15–40; J. Massyngberde Ford, ‘The Christological Function of the Hymns in the Apocalypse of John,’ *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 36, no. 2 (Aut 1998): 207–29; Matthew Black, ‘Christological Use of the Old Testament in the New Testament,’ 1–14.

6:15–16	<i>The kings of the earth, the princes... Hide us from the face of him who sits on the throne</i>	Kings of the nations
7:10	<i>Salvation belongs to our God, who sits on the throne and to the Lamb</i>	God, Christ
9:11	<i>They (locusts) had as king over them the angel of the Abyss...</i>	Angel of Abyss
10:3–7	<i>The voices of the seven thunders spoke... he (another mighty angel) swore by him who lives for ever and ever, who created the heavens and all that is in them</i>	God
11:15	<i>The kingdom of the world has become the kingdom of our Lord and of his Christ, and he will reign for ever and ever</i>	God, Christ
11:17	<i>You have taken your great power and have begun to reign</i>	God
12:5	<i>A male child who will rule all the nations with an iron scepter...</i>	Christ
12:3, 9	<i>The great dragon...who leads the whole world astray... (9)</i>	Dragon
13:1–18	<i>Men worshipped the beast and asked, 'Who is like the beast? Who can make war against him?' (4)</i>	Beast
14:7	<i>Fear God and give him glory... worship him who made the heavens, the earth, the sea...</i>	God
15:3	<i>Lord God Almighty...Just and true are your ways, King of the ages</i>	God
16:10	<i>The fifth angel poured out his bowl on the throne of the beast and his kingdom was plunged into darkness</i>	Beast
16:12	<i>...Its water was dried up to prepare the way for the kings from the east...</i>	Kings of the nations
16:14	<i>They (spirits of demons) go out to the kings of the whole world...</i>	Kings of the nations
16:16	<i>They (the demons) gathered the kings together to the place...called Armageddon</i>	Kings of the nations
17:2	<i>With her the kings of the earth committed adultery...</i>	Kings of the nations
17:10	<i>The seven heads are... seven kings (9–10)</i>	Beast
17:12	<i>The ten horns...are ten kings</i>	Beast
17:14	<i>He (the Lamb) is Lord of lords and King of kings...</i>	Christ
17:18	<i>The woman is the great city that rules over the kings of the earth</i>	Babylon
18:9	<i>The kings of the earth who committed adultery with her...will weep...</i>	Kings of the nations
19:6	<i>Hallelujah! Our Lord God Almighty reigns</i>	God
19:16	<i>On his robe and on his thigh... King of kings and Lord of lords</i>	Christ
19:18–19	<i>...The flesh of kings... I saw the beast and the kings of the earth...gathered together to make war against the rider on the horse...</i>	Kings of the nations
20:4–6	<i>They (the redeemed) reigned with Christ a thousand years... will reign with him (Christ) for a thousand years</i>	The redeemed
20:11	<i>I saw a great white throne and him who was seated on it...</i>	God
21:24	<i>The kings of the earth will bring their splendor into it (the new Jerusalem)</i>	Kings of the nations (God, Christ)
22:5	<i>The Lord God will give them light and they will reign for ever and ever</i>	The redeemed

In the book of Revelation, the first three kingships are always in conflict when the worldly/evil kings (the kings of nations, Angel of abyss, Dragon, beast and Babylon) confront God and Christ, except in Rev. 21:24 in which the kings of the earth finally worship God and Christ. The antagonistic relationship between them drives the whole narrative of the book of Revelation. For the co-kingship of the redeemed/saints, its pre-announcement in Rev. 2:26 comes to realization in Rev. 20:4 and 22:5 after the final judgment of the worldly/evil kingship.⁴⁸ Such a notion of kingship in the book of Revelation is well expressed by the book of Psalms.

⁴⁸ Again, it shows a common fabric of prophecy-fulfillment for the composition of the book of Revelation. Cf. Aune, *Revelation 1-5*, 208–209.

More occurrences of Yahweh's kingship are found in the Psalms than any other scriptural books. Apart from the kingship of Yahweh, the Psalms includes two more kingships: Yahweh's anointed king and the king of the nations.⁴⁹ In the Psalms, the kings of the nations stand against Yahweh and his anointed one that they are destined to be judged by Yahweh in the end. The defiance of the worldly kingship and Yahweh's judgment of them in the Psalms are clearly characterized in the book of Revelation through tensions between God and Christ's kingship(s) and the evil kingship. As viewed in *Table of Thematic Classification*, the Psalms of Yahweh's kingship have been alluded to in the Revelation texts indicating God's kingship. In some of the allusions such as Ps. 22:28–29 in Rev. 11:15; 19:16; Ps. 23:1–2 in Rev. 7:17; Ps. 96:2–9 in Rev. 7:12, Yahweh's kingship has been applied for the Lamb, thus furnishing the Christology of Revelation. Of the so-called the Royal Psalms (the Davidic kingship) referring to Yahweh's anointed one, Pss. 2 and 89 have been employed in reference to Jesus in Revelation (Rev. 1:5a; 2:26–27; 11:15, 18; 12:5; 19:15).

A few aspects of the kingly reign of God and Christ in Revelation are worth noting, which are pertinent to kingship in the Psalms. (1) Worship or liturgy, as has been pointed out, occupies a prominent place in the book of Revelation. God and Christ's kingship is usually displayed in the worship scenes, and in it they carry out judgment and salvation in power (e.g., Rev. 4:5, 11; 5:12–13; 7:10–12; 8:5; 11:15–18; 15:2–4; 16:5–7; 19:1–6). With power and authority, Yahweh's sovereignty in the Psalms is often revealed in his theophany in liturgy (e.g. Pss. 18; 97; 99)⁵⁰. In the worship/liturgy in the book of Revelation, God's kingly reign has been articulated to bring in the judgment of the nations. (2) An eschatological facet of the kingship of God and Christ in Revelation is understood in some Psalms allusions in which the kingship of Yahweh's anointed one is depicted as messianic or eschatological (Pss. 2; 22; 89; 96).⁵¹ The eschatological reign is, in particular, depicted in the Psalms mainly as the judgment of the kings of the earth, which is manifested in the book of Revelation. (3) The key attributes of Yahweh's kingship in the Psalms are righteousness and justice.⁵² Such attributes of kingship are repeatedly highlighted for the reign of God and Christ throughout the book of Revelation (e.g., Rev. 16:5, 7; 19:12 [15:3] / Ps.

⁴⁹ See Eaton, *Kingship and the Psalms*; Rowe, *God's Kingdom and God's Son*, 14–60; James Luther Mays, *Psalms, Interpretation* (Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox, 1994), 309; Walter Brueggemann, *The Message of the Psalms*, 144–46.

⁵⁰ Rowe, *God's Kingdom and God's Son*, 23–31.

⁵¹ Cf. Mowinckel maintains that there was no ancient oriental eschatology until the sixth century (the Persians) and that the royal psalms/ideology of the ancient Israel did not contain both eschatology and the Messianic concept (Sigmund Mowinckel, *He That Cometh: The Messiah Concept in the Old Testament and Later Judaism* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005], 123). Scholars disagree with Mowinckel by claiming the earlier existence of eschatology and the messianic concept in the Israelites (Edmond Jacob, *Theology of the Old Testament* [New York: Harper & Row, 1958], 317; Walther Eichrodt, *Theology of the Old Testament* [Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1961], 66; Rowe, *God's Kingdom and God's Son*, 57).

⁵² Rowe, *God's Kingdom and God's Son*, 54.

119(118):7, 75, 137; Rev. 19:11 / Ps. 96(95):13 [98(97):9]).

As a primary theological theme of the book of Psalms, kingship has been significantly influential to the book of Revelation. The present study of the use of Psalms in Revelation has borne out the following: (1) The majority of the Psalms usages in Revelation are connected to the theme of kingship. (2) The adversarial relationship between Yahweh and his anointed one and the kings of the earth is plainly reflected in God and Christ's retributive judgment of the worldly kingship (the kings of the nations, Dragon, beast, Babylon the great). (3) By applying the kingship of Yahweh's anointed one to Christ, the use of Psalms bolsters the Christology of Revelation. In addition, (4) just as in the Psalms the manifestation of Yahweh's power in liturgy was represented as his kingly reign, liturgy is used in Revelation as a direct means to embody the reign of God and Christ, whose natures are righteousness and justice. Kingship in the Psalms engenders an overall theme of Revelation, 'Our Lord God Almighty reigns' (Rev. 19:11).

The co-kingship of the redeemed with the Messiah/Christ in Rev. 2:26; 20:24 and 22:5 is not found in the Psalms. The idea of the saints' kingship in the end time in Revelation may have evolved from the apocalyptic eschatology in early Christianity as regards the ultimate status of believers (cf. Dan. 7:27; Eph. 2:6; Col. 3:1).

8.2.4 Summary

The book of Revelation used the Psalms, (1) in a prophecy-fulfillment motif, (2) for its Christology, and (3) with an emphasis of God's and Christ's kingship. The three themes in question are not exclusively unique in Revelation, the themes that have psalmic characteristics. The prophetic reading of the Psalms was fashionable in Second Temple Judaism and early Christianity (see Chapters 2 and 3). The book of Psalms made a significant contribution to Christology in the NT more than any other text of Scripture. Yahweh's sovereignty/kingship over the nations in an eschatological sense also frequently appears in various Jewish writings (Enoch, *Sibylline Oracles*, testamentary literature, Daniel, DSS, etc.) though their references to Yahweh's kingship are not always derived from the Psalms.

These three themes in Revelation, nonetheless, have shown some distinctiveness in relation to its use of the Psalms. A most notable characteristic is the employment of the liturgical setting of the Psalms as a vehicle for highlighting the three themes. For a prophecy-fulfillment schema, in addition, Revelation has adopted a peculiar structure of prayer-answer found in the Psalms as a literary method. Resorting to Ps. 89:28, 38, the threefold description of Jesus in Rev. 1:5 undergirds the Christology of the book of Revelation and gives the meaning of each role of three major Christological figures ('the one like a son of man,' 'the Lamb who had been slain' and 'the rider on

the white horse') in the book. It is the kingship of God and Christ which serves as the mainstay of the theology of Revelation, and this theme is obviously found in Yahweh and his anointed one's kingship in the book of Psalms.

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