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THE BRITISH ACADEMY

An Attempt to recover the
Original Order of the Text
of Revelation xx. 4-xxii

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Charles, Robt. Henry, 1855-1931

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AN ATTEMPT TO RECOVER THE ORIGINAL ORDER OF THE TEXT OF REVELATION xx. 4 - xxii.

BY THE REV. CANON CHARLES, D.D.

FELLOW OF THE ACADEMY

Read March 10, 1915

BEFORE I enter on the study of Revelation xx. 4-xxii there are two facts which should be emphasized. The first is that Revelation is not a pseudonymous book, but was written by the prophet John, whereas all the Jewish Apocalypses from 300 B.C. down to mediaeval times were unquestionably pseudonymous; that is, written under the name of some ancient worthy in Israel of a date not later than Ezra. Is it a mere coincidence that pseudonymity arose subsequently to the legislature of Ezra, or is there a real organic connexion between these two facts? The present lecturer was the first to show that the legislation of Ezra and his school inevitably led to the rise of pseudonymous apocalypses in Judaism. I cannot here naturally repeat *in extenso* the grounds for this conclusion given in my *Eschatology*, pp. 173-206, but I may summarize in a few sentences the results there arrived at. From the times of Ezra onwards the Law made steady progress towards a position of absolute supremacy in Judaism, till in the third century B.C. it came to be regarded, not as the highest expression of the religious consciousness of a particular age, but as the complete and final utterance of the mind of God—adequate, infallible, and valid for all eternity. When the Law thus came to be regarded as all sufficient for all eternity, alike as an intellectual creed, a liturgical system, and a practical guide in ethics and religion, there was no room left for new light or any further disclosure of God's will—in short, no room for the true prophet, but only for the moralist, the casuist, and the preacher. Henceforth in Judaism, when a man felt himself charged with a real message from God to his day and generation, he was compelled, if he wished his message to be received, to resort to pseudonymity, and to issue the divine commands with which he was entrusted under the name of some notable worthy, contemporary with or earlier than Ezra.

But with the advent of Christianity all was changed. Within Christianity the Law was dethroned from the position of absolutism that it had claimed and exercised, and reduced to its rightful office as a schoolmaster to bring men to Christ, while prophecy was restored to the first place, and prophet and seer once more were enabled to fling aside *for a time* the guise of pseudonymity and come forward in their own persons to make known the counsels of God. Thus we have Paul setting forth his apocalypse in Thessalonians, Corinthians, and later Epistles, and in the greatest of all the Apocalypses ever written we have John the prophet writing in his own name to the Christian Churches.

But not only is the Apocalypse from the hand of John, but, when closely studied from an ample knowledge of the period, it exhibits, except in a few passages, and especially in chap. xviii, a structural unity and a steady development of thought from the first chapter to the close of xx. 3. Now this is just what we should expect in an Apocalypse, which is designed to be a philosophy of history and religion from the standpoint of the author. It was a combination of *vision and reflection*. Though the book of a prophet did not necessarily show any structural unity or steady development of thought, it was far otherwise with the Apocalyptist, in whose writings such characteristics were indispensable. While the ordinary man saw only the outside of things in all their incoherence and isolation, the Apocalyptist sought to get behind the surface and penetrate to the essence of events, the spiritual motives and purposes that underlay and gave them their real significance—in fact to lay bare their origin, course, and consummation. It was thus, in short, a Semitic philosophy of religion, and as such it was ever asking Whence? Wherefore? Whither? Apocalyptic, and not prophecy, was the first to grasp the great idea that all history, alike human, cosmological, and spiritual, is a unity—a unity following naturally as a corollary of the unity of God preached by the prophets.

I have emphasized these two points—structural unity and orderly development of thought to the final consummation of all things—as pre-eminently the characteristics of apocalyptic and not of prophecy or of any other form of writing in the Bible. This being so, we are all the more astonished that the three closing chapters of the Apocalypse are all but wholly wanting in these characteristics and—so far from advancing steadily to the consummation that all the preceding chapters postulate—exhibit many incoherences and self-contradictory elements.

To some of these I drew attention in my first edition of the Book

of Enoch in 1893, where on p. 45 I wrote as follows: 'We have here (i. e. Rev. xxi. 1, 2) a new heaven and a new earth, and a New Jerusalem coming down from heaven: yet in xxii. 15 all classes of sinners are said to be without the gates of the city. But if there were a new earth this would be impossible.' This is only one of the many difficulties that confront the serious student of these chapters. Now to make the problem before us clear it will be best to deal shortly with a few of the passages which make it impossible for us to accept the text as it stands.

1. In xx. 7-10, after the close of the Millennial Kingdom Satan is loosed, and the heathen nations (Gog and Magog), which have refused to accept the Christian faith, march against Jerusalem and the camp of the saints, but are destroyed by fire from heaven. Satan also is cast finally into the lake of fire and brimstone, to be tormented there for ever and ever. *Thus the prime source of evil and his deluded followers (Gog and Magog) are removed finally from the world, and their power to influence the world for evil made impossible for ever.*

2. In xx. 11-15 the old earth and the old heaven are given over to annihilation. Then the final judgement takes place, and all the dead are judged according to their works, and death and Hades are cast into the lake of fire, together with all those whose names are not found written in the book of life. *At this stage we have arrived at the final condemnation and destruction of all evil, together with the destruction of death itself.*

3. Now that all evil and death itself are cast into the lake of fire, the new heaven and the new earth come into being, and the New Jerusalem comes down from heaven, and God Himself dwells with men (xxi. 1-4).

It is clear from this passage that we have arrived at the closing scene of the great world struggle between good and evil, and that henceforth there can be neither sin, nor crying, nor pain, nor death any more. In fact, there can be no place at all for these in the universe of God—the new heaven and the new earth and the New Jerusalem that cometh down from God to the new earth.

The conclusion just arrived at is inevitable, if there is a steady development in the visions of the Seer. Now since such a development is manifest in chapters i-xx. 4, when certain verses and glosses are excised and a few disarrangements of the text set right—especially in xviii—we naturally conclude that our author will not lightly fall into contradictions, even of a minor sort, in the last three chapters. But unhappily this is not our experience as we study them; and at last we stand aghast at the hopeless mental confusion

which dominates the present structure of these chapters, and are compelled to ask if they can possibly come from his hand, and, in case they do, to ask further, if they have been preserved as they left his hand. But we must first justify the above statement, though we shall adduce here only the main contradictions in these chapters.

Inasmuch as according to our text the New Jerusalem does not come down from heaven till Satan is bound for ever in the lake of fire, and all sin and death itself are at an end, and the place of the old world has been taken by a new and glorious world, wherein there is neither spot nor blemish nor any such thing, how is it that we are told that, outside the gates of the Holy City which has come down from God to the new earth, there are 'the dogs and the sorcerers, and the fornicators, and the murderers, and the idolaters, and every one that loveth and maketh a lie' (xxii. 15)? A greater contradiction in thought and statement is hardly conceivable. But if this statement were made in connexion with the Millennial Kingdom which was to be established before the Final Judgement everything would be intelligible.

2. Again, since the new earth is inhabited only by the blessed, on whom the second death could have no effect, and since these are all righteous, and God Himself tabernacles among them, how is it that in xxii. 2 the leaves of the tree of life are said to be for the healing of the nations? This statement can have no meaning unless it applies to the period of the Millennial Kingdom. During Christ's reign of 1,000 years the surviving nations have still a further period of grace accorded to them. This evangelizing of the nations during this period has already been proclaimed in xiv. 6-7, xv. 4. It is twice elsewhere referred to in the last two chapters, i. e. xxi. 24, xxii. 14.

3. Only on the supposition that the Millennial Kingdom is still in existence can we explain xxi. 24-7:

And the nations shall walk by the light thereof:
And the kings of the earth do bring their glory into it.
And the gates thereof shall not be shut day or night.¹

And they shall bring the glory and the honour of the nations into it:

And there shall not enter into it anything unclean, or he that maketh an abomination or a lie;

But only they that are written in the book of life of the Lamb.

¹ A necessary emendation. The corruption in the text arose from the present disorder, and the influence of xxii. 5, 'and there shall be no more night,' where this clause is wholly justifiable.

Now from the above contradictions—the solution of which is in part already suggested—it follows either that (a) a considerable part of xx-xxii is not from the hand of our author, or that, (b) if it is from his hand, it is disarranged.

Now the first solution (a) is that adopted by most of the leading German scholars of the past thirty years. Thus with Völter (*Die Offenbarung Johannis*, 1904), Weyland (*Omwerkings- en Compilatie-Hypothesen toegepast op de Apocalypse van Johannes*, 1908), and J. Weiss (*Die Offenb. des Johannes*, 1908) assume that xx-xxii is derived from three different sources, Spitta (*Die Offenb. des Johannes*, 1889) finds traces of four authors, while Erbes (*Die Offenb. Johannis*, 1891) and, on the whole, Bousset (1906) are content with two. Bousset, in fact, regards xx-xxii as the work of the Apocalypticist, with the exception of the fragment xxi. 9-xxii. 5.

But, even though for the time being we accepted as a working hypothesis any one of the theories of these scholars based on a plurality of authorship, we have still two insuperable difficulties to face. (a) The first of these is that *the more closely we study i-xx. 3, the more convinced we become of the structural unity of these chapters*—a fact which does not exclude the occasional use and adaptation of sources—and *the clear and masterly development in thought, working up steadily to a climax. This being so, how is it that xx-xxii shows no such orderly development, but rather a chaos of conflicting conceptions?* (β) But the second difficulty is still greater. The hypotheses of the above scholars, with the partial exception of Bousset, break down hopelessly in the face of the general linguistic unity of xx-xxii. In fact, these scholars had failed to make a thorough study of the style, vocabulary, and grammar of the Apocalypse. Bousset, it is true, has done much to compensate for the deficiencies of his predecessors in this field, but a deeper study of his materials would have precluded his assuming the existence of xxi. 9-xxii. 5 as an independent source, seeing that it is internally self-contradictory and that yet *linguistically it is from the hand of our author.* To the conclusion, in fact, that, with the exception of a few verses, chapters xx-xxii are from the same hand to which we owe the bulk of the preceding chapters, a close and prolonged study has slowly but irresistibly brought me. If, then, this is so, we must conclude that the text in xx-xxii *is disarranged in an astonishing degree and does not at present stand in the orderly sequence originally designed by our author.*

To what cause, we must now ask, is this almost incredible disorder due? It cannot be accounted for by accidental transpositions of

the text in the MSS.—a phenomenon with which the students of MSS. in every ancient language are familiar. For no accident could explain the intolerable confusion of the text in xx. 4–xxii, and apparently the only hypothesis that can account for it is that which a comprehensive study of the facts forced upon me in the beginning of 1914, and this is that *John died either as a martyr or by a natural death, when he had completed i-xx. 3 of his work, and that the materials for its completion, which were for the most part ready in a series of independent documents, were put together by a faithful but unintelligent disciple in the order which he thought right.*

This hypothesis we shall now proceed to establish by adequate proofs, though the full evidence can be given only in my commentary, by far the greater part of which is already completed.

1. First of all it is a matter beyond dispute that xxii. 15, xxi. 27, which state that outside the gates of the Heavenly Jerusalem evil in every form exists, but that it can in no wise pass within the gates of the Holy City, prove that *the Heavenly Jerusalem here referred to was to descend before the disappearance of the first earth and the first heaven and the final judgement* described in xx. 11–15. A kindred expectation is found in 4 Ezra vii. 26–8, where the Heavenly Jerusalem,¹ the Messiah, and those who had been translated to heaven without seeing death are to be manifested together on the earth for 400 years. The same view appears in the same work in xiii. 32–6. In this latter passage evil in every form exists outside the Heavenly City.

From later Jewish sources we are familiar with the connexion of the rebuilt Jerusalem and the temporary reign of the Messiah. The advent of the Messiah determines the hour when the Temple and therefore Jerusalem should be rebuilt (Shemoth rab. c. 31). According to the Targum on Is. liii. 5 (cf. Bammidbar rab. c. 13) the Messiah Himself was to build it.

From the above facts we conclude that in our author the account of the Heavenly Jerusalem (xxi. 9–xxii. 2, 14–15, 17) should have followed immediately on xx. 3 as the seat of the Messiah's Kingdom.

2. Verses xxi. 24–6, xxii. 2, 14–15, 17 assume that the nations are still upon earth, that the gospel is preached to them afresh from the Heavenly Jerusalem, that they are healed thereby of their spiritual evils, their sins washed away, that they can enter

¹ Box, it is true, regards vii. 26, which tells of the manifestation of the Heavenly Jerusalem, as an interpolation, but the evidence of our text and later Judaism supports the connexion of the Messiah and the Holy City.

the Heavenly City and eat of the tree of life which was therein. And to this salvation they are bidden of the Spirit and the Heavenly Jerusalem (i. e. the bride, xxii. 17).

Now this expectation is derived from the Old Testament. In Zech. xiv. 16 sqq., when the blessed era sets in the nations are to go up yearly to keep the Feast of Tabernacles at Jerusalem. In Tobit xiv. 6 the conversion of the Gentiles is to synchronize with the rebuilding of Jerusalem in a fashion far transcending all that seer or prophet had hitherto dreamt of—when its gates should be ‘buildded with sapphire and emerald’, and all its walls with precious stones and its streets ‘paved with carbuncle and stones of Ophir’ (xiii. 16–17). Similarly in 1 Enoch (161 B.C.) we find it prophesied that the conversion of the surviving Gentiles would follow on the setting up of the Holy City, which was to be done by none other than God Himself. Next in the Test. XII Patriarchs, the conversion of the Gentiles is associated with the advent of the Messiah, T. Lev. xviii. 9, T. Jud. xxiv. 5, and that of the New Jerusalem in T. Dan v. 12. Like expectations are expressed in the Sibyl. Oracles iii. 751–60, 772–3, 1 Enoch xlvi. 4 (where the Messiah is described as the light of the Gentiles), Pss. Sol. xvii. 27, 32.

Thus in many books in Judaism the hope is entertained, as in our text, that the Gentiles would turn to the worship of the true God, when either the earthly Jerusalem was rebuilt or a Heavenly Jerusalem set up on earth, or when the Messiah established His Kingdom upon the earth. It is true that Judaism associated this expectation with the First Advent of the Messiah; for it looked for no second. But in Christianity it was different. What had not been realized on the First Advent of Christ was according to many a Christian prophet and seer, as our author, to be realized in a far higher degree when Christ came the second time in glory.

That the conversion of the heathen nations in our text, therefore, was to be accomplished in connexion with the Heavenly City, which as the seat of the Millennial Kingdom was to descend on the earth before the Final Judgement, needs no further demonstration.

3. The facts just stated in the preceding paragraph, that the Gentiles shall still be upon the earth on the advent of the Heavenly City, and have a right to enter therein, are already postulated in the earlier chapters of the Apocalypse. Thus in xv. 4 we read in the song sung by the triumphant martyrs before the throne of God—

Who shall not fear, O Lord,
And glorify Thy name;
For Thou alone art holy;

For all the nations shall come
And worship before Thee ;
For Thy righteous acts have been made manifest.

Again, in xiv. 6-7, the Seer recounts a vision in which he hears an angel proclaiming the coming evangelization of the nations of the world: 'And I saw another angel flying in mid heaven, having an eternal gospel to proclaim unto them that dwell on the earth, and unto every nation and tribe and tongue and people; and he saith with a great voice, Fear God and give Him glory; for the hour of His judgement is come: and worship Him that made the heaven and the earth and the sea and fountains of waters.'

Now, according to the present form of the text of the last three chapters of our book, these prophecies, which definitely foretell the evangelization of the nations of the world and their acceptance of the Gospel preached, remain wholly unfulfilled. In fact, according to the present text, the nations are simply annihilated before the advent of the Heavenly City. On the other hand, if the account of the Heavenly Jerusalem as given in xxi. 9 to xxii. 2, 14-15, 17 is restored immediately after xx. 3, then these prophecies are fulfilled; for the nations, according to this account, walk by the light thereof, and the kings of the earth do bring their glory into it, and yet outside its gates there is still evil of every kind.

4. Again, in xi. 15 we read—

The Kingdom of the world is become the Kingdom of our Lord
and of His Christ,
And He shall reign for ever and ever.

These words quite clearly assume that the rule of God and Christ will be extended over the whole world of the nations. But, as the text at present stands, not a single nation is mentioned as being brought beneath its sway, while in the verses (xx. 9-10) that precede the description of the Final Judgement (xx. 11-15) we are led to infer that they are wholly destroyed by fire from heaven. That is one way of establishing authority over the neutral or hostile nations, but it is not God's way. We have only to read chapters xxi-xxii, which deal *ostensibly* with events occurring only after the absolute destruction of all the nations and of the first heaven and the first earth, when we discover the nations, that had presumably passed out of existence, going up in pilgrimage to the Heavenly Jerusalem, each under its own king, passing within its blessed portals, bringing their glory and honour into it, receiving spiritual healing in the Holy City, and assimilating the divine truths that make them heirs to immortality,

that is, eating of the tree of life. That all the nations do not avail themselves of these privileges is plainly asserted in the text; for outside the gates are sorcerers and whoremongers and idolaters and whosoever loveth and maketh a lie.

On this ground again we must transpose the description of the Holy City before the Final Judgement, and regard it as the seat of the Millennial Kingdom.

5. Again as we study xxi-xxii we discover that there are in reality two descriptions of the Heavenly City, and not one as has hitherto been universally assumed. The Seer has two distinct visions, and they deal not with one and the same city, but with two quite distinct cities. The first (xxi. 9 to xxii. 2, 14-15, 17) presupposes the existence of the present earth. Thus the Seer tells how the angel, that had showed him the destruction of the great world-capital Rome in xvii, came again to him and carried him off *to a great high mountain* to show him the Heavenly City that was to take the place of Rome as the metropolis of the world. This city the Seer beheld coming down from heaven to earth (i. e. the first heaven and the first earth). It becomes the great spiritual centre of the world. The nations flock up to it from every side to share in its spiritual blessings, its gates are open day and night, and yet none of the evil individuals or nations that are without may enter into it (xxi. 24-26).

It is manifest that since sin, and therefore death, prevail outside the gates of the Heavenly City, the present order of things still prevails, the first heaven and the first earth are still in being.

But there is another Heavenly City (xxi. 1-4^e, xxii. 3-5) described by our author, quite distinct from that just dealt with. The angel in xxi. 9 has apparently had no direct part in mediating this new vision. The vision, just as those in xx. 1-3, 11-15, xxi. 1, seems to be independent of any angelic agency. With regard to this Heavenly City there can be no question as to the hour of its manifestation. It does not appear till the first heaven and the first earth have vanished and their place been taken by the new heaven and the new earth. Hence as distinguished from the first Heavenly City, it is designated 'new', i. e. *καινή*, that is, of a new sort or quality as distinct from the first, just as the second heaven and the second earth are themselves described as 'new' (*καινός* and *καινή*). This epithet is never applied to the Heavenly City described at such length in xxi. 9-xxii. 2, 14-15, 17. Sin, of course, no longer exists in this new world. Hence there is no more crying, nor mourning, nor pain, nor curse, nor death (xxi. 4^{abc}, xxii. 3^a), though round about the first Heavenly City—close even to its very gates—sin in every form and death did exist, and even within

its stately walls sorrow for sin and repentance were never absent, for the nations of the earth flocked to it from every side to be healed of their spiritual ills and infirmities (xxi. 24-6, xxii. 2).

6. It is finally to be observed that, since the earthly Jerusalem was in ruins, and never in the opinion of the Seer to be rebuilt, a new city was of a necessity to take its place as the seat of Christ's Kingdom and the abode of the blessed martyrs, who were to come down from heaven to reign for a thousand years with Him. Since this new city was to be the abode of Christ on His Second Advent from heaven, and of the martyrs coming down from heaven with Him in their glorified bodies, it follows that the new city must be from heaven also, if it was to be a fit abode for its inhabitants from heaven. Even as early as 161 B.C. (as we have already mentioned above), we have a like expectation in Enoch xc. 28-38, where it is said in the vision that God Himself set up the New Jerusalem, to be the abode of the Messiah and the transformed and glorified Israel. A like expectation is attested in a work almost contemporary with our author, i.e. 4 Ezra, as we have already shown.

From the above facts the conclusion is inevitable that after xx. 3 *our author had intended to add a description of the Heavenly Jerusalem that was to come down from heaven to earth and be the habitation of Christ and the martyrs that accompanied Him from heaven in their glorified bodies: and also that this very description has been preserved in certain sections of xxi-xxii.*

We have next to determine the extent of this description. Now even the cursory reader will observe that there are two accounts of the New Jerusalem in these chapters, which have been rudely thrust together by the Seer's literary executor.¹ A close study of these chapters will show that the section xxi. 9-xxii. 2 constitutes a unity, though incomplete in itself, as we shall see presently, and gives a description of the Heavenly Jerusalem that was to be the centre of the Millennial Kingdom. Two further fragments of this description are to be found in xxii. 14-15 and 17. This description fits in perfectly with the conditions of the millennial reign of Christ and the martyrs for a thousand years. It is conceived of as a period of beneficent rule and evangelizing effort in regard to the surviving nations who visit the Heavenly Jerusalem and bring all their glory

¹ We might compare 2 Corinthians, which is now recognized by the learned world as consisting of two mutilated Epistles of St. Paul edited together as one, the last four chapters belonging to the earlier Epistle. In Cicero's letters Professor Purser shows that in several cases exactly the same phenomenon may be found.

and honour into it. Wickedness, of course, still exists without it, but nothing that is unclean, nor any liar or abominable person is permitted to enter into it (xxii. 15, xxi. 2).

So far for the first description. But what are we to make of the second, which begins with xxi. 1? Only the *disjecta membra* of this description remain. Two fragments of it are recoverable in xxi. 1-4^c and xxii. 3-5. These should be read together, as the first clause of xxii. 3 forms the fourth line of the stanza, the first three lines of which are preserved in xxi. 4^{a b c}. In this second description the former heaven and earth have passed away for ever, with all the sin and sorrow and pain that prevailed on the former earth. Death itself shall be no more throughout the new heaven and the new earth and the New Jerusalem, xxi. 4. And whereas in the Heavenly Jerusalem that came down from God for the Millennial Kingdom the saints who had been martyred reigned only a thousand years, in the later New Jerusalem all the saints are to reign for ever and ever (xxii. 5).

We have now dealt with the chief difficulties in xx-xxii. There are, of course, many of a subordinate nature affecting the original order of the text in xxii, but they are treated shortly in the introductions to the various sections of the rearranged translation that follows. Chapters xx-xxii should provisionally be read in the following order.

xx. 1-3. Vision of the chaining of Satan for a thousand years.

xxi. 9-xxii. 2, 14-15, 17. Vision of the New Jerusalem which comes down to be the abode of Christ and the glorified martyrs, and the centre of a new evangelization of the nations for a thousand years.

xxii. 8-9. John falls down to worship the angel who had showed him these things but is forbidden to do so by the angel.

xx. 4-6. Vision of the glorified martyrs who reign with Christ for a thousand years.

xx. 7-10. Vision of the loosing of Satan, and the attack of Gog and Magog on the Holy City: of the destruction of the latter, and the casting of Satan into the lake of fire.

xx. 11-15. Vision of the great white throne, of the vanishing of the former heaven and earth: of the judgement of the dead, and of the casting of death and Hades into the lake of fire.

xxi. 5^a, 4^d, 5^b, xxi. 1-4^c, xxii. 3-5. The outworn world has vanished: God creates the world anew. Vision of the new heaven and the new earth: of the New Jerusalem descending from God to the new earth, in which the saints are to reign for ever.

xxi. 5^c-8. Admonition of God conveyed through the Seer to his contemporaries.

xxii. 6-7, 16, 13, 12, 10, 18^a. Declaration of Christ as to the truth of the words of the Seer: His assurance of His almighty power and His speedy advent: and His command to the Seer to publish the prophecy; for the time is at hand.

xxii. 8-9, 20. John's testimony and closing words regarding Christ.¹

xxii. 21. The closing benediction.

REARRANGED TRANSLATION

(xx. 1-3. Satan chained for a thousand years, and the nations set free from his deceptions.)

1 And I saw an angel coming down from heaven,
Having the key of the abyss
And a great chain in his hand.

2 And he laid hold on the dragon, the old Serpent,
Which is the Devil and Satan,
And bound him for a thousand years:

3 And he cast him into the abyss,
And shut and sealed it over him,
That he should no more deceive the nations,
Till the thousand years should be fulfilled.

After this he must be loosed for a little time.

(xxi. 9-xxii. 2, 14-15, 17. Vision of the Heavenly Jerusalem, which descends from heaven and settles on the ruined site of the earthly Jerusalem. This Heavenly City is at once the seat of the Messianic Kingdom, the abode of the glorified martyrs, and the centre of the evangelizing agencies of the surviving nations on the earth, during the millennial period. Though it is not stated, we must conclude that alike the glorified martyrs and the Heavenly Jerusalem are withdrawn from the earth before the final judgement.

The tree of life (xxii. 2, 14) appears to be for the new converts (xxii. 2; cf. xi. 15, xiv. 6, 7, xv. 3, 4) and not for the martyrs, since the martyrs were already clothed with their heavenly bodies and were not subject to the second death. They had already eaten of it in the Paradise of God (ii. 7).

As one of the seven angels of the bowls showed Rome—the capital of the kingdom of the Antichrist—to the Seer (xvii. 1), so he now shows him the heavenly Jerusalem.)

¹ xxii. 11-18^b, 19 are most probably later additions.

xxi. 9. And there came one of the seven angels who had the seven bowls, who were laden with the seven last plagues ; and he spake with me, saying, Come hither, I will show thee the bride, the wife of the Lamb. And he carried me away in the Spirit to a mountain great and high, and showed me the holy city Jerusalem, coming down out of heaven from God, having the glory of God : her light was like unto a stone most precious, as it were a jasper stone, clear as crystal : she had a wall great and high ; she had twelve gates, and at the gates twelve angels ; and names written thereon, which are the names of the twelve tribes of the children of Israel : on the east were three gates ; and on the north three gates ; and on the south three gates ; and on the west three gates. And the wall of the city had twelve foundations, and on them twelve names of the twelve apostles of the Lamb. And he that spake with me had for a measure a golden reed to measure the city, and the gates thereof, and the wall thereof. And the city lieth foursquare, and the length thereof is as great as the breadth ; and he measured the city with the reed, twelve thousand furlongs : the length and the breadth and the height thereof are equal. And he measured the wall thereof, a hundred and forty and four cubits, according to the measure of a man, that is, of an angel. And the building of the wall thereof was jasper : and the city was pure gold, like unto pure glass. The foundations of the wall of the city were adorned with all manner of precious stones. The first foundation was jasper ; the second, sapphire ; the third, chalcedony ; the fourth, emerald ; the fifth, sardonyx ; the sixth, sardius ; the seventh, chrysolite ; the eighth, beryl ; the ninth, topaz ; the tenth, chrysoptase ; the eleventh, jacinth ; the twelfth, amethyst.

21 And the twelve gates were twelve pearls :
 Each one of the gates was of one pearl,
 And the street of the city was pure gold, transparent as glass.

22 And I saw no temple therein ;
 For the Lord God Almighty is the temple thereof,
 And the Lamb (is the ark of the covenant thereof¹).

23 And the city hath no need of the sun nor yet of the moon to shine upon it ;
 For the glory of the Lord did lighten it,
 And the lamp thereof is the Lamb.

¹ A probable restoration ; the original is lost. The English versions conceal this loss by transposing the words 'And the Lamb' into the preceding sentence. Cf. xi. 19, where the temple and the ark of the covenant are spoken of as the earlier centres of the manifestation of God.

24 And the nations shall walk by the light thereof,
 And the kings of the earth do bring their glory into it,
 25 And the gates thereof shall not be shut day *or night*.¹
 26 And they shall bring the glory and the honour of the nations
 into it,
 27 And there shall not enter into it anything unclean, or he that
 maketh an abomination or a lie :
 But only they which are written in the book of life of the Lamb.

xxii. 1 And he showed me a river of water of life, bright as crystal,
 2 Proceeding out of the throne of God and of the Lamb, in the
 midst of the street thereof.
 And on this side of the river and on that was the tree² of life,
 Bearing twelve manner of fruits,
 Yielding its fruit every month :
 And the leaves of the tree were for the healing of the nations.

xxii. 14 Blessed are they that wash their robes,
 That they may have the right to come to the tree of life,
 And may enter in by the gates into the city.
 15 Without are the dogs, and the sorcerers,
 And the fornicators, and the murderers, and the idolaters,
 And every one that loveth and maketh a lie.
 17 And the Spirit and the bride³ say, Come :
 And let him that heareth say, Come :
 And let him that is athirst come :
 Whosoever willeth let him take of the water of life freely.

xx. 4-6. (Vision of the glorified martyrs who reign with Christ for
 a thousand years.)

xx. 4^c (And I saw) the souls of them that had been beheaded for
 the witness of Christ.
 And for the word of God,

¹ The text reads 'for there shall be no night there'—a corruption due in part to xxii. 5. As in Isa. lx. 11, the text clearly ran as I have emended: 'Thy gates . . . shall not be shut day or night.' The alternations of day and night still prevail on the earth. It is otherwise in xxii. 5, where the New Jerusalem has come down from God to the new and glorified earth. Besides, the parallelism is against it.

² The term is used generically. The text implies that there are two rows of trees, one on either side of the river.

³ Since the term 'bride' designates the Heavenly Jerusalem in our author (cf. xxi. 2, 9) it has no doubt the same meaning here, but the idea of the Christian community rather than of the city is here brought forward.

And which had not worshipped the beast,
Nor yet his image,

And had not received the mark upon their forehead
And upon their hand,

And I saw thrones and they seated themselves thereon,
And judgement was given to them.¹

And they lived and reigned with Christ a thousand years.

5 But the rest of the dead lived not till the thousand years were fulfilled,

6 Blessed and holy is he that hath part in the first resurrection:
Over these the second death hath no power:

But they shall be priests of God and of Christ,
And shall reign with him a thousand years.

(xx. 7–10. Close of the Millennial Kingdom and of its evangelizing activities. Thereupon follows the loosing of Satan, the march of Gog and Magog against the beloved city, their destruction by supernatural means, and the casting of Satan into the lake of fire. The Seer does not say what became of the Heavenly Jerusalem, but its withdrawal from the earth before the final judgement is presupposed. Since 'the beloved city' in xx. 9 is the Heavenly Jerusalem, the saints referred to in the same verse must include the risen martyrs.)

xx. 7 And when the thousand years are finished,

8 Satan shall be loosed out of his prison, and shall come forth to deceive the nations which are in the four corners of the earth, Gog and Magog, to gather them together to the war: the
9 number of whom is as the sand of the sea. And they went up over the breadth of the earth, and compassed the camp of the saints about, and the *beloved city*: and fire came down out of
10 heaven, and devoured them. And the devil that deceived them was cast into the lake of fire and brimstone, where are also the beast and the false prophet; and they shall be tormented day and night for ever and ever.

(xx. 11–15. Vision of the great white throne and of Him that sat thereon. Disappearance of the former heaven and the former earth. Judgement of the dead. Death and hell cast into the lake of fire.

¹ This couplet occurs immediately at the beginning of verse 4, where alike the context and the grammar are against them.

- xx. 11 And I saw a great white throne and him that sat thereon,
 And from his face the earth and the heaven fled away,
 And no place was found for them.
- 12 And I saw the dead [the great and the small] standing before
 the throne
 And books were opened, and another book was opened [which
 is the book of life],
 And the dead were judged out of the things written in the
 books [according to their works].
- xx. 13 And the *treasuries*¹ gave up the dead which were in *them*;
 And death and Hades gave up the dead which were in them:
 And they were judged every man according to his works.
- 14 And death and Hades were cast into the lake of fire,
 [This is the second death, the lake of fire²]
 And all that were not found written in the book of life
 Were cast into the lake of fire.

(xxi. 5^a, 4^d, 5^b; xxi. 1-4^{a,b,c}; xxii. 3-5. Declaration by God that the former things have passed away and that He creates all things new. The creation of the new heaven and the new earth. Descent of the New³ Jerusalem adorned as a bride for her husband. God tabernacles with men. No more grief or pain or tears or death. All the faithful are to reign with Christ for ever and ever (xxii. 5), whereas in the Millennial Kingdom only the risen martyrs were to reign for a thousand years.)

- xxi. 5^a And he that sat upon the throne said:
 4^d The first things have passed away;
 5^b Behold, I make all things new.

¹ The text here reads 'sea', but the context requires a reference to the abode of righteous souls, since Hades is the abode in our author only of wicked souls, and as such is cast into the lake of fire, xx. 14^a. The change of 'treasuries'—the normal word in Judaism (50-100 A.D.) for the abode of righteous souls—into 'sea' was made in the interests of a bodily resurrection. But the sea has already vanished with the first heaven and earth (ver. 11). According to the present text only wicked souls have part in the General Resurrection and Final Judgement. In 4 Ezra vii the text dealing with the General Resurrection and Final Judgement has also been tampered with, with a view to enforcing belief in a physical resurrection. The result of the tampering with the two texts is interesting: while in the Apocalypse only the wicked rise and are judged, in 4 Ezra only the righteous rise and are judged!

² A marginal gloss repeated from xxi. 8^f, where the clause is full of meaning, but it is wholly out of place here with regard to death and Hades.

³ Even the Heavenly City of xxi. 10, which had been withdrawn from the earth before the Judgement with Christ and the Saints, is also *renewed*.

6^a And he said unto me: They have come into being.
 xxi. 1 And I saw a new heaven and a new earth,
 For the first heaven and the first earth had passed away,
 Nor was there any more sea.

2 And the holy city, New Jerusalem, I saw,
 Coming down out of heaven from God,
 Made ready as a bride adorned for her husband.

3 And I heard a great voice from the throne saying:
 Behold the shekinah of God is with men,
 And he shall dwell with them,
 And they shall be his peoples,
 And God himself shall be with them.

4 And he shall wipe away every tear from their eyes,
 And death shall be no more:
 Neither shall there be crying nor mourning nor pain,

xxii. 3 Neither shall be any more curse.

And the throne of God and of the Lamb shall be in it,
 And his servants shall serve him,

xxii. 4 And they shall see his face,
 And his name shall be on their foreheads.

5 And there shall be no more night;
 And they have no need of light of lamp or light of sun,
 For the Lord God shall give them light,
 And they shall reign for ever and ever.

(Declaration of God to be conveyed by the Seer to his contemporaries.)

xxi. 6 I am the Alpha and the Omega,
 The beginning and the end.

I will give to him that thirsteth of the fountain of the water
 of life freely:

7 He that overcometh shall inherit these things,
 And I will be his God,
 And he shall be my son.

8 But for the cravenhearted and unbelieving,
 And abominable and murderers,
 And fornicators and sorcerers,
 And idolaters and all liars—

Their part shall be in the lake that burneth with fire and
 brimstone:

Which is the second death.

(xxii. 6-21. Here more than anywhere else in chapters xx-xxii we have the *disjecta membra* of the Poet-Seer. We have already assigned xxii. 14-15, 17 to the section dealing with the Heavenly Jerusalem which comes down to earth during the Millennial Kingdom. We have now to arrange, if possible, the rest of this section in the order intended by the Seer. It is, of course, fragmentary. With a view to its arrangement, we observe first of all that Jesus is the speaker in 12-13, 16, and likewise in 6-7; for in these last two verses the speaker is distinguished from the angel who showed the Seer the things which must shortly come to pass, and the words 'behold I come quickly' in 7 are naturally spoken by Christ. Moreover, as Könnecke and Moffat have recognized, 12-13, 16 can be restored to their original order by reading them as follows: 16, 13, 12. Thus this section is to be read as follows: 6-7, 16, 13, 12. Verse 10—still the words of Christ—comes next, 'And He saith unto me, Seal not up the words of the prophecy of this book; for the time is at hand.'

I have bracketed 11 as conflicting with xxi. 6-8, which apparently refer to evangelistic appeals during the Seer's lifetime. xxii. 18^a as coming from Christ gives His imprimatur to the book.¹ xxii. 8-9 as describing the action of the Seer in relation to the angel at its close, and xxii. 20-1 from the lips of the Seer form the natural close of the Apocalypse.)

(Declaration of Christ.)

xxii. 6 And he said unto me, These words are faithful and true: and the Lord, the God of the spirits of the prophets, sent his angel to shew unto his servants the things which must shortly 7 come to pass. And behold, I come quickly. Blessed is he that keepeth the words of the prophecy of this book.

16 I Jesus have sent mine angels to testify these things for the Churches:

I am the root and the offspring of David,
The bright, the morning star.

13 I am the Alpha and the Omega,
The first and the last,
The beginning and the end.

12 Behold, I come quickly;
And my reward is with me,
To render to each man according as his work is.

¹ xxii. 18^b-19 are against the style of our author.

10 And he saith unto me, Seal not up the words of the prophecy of this book; for the time is at hand.

11 [He that is unrighteous, let him do unrighteousness still :
And he that is filthy, let him be made filthy still :
And he that is righteous, let him do righteousness still :
And he that is holy, let him be made holy still.]¹

18 To every one that heareth I testify the words of the prophecy of this book. [If any man shall add unto them God shall add unto
19 him the plagues which are written in this book : and if any man shall take away from the words of the book of this prophecy, God shall take away his part from the tree of life, and out of the holy city, which are written in this book.]

(The Seer's testimony and closing words.)

xxii. 8. And I John am he that heard and saw these things. And when I heard and saw, I fell down before the feet of the angel which showed me these things. 9. And he saith unto me, See thou do it not: I am a fellow servant with thee and with thy brethren the prophets, and with them which keep the words of this book: worship God.

20 He which testifieth these things saith, Yea: I come quickly.
21 Amen: come, Lord Jesus. The grace of the Lord Jesus be with the saints.

¹ I have with some hesitation bracketed this verse as a gloss. It refers to the Seer's contemporaries. But if xxi. 6-8 refer also to his contemporaries, then there is still hope for them, if they repent.

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