

SVERRE BØE

Gog and Magog

*Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen
zum Neuen Testament 2. Reihe*

135

Mohr Siebeck

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zum Neuen Testament · 2. Reihe

Herausgegeben von
Martin Hengel und Otfried Hofius

135



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Gog and Magog

Ezekiel 38 – 39 as Pre-text
for Revelation 19,17–21 and 20,7–10

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Preface

This book is a revised version of my 1999 dissertation with the same title presented to the Norwegian Lutheran School of Theology, Oslo, in 1999.

It was prof. Ernst Baasland who introduced me to a scholarly study of the inter-textual relationship between Revelation and Ezekiel. He was my supervisor up to 1997, when he was elected bishop of Stavanger, Norway. Prof. Hans Kvalbein was my supervisor up to the public defense September 24. and 25. 1999. My opponents were prof. David E. Aune, Notre Dame University, USA, prof. Jarl H. Ulrichsen, University of Trondheim, Norway, and ass. prof. Reidar Hvalvik, the Norwegian Lutheran School of Theology, Oslo. The many valuable comments from these and other scholars have enabled me to revise my dissertation at many points. I cordially thank them all.

I am also privileged to present my study to the public *forum* of biblical scholars through the WUNT II-series of J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck). Hopefully this can contribute to a further study of the issue. Particularly I want to thank prof. Martin Hengel and Mr. Matthias Spitzner for this opportunity.

This book has grown out of almost ten years of part-time studies. I have had the privilege of teaching at Fjellhaug Mission Seminary since 1986, and my teaching duties have been reduced over several periods. I thank my seminary and the principals Egil Sjaastad (1986-99) and Ola Tulluan (from 1999) for this opportunity. I also wish to thank cand. philol. Hanne Tulluan, and Mr. Geir Magne Karlsen for various assistance in the project.

I want to dedicate this book to my wife Heidi, who constantly has supported my work without a single negative comment, and to our five children Nils Kåre, Kari Anne, Per Sigmund, Bård Kristian and Osmund Olav. The happy life in the family balances and gives perspectives to the scholarly work at the seminary.

Most of all I wish to thank my God for the texts he has given us, the message therein, and the ability to read and meditate upon them. The aim of all my work is to learn and teach according to his word, and I hope that my shortcomings and mistakes will not mislead anyone who sincerely wants to understand the Bible.

November 2000

Sverre Bøe, Fjellhaug Mission Seminary, Oslo.

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Abbreviations

AB	The Anchor Bible
ABD	<i>The Anchor Bible Dictionary</i> (edited by D.N. Freedman)
ANF	The Ante-Nicene Fathers
APOT	<i>Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament</i> (edited by R.H. Charles)
AUSS	<i>Andrews University Seminary Studies</i>
BETL	Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium
Bib	<i>Biblica</i>
BKAT	Biblischer Kommentar; Altes Testament
BZNT	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche
CBQ	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
DJD	Discoveries in the Judean Desert
DSD	<i>Dead Sea Discoveries</i>
Frg. Tg.	Fragment Targum
FS	Festschrift
HAT	Handbuch zum Alten Testament
HNT	Handbuch zum Neuen Testament
HSM	Harvard Semitic Monographs
HUCA	<i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i>
ICC	International Critical Commentary
Int	<i>Interpretation</i>
JBL	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
JETS	<i>Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society</i>
JSNT	<i>Journal for the Study of the New Testament</i>
JSNTSS	Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series
JSOT	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i>
JSOTSS	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series
JSPSS	Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha Supplement Series
KAT	Kommentar zum Alten Testament
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
Ms.	Manuscript
NovTest	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>
NA ²⁶	<i>Novum Testamentum Graece</i> (edited by K. Aland et al.) 26. ed.
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
NTS	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
OS	<i>Oudtestamentische Studiën</i>
OTL	The Old Testament Library
OTP	<i>The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha</i> (edited by J.H. Charlesworth)
RB	<i>Revue Biblique</i>
RevQ	<i>Revue de Qumran</i>
SBL	Society of Biblical Literature
SEÅ	<i>Svensk Exegetisk Årbok</i>
SVT	Supplements to Vetus Testamentum
TDNT	<i>Theological Dictionary of the New Testament</i> (edited by G. Kittel and G. Friedrich)

<i>Tg. Neb.</i>	Targum to the Prophets
<i>Tg. Neof.</i>	Targum Neofiti
<i>Tg. Onq.</i>	Targum Onqelos
<i>Tg. Ps.-J.</i>	Targum Pseudo-Jonathan
<i>UBSGNT</i>	<i>The Greek New Testament</i> (edited by K. Aland et al.) 3. ed.
<i>VT</i>	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
ZAW	<i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
ZBK	Zürcher Bibelkommentare

I: Introduction

1.1 The task

President Ronald Reagan once said in a famous speech:

Ezekiel tells us that Gog, the nation that will lead all of the other powers of darkness against Israel, will come out of the north. Biblical scholars have been saying for generations that Gog must be Russia. What other powerful nation is to the north of Israel? None. But it didn't seem to make sense before the Russian revolution, when Russia was a Christian country. Now it does, now that Russia has become communistic and atheistic, now that Russia has set itself against God. Now it fits the description of Gog perfectly.¹

Most biblical scholars probably feel embarrassed by provocative quotations like this, even though it places our texts right at the center of the public agenda. It challenges us continuously to study the Bible historically and with a critical mind towards anachronistic combinations such as this. Who, or what, is really the biblical 'Gog'?

The names Gog and Magog occur both in Jewish, Christian and even a few times in Samaritan and Muslim writings. Still the tendency has been to leave such passages to those who have a special preoccupation with apocalyptic writings; throughout church history it has mainly been 'the sects' that offered 'expositions' of Gog and Magog. Biblical scholars are aware of the Gog from Magog oracles in Ezekiel 38–39 as well as their reappearance in Rev 20,8, but no scholar known to me has up to the present made any major survey of the broader material attached to the two names Gog and Magog. Possibly it has been considered an isolated theme at the fringes of the biblical canon. A list of the main references to both or one of the two names apart from Rev 20,8 can broaden this perspective:

- Magog is mentioned in Gen 10,2 and 1 Chron 1,5 as the second son of Noah's son Japhet
- Gog takes the place of Agag in both the Septuagint and the Samaritan version of Balaam's oracle in Num 24,7 as the counterpart of the future, glorious king
- a descendant of Reuben is called Gog or Goug in 1 Chr 5,4

¹ Ronald Reagan in 1971, then California governor, in a dinner speech to state legislators; here cited from Lind 1996: 320.

- according to Ezekiel 38–39 Gog from Magog will gather a world-wide army, which after an extended period of peace will attack Israel, only to be defeated by God’s own interference from heaven. This defeat is described in great detail and gross colors, and several of these features reappear in a number of later texts. This is by far the oldest and the longest text (52 verses) combining the names Gog and Magog
- Gog is called the king of the locusts in the Septuagint version of Amos 7,1; these locusts attack the land of Israel
- Gog and Magog appear twice in woe-oracles in the third book of the *Sibylline Oracles* (3,319.512); their location is associated with Ethiopia
- Magog appears twice and Gog once in the book of *Jubilees* (7,19; 8,25; 9,7–8), all places in a context of the division of the earth after the deluge, and located far to the north
- Gog appears in 1QM XI,16 as God’s and Israel’s opponent in the eschatological war
- Magog is described as a subject of king Messiah’s rule in 4Q161 a in a peshar to Isa 11,5
- Magog is mentioned three times in the *Genesis Apocryphon* (1QapGen XII,12 and XVII,10.16) concerning the distribution of land after the deluge
- Gog and Magog are mentioned in the very fragmentary 4Q523
- Josephus says in *Antiquities* 1,222–23 that “Magog founded the Magogians”, which he associates with the Scythians
- *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum* (‘Pseudo-Philo’) refers four times to Magog in a genealogy of Noah’s descendants
- The Targumim and the (other) rabbinic writings² refer frequently to Gog and Magog, but the dates of these references are unsure, and the meaning of the references differ widely
- The Koran refers to *Yadjudj wa Madjudj* in Sure XVIII,93 and XXI,96 as two remote eschatological adversaries, confined behind a peculiar wall, like in a number of Christian and Jewish Medieval writings

Even a brief list like this suffices to show that there is a fairly broad material, or a set of traditions, that challenges biblical scholarship. It has been a lasting surprise for me to find that only isolated pieces of these traditions have been investigated critically, not to say in combination with the other texts.³ My original intention was to relate these traditions, especially as they are found in Ezekiel 38–39, to John’s⁴ reference to Gog and

² The expression “the Targumim and the (other) rabbinic writings” will be explained in ch. 4.7 and *Excursus 1* of this study.

³ Cf. ch. 1.2 of this study. Vivian 1977 is until now the most extensive presentation.

⁴ We shall return to the question of Revelation’s authorship in ch. 1.4. The matter is not so much whether his name was ‘John’ as which ‘John’ this was.

Magog in Rev 20,8. This interest was aroused by the many resemblances between Rev 19,11 – 22,5 and Ezek 36,25 – 48,35, to which we shall return in a moment. But since no scholar had yet explored the Gog and Magog traditions consecutively, this left me with two separate tasks:

The first task of the present study is to investigate the history of the Gog and Magog traditions as such (Chapters Two, Three and Four). The other part explores in detail the Gog and Magog reference in Rev 20,8 in the broader context of John's use of the Gog and Magog traditions (Chapter Five). Hopefully this can shed light on the overarching and intertwined question of the use of the OT in Revelation.

Obviously a comprehensive investigation of all texts referring to either Gog or Magog or both would fill more than one monograph by itself. My investigation has thus been restricted in two ways: My presentation of the Gog oracles in Ezekiel 38–39 builds on a number of earlier studies, and my discussion of this key text will basically be a survey and evaluation of other scholars' works, along with some observations of my own.⁵ Further my interest in this text differs from the previous studies by focusing on this text as it came to be, not on the diachronic growth of the text. This also means that investigations into contemporary exilic and post-exilic history and geography, as well as theories about a possible pre-history of Gog and Magog material, will only be referred to. The *Wirkungsgeschichte* of Ezekiel 38–39, however, is of the utmost interest to our study of Rev 20,8; a thorough investigation of all accessible references to Gog and Magog from the period between Ezekiel and Revelation is needed, both to appreciate the development of the traditions and to compare John's use of this material.

A starting point for my study of Rev 20,8 was the idea that this Gog and Magog reference is not an isolated or accidental reference of little concern to John, which he included as an accommodation to stock apocalyptic imagery, as some have suggested,⁶ but rather a visible sign of John's consequent engagement with the prophecies in the last chapters of Ezekiel.

Rev 20,7–10 includes the reference to Gog and Magog simply as an apposition, without any further explanations:

When the thousand years are ended, Satan will be released from his prison and will come out to deceive the nations at the four corners of the earth, Gog and Magog, in order to gather them for battle; they are as numerous as the sands of the sea. They

⁵ A presentation of these studies will be given briefly in ch. 1.2.

⁶ Rowland 1982: 417: "This sequence of events is best explained by what John's biblical sources dictated". Similarly Kraft 1974: 258 claims: "Unser Verfasser hat an diesem Teil der Erwartungen nur geringes Interesse (...) Er wollte nicht frei erfinden, hatte aber die hergehörigen Traditionen bis auf eine bereits verbraucht."

marched up over the breadth of the earth and surrounded the camp of the saints and the beloved city. And fire came down from heaven and consumed them. And the devil who had deceived them was thrown into the lake of fire and sulphur, where the beast and the false prophet were, and they will be tormented day and night forever and ever.⁷

From one perspective we could ask the crucial question of this monograph this way: What would have been lost to John, to his original readers and to us if this apposition had not been included? At the least we could say that John would have made it more difficult for the reader to see his inter-textual relationship with traditional material, in this case particularly with Ezekiel. The present study wants to explore the positive indications of John's interaction with tradition, and particularly with Ezekiel, in his visions of the last events.

In addition to this explicit reference to Gog and Magog there is also a passage in Rev 19,17–21 with allusions to Ezekiel 38–39; the invitation to the birds to eat the flesh of dead soldiers picks up a peculiar theme almost verbatim from Ezek 39,4.17–20. This double use of Ezekiel 38–39 in Rev 19,17–20,10 calls for a number of observations and discussions which will be taken up primarily in ch. 5.4.

It is a well known fact that Revelation 20 contains one of the greatest *cruces* of biblical exegesis and a matter of much controversy in church debates. And though I by no means suggest that the reference to Gog and Magog can bring these discussions to an end, it is always helpful if one *chiffre* is somehow brought into the light. The debates about the millennium is not a matter of independent interest in this study. But since Gog-related material is found immediately before and after the passage about the millennium (20,1–6), we shall briefly clarify the implications of our study to this debate.

Revelation gives a number of accounts of the final victory of Christ, some of which are very short and obviously anticipatory, others more extended and directly related to the defeat of Satan and his allies. The two major accounts of the defeat of evil in Revelation happen to be the two passages using Gog-related material, that is Rev 19,11–21 and 20,7–10. To some scholars this is a major argument for recapitulation in the millennial debate.⁸ Others find the double use to be supplementary, indicating Christ's victory over evil in two separate realms or spheres.⁹ This again

⁷ All biblical texts are cited from the *New Revised Standard Version* (NRSV).

⁸ White 1989: 328 finds this to be an argument "with telling force against the postmillennial and premillennial interpretations of 19,11–20.10." Giblin 1994: 82 follows White closely on this point.

⁹ Some of the many suggestions in this direction will be presented in the following ch. 1.2.2 of this study.

shows how intertwined our investigation of this material is with classical questions of the interpretation of Revelation. Our contribution to this will be restricted to the implications of John's use of Ezekiel 38–39.

Concerning the comparison of the Gog and Magog references with Ezekiel 37–48 a broader parallelism can be found. J. Lust has pointed to a certain parallelism between the two texts:¹⁰

Revelation:

1. The first resurrection: 20,4 and the Messianic millennial kingdom: 20,4–6.
2. The final battle against Gog and Magog: 20,1–10.
- 2.a The second resurrection: 20,11–15.
3. The descent of the heavenly Jerusalem: 21–22.

Ezekiel:

1. The revival of the dry bones: 37,1–14 and the reunited kingdom governed by the messianic king David: 37,15–28.
2. The final battle against Gog of Magog: 38–39.
- 2.a -----
3. The vision of the New Temple and New Jerusalem: 40–48.

A first look at this chart discloses both similarities and differences. It is the task of the present study to explore these carefully, to test the thesis of a possible Ezekielian 'context' or 'pre-text' for Rev 19,17–21,8, as our subtitle suggests. Though our study concentrates on Rev 19,17–21 and 20,7–10, we shall also look at the further context, which can be set to 19,11–21,8 or even up to 22,5.

Allusions to Ezekiel in Rev 19,11–22,5 are not confined to the Gog and Magog oracles in Ezekiel 38–39.¹¹ Further considerations about these other allusions along with an overall discussion of John's use of Ezekiel in the final chapters of Revelation will be taken up in ch. 5.4.

1.2 History of research

We have already had the opportunity to regret the lack of studies on the Gog and Magog traditions. There is still no single study which has collected the various texts about Gog and Magog, let alone examined them critically or given a presentation of earlier scholarship. Our presentation of the research that has been done on individual aspects or the intertwined questions will start with the broader question of the overall uses of the OT in Revelation; then it will proceed to the exegesis of Rev 20,8 and finally present the attempts to study the Gog and Magog traditions.

¹⁰ Lust 1980: 179.

¹¹ We shall also at the beginning of ch. 5.3 consider the possible allusions to Ezekiel 38–39 in Rev 16,17–21; cf. Ruiz 1989: 261–65, and Fekkes 1994: 121–125.

1.2.1 Revelation's use of the Old Testament¹²

A number of aspects of Revelation's use of the OT can be analyzed:

- the text-form of the OT used by John
- the comparative uses of the OT in Revelation and in various contemporary Jewish communities
- the use in Revelation of the individual books of the OT
- the thematic correspondences between Revelation and various features from the OT
- the methodology of tracing allusions to the OT
- the theological meaning(-s) of OT-allusions in Revelation
- the knowledge and the use of the OT among the readers of Revelation

We will have these aspects in mind when focusing on the use of Ezekiel in Rev 19,17–21 and 20,7–10, – insights from related areas are often valuable.

The many instances of OT allusions, where concepts, characters and institutions are woven into Revelation's composition, have amazed its interpreters in many respects. Revelation is perhaps the NT-book that "uses the OT most, while citing it the least."¹³ In terms of quantity Revelation probably utilizes the OT more than any other NT book.¹⁴ H.B. Swete counted 278 of a total of 404 verses in Revelation to have some affinity with the OT.¹⁵ Still Revelation does not present any single quotation from the OT with introductory or concluding formulae.¹⁶

¹² Ruiz 1989: 11–180 presents this material. The present writer has also surveyed some of the recent studies in a Norwegian article, Bøe 1992: 253–65.

¹³ Cf. Ruiz 1989: 63.

¹⁴ Still the *UBSGNT* index of "quotations" lists 634 "quotations" of the OT in Revelation, since every OT-cross-reference in the text is listed as a "quotation". NA²⁶ differentiates between "direct quotations" in italics and "allusions" in normal type, but still ends up with 25 "direct quotations" in Revelation. Cf. Fekkes 1994: 61–62. This number is much higher than those reached by the monographs to which we shall now turn.

¹⁵ Swete 1911: cxl.

¹⁶ The most explicit reference to the OT in Revelation is Rev 15,3 about the song of Moses and the Lamb. Yet there follows no verbatim citation from the OT, rather "an amalgamation of various themes of the OT", as Vos 1965: 19 calls it. If by "citation" we mean any literary resemblance, however, there are several such, as Vanhoye showed throughout his article, Vanhoye 1962. The definition of terms such as quotation/citation, allusion, echo, correspondence, context, pre-text etc. as used in this study will be given in the following ch. 1.3.

Studies at the beginning of the twentieth century

Biblical exegesis at the beginning of the twentieth century was heavily influenced by *religionsgeschichtlich* oriented scholars like H. Gunkel,¹⁷ H. Gressmann¹⁸, W. Bousset¹⁹ and A. von Gall²⁰. They all contributed directly or indirectly to the study of Revelation by seeking points of contact between Revelation and other writings and practices originating in other religious and ideological circles than the Jewish-Christian. Many of their observations have proved to be helpful, though at times onesided. The use of the OT in Revelation was not an area of priority to these scholars.

A. Schlatter represents in many ways a completely different approach through his work *Das alte Testament in der johanneischen Apokalypse*. The title is, however, somewhat misleading, as by “the OT” he includes later rabbinic writings as well.²¹ He concluded that no parts or aspects of Revelation were taken from any other sources than those known to any Galilean or Jerusalemite member of a synagogue; it could all be traced back to the OT prophets.²² Hence there was no need to search for any other source for Revelation than the OT. This relation is further explored by Strack and Billerbeck, whose work on Revelation covers 70 pages.²³ Both Schlatter’s book and Strack and Billerbeck’s work are useful to our study mainly through their many suggestions of related material to Rev 20,8, not so much from their partly anachronistic and atomistic evaluations.

In Britain a different debate took place between H.B. Swete²⁴ and R.H. Charles²⁵. Their sophisticated skills in the LXX and the intertestamental literature made their commentaries on Revelation a lasting contribution to all later research. Of particular help for the further research was their discussion of the text-form used by John. Swete claimed that this was the Greek of the LXX, but Charles’s even more detailed study showed that John used the Hebrew directly, and in a form very close to what we know as the MT.²⁶

¹⁷ Gunkel 1895.

¹⁸ Gressmann 1905 and 1929.

¹⁹ Bousset 1906.

²⁰ von Gall 1926.

²¹ Schlatter 1912.

²² Schlatter 1912: 104.

²³ Strack & Billerbeck 1969.

²⁴ Swete 1911.

²⁵ Charles 1920.

²⁶ Two monographs have focused on this: Trudinger 1963 a and Ozanne 1964, who held that John was solely dependent on the Hebrew, while Trudinger held that John preferred the Hebrew. Cf. Moyise 1995: 17 for further details and references.

Studies after 1950

Hardly any contributions of lasting value appeared on Revelation's use of the OT until A. Vanhoye²⁷ in 1962 published his study on the use of Ezekiel in Revelation. He tried to develop a classification of the OT-allusions, and he distinguished between *utilisation certaine*, which he graded either *fidèle* or *libre*, and another group called *contacts littéraires*, which he again graded according to their degree of probability. He also had a column for *autres influences*. This classification represented a great step forward for the study of Revelation's use of the OT; a number of later studies have followed this approach. (Cf. ch. 1.3 of this study on methods.)

Concerning the two Gog-related passages in Rev 19,17–21 and 20,7–10, both are labelled as *utilisation certaine, libre*. Vanhoye also operates with a category for large-scale references or evocations found seven places in Revelation. He calls them *utilisation d'ensemble*, and both 19,17–21 and 20,7–10 are counted as such. These are texts where several verbal correspondences and exact citations of details are involved. It is somewhat disappointing to find that only 12 plus 4 lines are devoted to our texts in his study.

One of the points that Vanhoye does comment upon is the combination of Ezekiel 39 and Isa 25,6 in Revelation's description of the birds' banquet, 19,17–21.²⁸ Ezekiel 39 presents this as a sacrifice. Vanhoye finds that this aspect of Ezekiel 39 is replaced by the festival character found in Isa 25,6. Since the idea of any other sacrifice than Christ's is contrary to John's theology, he "répugnait sans doute" these aspects. Thus John has transformed the sacrificial feast of Ezekiel 39 into a joyous celebration, by combining the Ezekiel allusion with a similar text from Isaiah.²⁹ We shall also return to the question of whether the use of Ezekiel 38–39 conveniently should be labelled under the same rubric both in Rev 19,17–21 and 20,7–10.

Revelation's affinities with Danielic material have been explored by G.K. Beale.³⁰ He claims that the book of Daniel forms the background both for individual passages and for the overall structure of the book of Revelation; key chapters of Revelation should be read as a *midrash* on Daniel 7, and the whole book is "to be conceived of ultimately within the framework of

²⁷ Vanhoye 1962.

²⁸ Vanhoye 1962: 469.

²⁹ A similar observation on John's use of the temple-imagery from the OT is found by McKelvey 1969: 174: "He prints over the image of the compact and clearly demarcated Ezekielian city another image, the comprehensive image of Isaiah, or, more correctly, since the images are not mutually exclusive, he concentrates on the Isaianic features of the city already portrayed until these predominate to the exclusion of anything else."

³⁰ Among his many studies on the subject, cf. Beale 1984.

Daniel 2”.³¹ This is done to show the fulfilment of these prophecies in Christ or in the Christian church.

Critics have questioned his terminology and his methodology.³² His claim of Danielic priority on the structure of the book has been challenged by J.M. Vogelgesang³³ and J.P. Ruiz.³⁴ Both have written their dissertations on the use of Ezekiel in different parts of Revelation, and though their methodology and overall theological results differ in many respects, their research have shown that extensive portions of Revelation are based on Ezekiel rather than on Daniel.

J.M. Vogelgesang focuses on the Ezekiel-material in Revelation chs. 1; 4; 5; 10; 21 and 22. His thesis is that Revelation is an *anti-apocalypse*: “it is written in the genre of an apocalypse, but (...) John transformed the forms and protocols of this genre to arrive at a message contrary to that of contemporary apocalyptic literature”.³⁵ John universalizes and democratizes the prophecies of Ezekiel in his own, Christian interests. Vogelgesang uses here the term “reinterpretation”.³⁶ One crucial observation in this respect is the absence of a temple in New Jerusalem, Rev 21,22, whilst this is the core of Ezekiel 40–48, which is the primary pre-text to Rev 21,1–22,5.³⁷ Vogelgesang also confirms Vanhoye’s thesis that John used Ezekiel directly, not mediated by apocalyptic or other traditions, and “that John modelled his book and message on that of Ezekiel”.³⁸ Thus Vogelgesang makes similar claims for Ezekiel as Beale did for Daniel concerning the structure and composition of Revelation.

Vogelgesang holds that John used Ezekiel directly, and “despite the skill that he uses to hide this, the fact that he did not enslave himself to the texts that inspired him makes it possible to speak of the interpretation of Ezekiel by John” [underlining original].³⁹

J.P. Ruiz questions many of these results. His study focuses on the Ezekiel-material in Rev 16,17–19,10. Methodologically he finds much help in some “hermeneutical imperatives” in the text of Revelation, *i.e.* short passages where either Christ, an angel or John addresses the readers/listeners

³¹ From Moyise 1995: 120.

³² Collins, A.Y. 1986: 734–35.

³³ Vogelgesang 1985.

³⁴ Ruiz 1989: 122–28.

³⁵ Vogelgesang 1985: 2.

³⁶ Vogelgesang 1985: 296.

³⁷ Vogelgesang 1985: 6.

³⁸ Vogelgesang 1985: 11.

³⁹ Vogelgesang 1985: 14. J.A. Fitzmyer describes Revelation’s use of the OT as involving “an implicit exegesis”, and “due to thorough acquaintance with and reverent meditation upon the Old Testament”, Fitzmyer 1971 a: 5.

directly, either by hortatory or other messages. The result of his dissertation is indicated in the subtitle: "The Transformation of Prophetic Language in Revelation 16,17–19,10"; not 'fulfilment', nor 'reinterpretation', but 'transformation'.⁴⁰ Another characteristic of Ruiz's study is the direct comparison of Ezekiel and Revelation; both Beale and Vogelgesang invested much effort in the other use of the OT material in intertestamental literature.

Another study, different from all these in its liturgical approach, goes a lot further in its claim of an Ezekielian priority on the structure of Revelation; M.D. Goulder⁴¹ hypothesizes the origin and growth of Revelation along 52 weekly readings of Ezekiel, like in a synagogue. He sets out to show a correspondence between 52 portions of Ezekiel and 52 portions of Revelation. Within this Ezekielian frame he makes room for the festival-readings of other OT-books, quite like the order of these books' presence in Revelation. Though this bold thesis is highly speculative, and has received little support, it questions severely Beale's claim for an overall Danielic priority. It is also interesting to note that the works of Vogelgesang, Ruiz and Goulder, differing widely in method and approach, all testify to a strong Ezekielian influence on major parts of Revelation.

Statistically Isaiah is the one OT-book to which Revelation quantitatively alludes the most.⁴² J. Fekkes has explored this carefully and without controversial claims of priority for Isaiah on the overall structure or theology of Revelation. "It is not the book or author which dictates his choice of passages, but the topic", he claims.⁴³ Methodologically he wishes to refine the categories and criterias used for 'quotations' and 'allusions'. Primary interest is on the *thematic analogues*, i.e. clusters of OT-texts belonging to one tradition or theme.

Fekkes wants interpreters of Revelation not to treat the OT as "an overworked religious thesaurus".⁴⁴ Central to Fekkes is John's self-understanding as a prophet being "part of a revelatory continuum which stretches from God's OT messengers to the prophetic circle within which he is probably a leading figure".⁴⁵ Once or twice Fekkes uses the term "fulfilled" about John's use of OT-prophecies,⁴⁶ and this term refers to

⁴⁰ A.T. Hanson also speaks of transformation of OT-language in Revelation, cf. Hanson, A.T. 1983: 83.

⁴¹ Goulder 1981. Goodacre 1996 discusses Goulder's positions extensively.

⁴² According to the graphs in Moyise 1995: 16.

⁴³ Fekkes 1994: 103.

⁴⁴ Fekkes 1994: 61. Fekkes directs this objection primarily against E.S. Fiorenza. We shall return to her concern in a moment.

⁴⁵ Fekkes 1994: 288.

⁴⁶ Fekkes 1994: 283 and 289.

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