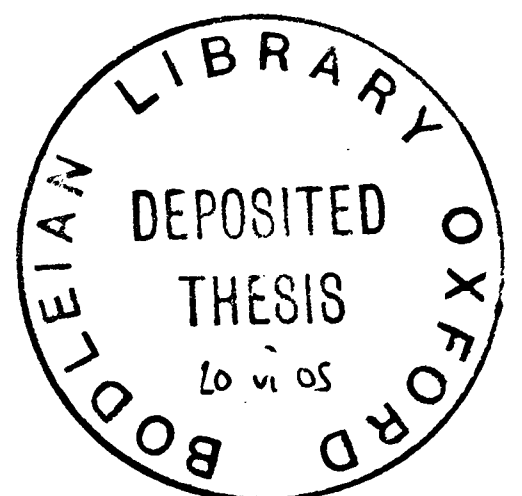


Revelation 11:1-13: History of Interpretation

Seth Turner, St. John's College

Submitted for DPhil Thesis in Theology Trinity Term 2004 *[i.e. 2005]*



Revelation 11:1-13: History of Interpretation - Short Abstract

(i.e. 2005)

Submitted for DPhil in Theology, Trinity Term 2004 by Seth Turner, St. John's College

The thesis provides a descriptive survey of the history of interpretation of Revelation 11:1-13. Prior to 1000 AD it aims to be comprehensive, but after this date concentrates on Western interpretation.

Ch. 1 – Prior to 1000 AD.

Rev 11:1-13 is examined in relation to the wider complex of traditions concerning Antichrist and the return of Enoch and Elijah. The commentary tradition on Revelation is examined, including an extensive reconstruction of Tyconius. The passage is applied in two ways: 1. to two eschatological figures, usually Enoch and Elijah. 2. to the Church from the time of Christ's first advent until his return.

Ch. 2 – 1000-1516

Exegesis similar to that of chapter 1 is found. There is new exegesis from Joachim of Fiore, who believes that the two witnesses will be two religious orders, and Alexander Minorita, who reads the entirety of the Apocalypse as a sequential narrative of Church history, arriving at the sixth century for 11:1-13.

Ch. 3 – 1516-1700

Protestants interpret the beast as the papacy/Roman Church, and the two witnesses as proto-Protestants prior to the Reformation, often interpreting their 1260

day ministry as 1260 years. Catholics respond by applying the passage either to the eschatological future or the distant past.

Ch. 4 – 1701-2004

Protestants continue to see the 1260 days as 1260 years, although this interpretation declines markedly in the nineteenth century. Both Catholics and Protestants apply the passage to the distant past of the early Church. Historical critical exegesis introduces a new exegesis, where John is regarded as having incorrectly predicted the return of two individuals shortly after his time of writing. Applications to the entirety of the time of the Church increase in popularity in the twentieth century.

Revelation 11:1-13: History of Interpretation – Long Abstract
(i.e. 2005)

Submitted for DPhil in Theology Trinity Term 2004 by Seth Turner, St. John's College.

The thesis provides a descriptive survey of the history of interpretation of Revelation 11:1-13, primarily summarizing the expositions which have been put forward. It pays relatively little attention to the social and historical context of interpreters. This is not from any belief that these are unimportant in understanding an interpretation, but because to have included extensive background material would have meant the omission of many exegetes due to lack of space. Prior to 1000 AD it aims to be comprehensive, but after this date concentrates on Western interpretation.

Chapter 1 – Prior to 1000 AD

Rev 11:1-13 is examined in relation to the wider complex of traditions concerning Antichrist and the return of Enoch and Elijah outside of the commentary tradition on Revelation. This is important for two reasons with regard to the history of interpretation of Revelation 11:1-13. Firstly, it shows how Revelation 11 influences traditions about Antichrist. This blending of Revelation 11 with a wider complex of traditions concerning Antichrist is in itself a form of interpretation of the passage. Secondly, it clarifies the forms of the Antichrist tradition available to commentators on the Apocalypse. This is important as it helps to explain why patristic and medieval commentators often deviate from what would seem to be the more obvious sense of the text of Revelation. I argue that there was a Jewish tradition of the death of Elijah and companion(s). This was used by John to delineate two witnesses with characteristics of Elijah and Moses, and by the Antichrist tradition to speak of Enoch

and Elijah as two individuals who would come and be killed by Antichrist. The Jewish tradition of the death of Elijah and companion(s), with no following resurrection and ascension, explains why the Antichrist tradition usually differs from Revelation 11 in omitting the resurrection and ascension of the two.

Exegesis in the commentary tradition is of two sorts. Eschatological exegesis applies the passage to events of the end of time, usually interpreting the two witnesses as two future individuals who will have a 1260 day ministry, nearly always Enoch and Elijah, although Moses and Jeremiah also appear as possible partners for Elijah. Ecclesiological exegesis applies the passage to the entirety of the time of the Church, from Christ's first advent until his return, taking the 1260 day ministry of the witnesses as symbolic of this period. The two witnesses are usually interpreted as the Church. Tyconius, whose exegesis is reconstructed from fragments of his commentary and his use by later authors, is the first to give a primarily ecclesiological exegesis of Rev 11:1-13, understanding the two witnesses as the Church. Bede, who is followed by many later authors, gives both an eschatological application of the passage in which the two witnesses are Enoch and Elijah, and an ecclesiological exegesis in which the two witnesses symbolize the Church. In his eschatological exegesis Bede follows the exegesis of Tyconius, and interprets the resurrection of the witnesses as the general resurrection. This ties in with the dominant form of the Antichrist tradition which does not have a resurrection or ascension of Enoch and Elijah. In the Eastern commentary tradition, the passage is interpreted eschatologically of Enoch and Elijah. With no influence from the exegesis of Tyconius, this includes the resurrection and ascension of the two witnesses.

Chapter 2 – 1000-1516

Exegesis similar to that of Bede continues. In ecclesiological exegesis, authors begin to see the two witnesses as symbolic of only a section of the Church, such as the doctors of the Church, instead of the Church as a whole. In the twelfth century there is a shift as regards the exegesis of the resurrection of the witnesses. In the eschatological application of the passage to Enoch and Elijah, the resurrection and ascension of the witnesses come to be interpreted of Enoch and Elijah in particular. The more obvious sense of the text of the passage becomes dominant over the form of the Antichrist tradition which omits the resurrection and ascension of Enoch and Elijah.

Joachim of Fiore introduces a new form of exegesis. Joachim understands history as consisting of three *status*, one of the Father, one of the Son, and one of the Spirit. Joachim believed his own time (late twelfth century) to be on the cusp of the transition between the second and third *status*. The two witnesses are Elijah and Moses, symbolic of two religious orders, one active, one contemplative, who will help to usher in the third *status* of greater spiritual understanding. After Joachim's death followers adapted his expectation of two different sorts of order, contemplative and active, to apply to the Franciscans and Dominicans, who combined the contemplative and active ways of life. The expectation of two orders was separable from the commentary tradition on Revelation 11, and indeed, outside of the commentary tradition, stands in varying degrees of closeness to the text of Revelation. Whilst widespread, exegesis inspired by Joachim was by no means dominant. A combined ecclesiological and eschatological exegesis of the passage persisted as the most popular even after Joachim.

Alexander Minorita introduced a new type of exegesis, which I have called linear-historical. The entire Apocalypse is seen as a sequential narrative of Church history. By Revelation 11, Alexander has reached the sixth century, and identifies the two witnesses as Patriarch Mennas of Constantinople and Pope Silverius. Alexander is followed by Nicholas of Lyra and Peter Aureol.

Chapter 3 – 1517-1700

The Reformation brought with it new readings of Rev 11:1-13. Protestants identified the papacy/Roman Church as the Antichrist, the beast of Rev 11:7. The two witnesses are Protestants, and those identified as proto-Protestants in the period prior to the Reformation. The passage thus serves the interests of a Protestant historiography. The Protestant Church is to be found in the few faithful witnesses of previous ages and their followers, who have a historical continuity equal to that of Catholicism. The passage thus helps answer the Catholic question of “Where was your Church before Luther?” In the sixteenth century many authors thought that the 1260 days of the witnesses symbolized all the time of the Church, or were an indefinite period that began at the point when the papacy was thought to have taken on the role of Antichrist, after a golden period of the early Church. Towards the end of the sixteenth century and into the seventeenth it became increasingly popular amongst Protestants to argue that the 1260 days of the witnesses were 1260 years, based on a day equalling a year, as in Ezekiel 4. Catholics responded to Protestant exegesis in two ways. The first, and more popular, was to reaffirm traditional eschatological exegesis of the passage. If the beast of 11:7 was the future Antichrist, then it could not be the papacy. The other alternative, pioneered by Alcazar at the beginning of the seventeenth century, was to apply the passage to the distant past of

the Church, again removing any potential contemporary relevance that was so important for the Protestant interpretations that associated the beast with the papacy. In the mid-seventeenth century Hugo Grotius produced a preterist system of interpretation (i.e. applying to the past) not dissimilar to Alcazar, and this was copied by Hammond in England, and by the Catholic Bossuet.

The period of the English civil wars and interregnum was particularly fertile for exegesis of the Apocalypse, and many saw the beast not simply as the papacy/Roman Church, but as the English state Church insofar as she had failed to fully break from Rome. This time also saw the emergence of John Reeve and Lodowick Muggleton, perhaps the two most notable individuals who have claimed that they are themselves the two witnesses. Muggletonianism persisted until the late twentieth century.

Chapter 4 – 1701-2004

Many Protestants continued to see the 1260 days as 1260 years, identifying the beast as the papacy/Roman Church and the witnesses as Protestants and proto-Protestants. This interpretation began to lose favour in the mid-nineteenth century for two reasons. In academic circles, the inerrancy and absolute unity of the scriptures came to be questioned, and each book of the Bible came to be seen in its own terms. It was thus thought unreasonable to interpret the 1260 days of the Apocalypse as 1260 years, when the Apocalypse itself makes no mention of this, and the idea has to be imported from Ezekiel. For those Protestants who maintained a very high doctrine of scriptural inerrancy, I argue that the Millerite crisis, culminating in the “Great Disappointment” of 1844 when Christ failed to return, helped to discredit the year-day

method, with the date setting that is inherent in it for even the most cautious of expositors.

Ecclesiological exegesis, interpreting the two witnesses as the Church, drew little following in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but its popularity increased markedly in the twentieth.

Many interpreters continue the preterist exegesis begun by Alcazar and Grotius. A few apply the passage to the first few centuries of the Church, but the majority of interpreters apply it to known events of the first century, naming a variety of figures as the two witnesses, including Jesus and Ananus the Jewish high priests killed during the Roman siege of Jerusalem, and the Christian martyrs Peter and Paul.

Eschatological exegesis can be divided into those who genuinely believe that there will be an eschatological fulfilment of the passage, and those who think that John mistakenly predicted that two literal witnesses would come shortly after his time of writing. The first group includes some Catholic authors, and also a number of Protestants. This type of interpretation increased in popularity among Protestants who hold a strong doctrine of scriptural inerrancy from the mid-nineteenth century onwards, particularly in its Darbyite dispensationalist form. The perils of date setting associated with the year-day method were avoided, as it is not specified when the events of the end-time are to begin. The second sort of eschatological exegesis, where John is thought to have incorrectly predicted the advent of two literal witnesses shortly after his time of writing is the product of historical-critical exegesis, first appearing in nineteenth century Germany. It involves the rejection of a doctrine of scriptural inerrancy, and has thus found no favour amongst those who maintain such a doctrine.

Wellhausen's *Religionsgeschichtliche* interpretation of vv. 1-2, where the verses are identified as a Zealot oracle from towards the end of the Roman siege of Jerusalem incorrectly predicting that the temple will be spared, has been influential as a possible origin of vv.1-2, although it has usually been thought that even if the material has this origin, John intends a different meaning for it in the Apocalypse.

There have been numerous idiosyncratic interpretations during this period, among the most notable of which is that of Bellamy, who believes that the two witnesses are two volcanoes during an early stage of the earth's life.

Contents

Acknowledgements..... i

Abbreviations..... ii

Introduction 1

Table 1 11

Chapter 1. Prior to 1000 AD 12

The Antichrist Tradition 13

1.1 Sources..... 13

1.2 Jewish material in Jewish texts..... 22

1.3 The death of the witnesses..... 25

1.4 The exposure of Antichrist 30

1.5 The resurrection and ascension of the witnesses 32

1.6 The destruction of Antichrist..... 35

1.7 Minor features..... 40

Conclusion 43

Commentaries on Revelation 45

1.8 Western Writers prior to Tyconius 46

1.9 Tyconius 52

1.10 Western Writers after Tyconius..... 74

1.11 Eastern Writers 85

1.12 Conclusion 88

Chapter 2. 1000-1516	90
2.1 1000-1180	91
2.2 Joachim of Fiore	102
2.3 Excursus: Viri spirituales.....	110
2.4 Commentaries 1200-1500.....	118
2.5 The Linear-historical interpretation.....	132
2.6 Other material	137
2.7 Conclusion	144
 Chapter 3. 1517-1700	145
 1517-1600	146
3.1 Enoch and Elijah returned in the early sixteenth century	146
3.2 Antichrist as all evil forces	149
3.3 Antichrist the Papacy	153
3.4 1260 days as a definite period, usually 1260 years	157
3.5 Catholic exegesis	163
1601-1638	167
3.6 1260 days as indefinite	167
3.7 1260 days a definite time	170
3.8 Richard Farnham and John Bull	177
3.9 Catholic interpretation	179
Protestants 1639-1660	182
3.10 England and the rest of the British Isles	182
3.11 Continental Europe 1639-1660.....	204
Protestants 1661-1700	208

3.12 1260 days as a definite period	208
3.13 1260 days not definite.....	222
3.14 Catholic interpretation 1639-1700.....	224
3.15 Conclusion.....	228
Chapter 4. 1701-2004	232
1260 days a definite number of years.....	233
4.1 756 the starting point	233
4.2 The French Revolution and the starting point 533	236
4.3 606 the starting point	242
4.4 The Middle East as the arena of the passage	245
4.5 Others	247
4.6 Ecclesiological Interpretations	257
Preterist Interpretations	263
4.7 The passage related to the first few centuries of the Church	263
4.8 The passage related to known events of the first century	265
Eschatological exegesis	271
4.9 Genuine belief in an eschatological application.....	271
4.10 The passage an incorrect Johannine eschatological prediction	281
4.11 Religionsgeschichtliche interpretations	286
4.12 Idiosyncratic interpretations	289
4.13 Conclusion.....	299
Conclusion.....	304
Index	311

Primary Sources Bibliography..... 326

Secondary Bibliography 369

Biblical quotations are from the *New Jerusalem Bible* (London 1985), unless noted otherwise.

Acknowledgements

Those to whom I owe thanks in connection with this work are too numerous to list, so I shall only mention a few. Firstly I must thank my supervisor Christopher Rowland for his guidance, criticism and enthusiasm for my work. Special thanks are also due to Bob Morgan and Henry Wansbrough, from whom I have learned much. My parents' support for my study has been constant, and I thank my father and brother for assistance with the preparation of the index. My wife, Clare, is the one to whom I am most indebted. Her support throughout the writing of this thesis (and in the latter stages, that of my son Wilf also!) has made its completion possible.

Abbreviations

<i>AUSS</i>	<i>Andrews University Seminary Studies</i>
<i>BZ</i>	<i>Biblische Zeitschrift</i>
<i>CBQ</i>	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
<i>CCCM</i>	Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis (Turnhout 1967-)
<i>CCSL</i>	Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina (Turnhout 1953-)
<i>CH</i>	<i>Church History</i>
<i>CS</i>	Cistercian Studies
<i>CSCO</i>	Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium
<i>CSEL</i>	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum (Vienna 1866-)
<i>CTJ</i>	<i>Calvin Theological Journal</i>
<i>DTT</i>	<i>Dansk teologisk tidsskrift</i>
<i>GCS</i>	Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte (Berlin 1897-)
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>JEH</i>	<i>Journal of Ecclesiastical History</i>
<i>JSP</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha</i>
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
<i>MEFRM</i>	<i>Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome. Moyens Age-Temps Modernes</i>
<i>NTA</i>	W. Schneemelcher, ed., <i>The New Testament Apocrypha</i> (Cambridge 1991-1992)
<i>NTS</i>	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
<i>OCD</i>	<i>The Oxford Classical Dictionary</i> , ed. S. Hornblower and A. Spawforth

(Oxford 1996³)

<i>ODCC</i>	<i>The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church</i> , ed. F.L. Cross and E.A. Livingstone (Oxford 1997 ³)
<i>OTP</i>	Charlesworth, J.H., ed., <i>The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha</i> (New York 1983-1985)
<i>PG</i>	<i>Patrologia Graeca</i> (Paris 1857-1866)
<i>PL</i>	<i>Patrologia Latina</i> (Paris 1841-1855)
<i>RB</i>	<i>Revue Biblique</i>
<i>RBén</i>	<i>Revue Bénédictine</i>
<i>RHPR</i>	<i>Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie religieuses</i>
<i>RTAM</i>	<i>Recherches de Théologie Ancienne et Médiévale</i>
<i>SC</i>	<i>Sources Chrétiennes</i> (Paris 1942-)
<i>SP</i>	<i>Studia Patristica</i>
<i>TDNT</i>	<i>Theological Dictionary of the New Testament</i> , ed. G. Kittel and G. Friedrich (Nashville 1964-1976)
<i>TZ</i>	<i>Theologische Zeitschrift</i>
<i>VC</i>	<i>Vigiliae Christianae</i>
<i>WTJ</i>	<i>Westminster Theological Journal</i>
<i>ZWT</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie</i>

Introduction

This thesis is on the history of interpretation of Revelation 11:1-13. In this introduction I shall discuss previous scholarship on the history of interpretation of the Apocalypse, and make clear the parameters of my investigation and the particular contribution that my thesis will make in this area.

Since the patristic period commentators on the Apocalypse have discussed the approaches of previous scholars to the text, but it is perhaps the late nineteenth century work of Bousset that is the first serious attempt at writing a history of interpretation.¹ Bousset surveyed a selection of patristic, medieval, Reformation and post-Reformation scholars in the introduction to his commentary on the Apocalypse, giving an impressive and still important general overview of the history of interpretation. In the early twentieth century Charles undertook a similar exercise, and expresses dissatisfaction with his predecessors. Prior to the introduction of the historical-critical method in the late eighteenth century, of which Charles is himself a proponent, exposition of the Apocalypse was by and large simply misguided and wrong. Charles makes little effort to understand earlier interpretations in their own terms, and judges them to be, by his own particular early twentieth century standards, worthless.² Maier treats patristic and medieval exposition, together with German Protestant exposition since the Reformation.³ Recently Wainwright has given a sympathetic and wide-ranging account of the history of interpretation, and McGinn a

¹ W. Bousset, *Die Offenbarung Johannis* (Göttingen 1896⁵) 51-141.

² R.H. Charles, *Studies in the Apocalypse* (Edinburgh 1913). A position close to Charles' is adopted for the entirety of the New Testament by what is still the standard textbook on the history of New Testament Interpretation, W.G. Kümmel, *The New Testament. The History of the Investigation of its Problems* (London 1973). Kümmel devotes only 27 pages to the period prior to the eighteenth century, and 367 to subsequent years. Kümmel appears generous compared to W. Baird, *History of New Testament Research. 1: From Deism to Tübingen* (Minneapolis 1992). The title is revealing, and pre-eighteenth century works merit seven pages in the introduction.

³ G. Maier, *Die Johannesoffenbarung und die Kirche* (Tübingen 1981).

brief overview.⁴ Rowland and Kovacs have offered not so much a history of interpretation, as a small sample of actual interpretations of each of the chapters of the Apocalypse.⁵ Although it is not solely on the history of interpretation of the Apocalypse, mention should also be made of Froom, whose vast work is slanted towards the attempt to prove that the Seventh-day Adventist approach to the Apocalypse and other parts of Scripture is the correct one. Froom's meticulous work is a mine of useful information.⁶

The above authors have all attempted the difficult task of giving a history of interpretation of the entire Apocalypse since its time of writing. The enormous number of sources make it nigh on impossible for any individual to consult let alone master them all. A number of studies have concentrated on particular periods. Kretschmar's short book gives a brief overview of the first millennium.⁷ Helms' doctoral thesis gives an excellent and thorough treatment of pre-Nicene exegesis of the Apocalypse.⁸ Gryson gives a useful introduction to Latin patristic commentaries, and Steinhauser's work on Tyconius offers a great deal of information on those commentators who used Tyconius.⁹ Kamlah provides a study of the early middle ages.¹⁰ The volume edited by Emmerson and McGinn offers a series of studies of medieval Apocalypse exegesis.¹¹ Argiriou examines Greek exegetes from the

⁴ A. Wainwright, *Mysterious Apocalypse* (Nashville 1993); B. McGinn, "Revelation" in, ed. R. Alter and F. Kermode, *The Literary Guide to the Bible* (London 1987) 523-541.

⁵ J. Kovacs and C. Rowland, *Revelation: the Apocalypse of Jesus Christ* (Oxford/Malden, MA 2004)

⁶ L.E. Froom, *The Prophetic Faith of our Fathers* (Washington 1945-1964) 4 vols.

⁷ G. Kretschmar, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes. Die Geschichte ihrer Auslegung im 1. Jahrtausend* (Stuttgart 1985).

⁸ C. Helms, *The Apocalypse in the Early Church. Christ, Eschaton and Millennium* (DPhil Thesis, University of Oxford 1991).

⁹ R. Gryson, "Les commentaires patristiques latin de l'Apocalypse," *Revue Théologique de Louvain* 28 (1997) 305-337; 484-502; K. Steinhauser, *The Apocalypse Commentary of Tyconius. A History of its Reception and Influence* (Frankfurt 1987).

¹⁰ W. Kamlah, *Apokalypse und Geschichtstheologie. Die mittelalterliche Auslegung der Apokalypse vor Joachim von Fiore* (Berlin 1935).

¹¹ R. Emmerson and B. McGinn, ed., *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages* (New York 1992).

fifteenth to nineteenth centuries.¹² Backus gives accounts of several sixteenth century continental Protestant exegetes.¹³ Bauckham's work concentrates on British sixteenth century interpretation.¹⁴ Firth's study of Apocalyptic traditions in sixteenth and seventeenth century Britain contains much on exegesis of the Apocalypse.¹⁵ The volume edited by Patrides and Wittreich has studies on sixteenth and seventeenth century exegesis.¹⁶ Armogathe surveys interpretation, primarily Catholic, in the period 1500-1800.¹⁷ Newport gives a series of studies on interpretation from the sixteenth to twentieth centuries.¹⁸ Burdon provides information on eighteenth and nineteenth century English expositors.¹⁹ Böcher looks at the twentieth century.²⁰ Simojoki provides a very thorough study of Finnish exposition since 1944.²¹

There have been numerous studies of individual exegetes and their interpretation of the Apocalypse. Dulaey gives a good account of Victorinus of Pettau.²² Steinhauser's study of Tyconius is excellent.²³ Short treatments of Bede are given by Bonner and Mackay.²⁴ Joachim of Fiore has been the subject of numerous studies. Few have been solely on his exegesis of the Apocalypse,²⁵ although as this

¹² A. Argyriou, *Les Exégèses Grecques de L'Apocalypse à L'Epoque Turque (1453-1821)* (Thessalonica 1982).

¹³ I. Backus, *Reformation Readings of the Apocalypse*. Geneva, Zurich and Wittenberg (Oxford 2000).

¹⁴ R. Bauckham, *Tudor Apocalypse* (Abingdon 1978).

¹⁵ K.R. Firth, *The Apocalyptic Tradition in Reformation Britain 1530-1645* (Oxford 1979).

¹⁶ C.A. Patrides and J. Wittreich, ed., *The Apocalypse in English Renaissance thought and literature* (Manchester 1984).

¹⁷ J.-R. Armogathe, "Interpretations of the Revelation of John 1500-1800" in, ed. B. McGinn, *The Encyclopedia of Apocalypticism. Volume 2. Apocalypticism in Western History and Culture* (New York 1998) 185-203.

¹⁸ K.G.C. Newport, *Apocalypse and Millennium. Studies in Biblical Eisegesis* (Cambridge 2000).

¹⁹ C. Burdon, *The Apocalypse in England. Revelation Unravelling 1700-1834* (Basingstoke/New York 1997).

²⁰ O. Böcher, *Die Johannesapokalypse* (Darmstadt 1980²).

²¹ A. Simojoki, *Apocalypse Interpreted. The Types of Interpretation of the Book of Revelation in Finland 1944-1995. From the Second World War to the Post-Cold War World* (Abo 1997).

²² M. Dulaey, *Victorin de Poetovi. Premier exégète latin* (Paris 1993).

²³ Steinhauser, *The Apocalypse Commentary of Tyconius*.

²⁴ G. Bonner, *Saint Bede in the Tradition of Western Apocalyptic Commentary* (Newcastle 1966); T.W. Mackay, "Sources and Style in Bede's Commentary on the Apocalypse" *SP* 30 (Louvain 1997) 54-60.

²⁵ E.R. Daniel, "Joachim of Fiore: Patterns of History in the Apocalypse" in, ed. Emerson and McGinn, *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, 72-88, is a recent exception.

formed such an important part of his thought it is often treated in general studies.²⁶ Gilson and Schmolinsky have produced work on Alexander Minorita.²⁷ Studies on Olivi have been written by Manselli, Lewis and Burr.²⁸ Luther's use of the Apocalypse has been examined by Hofmann.²⁹

Particular passages within the Apocalypse have received some attention. Although no history of interpretation has been written as such, patristic interpretation of chapter 20 has received treatment in works on chiliasm.³⁰ Brady has written a very focussed study on the history of interpretation of 13:16-18 in Britain between 1560 and 1830.³¹ Prigent has presented a history of exegesis of Revelation 12.³² Petersen has written on the interpretation of Revelation 11:1-13 in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.³³

Works which cover the history of interpretation of the entire Apocalypse, such as those of Charles and Wainwright, do not deal extensively with individual passages, but instead tend to outline the general approach of commentators to the text. Rowland and Kovacs, whilst giving examples of actual exegesis, give only a very small sample for each chapter. There is thus a need for studies such as Prigent's on the exegesis of individual passages.

²⁶ For treatment of Joachim and the Apocalypse and further bibliography see M. Reeves, *Joachim of Fiore and the Prophetic Future* (Stroud 1999²); B. McGinn, *The Calabrian Abbot. Joachim of Fiore in the History of Western Thought* (New York/London 1985).

²⁷ J.P. Gilson, "Friar Alexander and his Historical Interpretation of the Apocalypse" in, ed. C.L. Kingsford et al., *Collectanea Franciscana* (Manchester 1922) 20-36; S. Schmolinsky, *Der Apokalypsenkommentar des Alexander Minorita. Zur frühen Rezeption Joachims von Fiore in Deutschland* (Hannover 1991).

²⁸ R. Manselli, *La "Lectura Super Apocalipsim" di Pietro Giovanni Olivi. Recherche sull'escatologismo medioevale* (Rome 1955); W. Lewis, *Peter John Olivi: Prophet of the Year 2000* (PhD dissertation: Tübingen 1972); D. Burr, *Olivi's Peaceable Kingdom* (Philadelphia 1993).

²⁹ H.-U. Hofmann, *Luther und die Johannes-Apokalypse* (Tübingen 1982).

³⁰ E.g. C. Hill, *Regnum Caelorum* (Oxford 1993). See this work for further bibliography on chiliasm. An account of twentieth century scholarly discussion of chapter 20 can be found in J.W. Mealy, *After the Thousand Years. Resurrection and Judgement in Revelation 20* (Sheffield 1992) 15-58.

³¹ D. Brady, *The Contribution of British Writers between 1560 and 1830 to the Interpretation of Revelation 13:16-18 (The Number of the Beast): A Study in the History of Exegesis* (Tübingen 1983).

³² P. Prigent, *Apocalypse 12. Histoire de l'exégèse* (Tübingen 1959).

³³ R.L. Petersen, *Preaching in the Last Days. The Theme of "Two Witnesses" in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Oxford/New York 1993).

The only study of the history of interpretation of Revelation 11:1-13 covers just two centuries. Petersen's work concentrates on Protestant exegetes. He provides a quite substantial amount of background information on expositors, but does not attempt to cover all Protestant interpreters of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. There is thus a need for a more comprehensive study of the history of interpretation of Revelation 11:1-13, a passage which has thrown up a large number of diverse expositions.

Given a 100000 word limit, choices have to be made over the inclusion of material. I shall be giving relatively little context for the interpretations that I outline. By doing this, I am not in the least wishing to suggest that an understanding of the historical situation and social context of an expositor are unimportant for understanding their exegesis. To include a great deal of background information on some interpreters, however, would mean the omission of other interpreters altogether. I have omitted art connected with the Apocalypse from my survey. This is not from any low opinion of its worth as interpretation of the Apocalypse, but is due to considerations of space.

What I intend to write is primarily a descriptive survey of the exposition of Revelation 11:1-13. This will serve as a valuable resource for other scholars of the history of interpretation of the Apocalypse. It will allow those who wish to undertake the important task of contextualizing interpretations to use my work as a starting point. I will also not be offering extensive information on the approaches of expositors to the Apocalypse as a whole. The various interpretative approaches to the text as a whole are dealt with in works on the history of the interpretation of the entirety of the Apocalypse, and to include a thorough examination of them in my thesis would mean the omission of much material on Revelation 11:1-13.

My thesis will thus stand closest to that of Prigent in format, whose work offers a descriptive survey of the history of interpretation of Revelation 12. Prigent proceeds in a chronological manner through the material, offering sparse background information on expositors. However, he devotes relatively little space to interpretation prior to 1700, and after 1700 concentrates on historical-critical exegesis, especially that written in French and German. I intend to devote far more space to exegesis prior to 1700, in a manner closer to that of Gray in his work on the history of interpretation of Matthew 25:31-46.³⁴ Even if today we choose to disagree with previous interpreters and some of their presuppositions, this does not make them any less important a part of the history of interpretation. A modern scholar may, for instance, disagree with the doctrine of scriptural inerrancy held by a sixteenth century exegete, but this does not mean that the modern scholar is unable to understand the sixteenth century exegete. Rather it means that the sixteenth century exegete should be understood in sixteenth century terms, and not criticized for his³⁵ failure to concur with the modern scholarly rejection of a doctrine of scriptural inerrancy.³⁶

I also differ from Prigent in that in the modern era I do not concentrate solely on the exegesis of the academy. Many modern expositors retain pre-critical presuppositions that have on the whole been abandoned by university-based biblical scholars. This does not mean that their exegesis is unimportant in the history of interpretation. Indeed, such exegesis can often exercise a great influence over people's behaviour. The Darbyite dispensationalist reading of the Apocalypse, in which the prophecies of chapters 6-19 are to be fulfilled in a 7 or 3½ year end time period is extremely popular among fundamentalist Christians in America.³⁷ The

³⁴ S.W. Gray, *The Least of My Brothers. Matthew 25:31-46. A History of Interpretation* (Atlanta 1989).

³⁵ Almost invariably "his" rather than "her" in the sixteenth century.

³⁶ Such an attitude seems to be taken by Charles, *Studies in the Apocalypse*.

³⁷ See further below, section 4.9.

support of many fundamentalist American Christians for the state of Israel on the basis of a Darbyite dispensationalist reading of the Apocalypse (and other parts of the Bible), in which the return of Jews to Palestine is essential for the fulfilment of eschatological prophecies, including the rebuilding of the temple outlined in Rev 11:1, has played a role in shaping American foreign policy in the Middle East.³⁸ As another example, it is impossible to fully understand the intransigence of Ian Paisley in matters pertaining to the politics of the North of Ireland unless it is recognized that he holds an exegesis of the Apocalypse in which the papacy is identified as the Antichrist.³⁹ Once this is seen, his policy of refusing to negotiate or cooperate with Republican politicians is perfectly explicable. These politicians are predominantly Catholics, in the thrall of the papal Antichrist, so of course one does not negotiate or cooperate with those who are in league with Antichrist and the Devil. I am not here defending Paisley's identification of the papacy with the Antichrist, merely showing that given this belief his attitude is in fact entirely logical. Exegesis of the Apocalypse by those outside the academy is a live and important issue for many believers today. It is an important part of the history of interpretation, and has therefore been included in my survey.

I have not looked at the small number of works that are available in manuscript only. These are mostly medieval works. My decision has been based on considerations of space, cost and time. I already had available to me a very extensive body of printed interpretative material without consulting works in manuscript only. The bulk of the manuscript material is to be found scattered around the libraries of continental Europe, often unavailable on microfilm. It would have required extensive investment of time and money in travelling to have consulted the material, and given

³⁸ P. Boyer, *When Time Shall Be No More. Prophecy Belief in Modern American Culture* (Cambridge, MA 1992) 203-208.

³⁹ <http://www.ianpaisley.org/> on 26/5/2004.

the constraints of only three years of doctoral study, I have chosen to omit the material from consideration.

I have chosen to order the material in a broadly chronological fashion. It would have been possible to attempt to group material together thematically. This would have allowed similarities of theme through the centuries to be seen clearly, but has the disadvantage that it would be more difficult to see how exegetes are reacting to other expositors. For instance, Catholic futurist exegesis of the sixteenth century cannot adequately be viewed as simply a continuation of one strand of patristic exegesis, which is how it would be in danger of being categorised were a thematic approach to be taken. It is extremely important that it is seen as a response to contemporary Protestant exegesis in which the beast of 11:7 is the papacy/Roman Church, denying this Protestant identification by asserting the Antichrist to be still future. A chronological approach allows such interaction between the various types of exposition to be easily seen, whereas a thematic approach is in danger of viewing the various types of exegesis in isolation from other traditions of interpretation. I have thus chosen to use a broadly chronological approach. Admittedly similarities of theme through the centuries will be more difficult to trace than with a thematic approach, but I hope to have indicated sufficiently where such similarities exist.

In the period prior to 1000 AD I have attempted to be comprehensive in my coverage of exposition of Revelation 11:1-13. In the first part of the chapter I have included a substantial section on traditions regarding Antichrist separate from commentaries on the Apocalypse, and their interaction with and dependence/independence of Revelation 11. This is important for two reasons with regard to the history of interpretation of Revelation 11:1-13. Firstly, it shows how Revelation 11 influences traditions about Antichrist. This blending of Revelation 11

with a wider complex of traditions concerning Antichrist is in itself a form of interpretation of the passage. Secondly, it clarifies the forms of the Antichrist tradition available to commentators on the Apocalypse. This is important as it helps to explain why patristic and medieval commentators often deviate from what would seem to be the more obvious sense of the text of Revelation. This will be seen to be the case especially as regards the interpretation of the resurrection of the witnesses. In looking at those who have written commentaries prior to 1000 AD, I have proceeded in a generally chronological manner, although dealing with Eastern and Western writers separately. I have devoted considerable space to Tyconius. As his commentary has been lost, I have had to reconstruct his exegesis for 11:1-13 from adulterated fragments of Tyconius and later commentators who have used his work. Even without this added complication, Tyconius would have merited close attention as probably the most important and influential expositor of the first millennium.

From 1000 AD onwards I have confined myself to Western material only, due to considerations of space. In chapter 2 I look at the years 1000-1516. I have proceeded in a largely chronological fashion, with an excursus on material influenced by Joachim of Fiore but lying outside of commentaries on the Apocalypse. As it is so different from other expositions, the new method of interpretation used by Alexander Minorita and his followers Peter Aureol and Nicholas of Lyra is also treated in a separate section.

With the Reformation following closely on the heels of the fifteenth century invention of printing, the volume of material available swells dramatically for the years 1517-1700, the subject of chapter 3. In order to accommodate this increased volume of material, I have often grouped together interpreters with similarities in their approach into their own sections. I have looked first at the period 1517-1600,

examining the various Protestant approaches to Revelation 11:1-13 before looking at the Catholic responses to these. I have then treated Protestant commentaries from 1601-1638, followed by Catholic expositions of this period. The period of civil wars and interregnum in England was particularly fertile for the exegesis of the Apocalypse, and there is therefore a section on Protestant British exposition from 1639-1660, after which I look at continental Protestant exegesis in the same period. Protestant commentaries from 1661-1700 are then dealt with, before I conclude by looking at Catholic commentaries from 1639-1700.

Chapter 4 examines the period 1700-2004. There is so much material available for this period that the inclusion of all expositors would be impossible. I have attempted to provide examples of the vast majority of the various interpretative viewpoints put forward. The volume of material would make a simple chronological approach to setting out the expositions extremely unwieldy. I have instead divided the interpretations into six groups covering the whole period.

My thesis will thus offer a descriptive survey of the history of interpretation of Revelation 11:1-13.

Table 1 11

Chapter 1. Prior to 1000 AD..... 12

The Antichrist Tradition 13

1.1 Sources..... 13

1.2 Jewish material in Jewish texts..... 22

1.3 The death of the witnesses..... 25

1.4 The exposure of Antichrist 30

1.5 The resurrection and ascension of the witnesses 32

1.6 The destruction of Antichrist..... 35

1.7 Minor features..... 40

Conclusion 43

Commentaries on Revelation 45

1.8 Western Writers prior to Tyconius 46

1.9 Tyconius 52

1.10 Western Writers after Tyconius..... 74

1.11 Eastern Writers 85

1.12 Conclusion 88

Table 1

[illegible]

Chapter 1. Prior to 1000 AD.

For ease of analysis, I shall divide the interpretation of Rev 11:1-13 into two main sections for the first millennium. I shall first consider the material that comes within a larger complex of traditions relating to Antichrist outside of the commentary tradition. I shall establish which elements of the tradition are pre-Christian Jewish, which elements are added by John, and which are later Christian additions. Secondly, I shall proceed to the commentary tradition on Revelation 11:1-13, firstly looking at western writers prior to Tyconius, then at Tyconius, then at western writers after Tyconius, finishing by looking at eastern writers.

The Antichrist Tradition

1.1 Sources

The earliest extant exegesis of Revelation 11:1-13 identifies the two witnesses as two eschatological prophets, nearly always Enoch and Elijah, who are killed by the Antichrist.¹ This interpretation is part of a wider complex of traditions related to the advent of Antichrist, and it will be necessary to examine these traditions so that it can be established: (a) whether an author is interpreting Revelation 11:1-13,² or is using an independent tradition, and (b) whether authors interpreting Revelation 11:1-13 are combining it with traditions that are Jewish or Christian in origin. Many of the texts are dependent on each other, but the dating and nature of dependency are not easy to establish. An examination of the entirety of the texts, not just a small portion of each would be needed for this, and it therefore lies outside the scope of the present enquiry. For ease of reference the material is set out in Table 1.³ The works in the table are as follows; some eastern works post-1000 A.D. are included.

- 1 Revelation 11:1-13
- 2 *1 Enoch* 90:31 = *1 Enoch* 83-90, ed. E. Isaacs, in *OTP* 1, 5-90. Jewish, 2nd century B.C.⁴
- 3 *Jubilees* 4:23-26 = *Jubilees*, ed. O.S. Wintermute, in *OTP* 2, 35-142. Jewish, 2nd century B.C.⁵

¹ I have used this term for the sake of simplicity, and because it is used in the vast majority of the pertinent Christian texts. It does not strictly apply to Jewish literature, nor to some Christian texts where the eschatological adversary is not named as "Antichrist" (the book of Revelation itself being a case in point).

² Vv.1-2a (up to τοῖς ἔθνεσιν) and v.13 rarely feature as part of this interpretation.

³ This table is a substantial expansion and revision of that in R. Bauckham, "The Martyrdom of Enoch and Elijah: Jewish or Christian?" *JBL* 95 (1976) 447-458 (table on 449).

⁴ E. Isaac, *OTP* 1, 6-7; J.C. VanderKam, "Enoch Traditions in Jubilees and Other Second-Century Sources" in *SBL 1978 Seminar Papers* 1 (Missoula, Mont. 1978) 229-251.

⁵ O.S. Wintermute, *OTP* 2, 43-44.

- 4 Ps.-Philo, *LAB* 48.1 = Pseudo-Philo, ed. D.J. Harrington et al., *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum* (SC 229-230: Paris 1976) Jewish, 80 B.C.-70 A.D.⁶
- 5 4 *Ezra* 6:26 = 4 *Ezra*, ed. B.M. Metzger, in *OTP* 1, 516-559. Jewish, late 1st century A.D.⁷
- 6 *Apoc. Elijah* (Coptic) = *The Apocalypse of Elijah (Coptic)*, ed. O.S. Wintermute, in *OTP* 1, 725-744. Jewish/Christian, final form 3rd century A.D.⁸
- 7 *Apoc. Peter* (Ethiopic) 2 = *The Apocalypse of Peter (Ethiopic)*, ed. C. Detlef and G. Müller, in *NTA* 2, 620-638. Christian, c.135.⁹
- 8 Irenaeus, *A.H.* 5.5 = Irenaeus, *Adversus Haereses*, ed. A. Rousseau et al. (SC 153: Paris 1969) Christian, late 2nd century.
- 9 Tertullian, *De Anima* 50 = Tertullian, *De Anima*, ed. J.H. Waszink, in *Tertullian: Opera* 2 (CSEL 2: Turnhout 1954) Christian, late 2nd/early 3rd century.
- 10 Hippolytus, *De Antichristo* 43, 46-47; *In Daniele*, 35, 50 = Hippolytus, *On Christ and Antichrist*, ed. E. Norelli, *L'Anticristo* (Florence 1987); Hippolytus, *Commentary on Daniel*, ed. G. Bonwetsch, rev. M. Richard, *Hippolytus Werke: Kommentar zu Daniel* (GCS NF 7: Berlin 2000) Christian, late 2nd/early 3rd century.
- 11 Commodian, *Carmen* 833-864 = Commodian, *Carmen de duobus populis*, in, ed. J. Martin, *Commodianus, Carmina; Cl. M. Victorius, Aletheia* (CCSL 128: Turnhout 1960) Christian, 3rd-5th century.¹⁰

⁶ P.M. Bogaert in Pseudo-Philo, ed. Harrington et al., *LAB* 2 (SC 230) 66-74.

⁷ M.E. Stone, *Fourth Ezra* (Minneapolis 1990) 9-10.

⁸ See below, section 1.5, for discussion of this text. There is also a Hebrew *Apocalypse of Elijah*, which is a separate work.

⁹ C. Detlef and G. Müller, *NTA* 2, 622.

¹⁰ A. DiBerardino, *Patrology* 4 (Westminster, Maryland 1986) 259-262.

- 12 Lactantius, *The Divine Institutes* 7 = Lactantius, *The Divine Institutes*, in, ed. S Brandt, *L. Caeli Firminian Lactanti Opera Omnia* 1 (CSEL 19: Vienna 1890) Christian, early 4th century.¹¹
- 13 *Gospel of Nicodemus* 25 = *The Gospel of Nicodemus*, ed. F. Scheidweiler, in *NTA* 1, 501-563. Christian 2nd-5th century.¹²
- 14 *Death of Joseph* 31-32 = *The Death of Joseph (Bohairic)*, in, ed. F. Robinson, *Coptic Apocryphal Gospels* (Cambridge 1896) Christian, 2nd-3rd century (?).¹³
- 15 Ephraem Syrus, *Sermo de fine extremo*, lines 477-513 = Ephraem Syrus, *Sermo de fine extremo*, in, ed. E. Beck, *Des Heiligen Ephraem des Syrers Sermones III* (CSCO 321: Louvain 1972) Christian, 4th century.
- 16 Ambrose, *Explanatio Psalmorum XII*, 45:10 = Ambrose, ed. M. Petschenig, rev. M. Zelzer, *Explanatio Psalmorum XII* (CSEL 63: Vienna 1999) Christian, 4th century.
- 17 Ambrosiaster, on 1 Cor 4:9 and 1 Thess 5:1-3 = Ambrosiaster, ed. H. Vogels, *Ambrosiastri qui dicitur commentarius in epistulas paulinas* (CSEL 81.1, 81.2, 81.3: Vienna 1966-1969) Christian, 4th century.
- 18 Quodvultdeus, *Dimidium Temporis* 13, 15, 16 = Quodvultdeus, *Dimidium Temporis in Signum Antichristi*, in, ed. R. Braun, *Opera Quodvultdeo Carthaginiensi Episcopo Tributa* (CCSL 60: Turnhout 1976) Christian, 5th century.¹⁴

¹¹ Lactantius, ed A. Bowen and P. Garnsey, *Divine Institutes* (Liverpool 2003) p.3.

¹² F. Scheidweiler, *NTA* 1, 501-504.

¹³ Robinson, *Coptic Apocryphal Gospels*, xvii, does not attempt to date the text, but points out that it is the same sort of work as the 2nd century *Protoevangelium of James*. There do not appear to be any indications in the work (such as the use of 4th and 5th century theological terms) that it is later than the 3rd century.

¹⁴ R. Braun, *Quodvultdeus: Livre des promesses et des predictions de Dieu* (SC 101: Paris 1964) 101-102.

- 19 *Apoc. Ps.-John 8 = The Apocalypse of Pseudo-John*, in, ed. C. Tischendorf, *Apocalypses Apocryphae* (Leipzig 1866) Christian, 5th century.¹⁵
- 20 Ps.-Cyprian, *De montibus Sina et Sion 5 = Pseudo-Cyprian, De montibus Sina et Sion*, in Hartel, G. ed., *S. Thasci Caecili Cypriani Opera Omnia* (CSEL 3.3: Vienna 1871) Christian, date uncertain.¹⁶
- 21 Ps.-Ephraem “Graecus,” *In adventum Domini* pp.141-142 = Pseudo-Ephraem “Graecus,” *Sermo in adventum Domini*, in, ed. J.S. Assemani, *Sancti Ephraem Syri Opera Omnia*, vol.3 (Rome 1746) 134-148. Christian, 4th-9th century.¹⁷
- 22 Ps.-Ephraem “Latinus,” *Sermo de fine mundi 9 = Pseudo-Ephraem “Latinus,” Sermo de fine mundi*, in, ed. C.P. Caspari, *Briefe, Abhandlungen und Predigten* (Christiania 1890) Christian, 4th-7th century.¹⁸
- 23+24 Ps.-Hippolytus, *De consummatione mundi 21, 29 = Pseudo-Hippolytus, De consummatione mundi*, in, ed. H. Achelis, *Hippolytus Werke* (GCS 1.2: Leipzig 1897) 287-309 (reprint of the *editio princeps* of J. Picus 1557) Christian, 5th-9th century.¹⁹
- 25 Gregory the Great = Gregory the Great, ed. M. Adriaen, *Moralia in Iob Libri XI-XXII* (CCSL 143A: Turnhout 1979) 14.23.10-12; Gregory the Great, ed. M. Adriaen, *Homiliae in Hiezechihalem Prophetam* (CCSL 142: Turnhout 1979) 1.12.103-118. Christian, late 6th century.

¹⁵ H. Weinel, “Die spätere christliche Apokalyptik,” in, ed. H. Schmidt, *EYXAPIΣTHPION: Studien zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments. FS Hermann Gunkel* (Göttingen 1923) 141-73; dating on 149.

¹⁶ J. Quasten, *Patrology 2* (Antwerp 1953) 371.

¹⁷ I. Ortiz de Urbana, *Patrologia Syriaca* (Rome 1965²) 56-83.

¹⁸ W. Bousset, *The Antichrist Legend* (London 1896) 35, dates the work to the 4th century, but a 6th or 7th date is argued for both by Caspari, *Briefe*, 438-443, 472 and P.J. Alexander, ed. D. deF.

Abrahamse, *The Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition* (Berkeley/Los Angeles/London 1985) 144-147.

Antichrist’s killing of the witnesses is absent from this text, but Caspari, *Briefe*, 219 correctly notes that it has accidentally fallen out of the manuscript tradition, as their resurrection does not make sense unless they have previously died.

¹⁹ H. Achelis, *Hippolytstudien* (Leipzig 1897) 79 states that the work is not from before the 9th century, but I do not think there is sufficient reason for this. The work is dependent on Ephraem Syrus and Hippolytus, but not anything definitely later.

- 26 Ps.-Methodius (Edessan Syriac) 6 = Pseudo-Methodius (Syriac; Edessan recension), ed. F. Nau, "Révélation et Légendes" *Journal Asiatique* ser. 11, tom. 9 (1917) pp.415-471. Christian, late 7th century.²⁰
- 27 Ps.-Methodius (Greek and Latin) 14 = Pseudo-Methodius (Greek and Latin), ed. W.J. Aerts and G.A.A. Kortekas, *Die Apokalypse des Pseudo-Methodius. Die ältesten Griechischen und Lateinischen Übersetzungen* 2 vols. (CSCO 569-570: Louvain 1998). Christian, early 8th century.²¹
- 28 *Apoc. Peter* (Syriac Clementine), pp.471-472 = *The Apocalypse of Peter (Syriac Clementine)*, ed. E. Bratke, "Handschriftliche Überlieferung und Bruchstücke der arabisch-aethiopischen Petrus-Apokalypse," *ZWT* 36/1 (1893) 454-493 Christian, 6th century, or later.²²
- 29 *Apoc. Peter* (Ethiopic Clementine) p.483 = *The Apocalypse of Peter (Ethiopic Clementine)*, ed. Bratke, "Handschriftliche Überlieferung," Christian, 8th century.²³
- 30 *Apoc. Ps.-Shenoute*, p.345 = *The Apocalypse of Pseudo-Shenoute*, part of the *Arabic Life of Shenoute*, in, ed. E. Amélineau, *Mémoires Publiés par les Membres de la Mission Archéologique Française au Caire (1885-1886)* 4/1 (Paris 1888) 289-478 Christian, 7th century.²⁴
- 31 *Apoc. Ezra*, p.209 = *Apocalypse of Ezra (Syriac)*, ed. F. Baethgen, "Beschreibung der syrischen Handschrift 'Sachau 131' auf der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin" *ZAW* 6 (1886) 193-211.

²⁰ G.J. Reinink, "Der edessenische Pseudo-Methodius" *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 83 (1990) 31-45. This is what Bauckham, "The Martyrdom of Enoch and Elijah," 448, refers to as "Pseudo-Methodius." In fact the original Syriac version of Pseudo-Methodius (*Die Syrische Apokalypse des Pseudo-Methodius*, ed. G.J. Reinink (CSCO 541: Louvain 1993) contains no reference to Enoch and Elijah/two witnesses or similar.

²¹ Aerts and Kortekas, *Die Apokalypse des Pseudo-Methodius*, 1:16, 30.

²² Bratke, "Handschriftliche Überlieferung," 456.

²³ Bratke, "Handschriftliche Überlieferung," 479-480.

²⁴ J. Leipoldt, *Schemute von Atripe und die Entstehung des national ägyptischen Christentums* (Leipzig 1903) 14.

- 32 *Oracle of Baalbek*, lines 209-221 = *The Oracle of Baalbek*, ed. P.J. Alexander, *The Oracle of Baalbek. The Tiburtine Sibyl in Greek Dress* (Washington 1967) Christian, early 6th century.²⁵
- 33 *Tiburtine Sibyl* (Latin), p.186 = *The Latin Tiburtine Sibyl*, in ed. E. Sackur, *Sibyllinische Texte und Forschungen* (Halle 1898) 114-187. Present text early 11th century, but based on revisions from 4th century Latin text.²⁶
- 34 John of Damascus, *De fide orthodoxa* 99 = John of Damascus, *De fide orthodoxa*, ed. P.B. Kotter, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos* (Berlin/New York 1973) Christian, c.725-c.750 A.D.
- 35 Bede, *De temporum ratione* 69 = Bede, ed. C.W. Jones, *De temporum ratione liber* (CCSL 123B: Turnhout 1980) Christian, 725 A.D.²⁷
- 36 *Muspilli* = *Muspilli*, in, ed. F. von der Leyen, *Deutsche Dichtung des Mittelalters* (Frankfurt 1962) 58-60. Christian, c.850 A.D.²⁸
- 37 *Apoc. Peter* (Arabic), p.144 = *The Apocalypse of Peter (Arabic)*, in, ed. A. Mingana, *Woodbrooke Studies*, vol. 3 (Cambridge 1931) 93-449. Christian, 9th-14th century.²⁹
- 38 *Visio Danielis* (Slavonic) 11 = *Visio Danielis* (Slavonic) in, P.J. Alexander, ed. D. deF. Abrahamse, *The Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition* (Berkeley/Los Angeles/London 1985) 72. Christian, 821-829 A.D.³⁰

²⁵ *The Oracle of Baalbek*, ed. Alexander, 42.

²⁶ *The Oracle of Baalbek*, ed. Alexander, 66. The Latin text is derived ultimately from the same Greek text as formed the base for the *Oracle of Baalbek*.

²⁷ F. Wallis, ed., *Bede: The Reckoning of Time* (Liverpool 1999) xvi.

²⁸ J.K. Bostock, *A Handbook on Old High German Literature* (Oxford 1955) 120-134.

²⁹ Mingana, *Woodbrooke studies*, 3:98-99.

³⁰ Alexander, *The Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition*, 64. I have followed the nomenclature of Alexander in distinguishing between various versions of the *Visio Danielis*.

- 39 *Visio Danielis* (Ps.-Chrysostom) p.38 = *Visio Danielis* (Pseudo-Chrysostom) in, ed. A. Vassiliev, *Anecdota Graeco-Byzantina* (Moscow 1893), 33-38. Christian, 842 A.D.³¹
- 40 *Visio Danielis* (kai estai) p.43 = *Visio Danielis* (καὶ ἔσται), in ed. Vassiliev, *Anecdota*, 38-43. Christian, 867-869 A.D.³²
- 41 *Apoc. Daniel 14* = *The Apocalypse of Daniel*, ed. G.T. Zervos, in *OTP* 1, 755-770. Christian, 801-802 A.D.³³
- 42 *Andreas Salos Apoc.*, lines 286-296 = “The Andreas Salos Apocalypse,” ed. L. Rydén, in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 28 (Washington 1974) 197-264. Christian, 10th century.³⁴
- 43 Adso, lines 151-171, 176-177 = Adso, ed. D. Verhelst, *De Ortu et Tempore Antichristi* (CCCM 45: Turnhout 1976) Christian, 949-954 A.D.³⁵
- 44 Euthymius, 1499 C-D; Theophylact, 316 A-B = Euthymius Zigabenus, *Commentary on John* (PG 129) Christian, mid-11th century; Theophylact, *Commentary on John* (PG 124) Christian, late 11th/early 12th century.

Bousset examined a number of these texts,³⁶ and posited an independent Jewish tradition encompassing the advent of a single figure to expose Antichrist as a false-Messiah. This individual is killed by Antichrist, with the judgement following soon after. Bousset argued that this tradition can be seen to be distinct from that inspired by Revelation 11:1-13 because in Revelation Antichrist does not appear until the witnesses finish their testimony, whereas in the independent tradition the two

³¹ Alexander, *The Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition*, 76.

³² Alexander, *The Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition*, 94.

³³ Zervos, *OTP* 1, 756.

³⁴ “The Andreas Salos Apocalypse”, ed. Rydén, 199.

³⁵ Adso, ed. Verhelst, *De Ortu et Tempore Antichristi*, 2-3.

³⁶ Bousset, *The Antichrist Legend*, 203-211.

come only after Antichrist's reign has begun, in order to expose him. Bousset considers the resurrection and ascension to be an innovation introduced by Revelation, not present in the original Jewish tradition. The doubling of the number of witnesses was likewise for Bousset no part of any Jewish tradition. He is unable to offer any explanation for this doubling, but suggests that the resurrection of the witnesses is modelled on that of Jesus.³⁷

Not only the death of the witnesses, but also their resurrection is regarded by J. Jeremias, J.M. Nützel, K. Berger and D. Aune as a pre-existing Jewish tradition.³⁸ Nützel suggests a tradition of the death and resurrection of eschatological prophets, in which category Elijah was foremost. Jeremias thinks in terms of a returning Elijah partnered either by Moses or Enoch. Berger posits a tradition in which two eschatological prophets, Enoch and Elijah, were to be killed, and then raised again, with the last judgement and God's triumph over their enemies to follow shortly after. Berger further thinks that this expectation was already known to Jesus and his disciples before Easter, and it influenced the disciples' interpretation of their post-Easter experiences.³⁹

The opposite extreme to Berger was advocated by J. Munck, who thought the entire Christian tradition of the return of Enoch and Elijah was based on mistaken exegesis of Revelation 11 by Hippolytus (and Pseudo-Hippolytus).⁴⁰ R. Bauckham adopts a position close to Munck's, and proposes that neither the martyrdom,

³⁷ Bousset, *The Antichrist Legend*, 210. I presume this is what he intends when he writes "...he [John] is personally responsible for the incident about the resurrection of the witnesses after the third day; and from the incident itself it is evident that the writer of Revelation, chap. xi, was a Christian..."

³⁸ J. Jeremias, "Ηλ(ε)ίας," *TDNT* 2, 928-941; J.M. Nützel, "Zum Schicksal des eschatologischen Propheten" *BZ* 20 (1976) 59-94; K. Berger, *Die Auferstehung des Propheten und die Erhöhung des Menschensohnes* (Göttingen 1976) 22-149; D.E. Aune, *Revelation* (Dallas/Nashville 1997-1998) 2:588-593, 602-603.

³⁹ Berger, *Auferstehung*, 232.

⁴⁰ J. Munck, *Petrus und Paulus in der Offenbarung Johannis* (Copenhagen 1950), 81-118. This seems to be also the position of J.C. VanderKam, "Enoch, Enochic Motifs, and Enoch in Early Christian Literature," in ed., W. Adler and J.C. VanderKam, *The Jewish Apocalyptic Heritage in Early Christianity* (Assen/Minneapolis 1996) 33-101, particularly 89-100.

resurrection nor ascension of the witnesses belong to a Jewish tradition, but all originate with the author of Revelation. A distinct Jewish tradition of the return of Enoch and Elijah to defeat Antichrist did exist, and is present in 6, (9), 26 and 30.⁴¹

A way must be steered through these diverse opinions. It is almost always impossible to prove that a tradition cannot be older than its earliest extant witness. Methodologically, however, the burden of proof lies upon those who posit that traditions are older than their earliest witnesses. This does not merely mean showing that something may possibly have been an earlier tradition, but showing why it is more probable that it is such, and less likely to stem from the time of its earliest witness. Having said this, it must be admitted that with the material in question it is a question of probabilities, not of certainties, and my suggested reconstruction of the development of the tradition is that which I consider most probable, not that which I consider certain.

⁴¹ Bauckham, "The Martyrdom of Enoch and Elijah," also, "Enoch and Elijah in the Coptic Apocalypse of Elijah" *SP* 16 (TU 129 Berlin 1985) 69-76.

1.2 Jewish material in Jewish texts⁴²

Texts 2, 3, 4 and 5 are Jewish and not Christian texts, and therefore contain Jewish and not Christian material. The return of Enoch and Elijah prior to the judgement is reported in 1 Enoch 90:31.⁴³

30 Then I saw all the sheep that had survived as well as all the animals upon earth... 31 Thereafter, those three who were wearing snow-white (clothes), the former ones who had caused me to go up, grabbed me by the hand – also the hand of that ram holding me – and I ascended; they set me down in the midst of those sheep prior to the occurrence of this⁴⁴ judgement.

The “sheep that had survived” are the remnant of Israel after the judgement of the fallen angels and the seventy shepherds. The “three who were wearing snow-white (clothes)” are the angelic guides of Enoch, who had transported him from the earth. The “ram” can only be Elijah, whose ascent from the earth was recorded in 89:52.⁴⁵

⁴² I have not considered here Sir. 44:16. The Hebrew of this (in P.C. Beentjes, *The Book of Ben Sira in Hebrew* (Leiden/New York/Cologne 1997) 78) describes Enoch as, אִשְׁתֵּי דָעַת לְדוֹר וָדוֹר, “a sign of wisdom to the generations.” The LXX reads ὑπόδειγμα μετανοίας ταῖς γενεαῖς, “a sign of repentance to the nations,” introducing the idea of Enoch’s sin and repentance known from such texts as Philo, *On Abraham*, 3. The Vulgate modifies this to “det gentibus paenitentiam,” Enoch [was translated to paradise so that] he should give penitence to the nations. Neither the Hebrew nor the LXX give any real grounds for associating Enoch with Antichrist or a return at the end; it is only the Vulgate that does this. The best explanation of this seems to me that the translator of the Vulgate version was confused by the Greek in front of him, as he did not know of any traditions of Enoch’s sin and repentance, but only of Enoch as a supremely righteous figure who had no need to repent. That Enoch should be an example of repentance was therefore unintelligible to him. He did, however, know a form of the Antichrist tradition in which Enoch and Elijah returned as preachers of repentance, and so changed the sense of his Greek exemplar to make Enoch a giver of repentance, rather than one who himself repented. There is thus no Jewish tradition relevant to my discussion here, only a Vulgate version that reflects knowledge of a Christian tradition of Enoch’s return.

Deut. Rab. 3.17 contains the idea of a return of Moses and Elijah, but the text is from the fifth century AD at the earliest, and it would therefore be very unsafe to assume that this tradition is pre-Christian.

See G. Sternberger, *Einleitung in Talmud und Midrasch* (Munich 1992⁸) 301-303.

There is some idea in the Tannaitic and later Rabbinic literature of a Messiah ben Joseph killed in battle, with the final and decisive victory given to Messiah ben David by God. This is again dangerous to take as a pre-Christian idea, as the death of Messiah ben Joseph may well be modelled on that of Bar Cochba, who died in the revolt of 132-135 AD. See J. Klausner, *The Messianic Idea in Israel, from its beginning to the Completion of the Mishnah* (London 1956) 495-501.

⁴³ OTP 1, 70.

⁴⁴ “This” is read by the manuscript Kebrān 9/II, almost always followed by Isaacs, but is omitted by both Princeton Ethiopic 3 and EMMML 2080, the other two manuscripts he regularly consults. It is probably a gloss, perhaps designed to show that the scribe thought that “this judgement” of the seventy shepherds (90:20-27) was to be distinguished from the final judgement.

⁴⁵ R.H. Charles, *The Book of Enoch* (Oxford 1912) 214-215; M. Black, “The ‘Two Witnesses’ of Rev. 11:3f. in Jewish and Christian Apocalyptic Tradition,” in, ed. E. Bammel, C.K. Barrett and W.D. Davies, *Domum Gentilicum. Essays in Honour of D. Daube* (Oxford 1978) 227-237, particularly 228; P.A. Tiller, *A Commentary on the Animal Apocalypse of 1 Enoch* (Atlanta 1993) 377-378; G.

The text is confusing as it stands, as no judgement seems to occur in the *Animal Apocalypse* (*1 Enoch* 83-90) after Enoch and Elijah have descended; the words “prior to the occurrence of judgement” are possibly a later addition, intended to ensure the presence of Enoch and Elijah on earth throughout the judgement scene.⁴⁶ The addition is almost certainly Jewish rather than Christian, as any connection of Enoch and Elijah with the judgement is lacking in Christian texts.⁴⁷ Black suggests that either the two immortals are there as the required number of witnesses to ensure that justice is done (cf. Deut 17:6), or they are to join with the transformed remnant (90:38)⁴⁸ in living on the new earth. I think that Enoch’s presence is better explained in connection with the traditions concerning him contained in *Jubilees* 4:23-26. Enoch is translated to Paradise, “and behold he is there writing condemnation and judgement of the world, and all of the evils of the children of men (4:23).”⁴⁹ If Enoch has been writing records that were to be used at the judgement then his presence there is understandable. Elijah’s role is less easy to guess at; he is perhaps included along with Enoch simply because of the widespread expectation of his return before the day of the Lord.⁵⁰ Another possible factor is that neither Enoch nor Elijah had died. *4 Ezra* 6:26 says that those who remain alive to see God’s salvation and the end of the world shall “see the men who were taken up, who from their birth had not tasted death.”⁵¹ This does not necessarily mean Enoch and Elijah alone, as Jewish writings of this

Nickelsberg, *A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch, Chapters 1-36; 81-108* (Minneapolis 2001) 405. Milik thinks that the ram is Judas Maccabeus (J.T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch, Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4* (Oxford 1976) 45), but there is no indication that Judas is in heaven and therefore able to descend.

⁴⁶ Black, “The ‘Two Witnesses,’” 229.

⁴⁷ Except *Apoc. Elijah* 5.30-31, dependent on *1 Enoch* 90.

⁴⁸ The precise nature of the remnant’s transformation is unclear.

⁴⁹ *OTP* 2, 62-63. 4Q227 contains parallels to the description of Enoch in *Jubilees* 4 prior to his translation, suggesting that the fragment may have continued with similar traditions concerning his activity in Paradise.

⁵⁰ For Elijah’s return see Mal 4:5-6; *Sib. Or.* 2.187; Mk 9:13 par.

⁵¹ *OTP* 1, 535.

period demonstrate a belief that others also (Moses, Baruch, Ezra) escaped death, but Enoch and Elijah are certainly to be counted among those who have not died.

To summarize thus far, *1 Enoch* 90:31 places Enoch and Elijah on earth for the judgement, *Jubilees* 4:23-26 puts Enoch in Paradise, where he is writing records for judgement, and *4 Ezra* 6:26 has those who have not died return at the time of God's salvific act. It is not easy to see the precise purpose of Enoch and Elijah's return in *1 Enoch* and *4 Ezra*, although I have suggested that Enoch's presence at the judgement in *1 Enoch* 90:31 is to be connected with his role as recorder of deeds for judgement evidenced in the tradition found in *Jubilees* 4:23-26. None of these texts speak of the death, resurrection or ascension of the two, which would establish them as Jewish traditions.

1.3 The death of the witnesses

Bousset thought the martyrdom (of a single figure), but not the resurrection and ascension to be Jewish tradition.⁵² This is not an unreasonable deduction, given the large number of texts that report the death of the witnesses at the hand of Antichrist, but not their resurrection or ascension, viz. 9, 10, 14, 17, 19, 20, 23 (+24), 27, 31, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44. One of the earliest writers, Hippolytus, uses Rev 11:3-7 in his description of the witnesses ministry and their death, but then does not avail himself of the material in vv.8-12. Knowledge of an alternative tradition, in which the events of vv.8-12 have no place would provide a clear rationale for his procedure. The alternative tradition is followed in preference to Rev 11:8-12. Bauckham, however, explains the absence of the resurrection and/or ascension from many texts as a shortening of the account of Revelation 11, motivated by the inclusion of Christ's return and the last judgement shortly after the death of the witnesses.⁵³ This is not entirely convincing, as although in some texts the death of the witnesses is followed closely by the last judgement, it is not in Hippolytus and certain later writers.⁵⁴ In Hippolytus the witnesses prophesy for 3½ years, are killed, and Antichrist then reigns for 3½ years before the last judgement.⁵⁵ Hippolytus thus has a 3½ year gap into which the resurrection and ascension of the witnesses 3½ days after their death could be placed. His motivation for leaving these out thus cannot be that the death of the witnesses is followed immediately by the last judgement; he has ample space to include them in if he so wishes. Bauckham's hypothesis cannot easily explain Hippolytus' procedure, but knowledge of an alternative tradition of

⁵² Bousset, *The Antichrist Legend*, 210.

⁵³ Bauckham, "The Martyrdom of Enoch and Elijah," 454.

⁵⁴ Pseudo-Hippolytus, Bede, Adso.

⁵⁵ Taken together, these two lots of 3½ years form the last week of Daniel's 70 weeks of years (cf. Dan 9:24-27). For Hippolytus' scheme of the end-time, much of which is already present in Irenaeus, see D.G. Dunbar, "Hippolytus of Rome and the Eschatological Exegesis of the Early Church" *WTJ* 45 (1983) 322-339.

martyrdom alone, without resurrection or ascension, similar to that proposed by Bousset, can. Hippolytus has chosen to follow this tradition, and therefore does not use Rev 11:8-12 in describing the return of the two witnesses.

Hints of such a tradition are perhaps found in Pseudo-Philo, *LAB*, a text originally composed in Hebrew and translated into Greek, but now only preserved in a Latin rendering of the Greek text.⁵⁶ In *LAB* 48.1 the death of Elijah, together with others who have not died, is mentioned.⁵⁷

Et in tempore eo Finees redinavit se ut moreretur, et dixit ad eum Dominus: Ecce transisti centumviginti annos, qui constituti erant omni homini. Et nunc exsurge et vade hinc, et habita in Danaben in monte, et inhabita ibi annis plurimus. Et mandabo ego aquile mee et nutriet te ibi, et non descendes ad homines iam quousque superveniat tempus et proberis in tempore, et tu claudas celum tunc, et in ore tuo aperietur. Et postea elevaberis in locum ubi elevati sunt priores tui, et eris ibi quousque memorabor seculi. Et tunc adducam vos, et gustabitis quod est mortis.

Phinehas (=Finees) is to be identified with Elijah.⁵⁸ Following the chronology of the text, what the author seems to be indicating is that Phinehas did not in fact die, but went to dwell in *Danaben* on a mountain away from men. There he was fed by an eagle, a detail inspired by the story of Elijah (1 Kings 17:4). Phinehas later descended from the mountain, and carried out a further career as the prophet Elijah, during which time he shut heaven (1 Kgs 17:1). At the end of this career he was taken from the earth, to the place where those who were elevated before him dwell.⁵⁹ At the time when God remembers the world, he and the others there will taste what is death. They

⁵⁶ Pseudo-Philo, ed. Harrington, *LAB* 2, 75-77.

⁵⁷ Pseudo-Philo, ed. Harrington, *LAB* 1, 320.

⁵⁸ Such an identification was known as Jewish tradition by Origen, *Commentary on John* 6.83.

⁵⁹ Black, "The 'Two Witnesses,'" 232, makes the plausible suggestion that *Danaben* is a corruption of *Dandain* (דַּנְדַּיִן, דַּנְבַּיִן), in *1 Enoch* 60:8 the name of the wilderness east of the garden of Eden, where the righteous dwell, and where Enoch was taken up, but seems to miss the temporal progression of the passage in claiming that it is the place where Phinehas-Elijah and others who have not died dwell. In *Danaben*, Phinehas-Elijah is most likely alone, as an eagle has to come and feed him. This is taken from 1 Kgs 17:3-6, where Elijah is commanded to hide himself (alone) by the brook Cherith, where he is fed by ravens, suggesting that in picking this motif up Pseudo-Philo wished to emphasize Phinehas-Elijah's hiddenness and isolation. Pseudo-Philo certainly does not inform us that Phinehas-Elijah had any company in *Danaben*. After coming down from *Danaben* on the mountain, his career as Elijah follows, and he then ascends to a different place, which is where those who have not died dwell.

are therefore to be identified as those who were taken before their death, Elijah, Enoch and perhaps others.⁶⁰ Why these supremely righteous figures must return to suffer the indignity of death is not stated; presumably there was originally some sort of cogent reason for their deaths in the tradition utilized, but this reason is no longer present in *LAB*. Bauckham argues that the reference is to that death which all who are living at the end must die, an idea found in *4 Ezra* 7:29.⁶¹ Another possibility, as Black and Zeron surmise,⁶² is that *LAB* 48.1 shows a trace of a tradition of martyrdom at the hands of Antichrist; this would provide a reason for their deaths. Given the allusive nature of the final sentence of *LAB* 48.1, it is impossible to be certain what sort of tradition lies behind it, but the evidence from Christian authors, particularly Hippolytus, that there was a tradition of martyrdom of returning eschatological figures, perhaps tips the balance slightly in favour of this. *LAB* 48.1 probably shows that we need not think with Bousset of a tradition of the martyrdom of Elijah alone, but of one of Elijah and unspecified other companion(s). This conclusion is strengthened by how well it can explain the divergence between Revelation 11 and the subsequent tradition. A tradition of the martyrdom of Elijah and unspecified companion(s) could have been known to the author of Revelation. He interpreted this in terms of two witnesses, with the characteristics of Elijah and Moses. Elijah shut heaven (1 Kgs 17:1; cf. Rev 11:6) and called down fire from heaven to consume his

⁶⁰ According to the Latin text, Elijah and at least two others must be in mind, as Phinehas-Elijah is to be taken up *in locum ubi elevati sunt priores tui*, i.e. more than one person was taken up before him. Presuming that the Latin accurately represents the original Hebrew, we still cannot know how many companions any source of *LAB* spoke of; Jewish traditions varied as to how many people had not died. The text of *LAB* reflects the author's understanding that the number is at least three, but his source may have spoken only of two (Enoch and Elijah's translations were firmly established in books of undisputed authority), or may have been vague.

⁶¹ R. Bauckham, *The Climax of Prophecy* (Edinburgh 1993) 276.

⁶² Black, "The 'Two Witnesses,'" 232; A. Zeron, "The Martyrdom of Phineas-Elijah" *JBL* 98 (1979) 99-100. Traces of a tradition of the martyrdom of Elijah are perhaps to be found in Sir 48:10 (Black, "The 'Two Witnesses,'" 233); cf. also Mk 9:13.

enemies (2 Kgs 1:10; cf. Rev 11:5),⁶³ and Moses turned water into blood (Ex 7:19-24; cf. Rev 11:6). It is difficult to know why John settled on two as the number of witnesses. Perhaps he was motivated by the requirement of two witnesses for valid testimony (Deut 17:6), or by the tradition of the appearance of Moses alongside Elijah at the transfiguration. Other possible influences are the tradition that Jesus sent out disciples in pairs (Mk 6:7; Lk 10:1), and the two olive trees/branches who are the Lord's anointed in Zech 4 (cf. Rev 11:3). The tradition he knew (that which lies behind *LAB* 48.1) may have specified two as the number of witnesses. Perhaps John simply saw two witnesses in his vision without fully comprehending why they were two in number.⁶⁴ The same Jewish tradition used by John, of the martyrdom of Elijah and other(s) was combined, either by a Jew or an early Christian, with that of the return of Enoch and Elijah. It is not easy to say whether this was done by a Jew or a Christian. Irenaeus learnt from the elders that Enoch and Elijah were to be in paradise until the consummation (*A.H.* 5.5.1), showing that this tradition circulated amongst second-century Christians. Irenaeus apparently knows nothing of their death at the hands of Antichrist.⁶⁵ Enoch and Elijah traditions unconnected with their martyrdom were therefore current in the second-century Church. Their combination with the tradition of the martyrdom of Elijah and other(s) could have occurred at the absolute latest with Hippolytus. Regardless of when this connection took place, it can be seen how the independent interpretation of the martyrdom of Elijah and companion(s), by John in terms of two witnesses with characteristics of Elijah and Moses, and by an

⁶³ It is true that fire proceeding from the mouth is close to Jer 5:14, but the allusions to Elijah and Moses are far clearer than this one to Jeremiah.

⁶⁴ I am assuming that John did have a vision or visions which are the basis of the Apocalypse. Doubtless John's knowledge of the Old Testament and other sources shaped both his vision(s) and his subsequent recollection and commitment of the vision(s) to words, but I think it would be a mistake to ignore the possibility that the "source" of a feature may simply be John's memory of what he saw.

⁶⁵ *A.H.* 5.5.1. (Greek fragment 6) ...καὶ ἐν (in Paradise, where Adam was) μένειν τοὺς μετατεθέντας (Enoch and Elijah, named earlier in the passage) ἕως συντελείας, προοιμιαζομένους τὴν ἀφθαρσίαν.

unknown Jew or Christian in terms of Elijah's pairing with Enoch and their return to earth, explains why the later tradition from Hippolytus onwards ignores the intertextual references of Revelation 11 to Elijah and Moses, and (if it interprets them as two persons) almost universally interprets the two witnesses as Enoch and Elijah.

The tradition of martyrdom used by John perhaps already identified the place of death as Jerusalem, as it may well have been a Jewish tradition that Antichrist was to reign in Jerusalem.⁶⁶ If not, John has deliberately assimilated this feature to the death of Jesus (Rev 11:8).

⁶⁶ Cf. 2 Thess 2:4.

1.4 The exposure of Antichrist

Bousset argued that independent Jewish tradition was responsible for the timing of the witnesses' ministry in later texts, where it begins only after Antichrist has begun to rule, and where their role is to expose him for the impostor that he is.⁶⁷ As these features are not merely absent from Revelation, but are actually difficult to assimilate to its text, where the beast does not appear until the witnesses have finished their testimony (11:7), this tradition is certainly independent of Revelation 11. Whether its origin is Jewish or Christian is hard to judge. It could have been part of a Jewish tradition of the martyrdom of Elijah and other(s), or it could have come into existence separately. This latter is hinted at by the *Apoc. Peter* (Ethiopic) 2 and Pseudo-Ephraem "Graecus," where Enoch and Elijah expose Antichrist, but are not killed by him. Pseudo-Ephraem "Graecus" is of less value. Elijah and Enoch are only mentioned fleetingly in the sermon, and Pseudo-Ephraem mentions them in order to establish that as all people will have been preached to by these two, they will be without excuse when Christ comes to judge them.

ἀλλὰ πέμπει τοὺς προφῆτας [Enoch and Elijah] κηρύξαι θεογνωσίαν ἵνα πάντες ἐν τῇ κρίσει ὧσιν ἀναπόλογοι.⁶⁸

Pseudo-Ephraem is thus not necessarily here following a tradition that did not include their martyrdom (and their resurrection (and ascension)). These could have been left out, as only the exposure of Antichrist is pertinent to the homiletic point Pseudo-Ephraem wishes to make, that nobody will have the excuse of ignorance at the judgement. The *Apoc. Peter* (Ethiopic) is not so easily explicable.

⁶⁷ Bousset, *The Antichrist Legend*, 208-209. The texts in question (not all of which were considered by Bousset) are 6, 7, 14, 15, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 27, 28, 29, 30, 35, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43. Pseudo-Hippolytus, Bede, and Adso retain the motif of the exposure of Antichrist, but follow Revelation 11 in having their testimony prior to Antichrist's coming. The witnesses prophesy about Antichrist and his coming for 3½ years, at the end of which Antichrist comes and kills them, and reigns for 3½ years. The timing is that of Hippolytus, who lacks any indication that the two expose Antichrist.

⁶⁸ Ps.-Ephraem "Graecus," 142.

...and there shall be many martyrs by his (Antichrist's) hand: they shall be killed and become martyrs. Enoch and Elias will be sent to instruct them that this is the deceiver who must come into the world and do signs and wonders in order to deceive. And therefore shall they that are slain by his hand be martyrs and shall be reckoned among the good and righteous martyrs who have pleased God in their life.⁶⁹

It is difficult to see why the author did not mention the death of Enoch and Elijah if they knew of such a tradition. It is possible that only their preaching was included, in order to show that those who died resisting Antichrist were aware of what they were doing and were therefore martyrs, but as martyrdom is already a theme here, it would seem odd to leave out the tradition of Enoch and Elijah's martyrdom if it was known. It would not detract from the emphasis that those who knowingly rejected Antichrist died as martyrs, as Enoch and Elijah would be paradigmatic examples within this category. The *Apoc. Peter* (Ethiopic) thus most likely bears witness to an original separation of the tradition of Enoch and Elijah's exposure of Antichrist from that of their martyrdom. If this is correct, it is impossible to be sure whether the tradition was Jewish, or a Christian innovation.

⁶⁹ *Apoc. Peter* (Ethiopic) 2. Doubts about the reliability of the Ethiopic in reflecting the Greek text are expressed by Detlef and Müller, *NTA* 2, 623-625, but the substantial accuracy of the Ethiopic is defended by D.D. Buchholz, *Your Eyes Will Be Opened: A Study of the Greek (Ethiopic) Apocalypse of Peter* (Atlanta 1988) 376-386.

1.5 The resurrection and ascension of the witnesses

Berger and Jeremias both argue that the resurrection of the witnesses is originally from a Jewish tradition. This is unlikely. I have maintained above that we have evidence of a Jewish tradition of martyrdom alone, without a resurrection (and ascension) that follow. Hippolytus knew a tradition of martyrdom alone, and this explains why he does not follow Revelation 11 in mentioning a resurrection and ascension. Aside from Revelation 11, the resurrection of the witnesses is mentioned only in the *Apocalypse of Elijah* (Coptic) prior to the fourth century.⁷⁰ This work, in its final form, represents a Christian production, probably of the later 3rd century.⁷¹ Some Jewish material is undoubtedly present, and the extent of this is still a matter of debate. Rosenstiehl has argued for a substantial Jewish (Essene) 1st century B.C. source, to which only minor additions have been made by a Christian redactor.⁷² Schrage allows for a greater degree of Christian composition, but thinks that the passage concerning Enoch and Elijah in *Apoc. Elijah* 3 reflects a Jewish tradition independent of Revelation 11.⁷³ Frankfurter is more circumspect, and points out that the burden of proof lies upon those who would propose Jewish origins for a text that carries obvious indications of Christian self-definition,⁷⁴ and I concur. *Apoc. Elijah* has numerous passages dependent on New Testament books, and instances of dependence on Revelation, apart from the passages concerning Enoch and Elijah. *Apoc. Elijah* 2:32 “They will desire death, (but) death will flee and leave them” (and the Akhmimic of 2:5) is paralleled almost exactly in Rev 9:6. *Apoc. Elijah* 2:33 “In

⁷⁰ Perhaps also in Commodian, dependent on his date.

⁷¹ *L'Apocalypse d'Elie*, ed. J.-M. Rosenstiehl (Paris 1972) 75-76; *Die Elia-Apokalypse*, ed. W. Schrage (Gütersloh 1980) 220-225; O.S. Wintermute, *OTP* 1, 730; D. Frankfurter, *Elijah in Upper Egypt. The Apocalypse of Elijah and Early Egyptian Christianity* (Minneapolis 1993) 17-20.

⁷² *L'Apocalypse d'Elie*, ed. Rosenstiehl, 75-76.

⁷³ *Die Elia-Apokalypse*, ed. Schrage, 205-209.

⁷⁴ Frankfurter, *Elijah in Upper Egypt*, 17.

those days they will run up to the rocks (πέτρα⁷⁵) and leap off, saying, ‘Fall upon us,’” is close to Rev 6:16 “...and they say to the mountains and to the rocks (πέτρα) ‘Fall upon us...’”⁷⁶ It is unlikely that both have independently used Hosea 10:8, as they agree with one another, and against Hosea 10:8⁷⁷ in speaking of “rocks.” By themselves, 2:32 and 2:33 could possibly be only apocalyptic traditions shared with Revelation,⁷⁸ but this is far less likely to be the case with *Apoc. Elijah* 5:35. It says of Antichrist and his followers that prior to the millennial kingdom, “They will be cast into the bottom of the abyss and it will be closed for them,” a situation very similar to that of Rev 20:1-3, where Satan is bound in the abyss for the thousand years of the millennial kingdom. This shutting up immediately prior to the millennial kingdom has no precise parallel in extant Jewish texts,⁷⁹ and is very probably an innovation of the book of Revelation. The similarity at this point is thus most easily explained by dependency on Revelation. Given that the final compiler of the *Apoc. Elijah* was a Christian who knew the book of Revelation and used it elsewhere in his work, the *Apoc. Elijah* is at very best a shaky foundation on which to build a hypothesis of a pre-Christian tradition of the resurrection of Enoch and Elijah. It seems more probable that the author of the Apocalypse of Elijah is dependent on Revelation 11 for his account of the witnesses’ resurrection and ascension, and that no Jewish tradition of this ever existed. The alternative hypothesis, that the resurrection and ascension of the witnesses is based by the author of Revelation on the resurrection and exaltation to

⁷⁵ *L’Apocalypse d’Elie*, ed. Rosenstiehl, 90.

⁷⁶ My translation.

⁷⁷ “And they shall say to the mountains, Cover us, and to the hills, Fall upon us.”

(וַאֲמָרוּ לְהָרִים כִּסּוּנוּ וּלְגִבְעוֹת נִפְלוּ עֲלֵינוּ); LXX καὶ ἐροῦσιν τοῖς ὄρεσιν Καλύψατε ἡμᾶς, καὶ τοῖς βουνοῖς Πέσατε ἐφ’ ἡμᾶς) Lk 23:30 cites Hos 10:8 in a version close to the LXX (although inverting the order of the imperatives), and lacks the reference to πέτρα found in both Revelation and *Apoc. Elijah*.

⁷⁸ A saying similar, but not identical to *Apoc. Elijah* 2:32 and Rev 9:6 is found in *Sibylline Oracles* 2.307.

⁷⁹ Wicked angels are kept captive in e.g. *1 Enoch* 21(cf. Jude 6), but they are not bound directly before a millennial kingdom.

heaven of Jesus is far easier to envisage, and explains the absence of any hints of the resurrection and ascension from any Jewish sources.

1.6 The destruction of Antichrist

The destruction of Antichrist by Enoch and Elijah appears in 6, 9, 26, 30 and 36. Bauckham believes this to be a Jewish tradition, as a Christian would not have created a scheme in which Christ is ousted from his pivotal role in the defeat of Antichrist (2 Thess 2:8; Rev. 19:11-21).⁸⁰ This is probably correct, but I am not as certain as Bauckham. 2 Thess 2:8, in which Christ slays Antichrist with the breath of his mouth is the dominant text concerning the demise of Antichrist in the Christian tradition,⁸¹ although it must be noted that in Rev 19:11-21 the beast and false prophet are taken prisoner (it is not said by whom) and thrown into the lake of fire. Unlike 2 Thess 2:8, Rev 19 at least leaves open the possibility of a role for Enoch and Elijah, although it can scarcely of itself have inspired the idea that they were to destroy Antichrist. Also allowance must be made for the diversity of early Christianity. It is an “orthodox” position to hold that Christ must defeat Antichrist; we have no guarantee that all would have felt compelled to follow this.⁸² Still, I find it easier to envisage a Jew creating such a tradition than a Christian, given the general dominance of 2 Thess 2:8 in the Antichrist tradition.

In the *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Shenoute*, Elijah and Enoch are killed and resurrected prior to their defeat of Antichrist, and in the *Apoc. Elijah*, they are not merely killed and resurrected, but taken up to heaven (4:19) and return again to defeat Antichrist (5:32-35). In the Edessan recension of Pseudo-Methodius, any reference to their death and resurrection is lacking. As the resurrection and ascension of Enoch and

⁸⁰ Bauckham, “The Martyrdom of Enoch and Elijah,” 457. The angel Michael destroys Antichrist in some strands of the tradition, and Bousset, *The Antichrist Legend* 226-229, convincingly argues that this is a Jewish tradition.

⁸¹ Bousset, *The Antichrist Legend*, 224-231.

⁸² Cf. particularly W. Bauer, *Orthodoxy and Heresy in Earliest Christianity* (Philadelphia 1972). Whilst I would not wish to go as far as Bauer in considering what would later be termed “heresy” as nearly always the majority belief in the early second century, we certainly cannot think of a rigid orthodoxy in the first two centuries of Christianity.

Elijah are dependent on Rev 11, it is the Edessan recension of Pseudo-Methodius that is closest to the original Jewish tradition in leaving these out.

...and when he [Antichrist] should enter Jerusalem, then Enoch and Elijah will go out of the land of life; they will rise up against him, they will resist him and they will curse him. When he sees them he will liquefy like salt in the presence of water...⁸³

The manner of Antichrist's demise is strikingly similar in *Apoc. Elijah* 5:32-33.

32... They [Enoch and Elijah] will pursue the son of lawlessness and kill him since he is not able to speak. 33 On that day he will dissolve in their presence like ice which was dissolved by a fire. He will perish like a serpent which has no breath in it.

Although they use different analogies (salt in the presence of water; ice in fire), both picture the dissolution of Antichrist at the presence of Enoch and Elijah; there is undoubtedly a common tradition. Likewise, there must be some connection between the *Apoc. Elijah*, and the later *Apoc. Pseudo-Shenoute*. Not only do Enoch and Elijah defeat Antichrist after their resurrection (after their ascension and return in the *Apoc. Elijah*), but a millennial earthly kingdom follows after this in both texts. It is possible that the *Apoc. Pseudo-Shenoute* is directly dependent on the *Apoc. Elijah*,⁸⁴ but the difficult Akhmimic text of *Apoc. Elijah* 4:16 perhaps suggests that the final compiler of the *Apoc. Elijah* had in front of him a tradition similar to that of *Apoc. Pseudo-Shenoute*. Immediately after their resurrection, and before they have ascended, it is said that Elijah and Enoch "overpowered him [Antichrist]," (*Apoc. Elijah* 4:16, Akhmimic). It will be helpful to look at the Sahidic and Akhmimic texts side by side.⁸⁵

⁸³ Pseudo-Methodius (Edessan recension), 6.

⁸⁴ Bauckham, "The Martyrdom of Enoch and Elijah," 456.

⁸⁵ Reproduced from Frankfurter, *Elijah in Upper Egypt*, 319.

Sahidic

“[Enoch and Elijah speaking]
Whenever you [Antichrist] say, ‘I have
overpowered them,’ we will lay down
the flesh of this body and kill you, as
you are powerless to speak on that day,
for we live in the Lord always, but you
are always an enemy!”

Akhmimic

When the words were spoken they
[Enoch and Elijah] overpowered him,
saying “We will lay down the flesh for
the spirit and kill you, as you are
powerless to speak on that day, for we
are strong in the Lord always, but you
are always an enemy of God!”

Frankfurter conjectures that the Akhmimic scribe received fragmentary words (“overpower,” “saying”) from a Greek or Sahidic original closer to the present Sahidic text, which he attempted to make sense of.⁸⁶ If this is the case, then the Akhmimic scribe has made rather a mess of things, as Enoch and Elijah do not overpower Antichrist at this point according to *Apoc. Elijah*; they ascend to heaven and numerous events intervene before their return to defeat him. If the Akhmimic scribe had really been constructing a sentence from fragmentary words, it is likely he would have come up with something that made better sense. I think it more likely that the Akhmimic text reflects the original. The overpowering of Antichrist sounds very much like the beginning of an encounter in which Antichrist is decisively defeated at this point (as in *Apoc. Pseudo-Shenoute*), which has been mostly removed to allow the ascension of Enoch and Elijah to take place (following Revelation 11) before they descend once again to defeat Antichrist. The composer of the *Apoc. Elijah* had an account similar to that of *Apoc. Pseudo-Shenoute* in front of him, and he attempted to assimilate this more fully to Revelation 11 by inserting the ascension of Enoch and Elijah after their resurrection, delaying the defeat of Antichrist until a further appearance of the pair. In doing so he failed to properly edit his sources, and left a hint of the defeat of Antichrist immediately upon the resurrection of Enoch and Elijah. The Akhmimic accurately reflects this. It is the copyist of the Sahidic text who has

⁸⁶ Frankfurter, *Elijah in Upper Egypt*, 319.

noticed that the original has created a difficulty by failing to remove all the traces of the defeat of Antichrist at this point, and who has therefore smoothed these over. Thus already prior to the final composition of the *Apoc. Elijah*, a form of the Antichrist story, utilising Revelation 11 and close to that found in *Apoc. Pseudo-Shenoute* (exposure of Antichrist by Enoch and Elijah, killed by Antichrist, 3½ days unburied, resurrection, defeat of Antichrist, millennial kingdom) perhaps already existed. The *Apoc. Pseudo-Shenoute* is probably not directly dependent on the *Apoc. Elijah* here, but they do have a common source.

Antichrist's defeat by Enoch and Elijah also appears in the terse comment of Tertullian, *De Anima* 50.

Translatus est Enoch et Helias nec mors eorum reperta est, dilata scilicet; ceterum morituri reservantur, ut antichristum sanguine suo extinguant.

Bauckham thinks this is probably a reinterpretation of the destruction of Antichrist dependent on Revelation alone; Tertullian has identified the two witnesses of Revelation 11 as Enoch and Elijah and understood their death in the light of Rev 12:11; 15:2 as a conquest of Antichrist.⁸⁷ Yet such a reading of Rev is hardly the most obvious one. Tertullian would have to have ignored (a) that in Rev 11 after their death the witnesses are resurrected and ascend to heaven, (b) that in Rev 11 the two witnesses do not defeat Antichrist, (c) that the blood by which the martyrs conquer Antichrist in 12:11 is not their own, but that of the Lamb, and (d) that Antichrist (the beast) is not in fact killed by anyone, but is thrown *alive* into the lake of fire to suffer eternal punishment (19:20). It would make more sense if Tertullian's statement was based on a bringing together of a tradition of Enoch and Elijah's slaughter by Antichrist independent of Revelation 11, with a tradition of their return to defeat him.

⁸⁷ Bauckham, "The Martyrdom of Enoch and Elijah," 456.

This could have been done by Tertullian himself, or by someone earlier. Tertullian is probably not dependent on Revelation 11 for any of his statement.

In the Old High German poem *Muspilli* Elijah alone battles with Antichrist, and there are two versions of his fate. In the first Elijah is the victor, but in the second he is wounded (apparently defeated) and the dripping of his blood upon the earth causes its conflagration. In this latter scenario Elijah's blood has a potency, and it is placed next to a tradition in which Antichrist is defeated. The text is late, and the influences upon it may be diverse,⁸⁸ but we perhaps have here echoes of an encounter similar to that described by Tertullian.

In the thirteenth century Apocalypse commentary of Bûlus al-Bûši, written in Egypt, Antichrist kills Enoch and Elijah, "but their blood will nullify the false power of Satan."⁸⁹ This tradition is similar to that known to Tertullian (although it is Satan himself who is affected by their blood), and he could be al-Bûši's source. The resurrection and ascension of Enoch and Elijah follow, but al-Bûši may well simply be following the text of Revelation (which he is commenting upon) in including these.

⁸⁸ Cf. Bostock, *A Handbook of Old High German Literature*, 120-134.

⁸⁹ S.N. Talia, *Bûlus al-Bûši's Arabic commentary on the Apocalypse of St. John: An English translation and commentary* (PhD diss. The Catholic University of America: Ann Arbor, Michigan 1987) 174.

1.7 Minor features

Lactantius speaks of a single, anonymous figure,⁹⁰ and he may have been influenced by a tradition of the return of Elijah alone,⁹¹ perhaps one of the martyrdom of Elijah alone.⁹² His account contains details from Revelation 11, that I have argued were not in Jewish tradition, most particularly the resurrection and ascension. Lactantius therefore knew Revelation 11, or a tradition dependent on Revelation 11. He could have derived the idea of martyrdom from Revelation 11, and therefore need not have known a tradition of the martyrdom of Elijah, but only of his return. Lactantius' enlarged description of the plagues to include torturing with hunger and thirst is probably a combination of a borrowing from the tradition that the time of Antichrist would be one of drought and famine,⁹³ and a deduction based on how shutting heaven and turning waters into blood (Rev 11:5-6; both of these are mentioned by Lactantius) would cause people to suffer (Rev 11:10).

Hippolytus and Pseudo-Hippolytus (dependent on Hippolytus) include the preaching of repentance as part of the task of Enoch and Elijah. This is probably not independent tradition, but derived from "clothed in sackcloth" of Rev 11:3. As sackcloth was a sign of repentance (cf. Jon 3:6, 8), it is not a great leap to suppose that those wearing it were preaching a message of repentance.

In 6, 15, 27, 28, 30, 32, 39, 40 Antichrist is enraged with the two. The rage of the persecutor is a stock feature of Jewish and Christian martyrdom stories⁹⁴, and could therefore either have been part of a Jewish tradition of the death of Elijah and

⁹⁰ *Muspilli* speaks explicitly of a return of Elijah alone.

⁹¹ Bousset, *The Antichrist Legend*, 207.

⁹² Cf. Mk 9:13; Sir 48:10.

⁹³ Bousset, *The Antichrist Legend*, 195-200.

⁹⁴ Dan 3:13, 19; 11:30; 2 Macc 7:39; 4 Macc 8:2; 9:10; Acts 7:54; *Martyrdom of Polycarp* 12; Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiae* 5.3.17, 38-39, 50, 57-58.

others, or introduced by a Christian. In either case, the ultimate provenance of the idea is Jewish.

Antichrist kills the witnesses with a sword in 15, 23 (+24), 40, 41. This detail has perhaps been transferred to the witnesses from a source in which Antichrist kills others by the sword. Hippolytus quotes “another prophet,” a source unknown to us, to the effect that all who war with Antichrist will fall by the sword,⁹⁵ and Commodian is probably dependent on Hippolytus’ unknown source for the same idea.⁹⁶ In *Apoc. Peter* (Ethiopic) 2 Antichrist slays the martyrs with the sword.

In 19 and 31 Enoch and Elijah are killed on the altar, showing a sacrificial understanding of their martyrdom.⁹⁷ The altar is that of the temple in Jerusalem, where Antichrist holds sway.⁹⁸ The death of Enoch and Elijah on the cross in 38 is by assimilation to the death of Christ.

The attribution of Enoch and Elijah’s resurrection to Michael and Gabriel (15, 29) is simply a colourful embellishment of the story. They are not usurping Christ’s role in giving life to the dead (Jn 5:21) as they are responsible only for raising these two, not for the general resurrection.⁹⁹

John the apostle¹⁰⁰ accompanies Enoch and Elijah in 16, 23, 41, 42, 44. Tertullian hints that at his time the tradition was already known. Immediately after confirming that Enoch and Elijah will return to die (*De Anima* 50), he goes on to deny

⁹⁵ Hippolytus, *De Antichristo* 15.

⁹⁶ Commodian, *Carmen* 896. There are other parallels with Hippolytus, *De Antichristo* 15 (most notably the filling of the sea with the sails of Antichrist’s minions; *Carmen* 895), along with differences, which suggest the use of a common source, rather than Commodian’s dependence on Hippolytus; Bousset, *The Antichrist Legend*, 82-83.

⁹⁷ Sacrificial overtones are common in relation to martyrdom, e.g. Ignatius, *Romans* 4; *Martyrdom of Polycarp* 14.

⁹⁸ Cf. 2 Thess 2:4 “...he [Antichrist] takes his seat in the temple of God, declaring himself to be God.”

⁹⁹ If they had been usurping Christ’s role, in the manner of Enoch and Elijah slaying Antichrist, this would have provided an argument that this tradition (and therefore that of the witnesses’ resurrection) was Jewish.

¹⁰⁰ I do not know why Bousset states it to be John the Baptist; Bousset, *The Antichrist Legend*, 208. There is little ambiguity in any of the texts, e.g. Pseudo-Hippolytus, *De consummatione mundi*, 21, has Ἰωάννης ὁ θεολόγος, which can only be John the apostle.

that John the apostle will come back (as some think), explaining that he has already died. It is probably not coincidental that the denial of John's return is mentioned in such close proximity to the affirmation of Enoch and Elijah's. Theophylact and Euthymius include John the apostle in their commentaries on Jn 21:20-23, and it is this passage that provides the primary ground for the tradition.

20 Peter turned and saw the disciple whom Jesus loved following them – the one who had leant back close to his chest at the supper and had said to him, “Lord, who is it that will betray you?” 21 Seeing him, Peter said to Jesus, “What about him, Lord?” 22 Jesus answered, “If I want him to stay behind till I come, what does it matter to you? You are to follow me” 23 The rumour then went out among the brothers that this disciple would not die. Yet Jesus had not said to Peter, “He will not die,” but, “If I want him to stay behind till I come.”

If John were to accompany Enoch and Elijah, then he would both remain until Jesus' return, and also die (at the hand of Antichrist), in accord with Jn 21:20-23. The existence of John's tomb in Ephesus provided some difficulties for this theory, but with a little imagination they were not insuperable. Theophylact comments

Εἰ δὲ καὶ μνῆμα αὐτοῦ δείκνυται, τί τοῦτο; ζῶν μὲν γὰρ εἰσῆλθεν ἐν αὐτῷ, εἶτα μετέστη, ὥσπερ καὶ Ἐνὼχ καὶ Ἡλίας.

The Apocalypse of Daniel knows of an explanation of a slightly different nature, as it speaks of three men coming, “two men from heaven [Enoch and Elijah] and one from the earth [John the apostle].” John has not been already translated from his grave, but comes from it. The author perhaps knows a tradition similar to that mentioned by Augustine, that John sleeps in his grave at Ephesus and the movement of the earth's surface above it attests his breathing.¹⁰¹ Andrew and Arethas (dependent on Andrew)¹⁰² include John's return in their comments on Rev 10:11, the angel's words

¹⁰¹ Augustine, *In Johannem* 124.2. On traditions of John the apostle's death or otherwise see J.-D. Kaestli, “Le rôle des textes bibliques dans la genèse et le développement des légendes apocryphes. Le cas du sort final de l'apôtre Jean.” *Augustinianum* 23 (1983) 319-336.

¹⁰² Andrew of Caesarea, ed. J. Schmid, *Studien zur Geschichte des griechischen Apokalypse-Textes. I. Teil. Der Apokalypse-Kommentar des Andreas von Kaisareia* (Munich 1955) 110; Arethas of Caesarea, *Coacerratio Enarrationum ex Variis Sanctis Viris in Joannis dilecti discipuli et evangelistae Apocalypsin* (PG 106) 645A.

to John,¹⁰³ Δεῖ σε πάλιν προφητεῦσαι ἐπὶ λαοῖς καὶ ἔθνεσιν καὶ γλώσσαις καὶ βασιλεῦσιν πολλοῖς. John will prophesy again when he returns with Enoch and Elijah.¹⁰⁴

Gregory the Great, John of Damascus, Bede, and Adso give Enoch and Elijah the role of converting the Jews. It was a common exegesis of Malachi 4:5-6 that Elijah would return to convert the Jewish nation,¹⁰⁵ and as Enoch and Elijah are to return together, this role can be assigned to both of them. A role that originally belonged to Elijah alone is thus associated with Enoch also. Adso is dependent upon Bede,¹⁰⁶ and his *De Ortu et Tempore Antichristi* ensured the widespread dissemination of the idea throughout the later medieval period.

Enoch and Elijah's location in paradise (8, 13, 20, 26) is of Jewish provenance. Paradise is not always clearly defined by Christian writers, but as the abode of Enoch and Elijah it is generally understood as an intermediate place between heaven and earth. In medieval tradition the residence of Enoch and Elijah becomes established as the earthly paradise (similar to the dwelling of Enoch in *Jub* 4:23-26), situated below heaven, but high enough above the earth to have escaped the waters of the flood.¹⁰⁷

Conclusion

There were Jewish traditions of the return of Enoch and Elijah, and of the martyrdom of Elijah and unspecified companion(s) at the hand of Antichrist. These

¹⁰³ John the apostle is assumed by Andrew and Arethas, as by the overwhelming majority of patristic authors, to be the author of the Fourth Gospel, the Johannine Epistles and the Apocalypse.

¹⁰⁴ Arethas is definite, but Andrew has this as one of two possibilities, the other being that John prophesies again through the subsequent reading and dissemination of his gospel, epistles and the Apocalypse, the explanation favoured by Oecumenius, whom Andrew uses (Oecumenius, ed. M. de Groote, *Commentarius in Apocalypsin* (Louvain 1999) 6.120-129).

¹⁰⁵ E.g. Augustine, *De Civitate Dei* 20.29.

¹⁰⁶ D. Verhelst, "La préhistoire des conceptions d'Adson concernant l'Antechrist," *RTAM* 40 (1973) 52-103.

¹⁰⁷ A.B. Giamatti, *The Earthly Paradise and The Renaissance Epic* (Princeton 1966) 67-83.

were joined together, either by a Jew or Christian, and became incorporated into the body of traditions surrounding Antichrist. John independently used the tradition of the martyrdom of Elijah and unspecified companion(s) in the composition of Revelation 11, delineating two witnesses with characteristics of Elijah and Moses. There was probably a Jewish tradition of the return of Enoch and Elijah to defeat Antichrist. From Revelation 11 there entered the tradition the specific plagues of the witnesses, their 3½ days lying unburied, and their resurrection and ascension, which John modelled on Jesus' resurrection and exaltation. Other minor embellishments were gradually added to the story over time.

Commentaries on Revelation

I shall now look at other interpretations of Rev 11:1-13, mainly those found in commentaries on the Apocalypse. By an “eschatological” interpretation I mean one that sees the passage (or parts of it) as predicting events that lie solely in the future, to be accomplished near the end of time. By an “ecclesiological” interpretation I mean one in which the passage (or parts of it) applies to all the time of the Church, between Christ’s death and the events of the end. Space precludes a complete report of each interpretation, and I shall concentrate on the original contributions of commentators.

1.8 Western writers prior to Tyconius

Hippolytus

The eschatological exegesis of Hippolytus has been covered in the preceding section. Ecclesiological exegesis of 11:1b is found in the commentary of Dionysius bar Salibi,¹⁰⁸ in a section probably inspired by Hippolytus.¹⁰⁹ The temple is the body of Christ, and it is also the Church where he dwells. The worshippers are the saints who worship Christ. Unfortunately, we do not possess any exegesis of Hippolytus on the resurrection of the witnesses, although we do know that he chose not to apply it to Enoch and Elijah in *De Antichristo* 43, 46-47 or *In Daniele* 35-50.

Victorinus

Victorinus of Pettau (modern Ptuj in Slovenia) wrote his apocalypse commentary before 258-260, and was martyred either under Diocletian in 304, or perhaps under Numerius in 283/4. Greek was probably his first language,¹¹⁰ but I include him among Western writers as he composed his commentary in Latin. Victorinus does not comment on every single verse of the Apocalypse, but sometimes leaves passages out. His most lasting contribution to the exegesis of Revelation as a whole was his introduction of the “recapitulatory method,” whereby he understood the visions of Revelation not as a simple chronological scheme, but as sometimes depicting the same event more than once.

¹⁰⁸ Dionysius bar Salibi, ed. I. Sedlacek, *In Apocaypsin* (CSCO 101: Rome/Paris/Leipzig 1909-1910) 11.1.

¹⁰⁹ P. Prigent, “Hippolyte, commentateur de l’Apocalypse” *TZ* 28 (1972) 391-412; here 402; C. Helms, *The Apocalypse in the Early Church. Christ, Eschaton and Millennium* (Oxford DPhil. Thesis 1991) 141. It is impossible to be certain that this section derives from Hippolytus, but given bar Salibi’s evident knowledge of Hippolytus, and the similarities with *De Antichristo* 6 (Christ raised up and showed his holy flesh like a temple) noted by Prigent, it is reasonable to suppose that the substance of the interpretation derives from Hippolytus.

¹¹⁰ M. Dulaey, *Victorin de Poetovio. Premier exègete latin* 1 (Paris 1993) 15.

The reed like a rod (11:1) is symbolic of the authority that John received to write his Gospel. The command to measure is interpreted in terms of a measure of faith, and Victorinus gives a short credal statement which should be confessed by those who wish to worship at the altar (the altar itself left undefined).¹¹¹ In v.2 Victorinus' text of Rev 11:2 reads "Aulem autem interiorem eice foras," a scribal change probably occasioned by puzzlement at how the outer court could be thrown out.¹¹² The inner court's expulsion shows that some are thrown out from the Church as they are not truly part of it. Implicitly, the temple is the Church; the inner court is an empty area (vacua area) in the building that is the Church. This court is given to be trampled down¹¹³ by the Gentiles, that is men of this world. This refers to the ruin and destruction of the last times.¹¹⁴ The trampling down of the holy city for 42 months likewise refers to these. Victorinus does not say whether the holy city is the Church, or the physical city Jerusalem. It is probably the Church, as it is the Church that is persecuted during this period, whilst persecution stems from Antichrist in Jerusalem (see below on v.9). The two witnesses prophesy for 1260 days, and these precede the 42 months of trampling, the reign of Antichrist. Victorinus follows the common $3\frac{1}{2} + 3\frac{1}{2} = 7$ years = two halves of the final week of years, found in Irenaeus and

¹¹¹ Victorinus of Pettau, ed. J. Haussleiter, *In Apocalypsin*, in *Victorini episcopi Petavionensis opera* (CSEL 49: Vienna 1916) 11.1. This contains both Victorinus' original text, and the revision of Jerome.

¹¹² The change arose originally in Greek, τὴν αὐλὴν τὴν ἔσωθεν is read by $\aleph^*$ 1 1611 2329 1828 Andrew a b²⁰⁵⁹. Another reading, that of P, motivated by the same difficulty as the former has the outer court thrown inside (ἔσωθεν). $\aleph^*$ contains the extraordinary reading for v.2a, καὶ τῆς αὐλῆς τῆς ἔσωθεν τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ ἐκβαλε ἔσω, καὶ μὴ αὐτὴν μετρήσῃς ὅτι ἐδόθη καὶ τοῖς ἔθνεσιν. I think this reading is a mishmash of mistakes with no real coherency, but D. Haugg claims to discern a meaning, "Der Sinn des Satzes ist nach wahrscheinlich der: Von den Anbetern, die in 11:1 genannt sind, werden viele aus dem inneren Vorhof, wo man betete, hinausgeworfen werden, damit auch die Heiden Raum in inneren Betraum fänden," D. Haugg, *Die Zwei Zeugen. Eine exegetische Studie über Apok 11:1-13* (Münster 1936) 9.

¹¹³ It is unclear whether Victorinus' text of Revelation read that the inner court is to be "trampled" (calcare), an addition to the Greek, or whether Victorinus himself has taken this from the trampling down of the holy city.

¹¹⁴ Victorinus, *In Apocalypsin* 11.2.

Hippolytus.¹¹⁵ The fire proceeding from the mouths of the two prophets shows the power of their words, as all the future plagues of the angels are sent at their voice (presumably the plagues of the angels elsewhere in Revelation, perhaps particularly those of the bowls, are meant).¹¹⁶

The identity of the two prophets is considered by Victorinus in 11.3

Multi putant cum Helia esse Heliseum aut Moysen, sed utrique mortui sunt. Hieremiae autem mors non invenitur. Per omnia veteres nostri tradiderunt illum esse Hieremiam; nam et ipsum verbum, quod factum est ad illum, testificatur dicens: Priusquam te figurarem in utero matris tuae, novi te, et priusquam de vulva procederes sanctificavi te, et prophetam in gentibus posui te [Jer 1:5]. In gentibus autem propheta non fuit, et ideo utroque divino, quod promisit, necesse habet et exhibere, ut in gentibus sit propheta.

Victorinus' choice of Elijah's companion is not the common one of Enoch, who is not even touted as a possible candidate. It is doubtful that this indicates that Victorinus did not know of such an opinion. More probably Victorinus realized that he could not reject Enoch on the same basis that he rejected Elisha and Moses (Enoch indisputably did not die according to Gen 5:24), and therefore chose not to mention him. We have no other record of Elisha as one of the witnesses. Either Victorinus knew of some who held this opinion, or he saw that Elisha's connections with Elijah could have led to him being designated Elijah's companion. Moses and Elijah are named by Hilary of Poitiers as the two witnesses.¹¹⁷ Moses is a plausible candidate for a variety of reasons. According to some traditions he had not died,¹¹⁸ the witnesses turn water into blood (Rev 11:7), as did Moses (Ex 7:19-24); Moses accompanied Elijah at the transfiguration (Hilary's comments come in the context of exegesis of the transfiguration in Matthew). If Victorinus knew of any traditions that denied Moses' death, he did not think much of them, and his natural demise (cf. Deut 34:5-6) is

¹¹⁵ Victorinus, *In Apocalypsin* 11.2; cf. also 12.6.

¹¹⁶ Victorinus, *In Apocalypsin* 11.2.

¹¹⁷ Hilary of Poitiers, *In Mattheum* 20.10.

¹¹⁸ E.g. Josephus, *Antiquities* 3.96; 4.326; *Gospel of Nicodemus* 16:7.

enough to rule him out for Victorinus. In contrast, Jeremiah has not died according to Victorinus. Jeremiah's death is not recorded in Scripture, but we have no extant sources that record his assumption to heaven. The *Paralipomena Ieremiae* 9, from the beginning of the second-century A.D.¹¹⁹ comes close, insofar as it records Jeremiah lying on the ground as one whose soul (ψυχή) has departed. After 3 days his soul returns, and he revives. The incident has been partially modelled on Christ's resurrection, and we should possibly understand that the soul of Jeremiah has been in heaven for 3 days.¹²⁰ There is, however, no hint that Jeremiah remained alive permanently; his death by stoning is recorded later. If he knew this tradition, the similarities to Revelation 11 (revival of a prophet) could have led Victorinus to associate Jeremiah with Revelation 11.¹²¹ The return of Jeremiah (together with Isaiah) is expected in 5 *Ezra* 2:18, and such a hope may have been known to Victorinus. Another possible influence is Mt 16:14, the reply of the disciples to Jesus' question about the identity of the Son of Man.

Some say John the Baptist, some Elijah, and others Jeremiah or one of the prophets.

Jeremiah and Elijah are here mentioned together as individuals whom the people thought were to return, and Victorinus could have understood this expectation of a return to be correct, albeit that Jesus was wrongly thought to be one of them. Elijah and Jeremiah are the two prophets of Revelation 11 who are to return. Jer 1:5 itself could have played a part in the identification, with Victorinus reasoning that it has not been fulfilled, and that Jeremiah must therefore return to prophesy to the nations. It is

¹¹⁹ A second-century date for the work is the most widely favoured, although there is debate as to whether it is a basically Jewish work with Christian additions, such as the "death" and revival of Jeremiah (J. Riaud, "The Figure of Jeremiah in the *Paralipomena Ieremiae* Prophetarum: His Originality: His 'Christianization' by the Christian Author of the Conclusion (9:10-32)," *JSP* 22 (2000) 31-44) or whether it is a Christian composition, with no Jewish document, but some Jewish traditions lying behind it (M. Philonenko, "Similes observations sur les *Paralipomènes de Jérémie*," *RHPR* 76 (1996) 157-177). In either case, the apparent death, and ensuing revival of Jeremiah are Christian.

¹²⁰ Riaud, "The Figure of Jeremiah," 40.

¹²¹ Dulaey, *Victorin*, 1:194.

impossible to be certain precisely what made Victorinus choose Jeremiah as Elijah's partner, but in Victorinus' scheme he undoubtedly complements Elijah well; Elijah is to convert the Jews,¹²² while Jeremiah will preach to the Gentiles.

Victorinus' comment on v.4 ties in with his belief that the witnesses have not died.

Hi sunt duae olivae et duo candelabra qui in conspectu Domini terrae stant, id est in paradiso.¹²³

Victorinus does not define what he means by "paradise" here. Perhaps he understands it to be an earthly paradise; it is the Lord of the earth that they stand before. The beast who kills them is Antichrist,¹²⁴ and he kills them in Jerusalem, which is called Sodom and Egypt because of the actions of the persecutor of the people (i.e. of Antichrist). They rise again on the fourth day.¹²⁵

Victorinus has nothing to say on any of the other details of Rev 11:1-13, but he does expand elsewhere on the mission of Elijah. He is the angel of 7:1; and the 144000 of ch.7 are Jews who are converted by him.¹²⁶ Jeremiah gets no role in this, and Victorinus perhaps has in mind a mission of Elijah to the Jews while Jeremiah goes to the Gentiles (cf. his quotation of Jer 1:5, "...I will make you a prophet to the nations (gentibus).") Elijah, and "the prophet who will be with him" are also symbolized by the two wings of the eagle (Rev 12:14), and by two of the angels of Rev 14:14-20.¹²⁷ Victorinus' exegesis presents a fairly straightforward eschatological application; Elijah and Jeremiah are the two who will come and be killed by Antichrist, and rise again on the fourth day.

¹²² Victorinus, *In Apocalypsin* 7; 12.4.

¹²³ Victorinus, *In Apocalypsin* 11.4.

¹²⁴ Victorinus, *In Apocalypsin* 11.4.

¹²⁵ Victorinus, *In Apocalypsin* 11.5 Rising after 3½ days can correctly be described as rising on the fourth day.

¹²⁶ Victorinus, *In Apocalypsin* 7; 12.4.

¹²⁷ Victorinus, *In Apocalypsin* 12.4; 14.1.

Victorinus-Jerome

A revised version of Victorinus' commentary, changing primarily his chiliasm, was produced by Jerome.¹²⁸ His only material alteration to 11:1-13 is to remove an "ad." In 11.1, after his short creed Victorinus, had written "ut nemo adoret ad aram sanctam nisi qui haec confitetur: Dominum et Christum eius." For Victorinus, the altar is not clearly defined, but it cannot be Christ, as worship is at it, not of it. By removing the "ad" before "aram," Jerome interprets the altar as Christ, who is himself the altar that is worshipped.¹²⁹ In his own comments apart from this revision of Victorinus, Jerome shows that he believed Revelation 11 indicated that Enoch and Elijah were to return, but refuses to be absolutely pinned down to literalism. He obfuscates the matter by saying that such things must be interpreted spiritually, not carnally, lest he should acquiesce to Jewish fables.¹³⁰

¹²⁸ There are in fact several revisions of Victorinus-Jerome, but they do not affect the exegesis of 11:1-13. On the revisions, see R. Gryson, "Les commentaires patristiques latin de l'Apocalypse," *Revue Théologique de Louvain* 28 (1997) 305-337; 484-502, particularly 309.

¹²⁹ Victorinus-Jerome, *In Apocalypsin* 11.1.

¹³⁰ Jerome, ed. I. Hilberg, *Hieronymus Epistularum Pars I* (CSEL 54: Vienna 1996²) Ep.59.3.

1.9 Tyconius

Tyconius is one of the greatest interpreters of the Apocalypse. His writings shaped Augustine's interpretation of Revelation, particularly of its latter chapters,¹³¹ and his influence on subsequent Western interpretation of the Apocalypse can scarcely be overestimated.¹³² He was a lay Donatist, active in the second-half of the fourth century. The ecclesiology of his writings brought him into conflict with his (Donatist) bishop Parmenian. Contrary to the Donatist doctrine of a pure Church to be found only in their own communities of Africa, Tyconius taught that the Church was bipartite, consisting of good and evil parts, both spread throughout the world, which would only be separated eschatologically.¹³³ Despite this belief, and the opposition he encountered from fellow Donatists, he never left their community for the Catholic Church, much to the perplexity of Augustine.¹³⁴ In order to explain his failure to be reconciled fully with either party, Steinhauser has suggested that he was from a family of oriental immigrants.¹³⁵ His *Liber Regularum*, a book of rules on scriptural interpretation, exercised a considerable vicarious influence on Western Christianity through its incorporation, in an altered form, in Augustine's *De doctrina christiana*. For Tyconius, Revelation was not primarily a prophetic prediction of events yet to unfold at the end-time, but a portrait of the present state of the bipartite Church, and he is the first exegete whom we know to have put forward a predominantly non-

¹³¹ See P. Fredriksen, "Augustine and Tyconius on the Apocalypse," in, ed. R.K. Emmerson and B. McGinn, *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages* (New York 1992) 20-37.

¹³² As the present study only encompasses 13 verses, I have little to contribute to any debates as to which previous commentaries authors have used. For this see W. Kamlah, *Apokalypse und Geschichtstheologie. Die mittelalterliche Auslegung der Apokalypse vor Joachim von Fiore* (Berlin 1935); G. Bonner, *St. Bede in the Tradition of Western Apocalyptic Commentary* (Newcastle 1966); E.A. Matter, "The Apocalypse in Early Medieval Exegesis," in, ed. Emmerson and McGinn, *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, 38-50; Gryson, "Les commentaires patristiques"; T.W. Mackay, "Sources and Style in Bede's Commentary on the Apocalypse," *SP* 30 (Louvain 1997) 54-60.

¹³³ J. Ratzinger "Beobachtungen zum Kirchenbegriff des Tyconius im *Liber Regularum*," *Revue des études augustiniennes* 2 (1956) 173-185.

¹³⁴ Augustine, *De doctrina christiana* 7.

¹³⁵ K.B. Steinhauser, "Tyconius: Was he Greek?" in, ed. E.A. Livingstone, *SP* 27 (Louvain 1993) 394-399.

eschatological account of Rev 11:1-13.¹³⁶ Tyconius' Donatism has meant that most of his works have not been preserved. We do not possess a complete version of his commentary, but it is possible to reconstruct it to some degree from fragments, and its use in the commentaries of Victorinus (as revised by Jerome), Caesarius of Arles, Primasius, Cassiodore *Complexiones*, Pseudo-Jerome's *Commematorium*, Ambrose Autpert, Bede and Beatus of Liébana.¹³⁷ The *Turin Fragments* of Tyconius' commentary contain the entirety of 11:1-13. These are hardly a transcript of the Tyconian original, but are very useful.¹³⁸ I shall cite Tyconius according to the paragraph numbering of the *Turin Fragments*, as this is convenient, and for the most part in this section they agree with what can be derived from other sources for Tyconius. I shall discuss the passages where I think they are inadequate. I shall ignore those passages peculiar to the *Turin Fragments* that consist largely of biblical illustrations of a point already made. They do not affect the substance of the exegesis. LoBue argues that they are probably Tyconian, but omitted by later commentators as superfluous,¹³⁹ but they may equally be additions to a shorter Tyconian text. There are a number of interpolations, and LoBue identifies these passages through their lack of citation in subsequent authors who have used Tyconius, and on the basis of the difference of their ecclesiology from that of Tyconius. On Rev 11:1-13, 374 and 386 are singled out as interpolations by LoBue,¹⁴⁰ but as Steinhauser notes,¹⁴¹ LoBue has

¹³⁶ Interpretation of Revelation that was non-eschatological was not an innovation, as is evidenced by such prominent figures as Origen and Cyprian. Cf. Helms, *The Apocalypse in the Early Church*, 10.

¹³⁷ K.B. Steinhauser, *The Apocalypse Commentary of Tyconius. A History of its Reception and Influence*. (Frankfurt 1987) 2-3.

¹³⁸ Steinhauser, *The Apocalypse Commentary of Tyconius*, 211; F. LoBue, ed., *The Turin Fragments of Tyconius' Commentary on Revelation 1-19*. The *Turin Fragments* are not from a 13th century manuscript in a "book-gothic" hand, as Lobue, ed., *Turin Fragments*, 3-4 supposes, but a late 10th century caroline miniscule, probably from north Italy (G. Bonner, *Saint Bede*, 6, 16-17 (citing personal correspondence with B. Bischoff). The Budapest fragments are irrelevant, as they do not encompass 11:1-13; R. Gryson, "Fragments inédits du Commentaire de Tyconius sur l'Apocalypse" *RBén* 107 (1997) 189-226.

¹³⁹ LoBue, ed., *Turin Fragments*, pp.30-31.

¹⁴⁰ LoBue, ed., *Turin Fragments*, p.34.

probably been too conservative in what he regards as later additions. 390 is also probably not genuine.

Quod autem non gentes, sed ex gentibus dixit, non omnem significant ecclesiae multitudinem, sed partem quae Filium Dei cognovit et Patrem, et credidit quoniam Pater venit in Filio, per quem mundus reconciliatus est a Deo.

There is nothing in it that Tyconius definitely could not have written, but (i) it is out of place, being a comment on 11:9 that makes little sense in its current location as part of the exegesis of 11:10, and (ii) it is not found in any of the authors who have used Tyconius' commentary. I shall examine other inadequacies of the *Turin Fragments* as I proceed. As Tyconius was such an important and influential exegete on the later Western tradition, I shall consider his interpretation in detail.

Tyconius' text of Rev 11:1 contains the addition "Et stabat angelus" to explain who is the speaker of the words to John.¹⁴² The command to "Rise," (v.1) shows that the Church is raised up; John is a type, who was bringing forth the Church, and he heard whilst standing, not sitting. He is ordered to measure the temple, altar and worshippers – not all are commanded to be measured, but only part are to be prepared for the end, in accordance with the words of the gospel, "Many are called, but few are chosen (Mt 22:14)."¹⁴³ The outer court that is thrown out (v.2) appears to inhere to the temple, but in fact does not belong to the holy of holies. These are those who seem to be in the Church, yet are outside. Those who are outside the temple are gentiles, who have not believed in the gospel. Both groups (by which Tyconius presumably means the evil "gentile" part within the Church, and the unbelieving "gentiles" outside the Church) will trample down the Church. No comment is made in the *Turin Fragments*

¹⁴¹ Steinhauser, *The Apocalypse Commentary of Tyconius*, 208.

¹⁴² The addition was originally made in Greek: καὶ εἰστήκει ὁ ἄγγελος (N² 046 1611 1854 2329 Andr f²⁰²³) in order to provide an antecedent for λέγων (κάλαμος would serve as this grammatically, but is obviously not intended to do so).

¹⁴³ *Turin Fragments* 325-326.

on the length of this trampling, 42 months according to 11:2.¹⁴⁴ Tyconius' ecclesiology is manifest in his interpretation of these two verses. The temple, altar, and worshippers symbolically represent the good part of the Church, and it is only this part that is prepared for the end, showing the eschatological separation of the bipartite Church. The outer court is the evil part of the Church, not destined for salvation, but which will persecute the Church along with the unbelieving "gentiles" outside. The future tense (*calcabunt*) used by Tyconius does not necessarily indicate an eschatological application of the passage. The tense is derived from the text of 11:2, and may mean no more than that the trampling is future in relation to John's time of writing, although an eschatological application should not be ruled out. I think that the correct interpretation of this is probably to be tied in with that of the 1260 days of 11:3, which I examine below.

The *Turin Fragments* are not a reliable guide to the text of Tyconius' comments on v.3. The two witnesses (v.3) are the Church prophesying through the two testaments (i.e. the old and the new testaments which together make up the scriptures).¹⁴⁵ According to the *Turin Fragments*, the 1260 days are not a time of peace, but are the time of the last persecution, in which the devil will break out like a fire against Christians, when he will receive power in order to test the Church.¹⁴⁶ It is likely that there is an omission in the *Turin Fragments* at this point, and that the previous sentence has been altered because of the omission. Beatus reads here

A Domini enim passione usque ad antichristum annos tres ponimus et menses sex. isti sunt quadraginta duo menses, id est, tres anni et dimidius, vel trecenti quinquaginta. unus enim mensis centum menses sunt per denarium numerum. quadragies bis centum quattor milia ducenti menses sunt; qui sunt centum

¹⁴⁴ *Turin Fragments* 327-331.

¹⁴⁵ Beatus, ed. H.A. Sanders, *Beati in Apocalypsin, Libri Duodecim* (Rome 1930) 5.11.4; cf. Primasius, ed. A.W. Adams, *Commentarius in Apocalypsin* (CCSL 92: Turnhout 1985) 11.31-32, who adds that the Church preaches (as well as prophesies). These two agree against *Turin Fragments* 334, which describes the Church as governed and ruled by the two testaments.

¹⁴⁶ *Turin Fragments* 336.

viginti sex milia dies, anni trecenti quinquaginta; et in uno die centum dies; nam centies mille ducenti nonaginta centum viginti sex milia dies sunt, qui sunt similiter trecenti quinquaginta anni. haec omne tempus est a passione Domini usque ad antichristum.¹⁴⁷

Beatus is following a source here, as can be seen from an alteration he has made that creates an inconsistency. 100x1290 is not 126000, as Beatus asserts (nam centies mille ducenti nonaginta centum viginti sex milia dies sunt). Beatus has clumsily changed an original 1260, which would make the sum correct, to 1290 in order to correspond with his unusual text of 11:3, which reads 1290 rather than 1260.¹⁴⁸ This section of Beatus is similar to Tyconius, *Liber Regularum* 5¹⁴⁹

Aliquando dies denario numero C dies sunt, sicut in Apocalypsi: Dies MCCLX, nam milies ducenties centies et sexagies centeni centumviginti sex milia dies sunt, qui fiunt anni CCCL mensibus tricenorum dierum. Ibidem, unus mensis denario numero centum menses sunt, ut: Civitatem sanctam calcabunt mensibus XLII, nam XLII centeni III et CC menses sunt, qui sunt anni CCCL.

Later on Tyconius says

Quotiens tamen temporum mentio est, quaternius numerus specialiter tempus est a Domini passione usque in finem. Quaternius est autem quotiens aut plenus est, aut post tertium pars quarti ut CCCL aut tres et dimidium.

3½ can be interpreted as 4, as the part (the half) signifies the whole of the last unit.¹⁵⁰

These two quotations correspond to the substance of Beatus' comment, but have relatively little correspondence in exact wording. Given Beatus' tendency to follow the wording of his sources fairly closely,¹⁵¹ it should not be postulated that Beatus had access to a copy of the *Liber Regularum*, from which he took this exegesis. Beatus has copied from Tyconius' commentary a passage similar to that of *Liber Regularum*

¹⁴⁷ Beatus, *In Apocalypsin* 5.11.2-4; cf. also preface 4.82.

¹⁴⁸ Beatus, *In Apocalypsin* 5.Text11.3; 5.11.1; preface 4.70. This corruption has probably come in from assimilation to Dan 12:11.

¹⁴⁹ F.C. Burkitt, ed., *The Book of Rules of Tyconius* (Cambridge 1894) 60.27-61.4; 64.24-28.

¹⁵⁰ That the part can signify the whole, or the whole the part is axiomatic for Tyconius, cf. *Liber Regularum* 5 (Burkitt, *Book of Rules*, 55.2-5).

¹⁵¹ On Beatus see below, section 1.10.

5. If the manuscript tradition reconstructed by Steinhauser¹⁵² is correct, then the 350 years cannot have been omitted at an early stage, but the *Turin Fragments*, Primasius, Caesarius, Bede, etc. have all chosen independently to remove the passage concerning the 350 year figure. The motivation for the omission is not difficult to see. After 380/3 (the time of Christ's crucifixion, c.30/33A.D. + 350 years) the statement would look like an incorrect prediction of the end. The wording of Tyconius was probably fairly close to that of Beatus, although reading "1260" where Beatus has "1290." Also, Tyconius probably did not write "a domini...passione usque ad antichristum..." (Beatus) but something similar to the *Liber Regularum*, "a domini passione usque in finem," as Tyconius does not tend to refer to a literal Antichrist. The passage of *Liber Regularum* 5 has prompted most Tyconian scholars to date the *Liber Regularum* prior to c.380/3, and to posit that Tyconius expected the events of the end to begin at this point.¹⁵³ On this basis we should also date the Apocalypse commentary prior to 380/383, as it contains the same exegesis. This approach to the *Liber Regularum* has been questioned by Fredriksen,¹⁵⁴ who emphasizes that much of the *Liber Regularum* does not seem to expect an imminent end, but interprets apparently eschatological passages as applying to the present time. The figure of 350 years should therefore not be taken literally, as Tyconius did not expect the end soon. Fredriksen is certainly right to urge caution on this point, particularly given Tyconius' belief that the number 4 signifies the time of the Church after the Lord's passion. However, it must still be asked why if it is simply the number 4 that is important, Tyconius feels the need to interpret 1260 days/42 months as 350 years, rather than as the more obvious 3½ years, which could still be interpreted as the number 4. A simple

¹⁵² Steinhauser, *The Apocalypse Commentary of Tyconius*, 260.

¹⁵³ Burkitt, ed., *Book of Rules*, xviii; T. Hahn, *Tyconius-Studien* (Leipzig 1900) 6; Kamlah, *Apokalypse und Geschichtstheologie*, 71.

¹⁵⁴ P. Fredriksen, "Tyconius and the End of the World," *Revue des études augustiniennes* 28 (1982) 59-75.

answer is provided if Tyconius thought that there were 350 actual years of the time of the Church. It is difficult to be sure in this matter, but Tyconius, once he has determined the true meaning of numbers, tends to take time in years literally. E.g. once he has determined that 400 years in Gen 15:13 should be taken as 350 years (the whole of the 4th hundred represents a part, fifty years) he understand this literally.¹⁵⁵ Also, Tyconius does seem to understand the time of the Church as lasting some portion of 1000 years, *Liber Regularum* 5¹⁵⁶

Sex dies sunt mundi aetas, id est sex milia annorum. In reliquiis sexti diei, id est M annorum, natus est Dominus, passus est resurrexit. Itidem reliquae M annorum dictae sunt mille anni primae resurrectionis. Sicut enim reliquae sextae feriae, id est tres horae, totus dies est, unus ex tribus sepulturae Domini,¹⁵⁷ ita reliquae sexti diei majoris quo surrexit Ecclesia totus dies est, id est M anni.

Fredriksen's point that Tyconius often interprets apparently eschatological passages of the present time hardly precludes his taking the 350 year period literally. It is fundamental to Tyconius' thought that the devil is already at work now, but will attack more strongly at the time of the last persecution; the future and present times are joined.

Numquam enim praesens tempus a novissimo separatur, quo spiritualis nequitia revelabitur, quia nec nunc desinit mala opera hominibus suggerendo, nec tunc desine[bi]t eadem exercendo.¹⁵⁸

An application of a passage to the present time need not always preclude its application to an imminent final persecution.¹⁵⁹ Still less does it preclude an expectation of an imminent final persecution. In light of the above evidence, I think it

¹⁵⁵ Tyconius, *Liber Regularum* 5 (Burkitt, ed, *Book of Rules*, 55.6-56.6).

¹⁵⁶ Burkitt, ed., *Book of Rules*, 56.13-20.

¹⁵⁷ Tyconius goes on to explain how the Lord was in the tomb for three days, on the basis of the part standing for the whole. The first day and the last are parts representing the whole.

¹⁵⁸ *Turin Fragments* 382-383; cf. Beatus, *In Apocalypsin* 5.12.9; preface 4.84.

¹⁵⁹ Although this does seem to be the case in *Liber Regularum* 6 (Burkitt, *Book of Rules*, 67.10-11), referring to Dan 9:27; 11:31.

probable that Tyconius took this 350 year period literally, therefore dating both his commentary and the *Liber Regularum* prior to 380/383.¹⁶⁰

This helps us understand Tyconius' comment about the 350 years. I am not confident about all the details of the wording, but it is probably close to that of Beatus. Tyconius' introductory statement to this is more elusive; Caesarius and Primasius provide parallels to the *Turin Fragments*.

Turin Fragments 336 Dies autem mille ducenti sexaginta, non tempus est pacis sed novissimae persecutionis, in quibus in christianos diabolus exardescet, quando ad probandum ecclesiam potestatem acceperit

Caesarius¹⁶¹ Numerum novissimae persecutionis dixit, et futurae pacis, et totius temporis a Domini passione; quoniam utrumque tempus totidem dies habet, quod suo in loco dicetur.

Primasius (on 11:2)¹⁶² Numerus autem mensium non novissimam tantum persecutionem significat sed etiam christianitatis tempus omne designat...

It is very difficult to know what Tyconius wrote here. The last persecution and the time of the Church are mentioned in all; only Caesarius speaks of a time of *future* peace ("pacis" is in both the *Turin Fragments* and Caesarius), and this is probably his own addition. The *Turin Fragments* interpret the 1260 days as not a time of peace, but that of the last persecution. Primasius follows a different route; they are not the time of the last persecution, but all Christian time. For Caesarius the 1260 days signify both. Tyconius definitely spoke of the last persecution and of the time of the Church, but what he said is unclear. The only way to proceed is to consider coherence with other exegesis of Tyconius and with his thought in general. We know from the passage preserved in Beatus and the *Liber Regularum* that he considered 1260 days

¹⁶⁰ Possibly the figure of 350 years is ultimately to be derived from Jewish exegesis. Justin attributes the interpretation of a "time" in Daniel as one hundred years, and thus of the "time, times and half a time" as 350 years, to Jewish interpreters; Justin, *Dial.* 32.

¹⁶¹ Caesarius, *Expositio in Apocalypsim*, in, ed. G. Morin, *Sancti Caesarii Opera Omnia* 2 (Turnhout 1953) p.239 lines 4-6.

¹⁶² Primasius, *In Apocalypsin* 11.23-25.

and the 42 months the time of the Church, so we can reasonably assume that he wrote something to that effect here (as per Primasius and Caesarius). Whether he also referred the 1260 days to the time of the last persecution is more problematic. Against this is Tyconius' denial that the two witnesses are two persons to come in the future,¹⁶³ the usual interpretation of the passage when it is applied to the last persecution. Also Tyconius is adamant that v.7a shows that "all these (things)" happen before the last persecution.

Aperte ostendit ante novissimam persecutionem haec omnia fieri, cum dicit:
Cum finierint testimonium suum.¹⁶⁴

"Haec omnia" are presumably the events associated with the 1260 days; the prophesying of the witnesses and their plagues, suggesting that the 1260 days are not the time of the last persecution. On the other hand, two of the three writings that have preserved something of what Tyconius wrote here state that the 1260 days do refer to the time of the last persecution (Caesarius and the *Turin Fragments*). *Turin Fragments* 382-383 (quoted above), which stress the non-separation of the present time from the last suggest that a figure that applied to one could be applied to the other also. Tyconius' exegesis of v.7a does not easily fit in with an application of the 1260 days to the time of the last persecution, but it is perhaps not in total contradiction of it. It is possible that while in referring to "haec omnia" Tyconius meant the events associated with the 1260 days, he considered the actual figure 1260 in isolation from its context, and thought that the figure signified both the time of the Church and the time of the last persecution. What he is particularly concerned to rule out in *Turin Fragments* 364 is perhaps not so much *any* eschatological application of the two witnesses, but a literalistic interpretation of the two witnesses as two future

¹⁶³ Cf. particularly *Turin Fragments* 400.

¹⁶⁴ *Turin Fragments* 364.

individuals, an interpretation that Tyconius believes to be in conflict with his interpretation of the two witnesses as the Church.¹⁶⁵ *Turin Fragments* 364 does demonstrate that Tyconius did believe in a last persecution, and it is worth noting that *Turin Fragments* 336 express this in an unusual manner. It would be more normal for a Christian writer to speak of the last persecution of Antichrist, not that of the devil. It is characteristic of Tyconius that he does not tend to talk of Antichrist, but does talk a lot of the devil (and his body). This supports the Tyconian authorship of this sentence of the *Turin Fragments*. It is extremely hard to choose between the two options, but I tentatively suggest that Tyconius applied the 1260 days to both the time of the Church and the time of the last persecution. He probably also used the word “paxis” in some context, as it appears in both the *Turin Fragments* and Caesarius. Perhaps he wrote “non tempus est paxis,” (so *Turin Fragments*) as he thought that neither the time of the Church up to the last persecution, nor that of the last persecution was a time of peace.

Turin Fragments 338 (v.3) is interesting, “Saccis, inquit, induti. Id est, in exomologesin.” “Exomologesis,” a transliteration of the Greek ἐξομολόγησις, is a technical term for a harsh penance.¹⁶⁶ These harsh penances had been common in early African Christianity, and were retained by Donatists, but not (on the whole) by Catholics.¹⁶⁷

343 (on v.4) reveals a characteristic concern of Tyconius.

Hi sunt qui stant, ait. Non autem dixit stabunt, sicut stare non possint.

¹⁶⁵ Tyconius could, of course, have written contradictory statements, but as he is generally a coherent and thoughtful writer, I think that he should be given the benefit of the doubt. One can hardly begin to reconstruct his commentary in places where the evidence is ambiguous on the basis that he is likely to have written something contradictory to what he has written elsewhere.

¹⁶⁶ Although public confession of sin is usually a prelude to the penance, it is the penance that is particularly understood here.

¹⁶⁷ W.H.C. Frend, *The Donatist Church* (Oxford 1952) 99, 320.

The use of the present tense¹⁶⁸ shows for Tyconius that the two witnesses are not in the future, but are currently standing in the presence of the Lord of the earth. It will not be possible to stand in the future, and by this Tyconius probably means at the time of the last persecution, showing that the two witnesses are not two human figures who testify at the end. The Church is signified with two candlesticks because it is defended with the fortification of the two testaments. (Tyconius is here commenting on the number “two,” not the fact that the Church is signified by candlesticks.) The Church has already been signified by seven candlesticks, when any part of this seven is mentioned, the whole is to be understood. The two olive trees are the two testaments, the oil of knowledge is poured (from the testaments) into the candlesticks (the Church).¹⁶⁹

The fire from the witnesses’ mouths on those who would harm them (v.5) means that if anyone injures or tries to injure the Church, by prayers from its mouth he is consumed with divine fire (*precibus oris eius divino igne exuritur*).¹⁷⁰ This probably means not that these people are condemned to the fires of hell by the Church’s prayers, as these fires are unlikely to be called divine, but rather that the divine fire of compunction (or similar) brings about the repentance of the Church’s enemies. Tyconius repeats his observation on tenses (*habent, ait; non habebunt*¹⁷¹) on v.6. The shutting of heaven is the spiritual shutting of the Church, which the Church itself has power to do,¹⁷² so that the rain of blessing should not fall upon sterile ground (i.e. those not of the good part of the Church), just as the Lord said to the vine

¹⁶⁸ The Greek reads ἑστῶτες, a perfect participle of ἵστημι with a present meaning. Thus Tyconius’ Latin text reflects the Greek.

¹⁶⁹ *Turin Fragments* 337-348.

¹⁷⁰ *Turin Fragments* 349-351.

¹⁷¹ *Turin Fragments* 353a.

¹⁷² *Turin Fragments* 357 have omitted the Tyconian understanding that heaven is the Church. Cf. Primasius, *In Apocalypsin* 11.69-73; Beatus, *In Apocalypsin* 5.11.15; Bede, ed. R. Gryson, *Expositio Apocalypseos* (CCSL 121A: Turnhout 2001) 17.53-58; *Liber Regularum* 7 (Burkitt, *Book of Rules*, 71.23-24).

of the Jews [Is 5:6], “And I will command the clouds not to rain upon it rain.”¹⁷³ The original text of Tyconius reflected in 358b-359 is not easy to determine. The *Turin Fragments* read

Et non solum aquas suspendunt, sed etiam quae descenderant utiles faciunt.
Quod est enim aquam in sanguinem vertere, hoc est omnem plagam terram ipsam percutere.

LoBue changes “omnem plagam” to “omni plaga,” and this is probably correct as the grammar then makes sense, and agrees with the text of Rev 11:6 which Tyconius has cited. LoBue also puts in brackets “in” before “utiles” (i.e. to read “inutiles”), as this is read by Primasius, Bede and Beatus. To decide upon the correct text, it is necessary to look at Primasius, Bede and Beatus.

Primasius	Non solum aquas suspendunt, sed etiam quae descenderant inutiles faciunt, hoc est vertere aquas in sanguinem. ¹⁷⁴
Bede	Non solum aquas suspendunt, sed etiam quae descenderant inutiles faciunt, quod est vertere aquas in sanguinem. ¹⁷⁵
Beatus	et non solum aquas suspendunt, sed etiam quae descenderant, inutiles faciunt. ¹⁷⁶

All three agree against the *Turin Fragments* in reading “inutiles” rather than “utiles.” Bede and Beatus used Primasius in composing their commentaries.¹⁷⁷ Primasius could have changed “utiles” to “inutiles,” and been copied by the other two. It is more likely, I think, that the *Turin Fragments* are unreliable at this point, and that a copyist somewhere along the line has accidentally omitted the “in.” “...sed etiam quae descenderant utiles faciunt,” as it stands in the *Turin Fragments*, can hardly refer to the phrase about turning water into blood; turning water into blood does not make it useful, but renders it worthless. It is an additional comment on the shutting of heaven, explaining that the Church has the power to make the blessings that do fall (on the

¹⁷³ *Turin Fragments* 358a.
¹⁷⁴ Primasius, *In Apocalypsin* 11.75-76.
¹⁷⁵ Bede, *Expositio Apocalypseos* 17.60-62.
¹⁷⁶ Beatus, *In Apocalypsin* 5.11.19.
¹⁷⁷ Bonner, *Saint Bede*, 8; Matter, “The Apocalypse in Early Medieval Exegesis,” 42.

ground that is not sterile) useful. The sentence, however, begins “Et non solum aquas suspendunt...” not picking up the language that has been previously used, either the verb “pluere,” used several times, or the noun “imber” (from Is 5:6), but introducing the new word “aqua,” that comes in the next phrase of v.6 “et habent potestatem aquis vertere in sanguinem.” One might suspect that given this change of language, the sentence would go on to explain what is meant by turning water into blood, but it does not. As the *Turin Fragments* stand, there is no real interpretation given of “et habent potestatem aquis vertere in sanguinem,” except that it means the same as to persecute the earth with every sort of plague (the final clause of v.6). Persecuting the earth with every sort of plague is then left meaning only one sort of plague, to turn water into blood. The omission of any real explanation of “to turn water into blood,” combined with a phrase (sed etiam quae descenderant utiles faciunt) that would very nearly give a good explanation, is at the very least odd. I suggest that the following sequence of events plausibly explains the text of the *Turin Fragments*. (i) Tyconius wrote “Et non solum aquas suspendunt, sed etiam quae descenderant inutiles faciunt, quod est vertere aquas in sanguinem.”¹⁷⁸ (ii) A copyist of a manuscript of Tyconius’ commentary accidentally omitted the “in” of “inutiles.” (iii) A copy was then made from this altered manuscript, which reads “Et non solum aquas suspendant, sed etiam quae descenderant utiles faciunt, quod est vertere aquas in sanguinem.” The copyist realizes that making water which descends useful makes no sense as a comment on

¹⁷⁸ This is the text of Bede. Bede and the *Turin Fragments* agree against Primasius in following “...sed etiam quae descenderant (in)utiles faciunt...” with “quod est” (Primasius, “hoc est”). Thus their “quod est” probably reflects the text of Tyconius. This also shows that Bede is using Tyconius here, and is not copying Primasius. This makes Bede and Primasius independent witnesses to Tyconius’ commentary reading “vertere aquas in sanguinem” (*Turin Fragments* “aquam in sanguinem vertere,” which, I will argue, comes after the point that the *Turin Fragments* cease to follow Tyconius directly). Bede and Primasius cannot have (independently) taken the words (or word order) “vertere aquas in sanguinem” from their texts of Rev 11:6, or Tyconius’ text of Rev 11:6. Their respective texts are: Tyconius (according to the *Turin Fragments*): “Et habent potestatem aquis vertere in sanguinem” (*Turin Fragments* 354); Primasius: “Potestatem habent omnium aquarum convertendi eas in sanguinem” (Primasius, *In Apocalypsin* 11.73-74; Bede: “Et potestatem habent super aquas covertendi eas in sanguinem [=Vulgate]” (Bede, *Expositio Apocalypseos* 17.59-60).

turning water into blood, but could mean that the Church makes the water (=blessing) useful when it falls on ground that is not sterile (noting that Tyconius has just said that the Church has power to spiritually shut off blessings (=rain), so that they do not fall on sterile ground). He therefore copies up to “utiles faciunt,” taking it in the above manner. He is left with no explanation of what turning water into blood is. To provide one, he copies the “quod est” after “utiles faciunt,” but adds “enim” after it to show that he intends a new sentence to be begun which defines what it is to turn water into blood. He gets his explanation of the phrase by interpreting it in terms of the immediately following part of the text of Revelation. To turn water into blood is to persecute the earth with every plague. The scribe felt the need to give a greater degree of coherence than his confusing exemplar, but did not wish to alter the text in front of him by large additions of his own.¹⁷⁹ Tyconius himself understood the changing of water into blood as the Church’s power to make useless those blessings that do in fact fall on sterile ground, those who are not of the good part of the Church. If Tyconius gave any explanation of “to persecute the earth with every plague” it has now been lost.

In v.7 Tyconius understands “Cum finierint testimonium suum,” to show that the testimony of the two witnesses occurs before the last persecution.¹⁸⁰ His implication is that the two witnesses are therefore not two individuals at the time of the last persecution. Tyconius does not reckon with a chronology such as that of Hippolytus, where the two witnesses preach for the first 3½ years of a seven year period, followed by the reign of Antichrist for 3½ years and then the end, as this explains consistently with Rev 11:7 the appearance of the witnesses, who finish their

¹⁷⁹ It is more likely that this process happened in steps (ii) and (iii), than that the same scribe who originally omitted the “in” of “inutiles” carried out stage (iii) also, as if he had read through what he had written and found it confusing, he would have been able to check it against his (correct) exemplar.

¹⁸⁰ *Turin Fragments* 364.

testimony before the beast emerges and kills them. Tyconius' argument only makes sense if he is arguing against a position in which the two witnesses are seen as eschatological figures whose ministry is concurrent with the final persecution, as this is indeed difficult to harmonize with Rev 11:7. Tyconius' interpretation of v.7b, "Et vincet eos et occidet eos" is ingenious. In the last persecution¹⁸¹ the beast overcomes those of the Church who succumb, and follow the devil, but he kills those who remain steadfast, and confess the Lord with all their heart. Spiritually, those of the Church who turn to the beast are killed.¹⁸² Tyconius does not say anything about the beast here, but he seems to have understood all references to a beast in Revelation as to the Devil and his body.¹⁸³

The Latin text of Revelation used by Tyconius preserves the distinction between the singular "body" (πτῶμα/corpus) of vv.8-9a and the plural "bodies" (πτῶματα/corpora) of v.9b. The plural shows the number of the testaments, and the singular the one body of the Church. Not only the bodies of the dead (of the Church) are referred to, but the bodies of those who are alive (and who follow Antichrist). These latter are thrown out behind the back and despised.¹⁸⁴ Tyconius perhaps sees a double-meaning in this as he then adds,

Sicut propheta testatur et dicit: tu vero odisti disciplinam et proiecisti sermones meos post te [Ps. 49:17].¹⁸⁵

This would apply best to the words of God contained in the two testaments, which the part of the Church that will follow the devil throws behind them and ignores. The application may be both to the time of the Church and to the final persecution.

¹⁸¹ The witnesses have finished their testimony which came before the last persecution; *Turin Fragments* 364.

¹⁸² *Turin Fragments* 366-369.

¹⁸³ Cf. Caesarius, *In Apocalypsin* 244.31-245.1; 246.12; 257.15-19; 258.11-14; Primasius, *In Apocalypsin* 13.5-11; Bede, *Expositio Apocalypseos* 21.1-3; 22.1-5; 31.6-10.

¹⁸⁴ *Turin Fragments* 370-372.

¹⁸⁵ *Turin Fragments* 373.

The bodies lie in the streets of the great city, which is the middle of the Church.¹⁸⁶ After the quotation of v.8b, *Turin Fragments* 377 goes on to change this interpretation slightly, and the text of Tyconius is better preserved in Beatus.

<i>Turin Fragments</i> 377 Beatus¹⁸⁷	Utique in ecclesia Iudaeorum quae Hierusalem in scripturis dominicis nuncapata est, quae instaurari nullatenus potest dicente Domino: Erit Hierusalem conculcata, usque dum comlea[n]tur tempora gentium. utique in ecclesia, quia Ierusalem restaurari non potest Domino dicente: erit Ieruslaem conculcata, usque dum compleantur tempora gentium.

The *Turin Fragments* are clearly secondary here. In 375 they interpreted “in plateis civitatis magnae” as “in medio ecclesiae,” in agreement with Beatus.¹⁸⁸ In 377 “Iudaeorum” is suddenly introduced to qualify “ecclesia.” The point of Tyconius’ argument, preserved in Beatus, is that the “great city” cannot be the literal Jerusalem as this is not to be restored. *Turin Fragments* keeps the part of the argument that denies that Jerusalem can be restored, but asserts that the “great city” is Jerusalem. It is not the literal Jerusalem, but signifies “ecclesia Iudaeorum,” which none is able to restore. The change was probably motivated by a desire to avoid the suggestion that the Church is spiritually Sodom and Egypt. For Tyconius this was not problematic, Sodom was the bad part of the Church.¹⁸⁹

According to the *Turin Fragments*, the 3½ days that their bodies lie dead (v.9) signify 3½ years, and therefore the time given to the devil to reign at the end.¹⁹⁰ We probably have here an omission similar to that found at 11:3. Beatus preserves the following passage interpreting the 3½ days

¹⁸⁶ *Turin Fragments* 375.

¹⁸⁷ Beatus, *In Apocalypsin* 5.12.5.

¹⁸⁸ Beatus, *In Apocalypsin* 5.12.5.

¹⁸⁹ *Liber Regularum* 4 (Burkitt, *Book of Rules*, 50.6-9), citing Rev 11:8. Egypt is a symbol of the bipartite Church, and of the whole world, although Tyconius seems to stress the evil associated with Egypt; *Liber Regularum* 4 (Burkitt, *Book of Rules*, 43.1-29).

¹⁹⁰ *Turin Fragments* 379. As at 336, the mention of the devil rather than Antichrist favours Tyconian authorship.

...id est, tribus annis et sex mensibus, quod sunt anni trecenti quinquaginta, quos supra diximus a passione Domini usque ad antichristum.

A similar interpretation is found in *Liber Regularum* 5,¹⁹¹ and it is probable that as with the 1260 days/42 months, Tyconius interpreted the time period of both the 350 years of the Church, and of the time of the final persecution. Tyconius goes on to make the important general point that the present time is not separated from the last, so that the future is able to teach concerning present things. The evil spirits suggest wicked works to humans now, and they will not cease to do this in the last times.¹⁹² This leads into the interpretation of the prevention of the burial of the bodies. People swear that the Church should not be remembered, and Tyconius continues perhaps with his own situation more clearly in mind than elsewhere.

Facient autem et aperte de vivorum occisorumque corporibus, quia nec vivos permittent sacra celebrando in memoriam colligi, nec occisos in memoria recitari, nec eorum corpora in memoriam testium Dei desepeliri.¹⁹³

The comment on the living perhaps relates to the Catholic persecution of Donatists in the years that followed the accession of Valentinian and Valens in 364.¹⁹⁴ I suggest that “nec occisos in memoria recitari” is to be related to the differing attitudes of Catholics and Donatists towards martyrs. Exuberant and sometimes drunken ceremonies became traditional among many early African Christian communities. They were still a key feature of Donatism in the second half of the fourth century, but the Catholic attitude to such practices was often one of disapprobation.¹⁹⁵ “Nec eorum corpora in memoriam testium Dei desepeliri” may relate to a literal non-burial at the time of the the last persecution. It may also perhaps have contemporary events in mind. We know that Catholics were not allowed to be buried in cemeteries held by

¹⁹¹ Burkitt, *Book of Rules*, 61.7-9.

¹⁹² *Turin Fragments* 378-383.

¹⁹³ Beatus, *In Apocalypsin* 5.11.12, agreeing almost exactly with Bede, *Expositio Apocalypseos* 17:97-101 against the slightly altered version of *Turin Fragments* 387.

¹⁹⁴ Frend, *The Donatist Church*, 197.

¹⁹⁵ Frend, *The Donatist Church*, 232; 320-322.

Donatists,¹⁹⁶ and it is possible that in places Donatists were denied burial in Catholic cemeteries, and Tyconius perhaps had such a policy in view. Tyconius' comments should be understood as a polemic against contemporary Catholics, for which he has carefully prepared by reminding the reader that the present and future are not to be separated.

The joy of those upon the earth at the death of the witnesses (v.10) is illustrative of the general truth that the unjust rejoice at the misfortune of the just. The witnesses had tormented the human race through the plagues (of vv.5-6);¹⁹⁷ the unjust are not even able to bear the sight of them "Gravis est nobis, inquiunt, ad videndum [Wis 2:5]."¹⁹⁸

The resurrection and ascension of the two witnesses (vv.11-12) are future events. The general resurrection is in question; the event is the same as the meeting with Christ in the clouds described by Paul in 1 Thess 4:17. No one is to attain to the general resurrection prior to Christ's return.¹⁹⁹ Tyconius then argues against those who suppose the witnesses to be two individuals.

Nam quomodo poterunt habitantes terram de duorum hominem nece gaudere, si in una civitate morientur? Et quomodo invicem munera mittunt, si parvo tempore corpora eorum in plateis iacebunt, qui antequam gaudeant de nece eorum statim contristabuntur de resurrectione eorum? Obtupescit in eis virtus et sensus, quod in tanta latitudine terrae non tam mortis eorum quam

¹⁹⁶ Frend, *The Donatist Church*, 191.

¹⁹⁷ *Turin Fragments* 388-394.

¹⁹⁸ *Turin Fragments* 392.

¹⁹⁹ *Turin Fragments* 395-399. The reason for this given in *Turin Fragments* 399 is "quoniam in adventum ipsius omnis caro probatur de sepulchris suis resurgere." Tyconius probably did not write this, but quoted 1 Cor 15:23, as witnessed by Caesarius and Beatus. Caesarius, *In Apocalypsim* 240.30-31 "scriptum est: initium Christus, deinde hii qui sunt Christi in adventu eius [1 Cor 15:23]." Beatus, *In Apocalypsin* 5.13.3 "scriptum est enim: initium Christus, deinde qui sunt Christi perfecti servi rapiuntur in adventum eius in nubibus." It is difficult to decide whether Caesarius has abbreviated the Tyconian text, or Beatus has expanded it. Caesarius does tend to abbreviate, but is perhaps more faithful, as he follows "scriptum est" with an unadulterated scriptural quotation, whereas Beatus adds extra bits in. It is possible that Caesarius, from an original close to Beatus, removed those elements that were not in 1 Cor 15:23, but in so doing he would have removed "in nubibus," which although not in 1 Cor 15:23 is in the just quoted 1 Thess 4:17, and to which "scriptum est" would also have applied (therefore leaving no reason for its removal).

resurrectionis nuntius veniat. Aut qualis esse letitia aut voluptas epulantium, ubi cum epulis foetor est mixtus mortuorum?²⁰⁰

The argument is based largely on the short timescale involved; 3½ days is insufficient time for news of two deaths in Jerusalem to spread around the world so that people rejoice. The point about the stench of the dead mingling with that of the feast makes for good rhetoric, even if it presuppose the choice of a banqueting site in extremely close proximity to the bodies. Tyconius wants to argue that the literal meaning of the text is impossible, and therefore cannot be the right one; the resurrection in question must therefore be the general resurrection. Those who see this and are afraid are those who are alive at the time of the general resurrection; the mention of enemies seeing them serves to separate the unjust onlookers from the just.²⁰¹

Verse 13 is a recapitulation of persecution. The “hour” is all time.²⁰² A tenth is a perfect number, as is seven.²⁰³ Even if they were not, we should understand that the whole was signified by the part. 412-414 probably contains interpolations.

412 Dicit enim decimam partem civitas, immo omnem, cum suis aedificatoribus cadere, qui aedificationes perversae doctrinae in cordis sui templo recipiunt. 413 Duo enim sunt in ecclesia aedificia: unum supra petram fundatum, et super arenam alterum constitutum [Mt 7:24-27], qui contra impressionem imminentium pressurarum habere non potest firmamentum. 414 Cito enim cadet et corruet qui ver(a)e ecclesiae fidem puro corde non retinet.

The parallels in Primasius, Caesarius, Bede and Beatus are helpful.

Primasius ²⁰⁴	Duo quippe sunt aedificia, unum super petram, alterum super arenam, hoc dicit cecidissee.
Caesarius ²⁰⁵	Duo sunt enim aedificia in ecclesia; unum supra petram, aliud supra harenam: quod supra harenam est, dicitur corruisse.
Beatus ²⁰⁶	Duo enim sunt aedificia in ecclesia; unum supra petram, quod est Christum, alterum super arenam, quod est fiducis mundi huius. Hoc dicit corruisse.

²⁰⁰ *Turin Fragments* 400-402.

²⁰¹ *Turin Fragments* 403-405.

²⁰² According to *Liber Regularum* 6 (Burkitt, ed., *Book of Rules*, 66.15-16) the phrase “illa hora” is one of the usual markers of a recapitulation.

²⁰³ Cf. *Liber Regularum* 5 (Burkitt, ed., *Book of Rules*, 59.20-25).

²⁰⁴ Primasius, *In Apocalypsin* 11.218-219.

²⁰⁵ Caesarius, *In Apocalypsim* 241.14-16.

Bede²⁰⁷ ...omnis diaboli civitas supra arenam condita cum omnibus aedificatoribus suis corruet... [Bede includes a later Tyconian comment that those who give glory to God in v.13 are those founded on rock.]

Gryson, Bede's editor, makes occasional attempts to reconstruct the text of Tyconius, and here he offers the following

Dicit enim omnem civitatem cum omnibus aedificatoribus suis cecidisse. Duo enim sunt aedificia in ecclesia, unum supra petram, alterum super arenam; hoc dicit coruisse.²⁰⁸

Gryson correctly omits most of 414. This is an expansion peculiar to the *Turin Fragments* containing the phrase "true church" that is foreign to Tyconius, and characteristic of many of the interpolations LoBue identifies. Tyconius does not speak of the "true Church," but rather of the good part of the one, bipartite Church. At least the verb "corruere" in 414 is genuinely Tyconian; it recurs in Caesarius, Beatus and Bede, and cannot have been derived by anyone from their biblical text ("cadere" is used). Gryson's inclusion of "Hoc dicit coruisse," the reading of Beatus, is probably correct. Given the originality of the verb "corruere" to Tyconius, Beatus' "hoc dicit" is supported by Primasius' "Hoc dicit cecidisse;" Primasius has changed the verb to correspond with his biblical text. The first half of 413 is included by Gryson, but the second omitted, probably correctly, as it is found in no later commentators. The second half of 412 is left out; this has clear affinities to the additional parts of 414. The first sentence of Gryson is perhaps the most contentious. I presume it is based on the appearance of the words "civitas," "omnis" and "aedificatoribus suis" in both *Turin Fragments* 412 and Bede. Gryson has concluded from this that Tyconius must have written something including these words, and has made a conjecture as to what this might have been. Possibly none of 412 is genuine. It has no parallels in Caesarius,

²⁰⁶ Beatus, *In Apocalypsin* 5.13.14.

²⁰⁷ Bede, *Expositio Apocalypseos* 17.122-124.

²⁰⁸ Bede, *Expositio Apocalypseos* p.378. Unfortunately Gryson only gives a bare text, without explaining his reasoning.

Primasius and Beatus. “Civitas” is in the text of Rev 11:13, and so could have been derived by Bede from there, not Tyconius. “Omnis” is an obvious word to include, when your exegesis is arguing that a tenth part of a city in fact means all of it. “Aedificatoribus” (aedificator, a builder) is the least easy to explain as coincidence, but could possibly have been derived by *Turin Fragments* 412 and Bede independently from “aedificium, a building,” which is used by Tyconius in the next sentence. Certainty is impossible. Perhaps none of 412 is genuine, or perhaps Tyconius wrote a confusing statement, or one which became corrupted in transmission, causing Primasius, Caesarius and Beatus to omit it, the scribe of the *Turin Fragments* to emend it, and Bede to borrow a few words from it to fit into a sentence of his own. Whatever the precise words of Tyconius, his interpretation is fairly clear. The tenth part of the city is the whole of the evil part of the Church, which falls because it is built on sand and not on rock. The rest who are afraid and give glory to the God of heaven are the good part of the Church, founded upon rock. They are separated from the sufferings of the unjust by their confession of the name of Christ, and their neglect of their souls (i.e. their readiness for martyrdom).²⁰⁹ This seems to point to an eschatological scenario, when the just rejoice that they do not share in the sufferings of the unjust. Yet, Tyconius goes on to say that the punishments of the unjust should spur the righteous on to greater effort.²¹⁰ This would make little sense if the just were rejoicing at their eternal salvation, as they have reached the goal towards which their efforts were directed, and have no need of further struggle. Probably what Tyconius intends is that those who are just, living now, on reading of the final fate of the wicked, should be spurred on to greater moral effort.

²⁰⁹ *Turin Fragments* 415-417.

²¹⁰ *Turin Fragments* 418-419.

Tyconius' exegesis of the first ten verses is mostly ecclesiological although some events are eschatological (e.g the trampling of v.2, the advent of the beast v.7). The two witnesses are the two testaments, and the Church prophesying through these. In interpreting the numbers, 1260 days, 42 months, 3½ days, Tyconius interprets these as referring to both the 350 years of the Church, and to the time of the last persecution. Verses 11-12 refer to the general resurrection. Verse 13 shows the fate of the evil part of the Church, which is not shared by the good part. Overall Tyconius has created a fairly consistent primarily ecclesiological exegesis of vv.1-10, and the eschatological elements within this do not recognize the witnesses to be two individuals yet to come. Verses 11-12 refers to the general resurrection, while v.13 seems to be interpreted eschatologically, whilst retaining a moral lesson applicable in the present.

1.10 Western Writers after Tyconius

Augustine

Despite Augustine's debt to Tyconius, he does not make use of his exegesis of Revelation 11, and affirms the two witnesses to be Enoch and Elijah.²¹¹

Caesarius of Arles

That Caesarius is the author of the pseudo-Augustinian homilies on Revelation has been conclusively shown by their editor, G. Morin.²¹² Caesarius was bishop of Arles from 502 until his death in 542, and wrote his terse commentary perhaps in the decade following 510.²¹³ He follows Tyconius quite closely, and I shall note his main points of departure.

The 1260 days (v.3) symbolize not only the time since the Lord's passion (no longer defined as 350 years, as by Tyconius) and the time of the final persecution, but also a time of future peace.²¹⁴ The "future peace" is probably the final rest of the Church after Christ's return. Caesarius makes explicit the ambiguity of what Tyconius had written concerning the fire from the witnesses' mouths

precibus oris eius divino igne aut in praesenti ad correctionem, aut in futuro saeculo ad damnationem consumetur.²¹⁵

On v.10 Caesarius sees that Tyconius' argument that the smell of literal dead bodies would preclude feasting makes no allowance for banquets at some distance from the bodies, and specifies that the stench prevents merriment in the streets (the bodies are in the street, v.8). Following Tyconius, the resurrection of the witnesses is the future general resurrection. The most substantial differences from Tyconius are the removal

²¹¹ Augustine, ed. A. Goldbacher, *S. Augustini Epistulae* (CSEL 57 Vienna/Leipzig 1911) Ep.193.

²¹² G. Morin, "Le commentaire homilétique de S. Césaire sur l'Apocalypse" *RBén* 45 (1933) 43-61.

²¹³ Steinhauser, *The Apocalypse Commentary of Tyconius*, 50.

²¹⁴ Caesarius, *In Apocalypsim* 239.4-6.

²¹⁵ Caesarius, *In Apocalypsim* 239.20-22.

of the 350 years figure, and the additional significance of the 1260 days. Otherwise the exegesis follows that of Tyconius.

Primasius

Primasius was bishop of Hadrumetum in N. Africa. An ally of Pope Vigilius during the “Three Chapters” controversy, he died shortly before 560. His commentary on the Apocalypse was probably composed around 540, using primarily Tyconius, but also Victorinus-Jerome, and a considerable amount of original input. His Latin text of Revelation contains a number of unusual readings.²¹⁶

In v.1 Primasius’ text reads “arundinem auream,” a *golden* reed, a reading that appears also in Ethiopic versions.²¹⁷ It has almost certainly arisen from assimilation with the κάλαμος χρυσοῦς of 21:15. The command to “Rise” is addressed to both John and the Church, so that they should be freed from worldly impediments, and fit for the duties of eternal good.²¹⁸ The Church is the Temple; its measurement signifies that it is to be informed of the measure of its spiritual gifts, principally the altar, which is faith.²¹⁹ Otherwise, the altar may signify the faithful priests in the temple. These stand in contrast to many who are seen to worship superficially, whose names are not written in the book of heaven. In v.2, Primasius’ text of Revelation does not have an outer court that is thrown out, but an altar (aram) outside the temple that is not measured. This mistake probably arose in Latin, with a scribe incorrectly writing “aram” (already used in v.1) for the similar “atrium” in v.2. This altar signifies those

²¹⁶ Steinhauser, *The Apocalypse Commentary of Tyconius*, 69-74; J. Haussleiter, *Die lateinische Apokalypse der alten afrikanischen Kirche* (=T. Zahn, *Forschungen zur Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons*, IV; Erlangen/Leipzig 1891) 1-35.

²¹⁷ J. Hofmann (ed.), *Die Äthiopische Übersetzung der Johannes-Apokalypse* (CSCO 281-282: Louvain 1967) 2:68. Also in the Amharic Andemta commentary on Revelation of the Ethiopian Church, a work that received its final form in the Gondar Kingdom of the 16th-18th centuries, although incorporating earlier material. See R. W. Cowley, *The Traditional Interpretation of the Apocalypse of St. John in the Ethiopian Orthodox Church* (Cambridge 1983) 19-23, 278.

²¹⁸ Primasius, *In Apocalypsin* 11.2-5.

²¹⁹ Primasius, *In Apocalypsin* 11.8-12.

who worship in appearance only, unlike those who worship in spirit and truth (Jn 4:23). This altar is given to the gentiles, that is to the Jews, heretics and gentiles outside the Church, who never cease to make war upon the Church, as though treading it underfoot.²²⁰ 42 months is not the time of the last persecution.

Numerum autem mensium non novissimam tantum persecutionem significat sed etiam christianitatis tempus omne designat, propter sex mundi aetates et septem dies, quibus praetermeantibus et remeantibus, omne tempus evolvitur; nam sexies septem quadraginta et duo efficiunt, ad utrumque arbitro referendum.

The “sex mundi aetates” is derived ultimately from the idea of a world-week, first found in *The Epistle of Barnabas* 15; 6 days of a thousand years (cf. Ps. 90:4), followed by a Sabbath day of rest (a 1000 year earthly kingdom).²²¹ The days of a thousand years were changed into ages of differing lengths, followed by the final seventh age (or seventh and eighth ages) of eternal rest with God.²²²

The two witnesses are “ecclesia duobus testamentis praedicans et prophetans.”²²³ They also signify two sorts of martyrs, those of “habitus,” and those of “actus.”²²⁴ Primasius is not explicit as to whether those of “habitus” are only monks, or whether they are any holy individuals who are not literally martyred, but he may well only have monks in mind. On vv.4-10 Primasius largely follows Tyconius, although the twofold number of the candlesticks (v.4) also suggests to him the

²²⁰ Primasius, *In Apocalypsin* 11.12-23.

²²¹ J. Daniélou, “La typologie millénariste de la semaine” *VC* 2 (1948) 1-16, argues that even without any specific reference to the seventh day as a thousand-year reign on earth, all writers who state that there are six days of a thousand years are chiliasts. C. Hill, *Regnum Caelorum* (Oxford 1993) 111-120 cautions (regarding Hippolytus in particular) that we cannot assume chiliasm without further evidence. The issue is complex, but regarding writers before 250, I think Daniélou’s thesis likely to be correct. With later writers there is no such surety; Tyconius takes over the traditional 6000 year lifetime of the world (*Liber Regularum* 5; Burkitt, *Book of Rules*, 61.25-33), yet is explicitly non-chiliast.

²²² R. Landes, “Lest the Millenium Be Fulfilled. Apocalyptic Expectations and the Pattern of Western Chronography 100-800 C.E.”, in, ed. W. Verbeke, C. Verhelst and A. Welkenhuysen, *The Use and Abuse of Eschatology in the Middle Ages* (Louvain 1988) 137-209; A. Luneau, *L’Histoire du salut chez les Pères de l’église: la doctrine des âges du monde* (Paris 1964).

²²³ Primasius, *In Apocalypsin* 11.29-32.

²²⁴ Primasius, *In Apocalypsin* 11.32-49.

composition of the Church from both circumcised and uncircumcised.²²⁵ Verse 7 relates to the last persecution, when the Church has finished its testimony. Then Antichrist will rise from the abyss, “id est ex latebris nequiae cordis iudaeorum;” he will be of the tribe of Dan.²²⁶ The 3½ days which the witnesses lie dead are 3½ years, the last years of the seventy weeks of years of Daniel, the time when Antichrist reigns.²²⁷ Elijah will preach in the preceding 3½ years, strengthening the Church, and causing Jews to convert. He will be killed in the middle of the last week (i.e. with the 3½ years of Antichrist’s reign still to come). Elijah is not identified as one of the witnesses. The resurrection of the witnesses seems to be the resurgence of the Church with the preaching of Elijah, although Primasius is not at his most perspicuous here.²²⁸ On v.13 Primasius follows Tyconius.²²⁹

Primasius is greatly indebted to Tyconius, but is prepared to disagree with him. He introduces the idea of a return of Elijah alone (although not identifying Elijah as one of the witnesses) a tradition common in the Church.²³⁰

Apringius of Béja

Apringius’ commentary, written around 550,²³¹ reproduces verbatim Victorinus-Jerome for 11:1-13.²³²

²²⁵ Primasius, *In Apocalypsin* 11.57-58.

²²⁶ That Antichrist will be of the tribe of Dan goes back to at least Irenaeus, *A.H.* 5.30.2.

²²⁷ Primasius, *In Apocalypsin* 11.120-122.

²²⁸ Primasius, *In Apocalypsin* 11.139-208.

²²⁹ Primasius, *In Apocalypsin* 11.208-224.

²³⁰ E.g. Augustine, *De Civitate Dei* 20.29.

²³¹ Matter, “The Apocalypse in Early Medieval Exegesis,” 42.

²³² Apringius of Béja, ed. M. Férotin, *Apringius de Béja, son Commentaire de l’Apocalypse* (Paris 1900) 40-42.

Cassiodore

A Roman statesman who withdrew from public life to the monastery at Vivarium (Italy), perhaps without ever becoming a monk, he wrote his *Complexiones in epistolis apostolorum et actibus apostolorum et apocalypsi* c.575.²³³ Rev 11:1-13 is covered in a brief paragraph, which applies it eschatologically to a 3½-year ministry of Enoch and Elijah, who are killed by Antichrist, lie unburied three days, and ascend to heaven.²³⁴

Pseudo-Jerome

The date of Pseudo-Jerome's *Commematorium* is difficult to establish with accuracy. It is dependent on Primasius, and therefore post c.540, and Ambrose Autpert, writing 758-767 quotes from it, providing a *terminus ante quem* of 767.²³⁵ Steinhauser suggests that a monk of Vivarium c.600 may have produced the work,²³⁶ and Gryson adopts a similar date, but tentatively proposes an Irish origin.²³⁷ Of the two printed editions available, that of Hartung is to be preferred, as Rapisarda uses more manuscripts, but prefers the readings of the less reliable family.²³⁸ The commentary is not in full sentences, but attaches single words or pithy phrases to selected parts of the text.²³⁹

The reed (v.1) is the preaching of the gospel, and the temple is the Church. Its measurement means that each is to preach according to his measure in the Church.

²³³ Steinhauser, *The Apocalypse Commentary of Tyconius*, 89-91.

²³⁴ Cassiodore, *Complexiones*, (PL 70) 1411A-B.

²³⁵ Even this is not conclusive. Matter, "The Apocalypse in Early Medieval Exegesis," 42, thinks that Pseudo-Jerome is dependent on Ambrose Autpert, not the other way round, and is a ninth century Frankish commentary.

²³⁶ Steinhauser, *The Apocalypse Commentary of Tyconius*, 104-106.

²³⁷ Gryson, "Les commentaires patristiques," 337.

²³⁸ Steinhauser, *The Apocalypse Commentary of Tyconius*, 99-101; Gryson, "Les commentaires patristiques," 334-335. K. Hartung, ed., *Ein Traktat zur Apokalypse des Ap. Johannes in einer Pergamenthandschrift der K. Bibliothek im Bamberg* (Bamberg 1904); G. Lo Menzo Rapisarda, ed., *Incerti Auctoris Commentarius in Apocalypsin* (Catania 1967).

²³⁹ 11:1-13 is dealt with on pp.15-16 of Hartung's edition; there is no numbering of sections.

The altar signifies faith. The outer court (v.2) is heretics, philosophers and gentiles, who are outside the Church. The holy city is the Church, and the 42 months it is trampled down is the time of Antichrist. The two witnesses (v.3) are Enoch and Elijah. The Lord of the earth in whose sight they stand (v.4) is not understood to be God, but Antichrist. The fire from their mouths (v.5) is preaching. Verse 6 is given a highly original interpretation.

habens potestatem super aquas - super populum
convertendi eas in sanguinem – per martyrium

That “waters” are “peoples” is taken from Rev 17:15.²⁴⁰ “Convertendi eas in sanguinem” is not taken as “to change them into blood,” but “to convert them (the peoples) by means of blood,” that is, through their martyrdom.²⁴¹ The great city of v.8 is the world. The resurrection of vv.11-12 is interpreted as the general resurrection. The tenth part of the city that falls (v.13) is all the unfaithful, while those who give glory to God²⁴² are those who remain in the faith. The interpretation is eschatological, within which is woven the (eschatological) Tyconian interpretation of vv.11-12 as the general resurrection.

²⁴⁰ This also appears at Beatus, *In Apocalypsin* 5.11.16, where it has little connection with what follows. Either it is Tyconian, although how it would fit in with the rest of Tyconius’ comments on turning waters into blood is unclear; perhaps Tyconius wrote something unintelligible or it became unintelligible in the process of copying, and only this survives. It is quite possible, however, that Beatus added this himself, remembering it from Rev 17:15, and did not see any problem with its apparent lack of connection with the other comments he includes (Beatus’ commentary does not always read smoothly). If this is the case, then either Pseudo-Jerome is to be dated post-Beatus and has copied it from him (although Matter, “The Apocalypse in Early Medieval Exegesis,” 42, does not think Pseudo-Jerome knew Beatus), or has thought of it independently. Given its presence in the text of the Apocalypse, this latter would not be unlikely.

²⁴¹ Although there is no manuscript evidence, it is tempting to conjecture that the text of the Apocalypse used by Pseudo-Jerome read “in sanguine,” as does MS F of the Vulgate. It would make better sense to take “in sanguine” as “by means of blood” than it would to take “in sanguinem” in this way.

²⁴² The quotation from v.13 in fact has the unusual reading “et anime dederunt gloriam deo.” The gloss “anime” [sic] perhaps arose from a copyist with a dislike of excessive exuberance in worship.

Bede

Bede's death in 735 gives a *terminus ante quem* for his commentary on Revelation. Any time between the late seventh century and then is a possible date of composition; Bonner suggests 703-709.²⁴³ Victorinus-Jerome, Tyconius and Primasius were all used by Bede.²⁴⁴

Bede combines an eschatological application of the passage, in which the 42 months are the time of Antichrist, and the 1260 days the preceding time of the witnesses,²⁴⁵ with an ecclesiological exegesis. He has only a little new material. John is commanded to rise (v.1) not because he is sitting, but because the hearts of all are aroused by this word to measure the writings and actions of the Gospel, then find out what progress each has made, and how far they agree with the divine rule.²⁴⁶ Vv.11-12 signify the general resurrection, following Tyconius, but not the resurrection of Enoch and Elijah.²⁴⁷ Verse 13 is interpreted of the eschatological destruction of all the city of the devil.²⁴⁸

For Bede the passage refers both to the time of the Church, and to the time of the last persecution. There is no competition between the two types of exegesis; both are correct.

Ambrose Autpert

Ambrose Autpert was a native of Provence, who migrated as a young man to Italy, entering the monastery of S. Vincenzo al Volturno. He wrote his commentary on Revelation between 758 and 767 (datable from references in the preface to his

²⁴³ Bonner, *Saint Bede*, 9.

²⁴⁴ Bonner, *Saint Bede*, 8.

²⁴⁵ As in the scheme reflected in *De temporum ratione* 69.

²⁴⁶ Bede, *Expositio Apocalypseos* 17.1-9.

²⁴⁷ There is no mention of their resurrection in *De temporum ratione* 69.

²⁴⁸ Bede, *Expositio Apocalypseos* 17.109-131.

commentary). He knew the commentaries of Victorinus-Jerome, Tyconius and Primasius.²⁴⁹ His exegesis does not slavishly follow any of these, and combines eschatological and ecclesiological interpretations, as did Bede.

The reed (v.1) is the preaching of the divine word, and this verse speaks of the commission given to all preachers. It is like a rod, as the heavenly kingdom continues in inflexible justice. The temple is the Church, and the altar is virgins, the continent who renounce the world in their hearts. It is principally in these (as opposed to the mass of the faithful) that the fire of compunction unfailingly burns. The outer court is those outside the Church.²⁵⁰ The two witnesses are not Elijah and Jeremiah, but Elijah and Enoch, as well as the Church prophesying throughout its time. That there are two witnesses signifies not only the strengthening of the Church by the two testaments, its origin out of two peoples (Jew and Gentile), its martyrs in “actus” and “habitus,” but also the two precepts of love.²⁵¹ By this Ambrose means the saying of Jesus concerning love of God and neighbour (Mk 12:28-34 par.). That the witnesses stand in the sight of the Lord of the earth refers to the Church’s intimate contemplation of the Creator, and in the case of Enoch and Elijah to their translation from human sight to a place where they secretly inhere to God.²⁵² Tombs (v.9) are a place of rest, and a “body” can stand for both body and soul. Thus the prevention of the placing of the witnesses’ bodies in tombs shows that throughout the time of the Church, the saints are not allowed to rest in quietness by the ministers of Antichrist.²⁵³ Verse 10 is interpreted not in an ecclesiological sense, as in Tyconius, but is interpreted of the eschatological rejoicing of the followers of Antichrist, when they will be saying

²⁴⁹ Steinhauser, *The Apocalypse Commentary of Tyconius*, 132-135.

²⁵⁰ Ambrose Autpert, ed. R. Weber, *Expositionis in Apocalypsin* (CCCM 27: Turnhout 1975) 11:1a.1-11:2a.39.

²⁵¹ Ambrose Autpert, *In Apocalypsin* 11:3.1-72.

²⁵² Ambrose Autpert, *In Apocalypsin* 11:4.21-53.

²⁵³ Ambrose Autpert, *In Apocalypsin* 11:9.1-30.

“Peace and security” (1 Thess 5:3) before their sudden destruction.²⁵⁴ Verse 10 is thereby joined with vv.11-12, which are interpreted of the general resurrection (not a resurrection of Enoch and Elijah), following Tyconius.²⁵⁵ The tenth part of the city that falls (v.13) represents the angels (of which there are nine orders²⁵⁶) and humans who fell from the city of God. The angels who fell are replaced by an equal number of human elect.²⁵⁷ The 7000 are different from the tenth; they are those on the fringes of the elect, yet not within.

...vel male credendo in Christum, ut heretici, vel male vivendo in corpore Christi, ut falsi Christiani.²⁵⁸

Those who give glory to God are all those who are not damned; those who always remained in the faith, those who renounced and came back, and those who never had faith and were converted.²⁵⁹ Ambrose Autpert is thinking here of the situation of the final persecution of Antichrist, when some will stand firm, some may fail in faith and later repent, and some will be converted for the first time. Among these are Jews converted by Enoch and Elijah.²⁶⁰

Ambrose Autpert interprets the passage both eschatologically and ecclesiologically, making a number of new contributions to exegesis in the process.

Beatus of Liébana

A Spanish monk of the eighth century, Beatus' commentary on the Apocalypse dates from 776.²⁶¹ Like Bede and Ambrose Autpert, he combines

²⁵⁴ Ambrose Autpert, *In Apocalypsin* 11:10.1-31.

²⁵⁵ Ambrose Autpert, *In Apocalypsin* 11:11.1-11:12.42.

²⁵⁶ Pseudo-Dionysius (fifth/sixth century), *The Celestial Hierarchy*, fixed the number of the orders of angels at nine.

²⁵⁷ Ambrose Autpert, *In Apocalypsin* 11:13.1-44. Cf. Augustine, *De Civitate Dei* 22.1 for humans replacing fallen angels.

²⁵⁸ Ambrose Autpert, *In Apocalypsin* 11:13.45-46.

²⁵⁹ Ambrose Autpert, *In Apocalypsin* 11:13.56-77.

²⁶⁰ Ambrose Autpert, *In Apocalypsin* 11:13.78-117.

²⁶¹ Steinhauser, *The Apocalypse Commentary of Tyconius*, 142-144.

eschatological and ecclesiological exegesis. Unlike that pair, he does not make a good job of editing his sources (Victorinus-Jerome, Tyconius, Primasius and Apringius²⁶²) to produce a consistent exegesis, but tends to copy out large chunks of different authors, adding only occasional words and phrases of his own. For example, having interpreted the two witnesses as Elijah and Jeremiah, and as symbolic of the Church,²⁶³ he goes on to include contradictory Tyconian arguments that the two witnesses cannot be two individuals, and therefore represent only the Church.²⁶⁴ Steinhauser aptly characterizes his work as “not the product of a subtle or deep thinker, but rather that of a tireless compiler.”²⁶⁵ His only notable contribution relates to v.6. Turning waters into blood symbolizes the Church’s censure of the carnally understood doctrines of the philosophers.²⁶⁶

Alcuin²⁶⁷

Alcuin’s commentary on Revelation was composed c.800, using Bede and Ambrose Autpert.²⁶⁸ The material on ch.11 is taken almost entirely from Ambrose Autpert, and follows his exegesis.

Haimo of Auxerre

Haimo’s commentary was written c.840, using Primasius, Bede and Ambrose Autpert.²⁶⁹ He primarily follows Ambrose Autpert, reproducing his eschatological and

²⁶² Matter, “The Apocalypse in Early Medieval Exegesis,” 42.

²⁶³ Beatus, *In Apocalypsin* 5.11.2, 21-23.

²⁶⁴ Beatus, *In Apocalypsin* 5.13.1-9.

²⁶⁵ Steinhauser, *The Apocalypse Commentary of Tyconius*, 143.

²⁶⁶ Beatus, *In Apocalypsin* 5.11.16.

²⁶⁷ There is some doubt over the authenticity of the commentary attributed to Alcuin in PL 100. Matter seems to have changed her mind on this. E.A. Matter, “The Pseudo-Alcuinian ‘De Septem Sigillis’: An Early Latin Apocalypse Exegesis,” *Traditio* 36 (1980) 111-137, particularly 136-137, asserts that it is not genuine, while Matter, “The Apocalypse in Early Medieval Exegesis,” 48 accepts Alcuinian authorship. (Note that *De Septem Sigillis* is not the commentary in question; this brief work does not interpret Revelation 11.)

²⁶⁸ Matter, “The Apocalypse in Early Medieval Exegesis,” 42.

ecclesiological exegesis. He has a new interpretation of the reed (v.1); it is to be understood as the divine scriptures, which the ancients wrote with a reed. These are like a rod in their rectitude of doctrine and lack of error, or through their promise of a kingdom, as kings carry a rod/sceptre (virga) as a sign of their power.²⁷⁰

Peter and Paul as the two witnesses?

The fifth century²⁷¹ writer Quodvultdeus²⁷² sees a connection between three pairs of witness at different times; Moses and Aaron, Peter and Paul, and Enoch and Elijah, but seems to think the primary reference of Revelation 11 is to Enoch and Elijah. The *Liber Comicus*, a Spanish lectionary from 656/7 prescribes the reading of Rev 10:8-10; 11:1,3,4,15 on the feast of Ss. Peter and Paul,²⁷³ suggesting some sort of connection between Peter and Paul and the two witnesses, although not necessarily a literal identification.

²⁶⁹ Matter, "The Apocalypse in Early Medieval Exegesis," 42.

²⁷⁰ Haimo of Auxerre, *Expositio in Apocalypsin* (PL 117) 1067D-1068D.

²⁷¹ See above, section 1.1.

²⁷² Quodvultdeus, *Dimidium Temporis* 13.

²⁷³ R.L. Petersen, *Preaching in the Last Days. The Theme of "Two Witnesses" in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (New York/Oxford 1993) 57.

1.11 Eastern writers

Suspensions concerning the canonicity of the Apocalypse and its potential support for chiliasm led to its neglect among Eastern Christians, and it has never made its way into the Orthodox lectionary. Origen may have interpreted this passage, but all that is extant are fleeting comments on 11:8. We have only three Greek commentaries from the first millennium, those of Oecumenius, Andrew and Arethas. They are independent of the Latin tradition from Victorinus onwards.

Origen

Origen's only extant use of Rev 11:1-13 is of 11:8 in order to justify interpreting "Egypt" in the Old Testament spiritually as this present world in its darkness of ignorance.²⁷⁴

Oecumenius

Little is known of this sixth century author, probably writing in Isauria,²⁷⁵ but with no model to follow, his exegesis of Revelation is often original.

²⁷⁴ Origen, ed. H. de Lubac, *Homélies sur l'Exode* (SC 16: Paris 1947) 8.1; Origen, ed. P. Nautin, *Homélies sur Jérémie* (SC 232: Paris 1976) 9.2.

²⁷⁵ There is debate as to whether Oecumenius was a neo-Chalcedonian writing after the Fifth Ecumenical Council in 553 (M. De Groote, "Die *Quaestio Oecumeniana*" *Sacris Erudiri* 36 (1996) 67-105) or whether he was the monophysite correspondent of Severus of Antioch between 508-18, probably writing on Revelation in the first half of the sixth century, although perhaps as an old man in the second half (J.C. Lamoreaux, "The Provenance of Ecumenius' Commentary" *VC* 52 (1998) 88-108). I am persuaded by Lamoreaux. The primary reason for choosing the former option is the reference to 500 years having passed, Oecumenius, *In Apocalypsin* 1.94-95. On the surface this looks like it should be counted from the reign of Domitian, when Oecumenius dates the composition of Revelation, making it unlikely that the correspondent of Severus in 508-518 would have lived long enough to write the commentary on Revelation. Lamoreaux, however, shows that the 500 years can just as easily be taken to run from the first advent of Christ, making a date in the early sixth century plausible. Once this is established, the identity of the author with Severus' correspondent becomes far more likely. Whilst the Christological evidence of the Commentary on Revelation is ambiguous, the Oecumenius who is author of the commentary on the Pauline epistles (K. Staab, ed., *Pauluskommentare aus der griechischen Kirche* (Münster 1984)) is clearly monophysite, and it is unlikely that there were two sixth century biblical commentators with this unusual name. Further, the citation of Evagrius as an authority (Oecumenius, *In Apocalypsin* 6.70-73) is difficult to attribute to a supporter of the 553 Council, where Origenism was condemned.

The temple (v.1) is the temple in Jerusalem, and its measurement signifies the fewness of those of the Old Covenant who were pleasing to God. The outer court (v.2) is unmeasured, because it encompasses the great multitude of the New Covenant. It is said to be given to the nations not because no Jews enter into it, but because gentiles are in the majority.²⁷⁶ This is an unusual exegesis of vv.1-2a, and Oecumenius perhaps knew a Western tradition of the interpretation of Ezek 46:21. Jerome says that the unmeasured outer court of Ezekiel's temple can be taken to symbolize "gentium turba ad distinctionem Israel."²⁷⁷

The city trampled underfoot (Rev 11:2) is the Church, although Oecumenius does not say what its being trampled entails.²⁷⁸ The two witnesses are Enoch and Elijah, according to ancient tradition of the Church, and the beast is Antichrist who slays them in Jerusalem. Their miracles, death and resurrection, and the fall of the tenth of the city will all happen literally.²⁷⁹ Oecumenius' text of Revelation has the length of their ministry as 2260 days, δισχιλίας διακοσίας ἐξήκοντα.²⁸⁰ This reading perhaps arose from a scribal slip, δι- being accidentally introduced from the beginning of διακοσίας. It is probably this reading that means that Oecumenius has to interpret the number of the days of their ministry as a mystical number, not to be taken literally;²⁸¹ the form of the Enoch and Elijah tradition that he knew probably

²⁷⁶ Oecumenius, *In Apocalypsin* 6.142-169.

²⁷⁷ Jerome, *Commentatorium in Hiezechielem*, in, ed. F. Glorie, *S. Hieronymi Presbyteri Opera* I.4 (CCSL 75: Turnhout 1964) lib. 14 lines 827-828. The comment is taken up later by the standard medieval work, the *Glossa Ordinaria*, K. Froehlich and M.T. Gibson (ed.), *Biblia Latina cum Glossa Ordinaria. Facsimile Reprint of the Editio Princeps, Adolph Rusch of Strassburg 1480/1481* (Turnhout 1992) no page nos. – comment on Ezek 46:21.

²⁷⁸ Oecumenius, *In Apocalypsin* 6.170-174.

²⁷⁹ Oecumenius, *In Apocalypsin* 6.199-298.

²⁸⁰ Oecumenius, *In Apocalypsin* 6.185. Two manuscripts read αοξ = 1260, but this is a scribal correction. 2260 is the *lectio difficilior*, and the temptation would be for a scribe to assimilate it to what he knew as the text of Revelation. Further, 1260 is written out in full (χιλίας διακοσίας ἐξήκοντα) at 7.14 (=Rev 12:6); if it were the original reading at 6.185 we should expect to find it written out in full as at 7.14.

²⁸¹ Oecumenius, *In Apocalypsin* 6.216-218.

gave their ministry a length of 1260 days, and as 2260 does not agree with this, Oecumenius does not take it literally.

Oecumenius gives an unusual ecclesiological interpretation of vv.1-2a and an eschatological interpretation of vv.3-13 (possibly 2b-13, although this is not clear).

Andrew of Caesarea

Andrew, bishop of Caesarea used the commentary of Oecumenius, and wrote at the end of the 6th century or the beginning of the 7th.²⁸² On vv.3-13 he follows the eschatological exegesis of Oecumenius, but as his text of 11:3 reads “1260 days,” he is able to take this figure literally.²⁸³ On vv.1-2a he mentions Oecumenius’ interpretation, but only in order to disagree with it. The temple is the Church, in which rational sacrifice is offered to God, and the outer court is unbelievers. In v.2b, the holy city is the Church, as for Oecumenius, but the 42 month trampling is related specifically to the time of Antichrist.²⁸⁴ Thus vv.1-2a receive an ecclesiological interpretation, and 2b-13 an eschatological.

Arethas of Caesarea

Writing in the first half of the 10th century,²⁸⁵ Arethas follows Andrew.²⁸⁶

²⁸² H.-G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich* (Munich 1955) 418.

²⁸³ Andrew of Caesarea, *Der Apokalypse-Kommentar*, 113.1-118.14.

²⁸⁴ Andrew of Caesarea, *Der Apokalypse-Kommentar*, 111.3-112.12.

²⁸⁵ H.-G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur*, 591.

²⁸⁶ Arethas of Caesarea, *Coacerratio Enarrationum ex Variis Sanctis Viris in ...Apocalypsin* 645B-660A.

1.12 Conclusion

In works that are not commentaries, eschatological exegesis stands in varying degrees of proximity to the text of Revelation. This is primarily because authors may be following other traditions, and the foremost example of this is the lack of a resurrection and ascension of the two protagonists in many strands of the tradition.

Victorinus presents a fairly straightforward eschatological exegesis of the passage, but his interpretation is overshadowed by that of the towering figure of Tyconius. His predominantly ecclesiological exegesis is followed by almost all later Western commentators in the first millennium. Many later writers (Bede, Beatus, Ambrose Autpert, Alcuin, Haimo²⁸⁷) combine his ecclesiological exegesis with an acknowledgement that the passage applies also to Enoch and Elijah. For these Western writers, Tyconius' application of vv.11-12 to the general resurrection dovetail conveniently with a form of the Antichrist tradition that does not include the resurrection of Enoch and Elijah. It is tempting to conjecture that this is not mere coincidence, and that the application of vv.11-12 to the general resurrection may have been pioneered by someone such as Hippolytus, wishing to reconcile Rev 11:1-13 with a different tradition that spoke only of martyrdom, not of resurrection and ascension. If such was the case, there is unfortunately no direct evidence for it. Given Tyconius' desire to prove that the application of the passage to two individual persons is incorrect, and his ability to innovate, it is hardly necessary to suppose that he was following the exegesis of another at this point. Indeed, his application of vv.11-12 to the general resurrection may have influenced which form of the Antichrist tradition became dominant in the West; one that did not include the resurrection of Enoch and Elijah. The independence of Oecumenius, followed by Andrew and Arethas is

²⁸⁷ Pseudo-Jerome thinks the witnesses solely Enoch and Elijah, but follows the Tyconian interpretation of vv.11-12.

apparent here. Uninfluenced by Tyconius' interpretation of vv.11-12 he speaks of a resurrection and ascension of Enoch and Elijah. Verse 13 is likewise not seen as a recapitulation, but is given a straightforward eschatological exegesis. At the turn of the millennium in the West, however, what reigned supreme was a Tyconian ecclesiological exegesis, combined with an eschatological application to Enoch and Elijah.

Chapter 2. 1000-1516..... 90

2.1 1000-1180 91

2.2 Joachim of Fiore 102

2.3 Excursus: Viri spirituales..... 110

2.4 Commentaries 1200-1500..... 118

2.5 The Linear-historical interpretation..... 132

2.6 Other material 137

2.7 Conclusion 144

Chapter 2. 1000-1516

From 1000 AD onwards, I am concentrating upon Western interpretation. In this chapter I shall first look at exegesis from 1000-1180, then turn to Joachim of Fiore, proceeding to an excursus on works that are influenced by his conception of coming *viri spirituales*, yet which are not commentaries on Revelation. I will then consider commentaries from the period 1200-1500, concluding with the linear-historical exposition of Revelation inaugurated by Alexander Minorita. I shall finish by looking at other (non-*viri spirituales*) material from outside the commentary tradition. This is not intended to be a comprehensive survey, and considerations of space have precluded an examination of works that are available in manuscript only.¹ I have attempted to give examples of all the major approaches to the passage, but as I have not examined writings that are available in manuscript only, I cannot guarantee that an original contribution has not been missed.

¹ E.g. the commentaries of Wycliffe, John Russell OFM, Robert of Bridlington and Agostino Trionfo OFM. See G. Benrath, *Wyclifs Bibelkommentar* (Berlin 1966); B. Smalley, "John Russell O.F.M." *Recherches de Théologie Ancienne et Médiévale* 23 (1956) 277-320. For a comprehensive listing of medieval commentaries, see F. Stegmüller, *Reportorium Biblicum Medii Aevi* (Matriti 1940).

2.1 1000-1180

Kamlah argues that the patristic tradition was mediated to this age particularly through the commentaries of Bede and Haimo of Auxerre.² A study encompassing the entirety of the Apocalypse rather than just a few verses would be needed to assess this opinion, but I have found no reason to question it. I shall thus not usually rehearse in detail similar exegesis to theirs, but concentrate on differences.

Bruno of Segni wrote his apocalypse commentary shortly after his accession as bishop of Segni in 1079.³ As in the western patristic tradition, vv.1-2a are interpreted ecclesiologically, and vv.2b-13 both eschatologically in terms of Enoch and Elijah and ecclesiologically, although more time is spent on the eschatological. The Temple (v.1) is the Church, but the altar is “fides.” It is unclear whether faith as the content of what is believed, or the subjective faith in God that a Christian has is intended. Bruno’s explanation that nothing higher is measured in the Church than that we should adore the one true God in unity and trinity is susceptible of either interpretation.⁴ On the two witnesses Bruno comments

Hi enim duo testes juxta litteram Henoch et Elias intelliguntur; spiritualiter autem omnes Ecclesiae doctores, qui duorum testamentorum testimoniis roborati, testes Dei rite vocantur.⁵

The two thus do not symbolize the whole Church, as in earlier exposition, but only teachers, who are strengthened by the testimonies of the two testaments.

The death of Enoch and Elijah is to be understood literally, but Bruno perceives a problem with understanding the resurrection that follows of them.

Caetera [i.e. what follows after their death] autem ad litteram intellecta planissima sunt, tametsi ad litteram, ut sonant, ita accipi debeant, nobis certa non sunt. Scimus enim Apostolum dixisse: “Quia nos qui vivimus, qui residui

² Kamlah, *Apokalypse*, 17, 30.

³ Kamlah, *Apokalypse*, 16-17.

⁴ Bruno of Segni, *Expositio in Apocalypsim* (PL165), 661B.

⁵ Bruno, *In Apocalypsin*, 662A.

sumus, non praevenimus eos qui dormierunt [1 Thess 4:15],” volens ostendere quod simul omnes resurgere debeant.⁶

What Bruno seems to be getting at, is that if the resurrection of vv.11-12 refers only to Enoch and Elijah, then they will have been raised before the general resurrection. This is in contradiction to his understanding of what Paul says in 1 Thess 4:15, which he takes to mean that all are to rise at the same time. Bruno goes on to argue that the bodies of the two witnesses can in fact be allegorically understood as the bodies of all the faithful, as we are all one body in Christ (Rom 12:6). The bodies are thrown out both in Jerusalem and wherever people are killed for the name of Christ.⁷ The 3½ days of their lying unburied is the 3½ years of Antichrist’s reign;⁸ the ministry of Enoch and Elijah was the 3½ years prior to this. Verses 11-12 are understood of the general resurrection, and verse 13 of the final judgement. Bruno is not doing anything new in his understanding of vv.11-12, but his reflection on the problem created if Enoch and Elijah were to be raised prior to the general resurrection is his own. It is necessary to clarify precisely what has happened here. Bruno has not come to Revelation 11 thinking that the two witnesses are, in one sense (the literal one for Bruno), Enoch and Elijah, and encountered a difficulty in interpreting vv.11-12 of them. Rather, Bruno has before him others who have already interpreted the two as Enoch and Elijah, but not interpreted vv.11-12 of them in particular. Tyconius had interpreted vv.11-12 of the general resurrection, but this was unconnected with any reference of 11:1-13 to Enoch and Elijah. Tyconius’ exegesis of vv.11-12 had been combined with an interpretation of Revelation 11 as referring to Enoch and Elijah’s death at the hand of Antichrist (but not their resurrection) by Pseudo-Jerome, Bede, Beatus, Alcuin, Ambrose Autpert and Haimo. This lack of a resurrection is due to a

⁶ Bruno, *In Apocalypsin*, 663C-D.

⁷ Bruno, *In Apocalypsin*, 663D-664A.

⁸ Bruno, *In Apocalypsin*, 664A.

following of the form of the Antichrist tradition represented by Hippolytus, Adso, etc., which has no resurrection of Enoch and Elijah.⁹ None of the earlier Latin commentators, however, had wrestled with the problem of how v.7 could refer, in at least one sense, to the death of Enoch and Elijah in particular, yet vv.11-12, which speak of the same two who were identified (in at least one sense) as Enoch and Elijah, do not refer to their resurrection in particular, but only to their resurrection as part of the general resurrection. This is the problem that Bruno sees, and he attempts to provide a rationale for this, based on the universality of the general resurrection. As, according to another part of Scripture (Paul) all rise at the same time, if vv.11-12 refer to a resurrection, then it must be to the general resurrection. Bruno is not intending to interpret vv.11-12 of Enoch and Elijah, and then encountering a difficulty; he has already decided to follow the commentary tradition in not interpreting vv.11-12 of Enoch and Elijah in particular. Rather, he is explaining why he is following the interpretative moves of his predecessors in seeing no particular resurrection of Enoch and Elijah in vv.11-12, against what he himself admits to be the apparent literal meaning of the text. Bruno presents an ecclesiological exegesis of vv.1-2a, and an eschatological exegesis of 2b-13.

The *Glossa Ordinaria* became the standard medieval reference work on the scriptures, and for this reason I shall look at it in some detail. It was not intended to be original, and relies heavily upon the previous tradition of interpretation. Its compilation was not the work of any single individual, though Anselm of Laon played a key role in regard to many books. It is unknown who was responsible for the section of the *Glossa* on Revelation, but the entire *Glossa* was probably completed by the

⁹ See above, sections 1.1-1.7.

mid-twelfth century.¹⁰ In form, it consisted of a biblical text with marginal and interlinear glosses, and the layout of the manuscripts was taken over into the early printed editions.¹¹

The reed (v.1) signifies scripture, as scripture was written with a reed.¹² The reed is like a rod which kings use to admonish. The command to “rise” is an order to preach, and the reed (=scriptures) is therefore given, as preaching is done through the scriptures. The measuring is done by preaching to each according to their capacity, so that the Church (the Temple) should be built up, and in it Christ (the altar). The outer court (v.2) is false Christians, who pretend to be of the Church. They should be thrown out, that is excommunicated, and therefore seen to be outside the Church. The court is unmeasured, as preaching is withdrawn from it. In v.2b the exposition changes from ecclesiological to eschatological. The Holy City is the Church, which will be persecuted in the time of Antichrist. All persecutions, past and present, proceed from Antichrist, and so will the last one. The witnesses are Enoch and Elijah, and the 1260 days in which they preach are 3½ years, the length of time Christ himself preached. It is noted, however, that 1260 days do not in fact make up the full 3½ years,¹³ just as Christ did not in fact complete the last ½ year preaching of his 3½. Enoch and Elijah are two olive trees (v.4) as they have been anointed with the Holy Spirit, and lampstands as they give light to others. The fire from their mouths (v.5) is to be understood spiritually; their enemies will be damned, spiritually killed. They will shut heaven (v.6) by shutting up the scriptures, and the lack of rain shows that

¹⁰ On the *Glossa* see B. Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in The Middle Ages* (Oxford 1983³) 46-66; M.T. Gibson, “The Twelfth Century Glossed Bible” *SP* 23 (Louvain 1990) 232-244.

¹¹ The printing of the marginal glosses in PL 113-114, and their attribution to Walafrid Strabo, reflects the now discredited opinion that the interlinear and marginal glosses were separate works (the marginal attributed to Strabo, the interlinear to Anselm of Laon).

¹² There are no page nos. on the *editio princeps* of the *Glossa*, but the Apocalypse is, as usual, found at the end. K. Froehlich and M.T. Gibson, ed., *Biblia Latina cum Glossa Ordinaria. Facsimile Reprint of the Editio Princeps, Adolph Rusch of Strassburg 1480/1481* (Turnhout 1992)

¹³ 1260 days = 3½ years of 360 days, but falls short of 3½ years of 365 days.

they will not preach unless the times are agreeable. Their power over waters is over doctrines, which are irrigating to the faithful. Their doctrines can be turned into blood, that is into sin, when they are heard and neglected or condemned. Enoch and Elijah are killed by the beast (v.7), who is Antichrist. He arises from the abyss, which is darkness, and kills them bodily. Their dead bodies are thrown out (v.8) so that whoever should see them will be afraid to be like them. The great city is Jerusalem, which is great only in evil. It is like Egypt, in being in darkness without knowledge of God. Some will see the bodies (v.9) with their eyes, others will hear by report. This explanation of a report that is spread addresses the problem of how people from throughout the world (peoples, tribes, tongues and nations, v.9) could see the bodies in Jerusalem. The rejoicing over them (v.10) is explained as the impious rejoicing at the affliction of the just. The resurrection of the witnesses (v.11) is after 3½ days, which is 3½ years. It is the general resurrection, which occurs after the death of Antichrist. The *Glossa* is working with a 3½ year ministry of Enoch and Elijah followed by a 3½ year reign of Antichrist. All are eternally enlivened by the spirit of life, and stand immortal and impassible. The fear of those who see them is either a fear of the punishment of hell (for the reprobate) or reverence for God (for the elect). The glorified hear the great voice from heaven (v.12), a voice from Christ or an archangel. They are told to ascend to the company of the saints. The hour is either the time of the elect's glorification or the hour of the death of Enoch and Elijah. The earthquake is correspondingly either the punishment of the reprobate in hell, and those killed in it are the reprobate, or it signifies the destruction of the Church during the reign of Antichrist, after the death of Enoch and Elijah. The rest who give glory to God are the elect, who give glory to God for their salvation and the damnation of the

evil. The *Glossa* gives an ecclesiological interpretation of vv.1-2a, and an eschatological interpretation of vv.2b-13.

Anselm of Laon¹⁴ (d.1117) was instrumental in the formation of the *Glossa Ordinaria*, although he probably did not share responsibility for the work on Revelation. He is unlikely to have authored the commentary attributed to him in PL 162, and Kamlah believes that it represents the *Glossa* in commentary form.¹⁵ This is perhaps to oversimplify the matter, as in Revelation 11 there is disagreement with the *Glossa*. I shall call the author “Anselm” for the sake of convenience. Verses 1-2a are interpreted ecclesiologicaly, as in the *Glossa*.¹⁶ Verses 2b-13 are interpreted solely in an eschatological sense of Enoch and Elijah. Anselm utilizes and expands on the *Glossa*’s material on how the death of the witnesses is seen, and how it is designed to discourage others.

Quidam videbunt oculis, quidam sola fama, quia toto tempore illius nequissimi impostoris et haeresiarchae Antichristi praedicabitur: Videte ne sitis consimiles illis qui sic jacent inhumati.¹⁷

Contrary to previous Western commentaries, the resurrection (vv.11-12) is that of Enoch and Elijah, who rise immortal and impassible¹⁸ after 3½ days, not the general resurrection.¹⁹ This stands in tension with the account of the spread of the story of the bodies thrown out. It would be ridiculous for people to be afraid of becoming like those whose bodies were thrown out if they had risen 3½ days later. The quoted comment coheres with the version of the Enoch and Elijah story present in the *Glossa*. This knows of their slaughter by Antichrist, but not their resurrection, and their ministry is the 3½ years prior to Antichrist’s accession to power, with the story of the

¹⁴ On Anselm, see Smalley, *Study of the Bible*, 49-51; 61-62.

¹⁵ Kamlah, *Apokalypse*, 34-35.

¹⁶ Anselm of Laon, *Enarrationes in Apocalypsin* (PL 162) 1539C-1540A.

¹⁷ Anselm, *Enarrationes*, 1540D.

¹⁸ The *Glossa* describes those who rise at the general resurrection as “immortal and impassible.”

¹⁹ Anselm, *Enarrationes*, 1541B.

death able to circulate in the 3½ years (the *Glossa*'s interpretation of the 3½ days) in which their bodies lie unburied. Overall, Anselm has an ecclesiological exegesis of vv.1-2a, and an eschatological exegesis of vv.2b-13, making the important move of interpreting vv.11-12 of Enoch and Elijah in particular. Possibly there was influence here from an Antichrist tradition that knew of the resurrection of Enoch and Elijah, but it is more likely that once the two witnesses have been identified as Enoch and Elijah, the more obvious sense of the text of Revelation, in speaking of a resurrection of the two witnesses, has been followed. The text of Revelation has become dominant over the version of the Antichrist tradition that omitted the resurrection of Enoch and Elijah, and this move now becomes increasingly prevalent among commentators on Revelation who think the two witnesses Enoch and Elijah. Although the work is clearly dependent on the *Glossa*, the difference with the *Glossa* over the resurrection of the witnesses shows that the work is not simply the *Glossa* in commentary form, but an independent composition.

The commentary of Berengaudus is difficult to date precisely, and could be from either the eleventh²⁰ or early twelfth century,²¹ or even the ninth.²² It has an ecclesiological exegesis of vv.1-2a, and a predominantly eschatological exegesis of vv.2b-13 in relation to Enoch and Elijah, with vv.11-12 signifying the general resurrection.²³ The great city (v.8) is not Jerusalem, but Babylon, the city comprised of the devil and the reprobate.²⁴ There Enoch and Elijah are killed. The throwing out

²⁰ P.B. Klein, "The Apocalypse in Medieval Art" in, ed. R.K. Emmerson and B.McGinn, *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca/London 1992) 189.

²¹ G. Lobrichon, "Une nouveauté: Les gloses de la Bible" in, ed. G. Lobrichon and P. Riché, *Le Moyen Age et la Bible* (Paris 1984) 95-114 (date on 109); S. Lewis, "Exegesis and Illustration in Thirteenth-Century English Apocalypses" in, ed. R.K. Emmerson and B.McGinn, *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca/London 1992) 261.

²² D. Visser, *Apocalypse as Utopian Expectation (800-1500)* (Leiden/New York/Cologne 1996) 44-103.

²³ Berengaudus, *Expositio in Apocalypsin* (PL 17), 867A-872C.

²⁴ Such an idea of "two cities" has its roots in Tyconius, but its classical formulation is that of Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*.

of their bodies is taken to be the reprobate's casting out of what is holy from their hearts.²⁵ The theme of the rejection and return of the Jews runs throughout the interpretation. The outer court that is thrown out (v.2) is the Jews who are expelled for their unbelief. They are given to the Gentiles either because their unbelief has caused them to be numbered with the Gentiles, or because they were given to the Gentile Romans to be destroyed.²⁶ Enoch and Elijah will convert the Jews to the true faith during their 3½ year ministry, that runs concurrently with the time of Antichrist.²⁷ The tenth part of the city that falls (v.13) refers to Jews who are converted from keeping the law, as ten often designates the Law on account of the decalogue. The 7000 similarly refers to Jews who die in relation to the devil and live to God. The remnant who give God glory are the elect, who seeing the conversion of the Jews completed according to the scriptures do not stop praising God for their repentance.²⁸ Predominantly, the exegesis of vv.1-2a is ecclesiological, and that of 2b-13 eschatological.

Rupert of Deutz (d. 1129-30) has many distinctive features in his reading of Rev 11:1-13.²⁹ The reed (v.1) signifies the ability to write of one who has an authoritative teaching position.³⁰ Apostles, prophets and evangelists have such a teaching office, and these are always in the Church, although it is possible that people may write without having such an office.³¹ Christ is the Temple and the altar, and the worshippers the Church. The measurement is the confession of an orthodox

²⁵ Berengaudus, *In Apocalypsin*, 870B-C.

²⁶ 869B-C. Either the destruction of the temple in 70 AD, or more probably the crushing of the Bar Kochba rebellion in 132-135 AD and the subsequent refoundation of Jerusalem as *Aelia Capitolina* is meant. The latter is more likely, as Berengaudus probably shares the common opinion (stemming from Irenaeus' testimony) that Revelation was written towards the end of Domitian's reign (c. 95-96 AD). At this time the events of 70 were in the past, and John could not be thought to have prophesied them.

²⁷ Berengaudus, *In Apocalypsin*, 871C.

²⁸ Berengaudus, *In Apocalypsin*, 871D-872C.

²⁹ On Rupert see Kamlah, *Apokalypse*, 75-114; J.H. van Engen, *Rupert of Deutz* (Berkeley/Los Angeles/London 1983) 275-282.

³⁰ Rupert of Deutz, *Commentaria in Apocalypsin* (PL 169), 1016D-1017A.

³¹ Rupert, *In Apocalypsin*, 1017A-B.

Christology.³² The 42 month persecution of the Church (the holy city, v.2) indicates the last persecution of Antichrist, but Rupert notes that persecution does not cease throughout the history of the Church. The two witnesses (v.3) are given a collective interpretation.

...duobus ordinibus distincti sunt, videlicet, quomodo Henoch at Elias, ambo sancti et Deo dilecti a semetipsis differunt. Henoch namque nullas legitur persecutiones pertulisse, sed in pace cum Deo ambulavit, et non inveniebatur, quia tulit eum Deus. Elias vero notum est quantas persecutioes impiissimae Jezabelis pertulit. Secundum duos illos usque hodie et usque in finem saeculi testes Christi distincti sunt, ita videlicet ut alii sint testes, qui in pace sanctae Ecclesiae fideliter viventes, loquendo pariter et scribendo testimonium veritati perhibuerunt et perhibere non desinunt; alii qui in persecutione pro statu fidei pugnando, supradictas templi Dei et altaris, et adorantium in eo mensuras defenderunt, et in defensione sanguinem suum fuderunt vel fusuri sunt. Hi duo sanctorum ordines recte dicuntur duo testes.³³

The two witnesses are people like Enoch and Elijah throughout Church history. By designating them *ordines* Rupert does not mean to imply that they are two religious orders, but simply that they are two different sets of people. The distinction is perhaps not so much in the type of person, as in the times they live in. Those in peaceful times cannot be martyred, and in time of persecution martyrdom may be unavoidable. The beast of v.7 is Antichrist who will come at the end of time, but like the two witnesses he is present at other times. He came in spirit in Nero and others after him.³⁴ The great city is, as for Berengaudus, the city of the devil which opposes that of God.³⁵ The resurrection (vv.11-12) is the general resurrection, and v.13 concerns the last judgement.³⁶ Rupert presents an ecclesiological exegesis of vv.1-2a, and a primarily ecclesiological exegesis of vv. 2b-10, although there is a particular application to the last persecution of Antichrist. In this eschatological application, the two witnesses are

³² Rupert, *In Apocalypsin*, 1017C-1018A. Cf. Victorinus and Victorinus-Jerome; see above, section 1.8. The second of these, almost certainly the form of the commentary that Rupert may have known, is closer to Rupert, although not identifying the Temple as Christ

³³ Rupert, *In Apocalypsin*, 1022C-D.

³⁴ Rupert, *In Apocalypsin*, 1029D.

³⁵ Rupert, *In Apocalypsin*, 1030A.

³⁶ Rupert, *In Apocalypsin*, 1032D-1034C.

still the two sorts of people signified by Enoch and Elijah (presumably more those signified by Elijah), not the two themselves. Verses 11-13 are interpreted eschatologically.

The interpretation of Richard of St. Victor³⁷ (d.1173) follows the general lines of the *Glossa*, but shares with Anselm the application of vv.11-12 to the resurrection of Enoch and Elijah in particular.³⁸ The fire from the witnesses' mouths in v.5 is spiritual and causes spiritual death, but the plagues of v.6 are understood literally.³⁹ Richard, unusually, feels it necessary to morally vindicate these violent actions.

Magnam igitur habebunt potestatem, sed magis tamen studebunt servare patientiam quam irrogare vindictam. In qua quanto erit in eis laudabilior virtus patientiae, tanto gloriosior erit retributio coronae.⁴⁰

The violent plagues are their last resort; it is their patience that is praiseworthy, not their power. Richard gives an ecclesiological exegesis of vv.1-2, and an eschatological exegesis of 2b-13 in relation to Enoch and Elijah.

Gerhoh of Reichersberg (1093-1169) did not write a commentary on Revelation, but he did discuss the identity of the two witnesses.⁴¹ He is uncertain as to whether the two should be seen as Elijah and Moses or Elijah and Enoch, but thinks this to be relatively unimportant. They are not a literal two individuals.

Nos contenti sumus illud affirmare quod in spiritu Moysi et Eliae seu Enoch et Eliae iam praecesserunt multi secundum Christum adventum.⁴²

Already many of these have preceded the second coming of Christ, implicitly with more still to come before Christ's return.

³⁷ Richard of St. Victor, *In Apocalypsim Joannis* (PL 196), 791C-794C.

³⁸ Richard, *In Apocalypsim*, 793D-794A.

³⁹ Richard, *In Apocalypsim*, 792C-D.

⁴⁰ Richard, *In Apocalypsim*, 792D.

⁴¹ Gerhoh of Reichersberg, *Libellus de Ordine Donorum Sancti Spiritus*, in, ed. O. van den Eynde and P. Angelini Rijmersdael, *Gerhohi, Opera Inedita I, Tractatus et Libelli* (Rome 1955) 169-162.

⁴² Gerhoh, *Libellus de Ordine Donorum*, 162.

In this period vv.1-2a are interpreted ecclesiologically, and 2b-13 both eschatologically and sometimes ecclesiologically. A new move for the commentary tradition is made by Anselm in seeing the resurrection (vv.11-12) as that of Enoch and Elijah. New interpretative options are introduced for the witnesses. As well as symbolizing Enoch and Elijah or the Church, they may represent only a section of the Church, such as teachers (Bruno of Segni), men⁴³ of two sorts symbolized by Enoch and Elijah (Rupert of Deutz), or men in the spirit of Enoch and Elijah or Elijah and Moses (Gerhoh of Reichersberg). It is to these last two that the next author I shall examine, Joachim of Fiore, was closest.

⁴³ "Men" is not used here as a gender-biased description of people in general, but as a historically accurate term; women were not expected to fulfil these roles.

2.2 Joachim of Fiore

Joachim of Fiore (c.1135-1202) was born in Calabria. He entered the Benedictine monastery of Corazzo in about 1171. He soon became abbot, and thereafter worked for the incorporation of Corazzo into the Cistercian order, also spending time at the monastery of Casamari south of Rome in about 1183. The Cistercian order became less attractive to him, and by around 1190 he had founded a new house at Fiore in Calabria. From the mid 1180s until his death he wrote and revised his three major works, the *Expositio in Apocalypsin*, the *Liber de Concordia Novi ac Veteris Testamenti*, and the *Psalterium decem Chordarum*.⁴⁴ Joachim's understanding of the Apocalypse and the concordances of scripture came to him in a vision after much prayerful meditation.⁴⁵ The book of Revelation was the key to the whole scripture, the wheel within a wheel of Ezekiel's vision (Ezek 1:16). Other books contained parts of history within them, but the book of Revelation contained the entirety.⁴⁶ To understand Joachim's exegesis of Rev 11:1-13 it is necessary to have some idea of his complex general framework, and I shall attempt to briefly sketch some of the more pertinent points.⁴⁷ Joachim discerns three *status*⁴⁸ within history, corresponding to the three persons of the Trinity. The *status* of the Father lasted from Adam until the coming of Christ; it is especially associated with the order

⁴⁴ On the biography of Joachim I follow B. McGinn, "Joachim and the Sibyl" *Cîteaux* 24 (1973) 97-138. One important recent addition to our knowledge of Joachim's life has come from S. Wessley, "A New Writing of Joachim of Fiore: Preliminary Observations" *Florensia* 7 (1993) 39-58. Wessley demonstrates that the *Genealogia*, previously thought pseudonymous, is a genuine work written c. 1176, about eight years earlier than any other of Joachim's known writings, and demonstrating that already in 1176 Joachim was engaged in devising prophecy on the grounds of biblical reckonings. For the view that Joachim first entered the Cistercian monastery Sambucina, thereby becoming a full member of the Cistercian order (contra McGinn) see C. Baraut, "Joachim de Fiore" *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité* 8 (Paris 1972-1974) 1179-1180.

⁴⁵ Joachim, *Expositio in Apocalypsin* (Venice 1527) f. 39r-v.

⁴⁶ Joachim, ed. E.K. Burger, *Enchiridion super Apocalypsin* (Toronto 1986) 11. The *Enchiridion* is an early work, which was expanded to become the *Liber Introductorius* to the *Expositio in Apocalypsin*.

⁴⁷ See M. Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages* (Notre Dame 1993²) 16-27; E.R. Daniel, "Joachim of Fiore: Patterns of History in the Apocalypse" in, ed. R.K. Emmerson and B. McGinn, *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca/London 1992) 72-88.

⁴⁸ The translation of *status* is not easy. "Age" might perhaps be misleading, as Joachim never refers to three *aetates* (three ages), and rather than translate, I shall use the Latin *status*.

of people who are married. The second *status*, that of the Son, had its origin in the time of Uzziah king of Judah, fully flowering in the time of Christ. It is associated with the clerical order. The third *status*, that of the Holy Spirit, has a double origin, in Elijah and St. Benedict, and its full flowering was expected by Joachim in the near future. It is characterized by monasticism. The origins of the *status* reflect the Trinitarian relationships. The *status* of the Son has its origin in that of the Father, and the *status* of the Holy Spirit has a double origin in the *status* of the Father and the Son, in accordance with the *filioque* of the creed. Joachim has another method of looking at history, based not on a Trinitarian pattern, but on the Father and Son only, the time of the Father until Christ's first coming, and the time of the Son until Christ's return. The two periods overlap; the first runs from Adam until Christ, the second from Uzziah to the consummation. Joachim sees concordances of historical institutions and figures. By this he means that certain figures or institutions in one era correspond to those of another; these concordances may be either according to Joachim's threefold or twofold pattern of history. In the threefold scheme the three overlapping periods are from Adam to Christ, from Uzziah to Joachim's present time, and from St. Benedict until the consummation of the world. In the twofold scheme they are from Adam to Christ, and from Uzziah to the consummation of the world. The concordances are primarily based upon figures or institutions occupying the same generational position in the twofold or threefold pattern of history. Joachim measures time not in years, but in generations. Based on the genealogies of Matthew and Luke, there are 63 generations of the Father, from Adam until Christ, and correspondingly 63 of the Son, from Uzziah onwards. There are 21 generations, from Adam to Jacob. The next 21 generation take us up to the time of Uzziah. From this point up to Christ are the last 21 generations of the Father, running concurrently with the 21 beginning

generations of the Son. From the time of Christ there are 21 generations until the time of Benedict, and a further 21 generations after Benedict. Joachim reckoned a generation to be normally 30 years, so in 1200 AD, 40 generations of the 42 to pass after Christ's coming had gone, but Joachim refused to say that the remaining two generations would be 30 years each. An example of the sort of concordance that Joachim would draw is that between the 12 patriarchs, the 12 apostles, and the 12 men who are to come at the beginning of the full flowering of the third status.⁴⁹ These all occupy the same generational position on the threefold scheme when one starts counting from Adam, Uzziah, and Benedict respectively.

Joachim also sees two patterns of sevens within history. Seven ages in the time of the Old Testament correspond to seven ages since Christ. The seventh age since Christ seems to correspond to the full flowering of the third status. For Joachim, this time of fuller spiritual understanding upon earth is now near. Joachim does not give a duration to this full flowering of the third status, but he does not seem to have envisaged a period of more than a few years. The 42 generations since Christ are assigned to the seven ages of the era since Christ unequally. Six each are assigned to the first four ages, but then sixteen are assigned to the fifth, leaving only one each for the sixth and seventh.⁵⁰ With each generation at 30 years, Joachim was thus near the beginning of the sixth age in 1200, although Joachim would never commit himself to saying that the last two generations would also be of 30 years each. He is unclear as to whether there will be any measurable generations following the 42 after Christ.⁵¹

Joachim's exegesis progressed over time. In his *Expositio de propetia ignota*, dating from 1184,⁵² Joachim predicts that a Pope will be commissioned by the

⁴⁹ Joachim, ed. E.R. Daniel, *Liber de Concordia Novi ac Veteris Testamenti* (Philadelphia 1983) 441.

⁵⁰ For Joachim's reasoning in doing this see Daniel, "Joachim of Fiore: Patterns of History" 82.

⁵¹ Reeves, *Influence*, 303.

⁵² The work is edited in McGinn, "Joachim and the Sibyl," 129-138.

anonymous companion of Elijah, who himself converts the Jews,⁵³ to preach amongst the pagans at the time of the persecution of the ten kings (Dan 7:24) that immediately precedes that of Antichrist.⁵⁴ It is difficult to say whether this is exegesis of Revelation 11, or use of a separate tradition of the return of Elijah and a companion. In later works Joachim demonstrates that he knew of the connection of such traditions with Revelation 11, but disavows a connection of a literal return of Elijah and another with Revelation 11.⁵⁵ The hope that there would be a future reforming Pope (or Popes) of the last times, sometimes referred to as the *pastor angelicus* (although not by Joachim), has its roots in the mid twelfth century with Gerhoh of Reichersberg, and Joachim is one of the earliest exponents of this tradition.⁵⁶ It persisted until at least the sixteenth century.⁵⁷

In 1186/1187 Joachim wrote his *De Vita Sancti Benedicti*.⁵⁸ In this is outlined what was to be the most distinctive contribution of Joachim to the exegesis of Revelation 11, the idea of coming *viri spirituales*. Two new orders of spiritual men were to come to assist in the transition between the second and third *status*, helping to give spiritual understanding to others. The two witnesses of Revelation 11 are not Enoch and Elijah, but are to be understood as Moses and Elijah, who are not to return literally, but symbolize these coming orders. They will be at the beginning of the full flowering of the third *status* (21 generations from Benedict), and concord with John

⁵³ On Joachim and the conversion of the Jews at the beginning of the third *status*, see R.E. Lerner, *The Feast of Saint Abraham, Medieval Millenarians and the Jews* (Philadelphia 2001) 22-37.

⁵⁴ Joachim, *Expositio de prophetia ignota*, 135-136.

⁵⁵ See below on *De Vita Sancti Benedicti* and the *Expositio in Apocalypsin*.

⁵⁶ I find plausible the thesis of McGinn that the legend arose through greater claims for papal power at precisely the time that the occupants of the papal seat became less worthy. This was particularly the case after Innocent III (1198-1216), who was followed by a series of lawyers. If God had created such a powerful office, then divine providence demanded that its occupant be worthy. The divergence between this logic and reality led to hopes for a future *pastor angelicus*. See B. McGinn, "Angel Pope and Papal Antichrist" *CH* 47 (1978) 155-173; B. McGinn, "'Pastor Angelicus': Apocalyptic Myth and Political Hope in the Fourteenth Century" in *Santi e Santità nel Secolo XIV, Atti del XV Convegno Internazionale, Assisi, 15-16-17 ottobre 1987* (Perugia 1989) 221-251.

⁵⁷ Reeves, *Influence*, 429-452.

⁵⁸ Joachim of Fiore, *De Vita Sancti Benedicti*, in, ed. C. Baraut, "Un Tratado inédito de Joaquín de Fiore," *Analecta Sacra Tarraconensia* 24 (1951) 33-122 (39 for date).

the Baptist and the man Jesus at the same stage in the second (21 generations from Uzziah).⁵⁹ At the time of writing the *Vita*, Joachim's opinion of the Cistercian order was high. He presents two different conceptions of the *viri spirituales* in the *Vita*, both connected with the Cistercian order, which is not itself perfect, but represents a necessary step towards perfection.⁶⁰ Joachim was clear in his own mind that the active and contemplative lives could not be mixed. In one scheme a group of monks would emerge from the Cistercian order, and first spend time preaching. Then would come a persecution and a period of contemplation, followed by an outpouring of the Spirit upon the monks enabling them to complete the labour of evangelical preaching before the end of the world.⁶¹ The contemplative and active lives are kept separate temporally: a period of action is followed by contemplation and then a further period of action. Only one order of monks is in question, and it is notable that Revelation 11, with its two witnesses, is not mentioned in this passage. This scheme appears only here in Joachim, and the *Vita* also contains what was to become Joachim's preferred picture of the *viri spirituales*. Instead of only one order, there are two; contemplative monks who remain isolated on a mountain-top, and an order of preaching monks. In the *Vita*, the preaching monks are in some way connected with the Cistercians.⁶² The contemplative monks descend only as far as the preaching monks, to convey the word of God to them. The word is then passed on to the world by the preaching order, while the contemplatives ascend the mountain once more. The contemplative monks are

⁵⁹ Joachim, *Vita*, 43:27-42

⁶⁰ S. Zimdars-Swartz, "Joachim of Fiore and the Cistercian Order: A Study of the *De Vita Sancti Benedicti*" in, ed. J.R. Sommerfeldt, *Simplicity and Ordinariness. Studies in Medieval Cistercian History IV* (Kalamazoo 1980) 293-309.

⁶¹ Joachim, *Vita*, 45:13-30. B. McGinn, "Alter Moyses: The Role of Bernard of Clairvaux in the Thought of Joachim of Fiore" in, ed. J.R. Sommerfeldt, *Bernardus Magister: Papers Presented at the Nonacentenary Celebration of the Birth of St. Bernard of Clairvaux* (Kalamazoo 1993) 429-448, suggests that Bernard of Clairvaux was the inspiration for this.

⁶² Zimdars-Swartz, "Joachim of Fiore and The Cistercian Order," 302.

symbolized by Elijah, and the active by Moses.⁶³ The separation of the active and contemplative lives is more complete than the temporal distinction of the alternative scheme, as different groups carry out the different tasks.

The mature thought of Joachim is represented in his *Expositio in Apocalypsin*, in which he gives an exposition of the entirety of Rev 11:1-13, not only the two witnesses. The temple (v.1) is the Roman Church, or rather the priests, and the altar the cardinals. The outer court (v.2) is the clerics of the Greek Church. The worshippers are those of the Greek Church who will flee to the Roman Church. The separation, and future reunion of the schismatic Greek Church with the Roman Church is then discussed at some length.⁶⁴ The *viri spirituales* were to convert the Gentiles, reunite the Greek Church with the Roman, and finally convert the Jews.⁶⁵ The two witnesses are not, as many think, Enoch and Elijah, but are Elijah and Moses, who symbolize two orders.

Scimus quod Moyses fuit vir levita et pastor populi Israel: Helyas vir solitarius non habens filios aut uxorem. Ille ergo significat ordinem clericorum, iste ordinem monachorum.⁶⁶

In the *Liber de Concordia* Joachim does once disagree with this designation of the two orders as clerical and monastic, and labels them clerical and lay.⁶⁷ The two witnesses are not the only biblical pair that Joachim believes symbolize the coming *viri spirituales*. In commenting on the one like a son of man and the angel who comes

⁶³ Joachim, *Vita*, 13:17-50; 43:27-42.

⁶⁴ Joachim, *Expositio*, ff. 142v-145r. The printed text is somewhat disarranged on ch. 11: f. 151v and f.145v should swap places, and f. 152r-v is correctly numbered, but incorrectly appears between f. 150v and f.151r.

⁶⁵ Joachim, *Expositio*, ff. 137r-v; See also E.R. Daniel, "Apocalyptic Conversion: The Joachite Alternative to the Crusades" *Traditio* 25 (1969) 127-154. The incoming of the fullness of the Gentiles leading to the conversion of the Jews is found in Rom 11:25-26, but the return of the Greeks to the Roman Church is Joachim's own.

⁶⁶ Joachim, *Expositio*, f. 148v.

⁶⁷ Joachim, *Liber de Concordia* (Venice 1519) f. 80; see also Reeves, *Influence*, 143.

from the heavenly temple with a sickle (Rev 14:14, 17) he sees them,⁶⁸ and they are also to be found in the raven and dove released by Noah (Gen 8:6-12).⁶⁹

The 42 months (v.2) are 42 generations, the 42 after Christ. The trampling underfoot of the Holy City is not for all of this time, although the infidels are always given power to trample the faithful.⁷⁰ The Lord of the earth whom the two orders stand before is the head of the world, who reigns before the man of sin (the first Antichrist), the eleventh horn of Daniel.⁷¹ Joachim believes that there will be two Antichrists, one at the transition between the second and third *status*, and the last Antichrist at the consummation, the end of the third *status*.⁷² The time between these two Antichrists, the duration of the third status is represented by the thousand years of Rev 20:1-6, but is not to be reckoned as a literal thousand years. The fire from the mouths (v.5) of the orders is spiritual understanding, which consumes and destroys the carnal arguments of their opponents, and the shutting of heaven (v.6) is the withholding of preaching from the reprobate. The beast (v.7) is the multitude of the unfaithful, who from the passion of the Lord until the time of Antichrist (the first Antichrist) persecute the Church of God. It is the fourth beast of Daniel 7, the first Antichrist who kills those of the two orders and others of the saints. The great city in which they are killed is the kingdom of this world.⁷³ The 3½ days seems to be understood as all the time of the beast's reign, from Christ's advent to the beast's ruin.⁷⁴ This ruin is probably to be identified with the death of the first Antichrist. The

⁶⁸ Joachim, *Expositio*, ff. 175v-176r.

⁶⁹ Joachim, *Expositio*, f. 81v.

⁷⁰ Joachim, *Expositio*, f. 148v.

⁷¹ Joachim, *Expositio*, f. 149r.

⁷² This is shown most clearly in Joachim's figure of the seven-headed dragon, where the seventh head is the first Antichrist, and the tail the last Antichrist. Joachim of Fiore, *Liber Figerarum*, ed. L. Tondelli, M. Reeves and B. Hirsch-Reich, *Il Libro delle Figure* (Turin 1953) plate XIV.

⁷³ Joachim, *Expositio*, ff. 149r-150v.

⁷⁴ Joachim, *Expositio*, f. 150v.

resurrection is not literal, but seems to be connected with the glory of the saints manifested at the time of the earthquake, probably the glory of the third *status*.⁷⁵

Joachim's interpretation of Revelation 11:1-13 is strikingly original. It fits into his understanding of history, and speaks primarily of two orders, one contemplative, one active, at the transition between the second and third *status*. *Ordo* had been used by Rupert of Deutz, but Joachim moves beyond him in applying it to two specific religious orders. He is close to both Rupert and Gerhoh of Reichersberg⁷⁶ in seeing the two witnesses as symbolic, yet not as symbolizing the whole Church. Joachim did not apply Revelation 11:1-13 to the literal return of any Old Testament figures.⁷⁷ From his exegesis of Revelation 11 it was his picture of two orders that was to prove most enduring, and I shall now look at those who took up this idea outside the commentary tradition on Revelation.

⁷⁵ Joachim, *Expositio*, ff. 151r-152v (i.e. including f. 145v in place of f. 151v).

⁷⁶ Although there is no evidence that Joachim had direct access to Gerhoh's writings; B. McGinn, *Visions of the End* (New York 1998²) 103.

⁷⁷ Although Joachim maintained an expectation of the return of at least Elijah to play a role in converting the Jews alongside the *virī spirituales* on the basis of Malachi 4:5-6 and Jesus' words in Mt 17:11. Joachim, ed. E.R. Daniel, "Abbot Joachim of Fiore: The *De Ultimis Tribulationibus*" in, ed A. Williams, *Prophecy and Millenarianism* (Harlow 1980) 186.

2.3 Excursus: Viri spirituales⁷⁸

Joachim's idea of coming *viri spirituales* was perhaps derived principally from Revelation 11, but he also found the two orders in other parts of Scripture. The idea was separable from Revelation 11, and was taken up by many works that were not commentaries on Revelation. In these, just as with the Antichrist tradition, the influence of Revelation 11 varies.

The earliest extant appearance of the *viri spirituales* after Joachim is to be found in the Pseudo-Joachim *Super Hieremiam*.⁷⁹ The provenance of this work is difficult to establish. It could be the work of Franciscans,⁸⁰ or of members of Joachim's order of San Giovanni in Fiore.⁸¹ These suggestions have been based upon the printed edition of the *Super Hieremiam*, and R. Moynihan's study of the manuscripts has led him to identify three versions. Moynihan suggests that a core version, which may go back to Joachim himself, was reworked between 1215 and 1245 by the Florentine order of Joachim. This text then came to Franciscans either in Pisa or Southern Italy in the late 1240s, who reworked it into the *Super Hieremiam* that is now in the printed versions.⁸² In the absence of a critical edition, anything approaching certainty on these matters is impossible, but the printed edition of the *Super Hieremiam* does seem to represent a work of the 1240s, and it is this that I have consulted. The *Super Hieremiam* predicts that two orders will come, and specifically cites Rev 11:8 in relation to their future persecution by the beast, a pseudo-pope.⁸³

⁷⁸ I use the term *viri spirituales* as a convenient shorthand for denoting the idea of Joachim. It does not mean that all the authors in this section necessarily use the phrase *viri spirituales*, but that the substance of the idea is present.

⁷⁹ Pseudo-Joachim, *Interpretatio preclara Abbatis Ioachim in Hieremiam Prophetam* (Venice 1525).

⁸⁰ B. Töpfer, *Das Kommende Reich des Friedens* (Berlin 1964) 104-153; F. Simoni, "Il *Super Hieremiam* e il Gioachimismo Franciscano" *Bulletino dell' Istituto storico italiano* 82 (1970) 13-46.

⁸¹ M. Reeves, "The Abbot Joachim's Disciples and the Cistercian Order" *Sophia* 19 (1951) 355-371; Reeves, *Influence*, 149-158.

⁸² R. Moynihan, "The development of the 'pseudo-Joachim' commentary 'Super Hieremiam': new manuscript evidence." *MEFRM* 98 (1986) 109-142.

⁸³ *Super Hieremiam*, ff. 20v, 29r.

Elijah and Moses are designated the heads of these orders of the [end of] the second status,⁸⁴ although the orders are later said to be symbolized by Enoch and Elijah.⁸⁵ In the printed edition of the *Super Hieremiam* the two orders are clearly identified with the Franciscans and Dominicans,⁸⁶ although on Reeves' hypothesis of authorship this is perhaps an addition to the text by Franciscans.⁸⁷ I presume that it belongs to Moynihan's final redaction, and if Moynihan's theory is correct it places this identification of the two orders with the Franciscans and Dominicans in the 1240s. This would make it (just) the earliest example of what was to become a commonplace. Joachim had predicted two different orders, one active, the other contemplative. This distinction was lost, however, when his prediction was interpreted of the two great mendicant orders formed at the beginning of the thirteenth century. These, as friars, combined the active and contemplative lives in a way foreign to the thought of Joachim. Their preaching zeal was similar to the active order of Joachim, and this must have commended the identification. With the medieval acceptance of the *Super Hieremiam* as a genuine work of Joachim, he was regarded as having prophesied the rise of the Franciscans and Dominicans.

The *Super Esaiam*, another biblical commentary falsely attributed to Joachim, is probably from a few years later than the *Super Hieremiam*, in the 1260s,⁸⁸ and shares the same problems of authorship.⁸⁹ Once again, it speaks of two orders, sometimes associating them with Revelation 11, and identifies the two with the Franciscans and Dominicans.⁹⁰ The *De Oneribus Prophetarum*, written soon after

⁸⁴ *Super Hieremiam*, f. 23r.

⁸⁵ *Super Hieremiam*, f. 58r.

⁸⁶ *Super Hieremiam*, ff. 12v-13r.

⁸⁷ Reeves, *Influence*, 152.

⁸⁸ H. Lee, M. Reeves, G. Silano, *Western Mediterranean Prophecy. The School of Joachim of Fiore and the Fourteenth Century Breviloquium* (Wetteren 1989) 10 (from the introduction written by Lee and Reeves; the text of the Breviloquium is edited by Lee and Silano).

⁸⁹ Reeves, *Influence*, 151-58

⁹⁰ Pseudo-Joachim, *Super Esaiam* (Venice 1517) ff. 2r, 7r, 8v, 30r-v, 41v, 46v, 48v and passim.

1250⁹¹ speaks of two orders, referring to Revelation 11, and very probably identifying the two orders as the Dominicans and Franciscans who will usher in the third *status*.⁹² The redaction of the *Erythrean Sibyl* printed by Holder-Egger,⁹³ stemming from either 1252-1254⁹⁴ or 1249⁹⁵ speaks of two stars, the Franciscans and Dominicans, who battle against the beast of Islam,⁹⁶ with the redactor probably thinking of their missionary activities in the Middle East.⁹⁷

In 1255 a joint encyclical was issued by John of Parma and Humbert of Romans, the heads of the Franciscan and Dominican orders respectively. Their two orders have been raised up “novissime diebus istis in fine seculorum.” The two orders are symbolized by a number of pairs. They are two great lights [Gen 1:16], two trumpets of the true Moses, Christ [Num 10:2], two cherubim with their wings outspread [Ex 25:18], two breasts of the spouse from which Christ’s little ones suck milk [Song of Sol 4:5], two olives [Zech 4:14], two witnesses clad in sackcloth [Rev 11:3] and two shining stars from the Sibylline prophecy [*The Erythrean Sibyl*].⁹⁸ The encyclical shows some of the traits characteristic of this group of writings. The two future orders are taken to be the Franciscans and Dominicans. Revelation 11 is one of a number of biblical passages cited, and in this case is the last one. There is no sustained exegesis of Revelation 11, but rather only the picture of the two witnesses is

⁹¹ *De Oneribus Prophetarum*, ed. O. Holder-Egger, “Italienischen Prophetieen des 13. Jh. III” *Neues Archiv* 33 (1908) 95-187, dating on 137.

⁹² *De Oneribus Prophetarum*, 156, 160, 164.

⁹³ *The Erythrean Sibyl*, ed. O. Holder-Egger, “Italienischen Prophetieen des 13. Jahrhunderts I” *Neues Archiv* 15 (1889) 141-178. There is an original core from the 9th-11th C, see E. Jamison, *Admiral Eugenius of Sicily* (London 1957) 21-32. The shorter version, printed by Holder-Egger, “Italienische Prophetieen des 13. Jahrhunderts II” *Neues Archiv* 30 (1905) 322-386 is an abbreviation of the text in *Neues Archiv* 15.

⁹⁴ *Erythrean Sibyl*, ed. Holder-Egger, 149-150.

⁹⁵ P.J. Alexander, “The Diffusion of Byzantine Apocalypses in the Medieval West and the Beginnings of Joachimism” in, ed. A. Williams, *Prophecy and Millenarianism* (Harlow, Essex 1980) 53-106.

⁹⁶ *Erythrean Sibyl*, 162, 165. The original version spoke of two stars, but it is unclear what they signified. Jamison, *Admiral Eugenius*, 29, suggests the Eastern and Western Churches.

⁹⁷ Alexander, “Diffusion,” 75. The Franciscans were particularly active in this; J. Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order* (Oxford 1968) 226-239.

⁹⁸ L. Wadding, *Annales Minorum* (Rome 1732) 3:380-381.

picked up. Joachim is not named as the originator of this line of interpretation, but the encyclical represents an attempt to defend the orthodoxy of the prediction of the two orders. The encyclical was written in the midst of the Scandal of the Eternal Gospel, occasioned by Gerard of Borgo San Donnino. In Paris in 1254 Gerard issued Joachim's three major works, together with a *Liber Inroductorius* of his own. He had misunderstood Joachim's doctrine of three *status*, and announced a coming age of the Holy Spirit in 1260, in which the writings of Joachim superseded those of the Scriptures.⁹⁹ Gerard's work was condemned by the Protocol of Anagni in 1255, but it was used by opponents of the Franciscans and Dominicans in Paris as a stick with which to beat the Friars. The joint encyclical represents a defence of the significance of the two orders. Unlike the *Super Hieremiam* and the *Super Esaiam*, the dangerous three *status* doctrine of Joachim is avoided altogether by the encyclical. This is all the more significant when it is remembered that Salimbene describes John of Parma as a "maximi Iohachite,"¹⁰⁰ i.e. almost certainly someone who personally held to a view of three *status*.¹⁰¹ The appearance of the Franciscans and Dominicans is given an eschatological significance, in that it presages the end of the world, but there is no hint of a three *status* view of history. A belief that they are living in the last times is neither heretical nor particularly dangerous, unlike a doctrine of three *status*.¹⁰² No mention is made of Joachim as the source of the exegesis concerning the two

⁹⁹ Reeves, *Influence*, 59-61.

¹⁰⁰ Salimbene, ed. O. Holder-Egger, *Cronica* (Hanover 1905-1913) 232-3.

¹⁰¹ Such was John's reputation, that opponents of the Friars were even able to successfully spread the rumour that John had written Gerard's *Liber Inroductorius*. See Reeves, *Influence*, 63.

¹⁰² The encyclical probably reflects the views of many within the orders. Although he perhaps underplays the influence of Joachite thought (i.e. that reflected in the pseudonymous as well as the genuine works) upon some Franciscans, E.R. Daniel, *The Franciscan Concept of Mission in the High Middle Ages* (Kentucky 1975) demonstrates that for many Franciscans their concept of mission was not connected with a three *status* doctrine, but was an idea of the renewal of the apostolic life and its preaching to prepare people for Christ's imminent return.

orders;¹⁰³ it is simply a matter of scriptural exegesis that they are predicted. The other authority cited, the recently revised *Erythrean Sibyl*, was presumably thought by the authors of the encyclical to represent a genuine ancient prophecy,¹⁰⁴ rather than anything potentially new or heretical. It was not unusual in the thirteenth century to treat pagan prophecies seriously if they were thought to predict Christ or Christianity. If their predictions were in places thought to be true, they could be seen as witnesses alongside the prophets of the Old Testament.¹⁰⁵ The encyclical presents the two orders as predicted by the Scriptures, among which is Revelation 11, with the Scriptures confirmed by ancient Sibylline prophecy. The authorities cited are all ancient, and there is no hint of new or dangerous doctrines such as three *status*. The Scriptures are being fulfilled in the appearance of the Franciscans and Dominicans in these last times; it is implicit that for their opponents to continue to harass them would be in opposition to God's will as revealed in the Bible.

John of Paris wrote his *Tractatus de Antichristo* c.1300.¹⁰⁶ He mentions the hope of two orders from Joachim,¹⁰⁷ but does not interpret Revelation 11 of them. The two witnesses of Revelation 11 are Enoch and Elijah who will come to preach against Antichrist. The hope for two future orders is completely separated from exegesis of Revelation 11.

¹⁰³ Joachim did not, of course, predict the Franciscans and Dominicans, but the acceptance of spurious works such as the *Super Hieremiam* as genuine, meant that it was thought he had.

¹⁰⁴ Even if the redactor was connected with John of Parma, as Alexander, "Diffusion," 87-93, suggests, and John knew of his redaction, he must have thought that the redactor brought out the true meaning of what he regarded as an ancient prophecy.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. the opening lines of the *Dies Irae* (mid-13th C):

Dies irae, dies illa,
solvet saeculum in favilla,
teste David cum Sibylla.

¹⁰⁶ J.W. Wittreich, "The Apocalypse: A Bibliography" in, ed. C.A. Patrides and J.W. Wittreich, *The Apocalypse in English Renaissance thought and literature* (Manchester 1984) 372.

¹⁰⁷ John of Paris, *Tractatus de Antichristo* (Venice 1516) f. 47r. This work is bound in the same volume as Telesphorus (see below).

The *Breviloquium* was written in the early 1350s, probably by a Franciscan tertiary, for circulation among Spiritual Franciscans, who defended a strict interpretation of the rule of Francis in relation to poverty, and Beguins, lay followers of the Spirituels.¹⁰⁸ It contains the hope for men of the sixth age.

Sextus status appropriatur viris evangelicis qui nec in proprio nec in communi aliquid possident, incepit in beato Francisco et durabit usque ad mortem Antichristi.¹⁰⁹

The *Breviloquium* retains the idea that these men are to come at the end of the second *status* to usher in the third,¹¹⁰ but speaks not of *viri spirituales* as Joachim had done, but *viri evangelici*. They are not the two orders of Joachim, who will perform their respective tasks to disseminate spiritual understanding, but they are examples of poverty who live the evangelical life of the apostles and Jesus, as the author and his intended audience attempted to. There is no connection with Revelation 11, and even the number two has been dropped.

The work of Telesphorus¹¹¹ was compiled between 1356 and 1386.¹¹² The Franciscans and Dominicans are the two orders symbolized by Moses and Elijah.¹¹³ Also, as foretold in Revelation 11, Enoch and Elijah will come to preach against Antichrist and be killed by him.¹¹⁴ They will be raised, and after the death of Antichrist will convert the Jews, and others also.¹¹⁵ Revelation 11 applies to Enoch and Elijah; the hope for two orders is separate.

¹⁰⁸ Lee, Reeves and Silano, *Breviloquium*, 89-92.

¹⁰⁹ Lee, Reeves and Silano, *Breviloquium*, 214.

¹¹⁰ The "sextus status" of the quotation corresponds to Joachim's sixth age. The seventh age of Joachim is the same as the third *status*. The author of the *Breviloquium* has used *status* in a context where Joachim would not have, but his meaning is clear.

¹¹¹ Telesphorus, in *Expositio magni prophete Joachim in libris beati Cyrilli...*, ff.8v-44r.

¹¹² Daniel, *Franciscan Concept of Mission*, 97.

¹¹³ Telesphorus, ff. 13v-14r.

¹¹⁴ Telesphorus, ff. 29r-v.

¹¹⁵ Telesphorus, ff. 24r, 31r, 33r. Telesphorus is not alone in giving Enoch and Elijah such a role after the death of Antichrist. See, R.E. Lerner, "Refreshment of the Saints: The Time After Antichrist as a Station for Earthly Progress in Medieval Thought" *Traditio* 32 (1976) 97-144.

The history of the *viri spirituales* interpretation of Revelation 11 outside the commentary tradition bears some affinities to the history of the tradition of Enoch and Elijah's encounter with Antichrist that is outside commentaries, as this sample demonstrates.¹¹⁶ I would not wish to press the similarities too far, as the two differ in their genesis. Enoch and Elijah's encounter with Antichrist is a tradition independent of the Book of Revelation, whereas Revelation 11 played a pivotal role in the formation of Joachim's concept of *viri spirituales*.¹¹⁷ Once they are both established as traditions, however, some similarities can be seen. Both stand in varying degrees of relation to the text of Revelation 11. When found outside commentaries, they do not need to be combined with the entirety of the section on the two witnesses (11:3-13). Hippolytus can cite the Apocalypse for Enoch and Elijah as the two witnesses, but simply leave aside vv.11-12 on the resurrection of the two witnesses.¹¹⁸ Similarly, among the *viri spirituales* interpreters it is possible to neglect the death and resurrection of the witnesses altogether, as most do. The freedom from the commentary format means that the author is not bound to say something about all the section, and need say nothing about the context of the imagery he has used. The imagery of the two witnesses can be applied to the *viri spirituales* without the need to work out a detailed exegesis of the whole section. In John of Paris, the *Breviloquium* and Telesphorus this is taken a stage further. The idea of *viri spirituales* is present, but

¹¹⁶ For an exhaustive treatment of the idea of *viri spirituales* from the 13th to the 16th century, see Reeves, *Influence*, 133-292.

¹¹⁷ Whilst there are some possible precedents for Joachim's thought apparently unrelated to Revelation 11 (G. Bischoff, 'Early Premonstratensian Eschatology: The Apocalyptic Myth' in, ed. E.R. Elder, *The Spirituality of Western Christendom I* (Kalamazoo 1976) 40-71), they are hardly sufficient to affect the startling originality of Joachim, and the key place of Revelation 11 in his idea of the *viri spirituales*.

¹¹⁸ See above, section 1.3.

unconnected with Revelation 11; indeed in the *Breviloquium* even the duality of the orders is dropped.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁹ This may be connected with the *Breviloquium*'s lack of a positive role for the Dominicans. The Spiritual Franciscans and their lay followers are the evangelical men. Dominicans were prominent among their Inquisitors in the first half of the fourteenth century.

2.4 Commentaries 1200-1500

I shall deal here with commentaries of this period, except those that follow a linear-historical interpretation, which will be examined in a separate section.

A first group of three commentaries are closely related. A Latin commentary, perhaps 12th century, lies behind the 13th century French (Anglo-Norman) work printed by Delisle and Meyer,¹²⁰ and this French work was then translated into English.¹²¹ The Latin original has not survived, but the version present in the *Bible Moralisée*¹²² is related to it.¹²³ These three commentaries have a very similar exegesis of Rev 11:1-13. The basic pattern is that of the *Glossa*. Verses 1-2a are interpreted ecclesiologically, 2b-9 eschatologically of Enoch and Elijah, and 10-13 eschatologically of the general resurrection and judgement. Some peculiarities of the group are that all share the comment on the reed like a rod (v.1), saying that it symbolizes chastisement of the flesh, as Paul says, “I chastise my body...(1 Cor 9:27).”¹²⁴ This probably relates to physical self-chastisement within religious orders.¹²⁵ The two witnesses are not only Enoch and Elijah, but also all preachers are understood through them.¹²⁶ The great city (v.8) is not Jerusalem, but the world.¹²⁷

¹²⁰ L. Delisle and P. Meyer, *L'Apocalypse en Français au XIII^e siècle* (Paris 1901).

¹²¹ E. Fridner, *An English Fourteenth Century Apocalypse Version with a Prose Commentary* (Lund/Copenhagen 1961).

¹²² *La Bible Moralisée Illustrée. Conservée à Oxford, Paris et Londres*, ed. A. de Laborde (Paris 1911-1927).

¹²³ Fridner, *An English*, xxxii.

¹²⁴ Delisle and Meyer, *L'Apocalypse*, 50; Fridner, *An English*, 80; *Bible Moralisée* 4, facsimile of BM MS Harley 1527, f. 130v.

¹²⁵ It would have been overwhelmingly members of religious orders who read these commentaries. There seems unlikely to be any connection with any flagellant movements, on which see below, section 2.6.

¹²⁶ Delisle and Meyer, *L'Apocalypse*, 52. Curiously, that all preachers are understood is omitted from the English translation, which then makes less than perfect sense in its following comments. The *Bible Moralisée* does not contain anything concerning “all preachers”, but it is far briefer than the other two.

¹²⁷ Delisle and Meyer, *L'Apocalypse*, 53; Fridner, *An English*, 85. Again, this is not found in the *Bible Moralisée*.

Martin of Léon (d.1221) used both the *Glossa* and Haimo of Auxerre in compiling his commentary.¹²⁸ Verses 1-2a are interpreted ecclesiologically, and vv.2b-13 both eschatologically of Enoch and Elijah, and ecclesiologically. Through Enoch and Elijah many preachers are understood, although later the two witnesses signify the whole Church, not only preachers.¹²⁹ Martin includes an extensive excursus of material concerning Antichrist, primarily derived from Adso or a very similar source. In consonance with this source, the resurrection of the witnesses (vv.11-12) is not that of Enoch and Elijah in particular, but the general resurrection.¹³⁰

The commentary with the incipit *Aser pinguis*¹³¹ has traditionally been ascribed to Hugh of St. Cher, a Dominican. A strong argument has been made by Lerner that it is the work not so much of Hugh, as of a school of scholars working under his direction in Paris c.1236. Lerner further believes that the commentary that begins *Vidit Iacob*¹³² represents a revision of *Aser pinguis* by the same school between 1240-1244.¹³³ *Aser pinguis* interprets vv.1-2a ecclesiologically, vv.2b-13 eschatologically, primarily of Enoch and Elijah, together with some ecclesiological exegesis. The commentary was probably written during the controversy over pluralism¹³⁴ in Paris during 1235-38, and contains material pertaining directly to this, although not on Rev 11:1-13.¹³⁵ Rev 11:1-13 does attract not unrelated comments concerning poverty, an issue important to Dominicans. The reed like a rod for measuring the Church (v.1) is held in the hand, as the preacher must actually practise

¹²⁸ Kamlah, *Apokalypse*, 53.

¹²⁹ Martin of Léon, *Expositio Libri Apocalypsis* (PL 209) 361A-B.

¹³⁰ Martin, *Expositio Libri Apocalypsis*, 362D-363C.

¹³¹ *Aser pinguis*, in, Hugh of St. Cher, *Opera Omnia* (Basel 1498-1502) vol. 7, pages unnumbered. The exegesis of Rev 11:1-13 is easy enough to find, as the commentary proceeds through the text of the Apocalypse in an orderly manner.

¹³² *Vidit Iacob*, in, Thomas Aquinas, *Opera Omnia* (Paris 1871-1880) 31:469-32:86. The text is also in Aquinas, *Opera*, vol. 23 (Parma 1879).

¹³³ R.E. Lerner, "Poverty, Preaching and Eschatology in the Revelation Commentaries of 'Hugh of St. Cher.'" in, ed. K. Walsh and D. Wood, *The Bible in the Medieval World* (Oxford 1985) 157-189.

¹³⁴ I.e. the holding of multiple benefices.

¹³⁵ Lerner, "Poverty, Preaching and Eschatology," 170-172.

what he preaches. Many only have poverty in their mouth, but not in their hand. Having the reed in the hand is not actually in the text, but is deduced from how a reed would naturally be held. The reed itself does not symbolize poverty, but its position in the hand suggests the use of something, and the author goes on to the particular instance of those who only talk of poverty compared with those who live it. The two witnesses (v.3) are Enoch and Elijah, and through them all preachers are understood. Their sackcloth garb (v.4) is particularly noteworthy.

Ecce quomodo ad dies iuventutis sue [sic] revertet ecclesia in sua senectute.

The future tense, *revertet*, shows that the author is thinking primarily of a parallel between John the Baptist, and Enoch and Elijah who are still to come. It is tempting to see also some sort of reference to the clothing of the mendicant Dominicans and Franciscans. The analysis of history would then not be that of Joachim, in which the coming third *status* will surpass the time of the apostles, but that identified among many Franciscans by Daniel,¹³⁶ in which the apostolic life is renewed in the Church prior to Christ's coming. This may, however, be to read too much into the comment. The section on the death and resurrection of the witnesses shows an interest in the precise logistics of these as interpreted of Enoch and Elijah. In discussing the location of their bodies *in plateis civitatis magnae* (v.8), the great city is Jerusalem, and note is taken of the plural *plateis*.¹³⁷ Either the two are to be killed in different places, or killed in one place and taken to others to frighten people from imitating them. This last part, like the commentary attributed to Anselm, follows the *Glossa*. It succeeds better than Anselm in combining the idea of the deterrent of the bodies with the

¹³⁶ Daniel, *Franciscan Concept of Mission*, passim. The author of *Aser pinguis* is, however, a Dominican.

¹³⁷ The Vulgate here differs from the Greek, which has the singular ἐπὶ τῆς πλατείας. Perhaps the change from singular to plural is due to influence from the orthography of the Greek (in ending with a sigma) rather than its number. Prior to the Vulgate, Tyconius' text has the accusative *plateas*, also still plural and ending in an "s," *Turin Fragments*, 370.

resurrection of the two, as it does not say that the story will be a deterrent throughout Antichrist's reign, but only that the purpose of moving the bodies around could be to frighten others from imitating them, leaving open the possibility that this effect could be severely mitigated when their resurrection occurred. The non-burial of their bodies (v.9) is a dishonour which is allowed so that their resurrection might be seen more clearly. Their bodies do not decompose during their 3½ days unburied.

Non putrifiant quia solidata erunt propter esum vel usum ligni vitae, quo ipsi modo vescuntur et vivunt in paradiso terrestri.

As there is no mention of the transformation of their bodies at their resurrection,¹³⁸ *Aser pinguis* perhaps wishes to guard against the idea that they rose as rotting corpses. Further, they do not rise like Lazarus to once again face death, but they rise like Christ, never to die. Like the comment of Anselm that they rise immortal and impassible,¹³⁹ this is perhaps prompted by the *Glossa*'s description of those at the general resurrection as immortal and impassible. Overall, *Aser pinguis* has an ecclesiological interpretation of vv.1-2a, and a primarily eschatological interpretation of vv.2b-13 in relation to Enoch and Elijah, although perhaps reference is also made to the current role of the Dominicans and Franciscans.

Vidit Jacob is a revision of *Aser pinguis*, with few substantial differences on 11:1-13. Although a three status scheme is not followed, there is a muted Joachite hint commenting on those worshipping in the temple (v.1 – the temple itself is the Church).

Per adorantes in templo signantur viri spirituales qui magis oratione et contemplatione intendunt.¹⁴⁰

Antichrist kills Enoch and Elijah, but does not overcome them: *Et vincet illos, secundum vulgi opinionem. Et occidet eos, corporaliter.*¹⁴¹ Tyconius had similarly

¹³⁸ Cf. 1 Cor 15:51-55 on the resurrection.

¹³⁹ Anselm, *Enarrationes*, 1541B.

¹⁴⁰ *Vidit Iacob*, 595.

thought that *vincet* was a difficulty. He had applied it to those of the Church who succumbed and followed Antichrist, as opposed to those who remain steadfast and are killed by him.¹⁴² In *Vidit Iacob*, where v.7 is applied to Enoch and Elijah, the force of *vincet* is lessened by explaining that it is only according to common opinion. Antichrist may literally kill them, but he does not really overcome them, even if some think he has. The great earthquake of v.13 receives an extremely interesting comment.

Talis terremotus sic magnus respicit hoc tempus presens, in quo multi ad predicationem modernorum predicatorum sunt conversi ad fidem. Nam de solis Cumanis conversi sunt ad fidem, et baptizati in duobus vel tribus annis, i.e. in modico tempore, centum millia. Multi etiam de Georgianis, etiam de Barberia, multi de Africa, multi heretici, et quamplures de aliis partibus mundi. Nam per gratiam Dei fere ad omnes predicatur modo Evangelium Domino nostri Iesu Christi.¹⁴³

The reference to the accomplishments of the ‘modern preachers’ almost certainly refers to the Dominicans, as the Cumans were converted c.1227-1230 by Dominican efforts. The Georgian conversion probably alludes to the Georgian acknowledgement of Roman primacy in 1240, and the foundation of a Dominican house in Tiflis the same year.¹⁴⁴ *Vidit Iacob* displays a belief that its present time is that of the precursors of Antichrist.¹⁴⁵ This perhaps helps explain its ready identification of contemporary events with the imagery of Revelation, although it is slightly problematic that in Revelation 11 the earthquake (v.13), occurs after Antichrist’s appearance (v.7). In *Vidit Iacob*’s interpretation, the earthquake has already occurred through conversion, yet Antichrist has not yet come. I suggest that the author(s) probably were not considering things in a systematic manner. The time of Antichrist, and therefore the

¹⁴¹ *Vidit Iacob*, 599.

¹⁴² *Turin Fragments*, 366-369.

¹⁴³ This section is not in the printed versions of *Vidit Iacob*, but is in the 14th century MS BAV, Pal. lat 96 (prov. Schönau, near Heidelberg, O. Cist) 297, f. 363v, cited by Lerner, “Poverty, Preaching and Eschatology,” 165. In the printed versions the earthquake is a future persecution of the Church after the ascension of Enoch and Elijah.

¹⁴⁴ Lerner, “Poverty, Preaching and Eschatology,” 165-166.

¹⁴⁵ D. Burr, “Mendicant Readings of the Apocalypse” in, ed. R.K. Emmerson and B. McGinn, *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca/London) 89-102, partic. 96.

time of the end was close. Preaching to the world had to occur before the end (Mt 24:14), and the fullness of the Gentiles was to receive the Gospel (Rom 11:25). The great earthquake of Rev 11:13 is seen in terms of these two eschatological events independently from its temporal relationship to the coming of Antichrist in Rev 11:1-13. On 11:1-13 *Vidit Iacob* represents a slight revision of *Aser pinguis*.

The commentary of Peter of Tarantaise,¹⁴⁶ later Pope Innocent V, was composed between 1259-1269, and draws on both *Aser pinguis* and *Vidit Iacob*.¹⁴⁷ It contains no new material on Revelation 11, but in contrast to *Aser pinguis* and *Vidit Iacob*, it does raise the possibility that vv.11-12 may refer to the general resurrection, although Peter seems to favour an application to Enoch and Elijah in particular.¹⁴⁸

The commentary with the incipit *Vox domini* was probably written by a Franciscan before 1266.¹⁴⁹ It follows the same outline as *Aser pinguis*, with vv.1-2a ecclesiological, and vv.2b-13 eschatological in reference to Enoch and Elijah. The author discusses whether the resurrection is the general one, or that of Enoch and Elijah in particular, and seems to prefer the latter option.¹⁵⁰

The Dominican Nicholas of Gorran wrote his commentary on the Apocalypse between c.1263 and c.1285, using *Vidit Iacob* as a source,¹⁵¹ and his exegesis follows the same lines. Nicholas makes mention of Joachim's interpretation of the two witnesses as two orders without voicing either agreement or disagreement.¹⁵² Presumably if he thought it totally incorrect he would have argued against it, and he perhaps held that in addition to being Enoch and Elijah the two witnesses were also

¹⁴⁶ Printed in Albert the Great, *Opera Omnia* (Paris 1899) 38:471-792.

¹⁴⁷ Lerner, "Poverty, Preaching and Eschatology," 161.

¹⁴⁸ Peter of Tarantaise, 643-644.

¹⁴⁹ Burr, "Mendicant Readings," 92.

¹⁵⁰ *Vox domini*, in, Aquinas, *Opera Omnia* (Paris 1871-1880) 32:268-269. It is also printed in the Parma edition of Aquinas' *Opera* that contains *Vidit Iacob*.

¹⁵¹ Lerner, "Poverty, Preaching and Eschatology," 160.

¹⁵² Nicholas of Gorran, *In Acta Apostolorum...et Apocalypsi Commentarii* (Antwerp 1620) 237.

the Franciscans and Dominicans, in accordance with the joint encyclical of 1255. In a manner similar to Bruno of Segni, Nicholas reflects on the problems created if vv. 11-12 are to refer to the resurrection of Enoch and Elijah in particular, although unlike Bruno, Nicholas does interpret the resurrection of the witnesses as that of Enoch and Elijah. He quotes Heb 11:40, to the effect that OT figures are not to be perfected apart from Christians, but goes on to explain that Enoch and Elijah have a special privilege, as they bear a special witness against Antichrist. The general resurrection is to follow shortly after their own in any case.¹⁵³

Peter John Olivi was a Spiritual Franciscan. He wrote his commentary on the Apocalypse in 1297/8.¹⁵⁴ Olivi was profoundly influenced by Joachim,¹⁵⁵ though no slavish follower. His view of history and its connection with the exegesis of the Apocalypse are complex, and I shall briefly outline some of his beliefs relevant to his interpretation of Rev 11:1-13.¹⁵⁶ Olivi shared Joachim's idea of three *status*, but perhaps more central for him was his understanding that the Apocalypse adumbrated seven ages in the history of the Church. This was in itself a fairly standard view among medieval commentators, but Olivi is unusual in making systematic use of this notion in the body of his commentary, and in his understanding of the fifth and sixth periods. The fifth period was usually seen as that of the precursors of Antichrist, and the sixth as that of Antichrist. For Olivi, the fifth period is one of gradual decline in the Church, until almost the whole Church has become carnal. Olivi places himself towards the end of this period. The sixth period is that of Antichrist, but it is also one of progressive spiritual renewal and understanding, and the seventh period is similar

¹⁵³ Nicholas of Gorran, *In Acta Apostolorum...et Apocalypsi Commentarii*, 237.

¹⁵⁴ W. Lewis, *Peter John Olivi: Prophet of the Year 2000* (PhD dissertation: Tübingen 1972) 71.

¹⁵⁵ I here agree with D. Burr, *Olivi's Peaceable Kingdom* (Philadelphia 1993); *The Spiritual Franciscans. From Protest to Persecution in the Century After St. Francis* (Pennsylvania 2001) 50, 64, against R. Manselli, *La "Lectura super Apocalypsim" di Pietro di Giovanni Olivi* (Rome 1955).

¹⁵⁶ For detailed analysis of Olivi's thought in relation to the Apocalypse, see the works of Manselli, Lewis and Burr cited in the previous two footnotes.

to Joachim's third *status*. The beginning of the sixth period overlaps with the end of the fifth. Olivi gives more than one date for its beginning, but he lays particular prominence on the conversion of St. Francis c. 1208. For Olivi, Francis is literally the angel of Rev 7:2, the angel of the sixth seal, who inaugurates the sixth age of the Church. Bonaventure had interpreted Francis as the angel of Rev 7:2,¹⁵⁷ but only morally,¹⁵⁸ literally the angel was Christ. For Olivi, Christ has come spiritually in Francis, an intermediate advent of Christ between his first at the incarnation and his final coming in judgement. The sixth seal applies to the sixth age of the Church, and so also does the sixth trumpet (9:13). As the seventh trumpet is not blown until 11:14, 11:1-13 comes under the sixth trumpet, and applies to the sixth age of the Church.

Olivi begins his exegesis of Revelation 11 by explaining that the reed like a rod signifies the authority of the Pope and others in leading positions in the Church.¹⁵⁹ The Temple, altar and worshippers signify Christ and his true followers, and the outer court false religious, clerics and laity. Olivi goes on to state that the reed signifies not only the governing authorities in the Church but also the correct and sincere declaration of the faith and the evangelical life.¹⁶⁰ This is probably to be related to Olivi's expectation that there will be a future false Pope, and that the elect, primarily (Spiritual) Franciscans but also others, will have to defend their faith, their poverty and way of life against the Pope, as well as other Church leaders and university teachers.¹⁶¹ Olivi applies the 42 month trampling of the holy city to the 3½ year reign

¹⁵⁷ Bonaventure, *Legenda Maior*, Prologue 1.13.10.

¹⁵⁸ I.e. not a literal interpretation, but an interpretation directed towards the conduct of the members of the Church.

¹⁵⁹ Peter John Olivi, ed. W. Lewis, *Lectura Super Apocalipsim* (Tübingen 1972) 580. The work is edited as a separate part of Lewis' PhD dissertation.

¹⁶⁰ Olivi, *Lectura*, 582-583.

¹⁶¹ Burr, *Olivi's Peaceable Kingdom*, 92-93.

of Antichrist.¹⁶² The two witnesses are given a double interpretation. They are Enoch and Elijah who are still to come, and they are also two orders.

...per eos designentur duo ordines predicantium, quorum unus magis erit exteriori regimini et passionibus mancipatus; unde et Iohannis ultimo allegorice designatur per Petrum, cui dicit Christus: "Pasce oves meas," et "Cum senueris, extends manus tuas," scilicet in cruce, et "Sequere me," scilicet ad crucem, alter vero magis erit datus contemplationi et paci, unde et designatur ibidem per Iohannem, de quo dicit Christus: "Sic eum volo manere donec veniam." Nec opertet istos duos ordines testium esse diverse professionis seu religionis, sicut nec Petrus et Iohannes fuerunt, immo uterque fuit eiusdem professionis apostolice et evangelice. Nec tamen per hoc nego quin ordines diversarum professionum in hoc concurrant, sicut et iam fere per centum annos simul cucurrerunt duo.¹⁶³

This last sentence clearly refers to the Franciscans and Dominicans.¹⁶⁴ Lewis argues that the Franciscans are to be identified with the Johannine order, and the Dominicans with the Petrine.¹⁶⁵ It seems to me at least equally possible that Olivi is not drawing such strict demarcations, and that those of the Petrine order and the Johannine order could come equally from Franciscans or Dominicans, or perhaps elsewhere. The two orders are those of Peter and John and *nec opertet istos duos ordines testium esse diverse professionis seu religionis*. They may in actuality come from more than one religious order, as has been the case for the past hundred years or so, but Olivi does not state that the Petrine type comes from one, and the Johannine from another. Indeed, he does not rule out that in the rest of the sixth period those from a third or fourth religious order could play a part, although he does not suggest that this will be the case. Olivi to some extent harks back to Joachim himself rather than later Joachite literature such as the *Super Hieremiam*, and his idea of a contemplative order and an

¹⁶² Olivi, *Lectura*, 584-585. On Olivi's conception of Antichrist see Burr, *Olivi's Peaceable Kingdom*, 132-162.

¹⁶³ Olivi, *Lectura*, 587-588.

¹⁶⁴ This is the only reference to the Dominicans on Olivi's commentary (Lewis, *Peter John Olivi*, 196) and this is not surprising. For Olivi it is Francis who has inaugurated the sixth period. It is those who follow his Rule who live the evangelical life of poverty of Christ and the apostles. The Dominicans are approved of by Olivi insofar as they approximate to this, but they do not specifically follow Francis' Rule as do the Franciscans.

¹⁶⁵ Lewis, *Peter John Olivi*, 196.

active order. The Johannine order is certainly more contemplative than the Petrine, but Olivi does follow the Joachite tradition (against Joachim) in designating both as *ordines predicantium*. The death of the witnesses is for Olivi at the hands of the first beast of ch. 13, which he here understands as the multitude of beastly gentiles, meaning the conglomeration of forces opposed to Christ's true followers.¹⁶⁶ The resurrection of the witnesses is applied to all the saints, when there will be a spiritual resurgence of life among the elect, probably towards the end of the sixth and into the seventh age. This is similar to Joachim. The resurrection is also applied to Enoch and Elijah *ad litteram*.¹⁶⁷ The 7000 killed at the earthquake are followers of Antichrist (the great and final Antichrist) who are killed along with Antichrist at Christ's return. The rest who give glory to God are converted to Christianity.¹⁶⁸ These events all seem to be placed at the end of the sixth age of the Church; the seventh trumpet was then to blow, signifying the beginning of the seventh age. This was to occur sometime in the fourteenth century, and the seventh age would last until about the year 2000.¹⁶⁹ Olivi's interpretation of the passage is idiosyncratic, and applies it to the sixth age of the Church in his scheme of history.

Arnold of Villanova was a lay physician sympathetic towards the Spiritual Franciscans.¹⁷⁰ He wrote a commentary on the Apocalypse in 1305/1306.¹⁷¹ His interpretation follows the same general outline as *Aser pinguis*, vv.1-2a ecclesiological, and vv.2b-13 eschatologically applied to Enoch and Elijah. This is interspersed with hope for the reformation of the Church from the present time until

¹⁶⁶ See Burr, *Olivi's Peaceable Kingdom*, 132-162.

¹⁶⁷ Olivi, *Lectura*, 607-608.

¹⁶⁸ Olivi, *Lectura*, 610-611.

¹⁶⁹ Burr, *Olivi's Peaceable Kingdom*, 163-178.

¹⁷⁰ Daniel, *Franciscan Concept of Mission*, 92.

¹⁷¹ Arnold of Villanova, ed. J. Carreras I Artau, *Expositio Super Apocalypsi* (Barcelona 1971) xv (in Carreras I Artau's introduction).

the coming of Enoch and Elijah.¹⁷² Arnold thought that the mendicant friars were examples of the evangelical life to which the Church needed to return, but he thought that this reform would ultimately be carried out by a series of five reforming popes,¹⁷³ although he provides only fleeting references to this in his exegesis of Revelation 11.

Vital du Four, a Franciscan and opponent of the Spirituals in the early fourteenth century perhaps wrote the commentary on Revelation to be found in the works of Bernadinus of Siena.¹⁷⁴ This follows the same outline on 11:1-13 as *Aser pinguis*. The reed like a rod (v.1) leads to a eulogistic excursus on Mary who is like a rod,¹⁷⁵ probably occasioned by the similarity between *virga* and *virgo*. Mention is made of the ceremony for measuring a Church in relation to measuring the temple (v.1),¹⁷⁶ ultimately deriving from the exegesis of Alexander Minorita.¹⁷⁷ As with Nicholas of Gorran, there is a concern to stress that the general resurrection follows closely on that of Enoch and Elijah, so that Enoch and Elijah's resurrection is not really separated from that of the rest of humanity.¹⁷⁸

The commentary printed under the name of Alexander of Hales is not by Alexander, but it is related to that perhaps by Vital du Four. Whether it has directly used this work, or they have a common source, is unclear.¹⁷⁹ It proposes using v.4 on feasts of two Apostles, such as Simon and Jude, or Peter and Paul.¹⁸⁰ It is not saying that the two witnesses are literally two of the Apostles, but that affinities can be drawn

¹⁷² Arnold, *Expositio Super Apocalypsi*, XI.26-32, 194-202.

¹⁷³ Daniel, *Franciscan Concept of Mission*, 93.

¹⁷⁴ Bernardinus of Siena, ed. J. de la Haye, *Opera Omnia* (Venice 1745) Tome 5. According to Burr, "Mendicant Readings," 91-92, there are sometimes disagreements between this printed edition and the version represented in various MSS. I have used only the printed edition (also present in a Paris 1635 edition of Bernardinus' works, according to Burr). I have identified a further edition of the printed version in the anonymous *Sermones Super Apocalypsin* (n.p., n.d. 1512?) to be found in the Bodleian.

¹⁷⁵ ?Vital du Four, 63.

¹⁷⁶ ?Vital du Four, 64.

¹⁷⁷ On this, see below, section 2.5.

¹⁷⁸ ?Vital du Four, 65.

¹⁷⁹ Burr, "Mendicant Readings," 92.

¹⁸⁰ "Alexander" [Burr's nomenclature] in, Alexander of Hales, ed. J de la Haye, *Commentarii in Apocalypsim* (Paris 1647) 196.

between the two witnesses and two apostles in a homiletic setting. The interpretation of turning waters into blood (v.6) is novel.

Aguas, scilicet sacrae Scripturae, convertendi dico in sanguinem, quia ex illorum [Enoch and Elijah] doctrina et praedicatione multi convertentur, et ab Antichristo interficientur, et sic aquae in sanguinem convertentur.¹⁸¹

Through the deaths of those converted by the scriptural preaching of Enoch and Elijah, the Scriptures are converted into blood. As with Vital, vv.1-2a are interpreted ecclesiologically, 2b-13 eschatologically of Enoch and Elijah.

The Dominican Jacob de Lausanne (1270-1322),¹⁸² in his brief comments, gives an ecclesiological interpretation of the two witnesses as all those who preach through the scriptures.¹⁸³

The commentary printed in 1528 by Luther is an abridged version of a Lollard work from 1390, which begins *Opus arduum*. John Bale's¹⁸⁴ attribution of it to John Purvey is incorrect, and the identity of the author remains uncertain.¹⁸⁵ Verses 1-2a are given an ecclesiological interpretation similar to the *Glossa*.¹⁸⁶ The 42 months trampling down of the holy city (v.2b) are the 3½ years of Antichrist's persecution, although experience teaches that the persecution will be much longer than this,¹⁸⁷ presumably a reference to current persecution of Lollards.¹⁸⁸ Jerome is quoted to the effect that the two witnesses should be interpreted spiritually, and they are preachers in the sanctity of Enoch and spirit of Elijah who preach against Antichrist. The beast of v.7 is Antichrist, the Pope and his associates,¹⁸⁹ who overcomes the preachers *in*

¹⁸¹ "Alexander," 198.

¹⁸² *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclesiastiques* (Paris 1909-) 26:688.

¹⁸³ Jacob de Lausanne, *Opus moralitatum preclarissimum fratris Jacobi de lusanna* (Limoges 1528) f. 40r-v (in the last set of a series of numbered folios).

¹⁸⁴ On Bale see below, section 3.2.

¹⁸⁵ A. Hudson, "A Neglected Wycliffite Text" *JEH* 29 (1978) 257-279.

¹⁸⁶ *Commentarius in Apocalypsin ante Centum Annos aeditus* (Wittenberg 1528) ff. 98v-99v.

¹⁸⁷ *Commentarius in Apocalypsin ante Centum Annos aeditus*, f. 99v.

¹⁸⁸ The author of the commentary had spent 1387-1390 in prison, Hudson, "A Neglected Wycliffite Text," 268.

¹⁸⁹ *Commentarius in Apocalypsin ante Centum Annos aeditus*, ff. 116v-120v.

*reputatione amicorum suorum.*¹⁹⁰ He kills them not only bodily by burning and the sword, but by fulminating sentences of excommunication against them. As regards spiritual life, they are then reputed to be dead within the Church. They are thrown out into the streets of the great city (v.8), that is the public places of Christianity.¹⁹¹ Some literally have their bodies left unburied (v.9), while some are incarcerated alive. The 3½ days of non-burial represents all the time in which Antichrist afflicts the preachers. The resurrection (v.11) is either the general resurrection (presumably for those literally killed), or the liberation from prison of those incarcerated.¹⁹² The author seems to have his own situation particularly in view here. The great voice from heaven (v.12) is that of the Scriptures, calling the preachers to their defence against Antichrist. The preachers will also finally ascend, body and soul, to heaven. The great earthquake (v.13) is the tumult in the populace at their preaching. The tenth part of the city is the great number who fall from faith in that conflict between Antichrist and the preachers. The 7000 killed are slain by Antichrist and his associates; these are some of those who adhere to Christ. The remainder who give glory to God are those who previously followed Antichrist, but are converted by the preaching of the gospel and give glory to God.¹⁹³ The author of *Opus arduum* has given a fairly conventional ecclesiological interpretation of vv.1-2a, but followed this with some innovation on vv.2b-13. It is noticeable that it is not a future/present Pope who may be Antichrist or part of Antichrist, but the institution of the papacy that is described as Antichrist. Such an idea was to prove important for Luther and later Protestants.

Dionysius the Carthusian's (d.1471) commentary follows the same basic outline as *Aser pinguis* on Rev 11:1-13. Verses 1-2a are interpreted ecclesiologically,

¹⁹⁰ *Commentarius in Apocalypsin ante Centum Annos aeditus*, f. 102r.

¹⁹¹ *Commentarius in Apocalypsin ante Centum Annos aeditus*, f. 102r.

¹⁹² *Commentarius in Apocalypsin ante Centum Annos aeditus*, f. 103r-v.

¹⁹³ *Commentarius in Apocalypsin ante Centum Annos aeditus*, ff. 104r-105r.

and vv. 2b-13 eschatologically of Enoch and Elijah. Verse 13, following upon the resurrection of Enoch and Elijah, speaks of either a literal earthquake, or an agitation of the affections of the earth's inhabitants. The fall of the tenth part of the city and the 7000 dead are an indeterminate number of the servants of Antichrist who perish along with Antichrist himself. The rest who give glory are some who repent upon seeing the judgement upon Antichrist and his ministers.¹⁹⁴

¹⁹⁴ Dionysius the Carthusian, *In omnes beati Pauli Epistolas... eiusdem in VII Epistolas Canonicas, Acta Apostolorum, Apocalypsim...* (Paris 1539) f. 122r. The idea of repentance after the death of Antichrist (sometimes without a ministry of Enoch and Elijah, as apparently here) is identified particularly in relation to the Jews by Lerner, "Refreshment of the Saints," 112. Dionysius (f. 115r) mentions the common 45 day period (derived from the difference between 1335 and 1290 days in Dan 12) after Antichrist's death at Rev 8:1, where it was often interpreted of the silence in heaven for half an hour, and this would allow time for conversion after Antichrist's death.

2.5 The Linear-historical interpretation

Alexander Minorita, wrote a first edition of his commentary in 1235, which he then revised in 1248.¹⁹⁵ Much like Joachim, he received his interpretation of the Apocalypse from what he regarded as a divine vision.¹⁹⁶ In a complete break with the previous recapitulative tradition, which saw the entirety of Church history repeated many times in different visions, Alexander interprets the Apocalypse as a continuous, sequential narrative of Church history. By chapter 11 he has reached the time of Pope Felix IV (III) (526-530). The measuring of the temple and the casting out of the outer court (vv.1-2a) are connected with Felix's prohibition of the celebration of Mass in an unconsecrated place, and his introduction of a ceremony for the dedication of a Church. The trampling underfoot of the holy city (v.2b) is the persecution of the Church by Anthimus.¹⁹⁷ Anthimus, bishop of Trebizond, succeeded Epiphanius as patriarch of Constantinople in 535. Originally a Chalcedonian, he had become a monophysite sympathizer. Pope Agapetus I (535-6) caused him to step down in 536 on the basis of Canon 15 of the Council of Nicaea, which prohibited bishops from moving sees.¹⁹⁸ The two witnesses are Patriarch Menas (536-552) and Pope Silverius (536-537). Literally the two are Enoch and Elijah, but spiritually they are Menas and Silverius.¹⁹⁹ Alexander is unwilling to say that the two are not Enoch and Elijah, but he devotes his attention to the time of Menas and Silverius. The 42 month trampling of the holy city corresponds to the 1260 day ministry of the witnesses. The witnesses

¹⁹⁵ Alexander Minorita, ed. A. Wachtel, *Expositio in Apocalypsin* (Weimar 1955) xxx (in Wachtel's introduction).

¹⁹⁶ Alexander, *In Apocalysin*, 6.

¹⁹⁷ Alexander, *In Apocalysin*, 225-229.

¹⁹⁸ W.H.C. Frend, *The Rise of Christianity* (Philadelphia 1984) 842-843. The assertion of P.D.W. Krey (*Nicholas of Lyra's Apocalypse Commentary*, ed. P.D.W. Krey (Kalamazoo 1987) 136) that Anthimus was a delegate to Chalcedon is incorrect; even if only twenty at Chalcedon (451) he would have been over a hundred when patriarch of Constantinople. It is perhaps based on a misreading of Frend, *Rise of Christianity*, 842, who describes Anthimus as a "Chalcedonian delegate" but means by this not that he attended Chalcedon, but that he was a proponent of Chalcedonian views at a conference with monophysites in the 530s.

¹⁹⁹ Alexander, *In Apocalysin*, 230-231.

are opposed by Anthimus and his supporter the Empress Theodora. The beast who kills them spiritually in the great city of the world is the general Belisarius. Silverius and Menas suffer contumely throughout the whole world.²⁰⁰ The 3½ days in which the witnesses lie unburied are the 3½ years of their persecution.²⁰¹ Silverius was deposed by Belisarius, and Menas suffered in prison. The rejoicing inhabitants of the earth (v.10) are Theodora, Anthimus, and their associates. The resurrection and ascension of the two at the great voice of the Church excommunicating their enemies, is their restoration. Alexander remarks that Silverius sits in the Papal seat in 536, and goes on to say that his enemies were struck with terror at his restoration.²⁰² Whilst Silverius was in the Papal seat in 536, this is rather beside the point, as he was Pope in 536, but was then deposed and exiled by Belisarius. He did return to Rome in 537, but only to be once again sent away by Belisarius (acting in concord with the new Pope, Vigilius), and he died shortly afterwards.²⁰³ Silverius had no real restoration, and this is acknowledged to some extent by Alexander when he notes *Beatus... Silverius tamen postea in eodem exilio obiit*.²⁰⁴ Menas, however, remained as patriarch of Constantinople until 552. The great earthquake (v.13) is the invasion of Italy by Totila.²⁰⁵ Totila the Ostrogoth, an Arian, began to rally the Goths in Italy to besiege Rome at the end of 545.²⁰⁶ The tenth part of the city which fell relates to the unity of the faith that the Arian Totila besmirched. The 7000 are those of the true faith killed by the heretics. The rest who give glory to God are the remainder of the city. Rome was not devastated by Totila, so those remaining gave thanks for their deliverance. This only applies to Catholics, as heretics do not give thanks to God, but to the

²⁰⁰ Alexander, *In Apocalysin*, 234-236.

²⁰¹ Alexander, *In Apocalysin*, 237.

²⁰² Alexander, *In Apocalysin*, 239-241.

²⁰³ J.N.D. Kelly, *The Oxford Dictionary of Popes* (Oxford 1986) 59-60.

²⁰⁴ Alexander, *In Apocalysin*, 241.

²⁰⁵ Alexander, *In Apocalysin*, 241.

²⁰⁶ Frend, *The Rise of Christianity*, 852.

devil.²⁰⁷ Whatever problems there may be with the details of his interpretation, Rev 11:1-13 is part of Alexander's exposition of Revelation in terms of a continuous narrative of Church history, and is interpreted of sixth century events. Alexander does not interpret ch. 11 in terms of *viri spirituales*, but these do appear later in his commentary. By ch. 20, Alexander has come near to his present time. His discussion of the thousand years in 20:1-6 is not entirely clear.²⁰⁸ He seems to give some weight to the idea that they began in the time of Pope Sylvester (early 4th century), and notes that there are now only seventy years left, although God is able to lengthen the period to allow for conversion. His own order, the Franciscans, together with the Dominicans then appear in his exegesis at 20:6. They are followed by Gog, Magog and Antichrist, and their destruction, along with those not in the book of life, in the lake of fire. Thus we might expect Alexander to continue his historical progression through chs 21 and 22, and interpret them of the final bliss of the elect. Instead, Alexander returns to his own time and interprets the New Jerusalem as a prediction of the Franciscans and Dominicans.²⁰⁹ To have introduced them at ch. 11, in the sixth century, would have wrecked Alexander's interpretative scheme, but he clearly thought the appearance of the Franciscans and Dominicans significant, and included them at the appropriate point in his historical narrative.²¹⁰

Alexander's exegesis of Revelation found little following amongst thirteenth century writers, yet at the beginning of the fourteenth it was taken up by the Franciscans Peter Aureol and Nicholas of Lyra. This may have been due to the desire to give a "safe" interpretation of Revelation in the light of the condemnation of

²⁰⁷ Alexander, *In Apocalysin*, 241-242.

²⁰⁸ Alexander, *In Apocalysin*, 408-50; Burr, "Mendicant Readings," 99.

²⁰⁹ Alexander, *In Apocalysin*, 469-501.

²¹⁰ Alexander was familiar with Joachite thought, and used the *Super Hieremiam* and *Erythrean Sibyl*; S. Schmolinsky, *Der Apokalypsenkommentar des Alexander Minorita. Zur frühen Rezeption Joachims von Fiore in Deutschland* (Hannover 1991) 52-75.

Olivi's commentary.²¹¹ Aureol wrote in 1319,²¹² and largely follows Alexander on 11:1-13. He changes Pope Felix IV (III) into Pope Felix III (II) (483-492).²¹³ He also clarifies that the treatment of Menas and Silverius can be termed a *mors civilis*.²¹⁴ The Franciscans and Dominicans are referred to at Rev 20:5,²¹⁵ but not in chs. 21-22, which are interpreted of heaven.²¹⁶

Nicholas of Lyra completed his commentary ten years later in 1329.²¹⁷ He follows the outline of Alexander and Peter Aureol up to ch. 16, but he thinks that the following chapters relate to events that have not yet occurred. This does not affect his exegesis of ch. 11. He uses Peter Aureol's description of the civil death of Menas and Silverius, and refers to their revivification from it. Nicholas repeats that their ascension is their restoration by the Church militant to their former honour, yet he recognizes the difficulty in applying this to Silverius, and states that it is possible to interpret the passage otherwise. Silverius, after being returned from Rome, died in a state of exile. He thus went to heaven with the martyr's crown, and the same should be held concerning Menas. This can be regarded as their ascension. Because of his doctrine of the double-literal²¹⁸ sense of scripture, Lyra does not have to say with Alexander that while the literal sense of the passage refers to Enoch and Elijah, it refers to Silverius and Menas only in a spiritual sense. For Nicholas the passage refers

²¹¹ Burr, "Mendicant Readings," 100. Franciscans were forbidden to read Olivi's works in 1319, and John XXII officially condemned Olivi's commentary in 1326.

²¹² Nicholas of Lyra, ed. P.D.W. Krey, *Nicholas of Lyra's Apocalypse Commentary*, 8 (in Krey's introduction).

²¹³ Peter Aureol, ed. P. Seeboeck, *Compendium Sensus Litteralis Totius Divinae Scripturae* (Quaracchi 1896) 490. Aureol is probably incorrect in making this change, as the letter of Felix that Alexander Minorita quotes concerning the Church dedication ceremony is from Felix IV (PL 65, 20A-21D).

²¹⁴ Peter Aureol, *Compendium*, 492.

²¹⁵ Peter Aureol, *Compendium*, 547.

²¹⁶ Peter Aureol, *Compendium*, 550-555.

²¹⁷ Nicholas of Lyra, ed. P.D.W. Krey, *Nicholas of Lyra's Apocalypse Commentary*, 14 (in Krey's introduction).

²¹⁸ I.e., that instead of having only one literal referent, a scriptural passage could have two.

literally to Enoch and Elijah, who die and are resurrected, and literally to Silverius and Menas, although its fulfilment is more perfect by Enoch and Elijah.²¹⁹

²¹⁹ *Biblia...et postilla Nicolai Lirani* (Venice 1482) no title page or page numbers.

2.6 Other Material

This includes material not in commentaries that is direct exegesis of Rev 11, as well as material related to the tradition of Enoch and Elijah's return to encounter Antichrist.

Ubertino of Casale, a Spiritual Franciscan²²⁰ and associate of Olivi wrote his *Arbor Vitae Crucifixae Jesu* in 1305.²²¹ In it he identified the two witnesses as both Enoch and Elijah still to come, and the spiritual Enoch and Elijah, that is Francis and Dominic, heralds of the second advent of Christ as Enoch and Elijah will be of the Christ's third.²²² Ubertino held, as had Olivi, that Francis represented a second coming of Christ between his first coming and his final coming to judgment. Francis was not the incarnate son of God, but the evangelical life had been renewed in Francis, *imo per ipsum Iesum in Francisco*.²²³ Francis and Dominic, insofar as evangelical poverty has been attacked, particularly in the Franciscan order, have been assaulted by the mystical Antichrist in the persons of Boniface VIII and Benedict XI, and now lie dead on the streets of the great city.²²⁴ These two popes supported the laxer interpretation of Francis's Rule held by the Conventuals, against the strict understanding of evangelical poverty advocated by the Spirituals. Ubertino is more prepared than Olivi to be specific about identifying the mystical Antichrist. The death of the witnesses is seen in the persecution of the Spiritual Franciscans. Ubertino does not give any exegesis of other aspects of Revelation 11.

The predictions of Olivi's commentary concerning persecution of the Spirituals by a future pope proved remarkably accurate at the beginning of the

²²⁰ At least until his move to the Benedictine order in 1317 to avoid direct disobedience to his Conventual superiors.

²²¹ Burr, *Olivi's Peaceable Kingdom*, 199.

²²² Ubertino of Casale, *Arbor Vitae Crucifixae Jesu* (Venice 1485) book 5, chapter 8.

²²³ Ubertino, *Arbor Vitae*, book 5, chapter 1.

²²⁴ Ubertino, *Arbor Vitae*, book 5, chapter 8.

fourteenth century. His commentary became popular amongst Spirituals and, translated into the vernacular, amongst their lay followers in Provence, the Beguins.²²⁵ Prous Boneta, a Beguin, held complicated and highly unorthodox views, recorded in her confession of 1325. Among these were the belief that she was an incarnation of the Holy Spirit, as Jesus is the incarnate Son.²²⁶ Enoch and Elijah were Francis and Olivi, and there seems to be little, if any, dependence on Revelation 11 for this identification.²²⁷ The rejection of Olivi's works by John XXII²²⁸ showed him to be the Antichrist, and this is confirmed by his rejection of her own message.²²⁹ The idiosyncratic belief system of Prous found little acceptance, and the failure of her mission recurs throughout her confession.²³⁰

John of Rupescissa, a Franciscan, was repeatedly imprisoned on account of suspicions concerning his teachings. In 1349 he wrote the *Liber Secretorum Eventuum*.²³¹ In this he predicts that the two witnesses of Revelation 11 will come, and with many saints will publicly proclaim the true faith for three years, before they are killed close to the day of Antichrist's death.²³² The Antichrist in question is the western one (John thought there would be an eastern one also), whom John identified with Louis of Sicily, who would reign openly as Antichrist for 3½ years from the middle of 1366 to 1370, followed by a thousand year interval before the appearance of Gog (Revelation 20).²³³ For John's chronology to run smoothly, the two witnesses

²²⁵ G. Leff, *Heresy in the Later Middle Ages* (Manchester 1967) 1:195-230.

²²⁶ W.H. May, "The Confession of Prous Boneta, Heretic and Heresiarch" in, ed. J.H. Mundy, R.W. Emery and B.N. Nelson, *Essays in Medieval Life and Thought* (New York 1955) 3-30.

²²⁷ May, "The Confession of Prous Boneta," 17-18.

²²⁸ Although Olivi's works were not finally condemned until 1326, they had been under investigation since at least 1318; Burr, *Olivi's Peacable Kingdom*, 198-239; Burr, *The Spiritual Franciscans*, 207-212.

²²⁹ May, "The Confession of Prous Boneta," 4-5.

²³⁰ May, "The Confession of Prous Boneta," 6.

²³¹ John of Rupescissa, ed. R.E. Lerner and C. Morerod-Fattebert, *Liber Secretorum Eventuum* (Fribourg 1994) p.14, in the introduction of Lerner.

²³² John of Rupescissa, *LSE*, 42.

²³³ John of Rupescissa, *LSE*, pp.33-34 (in the introduction of Lerner).

must start their 3 year ministry near the beginning of Antichrist's 3½ year reign, and be killed and resurrected towards its end. In 1356 Rupescissa wrote his *Vade Mecum in Tribulatione*.²³⁴ By this time Louis of Sicily had died, so the western Antichrist had to remain anonymous, but he was to appear sometime between 1362 and 1370.²³⁵ Before 1365, the two witnesses of Revelation 11 *ad litteram* were to come, two Franciscans, one a Cardinal, mystically Enoch, and the other a Pope, mystically Elijah.²³⁶ There is some ground for identifying this latter witness with the Pope who will be *reparator orbis*, as the *reparator orbis* is also described as the mystical Elijah,²³⁷ but Bignami-Odier, probably correctly, understands them to be separate figures, with the two witnesses preceding the *reparator orbis*.²³⁸ The literal Enoch and Elijah come at the time of Gog (c. 2370),²³⁹ but it is the two Franciscans who are the literal fulfilment of Revelation 11. There appears to be a change in John's thought between the two tracts, as in the *LSE* the two witnesses are not identified as Franciscans (although it is not stated that they are not Franciscans), nor as a Cardinal and a Pope, and the multitude of saints who are alongside them in *LSE* are not mentioned in *Vade Mecum*. In *Vade Mecum*, it is the Cardinal and Pope figures who will oppose the western Antichrist around 1360-1370 who are the fulfilment of Revelation 11 *ad litteram*. That John takes the trouble to describe them as its fulfilment *ad litteram*, combined with his description of them as the mystical Enoch and Elijah, implies that Enoch and Elijah, who will come in person against Gog, are in some non-literal sense the fulfilment of Revelation 11 also.

²³⁴ J. Bignami-Odier, *Études sur Jean de Roquetaillade (Johannes de Rupescissa)* (Paris 1952) 158.

²³⁵ John of Rupescissa, *Vade Mecum in Tribulatione*, in, ed. E. Brown, *Fasciculus Rerum Expetendarum et Fugiendarum* (London 1690) 2:500.

²³⁶ John of Rupescissa, *Vade Mecum*, 501.

²³⁷ John of Rupescissa, *Vade Mecum*, 502.

²³⁸ Bignami-Odier, *Études*, 170.

²³⁹ John of Rupescissa, *Vade Mecum*, 504.

Matthew of Janov, the Bohemian reformer, composed his *Tract on Antichrist* in 1380.²⁴⁰ In it he says that the Lord Jesus inspires his elect priests and preachers with the spirit of Enoch and Elijah in their battle against Antichrist.²⁴¹ Janov does not conceive of Antichrist as an individual, but as the conglomeration of those who oppose God's work, for the present identified with the opponents of reform. Janov and his fellow reformers are those in the spirit of Enoch and Elijah. Revelation 11 is not cited, but this approach is similar to that found in the slightly later *Opus arduum*,²⁴² which became a popular work in Bohemia, where many of its extant manuscripts remain.²⁴³

The belief in a return of Enoch and Elijah to encounter Antichrist is evidenced widely outside the commentary tradition on the Apocalypse, often with no mention of Revelation 11. It appears in the poems *Cursor Mundi*,²⁴⁴ *De Enoch et Haeliae*²⁴⁵ and *Quique Cupitis*,²⁴⁶ in *Sibillen Boich*,²⁴⁷ the *Columbinus Prophecy*,²⁴⁸ several medieval plays,²⁴⁹ Aquinas,²⁵⁰ and numerous other sources.²⁵¹ In many instances not merely the death of Enoch and Elijah is mentioned, but their resurrection also.²⁵² Some versions of the tradition are unusual. Fra Dolcino, the leader of the Apostolic Brethren,²⁵³ thought that he and his followers were to receive the fullness of the Holy Spirit and

²⁴⁰ Matthew of Janov, ed. V. Kybal, *Regulae Veteris et Novi Testamenti* vol. 3 (Prague 1911) iii.

²⁴¹ Matthew of Janov, *Regulae*, 3.5.4.

²⁴² Although in *Opus arduum*, the Antichrist is more specifically associated with the papacy. See above, section 2.4.

²⁴³ Hudson, "A Neglected Wycliffite Text," 268.

²⁴⁴ *Cursor Mundi*, ed. R. Morris (London 1874-1893) 3:lines 22361-22374.

²⁴⁵ *De Enoch et Haeliae*, in *Poetarum Latinorum Medii Aevi* 4.2 (Berlin 1914) 491-495.

²⁴⁶ *Quique cupitis audire*, in *Poetarum Latinorum Medii Aevi* 4.2 (Berlin 1914) 644-646.

²⁴⁷ *Sibillen Boich*, in, ed. O. Schade, *Geistliche Gedichte des XIV und XV Jahrhunderts vom Niederrhein* (Hannover 1854) 318.

²⁴⁸ E.A.R. Brown and R.E. Lerner, "On the Origins and Import of the Columbinus Prophecy" *Traditio* 45 (1989-1990) 219-256.

²⁴⁹ L.U. Lucken, *Antichrist and the Prophets of Antichrist in the Chester Cycle* (Washington 1940) 38-39, 60-65, 102-103; *The Play of Antichrist*, ed. J. Wright (Toronto 1967) lines 329-401.

²⁵⁰ Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, 3a, 49, 5.

²⁵¹ R.K. Emmerson, *Antichrist in the Middle Ages* (Manchester 1981) 95-101.

²⁵² E.g. *Quique cupitis audire*, *Cursor mundi*, *Columbinus Prophecy*.

²⁵³ On Dolcino and the Apostolic Brethren see Reeves, *Influence*, 242-248.

preach the impending advent of Antichrist. When Antichrist arrived, Enoch and Elijah were to descend from the earthly paradise to be killed, while Dolcino and his followers were to be removed whence Enoch and Elijah had come. After Antichrist's death, Dolcino and his followers would descend to convert the nations.²⁵⁴ This is in some ways a predecessor of the "rapture" doctrine that became such an integral part of nineteenth century Darbyite dispensationalism.²⁵⁵

M.M. Witte claims that there is a medieval tradition of the return of Enoch alone to be killed by Antichrist,²⁵⁶ but the two authorities she cites do not bear this out. Rudolf of Ems²⁵⁷ does once describe only Enoch coming to meet Antichrist, but this is in the context of his *Weltchronik*, in which he is proceeding through the Old Testament and describing the figures as they appear. When he comes to Enoch, he mentions that he will return to face Antichrist without mentioning Elijah.²⁵⁸ This is not a denial that Elijah will come, but an understandable omission in a section dealing with Enoch. In *Alexander*, Rudolf shows that he is familiar with the return of both Enoch and Elijah against Antichrist.²⁵⁹ Witte cites Heinrich of Neustadt²⁶⁰ as supporting a return of Enoch alone, but this is incorrect. The passage she refers to speaks of both Enoch and Elijah. There are no grounds for supposing that there was ever a tradition of the return of Enoch alone to face Antichrist.

Around the year 1260, there arose in Italy a mass movement of flagellants, lay people who beat themselves with whips as a penitential exercise. It is possible that they thought the year 1260 significant because of Joachite speculation concerning the

²⁵⁴ L. Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores* (Old Series 9: Rome 1726) 436.

²⁵⁵ See below, section 4.9.

²⁵⁶ M.M. Witte, *Elias und Henoch als Exempel, typologische Figuren und apokalyptische Zeugen* (Frankfurt 1987) 169.

²⁵⁷ Died c. 1254, *The Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York 1912) 13: 219-220.

²⁵⁸ Rudolf of Ems, ed. G. Ehrismann, *Weltchronik* (Berlin 1915) 9.

²⁵⁹ Rudolf of Ems, ed. V. Junk, *Alexander* (Leipzig 1928-29) 606.

²⁶⁰ Heinrich of Neustadt, ed. S. Singer, *Apollonius von Tyrland* (Berlin 1906) 237. The work was written c. 1312, <http://aeiou.at/aeiou.encyclop.h/h411340.htm> on 3/6/2004.

end of the 42nd generation in this year.²⁶¹ There is not, however, any evidence that they shared Joachite thought, and the presence of the figure 1260 days in the Apocalypse (11:3; also 12:6) may have provided sufficient rationale.²⁶² Ezek 4:5-6, where Ezekiel is symbolically assigned a day for each of the years of punishment of Israel and Judah, gave scriptural authority for interpreting days as years.²⁶³ The movement penetrated into Provence and parts of Germany, surviving the passing of the year 1260.²⁶⁴ The records of the inquisitor Heinrich Schonfeld O.P. from the early 15th century in Thuringia provide evidence for an idiosyncratic interpretation of the return of Enoch and Elijah amongst a group of flagellants. Antichrist is the prelates and priests of the Church, and these have already killed the former leader of the group, Conrad Schmidt, together with an associate of his in 1368. Enoch's soul had transmigrated to Schmidt, and Elijah's to his companion, so that they were Enoch and Elijah. As Enoch and Elijah had already died, the judgement could be expected soon, at which Conrad Schmidt, rather than Christ would preside.²⁶⁵ The form of the Antichrist tradition utilized would appear to be one that lacks the resurrection of Enoch and Elijah; Schmidt and his companion had not risen after 3½ days, but remained dead for nearly fifty years. Schmidt's return to preside at the great assize is probably not a reworking of an idea of the resurrection of the witnesses, but a transferral of Christ's traditional role as judge to Schmidt.

The mid-fifteenth century blockbook, *Der Antichrist und die fünfzehn Zeichen*, contains a form of the Enoch and Elijah tradition similar to that of Telesphorus, in

²⁶¹ Reeves, *Influence*, 54-55.

²⁶² R. Manselli, "L'anno 1260 fu anno Gioachinnitico?" in, *Il movimento dei disciplini* (Perugia 1960) 99-108; Reeves, "The Originality and Influence of Joachim of Fiore" *Traditio* 36 (1980) 269-316. This latter represents a change of mind from *Influence* (originally published 1969).

²⁶³ Cf. also Num 14:34.

²⁶⁴ N. Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium* (Oxford 1970³) 127-147.

²⁶⁵ A. Reifferscheid, ed., *Neun Texte zur Geschichte der religiösen Aufklärung in Deutschland während des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts* (Greifswald 1905) 35 (document 5, particularly beliefs 34-41).

which the resurrected Enoch and Elijah convert the Jews after the death of Antichrist.²⁶⁶

²⁶⁶ *Der Antichrist und die fünfzehn Zeichen. Faksimile-Ausgabe des einzigen erhaltenen chiroxylographischen Blockbuches*, ed. H.Th. Musper (Munich 1970) ff. 4r, 12r-v, 15r.

2.7 Conclusion

Commentaries up to 1180 generally interpret vv. 1-2a ecclesiologically and vv. 2b-13 eschatologically, and sometimes ecclesiologically. There is a move away from the exegesis of Bede, Ambrose Autpert and Haimo which applied vv.2b-13 both eschatologically and ecclesiologically. They are predominantly given only an eschatological interpretation in relation to Enoch and Elijah. The commentary attributed to Anselm makes an important move in seeing the resurrection of vv. 11-12 as the resurrection of Enoch and Elijah, not the general resurrection, and this move will be increasingly followed by later commentators. Joachim of Fiore's exposition is strikingly original and influential. The expectation of coming *viri spirituales*, a tradition that stands in varying degrees of relation to Revelation 11, originates with Joachim. Commentaries after Joachim generally interpret vv. 1-2a ecclesiologically and vv. 2b-13 eschatologically of Enoch and Elijah. Some commentators are influenced by Joachim, Olivi the most so, although Olivi's interpretation is very much *sui generis*. The tradition of the return of Enoch and Elijah to face Antichrist continues independently of commentaries on Revelation, sometimes containing only the death of the two, sometimes a resurrection also. It is this second form, increasingly prevalent in the commentary tradition that will come to be seen by Protestants as the standard Catholic interpretation, which they wish to contradict, and which many post-Reformation Catholic exegetes will wish to defend.

Chapter 3. 1517-1700	145
1517-1600	146
3.1 Enoch and Elijah returned in the early sixteenth century	146
3.2 Antichrist as all evil forces	149
3.3 Antichrist the Papacy	153
3.4 1260 days as a definite period, usually 1260 years	157
3.5 Catholic exegesis	163
1601-1638	167
3.6 1260 days as indefinite	167
3.7 1260 days a definite time	170
3.8 Richard Farnham and John Bull	177
3.9 Catholic interpretation	179
Protestants 1639-1660	182
3.10 England and the rest of the British Isles	182
3.11 Continental Europe 1639-1660.....	204
Protestants 1661-1700	208
3.12 1260 days as a definite period	208
3.13 1260 days not definite.....	222
3.14 Catholic interpretation 1639-1700	224
3.15 Conclusion.....	228

Chapter 3. 1517-1700

The religious upheaval of Western Christendom at the Reformation brought with it new Protestant readings of the Apocalypse together with Catholic reaction to these. I shall begin by looking at the period 1517-1600, proceeding to examine 1601-1638. In the seventeenth century, the period of the English civil wars and interregnum is a particularly fertile one for exegesis of the Apocalypse, and I have therefore devoted a section to exegesis in British Isles in the period 1639-1660. I then treat Protestant commentaries from continental Europe in this period, 1639-1660. With the restoration of Charles II in England, I return to examining Protestant writers from the British Isles and Continental Europe together for the period 1661-1700. I conclude with a look at Catholics from 1639-1700. As in previous periods, there is a great deal of repetition amongst commentators, and I shall concentrate on the original aspects of interpretations.

1517-1600

3.1 Enoch and Elijah returned in the early sixteenth century

The identification of contemporary figures as Enoch and Elijah was entertained by some in the early years of the Reformation, although soon any notion of a return of Enoch and Elijah together became tainted as Catholic and unscriptural.

Many identified Luther with the returning Elijah, a designation he rejected.¹ As he had no partnering Enoch this is primarily a use of the tradition of the return of Elijah alone. At least one acrostic, however, associated Luther with both Enoch and Elijah

Lautere Evangelisch leer
 Überflüssige gnad des heyligen geists
 Trewlicher diener Christi
 H bedeutet Heliam welche den Endchrist verraten
 E bedeutet Enoch
 Rabi das er ist meister worden aller schriftschender²

Luther was sceptical of the whole concept of a return of Enoch and Elijah, let alone any application of such ideas to himself.³ Luther's rejection of a return of Enoch and Elijah is based on his principle of *sola scriptura*, and is followed by the majority of subsequent Protestants. The two witnesses of Revelation 11 are unnamed, so this passage cannot of itself prove the return of Enoch and Elijah. Of Enoch the scriptures speak only of his translation to heaven, not of his return.⁴ In light of Malachi 4, Luther is prepared to leave open the idea of a return of Elijah, although he is sceptical of it, thinking that this passage has probably already been fulfilled in John the Baptist.

¹ Petersen, *Preaching*, 60.

² Haug Marschalck, *Von dem weit erschollenen Namen Luther, was er bedeutet und wie er wirt missbraucht* (Strasburg 1523); cited by Petersen, *Preaching*, 98.

³ Although he did not absolutely rule out a return of Elijah. H.-U. Hofmann, *Luther und die Johannes-Apokalypse* (Tübingen 1982) 656-661.

⁴ See below, section 3.5, on Sir 44:16.

Luther's restraint was in less evidence amongst more radical preachers. Thomas Müntzer (c.1490-1525) claimed that he had come in the spirit of Elijah, again with no partnering Enoch. There is probably no link with Revelation 11 in this claim. Petersen argues that Hans Hut thought that Müntzer and Heinrich Pfeiffer were the two witnesses, but this is based on inferences from Hut's scheme of the events to unfold before the end.⁵ We have no record of Hut using the passage, and in the absence of any firm evidence, Petersen's suggestion remains highly speculative.⁶ Melchior Hoffman in his 1530 commentary on Revelation expected the return of Enoch and Elijah as part of a complicated eschatological scenario. He did not at this stage encourage any participation in these events, but a steadfast acceptance of any persecution that might come prior to the imminent Last Judgement.⁷ After 1530, he came to identify himself with Elijah, and either Cornelis Poldermann or Caspar Schwenckfeld with Enoch. This was combined with a belief in a theocratic interregnum prior to the last Judgement, in the New Jerusalem of Strasbourg. The ungodly would be killed by the city's defenders when they attacked Strasbourg, although no Anabaptists would themselves take up the sword.⁸ This scenario did not fall out in Strasbourg, where Hoffman was imprisoned from 1533 until his death in 1543 or 1544, but an attempt was made to act it out in Münster. Jan Matthijs, a follower of Hoffman, declared himself to be Enoch, and in 1533 became the tyrannical ruler of Münster, which he understood to be the New Jerusalem. Unlike

⁵ Petersen, *Preaching in the Last Days*, 71-75.

⁶ Petersen does not claim to produce any direct evidence. This is in contrast to W. Klaassen, *Living at the End of the Ages. Apocalyptic Expectation in the Radical Reformation* (Lanham/New York/London 1992) 26, who cites *Quellen zur Geschichte der Wiedertäufer II* (Leipzig 1934) 54-55 for Pfeiffer and Müntzer as the two witnesses whose bodies are left unburied. There is not, however, anything of relevance in the place cited, and I have been unable to find any direct evidence for Hut's view on Revelation 11.

⁷ K. Deppermann, *Melchior Hoffman* (Edinburgh 1987) 254-255. I have not had access to Hoffman, *Ausslegung der heimlichen Offenbarung Joannis des heyligen Apostels unnd Evangelisten* (Strasbourg 1530).

⁸ Deppermann, *Melchior Hoffman*, 257-259.

Hoffman, he did not think that Anabaptists should refrain from battle themselves, and was killed sallying forth in the defence of Münster in April 1534, prior to its final capture by Catholic and Lutheran troops in 1535.⁹ Hoffman's scheme of events was heavily dependent on his reading of Revelation (and of Daniel). He retains the common identification of the two witnesses as Enoch and Elijah, but in designating himself as Elijah, uses it to give himself a leading role in the eschatological events that he believed were unfolding.

⁹ O. Phipps, *A Confession*, in, ed. G.H. Williams and A. Mergal, *Spiritual and Anabaptist Writers* (London 1957) 221-222.

3.2 Antichrist as all evil forces

The first Protestant commentary on Revelation was that of Francis Lambert in 1528. Verses 1-2a receive an ecclesiological exegesis. The temple is the Church, and the court that is thrown out symbolizes hypocrites and false believers.¹⁰ The holy city (v.2) is the Church, and the 42 months of its trampling down may be a literal 42 months of persecution by the great Antichrist, or they can be understood as a mystery, and then only Christ knows how they should be understood.¹¹ This understanding of the months as a mystery should be related to Lambert's belief in the mystical Antichrist, i.e. that Antichrist is to be understood as all those forces that oppose God throughout the history of the Church. The Pope and Islam are examples of this.¹² The two witnesses are Enoch and Elijah, understood as types of true witnesses, as many witnesses as the Church of God will need to establish the truth at the time of the son of perdition.¹³ The idea seems to be primarily that of witnesses against the Great Antichrist, the final enemy; only God knows whether the witnesses have yet come.¹⁴ Lambert's view of the mystical Antichrist as those opposed to God throughout history gives some grounds for considering the witnesses as present throughout Church history, as does his understanding of the resurrection of the two as the raising up of new witnesses in the same spirit,¹⁵ although this latter could occur during a final persecution. Moreover, Lambert's emphasis seems to be on their role in the last period of history. He is unwilling to categorically state that this has already begun, but he does identify the Pope as the Great Antichrist of Western Europe.¹⁶ The earthquake is the same as that of ch. 6, a tumult of carnal people. The tenth part of the

¹⁰ F. Lambert, *In Sanctam Divi Ioannis Apocalypsim, Libri VII* (Marburg 1528) ff. 180v-181v.

¹¹ Lambert, *In Apocalypsim*, f. 182r.

¹² Lambert, *In Apocalypsim*, f. 183r.

¹³ Lambert, *In Apocalypsim*, f. 188v.

¹⁴ Lambert, *In Apocalypsim*, f. 192r.

¹⁵ Lambert, *In Apocalypsim*, f. 194v.

¹⁶ Lambert, *In Apocalypsim*, f. 130v.

city that falls are those who turn from following Antichrist to Christ,¹⁷ presumably in the context of Western Europe meaning converts from Catholicism to Protestantism. Lambert's exegesis combines an ecclesiological application with a belief that the vv.2b-13 apply particularly to the last period of time, which Lambert hints is current.

Lambert's commentary was among many used by the former Carmelite John Bale. The precise publication dates of the various parts are not easy to establish, but fall in the 1540s, prior to the death of Henry VIII.¹⁸ His exegesis of chapter 11 comes at the beginning of the second part, and it is soon evident that vv.1-2 are of direct relevance to Bale's own time.

And unto John it was said *for this age*, Arise... And mete the holy temple of God, which is his congregation or church.¹⁹

This measuring is to be done using the reed of the scriptures; the practices of the true Church conform to these. The court that is cast out belongs to the Roman Church, which has introduced heathen practices into its worship (although a cursory mention of Islam is also made). The Catholics are the gentiles, who have trampled underfoot the holy city of the true Church for a period of 42 months. The number is symbolic and shows that the persecution is for a definite, predetermined period that will come to an end.²⁰ It is in the current work of reform in those Churches that have split from Rome that the measuring is now taking place.

The 1260 days of the two witnesses (v.3) are not simply equated with the 42 months of the beast, but exceed them by 84 days. This means that Bale must be using, unusually, a 28-day rather than a 30-day month as the basis of his calculations.²¹ The two periods are made to synchronize by the argument that the 1260 days are shortened

¹⁷ Lambert, *In Apocalypsim*, ff. 131v, 195v.

¹⁸ R. Bauckham, *Tudor Apocalypse* (Abingdon 1978) 22.

¹⁹ J. Bale, *The Image of both Churches* in, ed. H. Christmas, *Select Works of John Bale* (Cambridge 1849) 384; italics mine.

²⁰ Bale, *Image*, 384-386.

²¹ $42 \times 28 = 1176$. $1260 - 1176 = 84$.

for the sake of the elect.²² The two witnesses are the faithful protestors of the Old and New Testaments, all the time since the death of Stephen. Bale takes the trouble to refute what he regards as the Catholic interpretation, that the two witnesses are Enoch and Elijah who are to come near the end of time for a literal 1260 days to oppose a similarly short reigned Antichrist in Jerusalem. For Bale, there is no “earthly paradise” in which they can be waiting,²³ and therefore Enoch and Elijah cannot come thence.²⁴ As olive trees, they shed forth the Spirit, and as candlesticks they give forth light by explaining the Scriptures (v.4). The plagues of the witnesses (vv.5-6) are spiritual, not literal. At their preaching the rain of the Spirit does not fall upon the wicked, and if their word is not received, it condemns its unrepentant hearer to eternal death.²⁵ The beast who makes war on the witnesses (v.7) is Antichrist.

The beast of the bottomless pit is the cruel, crafty, and cursed generation of Antichrist, the pope with his bishops, prelates, priests and religious in Europe, Mahomet with his doting dousepers in Africa, and so forth in Asia and India; all beastly wicked and carnal in their doings.²⁶

There has been one general Antichrist at work since the beginning of the Church, and for those in Western Europe, his activity is now concentrated in the Pope and Catholic Church.²⁷ Throughout all the time of the Church, Antichrist has caused the deaths of the witnesses. The street of the great city in which they lie slain (v.8) is the whole world, and Bale gives numerous examples from recent times in England (e.g. William Tyndale and the Lollard John Oldcastle).²⁸ Their resurrection (v.11) is not literal, but

²² Bale, *Image*, 387.

²³ For the “earthly paradise” see above, section 1.7.

²⁴ Bale, *Image*, 387.

²⁵ Bale, *Image*, 388-90.

²⁶ Bale, *Image*, 392.

²⁷ K.R. Firth, *The Apocalyptic Tradition in Reformation Britain 1530-1645* (Oxford 1979) 52-53.

²⁸ Bale is not the first to give such a list; one is found in S. Meyer, *In Apocalypsin Iohannis Apostoli* (n.p. n.d.) f. 42r. W. Bousset, *Die Offenbarung Johannis* (Göttingen 1896) 86-87 dates the *editio princeps* of Meyer’s commentary to 1534, but I. Backus, *Reformation Readings of the Apocalypse* (Oxford 2000) 19, argues for 1536-1545. Also, Bale had been in contact with Matthias Flacius Illyricus concerning the evidence for pre-Reformation anti-Catholicism that he and the Magdeburg Centuriators

the raising up of new witnesses of the same sort.²⁹ The ascension of the witnesses (v.12) is understood in terms of the progress of the witnesses to greater spiritual heights, among whom are now enumerated John Wycliffe, Jan Huss and Jerome of Prague. That their enemies see them means that they know them to have true knowledge of God, yet this does not stop their persecution of them.³⁰ The earthquake that slays 7000 is the attack of the godly by the wicked throughout history. Bale demonstrates here a sensitivity to the potential injustice of killing on God's behalf that is unusual for his time.

In no case are the wicked of the godly here put unto death, though some do understand it, but rather of the wicked the godly: for they never retail their wrongs, but rather pray for their enemies.³¹

The remnant who give praise to God are those who were and are persecuted, yet still worship God.³² For Bale, the Tyconian type of exegesis is adapted to the interests of a Protestant historiography. The Protestant Church is to be found in the few faithful witnesses of all ages and their followers, who have a historical continuity equal to that of Catholicism. The argument from the size of the Catholic Church is turned on its head; it is not the largest group that is the true Church, but the small number of those who follow the witnesses, and whose Church is measured with the reed of the Scriptures.

Augustine Marlorate, whose commentary is a series of quotations from other authors (sometimes inaccurately attributed) has a similar exegesis to Bale's,³³ with Antichrist active from the time of the apostles to the judgement.³⁴

put together; M. Reeves, "English Apocalyptic Thinkers (c.1540-1620)" in, ed. R. Rusconi, *Storia e figure dell' Apocalisse fra '500 e '600* (Rome 1996) 259-273, partic. 262.

²⁹ Bale, *Image*, 392-396.

³⁰ Bale, *Image*, 396-398.

³¹ Bale, *Image*, 399.

³² Bale, *Image*, 399.

³³ A. Marlorate, *A Catholike exposition upon the Revelation of Sainct Iohn* (n.p. 1574 – original Latin edition 1561) ff. 147v-167v.

³⁴ Marlorate, *A Catholike*, f. 149r-v.

3.3 Antichrist the Papacy

For many Protestant exegetes, the activities of Antichrist were confined to the papacy, which had taken over the role of the persecuting Roman Empire. Luther's 1522 preface to Revelation evinced deep suspicion of the merits of the book,³⁵ although by the time of his 1530 preface his attitude had thawed somewhat. The two witnesses are a comforting image. There will be some pious teachers and Christians who remain under the first (Arius) and second (Mohammed and the Saracens) woes, and under the third woe of the papal empire.³⁶ Perhaps Luther's most significant contribution to subsequent Protestant exegesis of this passage was his identification of the Antichrist. Whereas medieval writers had sometimes identified either a future or a current Pope as the Antichrist, Luther saw not an individual Pope, but the institution of the papacy as Antichrist (although sometimes allowing Islam a role also).³⁷ He was perhaps influenced by *Opus arduum*³⁸ in this.³⁹ The Roman Empire was the first beast of Revelation 13, and the second was the papacy.⁴⁰ The beast of Rev 11:7 was repeatedly to be identified by Protestant commentators as the papacy, the second beast of ch. 13.⁴¹

For Sebastian Meyer the two witnesses are the few preachers of the gospel. The papacy is now the Western Antichrist, the persecuting beast.⁴² The two witnesses

³⁵ M. Luther, ed. E.T. Bachmann, *Luther's Works*, vol. 35 (Philadelphia 1960) 395-396.

³⁶ *Luther's Works*, vol. 35, 404-405.

³⁷ R. Rusconi, "Antichrist and Antichrists" in, ed. B. McGinn, *The Encyclopedia of Apocalypticism. Volume 2. Apocalypticism in Western History and Culture* (New York 1998) 287-325, partic. 311-313.

³⁸ See above, section 2.4.

³⁹ For a view of Luther's independence of *Opus Arduum* in this see C. Bostock, *The Antichrist and the Lollards. Apocalypticism in late Medieval and Reformation Britain* (Leiden/Boston/Cologne 1998) 56.

⁴⁰ *Luther's Works*, vol. 35, 405-406.

⁴¹ This is not the only view on the matter, as many later commentators see the two beasts of ch. 13 as different aspects of the Roman Church. See K.G.C. Newport, *Apocalypse and Millennium. Studies in Biblical Eisegesis* (Cambridge 2000) 174-177. Either view of ch. 13 serves equally well to associate the beast of 11:7 with the papacy/Roman Church.

⁴² Meyer, *In Apocalypsim*, ff. 41v, 59v. The Turks are the Eastern Antichrist.

are particularly evident in contemporary Germany.⁴³ The papal persecution has now been occurring for several hundred years.⁴⁴ The resurrection of the witnesses is the raising up of new preachers in the same spirit, as well as referring to the final resurrection.⁴⁵ Unusually, as well as an ecclesiological application of vv.1-2a, with the Temple as the Church, Meyer also refers to the events of 70 AD, and Titus and Vespasian's capture of Jerusalem and the destruction of the Temple, citing Josephus' account of these events.⁴⁶

Bibliander's Zurich lectures on the Apocalypse were begun in December 1543, and published in a revised and shortened form.⁴⁷ For Bibliander the two witnesses are primarily the Old and New Testaments, although mention is also made of Jan Huss and Jerome of Prague at the Council of Constance.⁴⁸ Both the idea of the two testaments as themselves witnesses, as opposed to individuals or the Church collectively preaching through them, and the reference to the Council of Constance, were taken up by others.⁴⁹

Heinrich Bullinger's sermons on Revelation were begun at the arrival of the Marian exiles in Zurich in 1554. They were published in a revised form in Latin in 1557 and an English translation was published in 1561. Verses 1-2 are interpreted of the true Church (the Temple) from which the inner court,⁵⁰ that is the Roman priests and prelates are cast out. The two witnesses are faithful preachers all the time of the Antichrist's reign. The 1260 years and the 42 months synchronize, and signify an

⁴³ Meyer, *In Apocalypsim*, f. 43r.

⁴⁴ Meyer, *In Apocalypsim*, f. 41r.

⁴⁵ Meyer, *In Apocalypsim*, ff. 42v, 44v-45r.

⁴⁶ Meyer, *In Apocalypsim*, f. 43r.

⁴⁷ Backus, *Reformation Readings*, 94.

⁴⁸ T. Bibliander, *Ad Omnium Ordinum Reipublicae Christianae Principes Viros populumque Christianum relatio fidelis* (Basel 1545) 58, 138-139.

⁴⁹ E.g. Foxe and Napier, see below, section 3.4.

⁵⁰ In reading the "inner" court Bullinger is following the Greek text of the Complutensian Polyglot (1514) and Erasmus (1516). The Vulgate has the correct reading of "outer." Even amongst sixteenth and seventeenth century commentators who do not follow the reading "inner," a large number at least discuss it as a variant.

unknown, but predestined period. Huss and Jerome of Prague are cited as examples of the witnesses, among others.⁵¹ The beast of v.7 is Antichrist, identified with the Papacy, which has been Antichrist since 763 AD. 763 is arrived at by adding 666 (Rev13:18) to the assumed date of composition, 97 AD.⁵² At this time (that of Pippin III) the first beast of ch. 13, the Roman Empire, finally transferred its power to the second beast, the papacy. This is the beast of ch. 11. The great city is Rome, and those places where the Bishop of Rome exercises jurisdiction.⁵³ The resurrection of the witnesses is the raising up of new preachers of the same sort, but their ascension is taken to be a pledge of the certainty of their final arrival in heaven. Their enemies seeing them is similarly expounded of the vindication of the witnesses being seen at the last day by those who opposed them.⁵⁴ The earthquake signifies wars and political upheavals, and the tenth of the city falling is the conversion of many Catholics to Protestantism. The 7000 slain are “Antichristians” (i.e. Catholics) who die in such wars and calamities; Bullinger shares none of Bale’s distaste for the slaughter of the wicked (Catholics) by the godly (Protestants). As an example he cites the sacking of Rome in 1527.⁵⁵ As for Bale, the passage serves an apologetic purpose within Protestant historiography, but it is more particularized. Implicitly, with the Pope beginning as Antichrist in 763 AD, the Church before this time was not corrupted. It is only since this time that the two witnesses, the faithful preachers of God’s word, with whom the preachers of the Protestant Church are in continuity, have been carrying on their battle against the Roman Antichrist.

⁵¹ H. Bullinger, *A Hundred Sermons upon the Apocalips of Jesu Christe...* (London 1561) 335.

⁵² Bullinger, *Hundred Sermons*, 434. This calculation was taken by Bullinger from Bibliander. It appears in Bibliander, *Ad Omnium*, 147, and Bullinger had also made notes on Bibliander’s Zurich lectures (begun December 1543) on Revelation; Backus, *Reformation Readings*, 100, 103-104. Bullinger did not adopt Bibliander’s second addition of 666 to 763, arriving at 1429 and Martin V for the mature revelation of the Antichristian papacy.

⁵³ Bullinger, *Hundred Sermons*, 323, 326.

⁵⁴ Bullinger, *Hundred Sermons*, 333.

⁵⁵ Bullinger, *Hundred Sermons*, 334-335.

The notes on Revelation in the 1560 Geneva Bible⁵⁶ are heavily dependent on Bullinger.⁵⁷ This immensely popular work ensured a wide dissemination in Britain of the Bullingerian reading of the Apocalypse. On ch. 11 the only substantial difference is that both the resurrection and ascension of the witnesses are interpreted of the final resurrection; Bullinger had interpreted only the ascension in this manner, and the resurrection of the raising of new preachers. The exegesis of ch. 13 reproduces Bullinger, meaning that the Pope, the beast of 11:7, came into the role of Antichrist in 763 AD.

Bullinger's reading is followed, with minor variations, by Striegel,⁵⁸ Flacius Illyricus,⁵⁹ Fulke,⁶⁰ Conradus,⁶¹ Colladon,⁶² Wither,⁶³ and Giffard.⁶⁴ Borrhaus has a reading close to Bullinger's, although noting a relation between vv.1-2 and the fall of Jerusalem to Titus and Vespasian. Borrhaus also provides an alternative reading, in which the two witnesses symbolize the paucity of true preachers during Antichrist's reign for a literal 1260 days.⁶⁵

⁵⁶ The notes on Revelation of the 1560 edition are reproduced in the 1576 revision. The 1602 edition, and some of 1599, use the short commentary of Francis Junius. I have consulted: *The Bible and Holy Scriptures Contained in the Olde and New Testament* (Geneva 1560); *Geneva Bible* (London 1578); *The Geneva Bible, The Annotated New Testament 1602 Edition (facsimile)* ed. G.T. Sheppard (Cleveland, Ohio 1989). See below, section 3.4, on Junius.

⁵⁷ Bauckham, *Tudor Apocalypse*, 49.

⁵⁸ V. Striegel, *YTOMNHMA TA in omnes libros novi testamenti* (Leipzig 1565) 2:576-577, 581, 583.

⁵⁹ M. Flacius Illyricus, *Novum Testamentum... Glossa Compendaria* (Basel 1570) 1350-1354. Flacius Illyricus also presents a more particular interpretation, on which see below, section 3.4.

⁶⁰ W. Fulke, *Praelections upon the Sacred and holy Revelation of St. John* (London 1573) 67-73.

⁶¹ A. Conradus, *In Apocalypsim D. Ioannis Apostoli Commentarius* (Basel 1574) 229-265.

⁶² N. Colladon, *Methodus Facilima ad Explicationem Sacrosanctae Apocalypseos Ioannis Theologi* (Morges 1584 – original edition 1581) 219-248.

⁶³ G. Wither, *A View of the Marginal Notes of the Popish Testament* (London 1588) 292-293 (written against the Rhemes New Testament).

⁶⁴ G. Giffard, *Sermons Upon the Whole Booke of the Revelation* (London 1599 – original edition 1596) 188-208.

⁶⁵ M. Borrhaus, *In Iesaiæ... eiusdem in Apocalypsim Ioannis fidelem prophetarum interpreten explicatio* (Basel 1561 – original edition 1559) ff. 40v-47r.

3.4 1260 days as a definite period, usually 1260 years

Some commentators were unsatisfied with taking the 1260 days as a symbolic time period, and thought more exact calculation to be necessary. Ezekiel 4 gave a biblical precedent for a day being taken as a year, so 1260 days could be taken for 1260 years. P. Artopoeus (Peter Becker) sees the 1260 years as running from 315, the conversion of Constantine,⁶⁶ to 1575.⁶⁷ The trampling underfoot of the holy city provokes mention, as with Meyer, of the capture of Jerusalem by Vespasian and Titus. Artopoeus goes on to assert that Judaism continued to be strong until the time of Constantine, who in making Sunday a holiday translated the Sabbath to the Lord's day. The 1260 years from 315 to 1575 are the times of the Gentiles during which Jerusalem (and Judaism as a whole) is to be trodden down (Lk 21:24).⁶⁸ The two witnesses are the true teachers of the gospel. The 3½ days in which they lie dead are 3½ years in which they are condemned as heretics and their books burnt, such things as have recently occurred in Germany, and throughout the whole of the Pope's jurisdiction. The resurrection of the witnesses will come at the general resurrection. The tenth part of the city that falls is a tenth of the Antichristian papal dominions that will fall at the end of the 1260 years, and their total destruction will follow soon after.⁶⁹

D. Chytraeus thought the first beast of ch. 13 the Roman Empire, but interpreted the two horns of the second as Islam and the papacy.⁷⁰ In his exegesis of ch. 11,⁷¹ it is primarily the papacy's role as Antichrist that is to the fore. The witnesses are the true doctors and ministers of Christ. The 1260 years run either from

⁶⁶ Actually 312 AD.

⁶⁷ P. Artopoeus (P. Becker), *Vaticinium Sacrum, de Ecclesia, totoque ministerio Evangelio, sub Antichristianismo, usque ad finem mundi* (n.p. 1556) 9.

⁶⁸ Artopoeus, *Vaticinium Sacrum*, 7-9.

⁶⁹ Artopoeus, *Vaticinium Sacrum*, 10-19.

⁷⁰ D. Chytraeus, *Explicatio Apocalypsis Ioannis Perspica et Brevis* (Wittenberg 1564) 21.

⁷¹ Chytraeus, *Explicatio Apocalypsis*, 211-229.

412, and the sack of Rome by Alaric,⁷² which Chytraeus understands as the overthrow of the Roman Empire, or 606 when the Roman see was formally recognized by the Emperor Phocas as the head of all Churches.⁷³ The resurrection of the witnesses is the raising of new witnesses of the same sort. Chytraeus' first chronology is followed by Nicolai, who correctly dates Alaric's sack of Rome to 410.⁷⁴

Flacius Illyricus⁷⁵ understands 1548-1551 as the 1260 days of the witnesses, a day being taken for a day, not a year. This relates to the period of the Augsburg and Leipzig Interims, unacceptable to many Protestants, after Charles V's wars against the Schmalkaldic League. The resurrection of the witnesses is equated with the 1552 rebellion of the Protestant Princes led by Maurice of Saxony.⁷⁶ Such ideas were later taken up in altered form by Osiander.⁷⁷

John Napier, the inventor of logarithms, took the 1260 days to signify 1260 years, from the time of Constantine, about 300 (or at the latest 316) to 1560, or thereabouts.⁷⁸ Napier understands the two witnesses to be the Old and New Testaments, which have been obscured by the Vulgate edition, disguised as you would "a prince in sackcloth."⁷⁹ The 3½ days of their lying dead seem to be equated with the 1260 years.⁸⁰ The scriptures are a dead letter, as they are in Latin and incorrectly interpreted, and they remain unburied, as they are not engraved on people's hearts. From about 1560 onwards the Scriptures began to be correctly

⁷² Actually 410 AD; *OCD*, 49.

⁷³ This probably actually occurred in 607, after Boniface III was consecrated as Pope. See Kelly, *Dictionary of Popes*, 68.

⁷⁴ P. Nicolai, *A Prophetie of Doomesday* (Edinburgh 1631 – original Latin edition 1596) no page nos.

⁷⁵ Flacius Illyricus, *Novum Testamentum*, 1352.

⁷⁶ On these events see C. Lindberg, *The European Reformations* (Oxford 1996) 242-248.

⁷⁷ See below, this section.

⁷⁸ J. Napier, *A Plaine Discovery of the whole Revelation of Saint Iohn* (Edinburgh 1593) 64-68.

⁷⁹ Napier, *Plaine Discovery*, 152.

⁸⁰ This is not uncommon, and is achieved by firstly taking 3½ days to mean 3½ years. In these 3½ years, there are 1260 days, which are 1260 years.

interpreted, their resurrection,⁸¹ and Napier probably has particularly in mind the establishment of the Presbyterian Church in his native Scotland that year. Napier alters the Tyconian understanding of the witnesses as people preaching through the scriptures to understand the scriptures themselves as the two witnesses, whose testimony was combated by the Roman forces of Antichrist.

Giacopo Brocardo held a thoroughgoing Joachite three-*status* understanding of history. Rev 11:1-13 refers primarily to the second *status*. The two witnesses are the word of the Gospel and of prophecy, and all those who have continued in these. Their 1260 days are 1260 years which run from 313 to 1573.⁸² The slaying of the witnesses by the papal forces occurred at the St. Bartholomew's day massacre in Paris of 1572.⁸³ The resurrection of the witnesses is the resurgence of Protestants in the Netherlands and France, although it may also be referred to the third *status*.⁸⁴ The great earthquake of v.13 is a great battle in which Protestants will slaughter Catholics.⁸⁵ Probably Brocardo expected this in the near future.

B. Aretius thinks the two witnesses the small number of the doctors of the Church. If the 1260 days are 1260 years they run from 312-1572, but they may signify a short time of affliction. Aretius also mentions the unusual opinion (not his own) that the two witnesses are Augustine and Jerome, whose writings were relatively unread throughout the medieval period, but have now been newly edited, their resurrection.⁸⁶

⁸¹ Napier, *Plaine Discovery*, 147-148.

⁸² G. Brocardo, *The Revelation of St. Ihon* [sic] *reveled* (London 1582 – original Latin edition 1580) f. 112v.

⁸³ Brocardo, *Revelation*, f. 111r-v.

⁸⁴ Brocardo, *Revelation*, ff. 110r, 112r-v.

⁸⁵ Brocardo, *Revelation*, f. 113r-v.

⁸⁶ B. Aretius, *Commentarii in omnes epistolas d. Pauli, et canonicas, Itemque in Apocalypsin d. Ioannis* (n.p. 1596 – original edition 1581) 587-590.

Francis Junius placed the 1260 years firmly in the past.⁸⁷ For Junius the two witnesses are ministers of the word. The 1260 years run from 34 AD (Christ's death) until 1294, the year of Pope Boniface VIII's accession. Boniface warred with holy men at about this time, probably in his struggle with Philip IV of France which Junius refers to, and the 3½ days of the witnesses lying dead are from the Jubilee Boniface declared in 1300 until his death 3½ years later. Prophecy lay dead during this period, but revived again - the resurrection of the witnesses - with the Pontificate of Benedict XI.⁸⁸

Leo Judah followed Tyconius in understanding the 1260 days as 350 years, although it is not clear when these years begin and end. They are from the time that much false doctrine came into the Church;⁸⁹ perhaps the 350 years prior to the Reformation are meant. The two witnesses are God's ministers in the spirit of Enoch and Elijah. The beast who makes war on them is kings and priests who persecute them. Judah makes particular reference to state rulers who will not allow Protestant reformation in their lands. The resurrection of the witnesses will be when their writings are held in higher esteem after their deaths.⁹⁰ Perhaps Judah is thinking of the Reformers' esteem for the writings of Huss and others like him.

John Foxe had an idiosyncratic interpretation of the 1260 days. He envisaged two persecutions for the Church, each of 294 years.⁹¹ The first lasted from Christ's death in 30 AD, to Constantine's defeat of Licinius in 324, when he became sole

⁸⁷ F. Junius, *A Briefe and Learned Commentarie upon the Revelation of Saint Iohn the Apostle and Evangelist* (London 1592 - original Latin edition 1591). This is reproduced verbatim in the 1602 Geneva Bible. The notes of Junius are of a quite different character to the previous *Geneva Bible* notes on the Apocalypse (see above, section 3.3). For the 1560 and 1576 editions, the Apocalypse applied much more directly to the present than with the notes of Junius.

⁸⁸ *Geneva Bible*, 1602, ff. 129r-130v.

⁸⁹ L. Judah, *A paraphrase or commentarie upon the Revelation of S. Iohn*, in D. Erasmus, *The seconde tome or volume of the Paraphrase of Erasmus upon the newe testament* (London 1549 - original German edition 1542) f. 15r-v.

⁹⁰ Judah, *A paraphrase*, ff. 15v-16r.

⁹¹ 42 (months – Rev 11:2; 13:5) x 7 (for the “weeks of years” principle, cf. Dan 9:24, although in this case it is weeks of months) = 294.

Emperor. A “millennial” period of peace (Rev 20:4-6) then lasted nearly a thousand years, until about 1300, when Satan was loosed, and the second 294-year period began. This is the time to which the 1260 days of Revelation 11 refers, and the witnesses are God’s true preachers, oppressed and killed by Antichrist, the Pope.⁹² A more particular reference is also found to Jan Huss and Jerome of Prague, frequently mentioned by others as examples of the witnesses, who were condemned to death at the council of Constance. This lasted very nearly 3½ years, from 8th December 1414 to 2nd May 1418, corresponding to the 3½ prophetic days (i.e. years) in which the witnesses lie dead (Rev 11:8).⁹³ Their resurrection is in the preachers who have succeeded them. Foxe’s exegesis is taken up only by J. Foord.⁹⁴

Gallus divides Church history into seven ages. The sixth runs from 1273-1519, and it is to this period that Rev 11:1-13 applies, with the trampling down of the Church by the papacy, followed by the revivification of the ministry of the pious in the Church at the Reformation, the resurrection of the witnesses, leading into the seventh age (1519 to the end of the world) and the ruin of the Roman Antichrist.⁹⁵

Lucas Osiander⁹⁶ comes up with a figure of 1278 years for the 1260 days.⁹⁷ He does not say how he has obtained this, but I think that it can be shown with a reasonable degree of certainty. Most commentators assume (as does Osiander) that the 42 months and the 1260 days represent the same period. This means that each month is of 30 days duration (42 x 30 = 1260), and a year therefore of 360 days duration. Osiander has calculated that 1260 years of 365.25 days make 1278 years (to the nearest whole year) of 360 days. He does not say when these years run from, but the

⁹² J. Foxe, *Eicasmī seu meditationes in sacram Apocalypsim* (London 1587) 116-196.

⁹³ Foxe, *Eicasmī*, 181.

⁹⁴ J. Foord, *Apocalypsis Iesu Christi* (London 1597) 66-75.

⁹⁵ C. Gallus, *Clavis Prophetica Nova Apocalypseos Ioannis Apostoli et Evangeliiographi* (Antwerp 1592) 60-74.

⁹⁶ Son of the more famous Andreas Osiander.

⁹⁷ *Biblia Sacra*, with notes by L. Osiander (Tübingen 1600) no page nos.

3½ days in which the witnesses (the teachers of the Church who truly teach the Law and Gospel) lie dead are 3½ years from 1548-1552. This is similar to Flacius Illyricus, and relates to the time of the Augsburg and Leipzig Interims. The resurrection of the witnesses is the 1552 uprising led by Maurice. Probably Osiander intends us to understand the 1278 years as those preceding 1548, i.e. 270-1548.

3.5 Catholic exegesis

The Protestant association of the Papacy as an institution with the Antichrist was unacceptable to Catholics. A few responded by labelling Luther the Antichrist.⁹⁸ More common was the assertion of the traditional understanding of Antichrist as a future figure. If Antichrist was an individual who was still to come, then the papacy could not be Antichrist. The majority of sixteenth Catholic commentators on the Apocalypse chose a futurist reading, with all the events of chs. 6-22 yet to occur.⁹⁹

Pürstinger did not write a commentary on Revelation, but his *Onus Ecclesiae* contains much material from the Apocalypse. Pürstinger, who quotes Joachite sources such as Telesphorus and the *Erythraean Sibyl*, does not expect two future orders, but thinks that the two witnesses of Revelation 11 are Enoch and Elijah who will be killed by Antichrist.¹⁰⁰

Jean de Gagny gives vv.1-2a an ecclesiological explanation, with the Temple as the Church. Verses 2b-13 are interpreted eschatologically, but the two witnesses killed by Antichrist and raised in Jerusalem are not Enoch and Elijah, but Moses and Elijah. Gagny follows here the intertextual references to Moses and Elijah in preference to the dominant tradition that the two are Enoch and Elijah.¹⁰¹ The death of Moses is no bar to this role, as he could be resuscitated in order to be a precursor of Christ's return.¹⁰²

⁹⁸ B. McGinn, *Antichrist. Two Thousand Years of the Human Fascination with Evil* (San Francisco 1994) 226.

⁹⁹ On the interpretation of the Apocalypse by some Catholic exegetes in this period, see J. Armogathe, "Interpretations of the Revelation of John: 1500-1800" in, ed. B. McGinn, *The Encyclopedia of Apocalypticism. Vol. 2* (New York 1998) 185-203.

¹⁰⁰ B. Pürstinger, *Onus Ecclesiae* (Augsburg 1531 – original edition 1524, written 1519) ff. 111v-112r, 117v (mentioning the Erythraean Sibyl as well as Revelation 11).

¹⁰¹ Although Moses and Elijah had been previously mentioned by Hilary of Poitiers, and also by Joachim and his followers (although not in terms of a literal return), the overwhelming weight of the tradition was behind a return of Enoch and Elijah.

¹⁰² J. de Gagny, *Brevissima et facillima in omnes divi Pauli epistolas scholia...et D. Ioannis Apocalypsin, brevissima scholia* (Paris 1543) ff. 218r-220r.

The Franciscan Nicholas Zegerus has a similar exegesis to that of *Aser pinguis* and other medieval works.¹⁰³ Verses 1-2a are interpreted ecclesiologically, with the Temple as the Church, and the expelled outer court as heretics and false Christians. Verses 2b-13 are interpreted eschatologically of Enoch and Elijah, who are killed by Antichrist in Jerusalem before rising 3½ days later. Whilst Zegerus is clear that this is the literal interpretation of the passage, he does also mention the two witnesses as two orders, the two testaments, or the small number of true preachers (so most Protestants). These do not seem to be absolutely ruled out as non-literal interpretations, although Zegerus would doubtless define who true preachers were differently from his Protestant counterparts.

Verses 1-2a are interpreted ecclesiologically and 2b-13 eschatologically of Enoch and Elijah in the notes of a 1558 Paris Bible,¹⁰⁴ and by Bulengerus.¹⁰⁵ The notes of the 1582 Rhemes New Testament produced by English Catholic exiles at the Rhemes seminary, draw attention primarily to an eschatological application to Enoch and Elijah.¹⁰⁶ They are illustrative of the debate between Catholics and Protestants concerning the return of Enoch and Elijah. Sir 44:16 according to the Latin reading is quoted to show that Enoch has been translated to paradise, and many patristic authorities are cited for the return of Enoch and Elijah.¹⁰⁷ Fulke's reply to the Rhemes New Testament is typical, firstly in denying that Ecclesiasticus is scriptural, but going on to assert that even if it were to be trusted, the Greek text says nothing of Enoch's translation to paradise.¹⁰⁸ Protestants, as illustrated by Bale,¹⁰⁹ tend to

¹⁰³ N. Zegerus, *Scholia in Omnes Novi Testamenti Libros* (Cologne 1553) 3:ff. 33v-39r. On *Aser pinguis*, see above, section 2.4.

¹⁰⁴ *Biblia Sacra...editionem Ioannis Benedicti Parisiensis* (Paris 1558) 227 (of NT).

¹⁰⁵ P. Bulengerus, *In Apocalypsin* (Paris 1589) 294-325.

¹⁰⁶ *The New Testament of Iesus Christ* (Rhemes 1582) 718-719.

¹⁰⁷ Not all accurately.

¹⁰⁸ W. Fulke, *The Text of the New Testament of Iesus Christ translated out of the vulgar Latine by the Papists of the traiterous Seminarie at Rhemes* (London 1589) 476.

¹⁰⁹ See above, section 3.2.

dismiss the notion of an earthly paradise, where Enoch and Elijah were traditionally situated in medieval literature prior to their return to face Antichrist. Emmanuel Sa's brief comments associate the chapter with the future reign of Antichrist in Jerusalem.¹¹⁰ The great Jesuit scholar, Bellarmine, writing concerning the future Antichrist, asserts that the two witnesses of ch. 11 are Enoch and Elijah.¹¹¹

Francis Ribiera interprets not only vv. 2b-13 eschatologically of Enoch and Elijah, but also gives vv.1-2a an eschatological interpretation.¹¹² The Temple is the Church, and the outer court is the profane part of the Church, removed from God. The elect are measured, and are not handed over to Antichrist. This probably does not mean that the elect are not persecuted by Antichrist and his acolytes, but that they refuse to follow him. Ribiera follows the *Glossa* in seeing the 1260 days of Enoch and Elijah as shorter than 3½ years. Unlike the *Glossa*, which has the 1260 days of Enoch and Elijah preceding the time of Antichrist, for Ribiera the two begin at the same time, but the 42 months of Antichrist (v.2) make 1280 days,¹¹³ so that Enoch and Elijah are killed 20 days before Antichrist's demise and the consummation. Enoch and Elijah are literally resurrected and ascend to heaven, but Ribiera is careful to note that they do not at this point receive their full and final glorification (cf. Heb 11:40).¹¹⁴ Overall, Ribiera has a consistently eschatological application of the entirety of 11:1-13, eschewing the ecclesiological interpretation of vv.1-2a that had been usual in medieval Catholic exegesis. This is part of Ribiera's rigorously futurist exegesis of Revelation 6-22, which are applied in their entirety to events yet to unfold.

¹¹⁰ E. Sa, *Notationes in Totam Scripturam* (Antwerp 1598) 456.

¹¹¹ R. Bellarmine, *De Controversiis Christianae Fidei, adversus huius temporis haereticos* (Ingolstadt 1590 – original edition 1586) columns 860, 863, 883.

¹¹² F. Ribiera, *In sacram Beati Ioannis Apostoli, & Euangelista Apocalypsin Commentarii* (Antwerp 1593 – original edition 1591, written c. 1578) 283-302.

¹¹³ It is not quite clear how Ribiera arrives at this figure, as he simply states that 42 months are 1280 days according to the numbering of the Greeks and Romans; Ribiera, *In sacram*, 292.

¹¹⁴ Cf. earlier the similar concerns of Bruno of Segni, Nicholas of Gorran and Vital du Four. See above, sections 2.1 and 2.4.

Caponsacchus gives a very unusual interpretation. Chapters 4-16 describe the reign of the oriental beast, and chs. 17-19 its state and fall. The oriental beast is now Islam, which has taken over this role from Judaism. Both stem from the seed of David.¹¹⁵ Islam has also in some sense taken over from the Roman Empire.¹¹⁶ Chapters 4-11 cover the judgement of Jerusalem, and chapters 12-19 move on to that of Asia, by which Caponsacchus means the Ottoman Empire. Caponsacchus' comments often do not dwell on the details of the text. Chapter 11 has to do with the capture of Jerusalem by the Romans in 73 AD,¹¹⁷ interpreted as its definitive fall. The great earthquake is the entry of the Idumeans into Jerusalem, and the 7000 killed die at their sword. Among these are the Jewish high priests Jesus and Ananus, whose bodies are left unburied in the middle of the city.¹¹⁸ This is perhaps in tension with the chronological progression of Revelation 11, where the witnesses are killed prior to the earthquake, but does implicitly identify Jesus and Ananus as the two witnesses. Caponsacchus does not address all the minutiae of the text, but it is referred to Titus' capture of Jerusalem.

¹¹⁵ P. Caponsacchus, *In Iohannis Apostoli Apocalypsim Observatio* (Florence 1572) 75.

¹¹⁶ Caponsacchus, *In Iohannis Apostoli Apocalypsim*, 79.

¹¹⁷ Actually 70 AD.

¹¹⁸ Caponsacchus, *In Iohannis Apostoli Apocalypsim*, 65. Cf. Josephus, *B.J.*, 4.314-317.

1601-1638

3.6 1260 days as indefinite

Arthur Dent's *The Ruine of Rome* follows a Bullingerian type reading. His summary of the chapter provides a useful illustration of the normal tenor of Protestant exegesis at this time.

First [vv. 1-2] it sheweth how the true Church should be gathered together and built by the preaching of the Gospell, and all the wicked refused and cast out.

Secondly [vv. 3-6], it describeth the builders; that is all the faithful Ministers which had and should resist Antichrist.

Thirdly [vv. 7-8], it sheweth how Antichrist should persecute the Preachers and professors of the Gospell unto death, and murther them by heapes.

Fourthly [vv. 9-10], it sheweth that Papists, Atheists and wicked worldlings, should reioyce in the death of Gods people, and not vouchsafe them so much as the honour of buriall, but send gifts one to another for ioy that they were rid out of the earth.

Fifthly [vv. 11-13], it sheweth that notwithstanding the rage and fury of the world in persecuting them to death, God would not only receive their soules to glorie, but also raise up others endued with the same spirit, which should preach, professe, & witnesse the same truth constantly & continually even unto the ende of the world.¹¹⁹

Dent makes an addition to the exegesis of v.2 that becomes more prominent with later Puritans. The Gentiles who trample the holy city are not only Catholics, but also “all false Christians and counterfaits in Religion.”¹²⁰ Dent thus draws a distinction between true Christians, who are members of the invisible Church, and those who are only nominal Christians, albeit they may be part of the visible, state Church. Indeed, Dent's injunction that “the true Church should be gathered together and built by the preaching of the Gospell, and all the wicked refused and cast out,”¹²¹ seems to go even further, perhaps arguing against the idea of a national Church at all.

¹¹⁹ A. Dent, *The Ruine of Rome* (London 1603) 131.

¹²⁰ Dent, *Ruine*, 133.

¹²¹ Dent, *Ruine*, 131.

The Church is to be found where the godly are gathered together, and those who are not considered to be of the godly elect are to be refused admittance.¹²²

A Bullingerian reading is followed by Graserus, although with the time of the witnesses beginning from about 600 AD.¹²³ Similar exegesis is found in Broughton,¹²⁴ Wilson,¹²⁵ Forbes,¹²⁶ Jungnitius,¹²⁷ Cowper,¹²⁸ Taylor,¹²⁹ and Fabricius.¹³⁰ Broughton includes an interesting understanding of the resurrection of the witnesses as the raising up of a new Protestant state if one is “slain,”¹³¹ and Wilson thinks that dead bodies may not only be those literally killed by the Roman Antichrist, but also the scriptures.¹³²

James I of England has the same general exegesis as Bullinger, placing the beginning of the papacy as Antichrist in 666. He adds a few touches appropriate to a sovereign.¹³³ The ascension of the witnesses has been occurring since the Reformation, via the agency of godly princes such as himself.

¹²² Although it does not particularly affect his exegesis of Rev 11:1-13, Dent's reading is perhaps the foremost example of a plea for English military involvement in the defeat of the Roman Antichrist. This is part of a trend among British interpreters, begun by the 1588 defeat of the Spanish Armada, that saw a decisive role in the battle against Antichrist for English armies, especially under Elizabeth. The failure of James I, and later Charles I, to commit troops on the Protestant side in the thirty years war led to the transference of such hopes from the British Monarch and their forces to the Swedish king, Gustavus II Adolphus. See Bauckham, *Tudor Apocalypse*, 177-180; B. Capp, “The Political Dimension of Apocalyptic Thought” in, ed. C. Patrides and J. Wittreich, *The Apocalypse in English Renaissance Thought and Literature* (Manchester 1984) 93-124.

¹²³ C. Graserus, *Plaga Regia* (Zurich 1610) ff. 59v-67r.

¹²⁴ H. Broughton, *A Revelation of the Holy Apocalyps* (n.p. 1610) 18-22.

¹²⁵ T. Wilson, *A Christian Dictionarie... Whereunto is annexed a perticular Dictionary for the Revelation of S. Iohn* (London 1612).

¹²⁶ P. Forbes, *An Exquisite Commentarie Upon the Revelation of Saint Iohn* (London 1613) 92-100.

¹²⁷ C. Jungnitius, *Parallela Apocalyptica Sententiarum* (Frankfurt 1618) 224-248.

¹²⁸ W. Cowper, *Pathmos, or A Commentary on the Revelation of Saint Iohn* in, *The Workes of Mr. William Cowper, Late Bishop of Galloway* (London 1623) 997-1008.

¹²⁹ T. Taylor, *Christs Victorie over the Dragon or Satans Downfall* (London 1633) 315-316, 785, 790.

¹³⁰ G. Fabricius, *Catena Apostolica Analysis Logico-Typica* (Leipzig 1634) tabula XI on Revelation, pages not numbered.

¹³¹ Broughton, *A Revelation*, 19-20.

¹³² Wilson, *Perticular Dictionary*, 23 (entry for “Carkases”). This follows Bibliander, Napier and Brightman (on whom, see below, section 3.7), and is most likely derived from either Napier or Brightman.

¹³³ James I (VI of Scotland), *A Paraphrase upon the Revelation* in, *The Workes of the Most High and Mightie Prince Iames* (London 1616) 7-72. Chapter 11 is discussed on 32-36.

Neither shall they [the Antichristian Pope and his allies] have power of their [the witnesses'] lives, for God shall move the hearts of many to defend them in such glory and safetie, as if they were mounting up to heaven in a cloud, and they not able to hinder them.¹³⁴

¹³⁴ James I, *Paraphrase*, 35.

3.7 1260 days a definite time

Winckelmann believes the two witnesses to be the true teachers of the faith in the time of the papal Antichrist, and the 1260 days to be 1260 years. He is less clear about when these 1260 years begin, giving possible starting points of 257, 262, 412, 414 and 606.¹³⁵ Iconius similarly thinks the two witnesses the faithful teachers of the Church, but assigns their 1260 years as from 376-1636. The lying dead of the witnesses does not come at the end of this period, but is related to the St. Bartholomew's day massacre of 1572.¹³⁶

Brightman's commentary was first published posthumously in 1609,¹³⁷ and was probably written during the late 1590s and early 1600s.¹³⁸ Instead of interpreting the two witnesses as identical symbols of God's preachers, Brightman understands one of them to be the Scriptures, and the other to be the assemblies of the faithful, the true Church.¹³⁹ The 1260 days are 1242 years, running from 304-1546.¹⁴⁰ Brightman is not exactly perspicuous here, but seems to have calculated that 1260 years of 360 days is 1242 years of 365.25 days. The Scriptures were slain at the Council of Trent, specifically the fourth session¹⁴¹ of the Council's first period (1545-47), beginning April 8th 1546, when decrees concerning the validity of unwritten traditions and the primacy of the Vulgate were promulgated. From then until the death of Pope Paul III on November 7th 1549¹⁴² is the 3½-day period (=3½ years - approximately) of the

¹³⁵ J. Winckelmann, *Commentarius in Apocalypsin* (Frankfurt 1601) 260-281. This commentary is also to be found in A. Hunnius, *Thesaurus Apostolicus Complectens Commentarios in Omnes Novi Testamenti Epistolas et Apocalypsin Iohannis* (Wittenberg 1705).

¹³⁶ R.E. Iconius, *Expressa & solida totius Apocalypsis Dominicae Epilysis* (Hannover 1611 – original edition 1601) 259-281.

¹³⁷ Brightman died in 1607.

¹³⁸ Bauckham, *Tudor Apocalypse*, 139.

¹³⁹ T. Brightman, *The Revelation of Saint Iohn Illustrated with Analysis and Scholions* (Amsterdam 1644 – original Latin edition 1609, original English edition 1611) 114.

¹⁴⁰ Brightman, *Revelation*, 117.

¹⁴¹ Brightman, *Revelation*, 117, incorrectly terms it the third. Cf. *ODCC*, 1639.

¹⁴² Brightman, *Revelation*, 120 reads 1546, but this is clearly a misprint, as Paul III died in 1549 and Brightman's sums are ruined if he did not.

scriptures lying as dead carcasses. The 3½ years for the assemblies of the faithful are of wars in Germany waged by Charles V on Protestants, and are from 22nd April 1547 to October 1550, and resistance at Magdeburg.¹⁴³ Their resurrection began at this time, and their ascension was at the Peace of Augsburg (1555),¹⁴⁴ where the principle of *cuius regio, eius religio* was agreed, and gave protection to Protestant rulers. Brightman, to some extent, follows Bibliander and Napier in seeing the scriptures as one of the witnesses. It seems highly likely that Brightman used Osiander, as he repeats his reference to the Schmalkaldic wars as the death of the witnesses (or for Brightman, for one of the witnesses), and draws upon his unusual reckoning of the 1260 days also. Whereas Osiander had calculated that 1260 years of 365.25 days works out at 1278 years of 360 days, Brightman calculated that 1260 years of 360 days equals 1242 years of 365.25 days. Overall, Brightman represents an original fusion of previous approaches.

Taffin thinks the two witnesses to be the true preachers of the Scriptures. Their 1260 years run from either 110-1370 or 150-1410. The latter set of figures fits in better with Taffin's exposition of their resurrection, which he understands to be a revival of the interpretation of Scripture after the Council of Constance.¹⁴⁵

For Bernard the witnesses are preachers, and their 1260 years run, as for Napier, from 300-1560. Their ascension to heaven is the Lord erecting a visible Church for his service and worship, and this has been happening from the time of Luther onwards.¹⁴⁶ Mason similarly follows the chronology of Napier, stating rather

¹⁴³ The famous Magdeburg confession was first issued in April 1550, Lindberg, *The European Reformation*, 244.

¹⁴⁴ Brightman, *Revelation*, 120-121.

¹⁴⁵ J. Taffin, *Claire Exposition de l'Apocalypse ou Revelation de S. Jean* (Flessing 1609) 329-381.

¹⁴⁶ R. Bernard, *A Key of Knowledge for the Opening of the Secret Mysteries of St. Johns Mystical Revelation* (London 1617) 195-206.

imprecisely that the 1260 years began in the time of Constantine.¹⁴⁷ Brandmuller likewise mentions the figure of 1260 years during which the doctors of the Church bear witness, but gives no date for its beginning.¹⁴⁸

Pareus understands the two witnesses to be the small number of the true followers of Christ during the time of the Antichristian papacy. He tentatively posits that the 1260 years began in 606, following one of Chytraeus' options. Since the time of the Reformation the two witnesses can be particularly seen in godly princes, bringing about reform within their jurisdiction, and ministers of the Protestant Churches. Pareus draws here explicitly upon the symbolism of the two olive trees. John's imagery is close to that of Zechariah 4, and in Zechariah 4 the two olive trees are Joshua and Zerubbabel, a religious leader and a civil ruler. The death of the witnesses is both the shaming of their reputation by papal bulls and excommunications, together with literal death for some. Their resurrection is in their successors, while their ascension relates to their reception into heaven, as for Bullinger.¹⁴⁹

Lupton interprets the two witnesses as the two testaments, and believes that their 1260 years run from 406-1666.¹⁵⁰ Alsted understands the witnesses as the Scriptures, whose 1260 years are from 362-1622.¹⁵¹ For Mayer the witnesses are the Scriptures and those who preach through them, and he follows Chytraeus' chronology in reckoning the 1260 years from 606-1866.¹⁵²

¹⁴⁷ T. Mason, *A Revelation of the Revelation* (London 1619) 43-51.

¹⁴⁸ J. Brandmuller, *Analysis Typica Omnium N.T. Epistolarum...Apocalypseos S. Johannis* (Basel 1622) 345-346.

¹⁴⁹ D. Pareus, *A Commentary Upon the Divine Revelation of the Apostle and Evangelist John* (Amsterdam 1644 – original Latin edition 1618) 209-246.

¹⁵⁰ T. L[upton], *A Breife Exposition of the XI, XII, and XIII Chapters of the Revelation* (London 1651 – original edition 1623) 1-14, 37, 65. The work is signed "T.L." C. Hill, *Antichrist in Seventeenth Century England* (London 1990²) 26, suggests that the author is T. Lupton.

¹⁵¹ J.H. Alsted, *Thesaurus Chronologiae* (Herborn 1624) 51-52.

¹⁵² J. Mayer, *Ecclesiastica Interpretatio* (London 1627) 362-385.

Joseph Mede's *Clavis Apocalyptica* was first published in 1627. No English version was available until in 1643 a committee of the House of Commons ordered a translation to be printed.¹⁵³ This was made by an M.P., Richard More, and it had a preface by William Twisse, the Prolocutor of the Westminster Assembly of Divines. The publication could scarcely have received a greater level of official approbation.¹⁵⁴ Mede's exegesis was not exceptionally original, utilizing the year-day principle that was by his time well established among Protestants. It was, however, thorough and systematic. The application of different parts of the Apocalypse to the same period of time had been a feature of earlier year-day interpreters, and Mede coined the term "synchronism" for referring to this. In chapter 11 the 1260 days of 11:3 synchronize with the 42 months of 11:2, as many previously had thought. 11:1 refers to a period prior to the 1260 days, the state of the primitive Church, which conformed precisely to the measuring reed of God's word. In v.2 the holy city is the Church, which is given over to the Gentiles (the Antichristian Papacy and its followers) for 1260 years (=42months=1260 days),¹⁵⁵ from 456 to 1716, or perhaps 476-1736.¹⁵⁶ Mede considers that 456 marks the date of the splitting of the Roman dominion into 10 parts at Gaiseric's sacking of Rome,¹⁵⁷ corresponding to the ten horned secular dominion of the Papal power (Rev 13:1). Odoacer's defeat of Augustulus in 476, is also discussed, as the end of the Western Caesars, and 395 with the death of Theodosius and the division of the empire into two kingdoms is not ignored. If pressed, I would say that Mede makes most of the split into 10 kingdoms in 456, but it seems that Mede was deliberately slippery with regard to dates. He was not a confident prophet foretelling when the 1260 years would end, but a scholar doing his utmost to interpret the

¹⁵³ I have consulted J. Mede, *The Key of the Revelation* (London 1650).

¹⁵⁴ Hill, *Antichrist*, 28.

¹⁵⁵ Mede, *Key*, Part 2, 2-6.

¹⁵⁶ Mede, *Key*, Part 1, 92-94.

¹⁵⁷ Actually June 455, *OCD*, 619

scriptural text, and prepared to recognize the impossibility of absolute certitude. The two witnesses are once again God's small number of faithful preachers. Their time is measured by days, as the sun is the ruler of the day, associating them with light and godliness. The beast's time is given in months, as the cycle of the moon governs months, signifying that the beast belongs to the night, darkness and evil.¹⁵⁸ Mede translates the beginning of v.7, καὶ ὅταν τελέσωσιν τὴν μαρτυρίαν αὐτῶν, not "When they had finished their testimony", but as "When they are about to finish their testimony."¹⁵⁹ The witnesses began to put off their mourning dress of sackcloth at the Reformation, but the beast, the Papal Antichrist, has not yet begun to make his final war on them. The death of the witnesses will be a civil death (sometimes joined to a corporal death), in which they are removed from office in the Protestant Churches. This harks back to the idea of the civil death of Silverius and Menas enunciated by Nicholas of Lyra, drawing upon Alexander Minorita and Peter Aureol.¹⁶⁰ This death may take some time, but once it has occurred, the Protestant Churches will be left for 3½ years (=3½ days) in a very poor state. These 3½ years are not after the 1260, but are the last 3½ of the 1260. That the witnesses remain unburied is not a mark of ignominy, but is in order to facilitate their resurrection. A similar, though not identical line of thought, that their lack of burial was in order to make their resurrection more clear, had already occurred in some medieval commentaries, beginning with *Aser pinguis*.¹⁶¹ The great city is Rome, and its πλατεῖα where they lie unburied is not a street of the city, as Christ was crucified outside the city (Heb 13:12), but the whole

¹⁵⁸ Mede, *Key*, Part 2, 8-9.

¹⁵⁹ Mede, *Key*, Part 2, 13. A rendering along these lines is not impossible even if it is unlikely. A present subjunctive (τελῶσι "when they should be finishing", in fact found in Hippolytus, *De Antichristo*, 47) rather than an aorist might be expected if John wanted to indicate a period towards the end of the 1260 days of the witnesses' prophecy, as Mede wishes to argue. In Mede's defence, John's Greek usage is often unusual.

¹⁶⁰ See above, section 2.5.

¹⁶¹ See above, section 2.4.

region and territory subject to that city, i.e. wherever Roman jurisdiction extends. The resurrection of the witnesses is figurative, as was their death; there will be a resurgence of the prophets of true religion within Protestantism. Their ascension shows that their status exceeds that of before. They are called up by the supreme magistrate (i.e. the highest state power), which seems to be a voice from heaven.¹⁶² Mede's exegesis of the fall of the tenth part of the city is ingenious. He attempts to demonstrate via diagrams that contemporary Rome is one-tenth the size of ancient imperial Rome. Thus the falling of the tenth part of ancient Rome, equates with the total destruction of present papal Rome.¹⁶³ The great earthquake, the commotions and wars that cause Rome's downfall, corresponding to the fifth bowl (Rev 16:10-11),¹⁶⁴ lasts until the end of the 1260 years of the mourning, sackcloth prophecy of the witnesses.¹⁶⁵ Mede takes up many by now traditional themes, the beast of v.7 as the papal Antichrist, the two witnesses as faithful preachers, the 1260 days as 1260 years. Moving outside the scope of 11:1-13, the papal beast will continue for a short while after the 1260 years and Rome's downfall, but it will be destroyed, and a thousand year reign of Christ and resurrected Christians on earth will ensue. The reign does not come before the day of judgement, but is itself the day of judgement, a day being reckoned as a thousand years (Ps 90:4; 2 Pet 3:8).¹⁶⁶ Mede's exegesis was to prove immensely popular, particularly in Britain after its translation into the vernacular.

The annotated Dutch Bible¹⁶⁷ asserts the witnesses to be faithful preachers all the time of Antichrist. It is ambivalent as to when the 1260 years may have begun,

¹⁶² Mede, *Key*, Part 2, 13-22.

¹⁶³ Mede, *Key*, Part 2, 25-28.

¹⁶⁴ Mede separates the battle of ch. 16 from that of 20:7-10, which occurs at the end of the millennial reign on earth.

¹⁶⁵ Mede, *Key*, Part 2, 30-32.

¹⁶⁶ Mede, *Key*, Part 2, 121-125.

¹⁶⁷ *The Dutch Annotations Upon the Whole Bible* (London 1657 – original Dutch edition 1637) no page numbers.

mentioning 412 and 606 (both figures from Chytraeus), before disavowing any precise knowledge of dates.

Cartwright¹⁶⁸ and Piscator¹⁶⁹ reproduce the exegesis of Junius. Cotterius believes the witnesses to be the two testaments, and engages in some convoluted mathematics. The 1260 years start, as for Junius, at Christ's ascension, which Cotterius dates to 33 AD. Rather than counting to 1293, Cotterius dates the appearance of the beast (v.7), Innocent III, to 1198. The 3½ days lying dead are then 350 years from 1198. Cotterius not only has the Tyconian figure of 350 years, but also shares something of his understanding of scriptural numbers. The 350 years are in fact 319 years, as the 19 stands for the final 50.¹⁷⁰ This brings Cotterius to their resurrection in the auspicious year (for Protestants) of 1517.¹⁷¹

Cotterius' complicated calculations are matched by Du Moulin. The two witnesses are faithful pastors all the time of the Roman Antichrist's sway, and the papacy began its 1260 years as Antichrist in 755. The 3½ days in which the witnesses lie dead make up half a week, and Du Moulin therefore reasons that the papacy is powerful only for 630 of the 1260 years. The 630 years began in 1059, with condemnation of Berengar's Eucharistic doctrine by Nicholas II. Rome is to lose its ascendancy in 1689, and the remainder of the 1260 years (until 2015, or perhaps only until 1965) will see Protestantism to the fore.¹⁷²

¹⁶⁸ T. Cartwright, *A Plain Explanation of the Whole Revelation of Saint John* (London 1622) 62-72.

¹⁶⁹ J. Piscator, *Commentarii in omnes libros novi testamenti* (Herborn 1638 – original edition 1613) 806-808.

¹⁷⁰ This is perhaps not entirely true to Tyconius, who whilst happy to round up parts to whole numbers, would perhaps not have been so ready to round up a part to a half.

¹⁷¹ M. Cotterius, *Apocalypseos Domini Nostri Iesu Christi Expositio* (Saumar 1615) 240-292.

¹⁷² P. Du Moulin, *De L' Accomplissement des Prophetes* (Geneva 1612) 411-483.

3.8 Richard Farnham and John Bull

Richard Farnham and John Bull, two London weavers, declared themselves to be the two witnesses of Revelation 11 in 1636. We are unfortunately mainly dependent on hostile witnesses for their beliefs.¹⁷³ We have some court records, and from their own pens we have their petitions to Archbishop Laud from prison,¹⁷⁴ and a short statement of Farnham from prison that is appended to the tract *A True Discourse of the Two infamous upstart Prophets*.¹⁷⁵ The two were imprisoned, and Farnham's statement from prison confirms that he regarded himself as one of the two witnesses. From all the reports it emerges that Farnham was the senior partner. This is well illustrated by his denial of speculation that he was the Messiah;¹⁷⁶ it was Farnham whom people thought to be the Messiah, not Bull. The two regarded themselves as the two witnesses of Revelation 11, and Farnham thought that he had power to shut up the heavens. Perhaps he may have initially thought he literally had such power, but by the time he wrote his statement from prison he presented the following interpretation.

I say that I am one of those two witnesses that are spoken of in the 11 of the Revelation, and that the Lord hath given me the power for the opening and shutting of the Heavens: The Lord hath moved mee by prayer since I came into this Prison to be earnest with him for the shutting of the Heavens; and I am certaine, that the Heavens are shut, and that the earth shall not receive any benefit to speak of, by the Raine that shall fall untill the Lord doth moove mee to pray for Raine, and I doe steadfastly beleieve that in the day the Lord doth move me to pray for Raine, it shall Raine: but I say this, if the Lord doth continue mee praying but 6 weekes longer, as now he doth, I beleieve there is a great deale of seede sowne in this land of England which wil never be reaped nor mowed: I do not meane the whole kingdome, but of this part of the land where my dwelling is.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷³ T.H. (T. Heywood?), *A True Discourse of the Two infamous upstart Prophets* (London 1636); Anon., *False Prophets Discovered* (London 1642). Anon., *A Curb for Sectaries and Propheciers* (London 1641) mentions them, but gives no details of their beliefs.

¹⁷⁴ *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series 1636-1637* (London 1867) 459-60, 487-488, 506; *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series 1637-1638* (London 1869) 66, 188, 606.

¹⁷⁵ T.H., *A True Discourse*, 17-19.

¹⁷⁶ T.H., *A True Discourse*, 17-18.

¹⁷⁷ T.H., *A True Discourse*, 18-19.

The shutting of heaven is interpreted as the power to render the rain that falls ineffectual for the growing of crops. The power to make it rain, or for Farnham to make the rain effective, is not mentioned in Revelation 11. It may be simply Farnham's deduction from the text, or it may be an influence from the story of Elijah in 1 Kings 18:1. It is reported that Farnham and Bull thought that they were to go to Jerusalem and be slain and then rise again. Farnham was then to reign there as king, and Bull was to be a priest.¹⁷⁸ There is possibly an influence from Rev 1:6; 5:10 in this belief. They were alleged to expect a chiliastic kingdom, in which there would be marriage and the begetting of children. The two died of the plague in 1641, but left behind a group of followers, mainly women, among whom was Farnham's wife, whom he had married while she was still the wife of a sailor, allegedly in some sort of fulfilment of Hosea 3.¹⁷⁹ These followers apparently thought that Farnham and Bull had been resurrected, and had gone in vessels of bullrushes to a far away land (not Palestine) to convert the ten tribes of Israel. They were to return to England, where Farnham was to rule.¹⁸⁰ We hear no further reports of followers of Farnham and Bull, and it should probably be assumed that their sect did not last long.¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁸ T.H., *A True Discourse*, 9; *False Prophets Discovered*, pages unnumbered (there are only 5).

¹⁷⁹ *False Prophets Discovered*.

¹⁸⁰ *False Prophets Discovered*.

¹⁸¹ I have found no hint of a report that Farnham believed that in the incarnation Christ's flesh was heavenly (as, for instance, did Melchior Hoffman), which D.L. Clark in, ed. R. Greaves and R. Zaller, *Biographical Dictionary of British Radicals in the Seventeenth Century* (Brighton 1982-1984) 1:267-268, claims was reportedly taught by Farnham.

3.9 Catholic interpretation

The majority of Catholic interpreters continue the exegesis of the sixteenth century,¹⁸² and refer the text primarily to the return of Enoch and Elijah, although often maintaining an ecclesiological interpretation of vv. 1-2a. Such exegesis is found in Viegas,¹⁸³ Salmeron,¹⁸⁴ Malvenda,¹⁸⁵ Cydonius,¹⁸⁶ Suarez,¹⁸⁷ Paulitius,¹⁸⁸ Campanella,¹⁸⁹ Lapide,¹⁹⁰ Menochius,¹⁹¹ and Gordonus.¹⁹² Leoninus does not ignore the Enoch and Elijah interpretation, but also thinks that they are two orders of zealous teachers, imitating Enoch and Elijah, throughout all of Church history.¹⁹³

Juan de Mariana's commentary is notably independent. Verses 1-2a are interpreted in the same manner as Oecumenius.¹⁹⁴ The measured temple signifies the small number of the people of the Old Covenant, while the unmeasured outer court, given to the gentiles, shows the great number of the New Covenant.¹⁹⁵ This is perhaps not directly from Oecumenius, as de Mariana mentions that the interpretation is the same as that of Ezekiel 40, and the *Glossa* had interpreted Ezek 46:21 in this manner. Verses 2b-13 relate both to the time of Antichrist and Enoch and Elijah, and also to

¹⁸² See above, section 3.5.

¹⁸³ B. Viegas, *Commentarii Exegetici in Apocalypsim Ioannis Apostoli* (Ebora 1601) 465-501.

¹⁸⁴ A. Salmeron, *Disputationem in Epistolas Canonicas et Apocalypsin* vol. 4 (Cologne 1604) 351 = vol. 16 of *Commentarii in Evangelium Historiam...et Apocalypsin* (Cologne 1602-1604).

¹⁸⁵ T. Malvenda, *De Antichristo libri undecim* (Rome 1604) 452-479. Malvenda's work is a monumental piece of scholarship, and it is the texts that he assembles that form the backbone of Bousset, *The Antichrist Legend*.

¹⁸⁶ A. E.-I. Cydonius, *Castigatio Apocalypsis Apocalypseos Thomae Brightmanni Angli* (Cologne 1611) 69-101.

¹⁸⁷ F. Suarez, *Defensio Fidei Catholicae, et Apostolicae Adversus Anglicanae sectae errores* (Conimbricus 1613) 617-640.

¹⁸⁸ F. Paulitius, *In Actus et Epistolas Pauli...et Apocalypsim Commentarii* (Rome 1619) 603-605.

¹⁸⁹ T. Campanella, ed. R. Amerio, *De Antichristo* (Rome 1965 – original edition 1623) 26-32, 40, 42.

¹⁹⁰ C. à Lapide, *Commentarius in Acta Apostolorum, Epistolas Canonicas et Apocalypsin* (Antwerp 1717 – original edition 1627)

¹⁹¹ J. Menochius, *Commentarii totius S. Scripturae* (Paris 1719 – original edition 1630) 229.

¹⁹² J. Gordonus, *Biblia cum commentaria* (Paris 1632) 3:705-707.

¹⁹³ A. Leoninus, *Contemplatio...de exegetica in apocalypsim* (Amsterdam 1607 – original edition 1603) 182-199.

¹⁹⁴ On Oecumenius, see above, section 1.11. Oecumenius may be following Jerome, *Commentatorium in Hiezechielem*, in, ed. F. Glorie, *S. Hieronymi Presbyteri Opera* I.4 (CCSL 75: Turnhout 1964) lib. 14 lines 827-828, as does the *Glossa*.

¹⁹⁵ J. de Mariana, *Scholia in Vetus et Novum Testamentum* (Paris 1620 – original edition 1619) 890.

that of Nero. In this second case, Nero is the beast from the abyss, and Peter and Paul are the two witnesses killed in the great city of Rome, which can be said to be where Christ was crucified, as Christ was killed by the Roman authority in Jerusalem. Peter and Paul were not literally resurrected, but mystically their death led to an increase in evangelizing zeal. Their ascension is the spread of their fame after their deaths. The 7000 killed in the earthquake were mystically killed – many in Rome were converted after the death of the two apostles. De Mariana's application to Peter and Paul is highly original, even though there had been hints of such an application in Quodvultdeus, the *Liber Comicus* and "Alexander."¹⁹⁶

The approach of Alcazar is likewise new. His method is almost the diametrical opposite of Ribiera's. Ribiera thought that the majority of the book of Revelation was a prediction of the future. Alcazar thought that the events of chs. 5-20 now lay in the past, referring them to the persecution of the early Church first by Jews and then by the Romans. Rev 11:1-13 is interpreted of persection by Jews. The Temple is the Church, although Alcazar also notes in relation to the outer court, that Ezekiel's non-measuring of the outer court is familiarly interpreted as showing how great will be the number of Gentiles in the Church.¹⁹⁷ Alcazar does not deny that the 42 months trampling underfoot of the holy city refers to the time of Antichrist, but thinks that the primary reference is to Jewish persecution of the early Church, with 42 months to be understood mystically, not literally.¹⁹⁸ The two witnesses are Moses and Elijah, mystically understood.

Itaque Mosis et Eliae personae in hoc capite mystice sunt accipendae: quod est dicere, mysticum Mosem esse caelestem sapientiam atque doctrinam in viris Apostolicis ad Iudaeorum semet persequentium salutem excubantibus

¹⁹⁶ See above, sections 1.10 and 2.4.

¹⁹⁷ L. Alcazar, *Vestigatio Arcani Sensus in Apocalypsi* (Antwerp 1614) 561, 566.

¹⁹⁸ Alcazar, *Vestigatio*, 567-568.

effulgentem; et mysticum Eliam esse Evangelicum zelum ac sanctimonium, quae in eisdem viris eminebat.¹⁹⁹

The beast of v. 7 is the Jews, and in their persecution of the early Church some Christians are killed. The city of their martyrdom is Jerusalem, where the bodies of Christian martyrs were literally thrown out unburied. No attempt is made to produce corroborating evidence for this statement; history is simply read off from the text of the Apocalypse. The 3½ days in which they lie dead are a short time. The resurrection of the witnesses is the flourishing of Christian doctrine and sanctity after persecution in Jerusalem. Here Alcazar cites Eusebius, *H.E.* 2.23 for the conversion of people in Jerusalem by James.²⁰⁰ The fall of the tenth part of the city tells us that a tenth of the Jews in Jerusalem were converted.²⁰¹ Alcazar applies the passage primarily to Jewish persecution of Christians prior to 70 AD.²⁰² It is possible that Caponsacchus²⁰³ may have played some part in the formation of Alcazar's general approach. Alcazar had read Caponsacchus,²⁰⁴ and Caponsacchus was prepared to apply large chunks of chs. 1-11 to the situation pre-70 AD. Perhaps this may have sown seeds in Alcazar's mind, although his overall interpretative strategy is very different from Caponsacchus.

¹⁹⁹ Alcazar, *Vestigatio*, 579.

²⁰⁰ I.e. the relative of Jesus.

²⁰¹ Alcazar, *Vestigatio*, 593-600.

²⁰² The blowing of the seventh trumpet (Rev 11:15) signifies the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 AD; Alcazar, *Vestigatio*, 599. Eusebius had linked the fall of Jerusalem with the death of James, *H.E.*, 2.23.

²⁰³ See above, section 3.5.

²⁰⁴ Alcazar, *Vestigatio*, 578.

Protestants 1639-1660

3.10 England and the rest of the British Isles

The period of the lead up to war, of the English civil wars, and then of the interregnum, was one of the most fertile for interpretation of the Apocalypse. The collapse of censorship in 1641 (restored again in 1660) undoubtedly contributed greatly to the explosion of printed material that cited Revelation, but it seems unlikely this was the sole cause. The abolition of censorship coincided with, and contributed to, a time of social and political upheaval. Established institutions, such as the Monarchy and the state Church were subject to a hitherto unknown level of criticism. Mede's commentary became available in English in 1643, and the views of Mede, Brightman and Napier were disseminated through popular pamphlets as well as more scholarly writings.²⁰⁵ Many used the Apocalypse as a lens through which to view current events, and as a guide to how one should act in the present and near future to facilitate the implementation of God's unfolding plan.

Thomas Goodwin's 1639 lectures on the Apocalypse were delivered in Holland, and he repeated many of his ideas on the interpretation of Revelation 11 in his Fast Sermon to the House of Commons of April 27th 1642. The temple with its outer court is symbolic of the Protestant Church, not yet fully reformed.

The first Reformation he [John] sets out by an Inner Temple, more imperfect, unfurnish'd, and besides defiled by the adjoining of an Outward Court unto it. The second Reformation more pure, he represents by the Inner Temple measured again, to be finish'd and cleansed from that Mixture.²⁰⁶

²⁰⁵ C. Hill, *The English Bible and the Seventeenth-Century Revolution* (London 1993) 304.

²⁰⁶ T. Goodwin, *An Exposition upon the Book of the Revelation*, in *The Works of Thomas Goodwin*, vol. 2 (London 1683) 122 (this represents the 1639 lectures). Cf. also T. Goodwin, *Zerubbabels Encouragement to Finish the Temple* (London 1642) 16-18.

The outward court signifies carnal worshippers, who join themselves to the Church by professing the same religion and faith, but who are not really Christians. They are unregenerate Protestants, reckoned alongside the Gentiles to whom they are given, i.e. Catholics. For Goodwin, the Reformation did not sufficiently cleanse the Church of Catholicism, and a further measuring, using the reed of the Scriptures is necessary. Such an estimate of the state of the Anglican Church was by no means new. It had already been the opinion of John Knox after the formation of the Scottish Kirk in 1560.²⁰⁷ Goodwin advocates an ecclesiology in which only those considered to be of the elect are allowed into the visible Church, and it is no surprise that he expresses a cautious hope that such may already be the case among the emigrant community in New England.²⁰⁸ The two witnesses are the Churches themselves, together with Ministers and Magistrates. Goodwin is able to fit all these in by interpreting the two olive trees (v.4) as the Churches, and the two candlesticks as the ministry and magistracy (i.e. ecclesiastical and secular powers respectively).²⁰⁹ Goodwin is here following Pareus. The 1260 days of the witnesses are taken to be 1260 years, running from 406-1666, as for Lupton. Mede is followed (explicitly) in understanding the witnesses to be not yet dead, and also in understanding the death of the witnesses to be a civil death, although Goodwin allows that there may be actual shedding of blood, and this at a time of a resurgent Catholicism and Protestantism's lowest ebb.²¹⁰ In his 1642 Fast Sermon, Goodwin expresses himself more cautiously, but still seems to believe that the witnesses are not yet dead. He has abandoned any idea of the literal shedding of blood, and believes their death will be civil only. He is at great pains to explain that even if Protestantism is to regress at the death of the witnesses, this

²⁰⁷ Hill, *Antichrist*, 17-18.

²⁰⁸ Goodwin, *An Exposition*, 124.

²⁰⁹ Goodwin, *An Exposition*, 142; *Zerubbabels Encouragement*, 55-56.

²¹⁰ Goodwin, *An Exposition*, 145-155.

should not discourage further reformation of the Church at the present time. Goodwin argues that Josiah did not stint from reform even though he knew that he could not quench God's wrath for what had been done in Manasseh's reign.²¹¹ In his lectures, Goodwin describes the resurrection of the witnesses as their being raised to a new and glorious height.²¹² England is singled out as the tenth part of the city, the tenth part of the former papal dominions, that will fall first at the resurrection of the witnesses. He does not mention the resurrection of the witnesses in his fast sermon, perhaps because dwelling on the glorious future to come after the death of the witnesses might seem to encourage a passive waiting rather than the active reformatory zeal that Goodwin wished to foster. Goodwin sees the measuring of the temple as symbolic of the need for further reformation of the Church, and encourages Parliament to undertake this. This work of reformation should not be neglected because of the prospective imminent death of the witnesses, although this will occur in a universal degeneration of Protestantism prior to the glorious resurrection of the Church. Goodwin's exegesis is followed by Archer.²¹³

The sermon of Jeremiah Burroughs, a congregationalist like Goodwin, to the House of Commons at the public thanksgiving (September 7th 1641) for the peace concluded between England and Scotland interprets the witnesses as faithful ministers of the Gospel. Unlike Goodwin, Burroughs believes that the witnesses have been slain; they are now rising. He quotes Mede on their ascension, saying that the great voice that commanded it was the chief magistrate. This is an appeal to the House of Commons to recognize that they are now in the position of the chief magistrate, and that they should exalt to greater position the faithful ministers of the Gospel.²¹⁴

²¹¹ Goodwin, *Zerubbabels Encouragement*, 55-58.

²¹² Goodwin, *An Exposition*, 170-179.

²¹³ H. Archer, *The Personall Reign of Christ Upon Earth* (London 1642) 46-57.

²¹⁴ J. Burroughs, *Sions Joy* (London 1641) 16.

Henry Burton, a strong opponent of the direction that Laud took the Church of England in, came to consider that he was in some way one of the witnesses. After several unlicensed pamphlets, and refusal to accept the authority of the ecclesiastical courts, Burton was condemned in Star Chamber in June 1637, and sentenced to removal from clerical office, the loss of his ears, and imprisonment for life.²¹⁵ *The Sounding of the Two Last Trumpets* was composed in his Guernsey prison.²¹⁶ Some revisions made after his imprisonment are marked as such, but, as I hope to show below, there is reason to believe that there are some unmarked changes. The temple is the true Church, and the altar is Christ, in opposition to the heathenish altars set up under Laud. Burton notes that since the treatise was written, the Commons have ordered the removal of these altars.²¹⁷ The outer court symbolizes those who profess to be Christians, but are not. They are accounted heathens with their altar-services and the suchlike. The 42 months trampling down of the holy city (as the 1260 days of the witnesses), the Church, should not be taken as a precise period of time. His Puritan dissatisfaction with the established Church is expressed by the examples that Burton gives of this trampling.

...restraining sermons on the Lords day in the Afternoone, and persecuting all Godly, powerfull, and painfull Ministers, and giving publike dispensation to youth and others for following of profane sports on the Lords holy-day...²¹⁸

The two witnesses are those who preach the truth, and rebuild the true Church, as has already happened in Scotland.²¹⁹ Burton is diffident about categorically saying that he is among the witnesses, but leaves the reader in no doubt that his case is of particular relevance. The beast is the Roman Church, whose tentacles have extended

²¹⁵ On Burton see P. Christianson, *Reformers and Babylon* (Toronto 1978) 138-151.

²¹⁶ H. Burton, *The Sounding of the Two Last Trumpets, the Sixt and Seventh: or Meditations by way of Paraphrase upon the 9th, 10th, and 11th Chapters of the Revelation, as containing a Prophecie of these last Times* (London 1641) dedication.

²¹⁷ Burton, *The Sounding of the Two Last Trumpets*, 20, 25.

²¹⁸ Burton, *The Sounding of the Two Last Trumpets*, 30.

²¹⁹ Burton, *The Sounding of the Two Last Trumpets*, 51.

to the current Church of England. The two sorts of death to which the beast can subject the witnesses are literal death and imprisonment. The 3½ days in which the witnesses lie dead are a short, fixed time of their incarceration. The resurrection of the witnesses will either be God's restoration of them, or the raising up of witnesses in the same spirit.²²⁰ Burton then includes a passage which was clearly added retrospectively, interpreting the 3½ days as 3½ years.

And why should I here conceale that speech which I used to some Ministers at Coventry, who being sad at my departure, I said unto them, Come be not sad, for three and a halfe yeers hence wee shall meet again and be merry. And truly (absit invidia verbo) reckoning from the fourteenth of June 1637, whereon we were censured in the Star Chamber to perpetuall imprisonment, it was just three yeers and a halfe when wee returned from exile, even in the last moneth of the three yeers and a halfe, myself being sent for the very first day of that moneth.²²¹

I am suspicious as to whether such a conversation at Coventry ever took place; it would certainly have demanded an unusual degree of accuracy for Burton in his prophecy. It seems likely that it was his release after just short of three years and six months that prompted Burton to interpret the 3½ days in this manner, as elsewhere Burton had designated them an indefinite short period of time. The "wee" to whom Burton refers is himself together with his fellow prisoners William Prynne and John Bastwick,²²² released at the order of Parliament at the same time as Burton. Burton's identification of himself, together with Prynne and Bastwick, as of the witnesses is repeated by John De la March.²²³ It is possibly in the mind of Mocket, who understands the resurrection of the witnesses as the restoration of ministers who had previously been removed from office.²²⁴

²²⁰ Burton, *The Sounding of the Two Last Trumpets*, 53-72.

²²¹ Burton, *The Sounding of the Two Last Trumpets*, 70.

²²² On these two see Christianson, *Reformers and Babylon*, 151-167. It was Burton whose time of imprisonment came closest to 3½ years.

²²³ J. De la March, *A Complaint of the False Prophets Mariners* (London 1641) 48-49.

²²⁴ T. Mocket, *The Churches Trouble and Deliverance* (London 1642) 64-65.

Francis Woodcocke²²⁵ interprets the two witnesses as the Ministry and Magistracy, who oppose the tyranny of the Roman Antichrist. Their 1260 years run from c. 380 to 1640. Their slaying occurred in the deposition of those who opposed prelacy and elaborate ceremonies in the Church of England in 1637. The 3½ years of their lying dead correspond, as for Mede, with the last 3½ of the 1260, and ended with this current Parliament. Their resurrection and ascension are their restoration. At this Woodcocke thought that they should receive a pay rise.

Their maintenance possibly advanced to some honest, and competent allowance, which because so exceedingly small before, might be one reason why 'tis said they Prophetised in Sackcloth.²²⁶

Their exalted position should no longer be that of their impecunious sackcloth days. It seems probable that Burton, Prynne and Bastwick are at least among those Woodcocke has in mind as the resurrected witnesses. The resurrection of the witnesses is to issue in a reversal of the fortunes of Catholicism, which will be literally put to the sword by a resurgent Protestantism, carrying out God's judgement on the iniquitous Roman Church. In an appendix,²²⁷ Woodcocke gives an alternative explanation of Revelation 11 in which the two witnesses are two individuals who prophesy in Palestine during the 42 month reign of a tyrannical Pope. They undeceive the Jews, who have been led astray by the Pope's false prophet, and are killed in the great city of Jerusalem. The two are not Enoch and Elijah, but two as yet unknown future figures, although Woodcocke does not commit himself to the exegesis contained in this appendix.

²²⁵ F. Woodcocke, *The Two Witnesses: Discovered in severall Sermons Upon the eleventh Chapter of the Revelation* (London 1643) 1-90.

²²⁶ Woodcocke, *The Two Witnesses*, 60.

²²⁷ Woodcocke, *The Two Witnesses*, 91-95.

For the author of *The Two Olive Trees* the witnesses are the Scriptures. It is unclear when the beginning and end of their 1260 years are, but their resurrection began at the Reformation.²²⁸

John Trapp interprets the two witnesses as all faithful preachers, who have battled against the Antichristian papacy for the 1260 days, understood as an indefinite period.²²⁹ He gives a striking example from the reign of Mary of how the unjust rejoice at the death of the just (v.10)

So, upon the news of the Bishops burnt at Oxford, Gardner came out rejoicing to the Duke of Norfolk. Now, said he, let us be merry and go to dinner. But it was the last he did eat, and he went to hell to digest it.²³⁰

The resurrection of the witnesses is in their successors, although the idea that there may be a future civil death followed by a civil restoration of the same people is also not ruled out.²³¹

Mary Cary (later Rande) was a Fifth Monarchist. This group believed that the earthly fifth kingdom of God (following on from the four kingdoms of Daniel 2) was soon to be established, and that the saints were to play an active, military role in its establishment.²³² For her, the two witnesses are all the saints who have borne testimony to the truth of God in opposition to the beast, the papacy. Their 1260 days are 1241 years and 46 or 47 weeks, calculating 1260 years of 360 days in terms of years of 365.25 days, as Brightman had done. These years run from 404 to 1645. The war of the beast (v.7) is the recent war in England and Ireland. It is a war of the papal beast, as even in Elizabeth's days England had remained one of the ten horns of the papal kingdom (cf. Rev 13:1), and things have only got worse since then. The 3½

²²⁸ I.E., *The Two Olive Trees: or the Lords two anointed Ones* (London 1644) 1-23.

²²⁹ J. Trapp, *A Commentary or Exposition Upon all the Epistles and the Revelation of Saint John the Divine* (London 1647) 531-532.

²³⁰ Trapp, *A Commentary*, 533-534.

²³¹ Trapp, *A Commentary*, 532.

²³² On the Fifth Monarchists see B. Capp, *The Fifth Monarchy Men* (London 1972).

years of the witnesses lying dead are the last of the 1241, as for Mede they were the last of the 1260. For 3½ years, beginning from October 23rd 1641 and Catholic uprising in Ireland,²³³ the Puritans and Roundheads seemed as though defeated and dead. Their dead bodies lay in England, a street of the great city of Rome.²³⁴ The resurrection of the witnesses came on April 5th 1645, with the granting of the commission of Thomas Fairfax.

For on the 23rd day of October 1641 did the beast begin the war in Ireland, and went on prevailing, overcoming and conquering, untill the new modelling of the Parliaments Army, which was just 1260 days after the war began in Ireland; which according to the scripture account is three years and a half compleat... forty two moneths, accounting thirty days to each moneth.²³⁵

From the 5th April 1645 the war went better for the Roundheads, and this is the resurrection of the witnesses, brought about by the new modelling of the army. Cary admits that her own calculations for the period represented by the 1260 days should have taken her to five or six weeks from the end of 1645, but pleads that a discrepancy of 10 or 11 months is not great; historians often differ by larger amounts.²³⁶ The voice from heaven (v.12) is the encouragement of those saints not involved in the actual fighting. The tenth part of the city falling is the victory of Puritanism in England, a tenth of the papal dominions. The future of Puritanism is entirely rosy, as after the resurrection of the witnesses, it will be impossible for the papal beast to again trample it down.²³⁷

Lady Eleanor Davies thought that she had received a prophetic commissioning in 1625, but attracted few followers. Her writings often lack correct syntax, and are

²³³ The insurrection in fact began on the 22nd October 1641; R.F. Foster, *Modern Ireland 1600-1972* (London 1988) 85. Perhaps Cary confused this with the battle of Edgehill on 23rd October 1642.

²³⁴ M. Cary, *The Resurrection of the Witnesses* (London 1653, enlarged second edition, first edition 1648) 29-55.

²³⁵ Cary, *The Resurrection of the Witnesses*, 56.

²³⁶ Cary, *The Resurrection of the Witnesses*, 58. Cary is reckoning the year to begin on March 25th, as was the practice in seventeenth century England.

²³⁷ Cary, *The Resurrection of the Witnesses*, 59-62.

obscure. Her short pamphlet on Revelation 11 probably dates from 1648.²³⁸ The treading underfoot of the holy city for 42 months is related to King Charles' actions in the 3½ years leading up to his defeat at Naseby (14th June 1645).²³⁹ The two witnesses are the prophets Daniel and John, and their correct interpretation contained in the writings of Davies printed in Holland in 1633. They were slain when Laud ordered their burning.²⁴⁰ Davies herself was imprisoned at the same time, and was often in prison between 1633 and 1640.²⁴¹ She does not deal with any other parts of the chapter.

Gerrard Winstanley's treatise on Revelation 11, *The Breaking of the Day of God* (1648) was written prior to the Digger leader's advocacy of communal land ownership in *The New Law of Righteousness* in 1649, although he seems to have kept to the same exegesis of Revelation 11 after this change.²⁴² The two witnesses are the man Jesus Christ, and his body, the saints.²⁴³ The 1260 days of Christ's witness approximate to the length of his ministry.²⁴⁴ The 1260 days of the saints' witness are the same as Daniel's "time, times and half a time." The first time was that of the tyranny of the Roman Empire, the second of the papacy, the third of episcopacy (i.e. the Church of England immediately after the Reformation). The last half time, in which Winstanley is now living, is that of the State Church, which will not suffer Christ to choose his own Church out of the world, but makes the whole kingdom his

²³⁸ E. Cope, *Dame Eleanor Davies, Never Soe Mad a Ladie* (Michigan 1992) 3-4, 137.

²³⁹ E. Davies, *Apocalyps, Chap 11. Its accomplishment shewed* (n.p. 1648?) 7.

²⁴⁰ Davies, *Apocalyps, Chap 11*, 1-2.

²⁴¹ Cope, *Dame Eleanor Davies*, 59.

²⁴² G. Winstanley, *The New Law of Righteousness* (n.p. 1649), in, ed. G. Sabine, *The Works of Gerrard Winstanley* (Ithaca/New York 1941) 204-205. Sabine has only a short abstract of *The Breaking of the Day of God*, as of two other early works, "the omission partly to save space and partly because less interest attaches to the books before Winstanley's discovery of communism," Sabine, *Works*, preface. This seems to me an unfortunately short-sighted decision, making it more difficult to trace the evolution of Winstanley's thought than need have been the case.

²⁴³ G. Winstanley, *The Breaking of the Day of God* (n.p. 1648) 16.

²⁴⁴ Winstanley, *The Breaking*, 50. Winstanley says that he has gathered from "books" that Christ's ministry was 3½ years from his baptism until his death. These "books" are clearly distinct from the Scriptures, and it is a rare case of Winstanley citing something other than the Bible.

Church, or else allows him no Church at all.²⁴⁵ The bottomless pit is the heart of man, and the beast which proceeds from it is the wisdom of the flesh, seemingly meaning the flesh as a source of evil desires and impulses. This manifests itself in individual sinfulness, in a larger form in the four successive powers that govern the time, times, and half a time, and in all forms of Church Government and rules.²⁴⁶ Winstanley seems to dislike all canon laws and set wordings for ceremonies. The flesh kills the witnesses in manifold ways. On an individual scale it causes pride, and a refusal to give God the glory for all things, and on a larger scale ecclesiastical laws oppress the saints. The witnesses are currently rising,²⁴⁷ and the last half time, under which England, Scotland and Ireland now groan is almost at an end. Winstanley hopes that this threefold kingdom is the tenth part of the city that will fall off first from the beast.²⁴⁸ Winstanley's interpretation is highly original, and his exegesis is repeated only by John Robotham.²⁴⁹

George Foster was in 1650 "a somewhat unbalanced ex-Leveller."²⁵⁰ The great city of v.8 is all forms of Church government and external manners of worship. The treading underfoot of the holy city has been the enforcement of humanly devised forms of worship on the saints.²⁵¹ Parliament is the beast, and it shall continue for 666 days after the beheading of Charles I. It is to end in 1650, when God himself will come to teach humanity.²⁵² The rest of Rev 11:1-13 is not mentioned.

Leigh has only brief notes on Revelation 11. The two witnesses are either the Old and New Testaments, or those who preach them. Their killing is when those who

²⁴⁵ Winstanley, *The Breaking*, 62-64.

²⁴⁶ Winstanley, *The Breaking*, 72-93.

²⁴⁷ Winstanley, *The Breaking*, 105.

²⁴⁸ Winstanley, *The Breaking*, 109.

²⁴⁹ J. Robotham, *The Mystery of the two Witnesses Unveiled* (London 1654).

²⁵⁰ Hill, *Antichrist*, 110.

²⁵¹ G. Foster, *The Sounding of the Last Trumpet* (London 1650) 22-25.

²⁵² Foster, *The Sounding*, 38-39, 40.

preach them are thrown out of office.²⁵³ Holland understands the two witnesses as all who preach and maintain the truth of Christ. Their resurrection is in their successors, and the 1260 days are 1260 years, running from 606-1866, as had been suggested by Chytraeus.²⁵⁴

Thomas Tillam, believed that the two witnesses were the two testaments. Their 1260 days were 1260 years which ran from 304-1564 and the Council of Trent, at which they were slaughtered. Trent preferred the Vulgate to the Greek and Hebrew, and the Church's interpretation to what the Scriptures really say.²⁵⁵ This is similar to Brightman, and employs his start point of 304. Unlike Brightman, the 1260 days are 1260 years, not 1242 years, so that Tillam reaches Pius IV's 1564 affirmation of the decrees of Trent. The resurrection of the witnesses is their translation into many different languages in about 1568, after 3½ years of lying dead. The great voice calling up the witnesses belongs to the present Parliament of England. The tenth part of the city is Britain, which had long ago begun its separation from Antichrist, but has only in Tillam's time fallen totally from Rome.²⁵⁶

Hall provides a notably pro-monarchy view. The first beast of ch. 13 is the papacy, but the second beast, Oliver Cromwell, has now arisen. He is the beast of Rev 11:7.

One thousand two hundred and sixty days just
 O L a V e r V s C r o M w e L L 's name makes, who must
 50 5 5 100 1000 50 50
 Three yeares and an halfe by his sword power raigne;
 Which is that time the witnesses lie slain.²⁵⁷

²⁵³ E. Leigh, *Annotations upon all the New Testament Philological and Theological* (London 1650) 594.

²⁵⁴ H. Holland, *An Exposition or, A short, but full, plaine, and perfect Epitome of the most choice Commentaries upon the Revelation of Saint John* (London 1650) 73-83.

²⁵⁵ T. Tillam, *The Two Witnesses. Their Prophecy, Slaughter, Resurrection and Ascension* (London 1651) 9-18, 42-50, 83-85.

²⁵⁶ Tillam, *The Two Witnesses*, 89-92.

²⁵⁷ E. Hall, *Lingua Testium* (n.p. 1651), the author to his book (unnumbered).

The two witnesses are the magistracy and the ministry. In England these had opposed the first beast, the papacy, for 1260 years by their refusal to accept Roman supremacy. The death of the king, December 1648²⁵⁸ was important, but the 3½ years of Cromwell's reign are to be dated from about October 1647, and will come to an end about May or June 1651. In October 1647 the offices of lawful magistracy and ministry were slain and replaced with false ones.²⁵⁹ The 1260 sackcloth years of the witnesses seem to be an approximate figure, running from 390 until about 1647. Monarchy is the divinely ordained form of government. Hall believes that already in about 170 AD a certain Lucius was the Christian king of England.²⁶⁰ From England a godly magistracy went to Rome in the form of Constantine, who was declared Emperor in York. The papacy usurped this role of magistracy in 390, and godly magistracy at this stage fled to England, where it remained in a lowly sackcloth state until slain by Cromwell. Hall traces the ancestry of Charles I from Constantine the Great (!), and uses this to argue that Charles's son, the future Charles II is the lawful successor of Constantine. Thus Charles I was in fact the lawful King of Rome, and his true successor is his son, Charles II, whom Hall hopes to see as King of England in May or June 1651. This will be the resurrection of the magistracy, and there will be a concomitant resurrection of the ministry.²⁶¹

Hall's positive view of the monarchy was shared by Arise Evans. Monarchy is divinely ordained power which comes from above. Any other power ascends from the bottomless pit (Rev 11:7; 9:2, 11)

... which signifies it comes from the locall and vulgar people, whose ignorance is set forth by a Gulph or bottomlesse pit, which knows nothing in comparison of God, what's good for themselves.²⁶²

²⁵⁸ Actually in the following month of January.

²⁵⁹ Hall, *Lingua Testium*, 16-18.

²⁶⁰ This is derived from Bede, *A History of the English Church and People*, 1.4.

²⁶¹ Hall, *Lingua Testium*, 18-19, 41-42. See also E. Hall, *Manus Testium Movens* (n.p. 1651) 37, 44.

²⁶² A. Evans, *The Humble Petition* (n.p. 1651) 66.

Parliament in 1651 was a long way from the ideals of democracy that are current in Western society today, but it was still too much for Evans. The beast is the present Commonwealth, which is to flourish for 3½ years from the death of the king, January 1649, until September 1652. London is the great city of Rev 11:7, and Charles I seems to be in some way identified with the witnesses. Evans hopes for a restoration of monarchy with Charles II in September 1652.²⁶³ As for Hall, Evans' hopes were not to be fulfilled until 1660.

The anonymous *Key of Prophecie*²⁶⁴ looks forward to the restoration of the monarchy from an early 1660 viewpoint, when the return of Charles II as king was becoming increasingly probable. The measured temple signifies the early Church up to the time of the last non-Christian Emperor, reckoned as Maxentius, who died in 317.²⁶⁵ The 42 months in which the holy city is trampled underfoot represent the 42 Emperors from Tiberius, emperor at the time of Christ's death, to Maxentius, defeated and drowned at the Milvian bridge by Constantine.²⁶⁶ During this period, there was only one witness, that of the Christian ministry in the continued succession of bishops and priests. Upon the accession of Constantine there were two witnesses, a Christian magistracy as well as ministry. The 1260 days are 1260 years, which run from the death of Constantine, dated to 342,²⁶⁷ until 1602. The beast is the Parliament of England, Scotland and Ireland, which has been increasing in power since 1602. The two witnesses murdered by Parliament are Charles I and Archbishop Laud; kingship and episcopacy are killed in these two. Parliament reigns during the 3½ days that the

²⁶³ Evans, *The Humble Petition*, 70-71; A. Evans, *A Voice from Heaven to the Common-Wealth of England* (n.p. 1652) 12-17, 32-33, 37.

²⁶⁴ ΚΛΕΙΣ ΠΡΟΦΗΤΕΙΑΣ, or *The Key of Prophecie* (n.p. 1660 – work dated Jan 1659 at its end = Jan 1660 in modern dating).

²⁶⁵ Actually 312.

²⁶⁶ 42 is a plausible reckoning of the number of Emperors from Tiberius to Maxentius, depending upon who is counted as an Emperor.

²⁶⁷ Actually 337. Both Constantine's accession and his death are dated five years too late.

witnesses lie dead, which are 3½ figurative days. The first day began with the rising of the beast in November 1640, and was fully revealed when Robert, Earl of Essex, was appointed to command the Parliamentary armies in July 1642. The second day began on 31st December 1644, and was the time of Thomas Fairfax and the New Model Army. It was in this day that the two witnesses were both killed. The third day began on June 26th 1650, and was the time of Oliver Cromwell's power. The last half-day began on September 4th 1658, and was the time of Richard Cromwell, which continued but half a year. Ever since the beast has been on its last legs. The bodies of the witnesses are Charles II and the Bishops of the Church. They are corpses because although they have rightful authority, they do not have the power to exercise it. Those of the kindreds who looked on (v. 9 KJV, rendering φυλῶν) are the kings of Spain and France, who were allied to Charles II. The peoples, tongues and nations are the subjects of those Kings who harboured the corpses in their countries, preventing them from being buried. As for Mede, their non-burial is interpreted positively. The failure to mention any of Charles II's links with Scotland, and the mooted possibility of his restoration by Scottish forces, are almost certainly deliberate. The Scottish Kirk was Presbyterian, and the author of the *Key of Prophecie* a committed advocate of episcopacy. The tenth part of the city that is to fall is England with its Commonwealth. The resurrection and ascension of the witnesses will be their restoration, which are hoped for very shortly, together with the destruction of the Parliamentary beast. Monarchy and Episcopacy were indeed soon restored, but we should perhaps not grant the author too many plaudits for his accurate prophecy, as the direction the wind was blowing could have been seen by any intelligent political commentator at the time of writing. It is not so much a prediction, as with Hall and

Evans, but a reflection after the events, or at least when the events were very likely to occur, on their correlation with the text of the Apocalypse.

John Reeve and Lodowick Muggleton claimed to be the two witnesses. They are perhaps the most noteworthy pair to have asserted this, and I shall therefore look at their exegesis of Rev 11:1-13 in some detail. They were aware of the earlier claims of Farnham and Bull in this matter,²⁶⁸ although whether they had seen or met them is unknown. John Reeve was the senior partner until his death in 1658. He was the one who had in 1652 received a special commissioning from God in the form of an audition, Muggleton was his “mouthpiece.”²⁶⁹ With Reeves’ death, Muggleton took over the leadership of their followers, until his death in 1698, at about the age of 88. Their followers survived in small numbers until the 1970s, and were known as Muggletonians.²⁷⁰ The eternity of matter and the mortality of the soul were held by Reeve and Muggleton, together with an unusual doctrine of God. They denied the doctrine of the Trinity, and asserted that God had always possessed a physical body. At the incarnation God left heaven to come to earth, leaving Moses and Elijah as his deputies in heaven. God’s body is approximately six feet high. A Joachite, three-stage scheme is propounded, using the three witnesses of 1 John 5:8. The water refers to the witness of Moses, and all the true prophets under the Law, the blood to Christ and the apostles, and the Spirit to the testimony of the two witnesses of Revelation 11, Reeve and Muggleton.²⁷¹ The two witnesses have been sent

²⁶⁸ J. Reeve, *A Divine Looking-Glass* (London 1661, original edition 1656) 99. T.L. Underwood, ed., *The Acts of the Witnesses* (Oxford 1999) 13, seems to have missed this reference in asserting that Reeve and Muggleton were unaware of Bull and Farnham.

²⁶⁹ J. Reeve, *A Transcendent Spiritual Treatise* (1652), in, ed. Underwood, *The Acts of the Witnesses*, 142-143; C. Hill, “John Reeve and the Origins of Muggletonianism” in, ed. A. Williams, *Prophecy and Millenarianism* (Harlow, Essex 1980) 305-333.

²⁷⁰ On the two founders, and Muggletonianism in general, see C. Hill, B. Reay and W. Lamont, *The World of the Muggletonians* (London 1983); E.P. Thompson, *Witness Against the Beast* (Cambridge 1993) 65-105.

²⁷¹ Reeve, *A Transcendent Spiritual Treatise* (1652), in, ed. Underwood, *The Acts of the Witnesses*, 161; Reeve, *A Divine Looking-Glass*, 88-89.

...not onely for discovery of all lying apperances in his [God's] name...but also for a more clearer manifestation of the deep things of God, than ever was since this world began.²⁷²

In *A Divine Looking-Glass*, Reeve provides some exegesis of Rev 11:1-13. The temple and worshippers are the elect Jews and Gentiles, the altar the physical body of God, and the unmeasured outer court the visible scriptures. As the outward court is an outward ornament of the beauty or glory within the temple, so the court of the visible scriptures is a testimony to the eternal spirit of truth within the temple of God, that is within his body. The holy city is the true faithful. The 42 months of their being trampled are from about 300 to the commissioning of Reeve and Muggleton in 1652.²⁷³ Until about 300 was the time of Jesus and the Apostles, signified by the blood of 1 John 5:8. From that time persecution has occurred.

You that are spiritual may know that the Roman Gentiles here spoken of by John, are those people which men call Cavaliers, whose Princely race sprang from the loins of King Herod that bloody persecutor of the Lord of glory, and so streamed into the line of the tyrannical Roman Empire or Popedom.²⁷⁴

The papacy is thus linked with the party of the King in England as a persecuting force. The 42 months trampling down and the 1260 days of the witnesses unusually do not synchronize. The 42 months cover the period 300-1652, and the 1260 days are the following time of the two witnesses. The sackcloth clothing of the witnesses is related to the oppression suffered by Reeve and Muggleton; only they have been persecuted for propounding the truth concerning God.²⁷⁵ The fire from the witnesses' mouths is related to the power that Reeve and Muggleton received to either bless or curse people to eternity.²⁷⁶ They did this frequently, more so the cursing.²⁷⁷ The attack

²⁷² Reeve, *A Divine Looking-Glass*, 92.

²⁷³ Reeve, *A Divine Looking-Glass*, 97-98.

²⁷⁴ Reeve, *A Divine Looking-Glass*, 98.

²⁷⁵ Reeve, *A Divine Looking-Glass*, 93. Others may have been persecuted, but not for the "true" tenets expounded by Reeve and Muggleton.

²⁷⁶ Reeve, *A Divine Looking-Glass*, 93.

²⁷⁷ For accounts of cursings, see L. Muggleton, *The Acts of the Witnesses* (London 1699) 48-57.

of the beast from the bottomless pit is related to the trial and incarceration of Reeves and Muggleton in 1653. The pair had finished their testimony (v.7) with the publication of *A Transcendent Spiritual Treatise* in 1652. They then received persecution from the head magistrate of the city, the Lord Mayor John Fowke who presided at their trial, and were sentenced to six months imprisonment at Bridewell.²⁷⁸ The death of the witnesses is not interpreted literally, and there is no exegesis of their resurrection and ascension.

After Reeve's death, Muggleton wrote an entire book on Revelation 11.²⁷⁹ He has two different, but complementary, and sometimes overlapping interpretations of the passage. In the first, the two witnesses symbolize the two commissions of Moses and the Law, and of Jesus and the apostles. The outer court of the temple is no longer, as for Reeve, the scriptures, but is any form of visible worship. The holy city is those who reject any form of visible worship.²⁸⁰ Muggletonian meetings did not contain prayers or the suchlike, but were often eating, drinking, and discussion of religious views at an alehouse or private home. The fire from the witnesses' mouths was seen in the many instances of fire from heaven in the Old Testament, and in the preaching of Jesus, the apostles, and their followers until 300 AD, which pronounced judgement upon those who refused to accept their words.²⁸¹ The beast of v.7

...is the spirit or seed of Reason in man; and the bottomless pit is the imagination which the Spirit of Reason liveth in, or that floweth from the Seed.²⁸²

²⁷⁸ Reeve, *A Divine Looking-Glass*, 94-95.

²⁷⁹ L. Muggleton, *A True Interpretation of the Eleventh Chapter of the Revelation of St. John* (London 1662). In his subsequent commentary on Revelation, Muggleton omits any exegesis of ch. 11, assuming, probably correctly, that his intended audience already possessed his work on this chapter; L. Muggleton, *A True Interpretation of All the Chief Texts, and Mysterious Sayings and Visions Opened, of the Whole of the Revelation of St. John* (London 1665).

²⁸⁰ Muggleton, *A True Interpretation of the Eleventh Chapter*, 4-6.

²⁸¹ Muggleton, *A True Interpretation of the Eleventh Chapter*, 69-75.

²⁸² Muggleton, *A True Interpretation of the Eleventh Chapter*, 101.

The seed of reason is a principle of evil in humans, thought of in fairly physical terms, opposed to the seed of faith, which is good. The relative balance between these two seeds in an individual determines their salvation or damnation. Muggleton notes that it is particularly in magistrates that the seed of reason arises out of the bottomless pit, as can be seen in the rulers of Israel, the priests who sought to entrap Jesus. He is also probably hinting at the experience of Reeve and himself at trial. Muggleton, with perhaps some lack of consistency, then interprets the dead bodies of the witnesses as the dead letters of the Old and New Testaments. The street of the great city is the hearts of the Jews and Gentiles, particularly Jews. They persecuted the prophets of Moses' commission, and Jesus and the apostles. Only the dead letters of the Scriptures were left. The Jews would not let the dead letter of the Law be buried, but expounded it every Sabbath. After the time of Constantine (c. 300 AD) only the learned were able to interpret the Scriptures in Hebrew, Greek and Latin, leaving them dead letters.²⁸³ For 3½ days, that is approximately 1350 years from 300-1652, the scriptures lay dead. Muggleton does not attempt to give any explanation of how 1350 years is derived from 3½ days. Instead, he highlights that it is obscure and could not be guessed. This is in order that those governed by the seed of reason should not work out the meaning; there is a need for a direct revelation, as Muggleton himself has been given.²⁸⁴ The resurrection of the witnesses, is the true interpretation of the Scriptures by the Apostles, following on from the Jewish failure in this regard. Chronologically, this does not sit terribly easily with the interpretation of the 3½ days

²⁸³ Muggleton, *A True Interpretation of the Eleventh Chapter*, 103-113 (should be 115; there are two sets of pages numbered 112-113, and pages 114-115 are lacking). The vernacular scriptures were of particular importance to those like Muggleton who knew only their native tongue. Muggleton had probably encountered some who had argued against him by referring to the Greek or Hebrew text. He asserts that "I would make nothing of the greatest learned Man that is upon the Earth, if he will dispute of the Scripture in the English Tongue," Muggleton, *The Acts of the Witnesses*, 100. There was a mutual antipathy between the university-educated clergy, and many preachers ignorant of languages other than English; Hill, *The English Bible and the Seventeenth-Century Revolution*, 198-199.

²⁸⁴ Muggleton, *A True Interpretation of the Eleventh Chapter*, 113 (second)-117.

of the witnesses lying dead. The ascension of the witnesses is the ascension of Jesus and Moses into heaven. Moses ascended, even though this is not directly recorded in Scripture. The earthquake signifies the earthquakes of the Old Testament, and those at Christ's death, both the physical earthquake, and that in the heart of the centurion who confesses him Son of God, and also the earthquake in the heart of every person, whether to eternal life or to death.²⁸⁵ Later, Muggleton explains that in the third commissioning of the Spirit, he and Reeve are the two witnesses. The measuring rod (v.1) signifies the spiritual reed that Reeve and Muggleton were given so that they understand deep mysteries.²⁸⁶ Muggleton is unconcerned that in the text of the Apocalypse the reed is not given to the two witnesses, but to John. Fire proceeds from the mouths of Reeve and Muggleton to the reprobates who are damned because they refuse to receive their teaching. Reeve and Muggleton have finished their testimony, as they have made known the true doctrines. The beast is the spirit of reason, which arose in the hearts of their accusers and in the Lord Mayor of London.²⁸⁷ Muggleton is here close to Reeve. As in the previous two commissions, the dead bodies are the dead letters of the Scriptures; only Reeve and Muggleton now have the correct interpretation. Muggleton says that vv. 9-10 have already been interpreted, so he does not feel the need to apply them directly to himself and Reeve. The resurrection of the witnesses is the true interpretation of the scriptures from 1652 onwards with Reeve and Muggleton.²⁸⁸ Reeve and Muggleton apply Rev 11:1-13 primarily to themselves, but Muggleton also refers it to the previous two commissions identified by himself and Reeve. Their interpretation found a following amongst the Muggletonians until near the end of the twentieth century.

²⁸⁵ Muggleton, *A True Interpretation of the Eleventh Chapter*, 118-138.

²⁸⁶ Muggleton, *A True Interpretation of the Eleventh Chapter*, 159.

²⁸⁷ Muggleton, *A True Interpretation of the Eleventh Chapter*, 162-165.

²⁸⁸ Muggleton, *A True Interpretation of the Eleventh Chapter*, 166-168.

The Fifth Monarchist John Tillinghast thought the two witnesses to be the magistracy and ministry. Their 1260 days are 1260 years which run from 396-1656. The killing and lying dead of the witnesses occurs in the last 3½ years of the 1260, i.e. Tillinghast's present time, in Germany. The beast is the papacy, which now rules the fourth monarchy, that of Rome. The tenth of the beast's kingdom that will fall is in Germany. This will occur at the resurrection of the witnesses, when they will be filled with the spirit and raised up from their current lack of resolve and want of courage. The war of Gustavus Adolphus in Germany was the victory over the dragon (Revelation 12), and this served as a prelude to the death of the witnesses. The fifth monarchy of Christ will not come about until 1701, 45 years after the resurrection of the witnesses, a figure derived from the 45 day difference between 1290 and 1335 days in Dan 12.²⁸⁹

John Canne was also a Fifth Monarchist. As was perhaps more conventional for this group, his hopes centred on England, not Germany. Canne identified Cromwell as the Little Horn of Dan 7, which he saw as the same as the beast of Rev 11:7. The two witnesses are not persons, but symbolize true testimony itself. At the current time, it is particularly testimony concerning Christ's visible (i.e. earthly) kingdom that is in view. The 1260 days are 1260 years, and the 3½ days in which the witnesses lie slain are the last 3½ years of the 1260. The street of the great city in which the witnesses currently lie dead is England. They are to start rising with a revival of testimony in June 1657. Before this time, arms should not be taken up against Cromwell, but after this time it will be a duty. The great voice from heaven commanding the witnesses to "Come up hither" shows that the previously separated opposition to Cromwell will be united in a single group. England is the tenth part of

²⁸⁹ J. Tillinghast, *Knowledge of the Times* (London 1654) 16-27, 41-43, 52, 57, 89-90, 309; J. Tillinghast, *Generation Work*, 3rd part (London 1654) 2, 14-18, 32-49, 67, 70-71, 90.

the city that falls first, but after Christ's kingdom has begun in this one country it will then spread to others, until the rule of Christ is everywhere apparent.²⁹⁰

James Durham understood the two witnesses to signify faithful ministers. They prophesy for 1260 years until overcome by the papal beast. Their years run for Durham, as for his fellow Scot Napier, from 300-1560, the year of the foundation of the Scottish Presbyterian Church. It is transparent that this is what Durham refers to in describing the ascension of the witnesses as the erection of a visible state Church in opposition to the Antichristian Roman Church.²⁹¹

Sir Henry Vane belonged to that loosely defined group known as "Seekers" who expressed general dissatisfaction with all churches. His treatment of Rev 11:1-13 is idiosyncratic and opaque. The two witnesses signify the two different sorts of the elect, the privileged, sealed 144000 of Revelation 7 and the rest. Their 1260 days are 1260 years, perhaps starting around 400 AD, but this is unclear. The death of the witnesses is already current. The papal Church is bad, but it is particularly by the visible reformed Church that the witnesses have been slain. Their resurrection will be their transfiguration to glory and a special ministry immediately prior to Christ's return to reign on earth.²⁹² In an apparently separate piece of exegesis Vane attributes to the witnesses a 3½ year ministry which is probably being presently exercised in America.²⁹³

Early British emigrants to America provided some exegesis of Revelation 11. Petersen relates the exegesis of Roger Williams and John Cotton to their dispute over the degree of control the civil authority should exercise over the Church. For

²⁹⁰ J. Canne, *The Time of the End* (London 1657) 1-3, 34, 136-137, 140, 210-231, 248-274.

²⁹¹ J. Durham, *A Commentarie Upon the Book of the Revelation* (London 1658) 476-518.

²⁹² H. Vane, *The Face of the Times* (n.p. 1662 published posthumously, probably written in 1650s) 75, 78, 85-93; H. Vane, *An Epistle General to the Mystical Body of Christ* (n.p. 1662 published posthumously, probably written in 1650s) 44-45; 53-55.

²⁹³ Vane, *The Face of the Times*, 72. Vane had been in America 1635-1637, and was governor of Massachusetts 1636-1637.

Williams, the two witnesses symbolize faithful Christians. They are currently being slain, and there is no hope for them this side of Christ's return. The current Churches are irretrievably associated with Antichrist.²⁹⁴ Petersen assesses William's view correctly, but his treatment of Cotton is more questionable.²⁹⁵

Cotton's treatise, *The Bloody Tenent, Washed*,²⁹⁶ stressed the responsibility of the Christian magistrate in fostering and enforcing a proper moral order in civil society. He argued that the destruction of Antichrist is presently occurring through the work of Christ's restored congregation of believers, Congregationalism in the Massachusetts Bay Colony, as they promoted such a Christian moral order. This implied a fuller restoration of the witnesses' condition.

It is the last sentence that is objectionable. Cotton does not relate his thought in *The Bloody Tenent* to Rev 11:1-13. Rev 11:15 is used by Cotton to argue that the kingdoms of the world become Christ's kingdoms by the exercise of a godly magistracy helping the Church. Petersen assumes that Cotton understands the two witnesses to symbolize the Church, and further extrapolates that as Cotton believes the Church's position to be improving in Massachusetts Bay, then Cotton must think the witnesses are rising. Although Petersen cites Cotton's, *The Churches Resurrection*, he seems to have missed Cotton's interpretation of the witnesses there. There Cotton describes the witnesses as notable members of the churches, who experienced a resurrection at the time of Luther and Calvin, i.e. who came to greater prominence at the time of the Reformation. This is not, however, the same as the resurrection of the churches as a whole, their passing to a more perfect state on this earth, which is foretold in the first resurrection of Rev 20:4-6, and which is yet to come.²⁹⁷

²⁹⁴ R. Williams, *The Bloody Tenent Yet More Bloody* (1652), in R. Williams, ed. S. Caldwell, *Complete Writings* (New York 1963) 4:44-45.

²⁹⁵ Petersen, *Preaching in the Last Days*, 227-228.

²⁹⁶ J. Cotton, *The Bloody Tenent, Washed and Made White in the Bloud of the Lamb* (London 1647).

²⁹⁷ J. Cotton, *The Churches Resurrection* (London 1642) 18, 20.

3.11 Continental Europe 1639-1660

Gerhardus gives an explanation similar to Bullinger.²⁹⁸ Von Frankenberg uses Mede extensively. The measuring of the Temple signifies the time of the early Church up to 395 AD, at which point the 1260 years of the two witnesses begin. The witnesses are the ministry and magistracy, and the beast of v. 7 is the papacy. The war on the witnesses began in 1595, and will end in 1655. In the last 3½ years of the war, the witnesses will reach a particularly lowly position, their 3½ days lying slain. The street of the great city in which they lie will be Germany, where the war has been taking place. The resurrection of the witnesses will be their restoration to positions of power and authority. The tenth part of the city that falls will be either Germany, calculated to be a tenth of the papal kingdoms, or the city of Rome itself, a tenth the size of ancient Rome, following Mede.²⁹⁹ Schmidt's notes are very brief; the two witnesses are the two testaments.³⁰⁰ Similarly concise is Amyraut, whose only relevant comments on ch. 11 inform us that he believed the beast to be the Roman Church whose 1260 years run from 602-1862.³⁰¹

Hugo Grotius provided a new exegesis of the Apocalypse, which was posthumously published in 1650. Grotius paid particular attention to Rev 1:1 ὃ δει γένεσθαι ἐν τάχει, reasoning that this meant that the contents of the book must refer to the near future of John, whose book contains a collection of visions, the earliest dating from the reign of Claudius (41-54 AD). The near future meant for Grotius that chapters 4-19 dealt with the time from John until the time of Constantine. The

²⁹⁸ J. Gerhardus, *Adnotationes in Apocalypsin* (Jena 1643) 77-83.

²⁹⁹ A. von Frankenberg, *Apocalypsis Referata*, in, ed. S. Hartlib, *Clavis Apocalyptica* (London 1651) 49-91. For Mede, see above, section 3.7.

³⁰⁰ E. Schmidt, *Versio et Declaratio Novi Testamenti Graeci...Notae et Animadversiones in Novum Testamentum* (Nuremberg 1658) 1448.

³⁰¹ B. Amyraut, *Introduction à l'Exposition de l'Apocalypse* (The Hague 1658) 19-20.

millenium (20:4-6) was from Constantine until the time of the Ottomans.³⁰² Thus the majority of the book was concerned with the pre-Constantinian era; Grotius judged it absurd to think that “what must happen soon” could refer to events of the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries. Grotius presumed that as inspired Scripture, nothing could have been incorrectly predicted in the Apocalypse. It is not an option for him to think that John, in speaking of ὁ δεῖ γενέσθαι ἐν τάχει could erroneously have predicted the end of the world. His procedure is in some ways similar to that of Alexander Minorita, Peter Aureol and Nicholas of Lyra,³⁰³ except that Grotius is working on a smaller time scale. Rev 11:1-13 refers to the time of the Emperor Hadrian. The giving over of the temple’s outer court to the Gentiles is related to Hadrian’s building of a pagan city, Aelia Capitolina, at Jerusalem following the Bar Cochba rebellion of 132-135 AD. The 42 months trampling underfoot of the holy city are the 42 months at the beginning of the building of the temple of Jove Capitoline at Jerusalem after the Bar Cochba revolt. The two witnesses are the Jewish and Gentile Churches in Jerusalem, which Grotius thought to be rigidly distinct. The plagues of the witnesses are spiritual. The fire out of their mouths is their preaching, which exacts the wrath of God upon their enemies. The beast from the abyss is Bar Cochba, and Grotius notes that Christians were persecuted at the time of the Bar Cochba rebellion.³⁰⁴ The resurrection of the witnesses is a spiritual resurrection of the two Churches in Jerusalem. The enemies who see them are the Jews who are thrown out of Aelia Capitolina.³⁰⁵ The tenth part of the city that falls are the followers of Bar Cochba expelled from Jerusalem.³⁰⁶

³⁰² H. Grotius, *Annotationum in Novum Testamentum. Pars Tertia ac Ultima* (Paris 1650) 126, 131, 164, 264-266.

³⁰³ See above, section 2.5.

³⁰⁴ Cf. Justin, *1 Apol.*, 31

³⁰⁵ Cf. Eusebius, *H.E.*, 4.6.

³⁰⁶ Grotius, *Annotationum*, 200-205.

Grotius' work was copied, with a few alterations, by Hammond in England. For Hammond the two witnesses are not simply the Jewish and Gentile Churches in Jerusalem, but also have particular reference to the two bishops of these Churches. Hammond takes up the intertextual allusions to Moses and Elijah. The Jewish bishop is like Moses, and should bring the Jews to obedience; the Gentile bishop is like Elijah, and should destroy the idolatry of the Gentiles. The beast is Bar Cochba, and the resurrection of the witnesses is the resurgence of the Christians in Jerusalem.³⁰⁷

The work of Grotius, followed by Hammond, is similar in effect to that of Alcazar on ch. 11. The status of the Apocalypse as an accurate prediction of the future is maintained, but it is robbed of any contemporary relevance. 11:1-13 are emphatically not about any current disputes between Protestants and Catholics, but speak of what is now the distant past, even if for John it was prediction of the future. If interpretations directly to the papacy, the middle ages and the reformation period are open to the charge that they would have been of little relevance to the original audience of the Apocalypse (although it must be noted that such a charge was never made in the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries) Grotius' exegesis rescues some original relevance at the expense of any contemporary application. Quite how much relevance for the original recipients Grotius rescues is questionable, as the Bar Cochba rebellion is far enough away from the time of composition for many of the original recipients to have died, and this is still more the case with the later events that Grotius thinks are described by subsequent chapters. To be fair to Grotius, however, this is not to assess him on his own terms. He shares with those who apply the Apocalypse to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries a belief that the book was not composed only for the original recipients but also for the subsequent Church, and

³⁰⁷ H. Hammond, *A Paraphrase and Annotations Upon all the Books of the New Testament* (London 1653) 959-961.

further, that there may be material contained within it that is particularly relevant to those of subsequent times. He is not attempting to show that all of the Apocalypse had an immediate relevance for its original audience, but is attempting to take the ἃ δεῖ γενέσθαι ἐν τάχει of 1:3 seriously. Whether he has done this adequately by reaching events up to the time of Constantine at the start of the millennium of ch. 20 is perhaps a question that may be fairly asked of his work.

Protestants 1661-1700

3.12 1260 days as a definite period

Nathaniel Homes understood the two witnesses to symbolize believing Jews and Gentiles. The 1260 days are 1260 years, although Homes is not clear precisely when these begin, he seems to look forward to their end at some point in the eighteenth century. Whilst mentioning Gentiles, Homes concentrates on believing Jews as the witnesses. Currently the majority of Jews are in a dead estate of sin and unbelief, but they will be converted en masse. This is the resurrection of the witnesses at the end of the 1260 years. A belief in the conversion of the Jews was not unusual at this time; the notes to the 1560 Geneva Bible on Romans 11:25-26 indicated that it would occur close to the denouement of eschatological events, but it was rarely associated with Rev 11:1-13.³⁰⁸ For Homes, the Jews are the Kings of the East of Rev 16:12, who will rise up to oppose the Turks. After this point there will be 45 years³⁰⁹ until the general resurrection.³¹⁰ Homes does not comment on all the details of the text, but associates the resurrection of the witnesses with the eschatological conversion of the Jews.

Peganius states that he often follows Mede, and this is true for large parts of ch. 11. The two witnesses are the ministry and magistracy, their death is a civil one at the hands of the papal beast, and their resurrection their restoration and the flourishing of pious teachers. The earthquake of v. 13 will destroy all of Rome, a tenth the size of

³⁰⁸ Belief in the future conversion of the Jews became increasingly prevalent among English Puritans from the first quarter of the seventeenth century onwards. See I. Murray, *The Puritan Hope* (London 1971) 41-45; P. Toon, ed., *Puritans, the Millennium and the Future of Israel* (Cambridge/London 1970). The Jews had been banished from England in 1290, and their readmittance by Cromwell in the 1650s was at least partly motivated by such considerations.

³⁰⁹ 45 is the difference between the 1290 and 1335 days of Daniel 12.

³¹⁰ N. Homes, *The Resurrection Revealed, Raised Above Doubts and Difficulties* (London 1661) 124-179.

ancient Rome. The timing is different from that of Mede, as their 1260 days are 1260 years from 600-1860.³¹¹

Harby does not give exegesis of the entirety of the passage. The two witnesses are the ministry and magistracy, whose 1260 years begin in about 412. At this time papal Rome began to persecute the gospel Church.³¹² Sherwin notes that the 1260 days are 1260 years, but does not inform us when these are.³¹³ Cock similarly fails to make it clear when the 1260 years begin or end. The two witnesses are the few doctors of the Church, and their ascension is their honouring in the Church, and it seems that this has probably not yet occurred.³¹⁴ For Kuhlman, the two witnesses are those who teach the Old and New Testaments in an orthodox manner. Their 1260 days are the same as the 42 months of the beast, which are reckoned as 42 months of 28 days each. This makes 1176 days, which are interpreted as 1176 years from 498-1674. The witnesses are currently rising.³¹⁵

Hanserd Knollys devoted a short book to the eleventh chapter of the Apocalypse. The reed (v. 1) is the scriptures, and should be used by ministers to measure the Church (the temple). One task of the ministers is to inspect those who worship. They must take care before admitting anyone into the visible Church, and must diligently make sure that once an individual is let in, they continue in the faith and are found holy in life.³¹⁶ This coheres well with Knollys' beliefs as a Particular Baptist.³¹⁷ The outer court symbolizes the Catholics who are cast out, and who

³¹¹ A.B. Peganius (C. Knorr von Rosenroth), *A Genuine Explication of the Visions of the Book of Revelation* (London 1670) 143-203.

³¹² T. Harby, *What is Truth? Or the Patern in the Mount* (London 1670) 4-7, 10, 21, 31. Also second edition (London 1674) 92, 121-122 (the first edition which I consulted was missing all pages after no. 90).

³¹³ W. Sherwin, *A Scheme of the whole Book of the Revelation of Jesus Christ* (n.p. 1671) 2-3.

³¹⁴ W. Cock, *Revela[tio] Revela[ta]* (Edinburgh 1678) 34-37.

³¹⁵ Q. Kuhlman, *The General London Epistle of Quirinius Kuhlman, A Christian* (n.p. 1679) 5-6.

³¹⁶ H. Knollys, *An Exposition of the Eleventh Chapter of the Revelation* (n.p. 1679) 1-6.

³¹⁷ On Knollys and his exegesis of Revelation, see K.G.C. Newport, *Apocalypse and Millennium* (Cambridge 2000) 27-35.

trample underfoot the holy city, the true Church, for 42 months, that is 1260 years. The two witnesses are both the ministers of the true Church, the olive trees (v.4), and Christ's true, congregational Churches themselves, the candlesticks. The 1260 days of the witnesses are 1260 years, concurrent with the 42 months. These run from 428-1688. The beast who kills the witnesses is the Pope, and his war with them will be open and visible.³¹⁸

And at this very Time the Papists with their Adherents, and Abettors have a Hellish Plot and a bloody Design to destroy the Protestants, and the Protestant Religion in England, and to Reestablish Popery, and Reinforce that bloody Religion by Fire and Sword.³¹⁹

Knollys is referring to the "Popish Plot."³²⁰ This turned out to be a baseless fabrication of Titus Oates, but Knollys' fears of a martial victory of Catholicism in England were very real and were shared by many of his compatriots. I shall have occasion to return to the plot below. For Knollys, the death of the witnesses is to be a civil and ecclesiastical death, not a literal one. The great city is Rome and its dominions, and the street where the witnesses' bodies lie is England, and London in particular. For 3½ days, the last 3½ years of the 1260, they lie unburied, as their names and their testimony are not forgotten. The resurrection of the witnesses is the revival of the same people who suffered figurative death. Their ascension to heaven is symbolic of a higher estate of the Church in the latter days. Knollys believed that upon the resurrection of the witnesses the thousand years of Revelation 20 would begin. This was to be a period of worldly advancement and growth for the Church before Christ's return, when the kingdoms of this world become Christ's (cf. Rev 11:15), a position that can be characterized as "postmillennial."³²¹ The tenth part of the

³¹⁸ Knollys, *An Exposition of the Eleventh Chapter*, 7-21.

³¹⁹ Knollys, *An Exposition of the Eleventh Chapter*, 22.

³²⁰ On the plot see J. Kenyon, *The Popish Plot* (London 1972).

³²¹ By "postmillennialism" I understand an idea of the future growth of the Church on earth, but no resurrection of the saints (and usually no return of Christ) at the beginning of this period.

city that will fall is a tenth of the papal dominions, viz. England, Scotland and Ireland.³²² Knollys repeats verbatim his exegesis in his commentary on the Apocalypse.³²³ This commentary, although published in 1689, was licensed in September 1688 (before William's accession to the English throne). The only change concerns the date of the resurrection of the witnesses. In his 1679 work this will be "1688 or sooner,"³²⁴ whilst in 1688 this has become "1688 or soon after."³²⁵ Newport's suspicion that Knollys was simply working backwards from 1688 in calculating when the 1260 years began³²⁶ is based only on a reading of the 1688 commentary, whereas his treatise on Revelation 11 shows that Knollys had come up with the date already in 1679. One may still retain a suspicion that Knollys has worked backwards from his time of writing. In a work of 1667 he placed the beginning of the 1260 years in 407, 409 or 410.³²⁷ In 1679 he at least makes a prediction that great events are to occur a few years in advance

For the Cambridge Platonist Henry More the 1260 days are 1260 years, the 1260 before the Reformation. This was a time of "paganochristianity," meaning Catholicism. The witnesses were those who protested against the idolatries and disorders of the papist religion. Their slaughter was throughout the 1260 years, and was primarily in political terms, although sometimes literal. The beast is the forces of Catholicism, and the resurrection of the witnesses is their gaining of political power at the Reformation.³²⁸ More notes that his commentary will have

... a particular Usefulness for the undeceiving the Fifth-Monarchy-Men, as they are called, and any other that are inclinable to such Opinions as they are of, (viz.) That upon the Rising of the Witnesses a Fifth Monarchy must be

³²² Knollys, *An Exposition of the Eleventh Chapter*, 23-46.

³²³ H. Knollys, *An Exposition of the whole Book of the Revelation* (London 1689) 120-149.

³²⁴ Knollys, *An Exposition of the Eleventh Chapter*, 29.

³²⁵ Knollys, *An Exposition of the whole Book*, 144.

³²⁶ Newport, *Apocalypse and Millennium*, 29.

³²⁷ H. Knollys, *Apocalyptical Mysteries* (London 1667) 10 (407+1260=1667).

³²⁸ H. More, *Apocalypsis Apocalypseos* (London 1680) 101-114.

erected, in which Jesus Christ is personally to Reign with the revived Martyrs in the Millennium here upon Earth, and that the way to these Times is to be made by the Sword.³²⁹

More was himself a chiliast, but his placing of the resurrection of the witnesses in the past served to combat the Fifth Monarchist position that there was to be a violent uprising to usher in Christ's reign upon earth.

Woodhead thought that the Latin and Greek Churches were the two witnesses. Their 1260 days are 1260 years from 600-1860, and the beast who makes war against them is Islam. The death of the witnesses will be a cessation of public proclamation in the last 3½ years (the 3½ days) of the 1260. Their resurrection and ascension are the beginning of the Church's restoration. The rest who give glory to God (v.13) are Muslims who are converted to Christianity, and the conversion of the Jews begins at about the same time. 140 years later, in 2000, the Church will begin its 1000 year period of earthly flourishing, a broadly "postmillennial" picture.³³⁰

Clark understood the 1260 days as 1260 years which ran from 300-1560, following the chronology instigated by Napier. The two witnesses are all who bore witness against Romish idolatry during this time, but primarily ministers. Their death is a civil one, and their resurrection their restoration to office after 1560 with the flowering of the Reformation.³³¹

Heunisch believes the two witnesses to be the ministry and magistracy. Their 1260 days are 1260 years which began in 750. The Pope is the beast, and the war of 11:7 is the same as that of 19:19 and 20:8; it is the last war in the day of the Lord. The date for this war would seem to be fixed for 2010.³³²

³²⁹ More, *Apocalypsis Apocalypseos*, xxv.

³³⁰ A. Woodhead, *The Apocalyps Paraphrased* (n.p. 1682) 42-50, 100-102.

³³¹ S. Clark, *The New Testament of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ with Annotations* (London 1683), no page nos.

³³² C. Heunisch, *Haupt-Schlüssel über die hohe Offenbarung S. Johannis* (Schleusingen 1684). I have consulted the facsimile reprint, ed. T. Wilhelmi (Basel 1981), 18-19, 34, 169-170.

For Beverley the witnesses are all true Christians. Their 1260 days are 1260 years from 437-1697. The Reformation is not yet fully completed, as can be seen from James II's recent Act of Indulgence,³³³ which granted freedom of worship not only to Protestant dissenters, but Catholics also. 1697 will see the papacy and its forces spiral into terminal decline.³³⁴

Allen interprets the two witnesses as leading opponents of Catholicism. Their 1260 years began in 457, and will finish in 1717. They have enjoyed some success in the period since the Reformation. The waters which they have turned into blood (v.5) are the doctrines of Trent which Protestant bishops and doctors have turned into blood by showing them to be useless for salvation. The war of the beast mentioned in v.7 is different from the general papal war against the witnesses. It will be at the end of the 1260 years, when the witnesses will suffer political death for 3½ years before undergoing a political resurrection. The killing and resurrection of the witnesses are likely to occur in one particular country, but Allen does not specify where this is to be.³³⁵

Benjamin Keach thought the 1260 days to be 1260 years from 425-1685. The two witnesses are God's faithful people throughout all this time of the papal beast's reign. The death of the witnesses was primarily a civil death, concomitant with the accession of the Catholic James II. For 3½ years they lay dead in Britain, the street of the great city, until the coming of William III in 1688. At this time the resurrection of the witnesses began, the beginning of a thousand year "postmillennial" expansion of the Church.³³⁶ Keach expected Protestants to play a military role in the defeat of

³³³ Presumably that of April 1687.

³³⁴ T. Beverley, *The Grand Apocalyptic Vision of the Witnesses Slain* (London 1687) 1-10.

³³⁵ W. Allen, *A Discourse of the Nature, Series and Order of Occurrences: As they are prophetically represented in the 11th Chap. of the Revelation* (London 1689) 1-91.

³³⁶ B. Keach, *Antichrist Stormed* (London 1689) 136-147, 224-231.

Catholicism, and he expressed his ideas in jaunty verse that sits uneasily with the violence of the language against Catholicism, the whore of Revelation 17.

[Sion speaking to her children]
 Then God will cause his Witnesses to rise,
 And you will have a clear and gracious Call
 To join with those that upon the Whore shall fall...
 ...[Sion's children]
 Let's make her drink of that invenom'd Cup
 She fill'd for us; Shall she not drink it up?
 Will none fall on, provoked by just ire
 To eat her flesh, and burn her in the Fire?³³⁷

The victory of William in the so-called "Glorious Revolution" of 1688 is for Keach but the beginning of the overthrow of Catholicism. Violence will be required to fulfil this task, but for Keach such violence would be in God's service, and has already been predicted by the Apocalypse.

Petto believes the two witnesses to be faithful ministers and pure professors, or beast-opposing Churches. The beast is a persecuting civil authority. The 1260 days are 1260 years that began in 395. Petto somewhat inconsistently then informs us that in 1680 the witnesses had not yet been slain, although adding 1260 to 395 comes out at 1655. Why Petto mentions 1680 in particular is unclear to me. There is no reason to think the work, published in 1693, was written in 1680, and Petto does not seem to think that the witnesses were killed or resurrected between 1680 and 1693. Their death will be a civil one, and there will also be an accompanying spiritual death of the cessation of testimony. This, and their ensuing resurrection are expected soon by Petto.³³⁸

Waple is in some ways close to Beverley, and broadly follows his understanding of the 1260 years as running from 437-1697. The two witnesses are a sufficient number to confirm the truth; they denounce judgements against the idolatry

³³⁷ B. Keach, *Distressed Sion Relieved* (London 1689) 90.

³³⁸ S. Petto, *The Revelation Unveiled* (London 1693) 50-91.

of the Church. The beast is the Pope, who censures the witnesses causing their civil death. The witnesses have been in the process of rising since the Reformation, but will be fully raised in 1697.³³⁹

Cradock interprets the two witnesses as the faithful ministers of God. Their 1260 days are 1260 years, seemingly the 1260 leading up to the Reformation, at which point they were resurrected and ascended to prominent positions in the Church.³⁴⁰

Jurieu sees the 1260 days as 1260 years that run from 450/455-1710/1715. He notes that he has used Mede in what he writes, although he has by no means slavishly copied him. The two witnesses are the small number of the faithful who keep themselves pure during the reign of the Antichristian beast, the papacy. The witnesses are slain not at the completion of the 1260 years, but towards their finish, although the war against them may be long and drawn out. There has been persecution already since 1655, when the Duke of Savoy undertook to destroy the faithful of the Piedmont valleys. The street of the great city in which they lie is France. The witnesses have been spiritually dead since the revocation of the edict of Nantes in 1685. This edict, signed by Henry IV in 1598, had granted toleration to Protestants in France, and its revocation by Louis XIV removed their legal protection. The non-burial of the witnesses is interpreted positively of the support shown to French Protestants by those of other nations, who do not allow them to be totally destroyed. The 3½ days in which they lie dead are 3½ years, which probably began from the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in October 1685. Jurieu is, however, slightly cagey about the start of the 3½ years. Perhaps they began in October 1685, or perhaps they are to begin when there is

³³⁹ E. Waple, *The Book of the Revelation Paraphrased with Annotations on each chapter* (London 1693) 199-251.

³⁴⁰ S. Cradock, *A Brief and Plain Exposition and Paraphrase of the Whole Book of the Revelation* (London 1696) 96-120.

not even one true professor left in France. The resurrection of the witnesses will be their revival by God, and their ascension will be their exaltation to great dignity. This is only to occur in one kingdom (a tenth of the papal dominions) prior to 1710/1715. It is in France that a Protestant ruler will come to power, whose voice will be the one from heaven calling on the witnesses to ascend.³⁴¹

Philipot's exegesis is very similar to that of Jurieu. The 1260 days are 1260 years from 445-1705. The two witnesses are a sufficient number of the true faithful to maintain the truth. They are said to be two in number because the Christian Church that has subsisted in the valleys of Piedmont and Angrognia eventually became divided into two branches, the Calvinists and the Lutherans. These two are the heirs to the Waldenses and Albigensians. Philipot probably considers these two groups appropriate proto-Protestants simply because they were opposed by the papacy. He may have been unaware of all their tenets. It is most unlikely that he wishes to claim continuity with all their beliefs, such as the dualism of the Albigenses. The beast is the papacy and the Romish Church. The witnesses who are currently dead but unburied, are Protestants in France, who currently attend Mass but only because forced to do so. The 3½ days in which they lie dead are 3½ years, which began with the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in October 1685. The resurrection and ascension of the witnesses will be a revival of Protestantism to an even greater state than before in France. The voice from heaven calling upon the witnesses to ascend will be that of a new Protestant monarch. The earthquake is to be a shaking of the affairs of France, which is the tenth of the city, the tenth of the papal dominions that falls.³⁴²

Cressener mentions that the 3½ days of the witnesses lying dead might be the recent revival of the Vaudois (Waldenses), about 3½ years after the revocation of the

³⁴¹ P. Jurieu, *The Accomplishment of the Scripture Prophecies* (London 1687) 236-270.

³⁴² J. Philipot, *A New Systeme of the Apocalypse* (London 1688 – French original 1687) 209-240.

Edict of Nantes.³⁴³ Boyer also employs the same sort of ideas. The Vaudois, the inhabitants of the Piedmont valleys, are the two witnesses who have preserved the apostolic faith in its purity for the 1260 years from 426-1686. In October 1686 their 3½ years of lying dead began, when they were driven out of the valleys. They began to recover in May 1690, when they started to return to their valleys, and in June 1690 they were firmly established once more.³⁴⁴

Cross thinks that the witnesses are the Church, and the beast the Roman Empire under popery. The 1260 years began between 410 and 420, and will end 1710-1720.³⁴⁵

A small number of protestants understand the 1260 days to be 1260 literal days. Already in 1643 such an interpretation is mentioned by Woodcocke as an alternative, although one to which he devotes little time. The two witnesses are two anonymous figures who appear in Palestine, and undeceive those who have been led astray by the beast, a tyrannical Pope who reigns for 42 months.³⁴⁶

Hayter believes that the two witnesses will preach in Palestine and prepare the Jews for conversion. They will be killed in Jerusalem by the beast, a future new empire whose centre will be in Babylon.³⁴⁷ Hayter thinks all of chs. 4-18 are prophecies that have not yet been fulfilled, but are to come to pass in the area that we would today call the Middle East. His interpretation of 11:1-13 comes within this. It is interesting that Hayter specifically notes that his exegesis means that the book should

³⁴³ D. Cressener, *A Demonstration of the First Principles of the Protestant Applications of the Apocalypse* (London 1690) dedicatory epistle.

³⁴⁴ P. Boyer, *The History of the Vaudois* (London 1692) 159-168.

³⁴⁵ W. Cross, *The Summ of Two Sermons on the Witnesses and the Earthquake That Accompanies their Resurrection Occasion'd from a Late Earthquake, Sept. 8. And Preach'd on the Fast following, Sept 14* (London 1692)

³⁴⁶ Woodcocke, *The Two Witnesses*, 91-95.

³⁴⁷ R. Hayter, *The Meaning of the Revelation* (London 1675) 123-144, 159.

not be used as a justification for starting war with Catholics, and instead cites the teaching of Jesus that peacemakers are blessed (Mt 5:9).³⁴⁸

The anonymous *A Modest Enquiry into the Meaning of the Revelations* understands the two witnesses as two men who will be slain by Antichrist, before rising again after 3½ days. This is not to occur in Jerusalem and its environs, but in some as yet unknown Protestant country. Jerusalem was the city of the old people of God, the Jews, but this must occur in a city of the new people of God, Christians. Protestant Christians, as the true Christians, are meant, and the events that are to unfold will occur in a Protestant city that falls away into Catholicism.³⁴⁹

Helmont believes that the two witnesses are Elijah and Moses who will return to be killed by Antichrist in Jerusalem in 1777. They will rise 3½ days later at the beginning of the millennium, and are among the 144000 Israelites (cf. Revelation 7) who are to be the first fruits of this kingdom.³⁵⁰

For Bull the two witnesses are two eminent parts of the Protestant Church, and the nonjurors³⁵¹ are certainly among these. Bull hints that he is also of the witnesses. For 1260 days, or perhaps slightly longer, the witnesses will testify against the dangers of Catholicism. Papal power will prevail in England for 42 months from 1717 until 1721, after the time of the witnesses. During this period, Protestantism will be in a miserable condition, its 3½ days (= years) of lying dead. After the 3½ years, it will be restored, and this will be the resurrection and ascension of the witnesses.³⁵²

³⁴⁸ Hayter, *The Meaning of the Revelation*, 236-241.

³⁴⁹ Anon., *A Modest Enquiry into the Meaning of the Revelations* (London 1688) 3-22.

³⁵⁰ F. Helmont, *Seder Olam: or the Order of Ages* (London 1694 – original Latin edition 1693) 182-187.

³⁵¹ Those clergy who refused to take the oath of allegiance to William and Mary on the grounds that they would be breaking their oath to James II and his successors.

³⁵² D. Bull, *A Letter of a Protestant Clergy-man to the Reverend Clergy of the Church of England* (1695 London) 16-28. It should be noted that certain passages of Bull's work have had changes stuck over the top of them in the same typescript. This is the case with both the copies in the Bodleian, which also have the date of composition changed by hand from 1695 to 1710. It is only in the altered sections that the dates for the triumph of Catholicism in 1717-1721 are given. Indeed, in one copy, the

One of the most unusual uses of Rev 11:1-13 comes in a pamphlet by “E.C., Doctor of Civil Law.”³⁵³ I think that the author should probably be identified as Edward Clarke (1649/51-1710). Clarke was called to the bar in 1673, and in 1680, when the pamphlet was written, was a supporter of exclusionist politics, i.e. of the exclusion of the openly Catholic James II from succession to the monarchy.³⁵⁴ Clarke identifies the two witnesses as Titus Oates and William Bedloe, the two chief witnesses in the infamous Popish Plot. The alleged plot was of a Catholic assassination of the King, a massacre of Protestants, and a French invasion of Ireland. Over twenty Catholic clergy were killed in 1679 simply for having been ordained to the Catholic priesthood. By 1680 the tide of the plot had started to ebb, and there were widespread doubts over the reliability of the evidence, although many were still convinced of its veracity.³⁵⁵ By arguing that Oates and Bedloe were the two witnesses, Clarke hoped to prove the truth of their testimony.

My intended Explanation of the Text I hope will put the Plot out of all Controversie, and force us all to confess, that Dr. Oates and Mr. Bedloe discover by Illumination, or a Supernatural Light, and thereby render their Evidence unquestionably true Jure Divino. In short, the Holy Record in John is this, And I will give power unto my two Witnesses, and they shall prophecie one thousand two hundred and threescore days clothed in sackcloth. Revelat. Chap. 11 v. 3.³⁵⁶

Clarke only cites this one verse, and does not attempt to explain how Oates and Bedloe might be killed by a beast and raised again 3½ days later. John himself knew

beginning of the text underneath can be seen in one place (53). From a sentence beginning “I know” the stuck-on text reads “that this second woe [of Catholicism’s triumph] is now at hand,” whereas the original text underneath can be seen to begin “not the Day nor the hour...” Perhaps Bull changed his mind after printing. The changes are in both of the Bodleian’s copies, and the typescript is identical to that of the main text, so a later change seems improbable, but there is still the puzzle of why the date has been changed by hand to 1710. Did someone know that the work had been fictionally dated to 1695? There seems little motivation for this. Without being able to remove the entirety of the stuck-on sections, it is impossible to make any proper assessment of what may have occurred.

³⁵³ E. C[larke], *A Full and Final Proof of the Plot from the Revelations, Whereby the Testimony of Dr. Titus Oates and Mr. Will Bedloe is demonstrated to be Jure Divino* (London 1680) title page.

³⁵⁴ DNB, electronic version (Oxford 1995), article by Mark Goldie (1993).

³⁵⁵ Kenyon, *The Popish Plot*, 177-204.

³⁵⁶ C[larke], *A Full and Final Proof*, 2.

that the two witnesses were to be Oates and Bedloe, but did not give more details in his text lest Catholics should try and murder them.³⁵⁷ Clarke was clearly a pragmatic thinker, not tempted to make great claims for their invulnerability on the basis of Rev 11:5. Clarke does acknowledge that there may be some falsehoods in their evidence, but argues that if we should start trying to make distinctions in their evidence, we are likely to reject some that is true. It is better to accept all, though some may be false, than to run the risk of rejecting a truth.³⁵⁸ This is in some tension with his claim that their evidence is true because through direct divine revelation. By 1680, however, it would have been difficult for anyone with intellectual integrity to have thought that all the stories, sometimes contradictory, that flowed from Oates were correct. Clarke acknowledges this, but still believes in the basic truth of the Plot. His exhortation to accept the false along with the true may seem of questionable justice and morality, but is not out of kilter with how treason was treated in seventeenth century England. The crime was considered so heinous, and the protection of the state regarded as so important that trials were in fact weighted considerably against the defendant.³⁵⁹ Clarke says that the 1260 days of the witnesses are 1260 literal days between Parliaments.³⁶⁰ Parliament had supported the witnesses, but with its prorogation they had to stand alone. As there was no gap in Parliamentary sittings that even approximated to 1260 days the reference can only be to the time of writing. Parliament had been prorogued in July 1679, and would not sit again until October 1680.³⁶¹ As this period is less than 1260 days, Clarke must have written between March and October 1680,³⁶² before Parliament reconvened. The date of composition

³⁵⁷ C[larke], *A Full and Final Proof*, 3.

³⁵⁸ C[larke], *A Full and Final Proof*, 6-7.

³⁵⁹ Kenyon, *The Popish Plot*, 115-117.

³⁶⁰ C[larke], *A Full and Final Proof*, 4.

³⁶¹ M. Knights, *Politics and Opinion in Crisis, 1678-81* (Cambridge 1994) 55-77.

³⁶² The year was, of course, reckoned to begin on March 25th.

can be further narrowed down, as the pamphlet shows no knowledge of the death of Bedloe in August 1680,³⁶³ and was therefore written prior to this event. Clarke's exposition attempts to firm up the waning belief in the plot; there had been only one conviction since June 1679. He uses only one verse, and concentrates on an idea that receives little, if any, treatment in the text of Revelation 11. Clarke infers that if the two witnesses are appointed by God, then any testimony that they give must be true. He proceeds to identify the two witnesses as Oates and Bedloe, and hopes to thereby persuade his readers that their testimony concerning the Popish Plot is true.

³⁶³ Kenyon, *The Popish Plot*, 200-201.

3.13 1260 days not definite

Kromayer takes the 1260 days to be a time uncertain to us, known only to God. The two witnesses are the true confessors and opponents of the papal Antichrist, the beast of v. 7. The resurrection of the witnesses is in their successors.³⁶⁴

Poole gives a variety of interpretations, and it is not entirely clear which he favours. The 1260 days could be 1260 years, beginning some time between 365 and 455, or they could simply be an indefinite period. The two witnesses are all the opponents of the Antichristian papacy. Poole does make one unique contribution. The great city of v.8 is Rome; Christ is crucified there in the sacrifice of the Mass of the Roman Church.³⁶⁵

Hooke does not say anything concerning the 1260 days. The two witnesses are ministers and Churches. They are slain by the civil and ecclesiastical power of the Roman beast, although this is not a literal, but a civil death. Hooke hints that the witnesses are currently rising, although this may be a long process. The tenth of the city that falls is to be Britain, a tenth of the papal dominions that will finally throw off all vestiges of Romanism.³⁶⁶

Baxter is even less inclined to commit himself than Poole, although he does take the trouble to report the opinions of Grotius and Hammond at some length.³⁶⁷ The observation of an anonymous contemporary is apt. Between differing opinions, “he [Baxter] so seldom takes upon him to decide.”³⁶⁸

Mulerius believes the 1260 days to symbolize the time between the rise of the papacy, to which he does not give a date, and the Reformation. The two witnesses are

³⁶⁴ H. Kromayer, *Commentarius in Apocalypsin Johannem* (Leipzig 1674 – original edition 1662) 237-255.

³⁶⁵ M. Poole, *Synopsis Criticorum* (London 1676) 4b:1818-1842.

³⁶⁶ W. Hooke, *A Discourse Concerning the Witnesses* (London 1681) 3-48.

³⁶⁷ R. Baxter, *A Paraphrase on the New Testament* (London 1685 – original edition 1684) no page nos.

³⁶⁸ P. Parrhesiastes (pseud.), *Some Cursory Reflexions Impartially made upon Mr. Richard Baxter, His Way of Writing Notes on the Apocalypse* (London 1685) 6.

the scriptures. The beast is the Pope. In an interpretation similar to Poole, the great city is the Roman Church, where Christ is crucified in the abomination of the sacrifice of the Mass. The resurrection of the witnesses began at the Reformation.³⁶⁹

Jansen has a very individualistic reading of the passage. The temple stands for the hearts of humans, which are to be measured. The two witnesses are the Law and the Prophets. The beast is the low, stubborn malice in the hearts of humans who have not been born again. The Law and the Prophets are killed in the hearts of earthly humanity. The resurrection of the Law and Prophets is when through them the essence of God is perceived; they become mediators for experience of the divine essence.³⁷⁰

³⁶⁹ N. Mulerius, *Vaticinia Patmi, sive Revelationum Propheticarum...* (Hardervici 1686) 95-107.

³⁷⁰ H. Jansen, *Erklaerung der Offenbarung Johannis* (n.p. 1687) 58-64.

3.14 Catholic interpretation 1639-1700

Bartholomaeus Holzhauser sees chapters 10-11 of the Apocalypse as speaking of the future consolation of the Church in a sixth *status* (out of seven, the seventh that of eternal life) after the extirpation of Protestant heresy. This sixth *status* is spoken of in Matt 24:14. where Jesus says that the gospel will be preached to all nations and then the end will come. The measuring of the temple signifies the expansion of the Catholic Church in this period. The altar symbolizes the honour and sacrifice of the Mass. The worshippers are primarily priests, but also the laity who attend Mass. The outer court which is expelled and given to the Gentiles is the land of Palestine which is given to the Muslims. They trample down the holy city, Jerusalem and the surrounding land, for 42 months. 42 months are reckoned as 1277½ days, which signify 1277½ years. The recapture of Jerusalem during the crusades was a mere blip in this. As Jerusalem fell to Islamic forces in 638, it seems probable that Holzhauser expected the end of the 1277½ years in 1915/6.³⁷¹ The Islamic power in Jerusalem is only a precursor of the reign of Antichrist there. Antichrist is to be descended from Muslims, and 11:3-13 relate to the time of the persecution of Antichrist. Enoch and Elijah will come, will be killed by Antichrist in Jerusalem, and will rise 3½ days later. Verse 13 speaks of the ruin of Antichrist and his followers.³⁷² Holzhauser combines an original exegesis of vv. 1-2 with an application of the remainder of the passage to the time of the return of Enoch and Elijah.

³⁷¹ This is a remarkably accurate prediction. Jerusalem was evacuated by Ottoman forces in December 1917, and Allied control of the entirety of Palestine was achieved in September 1918; J. Keegan, *The First World War* (London 1998) 444-445. Holzhauser was wrong, however, in believing that Antichrist was to reign in Jerusalem once the Ottomans had been removed.

³⁷² B. Holzhauser, *Interpretatio in Apocalypsin* (Vienna 1850) 194-209. Holzhauser died in 1658 (*Interpretatio*, ix), so the commentary must have been written before this date.

Mumford and de Sylveira interpret the two witnesses as Enoch and Elijah, to be killed by Antichrist in Jerusalem.³⁷³

Quesnel's commentary gives an ecclesiological interpretation.³⁷⁴ The temple is the Church. The outer court is all those who are not of Jesus Christ and his Church; they are all rejected by God. This perhaps reflects one of the reasons that Quesnel's *Réflexions morales* was condemned by Clement XI in the bull *Unigenitus*, issued in 1713.³⁷⁵ The doctrine that no grace is given outside the Church is among those censured. The two witnesses symbolize martyrs and preachers of penitence throughout all the history of the Church. The death of the witnesses shows that God's ministers sanctify not only others, but themselves also through their suffering and martyrdom. Everywhere that impurity reigns is Sodom, everywhere that good people are persecuted is Egypt, and wherever the members of Christ suffer is Calvary. The celebration over the death of the witnesses illustrates that the world often consecrates its crimes with a public celebration. The resurrection of the witnesses, and the fear of those who see them demonstrate that the moment of the suffering of the saints passes into eternal joy, whereas the moment of triumph of sinners passes into sadness and eternal misery. The earthquake and destruction of v. 13 show that God controls all exterior events by his will, and that even an earthquake can be the occasion of conversion for those who see the hand of God in public calamities. The overall strategy of Quesnel is to take the particularities of the text, and derive from them what he sees as general truths.

³⁷³ J. Mumford, *The Catholic Scripturist, or, the Plea of the Roman Catholics. Shewing the Scriptures to hold forth the Roman Faith in above Forty of the Chief Controversies now under Debate* (n.p. 1767 – original edition 1662) 78-79; J. de Sylveira, *Commentariorum in Apocalypsin*, in, *Opera Omnia* 8 (Venice 1754 – original edition 1663).

³⁷⁴ P. Quesnel, *Le Nouveau Testament en François avec des Réflexions Morales sur chaque verset* (Paris 1702 – original edition 1687) 8:621-626.

³⁷⁵ Quesnel was a Jansenist. On the bull see J.M. Gres-Gayer, "The *Unigenitus* of Clement XI: A Fresh Look at the Issues" *Theological Studies* 49 (1988) 259-282.

Bossuet does not rule out an ecclesiological interpretation of the Apocalypse in relation to the struggle between the city of God and the city of the devil, an interpretation that he attributes to Augustine, but he concentrates on another explanation. The prophecies of the book relate in particular to what is to happen soon after the time of John; the combats of the Church against Jews and Gentiles, and the fate of the Roman Empire.³⁷⁶ Bossuet acknowledges that in this he follows Grotius and Hammond, although he disagrees with Grotius over the book's dating, following Irenaeus in placing it at the end of Domitian's reign, rather than following Epiphanius in placing it in Claudius' reign, as does Grotius. Bossuet perceives a problem in this line of interpretation, which he thinks correct, having been begun by Protestants, whom he believes are outside the true Church. He is able only to say that this has occurred "par une disposition particulière de la providence de Dieu."³⁷⁷ His was not an age of ecumenical collaboration in biblical scholarship. The measuring of the temple signifies the protection of the saints during the time of the Diocletian persecution. The Church might suffer materially, and individuals may be martyred, but spiritually it is unharmed. The outer court that is expelled are those who apostatize in the face of persecution. The 42 months are a symbolic figure, not to be taken literally. The two witnesses are the whole Church, although they are particularly the martyrs. Their designation as "two" relates to the two parts of the Church, the clergy and laity. The fire from the witnesses' mouths shows the efficacy of their preaching; their persecutors are to go to the eternal fires of Hell. The beast is the Roman Empire, with Diocletian at its head at this point. The beast may kill Christians, but its victory over them (v.7) is in appearance only. The great city where they are killed is the Roman Empire. The resurrection of the witnesses is the revival of the Church after the

³⁷⁶ J.B. Bossuet, *L'Apocalypse avec une Explication* (Paris 1690 – original edition 1689) preface 12-13.

³⁷⁷ Bossuet, *L'Apocalypse*, preface 61-62.

short time of the Diocletian persecution. Their ascension is the grand glory of the Church under Constantine. The earthquake signifies wars within the Empire in the early 300s, and the tenth part that falls shows the ravages in the Empire due to these wars. The 7000 slain are a perfect number, referring to the perfect victory of Constantine over Maxentius at the Milvian bridge. The rest who give glory to God are those who are converted after Constantine's accession.³⁷⁸ Bossuet's reading of the conversion of Constantine, and its relation to the good of the Church is squarely in the Eusebian tradition. As Bossuet himself admits, his exegesis has been inspired by the method of Grotius. The appeal of this type of exegesis was surely at least partly that it wrested the text away from Protestant controversialists who wished to apply it to contemporary events, designating the papacy as the beast. If the text refers primarily to the distant past, its imagery cannot be applied directly, and unfavourably, to the contemporary Catholic Church.

³⁷⁸ Bossuet, *L'Apocalypse*, 109-123.

3.15 Conclusion

1517-1600

Protestant interpretation of this passage rejects a literal interpretation to Enoch and Elijah. Some earlier commentators retain an understanding of Antichrist as all forces opposed to Christ, but this generally becomes replaced, following Luther, with an understanding of the papacy as Antichrist. The papacy is the second beast of Rev 13, succeeding the Roman Empire in its tyranny, and is identified with the beast of Rev 11:7. Most Protestants understand the 1260 days symbolically, but their interpretation as a definite time period, usually 1260 years, becomes more common as the sixteenth century progresses. In a couple of instances (Bibliander, Napier) the two witnesses are understood as the scriptures themselves, changing the Tyconian interpretation of the two as the Church preaching through the Scriptures. More normally, the two witnesses are understood to symbolize a section within the Church, those who preach and teach the faith. This is contrary to Tyconius' understanding of the two witnesses as representative of the whole Church, but in keeping with some medieval interpretation, beginning with Bruno of Segni,³⁷⁹ that sees them as symbolic of the teachers of the Church, or similar. Lambert, the first Protestant to write a commentary, denies the literal return of Enoch and Elijah, but sees the witnesses as Enoch and Elijah spiritually understood. Later writers separate themselves more fully from the tradition of the return of Enoch and Elijah, by seeing the two witnesses themselves as symbolic of a section of the Church, rather than granting that they are Enoch and Elijah in any way, even if spiritually understood. In accordance with the Reformation principle of *sola scriptura*, the interpretation of Scripture is purged from what are regarded as incorrect traditions, in this case any vestige of an identification

³⁷⁹ See above, section 2.1. Perhaps also relevant is Jerome's note that the two witnesses are Enoch and Elijah, but spiritually understood; Jerome, *Ep.* 59.3.

of the witnesses with Enoch and Elijah. Meyer draws attention to the number of the witnesses, two, as symbolic of the fewness of the true preachers of the Gospel in comparison to false prophets, and this is picked up by subsequent writers. Sixteenth century Protestants are aware that they are currently in a minority, and their historical awareness is sufficient that for the medieval period at least they are forced to admit that the Western Church on the whole corresponded more closely to Catholicism than Protestantism. The numerical paucity of the witnesses fits in neatly with a Protestant historiography that traces the line of the few true believers during the time of the tyranny of the papacy. The appeal of Catholic apologetic to the size and historical continuity of their communion is turned on its head; the fewness of the true believers serves to prove their authenticity.

The Catholic reaction to this, in terms of the exegesis of Revelation 11, concentrated on defending the future application of the passage to Enoch and Elijah and a future Antichrist, thereby negating the Protestant claims that the papacy was Antichrist. This interpretation reached its zenith in the commentary of Ribiera, whose thoroughgoing futurism interpreted not only vv.2b-13 as predictive of the time of Antichrist, but vv.1-2a also. Ribiera's logic demanded that if the Apocalypse was to be given a futuristic interpretation one could not do so piecemeal, and his exegesis of 11:1-13 follows this rigorously.

1601-1700

The mainstream of Protestant exegesis continued to identify the papacy as the beast of 11:7, and the two witnesses as Protestants and proto-Protestants. The interpretation of 1260 days as 1260 years becomes increasingly predominant. Pareus' identification of the two witnesses as the Christian ministry and magistracy, based on

the roles of Joshua and Zerubbabel in Zech 4, a text which Rev 11:4 draws on, becomes popular. It can be used, as by Goodwin, in an attempt to persuade the state power, in his case Parliament,³⁸⁰ of its role in the establishment and protection of true religion. The civil war and interregnum period in England is particularly fertile for unusual exegesis. There is a discernable move away from identifying the beast simply as the papacy, and to seeing it as opponents in England, often insofar as they were felt to still be under Romish sway. The papacy soon returned as the beast after Charles' restoration. In the civil war and interregnum some, although by no means all, felt themselves to be living in the last days, or at least an extremely important period in God's unfolding plan for the world. The Scriptures, God's inspired message to his people, were understandably thought to have direct relevance to such a time. If the Apocalypse was a book of prophecy (cf. Rev 1:3) vouchsafed to the Church, then, given a belief that great eschatological events are shortly to unfold, it is far from foolish to suppose that it should be consulted for guidance as to these events. The influence of Mede's commentary, and the official approbation demonstrated by its English translation at the order of Parliament, should not be underestimated. Mede's commentary presented a form of chiliasm, and helped to make such doctrines acceptable to a wider audience. Mede himself may have been ambivalent about giving precise dates, but others proved less so. Knowledge of the beginning and end dates of the 1260 years could be used to help calculate God's eschatological timetable, which would include also other dates, especially from Daniel and Revelation. An author and their readers could thereby be privy to inside information on the divine plan. The Fifth Monarchist Canne could use the 1260 years to set the date at which armed resistance to the state should begin, a bloody fight that would usher in Christ's earthly kingdom.

³⁸⁰ Although Charles I was still alive in 1642, the time of Goodwin's Fast Sermon.

The exegesis of Grotius, posthumously published in 1650, stands at a distance from such a call. The Jesuit Alcazar had pioneered an approach that applied the Apocalypse to the Church of the distant past, and Grotius' work is not dissimilar. Grotius' work allows no room for reference to events of the seventeenth century. Such a line of interpretation was taken up by the Catholic Bossuet. The majority of Protestant interpreters continued to identify the two witnesses as Protestant Churches, or people within those Churches, often the ministry and the (Protestant) magistracy. They also took the 1260 days as 1260 years, and the beast of 11:7 as the papacy or Catholicism in general. In 1700 such an interpretation was the dominant one among Protestants.

Chapter 4. 1701-2004	232
1260 days a definite number of years.....	233
4.1 756 the starting point	233
4.2 The French Revolution and the starting point 533	236
4.3 606 the starting point	242
4.4 The Middle East as the arena of the passage	245
4.5 Others	247
4.6 Ecclesiological Interpretations	257
Preterist Interpretations	263
4.7 The passage related to the first few centuries of the Church	263
4.8 The passage related to known events of the first century	265
Eschatological exegesis	271
4.9 Genuine belief in an eschatological application.....	271
4.10 The passage an incorrect Johannine eschatological prediction	281
4.11 Religionsgeschichtliche interpretations	286
4.12 Idiosyncratic interpretations	289
4.13 Conclusion.....	299

Chapter 4. 1701-2004

The volume of material available for this period is immense, and it will not be possible to deal in detail with every author. This survey does not include every book or article published on the Apocalypse, but it does attempt to provide examples of the vast majority of the various interpretative viewpoints put forward. I have divided the expositions into six groups covering the whole period: interpretations that take the 1260 days as a definite number of years, ecclesiological interpretations, preterist interpretations, eschatological interpretations, *Religionsgeschichtliche* interpretations and idiosyncratic interpretations.

1260 days a definite number of years

This interpretation carried on from the seventeenth century, and usually the 1260 days were understood as 1260 years. Its popularity began to decline sharply towards the end of the nineteenth century, and it became increasingly rare during the twentieth century.

4.1 756 the starting point

In the eighteenth century, starting points around the year 756 enjoy some popularity, using the argument that the Pope, the beast of 11:7, became a temporal prince at this time, as well as adding that 666 plus a supposed date of composition of 90 AD makes 756.¹ Fleming cites either 758 or 606 as his starting point. The 1260 days are 1242 years, as for Brightman.² The two witnesses are the Albigenses and Waldenses, persecuted by the papal beast. The slaying of the witnesses was the death of Huss and persecution of Taborites in Bohemia, and their 3½ years lying dead were those prior to the Reformation. The Reformation was the resurrection of the witnesses, with their ascension at the 1555 Peace of Augsburg.³ Johnston's exegesis is not far from Fleming's.⁴ The 1260 days are 1243 years of papal tyranny beginning in 756 (ending in 1999), and the two witnesses are the true Church during this period. The Augsburg interim of 1551 was their death, and their resurrection and ascension came at the 1555 confession of Augsburg.⁵

¹ Bullinger had used some very similar mathematics, but with a date of composition of 97 AD, arriving at 763 AD for the rise of the papal beast. See above, section 3.3.

² See above, section 3.7.

³ R. Fleming, *Discourses on several Subjects* (London 1701), xix-lvii.

⁴ B. Johnston, *A Commentary on the Revelation of St. John* (Edinburgh 1794) 1:356-403.

⁵ Cf. L. Osiander, see above, section 3.4.

For Lowman the witnesses are the small but sufficient number of the witnesses to the truth during the 1260 years from 756-2016. They are persecuted throughout the 1260 years, even to the point of death, by the papal beast, and their 3½ days lying dead are the same as the 1260 years. Their resurrection will be their surprising success in propagating the word of God after the 1260 years have ended.⁶

Clayton understands the two witnesses as John and Daniel, whose prophecies are disregarded for the 3½ days in which they lie dead, which are the same as the 1260 years from 755-2015.⁷

Thomas Newton is undecided as to whether the 1260 years begin in 755 or 774. The Temple symbolizes true Christians during the 1260 years, as opposed to the outer court of Catholics, who are merely nominal Christians. The witnesses are the small number of those who hold to the truth throughout the 1260 years. Their death is political, and is to come at the end of the 1260 years, followed 3½ years later by their political resurrection and ascension.⁸ Doddridge has a similar exposition with a start date of 756, but does not absolutely commit himself concerning the death of the witnesses. He thinks that the 1260 days may perhaps be 1243 rather than 1260 years.⁹ Fraser¹⁰ has very similar exegesis to Newton, as do Arthur¹¹ and Simpson,¹² although both have little to say on the death of the witnesses. Vivian understands the two witnesses to be all true professors throughout the 1260 years. Their resurrection is in their successors, but their ascension will be their rising to a safe position at the end of

⁶ M. Lowman, *A Paraphrase and Notes on the Revelation of St. John* (London 1737) xxxi, 107-115.

⁷ R. Clayton, *A Dissertation on Prophecy* (London 1749) 81, 112-116.

⁸ T. Newton, *Dissertations on the Prophecies* (London 1759 – original edition 1754-8) 1:482-490; 3:130-200.

⁹ P. Doddridge, *The Family Expositor* (London 1739-1756) 6:513-522, 525.

¹⁰ A. Fraser, *A Key to the Prophecies of the Old and New Testament Which are not yet Accomplished* (Edinburgh 1795) 41-51, 137-146, 157-167.

¹¹ M. Arthur, *The two Witnesses prophesying a Thousand two Hundred and Threescore Days in Sackcloth* (Glasgow 1779) 5-44.

¹² D. Simpson, *A Key to the Prophecies* (Macclesfield 1795) 426-427.

the 1260 years, concomitant with a falling of the tenth part of the Roman Church. The 1260 years begin in either 727, 755, 774, 784 or 787.¹³

¹³ T. Vivian, *The Book of the Revelation of Saint John the Divine Explained* (Plymouth 1785) 25-29, 49.

4.2 The French Revolution and the starting point 533

The events of the French Revolution were seen by many in the text of Revelation 11.¹⁴ Winchester and Bicheno were the first to offer such an approach. Winchester thought the earthquake of v.13 to be the French Revolution, but does not discuss the rest of the passage.¹⁵ Bicheno does not discuss the first two verses of Revelation 11. Louis XIV is the second beast of ch. 13, which Bicheno equates with the beast from the abyss of 11:7.¹⁶ Louis is a servant of the papal apostasy (the first beast of ch. 13). The two witnesses are those who witness to the gospel, and those who bear witness for civil liberty against the tyrannies of those princes and governors who have enslaved mankind. The 1260 days of the witnesses' prophesying are from 425-1685, when Louis XIV revoked the edict of Nantes. Bicheno is not innovating here,¹⁷ but he is when he goes on to describe the 3½ days which the witnesses lie dead. The 3½ days are translated into 3½ months of 30 days each, giving a period of 105 days. 105 days are then taken as 105 years. 105 years from 1685 brings us to 1790, and Bicheno argues that the resurrection of the witnesses began in 1789, near the end of the 3½ days. Their full resurrection may take some time, as they are gradually quickened with political life. The earthquake of v.13 is the French Revolution. France is the street of the great city in which the witnesses lie dead, the tenth part of the former papal dominions that falls away from Rome in the earthquake. That 7000 names of men are killed indicates the abolition of all titles in France. There will be violent conflict between the witnesses and their opposers, but finally the witnesses will prevail. The onlookers to this struggle will join with the witnesses'

¹⁴ On the French Revolution and wider prophetic speculation related to the Bible see C. Garrett, *Respectable Folly. Millenarians and the French Revolution in France and England* (Baltimore/London 1975), esp. 121-178.

¹⁵ E. Winchester, *The Three Woe Trumpets* (London 1793) 32-33.

¹⁶ Bicheno argues on the basis of the Latin form, *Ludovicus*, equalling 666. L=50, u(v)=5, d=500, o=0, v=5, i=1, c=100, u(v)=5, s=0, totalling 666.

¹⁷ Cf. Jurieu, Philipot, Cressener and Keach in the late seventeenth century. See above, section 3.12.

cause, and these onlookers are the remnant who give glory to God.¹⁸ Bicheno is followed by Towers. Towers, however, recognizes the possible problems associated with Bicheno's uncritical acceptance of the (atheistic) French Revolutionary cause as God's own, and clarifies that even if not all those who brought about the French Revolution are from among the witnesses, they are all instruments of God, whether consciously or not.¹⁹

Bicheno's association of the French Revolution with Revelation 11 was picked up by others, who felt free to discard elements of his interpretation. For Garnham the 1260 days are 1260 years which run from 325-1585. From 325 onwards there were gradual stages of heightening of apostasy, until it reached a pinnacle. Similarly from 1585 onwards, when the Protestant Dutch were assisted by England to maintain their independence from Catholic Spain there have been corresponding instances of emancipation at 1260 years intervals to the heightenings of apostasy. The two witnesses are the principles of civil and religious freedom. The slaying of the witnesses has occurred in the repression of the French Revolution. At present (1794) there is only a military despotism in France. The witnesses' 3½ years lying dead are in progress, although we cannot be quite sure of their beginning or end. The resurrection of the witnesses will be when France is governed by the principles of liberty, equality and fraternity which it espouses, but which are not currently put into practice.²⁰ Spalding thought the earthquake of 11:13 to be the French Revolution.²¹ Baggs understands the witnesses to be the Old and New Testaments and those who preach them. The earthquake is the French Revolution. The witnesses are persecuted throughout their 1260 years, which are perhaps those leading up to the French

¹⁸ J. Bicheno, *The Signs of the Times* (London 1793) 10-12, 20, 23-39.

¹⁹ J. Towers, *Illustrations of Prophecy* (London 1796) 1:79-154.

²⁰ R.E. Garnham, *Outline of a Commentary on Revelations XI.1-14* (London 1794). The pamphlet is anonymous, but Garrett, *Respectable Folly*, 140, identifies the author as Robert Edward Garnham.

²¹ J. Spalding, *Sentiments, Concerning the Coming and Kingdom of Christ* (Salem 1796) 51-53.

Revolution, although Baggs is not specific about this.²² For Pirie the two witnesses are the Old and New Testaments, and their 1260 years are those leading up to the French Revolution. The Scriptures have been slain by the atheistic French Republic, although Pirie does not give a precise date for this event. Their resurrection will begin 3½ years after their slaughter, and may take some time.²³ Hindsight was able to give more precision to interpretations along the lines of Pirie. The 1260 years could be seen as from 533-1792, and the death of the witnesses, the Scriptures, as the declaration of Atheism in France in 1792. The resurrection of the witnesses was then the toleration granted to religion in France in 1796. Such an interpretation is found in Frere,²⁴ Irving,²⁵ Hooper,²⁶ Shand,²⁷ Tudor (although not explicitly mentioning the resurrection of the witnesses)²⁸ and Evill.²⁹ Irving, Shand and Evill both expand on the resurrection of the witnesses, mentioning the translation of the Scriptures into various languages in the early nineteenth century, and praising the part played by British Bible and Missionary Societies in this, especially the British and Foreign Bible Society. Burn does the same, but interprets the death of the Scriptures as their enshackling by the Roman Church.³⁰ Galloway and Gurney have a very similar interpretation to Frere etc., but Galloway understands the two witnesses as the sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist, symbolizing the Church, and Gurney

²² J. Baggs, *A Scriptural View of the Millennium* (Bath 1797) 23-28.

²³ A. Pirie, *The French Revolution Exhibited* (Perth 1795) 16-123.

²⁴ J. Frere, *A Combined View of the Prophecies of Daniel, Esdras and St. John* (London 1815) 25, 69, 84-87.

²⁵ E. Irving, *Babylon and Infidelity Foredoomed by God* (Glasgow 1826) 1:113-156.

²⁶ J. Hooper, *The Present Crisis* (London 1830) 19-20.

²⁷ A. Shand, *An Explanation of the Interesting Prophecy Respecting the Two Apocalyptic Witnesses, as fulfilled by the Institution and Progress of the British and Foreign Bible Society* (London 1817)

²⁸ J. Tudor, "On the Structure of the Apocalypse" in, *Papers Read Before the Society for the Investigation of Prophecy* (London 1828) 1-22.

²⁹ T. Evill, *The Apocalypse of Jesus Christ* (London 1829) 47-52.

³⁰ A. Burn, *Resurrection of the Two Witnesses, Verified in the Formation and Great Success of the British and Foreign Bible Society* (London 1812).

believes them to be the Church.³¹ Croly shares the exegesis of Irving, Shand and Evill, but identifies the earthquake not as the French Revolution, but as the fall of the French Empire in 1815.³² Armstrong sees the two witnesses as the Word and Ordinances of the Lord, as lived out in the true Church. These were killed with the declaration of Atheism in France in 1792, and their resurrection came in 1796. The 1260 years, however, seem to run from 566-1826.³³ Drummond and C. Maitland both mention the 1260 years as running from 533-1792, and the earthquake as the French Revolution, but do not enlarge further.³⁴ William Miller believes that the 1260 years run from 538-1798,³⁵ and subsequent Seventh-day Adventists, offshoots of the Millerite movement,³⁶ have interpreted the two witnesses as the Scriptures, retaining Miller's dates.³⁷ Folbigg shared Miller's penchant for date setting, and using a start date of 532 he arrived at 1792 for the end of the 1260 years and 1866/7 for the end of Daniel's 1335 years and the beginning of the millennium.³⁸ With the failure of his hopes, Folbigg revised his exegesis of the passage and considered the 1260 years of the witnesses, the true Church, to run from 312-1572. Their death was at the St. Bartholomew's Day's Massacre in 1572,³⁹ and their resurrection was the lifting of

³¹ W. Galloway, *The Gate of Prophecy* (London 1846) 2:142-234; J. Gurney, *The Death and Resurrection of the Two Witnesses* (London 1849).

³² G. Croly, *The Apocalypse of St. John* (London 1827) 158-184.

³³ A. Armstrong, *A Syllabus of Lectures on the Visions of the Revelation* (Morris-town, NJ 1815)

³⁴ H. Drummond, *Dialogues on Prophecy* (London 1827-1829) 1:311; C. Maitland, *A Brief and Connected View of Prophecy* (London 1814) 21 (not the same person as Charles Maitland).

³⁵ W. Miller, *Evidence from Scripture and History of the Second Coming of Christ, About the Year 1843* (Sandy Hill 1842 – original edition 1833) 100-101. Miller thought the 1290 and 1335 days (=years) of Daniel began in 508, hence the 1290 and 1260 years both terminate in 1798, and the 1335 in 1843, the year which Miller originally identified as that of the return of Christ.

³⁶ See J.M. Butler, "The Making of a New Order: Millerism and the Origins of Seventh-day Adventism" in, ed. R.L. Numbers and J.M. Butler, *The Disappointed: Millerism and Millenarianism in the Nineteenth Century* (Bloomington 1987) 189-208.

³⁷ U. Smith, *Daniel and the Revelation* (Watford 1921 – original edition 1865) 475-481. The 1921 edition combines *Thoughts Critical and Practical on the Book of Revelation* (1865) and *Thoughts Critical and Practical on the Book of Daniel* (1873). E.G. White, *The Great Controversy between Christ and Satan* (Mountain View 1911) 267.

³⁸ H. Folbigg, 1866, *The Great Year Predicted by Daniel and St. John* (London 1866) 6-7.

³⁹ First suggested by Brocardo in 1580, see above, section 3.4.

proscriptions against Huguenots in France 3½ years later.⁴⁰ Cuninghame dates the 1260 years of the witnesses, the true Church of Christ, as 533-1793. The death and resurrection of the witnesses were in the Schmalkaldic wars of the mid-sixteenth century, climaxing in their resurrection and ascension at the Peace of Augsburg, 1555. England is the tenth part of the city that falls, with Reformation there at approximately the same time as the resurrection of the witnesses. The final shock of the earthquake, and complete break from Rome, did not come until the “Glorious Revolution” of 1688.⁴¹ Cuninghame’s general outline is followed by Elliott, in his learned and lengthy commentary. For Elliott, the temple signifies true Christians, Protestants, and the outer court is Catholics. The reed symbolizes the support of civil authority given to Luther and other reformers at the time of the Reformation, when the true Church was measured by the rule of justification by faith and separated from the false Roman Church. The witnesses are the Paulicians in the East⁴² and the Waldenses in the West, both groups seen as proto-Protestants. The witnesses were killed by the beast of the papacy at the beginning of the sixteenth century, and lay dead for 3½ years from 1514-1517. Elliott follows Cuninghame for the remainder of the passage.⁴³ Allan, a Unitarian, presents a distinctive view of the passage. The

⁴⁰ H. Folbigg, *The Great Epoch Predicted by the Prophets* (London 1869) 43.

⁴¹ W. Cuninghame, *A Dissertation on the Seals and Trumpets of the Apocalypse, and the Prophetical Period of Twelve Hundred and Sixty Years* (London 1813) 113-145.

⁴² Cuninghame had identified this group as being among the witnesses, quoting Gibbon for his information on them, and Elliott likewise quotes Gibbon. Gibbon would perhaps have been surprised to have been used in this way, as although he does link the Paulicians with the Reformers, he does not imply that they held the same beliefs as Protestants. Gibbon (correctly, cf. *ODCC*, 1243) describes the Paulicians as dualists who reject the Old Testament (for the same reasons as Gnostics, i.e. that it is the work of the creator Demiurge not of the true God) and do not believe in the humanity of Christ. Gibbon traces a line linking the Paulicians with the Albigenses, but he likewise reckons this group as dualists. Gibbon thinks that their anti-Romanism and concentration on Paul lived on in Wycliffe, Huss and the Reformers, purged of what he terms “Gnostic” elements. Gibbon scoffs at the Reformers’ doctrines of original sin, redemption, faith, grace and predestination. For Gibbon, what was good about the Reformation was that (contrary to the wishes of the Reformers, who thought people should believe as they did) it encouraged private judgement, ultimately leading to the possibility of the rejection of traditional Christian doctrines. E. Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (London 1776-1788) 5:519-540.

⁴³ E.B. Elliott, *Horae Apocalypticae* (London 1844) 2:512-758.

temple and holy city are primitive Christianity, by which Allan means Unitarianism, and the outer court is Trinitarians. The two witnesses are not witnesses for the truth, but are the Catholic Church from 529 until the Reformation, and the Protestant Church from the Reformation until 1789. The death of the witnesses occurred at the French Revolution of 1789. The $3\frac{1}{2}$ days lying dead of the witnesses are $3\frac{1}{2}$ weeks = $24\frac{1}{2}$ days = $24\frac{1}{2}$ years, from 1789-1814, and Allan dates the full restoration of Catholicism in France to 1814. The earthquake of v.13 is the political convulsions of the Congress of Vienna in 1815.⁴⁴ Pae understands the two witnesses as civil and religious democracy, which were slain by Louis XIV at the revocation of the edict of Nantes in 1685, and whose resurrection took place in 1789.⁴⁵ Brown thinks that the two witnesses are natural and revealed religion. Their death is their unusually low state in early nineteenth century France, where a sort of political religion has been set up. The resurrection of the witnesses is still to come in 1810, and it will be a revival of natural and revealed religion.⁴⁶ John Thomas, the founder of Christadelphianism,⁴⁷ regards the two witnesses as proto-Christadelphians, and the beast as the papacy. The 1260 years of the witnesses in sackcloth are from 316-1576. There followed war for 113 years, until the death of the witnesses came with the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685. Thomas then follows Bicheno in interpreting the $3\frac{1}{2}$ days lying dead of the witnesses as 105 years from 1685-1790. The earthquake is the French Revolution, and the ascension of the witnesses seems to be related to the execution in 1789 of those in France who opposed civil and religious liberty.⁴⁸

⁴⁴ G. Allan, *A Key to the Apocalypse* (Paisley 1818) 104-116.

⁴⁵ D. Pae, *The Coming Struggle Among the Nations of the Earth* (London 1853) 11.

⁴⁶ J. Brown, *An Attempt Towards a New Historical and Political Explanation of the Book of Revelation* (London 1810) 68-97.

⁴⁷ On Christadelphianism see ODCC, 333.

⁴⁸ J. Thomas, *Eureka: An Exposition of the Apocalypse* (New York 1866) 2:586-718.

4.3 606 the starting point

606 was thought by many to mark the beginning of the 1260 years, a start date first suggested by Chytraeus in 1564.⁴⁹ It enjoyed relatively little popularity in the eighteenth century, but much in the nineteenth, in the years preceding 1866. Priestley thought that the 1260 years began in 606. The two witnesses are the sufficient number of witnesses to the truth throughout this time. The beast is the papacy, and the death of the witnesses signifies all those witnesses put to death by the papacy since 606. Priestley quotes Bicheno with some degree of approval on the lying dead of the witnesses being the 105 years between 1685 and 1790. 1790 marked the termination of the suffering of the witnesses. The earthquake of v.13 is the French Revolution, and France the tenth part of the city that falls.⁵⁰ J. Galloway understands the 1260 days as 1243 years from 606-1849, with the two witnesses as the Scriptures. Their death and resurrection occurred at the French Revolution, and the earthquake is to be a further revolution in France in which the current government (of 1802) will be destroyed.⁵¹ For Vitringa the temple is the true Church and the outer court corrupted Christians. The two witnesses are the sufficient number of God's witnesses to the truth during the period 606-1866, although Vitringa is never absolutely definite concerning dates. Their death will be a political death at the hands of the papal beast at the end of the 1260 years, and their resurrection and ascension a restoration of the Church after 3½ years.⁵² Exegesis similar to Vitringa is found in Smith,⁵³ Gauntlett,⁵⁴

⁴⁹ See above, section 3.4.

⁵⁰ J. Priestley, *The Present State of Europe compared with Antient Prophecies* (London 1794) 25-26; J. Priestley, *Notes on all the Books of Scripture* (1803-1804) 4:605-609, 616-617.

⁵¹ J. Galloway, *Brief Commentaries upon such parts of the revelation and other prophecies as immediately refer to the present times* (London 1802) 42-114.

⁵² C. Vitringa, *Avakpıstıς Apocalypsios Joannis Apostoli* (Frankfurt 1705) 590-672.

⁵³ E. Smith, *Dissertation on the Prophecies* (Charlestown, MA 1811) 101, 172-182; E. Smith, *Key to the Revelation* (New York 1833) 153-174.

⁵⁴ H. Gauntlett, *An Exposition of the Book of Revelation* (London 1821) xlvii, 139-165.

Keyworth,⁵⁵ Ashe,⁵⁶ Gibson,⁵⁷ and Read, who believes the start of the 1260 years may have been any time between 606 and 756.⁵⁸ Philo Britannicus (pseud.) is very close to these authors, but sees the two witnesses as the Scriptures which illuminate the Church, and understands the 1260 days as either 1239 or 1242 years.⁵⁹ Hislop is similar to Vitranga, but differs in his identification of the beast as communist forces which will be in league with the papacy.⁶⁰ Whitaker identifies the holy city as Jerusalem, and the Gentiles who trample it as Muslims. The measuring of the temple is the keeping open of at least the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem for pilgrimages ever since the Persian conquest of Jerusalem in 614 AD. The two witnesses are Jewish and Gentile Christians, i.e. the whole Church, and their 1260 years run from 606-1866, when they will face a final attack from the papal beast. Whitaker argues that 614, the beginning of the 42 months (=1260 years), is close to 606, and has 1866 as his date for the end of the 1260 years.⁶¹ For Holmes the two witnesses are the Church, and their 1260 years from 606-1866. The beast is the papacy, and the death, resurrection and ascension of the witnesses occurred 1547-1555, culminating in the Peace of Augsburg in 1555.⁶² Faber has the same exegesis, but the beast is the line of "Gothic" Holy Roman Emperors, beginning with

⁵⁵ T. Keyworth, *A Practical Exposition of the Revelation of Saint John...extracted from the Daily Expositor* (London 1828) 33-35.

⁵⁶ I. Ashe, *The Book of Revelation with Compendious notes* (Dublin 1835) 101-110.

⁵⁷ W. Gibson, *The Fall of Antichrist, and Especially the Prospects of the British Empire in Connexion with the Death, Resurrection and Exaltation of "The Two Witnesses" in Rev. XI* (Monaghan 1847)

⁵⁸ H. Read, *The Coming Crisis of the World* (Columbus 1861) 155-169.

⁵⁹ Philo Britannicus (pseud.), *An Essay on the Prophecies of Daniel and the Revelation of St. John* (London 1813) 18-19, 39-50.

⁶⁰ A. Hislop, *The Red Republic: or, Scarlet-Coloured Beast of the Apocalypse* (Edinburgh 1849) 12-230.

⁶¹ E. Whitaker, *A General and Connected View of the Prophecies Relating to the Times of the Gentiles* (Egham 1795) 171-186, 272-277; E. Whitaker, *A Commentary on the Revelation of St. John* (London 1802) 176-193.

⁶² J. Holmes, *The Revelation of St. John the Divine Elucidated* (London 1815) 1:324-378; J. Holmes, *The Fulfilment of the Revelation of St. John Displayed* (London 1819) 199-233.

Charlemagne, whose representative at the time of the Reformation was Charles V.⁶³ Park interprets the two witnesses as the Scriptures. Their death and resurrection were either at the time of the Reformation, or will be close to the end of the 1260 years in 1866.⁶⁴ Allen describes the witnesses as true Christians persecuted by the papacy 606-1866, but does not interpret all the passage.⁶⁵ MacDonald understands the witnesses as all faithful Christians, and their 1260 years begin sometime between 584 and 606 and will end between 1844 and 1866. The beast is the papacy, although the present day beast is in fact “Puseyism” (i.e. Tractarianism), a system skilfully adapting popery. The death of the witnesses is a time when preaching will cease, and the great city in which the witnesses are to be slain is Britain. Upon the resurrection of the witnesses preaching will be restored, and the papacy destroyed.⁶⁶ For a few in the twentieth century the 1260 years run from 606/610-1870, with 1870 marking the loss of the papacy’s temporal dominions. This is put forward by Palmer, who thinks the witnesses are the Scriptures, attacked by the beast of Darwinism and biblical higher-criticism, but which will rise and be acknowledged as inerrant after 3½ days, symbolizing a short period.⁶⁷ Brogan and Tout share Palmer’s dates, and understand the witnesses to be the Church. Their death and resurrection occurred at the time of the Reformation.⁶⁸

⁶³ G. Faber, *A Dissertation on the Prophecies* (London 1807 – original edition 1806) 1:43-47; 2:50-112.

⁶⁴ J. Park, *A New Exposition of the Apocalypse* (London 1826 – original edition 1823) 31-34.

⁶⁵ D. Allen, *The Fulfilment of Scripture in the Present European War* (Melbourne 1859) 10, 11, 25.

⁶⁶ R. MacDonald, *A Dark Night at Hand: or a Plain and Practical Exposition of the Two Witnesses in the Apocalypse* (Dundee 1843)

⁶⁷ J. Palmer, *The Two Witnesses, or, The Bible True* (London 1912) 1- 18.

⁶⁸ J. Brogan, *20th Century Light on the End of the Age* (Southampton 1987) 39-40, 113, 152; C. Tout, *The Apocalypse and Last Days Prophecies* (Ilfracombe 1992) 58-64.

4.4 The Middle East as the arena of the passage⁶⁹

Floyer interprets the temple and holy city as indicative of the state of the Eastern Churches. They are trampled down for 1260 years by the Mohammedans from 638, the fall of Jerusalem to Muslims, until 1898. The two witnesses are the patriarchates of Constantinople and Cairo (sic), representative of the whole of the Eastern Church. Their 1260 years are 638-1898. The beast is Islam, and 11:7 refers to a last great war of Mohammedans against Christians, when there will be persecution of Christians for 3½ days in Jerusalem. Christians will recover, and the tenth part of the city that falls will be Constantinople, the seat of the Islamic Empire. Christ's millennial kingdom will soon follow.⁷⁰ J.A. Brown likewise sees events in the Middle East as the key to the passage. The 1260 years are both 1260 solar years from 584-1844, and more importantly in relation to Revelation 11, 1260 "lunar" years (=1222 years⁷¹) from 622-1844. The altar is the Jews, the temple the nations professing Christianity in the Middle East, and the Gentiles are Muslims. The treading underfoot of the holy city relates to the state of Jerusalem and Judea since its conquest by the Persians in 622. The witnesses are Jews and Christians, and the scene of the vision is confined to the Middle East. The death of the witnesses seems to be their subjection under Muslims. The resurrection of the witnesses will come in 1844 with the rise of the Jewish kingdom and the conversion of the Jews. The fall of the tenth part of the city will be the fall of Palestine and some surrounding areas which form a tenth of Asiatic Turkey.⁷² Gräber interprets the 42 months trampling of the holy city as the 1260 year domination of Jerusalem by Muslims from 637⁷³ until 1897. The two witnesses are

⁶⁹ The exegesis of Whitaker should also be noted, see above, section 4.3.

⁷⁰ J. Floyer, *An Exposition of the Revelations* (London 1719) 35-38.

⁷¹ I am unsure how Brown has arrived at this figure.

⁷² J.A. Brown, *The Even-Tide* (London 1823) 1:45-60; J.A. Brown, *The Jew, the Master-Key of the Apocalypse* (London 1827) 85-88.

⁷³ Actually 638.

the true Church during this time, and the beast the papacy. The death of the witnesses will be the low state of the Church at the end of the 1260 years, followed by its revival, the resurrection of the witnesses.⁷⁴ Whitley interprets the two witnesses as all true Christians, and is quite ecumenical in asserting that the errors of Catholics and Orthodox are not grievous. The witnesses are no longer in sackcloth in Western, Protestant countries. They are still in sackcloth in the East, where Islam is in the ascendancy, and the Orthodox clergy have a particular role as the witnesses. The 1260 years seem to be from about the early seventh century, but Whitley does not give precise dates.⁷⁵

⁷⁴ H. Gräber, *Versuch einer historischen Erklärung der Offenbarung des Johannes* (Heidelberg 1857) 172-192.

⁷⁵ J. Whitley, *The Scheme and Completion of Prophecy* (London 1830) 394-395.

4.5 Others

Isaac Newton does not specifically say that the 1260 days are 1260 years, but he does show some approval of Mede, and believes that recent expositors have been granted new insights into the Apocalypse as the end approaches. Newton interprets the two witnesses as those Churches that have maintained the primitive faith since the apostasy of the Church when it split into Catholic and Orthodox branches, which he does not date precisely.⁷⁶

Jonathan Edwards was reluctant to set dates, but worked within the general framework of those who understood the 1260 days as 1260 years. The two witnesses are proto-Protestants, especially the Waldenses and Albigenses. The slaying of the witnesses is past, their lowest ebb having occurred just prior to the Reformation when they were slain by the papal Antichrist, and the period since has been marked by their resurrection and ascension. This is a particularly important point for Edwards, who explicitly states that his exegesis means that there is no future time at which things will get worse for Protestants. Edwards was worried that if the slaying of the witnesses, interpreted as the Church's nadir, were to lie in the future, this might undermine people's zeal for prayer for the beginning of Christ's kingdom. Edwards himself ardently hoped that the Great Awakening of the 1740s in America was a portent of the imminent arrival of the kingdom, and was certain that things could only get better, a postmillennial expectation.⁷⁷ Not all of those who were in sympathy with Edwards' hopes for the imminent kingdom agreed with his assessment that a worse state of the Church to come in the future would dampen ardour for prayer. In the

⁷⁶ I. Newton, ed. W. Whitla, *Sir Isaac Newton's Daniel and the Apocalypse* (London 1922 – original (posthumous) edition 1733) 306-307, 319-321, 327-328, 346.

⁷⁷ J. Edwards, *Notes on the Apocalypse* (1743), in, ed. S.J. Stein, *Jonathan Edwards. Apocalyptic Writings* (New Haven/London 1977) 97-305, esp. 104-105; J. Edwards, *An Humble Attempt* (1747), in, ed. S.J. Stein, *Jonathan Edwards. Apocalyptic Writings* (New Haven/London 1977) 307-436, esp. 378-394. See also, Petersen, *Preaching in the Last Days*, 230-232.

preface to *An Humble Attempt*, Jospeh Sewall, Thomas Prince (co-ministers at Old South Church in Boston, MA), John Webb (pastor at New North Church, Boston, MA), Thomas Foxcroft (pastor at First Church, Boston, MA) and Joshua Gee (pastor at Old North Church, Boston, MA) politely disagree with Edwards.

...though it is the apprehension of many learned men, that there is to be a very general slaughter of the witnesses of Christ about the time of their finishing their testimony to the pure worship and truths of the gospel, about 3 or 4 years before the seventh angel sounds his trumpet for the ruin of Antichrist [Rev 11:3-15]; yet we cannot see that this is any just objection against our joint and earnest prayer for the glorious age succeeding, or for the hastening of it.⁷⁸

The prospect of persecution before the arrival of the kingdom should not, in their judgement, discourage prayer for the arrival of that kingdom. Edwards, a staunch Calvinist and believer in human depravity, perhaps felt he knew human nature better. Edwards' exegesis, and his opposition to any thoughts that the slaying of the witnesses might still be future is followed by Langdon.⁷⁹

Bachmair understands the 1260 days/42 months as 350 years, following Tyconius and Leo Judah. The holy city is the visible Christian Church, and the temple and altar her places of worship. The Gentiles who trample the holy city are the Saracens and Turks. The 42 months are 350 years which run from the conquest of Constantinople in 1453 until 1803, when the power of the Turks will dwindle away, and Christians in the East recover their former vigour. The two witnesses are Waldo, Huss and others designated as opponents of the papacy, the beast. The 1260 days of the witnesses are 350 years from 1150-1500, although the passage has a particular literal application to Huss and Jerome of Prague at the Council of Constance, 1414-1418. In 1500 the stream of witnesses had died, but then in 1517 with Luther and the other reformers the witnesses were resurrected. The earthquake of v.13 refers to the

⁷⁸ J. Edwards, *An Humble Attempt* (1747), in, ed. S.J. Stein, *Jonathan Edwards. Apocalyptic Writings* (New Haven/London 1977), 310.

⁷⁹ S. Langdon, *Observations on the Revelation of Jesus Christ to Saint John* (Worcester, MA 1791) 140-157.

commotions from 1517-1648, with 1648 marking the end of the thirty years war. The tenth part of the city that falls are all those that fall away from Rome, and the 7000 who perish represent the many who were killed in various wars between 1517 and 1648.⁸⁰

For Moody, the two witnesses are the ministers of all ages, prophesying in sackcloth for 1260 years from 406 AD, and the beast is the papacy. The death of the witnesses has a particular application. The witnesses are killed in the great city where their Lord was crucified (v.8), but as Christ was crucified outside the city (Heb 13:12), so the witnesses' death must occur outside papal jurisdiction. The beast of 11:7 is associated with Charles Wesley. The killing of the witnesses is equated with Charles Wesley's disapproval of the Calvinism of Whitefield in the period of about 1738-1741, and Whitefield's split with Charles and John Wesley.⁸¹

Dick believes the 1260 days of the witnesses, true witnesses of Christ, occurred prior to the time the papacy took over the Church, which he does not date specifically, but it is around 476 or 531 AD. The 3½ days lying dead of the witnesses are 1260 years, during which the papacy persecutes them. Their resurrection is still to come, when some will be inspired to shake off the yoke of the papacy, leading to its destruction.⁸²

W. Holmes, Chancellor of Cashel,⁸³ understands the two witnesses as representative of the Christian ministry. The beast is the parts of Western Europe that are in thrall to the papacy. The death of the witnesses is a political death, and it is currently (1833) in Ireland, the street of the great city, where the witnesses lie slain.

⁸⁰ J. Bachmair, *The Revelation of St. John Historically Explained* (London 1778) 161-205.

⁸¹ R. Moody, *Observations on Certain Prophecies in the Book of Daniel and the Revelation of St. John* (n.p. 1787) 28-29.

⁸² D. Dick, *An Explanation of the Revelation* (Edinburgh 1799) 97-112.

⁸³ In Tipperary.

The war on the witnesses had been begun by Bishop Doyle⁸⁴ in 1831, in a letter demanding that Catholics should not be compelled to pay tithes to support Protestant clergy. Holmes disagrees vehemently with Doyle on this issue, and predicts that although the Protestant clergy in Ireland are currently lying dead, they will rise by divine agency in 1836.⁸⁵

Beith thinks that the 1260 years of the witnesses run from 583-1843. The two witnesses prior to the Reformation are the Culdees,⁸⁶ by which Beith means a group present in Iona and Scotland, whom he alleges were proto-Protestants. After the Reformation, John Knox and other prominent members of the Church of Scotland are the witnesses. The death of the witnesses occurred in 1843, the year of the “Great Disruption.” Their death was the decision by civil courts, including the house of Lords, that in Scotland ministers imposed upon their congregations by patrons had to be accepted by the congregation. This led to the “Great Disruption” in which the Free Presbyterian Church of Scotland broke away from the main body of the Church of Scotland, as it refused to accept ministers imposed by patrons. Many of the ministers of the newly formed Free Church were forced out of their lodgings and not allowed back in their former Church buildings. The resurrection of the witnesses will not be their restoration by the state authorities, but rather the rising up of the Free Church of Scotland. Their ascension will be to a position of distinction and influence upon civil government.⁸⁷

Noyes⁸⁸ believes that the two witnesses are Elijah and Moses. The 1260 days are 1260 years from 70-1330. The two are fulfilling a role in the spiritual realm. Their

⁸⁴ On Bishop Doyle see Foster, *Modern Ireland*, 297.

⁸⁵ W. Holmes, *The Time of the End* (London 1833) 137-155.

⁸⁶ On the Culdees, see ODCC, 438.

⁸⁷ A. Beith, *The “Two Witnesses” of the Apocalypse Traced in History* (Edinburgh 1846); A. Beith, *Letters to the Author of “The Seventh Vial”* (Edinburgh 1849).

⁸⁸ Founder of the Oneida Community, on which see ODCC, 1184.

death and resurrection occurred in 1330, but we do not have enough knowledge of the spiritual realm to know what this relates to.⁸⁹

Baldwin, who thought that America was the Israel of Old Testament prophecies,⁹⁰ provides a view of the passage indebted to the American constitution. The holy city is the Church trodden down by the union of Church and state since Nicaea in 325. The 42 months (and the 1260 days) are either 1243 years and 277 days (1260 years of 360 days = approx 1243 years of 365 days) or 1451 years and 17 days. Baldwin does not say how he came to this second figure, and I have been unable to discern the logic behind it. Perhaps he is simply counting backwards, as it is 1451 years from Nicaea in 325 until 1776, and the American declaration of independence. The 1243 years and 277 days run from the completion of Church and state union under Justinian in 532, to 1776. The two witnesses are the two dual aspects of Christianity, the Church and the state. They have been in sackcloth for the period in which they have not been separated as they should be. The two have been separated in America since 1776, and Baldwin predicts that in Europe they will be separated in 1865 or 1878, although it is not clear how he arrives at these dates. The beast is the Russian Empire. The death of the witnesses is perhaps the civil and religious liberty that has been crushed in Hungary and southern Europe, with despotism prevalent since 1849. The street where the Hungarian witnesses lie is Austria, and the resurrection of the witnesses will perhaps shortly see their resurgence, or perhaps that of another people who will be oppressed by Russia in the near future. The tenth part of the city that will fall is Turkey. People will be given proper civil rights, and will then probably forsake Islam.⁹¹

⁸⁹ J. Noyes, *The Berean: A Manual for the Help of those who seek the faith of the primitive Church* (Putney 1847) 344.

⁹⁰ On Baldwin see Boyer, *When Time Shall Be No More*, 84.

⁹¹ S. Baldwin, *Armageddon: or the Overthrow of Romanism and Monarchy* (Cincinnati 1854) 293-305.

The anonymous author of *England's Fall is Babylon's Triumph* believes that the two witnesses are a succession of witnesses throughout the 1260 years that began sometime early in the seventh century and will terminate in the nineteenth. The death of the witnesses will occur at the end of the 1260 years. Protestantism will reach its lowest state, before its revival at the resurrection and ascension of the witnesses. The author has read the signs of the times in the Catholic Relief Act of 1829.⁹²

So long as the legislature of England was Protestant, the outer court was closed to her enemies [Papists], and they could not get at the witnesses in the inner court to slay them. The fatal act of 1829 threw open the outer court and broke down all her hedges...It is now only a question of time as regards England, and with her fall Protestantism will be universally eclipsed.⁹³ If the servants of Antichrist are not debarred by law from any positions of authority, it can only mean the approach of the eschatological denouement, and the 3½ year papal tyranny over the world. It is not hard to see how the identification of the papacy with the Antichrist, almost the received opinion from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries, has contributed to anti-Catholic sentiment in England.⁹⁴

Greenwell seems to be probably working with an idea of the 1260 days as 1260 years, although he does not make it explicit. The death of the witnesses is imminent in 1875, and will be the extinction of vital Christianity in Britain through the disestablishment and disendowment of the state Church.⁹⁵

Colonel Gawler, the keeper of the Crown Jewels, gives a patriotic interpretation in keeping with his job. The two witnesses are Israel and Judah. The 1260 years run from 993 BC, when Gawler dates the dedication of Solomon's temple, until 260-270 AD, and the persecution of Diocletian. Seemingly the early Church takes over the role of the witnesses from Israel and Judah. The 3½ days lying dead of

⁹² Anon., *England's Fall is Babylon's Triumph. An Original Interpretation of the Apocalypse with a special reference to the Greek Church* (Hull 1855) 42-65.

⁹³ Anon., *England's Fall is Babylon's Triumph*, 50.

⁹⁴ The opinion is still alive in the twenty-first century, e.g. <http://www.ianpaisley.org> on 26/5/2004.

⁹⁵ T. Greenwell, *Pamphlet on the Apocalypse. The Death, Resurrection and Ascension of the Witnesses Prophesying in Sackcloth a Future Event. Being an Examination of Mr. Elliott's Theory* (London 1875)

the witnesses are 1260 years from the Diocletian persecution until 1533. The resurrection of the witnesses occurs with Reformation, especially in England, which is the tenth part of the city that falls. England is a nation specially chosen by God, and since 1533 has taken over the role of the two witnesses, now resurrected.⁹⁶

Murfin and Murfin, who fix the date for Christ's return in 1986, argue that the two witnesses are the Waldenses on the continent, and Wycliffe and followers in Britain. Their 1260 days of prophecy were from the 14th-16th centuries. The beast is the papacy. The death of the witnesses was the killing of Tyndale in 1536, and their resurrection 3½ years later was the (supposed) command of Henry VIII in 1540 that all churches should have a copy of Tyndale's Bible.⁹⁷ The fall of the tenth part of the city was England's complete break with Rome under Elizabeth.⁹⁸

For several authors I shall state only the dates they assign to the 1260 years, and whom they understand the witnesses to be. The authors are all Protestants, and the beast is invariably interpreted by them as the papacy, the Roman Church, or similar. Garrett: true preachers, 1241 years 312-1553.⁹⁹ Whiston: Albigenes and Waldenses, 456-1716.¹⁰⁰ Cromarty: Scriptures, 300-1560.¹⁰¹ Daubuz: Protestants and proto-Protestants, 455-1715.¹⁰² Robertson: the Church, 56/126-1316/1386 (the beast is both the papacy and Islam).¹⁰³ Pyle: true Christians, 1260 years leading up to the

⁹⁶ J. Gawler, *The Two Olive Trees* (London 1880) 1-12.

⁹⁷ Tyndale did not translate the whole Bible. In 1538 Thomas Cromwell ordered that all parish churches should have a copy of the Bible, but the Bible in question is the "Great Bible" of Coverdale, issued in 1539 and revised in 1540. See *ODCC*, 702.

⁹⁸ F. Murfin and R. Murfin, *How did the Wise Men Know? A book written to show the year of Jesus' second coming as revealed in the prophecies of Daniel and The Revelation given through John* (Five Oaks, Jersey 1980) 225-243.

⁹⁹ W. Garrett, *An Exposition of Rev xj* (n.p. 1703). There is little directly on Rev 11:1-13 in either W. Garrett, *A Discourse Concerning Antichrist* (London 1680) or W. Garrett, *A Persuasive to the Study of the Revelation* (London 1699).

¹⁰⁰ W. Whiston, *An Essay on the Revelation of Saint John so far as concerns the Past and Present Times* (Cambridge 1706) 12, 50, 81-82, 108, 200-210.

¹⁰¹ G.M. Cromarty, *Synopsis Apocalyptica* (Edinburgh 1708) 45-48.

¹⁰² C. Daubuz, *A Perpetual Commentary on the Revelation of St. John* (London 1720) 489-544.

¹⁰³ J. Robertson, *Καίνα και παλαια. Things New and Old: or, an Exposition of the Book of the Revelation of John the Apostle* (Edinburgh 1730) 171-200.

Reformation.¹⁰⁴ St. Clair: true churches, 1260 years, whose finishing time is unknown, but presently (1755) lies in the future.¹⁰⁵ Taylor: God's true witnesses, 503/504/512-1762.¹⁰⁶ Gill: true ministers and churches, 1260 years, but no dates given – not yet ended in 1776.¹⁰⁷ Hallifax: true Christians, perhaps 372-1532.¹⁰⁸ Murray: God's sufficient number of true witnesses, 740-2000.¹⁰⁹ Lawrie: the small number of Christ's true witnesses, 300/600/756-1560/1860/2016.¹¹⁰ Gib: Protestants and proto-Protestants, 300/312-1555/1560.¹¹¹ M—D: Jews and Christians, 1260 years have not yet ended in 1787, but their start not specified.¹¹² Snodgrass: the true Church, 1260 years, the end of which currently (1792-1796) lies in the future.¹¹³ Winthrop: true believers, the 1260 years currently (1795) yet to end.¹¹⁴ Charleston: Scriptures, 319-1579.¹¹⁵ Evanson: the small number of God's witnesses to the truth, 1260 years currently (1802) not yet ended.¹¹⁶ Woodhouse: the small number of witnesses to the truth, uncertain when the 1260 years begin and end.¹¹⁷ Butt: Albigenses and Waldenses, 1242 years 455-1697.¹¹⁸ Browne: 1260 years yet to end in 1810, not

¹⁰⁴ T. Pyle, *The Scripture Preservative against Popery, being a Paraphrase with Notes on the Revelation of St. John* (London 1735) 78-85.

¹⁰⁵ J. St. Clair, *Observations on Certain Passages in Daniel and the Apocalypse of John* (London 1755) 115-121.

¹⁰⁶ L. Taylor, *An Essay on Some Important Passages of the Revelation of the Apostle John* (Edinburgh 1770 – original edition 1763) 111-145.

¹⁰⁷ J. Gill, *An Exposition of the Revelation of S. John the Divine, both doctrinal and practical* (London 1776) 116-129.

¹⁰⁸ S. Hallifax, *Twelve Sermons on the Prophecies* (London 1776) 299-302, 336.

¹⁰⁹ J. Murray, *Lectures Upon the Book of Revelation* (Newcastle 1778) 2:240-251.

¹¹⁰ J. Lawrie, *The Completion of Prophecy the Clearest Evidence of the Truth of Christianity* (Edinburgh 1781) 128-167.

¹¹¹ A. Gib, *A Memorial and Remonstrance* (Edinburgh 1784) 7-9, 15-16.

¹¹² J. M—D (i.e. anon), *The Revelation of St. John Considered as Alluding to Certain Services of the Jewish Temple* (London 1787) 126-149.

¹¹³ J. Snodgrass, *A Commentary, with notes, on part of the book of the Revelation of John* (Paisley 1799 – based on lectures given 1792-1796) 341-359.

¹¹⁴ J. Winthrop, *An Attempt to Translate the Prophetic Part of the Apocalypse of Saint John into Familiar Language* (Boston 1794) 36-38.

¹¹⁵ C. Charleston, *Thoughts on the Two Witnesses, Rev XIth. Who They Are* (Warminster 1798)

¹¹⁶ E. Evanson, *Reflections upon the State of Religion in Christendom* (Exeter 1802) 71-81.

¹¹⁷ J. Woodhouse, *The Apocalypse* (London 1805) 283-303.

¹¹⁸ J. Butt, *Notes on the Revelation of St. John* (Kidderminster 1803) 7-14; J. Butt, *The Divinity of the Apocalypse Demonstrated* (Worcester 1809) 55-61, 148-164, 178-196.

stated who the witnesses are.¹¹⁹ Ettrick: Jews and Christians, and also the Scriptures, 800-2060.¹²⁰ Thruston: the true Church, perhaps 292-1552.¹²¹ Culbertson: true Christians, beginning and end of the 1260 years unclear.¹²² Tripp: the Scriptures and those who preach them, 257-1517.¹²³ Bickersteth: all faithful Christians, 1260 years not yet ended in 1835.¹²⁴ Cole: true Christians, 1260 years beginning in the eighth century.¹²⁵ Hutcheson: true Church, 1242 years 800-2042.¹²⁶ Leifchild: faithful promoters of the truth, beginning and end of the 1260 years not stated.¹²⁷ W. Jones: Scriptures, beginning and end of the 1260 years not stated.¹²⁸ R. Cooper: Scriptures, 1260 years, perhaps beginning in the seventh century.¹²⁹ Robertson: those baptized and those martyred, 428/429-1688/1689.¹³⁰ Waugh: the Scriptures, 546-1806.¹³¹ Habershon: true Christians, both within and without state churches, 533/583-1793/1843.¹³² Birks: 1260 years, not said who the two witnesses are.¹³³ Lord: Paulicians and Waldenses, 1260 years beginning c. 600.¹³⁴ Cumming: Waldenses and Paulicians, 1260 years beginning in the sixth century.¹³⁵ Barnes: faithful witnesses to the truth, lying dead 1513-1517, not stated when the 1260 years begin and end.¹³⁶ J. Jones: the small number of true witnesses, beginning and end of the 1260 years not

¹¹⁹ H. Browne, *A Brief Arrangement of the Apocalypse* (London 1810) 6, 24.

¹²⁰ W. Ettrick, *The Second Exodus* (Sunderland 1814 – original edition 1811-1812) 180-224.

¹²¹ F. Thruston, *England Safe and Triumphant* (Coventry 1812) 1:128-228.

¹²² R. Culbertson, *Lectures, with Practical Observations and Reflections, on the Prophecies of John* (Edinburgh 1817) 1:405-457.

¹²³ J. Tripp, *A Discourse on the Character and Work, and the Death and Resurrection of the Two Witnesses* (Portland 1824)

¹²⁴ E. Bickersteth, *A Practical Guide to the Prophecies* (London 1835 – original edition 1825) 70, 117.

¹²⁵ J. Cole, *A Commentary on the Prophecies and the New Testament* (London 1826) 2:398-400.

¹²⁶ A. Hutcheson, *A Guide to the Study of the Book of Revelation* (London 1828) 89-98.

¹²⁷ J. Leifchild, *A Help to the Private and Domestic Reading of the Scriptures including...an Analysis of Mr. Mede's Scheme of the Apocalypse* (London 1829) 112-117.

¹²⁸ W. Jones, *Lectures on the Apocalypse* (London 1830) 364-378.

¹²⁹ R. Cooper, *Commentary on the Revelation of St. John* (London 1833) 108-132.

¹³⁰ D. Robertson, *Discourses Showing the Structure and Unity of the Apocalypse* (Glasgow 1833) 2:258-374.

¹³¹ J. Waugh, *Dissertations on the Prophecies of Sacred Scripture* (Edinburgh 1833) 40, 47, 88-91.

¹³² M. Habershon, *A Dissertation on the Prophetic Scriptures* (London 1834) 400-419.

¹³³ T. Birks, *First Elements of Sacred Prophecy* (London 1843) 378-381.

¹³⁴ D. Lord, *An Exposition of the Apocalypse* (New York 1847) 249-307.

¹³⁵ J. Cumming, *Apocalyptic Sketches, or Lectures on the Book of Revelation* (London 1848) 168-214.

¹³⁶ A. Barnes, *Notes, Explanatory and Practical, on the Book of Revelation* (London 1852) 352-388.

stated.¹³⁷ Graves: the true Church, beginning and end of the 1260 years not stated.¹³⁸
 Baylee: faithful witnesses of Christ, 636-1896.¹³⁹ Fulton: 1242½ years, leading up to
 1879, unclear who the witnesses are.¹⁴⁰ Gascoyne: the English and Swiss churches,
 654/672-1914/1932.¹⁴¹ D. Brown: true Christians, 312-1576.¹⁴²

¹³⁷ J. Jones, *The Apocalypse* (London 1852) 112-117.

¹³⁸ R. Graves, *An Analysis of the Revelations* (Dublin 1854) 92-106.

¹³⁹ J. Baylee, *The Times of the Gentiles* (London 1871) 91-98.

¹⁴⁰ A. Fulton, *Scriptural Prophecy Now Being Fulfilled* (London 1877) 10, 13, 15-16.

¹⁴¹ R. Gascoyne, *The Two Witnesses not yet Slain* (London 1879)

¹⁴² D. Brown, *The Apocalypse. Its Structure and Primary Predictions* (London 1891) 112-123.

4.6 Ecclesiological Interpretations

Ecclesiological interpretations understand the 1260 days as referring to the entirety of the time of the Church. They enjoy relatively little support in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but their popularity increases markedly in the twentieth.

Cooke understands the temple as the true faithful, with the outer court as merely nominal worshippers. The two witnesses are the Church, especially with preaching of the Scriptures in mind. The beast is the carnal Church throughout time. The death of the witnesses is illustrative of the general fact that true preachers of the gospel are persecuted, and their resurrection shows their approval from God, who makes their name live.¹⁴³ Exegesis similar to Cooke's, although often describing the beast as the world or Antichristian forces in general, appears in numerous authors, viz. Hengstenberg,¹⁴⁴ Williams,¹⁴⁵ Vaughan,¹⁴⁶ Milligan,¹⁴⁷ T. Scott,¹⁴⁸ Maycock,¹⁴⁹ Brütsch,¹⁵⁰ Considine,¹⁵¹ Amiot,¹⁵² Loenertz,¹⁵³ Bonsirven,¹⁵⁴ Cerfaux,¹⁵⁵ Morant,¹⁵⁶ Sproxton,¹⁵⁷ Prigent,¹⁵⁸ Bewes,¹⁵⁹ van Daalen,¹⁶⁰ Robinson,¹⁶¹ Hughes,¹⁶² Delebecque¹⁶³ and Thomas.¹⁶⁴

¹⁴³ W. Cooke, *The Revelations Translated and Explained Throughout* (Yarmouth 1789) 84-91.

¹⁴⁴ E. Hengstenberg, *The Revelation of St. John* (Edinburgh 1851) 1:394-429.

¹⁴⁵ I. Williams, *The Apocalypse, with Notes and Reflections* (London 1852) 182-207.

¹⁴⁶ C. Vaughan, *Lectures on the Revelation of St. John* (London/Cambridge 1863) 1:310-330.

¹⁴⁷ W. Milligan, *The Book of Revelation [The Expositor's Bible]* (London 1889) 168-189;

¹⁴⁸ T. Scott, *The Visions of the Apocalypse and their Lessons* (London 1893) 162-171.

¹⁴⁹ A. Maycock, *The Apocalypse* (London 1941) 76-80.

¹⁵⁰ C. Brütsch, *L'Apocalypse de Jésus-Christ* (Geneva 1950 – original edition 1940) 134-141.

¹⁵¹ J. Considine, "The Two Witnesses: Apoc. 11:3-13" *CBQ* 8 (1946) 377-392.

¹⁵² F. Amiot, *Gestes et Textes des Apôtres, Actes-Épîtres-Apocalypse* (Paris 1950) 527-528.

¹⁵³ R. Loenertz, *The Apocalypse of Saint John* (London 1947) 79-85.

¹⁵⁴ J. Bonsirven, *L'Apocalypse de Saint Jean* (Paris 1951) 192-200.

¹⁵⁵ L. Cerfaux, "L'Eglise dans l'Apocalypse" *Recherches Bibliques* 7 (1965) 111-124.

¹⁵⁶ P. Morant, *Das Kommen des Herrn. Eine Erklärung der Offenbarung des Johannes* (Zurich 1969) 192-217.

¹⁵⁷ V. Sproxton, *Good News in Revelation* (Glasgow 1977) 71-73.

Allo varies slightly from the above authors in his interpretation of vv. 1-2. The temple is the Church, protected in its inner spiritual reality, and the outer court is interpreted as the Church in the world, vulnerable to persecution.¹⁶⁵ Similar exegesis is found in Torrance,¹⁶⁶ Niles,¹⁶⁷ Morris,¹⁶⁸ and Schick. Schick also has an eschatological exegesis, in which the two witnesses are two individuals like Elijah and Moses.¹⁶⁹ Bauckham's exegesis follows the same lines, but lays special emphasis on v.13, and on the genuine repentance of the remnant who give glory to God. According to Bauckham, vv.3-13 are a parable of how the Church, through its suffering witness and martyrdom will bring the nations to repentance.¹⁷⁰ Bauckham is not innovating in this view of v.13; that it signifies genuine repentance had been argued by many who saw the passage as predictive of the conversion of the Jews,¹⁷¹ and at length by Giblin. For Giblin the two witnesses symbolize Christian prophetic witness, and v. 13 relates the result of this. Giblin argues that John is here playing on remnant imagery from 2 Kings 19, where only 7000 who have not bowed the knee to Baal are left alive. In Rev 11:13 the 7000 are those killed, while the majority, nine-tenths, give glory to God, giving a positive hope of success for the suffering testimony of the Church.¹⁷² Exegesis close to that of Bauckham is found in Harrington,¹⁷³

¹⁵⁸ P. Prigent, *L'Apocalypse de Saint Jean* (Geneva 2000 – original edition 1981) 261-276.

¹⁵⁹ R. Bewes, *The Church Overcomes. A guided tour through the book of Revelation* (London/Oxford 1984) 50-54.

¹⁶⁰ D. van Daalen, *A Guide to the Revelation* (London 1986) 100-106.

¹⁶¹ B. Robinson, "The Two Persecuted Prophet-Witnesses of Rev 11" *Scripture Bulletin* 19 (1988) 14-19.

¹⁶² P. Hughes, *The Book of Revelation* (Leicester 1990) 120-131.

¹⁶³ E. Delebecque, *L'Apocalypse de Jean* (Paris 1992) 202-204.

¹⁶⁴ D. Thomas, *Let's Study Revelation* (Edinburgh 2003) 90-98.

¹⁶⁵ E.B. Allo, *Saint Jean, L'Apocalypse* (Paris 1921) 125-148.

¹⁶⁶ T. Torrance, *The Apocalypse Today* (London 1960) 84-87.

¹⁶⁷ D. Niles, *As Seeing the Invisible* (London 1961) 70-73.

¹⁶⁸ L. Morris, *Revelation* (Leicester 1987 – original edition 1969) 140-148.

¹⁶⁹ E. Schick, *The Revelation of St. John for Spiritual Reading* (London 1971) 100-110.

¹⁷⁰ R. Bauckham, *The Climax of Prophecy* (Edinburgh 1993) 266-283.

¹⁷¹ E.g. Gebhardt and Beyschlag in the nineteenth century, see below, section 4.10.

¹⁷² C. Giblin, "Revelation 11:1-13: Its Form, Function and Contextual Integration" *NTS* 30 (1984) 433-459.

Resseguie,¹⁷⁴ and Holwerda.¹⁷⁵ Lilje,¹⁷⁶ Minear,¹⁷⁷ Schüssler Fiorenza¹⁷⁸ and Riemer¹⁷⁹ think the witnesses offer a paradigm of suffering Christian testimony, similarly to Giblin, and Schüssler Fiorenza follows Giblin in interpreting v. 13 as a positive hope for repentance.

Lange believes that the two witnesses are the Christian Church and State, drawing on the olive tree imagery of Joshua and Zerubbabel from Zechariah 4. Their death is when they are taken over by Antichristian ideas, and their resurrection is their restoration to their intended form.¹⁸⁰ Féret is not too far from Lange. The temple is the Church, which receives God's protection, and the outer court those outside the Church. The two witnesses are Church leaders and civic leaders. The death of the witnesses is the death of individuals or setbacks for the Christian cause, and their resurrection is the repeated resurgences of Christianity.¹⁸¹

Ebrard interprets the measuring of the temple as the preservation of the inner kernel of the ideals of Israel in Christianity. The two witnesses symbolize the power of preaching the Law and the Gospel.¹⁸² Roloff follows Ebrard's exegesis of vv. 1-2, and understands the two witnesses as symbolic of Christian testimony to the world.¹⁸³ Auberlen understands the two witnesses as all true Christians, but does not comment on the entirety of the passage.¹⁸⁴ H. Cooper sees the temple as that of heaven where

¹⁷³ W. Harrington, *Revelation* (Collegeville 1993) 118-125.

¹⁷⁴ J. Resseguie, *Revelation Unsealed. A Narrative Critical Approach to John's Apocalypse* (Leiden/Boston/Cologne 1998) 52, 92-93, 147-152.

¹⁷⁵ D. Holwerda, "The Church and the Little Scroll (Revelation 10, 11)" *CTJ* 34 (1999) 148-161.

¹⁷⁶ H. Lilje, *The Last Book of the Bible* (Philadelphia 1957 – German original 1940) 158-165.

¹⁷⁷ P. Minear, *I saw a new Earth* (Washington/Cleveland 1968) 95-104.

¹⁷⁸ E. Schüssler Fiorenza, *Revelation. Vision of a Just World* (Edinburgh 1993 – original edition 1991) 76-79.

¹⁷⁹ U. Riemer, *Das Tier auf dem Kaiserthron?* (Stuttgart/Leipzig 1998) 65-69.

¹⁸⁰ J. Lange, *The Revelation of John* (Edinburgh 1874) 222-233.

¹⁸¹ H. Féret, *The Apocalypse of St. John* (London 1958) 145-150.

¹⁸² J. Ebrard, *Die Offenbarung Johannes* [= H. Olshausen, *Biblischer Commentar über sämtliche Schriften des Neuen Testaments*, Bd. 7] (Königsberg 1853) 327-350.

¹⁸³ J. Roloff, *Revelation* (Minneapolis 1993 – original German edition 1984) 127-134.

¹⁸⁴ C. Auberlen, *The Prophecies of Daniel and the Revelations of St. John, Viewed in their Mutual Relation* (Edinburgh 1856) 168-430.

God is truly worshipped, and the outer court as symbolic of this present world under the sway of the devil. The two witnesses are the Spirit and Christ. Their death is when the truth they proclaim is ignored by humanity, and their resurrection is at the end of the world, or for the individual at their death, when the truth of the witnesses' testimony is made manifest.¹⁸⁵ For Swete the temple is the Church and the outer court the rejected synagogue. The two witnesses represent the Church in her function of witnessing. The beast is symbolic of persecutors of the Church, and the death of the witnesses is the literal death of martyrs. The witnesses' resurrection and ascension are upsurges in Christianity after periods of persecution, with particular application to Constantine and the Christianization of the Roman Empire.¹⁸⁶ Lacey believes the two witnesses to be the witness to Christ of humans and of the Spirit.¹⁸⁷ Min's exegesis is fuller, but close to Lacey's. The temple is the Church, which is protected by God, and the outer court non-Christians. The two witnesses are the action of the Holy Spirit causing Christians to testify, and the believers themselves who have received the Spirit and give testimony. The beast is a demonic power, and indicates the origin of all the opposition that the Church receives.¹⁸⁸ For Gry, the two witnesses are Elijah and Moses, symbolizing the Law and Prophets, the Jewish Scriptures. The killing of the two witnesses by the beast is the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans in 70 AD. The resurrection of the witnesses will be the conversion of the Jews to the true meaning of the Law and Prophets, i.e. to Christ, just before the end of time, as in Romans 11.¹⁸⁹ Hill interprets the two witnesses as the offices of priest and prophet, where the priestly role is that of a stable community leader, and the prophetic role is

¹⁸⁵ H. Cooper, *The Book of Man's Destiny* (Grantham 1866) 24-27.

¹⁸⁶ H.B. Swete, *The Apocalypse of St. John* (London 1906) 129-138.

¹⁸⁷ T. Lacey, "The Two Witnesses" *JTS* 11 (1910) 55-60.

¹⁸⁸ P. B-S. Min, *I Due Testimoni di Apocalisse 11, 3-13: Storia – Interpretazione – Teologia* (PhD dissertation: Pontifical Gregorian University, Rome 1991) 198-390.

¹⁸⁹ L. Gry, "Les Chapitres XI et XII de l'Apocalypse" *Revue Biblique* 31 (1922) 203-214.

to criticize deficiencies in the status quo. The two are dead when they witness to a merely nominal Christianity, and their resurrection is when Christian faith is truly alive.¹⁹⁰ For Newbolt the two witnesses are a visionary embodiment of the Law of God and his righteousness. The resurrection of the witnesses shows that God's message cannot be killed.¹⁹¹ Strand believes the two witnesses to be the Old Testament prophetic message and the New Testament apostolic witness.¹⁹² Rowland understands the temple as the true worshippers of God. Its measuring shows God's possession of it. At present God possesses only a small part of the world; the outer court, symbolizing the remainder, is left unmeasured. The two witnesses represent Christians as they should be in giving their prophetic witness, and the resurrection of the witnesses shows their ultimate vindication by God.¹⁹³

Several authors have a generally ecclesiological exegesis, but interpret the death of the witnesses eschatologically, as did Tyconius. Luthardt understands the temple as the Church, but thinks that the trampling of the holy city (v.2) is of the literal Jerusalem. This has occurred since 70 AD, the "times of the Gentiles" spoken of in Lk 21:24. The two witnesses personify God's action through many prophets throughout the world in these "times of the Gentiles," from the destruction of Jerusalem to the advent of Antichrist. The death of the witnesses will be part of Antichrist's war on the Church when he comes to power, and their resurrection will be a symbolic resurgence of the Church at the end of Antichrist's reign.¹⁹⁴ Plummer argues that the temple is the true Church and the outer court false Christians. The two witnesses symbolize the Church bearing witness throughout her time. The death of the

¹⁹⁰ H. Hill, "The Two Witnesses" *The Expositor* 22 (1921) 311-318.

¹⁹¹ M. Newbolt, *The Book of Unveiling. A Study of the Revelation of St. John* (London 1952) 117-121.

¹⁹² K. Strand, "The Two Witnesses of Rev 11:3-12" *AUSS* 19 (1981) 127-135; K. Strand, "The Two Olive Trees of Zechariah 4 and Revelation 11" *AUSS* 20 (1982) 257-261.

¹⁹³ C. Rowland, *Revelation* (London 1993) 98-101.

¹⁹⁴ C. Luthardt, *Die Offenbarung Johannis*, in, ed. H. Strack and O. Böckler, *Kurzgefaßter Kommentar zu den heiligen Schriften B. NT 4* (Nördlingen 1888) 423-432.

witnesses is the very low state of the Church close to the end of time, and the witnesses' resurrection is the general resurrection.¹⁹⁵ Exegesis close to Plummer is found in Hendriksen,¹⁹⁶ Orr,¹⁹⁷ Wilcock,¹⁹⁸ and Walhout.¹⁹⁹ Beale is very similar, but interprets the outer court as the Church as vulnerable to persecution.²⁰⁰ Ladd combines ecclesiological and eschatological elements in his exegesis. The temple is the Jews, and its measuring symbolizes their protection. The 42 months/1260 days are the period of Satanic power in the world, with particular reference to the last days under Antichrist. The two witnesses symbolize the witness of the Church to Israel, culminating in the ministry of two eschatological prophets like Elijah and Moses. The beast is Antichrist who literally kills the two prophets in Jerusalem, where their resurrection and ascension ensue, followed by an earthquake. The remnant who give glory to God are the Jews, who are converted en masse in accordance with Romans 11.²⁰¹

¹⁹⁵ A. Plummer, *Revelation* (London 1890) 288-293.

¹⁹⁶ W. Hendriksen, *More than Conquerors* (London 1962 – original edition 1940) 126-132.

¹⁹⁷ R. Orr, *Victory Pageant* (London 1972) 83-88.

¹⁹⁸ M. Wilcock, *I saw heaven opened. The message of Revelation* (London 1975) 103-107.

¹⁹⁹ E. Walhout, *Revelation. Down to Earth* (Grand Rapids/Cambridge 2000)

²⁰⁰ G. Beale, *The Book of Revelation* (Grand Rapids/Carlisle 1999) 556-608.

²⁰¹ G. Ladd, *A Commentary on the Revelation of John* (Grand Rapids 1972) 149-160.

Preterist Interpretations

A preterist interpretation of the Apocalypse is one that applies it to the past, usually the distant past, of the interpreter.

4.7 The passage related to the first few centuries of the Church

Calmet, Olivier, Lee and W.H. Scott all locate the events of the passage in the Church of the first few centuries, in a manner not unlike Bossuet in the seventeenth century.²⁰² Calmet is particularly close to Bossuet's exegesis. The temple is the Church, persecuted by Diocletian. The holy city is also the Church, trampled down for 42 months from 303 AD, the commencement of the Diocletian persecution, until 306 and Constantine's accession to power. The two witnesses are the total number of Christian martyrs during the Diocletian persecution, during their 1260 days from 303-306. The resurrection of the witnesses is the revival of Christianity after the Diocletian persecution. The earthquake is associated with Constantine becoming emperor. The two witnesses are also Enoch and Elijah, who will come prior to the last judgement.²⁰³ Lee interprets the temple as the Church and the outer court as the Jews, cast out in 70 AD, with the temple in Jerusalem never to be rebuilt. The two witnesses are Scripture and those who preach it, both under the Old Covenant and the New. The 1260 days of the witnesses are from the time of the commissioning of the Apostles to the fall of Jerusalem in 70 AD. The witnesses' testimony had been finished at this point in the sense of having been preached to all nations. The death of the witnesses is the Roman persecution of the Church from 70 AD until the time of Constantine. The

²⁰² See above, section 3.14.

²⁰³ A. Calmet, *Commentaire Litteral sur tous les Livres de l'Ancien et du Nouveau Testament* (Paris 1724-1726) 8:969-973.

resurrection of the witnesses occurred with Constantine and the end of Roman persecutions.²⁰⁴ For W.H. Scott the two witnesses are the Church, meaning the Jews before Christ and Christians after his coming. The 1260 days of the witnesses' ministry are from the birth of Christ until 70 AD. The death of the witnesses came with the fall of Jerusalem in 70 AD, and their 3½ days lying dead are from 70 AD until 476 AD, when Scott dates the fall of the Roman Empire. The resurrection and ascension of the Church occur at this time, when the Church is delivered from the tyranny of the Roman Antichrist.²⁰⁵ Olivier regards the temple as the Church of the first three centuries. The two witnesses signify the pastors and faithful of the Church until the end of Roman persecution with Constantine. In v.8 the great city is Rome, and ὁ κύριος αὐτῶν refers to St. Peter who was crucified (upside-down) in Rome, the chief and model of all other witnesses killed in Rome.²⁰⁶

²⁰⁴ S. Lee, *Six Sermons...to which are annexed two dissertations...the second on the interpretation of prophecy, with an original exposition of the Book of Revelation* (London 1830) 321-323; S. Lee, *An Inquiry into the Nature, Progress, and End of Prophecy* (Cambridge 1849) 349-358.

²⁰⁵ W.H. Scott, *The Interpretation of the Apocalypse* (London 1853) 27-46.

²⁰⁶ A. Olivier, *La Clé de L'Apocalypse* (Paris 1938) 34-38, 42, 161-164.

4.8 The passage related to known events of the first century

Most preterist interpreters restrict the events of the passage to the first century. Wettstein's notes on the passage are extremely compressed. The 42 months of v.2 refer to the length of time that the Roman-Jewish War of 66-70 AD lasted. The Gentiles who trample the holy city are not the Romans (who were not in Jerusalem until the end of the war) but the various Jewish factions fighting against the Romans; these can be regarded as Gentiles, because Christians are now the true Jews. The beast's killing of the witnesses is related to the fact that Jerusalem and Judea were deserted by Christians,²⁰⁷ perhaps implicitly identifying the witnesses as Christians in Jerusalem and Judea. On v.9, the witnesses' bodies lying unburied, Wettstein refers to Josephus *B.J.* 4.5.2, where Josephus describes how the bodies of the Jewish High Priests Ananus and Jesus were left unburied in the streets after they were killed by the Idumeans. Wettstein does not comment on the resurrection and ascension of the witnesses.²⁰⁸ Herder's exegesis is similar to Wettstein, but he explicitly identifies the witnesses as Ananus and Jesus. The Jewish insurgents are the beast from the bottomless pit. The resurrection of the witnesses is their justification by God in the sight of their enemies, as with their deaths the city and temple perished.²⁰⁹ Eichhorn follows the same lines, but interprets the measuring of the temple as the preservation of the cult of the true God in the Christian religion, purified of the outer court of Jewish rituals and observances. The earthquake and the fall of the tenth of the city is related to the fall of Jerusalem in 70 AD.²¹⁰ Matthäi's exegesis is close to Eichhorn's.²¹¹ Desprez is similar, but argues that Ananus and Jesus were in fact

²⁰⁷ Cf. Eusebius, *H.E.* 3.5, on the flight of Christians to Pella.

²⁰⁸ J.J. Wettstein, *Ἡ Καινὴ Διαθήκη. Novum Testamentum Graecum* (Amsterdam 1751) 2:790-793.

²⁰⁹ J. Herder, *A Brief Commentary on the Revelation of Saint John* (London 1821 – original edition 1779) 86-99.

²¹⁰ J. Eichhorn, *Commentarius in Apocalypsin Joannis* (Göttingen 1791) 2:50-73.

²¹¹ F. Matthäi, *Die Offenbarung Johannes* (Göttingen 1828) 2:112-120.

Christians, and Josephus has simply chosen not to inform us of this.²¹² Desprez has moved from trying to interpret the text of Revelation in terms of what we know of the history of the Jewish War, to simply reading off history from the text of Revelation. The only reason Desprez suspects that Ananus and Jesus might be Christians is because the two witnesses of Revelation 11, who die “where their Lord was crucified” are most obviously interpreted as Christians. He has seen a difficulty in identifying the two witnesses as Ananus and Jesus, and rather than discarding them as candidates for the role of the witnesses, he has sought to assimilate them to their role by arguing that they were Christians. Despite some changes of opinion, Völter seems to support the idea that Jesus and Ananus are the two witnesses.²¹³ Ratton sees the measuring of the temple as the protection of the Jerusalem Church by its flight to Pella. The outer court is non-Christian Jews, and the Gentiles who trample the holy city, Jerusalem, are the Romans. The two witnesses are Ananus and Jesus and, like Desprez, Ratton thinks that they were Christians. Josephus has given an incorrect account of them, omitting their miraculous plagues and resurrection, perhaps deliberately or perhaps through ignorance. The earthquake is the sack of Jerusalem in 70 AD.²¹⁴ For Buchanan Ananus and Jesus are the two witnesses and the beast the Roman power, although he does mention the alternative possibility that the situation may be that of 37 BC, with Herod Agrippa as the beast, and the two witnesses as Antigonus, the last Hasmonean King, and his general Pappus.²¹⁵

Stuart follows Eichhorn in understanding the measuring of the temple as the preservation of all that was good in Judaism in Christianity, while the outer court of

²¹² P. Desprez, *The Apocalypse Fulfilled* (London 1861) 235-285.

²¹³ D. Völter, *Die Entstehung der Apokalypse* (Freiburg 1885²) 58-59; D. Völter, *Die Offenbarung Johannis* (Strasburg 1911²) 77. I have not had access to all of Völter's writings on the Apocalypse. For the vicissitudes of his opinions see Haugg, *Die Zwei Zeugen*, 39-40.

²¹⁴ J. Ratton, *The Apocalypse of St. John* (London 1912) 250-262.

²¹⁵ G. Buchanan, *The Book of Revelation* (Lewiston/Queenstown/Lampeter 1993) 245-268. See Josephus, *Ant.* 14. 14-16; Josephus, *B.J.* 1.14-18.

Jewish external observances is destroyed. Picking up on Wettstein's hint, the two witnesses are symbolic of Christian preachers to Jews during the Church's infancy. At the time of the Jewish War many fled to Pella, but those who stayed in Palestine are the two witnesses. They were persecuted and destroyed, but the cause of Christianity ultimately triumphed, their resurrection. Stuart makes explicit some of the assumptions in his exegesis that are perhaps implicit among other writers with similar interpretations. He dates the Apocalypse to before 70 AD, and notes that unlike some German historical-critical scholars (he names Bleek and Ewald) he believes that as John predicted things in the Spirit, he could not be predicting them wrongly.²¹⁶ B. Weiss interprets the temple as Jews who have become Christians, the outer court is non-Christian Jews. The two witnesses are all the witnesses of Jesus sent to Israel during the Jewish War.²¹⁷ Richards is close to Stuart in his identification of the witnesses as Christians who have remained in Jerusalem rather than fled to Pella. These were martyred, and by their resurrection it is shown that they have gone to heaven to be with Christ.²¹⁸ Beagley does not commit himself on all the details of the passage. In vv.1-2 John is describing in symbolic language the preservation of Christians, and the rejection of unbelieving Judaism, as demonstrated by the capture of the city and the destruction of the temple in 70 AD. The two witnesses symbolize Christians, and the city where they are killed is Jerusalem, with v.13 then showing God's judgement on Jerusalem.²¹⁹

Maurice has an unusual reading relating the passage to the Jewish War. The measuring of the temple shows that the Jerusalem temple is protected for the

²¹⁶ M. Stuart, *A Commentary on the Apocalypse* (Andover, MA 1845) 2:213-239.

²¹⁷ B. Weiss, *Die Johannes-Apokalypse* (Leipzig 1891) 185-187; B. Weiss, *A Commentary on the New Testament* (London/New York 1906) 437-442.

²¹⁸ H. Richards, *What the Spirit says to the Churches* (London 1967) 83-86.

²¹⁹ A. Beagley, *The "Sitz im Leben" of the Apocalypse with Particular Reference to the Role of the Church's Enemies* (Berlin/New York 1987) 59-70.

approximately 42 months of the war, although it is then destroyed. The two witnesses are God's Word and his Spirit, which constantly bear witness to God and his everlasting Law. The death of the witnesses was the point during the siege of Jerusalem that brute force, ungoverned lust and self-will became triumphant over all that opposed them, and the city reached a moral low. This affected all mankind as could be seen in the arrogance of Nero and the year of the four emperors following his death. The resurrection and ascension of the witnesses and the earthquake are Vespasian's seizure of power and the restoration of law and order.²²⁰

Baur accepts the Jewish War of 66-70 as the context for Rev 11:1-13. He suggests that the two witnesses are James the Just, the relative of Jesus, and Simeon, a cousin of Jesus, and successor of James as bishop of Jerusalem, both of whom were martyred in Jerusalem.²²¹ Volkmar argues that James the Great (son of Zebedee), martyred by Herod Agrippa in Jerusalem c. 44 AD (Acts 12) and James the Just are the two witnesses.²²² Volkmar is followed by Greve.²²³ Russell interprets the measuring of the temple as a measuring for its destruction in 70 AD. The two witnesses are James the Just, who is like Elijah, and Peter, who is like Moses. Russell dismisses the tradition that Peter died in Rome, and places his martyrdom in Jerusalem during the Jewish War. Nero, as the Emperor responsible for the Jewish War, is the beast who indirectly kills the two. Peter and James are literally resurrected

²²⁰ F. Maurice, *Lectures on the Apocalypse* (Cambridge 1861) 188-201.

²²¹ F.C. Baur, "Kritik der neuesten (Henstenberg'schen) Erklärung der Apokalypse" *Theologische Jahrbücher* 11 (1852) 305-399, 441-469 (esp. 451-466). Eusebius, *H.E.* 2.23, quoting Hegesippus, places the martyrdom of James in the 60s, prior to the outbreak of the Jewish war. *H.E.* 3.32 records the martyrdom of Simeon, placing it in the reign of Trajan (98-117), again according to Hegesippus. In *H.E.* 4.5, however, Eusebius tells us that there were fifteen bishops of Jerusalem prior to Hadrian (117-138), of whom Simeon was the second, and none of whom held the see for long. This is open to the interpretation that Simeon's martyrdom should in fact be placed in the late 60s, and I presume that this is what Baur assumes.

²²² G. Volkmar, *Commentar zur Offenbarung Johannes* (Zurich 1862) 174-179.

²²³ A. Greve, "'Mine to vidner': Et forsøg på at identificere de to jersalemitiske vidner (Apok. 11:1-13)" *DTT* 40 (1977) 128-138.

and ascend to heaven, although there are no other records of this.²²⁴ As with Desprez, Russell is reading off history from the text of the Apocalypse. Dean does not commit himself, but thinks it plausible that James the Apostle may be one of the witnesses.²²⁵ Kraft thinks that it is impossible to definitively identify the witnesses, but mentions John and James, the sons of Zebedee, and James the Just and Stephen as possibilities.²²⁶ Gentry comments only on parts of vv.1-2. The casting out of the outer court and the trampling of the holy city are related to the Jewish War and the eventual destruction of the temple in 70.²²⁷

That the two witnesses are Peter and Paul had been suggested by de Mariana in the seventeenth century.²²⁸ Turner identifies the two as Peter and Paul, and the beast as Nero.²²⁹ Boismard has the same exegesis, and explains the last phrase of v.8, ὅπου καὶ ὁ κύριος αὐτῶν ἐσταυρώθη, as an interpolation of a final editor of the text. The city was originally Rome, but the editor changed it to Jerusalem.²³⁰ Similar exegesis to Boismard is found in Munck,²³¹ Giet²³² and Court.²³³

For Böcher there is typology of Elijah and Moses for the two witnesses, applied respectively to John the Baptist and Jesus.²³⁴ Platt has an unusual system where passages in the Apocalypse are paired with episodes from the gospels. Rev

²²⁴ J. Russell, *The Parousia. A Critical Inquiry into the New Testament Doctrine of Our Lord's Second Coming* (London 1878) 423-444.

²²⁵ J. Dean, *The Book of Revelation* (Edinburgh 1815) 132-137.

²²⁶ H. Kraft, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes* (Tübingen 1974) 150-160.

²²⁷ K.L. Gentry, *Before Jerusalem Fell. Dating the Book of Revelation* (San Francisco/London/Bethesda 1997 – original edition 1989) 174.

²²⁸ See above, section 3.9.

²²⁹ C. Turner, *Studies in Early Church History* (Oxford 1912) 212-214.

²³⁰ M.-E. Boismard, “‘L’Apocalypse’, ou ‘les Apocalypses’ de S. Jean” *RB* 56 (1949) 507-541.

²³¹ J. Munck, *Petrus und Paulus in der Offenbarung Johannis* (Copenhagen 1950)

²³² S. Giet, *L’Apocalypse et l’Histoire* (Paris 1957) 14-15, 24-31, 36-43.

²³³ J. Court, *Myth and History in the Book of Revelation* (London 1979) 82-105.

²³⁴ O. Böcher, “Johannes der Täufer in der neutestamentliche Überlieferung” in O. Böcher, *Kirche in Zeit und Endzeit* (Neukirchen-Vluyn 1983) 70-89 [originally in *Rechtfertigung, Realismus, Universalismus, in biblischer Sicht. FS Adolf Köberle* (Darmstadt 1978) 45-68].

11:1-19 corresponds to John 12:20-26. The outer court of the temple is the Greeks of John 12:20, and the two witnesses are the apostles Andrew and Philip.²³⁵

²³⁵ N. Platt, *A Study of the Apocalypse of St. John* (London 2000) 3:54-63.

Eschatological exegesis

Eschatological exegesis of the passage can be divided into two strands. The first, and more traditional variety, sees the passage as predicting events that will actually happen close to the end of time. The second sort believes that the author of the Apocalypse intended that the passage should be seen as a correct prediction of eschatological events, while not necessarily sharing the belief of John in this regard. It was only with the rise of historical-critical scholarship that such a distinction between the authorial intention and the viewpoint of the interpreter became possible. It was no longer taken for granted that whatever was in the Scriptures was correct, and exegetes felt free to discuss the meaning intended by the author, without necessarily committing themselves to agreeing with it.

4.9 Genuine belief in an eschatological application

Woolston believes that the two witnesses are Moses and Elijah, who will be killed by Antichrist in Jerusalem, resurrected and ascend to heaven.²³⁶ The Catholic Witham is reluctant to commit himself, but is fairly approving of the idea that the two witnesses might be Enoch and Elijah.²³⁷

Bengel's exegesis of the Apocalypse as a whole is extremely complicated, but that of Rev 11:1-13 is relatively simple.²³⁸ Bengel dated the beginning of the thousand year binding of Satan to 1836. Rev 11:1-13 refers to the 3½ year period prior to this, beginning in 1832. The temple is a literal restored temple in Jerusalem, with the Jews having returned to Palestine. The two witnesses are two individuals like Elijah and Moses who preach for 1260 days before being killed by Antichrist in Jerusalem,

²³⁶ T. Woolston, *A Fourth Free-Gift to the Clergy; being a Discourse on the Two Apocalyptic Witnesses* (London 1724).

²³⁷ R. Witham, *Annotations on the New Testament of Jesus Christ* (n.p. 1730) 479-483.

²³⁸ On Bengel, see Maier, *Die Johannesoffenbarung und die Kirche*, 393-440.

followed by their resurrection and ascension. Antichrist is the final representative of the papacy, which has been the beast since sometime after 1076, during the time of Gregory VII.²³⁹ Hardy understands the two as Enoch and Elijah, who will come to preach for 1260 days. The 42 months trampling of the holy city are the trampling of the Church from 666-1926 (1260 years) by the papacy. The millennial kingdom will begin 45 years later in 1971, with the ministry of Enoch and Elijah occurring just prior to this.²⁴⁰ The Catholic Walmesley identifies the two as Enoch and Elijah.²⁴¹ Venema thinks that two will come in the spirit of Elijah and Elisha.²⁴² Aldred believes that the two witnesses are two future individuals who will be killed somewhere in Britain by the beast that is the British ruling authorities.²⁴³ For the Jansenist Agier, Elijah and Moses are the two witnesses.²⁴⁴ S. Maitland argues strongly against those who interpret the 1260 days as 1260 years, and thinks that the witnesses are two individuals who will prophesy for 1260 days.²⁴⁵ Burgh does not specify that v.1 indicates a restored temple. The Jews are returned to their land, and the measuring of the temple refers to the protection of those Jews who bewail their apostasy (i.e. their not having become Christians previously), the 144000 sealed ones of chapter 7. The two witnesses are Elijah and Moses, who minister to the Jewish remnant before being killed by Antichrist in Jerusalem, rising and ascending to heaven.²⁴⁶ Cardinal Newman, while still an Anglican, thought that the two witnesses were two literal,

²³⁹ J. Bengel, *Gnomon of the New Testament* (Edinburgh 1858 – original Latin edition 1742) 5:248-249; J. Bengel, *Bengelius' Introduction to His Exposition of the Apocalypse* (London 1757).

²⁴⁰ S. Hardy, *The Principal Prophecies of the Old and New Testaments* (London 1770) 49, 52, 346-362.

²⁴¹ Sig. Pastorini (pseud. = C. Walmesley), *The General History of the Christian Church* (n.p. 1771) 315-325, 372-365, 403-405. It should be noted that whilst Walmesley's exegesis of this passage is futurist, he interprets many passages in relation to the history of the Church.

²⁴² H. Venema, *Praelectiones de Methodo Prophetica* (Leovardiae 1775) 271-273.

²⁴³ E. Aldred, *The Little Book* (London 1811) xlix-liii, 10, 37.

²⁴⁴ P.-J. Agier, *Commentaire sur l'Apocalypse* (Paris 1823) 1:277-334.

²⁴⁵ S. Maitland, *A Second Inquiry into the Grounds on which the Prophetic Period of Daniel and St. John has been supposed to consist of 1260 years* (London 1829); S. Maitland, *The Twelve Hundred and Sixty Days in Reply to a Review in the Morning Watch* (London 1830); S. Maitland, *The Twelve Hundred and Sixty Days in Reply to the Strictures of William Cuninghame, Esq.* (London 1834).

²⁴⁶ W. Burgh, *The Apocalypse Unfulfilled* (Dublin 1833 – original edition 1832) 97-114.

future individuals who would be killed by Antichrist.²⁴⁷ Tyso thought two literal witnesses were to come.²⁴⁸ Newton argues that the temple represents Christians at the end of time, and the outer court the rejected Jews, who are rejected even though their worship has been restored in Jerusalem. The two witnesses are two anonymous figures in Jerusalem.²⁴⁹ Hofmann believes that the temple is very probably a restored one in Jerusalem, and the Jews will certainly have returned to their land. The two witnesses are Elijah and Moses, killed by Antichrist, Antiochus Epiphanes returned from the dead, who are resurrected and ascend to heaven.²⁵⁰ For Govett, vv. 1-2 signify a restored temple in Jerusalem, and the two witnesses are Enoch and Elijah.²⁵¹ Lebagh understands the two as Moses and Elijah.²⁵² Todd's exegesis is similar to Govett's although he is only prepared to say that the two are probably Enoch and Elijah, although they are definitely two individuals.²⁵³ Charles Maitland believes that Elijah is one witness, but is unsure whether he will be partnered by John the Apostle, Moses or Enoch.²⁵⁴ Clericus (pseud.) argues that the two witnesses are Enoch and Elijah.²⁵⁵ Stern applies the temple of v.1 to both a rebuilt Jewish temple and to the protection of the Church during the time of Antichrist. The two witnesses are Enoch and Elijah.²⁵⁶ Baxter has a double interpretation of Rev 11:1-13. He thinks the 1260

²⁴⁷ J.H. Newman, *Advent Sermons on Antichrist* (1938) [Tracts for the Times 83] in, *Tracts for the Times*, vol. 5 (London 1840) 19, 43.

²⁴⁸ J. Tyso, *An Elucidation of the Prophecies* (London 1838) 57-58, 181-186.

²⁴⁹ B.W. Newton, *Five Letters on Events Predicted in Scripture as Antecedent to the Coming of the Lord* (London 1977 – letters written c. 1840) 39-41, 54, 56-58. Newton was an associate of Darby's who disagreed with him over the doctrine of the "rapture." On the "rapture," see further below, this section.

²⁵⁰ J.C.K. Hofmann, *Weissagung und Erfüllung* (Nördlingen 1841-1844) 1:301-304, 343-346.

²⁵¹ R. Govett, *The Revelation of St. John Literal and Future* (London 1843) 144-184; R. Govett, *The Locusts, the Euphratean Horsemen and the Two Witnesses* (London 1852) 77-145.

²⁵² I. Lebagh, *The Two Witnesses Moses and Elijah* (London 1844)

²⁵³ J. Todd, *Six Discourses on the Prophecies Relating to Antichrist in the Apocalypse of St. John* (Dublin 1846) 163-213.

²⁵⁴ Charles Maitland, *The Apostles' School of Prophetic Interpretation* (London 1849) 139-141, 398.

²⁵⁵ Clericus (pseud.), *Two Essays. I. On the connexion between the mysterious burial of Moses and his re-appearance with Elijah on the Mount of Transfiguration. II. On the re-appearance of Enoch and Elijah as the two apocalyptic Witnesses* (London 1850) 12-45.

²⁵⁶ C. Stern, *Commentar über die Offenbarung des Apostel Johannes* (Schaffhausen 1854) 278-297.

days are 1260 years, and suggests a variety of beginning and end dates, with the two witnesses as either the scriptures or the Church. This interpretation serves to give several mid-to-late-nineteenth century dates for Baxter's eschatological application of the passage to Elijah and Moses. These are to be killed by Antichrist, whom Baxter originally thought would be Louis Napoleon, but after his death ruled him out, Baxter suggested Prince Jerome Napoleon.²⁵⁷ Godet expects that the two will be Enoch and Elijah.²⁵⁸ The anonymous author of *Apocalyptic Symbols and Figures Briefly Defined*, thinks that the measuring of the temple shows the preservation and acceptance of true Jewish worshippers at the end of time. The identity of the two witnesses is not clear, but they have something to do with the re-establishment of Israel in her own land.²⁵⁹ Simcox sees vv.1-2 as predictive of the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 AD, with the measuring of the temple symbolizing that true Israelites will not be cut off from communion with God even when the city is destroyed. Verses 3-13 refer to a future time, when Moses and Elijah will come and preach in Jerusalem.²⁶⁰ In Chauffard's exposition the two are Enoch and Elijah.²⁶¹ W. Scott argues that two prophets like Elijah and Moses are to come.²⁶² Zahn believes that two anonymous prophets will come.²⁶³ Haugg interprets the temple as the Church at the end of time, with the outer court as nominal Christians. The two witnesses are two Christians who will preach for 1260 days. They are preaching primarily to the outer court of nominal Christians, but also to those outside the Church. The city where they are killed is not Jerusalem, but the Church of God. The beast is symbolic of demonic power, and it is this that is

²⁵⁷ M. Baxter, *Louis Napoleon the Destined Monarch of the World* (Philadelphia 1866) 124-127; M. Baxter, *Forty Coming Wonders From 1889-1901* (London 1887) 297-311.

²⁵⁸ F. Godet, "Essay Upon the Apocalypse" in, F. Godet, *Studies in the New Testament* (London 1876 – original French edition 1874) 294-398.

²⁵⁹ Anon., *Apocalyptic Symbols and Figures Briefly Defined* (London n.d. – received into the British Library 1875) 11.

²⁶⁰ W. Simcox, *The Revelation of St. John* (Cambridge 1890) 66-72.

²⁶¹ A. Chauffard, *La Révélation de Saint Jean* (Paris 1894) 13-24, 133-138.

²⁶² W. Scott, *Expository Outline of the Revelation* (London 1920) 39.

²⁶³ T. Zahn, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes* (Leipzig/Erlangen 1924-1926) 2:416-431.

responsible for the death of the witnesses, who are literally resurrected and ascend to heaven. Verse 13 shows the repentance of the larger part of fallen Christians (the outer court).²⁶⁴ Welch understands the measuring of the temple to signify the protection of the 144000 sealed Jews (ch.7) during the time of Antichrist. The two witnesses are two anonymous individuals who will be killed by Antichrist in Jerusalem, rise and ascend to heaven.²⁶⁵ Tenney believes that the two to come will probably be Elijah and Moses.²⁶⁶ Loughran is unsure who they will be.²⁶⁷ Haggith interprets the temple of v.1 as a rebuilt Jewish temple. The two witnesses will be two individuals, perhaps two figures from the Old Testament, but we cannot be certain.²⁶⁸

J.N. Darby has proved an extremely influential expositor of the Apocalypse.²⁶⁹ In Darby's eschatological scheme the Church on earth is "raptured" to heaven at the beginning of a seven year (or perhaps 3½ year) period of eschatological woes. The "rapture," or "secret rapture" doctrine, where Christ comes invisibly to claim his own who then vanish from the world, is based on various scriptural texts, but Mt 24:40-41 (par. Lk. 17:34-36) and 1 Thess 4:16-17 are perhaps the most important. Darby has two applications of Rev 11:1-13. He does not deny that 1260 days may signify 1260 years, but is unprepared to give definite start or end dates, and does not enlarge any further on this sort of exegesis.²⁷⁰ Darby also states at far greater length his eschatological exegesis of the passage. It is part of an exegesis that applies all of Revelation 6-22 to the post-rapture period. Darby vacillates between accepting a seven year end-time period, in which case Rev 11:1-13 refers to the first half of this

²⁶⁴ Haugg, *Die zwei Zeugen*, esp. 130-136.

²⁶⁵ C. Welch, "This Prophecy," *Being an Exposition of the Book of Revelation* (London 1939) 139-144.

²⁶⁶ M. Tenney, *Interpreting Revelation* (London 1958 – original edition 1957) 191.

²⁶⁷ D. Loughran, *Understand the Revelation*. 777 (Glasgow 1983) 20-22.

²⁶⁸ D. Haggith, *Prophets of the Apocalypse* (London 1999) 228-237.

²⁶⁹ On Darby see E. Sandeen, *The Roots of Fundamentalism* (Chicago/London 1970) 59-80; Boyer, *When Time Shall Be No More*, 86-90.

²⁷⁰ J.N. Darby, *On "Days" Signifying "Years" in Prophetic Language* (1830), in, ed. W. Kelly, *The Collected Writings of J.N. Darby, Prophetic vol. 1* (London n.d.) 48-61.

period, or a 3½ year end-time period. His exegesis is not really affected either way. The temple and altar signify Jewish worshippers, a remnant restored in Jerusalem (the 144000 of chapter 7), apparently with a rebuilt temple. The outer court is those Jews who are not of this remnant and who follow Antichrist. The two witnesses are two individuals like Elijah and Moses. They are killed in Jerusalem by Antichrist, head of a restored Roman Empire, resurrected and ascend to heaven.²⁷¹ W. Kelly, the editor of Darby's voluminous writings, has an exegesis along the same lines as Darby. The passage refers to a post-rapture 3½ year period. The temple symbolizes the Jews, to some extent still owned by God, and the two witnesses are the Jews collectively.²⁷² J. Kelly applies the passage to the post-rapture period. The temple is a rebuilt Jewish temple, where the Jewish remnant worship. The outer court of the remaining inhabitants of Jerusalem are under the sway of Antichrist. The two witnesses are two eminent Jews who are killed by Antichrist in Jerusalem before their resurrection and ascension, and an earthquake in Jerusalem.²⁷³ Seiss interprets the passage in relation to the post-rapture period. The temple is a rebuilt Jewish one in Jerusalem. The two witnesses are Enoch and Elijah, who are killed by Antichrist in Jerusalem followed by their resurrection and ascension.²⁷⁴ For Sale-Harrison the passage refers to the time after the rapture. The temple is a rebuilt Jewish one, and the two witnesses are Elijah and Moses.²⁷⁵ Burton and Clayton have similar exegesis to Sale-Harrison, but for Burton the two witnesses are anonymous, while Clayton thinks that they may be

²⁷¹ J.N. Darby, *Notes on the Revelation* (1839) in, ed. W. Kelly, *The Collected Writings of J.N. Darby, Prophetic vol. 1* (London n.d.) 249-399, esp. 294-308; J.N. Darby, *Notes on the Apocalypse* [from lectures of 1842] (London 1849) 31-36; J.N. Darby, *Outline of the Revelation* (n.d.), in, ed. W. Kelly *The Collected Writings of J.N. Darby, Prophetic vol. 2* (London n.d.) 358-386, esp. 376-377; J.N. Darby, *An Examination of the Statements made in the "Thoughts on the Apocalypse," by B.W. Newton; and an Enquiry how far they Accord with Scripture*, in, ed. W. Kelly *The Collected Writings of J.N. Darby, Prophetic vol. 3* (London n.d.) 1- 490, esp. 204-233.

²⁷² W. Kelly, *Lectures on the Book of Revelation* (London 1861) 174-200.

²⁷³ J. Kelly, *The Apocalypse Interpreted* (London 1849-1851) 2:118-162.

²⁷⁴ J. Seiss, *The Apocalypse* (London 1882 – original edition 1881) 2:149-246.

²⁷⁵ L. Sale-Harrison, *The Wonders of the Great Unveiling* (Harrisburg 1930) 81-85.

Elijah and Moses.²⁷⁶ For Tatford the temple is a rebuilt one in Jerusalem. The two witnesses are the sufficient number of Jewish witnesses in this post-rapture time who will be martyred by Antichrist before their resurrection and ascension.²⁷⁷ Walvoord interprets the temple as a restored Jewish one. The two witnesses are two individuals with astonishing powers, killed by Satan himself, not Antichrist. The witnesses' death is followed by their resurrection and ascension and an earthquake.²⁷⁸

The popularity of readings which apply the passage to a post-rapture period should not be underestimated. The internet is rife with examples of such exegesis.²⁷⁹ Dwight Wilson conservatively estimated that the number of those who believe in an earthly thousand year kingdom to be 8 million in the USA in 1977, with the majority of these believers in a rapture doctrine.²⁸⁰ The *Scofield Reference Bible*,²⁸¹ with a post-rapture exegesis of Rev 11:1-13 has sold several million copies since it was first published in 1909. Also, as is the danger with all annotated Bibles, the distinction between the Biblical text and interpretative notes easily becomes blurred, giving added weight to the notes. Sandeen is surely correct in his identification of this book as one of the key means of disseminating belief in a rapture and Darby's attendant exegetical system.²⁸² Hal Lindsey's *The Late Great Planet Earth* was the best-selling non-fiction book in the USA in the 1970s, and advocates a post-rapture reading of Revelation 11:1-13.²⁸³ More recently, the *Left Behind* series of books, authored by Jerry Jenkins, with the assistance of Tim LaHaye, have sold in excess of 60 million

²⁷⁶ A. Burton, *The Apocalypse Expounded* (London 1932) 145-153; R. Clayton, *Future History in "The Revelation"* (London/Edinburgh 1940) 114.

²⁷⁷ F. Tatford, *Prophecy's Last Word. An Exposition of the Revelation* (London 1947) 125-131.

²⁷⁸ J. Walvoord, *The Revelation of Jesus Christ* (London 1966) 175-183.

²⁷⁹ E.g. <http://www.bibledesk.com/index.htm> as on 31/5/2002, but countless others could be cited.

²⁸⁰ D. Wilson, *Armageddon Now! The Premillenarian Response to Russia and Israel since 1917* (Grand Rapids 1977) 12.

²⁸¹ *The Scofield Reference Bible*, ed. C. Scofield (Oxford 1909)

²⁸² Sandeen, *The Roots of Fundamentalism*, 222.

²⁸³ H. Lindsey, *The Late Great Planet Earth* (London 1971 – original edition 1970) 44.

copies.²⁸⁴ These give a fictional, but in the authors' intention plausible, account of the seven post-rapture years until Christ's visible return. The two witnesses of Revelation 11 feature regularly during the first 3½ years of this time. Called Moishe and Eli,²⁸⁵ they are seen on CNN preaching at the temple mount (with the rebuilding of the temple about to begin).²⁸⁶ Any would be assailants are killed, often, although not always, with fire from their mouths.²⁸⁷ There is some speculation that they have concealed flamethrowers.²⁸⁸ There is no rain in Jerusalem and the surrounding area for 3½ years, save for a couple of quick downbursts, designed to show that Moishe and Eli are responsible for the dry weather.²⁸⁹ The two turn water into blood, and vice-versa.²⁹⁰ They are able to preach at an amplified volume, and their audience hears them in their own language, which is useful when they preach at rallies in Teddy Kollek Stadium in Jerusalem. They do not entirely spurn modern technology, and telephone Rabbi Tsion Ben-Judah, one of the heroes of the novels.²⁹¹ Nicolae Carpathia, the Antichrist, attempts to restrict them to the area around the temple, but they carry on preaching wherever they wish, invulnerable to attack, and able to transport themselves to new locations around Jerusalem without being noticed.²⁹² Carpathia nicknames them "the Jerusalem twosome," and meets with them, warily, before his final encounter with them, when he slays them with an unusually hi-tech gun at the end of their 1260 days. This event is broadcast live on worldwide

²⁸⁴ There are twelve books in the main series, plus a children's series.

²⁸⁵ This is designed to allow the possibility that they might be Moses and Elijah, without asserting it as definite, in accord with LaHaye's exegesis of Revelation 11. Cf. T. LaHaye, *Revelation Unveiled* (Grand Rapids 1999) 182-191.

²⁸⁶ T. LaHaye and J. Jenkins, *Left Behind* (Book 1: Wheaton 1995) 219-220

²⁸⁷ T. LaHaye and J. Jenkins, *Left Behind*, 237-238; T. LaHaye and J. Jenkins, *Tribulation Force* (Book 2: Wheaton 1996) 174.

²⁸⁸ T. LaHaye and J. Jenkins, *Apollyon* (Book 5: Wheaton 1999) 245.

²⁸⁹ T. LaHaye and J. Jenkins, *Tribulation Force*, 208-209; T. LaHaye and J. Jenkins, *Soul Harvest* (Book 4: Wheaton 1998) 419-420.

²⁹⁰ T. LaHaye and J. Jenkins, *Tribulation Force*, 402-404.

²⁹¹ T. LaHaye and J. Jenkins, *Tribulation Force*, 322, 398; T. LaHaye and J. Jenkins, *Nicolae* (Book 3: Wheaton 1997) 157.

²⁹² T. LaHaye and J. Jenkins, *Apollyon*, 109-110, 191-192.

television, so that their dead bodies are seen by people of all nations.²⁹³ There is rejoicing and a gala in Jerusalem at their deaths. Their resurrection 3½ days later is also screened, but it is never repeated on the television. Carpathia, Antichrist and world-ruler, is in control of the media, and their resurrection and ascension are officially denied. An earthquake in Jerusalem soon follows.²⁹⁴ The series may not win any literary prizes, but its James Bond-esque tales of derring-do by Christians are very readable. Events from Rev 11:1-13 form part of a larger series of occurrences based on the Apocalypse that appear in this post-rapture period. These happenings are placed in a world that is unmistakably that of the turn of the twenty-first century. When a reader of the *Left Behind* series returns to the Apocalypse, at the very least they will have been provided with help in visualizing how its words could be fulfilled in the very near future.

One (minority) variant of the Darbyite dispensationalist scheme is that of a mid-tribulation rapture, and this view draws on Revelation 11. The Church is not raptured to heaven until 3½ years into a 7 year tribulation. The temple is rebuilt, and two literal witnesses prophesy for the first half of the seven year period. Rev 11:11-12 refers not only to the resurrection and ascension of the witnesses, but also to the Church's rapture to heaven.²⁹⁵

A few authors give a collective eschatological interpretation of the two witnesses. Jung (Stilling) and Norris are both undecided as to whether the two

²⁹³ It is not uncommon amongst modern eschatological interpreters to point to television as a means of fulfilment of 11:9. E.g. Walvoord, *Revelation*, 175-183. Already in 1866, Baxter saw the telegraph as a method of disseminating news of the witnesses' death; Baxter, *Louis Napoleon the Destined Monarch of the World*, 126. Tyconius' argument concerning the impossibility of such a rapid spread of news (see above section 1.9) has been rendered obsolete.

²⁹⁴ T. LaHaye and J. Jenkins, *Apollyon*, 284-289; T. LaHaye and J. Jenkins, *Assassins* (Book 6: Wheaton 1999) 386-401.

²⁹⁵ E.g. <http://rapture.sinfree.net/> on 26/05/2004; other websites could be cited.

witnesses represent the persecuted Church at the end of time or two individuals.²⁹⁶ Kliefoth and Burger regard the witnesses as symbolic of the Church at the end of time.²⁹⁷ Lacunza describes the two witnesses as two pious religious bodies who will oppose Antichrist, somewhat reminiscent of Joachim of Fiore.²⁹⁸ Johnson believes that the two symbolize the Church at the end of time, without ruling out an application to Enoch and Elijah also.²⁹⁹

²⁹⁶ J. Jung (Stilling), *Die Siegesgeschichte der christlichen Religion* (Nuremberg 1799) 304-318; A. Norris, *Apocalypse for Everyman* (London 1982 – original edition 1973-1977) 188-200.

²⁹⁷ T. Kliefoth, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes* (Leipzig 1874) 2:177-221; C. Burger, *Die Offenbarung St. Johannis* (Munich 1877) 157-172.

²⁹⁸ J. Lacunza, *The Coming of the Messiah in Glory and Majesty* (London 1827) 2:117-119.

²⁹⁹ J. Johnson, *A Commentary on the Revelation of St. John* (London 1904) 116-129. Johnson also has an individual interpretation, see below, section 4.12.

4.10 The passage an incorrect Johannine eschatological prediction

This type of exegesis began in Germany in the nineteenth century. As far as Rev 11:1-13 is concerned, the first exponent of it that I have been able to identify is Ewald in 1828. Ewald argues that vv.1-2 probably have to do with the literal temple, still standing in the late 60s, John's time of writing. John thought that two literal witnesses, Elijah and another, probably Moses, would come as forerunners of Christ's return to be killed by Antichrist (Nero returned from the dead) in Jerusalem, followed by their resurrection and ascension, fairly soon after John's time of writing. John expected the eschatological events and Christ's return to occur soon, but was in fact mistaken in this belief.³⁰⁰ Lücke largely follows Ewald, but identifies the two categorically as Elijah and Moses. Lücke is perhaps clearer in drawing a link between 11:1-2 and his dating of the book to the late 60s. 11:1-2 is seen as an incorrect prediction of the preservation of the temple by John, which dates the book to before the destruction of the temple in 70 AD.³⁰¹ Similar exegesis to Ewald and Lücke is found in de Wette (two anonymous individuals),³⁰² Düsterdieck (two anonymous individuals),³⁰³ and Bleek (Elijah and Moses).³⁰⁴ Gebhardt understands the temple as Jewish Christians, with the outer court as Jews who have not become Christians. The two witnesses are two like Moses and Elijah who will come and preach to the Jewish people. The beast is Nero returned as Antichrist, and the death, resurrection and ascension of the prophets occur in Jerusalem. The nine-tenths who give glory to God

³⁰⁰ G.H.A. Ewald, *Commentarius in Apocalypsin Johannis Exegeticus et Criticus* (Leipzig 1828) 192-207; G.H.A. Ewald, *Die Johanneischen Schriften übersetzt und erklärt* (Göttingen 1862) 2:220-233.

³⁰¹ F. Lücke, *Versuch einer vollständigen Einleitung in die Offenbarung des Johannes* (Bonn 1852 – original edition 1832) 354-355, 825-831.

³⁰² W.M.L. de Wette, *Kurze Erklärung der Offenbarung Johannis* (Leipzig 1848) 112-121.

³⁰³ F. Düsterdieck, *Kritisch Exegetisches Handbuch über die Offenbarung Johannis* (Göttingen 1859) 356-360.

³⁰⁴ F. Bleek, *Lectures on the Apocalypse* (London 1875 – original German edition 1862) 106-107, 247-259.

after the earthquake are Jews, and this is the eschatological ingathering of the Jews predicted by Paul in Romans 11.³⁰⁵ For Beyschlag vv. 1-2 refer to the Jewish War current at John's time of writing. The measuring of the temple signifies the preservation of the religion of the old covenant despite the destruction caused by the Romans. The two witnesses are two preachers of repentance like Moses and Elijah. Those who give glory to God at the earthquake following the witnesses' ascension are Jews who repent.³⁰⁶

Renan interprets the two witnesses as two like Elijah and Moses.³⁰⁷ Hilgenfeld thought that John predicted the return of Elijah and Moses.³⁰⁸ Moffatt describes the two witnesses only as forerunners of the Messiah.³⁰⁹ Holtzmann³¹⁰ and Bousset³¹¹ see Jewish sources behind the passage, and think that in John's intention the two are Moses and Elijah.

In the twentieth century John is thought to have predicted the return of Moses and Elijah by J. Weiss,³¹² Charles,³¹³ Loisy,³¹⁴ Lohmeyer,³¹⁵ Hadorn,³¹⁶ E. Scott,³¹⁷ Wikenhauser (either Moses and Elijah, or two like them),³¹⁸ Rist,³¹⁹ Barclay,³²⁰

³⁰⁵ H. Gebhardt, *The Doctrine of the Apocalypse* (Edinburgh 1878) 256-263.

³⁰⁶ W. Beyschlag, *Die Offenbarung Johannis* (Berlin 1876) 34-36.

³⁰⁷ J. Renan, *Renan's Antichrist* (London 1899 – original French edition 1873) 200-202.

³⁰⁸ A. Hilgenfeld, "Die Johannes-Apokalypse und die neueste Forschung" *ZWT* 33 (1890) 385-479, esp. 432-479.

³⁰⁹ J. Moffatt, *The Revelation of St. John the Divine*, in, ed. W. McNicoll, *The Expositor's Greek Testament* 5 (London 1890) 279-494, esp. 414-419.

³¹⁰ H.J. Holtzmann, *Hand-Commentar zum Neuen Testament* 4. *Evangelium, Briefe und Offenbarung des Johannes* (Freiburg 1891) 299-301.

³¹¹ W. Bousset, *Die Offenbarung Johannis* (Göttingen 1896) 373-386.

³¹² J. Weiss, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes. Ein Beitrag zur Literatur- und Religionsgeschichte* (Göttingen 1904) 126-133.

³¹³ R.H. Charles, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Revelation of St. John* (Edinburgh 1920) 1:269-292.

³¹⁴ A. Loisy, *L'Apocalypse de Jean* (Paris 1923) 203-217.

³¹⁵ E. Lohmeyer, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes* (Tübingen 1926) 84-91.

³¹⁶ D.W. Hadorn, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes* (Leipzig 1928) 116-124.

³¹⁷ E. Scott, *The Book of Revelation* (London 1939) 68-70.

³¹⁸ A. Wikenhauser, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes übersetzt und erklärt* (Regensburg 1959 – original edition 1947) 86-88.

³¹⁹ M. Rist, *The Revelation of St. John the Divine*, in, *The Interpreter's Bible* vol. 12 (New York/Nashville 1957) 346-551, esp. 443-449.

Lohse,³²¹ Glasson³²² and Quispel.³²³ Two anonymous individuals are favoured by Beckwith,³²⁴ Couchoud,³²⁵ Sickenberger,³²⁶ and Webber.³²⁷ Peake is reticent in giving his own opinion, but perhaps tends towards understanding the two witnesses as two future individuals.³²⁸ Yarbrow Collins thinks that the two may be eschatological figures, or perhaps Peter and Paul. She stresses that their precise identity is unimportant compared with their role as an example of suffering witness to the Church.³²⁹ Ford believes that chapters 4-11 of the Apocalypse come from the circle of John the Baptist, and reflect his own and his disciples eschatological expectations prior to the ministry of Jesus. The Temple symbolizes faithful Jews, and the outer court gentiles and unfaithful Jews. The two witnesses are a Messiah of Israel, a political king, and a Messiah of Aaron, a priestly figure, a hope similar to the two Messiahs of 1QS 2:11-22. The two are killed by the beast, a political adversary of the Jews who has triumphed in Jerusalem, and their resurrection will be the political restoration of Israel.³³⁰

Several authors see the two witnesses as the Church or part of the Church in the imminent (for John) eschatological future. En Dansk (pseud.) believed that writing in 68 AD, John incorrectly predicted the preservation of the temple, although the rest of the city would be trodden down when Antichrist came after Galba. The two witnesses symbolize those of the Church who were to be martyred under Antichrist.

³²⁰ W. Barclay, *The Revelation of St. John [The Daily Study Bible]* (Edinburgh 1976 – original edition 1959) 2:64-72.

³²¹ E. Lohse, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes* (Göttingen 1960) 57-60.

³²² T. Glasson, *The Revelation of John* (Cambridge 1965) 64-70.

³²³ G. Quispel, *The Secret Book of Revelation* (London 1979) 72-75.

³²⁴ I. Beckwith, *The Apocalypse of John* (New York 1919) 584-606.

³²⁵ P. Couchoud, *The Book of Revelation. A Key to Christian Origins* (London 1932 – original French edition 1922) 27, 126-129.

³²⁶ J. Sickenberger, *Erklärung der Johannesapokalypse* (Bonn 1942 – original edition 1940) 107-115.

³²⁷ R. Webber, *An Idealistic Reading of the Apocalypse* (San Francisco/London/Bethesda 1999) 79-83.

³²⁸ A.S. Peake, *The Revelation of John* (London 1919) 290-299.

³²⁹ A. Yarbrow Collins, *The Apocalypse* (Dublin 1979) 68-73.

³³⁰ J.M. Ford, *Revelation* (New York 1975) 167-183.

The beast is Nero returned as Antichrist, and the great city where they are killed is Rome; “where their Lord was crucified (v.8)” is dismissed as a later gloss. The resurrection and ascension of the witnesses are related by the author to an apparent ancient oriental belief that at death the soul stays near the body for about three days before ascending to heaven.³³¹ Kiddle interprets the Temple as the true Church, and the outer court as nominal Christians; the Church is protected in so far as God ensures that Christian witness continues. The two witnesses stand for that proportion of the Church that is to suffer martyrdom in the great city of this world. The resurrection of the witnesses is related to the first resurrection of ch. 20; only the martyrs will rise to participate in their special reward of the thousand year reign upon earth.³³² Feuillet interprets the Temple as the Church, and the outer court as Jews who have not become Christians. The two witnesses symbolize the witness of the Church in the face of a Judaism obstinate in its incredulity. The death and resurrection of the witnesses show the inability of persecution to destroy the Church. The remnant who give glory to God in v.13 are the Jews, who are converted at the imminent end of time in accordance with Romans 11.³³³ For Farrer vv.1-2 refer to the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 AD. The remainder of the passage refers to the time in which John is writing, the 42 years between 70 AD and 112 AD, when Antichrist will come. The two witnesses symbolize the Church, and the Church’s death will be its persecution during the 3½ years of Antichrist’s reign. The resurrection and ascension of the Church will be the resurrection of the martyrs at Christ’s return, to share with him the thousand year kingdom.³³⁴ According to Rissi the temple is Jews who have become Christians, and the outer court non-Christian Jews. The two witnesses symbolize the Jerusalem

³³¹ E. Dansk (pseud.), *The Drama of the Apocalypse* (London 1894) 103-116.

³³² M. Kiddle (assisted by M.K. Ross), *The Revelation of St. John* (London 1940) 174-206.

³³³ A. Feuillet, “Essai d’Interpretation du Chapitre XI de l’Apocalypse” *NTS* 4 (1957-1958) 183-200.

³³⁴ A. Farrer, *The Revelation of St. John the Divine* (Oxford 1964) 127-137.

Church in her preaching of repentance to all, especially Jews. The death of the witnesses is the attack of Antichrist upon the Church at the end of time, and the resurrection and ascension of the witnesses are the final salvation of the Church.³³⁵

Caird understands the temple as the Church. Its measuring betokens an inner security against spiritual dangers, although the Church, the outer court, will face persecution.

The two witnesses are the section of the Church that will soon be martyred in the last persecution. The resurrection of the witnesses shows that they have gone to heaven.³³⁶

For Aune the temple is that part of the Church that will survive the coming great tribulation. The two witnesses represent the witness of the Church in the face of a godless world.³³⁷ For Beasley-Murray,³³⁸ Mounce,³³⁹ Franzmann,³⁴⁰ Vögtle,³⁴¹ Müller,³⁴² and Boring³⁴³ the two witnesses represent the Church during the imminent time of eschatological trial.

³³⁵ M. Rissi, *Was ist und was geschehen soll danach* (Zurich/Stuttgart 1965) 99-107.

³³⁶ G.B. Caird, *A Commentary on the Revelation of St. John the Divine* (London 1966) 130-140.

³³⁷ D. Aune, *Revelation* (Dallas/Nashville 1997-1998) 2:575-632.

³³⁸ G. Beasley-Murray, *The Book of Revelation* (London 1974) 176-187.

³³⁹ R. Mounce, *The Book of Revelation* (London 1978 – original edition 1977) 219-229.

³⁴⁰ M. Franzmann, "Revelation" in, *Concordia Self-Study Commentary* (St. Louis 1979) 285-302.

³⁴¹ A. Vögtle, *Das Buch mit dem sieben Siegeln* (Freiburg/Basel/Vienna 1981) 85-91.

³⁴² U. Müller, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes* (Gütersloh/Würzburg 1995 – original edition 1984) 204-221.

³⁴³ M.E. Boring, *Revelation* (Louisville 1989) 142-148.

4.11 Religionsgeschichtliche Interpretations

Wellhausen believes that two separate Jewish fragments underlie vv. 1-2 and vv. 3-13. Verses 1-2 are a Zealot prophecy from towards the end of the Jewish War, at the time when the Zealots had retreated into the sanctuary of the temple as a final refuge.³⁴⁴ This was a period in which there was much prophetic activity,³⁴⁵ and the oracle preserved in Rev 11:1-2 is a prediction that although the Romans might overrun the city, the sanctuary of the temple would remain under divine protection. Verses 3-13 are based upon a Jewish *Vorlage*, in which there is a single preacher killed by a beast and the city is Rome. John has reworked this, doubling the number of witnesses, changing the city from Rome to Jerusalem, and adding a resurrection and ascension modelled on Christ's. Thus for John, vv. 3-13 are a prediction of two eschatological prophets who will preach in Jerusalem. Wellhausen does not really address the problem of what vv.1-2 might mean for John in their present context. They have been joined to vv.3-13 because of the similarity between the 42 months of v.2 and the 1260 days of v.3.³⁴⁶ One effect of Wellhausen's hypothesis as regards vv.1-2 was to largely remove these from consideration when dating the book. If they are from a source, and are not an original composition of John, then they cannot be used to argue that the Jewish temple was still standing when John wrote.³⁴⁷ Wellhausen's theory regarding vv.1-2 has enjoyed a large amount of popularity amongst scholars, although it is often only mentioned as a possibility, to which an author does not absolutely commit themselves. I have not recorded every instance where an author mentions Wellhausen's hypothesis on vv.1-2, as it usually does not

³⁴⁴ Josephus, *B.J.*, 6.122.

³⁴⁵ Josephus, *B.J.*, 6.285-287.

³⁴⁶ J. Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten* 6 (Berlin 1899) 221-223; J. Wellhausen, *Analyse der Offenbarung Johannes* (Berlin 1907) 1, 15-18.

³⁴⁷ The vast majority of critical scholars post-Wellhausen accept Irenaeus' testimony to a Domitianic date for the Apocalypse, whereas the early nineteenth century consensus was for a date in the late 60s. J.A.T. Robinson, *Redating the New Testament* (London 1976) 224-225.

affect their exegesis. Rather, Wellhausen's theory is quoted as a possible origin for vv.1-2, but the meaning of the verses for John is discussed separately, as, given a Domitianic date for Revelation, after the destruction of the temple the verses cannot have the meaning of Wellhausen's proposed original oracle.

Vischer offers not so much exegesis of the Apocalypse, as a theory regarding its composition. He believes that an original Jewish apocalypse has been taken over with minor alterations made by a Christian redactor. His theory is partly based on a belief that the Apocalypse does not truly preach Christ, and he approvingly quotes Luther's scathing 1522 preface to the book. By dismissing it as a thinly disguised Jewish text, Vischer is able to imply that it should not really be considered properly canonical. Chapter 11 is important to Vischer's argument. Verses 1-2 speak of the Jerusalem temple and of Jewish worshippers there, not Christians; it must come from a time when the temple was still standing. There is no reason that it should be Christian, and Vischer particularly notes the contradiction between the ideas of the preservation of at least part of the temple (taking ναός of v. 1 to mean the inner sanctuary) with Jesus' words as reported in Mark 13:2; Matt 24:2; Lk 21:6, where the total destruction of the temple is predicted. Vischer is arguing that these traditions are early, and were well known amongst early Christians, so that it would have been impossible for a Christian to have predicted the preservation of any part of the temple. Verses 3-13 are Jewish, apart from the latter half of v.8 ἥτις καλεῖται πνευματικῶς Σόδομα καὶ Αἴγυπτος, ὅπου καὶ ὁ κύριος αὐτῶν ἐσταυρώθη. Vischer argues this on the basis that no very early Christian writings express any hopes for forerunners of the Messiah's return, and that is what the two witnesses are.³⁴⁸

³⁴⁸ E. Vischer, *Die Offenbarung Johannis. Eine jüdische Apokalypse in christlicher Bearbeitung* (Leipzig 1886) 11, 13-18.

Spitta proposed that vv.1-2 and 3-13 were two separate Jewish sources from the time of Pompey, 63 BC. The situation of vv. 1-2, with the whole of Jerusalem except the temple under Jewish control can only apply to Pompey's capture of Jerusalem in 63 BC. The beast of v.7 is an addition to the original source, as is ἡ τις καλεῖται πνευματικῶς Σόδομα καὶ Αἴγυπτος, ὅπου καὶ ὁ κύριος αὐτῶν ἐσταυρώθη of v.8. The city was originally Rome, and the two witnesses are Elijah and Moses sent to Rome where they preach repentance before dying natural deaths. Spitta does not say very much about the meaning of the passage in the Apocalypse, but seems to regard it as predicting two future witnesses in Jerusalem.³⁴⁹ Pfeiderer believes that there are Jewish sources behind the passage but does not commit himself much further.³⁵⁰

Hommel has suggested Tammuz and Gisch-zidda from the Adapa legend as possible forerunners of the two witnesses.³⁵¹ Lawrence perceives the two as based on old myths referring to mysterious twins, such as Castor and Polydenkes in Homer's *Odyssey*.³⁵² Neither Hommel's nor Lawrence's suggestions give close or convincing parallels with Revelation 11.

³⁴⁹ F. Spitta, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes* (Halle 1889) 103-120, 417-431.

³⁵⁰ O. Pfeiderer, *Das Urchristentum, seine Schriften und Lehren, in geschichtlichen Zusammenhang* (Berlin 1887) 327-329.

³⁵¹ F. Hommel, "Die <<zwei verschwunden Götter>> der Adapa-Legende und Apokalypse 11,3-13" in, *Altorientalische Studien. Bruno Meissner zum sechzigsten Geburtstag* (Leipzig 1928-1929) 87-95. For a text of the Adapa legend see <http://earth-history.com/Sumer/sumer-adapa.htm> (as on 9/9/2003).

³⁵² D.H. Lawrence, *Apocalypse* (Florence 1931) 193-206.

4.12 Idiosyncratic interpretations

These interpretations do not fit easily into any of the categories outlined above.

Emanuel Swedenborg rejected the teachings of the orthodox Lutheranism of his native Sweden, and expounded his own version of Christianity.³⁵³ In his exegesis of Revelation 11 the two witnesses are the two important tenets of the Divine Humanity of Christ and a life conformable to the Decalogue (in opposition to Lutheran solifidianism). The beast is those Christian Churches which reject these two. The resurrection of the witnesses signifies the acceptance of these two tenets by Swedenborg and his followers.³⁵⁴ Similar exegesis is given by Chalken, a follower of Swedenborg.³⁵⁵

William Blake identified Wesley and Whitefield, two of the key figures of early Methodism, as the two witnesses who lie dead in the street of the great city,³⁵⁶ perhaps because they risked death in their preaching.³⁵⁷

Isabella Scott argues that William Lloyd Garrison and Henry Clarke Wright, American campaigners against slavery, are the two witnesses. She does not give any further exegesis of Revelation 11.³⁵⁸

The anonymous author of *Jews and Gentiles* interprets the temple as Jews and the outer court as Gentiles, unmeasured because they are greater in number than the Jews. The two witnesses are God's covenants with both Jew and Gentile. The Jews

³⁵³ On Swedenborg see ODCC, 1563-1564.

³⁵⁴ E. Swedenborg, *The Apocalypse Revealed* (Manchester 1791 – original Latin edition 1766) 1:572-639.

³⁵⁵ T. Chalken, *Sermons on the Apocalypse* (London 1867-1878) 1:332-354.

³⁵⁶ W. Blake, *Milton*, 22 [24]:55-62, 23[25]:1-2 (c. 1810-1811), in D. Erdman, ed., *The Complete Poetry and Prose of William Blake* (Berkeley/ Los Angeles 1982) 118.

³⁵⁷ M. Paley, *Apocalypse and Millennium in English Romantic Poetry* (Oxford 1999) 76.

³⁵⁸ I. Scott, *The "Two Witnesses," and, "The Battle of that Great Day of God Almighty"* (Edinburgh 1853) 1:1-8.

are the remnant of 11:13, who will eventually be converted to Christianity, in accordance with Romans 11.³⁵⁹

According to Grafton the temple is the Church and the two witnesses are the Sacraments and the written word of the Scriptures.³⁶⁰

Rossetti gives an interpretation in which the passage is used to provoke points for reflection by the Christian individual. The reed of v.1 symbolizes human weakness. Christ accepts our weakness, not accounting it as weakness, but associating it with his own holiness and strength. The temple is each individual, as we are all temples of the Holy Spirit, and as such accountable to God. Verse 2 is a spur to reforming zeal, as the Gentiles are rebels within reach and sound of the truth, not people far away. Rossetti notes that the two witnesses have been conjectured to be Enoch and Elijah, and does not rule out this identification, but makes some more general points from the passage. The witnesses are clothed in sackcloth, bearing witness for God in a world that lies in wickedness, as we all must do. The plagues of the witnesses demonstrate that God chastens us all, and that we should derive profit from this chastening. The death of the witnesses shows that an overthrow that redounds to the glory of God is not defeat, but victory, as Calvary also bears witness. The beast represents evil and wickedness, but we should not try and study what precisely it is, as the study of evil is not good for us. The great city is the visible Catholic Church, called Sodom and Egypt because some of its members are not good. The resurrection of the witnesses leads Rossetti to talk of the general resurrection, when it will be shown whether each person is good or bad. This is a spur to be one of

³⁵⁹ C., M.A.E., *Jews and Gentiles; or, the Mystery of Redemption in the Two Covenants, and the Two Witnesses in Revelations XI Explained by Scripture Evidence Alone, Being a Reply to a Pamphlet and its Supplement Entitled "The Coming Struggle Among the Nations," Wherein it was Attempted to shew that the Two Witnesses in the Revelations were Civil and Religious Democracy* (London 1857) 65-105.

³⁶⁰ C. Grafton, *A Consecration Sermon. The Living Temple of Christ's Church and the Two Witnesses of the Word Written and the Sacraments* (Milwaukee 1891) 14, 16.

the good today, so that we will be found good at the resurrection also. As regards the earthquake, Rossetti mentions that her age has been one of earthquakes, and that she has been spared. She asks that she may therefore be given grace to glorify God.³⁶¹ Rossetti's exegesis uses the passage as a starting point for more general reflection on the Christian life.

The Russian philosopher Vladimir Soloviev places an account of the Antichrist on the lips of one of his characters at the end of the dialogue *War and Christianity*. It is an inventive reworking of many traditional themes associated with Antichrist, but it must be noted that Soloviev intended it only as a story, and not as a prediction of the future. In twenty-first century Europe, which has just shaken off a Mongolian government lasting ten years, the future Antichrist rises to power. In the thirty-third year of his life he begins his career as Antichrist properly, and is chosen as President for Life of the United States of Europe, eventually becoming Emperor of the World. He summons all Christians to a council in Jerusalem. With the assistance of his chancellor, the black magician Apollyon, he presides over the council and demands from Catholics, Protestant and Orthodox alike recognition of his authority. The majority comply, but the aged John, leader of the Orthodox, challenges the Emperor to confess Christ. Apollyon causes John to die via a flash of lightning. At this the Pope pronounces sentence of excommunication against the Emperor, and is likewise struck down by a bolt of lightning. The Emperor orders their bodies to be exhibited on the street at the entrance to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, causing Professor Ernst Pauli, the leader of the Protestants, to remark that Scripture is being fulfilled. Pauli and the Christians who have not followed Antichrist go to the Mount of Olives to pray, and Apollyon is made Pope. On the evening of the fourth day Pauli

³⁶¹ C. Rossetti, *The Face of the Deep: A Devotional Commentary on the Apocalypse* (London 1892) 286-300.

and others come to get the bodies. Those guarding the bodies are sleeping, and Pauli and his companions are able to place the bodies on stretchers. The spirit of life from God enters the bodies and they are resurrected, at which a woman clothed with the sun is seen in the sky (Revelation 12). The defeat of Antichrist and Apollyon follows, and Christ returns to establish the millennial kingdom.³⁶²

Forsyth thinks that the two witnesses are James Jezreel and his wife Esther.³⁶³ Jezreel, originally James Rowland White, established a community in Gillingham in the late nineteenth century to await the coming millennial kingdom, and a tower modelled on the square plan of the New Jerusalem (cf. Revelation 21) began to be built, which was never finished, and was unfortunately demolished in 1961. Both James and Esther died in the 1880s. Forsyth, a follower from America, came to Britain after their deaths. I have not been able to find any evidence that either James or Esther considered themselves the two witnesses.³⁶⁴

In addition to his eschatological exegesis described above,³⁶⁵ Johnson also provides an individual interpretation. The temple and altar signify the inner shrine of the heart, with the outer court and holy city as the body trodden underfoot by the world. The two witnesses are faith and conscience. The witnesses cause torment as contrary and conflicting impulses are stirred. At length evil seems to prevail, so that faith and conscience are as though dead. The resurrection of the witnesses is the reawakening of faith and conscience by the Spirit. The inward mind ascends to God, while the outward faculties of the individual look on in wonder. The whole person is

³⁶² V. Soloviev, *The Antichrist* (Worcester 1982 – Russian original 1900) 35, 40, 47-60.

³⁶³ W.D. Forsyth, *Correspondence of Christ's Two Chosen Witnesses; Rev 11 ch. by E. and J.J. Jezreel* (n.p. n.d. – received into the British Library 1904).

³⁶⁴ J.R. White (Jezreel), *Extracts from the Flying Scroll, Sermon III* (London 1881); R. Baldwin, *The Jezreelites* (Orpington 1962); P. Rogers, *The Sixth Trumpeter. The Story of Jezreel and his Tower* (London 1963).

³⁶⁵ See above, section 4.9.

shaken as if by an earthquake. False ideas of religion, signified by the tenth part of the city, fall.³⁶⁶

Rudolf Steiner, the founder of Anthroposophy, lectured on the Apocalypse. The temple signifies the spiritual existence of humanity that is attained when the outer court of the physical body is thrown off. The two witnesses are Elijah, signifying strength, and Moses, signifying wisdom, two pillars of spiritual currents.³⁶⁷ Bock, a follower of Steiner, regards the temple as true Christianity and the outer court as paganism. Christianity today has still not succeeded in throwing off paganism. The two witnesses are Elijah and Moses, signifying science and religion. Science is here used in the sense of “spiritual science,” meaning the teachings of Steiner concerning the soul’s direct and intuitive knowledge of the divine. Science and religion have been killed. The resurrection of science has been given a great impulse through the work of Steiner, opening the way to the possibility of the resurrection of true religion.³⁶⁸

Douglas believes that the two witnesses are the morning and evening tamid sacrifices. These ceased under Antiochus Epiphanes (167 BC). The covenant between God and the Jews was broken, and the holy city given to the gentiles, with the temple, altar and worshippers alone preserved. According to Douglas the broken covenant continued to testify until the beast from the abyss, that is the Maccabean restoration, slays it by removing the stones of the altar from the street of Jerusalem. The altar was caught up to heaven along with the temple, and the implication seems to be that from this point onwards the temple and altar in Jerusalem ceased to be valid, and the true

³⁶⁶ Johnson, *A Commentary on the Revelation*, 127-129.

³⁶⁷ R. Steiner, *The Apocalypse of John* (London 1977 – from lectures given in 1908) 159-170.

³⁶⁸ E. Bock, *The Apocalypse of St. John* (London 1957 – original German edition 1951) 85-92.

temple and altar of God were located in heaven.³⁶⁹ It is perhaps relevant in this regard that later in chapter 11, verse 19 speaks of the temple in heaven.

The author who hides under the pseudonym “Duo Propheetai” appears to be a Mennonite, mentioning Simon Menno with approbation. The two witnesses are believer’s baptism (as opposed to infant) and the Lord’s Supper interpreted solely as a memorial meal. Catholicism and many Protestants have combated the two witnesses. The resurrection of the witnesses is to be expected in the near future, when believer’s baptism and the Lord’s supper will be restored to their original purity. The current (1933) economic depression is the prelude to the resurrection of the witnesses. The League of Nations will give way to a Christian Theocracy in which the Laws of Christendom will be framed according to the Laws of God. Britain, as the tenth part of the city that falls, will be the first to do this and will then be followed.³⁷⁰

Bellamy uses what he calls the “mythological” method of interpretation. The Apocalypse is a series of “myths,” that is, of reports dealing with events long before the dawn of history. Bellamy does not interpret vv. 1-2, and relates vv. 3-13 to volcanic activity at an early stage of the earth’s life. The two fire-breathing witnesses are volcanoes.³⁷¹

Firebrace is a follower of Mary Baker Eddy, the founder of Christian Science. The two witnesses are Christ in first and second comings, that is in Jesus and in Christian Science. Their death is when the evil mind refuses to accept these two, and their resurrection is their acceptance by the mind.³⁷²

³⁶⁹ C. Douglas, *The Mystery of the Kingdom. An Attempt to Interpret the Revelation of S. John the Divine by the Method of Literary Criticism* (London/Manchester/Leighton Buzzard 1915) 212-219; C. Douglas, *New Light on the Revelation of St. John the Divine* (London 1923) 23; C. Douglas, *The Last Word in Prophecy. A Study of the Revelation of St. John the Divine* (London 1938) 269-271, 577-581.

³⁷⁰ Duo Propheetai (pseud.), *The Resurrection of the Two Witnesses* (London/Cape Town n.d. – entered into the British Library 1933) 131-144.

³⁷¹ H. Bellamy, *The Book of Revelation is History* (London 1942) 25, 72-75.

³⁷² A. Firebrace, *The Revelation to John* (London 1963) 102-110.

Corsini regards the temple as the temple in Jerusalem. Its measuring shows that it was genuinely favoured by God, but also that it was too narrow. Those of the outer court, Gentiles, were not able to participate. The new cult of Christianity is not so restrictive. The 42 month trampling of the holy city relates to the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 AD, which shows the end of the old Jewish cult, which has passed away with the arrival of Christianity. The two witnesses are Moses and Elijah, symbolic of the Law and the Prophets, the whole Old Testament. The witness of the Old Testament Scriptures was active throughout the entirety of the Old Covenant period. The death of the witnesses particularly relates to those of the Old Covenant who gave their lives in witness. In John's vision their deaths in some way anticipated the death of Christ. Their resurrection and ascension occur at Christ's descent to the dead, to save the holy ones of old. The earthquake is a symbol of the divine judgement upon Jerusalem in 70 AD, which symbolizes the rejection of Judaism.³⁷³

The Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society, the publishing arm of the Jehovah's witnesses, has issued a commentary on Revelation. The temple is the heavenly sanctuary entered by Christ according to the letter to the Hebrews. It therefore signifies the holy condition enjoyed first by Christ and then by the anointed members of the royal priesthood of the 144000 (of ch.7) while they are still on earth. While more than 144000 can be saved, these 144000 have been singled out for special privileges. The measuring symbolizes protection; nothing can prevent the fulfilment of Jehovah's purposes regarding the temple. The trampling of the outer courtyard is a literal 42 months, extending from October 1914 to 1918, when all professing Christians were put to a severe test. Most did not uphold Jehovah's righteous standard of non-participation in war. The two witnesses are Jehovah's witnesses during this

³⁷³ E. Corsini, *The Apocalypse* (Dublin 1983) 191-201.

period. The beast from the bottomless pit is the ruling political powers. The death of the witnesses is interpreted as imprisonment. J.F. Rutherford and others were imprisoned in America on charges of sedition (i.e. encouraging non-participation in the first world war). The 3½ days lying dead are not literal, but show that the time of imprisonment is short in relation to the 1260 days. In 1919 Rutherford and others were released from prison, their resurrection. The tenth part of the city that fell is those members of Christendom who became Jehovah's witnesses. Those who gave glory to God are some who did not show true repentance, but who acknowledged that these events were wrought by God. This acknowledgement was perhaps only mental, as we have no records of people (non-Jehovah's witnesses) acknowledging that these things were from God. Jehovah's prophecy through John helps us to discern what was in their hearts.³⁷⁴

Barnwell believes that astrology is the key to understanding the Apocalypse. The two witnesses represent four signs of the zodiac. As the two olive trees they represent Aries and Libra, associated with the generation of energy, and as the two candlesticks they represent Cancer and Capricorn, associated with the consecration of energy.³⁷⁵

Darke is a disaffected Jehovah's witness, who believes that the main body of Jehovah's witnesses have erred in their interpretations of the teaching of C.T. Russell. The two witnesses are two unknown future individuals, perhaps human, perhaps angelic, who will have a 1260 day ministry. John saw in his vision two individuals appearing on the television, their means of disseminating their message, but he had

³⁷⁴ Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society, *Revelation. Its Grand Climax at Hand!* (New York 1988) 161-171. Nineteenth and early twentieth Jehovah's witnesses maintained an exegesis similar to Seventh-day Adventists (Jehovah's witnesses are also descendants of Miller, although less direct than Seventh-day Adventists), identifying the 1260 days as 1260 years from 539-1799, but they have now abandoned the year-day principle. See M.J. Penton, *Apocalypse Delayed. The Story of Jehovah's Witnesses* (Toronto 1985) 13-46, 197-199.

³⁷⁵ F.A. Barnwell, *Meditations on the Apocalypse* (Rockport/Shafesbury/Brisbane 1992) 43-47.

only first century terms with which to describe this. The sackcloth dress of the witnesses is John's way of describing the dark suits which the two wear. The lampstands are lighting for the television, and the olive trees are microphones and their stands. The witnesses' shutting of heaven is related to the possibility that it could be raining where the witnesses were, perhaps in the open air, while those watching on television were in the dry. John describes the witnesses as having power over those who would harm them because he sees people switching off the television and thinks that they are trying to harm the witnesses. He interprets the sound of a television being switched off as the witnesses somehow retaliating against this. John's account of the witnesses' ability to turn water into blood is occasioned by his seeing some of the fuzzy reception possible with television. He saw blue bits intermingled with red, and interpreted this as the changing of water into blood. Darke admits that he does not know whether the fulfilment of vv.7-13 will be literal or figurative, but the imminent fulfilment of the prophecy will show what is meant.³⁷⁶

For Bodson the great city of v.8 is Germany, and the beast Hitler. The two witnesses are Jews and Christians, whom Hitler warred against. The 1260 days/42 months are from the 23rd August 1939, and the signing of the non-aggression pact with Russia, until the 31st January 1943 and the surrender of German forces at Stalingrad. The resurrection of the witnesses is the resurgence of Judaism and Christianity at the end of Hitler's power.³⁷⁷

Edinger gives a "Jungian" exposition of the passage, commenting only on the measuring of the temple. He notes that in this measuring John is called to participate in the action. This is evidence that the ego must participate in understanding and

³⁷⁶ E. Darke, *The Day of Almighty God. Vol. 1. Apocalypse of Jesus Christ* (Templecombe 1992) 322-343.

³⁷⁷ G. Bodson, *Cracking the Apocalypse Code* (Shaftesbury/Boston, MA/Melbourne 2000 – original French edition 1999) 30-34, 78-94.

completing the purposes of the unconscious, once the unconscious is activated. The ego must participate in the construction of the temple of the self.³⁷⁸

D.J. Downs identifies the two witnesses as the twin towers of the World Trade Centre, the bodies of which lay in the street after September 11th 2001. The beast is not Islam, but simply all evil.³⁷⁹

The Rev. Andy identifies himself as one of the witnesses. He has been sent by God in the spirit and power of Elijah; his partner, yet to be revealed, will have Elisha's spirit. The 1260 days have not yet started, but when they do Rev. Andy and his partner will fulfil Rev 11:3-13 fairly literally. Subscription to the Rev. Andy digital channel is available for only \$9.99 a month.³⁸⁰

Frances and William Curley believed themselves to be the two witnesses, angelic beings who have come to earth and will literally fulfil Rev 11:3-13 in the first 3½ years of a seven year tribulation. The singular $\pi\tau\omega\mu\alpha$ in 11:9 shows that the two witnesses are to be a husband and wife.³⁸¹ Frances and William expected the tribulation to begin soon.³⁸² With the ending of their engagement in April 2003, William concluded that they were not the two witnesses.³⁸³

³⁷⁸ E. Edinger (ed. G. Elder), *Archetype of the Apocalypse. A Jungian Study of the Book of Revelation* (Chicago/La Salle 1999) 97-98.

³⁷⁹ <http://members.aol.com/djdowns/projects/endofdays/witnesses.html> on 29/11/2001.

³⁸⁰ <http://www.revandy.com> on 31/5/2002.

³⁸¹ Cf. Gen 2:24, which speaks of man and woman becoming one flesh.

³⁸² <http://www.the-two-witnesses.org/> on 26/2/2002.

³⁸³

<http://tarad8.suddenlaunch.com/index.cgi?board=questcomboard&action=display&num=1081158865> on 9/6/2004.

4.13 Conclusion

Perhaps the most notable feature of the exegesis of Rev 11:1-13 in this period is the virtual abandonment of the interpretation of the 1260 days as 1260 years. It has been retained amongst Seventh-day Adventists and some other Protestants, but is now very much a minority opinion. From the sixteenth to the mid-nineteenth century the year-day method dominated Protestant exegesis of the chapter, especially in Britain. It is perhaps impossible to adequately account for its demise, but I shall give some possible contributory factors. The rise of historical-critical scholarship in nineteenth century Germany, spreading gradually to the English speaking world, played its part. When Joseph Mede wrote his influential commentary on Revelation in 1627 using the year-day method, he wrote as a leading scholar of his day, a fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge. By the late nineteenth century one looks in vain for a scholar of Mede's stature supporting the year-day method; E.B. Elliott's *Horae Apocalypticae* (1844) is perhaps the last example of a truly learned exposition of the year-day method. In university circles the inerrancy of the scriptures came to be questioned. The Bible was no longer seen as a seamless unity with a single divine author, but as a collection of books and letters, all of which should be seen in their own terms, each with their own human author and original audience. Given these changed presuppositions, it is not surprising that it should not be thought best to interpret periods numbered in days by John as lengths of time in years. There is nothing in the Apocalypse itself to indicate that days should be taken for years. For this, one has to turn to Ezekiel 4:5-6 and Numbers 14:34, where a day does represent a year. If one is attempting to see each book of the Bible in its own terms, then turning straight to Ezekiel in this way is not a valid procedure.

This change of attitude towards the character of the inspiration of the Bible in the academic community helps explain why mainstream scholarly opinion has deserted the year-day method. It does not serve as an explanation for its abandonment by those Protestants who continue to hold a very high doctrine of the inspiration of the Scriptures, seeing them as an inerrant unity directly given by God. Their doctrine of inspiration is no different from Mede, or any of the other great exponents of the year-day method, so there must be another cause for their rejection of the year-day method.

Arasola argues that the date setting of William Miller and Millerites, culminating in the “Great Disappointment” of 22nd October 1844, when the Millerites hoped that Christ would return, helped to discredit the year-day system, and I agree, especially as regards America.³⁸⁴ Date setting, even if of a more cautious nature than that of the Millerites, is inherent in the system. The demise of the year-day principle did not mean the demise of a Protestant fundamentalist view of the scriptures. The rise of Darbyite dispensationalism in America (and to a lesser extent, other Protestant futurist exegesis that does not feature a “rapture”) coincided with the demise of the year-day method. In Darbyite dispensationalism this age is a “great parenthesis,” devoid of prophetic significance. The Apocalypse describes the tribulation age, but does not tell us when this will be. Darbyite dispensationalism was thus well placed to fill the void left by the discrediting of the year-day method by the Millerite crisis, and this is what happened, to a considerable extent, in America. Not all fundamentalist Protestants are dispensationalists, however, and in Britain Darbyite dispensationalists have enjoyed lesser numerical strength than in America.³⁸⁵ Those fundamentalist Protestants who eschew a purely eschatological interpretation of Rev 11:1-13 (and

³⁸⁴ K. Arasola, *The End of Historicism. Millerite Hermeneutic of Time Prophecies in the Old Testament* (Uppsala 1990).

³⁸⁵ J. Barr, *Fundamentalism* (London 1981 – original edition 1977) 190-207.

usually of the majority of the Apocalypse) tend to adopt either a purely ecclesiological exegesis,³⁸⁶ or a mixture of ecclesiological and eschatological exegesis,³⁸⁷ but relatively few have stuck with the year-day principle.³⁸⁸

Those who interpret the passage of known first century events attempt to take seriously 1:1, ὃ δεῖ γενέσθαι ἐν τάχει, as Grotius had done in the seventeenth century.³⁸⁹ Some, but not all,³⁹⁰ of these writers hold a conservative view of the inerrancy of Scripture, as had Grotius. They are concerned to show how John's predictions match known history. Some authors go further, and read history off the text of Revelation, as had Alcazar in the seventeenth century.³⁹¹ Desprez and Ratton both argue that the Jewish high priests, Ananus and Jesus, were Christians, although this is contrary to the impression given by Josephus. Having identified Peter as one of the witnesses, Russell places his martyrdom in Jerusalem rather than Rome, admitting that he can cite no evidence other than Revelation 11 for this.³⁹² Applying the passage to known first century events has enjoyed some popularity, but has remained a minority opinion. This is perhaps because of the difficulty of matching it to any events we know of in the first century. Ananus and Jesus were not Christians, as the two witnesses appear to be from 11:8 ("where their Lord was crucified"). Josephus tells us only of their bodies lying unburied (admittedly of striking congruity with Rev 11:9), saying nothing of any plagues, or their resurrection and ascension. Peter and Paul were martyred in Rome, not Jerusalem, requiring the dismissal of part of 11:8 ("where their Lord was crucified") as a gloss. The plagues and the resurrection and

³⁸⁶ E.g. Morris, *Revelation*, 140-148.

³⁸⁷ E.g. Hendriksen, *More than Conquerors*, 126-132; Ladd, *A Commentary on the Revelation of John*, 149-160.

³⁸⁸ Seventh-day Adventists have done so. There are also other Protestants who continue to maintain the year-day principle, see e.g. <http://www.historicist.com> on 26/05/2004, although it is noticeable that much of the material available on this website is reproduced from the nineteenth century.

³⁸⁹ See above, section 3.11.

³⁹⁰ E.g. F.C. Baur.

³⁹¹ See above, section 3.9.

³⁹² See above, section 4.8.

ascension do not easily fit with Peter and Paul either, and similar criticisms can be levelled against any of the identifications with first century events.

Such criticisms are avoided by an exposition in which John is thought to have mistakenly predicted the preservation of the temple in Jerusalem and the imminent advent of two literal witnesses. Like the application to known first century events, this interpretation takes seriously the ὁ δεῖ γενέσθαι ἐν τάχει of 1:1 (cf. also 22:10, 12, 20), unlike those who argue that the text will still literally be fulfilled, several hundred years later. By arguing that John was incorrect in his expectation, this interpretation is able to correspond closely to the text, as the plagues, death, resurrection and ascension of the witnesses can all be taken fairly literally. It is obviously an unacceptable explanation for anyone who holds a doctrine of Scriptural inerrancy.

Ecclesiological exegesis becomes markedly more popular in the twentieth century. It is an option that has been taken by many academics. An exposition that attributes to John a mistaken belief that two literal witnesses would come soon after he wrote the Apocalypse is potentially little more than a historical curiosity for twentieth or twenty-first century Christian readers. An ecclesiological exegesis which sees the witnesses as symbolic of the witness of the Church throughout its history is something of immediate relevance for contemporary Christian readers, who can see themselves as part of the witnessing Church, or perhaps compare themselves with how Christian witness should be according to the passage. Most scholars involved in New Testament study are Christians, and many are concerned about the relevance of their writings for a wider Christian audience. Consciously or unconsciously this may have influenced the exegesis of some.

Catholic interpreters have adopted a variety of interpretative approaches, although notably steering clear of the year-day method. Eschatological exegesis has

been maintained.³⁹³ Preterist approaches have been taken by Calmet, Olivier, Ratton, Richards and Boismard.³⁹⁴ In the twentieth century, since the commentary of Allo in 1921 ecclesiological interpretations have become popular,³⁹⁵ and this is currently the dominant interpretation of Catholic exegetes. The freedom with which Catholic exegetes feel they can now use ecclesiological expositions is perhaps to be related to the demise of the year-day principle among Protestants. One constant feature of year-day interpretations is the identification of the Roman Church with the forces of Antichrist. It is not simply the past or future Roman Church that was seen in this way, but the Catholic Church contemporary to each Protestant year-day exegete's time of writing. Thus any interpretation that admitted the Apocalypse directly applied to contemporary events, such as an ecclesiological exegesis, was in effect conceding territory to the enemy. Catholic responses since the Reformation had tended to be defensive, applying the Apocalypse either to the eschatological future or the distant past in order to negate Protestant accusations that Catholicism was to be found in the negative figures portrayed in the Apocalypse.³⁹⁶ Only once Protestant exegesis had largely abandoned such readings did Catholics feel able to once again embrace an exegesis in which the Apocalypse could be applied to the Church of today.

The numerous idiosyncratic interpretations will doubtless persist, and I feel certain that there will continue to be those who claim to be the two witnesses.

³⁹³ E.g. Walmesley, Agier, Johnson, Haugg, Schick. See above, sections 4.9 and 4.6. Schick has both ecclesiological and eschatological exegesis.

³⁹⁴ See above, sections 4.7 and 4.8.

³⁹⁵ E.g. Allo, Amiot, Considine, Cerfaux, Loenertz, Bonsirven, Morant, Robinson, Delebecque, Giblin, Harrison and Min. See above, section 4.6.

³⁹⁶ Although giving an eschatological exegesis of 11:1-13, Walmesley, *The General History of the Christian Church*, is an exception here in applying the Apocalypse to the history of the Church.

Conclusion

This thesis has been a primarily descriptive survey, with relatively little in the way of contextualization of interpretations. Such historical and social contextualization is an important task, and I hope that the material assembled here will facilitate others in this undertaking. Even if some expositions are strange to our twenty-first century ears, they can be understood. Protestant writers of the sixteenth century, for instance, are convinced of the truth of Protestantism and the falsity of Catholicism. It is understandable that the Catholic Church, viewed as teaching error that could lead people away from God and towards eternal damnation, should be seen in the negative imagery of Revelation, such as the beast of 11:7, especially given the connection of evil forces with Rome in the Apocalypse.¹ Protestants needed to explain how and why what they believed to be error had been prevalent in Western Christianity for so long, and to trace their own historical lineage in order to ward off charges that their religion was a new innovation rather than the ancient faith delivered to the apostles. An interpretation of Rev 11:1-13 in which proto-Protestants maintained witness in face of opposition from the beast of the papacy was able to meet these needs. Such exegesis is understandable given the historical context, even if most would not choose to follow it today.

One aspect of the history of interpretation that has emerged forcefully from my study, and that I think deserves to be fully recognized, is the authority afforded to the interpretation that is traditional within a community. Tyconius expends great energy arguing against the accepted interpretation that the witnesses are two individuals because he knows that his readers will assume that the passage refers to two individuals. Even though his ecclesiological exegesis was enormously influential

¹ Cf. Rev 17:9.

among later patristic exegetes, relatively few maintained his insistence that the two witnesses were not two individuals yet to come, but included an eschatological application to Enoch and Elijah alongside an ecclesiological exegesis. Joachim of Fiore and Alexander Minorita both introduced radically new interpretations, and both felt the need to justify their break from accepted interpretation by appeal to direct divine revelation.² By the seventeenth century, few Protestant exegetes feel the need to argue that the beast of 11:7 is to be associated with the papacy/Roman Church; it can be taken for granted. The year-day principle was so firmly established in eighteenth century Britain that Lauchlan Taylor does not seriously consider the idea that the text might refer to two individuals with a 1260 day ministry, but simply tells his readers that the two cannot be only two persons, as it is “altogether incredible” to imagine that two persons could continue witnessing for 1260 years.³ When expositions become unquestioningly assumed, their status approaches that of the biblical text itself. This has not, of course, meant that no innovation has been possible, but rather that new expositions have usually required extensive justification, whether argumentative, as with Tyconius, or in the form of direct divine approbation as for Joachim and Alexander Minorita.

With the virtual abandonment of the year-day method in the late nineteenth century, it is remarkable how similar exegesis of the twentieth (and twenty-first) century is to that of the patristic age. Admittedly, an historical-critical exegesis that believes John mistakenly predicted two individuals to come shortly after his time of writing is foreign to the patristic age, which has a strong doctrine of scriptural inerrancy, but the substance of such exegesis in applying the passage eschatologically to two individuals is the same as much eschatological exegesis of the patristic era.

² See above, sections 2.2 and 2.5.

³ L. Taylor, *An Essay On some Important Passages of the Revelation of the Apostle John* (Edinburgh 1770) 113.

Exegesis in both the patristic and the present periods generally applies the passage eschatologically to two individuals, or sees the two witnesses as the Church between Christ's first and second advents.⁴

Although this thesis has been primarily a descriptive survey, it is perhaps fitting to say something briefly as regards evaluation of the various types of interpretation. As a Christian (a Catholic) I agree with the vast majority of the interpreters of the Apocalypse through the ages that the book should be treated as divinely inspired Scripture, not simply as the product of a human author. This means that the intention of the original human author, as far as this is recoverable, cannot be our sole criterion when looking at exegesis of a text. It is difficult enough to determine the intention of the original human author with any biblical book, but this is particularly so for a text such as the Apocalypse, with its extensive use of symbolism, and its sparing guidance as to the meaning of these symbols. *Dei Verbum*⁵ reminds us that the intention of the original human author is important, with attention paid to their original context as far as is known,

But since sacred scripture must be read and interpreted with its divine authorship in mind, no less attention must be paid to the content and unity of the whole of scripture, taking into account the tradition of the entire church and the analogy of faith, if we are to derive their true meaning from the sacred texts.⁶

Thus the divine authorship of the text, with its intended audience as the Church of all ages, must also be taken into account. I shall now offer a few brief comments on the major types of interpretation of the text.

⁴ Bede, often identified as the author marking the close of the patristic period, combines these two types of exegesis, and this is found in some modern authors, e.g. Schick. See above, sections 1.10 and 4.6.

⁵ Or the *Dogmatic Constitution on Divine Revelation* of the Second Vatican Council.

⁶ *Dei Verbum* 12, in, ed. A. Flannery, *The Basic Sixteen Documents. Vatican Council II. Constitutions, Decrees, Declarations* (Dublin 1996) 106.

Eschatological exegesis is probably close to the intentions of John. I think it likely that John expected the fulfilment of the passage in his own near future. Whether the temple is the literal one in Jerusalem, a possibility if John wrote before 70 AD, or is symbolic of the Church is hard to determine. Whether the two witnesses are two individuals, who are literally killed and resurrected, or whether they are symbolic of the Church, with some sort of symbolic death and resurrection is also difficult to determine, although if pressed, I think it more likely that John thought them to be two literal individuals. Modern historical-critical exegesis that sees the passage as an incorrect eschatological prediction is thus in my judgement close to recovering the authorial intention of John. It does have the disadvantage, however, that it makes the passage of little relevance to the modern Church, who are part of the intended audience of the passage when it is viewed from the perspective of its divine authorship. I am personally sceptical of exegesis that maintains that the passage will be literally fulfilled in the future, although I would not wish to absolutely rule this out. The Darbyite dispensationalist form of this exegesis is, however, unacceptable. It is part of an eschatological scenario which contains the doctrine of the rapture, which, at the risk of sounding dogmatic, is an unacceptable innovation of the nineteenth century.

The main problem with all preterist interpretations is a lack of correspondence between the text and any known historical events. Peter and Paul may have died as martyrs, and the bodies of the Jewish high priests Ananus and Jesus been left unburied in Jerusalem, but there is nothing to correspond precisely to the events described in Revelation 11.

The charge of non-correspondence with the text can also be laid against interpretations that see the passage as speaking of the history of the Church, with part

of this history contemporary with the writer. These authors often take the 1260 days as 1260 years. The variety of beginning and end dates for the 1260 years, and the array of events that are interpreted as the death of the witnesses testify to the difficulty of trying to show a correspondence between the text and precise historical events. It seems unlikely that events of several hundred years later were in John's mind as he wrote. The authors who see events of their own time in Revelation 11 are attempting to take seriously the divine authorship of the text, reading from it a message from God for their day. Their exegesis, in often identifying the beast as the papacy/Roman Church illustrates one of the dangers of applying the imagery of the Apocalypse to individuals and institutions. Revelation has few shades of grey, and tends to deal in black and white symbols. The figure of the beast is wholly negative, and when this is applied to the papacy/Roman Church, or anyone or anything else, it can be easy to see the object to which it is applied in wholly negative terms, with no redeeming features. This is dangerous, as if a person or group of persons are treated as irredeemable servants of the devil, it is possible to justify all kinds of otherwise unthinkable actions against them. Similarly, if the interpreter's own group are seen in the positive imagery of the Apocalypse, such as the witnesses, this imagery is usually entirely positive, and can lead to a lack of self-critical awareness of any shortcomings of the individual or group.

The above comments on the application of the imagery of the Apocalypse to contemporary persons or institutions apply to ecclesiological interpretations also. Ecclesiological interpretations do not, however, need to make a precise link between historical events and the imagery of the Apocalypse. There does not need to be a precise event that correlates, for instance, to the death of the witnesses. If, as is often the case, the two witnesses are seen as symbolic of the Church then particular

examples of persecution can be seen as like the death of the witnesses at the hands of the beast. Particular historical events can be compared to the passage, but none has to correspond precisely. An ecclesiological interpretation is consistent with divine authorship, and its intended audience of the Church through the ages.

There is also the question of how far the text itself and authorial intention determine the validity of interpretations. It is possible to argue that the validity of interpretations is decided solely by an interpretative community, and that the text itself has no part to play in determining the validity of an interpretation.⁷ I do not think this is correct, and believe that authorial intention and the text itself have roles to play in determining the validity of interpretations. I do not think that it is possible to give a single, correct interpretation of the passage, but I do think that some interpretations can be ruled out as incorrect. When Allan, interprets the two witnesses as two negative figures,⁸ the Catholic and Protestant Churches in particular time periods (he is writing from a Unitarian perspective), this is unacceptable. The two are given divine approbation in the text, shown by their resurrection and ascension to heaven. From the standpoint of authorial intention, John intends us to view positively those who are on God's side. However, it is relatively rare to find expositors whose interpretations are so obviously contrary to the text that they can be ruled out.⁹ The text is undoubtedly opaque, and invites a variety of interpretations, but it does exercise some constraints upon its interpreters.

These comments on the varieties of interpretation have been very brief. I do not think that a single "correct" interpretation of the passage can be spoken of, but the

⁷ E.g. S. Fish, *Is There a Text in this Class? The Authority of Interpretive Communities* (Cambridge, MA 1980).

⁸ See above, section 4.2.

⁹ Downs' interpretation of the two witnesses as the twin towers of the World Trade Centre, and Bellamy's assertion that they are volcanoes at an early stage of the earth's life are further examples, see above, section 4.12.

text does not allow simply any interpretation of it. I am personally more inclined towards eschatological and ecclesiological interpretations than other types.

Primary Sources Index

Adso, 11, 19, 25, 30, 43, 93, 119

Agier, P.-J., 272, 303

Alcazar, L., 180, 181, 206, 231, 301

Alcuin, 83

Aldred, E., 272

Alexander Minorita, 4, 9, 90, 129, 132,
134, 135, 174, 205, 305

Alexander of Hales, 129

Allan, G., 240, 241

Allen, D., 244

Allen, W., 213

Allo, E.B., 258, 303

Alsted, J., 172

Ambrose, 11, 15

Ambrose Autpert, 53, 78, 80, 81, 82,
83, 84, 88, 93, 144

Ambrosiaster, 11, 15

Amiot, F., 257, 303

Amyraut, B.O., 204

The Andreas Salos Apocalypse, 19

Andrew of Caesarea, 43, 87

Anselm of Laon, 93, 94, 96, 97, 100,
101, 120, 121, 144

The Apocalypse of Daniel, 19, 42

The Apocalypse of Elijah (Coptic), 14

Apocalypse of Ezra (Syriac), 17

The Apocalypse of Peter (Arabic), 18

*The Apocalypse of Peter (Ethiopic
Clementine)*, 17

The Apocalypse of Peter (Ethiopic), 14

*The Apocalypse of Peter (Syriac
Clementine)*, 17

The Apocalypse of Pseudo-John, 16

The Apocalypse of Pseudo-Shenoute,
17

*Apocalyptic Symbols and Figures
Briefly Defined*, 274

Apringius of Béja, 77, 83

Aquinas, T., 119, 123, 140

Archer, H., 184

Arethas of Caesarea, 43, 85, 87, 88

Aretius, B., 159

Armstrong, A., 239

Arnold of Villanova, 128

Arthur, M., 167, 234

Artopoeus, P. (P. Becker), 157

Aser pinguis, in Hugh of St. Cher, 119,
120, 121, 123, 128, 131, 164, 174

- Ashe, I., 243
- Auberlen, C., 259
- Augustine, 42, 43, 52, 74, 77, 82, 98, 152, 159, 226
- Aune, D., 20, 285
- Bachmair, J., 248, 249
- Baggs, J., 237, 238
- Baldwin, S.D., 251, 292
- Bale, J., 129, 130, 150, 151, 152, 155, 164
- Barclay, W., 283
- Barnes, A., 256
- Barnwell, F.A., 296
- Bauckham, R., 3, 13, 17, 20, 21, 25, 27, 35, 36, 38, 150, 156, 168, 170, 258
- Baur, F.C., 268, 301
- Baxter, R., 222
- Baxter, M., 274
- Baylee, J., 256
- Beagley, A., 267
- Beale, G., 262
- Beasley-Murray, G., 285
- Beatus of Liebana, 53, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 63, 67, 68, 70, 71, 79, 83, 88, 93, 133
- Beckwith, I., 283
- Bede, 3, 11, 18, 25, 30, 43, 52, 53, 57, 63, 64, 66, 68, 71, 80, 81, 83, 84, 88, 91, 92, 144, 193, 306
- Beith, A., 250
- Bellamy, H., 294
- Bellarmino, R., 165
- Bengel, J., 271, 272
- Berengaudus, 97, 98, 100
- Bernard, R., 106, 171
- Beverley, T., 213, 214
- Bewes, R., 257, 258
- Beyschlag, W., 258, 282
- BIBLE
- Biblia Latina cum Glossa Ordinaria.*
- Facsimile Reprint of the Editio Princeps, Adolph Rusch of Strassburg 1480/1481 ed. K. Froehlich and M.T. Gibson (Turnhout 1992), 86, 94*
- La Bible Moralisée Illustrée.*
- Conservée à Oxford, Paris et*

- Londres* ed A. de Laborde (Paris 1911-1927), 118
- The Annotated New Testament 1602 Edition* [facsimile] ed. G.T. Sheppard (Cleveland, Ohio 1989), 156
- The Bible and Holy Scriptures Contained in the Olde and Newe Testament* (Geneva 1560) = Geneva Bible, 156
- The Dutch Annotations Upon the Whole Bible*, trans. T. Haak (London 1657), 176
- The Geneva Bible* (London 1578), 156
- The New Testament of Jesus Christ* (Rhemes 1582) = Rhemes testament by Jesuits, 271
- The Scofield Reference Bible*, ed. C.I. Scofield (New York 1909), 277
- Bibliander, T., 154, 155, 168, 171, 228
- Bicheno, J., 236, 237, 242
- Bickersteth, E., 255
- Birks, T., 255
- Blake, W., 289
- Bleek, F., 267, 281
- Böcher, O., 3, 269
- Bock, E., 293
- Bodson, G., 297
- Boismard, M-E., 269, 303
- Bonsirven, J., 257, 303
- Boring, M.E., 285
- Borrhaus, M., 156
- Bousset, W., 1, 16, 151, 282
- Boyer, P., 7, 217, 251, 275
- Brandmuller, J., 172
- Breviloquium*, 111, 115, 116, 117
- Brightman, T., 168, 170, 171, 182, 188, 192, 233
- Britannicus, P (pseud.), 243
- Brocardo, G., 159, 239
- Brogan, J., 244
- Broughton, H., 168
- Brown, D, 256
- Brown, J., 241
- Brown, J.A., 245
- Browne, H., 255
- Bruno of Segni, 91, 92, 101, 124, 165, 228, 288

- Brütsch, C., 257
- Buchanan, G., 266
- Bulengerus, P., 164
- Bull, D., 177, 178, 196, 218
- Bullinger, H., 154, 155, 156, 168, 172, 204, 233
- Bûlus al-Bûši, 39
- Burger, C., 102, 280
- Burgh, W., 272, 273
- Burn, A., 238
- Burroughs, J., 184
- Burton, A., 277
- Burton, H., 185
- Butt, J., 255
- C., M.A.E., 290
- Caesarius of Arles, 53, 59, 60, 66, 70, 71, 74
- Caird, G.B., 285
- Calendar of State Papers*, 177
- Calmet, A., 263, 303
- Campanella, T., 179
- Canne, J., 201, 202, 230
- Caponsacchus, P., 166, 181
- Cartwright, T., 176
- Cary, M., 188, 189
- Cassiodore, 53, 78
- Cerfaux, L., 257, 303
- Chalken, T., 289
- Charles, R.H., 1, 4, 6, 23, 145, 158, 168, 171, 190, 191, 193, 194, 230, 239, 244, 249, 273, 282
- Charleston, C., 254
- Chauffard, A., 274
- Chytraeus, D., 157, 172, 176, 192, 242
- Clark, S., 178, 212
- C[larke], 219, 220
- Clayton, R, (1749), 234, 277
- Clayton, R, (1940), 234, 277
- Clericus (pseud.), 273
- Cock, W., 209
- Cole, J., 255
- Colladon, N., 156
- Columbinus Prophecy*, 140
- Commentarius in Apocalypsin ante Centum Annos aeditus* (Wittenberg 1528), 130, 131
- Commodian, 11, 14, 32, 41
- Conradus, A., 156
- Considine, J., 257, 303
- Cooke, W., 257

- Cooper, H., 259, 260
- Cooper, R., 255
- Corsini, E., 295
- Cotterius, M., 176
- Cotton, J., 202, 203
- Couchoud, P., 283
- Court, J., 182, 269
- Cowley, R.W., 75
- Cowper, W., 168
- Cradock, S., 215
- Cressener, D., 216, 217, 236
- Croly, G., 239
- Cromarty, G., 253
- Cross, W., 217
- Culbertson, R., 255
- Cumming, J., 255, 256
- Cuninghame, W., 240, 272
- A Curb for Sectaries and Propheciers*
(London 1641), 177
- Cursor Mundi*, 140
- Cydonius, I. (Andrew Eudaemon), 179
- Pseudo-Cyprian, 11, 16
- Dansk, E. (pseud.), 283, 284
- Darby, J.N., 273, 275, 276, 277
- Darke, E., 296, 297
- Daubuz, C., 253, 254
- Davies, E., 23, 189, 190
- De Enoch et Haeliae in Poetarum
Latinorum Medii*, 140
- De Gagny, J., 163
- De La March, J., 186
- De Mariana, J., 180
- De Oneribus Prophetarum*, 112
- De Sylveira, J., 225
- De Wette, W.M.L., 281
- Dean, J., 269
- The Death of Joseph (Bohairic)*, 15
- Delebecque, E., 257, 258, 303
- Delisle, L. and Meyer, P., 118
- Dent, A., 167, 168
- Desprez, P., 266, 269, 301
- Dick, D., 249
- Dionysius bar Salibi, 46
- Dionysius the Carthusian, 131
- Doddridge, P., 234
- Douglas, C., 293, 294
- Drummond, H., 239
- Du Moulin, P. (the elder), 176
- Duo Propheetai (pseud.), 294
- Durham, J., 202

- Düsterdieck, F., 281
- Ebrard, J., 259
- Edinger, E., 297, 298
- Edwards, J., 247, 248
- Eichhorn, J.G., 265, 267
- Elliott, E.B., 240, 252, 299
- An English Fourteenth Century*
- Apocalypse Version with a Prose*
- Commentary*, ed. E.Fridner
- (Lund/Copenhagegen 1961), 118
- Ephraem Syrus, 11, 15, 16
- Pseudo-Ephraem 'Graecus', 11, 16, 30
- Pseudo-Ephraem 'Latinus', 11, 16
- The Erythraean Sibyl*, 163
- Ettrick, W., 255
- Euthymius Zigabenus., 11, 19, 42
- Evans, A., 193, 194, 196
- Evanson, E., 254
- Evill, T., 238
- Ewald, G.H.A., 267, 281
- Faber, G., 243, 244
- Fabricius, G., 168
- False Prophets Discovered* (London
- 1642), 177, 178
- Farrer, A., 284, 285
- Féret, H., 259
- Feuillet, A., 284
- Firebrace, A., 294
- Flacius Illyricus, M., 151, 156, 158,
- 162
- Fleming, R., 233
- Floyer, J., 245
- Folbigg, H., 239, 240
- Foord (Foorthe), J., 161
- Forbes, P., 168
- Ford, J.M., 283
- Forsyth, W.D., 292
- Foster, G., 189, 191, 250
- Foxe, J., 154, 160, 161
- Franzmann, M., 285
- Fraser, A., 234
- Frere, J.H., 238
- Fulke, W., 156, 164
- Fulton, A., 256
- Galloway, J., 242
- Galloway, W., 239
- Gallus, C., 161
- Garnham, R.E., 237
- Garrett, W., 236, 237, 253
- Gascoyne, R., 256

- Gauntlett, H., 242
- Gawler, J., 252, 253
- Gebhardt, H., 258, 281, 282
- Gentry, K.L., 269
- Gerhardus, J., 204
- Gerhoh of Reichersberg, 101, 105, 109
- Gib, A., 254
- Giblin, C., 258, 303
- Gibson, W., 86, 94, 243
- Giet, S., 269
- Giffard, G., 156
- Gill, J., 254
- Glasson, T., 283
- Godet, F., 274
- Goodwin, T., 182, 183, 184, 230
- Gordonus, J., 179
- Govett, R., 273
- Gräber, H., 245, 246
- Grafton, C., 290
- Graserus, C., 168
- Graves, R., 256
- Greenwell, T., 252
- Gregory the Great, 11, 16, 43
- Greve, A., 268
- Grotius, H., 204, 205, 206, 222, 226, 231, 301
- Gry, L., 260
- Gurney, J., 238, 239
- Habershon, M., 255
- Hadorn, D.W., 282
- Haggith, D., 275
- Haimo of Auxerre, 84, 88, 91, 93, 119, 144
- Hall, E., 192, 193, 194, 195
- Hallifax, S., 254
- Hammond, H., 206, 222, 226
- Harby, T., 209
- Hardy, S., 272
- Harrington, W., 14, 26, 258, 259
- Hartlib, S. et al., 204
- Haugg, D., 47, 266, 274, 275, 303
- Hayter, R., 217, 218
- Heinrich of Neustadt, 141
- Helmont, F., 218
- Hendriksen, W., 262, 301
- Hengstenberg, E., 257
- Herder, J., 265
- Heunisch, C., 212
- H[eywood], T., 177

- Hilgenfeld, 282
- Hill, H., 4, 76, 172, 173, 182, 183, 191, 196, 199, 239, 260, 261
- Hippolytus, 11, 14, 16, 20, 25, 27, 30, 32, 40, 41, 46, 48, 66, 76, 88, 93, 116, 174
- (Pseudo-)Hippolytus, 11, 16, 20, 25, 30, 40, 41
- Hislop, A., 243
- Hofmann, J., 75
- Hofmann, J.C.K., 273
- Holland, H., 182, 190, 192
- Holmes, J., 243
- Holmes, W.A., 249, 250
- Holtzmann, H.J., 282
- Holwerda, D., 259
- Holzhauser, B., 224
- Homes, N., 208
- Hommel, F., 288
- Hooke, W., 222
- Hooper, J., 238
- Hughes, P., 257, 258
- Hunnius, A., 170
- Hutcheson, A., 255
- Iconius, R.E., 170
- Irenaeus, 11, 14, 25, 28, 47, 77, 98, 226, 286
- Irving, E., 238
- Jacob de Lausanne, 129
- Jansen, H., 223
- Jerome, 47, 51, 53, 75, 77, 79, 80, 81, 83, 86, 99, 130, 152, 154, 155, 159, 161, 179, 228, 248, 274
- Pseudo-Jerome, 53, 78, 79, 88, 92
- Joachim of Fiore, 3, 4, 9, 90, 101, 102, 104, 105, 106, 108, 109, 111, 142, 144, 280, 305
- Pseudo-Joachim of Fiore, 110, 112
- John of Damascus, 11, 18, 43
- John of Paris, 114, 116
- John of Rupescissa [=Jean de Roquetaillade], 138, 139
- Johnson, J., 280, 292, 293, 303
- Johnston, B., 233
- Jones, J., 256
- Jones, W., 18, 255
- Judah, L., 103, 142, 160, 248, 252, 278
- Jung (Stilling), J., 280
- Jungnitius, C., 168
- Junius, F., 156, 160, 176

- Jurieu, P., 215, 216, 236
- Keach, B., 213, 214, 236
- Kelly, J., 276
- Kelly, W., 275, 276
- Keyworth, T., 243
- Kiddle, M., 284
- ΚΛΕΙΣ ΠΡΟΦΗΤΕΙΑΣ, or the Key of Prophecie*, 194
- Kliefoth, T., 280
- Knollys, H., 209, 210, 211
- Kraft, H., 269
- Kromayer, H., 222
- Kuhlman, Q., 209
- Lacey, T., 260
- Lactantius, 11, 15, 40
- Lacunza, J., 280
- Ladd, G., 262, 301
- LaHaye, T., 278
- Lahaye, T. and Jenkins, J., 278, 279
- Lambert, F., 149, 150, 228
- Langdon, S., 248
- Lange, J., 259
- Lapide, C. à (Cornelius van den Steen), 179
- Latin Tiburtine Sybil*, 18
- Lawrence, D.H., 288
- Lawrie, J., 254
- Lebagh, I., 273
- Lee, S., 111, 115, 263, 264
- Leifchild, J., 255
- Leigh, E., 191, 192
- Leoninus, A., 179
- Lilje, H., 259
- Lindsey, H., 277, 278
- Loenertz, R.J., 257, 303
- Lohmeyer, E., 282
- Lohse, E., 283
- Loisy, A., 282
- Lord, D., 255
- Loughran, D., 275
- Lowman, M., 234
- Lücke, F., 281
- L[upton], T., 172
- Luthardt, C., 261
- Luther, M., 4, 129, 146, 147, 153, 163, 171, 203, 228, 240, 248, 287
- MacDonald, R., 244
- Maitland, C., 239
- Maitland, Charles., 239, 273
- Maitland, S., 272

- Malvenda, T., 179
- Marlorate, A., 152
- Marschalck, H., 146
- Martin of Léon, 119
- Mason, T., 171, 172
- Matthäi, F., 265, 266
- Matthew of Janov, 140
- Maurice, F., 158, 162, 268
- Maycock, A., 257
- Mayer, J., 172
- M-D, J., 254
- Mede, J., 173, 174, 175, 182, 183, 184,
187, 189, 195, 204, 208, 215, 230,
247, 255, 299, 300
- Menochius, J., 179
- Pseudo-Methodius (Greek and Latin),
11, 17
- Pseudo-Methodius (Syriac), 11, 17, 35,
36
- Meyer, S., 118, 151, 153, 154, 157,
229
- Miller, W., 239, 296, 300
- Milligan, W., 257
- Min, P.B-S., 260, 303
- Minear, P., 259
- Mocket, T., 186
- A Modest Inquiry into the Meaning of
the Revelations* (London 1642), 218
- Moffatt, J., 282
- Moody, R., 249
- Morant, P., 257, 303
- More, H., 7, 11, 48, 163, 173, 203,
211, 212, 228, 251, 262, 275, 278,
301
- Morris, L., 140, 239, 258, 301
- Mounce, R., 285
- Muggleton, L., 196, 197, 198, 199, 200
- Mulerius, N., 222, 223
- Müller, U., 14, 31, 285
- Mumford, J., 225
- Munck, J., 20, 269
- Murfin, F. and Murfin, R., 253
- Murray, J., 208, 254
- Muspilli*, 11, 18, 39, 40
- Napier, J., 154, 158, 159, 168, 171,
182, 202, 212, 228
- Newbolt, M., 261
- Newman, J.H., 273
- Newton, B.W., 273, 276
- Newton, I., 247

- Newton, T., 234
- Nicholas of Gorran, 124, 129, 165
- Nicholas of Lyra, 9, 132, 134, 135, 174, 205
- Nicolai, P., 136, 158
- Niles, D., 258
- Norris, A., 280
- Noyes, J.H., 250, 251
- Oecumenius, 43, 85, 86, 87, 88, 179
- Olivi, P.J., 4, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 135, 137, 138, 144
- Olivier, A., 263, 264, 303
- The Oracle of Baalbek*, 11, 18
- Origen, 26, 53, 85
- Orr, R., 262
- Pae, D., 241
- Palmer, J., 244
- Paralipomena Ieremiae*, 49
- Pareus, D., 172, 183, 229
- Park, J., 244
- Parrhesiastes, P. (pseudonym), 222
- Paulitius, F., 179
- Peake, A.S., 283
- Peganius, A.B. (Knorr von Rosenroth, C.), 208, 209
- Peter Aureol, 9, 134, 135, 174, 205
- Peter of Tarantaise (later Pope Innocent V), 123
- Petto, S., 214
- Pfleiderer, O., 288
- Philipot, J., 216, 236
- Pseudo-Philo, 11, 14, 26, 27
- Phipps, O., 148
- Pirie, A., 238
- Piscator, J., 176
- Platt, N., 269, 270
- The Play of Antichrist*, 140
- Plummer, A., 261, 262
- Poole, M., 222, 223
- Priestley, J., 242
- Prigent, P., 4, 6, 46, 257, 258
- Primasius, 53, 55, 59, 63, 64, 66, 71, 72, 75, 76, 77, 78, 80, 81, 83, 84
- Prous Boneta, 138
- Pürstinger, B., 163
- Pyle, T., 254
- Quellen zur Geschichte der Weidertaufer II*, 147
- Quesnel, P., 225
- Quique cupitis audire*, 140

- Quispel, G., 283
 Quodvultdeus,, 11, 15, 84, 180
 Ratton, J., 266, 301, 303
 Read, H., 238, 243
 Reeve, J., 196, 197, 198, 199
 Reifferscheid, A., 142
 Renan, J., 282
 Resseguie, J., 259
 Ribiera, F., 165, 180, 229
 Richard of St. Victor, 100
 Richards, H., 267, 303
 Riemer, U., 259
 Rissi, M., 285
 Rist, M., 283
 Robertson, D., 255
 Robertson, J., 254
 Robinson, B., 15, 257, 258, 286, 303
 Robotham, J., 191
 Roloff, J., 259
 Rossetti,C., 290, 291
 Rowland, C., 2, 4, 261, 292
 Rudolf of Ems, 141
 Rupert of Deutz, 98, 101, 109
 Russell, J., 90, 268, 269, 296, 301
 Sa, E., 165
 Sale-Harrison, L., 276, 277
 Salimbene, 113
 Salmeron, A., 179
 Schick, E., 258, 303, 306
 Schmidt, E., 16, 142, 204
 Schüssler Fiorenza, E., 259
 Scott, E., 282
 Scott, I., 289
 Scott, T., 257
 Scott, W.H., 263, 264
 Scott,W., 274
 Seiss, J., 276
 Shand, A., 238
 Sherwin, W., 209
Sibillen Boich, 140
 Sickenberger, J., 283
 Simcox, W., 274
 Simpson, D., 234
 Smith, E., 242
 Smith, U., 239
 Snodgrass, J., 254
 Soloviev, V., 291, 292
 Spalding, J., 237
 Spitta, F., 288
 Sproxton, V., 257

- St. Clair, J., 254
- Staab, K., 85
- Steiner, R., 293
- Stern, C., 273, 274
- Strand, K., 261
- Striegel, V., 156
- Stuart, J. (King James I of England),
169
- Stuart, M., 267
- Suarez, F., 179
- Swedenborg, E., 289
- Swete, H.B., 260
- Taffin, J., 171
- Tatford, F., 277
- Taylor, L., 254, 305
- Taylor, T., 168
- Telesphorus of Cosenza, 114, 115,
116, 142, 163
- Tenney, M., 275
- Tertullian, 11, 14, 38, 39, 41
- Theophylact, 11, 19, 42
- Thomas, D., 258
- Thomas, J., 241
- Thruston, F., 255
- Tillam, T., 192
- Tillinghast, J., 201
- Todd, J., 273
- Torrance, T., 258
- Tout, C., 244
- Towers, J., 237
- Trapp, J., 188
- Tripp, J., 255
- Tudor, J., 3, 150, 156, 168, 170, 238
- Turner, C., 269
- Tyconius, 2, 3, 9, 12, 46, 52, 53, 54,
55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64,
66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 73, 74, 75, 76,
77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 83, 88, 92, 98,
120, 122, 160, 176, 228, 248, 261,
279, 304
- Tyso, J., 273
- Ubertino of Casale, 137
- Underwood, T.L ed., 196
- van Daalen, D., 257, 258
- Vane, H., 202
- Vassiliev, A. ed., 19
- Vaughan, C., 257
- Venema, H., 272
- Victorinus of Pettau, 3, 46, 47
- Vidit Iacob*, 119, 122, 123, 124

- Viegas, B., 179
- Vischer, E., 287, 288
- Visio Danielis* (καὶ ἔσται), 19
- Visio Danielis* (Pseudo-Chrysostom), 19
- Visio Danielis* (Slavonic), 18
- Vitringa, C., 242
- Vivian, T., 234, 235
- Vögtle, A., 285
- Volkmar, G., 268
- Völter, D., 266
- von Frankenberg, A., 204
- Vox domini*, 123
- Wadding, L., 112
- Walhout, E., 262
- Walmesley, C., 272, 303
- Walvoord, J., 277, 279
- Waple, E., 214, 215
- Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society, 295, 296
- Waugh, J., 255
- Webber, R., 283
- Weiss, B., 267
- Weiss, J., 282
- Welch, C., 275
- Wellhausen, J., 286
- Wettstein, J.J., 265, 267
- Whiston, W., 253
- Whitaker, E., 243, 245
- White, (Jezreel), J.R., 292
- White, E.G., 239
- Whitley, J., 246
- Wikenhauser, A., 283
- Wilcock, M., 262
- Williams, I., 257
- Williams, R., 203
- Wilson, T., 168, 277
- Winchester, E., 236
- Winckelmann, J., 170
- Winstanley, G., 190, 191
- Winthrop, J., 254
- Witham, R., 271
- Wither, G., 156
- Woodcocke, F., 187, 217
- Woodhead, A., 212
- Woodhouse, J., 254, 255
- Woolston, T., 271
- Yarbro Collins, A., 283
- Zahn, T., 75, 274

Zegerus, N., 164

<http://www.bibledesk.com/index.htm>

on 31/5/2002, 277

[http://earth-history.com/Sumer/sumer-](http://earth-history.com/Sumer/sumer-adapa.htm)

[adapa.htm](http://earth-history.com/Sumer/sumer-adapa.htm) on 9/9/2003, 288

<http://www.historicist.com> on

26/5/2004, 301

<http://www.ianpaisley.org/> on

26/5/2004, 7

[http://members.aol.com/djdowns/proje](http://members.aol.com/djdowns/projects/endofdays/witnesses.html)

[cts/endofdays/witnesses.html](http://members.aol.com/djdowns/projects/endofdays/witnesses.html) on

29/11/2001, 298

<http://rapture.sinfree.net/> on

26/05/2004, 279

<http://www.revandy.com> on

31/05/2002, 298

<http://www.the-two-witnesses.org/> on

26/2/2002, 298

[http://www.tarad8.suddenlaunch.co](http://www.tarad8.suddenlaunch.com/index.cgi?board=questcomboard)

[m/index.cgi?board=questcomboard](http://www.tarad8.suddenlaunch.com/index.cgi?board=questcomboard)

[&action=display&num=108115886](http://www.tarad8.suddenlaunch.com/index.cgi?board=questcomboard)

5 on 9/6/2004, 298

Primary Sources Bibliography

Adso, ed. D. Verhelst, *De Ortu et Tempore Antichristi* (CCCM 45: Turnhout 1976)

Agier, P.-J., *Commentaire sur l'Apocalypse* (Paris 1832)

Alcazar, L., *Vestigatio Arcani Sensus in Apocalypsi* (Antwerp 1614)

Alcuin, *Commentaria in Apocalypsin* (PL 100)

Aldred, E., *The Little Book* (London 1811)

“Alexander” in, Alexander of Hales, ed. J. de la Haye, *Commentarii in Apocalypsim* (Paris 1647)

Alexander Minorita, ed. A. Wachtel, *Expositio in Apocalypsin* (Weimar 1955)

Allan, G., *A Key to the Apocalypse* (Paisley 1818)

Allen, D., *The Fulfilment of Scripture in the Present European War* (Melbourne 1859)

Allen, W., *A Discourse of the Nature, Series and Order of Occurrences: As they are prophetically represented in the 11th Chap. of the Revelation* (London 1689)

Allo, E.B., *Saint Jean. L'Apocalypse* (Paris 1921)

Alsted, J., *Thesaurus Chronologiae* (Herborn 1624)

Ambrose, ed. M. Petschenig, rev. M. Zelzer, *Explanatio Psalmorum XII* (CSEL 63: Vienna 1999)

Ambrose Autpert, ed. R. Weber, *Expositionis in Apocalypsin* (CCCM 27: Turnhout 1975)

Ambrosiaster, ed. H. Vogels, *Ambrosiastri qui dicitur commentarius in epistulas paulinas* (CSEL 81.1, 81.2, 81.3: Vienna 1966-1969)

Amiot, F., *Gestes at Textes des Apôtres. Actes – Épitres – Apocalypse* (Paris 1950)

Amyraut, B.O., *Introduction à l'Exposition de l'Apocalypse* (The Hague 1658)

“The Andreas Salos Apocalypse,” ed. L. Rydén, in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 28

(Washington 1974) 197-264

Andrew of Caesarea, ed. J. Schmid, *Studien zur Geschichte des griechischen Apokalypse-Textes. 1. Teil. Der Apokalypse-Kommentar des Andreas von Kaisareia* (Munich 1955)

Anselm of Laon, *Enarrationes in Apocalypsin* (PL 162)

Der Antichrist und die fünfzehn Zeichen. Faksimile-Ausgabe des einzigen erhaltenen chiroxylographischen Blockbuches, ed. H. Th. Musper (Munich 1970)

The Apocalypse of Daniel, ed. G.T. Zervos, in *OTP* 1, pp.755-770

The Apocalypse of Elijah (Coptic), ed. O.S. Wintermute, in *OTP* 1 pp.725-744

- *L'Apocalypse d'Elie*, ed. J.-M. Rosenstiehl (Paris 1972)

- *Die Elia-Apokalypse*, ed. W. Schrage (Gütersloh 1980)

Apocalypse of Ezra (Syriac), ed. F. Baethgen, "Beschreibung der syrischen Handschrift 'Sachau 131' auf der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin" *ZAW* 6 (1886) 193-211.

The Apocalypse of Peter (Arabic), in Mingana, A, ed., *Woodbrooke Studies*, vol. 3 (Cambridge 1931) 93-449

The Apocalypse of Peter (Ethiopic), ed. C. Detlef and G. Müller, in *NTA* 2, pp.620-638

The Apocalypse of Peter (Ethiopic Clementine), ed. E. Bratke, "Handschriftliche Überlieferung und Bruchstücke der arabisch-aethiopischen Petrus-Apokalypse," *ZWT* 36/1 (1893) 454-493

The Apocalypse of Peter (Syriac Clementine), ed. E. Bratke, "Handschriftliche Überlieferung und Bruchstücke der arabisch-aethiopischen Petrus-Apokalypse," *ZWT* 36/1 (1893) 454-493

The Apocalypse of Pseudo-John, in, ed. C. Tischendorf, *Apocalypses Apocryphae*

(Leipzig 1866)

The Apocalypse of Pseudo-Shenoute, in, ed. E. Amélineau, *Mémoires Publiées par les Membres de la Mission Archéologique Française au Caire (1885-1886)* 4/1 (Paris 1888) pp.289-478 (Life of Shenoute)

Apocalyptic Symbols and Figures Briefly Defined (London n.d. – received into the British Library 1875)

Apringius of Béja, ed. M. Férotin, *Apringius de Béja, son Commentaire de l'Apocalypse* (Paris 1900)

Aquinas, T. (various eds.), *Summa Theologiae* (London 1964-1981)

Archer, H., *The Personall Reign of Christ Upon Earth* (London 1642)

Arethas of Caesarea, *Coacerratio Enarrationum ex Variis Sanctis Viris in Joannis dilecti discipuli et evangelistae Apocalypsin* (PG 106)

Aretius, B., *Commentarii in omnes epistolas d. Pauli, et canonicas, Itemque in Apocalypsin d. Ioannis* (n.p. 1596 – original Latin edition 1581)

Armstrong, A., *A Syllabus of Lectures on the Visions of the Revelation* (Morristown, NJ 1815)

Arnold of Villanova, ed. J. Carreras i Artau, *Expositio Super Apocalypsi* (Barcelona 1971)

Arthur, M., *The two Witnesses prophesying a Thousand two Hundred and Threescore Days in Sackcloth* (Glasgow 1779)

Artopoeus, P. (P. Becker), *Vaticinium Sacrum, de Ecclesia, totoque ministerio Evangelii, sub Antichristianismo, usque ad finem mundi. Ex Apocalypsi capite XI* (n.p. 1556)

Aser pinguis, in, Hugh of St. Cher, *Opera Omnia* (Basel 1498-1502) vol.7

Ashe, I., *The Book of Revelation with Compendious Notes* (Dublin 1835)

Auberlen, C., *The Prophecies of Daniel and the Revelations of St. John, Viewed in their Mutual Relation* (Edinburgh 1856)

Augustine, ed. A. Goldbacher, *S. Augustini Epistulae* (CSEL 57: Vienna/Leipzig 1911)

Aune, D., *Revelation* (Dallas/Nashville 1997-1998) 3 vols.

Bachmair, J., *The Revelation of St. John Historically Explained* (London 1778)

Baggs, J., *A Scriptural View of the Millennium* (Bath 1797)

Baldwin, S.D., *Armageddon: or the Overthrow of Romanism and Monarchy* (Cincinnati 1854)

Bale, J., *The Image of Both Churches* in H.Christmas (ed.), *Select Works of John Bale* (Cambridge 1849)

Barclay, W., *The Revelation of St. John [The Daily Study Bible]* (Edinburgh 1976 – original edition 1959)

Barnes, A., *Notes, Explanatory and Practical, on the Book of Revelation* (London 1852)

Barnwell, F.A., *Meditations on the Apocalypse* (Rockport/Shafesbury/Brisbane 1992)

Bauckham, R., *The Climax of Prophecy* (Edinburgh 1993)

Baur, F.C., “Kritik der neuesten (Hengstenberg’schen) Erklärung der Apokalypse”
Theologische Jahrbucher 11 (1852) 305-399, 441-469.

Baxter, M., *Forty Coming Wonders From 1889-1901* (London 1887 – sixth edition)

Baxter, M., *Louis Napoleon the Destined Monarch of the World* (Philadelphia 1866)

Baxter, R., *A Paraphrase on the New Testament* (London 1685 – original edition 1684)

Baylee, J., *The Times of the Gentiles* (London 1871)

Beagley, A., *The “Sitz im Leben of the Apocalypse with Particular Reference to the*

Role of the Church's Enemies (Berlin/New York 1987)

Beale, G., *The Book of Revelation* (Grand Rapids/Carlisle 1999)

Beasley-Murray, G., *The Book of Revelation* (London 1974)

Beatus of Liebana, ed. H.A. Sanders, *Beati in Apocalypsin, Libri Duodecim* (Rome 1930)

Beckwith, I., *The Apocalypse of John* (New York 1919)

Bede, ed. R. Gryson, *Expositio Apocalypseos* (CCSL 121A: Turnhout 2001)

Bede, ed. C.W. Jones, *De temporum ratione liber* (CCSL 123B: Turnhout 1980)

Bede, ed. F. Wallis, *Bede: The Reckoning of Time* (Liverpool 1999)

Beith, A., *Letters to the Author of "The Seventh Vial"* (Edinburgh 1849)

Beith, A., *The "Two Witnesses" of the Apocalypse Traced in History* (Edinburgh 1846)

Bellamy, H., *The Book of Revelation is History* (London 1942)

Bellarmino, R., *De Controversiis Christianae Fidei, adversus huius temporis haereticos* (Ingolstadt 1590 – original edition 1586)

Bengel, J., *Bengelius' Introduction to His Exposition of the Apocalypse* (London 1757)

Bengel, J., *Gnomon of the New Testament*, vol. 5 (Edinburgh 1866)

Berengaudus, *Expositio in Apocalypsin* (PL 17)

Bernard, R., *A Key of Knowledge for the Opening of the Secret Mysteries of St. John's Mystical Revelation* (London 1617)

Beverley, T., *The Grand Apocalyptical Vision of the Witnesses Slain* (London 1687)

Bewes, R., *The Church Overcomes. A guided tour through the book of Revelation* (London/Oxford 1984)

Beyschlag, W., *Die Offenbarung Johannis* (Berlin 1876)

BIBLE, in chronological order

K. Froehlich and M.T. Gibson (ed.), *Biblia Latina cum Glossa Ordinaria. Facsimile*

Reprint of the Editio Princeps, Adolph Rusch of Strassburg 1480/1481

(Turnhout 1992)

La Bible Moralisée, ed. A. de Laborde, *La Bible Moralisée Illustrée. Conservée à*

Oxford, Paris et Londres (Paris 1911-1927)

Biblia Sacra Veteris et Novi Testamenti iuxta vulgatam, quam dicunt, editionem

Ioannis Benedicti Parisiensis (Paris 1558)

The Bible and Holy Scriptures Contained in the Olde and Newe Testament (Geneva

1560) = Geneva Bible

The Geneva Bible (London 1578)

The New Testament of Iesus Christ (Rhemes 1582) = Rhemes testament by Jesuits

Biblia Sacra (with notes by L. Osiander) (Tübingen 1600)

The Geneva Bible, The Annotated New Testament 1602 Edition [facsimile] ed. G.T.

Sheppard (Cleveland, Ohio 1989)

The Dutch Annotations Upon the Whole Bible, trans. T. Haak (London 1657)

The Scofield Reference Bible, ed. C.I. Scofield (New York 1909)

Bibliander, T., *Ad Omnium Ordinum Reipublicae Christianae Principes Viros*

populumque Christianum relatio fidelis (Basel 1549)

Bicheno, J., *The Signs of the Times* (London 1793)

Bickersteth, E., *A Practical Guide to the Prophecies* (London 1835 – original edition

1825)

Birks, T., *First Elements of Sacred Prophecy* (London 1843)

- Blake, W., ed. D. Erdman, *The Complete Poetry and Prose of William Blake*
(Berkeley/Los Angeles 1982)
- Bleek, F., *Lectures on the Apocalypse* (London 1875 – original German edition 1862)
- Böcher, O., “Johannes der Täufer in der neutestamentlichen Überlieferung” in, O.
Böcher, *Kirche in Zeit und Endzeit* (Neukirchen-Vluyn 1983) 70-89
[originally published in *Rechtfertigung, Realismus, Universalismus in
biblischer Sicht, FS Adolf Köberle* (Darmstadt 1978) 45-68]
- Bock, E., *The Apocalypse of St. John* (London 1957 – original German edition 1951)
- Bodson, G., *Cracking the Apocalypse Code* (Shaftesbury/Boston, MA/Melbourne
2000 – original French edition 1999)
- Boismard, M.-E., “ ‘L’Apocalypse’ ou ‘les Apocalypses’ de S. Jean” *RB* 56 (1949)
507-541
- Bonsirven, J., *L’Apocalypse de Saint Jean* (Paris 1951)
- Boring, M.E., *Revelation* (Louisville 1989)
- Borrhaus, M., *In Iesae... eiusdem in Apocalypsim Ioannis fidelem prophetarum
interpretem, explicatio* (Basel 1561 – original edition 1559)
- Bossuet, J.B., *L’Apocalypse avec une Explication* (Paris 1690 – original edition 1689)
- Bousset, W., *Die Offenbarung Johannis* (Göttingen 1896⁵)
- Boyer, P., *The History of the Vaudois* (London 1692)
- Brandmuller, J., *Analyis Typica Omnium N.T. Epistolarum... Apocalypseos S.
Johannis* (Basel 1622)
- Breviloquium* = H. Lee, M. Reeves, G. Silano, *Western Mediterranean Prophecy. The
School of Joachim of Fiore and the Fourteenth-Century Breviloquium*
(Wetteren 1989)
- Brightman, T., *The Revelation of St. John Illustrated with Analysis and Scholions*

(Amsterdam 1644 – original Latin edition 1609)

Britannicus, P. (pseud.), *An Essay on the Prophecies of Daniel and the Revelation of St. John* (London 1813)

Brocardo, G., *The Revelation of St. Ihon [sic.] reveled*, (London 1582 – original Latin edition 1580)

Brogan, J., *20th Century Light on the End of the Age* (Southampton 1987)

Broughton, H., *A Revelation of the Holy Apocalyps* (n.p. 1610)

Brown, D., *The Apocalypse. Its Structure and Primary Predictions* (London 1891)

Brown, J.A., *The Even-Tide* (London 1823)

Brown, J.A., *The Jew, the Master-Key of the Apocalypse* (London 1827)

Brown, J., *An Attempt Towards a New Historical and Politcal Explanation of the Book of Revelation* (London 1810)

Browne, H., *A Brief Arrangement of the Apocalypse* (London 1810)

Bruno of Segni, *Expositio in Apocalypsim* (PL 165)

Brütsch, C., *L'Apocalypse de Jésus-Christ* (Geneva 1950 – original edition 1940)

Buchanan, G., *The Book of Revelation* (Lewiston/Queenstown/Lampeter 1993)

Bulengerus, P., *In Apocalypsin* (Paris 1589)

Bull, D., *A Letter of a Protestant Clergy-man to the Reverend Clergy of the Church of England* (London 1695)

Bullinger, H., *A Hundred Sermons upon the Apocalips of Jesu Christe* (London 1561)

Bûlus al-Bûši, *Commentary on the Apocalypse of St. John*, in S.N. Talia, *Bûlus al-Bûši's Arabic Commentary on the Apocalypse of St. John: An English translation and commentary* (PhD diss. The Catholic University of America: Ann Arbor, Michigan 1987)

Burger, C., *Die Offenbarung St. Johannis* (Munich 1877)

- Burgh, W., *The Apocalypse Unfulfilled* (Dublin 1833 – original edition 1832)
- Burn, A., *Resurrection of the Two Witnesses, Verified in the Formation and Great Success of the British and Foreign Bible Society* (London 1812)
- Burroughs, J., *Sions Joy* (London 1641)
- Burton, A., *The Apocalypse Expounded* (London 1932)
- Burton, H., *The Sounding of the Two Last Trumpets, the Sixt and Seventh: or Meditations by way of Paraphrase upon the 9th, 10th, and 11th Chapters of the Revelation, as containing a Prophecie of the last Times* (London 1641)
- Butt, J., *The Divinity of the Apocalypse Demonstrated* (Worcester 1809)
- Butt, J., *Notes on the Revelation of St. John* (Kidderminster 1803)
- Butt, J.M., *The Revelation of St. John, compared with Itself and the rest of Scripture* (Kidderminster 1864²)
- C[larke], E., *A Full and Final Proof of the Plot from the Revelations. Whereby the Testimony of Dr. Titus Oates and Mr. Will Bedloe is demonstrated to be Jure Divino* (London 1680)
- C., M.A.E., *Jews and Gentiles; or, the Mystery of Redemption in the Two Covenants, and the Two Witnesses in Revelations XI Explained by Scripture Evidence Alone* (London 1857)
- Caesarius of Arles, *Expositio in Apocalypsim*, in, ed. G. Morin, *Sancti Caesarii Opera Omnia* 2 (Turnhout 1953)
- Caird, G.B., *A Commentary on the Revelation of St. John the Divine* (London 1966)
- Calendar of State Papers. Domestic Series.* (1636-37; 1637-38)
- Calmet, A., *Commentaire Litteral sur tous les Livres de l'Ancien et du Nouveau Testament* (Paris 1724-1726)
- Campanella, T., ed. R. Amerio, *De Antichristo* (Rome 1965 – original edition 1623)

- Canne, J., *The Time of the End* (London 1657)
- Caponsacchus, P., *In Iohannis Apostoli Apocalypsin Observatio* (Florence 1572)
- Cartwright, T., *A Plaine Exposition of the Whole Revelation of Saint John* (London 1622)
- Cary, M., *The Resurrection of the Witnesses* (London 1653 – original edition 1648)
- Cassiodore, *Complexiones* (PL 70)
- Cerfaux, L., “L’Église dans l’Apocalypse” *Recherches Bibliques* 7 (1965) 111-124.
- Chalken, T., *Sermons on the Apocalypse* (London 1867-1868)
- Charles, R.H., *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Revelation of St. John* (Edinburgh 1920)
- Charleston, C., *Thoughts on the Two Witnesses, Rev. XIth. Who They Are.* (Warminster 1798)
- Charlesworth, J.H., ed., *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (2 vols.: New York 1983-1985)
- Chauffard, A., *La Révélation de Saint Jean* (Paris 1894)
- Chytraeus, D., *Explicatio Apocalypsis Ioannis Perspica et Brevis* (Wittenberg 1564)
- Clark, S., *The New Testament of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ with Annotations* (London 1683)
- Clayton, R., *A Dissertation on Prophecy* (London 1749)
- Clayton, R., *Future History in “The Revelation”* (London/Edinburgh 1940)
- Clericus (pseud.), *Two Essays. I. On the Connexion between... II. On the reappearance of Enoch and Elijah as the two Apocalyptic Witnesses* (London 1850)
- Cock, W., *Revela[tio] Revela[ta]* (Edinburgh 1678)
- Cole, J., *A Commentary on the Prophecies and the New Testament* (London 1826)

- Colladon, N., *Methodus Facilima ad Explicationem sacrosanctae Apocalypseos Ioannis Theologi* (Morges 1584 – original edition 1581)
- Columbinus Prophecy, in E.A.R. Brown and R.E. Lerner, “On the Origins and Import of the Columbinus Prophecy,” *Traditio* 45 (1989/90) 219-256
- Anon., *Commentarius in Apocalypsin ante Centum Annos aeditus* (Wittenberg 1528)
- Commodian, *Carmen de duobus populis*, in, ed. J. Martin, *Commodianus, Carmina; Cl. M. Victorius, Aletheia* (CCSL 128: Turnhout 1960)
- Conradus, A., *In Apocalypsim D. Ioannis Apostoli Commentarius* (Basel 1574)
- Considine, J., “The Two Witnesses: Apoc. 11:3-13” *CBQ* 8 (1946) 377-392
- Cooke, W., *The Revelations Translated and Explained Throughout* (Yarmouth 1789)
- Cooper, H., *The Book of Man’s Destiny* (Grantham 1866)
- Cooper, R., *Commentary on the Revelation of St. John* (London 1833)
- Corsini, E., *The Apocalypse* (Dublin 1983)
- Cotterius, M., *Apocalypseos Domini Nostri Iesu Christi Expositio* (Saumer 1615)
- Cotton, J., *The Bloudy Tenent, Washed and Made White in the Bloud of the Lamb* (London 1647)
- Cotton, J., *The Churches Resurrection* (London 1642)
- Couchoud, P., *The Book of Revelation. A Key to Christian Origins* (London 1932 – original French edition 1922)
- Court, J., *Myth and History in the Book of Revelation* (London 1979)
- Cowley, R.W., *The Traditional Interpretation of the Apocalypse of St. John in the Ethiopian Orthodox Church* (Cambridge 1983)
- Cowper, W., *Pathmos: or A Commentary on the Revelation of Saint Iohn*, in, *The Workes of Mr. William Cowper, Late Bishop of Galloway* (London 1623)

- Cradock, S., *A Brief and Plain Exposition and Paraphrase of the Whole Book of Revelation* (London 1696 – original edition 1683)
- Cressener, D., *A Demonstration of the First Principles of the Protestant Applications of the Apocalypse* (London 1690)
- Croly, G., *The Apocalypse of St. John* (London 1827)
- Cromarty, G., *Synopsis Apocalyptica* (Edinburgh 1708)
- Cross, W., *The Summ of Two Sermons on the Witnesses and the Earthquake that Accompanies their Resurrection* (London 1692)
- Culbertson, R., *Lectures, with Practical Observations and Reflections, on the Prophecies of John* (Edinburgh 1817)
- Cumming, J., *Apocalyptic Sketches, or Lectures on the Book of Revelation* (London 1848)
- Cuninghame, W., *A Dissertation on the Seals and Trumpets of the Apocalypse, and the Prophetical Period of Twelve Hundred and Sixty Years* (London 1813)
- Anon., *A Curb for Sectaries and Propheciers* (London 1641)
- Cursor Mundi*, ed. R. Morris, 3 vols. (Early English Text Society: London 1874-1893)
- Cydonius, I. (Andrew Eudaemon), *Castigatio Apocalypsis Apocalypseos Thomae Brightmanni Angli* (Cologne 1611)
- Pseudo-Cyprian, *De montibus Sina et Sion*, in Hartel, G. ed., *S. Thasci Caecili Cypriani Opera Omnia* (CSEL 3.3: Vienna 1871)
- Dansk, E. (pseud.), *The Drama of the Apocalypse* (London 1894)
- Darby, J.N., *An Examination of the Statements made in the "Thoughts on the*

Apocalypse, ” by B.W. Newton; and an Enquiry how far they accord with Scripture, in, ed. W. Kelly, The Collected Writings of J.N. Darby. Prophetic vol. 3 (London n.d.) 1-490

Darby, J.N., *Notes on the Apocalypse* (London 1849)

Darby, J.N., *Notes on the Revelation, in, ed. W. Kelly, The Collected Writings of J.N. Darby, Prophetic vol. 1* (London n.d. – entered into the Bodleian 1883) 249-399

Darby, J.N., *On “Days” signifying “Years” in Prophetic Language* (1830), in, ed. W. Kelly, *The Collected Writings of J.N. Darby, Prophetic vol. 1* (London n.d. – entered into the Bodleian 1883) 48-61

Darby, J.N., *Outline of the Revelation* (n.d.), in, ed. W. Kelly, *The Collected Writings of J.N. Darby. Prophetic vol. 2* (London n.d. – entered into the Bodleian 1883) 358-386

Darke, E., *The Day of Almighty God. Vol. 1. Apocalypse of Jesus Christ* (Templecombe 1992)

Daubuz, C., *A Perpetual Commentary on the Revelation of St. John* (London 1720)

Davies, E., *Apocalyps, Chap 11. Its accomplishment shewed* (n.p. 1648?)

Dean, J., *The Book of Revelation* (Edinburgh 1915)

The Death of Joseph (Bohairic), in Robinson, F. (ed.) Coptic Apocryphal Gospels (Cambridge 1896)

De Enoch et Haeliae, in Poetarum Latinorum Medii Aevi 4.2 (Berlin 1914) 491-495

De Gagny, J., *Brevissima et facillima in omnes divi Pauli epistolas scholia... et D. Ioannis Apocalypsin, brevissima scholia recens edita* (Paris 1543)

De La March, J., *A Complaint of the False Prophets Mariners upon the drying up of their Hierarchicall Euphrates* (London 1641)

- Delebecque, E., *L'Apocalypse de Jean* (Paris 1992)
- L. Delisle and P. Meyer, *L'Apocalypse en Francais au XIII^e siècle* (Paris 1901)
- De Mariana, J., *Scholia in Vetus et Novum Testamentum* (Paris 1620 – original edition 1619)
- Dent, A., *The Ruine of Rome* (London 1603)
- De Oneribus Prophetarum*, ed. O. Holder-Egger, “Italienische Prophetieen des 13. Jh. III” *Neues Archiv* 33 (1908) 95-187
- Desprez, P., *The Apocalypse Fulfilled* (London 1861 – third edition)
- De Sylveira, J., *Commentariorum in Apocalypsin*, in, *Opera Omnia* 8 (Venice 1754 – original edition 1663)
- De Wette, W.M.L., *Kurze Erklärung der Offenbarung Johannis* (Leipzig 1848)
- Dick, D., *An Explanation of the Revelation* (Edinburgh 1799)
- Dionysius bar Salibi, ed. I. Sedlacek, *In Apocalypsim* (CSCO 101: Rome/Paris/Leipzig 1909-1910)
- Dionysius the Carthusian, *In omnes beati Pauli Epistolas... eiusdem in VII Epistolas Canonicas, Acta Apostolorum, Apocalypsim...* (Paris 1539)
- Doddridge, P., *The Family Expositor* (London 1739-1756)
- Douglas, C., *The Last Word in Prophecy. A Study of the Revelation of St. John the Divine* (London 1938)
- Douglas, C., *The Mystery of the Kingdom. An Attempt to Interpret the Revelation of S. John the Divine by the Method of Literary Criticism* (London/Manchester/Leighton Buzzard 1915)
- Douglas, C., *New Light on the Revelation of St. John the Divine* (London 1923)
- Drummond, H., *Dialogues on Prophecy* (London 1827-1829)
- Du Moulin, P. (the elder), *De L'Accomplissement des Propheties* (Geneva 1612)

Duo Propheetai (pseud.), *The Resurrection of the Two Witnesses* (London/Cape Town 1933)

Durham, J., *A Commentarie Upon the Book of the Revelation* (London 1658)

Düsterdieck, F., *Kritisch Exegetisches Handbuch über die Offenbarung Johannis* (Göttingen 1859)

E., I., *The Two Olive Trees: or the Lords two anointed Ones* (London 1644)

Ebrard, J., *Die Offenbarung Johannes* [= H. Olshausen, *Biblischer Commentar über sämtliche Schriften des Neuen Testaments, Bd. 7*] (Königsberg 1853)

Ecclesiasticus = P.C. Beentjes, ed., *The Book of Ben Sira in Hebrew* (Leiden/New York/Cologne 1997)

Edinger, E. (ed. G. Elder), *Archetype of the Apocalypse. A Jungian study of the Book of Revelation* (Chicago/La Salle 1999)

Edwards, J., *An Humble Attempt*, in, ed. S.J. Stein, *Jonathan Edwards. Apocalyptic Writings* (New Haven/London 1977) 307-436.

Edwards, J., *Notes on the Apocalypse* in, ed. S.J. Stein, *Jonathan Edwards. Apocalyptic Writings* (New Haven/London 1977) 97-305.

Eichhorn, J.G., *Commentarius in Apocalypsin Joannis* (Göttingen 1791)

Elliott, E.B., *Horae Apocalypticae* (London 1844)

Anon., *England's Fall is Babylon's Triumph. An Original Interpretation of the Apocalypse with special reference to the Greek Church* (Hull 1855)

An English Fourteenth Century Apocalypse Version with a Prose Commentary, ed. E. Fridner (Lund/Copenhagen 1961); French text in L. Delisle and P. Meyer, *L'Apocalypse en Français au XIII^e siècle* (Paris 1901)

Ephraem Syrus, *Sermo de fine extremo*, in, ed. E. Beck, *Des Heiligen Ephraem des Syrsers Sermones III* (CSCO 321: Louvain 1972)

Pseudo-Ephraem “Graecus,” *Sermo in adventum Domini*, in, ed. J.S. Assemani,

Sancti Ephraem Syri Opera Omnia, vol.3 (Rome 1746) 134-148

Pseudo-Ephraem “Latinus,” *Sermo de fine mundi*, in, ed. C.P. Caspari, *Briefe*,

Abhandlungen und Predigten (Christiania 1890)

The Erythraean Sibyl, ed. O. Holder-Egger, “Italienischen Prophetien des 13.

Jahrhunderts I” *Neues Archiv* 15 (1889) 141-178 (also shorter version *Neues*

Archiv 30 (1905) 322-386)

Ettrick, W., *The Second Exodus* (Sunderland 1814 – original edition 1811-1812)

Euthymius Zigabenus, *Commentary on John* (PG 129)

Evans, A., *The Humble Petition* (n.p. 1651)

Evans, A., *A Voice from Heaven to the Common-Wealth of England* (n.p. 1652)

Evanson, E., *Reflections upon the State of Religion in Christendom* (Exeter 1802)

Evill, T., *The Apocalypse of Jesus Christ* (London 1829)

Ewald, G.H.A., *Commentarius in Apocalypsin Johannis Exegeticus et Criticus*

(Leipzig 1828)

Ewald, G.H.A., *Die Johanneischen Schriften übersetzt und erklärt* (Göttingen 1862)

Faber, G., *A Dissertation on the Prophecies* (London 1807 – original edition 1806)

Fabricius, G., *Catena Apostolica Analysis Logico-Typica* (Leipzig 1634)

Anon., *False Prophets Discovered* (London 1642)

Farrer, A., *The Revelation of St. John the Divine* (Oxford 1964)

Féret, H., *The Apocalypse of St. John* (London 1958)

Feuillet, A., “Essai d’Interpretation du Chapitre XI de l’Apocalypse” *NTS* 4 (1957-

1958) 183-200

Firebrace, A., *The Revelation to John* (London 1963)

Flacius Illyricus, M., *Novum Testamentum... Glossa Compendaria* (Basel 1570)

- Fleming, R., *Discourses on Several Subjects* (London 1701)
- Floyer, J., *An Exposition of the Revelations* (London 1719)
- Folbigg, H., 1866, *The Great Year Predicted by Daniel and St. John* (London 1866)
- Folbigg, H., *The Great Epoch Predicted by the Prophets* (London 1869)
- Foord (Foorthe), J., *Apocalypsis Iesu Christi* (London 1597)
- Forbes, P., *An Exquisite Commentarie Upon the Revelation of Saint Iohn* (London 1613)
- Ford, J.M., *Revelation* (New York 1975)
- Forsyth, W.D., *Correspondence of Christ's Two Chosen Witnesses; Rev 11 ch. By E. and J.J. Jezreel* (n.p. n.d. – received into BL 1904)
- Foster, G., *The Sounding of the Last Trumpet* (London 1650)
- Foxe, J., *Eicasmī seu meditationes in sacram apocalypsin* (London 1587)
- Franzmann, M., *Revelation*, in *Concordia Self-Study Commentary* (St. Louis 1979) 285-302.
- Fraser, A., *A Key to the Prophecies of the Old and New Testament Which are not yet Accomplished* (Edinburgh 1795)
- Frere, J.H., *A Combined View of the Prophecies of Daniel, Esdras and St. John* (London 1815)
- Fulke, W., *Praelections upon the Sacred and Holy Revelation of St. John* (London 1573)
- Fulke, W., *The Text of the New Testament of Iesus Christ, translated out of the vulgar Latine by the Papists of the traitorous Seminarie at Rhemes* (London 1589)
- Fulton, A., *Scriptural Prophecy Now Being Fulfilled* (London 1877)
- Galloway, J., *Brief commentaries upon such parts of the Revelation and other prophecies as immediately refer to the present times* (London 1802)

- Galloway, W., *The Gate of Prophecy* (London 1846)
- Gallus, C., *Clavis Prohetica Nova Apocalypseos Ioannis Apostoli et Evangeligraphi*
(Antwerp 1592)
- Garnham, R.E., *Outline of a Commentary on Revelations XI. 1-14* (London 1794)
- Garrett, W., *A Discourse Concerning Antichrist* (London 1680)
- Garrett, W., *An Exposition of Rev xj* (n.p. 1703)
- Garrett, W., *A Persuasive to the Study of the Revelation* (London 1699)
- Gascoyne, R., *The Two Witnesses not yet Slain* (London 1879)
- Gauntlett, H., *An Exposition of the Book of Revelation* (London 1821)
- Gawler, J., *The Two Olive Trees* (London 1880)
- Gebhardt, H., *The Doctrine of the Apocalypse* (Edinburgh 1878)
- Gentry, K.L., *Before Jerusalem Fell. Dating the Book of Revelation* (San Francisco/London/Bethesda 1997 – original edition 1989)
- Gerhardus, J., *Adnotationes in Apocalypsin* (Jena 1643)
- Gerhoh of Reichersberg, *Libellus de Ordine Donorum Sancti Spiritus*, in, ed. O. van den Eynde and P. A. Rijmersdael, *Gerhohi, Opera Inedita I, Tractatus et Libelli* (Rome 1955)
- Gib, A., *A Memorial and Remonstrance* (Edinburgh 1784)
- Giblin, C., “Revelation 11:1-13: Its Form, Function and Contextual Integration”
NTS 30 (1984) 433-459
- Gibson, W., *The Fall of Antichrist, and Especially the Prospects of the British Empire in Connexion with the Death, Resurrection and Exaltation of “The Two Witnesses” in Rev. XI* (Monaghan 1847)
- Giet, S., *L’Apocalypse et l’Histoire* (Paris 1957)
- Giffard, G., *Sermons Upon the Whole Booke of the Revelation* (London 1599 –

original edition 1596)

Gill, J., *An Exposition of the Revelation of S. John the Divine, both doctrinal and practical* (London 1776)

Glasson, T., *The Revelation of John* (Cambridge 1965)

Godet, F., “Essay Upon the Apocalypse” in, F. Godet, *Studies in the New Testament* (London 1876 – original French edition 1874)

Goodwin, T., “An Exposition upon the Book of the Revelation” in, *The works of Thomas Goodwin, D.D.*, vol. 2 (London 1683) 1-190

Goodwin, T., *Zerubbabels Encouragement to Finish the Temple* (London 1642)

Gordonus, J., *Biblia cum commentaria* (Paris 1632)

Govett, R., *The Locusts, the Euphratean Horsemen and the Two Witnesses* (London 1852)

Govett, R., *The Revelation of St. John Literal and Future* (London 1843)

Gräber, H., *Versuch einer historischen Erklärung der Offenbarung des Johannes* (Heidelberg 1857)

Grafton, C., *A Consecration Sermon. The Living Temple of Christ's Church and the Two Witnesses of the Word Written and the Sacraments* (Milwaukee 1891)

Graserus, C., *Plaga Regia* (Zurich 1610)

Graves, R., *An Analysis of the Revelations* (Dublin 1854)

Greenwell, T., *Pamphlet on the Apocalypse. The Death, Resurrection and Ascension of the Witnesses Prophesying in Sackcloth a Future Event. Being an Examination of Mr. Elliott's Theory* (London 1875)

Gregory the Great, ed. M. Adriaen, *Homiliae in Hiezechihalem Prophetam* (CCSL 142: Turnhout 1971)

Gregory the Great, ed. M. Adriaen, *Moralia in Iob libri XI-XXII* (CCSL 143A:

Turnhout 1979)

Greve, A., “ ‘Mine to vidner’: Et forsøg på at identificere de to jerusalemitiske vidner

(Apok. 11:1-13)” *DTT* 40 (1977) 128-138

Grotius, H., *Annotationum in Novum Testamentum. Pars Tertia ac Ultima* (Paris

1650)

Gry, L., “Les Chapitres XI et XII de l’Apocalypse” *RB* 31 (1922) 203-214

Gurney, J., *The Death and Resurrection of the Two Witnesses* (London 1849)

Habershon, M., *A Dissertation on the Prophetic Scriptures* (London 1834)

Hadorn, D.W., *Die Offenbarung des Johannes* (Leipzig 1928)

Haggith, D., *Prophets of the Apocalypse* (London 1999)

Haimo of Auxerre, *Expositio in Apocalypsin* (PL 117)

Hall, E., *Lingua Testium* (n.p. 1651)

Hall, E., *Manus Testium Movens* (n.p. 1651)

Hallifax, S., *Twelve Sermons on the Prophecies* (London 1776)

Hammond, H., *A Paraphrase and Annotations Upon all the Books of the New*

Testament (London 1653)

Harby, T., *What is Truth, or The Patern in the Mount* (London 1670)

Hardy, S., *The Principal Prophecies of the Old and New Testaments* (London 1770)

Harrington, W., *Revelation* (Collegeville 1993)

Hartlib, S. et al., *Clavis Apocalyptica: or A Prophetical Key: by which the great*

Mysteries in the Revelation of St. John and the Prophet Daniel are opened

(London 1651)

Haugg, D., *Die Zwei Zeugen. Eine exegetische Studie über Apok 11:1-13* (Münster

1936)

Hayter, R., *The Meaning of the Revelation* (London 1675)

- Heinrich of Neustadt, ed. S. Singer, *Apollonius von Tyrland* (Berlin 1906)
- Helmont, F., *Seder Olam* (London 1694 – original Latin edition 1693)
- Hendriksen, W., *More than Conquerors* (London 1962 – original edition 1940)
- Hengstenberg, E., *The Revelation of St. John* (Edinburgh 1851)
- Herder, J., *A Brief Commentary on the Revelation of Saint John* (London 1821 – original edition 1779)
- Heunisch, C., *Haupt-Schlüssel über die hohe Offenbarung S. Johannis* (Schleusingen 1684) – reprinted, ed. T. Wilhelmi (Basel 1981)
- H[eywood], T., *A True Discourse of the Two Infamous Upstart Prophets* (London 1636)
- Hilgenfeld, “Die Johannes-Apokalypse und die neueste Forschung” *ZWT* 33 (1890) 385-479
- Hill, H., “The Two Witnesses” *The Expositor* 22 (1921) 311-318
- Hippolytus, ed. G. Bonwetsch, rev. M. Richard, *Hippolytus Werke: Kommentar zu Daniel* (GCS NF 7: Berlin 2000)
- Hippolytus, ed. E. Norelli, *L’Anticristo* (Florence 1987)
- (Pseudo-)Hippolytus, *De consummatione mundi*, in, ed. H. Achelis, *Hippolytus Werke* (GCS 1.2: Leipzig 1897) 287-309 (reprint of the *editio princeps* of J. Picus 1557)
- Hislop, A., *The Red Republic: or Scarlet-Coloured Beast of the Apocalypse* (Edinburgh 1849)
- Hofmann, J., ed., *Die Äthiopische Übersetzung der Johannes-Apokalypse* (CSCO 281-282: Louvain 1967)
- Hofmann, J.C.K., *Weissagung und Erfüllung* (Nördlingen 1841-1844)
- Holland, H., *An Exposition or, A short, but full, plaine, and perfect Epitome of the*

- most choice Commentaries upon the Revelation of Saint John* (London 1650)
- Holmes, J., *The Fulfilment of the Revelation of St. John Displayed* (London 1819)
- Holmes, J., *The Revelation of St. John the Divine Elucidated* (London 1815)
- Holmes, W.A., *The Time of the End* (London 1833)
- Holtzmann, H.J., *Hand-Commentar zum Neuen Testament 4. Evangelium, Briefe und Offenbarung des Johannes* (Freiburg 1891)
- Holwerda, D., “The Church and the Little Scroll (Revelation 10, 11)” *Calvin Theological Journal* 34 (1999) 148-161
- Holzhauser, B., *Interpretatio in Apocalypsin* (Vienna 1850; author died 1658)
- Homes, N., *The Resurrection Revealed Raised Above Doubts and Difficulties* (London 1661)
- Hommel, F., “Die <<zwei verschwundenen Götter>> der Adapa-Legende und Apokalypse 11,3-13” in *Altorientalische Studien. Bruno Meissner zum sechzigsten Geburtstag* (Leipzig 1928-1929) 87-95
- Hooke, W., *A Discourse Concerning the Witnesses* (London 1681)
- Hooper, J., *The Present Crisis* (London 1830)
- Hughes, P., *The Book of the Revelation* (Leicester/Grand Rapids 1990)
- Hunnius, A., *Thesaurus Apostolicus Complectens Commentarios in Omnes Novi Testamenti Epistolas et Apocalypsin Iohannis* (Wittenberg 1705) containing the commentary of J. Winckelmann
- Hutcheson, A., *A Guide to the Study of the Book of Revelation* (London 1828)
- Iconius, R.E., *Expressa & solida totius Apocalypsis Dominicae Epilysis* (Hannover 1611 – original edition 1601)
- Irenaeus, ed. A. Rousseau et al., *Adversus Haereses* (SC 153: Paris 1977)
- Irving, E., *Babylon and Infidelity Foredoomed by God* (Glasgow 1826)

Jacob de Lausanne, *Opus moralitatum preclarissimum fratris Jacobi de lusanna*
(Limoges 1528)

Jansen, H., *Erklaerung der Offenbarung Johannes* (n.p. 1687)

Jerome, ed. F. Glorie, *S. Hieronymie Presbyteri Opera* I.4 (CCSL 75: Turnhout 1964)

Jerome, ed. I. Hilberg, *Hieronymus Epistularum Pars I* (CSEL 54: Vienna 1996²)

Pseudo-Jerome, *Commematorium*, in, ed. K. Hartung, *Ein Traktat zur Apokalypse des
Ap. Johannes in einer Pergamenthandschrift der K. Bibliothek im Bamberg*
(Bamberg 1904) and, ed. G. Lo Menzo Rapisarda, *Incerti Auctoris
Commentarius in Apocalypsin* (Catania 1967)

Joachim of Fiore, *De Ultimis Tribulationibus*, ed. E.R. Daniel, “Abbot Joachim of
Fiore: The *De Ultimis Tribulationibus*,” in, ed. A. Williams, *Prophecy and
Millenarianism. Essays in Honour of Marjorie Reeves* (Harlow, Essex 1980)
165-189

Joachim of Fiore, *De Vita Sancti Benedicti*, ed. C. Baraut, “Un Tratado Inédito de
Joaquín de Fiore,” *Analecta Sacra Tarraconensia* 24 (1951) 33-122

Joachim of Fiore, ed. E.K. Burger, *Enchiridion super Apocalypsim* (Toronto 1986)

Joachim of Fiore, *Expositio de prophetia ignota*, in, B. McGinn, “Joachim and the
Sibyl” *Citeaux* 24 (1973) 129-138.

Joachim of Fiore, *Expositio magni prophete Abbatis Joachim in Apocalipsim* (Venice
1527)

Joachim of Fiore, *Liber de Concordia* (Venice 1519)

Joachim of Fiore, ed. E.R. Daniel, *Liber de Concordia Novi ac Veteris Testamenti*
(Philadelphia 1983)

Joachim of Fiore, *Liber Figurarum*, ed. L. Tondelli, M. Reeves and B. Hirsch-Reich,
Il Libro delle Figure (Turin 1953)

Pseudo-Joachim of Fiore, *Interpretatio preclara Abbatis Ioachim in Hieremiam Prophetam [=Super Hieremiam]* (Venice 1525)

Pseudo-Joachim of Fiore, *Super Esaiam* (Venice 1517)

John of Damascus, *De fide orthodoxa*, ed. P.B. Kotter, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos* (Berlin/New York 1973)

John of Paris, *Tractatus de Antichristo* (Venice 1516)

John of Rupescissa [=Jean de Roquetaillade], ed. R.E. Lerner and C.

Morerod-Fattebert, *Liber Secretorum Eventuum* (Fribourg 1994)

John of Rupescissa [=Jean de Roquetaillade], *Vade mecum in tribulatione*, in, ed. E.

Brown, *Fasciculus Rerum Expetendarum & Fugiendarum* (London 1690)

2:496-508

Johnson, J., *A Commentary on the Revelation of St. John* (London 1904)

Johnston, B., *A Commentary on the Revelation of St. John* (Edinburgh 1794)

Jones, J., *The Apocalypse* (London 1852)

Jones, W., *Lectures on the Apocalypse* (London 1830)

Judah, L., *A paraphrase or commentarie upon the Revelation of S. John*, trans. E.

Alen, in D. Erasmus., *The seconde tome or volume of the Paraphrase of*

Erasmus upon the newe testament (London 1549)

Jung (Stilling), J., *Die Siegesgeschichte der christlichen Religion* (Nuremberg 1799)

Jungnitius, C., *Parallela Apocalyptica Sententiarum* (Frankfurt 1618)

Junius, F., *A Briefe and Learned Commentarie upon the Revelation of Saint Iohn the*

Apostle and Evangelist (London 1592 – original Latin edition 1591)

Jurieu, P., *The Accomplishment of the Scripture Prophecies* (London 1687)

Keach, B., *Antichrist Stormed* (London 1689)

Keach, B., *Distressed Sion Relieved* (London 1689)

- Kelly, J., *The Apocalypse Interpreted* (London 1849-1851)
- Kelly, W., *Lectures on the Book of Revelation* (London 1861)
- Keyworth, T., *A Practical Exposition of the Revelation of Saint John extracted from The Daily Expositor* (London 1828)
- Kiddle, M. (assisted by M. Ross), *The Revelation of St. John* (London 1940)
- Anon., *ΚΛΕΙΣ ΠΡΟΦΗΤΕΙΑΣ, or The Key of Prophecie* (n.p. 1660)
- Kliefoth, T., *Die Offenbarung des Johannes* (Leipzig 1874)
- Knollys, H., *An Exposition of the Eleventh Chapter of the Revelation* (n.p. 1679)
- Knollys, H., *An Exposition of the whole Book of the Revelation* (London 1688)
- Knollys, H., *Apocalyptical Mysteries* (London 1667)
- Kraft, H., *Die Offenbarung des Johannes* (Tübingen 1974)
- Kromayer, H., *Commentarius in Apocalypsin Johannem* (Leipzig 1674 – original edition 1662)
- Kuhlman, Q., *The General London Epistle of Quirinius Kuhlman, A Christian* (n.p. 1679)
- Lacey, T., “The Two Witnesses” *JTS* 11 (1910) 55-60.
- Lactantius, ed. S. Brandt, *L. Caeli Firminian Lactanti Opera Omnia* 1 (CSEL 19: Vienna 1890)
- Lactantius, ed. A. Bowen and P. Garnsey, *Divine Institutes* (Liverpool 2003)
- Lacunza, J., *The Coming of the Messiah in Glory and Majesty* (London 1827)
- Ladd, G., *A Commentary on the Revelation of John* (Grand Rapids 1972)
- LaHaye, T., *Revelation Unveiled* (Grand Rapids 1999)
- LaHaye, T. and Jenkins, J., *Left Behind* (Book 1: Wheaton 1995)
- LaHaye, T. and Jenkins, J., *Tribulation Force* (Book 2: Wheaton 1996)
- LaHaye, T. and Jenkins, J., *Nicolae* (Book 3: Wheaton 1997)

- LaHaye, T. and Jenkins, J., *Soul Harvest* (Book 4: Wheaton 1998)
- LaHaye, T. and Jenkins, J., *Apollyon* (Book 5: Wheaton 1999)
- LaHaye, T. and Jenkins, J., *Assassins* (Book 6: Wheaton 1999)
- Lambert, F., *In Sanctam Divi Ioannis Apocalypsim, Libri VII* (Marburg 1528)
- Langdon, S., *Observations on the Revelation of Jesus Christ to St. John* (Worcester, MA 1791)
- Lange, J., *The Revelation of John* (Edinburgh 1874)
- Lapide, C. à (Cornelius van den Steen), *Commentarius in Acta Apostolorum, Epistolas Canonicas et Apocalypsin* (Antwerp 1717 – original edition 1627)
- The Latin Tiburtine Sibyl*, in ed. E. Sackur, *Sibyllinische Texte und Forschungen* (Halle 1898) 114-187.
- Lawrence, D.H., *Apocalypse* (Florence 1931)
- Lawrie, J., *The Completion of Prophecy the Clearest Evidence of the Truth of Christianity* (Edinburgh 1781)
- Lebagh, I., *The Two Witnesses, Moses and Elijah* (London 1844)
- Lee, S., *An Inquiry into the Nature, Progress, and End of Prophecy* (Cambridge 1849)
- Lee, S., *Six Sermons... to which are annexed two dissertations... the second on the interpretation of prophecy generally, with an original exposition of the Book of Revelation* (London 1830)
- Leifchild, J., *A Help to the Private and Domestic Reading of the Holy Scriptures including... an Analysis of Mr. Mede's Scheme of the Apocalypse* (London 1829)
- Leigh, E., *Annotations upon all the New Testament Philological and Theological* (London 1650)
- Leoninus, A., *Contemplatio ... de exegetica in apocalypsim* (Amsterdam 1607 –

original edition 1603)

Lilje, H., *The Last Book of the Bible* (Philadelphia 1957 – original German edition 1940)

Lindsey, H., *The Late Great Planet Earth* (London 1971 – original edition 1970)

Loenertz, R.J., *The Apocalypse of Saint John* (London 1947)

Lohmeyer, E., *Die Offenbarung des Johannes* (Tübingen 1926)

Lohse, E., *Die Offenbarung des Johannes* (Göttingen 1960)

Loisy, A., *L'Apocalypse de Jean* (Paris 1923)

Lord, D., *An Exposition of the Apocalypse* (New York 1847)

Loughran, D., *Understand the Revelation. 777* (Glasgow 1983)

Lowman, M., *A Paraphrase and Notes on the Revelation of St. John* (London 1737)

Lücke, F., *Versuch einer vollständigen Einleitung in die Offenbarung des Johannes* (Bonn 1852 – original edition 1832)

L[upton], T. *A Breife Exposition of the XI, XII, and XIII. Chapters of the Revelation* (London 1651 – original edition 1623)

Luthardt, C., *Die Offenbarung Johannis*, in, ed. H. Strack and O. Böckler, *Kurzgefaßter Kommentar zu den heiligen Schriften. B. NT 4* (Nördlingen 1888)

Luther, M., ed. E.T. Bachmann, *Luther's Works*, vol. 35 (Philadelphia 1960)

M-D, J., *The Revelation of St. John Considered as Alluding to Certain Services of the Jewish Temple* (London 1787)

MacDonald, R., *A Dark Night at Hand: or a Plain and Practical Exposition of the Two Witnesses in the Apocalypse* (Dundee 1843)

Maitland, Charles, *The Apostles' School of Prophetic Interpretation* (London 1849)

Maitland, C., *A Brief and Connected View of Prophecy* (London 1814)

Maitland, S., *A Second Inquiry into the Grounds on which the Prophetic Period of Daniel and St. John has been supposed to consist of 1260 years* (London 1829)

Maitland, S., *The Twelve Hundred and Sixty Days in Reply to a Review in the Morning Watch* (London 1830)

Maitland, S., *The Twelve Hundred and Sixty Days in Reply to the Strictures of William Cuninghame, Esq.* (London 1834)

Malvenda, T., *De Antichristo libri undecim* (Rome 1604)

Marlorate, A., *A Catholike Exposition upon the Revelation of Sainct Iohn* (n.p. 1574 – original Latin edition 1561)

Marschalck, H., *Von dem weit erschollenen Namen Luther, was er bedeutet und wie er wirt missbraucht* (Strasburg 1523)

Martin of Léon, *Expositio Libri Apocalypsis* (PL 209)

Mason, T., *A Revelation of the Revelation* (London 1619)

Matthäi, F., *Die Offenbarung Johannes* (Göttingen 1828)

Matthew of Janov, ed. V. Kybal, *Regulae Veteris et Novi Testamenti* (Prague 1911) vol. 3

Maurice, F., *Lectures on the Apocalypse* (Cambridge 1861)

Maycock, A., *The Apocalypse* (London 1941)

Mayer, J., *Ecclesiastica Interpretatio, or the Expositions upon the Difficult and Doubtful Passages of the seven Epistles called Catholike, and the Revelation* (London 1627)

Mede, J., *The Key of the Revelation. Searched and demonstrated out of the Naturall and Proper Characters of the Visions* (London 1650 – original Latin edition 1627)

Menochius, J., *Commentarii totius S. Scripturae* (Paris 1719 – original edition 1630)

Pseudo-Methodius (Syriac), ed. G.J. Reinink, *Die syrische Apokalypse des Pseudo-Methodius* (CSCO 540-541: Louvain 1993)

Pseudo-Methodius (Syriac; Edessan recension), ed. F. Nau, “Révélations et Légendes” *Journal Asiatique* ser. 11, tom. 9 (1917) 415-471

Pseudo-Methodius (Greek and Latin), ed. W.J. Aerts and G.A.A. Kortekas, *Die Apokalypse des Pseudo-Methodius. Die ältesten Griechischen und Lateinischen Übersetzungen* (CSCO 569-570: Louvain 1998)

Meyer, S., *In Apocalypsin Iohannis Apostoli* (Zurich 1536-1545)

Miller, W., *Evidence from Scripture and History of the Second Coming of Christ, About the Year 1843* (Sandy Hill 1842 – original edition 1833)

Milligan, W., *The Book of Revelation [The Expositor's Bible]* (London 1889)

Min, P. B-S., *I Due Testimoni di Apocalisse 11, 1-13: Storia – Interpretazione – Teologia* (PhD dissertation: Pontifical Gregorian University, Rome 1991)

Minear, P., *I saw a new Earth* (Washington/Cleveland 1968)

Mocket, T., *The Churches Trouble and Deliverance* (London 1642)

Anon., *A Modest Inquiry into the Meaning of the Revelations* (London 1688)

Moffatt, J., *The Revelation of St. John the Divine*, in, ed. W.McNicoll, *The Expositor's Greek Testament* 5 (London 1890) 279-494

Moody, R., *Observations on Certain Prophecies in the Book of Daniel and the Revelation of St. John* (n.p. 1787)

Morant, P., *Das Kommen des Herrn. Eine Erklärung der Offenbarung des Johannes* (Zurich 1969)

More, H., *Apocalypsis Apocalypseos* (London 1680)

Morris, L., *Revelation* (Leicester/Grand Rapids 1987 – original edition 1969)

- Mounce, R., *The Book of Revelation* (London 1978 – original edition 1977)
- Muggleton, L., *The Acts of the Witnesses of the Spirit* (London 1693)
- Muggleton, L., *A True Interpretation of All the Chief Texts, and Mysterious Sayings and Visions Opened, of the Whole of the Revelation of St. John* (London 1665)
- Muggleton, L., *A True Interpretation of the Eleventh Chapter of the Revelation of St. John, and other Texts in that Book; As also many other places of Scripture* (London 1662)
- Mulerius, N., *Vaticinia Patmi Elucidata* (Herdervici 1686)
- Müller, U., *Die Offenbarung des Johannes* (Gütersloh/Würzburg 1995 – original edition 1984)
- Mumford, J., *The Catholic Scripturist, or, the Plea of the Roman Catholics. Shewing the Scriptures to hold forth the Roman Faith in above Forty of the Chief Controversies now under Debate* (n.p. 1767 – original edition 1662)
- Munck, J., *Petrus und Paulus in der Offenbarung Johannis* (Copenhagen 1950)
- Muratori, L., ed., *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores* (Old Series 9: Rome 1726)
- Murfin, F. and Murfin, R., *How did the Wise Men Know? A book written to show the year of Jesus' second coming as revealed in the prophecies of Daniel and the Revelation given through John* (Five Oaks, Jersey 1980)
- Murray, J., *Lectures Upon the Book of Revelation* (Newcastle 1778)
- Muspilli, in, ed. F. von der Leyen, *Deutsche Dichtung des Mittelalters* (Frankfurt 1962) 58-60
- Napier, J., *A Plaine Discovery of the whole revelation of Saint Iohn* (Edinburgh 1593)
- Newbolt, M., *The Book of Unveiling. A Study of the Revelation of St. John* (London 1952)

- Newman, J.H., *Advent Sermons on Antichrist* (1938) [Tracts for the Times 83], in
Tracts for the Times vol. 5 (London 1840)
- Newton, B.W., *Five Letters on Events Predicted in Scripture as Antecedent to the
Coming of the Lord* (London 1877³ – letters written c. 1840)
- Newton, I., *Sir Isaac Newton's Daniel and the Apocalypse* ed. Whitla, W. (London
1922 – original (posthumous) edition 1733)
- Newton, T., *Dissertations on the Prophecies* (London 1759 – original edition 1754-
1758)
- Nicholas of Gorran, *In Acta Apostolorum... et Apocalypsin Commentarii* (Antwerp
1620)
- Nicholas of Lyra, ed. P.D.W. Krey, *Nicholas of Lyra's Apocalypse Commentary*
(Kalamazoo 1997)
- Nicholas of Lyra, *Biblia... et Postilla Nicolai Lirani* (Venice 1482)
- Nicolai, P., *A Prophecie of Doomes-day* (Edinburgh 1631 – original Latin edition
1596)
- Niles, D., *As Seeing the Invisible* (London 1961)
- Norris, A., *Apocalypse for Everyman* (London 1982 – original edition 1973-1977)
- Noyes, J.H., *The Berean: A Manual of Help for those who seek the faith of the
primitive Church* (Putney 1847)
- Oecumenius, ed. M. de Groote, *Commentarius in Apocalypsin* (Louvain 1999)
- Olivi, P.J., ed. W. Lewis, *Lectura Super Apocalipsim* (Tübingen 1972 – part of PhD
dissertation)
- Olivier, A., *La Clé de L'Apocalypse* (Paris 1938)
- The Oracle of Baalbek*, ed. P.J. Alexander, *The Oracle of Baalbek. The Tiburtine
Sibyl in Greek Dress* (Washington 1967)

- Origen, ed. H. de Lubac, *Homélies sur l'Exode* (SC 16: Paris 1947)
- Origen, ed. P. Nautin, *Homélies sur Jérémie* (SC 232: Paris 1976)
- Orr, R., *Victory Pageant* (London 1972)
- Pae, D., *The Coming Struggle Among the Nations of the Earth* (London 1853)
- Palmer, J., *The Two Witnesses, or, The Bible True* (London 1912)
- Paraleipomena Jeremiou*, ed. R.A. Kraft and A.-E. Purinton (Missoula, Montana 1972)
- Pareus, D., *A Commentary Upon the Divine Revelation of the Apostle and Evangelist John* (Amsterdam 1644 – original Latin edition 1618)
- Park, J., *A New Exposition of the Apocalypse* (London 1826 – original edition 1823)
- Parrhesiastes, P. (pseudonym), *Some Cursory Reflexions Impartially made upon Mr. Richard Baxter. His Way of Writing Notes on the Apocalypse* (London 1685)
- Paulitius, F., *In Actus et Epistolas Pauli... et Apocalypsim Commentarii* (Rome 1619)
- Peake, A.S., *The Revelation of John* (London 1919)
- Peganius, A.B. (Knorr von Rosenroth, C.), *A Genuine Explication of the Visions of the Book of Revelation* (London 1670)
- Peter Aureol, ed. P. Seebeck, *Compendium Sensus Litteralis Totius Divinae Scripturae* (Quaracchi 1896)
- Peter of Tarantaise (later Pope Innocent V), *Commentary on the Apocalypse*, in Albert the Great, *Opera Omnia* (Paris 1899) 38:471-792
- Petto, S., *The Revelation Unveiled* (London 1693)
- Pfleiderer, O., *Das Urchristenthum, seine Schriften und Lehren, in geschichtlichen Zusammenhang* (Berlin 1887)
- Philipot, J., *A New Systeme of the Apocalypse* (London 1688 – original French edition 1687)

Pseudo-Philo, ed. D.J. Harrington et al., *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum* (SC 229-230: Paris 1976)

Phipps, O., *A Confession*, in, ed. G.H. Williams and A. Mergal, *Spiritual and Anabaptist Writers* (London 1957)

Pirie, A., *The French Revolution Exhibited* (Perth 1795)

Piscator, J., *Commentarii in omnes libros novi tesamenti* (Herborn 1638 – original edition 1613)

Platt, N., *A Study of the Apocalypse of St. John* (London 2000) 4 vols.

The Play of Antichrist, ed. J. Wright (Toronto 1967)

Plummer, A., *Revelation* (London 1890)

Poole, M., *Synopsis Criticorum* (London 1676)

Priestley, J., *The Present State of Europe compared with Antient Prophecies* (London 1794)

Prigent, P., *L'Apocalypse de Saint Jean* (Geneva 2000 – original edition 1981)

Primasius, ed. A.W. Adams, *Commentarius in Apocalypsin* (CCSL 92: Turnhout 1985)

Prous Boneta, *Confession*, in W.H. May, “The Confession of Prous Boneta, Heretic and Heresiarch,” in, ed. J.H. Mundy, R.W. Emery and B.N. Nelson, *Essays in Medieval Life and Thought* (New York 1955) 3-30

Pürstinger, B., *Onus Ecclesiae* (Augsburg 1531 – original edition 1524, written 1519)

Pyle, T., *Paraphrase with Notes on the Revelation of St. John* (London 1735)

Quellen zur Geschichte der Wiedertaufer II (Leipzig 1934)

Quesnel, P., *Le Nouveau Testament en François avec des Réflexions Morales sur chaque verset* (Paris 1702 – original edition 1687)

Quique cupite audire, in *Poetarum Latinorum Medii Aevi* 4.2 (Berlin

1914) 644-646

Quispel, G., *The Secret Book of Revelation* (London 1979)

Quodvultdeus, *Dimidium Temporis in Signum Antichristi*, in, ed. R. Braun, *Opera Quodvultdeo Carthaginensi Episcopo Tributa* (CCSL 60: Turnhout 1976)

Quodvultdeus, ed. R. Braun, *Quodvultdeus: Livre des promesses et des predictions de Dieu* (SC 101: Paris 1964)

Ratton, J., *The Apocalypse of St. John* (London 1912)

Read, H., *The Coming Crisis of the World* (Columbus 1861)

Reeve, J., *A Divine Looking-Glass* (London 1661 – original edition 1656)

Reifferscheid, A., ed., *Neun Texte zur Geschichte des religiösen Aufklärung in Deutschland in des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts* (Greifswald 1905)

Renan, J., *Renan's Antichrist* (London 1899 – original French edition 1873)

Resseguie, J., *Revelation Unsealed. A Narrative-Critical Approach to John's Apocalypse* (Leiden/Boston/Cologne 1998)

Ribiera, F., *In sacram Beati Ioannis Apostoli et Euangelistae Apocalypsin Commentarii* (Antwerp 1593)

Richard of St. Victor, *In Apocalypsim Joannis* (PL 196)

Richards, H., *What the Spirit says to the Churches* (London 1967)

Riemer, U., *Das Tier auf dem Kaiserthron?* (Stuttgart/Leipzig 1998)

Rissi, M., *Was ist und was geschehen soll danach* (Zurich/Stuttgart 1965)

Rist, M., *The Revelation of St. John the Divine*, in *The Interpreter's Bible 12* (New York/Nashville 1957) 346-551

Robertson, D., *Discourses Showing the Structure and Unity of the Apocalypse* (Glasgow 1833)

Robertson, J., *Καινα και παλαια. Things New and Old: or, an Exposition of the*

- Book of the Revelation of John the Apostle* (Edinburgh 1730)
- Robinson, B., "The Two Persecuted Prophet-Witnesses of Rev 11" *Scripture Bulletin* 19 (1988) 14-19
- Robotham, J., *The Mystery of the two Witnesses Unveiled* (London 1654)
- Roloff, J., *Revelation* (Minneapolis 1993 – original German edition 1984)
- Rossetti, C., *The Face of the Deep: A Devotional Commentary on the Apocalypse* (London 1892)
- Rowland, C., *Revelation* (London 1993)
- Rudolf of Ems, ed. V. Junk, *Alexander* (Leipzig 1928-1929)
- Rudolf of Ems, ed. G. Ehrismann, *Weltchronik* (Berlin 1915)
- Rupert of Deutz, *Commentaria in Apocalypsin* (PL 169)
- Russell, J., *The Parousia. A Critical Inquiry into the New Testament Doctrine of Our Lord's Second Coming* (London 1878)
- Sa, E., *Notationes in Totam Scripturam Sacram* (Antwerp 1598)
- St. Clair, J., *Observations on Certain Passages in Daniel and the Apocalypse of John* (London 1755)
- Sale-Harrison, L., *The Wonders of the Great Unveiling* (Harrisburg 1930)
- Salimbene, ed. O. Holder-Egger, *Cronica* (Hanover 1905-1913)
- Salmeron, A., *Disputationum in Epistolas Canonicas et Apocalypsin*, vol. 4 (Cologne 1604) = vol. 16 of *Commentarii in Evangelium Historiam... et Apocalypsin* (Cologne 1602-1604)
- Schick, E., *The Revelation of St. John for Spiritual Reading* (London 1971)
- Schmidt, E., *Versio et Declaratio Novi Testamenti Graeci... Notae et Animadversiones in Novum Testamentum* (Nuremburg 1657)
- Schneemelcher, W., ed., *The New Testament Apocrypha* (2 vols.: Cambridge 1991-

1992)

Schüssler Fiorenza, E., *Revelation. Vision of a Just World* (Edinburgh 1993 – original edition 1991)

Scott, E., *The Book of Revelation* (London 1939)

Scott, I., *The “Two Witnesses;” and, “The Battle of that Great Day of God Almighty”* (Edinburgh 1853)

Scott, T., *The Visions of the Apocalypse and their Lessons* (London 1893)

Scott, W., *Expository Outline of the Revelation* (London 1920)

Scott, W.H., *The Interpretation of the Apocalypse* (London 1853)

Seiss, J., *The Apocalypse* (London 1882 – original edition 1881)

Shand, A., *An Explanation of the Interesting Prophecy Respecting the Two Apocalyptic Witnesses, as fulfilled by the Institution and Progress of the British and Foreign Bible Society* (London 1817)

Sherwin, W., *A Scheme of the whole Book of the Revelation of Jesus Christ* (n.p. 1671)

Sibillen Boich, in, ed. O. Schade, *Geistliche Gedichte des XIV und XV Jahrhunderts vom Niderrhein* (Hannover 1854)

Sickenberger, J., *Erklärung der Johannesapokalypse* (Bonn 1942 – original edition 1940)

Simcox, W., *The Revelation of St. John* (Cambridge 1890)

Simpson, D., *A Key to the Prophecies* (Macclesfield 1795)

Smith, E., *Dissertation on the Prophecies* (Charlestown, MA 1811)

Smith, E., *Key to the Revelation* (New York 1833)

Smith, U., *Daniel and the Revelation* (Watford 1921 – original edition 1865)

Snodgrass, J., *A Commentary, with notes, on part of the book of Revelation of John*

(Paisley 1799)

Soloviev, V., *The Antichrist* (Worcester 1982 – original Russian edition 1900)

Spalding, J., *Sentiments, Concerning the Coming and Kingdom of Christ* (Salem 1796)

Spitta, F., *Die Offenbarung des Johannes* (Halle 1889)

Sproxton, V., *Good News in Revelation* (Glasgow 1977)

Staab, K., ed., *Pauluskommentare aus der griechischen Kirche* (Münster 1984²)

Steiner, R., *The Apocalypse of St. John* (London 1977 – from lectures given in 1908)

Stern, C., *Commentar über die Offenbarung des Apostel Johannes* (Schaffhausen 1854)

Strand, K., “The Two Olive Trees of Zechariah 4 and Revelation 11” *AUSS* 20 (1982) 257-261

Strand, K., “The Two Witnesses of Rev. 11:3-12” *AUSS* 19 (1981) 127-135

Striegel, V., *ΥΠΟΜΝΗΜΑΤΑ in omes libros novi testamenti* (Leipzig 1565)

Stuart, J. (King James I of England), *A Paraphrase upon the Revelation*, in, *The Workes of the Most High and Mightie Prince, Iames* (London 1616)

Stuart, M., *A Commentary on the Apocalypse* (Andover, MA 1845)

Suarez, F., *Defensio Fidei Catholicae, et Apostolicae Adversus Anglicanae sectae errores* (Conimbricus 1613)

Swedenborg, E., *The Apocalypse Revealed* (Manchester 1791 – original Latin edition 1766)

Swete, H.B., *The Apocalypse of St. John* (London 1906)

Taffin, J., *Claire Exposition de l'Apocalypse ou Revelation de S. Jean* (Flessing 1609)

Tatford, F., *Prophecy's Last Word. An Exposition of the Revelation* (London 1947)

Taylor, L., *An Essay on some Important Passages of the Revelation of the Apostle*

- John* (Edinburgh 1770 – original edition 1763)
- Taylor, T., *Christs Victorie over the Dragon or Satans Downfall* (London 1633)
- Telesphorus of Cosenza, in *Expositio magni prophete Joachim in librus beati Cyrilli...* (Venice 1516) ff.8v-44r
- Tenney, M., *Interpreting Revelation* (London 1958 – original edition 1957)
- Tertullian, *De Anima*, ed. J.H. Waszink, in *Tertullian: Opera*, vol. 2 (CSEL 2: Turnhout 1954)
- Theophylact, *Commentary on John* (PG 124)
- Thomas, D., *Let's Study Revelation* (Edinburgh 2003)
- Thomas, J., *Eureka: An Exposition of the Apocalypse* (New York 1866)
- Thruston, F., *England Safe and Triumphant* (Coventry 1812)
- Tillam, T., *The Two Witnesses: Their Prophecy, Slaughter, Resurrection and Ascension* (London 1651)
- Tillinghast, J., *Generation Work. 3rd part* (London 1654)
- Tillinghast, J., *Knowledge of the Times* (London 1654)
- Todd, J., *Six Discourses on the Prophecies Relating to Antichrist in the Apocalypse of St. John* (Dublin 1846)
- Torrance, T., *The Apocalypse Today* (London 1960)
- Tout, C., *The Apocalypse and Last Days Prophecies* (Ilfracombe 1992)
- Towers, J., *Illustrations of Prophecy* (London 1796)
- Trapp, J., *A Commentary or Exposition Upon all The Epistles and the Revelation of John the Divine* (London 1647)
- Tripp, J., *A Discourse on the Character and Work, and the Death and Resurrection of the Two Witnesses* (Portland 1824)
- Tudor, J., “On the Structure of the Apocalypse” in, *Papers Read Before the Society*

- for the Investigation of Prophecy* (London 1828) 1-22
- Turner, C., *Studies in Early Church History* (Oxford 1912)
- Tyconius, ed. F. LoBue, *The Turin Fragments of Tyconius' Commentary on Revelation* (Cambridge 1963)
- Tyconius, ed. F.C. Burkitt, *The Book of Rules of Tyconius* (Cambridge 1894)
- Tyconius, *Budapest Fragments*, in, R. Gryson, "Fragments inédits du Commentaire de Tyconius sur l'Apocalypse" *RBén* 107 (1997) 189-226
- Tyso, J., *An Elucidation of the Prophecies* (London 1838)
- Underwood, T.L., ed., *The Acts of the Witnesses* (Oxford 1999)
- Ubertino of Casale, *Arbor Vitae Crucifixae Jesu* (Venice 1485)
- van Daalen, D., *A Guide to the Revelation* (London 1986)
- Vane, H., *An Epistle General to the Mystical Body of Christ* (n.p. 1662)
- Vane, H., *The Face of the Times* (n.p. 1662)
- Vassiliev, A., ed., *Anecdota Graeco-Byzantina* (Moscow 1893)
- Vaughan, C., *Lectures on the Revelation of St. John* (London/Cambridge 1863)
- Venema, H., *Praelectiones de Methodo Prophetica* (Leovardiae 1775)
- Victorinus of Pettau, ed. J. Haussleiter, *Victorini episcopi Petavionensis opera* (CSEL 49: Vienna 1916)
- Vidit Iacob*, in, Thomas Aquinas, *Opera Omnia* (Paris 1876) 31:469-661
- Viegas, B., *Commentarii Exegetici in Apocalypsis Ioannis Apostoli* (Ebora 1601)
- Vischer, E., *Die Offenbarung Johannis. Eine jüdische Apokalypse in christlicher Bearbeitung* (Leipzig 1886)
- Visio Danielis* (καὶ ἔστα), in, ed. Vassiliev, *Anecdota*, 38-43
- Visio Danielis* (Pseudo-Chrysostom) in, ed. Vassiliev, *Anecdota*, 33-38
- Visio Danielis* (Slavonic) in, P.J. Alexander, ed. D. deF. Abrahamse, *The Byzantine*

- Apocalyptic Tradition* (Berkeley/Los Angeles/London 1985) 72
- ?Vital du Four, in Bernardinus of Siena, ed. J. de la Haye, *Opera Omnia*, vol. 5
(Venice 1745), also in, Anon., *Sermones Super Apocalypsin* (n.p., n.d. 1512?)
- Vitranga, C., *Ἀνακρισις Apocalypsios Joannis Apostoli* (Frankfurt 1705)
- Vivian, T., *The Book of the Revelation of Saint John the Divine Explained* (Plymouth 1785)
- Vögtle, A., *Das Buch mit dem sieben Siegeln* (Freiburg/Basel/Vienna 1981)
- Volkmar, G., *Commentar zur Offenbarung Johannes* (Zurich 1862)
- Völter, D., *Die Offenbarung Johannis* (Strasburg 1911²)
- Völter, D., *Die Entstehung der Apokalypse* (Freiburg 1885²)
- von Frankenberg, A., *Apocalypsis Referata*, in, ed. S. Hartlib, *Clavis Apocalyptica*
(London 1651)
- Vox domini*, in, Aquinas, *Opera Omnia* (Paris 1871-1880) vol. 32.
- Wadding, L., ed., *Annales Minorum* (Rome 1732)
- Walhout, E., *Revelation. Down to Earth* (Grand Rapids/Cambridge 2000)
- Walmesley, C., *The General History of the Christian Church* (n.p. 1771)
- Walvoord, J., *The Revelation of Jesus Christ* (London 1966)
- Waple, E., *The Book of Revelation Paraphrased with Annotations on each chapter*
(London 1693)
- Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society, *Revelation. Its Grand Climax at Hand!* (New York 1988)
- Waugh, J., *Dissertations on the Prophecies of Sacred Scripture* (Edinburgh 1833)
- Webber, R., *An Idealistic Reading of the Apocalypse*
(SanFrancisco/London/Bethesda 1999)
- Weiss, B., *A Commentary on the New Testament* (New York/London 1906)

- Weiss, B., *Die Johannes-Apokalypse* (Leipzig 1891)
- Weiss, J., *Die Offenbarung des Johannes. Ein Beitrag zur Literatur- und Religionsgeschichte* (Göttingen 1904)
- Welch, C., *"This Prophecy," Being an Exposition of the Book of the Revelation* (London 1939)
- Wellhausen, J., *Analyse der Offenbarung Johannes* (Berlin 1907)
- Wellhausen, J., *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten* 6 (Berlin 1899)
- Wettstein, J.J., *Ἡ Καινὴ Διαθήκη. Novum Testamentum Graecum* (Amsterdam 1751)
- Whiston, W., *An Essay on the Revelation of Saint John so far as concerns the Past and Present Times* (Cambridge 1706)
- Whitaker, E., *A Commentary on the Revelation of St. John* (London 1802)
- Whitaker, E., *A General and Connected View of the Prophecies Relating to the Times of the Gentiles* (Egham 1795)
- White, E.G., *The Great Controversy Between Christ and Satan* (Mountain View 1911)
- White (Jezreel), J.R., *Extracts from the Flying Scroll, Sermon III* (London 1881)
- Whitley, J., *The Scheme and Completion of Prophecy* (London 1830)
- Wikenhauser, A., *Die Offenbarung des Johannes übersetzt und erklärt* (Regensburg 1959 – original edition 1947)
- Wilcock, M., *I saw heaven opened. The message of Revelation* (London 1975)
- Williams, I., *The Apocalypse, with Notes and Reflections* (London 1852)
- Williams, R., ed. S. Caldwell, *Complete Writings* (New York 1963)
- Wilson, T. *A Christian Dictionarie... Whereunto is annexed A perticular Dictionary For the Revelation of S. Iohn...* (London 1612)

- Winchester, E., *The Three Woe Trumpets* (London 1793)
- Winckelmann, J., *Commentarius in Apocalypsin* (Frankfurt 1601)
- Winstanley, G., *The Breaking of the Day of God* (n.p. 1648)
- Winstanley, G., ed. G. Sabine, *The Works of Gerrard Winstanley* (Ithaca/New York 1941)
- Winthrop, J., *An Attempt to Translate the Prophetic Part of the Apocalypse of Saint John into Familiar Language* (Boston 1794)
- Witham, R., *Annotations on the New Testament of Jesus Christ* (n.p. 1730)
- Wither, G., *A View of the Marginal Notes of the Popish Testament* (London 1588)
- Woodcocke, F., *The Two Witnesses Discovered in severall Sermons Upon the eleventh Chapter of the Revelation* (London 1643)
- Woodhead, A., *The Apocalyps Paraphrased* (n.p. 1682)
- Woodhouse, J., *The Apocalypse* (London 1805)
- Woolston, T., *A Fourth Free-Gift to the Clergy; being a Discourse on the Two Apocalyptical Witnesses* (London 1724)
- Yarbro Collins, A., *The Apocalypse* (Dublin 1979)
- Zahn, T., *Die Offenbarung des Johannes* (Leipzig/Erlangen 1924-1926)
- Zegerus, N., *Scholia in Omnes Novi Testamenti Libros* (Cologne 1553)
- <http://www.bibledesk.com/index.htm> on 31/5/2002
- <http://www.historicist.com> on 26/5/2004
- <http://earth-history.com/Sumer/sumer-adapa.htm> on 9/9/2003
- <http://www.ianpaisley.org/> on 26/5/2004
- <http://members.aol.com/djdowns/projects/endofday/witnesses.html> on 29/11/2001
- <http://rapture.sinfree.net/> on 26/05/2004

<http://www.revandy.com> on 31/05/2002

<http://tarad8.suddenlaunch.com/index.cgi?board=questcomboard&action=display&num=1081158865> on 9/6/2004

<http://www.the-two-witnesses.org/> on 26/2/2002

Secondary Bibliography

Achelis, H., *Hippolytstudien* (Leipzig 1897)

Alexander, P.J., ed. D. deF. Abrahamse, *The Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition*
(Berkeley/Los Angeles/London 1985)

Alexander, P.J., "The Diffusion of Byzantine Apocalypses in the Medieval West and
the Beginnings of Joachimism," in, ed. A. Williams, *Prophecy and
Millenarianism* (Harlow, Essex 1980) 53-106

Arasola, K., *The End of Historicism. Millerite Hermeneutic of Time Prophecies in the
Old Testament* (Uppsala 1990)

Argyriou, A., *Les Exégèses Grecques de L'Apocalypse à L'Epoque Turque (1453-
1821)* (Thessalonica 1982)

Armogathe, J.-R., "Interpretations of the Revelation of John 1500-1800" in, ed. B.
McGinn, *The Encyclopedia of Apocalypticism. Volume 2. Apocalypticism in
Western History and Culture*. (New York 1998) 185-203

Backus, I., *Reformation Readings of the Apocalypse. Geneva, Zurich and Wittenberg*.
(Oxford 2000)

Baird, W., *History of New Testament Research. 1: From Deism to Tübingen*
(Minneapolis 1992)

Baldwin, R., *The Jezreelites* (Orpington 1962)

Baraut, C., "Joachim de Flore" *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité* 8 (Paris 1972-1974) 1179-
1180

Barr, J., *Fundamentalism* (London 1981 – original edition 1977)

Bauckham, R., *The Climax of Prophecy* (Edinburgh 1993)

Bauckham, R., "Enoch and Elijah in the Coptic Apocalypse of Elijah" *SP* 16 (TU 129
Berlin 1985) 69-76

Bauckham, R., "The Martyrdom of Enoch and Elijah: Jewish or Christian?" *JBL* 95 (1976) 447-458

Bauckham, R., *Tudor Apocalypse* (Abingdon 1978)

Bauer, W., *Orthodoxy and Heresy in Earliest Christianity* (Philadelphia 1972)

Beck, H.-G., *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich* (Munich 1955)

Benrath, G., *Wyclifs Bibelkommentar* (Berlin 1966)

Berger, K., *Die Auferstehung des Propheten und die Erhöhung des Menschensohnes* (Göttingen 1976)

Bignami-Odier, J., *Études sur Jean de Roquetaillade (Johannes de Rupescissa)* (Paris 1952)

Bischoff, G., "Early Premonstratensian Eschatology: The Apocalyptic Myth" in, ed. E.R. Elder, *The Spirituality of Western Christendom*. 1 (Kalamazoo 1976) 40-71

Black, M., "The 'Two Witnesses' of Revelation 11:3f. in Jewish and Christian Apocalyptic Tradition" in, ed. E. Bammel, C.K. Barrett and W.D. Davies, *Donum Gentilicum. Essays in Honour of D. Daube* (Oxford 1978) 227-237

Böcher, O., *Die Johannesapokalypse* (Darmstadt 1980²)

Bonner, G., *Saint Bede in the Tradition of Western Apocalyptic Commentary* (Newcastle 1966)

Bostock, C., *The Antichrist and the Lollards. Apocalypticism in late Medieval and Reformation Britain* (Leiden/Boston, MA/Cologne 1998)

Bostock, J.K., *A Handbook on Old High German Literature* (Oxford 1955)

Bousset, W., *The Antichrist Legend* (London 1896)

Bousset, W., *Die Offenbarung Johannis* (Göttingen 1896⁵)

- Boyer, P., *When Time Shall Be No More* (Cambridge, MA 1992)
- Brady, D., *The Contribution of British Writers between 1560 and 1830 to the Interpretation of Revelation 13:16-18 (The Number of the Beast): A Study in the History of Exegesis* (Tübingen 1983)
- Buchholz, D.D., *Your Eyes Will Be Opened: A Study of the Greek (Ethiopic) Apocalypse of Peter* (Atlanta 1988)
- Burdon, C., *The Apocalypse in England. Revelation Unravelling 1700-1834* (Basingstoke/New York 1997)
- Burr, D., "Mendicant Readings of the Apocalypse" in Emmerson, R.K. and McGinn, B. (ed.), *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages* (New York 1992) 89-102
- Burr, D., *Olivi's Peaceable Kingdom* (Philadelphia 1993)
- Burr, D., *The Spiritual Franciscans. From Protest to Persecution in the Century After St. Francis* (Pennsylvania 2001)
- Butler, J.M., "The Making of a New Order: Millerism and the Origins of Seventh-day Adventism" in, ed. R.L. Numbers and J.M. Butler, *The Disappointed: Millerism and Millenarianism in the Nineteenth Century* (Bloomington 1987)
- Capp, B., *The Fifth Monarchy Men* (London 1972)
- Capp, B., "The political dimension of apocalyptic thought," in, ed., Patrides, C.A. and Wittreich, J., *The Apocalypse in English Renaissance Thought and Literature* (Manchester 1984) 93-124
- The Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York 1912)
- Charles, R.H., *The Book of Enoch* (Oxford 1912)
- Charles, R.H., *Studies in the Apocalypse* (Edinburgh 1913)
- Christianson, P., *Reformers and Babylon* (Toronto 1978)
- Cohn, N., *The Pursuit of the Millennium* (Oxford 1970³)

- Cope, E.S., *Dame Eleanor Davies, Never Soe Mad a Ladie* (Michigan 1992)
- Daniel, E.R., "Apocalyptic Conversion: The Joachite Alternative to the Crusades"
Traditio 25 (1969) 127-154
- Daniel, E.R., *The Franciscan Concept of Mission in the High Middle Ages* (Kentucky 1975)
- Daniel, E.R., "Joachim of Fiore: Patterns of History in the Apocalypse" in, ed. R.K. Emmerson, and B. McGinn, *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages* (New York 1992) 72-88
- Daniélou, J., "La typologie millénariste de la semaine" *VC* 2 (1948) 1-16
- De Groote, M., "Die Quaestio Oecumeniana" *Sacris Erudis* 36 (1996) 67-105
- Deppermann, K., *Melchior Hoffman* (Edinburgh 1987)
- DiBerardino, A. (introduction J. Quasten), *Patrology* 4 (Westminster, Maryland 1986)
- Dictionary of National Biography*, electronic version (1995)
- Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclesiastiques* (Paris 1909-)
- Dulaey, M., *Victorin de Poetovi. Premier exégète latin.* (Paris 1993)
- Dunbar, D.G., "Hippolytus of Rome and the Eschatological Exegesis of the Early Church" *WTJ* 45 (1983) 322-339
- Emmerson, R.K., *Antichrist in the Middle Ages* (Manchester 1981)
- Emmerson, R.K. and McGinn, B., ed., *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages* (New York 1992)
- Firth, K.R., *The Apocalyptic Tradition in Reformation Britain 1530-1645* (Oxford 1979)
- Fish, S., *Is There a Text in this Class? The Authority of Interpretive Communities* (Cambridge, MA 1980)
- Flannery, A., *The Basic Sixteen Documents. Vatican Council II. Constitutions,*

- Decrees, Declarations* (Dublin 1996)
- Foster, R.F., *Modern Ireland 1600-1972* (London 1988)
- Frankfurter, D., *Elijah in Upper Egypt. The Apocalypse of Elijah and Early Egyptian Christianity* (Minneapolis 1993)
- Fredriksen, P., "Tyconius and Augustine on the Apocalypse" in, ed. R.K. Emmerson, B. McGinn, *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages* (New York 1992) 20-37
- Fredriksen, P., "Tyconius and the End of the World" *Revue des études augustinienes* 28 (1982) 59-75
- Frend, W.H.C., *The Donatist Church* (Oxford 1952)
- Frend, W.H.C., *The Rise of Christianity* (Philadelphia 1984)
- Froom, L.E., *The Prophetic Faith of our Fathers* (Washington 1945-1964) 4 vols.
- Garrett, C., *Respectable Folly. Millenarians and the French Revolution in France and England* (Baltimore/London 1975)
- Giamatti, A.B., *The Earthly Paradise and the Renaissance Epic* (Princeton 1966)
- Gibbon, E., *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (1776-1788)
- Gibson, M.T., "The Twelfth Century Glossed Bible" *SP* 23 (Louvain 1990) 232-244
- Gilson, J.P., "Friar Alexander and his Historical Interpretation of the Apocalypse" in, ed. C.L. Kingsford et al., *Collectanea Franciscana* (Manchester 1922) 20-36
- Gray, S.W., *The Least of My Brothers. Matthew 25:31-46. A History of Interpretation* (Atlanta 1989)
- Greaves, R., and Zaller, R., ed., *Biographical Dictionary of British Radicals in the Seventeenth Century* (Brighton 1982-1984)
- Gres-Gayer, J.M., "The Unigenitus of Clement XI: A Fresh Look at the Issues" *Theological Studies* 49 (1988) 259-282
- Gryson, R., "Les commentaires patristiques latin de l'Apocalypse," *Revue*

- Théologique de Louvain* 28 (1997) 305-337; 484-502
- Hahn, T., *Tyconius-Studien* (Leipzig 1900)
- Haussleiter, J., *Die lateinische Apokalypse der alten afrikanischen Kirche* (=T. Zahn, *Forschungen zur Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons*, IV; Erlangen/Leipzig 1891)
- Helms, C., *The Apocalypse in the Early Church. Christ, Eschaton and Millennium* (DPhil Thesis, University of Oxford 1991)
- Hill, Christopher, *Antichrist in Seventeenth-Century England* (London 1990²)
- Hill, Christopher, *The English Bible and the Seventeenth-Century Revolution* (London 1993)
- Hill, Christopher, "John Reeve and the Origins of Muggletonianism," in, ed. A. Williams, *Prophecy and Millenarianism. Essays in Honour of Marjorie Reeves* (Harlow, Essex 1980) 305-333
- Hill, Christopher, Reay, B. and Lamont, W., *The World of the Muggletonians* (London 1983)
- Hill, Charles, *Regnum Caelorum* (Oxford 1993)
- Hofmann, H.-U., *Luther und die Johannes-Apokalypse* (Tübingen 1982)
- Hudson, A., "A Neglected Wycliffite Text" *JEH* 29 (1978) 257-279
- Jamison, E., *Admiral Eugenius of Sicily* (London 1957)
- Jeremias, J., *Ἡ(ε) ἰαζ* in *TDNT* vol. 2, 928-941
- Kaestli, J.-D., "Le rôle des textes bibliques dans la genèse et le développement des legends apocryphes. Le cas du sort final de l'apôtre Jean." *Augustinianum* 23 (1983) 319-336
- Kamlah, W., *Apokalypse und Geschichtstheologie. Die mittelalterliche Auslegung der Apokalypse vor Joachim von Fiore* (Berlin 1935)

- Keegan, J., *The First World War* (London 1998)
- Kelly, J.N.D., *The Oxford Dictionary of Popes* (Oxford 1986)
- Kenyon, J., *The Popish Plot* (London 1972)
- Klaassen, W., *Living at the End of the Ages. Apocalyptic expectation in the Radical Reformation* (Lanham/New York/London 1992)
- Klausner, J., *The Messianic Idea in Israel, from its beginning to the Completion of the Mishnah* (London 1956)
- Klein, P.B., "The Apocalypse in Medieval Art" in, ed. R.K. Emmerson and B. McGinn, *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca/London 1992) 159-199
- Knights, M., *Politics and Opinion in Crisis, 1678-81* (Cambridge 1994)
- Kovacs, J., and Rowland, C., *Revelation: the Apocalypse of Jesus Christ* (Oxford/Malden, MA 2004)
- Kretschmar, G., *Die Offenbarung des Johannes. Die Geschichte ihrer Auslegung im 1. Jahrtausend* (Stuttgart 1985)
- Kümmel, W.G., *The New Testament. The History of the Investigation of its Problems* (London 1973)
- Lamoreaux, J.C., "The Provenance of Ecumenius' Commentary" *VC* 52 (1998) 88-108
- Landes, R., "Lest the Millenium Be Fulfilled. Apocalyptic Expectations and the Pattern of Western Chronography 100-800 C.E.", in, ed. W. Verbeke, C. Verhelst and A. Welkenhuysen, *The Use and Abuse of Eschatology in the Middle Ages* (Louvain 1988) 137-209
- Leff, G., *Heresy in the Later Middle Ages* (Manchester 1967)
- Leipoldt, J., *Schenute von Atripe und die Entstehung des national ägyptischen Christentums* (Leipzig 1903)

- Lerner, R.E., *The Feast of Saint Abraham. Medieval Millenarians and the Jews* (Philadelphia 2001)
- Lerner, R.E., "Poverty, Preaching and Eschatology in the Commentaries of 'Hugh of St. Cher,'" in, ed. K. Walsh and D. Wood, *The Bible in the Medieval World. Essays in Honour of Beryl Smalley* (Oxford 1985) 157-189
- Lerner, R.E., "The Refreshment of the Saints: The Time After Antichrist as a Station for Earthly Progress in Medieval Thought," *Traditio* 32 (1976) 97-144
- Lewis, S., "Exegesis and Illustration in Thirteenth-Century English Apocalypses" in, ed. R.K. Emmerson and B. McGinn, *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca/London 1992) 259-275
- Lewis, W., *Peter John Olivi: Prophet of the Year 2000* (PhD dissertation: Tübingen 1972)
- Lindberg, C., *The European Reformations* (Oxford 1996)
- Lobrichon, G., "Une nouveauté: Les gloses de la Bible" in, ed G. Lobrichon and P. Riché, *Le Moyen Age et la Bible* (Paris 1984) 95-114
- Lucken, L.U., *Antichrist and the Prophets of Antichrist in the Chester Cycle* (Washington 1940)
- Luneau, A., *L'Histoire du salut chez les Pères de l'église: la doctrine des âges du monde* (Paris 1964)
- Mackay, T.W., "Sources and Style in Bede's Commentary on the Apocalypse," *SP* 30 (Louvain 1997) 54-60
- McGinn, B., "Alter Moyses: The Role of Bernard of Clairvaux in the Thought of Joachim of Fiore." in, ed. J.R. Sommerfeldt, *Bernardus Magister: Papers Presented at the Nonacentenary Celebration of the Birth of Saint Bernard of Clairvaux* (Kalamazoo 1993) 429-448

McGinn, B., "Angel Pope and Papal Antichrist" *CH* 47 (1978) 155-173

McGinn, B., *Antichrist. Two Thousand Years of the Human Fascination with Evil*
(San Francisco 1994)

McGinn, B., *The Calabrian Abbot. Joachim of Fiore in the History of Western Thought* (New York/London 1985)

McGinn, B., ed., *The Encyclopedia of Apocalypticism. Volume 2. Apocalypticism in Western History and Culture.* (New York 1998)

McGinn, B., "Joachim and the Sibyl" *Citeaux* 24 (1973) 97-138.

McGinn, B., "'Pastor Angelicus': Apocalyptic Myth and Political Hope in the Fourteenth Century" in, *Santi e Santità nel Secolo XIV. Atti del XV Convegno Internazionale, Assisi, 15-16-17 ottobre 1987* (Perugia 1989) 221-251

McGinn, B., "Revelation" in, ed. R. Alter and F. Kermode, *The Literary Guide to the Bible* (London 1987) 523-541

McGinn, B., ed., *Visions of the End* (New York 1998²)

Maier, G., *Die Johannesoffenbarung und die Kirche* (Tübingen 1981)

Manselli, R., "L'anno 1260 fu anno Gioachinnitico?" in, *Il movimento dei disciplini*
(Perugia 1960)

Manselli, R., *La "Lectura Super Apocalipsim" di Pietro di Giovanni Olivi. Ricerche sull' escatologismo medioevale.* (Rome 1955)

Matter, E.A., "The Apocalypse in Early Medieval Exegesis" in, ed. R.K. Emmerson and B. McGinn, *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages* (New York 1992) 38-50

Matter, E.A., The Pseudo-Alcuinian 'De Septem Sigillis': An early Latin Apocalypse Exegesis." *Traditio* 36 (1980) 111-137

Mealy, J.W., *After the Thousand Years. Resurrection and Judgement in Revelation 20*
(Sheffield 1992)

- Milik, J.T., *The Books of Enoch, Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4* (Oxford 1976)
- Moorman, J., *A History of the Franciscan Order* (Oxford 1968)
- Morin, G., “Le commentaire homilétique de S. Césaire sur l’Apocalypse” *RBén* 45 (1933) 43-61
- Moynihan, R., “The development of the ‘pseudo-Joachim’ commentary ‘Super Hieremiam’: new manuscript evidence” *MEFRM* 98 (1986) 109-142
- Murray, I., *The Puritan Hope* (London 1971)
- Newport, K.G.C., *Apocalypse and Millennium. Studies in Biblical Eisegesis* (Cambridge 2000)
- Nickelsberg, G., *A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch, Chapters 1-36; 81-108* (Minneapolis 2001)
- Nützel, J.M., “Zum Schicksal des eschatologischen Propheten” *BZ* 20 (1976) 59-94
- Ortiz de Urbana, I., *Patrologia Syriaca* (Rome 1965²)
- The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, ed. S. Hornblower and A. Spawforth (Oxford 1996³)
- The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, ed. F.L. Cross and E.A. Livingstone (Oxford 1997³)
- Paley, M., *Apocalypse and Millennium in English Romantic Poetry* (Oxford 1999)
- Patrides, C.A. and Wittreich, J., ed., *The Apocalypse in English Renaissance Thought and Literature* (Manchester 1984)
- Penton, M.J., *Apocalypse Delayed. The Story of Jehovah’s Witnesses* (Toronto 1985)
- Petersen, R.L., *Preaching in the Last Days. The Theme of “Two Witnesses” in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Oxford/New York 1993)
- Philonenko, M., “Simples observations sur les Paralipomènes de Jérémie” *RHPR* 76

(1996) 157-177

Prigent, P., *Apocalypse 12. Histoire de l'exégèse* (Tübingen 1959)

Prigent, P. "Hippolyte, commentateur de l'Apocalypse" *TZ* 28 (1972) 391-412

Quasten, J., *Patrology* 2 (Antwerp 1953)

Ratzinger, J., "Beobachtungen zum Kirchenbegriff des Tyconius im *Liber*

Regularum," *Revue des études augustinienes* 2 (1956) 173-185

Reeves, M., "The Abbot Joachim's Disciples and the Cistercian Order" *Sophia* 19

(1951) 355-371

Reeves, M., "English Apocalyptic Thinkers (c. 1540-1620)" in, ed. R. Rusconi, *Storia*

e figure dell' Apocalisse fra '500 e '600 (Rome 1996) 259-273

Reeves, M., *The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages. A Study in Joachimism*

(Notre Dame/London 1993²)

Reeves, M., *Joachim of Fiore and the Prophetic Future* (Stroud 1999²)

Reeves, M., "The Originality and Influence of Joachim of Fiore," *Traditio* 36 (1980)

269-316

Reinink, G., "Der edessenische Pseudo-Methodius" *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 83

(1990) 31-45

Riaud, J., "The Figure of Jeremiah in the Paralipomena Jeremiae Prophetarum: His

Originality: His 'Christianization' by the Christian Author of the Conclusion

(9:10-32)" *JSP* 22 (2000) 31-44

Robinson, J.A.T., *Redating the New Testament* (London 1976)

Rogers, P., *The Sixth Trumpeter. The Story of Jezreel and his Tower* (London 1963)

Rusconi, R., "Antichrist and Antichrists" in, ed. B. McGinn, *The Encyclopedia of*

Apocalypticism. Volume 2. Apocalypticism in Western History and Culture

(New York 1998) 287-325

Sandeen, E., *The Roots of Fundamentalism. British and American Millenarianism 1800-1930* (Chicago/London 1970)

Schmolinsky, S., *Der Apokalypsenkommentar des Alexander Minorita. Zur frühen Rezeption Joachims von Fiore in Deutschland* (Hannover 1991)

Simojoki, A., *Apocalypse Interpreted. The Types of Interpretation of the Book of Revelation in Finland 1944-1995. From the Second World War to the Post-Cold War World* (Abo 1997)

Simoni, F., "Il Super Hieremiam e il Gioachimismo Francese" *Bulletino dell'Istituto storico italiano* 82 (1970) 13-46.

Smalley, B., "John Russell O.F.M." *Recherches de Théologie Ancienne et Médiévale* 23 (1956) 277-320

Smalley, B., *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* (Oxford 1983³)

Stegmüller, F., *Reportorium Biblicum Medii Aevi* (Matriti 1940)

Steinhauser, K.B., *The Apocalypse Commentary of Tyconius. A History of its Reception and Influence* (Frankfurt 1987)

Steinhauser, K.B., "Tyconius: Was he Greek?" in, ed. E.A. Livingstone, *SP* 27 (Louvain 1993) 394-399

Sternberger, G., *Einleitung in Talmud und Midrasch* (Munich 1992⁸)

Stone, M.E., *Fourth Ezra* (Minneapolis 1990)

Thompson, E.P., *Witness Against the Beast* (Cambridge 1993)

Tiller, P.A., *A Commentary on the Animal Apocalypse of 1 Enoch* (Atlanta 1993)

Toon, P., ed., *Puritans, the Millennium and the Future of Israel* (Cambridge/London 1970)

Töpfer, B., *Das kommende Reich des Friedens* (Berlin 1964)

VanderKam, J.C., "Enoch, Enochic Motifs, and Enoch in Early Christian Literature,"

- in, ed. W. Adler and J.C. VanderKam, *The Jewish Apocalyptic Heritage in Early Christianity* (Assen/Minneapolis 1996) 33-101
- VanderKam, J.C., "Enoch Traditions in Jubilees and Other Second-Century Sources" in *SBL 1978 Seminar Papers* 1 (Missoula, Mont. 1978) 229-251
- van Engen, J.H., *Rupert of Deutz* (Berkeley/Los Angeles/London 1983)
- Verhelst, D., "La préhistoire des conceptions d'Adson concernant l'Antechrist" *RTAM* 40 (1973) 52-103.
- Visser, D., *Apocalypse as Utopian Expectation (800-1500)* (Leiden/New York/Cologne 1996)
- Wainwright, A., *Mysterious Apocalypse* (Nashville 1993)
- Weinel, H, "Die spätere christliche Apokalyptik," in, ed. H. Schmidt, *EYXAPIΣTHPION: Studien zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments. FS Hermann Gunkel* (Göttingen 1923) 141-73
- Wessley, S., "A New Writing of Joachim of Fiore: Preliminary Observations" *Florensia* 7 (1993) 39-58
- Wilson, D., *Armageddon Now! The Premillenarian Response to Russia and Israel since 1917* (Grand Rapids 1977)
- Witte, M.M., *Elias und Henoch als Exempel, typologische Figuren und apokalyptische Zeugen* (Frankfurt 1987)
- Wittreich, J.W., "The Apocalypse: A Bibliography" in, ed. C.A. Patrides and J.W. Wittreich, *The Apocalypse in English Renaissance thought and literature* (Manchester 1984) 369-440
- Zeron, A., "The Martyrdom of Phineas-Elijah" *JBL* 98 (1979) 99-100
- Zimdars-Swartz, S., "Joachim of Fiore and the Cistercian Order: A Study of the *De*

Vita Sancti Benedicti.” in, ed. J.R. Sommerfeldt, *Simplicity and Ordinariness.*

Studies in Medieval Cistercian History IV (CS 61: Kalamazoo 1980) 293-309

<http://aeiou.at/aeiou.encyclop.h/h411340.htm> on 3/6/2004