

MORE THAN CONQUERORS: THE CONQUEROR (NIKAQ) MOTIF IN THE BOOK OF REVELATION

by

EUN-CHUL SHIN

Dissertation

Submitted in fulfillment of the requirements

For the degree:

Philosophiae Doctor

New Testament Studies

In the Faculty of Theology

Pretoria University

Supervisor: Prof. Dr. J.G. van der Watt

October 2006

UNIVERSITEIT VAN PRETORIA UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA YUNIBESITHI YA PRETORIA

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I have for a long time been fascinated by the book of Revelation. I am constantly

encouraged to examine and understand the meaning of its message.

I owe much to the many people who have helped me with my research in different ways.

I would like to give special thanks to my promoter and mentor, Prof. J.G. van der Watt

for his tireless encouragement and advice. Without his support, I couldn't have finished

my research.

I should like to express my special thanks to my parents and mother-in-law who

supported me while I studied in South Africa. I would especially like to acknowledge

my father, Reverend Young-Kweon Shin, who passed away on 19 July 2006. For me, he

was more than a father. He was my physical and spiritual teacher who taught me the

love of God and Jesus.

I also express my thanks to Dr. W.F. Harding and Mr. L.D.A. Shee who helped me

correct my English. Other colleagues and friends, too, have supported me in various

ways: missionary Jin-Ho Park; Won-Bin Im; Sang-Bok Kim; Jeong-Keun Seo; Rev.

Young-Jin Kim; deacon Gun-Young Yoon, who allowed me to use his computer; Seong-

Joo Cho; the Pretoria Korean church; and the Kanana New Sprout church for their

spiritual support.

Above all, I thank my wife, Young-Soon Hwang, for her love, endurance and support;

my children, Eum-Jeong and Peter for keeping all of us smiling.

I dedicate this dissertation to my late father Reverend Young-Kweon Shin.

Pretoria, October 2006.

i



SUMMARY

Title: More Than Conquerors: The Conqueror (Νικάω) Motif in the Book of

Revelation

Researcher: Eun-Chul Shin

Supervisor: Prof. Dr. J.G. van der Watt

Degree: Doctor of Philosophy

This dissertation intends to reveal the theme of the conqueror, which is spread throughout the book of Revelation. I try to determine the identity and function of the conquerors who were faced with various problems in their present situations. Various present situations such as the political, economical, social, and religious phenomena that the first Christians confronted must be considered. Thus, the main aim of Revelation is to persuade compromising Christians to disengage from pagan idolatry and to sustain those who resist. One must remember the fact that the designated conquerors were absolutely embedded in their historical and sociological situation. We should recognize why John wanted to send his prophetic message through various symbolic references and universes, providing a different heavenly perspective in contrast with an earthly point of view.

In general, the conquest can be linked with both a military and political meaning, such as Messiah and the son of David in Jewish literature and the Old Testament. But the conqueror figure in Revelation can be understood from a different angle. The characteristic of the conqueror is explained through the symbolic transformation of redemptive death and victory. It means that the idea of conquering has been changed. Conquering doesn't depend on a military or political power that is the interpretation of the traditional messianic expectation, but self-sacrifice of the Lamb on the cross. The characteristic of the Lamb as conqueror is closely linked with the image of an atoning, sacrificial victim.

The theme of suffering and death in Revelation is linked with the victory of the conquerors. That is, the conquerors can be defined as those who endure suffering, slander, poverty and tribulation unto death as Jesus has done. From a worldly



perspective, Satan looks like the almighty figure as the conqueror that persecuted the people of God, but in terms of the heavenly perspective, he is defeated and conquered by the blood of the Lamb and by the word of God in 12:11. Therefore, conquering is provided from the heavenly perspective to encourage the conquerors as seeing the present reality. Just as the Lamb has conquered the evil ones by his blood, the conquerors should conquer the evil ones by the blood of the Lamb and the word of their testimony. Thus, the victory of the conquerors can be attained by means of witness and death. The idea that the conquerors are the victims might provide the people of God with a powerful symbolic transformation as a marginalized group in a hostile world.

The conquerors are provided with a heavenly perspective, implying an eschatological fulfillment and God's presence in the New Jerusalem. The image of the New Jerusalem provides a rhetorical effect that the people of God as conquerors will experience salvation in the future. Whereas the city of Babylon was drunk with the blood of the conquerors, the New Jerusalem coming down from heaven will dwell with God as the completion of the fulfillment God promised (cf. 21:1-22:5).



KEY WORDS

- The Conquerors
- The promise statement given to the conquerors
- The fulfillment statement given to the conquerors
- The One like a Son of man
- The Lamb
- The Divine Warrior
- The people of God as the conquerors
- The word of God and the testimony of Christ
- The heavenly and the earthly perspectives
- The symbolic transformation



ABBREVIATIONS

A. General abbreviations

AD. Anno Domini
Ant. Antiquities

J.W Wars of the Jews
BD. Before Christ
Cf. Compare, confer
Ch (s). Chapter (s)

Ed (s). Editor (s), edited by

E.g. For exampleEtc. Et ceteraI.e. That isLXX. SeptuagintN.d. No date

NT New Testament
OT Old Testament

Trans. Translator, translated, translation

V (s) Verse (s) Vol. Volume

B. Abbreviations for books of the Bible

► OLD TESTAMENT (OT)

Genesis	Ge.	Ecclesiastes	Ecc.
Exodus	Ex.	Song of Songs	SS.
Leviticus	Lev.	Isaiah	Isa.
Numbers	Nu.	Jeremiah	Jer.
Deuteronomy	Dt.	Lamentations	La.
Joshua	Jos.	Ezekiel	Ezk.
Judges	Jdg.	Daniel	Da.



Ruth	Ru.	Hosea	Hos.
1 Samuel	1 Sa.	Joel	Joel.
2 Samuel	2 Sa.	Amos	Am.
1 King	1 Ki.	Obadiah	Ob.
2 King	2 Ki.	Jonah	Jnh.
1 Chronicles	1 Ch.	Micah	Mic.
2 Chronicles	2 Ch.	Nahum	Na.
Ezra	Ezr.	Habakkuk	Hab.
Nehemiah	Ne.	Zephaniah	Zep.
Esther	Est.	Haggai	Hag.
Job	Job.	Zechariah	Zec.
Psalm	Ps.	Malachi	Mal.
Proverb	Pr.		

► NEW TESTAMENT (NT)

Matthew	Mt.	1 Timothy	1 Ti.
Mark	Mk.	2 Timothy	2 Ti.
Luke	Lk.	Titus	Tit.
John	Jn.	Philemon	Phm.
Acts	Acts.	Hebrews	Heb.
Romans	Ro.	James	Jas.
1 Corinthians	1 Co.	1 Peter	1 Pe
2 Corinthians	2 Co.	2 Peter	2 Pe.
Galatians	Gal.	1 John	1Jn.
Ephesians	Eph.	2 John	2 Jn.
Philippians	Php.	3 John	3 Jn.
Colossians	Col.	Jude	Jude.
1 Thessalonians	1 Th.	Revelation	Rev.
2 Thessalonians	2 Th.		



C. Abbreviations with regard to books and series used:

AUSS Andrews University Seminary Studies

Bib Biblica

BibSac Bibliotheca Sacra
BT The Bible Translator

BTB Biblical Theology Bulletin
CBQ Catholic Biblical Quarterly

CR Currents in Research

CTJ Calvin Theological Journal

EvQ Evangelical Quarterly

GTJ Grace Theological Journal HTR Harvard Theological Review

Int Interpretation

JBL Journal of Biblical Literature

JETS Journal of the Evangelical Theological Studies

JRL The John Rylands Library

JSNT Journal for the Study of the New Testament

JTS Journal for Theological Studies

Neotest Neotestamentica

NIC New International Commentary

NIDNTT New International Dictionary of New Testament Theology

NIGTC New International Greek Testament Commentary

NovT Novem Testamentum

NTS New Testament Study

QR Quarterly Review

SA Sociological Analysis

TDNT Theological Dictionary of the New Testament

VoxEv Vox Evangelica

WBC World Biblical Commentary

WTJ Westminster Theological Journal

WW Word and World



Table of Contents

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	1
SUMMARY	ii
KEY WORDS	iv
ABBREVIATIONS	v
CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION	1
1.1. The Reason for this Research	2
1.2. Purpose of the Dissertation	3
1.3. Methodology of the Dissertation	4
1.4. Main Hypothesis	5
1.5. Investigative procedure	6
CHAPTER II. THE VICTORY MOTIF AS BACKGROUND FOR UNDERSTANDING THE BOOK OF REVELATION	9
II.1. Dating as background for understanding the book of Revelation	9
II.1.1. Dating	11
II.1.1.1. External Evidence	11
II.1.1.2. Internal Evidence	14
II.1.1.2.1 The Temple measuring $(11:1-2)$ and the seven kings $(17:10-11)$	14
<u>II.1.1.2.1.1.</u> The Temple measuring (11:1-2)	15
<u>II.1.1.2.1.2. The seven kings (17:10-11)</u>	20
II.1.1.3. Summary	27
II.2. Literary genre and Social situation of the Revelation	28
II.2.1. Apocalypse as crisis literature	28
II.2.1.1. Apocalyptic literature	31
II.2.1.2. Victory through death	33
II.2.2. Persecution or Compromise	35
II.2.2.1. Emperor worship and Imperial cult	36



II.2.2.1.1. Emperor worship	38
II.2.2.1.2. Imperial cult	40
II.2.3. Summary	42
II.3. Conclusion	43
CHAPTER III. THE PROMISE STATEMENTS GIVEN TO THE CONQUERORS OF THE SEVEN CHURCHES) 46
III.1. Introduction	46
III.2. The Conquerors	49
III.3. Structure of the seven Letters	53
III.3.1 Τάδε λεγει formula - christological implication	56
III.3.2. The οιδα formula – the body	60
III.3.3. The Spirit in the seven churches	61
III.3.4. Summary	62
III.4. The promise statement given to the conquerors of the church of	of 62
Ephesus	02
III.4.1. The city of Ephesus	63
III.4.2. The social situation of the church of Ephesus	66
III.4.3. Tree of life (ξύλον της ζωῆς)	66
III.4.3.1. Artemis cult as the tree of life	67
III.4.3.2. Tree of life in the Old Testament	69
III.4.3.2.1 Paradise of God	71
III.4.4. The Conquerors in the church of Ephesus	73
III.4.5. Summary	77
III.5. The promise statement given to the conquerors of the church of	of 78
Smyrna	70
III.5.1. The city of Smyrna	78
III.5.2. The social situation of the church of Smyrna	80
III.5.3. The second death	81
III.5.4. The crown of life	84
III.5.5. The Conquerors in the church of Smyrna	87
III.5.6. Summary	89



III.6. The promise statement given to the Conquerors of the church of	00
Pergamum	90
III.6.1. The city of Pergamum	90
III.6.2. The social situation of the church of Pergamum	92
III.6.3. The hidden manna	93
III.6.4. The white stone (ψῆφος λευκός)	95
III.6.5 The new name	97
III.6.6. The Conquerors in the church of Pergamum	99
III.6.7. Summary	100
III.7 The promise statement given to the Conquerors of the church of	102
Thyatira	102
III.7.1. The city of Thyatira	102
III.7.2. The social situation of the church of Thyatira	103
III.7.3. Authority over the nations	104
III.7.4. The morning star	106
III.7.5. The Conquerors in the church of Thyatira	108
III.7.6. Summary	109
III.8 The promise statement given to the Conquerors of the church of	111
Sardis	111
III.8.1. The city of Sardis	111
III.8.2 The social situation of the church of Sardis	112
III.8.3. White garment	113
III.8.4. The book of life	116
III.8.5. The Conquerors in the church of Sardis	118
III.8.6. Summary	119
III.9. The promise statement given to the Conquerors of the church of	120
Philadelphia	120
III.9.1. The city of Philadelphia	120
III.9.2. The social situation of the church of Philadelphia	121
III.9.3. A pillar in the temple of my God	122
III.9.4. The Conquerors in the church of Philadelphia	124
III.9.5. Summary	126
III 10 The promise statement given to the Conquerors in the church of	126



Laodicea	
III.10.1. The city of Laodicea	127
III.10.2. The social situation of the church of Laodicea	127
III.10.3. The Throne	128
III.10.4. The Conquerors in the church of Laodicea	131
III.10.5. Summary	132
III.11. Conclusion	133
CHAPTER IV. THE CONQUEROR MOTIF REFLECTED IN THE CHRISTOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE	137
IV.1. Introduction	137
IV.2. The Son of Man Christology	143
IV.2.1. Daniel 7:13	144
IV.2.1.1. The vision of the one "like a Son of man" in Daniel 7:13	144
IV.2.1.2. Who is the "One like a Son of man"?	147
IV.2.1.3. The function of the "One like a Son of man"	149
IV.2.1.4. The relationship between Daniel 7:13 and Revelation 1:13 and 14:14	150
IV.2.2. The Son of man in Mark's and John's Gospel	151
IV.2.2.1. The Son of man in Mark's Gospel	152
IV.2.2.1.1. Mark 2:10 (cf. Mt. 9:6; Lk. 5.24)	153
IV.2.2.1.2. Mark 8.31 (cf. Mt. 16:21; Lk. 9:22)	154
IV.2.2.1.3. Mark 14:62 (cf. Mt. 26:64; Lk. 22:69)	156
IV.2.2.2. The Son of man in the Gospel of John	157
IV.2.2.2.1. The Son of man in John 1:51	158
IV.2.2.2.2. The Son of man in John 3:13-14	160
IV.2.3. The Son of man in Revelation	162
IV.2.3.1. The Son of man in Revelation 1:13	162
IV.2.3.2. The Son of man in Revelation 14:14-16	165
IV.2.4. Summary	169
IV.3. The Lamb Christology	172
IV.3.1. The Lamb in 5:5-14	173



IV.3.1.1. God, Creator	173
IV.3.1.2. The Lamb, Conqueror	175
IV.3.1.2.1. The suffering Lamb	176
IV.3.1.2.2. The Conquering Lamb	179
IV.3.1.2.3. The Doxology to God and the Lamb	181
IV.3.2. The Lamb in 14:1-5	183
IV.3.2.1. Mount Zion	183
IV.3.2.2. The Virgin, Conqueror	185
IV.3.2.3. The First fruit	187
IV.3.3. The Lamb in 17:14	189
IV.3.3.1. Lord of lords and King of kings	190
IV.3.4. Summary	192
IV.4. The Divine-Warrior Christology in Revelation 19:11-21	194
IV.4.1. The Divine-Warrior in Revelation 19:11-21	195
IV.4.1.1. Faithful and True	196
IV.4.1.2. Divine Judgment	198
IV.4.1.3. The great supper	200
IV.4.1.4. Final salvation and final judgment	201
IV.4.2. The Conquerors as the followers of Christ the Divine-Warrior	203
IV.4.2.1. The 144,000 as Conquerors in 7:4-8	203
IV.4.2.1.1. Interlude or expansion?	203
IV.4.2.1.2. The twelve tribes of Israel and the innumerable multitude	205
IV.4.2.1.2.1. The twelve tribes of Israel	205
IV.4.2.1.2.2. The innumerable multitude	207
IV.4.3. The martyrs as Conquerors in 6:9-11	210
IV.4.3.1. The word of God and testimony	210
IV.4.4. Two witnesses as Conquerors in 11:3-13	213
IV.4.4.1. Little scroll	213
IV.4.4.2. Prophet witness	216
IV.4.5. Summary	219
IV.5. Conclusion	221



CHAPTER V. THE CONQUEROR MOTIF IN TERMS OF THE HEAVENLY AND EARTHLY PERSPECTIVE: FOCUSING ON CHPTERS 12-13	227
V.1. Introduction	227
V.2. Apocalyptic symbols in chapters 12-13	231
V.2.1. The Theophany Formula	232
V.2.2. Heavenly War between the Conqueror and the Defeater	235
V.2.3. Symbolic transformation	238
V.2.3.1. The Conqueror, The Victim	239
V.2.3.2. Seeing and Hearing	241
V.2.3.3. The people of God and the people of Satan	243
V.3. The Conqueror motif from a heavenly perspective	249
V.3.1. Temporal dimension	250
V.3.2. The Psychological perspective: positive and negative	252
V.3.3. Social and political implication	255
V.3.3.1. The Conquerors versus the Dragon	257
V.3.3.2. The Conquerors versus the Beast from the sea	258
V.3.3.3. The Conquerors versus the Beast from the earth	260
V.4. Victory and Doxology of the Conquerors	262
V.5. Conclusion	265
CHAPTER VI. THE CONQUEROR MOTIF AS THE FULFILLMENT OF THE PROMISE STATEMENT IN REVELATION 21-22	268
VI.1. Introduction	268
VI.2. Structural analysis in Revelation 21-22 as promise and fulfillment	269
VI.3. Babylon and the New Jerusalem as promise and fulfillment	273
VI.3.1. Εύ πνεύματι	273
VI.3.1.1. The judgment of Babylon	274
VI.3.2. Babylon versus the New Jerusalem as a city and woman	279
VI.3.2.1. Babylon as a woman and city	280



VI.3.2.1.1. Babylon as a woman	280
VI.3.2.1.2. Babylon as a city	283
VI.3.2.2. The New Jerusalem	284
VI.3.2.2.1. The New Jerusalem as a bride	285
VI.3.2.2.2. The New Jerusalem as eschatological fulfillment statement in	200
21:1-8	286
VI.4. The Fulfillment statement given to the Conquerors of the seven	289
church	209
VI.4.1. The Ephesus fulfillment statement given to the Conquerors	290
VI.4.1.1. The tree of life	290
VI.4.1.1.1. The tree of life in 22:2	290
VI.4.1.1.2. The tree of life in 22:14	294
VI.4.1.1.3. The tree of life in 22:19	295
VI.4.2. The Smyrna fulfillment statement given to the Conquerors	296
VI.4.2.1. The second death	296
VI.4.2.1.1. The second death in 20:6	296
VI.4.2.1.2. The second death (the lake of fire) in 20:14	298
VI.4.2.1.3. The second death in 21:8	300
VI.4.3. The Pergamum fulfillment statement given to the Conquerors	301
VI.4.3.1. The white stone	301
VI.4.3.2. The new name in 22:4	302
VI.4.4. The Thyatira fulfillment statement given to the Conquerors	303
VI.4.4.1. Authority over the nations	303
VI.4.4.2. The morning star	304
VI.4.5. The Sardis fulfillment statement given to the Conquerors	305
VI.4.5.1. The white garment	306
VI.4.5.2. The book of life	307
VI.4.6. The Philadelphia fulfillment statement given to the Conquerors	308
VI.4.6.1. The pillar in the temple	309
VI.4.7. The Laodicea fulfillment statement given to the Conquerors	310
VI.4.7.1. The divine throne	311
VI.5. Conclusion	312



CHAPTER VII. CONCLUSION	315
VII.1. Introduction	315
VII.2. God, Conqueror	316
VII.3. Christ, Conqueror	317
VII.3.1. Martyr is Conqueror	317
VII.3.2. Eschatological Agent	318
VII.3.3. Christ, Conqueror, the Giver of new life	320
VII.4. The Conquerors, the people of God	321
VII.4.1. The Conquerors in the seven letters	322
VII.4.2. Victory by prophetic witness	325
VII.5. Final remark	327
BIBLIOGRAPHY	328