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THE PROBLEM OF APOCALYPTIC AS EVIDENCED IN  
RECENT DISCUSSION.

Hamilton Moore.

The last thirty years have witnessed a revival of interest in apocalyptic and questions about its origin, characteristics and theological value have provoked lively debate. Apocalyptic had made a brief appearance at the turn of the century through J. Weiss and A. Schweitzer (1), and painstaking work was done by British scholars such as R.H. Charles and F.C. Burkitt on producing editions and interpretations of the apocalyptic texts (2), yet for decades that apocalyptic literature was continually ignored. Klaus Koch sketched those years in his book Ratlos vor der Apokalyptik (English Translation, The Rediscovery of Apocalyptic; SBT 2/22; London: SCM 1972) and outlined the revival of theological and literary interest in apocalyptic since the war(3).

In his second chapter, 'The Apocalyptic Renaissance' Koch explains that the sudden turning to apocalyptic has been prompted only to a small extent by a fresh study of the texts, but gained its main, if indirect impetus, from the questionings of New Testament scholars and systematic theologians (4). He refers to two seminal writers, E. Käsemann and his essay on 'The Beginnings of Christian Theology' (1960) (5), which claimed 'apocalyptic....was the mother of all Christian theology' (6), and, in the field of systematic theology to Wolfhart Pannenberg, who in 1959 gave renewed importance to the apocalyptic concept of history for Christian theology in his essay 'Redemptive Event and History' (7). Anderson also affirms that this questioning referred to by Koch has arisen because the Bultmanian individualism appeared unsatisfactory to some theologians, who saw in apocalyptic, with its external, cosmic dimensions, a means of broadening the horizons to embrace the larger and indispensable concern with the justification of God's cause over His whole world. He further explains that another factor in this (8) renewed interest in apocalyptic was the study of the Qumran sect and its library, and the intensified research into the history and culture of Judaism and Christianity at the turn of the era (9). He states, "It is clear that at Qumran we are faced with a community which not only treasured apocalyptic works but was fired with apocalyptic

zeal and expectation. The members of this community thought of themselves as the final elect of God, chosen to purify the faith of their fathers through the trials of the Last Days, and engaged to that purpose in the eschatological warfare of the children of light with the children of darkness. Faced with the known existence of a priestly apocalyptic sect (10), roughly contemporaneous with Jesus and the early Church, scholars have been forced not only to revise previous estimates of the nature of late Judaism but to ask whether apocalypticism like that at Qumran (and not just the Judaism of the Pharisaic rabbis, with its focus on the Law) may not have exerted a considerable influence on the New Testament" (11).

D.S. Russell has suggested 'deeper reasons' for the revitalized concern and interest in apocalyptic. He refers to the similarity between the period of the 20th Century and the age of the apocalyptists, each being an age of crisis politically, socially, religiously, when such hopes and fears as are expressed in the apocalyptic writings come to the surface (12). Stephen Travis also mentions the 'sense of doom' felt by many in modern society today as a contributing factor (13).

The extent of the renewed interest in apocalyptic has been widespread. Käsemann's essay at once provoked a vigorous reaction from his German colleagues, particularly Ebeling and Fuchs. These essays, together with contributions by H.D. Betz, Frank M. Cross, David Freedman and Robert W. Funk were published as vol. 6 of the 'Journal for Theology and Church' in 1969 under the title 'Apocalypticism' (14). Since then entire issues of Interpretation (1971,25), Review and Expositor (1975, Vol LXXII) have been devoted to the subject, as also has Vol 39 of the Catholic Biblical Quarterly (1977). Hundreds of articles have been produced and along with brief but important treatments like those of Koch and Morris (15), major works on apocalyptic have appeared in the publication of P.D. Hanson's 'The Dawn of Apocalyptic' (16) and Christopher Rowland's 'The Open Heaven' (17). Also the third impression of D.S. Russell's earlier work 'The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic' was printed in 1980 (18). Mention should also be made of the appearance of Hal Lindsey's 'The Late Great Planet Earth' (1970),

with its excess of 4,000,000 copies sold - a book which catapulted apocalyptic into its current popular vogue. Finally, Koch has demonstrated that interest in apocalyptic has not been confirmed just to theological circles but has shown itself also in the realm of art, literature and in philosophical thinking (19), and Travis reminds us that now in the days of polluted oceans and neutron bombs it has even become the common property of film critics and political commentators (20).

A survey of recent discussion demonstrates that among scholars a consensus has not yet been reached on many of the major issues in the study of apocalyptic. (This is reflected in the original title of Koch's book (which the English title neutralizes) Ratlos vor der Apokalyptik, 'at a loss when faced with apocalyptic'. Again a perusal of the symposium Apocalypticism, ed. R.W. Funk leads one to agree with the verdict of its editor (in the preface) that the cross winds and conflict in its pages indicates "the chaotic state of historical and theological scholarship where apocalypticism is concerned. Premises are rarely shared; definitions often diverge; significance is variously assessed." (21). In the light of this we must guard against undue dogmatism in particular areas of our subject.

1. Definition. The first major problem is to arrive at a satisfactory definition of apocalyptic itself. The term is derived from the Greek ἀποκάλυψις (Rev 1v1, 'revelation' or 'unveiling'), not directly, but from a second and narrower use of the word to describe literary compositions which resemble the book of Revelation. It is used generally of a group of writings most of which were composed in the last two centuries BC and in the first century AD, and also of the ideas and concepts that are found in this kind of literature (22). But it is 'our term' (23), derived from biblical scholarship, and not one which the ancients used, and there is no agreed list of apocalyptic books nor consensus as to exactly what the term denotes.

Attempts have been made to define apocalyptic by drawing up a list of its supposed characteristics or

features. Morris sees apocalyptic as characterized by revelation, particularly but not exclusively, of the end, by an angel to the hero of the book; strange symbolism; pessimism; the shaking of the foundations; the triumph of God; determinism; dualism; pseudonymity; a literary form; rewritten history; ethical teaching (although in the last resort the ethical imperative is not characteristic of the apocalyptists as it is of the prophets); prediction, and historical perspective (but with reservations). (24)

Koch also examines Hebrew and Aramaic apocalyptic writings and lists firstly the formal characteristics as, discourse cycles between the apocalyptic seer and his heavenly counterpart, usually over several chapters (these cycles are generally called visions revealing something about the destiny of mankind); spiritual turmoils of the seer as a result; paraenetic discourse which offer a kind of 'eschatological ethic'; pseudonymity; symbolism drawing upon a vast reservoir of ancient mythology, and a long literary development and composite character. Along with these formal characteristics Koch sees as typical moods and ideas - imminent expectation of the end, the cosmic catastrophe ushering in the end; the history of the world divided into fixed segments; an extensive angelology and demonology; a new salvation beyond the catastrophe, paradisaical in character, an act from the throne bringing this about; frequently a mediator with royal functions and the use of the catchword 'glory'. (25) Other lists could be given, (26) but for many today this method of defining apocalyptic is regarded as being unsatisfactory and inadequate (27).

Hanson takes a different approach and proposes a system that identifies three distinct levels which, while interrelated, betray individual peculiarities which should not be blurred. (28) First of all the term 'apocalyptic' designates a literary genre, which is one of the favoured media (but by no means the exclusive or dominant one) used by the apocalyptic writers. 'Apocalyptic eschatology' is neither a genre, nor a socio-religious movement, nor a system of thought, but rather a religious perspective, a way of viewing divine plans. It is a

perspective which is the exclusive property of no single religious or political party. It is a continuation of prophetic eschatology, the difference being in the degree to which divine plans and acts are interpreted as being effectual within the structure of mundane reality.

'Apocalypticism' cannot be identified with apocalyptic eschatology because the former includes sapientia material and material derived from Greek, Hellenistic and various Eastern sources. However, it can be said to be latent in 'apocalyptic eschatology and can grow out of the perspective it provides. 'Apocalypticism' refers to the symbolic universe in which an apocalyptic movement codifies its identity and interpretation of reality. This symbolic universe crystalizes around the perspective of apocalyptic eschatology which the movement adopts. Since the symbolic universe generated by different apocalyptic movements which differ from one another as a result of conditions surrounding the organic growth of the individual symbolic systems, it is not possible to give one formal cognitive definition of apocalypticism. Hanson believes that all ancient apocalyptic movements are characterized by (a) a particular type of social setting - group experience of alienation, and (b) a related group response - a new symbolic universe must replace that dominant in the social system responsible for the alienation. Through recourse to apocalyptic eschatology a group can maintain a sense of identity and a vision of its ultimate vindication.

Two more recent attempts at defining apocalyptic can be found in Christopher Rowland's 'The Open Heaven' and Stephen Travis' 'Christian Hope and The Future of Man.' Rowland takes as his starting point those writings generally acknowledged to be apocalypses (Daniel and Revelation and certain books with a similar outlook). On this basis he arrives at a preliminary definition. "What we are faced with in apocalyptic, therefore, is a type of religion whose distinguishing feature is a belief in direct revelation of the things of God which was mediated through dream, vision or divine intermediary" (29). He finally fastens on a fuller account of apocalyptic derived from the four types, the discussion of which is forbidden, in the Mishnah, 'what is above, what is beneath, what was before time, and what will be hereafter'. The

divine mysteries which are revealed through vision or some kind of immediate disclosure concern the heavenly scene, man and his world, past history and the future. Thus Rowland argues against the predominant opinion that apocalyptic is defined by a certain eschatological perspective. Yet for many he never successfully separates apocalyptic from prophecy or makes a convincing case for the "open heaven" as the sole distinguishing trait of apocalyptic (30).

Stephen Travis proposes that the question of definition be approached on several levels (a) Literary Genre. The term apocalyptic can be used to describe: Jewish and Christian books like the Revelation which purport by revelations through visions, dreams and angels to describe the heavenly world and God's plan for the future. However since there are writings which have 'apocalyptic' ideas but have different literary form, e.g. Test. of the Twelve Patriarchs, apocalyptic must also be defined in terms of (b) Doctrinal features. These Travis enumerates as pessimism about the course of history, dualism between God and Satan, between the earthly world and the heavenly world, between the present age and the age to come; predictions of future events leading to an imminent end of history; faith in the triumph of God; belief in resurrection and final judgement. Finally, apocalyptic should be defined in terms of (c) Sociological milieu. Travis, with an increasing number of other scholars suggests that what gives unity to such a diverse body of literature is the social and historical situation in which it is produced. The 'ethos' reflected in the literature may be a more important indication of its being 'apocalyptic' than its precise form or list of contents - although as we shall discover this is not all easy to determine. He concludes by confessing that we may never find a foolproof way of determining what literature is apocalyptic and what is not; but by using his proposed method of approach, he accepts, with caution, D.S. Russell's list (Daniel, the apocryphal 2Esdras, fifteen non-canonical works and several of the Qumran Scrolls), plus certain OT passages, Mk. 13, II Thess.2 and the Book of Revelation (31).

2. Origin and Milieu. The question of the origin and milieu of apocalyptic is another area in which great

diversity of opinion has been evident. Koch bemoans the fact that one is indeed faced with 'an unsurpassed jumble of opinions' (32). We shall consider first of all the suggestions of scholars about theological streams in the emerging apocalyptic outlook (33) and then the sitz im Leben of the apocalyptists themselves.

For many years it was usual to postulate that apocalyptic was a late foreign element in religion, transported from Persia and of little real worth as compared with Old Testament prophecy (34). One typical definition of apocalyptic runs thus, 'A type of religious thought which apparently originated in Zoroastrianism, the ancient Persian religion; taken over by Judaism in the exile and post-exilic periods.....' (35). Travis acknowledges parallels in Parseeism to several doctrines of apocalyptic, but believes that such ideas could have filtered through into Jewish thought after 539BC when Persian influence in Palestine was strong. He also affirms that some of the most crucial elements of Jewish apocalyptic - its pessimism about the present age, its expectation of an imminent end, its stern denial that all men will be saved - are not found in Parseeism and therefore, while it may have had some influence, it cannot have been the dominant factor (36). Baldwin has pointed out that Daniel has no reference to Satan, a remarkable omission if apocalyptic is derived from Persian eschatology (37). Again, the late sources for Zoroastrianism have often been overlooked (38).

H.D. Betz sees Jewish apocalyptic as one strand in a much wider movement in the Hellenistic world. Adopting a religio-historical approach he selects a fragment of tradition, taken from the vision of the bowls in Rev.16, concerning 'the angel of the waters', v4-7. From a survey of parallel ideas in Hellenistic and Oriental literature (particularly the hermetic fragment Kore Kosmu) he concludes that, 'Jewish, and subsequently Christian apocalypticism as well, cannot be understood from themselves or from the Old Testament alone, but must be seen and presented as peculiar expressions within the entire development of Hellenistic syncretism.' (39).

The influence on apocalyptic of ideas and expressions from the richly endowed field of Hellenism may have been underestimated. However, we need not postulate syncretistic Hellenism as the necessary background of apocalyptic. A.Y.



Collins adopts the same approach and covers the same ground as Betz. He concludes that Kore Kosmu 50-70 is not of major significance for the interpretation of Rev. 16v4-7, and the two points which the texts have in common are not exclusively Hellenistic characteristics (see his references to Gen. 3v17 and Isa.24). He sees Betz's hypothesis as a helpful corrective of an approach which minimizes the impact of new historical circumstances and over-emphasises the continuity between prophecy and apocalypticism. But Collins asserts the history of religious approach must avoid over-emphasising the discontinuity and confining its interpretation to the perspective provided by the Hellenistic environment. Therefore he proposes a mediating approach and believes careful attention should be paid to both continuity and innovation (40). Hellenism may well have given apocalyptic some of its forms of expression, but it has yet to be shown that it was in any real sense determinative (41).

P.D. Hanson has made an important contribution to the study of the origins of apocalyptic (42). He maintains that both Persian and Hellenistic influences were late in coming, only after the essential character of apocalyptic was fully developed, and therefore were limited to peripheral embellishments. He has reaffirmed the earlier view of some scholars that apocalyptic developed from Old Testament prophecy. For Hanson certain exilic and post-exilic prophetic oracles are said to offer examples of 'proto-apocalyptic' eschatology. The later chapters of Isaiah as well as Ezekiel 40ff, Zechariah and Haggai, in Hanson's opinion, yield evidence of a conflict within the post-exilic community between hierocratic and visionary groups of control of the Jerusalemite cultus. On the basis of detailed exegesis of the oracles, particularly from Third Isaiah, he maintains that the visionaries lost the struggle and became so disillusioned that they despaired of seeking any kind of restoration by human initiative and looked to a direct intervention of God as the only basis of hope. Linked with this was their gradual despair of history as the area of divine activity. Thus among the disciples of Second Isaiah apocalyptic eschatology was born.

Bauckham believes that Hanson's postulation of a community struggle is speculative and the weakest part

of his thesis. It leads to a polarization of the prophetic tradition of Second Isaiah, Third Isaiah and Zechariah 9-14 on the one hand, and Ezekiel and Zechariah 1-8 on the other and does not do justice to the significance of the latter in the development of apocalyptic. Yet Bauckham is convinced that Hanson had shown in Is. 55-66, Zech. 9-14 that the transcendent eschatology which characterizes apocalyptic emerged in post-exilic prophecy, as an internal development in the Israelite prophetic tradition, in response to the historical conditions of the post-exilic community (43).

Von Rad refuses to see apocalyptic as a child of prophecy but argues for a development from the wisdom literature. He explains that both wisdom and apocalyptic literature are concerned not so much with Israel as a nation but with the individual and his place among all men; that wisdom's 'encyclopaedic interest' in such things as cosmology, astrology, biology, angelology reappears, for example, in 1 Enoch; both apocalyptic and wisdom have a deterministic view of history and are concerned with theodicy (44). It has long been known that a considerable part of wisdom tradition had penetrated apocalyptic (45), and this is generally acknowledged (46), but what is new in von Rad is his insistence on wisdom as its one and only root, and the denial of its connection with prophecy. Koch points out that what is difficult about this view is the apocalyptists' burning interest in eschatology, whereas there is an obvious lack of eschatological material in the major wisdom documents of the Old Testament and Apocrypha (47). Von Rad sought to explain the apocalyptists' deep interest in eschatology by affirming that wisdom, which tended toward the encyclopaedic, would surely be expected to develop a concern (probably a late one) with the Last Things. The problem is that, as Koch has explained, the eschatology "is not simply added on as one additional theme among many others, which the encyclopaedists can one day also come to include; it is the absolutely dominating centre, round which all other material - perhaps even 'encyclopaedic' material is grouped" (48).

Von Rad's claims about the contact of apocalyptic with wisdom have not remained undeveloped, however. Even if the type of wisdom which we find in Proverbs, Ecclesiastes and Sirach seems far removed from the apocalyptists, similarities have been pointed out between apocalyptic and mantic wisdom (49) with its interpretation of dreams and receipt of visions.

In conclusion therefore we may say that it is difficult to be specific about the origins of apocalyptic because of our meagre knowledge of the religious currents of Judaism in the centuries following the exile. Perhaps we ought to recognise the probability of a more complex development in apocalyptic from earlier biblical traditions than is usually admitted.

3. Sitz Im Leben What of a sitz im Leben for apocalyptic? Do books with a community of ideas and spirit not have a common sociological starting point? That may be so, but the difficulty is from what evidence we have, it appears that during the period between 200 BC and 100 AD, when the mass of apocalyptic writings came into being, Israel had the appearance of anything but unity, whether in Palestine or in the Diaspora and, as Koch has pointed out, everyone of the groupings known to us have been suggested as the sitz im Leben of the apocalyptists! (50). He mentions Boussets 'obscure and simple people, far removed from the Jerusalem hierarchy and its theology'; a small class of highly learned sages, thoroughly familiar with the non-Israelite culture of their time (Russell, G. von Rad), (51); the possibility of a beginning in the Babylonian Diaspora or Persia (Eissfeldt, Russell, J.J. Collins); or on Palestinian soil either from the Essenes (Helgenfeldt's view), Hasidim (Ploeger, Hengel), Pharisees (Charles), or Zealots (Herford) (52).

One important clue to the 'life-setting' of apocalyptic is that it was, 'born of crisis - from the start....underground literature, the consolation of the persecuted' (53). The apocalyptists were 'the disenfranchised', 'men without power' (54). This has led to apocalyptic being linked with the Hasidim in the

2nd century BC, when the Hellenistic reforms and violent oppression by Antiochus IV Epiphanes created an overwhelming sense of alienation (55). Several writers echo Hengel's description of the "conventicle-like-segregation of the 'Pious' from the official cult community" (56). Significantly the rise of the Hasidim is hinted at in the animal-apocalypse in 1 Enoch 90 v 6ff, although this does not prove that this apocalypse was written in that circle.

Baldwin argues for the rise of apocalyptic in the catastrophe and crisis of the exile in the 6th century BC. She reasons, "If it be true that there is a connection between adversity and apocalyptic there could be no more likely time for it to come to fruition than the 6th century, when every visible expression of Israel's very existence collapses, and the shape of the future was completely unknown" (57). She finds support in F.M. Cross (58) and Hanson's views outlined earlier. She affirms that the prophetic books do have apocalyptic features eg. Is. 24-27, Ezekiel and Zechariah. Mention is made of Hanson's view that the tension between vision and reality resulting in polarization at times of crisis reached its extreme in the late 6th century and again in the early 2nd century, (59). Therefore there is the possibility of what Travis calls, two 'high points' of apocalyptic literary activity - 550 to about 450 BC, and the period of upheaval provoked by Antiochus (the time of the Hasidim) (60).

Acceptance of a link between the Hasidic wise men and apocalyptic could explain its presence in later diverse movements descended from them (the Qumran sectarians and Pharisees). Yet there is much to be said for D.S. Russell's claim that the apocalyptic writers were to be found not in any one party within Judaism but throughout many parties, known and unknown, and among men who owed allegiance to no party at all.' (61). Apocalyptic may be better defined 'as more a mode of thought whose impact on Judaism cannot be narrowly defined on a secretarian basis, but is a way of looking at the world which could be shared by groups which may in other respects differ markedly on points of doctrine.' (62).

#### 4. Theological Evaluation of Apocalyptic

Finally, we must comment on the theological evaluation of apocalyptic and its relationship to New Testament Christianity. Upon consideration it appears that much recent discussions has resulted in the judgment, whither explicitly or implicitly, that apocalyptic is a more or less degenerate form of Israel's faith. (63). Even Hanson, despite his strong argument for the continuity of prophecy and apocalyptic, still treats pre-exilic prophecy as the high point of Old Testament theology, from which apocalyptic is a regrettable decline, However much it may be an understandable development in post-exilic circumstances (64). For Rowley, we must not come to apocalyptic with 'literalistic minds', but read them in the light of the times from which they issued. He can find only an 'enduring message' in apocalyptic, a 'deeper relevance' and 'profound spiritual principles', true for every generation (65). Yet this is a great advance on the position of von Rad who believed that the apocalyp-tists had abandoned history, emptying it of meaning, in contrast to that of the prophetic view (God's action rooted in saving history) (66).

In most modern assessments of apocalyptic it is this wholly negative view of history attributed to it which is the reason for its denigration. Apocalyptic is said to be radically dualistic, pessimistic, deterministic and characterised solely by a transcendent eschatology. Yet Bauckham and Travis have demonstrated that a more positive assessment is possible. Bauckham argues that this totally negative assessment 1) Derives from generalizations on the basis of a selection of proof texts from the later apocalypses, closer to Persian dualism than those most influenced by Old Testament prophecy. 2) It betrays a lack of sympathy with the desperate circumstances of the apocalyp-tists and their problem of theodicy. 3) The apocalyptic view of history must be understood from its starting point in the post-exilic experience of history. It did not begin with a dogma that God cannot act in history but with "an empirical observation of God's relative absence from

history since the fall of Jerusalem". (4) God had acted in the past (Israel's history), hence they hope for His action in the future, though their present experience made the hope of total transformation the only appropriate expression of faith in a God who rules history. (5) The early apocalyptists may not have been so quietist as is normally supposed. 6) The viewpoint of history as predetermined is quite different from a pagan resignation to fate. 7) If the apocalyptists went beyond the prophets in asserting that the meaning of history cannot be found within history this is a gain not a loss for theology. A transcendent eschatology is required for a satisfactory theodicy. (67) Bauckham continues, "For the christian the validity of transcendent eschatology is in the last resort a problem of New Testament theology. While the apocalyptic hope was certainly modified by the historical event of Jesus Christ, the New Testament interprets this event as presupposing and even endorsing a transcendent eschatology of divine intervention, cosmic transformation and the transcendence of death" (68). Therefore a serious commitment to the New Testament revelation requires us to accept apocalyptic eschatology as essentially a theological advance.

##### 5. Apocalyptic Jesus?

What was the relationship of Jesus and early Christianity to apocalyptic? Ever since Johannes Weiss and Albert Schweitzer produced their picture of thoroughly apocalyptic Jesus there have been 'agonized attempts to save Jesus from apocalyptic' (69). In Käsemann's essay, which helped to spark off the renewed interest in apocalyptic, he argues that both John the Baptist and the early post-resurrection church were apocalyptic in outlook. Jesus was not an apocalyptist; He preached "the immediate nearness of God." Furthermore, the preaching of Jesus cannot really be described as theology. Primitive Jewish Christian apocalyptic thus became "the mother of all Christian theology" (70).

Travis points out that most of the scholars who have been critical of Käsemann have done so, not because they are unhappy with a non-apocalyptic Jesus, but because

he admits too much apocalyptic influence in the post-resurrection church. Travis believes that Kasemann is mistaken about a non-apocalyptic Jesus and makes reference to the numerous apocalyptic features in His teaching pointed out by James Dunn and other scholars (71). Again Travis maintains Kasemann's critics are wrong when they deny the importance of apocalyptic for Jesus' first followers. Rollins, for example, refers to Jewish apocalyptic's sense of the meaninglessness of history, and then contrasts it with the positive evaluation of history and of the world which arises from the early church's realised eschatology. He views the New Testament as 'the produce of a post-apocalypticism, rooted in the experience of Easter and Pentecost, which from the beginning represented a theological orientation in fundamental conflict with Jewish apocalypticism.' So the Church was delivered from follies of apocalyptic, and returned to the wiser ways of the prophets, with their affirmation that God discloses himself in present history (72). Travis points out that this method of unfavourably comparing apocalyptic on the one hand with Old Testament prophecy and New Testament realised eschatology on the other 'misconstrues the relationship between them. What Rollins calls the 'post-apocalypticism' of the New Testament does not arise from a rejection of apocalyptic and a reversion to a prophetic attitude, but rather from a recognition that the expectations of the apocalyptists have begun to find their fulfilment in Jesus.' (73) Yet Jesus and the New Testament writers did not simply take over Jewish apocalyptic unchanged. They modified it, because in Jesus apocalyptic expectations had become expectations-in-process-of-fulfilment. (74)

In conclusion it can be said that this chapter has demonstrated that there are still many unanswered questions and a lack of scholarly opinion relating to apocalyptic. Much research still needs to be done. With Koch we can say, 'Through the attempts to grasp anew the obscure power of apocalyptic, a new movement has unmistakably entered theology, a movement which can be salutary if it brings a careful working out and evaluation in its train. If it does not, great will be the harm among theologians and non-theologians alike.' (75)

Notes

1. J. Weiss, Jesus Proclamation of the Kingdom of God, (ET London 1971); A. Schweitzer, "The Quest of the Historical Jesus" (1906; ET London 1911)
2. R.H. Charles, The Apocrypha & Pseudepigrapha of the OT (2 Vols, Oxford 1913); F.C. Burkitt, Jewish and Christian Apocalypses (1914, London); cf also the important two volumes on The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, J.H. Charlesworth, Ed. not available for this paper.
3. See chs 2,6-8
4. *ibid*, 13f
5. "The Beginnings of Christian Theology" in NT Questions for Today (ET, London 1969) 82-107, 108-137
6. *op.cit.* 40
7. "Redemptive Event and History", in Basic Questions in Theology (ET London 1970)
8. H. Anderson, "A Future for Apocalyptic" in Biblical Studies, W. Barclay Festschrift, (London 1976), 56-71
9. See also CBQ, Vol 39 (1977), 307
10. Morris considers it is going too far to describe the Covenanters as an apocalyptic sect, however deep their interest thereon: Apocalyptic (1972 IVP), 23
11. *op.cit.*
12. D.S. Russell, Apocalyptic: Ancient and Modern, (London 1978), 5.
13. S.H. Travis, Christian Hope and the Future of Man (IVP 1980), 25.
14. The last four essays represent part of a Symposium on "Apocalyptic Literature and Thought" of the SBL, 1967 (Ed F.M. Cross)
15. *op.cit.*
16. Fortress Press 1975
17. London, SPCK 1982
18. London, SCM 1964
19. *op.cit.* ch.8
20. *op.cit.* 25
21. JTC 6, 13
22. Morris, *op.cit.* 20 ; so also Koch, 20; G. Ebeling, JTC 6, 52.
23. Morris, *ibid*, 20
24. *ibid.* 34ff
25. Koch, *op.cit.* 24ff
26. See also M. Rist, INB, Vol 1, 157, art. "Apocalyptic"; D.S. Russell, Method, 105; G.E. Ladd, ISBE, Vol 1, (Eerdmans, 1979), 151ff
27. P.D. Hanson, *op.cit.*, 6: "no given apocalyptic work comes close to incorporating all the listed features"; Travis, *op.cit.*, 28 asks how many of these features need to have to be classified as apocalyptic & whether some characteristics are more fundamental than others.
29. Rowland, *op.cit.* 21
30. T. Longman, West. Theo. Journal, Spring 1983, No 1, Vol XLV, 179f
31. Travis, *op.* . 27ff
32. Koch, *op.cit.* 21
33. Rowland, *op.cit.* 208
34. Note also that with a generation of earlier scholars a different origin was claimed eg Charles, *op.cit.* viiff; H.H. Rowley, The Relevance of Apocalyptic, 15, (London 1944): "that apocalyptic is a child of prophecy, yet diverse from prophecy, can hardly be disputed"; cf also Russell, Method, 91: Prophecy is "the stuff from which apocalyptic is made"; cf also S.B. Frost, OT Apocalyptic, (London 1952), 83.
35. M. Rist, *op.cit.* 157; cf H. Conzelmann, An Outline of the Theology of the NT, (ET, SCM 1969), 23
36. Travis, *op.cit.* 29
37. J.C. Baldwin, Daniel (IVP), 48f; cf also D.F. Payne, "The Place of Daniel in OT Eschatology", Themelios 4, 1967, 33-40
38. N. Smart, The Religious Experience of Mankind (Fontana, 1971) 304ff claims the Avesta may be as late as the fourth century AD: cf S.B. Frost, *op.cit.* 187 states that the Dinkart is a work of the ninth century AD; J.H. Moulton (HDB IV), Art. "Zoroastrianism" maintains that it is more likely to be indebted to the Bible than the other way round."



39. H.D. Betz, op.cit. 155
40. A.Y. Collins, CBQ, Vol 39 1977, 367-381
41. M. Hengel, Judaism and Hellenism, Vol 1 (London, 1974) 181-194; Hengel presents numerous Hellenistic parallels to apocalyptic themes but believes that Hellenists influenced the apocalypticists only in matters of detail but not in their basic faith.
42. P.D. Hanson, op.cit; also "Jewish Apocalyptic against its Near Eastern environment", RB 78, 1971, 31-58; "OT Apocalyptic re-examined", Interpretation 25, 1971, 454-79; "Zechariah 9 and the recapitulation of an ancient ritual pattern", JBL 92, 1973, 37-59.
43. R.J. Bauckham, "The Rise of Apocalyptic", Themelios 3.2, 10-12
44. Von Rad, OT Theology, 2 (ET Edinburgh 1965), 306-308; the discussion is expanded in the fourth German edition (Munich 1965).
45. Cf Van Rad's predecessor in Heidelberg, G. Hülscher in "Die Entstehung des Buches Daniel", Th. Stud.u. Kritiken 1919, 113-119.
46. Koch, op.cit. 45; Baldwin, op.cit. 50; Rowland, op.cit, 203 and Travis, op.cit. 30.
47. Koch, *ibid*, 45
48. *ibid* 46
49. Cf Bauckham, op.cit, 13ff where he suggests Mantic wisdom affected the form of the apocalypticist's work but the content was inspired by OT prophecy.
50. *ibid*, 21
51. Russell, Method, 28; Von Rad, op.cit. 327
52. O. Eissfeldt, The OT: an Introduction, 1965, 524; Russell, Method, suggests people who reached Palestine from Mesopotamia during the Maccabean rebellion, 19; cf J.J. D.N. Freedman, "The Flowering of Apocalyptic", JTC 6 173
53. Hanson, Int. 25 474
54. Hengel, op.cit. 181ff
55. *ibid*. 206
56. op.cit. 52
57. F.M. Cross op.cit. 161: "The origins of apocalyptic must be searched for as early as the sixth century BC ...In this late exilic and early post-exilic literature we detect the rudimentary traits and motives of apocalypticism."
58. Hanson, RB, 33
59. op.cit. 32
60. Russell, Method, 27
61. Rowland, Open Heaven, 212; he later demonstrates that apocalyptic influenced even Rabbinic thought.
62. Koch, op.cit. 36 writes: "The heritage of 18th century Biblical scholarship has burdened us with a mortgage in the apocalyptic sphere" and outlines the theory of the prophetic connection: "After a decline of five hundred years, Jesus of Nazareth - perhaps John the Baptist before him - picked up the thread of the great prophets, the series of which ended with Deutero-Isaiah," 37.
63. Thus for Hanson the transcendent eschatology of apocalyptic prophecy is "myth", not merely in a literary sense, but in a sense akin to Bultmann's.
64. op.cit. final chapter.
65. Von Rad, op.cit. Vol 2, 303ff
66. Bauckham, op.cit. 19-23
67. *ibid*, 19
68. Koch, op.cit. 57
69. Cf. J.D.G. Dunn, Unity and Diversity in the NT, (London 1977), 318-22
70. Indebted to Travis for this summary of W.G. Rollins, NTS 17, 1970-71, 454ff
71. E. Käsemann, "The Beginnings of Christian Theology", JTC 6, 40
72. Travis reminds us that on this ground G.R. Beasley-Murray is able to defend the book of Revelation as a Christian book: cf "How Christian is the Book of Revelation?", in R.J. Banks (ed.), Reconciliation and Hope, L. Morris Festschrift, (Exeter 1974), 275-284.
73. op.cit. 131