

In my opinion, a careful study of what the documents themselves say is indeed basic, but such a study must be made within the context of the most serious attention to what is known (both on internal and external grounds) of the specific historical conditions related to those documents. To do otherwise may lead the scholar to a reconstruction more in line with his own fancy than with what actually happened in history. One wonders if von Campenhausen's book does not suffer from a certain degree of weakness along this line. But regardless of any shortcomings it may have in this respect, and regardless of how serious those shortcomings may seem to be, this book must be considered as a classic in the field. From it we may learn much, and no one with a serious scholarly interest in the topic can afford to bypass it.

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Von der Osten-Sacken, Peter. *Die Apokalyptik in ihrem Verhältnis zu Prophetie und Weisheit*. "Theologische Existenz heute," 157. München: Chr. Kaiser, 1969. 63 pp. DM 6.80.

This is a brief but significant study. The author's undertaking is a critical investigation of the thesis of the famous OT scholar Gerhard von Rad, who claims that apocalyptic had its origin singularly in the wisdom tradition. It should be noted that von Rad is the first German scholar in this century who treated the theme of apocalyptic within a work on OT theology (cf. his *Old Testament Theology* [1965], II, 301 ff.). He thus has a prominent place in the renaissance of interest and study of apocalyptic among German scholars of various theological disciplines, viz., O. Plöger, *Theokratie und Eschatologie* (1959); W. Panzenberg, *Kerygma und Dogma*, V (1959), 218-237; D. Rössler, *Gesetz und Geschichte, Untersuchungen zur Theologie der jüdischen Apokalyptik und der pharisäischen Orthodoxie* (1960); E. Käsemann, "Die Anfänge christlicher Theologie," *ZThK*, LVII (1960), 162-185; etc. Von Rad denies vehemently the widely held view (especially among Anglo-American scholars) that apocalyptic is a child of OT prophecy. To his mind, "this is completely out of the question" (*Old Testament Theology*, II, 303; the wording in the 4th German edition of 1965 is softened into "this is not possible."). What is new in von Rad's position is not that he considers the wisdom tradition to have a partial influence upon apocalyptic (so already G. Hölscher, "Die Entstehung des Buches Daniel," *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, XCII [1919], 113-138, to whom curiously von Rad does not refer), but rather that apocalyptic has its exclusive origin in wisdom literature. In his view there is a one-way street moving from wisdom to apocalyptic whereby he expressly denies any inner contact with prophecy.

Von der Osten-Sacken attempts to go beyond the justified critique of von Rad's thesis by P. Vielhauer in E. Hennecke, *New Testament Apocrypha*, ed. by W. Schneemelcher (Philadelphia, 1965), II, 596 ff., who has pointed out that in the wisdom materials of the OT "there is

no eschatology and imminent expectation . . . [and this fact] forms an insurmountable objection to his [von Rad's] thesis" (p. 598). The author begins with the book of Daniel, which he considers to be the oldest preserved apocalyptic work. He justifies this procedure on the basis that the total later apocalyptic literature may have incorporated non-apocalyptic material, and if it be investigated for the real matrix and origin of apocalyptic it would tend to lead to erroneous conclusions. Since von Rad had called for traditio-historical study of the spiritual home of apocalyptic, this procedure appears as the proper one on methodological grounds.

The first part of this study (pp. 13-34) concentrates on Dan 2. The author shows that the determinism in the apocalyptic thought-world of Dan 2 contains the beginnings of the later view that all that happens happens precisely according to the fixed plan of God, which human plans and actions can neither advance nor hinder. It turns out that the spiritual origin of this determinism is rooted in Is 40-66 and in the "Enthronement Psalms." In Dan 2 the center is the message of God found in Is 40-66, namely, Yahweh's power to announce that which is future. Beyond this Is 40-66 represents the traditio-historical basis for the understanding of the apocalyptic scheme of Dan 2. The author of Dan 2 makes an essential move beyond the scope of the picture of history as presented in Is 40-66, *i.e.*, he announced the total course of history to the end. "This comprehensive . . . announcement of history is what is new in Dan. 2 and may be judged to be the essential character of apocalyptic" (p. 33).

The second part (pp. 35-52) deals with Dan 7:8-12 with a view to describing its traditio-historical background. These chapters in the book of Dan show on the one hand that they must be understood as drawing further conclusions from the religious conception of God's determining the course of the world. On the other hand, Dan 8-12 contains eschatological terminology such as "in the latter days" (10:14) and "at that time" (12:1) which have their origin in prophetic writings and belong to the prophetic "Day of Yahweh" tradition. This same tradition is the background for a great number of other eschatological key motifs in Dan 7-12. Von der Osten-Sacken concludes further that "the visions of Dan. 7-12, which contain an analogous prophecy of history, are dependent in this on Dan. 2" (p. 46).

The last part (pp. 53-63) deals with the question of the sapiential influence in apocalyptic which caused von Rad to develop the thesis that apocalyptic as such has its origin in wisdom. The author examines OT wisdom passages which contain a deterministic concept. These passages, mostly found in Qoheleth, show that they are concerned with the individual and with events in the natural sphere. They do not demonstrate a relation to the kind of history which is concerned with political events that move nations and lead them to a final goal. These considerations point to a negative answer to the question whether or not OT wisdom was in the position to be the native soil for apocalyptic and its scheme. The horizon of apocalyptic in its most

original form is not the cosmos but history, that is to say the history of nations. The point of intersection of the genuinely apocalyptic conception of determinism and determinism in wisdom was the belief in God the Creator, who had power over both history (Dan) and nature (wisdom literature). This detailed critique of von Rad's one-sided thesis concludes with a pregnant summary: "Apocalyptic is a legitimate, even though late and unique child of prophecy, which is already in its young years not without erudition but has opened itself up to wisdom only with increasing age" (p. 63).

The indisputable merits of this little book should not be overlooked. No responsible scholar dealing with the problem of the origin and rise of apocalyptic can neglect this study. This reviewer tends to agree with the author that on the whole apocalyptic is a child of prophecy. At the same time I need to register reservation concerning the tendency on the part of von der Osten-Sacken to declare an ill-defined "determinism" as the center of apocalyptic without any real exegetical support. Is the one-way road upon which one is now to travel "determinism" instead of von Rad's "wisdom"? If this were the case, would we be much better off? Hardly so, despite the fact that it leads to prophecy. If "determinism" were the center of apocalyptic, should it become a hermeneutical schema for the interpretation of apocalyptic *per se*? But this would lead to other one-sided emphases. Apocalyptic has a multiple and variegated world of ideas among whose essentials are dualism in various forms of expression, hope and pessimism, individualism and universalism, and, of course, determinism. It is certainly to be emphasized that von der Osten-Sacken deals with determinism because von Rad sees it as the supporting presupposition of apocalyptic through which its origin is linked with wisdom. Although it has been shown that determinism is derived from prophecy, and not from wisdom, one must guard against making it more than it is. Of necessity one must ask whether one could not use dualism, pessimism, universalism, or another characteristic feature of the thought-world of apocalyptic as the center of apocalyptic. If one accepts the view that the book of Dan is the earliest apocalyptic work, then the question is raised whether the eschatological dualism of world epochs (Dan 2 and 7), the individual judgment (Dan 12), and the universalistic mode of world history (Dan 2:7-11), etc., all of which are recognized essentials of apocalyptic, can also be traced back to prophecy or whether there are other early and late influences at work. Undoubtedly much work has been done, but even more needs to be done, especially under the challenge presented by as fruitful a study as the one under review. The author has shown that wholly unexpected avenues of research are wide open. For this, among many things, we are indebted to him.

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