PAUL MICHAEL KURTZ

Kaiser, Christ, and Canaan

Forschungen zum Alten Testament
122

Mohr Siebeck

Forschungen zum Alten Testament

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Paul Michael Kurtz

Kaiser, Christ, and Canaan

The Religion of Israel in Protestant Germany, 1871–1918

Mohr Siebeck

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To my mother and my father
for all they've done for me, known and unknown

… history itself is in many respects the most undisciplined of disciplines.

– George W. Stocking, Jr.[1]

Methods are dictated by theory – not the other way around.

– Bernard E. Harcourt[2]

In our time there is a great danger that those who talk most readily about historians and scholars may not know too much about history and scholarship.

– Arnaldo Momigliano[3]

"Classic." A book which people praise and don't read.

– Mark Twain[4]

[1] George W. Stocking, Jr., "On the Limits of 'Presentism' and 'Historicism' in the Historiography of the Behavioral Sciences," *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences* 1, no. 3 (1965): 211–18, at 211 [repr. in idem, *Race, Culture, and Evolution: Essays in the History of Anthropology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968), 1–12].

[2] Bernard E. Harcourt, "On the American Paradox of *Laissez Faire* and Mass Incarceration," *Harvard Law Review* 125, no. 54 (2012): 54–68, at 64.

[3] Arnaldo Momigliano, "Introduction," *History and Theory* 21, no. 4, Beiheft 21: *New Paths of Classicism in the Nineteenth Century* (1982): 1–2, at 1.

[4] Samuel L. Clemens (Mark Twain), *Following the Equator: A Journey Around the World* (Hartford: The American Publishing Company, 1897), 241 (ch. 25, citing *Pudd'nhead Wilson's New Calendar*).

Acknowledgements

Like so many Americans a century before me, I travelled to Germany in pursuit of higher learning. In addition to the long, frayed, and mostly faded threads of family heritage, more conscious ties to a mythic, almost mystic, intellectual tradition drew my imagination to the Continent at formative points in my education. From the emphasis placed upon the history of Germany in secondary school through my first encounter with Hebrew, which introduced the aphorism of German as "the most important Semitic language" (given all the reference works composed in that vernacular), to advanced training in biblical studies and ancient history, where, as in so many other fields, nineteenth-century germanophones did much to shape the modern discipline, a *je ne sais quoi* – or rather *das gewisse Etwas* – consistently attracted my attention and my curiosity to the German-speaking lands of Europe. As I learned from German masters of my own age, I learned much about those of previous ones, in places many of them had once inhabited themselves. Many of the stories in this old history, I concluded, needed to be told anew – and to be told in English. So it was that *Kaiser, Christ, and Canaan* came to be.

This book has a rather complicated history. But in fitting with the tidier, more streamlined, even teleological accounts more customary for such front matter, I can at least declare it constitutes a revised version of my doctoral dissertation, submitted to the University of Göttingen, through the Department of Medieval and Modern History, in 2016, and examined by Rebekka Habermas, Dirk Schumann, and Hermann Spieckermann. Although the lines of inquiry herein first began to form during my postgraduate study at Princeton Theological Seminary, they really consolidated during the research year that followed – funded by the Fulbright Program and conducted at Göttingen – which presented me with the luxury of time and space to read widely and think deeply about why scholars do what they do the way that they do. Such preoccupations stuck with me as I returned to the States, to the University of Chicago, and ultimately drew me back to Göttingen, where I found unspeakable support in devoted teachers, loyal mentors, and trusted friends for my doctoral undertakings. This project also took me to Mainz, Ghent, and Erfurt in official capacities. Some of the most productive labor came through working holidays in locales all differently inspiriting, from Uig to Utrecht, from Brussels to Berlin, from Osnabrück to Dunlap. Various portions of this research were presented in the United States and Germany, in

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final (and far longer) form, in counseling improvements, and in confronting my perfectionism: to them I am deeply indebted. For their beneficent assistance in procuring sources over the years, kind thanks are due to Paul Allen, Sam Boyd, Megan Brown, Joseph Cross, Dan Pioske, Peter Porzig, Andrew Sowers, John Thames, Bob Turner, and James Walters. Finally, this book would be much less were it not for the tremendous efforts of digitization undertaken in libraries and collections across the globe.

Material provisions for this project have come from numerous sources. As I returned to Göttingen, Nathan MacDonald brought me on board his Sofja Kovalevskaja project "Early Jewish Monotheisms," which was funded by the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation. Liberal and reliable support – for the initial writing and then the (unplanned) rewriting – came from the chairs of Hermann Spieckermann and Reinhard Kratz. Under the aegis of the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) and U4 Network, I had the fortune of a research stint at Ghent University, in the Department of Philosophy and Moral Sciences. The Leibniz Institute of European History, in Mainz, supplied a visiting doctoral fellowship for concentrated writing. I very much enjoyed the dissertation fellowship at the Max Weber Center for Advanced Cultural and Social Studies, in Erfurt, where I was able to work in a rigorous, intellectually stimulating environment. All of them I acknowledge gratefully.

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Paul Michael Kurtz — Queens' College, Cambridge

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Introduction

Germany's Present, Israel's Past

In the early aughts of the twentieth century, Jerusalem, long slipping, now began to fall beneath the shadow cast by Babylon. This time, however, the scene was not the Middle East but Berlin's own Sing-Akademie, and the esteemed assyriologist Friedrich Delitzsch (1850–1922), son of the famed Lutheran hebraist Franz, served as the lighting technician. Here, in 1902, Delitzsch launched a series of lectures on the Bible and Babylonia, the first two of the trio held before the German Oriental Society and in the presence of none other than the German Emperor himself, Wilhelm II (1859–1941), King of Prussia and Head of the Protestant Church in Prussia. Each more polemical than the last, the sequence considered new finds from Mesopotamia and their connection to the Old Testament. Enuma Elish and the Epic of Gilgamesh, for instance, recounted stories of flood and creation much the same as those in the book of Genesis. But Delitzsch had little interest in a showcase of the similar. Instead, he pressed for dependence and pushed the question of distinction and revelation centerstage. The prospect of a god perhaps not merely waiting in the wings but in fact leaving the theatre of history altogether caused a sensation. For a German Empire deeply steeped in biblical images, motifs, and allusions, burning questions naturally emerged. Did Moses plagiarize the Code of Hammurabi? Was Paradise lost to Babylon? Could Israel's uniqueness be regained?

As the second address became an outright altercation in what became known as the "Babel–Bible Affair," Kaiser Wilhelm was compelled to give – or, better, delegate – an answer. Inquiring minds wanted to know just what their sovereign thought. The Kaiser claimed two kinds of revelation: the one continuous, general, and widespread through humanity; the other "more religious," particular, and pinnacling in Jesus.[1] While God had revealed himself, in the first case, through such great men as Hammurabi, Moses, Abraham, Homer, Charlemagne (Charles the Great), Luther, Shakespeare, Goethe, Kant, and Wilhelm I and thereby cultivated a wholistic growth of humankind, he had done so, in the second, through the lineage of Abraham to Christ, its culmination, by way of psalmists, the

[1] The text "Babel und Bibel. Ein Handschreiben Seiner Majestät Kaiser Wilhelms des Zweiten an das Vorstandsmitglied der Deutschen Orientgesellschaft, Admiral Hollmann," dated February 15, 1903, was widely distributed and published, among other places, in *Die Grenzboten: Zeitschrift für Politik, Literatur und Kunst* 62, no. 1 (1903): 493–96, cited here, at 495. Throughout this book, all translations are the author's own, unless otherwise noted.

prophets, and Moses. Suggested by the lists themselves, this twofold sense of revelation did not conceptualize the universal and the specific as only running in parallel but rather often intersecting. Moreover, according to the monarch, the Old Testament had preserved any number of passages that betrayed a purely human, historical nature and did not ultimately constitute the inspired word of God. No matter how much any further research or future discovery might modify the understanding of the deity and his dealings, so the king, the core and content of the Bible would forever stay the same. "Never was religion a result of science (*Wissenschaft*)," he concluded, "but an outpouring of the person's heart and being from his communion with God."[2]

These results of science, however, had clearly troubled the hearts of many Germans. Scholarship had thrown tenebrous shades of doubt upon the story told in the Bible and, by extension, its authority not only on the record of the ancient past but also for the present world. Such strikes against this textual foundation further risked destabilizing dominant superstructures of church and state that had rested on the holy scriptures. As one especially shrewd analysis has argued, the *Babel-Bibel-Streit* triggered in Wilhelmine Germany an equivalent to the Scopes Trial of North America, where "the long-standing contest between science and religion for social and intellectual hegemony came most forcefully into public view."[3] The stakes were high, the peril acute, precisely because of a long perceived connection, geographically, between Western Asia and Europe and, temporally, between antiquity and modernity: Christianity, and the German Protestant kind in particular, bore the torch of Israel. Consecrating the Lutheran Church of the Redeemer in Jerusalem, on Reformation Day of 1898, amidst travels across the Middle East as ostentatious as they were freighted, the Kaiser had contended, only four years prior, "From Jerusalem came the light of the world, in whose radiance our German people has become great and glorious (*herrlich*)."[4] Through this Babel–Bible Affair, the Prometheus of philology had thieved the source of that light and conferred it not only on a still more ancient time but also on the very foe of Israel, namely, Babylonia.

In fact, a couple decades prior to the *Babel-Bibel-Streit*, another set of scholarly conclusions had already provoked a controversy in the public square. The challenge then, though, had originated not from outside but within – in two separate

[2] Ibid., 496.

[3] Suzanne L. Marchand, *Down From Olympus: Archaeology and Philhellenism in Germany, 1750–1970* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 225. On this dispute, see further Reinhard G. Lehmann, *Friedrich Delitzsch und der Babel-Bibel-Streit* (Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 133; Freiburg: Universitätsverlag/Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994); cf. Yaacov Shavit and Mordechai Eran, *The Hebrew Bible Reborn: From Holy Scripture to the Book of Books, A History of Biblical Culture and the Battles over the Bible in Modern Judaism*, trans. Chaya Naor (Studia Judaica 38; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2007), 193–352.

[4] Johannes Penzler, ed., *Die Reden Kaiser Wilhelms II. in den Jahren 1896–1900* (Leipzig: Reclam, n.d.), 122.

senses: through a scrutiny of the biblical texts themselves, instead of writings recently deciphered from other ancient "oriental" peoples, which had predated sacred scripture, and, secondly, through scholars of the Bible and theology, rather than experts of cognate fields. Uniting a long tradition of Christian humanism with a new historicist philology, a circle of savants had separated the Old Testament into constituent sources and proceeded to rearrange them, chronologically. These interpreters reevaluated the composition history of the Hebrew Bible and used this reassessment to reappraise the history of Israel.[5] A revision of the literature prompted a rewriting of the past. The story these scholars told of ancient Israel radically contradicted the one recounted in the Bible.

To elucidate just how revolutionary, and indeed sensational, this retelling truly was – a retelling that would become established as a cornerstone of biblical scholarship by the final decades of the nineteenth century – a brief review of that original, ancient narrative itself is first in order. As presented by the Hebrew Bible, God created the cosmos by an act of speech alone. He placed the first humans in a garden and, once they disobeyed, damned them to a life of labor and toil. When their descendants continued the trend, he resolved to start again, with a flood and Noah's family. God made a promise to Abram (soon to be Abraham) that he would found a nation and his nation would inherit a land. Thus, Abraham sired Isaac, Isaac generated Jacob, whose name was changed to Israel, and Jacob had twelve sons, who all ended up in Egypt and whose own offspring wound up slaves. Then, God called Moses to usher them across desert, sea, and mountains and into the land of Canaan, promised to their forefather. Along the way, he gave Moses a code of law for the people to uphold, which included monolatry. (Positioned at this point in the narrative, the book of Deuteronomy claims to be that code and stresses cultic centralization, subordination of the king to God's election and the law as preserved by priests, and God's promise of blessing for obedience and curses for disobedience.) They invaded Canaan, sc., Syria-Palestine, and exterminated indigenous populations. After generations of judges – heroes like Deborah, who saved the people from their foes – God granted the nation a king. Although God chose Saul at first, he swapped horses midstream and anointed David as his chosen. Once David had united a kingdom and made Jerusalem his capital, his son Solomon built a temple. Upon the death of Solomon, the kingdom then divided, Israel in the north and Judah in the south. The kings of Israel and Judah, varied in their righteousness, cycled in and out while

[5] As a note on nomenclature, Hebrew Bible constitutes a more neutral, scholarly designation for an ancient literature roughly corresponding to that of the Old Testament, a denomination standard within the Christian tradition; in general, this book refers to the Old Testament when the discussion proceeds from the perspective of Christian thought in nineteenth-century Germany and to the Hebrew Bible when the analysis offers consideration from a contemporary angle – although these two terms may well appear interchangeably at times: see further Jon D. Levenson, *The Hebrew Bible, the Old Testament, and Historical Criticism: Jews and Christians in Biblical Studies* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1993), 1–32.

prophets also came and went, sometimes for the monarch, other times against. One king in particular, Josiah, discovered the long forgotten law of Moses and sought to reenact it. Ultimately, Assyria annihilated Israel, and Babylonia massacred Judah, reducing the temple to ruins, but once Persia overtook Babylonia, it permitted the people since deported to return from exile. Nehemiah and Ezra aimed to rebuild the temple, restore the code, and renew the Jewish people (i. e., those from Judah) after exile. Other prophets foretold of a coming savior who would restore the kingdom again.

As Christianity – Jewish offshoot it was – added to that tale, these texts became an Old Testament. The New one continued the narrative with Jesus, an itinerant Jewish preacher portrayed as the savior promised to his people. With a life full of righteousness and miracles in the Roman province of Judea, Jesus impressed the masses with his teaching but not the powers that be, so religious authorities convinced the Roman government to crucify him as a revolutionary. Convinced he rose from the dead, his disciples expanded the following in quantity, geography, and quality, to encompass non-Jews in addition. They expected Jesus to return and establish a kingdom for those who followed him. Thus, the New Testament ends with Jesus assuring his imminent return.

Based on highly technical analysis, the finds of "historical criticism" had wrought a new composition history for the Old Testament texts and, in consequence, occasioned a new history of Israel. The basic reconstruction asserted the so-called law of Moses had not arisen at the start of ancient Israel but at its very end – that is, at the dawn of Judaism. This division between Israel and Judaism was critical in such investigations. If the Mosaic law had, in fact, emerged only after Israel's demise – once the northern and southern kingdoms had collapsed – the story as recounted in the Old Testament then also fell to ruins. The law, in this account, had come not from God on Sinai, where it constituted a keystone in the relationship of Yahweh to his people, traveled with the Israelites into the land of Canaan, and lay at the very foundation of their political organization, but rather from Jewish priests long after the days of Moses. As opposed to the chronicle of the Old Testament, the people of Israel had morphed into a nation, formed a sense of monotheism, and developed the divine law in full only over time. Moreover, the biblical narrative, so the argument came to run, represented an idealized portrait of history conceived by later Jews, one they had projected onto the still more ancient past. Biblical history no longer corresponded to the ancient past.

The Bible therefore took a beating in but a couple decades. This hypothesis on composition history, which had already circulated among the upper echelons of international learning as early as the 1860s, gained forceful traction by the 1880s.[6] As the critical analysis of texts gave way to more synthetic histories of

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[6] See John Rogerson, *Old Testament Criticism in the Nineteenth Century: England and Germany* ([Philadelphia]: Fortress Press, 1984).

Israel, this retelling then disseminated from the ivory to the bell tower, which, to many churchgoers and biblereaders, seemed to sound the knell for the Old Testament's credibility on the history of Israel and even divine revelation. The lectures that Delitzsch delivered added insult to injury. Whereas internal investigations of the biblical texts themselves had called into question their claims upon the past, external explorations among other ancient peoples then raised further doubts about pretensions to uniqueness.

Amidst enthralling decipherment of long forgotten tongues, enticing correspondences of newly published texts, and thrilling excavations from across the Middle East – conveyed physically by steam and visually by photograph to a rapidly growing number of middle-class consumers – sure discoveries brought with them certain difficulties. The challenges presented by these historical inquiries converged with obstacles erected by finds in other fields of study, whether biology or psychology, be it philosophy or geology. Of no small significance, however, the line between "faith" and "science" was anything but straight and bold. An array of reconcilers and rationalizers, a multitude of defenders and mediators believed in the promises of both. Craftsmen of historiography could thus deploy such findings as a crowbar or a clamp, either to open or to close that gap which increasingly yawned between the ancient past as it had essentially happened and the story as recounted by the biblical tradition. In fact, many who had drawn such problematic conclusions numbered not among the godless but the faithful. Students of the Bible were also teachers of its history. For those who did not, on principle, object to scrutiny of the Old Testament as any other literature, *Wissenschaft* – or science – often seemed a neutral arbiter. Dissecting the biblical texts and juxtaposing them with other sources would, through the fires of historical science, purify the knowledge of God's workings in the past, and even present, of a chosen people.

Kaiser, Christ, and Canaan examines the historiography of ancient Israel in the German Empire through the prism of religion, as a structuring framework not only for the writings on the past but also for the writers of that past themselves. The investigation focuses on these two crucial moments in the history of historical writing, as internal analysis and then external comparison of the Hebrew Bible called for a new account of the past. Indeed, the history of Israel was truly contested territory in the nineteenth century, for any number of reasons: the stakes for self-understanding amongst both Jews and Christians as pretenders to its legacy, the prominent sense of such a genealogy in the dominant cultural and intellectual forces of Protestantism within the *Kaiserreich*, the sacred institutions whose authority ostensibly rested on that inheritance, the traditional ascendency of the biblical narrative for rendering the past, and the potentially destabilizing promises of scientific inquiry into the Old Testament texts. (Notably, the concern was almost exclusively ancient Israel, as opposed to modern Palestine.[7]) As Wil-

[7] On the ironies of scholars who devoted themselves to ancient Israel yet showed little inter-

liam Faulkner knew, "The past is never dead. It's not even past."[8] Furthermore, the study of this particular antique past stood at the crossroads of theology, philology, and history – polyvalent words suggesting institutional structures, disciplinary boundaries, methodological commitments, as well as interpretive guides. Scholarship on the past of ancient Israel thus converged with the shifting trends in theory and method across the human sciences; however, the nature of the topic, the sites of its exploration, and the identify of its scholars meant this realm of erudition carried implications far beyond the world of academia. Therefore, sustained examination of this specific research tradition, in all of its complexities, contradictions, and continuities, provides leverage not only on the history of scholarship, historiography, or epistemology circa 1900 but also on the wider cultural and intellectual life of modern Germany.

By exploiting the polysemy of the word "religion," this book gains purchase, then, on the study of antique Israel as it consolidated in the German-speaking lands of the long nineteenth century. The category strengthens such analysis by drawing together several different aspects constitutive of that enterprise, on both the level of reconstruction and that of reconstructors. Sacred scriptures long supplied the primary source for accessing the past. The biblical narrative told a story of the human and divine. Scholars pinned the composition history of the Old Testament literature to changes in the ancients' thinking and doing as regards a god. Academics collapsed the history of Israel as a nation with developments in that people's practical, institutional, and theoretical life with respect to the supernatural. Ritual and cult, feasts and sacrifice, astrology and cosmogony, divine law and human priests all underwent critical inquiry. Protestant frames of reference structured historical science itself. Intellectual genealogies had long connected modern Christians in Europe to ancient Semites in Asia. The lettered agents, intellectual settings, learned societies, educational contexts, cultural institutions, and political formations across the German Empire most defining for this foundational research were themselves of Protestant character. In consequence, religion, with its productive polyvalence, serves as a lens to embrace and to inspect a complex that did so much to shape the study of a past, one with stakes especially high: the material scholars inspected, the values they upheld, the conceptual space they occupied, the institutions they served, and the society they inhabited. The history of religion in modern Germany thus exerted deep effects on histories of (religion in) ancient Israel. This analysis ultimately places at center questions of the Bible and confession to understand a world where the Bible and confession were central.

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est in the goings-on of modern Palestine and, more broadly, on the historiography of Israel as an instance of colonial knowledge, see Paul Michael Kurtz, "The Silence on the Land: Ancient Israel Versus Modern Palestine in Scientific Theology," in *Negotiating the Secular and the Religious in the German Empire: Transnational Approaches*, edited by Rebekka Habermas (New York: Berghahn Books, forthcoming 2019).

[8] William Faulkner, *Requiem for a Nun*, Act 1, Scene 3.

Interrogating this historiography of Israel in the Second Empire, *Kaiser, Christ, and Canaan* investigates to what extent, in an age of allegedly disinterested "historical science," the very enterprise of reconstructing the ancient past in general and past religion in particular – from object to approach – was shaped by liberal Protestant structures shared by dominant historians, in Prussia, from the late nineteenth to early twentieth centuries. Specifically, this inquiry scrutinizes what, exactly, biblical scholars, theologians, orientalists, philologists, and ancient historians considered "religion" and "history" to be, how they sought to access these conceptual categories, and why they pursued them the way that they did. To do so, the book evaluates two representatives of two distinct approaches to understanding religion in ancient Israel: Julius Wellhausen (1844–1918), with a source criticism largely orientated towards the history of nations, and Hermann Gunkel (1862–1932), with a comparative procedure ultimately aimed at the world behind the literature. Their corpora thus embodied those aforementioned trends in accessing the past through the Old Testament, namely, the internal dissection of the biblical literature and the juxtaposition of those same texts with external materials. Wellhausen and Gunkel also played roles in still a larger story – one long told by intellectual historians – between those who had come of age at the foundation of the German Empire and those who had established themselves circa 1890. The history of these historians, then, sheds further light on perhaps the more intricate dimensions of that story while that same story, in turn, illuminates the dynamics of them and their work.

Though little known among historians of the modern period, Wellhausen and Gunkel each made lasting contributions to the fields in which he labored – from the study of antique Israel through early Judaism and primitive Christianity to formative Islam, whether the Old or New Testament literature, be it the history of religion or of the ancient Near East. They and their ideas have been cemented into the very foundation of several modern disciplines. If translations serve as any indication, these founding figures and their foundational works have, even more, achieved a high visibility in disciplinary architecture – not forgotten but remembered, even memorialized. Wellhausen has been translated into Arabic, English, Hebrew, Hungarian, Norwegian, Russian, and Turkish, with much attention granted to his ventures in the history of Islam and Judaism.[9] In the sphere of biblical scholarship, and especially among anglophones, Gunkel has exerted a special allure, with a goodly number of translations into English: his 1888 monograph on the spirit in 1979 (reprinted in 2008), his 1895 exploration of cosmogony across diffuse ancient literatures in 2006 (a thesis reconsidered in a dedicated 2013 volume), a series of essays first published between 1900 and 1928 in 2001, his third edition of the 1901 Genesis commentary in 1997, his introduction to that third edition in 1994, his 1903 foray into the *Babel-Bibel-Streit*

[9] See the entries under Wellhausen in the appended bibliography.

in 2009 (printed anew in 2011), his 1906 *Elias, Jahve und Baal* in 2014, his 1917 study of folklore in 1987 (printed again in 2015), his 1929 introduction to the Psalter in 1998, and his 1930 revision of earlier articles on the Psalms in 1967 (reissued in 1969), not to mention the numerous renderings of various books and essays already in his own time.[10] In this way, Wellhausen and Gunkel not only occupied an important place in the pasts of their own disciplines but also bear on the contemporary pursuits of their successors in the same.

Even a century later, both continue to serve as major nodes when those disciplines map their own histories. In fact, for contemporary scholarship on the Hebrew Bible, this academic duo feature frequently as archetypes, not only for specific analytical modes but also for antithetical endeavors. One biblical scholar has employed them, typically, to chart interpretive poles:

> The parameters for questions of interpretation were largely set by Wellhausen and Gunkel. Wellhausen's approach is scientific, Gunkel's artistic. Wellhausen is consistently analytical,

[10] Hermann Gunkel, *The Influence of the Holy Spirit: The Popular View of the Apostolic Age and the Teaching of the Apostle Paul*, trans. Roy A. Harrisville and Philip A. Quanbeck, II (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1979); idem, *Creation and Chaos in the Primeval Era and the Eschaton: A Religio-Historical Study of Genesis 1 and Revelation 12*, trans. K. William Whitney, Jr., with a foreword by Peter Machinist (Biblical Resource Series; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2006), cf. JoAnn Scurlock and Richard H. Beal, ed., *Creation and Chaos: A Reconsideration of Hermann Gunkel's* Chaoskampf *Hypothesis* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2013); idem, *Water for a Thirsty Land: Israelite Literature and Religion*, ed. and trans. K. C. Hanson (Fortress Classics in Biblical Studies; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2011); idem, *Genesis*, trans. Mark E. Biddle (Mercer Library of Biblical Studies; Macon: Mercer University Press, 1997); idem, *The Stories of Genesis*, ed. William R. Scott, trans. John J. Scullion (Vallejo: BIBAL Press, 1994); idem, *Israel and Babylon: The Babylonian Influence on Israelite Religion*, trans. E. S. B., ed. K. C. Hanson (Cambridge: James Clarke & Co, 2009); idem, *Elijah, Yahweh, and Baal*, trans. K. C. Hanson (Eugene: Cascade Books, 2014); idem, *The Folktale in the Old Testament*, trans. Michael D. Rutter, with an introduction by John W. Rogerson (Sheffield: Almond Press, 1987) [repr. Bloomsbury Academic Collections/Biblical Studies: Historic Texts; London: Bloomsbury, 2015)]; idem, *Introduction to Psalms: The Genres of the Religious Lyric of Israel*, trans. J. D. Nogalski (Mercer Library of Biblical Studies; Macon: Mercer University Press, 1998) [the front cover reads *An Introduction to the Psalms*]; idem, *The Psalms: A Form-Critical Introduction*, trans. Thomas M. Horner, with a foreword by James Muilenburg (Facet Books Biblical Series 19; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1967) [mistakenly listed as the translation of an essay in Vol. 1, rather than Vol. 4, of *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*'s second edition]. Contemporary translations include, inter alia, idem, *The Legends of Genesis*, trans. W. H. Carruth (Chicago: Open Court Publishing, 1901) [repr. as *The Legends of Genesis: The Biblical Saga & History*, with an introduction by William Foxwell Albright (New York: Schocken: 1964) and (Eugene: Wipf & Stock, 2003), with this introduction to the first edition of his Genesis commentary also being published separately in German, as *Die Sagen der Genesis*]; idem, "The Religio-Historical Interpretation of the New Testament"; idem, *Israel and Babylon: The Influence of Babylon on the Religion of Israel*, trans. E. S. B. (Philadelphia: McVey, 1904); idem, "The 'Historical Movement' in the Study of Religion"; idem, *What Remains of the Old Testament and Other Essays*, trans. A. K. Dallas (New York: Macmillan, 1928); cf. also Martin J. Buss, "Gunkel, Hermann," in *Historical Handbook of Major Biblical Interpreters*, ed. Donald M. McKim (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 1998), 487–91, at 490–91. Many of these publications have streamed from publication channels oriented towards a more conservative interpretation of the Bible, which merits an inquiry all its own.

Gunkel synthetic. Wellhausen aims for precision, Gunkel for suggestive nuance. Wellhausen speaks of documents whereas Gunkel treats of tradition. Wellhausen values discipline, Gunkel stresses imagination.[11]

Overly schematic or not, such an antipodal presentation reflects the way these nineteenth-century savants have functioned for their disciplinary descendants. Wellhausen and Gunkel, their personas and their publications, remain prominent fixtures in the study of Hebrew Bible and ancient Israel, where they act as benchmarks for tracking developments in the field. The legacy of Wellhausen and Gunkel has, indeed, transcended a single discipline, any one language, and even the long nineteenth century – despite their near invisibility in studies of modern history on intellectual life in the period.

This record of wide reception and function for interpretive parameters suggest dissimilarity between the place of Wellhausen and Gunkel in disciplinary memory and their standing in studies of intellectual and cultural history. Beyond the point of prominence, however, a greater inconsistency emerges in the actual assessments of these two scholars and their contributions by practitioners of those disciplines in which they themselves had toiled, on the one hand, and by modern historians, on the other – that is, those relative few who have delved into the history of biblical and theological scholarship and, rarer still, considered these men and their letters. Evaluations of Wellhausen document this discrepancy well. His confrères past and present have long celebrated, even idolized, his endeavors, specifically as an historian. While the biblical scholar Rudolf Smend (Jr.) ranks his *Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte* and *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels* among "the classic historical works of the 19th century," historian of religion Kurt Rudolph hails him "a true historian, a historian indeed of the highest caliber."[12] Wellhausen's contemporaries were equally impressed. Not only did the orientalist Enno Littmann (1875–1958) eulogize him as "one of the greatest historians of all time," but arabist Carl Heinrich Becker (1876–1933) even waxed poetic:

The writing of history is as impossible to learn as the making of it. Statesmen and historians are born. Though historical sense is a gift from God, he does not create the historian. The

[11] Walter Brueggemann and Hans Walter Wolff, *The Vitality of Old Testament Traditions*, 2nd ed. (Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1982), 20.

[12] Rudolf Smend, "Julius Wellhausen, 1844–1918," in idem, *From Astruc to Zimmerli: Old Testament Scholarship in three Centuries*, trans. Margaret Kohl (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007), 91–102, at 91; Kurt Rudolph, "Wellhausen as an Arabist," in *Julius Wellhausen and His* Prolegomena to the History of Israel, ed. Douglas A. Knight (Semeia 25; Chico: Scholars Press, 1983), 111–55, at 117; cf. also Lothar Perlitt, "Julius Wellhausen," in *Göttinger Gelehrte. Die Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen in Bildnissen und Würdigungen*, 2 vols., ed. Karl Arndt, Gerhard Gottschalk, and Rudolf Smend (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2001), 1:268; Reinhard G. Kratz, "Julius Wellhausen (1844–1918) und die Geschichte," in *Stiftsgeschichte(n). 250 Jahre Theologisches Stift der Universität Göttingen (1765–2015),* ed. Bernd Schröder and Heiko Wojtkowiak (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2015), 105–16, at 108.

true historian must unite the painstaking work of the carter with the art of a master builder. Historical sense must master the hard-won mass, and artistic creative power ennobles it. In this respect, Wellhausen was a genuine historian.[13]

Such sentiment still echoes throughout the hallways of departments that have a share in his scholarly heritage, reverberating with particular strength in the corridors of theological faculties and in the rooms of Old Testament scholars across German-speaking Europe. While experts in his own fields of specialism have routinely lionized Wellhausen's distinction as an historian, beyond a solitary discipline, and for an entire epoch, modern historians themselves have proved far more restrained, or maybe less invested. Suzanne Marchand hence positions Wellhausen in her "galaxy of minor figures" while Thomas Albert Howard sets him in the "hatchery of 'important lesser' theologians and biblical critics" for the nineteenth century.[14] So, too, Sabine Mangold(-Will) has contended that for all the historical questions figures like Theodor Nöldeke (1836–1930) or Wellhausen may have posed in, or even introduced to, their areas of study, such orientalists considered themselves first and foremost philologists or linguists and only then historians.[15] These incongruous estimations evince a divide in conceiving the history of scholarship between those inside and those outside the scholar's sectors of specialization.

Said dissimilitude between the portraits of Wellhausen – as an historian or philologist, as a major or minor figure – has no little to do, indeed, with the landscape drawn behind him: i. e., whether his interpreters cast the researcher within smaller spheres of specialism or against the larger intellectual background of the nineteenth century. Similar contrasts would emerge for Gunkel, and others, as well. Tellingly, one monograph on histories of Israel has opened with the striking observation:

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[13] Enno Littmann, "Erinnerung an Julius Wellhausen," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 106 (1956): 18–22, at 20; C. H. Becker, "Julius Wellhausen," *Der Islam* 9 (1919): 95–99, at 95.

[14] Suzanne L. Marchand, *German Orientalism in the Age of Empire: Religion, Race, and Scholarship* (Publications of the German Historical Institute; Washington, D. C.: German Historical Institute/Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), xxx–xxxi, cf. 167 as well as idem, "From Liberalism to Neoromanticism: Albrecht Dieterich, Richard Reitzenstein, and the Religious Turn in *Fin-de-Siècle* German Classical Studies," in *Out of Arcadia: Classics and Politics in Germany in the Age of Burckhardt, Nietzsche and Wilamowitz*, ed. Martin Ruehl and Ingo Gildenhard (Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies Supplement 79; London: Institute of Classical Studies, School of Advanced Studies, University of London, 2003), 129–60, at 140; Thomas Albert Howard, *Religion and the Rise of Historicism: W. M. L. de Wette, Jacob Burckhardt, and the Theological Origins of Nineteenth-Century Historical Consciousness* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 4–5; also worth mentioning here is Howard's *Protestant Theology and the Making of the Modern German University* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).

[15] Sabine Mangold, *Eine "weltbürgerliche Wissenschaft" – Die deutsche Orientalistik im 19. Jahrhundert* (Pallas Athene 11; Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2004), 108.

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