

# HEBREW BIBLE OLD TESTAMENT

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## The History of Its Interpretation

Edited by Magne Sæbø

III/1: The Nineteenth Century

Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht

Hebrew Bible / Old Testament  
The History of Its Interpretation

Volume III/1

V&R

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Edited by  
Magne Sæbø

VOLUME III  
From Modernism to Post-Modernism  
(The Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries)

Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht

# Hebrew Bible / Old Testament The History of Its Interpretation

VOLUME III

From Modernism to Post-Modernism  
(The Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries)

In Co-operation with  
Peter Machinist and Jean Louis Ska, SJ

Edited by  
Magne Sæbø

PART 1

The Nineteenth Century –  
a Century of Modernism and Historicism

Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht

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## Preface

The present third and final volume of the *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament: The History of Its Interpretation* (HBOT) is divided into two parts, each with a closely similar structure. This has been done on practical and technical grounds, which means that HBOT III/1–2 should be regarded as a single volume divided into two, with one part volume devoted to the nineteenth century (Chaps. 1–24) and the other to the twentieth (Chaps. 25–50). This division, however, is admittedly not without historical problems, since it is difficult to draw a sharp borderline at the year 1900. The latter part of the nineteenth century is closely entwined in many ways with the beginning of the twentieth, with the consequence that a specific ‘period’ is noteworthy from approximately 1880 to 1914/18. In the subsequent treatment this will be strongly evident, first of all in chapters 16 and 17 with regard to the further development of the ‘literary-critical’ school and secondly with the rise of a ‘religio-historical’ one. It is also noteworthy in other directions.

With this volume a second and broader historical problem also arises, namely that concerning contemporaneity. The historiographical perspective of HBOT to some extent changes character as it approaches our present era and the historical distance is correspondingly shortened. This issue becomes still more acute in the twentieth century and will therefore be further discussed in the next part volume. In this respect, yet another difference from previous HBOT volumes becomes evident. Due to the growing fragmentation of subjects and methods in modern biblical studies, coupled with the discernible expansion and globalizing of the academic community, this final volume will be less focused on individuals than the preceding ones. It will generally be more thematically structured, whereby some important issues will be discussed in various contexts and from different viewpoints; in the present volume for example, there are several individual references to the historically key figure of W. M. L. de Wette with no separate biographical presentation of him.

The time for the conclusion of a volume is also a time for acknowledgments. In this instance I must begin with the Press. During the extensive period of publication of the HBOT volumes, with their inevitable delays for which the editor can only express regret, the persons responsible for the Theological Department at Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht have undergone several changes. I now have the greatest pleasure in expressing my warmest thanks to them all, especially Dr. Arndt Ruprecht, who initially launched the HBOT Project in the 1980s with the *Verlag*, and subsequently Dr. Jörg Persch and Christoph Spill who has taken responsibility for the present volume. The HBOT Project has been in good hands and the readers can be most grateful. Further, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to the two Co-editors of Volume III, Professor Peter Machinist,



of Harvard University, and Professor Jean Louis Ska, SJ, of the Pontifical Biblical Institute Rome, for their manifold help and good advice, as well as to the linguist Consultant, also of this volume, Professor Ronald E. Clements, of Cambridge, for his required and most invaluable help.

However, without the individual contributions there would not be another HBOT volume. Therefore, the most heartfelt thanks must go to all authors of the present volume who have submitted their research, sometimes entirely new, to the service of the HBOT Project. Their individual essays have contributed significantly to the interpretation and research history of the Hebrew Bible / Old Testament. Additionally, some of the contributors have graciously rendered me extra assistance in the editorial work; to them I am particularly grateful and for their positive co-operation I am pleased to pay special tribute. Professor Rudolf Smend has not only contributed three essays but also shared with me his great insights into the research history of biblical scholarship; further, at relatively short notice, Professor Ska SJ took over Chapter 15 as did Professor Rogerson regarding Chapter 8 (in addition to his earlier Chapter 5), and Professors Gzella (Chapter 6) and Weis (Chapter 13) responded positively when I asked for further expansion to fields not originally foreseen and asked for. In all, I am deeply grateful to everyone.

Finally, I am yet again immensely indebted for financial support for the editorial work to the *Norwegian Academy of Science and Letters* and *Fridtjof Nansens Fond* as well as to my Faculty, the *Norwegian Lutheran School of Theology*, for technical support, also after my retirement; especially, I want to thank its Library staff as well as Dr. Øystein Lund.

Oslo, in May 2012

Magne Sæbø

## CHAPTER ONE

# Fascination with ‘History’ – Biblical Interpretation in a Century of Modernism and Historicism

By MAGNE SÆBØ, Oslo

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*Die Historie unterscheidet sich dadurch von anderen Wissenschaften, daß sie zugleich Kunst ist. Wissenschaft ist sie: indem sie sammelt, findet, durchdringt; Kunst, indem sie das Gefundene, Erkannte wieder gestaltet, darstellt.*<sup>1</sup>

Leopold von Ranke

The present part volume of the HBOT Project, assigned to *biblical interpretation in the nineteenth century with special regard to the Hebrew Bible/Old Testa-*

<sup>1</sup> L. von Ranke, *Idee der Universalhistorie* (1975), 72; cf. von Humboldt, *Ueber die Aufgabe des Geschichtschreibers* (1821/1980), 585–606, esp. 586 f.

ment, is in various ways concerned with the understanding of 'history' as it was elaborated and developed in new historical thinking and research in this period. In particular it focuses on the notion and practice of 'historicism' since it is not for nothing that the century has been called "the age of historicism".<sup>2</sup> However, for obvious reasons, general characterizations of this kind need to be carefully analyzed and substantiated properly in order to be fully functional, and this is so both in respect of their content and of the historical perspectives involved. Even more is this the case since 'history' and 'historicism' constitute conceptions of great complexity and the discussion of them among historians shows that their descriptions are remarkably varied.<sup>3</sup>

As for the question of perspective, 'history' also has a history, and in looking for a clear viewpoint in this context it is advantageous simply to start seeking for the deep roots of historical thinking and of 'history' and 'historiography', whereby an appropriate frame of reference may be found for the notion of 'historicism' as well.

## 1. Roots of Historical Thinking and Historicism

In concept and matter the 'historicism'<sup>4</sup> is a strictly modern phenomenon that first of all is characteristic of the nineteenth century, and in particular of its latter part. The provenience of the historicism, like the related 'modernism',<sup>5</sup> has generally been defined and explained in relation to the Enlightenment of the preceding century.<sup>6</sup> Adequate as this view may be, the perspective of historicism's manifold relations to the much broader phenomena of 'history' and 'historiography' requires no less attention, and all the more so as the wider field of 'history', which forms the matrix of the historicism, provides a background perspective that may be rewarding for understanding it.

'History', as is well recognized, has a long history. It goes back to Antiquity and Herodotus and exhibits various important changes along the road, first of all in the Renaissance where a momentous paradigm shift occurred and became strongly influential during the following centuries. In the culturally and spiritually new climate of this creative period, 'history' became something more than

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<sup>2</sup> See f.ex. Mehlhausen, TRE XII (1984), 643f; Jaeger/Rüsen, *Geschichte des Historismus* (1992), 1.

<sup>3</sup> This has been richly expounded in recent monographs; see the last section of the Bibliography above; cf. Jaeger/Rüsen, *ibid.* 214–236.

<sup>4</sup> Equivalent to German '*Historismus*' the form 'historicism' is the usual English one, whereas 'historism' "seems to be disappearing in English usage", Lee/Beck, *The Meaning of "Historicism"* (1953/54), 568, n. 1; though, the two forms may be used interchangeably, as f.ex. by Karl Popper, see Lee/Beck, *ibid.* 575.

<sup>5</sup> Theologically, 'modernism' is in the first place related to the Roman-Catholic Church, more rarely it is used in a broader sense; cf. i.a. Troeltsch, *Der Modernismus* (1909), *Ges. Schr.* II (1913), 45–67.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. i.a. Meinecke, *Entstehung* (1959), 13–281; Reill, *The German Enlightenment and the Rise of Historicism* (1975); Jaeger/Rüsen, *ibid.* 11–28; Howard, *Rise of Historicism* (2000), concentrates on the works of W. M. L. de Wette and Jacob Burckhardt; see esp. the essay below by G. SCHOLTZ on 'Historicism', Chap. 3, sect. 1.

disparate chronicles, stories or legends. It was not universal in the same way as the older *sacra historia*, lacking any unique point of orientation. In the changed situation, however, ‘history’ became first of all a matter of human life and, as far as its individual features were concerned, these became focused upon their inner connections and ideas of causation.<sup>7</sup> Here, some major aspects deserve special attention.

In the centuries after the Middle Ages (the Late Middle Ages, as some historians describe the period) early humanists looked back over the preceding period, under the catchphrase *ad fontes*, and in literary and other ways sought out classical forms and values of the Antiquity. In doing so the long span of time involved brought a new understanding of *distance* in time and of a sequence of differing *epochs*; and the awareness of historical distance and varying epochs became even more pronounced in the Enlightenment in which the combination of Renaissance and Enlightenment together brought further significant changes.<sup>8</sup> In this new situation, ‘history’ in a modern sense was born. On the whole, it seems well-established to maintain that the simple comprehension of distance and historical perspective, coupled with the shifting of epochs in their chronological sequence and their inner cultural and causal relationship, became a fundamental characteristic of modern historical thinking and research. In the Renaissance was born not only a deeper understanding of ‘history’, but its humanist scholars created also a critical ‘historiography’.<sup>9</sup>

Secondly, an explicit *individualism*, also expressed in the phenomenon of *humanism*, became one of the main characteristics of the new way of thinking and living in the Renaissance, perhaps its most important one. Not only the extended historical outlook, referred to above, but predominantly also the individual human being each in his, or her, own time and context came into focus. Concern was definitely about ‘man in the world’ – to paraphrase a dictum by JULES MICHELET.<sup>10</sup> Humanity was, furthermore, even regarded as the ‘centre’ and ‘measure’ (*homo mensura*)<sup>11</sup> of the world. More pronounced than in the Middle Ages with its collective mode of thinking (*Denkweise*), the individual human being was now presented in relative independence and freedom. Later, especially in the last part of the nineteenth century, prominence was given to a distinctive individualism in the form of so-called ‘free-thinking’ although the roots of this reached much further back.

Thirdly, a manifold *empiricism* proved to be another significant characteristic of the new way of life and thinking of the Renaissance. The novel thinking, or vision, revolved not only around the individual human being as the unique ‘centre’ and ‘measure’ of all things, but markedly also about human beings in their unique relation to their surroundings; it was, in other words, about ‘mankind *in*

<sup>7</sup> See HBOT II (2008), 26–33, esp. 30; cf. Mandelbaum, *Historical Knowledge* (1967), 203–242.

<sup>8</sup> See HBOT II (2008), Section B, Chaps. 13–26, and in Section C, Chaps. 27–29.

<sup>9</sup> Besides of Petrarch, Leonardo Bruni and Flavio Biondo first of all Lorenzo Valla (1405–1457) carried out a historical critical scrutiny where also causal relations were disclosed; see HBOT II, 30f.

<sup>10</sup> Michelet, *Renaissance, Réforme* (1855/1978), 51: “two things, although small, that belong to this age more than to any of its predecessors: the discovery of the world, the discovery of the man (*la découverte du monde, la découverte de l’homme*)”; see HBOT II, 32 and 40–42.

<sup>11</sup> See HBOT II, 41.

the world'. With this, moreover, the idea of the 'world' also received unprecedented attention, especially when this became object of the empirical observations and discoveries which were constantly being extended by modern research. More strongly than ever before, the world appeared to be an *experienced* world which generated a wide variety of empirically based knowledge.<sup>12</sup> Finally, it may be added that this empiricism was both expressed philosophically *in abstracto*,<sup>13</sup> and probably more often in numerous observations of concrete relations in man's local environment.

To sum up, these particular features may be regarded as the three main roots of the unique fascination with history that flourished in the nineteenth century; but at this point there is still more to say.

## 2. Growth and Impact of New Historical Evidence

This diachronically extended view not only turned out to be important for a proper understanding of modern biblical interpretation, especially regarding the Hebrew Bible/Old Testament, but it also proved to be especially significant synchronically. This resulted from the ever-widening *expansion* of the empirically based fresh knowledge when new fields of the human environment were explored and new critical methods were generated.<sup>14</sup> Here, some main issues may be briefly commented upon.

In the first instance, the subject of 'the history of Israel' deserves special attention since it provides the meeting-point of various aspects and interests. The emergence of Israel's history as an independent discipline of study did not take place in isolation but was closely interwoven with other parts of modern biblical studies.<sup>15</sup> As far as the historical content was concerned the comprehension of Israel's history changed fundamentally from being part of a theologically larger totality of 'sacred' history, or of a biblically based history of revelation (*Heilsgeschichte*),<sup>16</sup> to becoming a subject in its own right. This history was politically and culturally embedded in the framework of a broader, and much older, history of the Ancient Near East.<sup>17</sup> The changed context of Israel's history changed its character.

As indicated above, the new view of Israel's history was not only caused by external factors but was largely dependent on 'inner-biblical' concerns, based on the results of the fresh historical-critical scrutiny of the various scriptures of the Old Testament.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>12</sup> See HBOT II, Chap. 27, by CH. METHUEN.

<sup>13</sup> See HBOT II, Chaps. 32, by H.J.M. NELLEN, and 33, by S. NADLER; see esp. Scholtz, Chap. 3 below, sect. 1.

<sup>14</sup> See esp. the following essay by J. ROHLS, Chap. 2 below; cf. also n. 12 above.

<sup>15</sup> See the description of the complicated emergence of 'the History of Israel' in Chap. 12 below, by J.L. SKA; cf. also HBOT II, Chap. 44, by H. GRAF REVENTLOW.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. i.a. Murrmann-Kahl, *Die entzauberte Heilsgeschichte* (1992), esp. 75–204.

<sup>17</sup> See below Chap. 4, by S. W. HOLLOWAY.

<sup>18</sup> See HBOT II, Chaps. 34–37, by J.W. ROGERSON/H. GRAF REVENTLOW/CHR. BULTMANN, and Chaps. 40–41, by W. MCKANE/J. SANDYS-WUNSCH.



The historical-critical study of Scripture, then, developing new methodical approaches and presenting a flood of fresh and varying theories, revealed not least some hitherto unknown historical dimensions of the biblical scriptures, both within individual books and with regard to their relationships with each other. The final form of a given book of the Hebrew Bible/Old Testament appeared, more or less, as a progressively elaborated composition or as an end-product of older and younger elements. The case appeared to be the same when it came to specific groups of books such as, in the first instance, the five books of the Torah/Pentateuch. These five books came to be a primary arena for scholars to single out and identify within them major literary 'sources' in a historical perspective; these were assumed to extend across all five books, thereby constituting the Pentateuch as a connected whole.<sup>19</sup> In addition, the historical-critical and literary-critical approach was of great consequence for the much debated question of authorship of the books and their embodied parts.

Within a relatively short period this literary and critical approach was extended from the Pentateuch to the Historical Books,<sup>20</sup> the Prophets<sup>21</sup> and the Psalms<sup>22</sup> as well as to other books of the Old Testament, including the Wisdom Literature, which otherwise shared a quite distinctive context in the literatures of the Ancient Near East.<sup>23</sup>

Regarding these and other realms of the expanding study of the Hebrew Bible/Old Testament, the general historical-critical methodology, together with the more specifically literary-critical approach, constituted the so-called 'higher criticism'. It made rapid and triumphal progress, although different in different areas, and in spite of substantial opposition from conservative criticism.<sup>24</sup> It was further supported by the more restricted and less keenly disputed 'lower criticism' which had the ancient versions and the history of the biblical text as its specific object.<sup>25</sup> Generally, the entire range of the different methodical approaches and special theories was recorded in summarized form in the new and steadily growing discipline of an 'Introduction to the Old Testament'. This, by its selection and arrangement of the disparate fresh material of theories and discussions, also became a creative part of the continuous progress of Old Testament studies.

Next the main historical-critical approach was accompanied and expanded by still other methodical procedures and studies. First, the linguistic expansion may be considered the most significant one since, when biblical Hebrew (and Aramaic) was embedded into the context of the manifold languages of the Ancient Near East; this fact became momentous not only for the linguistic aspect proper but had, in addition, more far-reaching consequences. The fresh decipherment of the scripts of these languages, especially of the hieroglyphic Egyptian and of the cuneiform Akkadian which took place in the nineteenth century, represented an

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<sup>19</sup> See below Chaps. 15 and 17, by R. SMEND.

<sup>20</sup> See Chap. 19, by K. W. WEYDE.

<sup>21</sup> See Chap. 20, by CHR. SEITZ.

<sup>22</sup> See Chap. 21, by E. SEYBOLD.

<sup>23</sup> See Chap. 22, by K. J. DELL; cf. also W. MCKANE, *Proverbs. A New Approach* (London: SCM 1970).

<sup>24</sup> See Chap. 14, by TH. RÖMER as well as Chaps. 15 and 17–18 (s. n. 17 above).

<sup>25</sup> See Chap. 13, by R. D. WEIS.

enormous scholarly achievement. It gave fresh access to vast and rich areas amounting to 'libraries', of ancient literatures.<sup>26</sup> In the setting of this very early literary and cultural context Israel was a 'latecomer' – a *homo novus*, both in historical perspective and in its essential character.

Closely related to the linguistic-literary aspects were the growing, and constantly expanding, comparative studies of the "anthropological, sociological and mythological context" of the Hebrew Bible/Old Testament.<sup>27</sup> Not only was the individual Israelite human being exposed by this but so also was 'Israel in the world', i.e. the Hebrew Bible/Old Testament in its rich and variegated historical and cultural context. With all this a consequential shift of paradigm took place from a predominantly theological to a methodically secularized framework of the biblical studies, but not without fierce debates and considerable opposition.

Further to these approaches another significant expansion came about when the phenomenon of 'religion' was recognized and practiced as an issue of its own and when, toward the end of the century, religio-historical aspects were especially dealt with by the emerging 'History of Religion School' (*Religionsgeschichtliche Schule*).<sup>28</sup> At the same time there was not unexpectedly a growing debate, and at times grave tension amounting to "alienation" (*Verfremdung*),<sup>29</sup> between the traditional 'biblical theology' and this fresh and richly diverse religio-historical research.<sup>30</sup>

The historical-critical approaches, which had originated and developed in a European and especially German context and which built on a great wealth of new historical evidence, soon spread to the rest of the Western world. They included the Roman-Catholic study of the Bible as well as the Jewish biblical scholarship.<sup>31</sup>

### 3. The Challenge of the Historicism

The nineteenth century displays a multifarious cultural context<sup>32</sup> in which the new conception and practice of historical studies called 'historicism' proved to be greatly influential. In the framework of the broad historical-critical approach to the interpretation of the Hebrew Bible/Old Testament it proved to be a watershed in the history of biblical interpretation,<sup>33</sup> the effect of which reached beyond the century, and in relation to which there was to be no way back.

<sup>26</sup> See Chaps. 4, by S.W. HOLLOWAY, and 6, by H. GZELLA.

<sup>27</sup> See Chap. 5, by J.W. ROGERSON; cf. also i.a. K. KERÉNYI, *Die Eröffnung des Zugangs zum Mythos. Ein Lesebuch* (WdF XX; Darmstadt: Wiss. Buchgesellschaft 1967).

<sup>28</sup> See Chap. 16, by E.S. GERSTENBERGER; cf. also i.a. Lüdemann/Schröder, *Religionsgeschichtliche Schule* (1987).

<sup>29</sup> Cf. Zimmerli, *Biblische Theologie* (1980), 438.

<sup>30</sup> See below Chap. 23, by J. SCHAPER; cf. also Chap. 24, by S.B. CHAPMAN, on the canonicity of the Scripture.

<sup>31</sup> See Chaps. 7–11, by J.P. BYRD/J.W. ROGERSON/J. HØGENHAVEN/G.P. FOGARTY/E. BREUER/CH. GAFNI.

<sup>32</sup> See esp. Chap. 2 below, by J. ROHLS.

<sup>33</sup> For both the historical roots and the subject matter of 'historicism' see below Chap. 3, by G. SCHOLTZ.

The exact understanding and determination of the ‘historicism’, however, has turned out to be a complex matter since the usage and the definitions of the term exhibit great variation. They cover a broad scale of meanings that move, with subtle transitions, from a relatively neutral description of the subject and study of history to various fundamentally and ideologically determined interpretations of it as some kind of philosophy of world and life more generally (*Weltanschauung*). These have frequently been influenced by German idealistic philosophy.<sup>34</sup> Central to the various descriptions of ‘historicism’ is the assumption that this approach to the study of history in some way or other implies a comprehensive *historicizing of the human life and culture*. Further, in a more exclusive way, historicism has been held by some scholars to be the basic and dominant study among the humanities.<sup>35</sup> Be that as it may, any assessment of this kind tests anyway to the high significance that has been assigned to the phenomenon of historicism. Finally historicism, by the varying definitions given to it, has been regarded as the *modern* study of history, and continues to be so, interpreting it as both a rigorously systematic approach, and also an academic science (*Wissenschaft*).<sup>36</sup>

As specifically for the more neutral definitions of ‘historicism’, an example may be given where it has been defined as “a theory that emphasizes the importance of history as a standard of value or as a determinant of events”,<sup>37</sup> and, in addition, a slightly broader description may be referred to, where ‘historicism’ is defined as follows:

*Der Begriff “Historismus” umfaßt verschiedene Denkrichtungen, die das eine gemeinsam haben, daß sich ihnen alle Erscheinungen des menschlichen Lebens wesentlich als geschichtlich und damit als zeitbedingt und veränderlich darstellen.*<sup>38</sup>

Definitions of ‘historicism’ of this kind give, first of all, prominence to the individual *events* (*Erscheinungen*, or, *Tatsachen*) of the past and in particular to human life. Further, the phenomena (*Erscheinungen*) are specified to be – as described here – both “conditional/time bound” (*zeitbedingt*) and “changeable/variable” (*veränderlich*). This also points to *relativism*, closely related to ‘historical positivism’, as a primary feature of the past;<sup>39</sup> history is compared to a constantly

<sup>34</sup> Cf. i.a. Mannheim, *Historismus* (1924), 3; Wittram, *Interesse* (1968), 58–69; esp. Jaeger/Rüsen, *ibid.* 30–34.

<sup>35</sup> <sup>1</sup> Cf. i.a. Troeltsch, *Historismus* (1922), 102: “*Es ist das Problem der Bedeutung und des Wesens des Historismus überhaupt, wobei dieses Wort von seinem schlechten Nebensinn völlig zu lösen und in dem Sinne der grundsätzlichen Historisierung alles unseres Denkens über den Menschen, seine Kultur und seine Werte zu verstehen ist*”; also Mannheim, *Historismus* (1924), 59, where ‘historicism’ is declared to be “*die einzige Lösung des Gesamtbestrebens, für eine dynamisch gewordene Weltansicht materiale inhaltlich erfüllte Maßstäbe, Normen zu finden*”.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. i.a. Lee/Beck, *Meaning of “Historicism”* (1953/54), 568–577; see further Rüsen, *Historische Vernunft* (1983); Murrmann-Kahl, *Die entzauberte Heilsgeschichte* (1992), 75–204.

<sup>37</sup> So *Webster’s Ninth New Collegiate Dictionary* (Springfield, MA 1985), 573; cf. the broader explanation in *The Concise Oxford Dictionary* (Oxford 1977) 509.

<sup>38</sup> So Wittram, *Interesse* (1968), 58: “The notion of ‘historicism’ comprises various ways of thinking which have one thing in common, namely that for them all events of human life present themselves mainly as historical and thereby as time bound and variable”. Cf. Lee/Beck, *ibid.* 577.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. Mandelbaum, *Historical Knowledge* (1938), 17–174; Wittkau, *Historismus* (1994), 96–101, 116–120.

flowing stream. Not only does the past as such become the main interest of the historian but it also seems to have little or no relevance to the present time; or, only a minor focus is fixed on the investigating historian and his present situation. In other words, the focus is emphatically on the past, especially on the life and culture of human life in the past.

This view of historicism may to some extent be characterized as 'atomistic', giving emphasis to history's endlessly varying events and its relativistic proclivity, where "all is flowing in process, nothing remains" (*alles im Prozess fliessend, nichts bleibend*), as W. Dilthey put it in his famous speech on his 70<sup>th</sup> birthday, in 1903. However, he immediately expressed a contrary viewpoint by adding: "And against this emerges the need for reflecting on, and searching out the philosophy of a universally valid understanding" (*Und dagegen erhebt sich das Bedürfnis des Denkens und das Streben der Philosophie nach einer allgemeingültigen Erkenntnis*).<sup>40</sup> Earlier L. von Ranke had also emphasized the primacy and "positive" character of historical facts in words that are frequently cited, saying: "*wie es eigentlich gewesen*",<sup>41</sup> thereby adopting a similar position. This was in his royal lecture of 26<sup>th</sup> September 1854 in which he argued for the requirement of a fundamental and coherent view of history, by saying: "because we seek to comprehend the history to be a unity" (*weil wir die Geschichte zur Einheit zu fassen suchen*).<sup>42</sup> In a broader and fundamental approach of this kind the focus was not laid on the past and its events alone but was linked together with an emphasis on the relation of the past to the present time of the historian. This was to some extent in the framework of a more comprehensive 'philosophy of life',<sup>43</sup> relating the life and values of modern man in his search for understanding the meaning of the past. In this way then the historicism becomes, as variously articulated, "a special form of, or an approach to, intellectual history (*Geistesgeschichte*)". Alternatively it takes the "form of a perceiving study of humanities" (*Form einer verstehenden Geisteswissenschaft*).<sup>44</sup> It can also be called "an interpretation of both history and life, a *Weltanschauung*".<sup>45</sup>

Central to this ideologically very fundamental concern for a 'world-view' (*Weltanschauung*) was, in the first place, the nature of humanity itself/the human being (*die Individualität*) with its life and culture. As noted above, this has been

<sup>40</sup> Dilthey, *Ges. Werke*, V (1924), 9; cf. W. MATTHIAS, "Exegese, Dogmatik, Verkündigung", *EvTh* 19 (1959) 243–266, 245; see further Dilthey, *Einleitung* (1983/1959), 4–14; cf. Wittkau, *Historismus* (1994), 96–101; Scholtz, Chap. 3 below, sect. 1.

<sup>41</sup> L. VON RANKE, *Geschichten der romanischen und germanischen Völker von 1494 bis 1535* (Leipzig/Berlin: Reimer 1824), V–VI, wo er bemerkt, sein "gegenwärtiger Versuch... will bloß sagen, wie es eigentlich geschehen"; cf. Jaeger/Rüsen, *ibid.* 82–86.201; Berg, Leopold von Ranke als akademischer Lehrer (1968), 180ff; L. KRIEGER, "Elements of Early Historicism: Experience, Theory, and History in Ranke", in: *Essays on Historicism* (1975), 1–14.

<sup>42</sup> Epochen der neueren Geschichte (1854/1971), 82; this series of 19 lectures (*Vorträge*) was read, in September–October 1854, in Berchtesgaden, "*vor Seiner Majestaet dem Könige*", i.e. King Maximilian II of Bavaria; see *ibid.* 45 and Tafel 1.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. i.a. Troeltsch, *Historismus* (1922), 493–530.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. Lee/Beck, *ibid.* 570, and Jaeger/Rüsen, *ibid.* 1.

<sup>45</sup> So Lee/Beck, *ibidem*; otherwise, it may be illustrative that G. VON RAD, who so strongly had focused upon history in his studies and in his *Theology of the Old Testament*, in a *Seminarsitzung* in the sixties could say: *Wir sind ein bisschen geschichtsmoman gewesen* ("we have been a little monomaniac for history").

a prominent issue since the Renaissance. With regard to the comprehension of history's unity, the life and culture of humanity does represent a particularly strong uniting element. Besides the *causal* relationship of events to which the humanists of the Renaissance already paid attention, another significant element in this respect has been the notion of *development* (*Entwicklung*). The process of development seems to present a special potentiality regarding the unity of past and present – but it has to be distinguished from the concept of 'progress' (*Fortschritt*). These and other basic issues and problems of historicism, including the questions of its "crisis" and of its relation to "values", were particularly further elaborated by F. Meinecke<sup>46</sup> and E. Troeltsch.<sup>47</sup> These were the two foremost names of 'historicism', alongside those of L. von Ranke and W. Dilthey. Discussions of the history and special character of historicism have been richly pursued in subsequent and the most recent historical research.

Looking back, two brief final remarks may be made. In the context of the varying interpretations and definitions of 'historicism' it is advisable to emphasize first of all its close connection with the broader field of 'history'. This is its matrix, more than any form of philosophy. Secondly, as regards the question of a more precise definition of 'historicism', it seems desirable to adopt descriptions that are characterized by the greatest possible neutrality and 'openness'.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> Cf. Die Entstehung des Historismus (1936/1959); cf. Hofer, Geschichtschreibung (1950), 486–544; Burckhardt, Weltgeschichtliche Betrachtungen (1929), 160–191; Murrmann-Kahl, Die entzauberte Heilsgeschichte (1992), 131–156; Wittkau, Historismus (1994), 190–196; Oexle, Geschichtswissenschaft (1996), 95–136: "Meineckes Historismus"; also Jaeger/Rüsen, *ibid.* 25–28.

<sup>47</sup> Der Historismus und seine Probleme (1922), esp. 1–11: "Die heutige Krisis der Historie"; cf. Heussi, Die Krise des Historismus (1932); also Murrmann-Kahl, *ibid.* 156–168; Wittkau, Historismus (1994), 147–160, 185–189.

<sup>48</sup> Cf., as an example, the definition of 'historicism' in Jaeger/Rüsen, *ibid.* 7: *Wir meinen damit diejenige Art der denkenden Auseinandersetzung mit der menschlichen Vergangenheit, die für die historischen Wissenschaften seit der Wende vom 18. zum 19. Jahrhundert typisch ist und die ihnen im Laufe des 19. Jahrhunderts ihr eigentümliches Gepräge, ihr fachwissenschaftliches Profil, gegeben hat. Zugleich meint Historismus die in den historischen Fachwissenschaften moderne Art des historischen Denkens.*

*A. The General Cultural Context  
of Nineteenth Century's Biblical Interpretation*



## CHAPTER TWO

# Historical, Cultural and Philosophical Aspects of the Nineteenth Century with Special Regard to Biblical Interpretation

By JAN ROHLS, Munich

*General works:* H.-J. KRAUS, *Geschichte der historisch-kritischen Erforschung des Alten Testaments* (Neukirchen-Vluyn 1956; <sup>4</sup>1988). – E. G. KRAELING, *The Old Testament since the Reformation* (London 1955/New York: Schocken 1969). – H. GRAF REVENTLOW, *Epochen der Bibelauslegung*, IV (München 2001). – J. W. ROGERSON, *Old Testament Criticism in the Nineteenth Century: England and Germany* (London 1984).

After the Enlightenment had dissolved the doctrine of the Bible's inspiration, the question of the Old Testament's importance for Christianity arose once again. With reference to the rational elements already inherent in the Old Testament, the answer could be rationalistic. The Old Testament's authority, however, could also be argued for with supernaturalistic arguments, Jesus and the Apostles as trustworthy carriers of revelation referring to the Old Testament. Finally, the Old Testament's importance for Christianity could be challenged as a matter of principle. In the nineteenth century, all three positions found supporters. Prepared by the historical-critical exegesis of the Enlightenment, the thought of progress permeated ever further into Old Testament scholarship. The Old Testament was either understood as a record of a certain level of God's revelation in history or as a document of different stages in the development of the Israelite-Jewish religion. This perception was facilitated by the fact that the Old Testament was no longer regarded as a unity. An altogether new historical appraisal of the individual literary sources had been reached.

## 1. Aspects of the Enlightenment's Cultural and Philosophical Legacy

*Sources:* F. SCHILLER: *Sämtliche Werke* (ed. P.-A. Alt/A. Meier/W. Riedel; München 2004); here: *Die Sendung des Moses* (1790) IV, 783–804; *Etwas über die erste Menschengesellschaft nach dem Leitfaden der mosaischen Urkunde* (1790) IV, 767–783. – K. L. REINHOLD, *Die Hebräischen Mysterien oder die älteste religiöse Freymaurerey* (Leipzig 1788). – J. W. VON GOETHE: *Werke. Hamburger Ausgabe in 14 Bänden* (ed. E. Trunz; München 1998). – I. KANT: *Kants gesammelte Schriften* (ed. Königlich Preußische Akademie der Wissenschaften [abbr. AA]; Berlin 1900–); here: *Muthmaßlicher Anfang der Menschengeschichte* (1786) AA VIII (Berlin 1969), 107–24; *Die Religion innerhalb der Grenzen der bloßen Vernunft* (1793) AA VI (Berlin 1969), 1–202; *Streit der Facultäten* (1798) AA VII (Berlin 1973), 1–116. – G. C. STORR, *Doctrinae christianae pars theoretica e sacris literis repetita* (Stuttgart



1793); *Lehrbuch zur christlichen Dogmatik, ins Deutsche übersetzt von Carl Christian Flatt* (Stuttgart 1803). – C. F. STÄUDLIN, *Ideen zur Kritik des Systems der christlichen Religion* (Göttingen 1791). – J. H. TIEFTRUNK, *Censur des Christlichen Protestantischen Lehrbegriffs nach den Principien der Religionskritik: mit besonderer Hinsicht auf die Lehrbücher von D. J. C. Döderlein und D. S. F. N. Morus* (Berlin 1796). – K. G. BRETSCHNEIDER, *Handbuch der Dogmatik der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche: oder Versuch einer beurtheilenden Darstellung der Grundsätze, welche diese Kirche in ihren symbolischen Schriften über die christliche Glaubenslehre ausgesprochen hat* (Leipzig 1822). – J. F. RÖHR, *Briefe über den Rationalismus: Zur Berichtigung der schwankenden und zweideutigen Urtheile, die in den neuesten dogmatischen Consequenz-Streitigkeiten über denselben gefällt worden sind* (Aachen 1813).

*General works:* P.-A. ALT, *Schiller: Leben – Werk – Zeit* (München 2009). – W.-D. HARTWICH, *Die Sendung Mose: Von der Aufklärung bis Thomas Mann* (München 1997). – K.-H. HINFURTNER, “Biblischer Supranaturalismus. G. C. Storr 1746–1805”, in: F. W. GRAF (ed.), *Profile des neuzeitlichen Protestantismus, 1. Aufklärung, Idealismus, Vormärz* (Gütersloh 1990), 113–127. – A. LANGE, *Von der fortschreitenden Freiheit eines Christenmenschen: Glaube und moderne Welt bei Karl Gottlieb Bretschneider* (Frankfurt a. M. 1994). – R. LAUTH (ed.), *K. L. Reinhold: 7 Beiträge nebst einem Briefekatalog aus Anlaß seines 150. Todestages* (Bonn 1974). – W. SCHOTTROFF, “Goethe als Bibelwissenschaftler”, *EvTh* 44 (1984) 463–485. – T. TILLMANN, *Hermeneutik und Bibelexegese beim jungen Goethe* (Berlin 2006). – G. S. WILLIAMSON, “Theophilantropy in Germany”, *ZNTbG* 9 (2002) 218–244.

Friedrich Schiller (1759–1805) was convinced – just as Lessing and Kant – that history was a process of an advancing stabilization of a culture of reason. As university teacher in Jena he turned to the Old Testament narrations of Moses and the creation and fall, interpreting them by way of the concept of cultural philosophy. In *Die Sendung des Moses* (1790), he characterizes Moses as a founder of religion and whose religion we are indebted to for large parts of modern enlightenment.<sup>1</sup> Through the Mosaic religion monotheism at an early time became an integral element of the Hebrew faith. The Hebrew nation is seen as a universally historic people, chosen by divine providence to leverage the truth. In allusion to authors of Antiquity, Schiller depicts Moses as being adopted by the Pharaoh’s daughter and enjoying a privileged Egyptian education, where the arcane truths of the hieroglyphs of the priestly wisdom of the mysteries of Heliopolis and Memphis were revealed to him. Unlike the polytheistic folk religion, this secret priest religion taught the unity of God and the immortality of the soul and, according to Schiller, knew the one sole highest reason of all things.<sup>2</sup> To instill courage into the enslaved pariah nation, Moses, after his flight into the Arabian Desert and his becoming aware of his mission to lead the Hebrews out of Egypt, remembered this God of the mysteries. This notion of a God of the mysteries, however, was much too abstract for his people. Moses was left with no other option but to preach the true God with supernatural means.<sup>3</sup> Schiller’s Moses accommodates himself to the people in customizing the Egyptian God to Hebrew imagination, turning a creator into the Hebrew national God to whom Israel’s legislation and attributes of uniqueness and omnipotence are ascribed. According to Schiller, Moses’ mission was to transform Egypt’s monotheistic secret religion into Israel’s national religion and the foundation of its legislation;

<sup>1</sup> Schiller, *Sämtliche Werke*, 4 (2004), 783.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 792.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 799.

thereby making way for reason. Schiller adheres to the contemporary image of Egypt, viewing hieroglyphs as secret symbols and the Egyptian priest caste as followers of a monotheistic secret religion. This view was revoked only after 1799 and the finding of the Rosetta Stone by Napoleon's troops. In 1822, the classicist Jean-Francois Champollion with the help of the multilingual inscriptions on the stone identified the hieroglyphs instead as letters of an alphabet. Schiller borrows his interpretation of Moses largely from the anonymous text *Die Hebräischen Mysterien oder die älteste religiöse Freymaurerei* (1787) of his Jena colleague Karl Leonhard Reinhold, who had drawn an analogy between Judaism and freemasonry.<sup>4</sup> A Vienna Jesuit convert and son-in-law of Wieland, Reinhold was a Freemason himself and renewed in his text the ancient thesis that the legislator Moses was instructed in Egyptian wisdom and the mystery cults.<sup>5</sup>

Schiller's contribution to the interpretation of the Old Testament, however, goes beyond the interpretation of Moses' mission. Closely following Kant's tract *Mutmaßlicher Anfang der Menschengeschichte* (1786) published only a few years before, he analyzes the story of creation in Genesis in *Etwas über die erste Menschengesellschaft nach dem Leitfaden der mosaischen Urkunde* (1790). While Schiller's interest in Bible studies only developed after he came to Jena, Goethe (1749–1832) turned to the Old Testament already during his time in Frankfurt. The young Goethe's special interest lies in the prehistory and patriarchal stories in which he believed to see the origin of mankind.<sup>6</sup> The religion of the Patriarchs is the religion of nomadizing herdsmen. More so than hunters and farmers they were in need of a faith in a God who accompanied them, who led them, and rescued them; they were more in need of a special providence passed down through ancient assurances. The Patriarchs felt dependent on this God, followed his commandments and trusted his promises. Despite all the weaknesses inherent in their fathers' religion and despite the cruelty manifested in the institution of offerings, this religion in Goethe's eyes is nevertheless humane, beautiful, and cheerful; the fathers themselves are heroes in faith. At a time when this was by no means the ruling opinion, especially not among his Strasbourg friends, Goethe supposed that the Bible is a compilation of writings by different authors, written and then revised at different points in time. He did not try to harmonize artificially the factually existing contradictions in the Bible. Adding to his *Westöstlicher Divan* the essay *Israel in der Wüste* (1797), he emphasized that it does not harm the holy scriptures for them to be treated with critical reasoning; the original is often distorted by later additions, inversions, and accommodations, but its inner fundamental value shines all the brighter in this criticism.<sup>7</sup> In his Bible criticism, Goethe explicitly referred to Michaelis and Eichhorn. He regarded the four last books of the Pentateuch as having been poorly revised, the course of history being obstructed by countless inversions of laws whose actual purpose mostly remains obscure; e. g. no reason is given for the introduction of religious ceremonial laws for an uncertain future at a time when the main focus should have been

<sup>4</sup> Reinhold, *Die Hebräischen Mysterien* (1788), 85.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* 22.

<sup>6</sup> Goethe, *Werke*, 9 (1998), 129 ff.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 2, 206 f.

on the hasty journey through the desert. Goethe thought that the forty years in the desert originated in the symbolic meaning of the number forty, the actual journey in reality probably not lasting longer than half a year. However, if the forty years, including the sections on the law, are dated back to later redaction, then Goethe's negative image of Moses and his God carries no weight. God's friendliness that is also prevalent in Genesis reappears again after the Pentateuch. He viewed the Pentateuch's last four books as signs of poor faith, the original belief being overwhelmed by ceremonial law.

In *Die Religion innerhalb der Grenzen der bloßen Vernunft* (1793) and *Streit der Fakultäten* (1798), Kant (1724–1804) in his late phase regarded Judaism as consisting merely of statutory laws, not properly as a religion, and as totally different from Christianity.<sup>8</sup> Therefore, the Old Testament plays no role for his interpretation of the Christian religion. Kant appealed for a comprehensive exegesis of Scripture. He agreed with the Enlightenment's theological rejection of the dogma of inspiration as proof for Scripture's divinity. For him, the latter could only be proven through its moral influence. He rejected as superstitious any regard for a belief in certain historical facts as the sole way to salvation. For him, the Bible merely has the function of serving as a guideline to moral faith in reason, which the majority of mankind in the present is not ready to forego. Scripture therefore is no more than a temporary, precious, but in the long run dispensable means for introducing faith in reason.<sup>9</sup> As such, it is only of worth when interpreted morally. Kant here differs from the learned theologians who try to prove Scripture as witness to a divine revelation by historical means. Theology cannot, by itself, constitute the Bible's divine authority, it is dependent on philosophy. Accordingly, philological-historical exegesis must be replaced by a philosophical-doctrinal exegesis which emphasizes the Bible's moral value. In this it is not Scripture's literal sense that is decisive, since its real meaning lies only in the moral-symbolic sphere. Bible passages containing theoretical doctrines that surpass reason must be regarded as such, but those that contradict practical reason must be interpreted in a manner that is in harmony with it.

When Kant turns against the theologians' attempt to derive Scripture's divinity not from its inspiration but to prove it historically he also turns against the older Tübingen school of supernaturalism that grew up around Gottlob Christian Storr (1746–1805). Despite his opposition to historical criticism, Storr in his dogmatic main writing *Doctrinae christianae pars theoretica e sacris literis repetita* (1793) shows himself already so strongly affected by the Enlightenment that a fallback to the orthodox dogma of inspiration no longer is an option in proving that the biblical doctrines are actually God's revelation. Storr rather wants to show historically that the Bible contains supernatural divine revelation. Herein he presupposes an apostolic origin of the New Testament scriptures and sees the Apostles as witnesses who had immediate contact with Jesus.<sup>10</sup> Their testimony must therefore be regarded as credible. In this testimony, Jesus, however, refers to himself as a divine messenger who ascribes his doctrine to God himself. As

<sup>8</sup> Kant, *Religion* (1968), 125 ff.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* 109 ff.

<sup>10</sup> Storr, *Lehrbuch* (1803), 226 ff.

Jesus' character rules out that he knowingly or mistakenly made a false statement, Jesus' self-conception must be regarded as credible. Moreover, the miracles and the fulfillment of the prophecies confirm that he is God's messenger. Finally, he promises the Apostles instructed by him the Holy Ghost's assistance so that he may enlighten them in their teachings. The Apostles' teachings, and indirectly their writings, must therefore be regarded as revelation. The New Testament's credibility and the fact that it refers to the Old Testament as revealed Scripture lead him to believe that the Old Testament scriptures must also be regarded as inspired. Storr thus believes to have proven the revelatory character of Scripture historically. When, however, Scripture's revelatory character can be proven historically, the assumption that Jesus and the Apostles accommodated themselves in many things to the Jewish *Zeitgeist*, and that these perceptions for us are today no longer binding, is invalid. For Storr, the Bible is the revelation which reason can never attain.

While Storr sees the Bible as divine revelation, the Göttingen theologian Carl Friedrich Stäudlin (1761–1826) views it merely as a means of passing on Christianity to posterity. In his *Ideen zur Kritik des Systems der christlichen Religion* (1791), he does not, however, deny that Christian communities at first orally remembered Jesus' teachings, deeds, and fates and even appointed teachers for this purpose. Christianity therefore thrived for a long time without any messages in written form. After some time, however, the source of tradition must have become more uncertain, so that it became necessary for the first confidants of Jesus themselves to put accounts in writing. Through these accounts we now have credible reports of Christianity's facts and teachings. Jesus' religion as the universal religion of humankind, however, does not encompass all that is included in the New Testament scriptures. First and foremost it includes what Jesus taught of the nature of his person, his relationship with his Father, and his destiny. These ideas were new insofar as they were not already included in the Old Testament. Jesus' religion, however, does not include the Jewish perceptions he often uses as background for his teachings. Jesus himself and the Apostles made use of the religious terminology of the ruling Jewish ethos for the illustration of a religion entirely novel in spirit and purpose. The Old Testament, especially the Pentateuch and the prophets can – with reservation – be of use for Christian dogmatics. Jesus and the Apostles, even though they regarded large parts as merely transient, in principle recognized God's revelation in the Old Testament. Stäudlin differs here from the Halle Kantian Johann Heinrich Tieftrunk (1759–1837) who in his *Censur des christlichen protestantischen Lehrbegriffs nach den Principien der Religionskritik* (1791) regards the Kantian moral law which he identifies with the double commandment of love as the principle of Christianity introduced by Jesus. Tieftrunk regards the collection of New Testament scriptures as the most important source for Jesus' teachings. He does not doubt the Scripture's authenticity and apostolic authorship. However, Scripture's value is not decided for him alone by its content which has to be in line with the principle of Christianity. The existing New Testament scriptures are indeed to be highly regarded as the legacy of Antiquity without which determining Christ's true spirit would be very difficult. The New Testament scriptures, however, are not absolutely necessary for the perception of Jesus' teachings, the

more so as these were widely known through oral tradition before their written form. Tiefertunk regards the New Testament as Christianity's only source, the Old Testament merely serving to describe Christ's and the Apostles' method of teaching and lecturing, however, no longer having any legally binding character for Christians. Tiefertunk also denies the evidentiary value of the prophecies.<sup>11</sup> He regards the prophecies of the Jewish prophets not as actual predictions of future events but as a common conventional stylistic device of antiquity.<sup>12</sup> Because the Jews awaited a Messiah, Jesus adopts this idea to let them believe he is the one they are awaiting. This interpretation of the incorporation of a messianic notion through Jesus exemplifies that Tiefertunk does not understand the messianic prophecies as pointing to Christ or inspired by God's divination. They are rather interpreted accordingly by Jesus and the Apostles within the framework of their accommodation to the Jewish conception.

Not only Kantian theologians such as Tiefertunk but also more moderate authors deny the Old Testament's normative importance for Christians. In his *Handbuch der Dogmatik der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche* (1814–1818), the Gotha General Superintendent Karl Gottlieb Bretschneider (1776–1848) differentiates a historic and a dogmatic perspective of Scripture. The historic perspective regards Scripture's books as historically credible documents of the Jewish and Christian religion; the dogmatic perspective, however, sees them as reliable and singular testimonials of revelation. The historical view aligns them with every other book, while the dogmatic view reserves a decisive advantage over all other writings. Following Semler, Bretschneider in the historical reflection describes the slow creation of the canon and arrives at the conclusion that the Church's adoption of this canon makes the acknowledgement of the New Testament scriptures' apostolic origin by way of historical criticism inevitable. The dogmatic perspective of Scripture as a codex of all divine revelation precludes the historical credibility of the biblical books. When Bretschneider regards Scripture as the sole codex of Christian revelation, he refers only to the New Testament, the Old Testament for him being merely the codex of pre-Christian revelation, as such for Christians not constituting a guideline for faith and life. Even the messianic prophecies are no longer relevant for him. In the past they had been regarded as prophecies characterizing the Messiah and revealed by God himself. God had decided to help fallen humanity again through an extraordinary messenger and had the prophets predict in closest detail the Messiah and his fate.<sup>13</sup> So-called prophetic theology then concluded that Jesus must be the Messiah because all traditional messianic characteristics applied to him. This, however, was a circular argument.<sup>14</sup> Bretschneider himself believes that those passages deemed to be prophetic in most cases cannot be interpreted messianically, acknowledging that they owe their messianic interpretation through the New Testament authors to the accommodation to Jewish readers. Bretschneider also does not doubt that Jesus himself interpreted Old Testament scriptures as pro-

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<sup>11</sup> Tiefertunk, *Censur*, 1. Teil (1796), 318.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.* 319.

<sup>13</sup> Bretschneider, *Handbuch*, 1 (1822), 167 f.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.* 169.

phesies of himself. He refers to the Old Testament's announcement of a god-sent messenger from the line of David who is introduced as a founder of a new religious economy. Bretschneider himself shares this new interpretation of the old proof of prophecy, according to which the messianic prophecies are nothing but a general introduction to Christianity's genesis among the Jewish people, arranged by providence.<sup>15</sup>

However, Bretschneider does not abandon the supernatural revelation in favour of a pure religion of reason, unlike the rationalist Weimar General Superintendent Johann Friedrich Röhr (1777–1848). In his *Briefe über den Rationalismus* (1813), Röhr criticizes the supernaturalistic defense of the Bible as a collection of revealed Scripture.<sup>16</sup> For him, the biblical scriptures are testimonies of a religion of reason's main teachings. These testimonies together with grammatical-historical exegesis allow a compilation of the teachings into an orderly convolute of a pure religion of reason. Unlike the supernaturalists, Röhr regards them firstly as purely human scriptures, judging them according to the same criteria as other writings. He differentiates between Old Testament and New Testament scriptures, stating that their religious truths and the religious constitutions on which they are founded are entirely different. He regards the scriptures of the Old Testament as invaluable testimonies of mankind's earliest history, their teaching of monotheism having laid the foundation of all religion of reason and for Christianity. He rejects the Mosaic origin of the Pentateuch and regards the Old Testament account of pre-history as a mythical narration. He dates into post-exilic times not only the collection of Old Testament scriptures but also the teachings of monotheism, in which monotheism was translated into the earliest stages of history. The Old Testament's present scriptures therefore are the document of the post-exilic age. When Old Testament figures such as Abraham, Moses, and the prophets present their insights as God's inspiration, this occurs out of poetic enthusiasm and self-deception which is owed to the perception of their uneducated times. Unlike the supernaturalists, Röhr sees neither in the self-predications of the Old Testament prophets, nor in Jesus' and the Apostles' statements any evidence for the Old Testament scriptures' divine authority. He rather believes that the monotheism attested for in the Old Testament and the inherent religious and moral insights were met solely through mankind's natural mental strength. In the Old Testament itself Röhr sees a gradual progress of religious and moral insight, which is entirely in accord with the habitual evolution of a culture that is left to oneself and not of a humanity supported by immediate divine intervention. Röhr rejects Lessing's assumption that the accommodation of divine revelation to the respective age of mankind is manifested in this developmental stage, it being inexplicable why God left so many generations in the dark without giving them a share in the insight of later times. When the supernaturalist however mitigates this thesis of the Old Testament's divinity by explaining that the Old Testament itself is not God's word but does contain it, this eventually leads to the rationalist thesis that with omission of all temporal and

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<sup>15</sup> Ibid. 167.

<sup>16</sup> Röhr, *Briefe* (1813), 25 ff.

local aspects only that is universal religious truth in the Old Testament testimonies which is recognized by reason as worthy of the divine and fit for the purpose of morality.

## 2. F. D. E. Schleiermacher – His Criticism of the Old Testament

*Sources:* E. W. HENGSTENBERG, *Einige Worte über die Nothwendigkeit der Ueberordnung des äußeren Wortes über das innere: nebst Stellen aus Luthers Schriften* (Berlin 1825); “Ueber Schleiermacher: Auch ein Sendschreiben”, *EKZ* 3 (1829) 97, 769–775; 98, 777–782; 99, 785–790; 100, 793–8; *Christologie des Alten Testaments und Commentar über die messianischen Weissagungen der Propheten* (Berlin 1829–1835). – K. H. SACK, *Christliche Apologetik: Versuch eines Handbuchs* (Hamburg 1829). – F. W. J. SCHELLING: *Historisch-Kritische Ausgabe* (ed. W. G. Jacobs/J. Jantzen; Stuttgart 1976–); here: *Über Mythen, historische Sagen und Philosopheme der ältesten Welt* (1793; ed. W. G. Jacobs/J. Jantzen/W. Schieche) I, 43–83; *Sämmtliche Werke* (ed. K. F. A. Schelling; Stuttgart/Augsburg 1856–1861); here: *Vorlesungen über die Methode des akademischen Studiums* (1802) V, 207–352; *Philosophie der Kunst* (1802–1805) V, 353–736. – F. D. E. SCHLEIERMACHER: *Kritische Gesamtausgabe* (ed. U. Barth/H.-J. Birkner/H. Fischer/G. Meckenstock/K.-V. Selge e.a. [abbr. KGA]; Berlin/New York, NY 1980–); here: *Über die Religion: Reden an die Gebildeten unter ihren Verächtern* (1799; ed. G. Meckenstock) KGA I/2, 189–236; *Der christliche Glaube nach den Grundsätzen der evangelischen Kirche im Zusammenhange dargestellt* (<sup>1</sup>1821–1822; ed. H. Peiter/U. Barth) KGA I/7; *Der christliche Glaube nach den Grundsätzen der evangelischen Kirche im Zusammenhange dargestellt* (<sup>2</sup>1830–1831; ed. M. Redeker, Bd. 2, Berlin 1960); *Zwei Sendschreiben an Lücke* (1829; ed. H. F. Traulsen) KGA I/10, 307–394; *Kurze Darstellung des theologischen Studiums zum Behuf einleitender Vorlesungen* (1811; ed. H. Scholz, Darmstadt 1977). – W. M. L. DE WETTE, *Dissertatio critico-exegetica qua Deuteronomium a prioribus Pentateuchi libris diversum, alius cuiusdam recentioris auctoris opus esse monstratur* (Jena 1805); *Beiträge zur Einleitung in das Alte Testament* (Halle 1806–1807); *Commentar über die Psalmen, in Beziehung auf seine Uebersetzung derselben* (Heidelberg 1811); *Biblische Dogmatik Alten und Neuen Testaments, oder kritische Darstellung der Religionslehre des Hebraismus, des Judenthums und Urchristenthums* (in: *Lehrbuch der christlichen Dogmatik I*, Berlin 1813); *Über Religion und Theologie* (Berlin 1815); *Dogmatik der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche nach den symbolischen Büchern und den älteren Dogmatikern* (in: *Lehrbuch der christlichen Dogmatik*, II, Berlin 1816).

*General works:* J. BACHMANN/T. SCHMALENBACH, *Ernst Wilhelm Hengstenberg: sein Leben und Wirken nach gedruckten und ungedruckten Quellen* (Gütersloh 1876–1892). – D. C. DAVIS, *The Hermeneutics of Ernst Wilhelm Hengstenberg: edifying value as exegete* (Göttingen 1960). – J. GELDHOF, “The Bible in the later thought of F. W. J. Schelling”, *Philosophy & theology* 16 (2004) 45–72. – W. KRAMER, *Ernst Wilhelm Hengstenberg, die evangelische Kirchenzeitung und der theologische Rationalismus* (Erlangen 1972). – J. W. ROGERSON, *W. M. L. de Wette, Founder of Modern Biblical Criticism: An Intellectual Biography* (JSOT.S 126; Sheffield 1992). – J. ROHLS, “Liberale Romantik: Wilhelm Leberecht de Wette (1780–1849)”, in: F. W. Graf (ed.), *Profile des neuzeitlichen Protestantismus*, 1. *Aufklärung, Idealismus, Vormärz* (Gütersloh 1990), 233–250. – H.-W. SCHÜRTE, “Christlicher Glaube und Altes Testament bei Friedrich Schleiermacher”, in: D. Rößler/G. Voigt/F. Wintzer (eds.), *Fides et communicatio: Festschrift für Martin Doerne* (Göttingen 1970), 291–310. – R. SMEND, *Wilhelm Martin Leberecht de Wettes Arbeit am Alten und Neuen Testament* (Basel 1958); “Wilhelm Martin Leberecht de Wette”, in: idem, *Deutsche Alttestamentler in drei Jahrhunderten* (Göttingen 1989), 38–52. – J. C. TAYLOR, *Ernst Wilhelm Hengstenberg as Old Testament Exegete* (Princeton 1966).

While still engaged in his theological studies in Tübingen, Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph Schelling (1775–1854) adopted the exegesis of the mythical school of Eichhorn and Gabler. In his Magister thesis *Über die Erzählung der Genesis vom Sündenfall* (1792), he interpreted Genesis 3 as a pure philosophical myth, as historical repackaging of thoughts on the origin of evil in the world. In his *Über*

*Mythen, historische Sagen und Philosopheme der ältesten Welt* (1793), he defended this interpretation with the assumption that the mythical character of all ancient traditions is grounded in the nature of mankind's childhood. Schelling took up this differentiation between philosophical and historical myths from the representatives of the mythical school. In his Jena and Würzburg lectures *Philosophie der Kunst* (1802/03) and in his *Vorlesungen zur Methode des akademischen Studiums* (1803) he then extrapolated the concept of myth to Christianity. While Greek mythology stood for the perception of the universe as nature, Christian mythology established the perception of the universe as history and moral kingdom. Christ followed the Hebrews' realistic mythology, however, instilling in it the seed of a higher idealistic morality. Even Christianity's oldest written traditions already show the break-up of the dichotomy between realism and idealism. While the Gospel of John follows Jesus' idealistic approach, the synoptics revert back to Jewish realism, surrounding Jesus' story with fables invented according to Old Testament prophecies. They are *a priori* convinced that these stories did occur such as they were prophesied for the Messiah in the Old Testament.<sup>17</sup>

In his early work, Wilhelm Martin Leberecht de Wette (1780–1849) was decidedly influenced by the writings of Herder (1744–1803) as well as Schelling's Jena lectures and his conception of myth. He attained the philosophical doctorate with his *Kritische Dissertation, durch die gezeigt wird, daß das 5. Mosebuch (Deuteronomium) von den übrigen Büchern des Pentateuchs verschieden und das Werk eines anderen, jüngeren Verfassers ist* (1805). He argues that Deuteronomy could possibly be the code of law found in the temple under the rule of Josiah. Before, Deuteronomy had been unknown as Moses' statute book. Even though it is mentioned in the younger books of Ezra and Nehemiah, the prophets apparently were not aware of it. After the construction of the Jerusalem temple under the rule of David and Solomon, the cult centralization demanded by Deuteronomy was in no way implemented. Instead the state of debauchery and excess continued until the code of law was found under the rule of Josiah. De Wette categorically breaks with the Pentateuch's perception of history. For him, Moses no longer is the founder of the entire regime of religion and cult. The picture conveyed by the Pentateuch is rather the result of a long-lasting development. According to the *Beiträge zur Einleitung in das Alte Testament* (1806/07), the Pentateuch is a collection of fragments which were compiled by a collector long after Moses. The Pentateuch is useless as a historical source, its narratives being mostly mythical. With his conception of myth, de Wette differs from that of the mythical school. For him, the entire Pentateuch is imbued with a mythical outlook. Myth has a creative poetic power which can give rise to produce a story in great detail. Herein, however, the difference between philosophical and historical myths becomes null and void. In the Pentateuch we cannot differentiate between historical facts and their mythical packaging, as it is in its entirety a mythical historical narration. For de Wette, myths are free compositions. For the Hebrew myths he demands the same treatment as for Greek and Roman myths. Indeed,

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<sup>17</sup> Schelling, *Methode* (1802), 286 ff.



true history underlies the Pentateuch just as the Homeric epics. But just as Homer's epics are products of poetry, with neither losing their value, which is poetical and not historical. For de Wette, the Pentateuch is the product of Israel's patriotic religious poetry, reflecting its spirit and patriotism, its philosophy and religion. Accordingly, the Pentateuch is useless as a historical source, thereby compelling us not to learn history from it but to derive from the poetry the spirit and character of the poets. The Pentateuch thereby changes from a historical source into one of the first sources of Israel's cultural and religious history.

Old Testament scholarship must therefore focus first and foremost on Israel's history of religion. The treatment of the sources for this has to be critical. Legends and poetry that were imposed on the figure of Moses to construct a fabulous childhood and story of a divine vocation, turning him into a revealer of God's true name, Israel's liberator from Egypt, and the recipient of the tablets of the law on the Sinai.<sup>18</sup> De Wette sees historical primary material at best in Exodus 18 where Moses' father-in-law Jethro from Midian advises him to install aides for his jurisdiction. This seems unique to him as Moses here acts without the help of clerics or shamans and not at divine command but according to human advice.<sup>19</sup> In his *Commentar über die Psalmen* (1811), de Wette interprets the Psalms as lyrical poems and the Psalter as a lyrical anthology, differentiating the psalms by genres. For him, the Psalms' special importance for scholars of religion lies in their dealing with the immediate religious mind of the individual; religion first comes to life in the individual's mind, fading into myths and dogmas and becoming petrified. In his *Biblische Dogmatik des Alten und Neuen Testaments* (1813), which was meant as the first volume of his *Lehrbuch der christlichen Dogmatik*, de Wette reached on historical grounds the conclusion that the focal point of all Old Testament teachings is the moral notion of the one God, which is free of all mythological associations. The Hebrews' religion is characterized through monotheism by an ideal universalism but at the same time through theocracy by symbolic particularism. While de Wette appreciates the ancient Hebrew feeling for life and excitement, he sees in post-exilic Judaism merely aridity and rigidity of worship. De Wette explained his new view of myth as a religious form of expression by means of Jakob Friedrich Fries' philosophy. In his *Dogmatik der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche* (1816) and the attached annotations *Religion und Theologie* (1815), he agreed with Fries that religion is the encounter of the presence of the infinite in the finite. It is anchored in emotion, its form of expression necessarily being figurative. Every religious idea therefore is figurative. Dogmas arise from the desire to make these images themselves binding, exemplifying reason's mistaken arrogance in seeking to reduce religious notions to its own sphere and that of the senses, thereby identifying image and object. However, it is not the purpose of the myth to make these religious images binding; they are free poetry creating images of the supernatural and its relationship with the world in order to depict the true essence of things.

De Wette not only shares the approach to religious emotion with Herder and Fries, but also with his Berlin colleague F. D. E. Schleiermacher (1768–1834). For

<sup>18</sup> De Wette, *Einleitung*, 2 (1806), 181ff, 254.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.* 230ff.

the early Schleiermacher, Christian religion constitutes in its essence the perception and emotion of the infinite, while the more mature Schleiermacher only uses the concept of emotion. He saw the biblical scriptures as human products, the old concept of the Bible as an inspired book is left behind. In his lectures *Über die Religion* (1799), he regarded Scripture as something that can be outdated and abandoned as a monument of a great spirit which is no more. The principle introduced through the intermediary Christ or the spirit of Christianity is decisive. It was only in post-apostolic times, after the Spirit's heyday, that the biblical scriptures were declared unequivocally to be a closed codex of the religion. According to the early Schleiermacher, the completion of the canon thus contradicts Christianity's spirit. He profoundly differentiates between this spirit and the spirit of Judaism so that it no longer appears sensible to ascribe the Old Testament any normative importance for Christianity. In the *Kurze Darstellung des theologischen Studiums* (1811), he explains that the incorporation of the Jewish codex into the canon would imply that Christianity is regarded as the continuation of Judaism, a notion which would disagree with the notion of the canon.<sup>20</sup> In the second edition of the *Theologische Enzyklopädie* twenty years later Schleiermacher in principle has not changed his view in this point. In fact he supposes now that it probably will be a common notion soon that the Jewish codex did not contain any normative account of specifically Christian doctrines.<sup>21</sup> The Old Testament books cannot be more than the most general handbook for the understanding of the New Testament.<sup>22</sup> In his first edition of the dogmatic *Der christliche Glaube* (1821/22) an addition to the didactic section "Von der heiligen Schrift" states that the Old Testament scriptures owe their acceptance into the canon to the New Testament's references to them. Additionally, there was a the historical connection of Christian worship with the Jewish synagogue; otherwise there is no common ground between them and the normative dignity or inspiration of the New Testament scriptures.<sup>23</sup> Schleiermacher explains why he adds this sentence as an addition: it is not in accord with the dominant perception and treatment of the Hebrew Scriptures and therefore not yet established as Church doctrine or as an expression of popular awareness. However, he expects its gradual dogmatic recognition, as it is an immediate expression of a very general Christian emotion and way of feeling and acting.<sup>24</sup> In this way Schleiermacher demands the complete abandonment of the traditional proof of Christian doctrines through Old Testament passages, the more so as this practice does not serve Christian hermeneutics. The Old Testament passages can only provide the proof for Christian doctrines when considered as inspired by God. Schleiermacher, however, does not see any continuity between the inspiration of Old Testament scriptures and the New Testament. Nevertheless because Christ and the Apostles in the New Testament refer to the Old Testament as a divine authority, the external conjunction and therein seemingly apparent equal status occurred

<sup>20</sup> Schleiermacher, *Kurze Darstellung* (1811), 47, n. 2.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.* 47.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.* 56.

<sup>23</sup> Schleiermacher, *Der christliche Glaube*, 2 (1821–22), 236.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.* 237.

despite the disparity between the scriptures of the old and new covenant. Only the prophetic scriptures and the Psalms pass as divinely authorised in the New Testament. Because, however, they are part of a larger Jewish collection of scriptures, the complete Old Testament was incorporated into the Christian canon. According to Schleiermacher, however, in popular use only the Psalms and the messianic prophecies should be added to the New Testament as an appendix.<sup>25</sup>

Schleiermacher thus also rejects the traditional proof of prophecy, the prophecies of the Jewish prophets for Christianity having evidential value only as regards their inspiration. This, however, would lead to an earlier formation of revelation as Christianity's foundation, a concept Schleiermacher rules out.<sup>26</sup> For him, the actual meaning of the messianic prophecies lies in the fact that – encouraged by earlier, albeit insufficient revelations – the desire for redemption manifested itself in the one as well as in the other.<sup>27</sup> The true evidential value of prophecy lies in its expression of the movement of human nature towards Christianity. The expressions of such a movement are, however – as the early Christian Apologists rightly saw – not confined to Judaism, but can also be found in the pagan sphere. Schleiermacher thus concludes that the pious communities prior to Christianity can only be seen as temporary. When the prophecies, however, are merely an expression of the need for redemption then the exact conformity between prophecy and fulfillment which was necessary for the old proof of prophecy no longer exists.<sup>28</sup> With his rejection of the normative importance of the Old Testament and the criticism of the traditional interpretation of messianic prophecy, Schleiermacher is in full agreement with contemporary rationalism. In the *Zweites Sendschreiben an Lücke* (1829) he therefore rejects the resurgence of traditional interpretation of prophecy of his time.<sup>29</sup> In his treatise *Die Frage über die Ausführbarkeit einer Annäherung zwischen der rationalistischen und supernaturalistischen Ansicht, mit besonderer Rücksicht auf den Standpunkt der Schleiermacherschen Glaubenslehre* (1828), the Tübingen supernaturalist Johann Christian Steudel (1779–1837) clearly distinguishes himself from Schleiermacher's interpretation of Old Testament prophecy. According to Steudel, the messianic idea is formulated in earliest times in the Old Testament, then ever further and generally formed through the course of time, fulfilling itself most gloriously in Christianity and its founders.<sup>30</sup> Referring explicitly to Schleiermacher for his *Christliche Apologetik* (1829), Karl Heinrich Sack (1789–1875) also differs in his interpretation of prophecy and propagates a decidedly supernaturalistic view. He does, however, turn against the orthodox conception according to which the value of all prophecy lies in the fulfillment in the Saviour's external life, prophecy thereby becoming simply foreknowledge of what is to come later.<sup>31</sup> But Schleiermacher's acknowledgement that on the basis of the Christian faith the so-called prophecies can be understood as the subjective expression of a desire for redemp-

<sup>25</sup> Ibid. 238.

<sup>26</sup> Schleiermacher, *Der christliche Glaube*, 1 (1821–22), 84.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid. 85.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid. 86.

<sup>29</sup> Schleiermacher, *Zweites Sendschreiben* (1829), 353.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid. 353, note to 1f.

<sup>31</sup> Sack, *Apologetik* (1829), 212.

tion is not sufficient for Sack.<sup>32</sup> For him, prophecy constitutes the testimony of salvation arising from revelation.<sup>33</sup> In light of historical criticism, Schleiermacher no longer considers as reasonable this belief in a special divine revelation to the Hebrews which will be continued until a certain point in time.<sup>34</sup>

Even among his supporters, Schleiermacher's criticism of the messianic prophecies and the Old Testament, as apparent in his second letter sent to Lücke, is not accepted. Old Testament scholars close to him do not go so far as Schleiermacher himself. The earlier Berlin Old Testament scholar now teaching in Bonn, Friedrich Bleek (1793–1859), for instance asks why the Old Testament could no longer be a source of joy.<sup>35</sup> In his answer Schleiermacher clarifies that his devaluation of the Old Testament results merely from dogmatic considerations. He does not object to accepting it for reasons of religious taste. However, much that is bad in theology is due to the Old Testament. Against Sack, Schleiermacher concedes that he can tolerate the term of the messianic paradigm but does not limit it to the Old Testament. For Schleiermacher, messianic ideals are more obvious evidence of the need for redemption, which can be found in Judaism as well as in paganism. The harshest attack on Schleiermacher's treatment of the messianic prophecies, however, comes from his own faculty. In the *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung* an extensive contribution by Ernst Wilhelm Hengstenberg (1802–1869) was published, entitled "*Ueber Schleiermacher. (Auch ein Sendschreiben)*" (1829). Only shortly before he was appointed as de Wette's successor as full professor for Old and New Testament exegesis and dean of the neo-orthodoxy department, Hengstenberg here – among other things – defended the belief in the Old Testament's divinity based on faith in Christ the crucified.<sup>36</sup> Short afterward, in his essay "*Ueber Dr. Schleiermacher's Behauptung der Unkräftigkeit und Entbehrlichkeit der messianischen Weissagungen*" (1830) he pursued this further. Already in his "*Lizentiatenthesen*" (1825) he had called for a specifically Christian conception of the Old Testament. His first thesis explained quite firmly that philology is not sufficient for understanding the Old Testament; a mind that has been enlightened by the glory of Christ is required. The fourth thesis held that the Old Testament's messianic notion is not a human invention but truly originates in God and is exactly the same in all prophets.<sup>37</sup> In his *Christologie des Alten Testaments und Commentar über die Messianischen Weissagungen der Propheten* (1829), Hengstenberg thus explains that it was messianic prophecy's main purpose to prepare for Christ, so that he could be recognized as such by comparing the prophecies with their fulfillment.<sup>38</sup> Against all those who identify the Messiah prophecied by the prophets with a worldly ruler figure, Hengstenberg noted that only those can avow themselves to this perception who deny Christ's and his Apostles' importance.<sup>39</sup> Indeed the sending of the redeemer had been

<sup>32</sup> Ibid. 213.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid. 214.

<sup>34</sup> Schleiermacher, *Zweites Sendschreiben* (1829), 353.

<sup>35</sup> KGA, I/10, LXXVif.

<sup>36</sup> Hengstenberg, *Ueber Schleiermacher* (1829), 785 ff.

<sup>37</sup> Bachmann/Schmalenbach, Hengstenberg, 1 (1876), 333.

<sup>38</sup> Hengstenberg, *Christologie*, I/1 (1829), 18.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid. 254.

decided by God; however, between the fall and the advent of salvation lie 4000 years. Humankind had to be prepared for the Saviour's coming. The revelation of the law has special importance here, since the need for redemption emerged along with awareness of sin. The main purpose of the messianic prophecies was to prepare for Christ so that he could be recognized as Messiah by comparing the prophecies with their fulfillment. Isaiah 53 therefore does not refer to a worldly king but to the redeemer Christ, as Jesus himself and his Apostles show. The messianic prophecies are thereby interpreted as literal predictions of Christ's coming. Against de Wette, Hengstenberg defends the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch. Already in his *Einige Worte über die Notwendigkeit der Überordnung des äußeren Wortes über das innere, nebst Stellen aus Luther* (1825) he presupposes that God can only be recognized in complete unification with his will through obedience. True enlightenment thus is associated with sanctification; as the internal word, the enlightenment, however, does not constitute a secure foundation for the insight of God or for obedience. As we remain sinners, there is moreover the need for an evaluation of our inner self for the external word, which God has given to us through the biblical authors; in their oral and written teachings these were inspired by God with inerrancy. The most certain indicator of the internal word in us, the enlightenment, is thus our complete and utter subjection to the external word, that is an act of sanctification. The precondition for the exegesis of the Bible therefore lies in the reborn believer's obedience in faith, accepting the divine authority of the external word. In this way the external word encompasses not only the New but also the christologically interpreted Old Testament.

In the second edition of his *Dogmatics* of 1830/31, however, Schleiermacher adheres to his criticism of the traditional concept of messianic prophecy as reinterpreted by Hengstenberg. He is conscious of the preference of Old Testament passages for expressing pious self-awareness.<sup>40</sup> This, however, almost always involves a legalistic perception or a rigid commitment to the letter. Even the most noble Psalms contain some features which Christian piety cannot adopt as they stand, so that the construction of a Christian doctrine of God from the prophets and the Psalms is only possible through addition and omission. Even though traditional theology had sought to prove almost all Christian doctrines with Old Testament passages, the history of Christian theology shows clearly enough how harmful this attempt to find the Christian faith in the Old Testament has been to exegesis.<sup>41</sup> Schleiermacher therefore sought to abandon altogether Old Testament support for specific Christian doctrines. Nevertheless, when retaining the Old Testament scriptures to which Christ and the Apostles make reference, despite the loss of their normative status, this is necessary solely for reasons of historical truth and for the sake of integrity. For a true understanding of the relationship between the New and Old Testament, however, Schleiermacher proposed to add the Old Testament as an annex to the New Testament so as not to create the impression of having to work through the entire Old Testament to reach the New Testament.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> Schleiermacher, *Der christliche Glaube* (1830–31), 306.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.* 307.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.* 308.

### 3. G. F. W. Hegel – the Impact of His Philosophy on Old Testament Studies

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In an article titled "*Ist das Christentum eine positive Religion?*" (1793), published in the *Neues Theologisches Journal*, an anonymous author distinguished Christianity from Judaism and Islam by arguing that it is not a positive religion. For all positive religions neglect morality and turn sacrifices, pilgrimage, fasting, repentance, and other arbitrary religious customs into the primary objective of their divine veneration. In the author's eyes, this showed itself especially in Judaism, the love for humanity inside the Hebrews' hearts having been quenched through the religious authorization of the murder and obliteration of whole nations, thus laying the foundation for an excessive patriotism which had brought about the terrible decline of the Jews. In his early Berne fragments, G. F. W. Hegel (1770–1831), however, drew an entirely different conclusion from that of the anonymous author. Assuming a close interconnection between Christianity and Judaism, the former in his eyes is subject to the same criticism as the latter. According to Hegel, the Jews have immoral conceptions of God when

attributing to their Yahweh personal traits such as rage, partiality, hate against other nations, and intolerance. Unfortunately, these conceptions had also carried over into the practice and theory of the Christian religion.<sup>43</sup> The Gnostics having discarded the Jewish testimonies, Hegel saw the reason for this in the Old Church's close association of the Christian with the Jewish scriptures.<sup>44</sup> He initially maintained this negative view of the Hebrews, this also tainting his image of Christianity. He saw a particular deficiency in the fact that the Jewish people never succeeded in becoming a nation. For Hegel, this is already apparent in the figure of Moses, who envisaged an ideal community, namely one brought into being by divine deliverance, but who failed to infuse the Israelites' imagination with this ideal. In fact, the Israelites were entirely passive throughout the exodus from Egypt, Moses alone acting as leader who was forced to re-educate his people through penal laws.<sup>45</sup> The period of the monarchy also does not see an active participation of the individual in the state. Although a change took place after the exile, the time of theophanies and prophets had long since passed, – sects, opinions, and parties emerging in their place.<sup>46</sup> The old Jewish religion had come to its end. This period provided the background for the Essenes, John the Baptist, and Jesus. In his Berne studies on *Positivität der christlichen Religion* (1795/96), Hegel asks why Jesus did not turn against the Jewish religion as such but merely against the ethical superstition of satisfying the demands of the moral law through the observance of customs.<sup>47</sup> He presents Jesus as the teacher of a purely ethical religion, seeing in the conditions of his actions and teachings the seed for later Christianity's positive nature. In teaching the religion of virtue Jesus had on the one hand to accommodate to Judaism's rigid positive nature, from which he set himself apart.<sup>48</sup> On the other hand, the anticipation of the Messiah's arrival, the miracles, and Jesus' tragic life story contributed to the fact that his religion of reason became a positive one. Thereby already Jesus' religion embraced positive features which became stronger in the Christian community after his death.

The encounter with Friedrich Hölderlin (1770–1843) in Frankfurt led Hegel to turn away from the Kantianism of his time in Berne. He borrowed Hölderlin's distinctive philosophy of unification which the latter had reached in his dispute with Fichte. The central feature of this lies in the claim that the distinction between subject and object characteristic of the self presupposes an absolute identity.<sup>49</sup> Overcoming all moral subjectivity, external objectivity is replaced by the unification of subject and object, i. e. love. Religion no longer is defined by morality but by love. In his tract *Der Geist des Christentums und sein Schicksal* (1797–99), Hegel took up this new concept of religion coined by Hölderlin's philosophy of unification. The origin of Christianity's positive nature is now located in the spirit of Judaism. He depicts Judaism as a religion characterized by the complete break with nature, a religion of misfortune. Abraham is the perso-

<sup>43</sup> Hegel, *Geist des Christentums* (1798–1800), 45.

<sup>44</sup> Hegel, *Positivität* (1795–96), 363.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.* 370.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.* 371.

<sup>47</sup> Hegel, *Geist des Christentums* (1798–1800), 108.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.* 114.

<sup>49</sup> Hölderlin, *Werke*, 2 (1969), 591 f.

nification of this complete break with nature, breaking free from all natural attachments and wanting to love nothing, not even his own son, Isaac. He becomes a stranger to this world, and his God originates in his own contempt for the entire world.<sup>50</sup> The dependency on the transcendent ruler God was connected with the Jewish nation's awareness of its unique election and exclusivity. Judaism is characterized by Hegel as a religion of dependency, free of any beauty and peace, a religion which Jesus unsuccessfully opposed.<sup>51</sup> He counters the servitude under the law with subjectivity. However, Jesus no longer acts as representative of the Kantian ethic of duty which Hegel now understood as simply an internalization of servitude.<sup>52</sup> Like Schiller's beautiful soul, Jesus rather stood out for the fact that in him duty and inclination are harmoniously united. Jesus' spirit thus is superior to Kantian morality; he disposes the legalistic, imperative character of the laws and instead preaches and lives love.<sup>53</sup> In identifying Judaism with the unrelenting rule of law Hegel interprets the Kantian ethics as a variant of Judaism, which he contrasts with Jesus' love which is free of domination.<sup>54</sup> The feeling of harmony and reconciliation inherent in love thus overcomes the antagonism characteristic of Jewish religion. However, Hegel does not identify the Christian religion with love. After Easter, the community in deifying Jesus and worshipping him as the exalted one, regressed back into a positivity similar to that of Judaism. Just as Judaism saw humankind as dependent on a ruler God, the Christian community became dependent on an exalted and authoritative Lord.<sup>55</sup>

In the *Vorlesungen zur Philosophie der Religion*, held in Berlin, Hegel adopted the characterization of Judaism under the aspects of ruling and servitude. The revaluation of Judaism against the Greek religion is still discernible in the different versions of the philosophy of religion; in the lectures of 1821 and 1824 it is dealt with before the Greek religion. In his lecture of 1827, however, Hegel's position changed. Judaism now figured after Greek religion but before that of Rome. Referring to aesthetic categories, he described Judaism as a religion of transcendence, at the same time emphasizing its eminent importance in the history of religion. Three aspects of Jewish religion are valued positively: Firstly, Judaism venerates God as the one, as rational, amorphous subject which corresponds to himself; thus it established a strict monotheism.<sup>56</sup> God is defined as absolute power, as wisdom, acting in a rational way. Hegel perhaps borrowed this concept from Karl Umbreit's commentary *Das Buch Hiob* (1824) where God refers Job to his unfathomable wisdom made apparent in the miracles of nature.<sup>57</sup> Secondly, God's relationship with the world is conceived through the concept of *creatio ex nihilo*, nature becoming de-idolized and prosaic.<sup>58</sup> Finally,

<sup>50</sup> Hegel, *Geist des Christentums* (1798–1800), 279.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.* 317.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.* 323.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.* 326.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.* 359f.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.* 411.

<sup>56</sup> Hegel, *Philosophie der Religion*, Teil 2 (1994), 325.

<sup>57</sup> Umbreit, *Hiob* (1824), 288.

<sup>58</sup> Hegel, *Philosophie der Religion*, Teil 2 (1994), 329.



humanity's relationship with God in worship is characterized as fear of God, the beginning of all wisdom. Hegel categorically speaks against identifying this fear with Schleiermacher's idiosyncratic feeling of dependency, humankind being in his eyes dependent only on particular objects. For him, fear of God establishes the liberation from all particular objects, the abolition of all dependency in favour of freedom. The abandonment of all particularity corresponds to faith in God as absolute confidence.<sup>59</sup> Hegel exemplifies this with regard to the person of Job, who sees his fate as conflicting with his sense of justice but who nevertheless does not forsake his confidence in God. For Hegel, his eventual happiness is the consequence of this confidence.<sup>60</sup> Compared to his theological writings of his early days, this basic revaluation of Judaism, however, did not result in any revoking of his criticism of Jewish religion. Firstly, the Christian notion of God compared to the Jewish notion of God is unequal, God in the latter merely being defined as absolute power and wisdom, creating something else. Unlike Christianity's Trinitarian notion of God, God is not described as being differentiated within himself.<sup>61</sup> Secondly, God is defined as the God of all humankind, his purpose, however, is confined to one family, one particular nation and its territorial claims.<sup>62</sup> He is the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, the God of Israel. In 1831, in his last course of lectures on the philosophy of religion, Hegel, probably under the influence of Wilhelm Gesenius' *Commentar über den Jesaja* (1821), explicitly emphasized that God's confinement to the nation in Judaism deserves special attention; God is not presented as sensually bound except in popular thought.<sup>63</sup> In a later phase, this limitation in Jewish religion was dissolved. In Ps 117:1 the idea of God is referred to all nations.<sup>64</sup> This universalizing of the idea of God, however, belongs to a later phase, since in the more prevalent ideology the Jewish people are uniquely elected. Finally, humankind's relationship with God is seen under the aspect of servitude to the law; this is not ethical law but a purely positive law which is met in obedience to outward ceremonial rites.<sup>65</sup> Even the Decalogue's basic ethical regulations are not understood as laws of reason but as prescribed by God.

In the light of Hegel's view of the history of religion and his theological followers it is not surprising that the Hegelian school also applied the historical paradigm of development to individual religions, among them Judaism and Christianity. The Old Testament is understood as the written testimony of Israel's and Judaism's religious evolution. Wilhelm Vatke and, shortly afterwards, Bruno Bauer in his *Kritik der Geschichte der Offenbarung. Die Religion des Alten Testaments* (1838), share Hegel's and his students' conviction of the primacy of a speculative approach to the phenomenon of religion. In his uncompleted *Die biblische Theologie wissenschaftlich dargestellt* (1835), Vatke (1806–1882), who had studied in Berlin under de Wette, combines historical-critical

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<sup>59</sup> Ibid. 344f.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid. 573.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid. 561ff.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid. 335.

<sup>63</sup> Gesenius, *Jesaja*, Teil 2 (1821), 2.

<sup>64</sup> Hegel, *Philosophie der Religion*, Teil 2 (1994), 575.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid. 578.

exegesis of the Old Testament with Hegel's insights into the philosophy of history and religion. In his reconstruction of the history of Old Testament religion he shares the hermeneutical assumption that its comprehension is communicated through the evolution of Christian thought in Church and modern criticism. Like all historical insight it is dependent on its own historically arranged perspective. Vatke makes a distinction between the 'concept' – *Begriff* – and the 'idea' – *Idee* – of religion. The concept generally is the essence of an object as the ideal totality of possible elements of development, while the idea constitutes the reality of the concept in its oneness with the object, i. e. with the human spirit or world history. The concept of religion therefore is the latter's divine purpose, while the idea of religion is its fulfillment in history. Religion's historical course therefore must not contradict its concept. Vatke applies this paradigm of the history of religion to the Old Testament as a developmental process with a beginning, a heyday, and a decline. By doing so he agrees with de Wette that the Bible's beginnings and patriarchal narratives are legends from which no historical facts can be derived. However, he radicalizes de Wette's view of the Pentateuch, interpreting the entire Moses tradition as an unhistorical projection of later processes into Israel's early days, dating to the time after Israel became a state and after the cult centralization. Fixed institutions which Moses was said to have created could not have existed in Israel's early nomadic days. The Pentateuch and the Mosaic Law therefore must be seen as the product of a much later development in Judea after the period of exile. Moses neither introduced the pure Yahweh faith nor the political or cultic law, and he did not found a theocracy. Vatke sees it as contradictory to all laws of the history of religion that an entire nation should have been raised by one lone individual, and in one single act from a lower religious developmental stage to a far superior one of faith in Yahweh. It then, shortly afterwards, regressed to a lower stage, with the subsequent history of Israel under the Judges and Kings being a history of constant apostasy from Yahweh.<sup>66</sup>

For Vatke, Moses simply marks out the transition from an earlier to a later stage in the history of religion. He reconstructs from the Old Testament the earliest stage in Israel's history of religion, a time of natural religion, from which the Yahweh cult founded by Moses was developed; this was then given an increasingly strong ethical basis by the prophets. The early Israelites were devotees of a polytheistic natural religion. Moses did indeed appear as an inspired prophet claiming Yahweh's ethical will was revealed to him, but the majority of the Israelites initially remained true to their old natural religion. Only through the prophets was the Yahweh faith generally accepted and universalized, the Hebrews' horizon having broadened through encounter with the Middle Eastern empires. Accordingly, the prophets saw Yahweh as a God who acts through the world's historical events, the original particularism thereby being replaced by a universalism which was not lost even through exile. Vatke, in agreement with Hegel, understands the Old Testament's history of religion as a process of evolution but he does not interpret the post-exilic period purely as one of decline. Progress can

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<sup>66</sup> Vatke, *Biblische Theologie*, I (1835), 204ff, 216 ff.

rather be seen in the fact that a community purified from idolatry was founded and that spiritual life developed into two directions: the narrowly legal, and the openly reflective. Vatke especially appreciates the latter, manifesting itself in wisdom, as it universalized and elevated to pure reason the older conception of Yahweh, the national God Yahweh became the God of the whole world. Only later, Hellenism witnessed a decline which led to the genesis of the synagogue and the formation of the Jewish canon. In agreement with the Hegelian moments of ‘universality’, ‘particularity’, and ‘individuality’ – *Allgemeinheit*, *Besonderheit*, *Einzelheit* – Vatke distinguishes three stages in the evolutionary development of Old Testament religion. The first stage of universality and immediacy extends from Moses to the oldest prophets who knew themselves to be inspired directly by Yahweh’s revelation. The second stage saw the unfolding of immediate spiritual self-awareness into public openness. Cult, ethos, and religious ideology became the formal expression of Hebrew religion to which especially the main content of the Pentateuch stands witness. The third phase saw the return of the immediate self-awareness of the inspired prophets, after it had been given concrete institutional expression, thereby reconciling the subject with the object. This last phase began with Jeremiah and reached its climax in post-exilic wisdom. The post-exilic era thereby received a meaningfully positive appreciation and is – unlike by de Wette – no longer seen as a time of decline. Vatke classified the Old Testament religion according to Hegel’s concept of the history of religion by understanding it as a religion of pure subjectivity, just like the Greco-Roman religion, thus acquiring a position between natural and absolute religion, i.e. Christianity.

In his *Geschichte des Volkes Israel bis auf Christus* (1843–45), Heinrich Ewald (1803–1875) still assumed an early date for the Pentateuch and already saw in Moses a prophet who revealed a God in whom gracious mercy and love were superordinate to punitive justice and a righteousness based on works. Vatke, however, supposed for Israel’s religion a development from natural beginnings to an ethically purified image of God. Vatke’s writings are the Old Testament counterpart to his friend David Friedrich Strauß’ epic *Leben Jesu, kritisch bearbeitet* (1835). Strauß saw it as theology’s first and foremost duty to capture critically Christianity’s history, not merely to confirm Christianity’s dogmatic content on the basis of this historical criticism but to reconstruct it in a speculative way. However, as dogma develops on the basis of New Testament tradition, a critical dogmatic history must be preceded by a criticism of New Testament tradition, especially of the Gospels. In his Gospel criticism Strauß consistently applies the method of the mythical school further developed by de Wette. Initially characterizing the Pentateuch as the product of poetic imagination, de Wette had then applied the concept of myth to the Gospels’ beginning and end, in the stories of Jesus’ birth and resurrection. Strauß saw himself as the executor of de Wette’s agenda of a mythical explanation for the Gospels in applying the concept of myth to the entire scope of the Gospel history. The material for the mythical presentation of Jesus’ life is provided mainly by Old Testament and contemporary Jewish beliefs. However for Strauß, in his speculative reconstruction of Christianity’s dogmatic content, the Old Testament is no longer of importance. In his *Christliche Glaubenslehre* (1840/41), he instead shows accordingly that

Semler as well as Schleiermacher saw the Old Testament as the document not of Christianity but of Judaism, thereby entirely separating it from the New Testament. He agreed with Schleiermacher that the so-called messianic prophecies no longer constitute a link between the Old and New Testaments, since the Old Testament's messianic prophecies point vaguely to a new 'Golden Age' of the nation of Israel and the spread of Hebrew religion among all nations. In this way they gave rise to an image of the Messiah as a theocratic ruler who will bring in a golden era either by aggressive or peaceful means. The identification of the prophesied Messiah with Jesus, however, can in no case be proven.<sup>67</sup> In his *Vorlesungen über die christliche Dogmengeschichte* (postum 1867) Ferdinand Christian Baur (1792–1860) explained that only fanatic zealots of the old orthodoxy such as Hengstenberg together with some few inconsistent Schleiermacher followers such as Sack, take the trouble to perpetuate the evidence of prophecy by using modern phrases. Schleiermacher's theology for them simply serves as a pretext for a strict parochial faith.<sup>68</sup>

In his *Die Religion, ihr Wesen und ihre Geschichte* (1869), Baur's student Otto Pfleiderer (1839–1908) also understood the Old Testament as a document of Judaism which precedes Christianity and for the presentation of it he refers to Ewald. For Ewald, the close connection between Judaism and Christianity lies in the fact that they both have the notion of one spiritual God, the beginnings of monotheism indeed going back as far as the Patriarchs and fully developing during Moses' time. History's progress consists of the further adoption of this spiritual monotheism, the limitation to one certain nation finally fading away in Christianity. Referring to Ewald, Pfleiderer also argues why Judaism upheld that the one God, recognized in his pure spirituality and infinity, maintained an exclusive relationship with Israel, even though this one God should have been thought to be God of all humankind. Judaism did not start with a theoretically understanding of God's metaphysical unity and spirituality but with a practical relationship with Yahweh whom, on the basis of Israel's historical experience, it recognized as saviour and founder of its national existence.<sup>69</sup> The fact that this religious relationship is founded on an external historical fact and not on God's, or humankind's, nature established the limitation of the Jewish religion. Yahweh's relationship with Israel, since it was not intrinsically necessary in accord with his divine nature, can only constitute the result of his unfounded, and therefore arbitrary, will. An arbitrary will, however, has no natural point of contact in its object; it remains alien and external without correspondance to an internal unity.<sup>70</sup> Likewise mankind's relationship with Yahweh lies in the nature of mankind, it is not thought of as the realization of humanity's likeness to God. This original limitation which is characteristic of Judaism from its Mosaic origin, is, however, overcome with the prophets. Unlike Hegel, Pfleiderer thus takes into consideration Judaism's historical development. The prophets did indeed reach the insight that God's relationship with mankind was not based on a historical

<sup>67</sup> Strauß, *Christliche Glaubenslehre*, 1 (1840), 221 f.

<sup>68</sup> Baur, *Christliche Dogmengeschichte*, 3 (1867), 397 f.

<sup>69</sup> Pfleiderer, *Religion*, 2 (1869), 279 f.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.* 282.

event of the past but on love as a characteristic trait of God's nature; God no longer relates to the nation but to the individual human being.<sup>71</sup> Despite this developmental progress, however, the Jewish religion is incomplete. The relationship between mankind and God in Judaism is a menial relationship. As the fulfilment of the master's will is a means of reward for the servant, so mankind fulfils God's will simply in order to be rewarded for its own benefit.<sup>72</sup>

#### 4. Old Testament Studies and Protestant Theology at German Universities

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<sup>71</sup> Ibid. 345.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid. 283.

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First and foremost the Hegelian theologians who were influenced by the philosopher’s paradigm of the developmental history of religion, and not Schleiermacher’s followers, adopted Schleiermacher’s negative view of the Old Testament. The representatives of a biblical and confessional theology at German Universities, however, upheld the Old Testament’s authority and sought to defend it with new arguments. The successor of the Tübingen supernaturalism and actual founder of biblical theology, Tobias Beck (1804–1878), explains in his *Einleitung in das System der christlichen Lehre* (1837) that Christian scholarship must act according to the biblical witness, the scientific system simply having to reproduce the real life-system – *Lebenssystem* – of biblical teaching. According to Beck, Scripture displays historical revelation, an illustration such as this being necessary because revelation is not only an event that is constrained within space and time in history but reflects a system of divine life superior to all ordinary historical life. A certain power of reproduction is therefore inherent in revelation, the Scripture being the instrument of reproduction. But as much as the revelation inherent in Scripture is in Beck’s eyes a structured organism of truth, proceeding and fulfilling itself in uniform development, Scripture in its different Old and New Testament books reveals itself to be an organic unit that until it is made complete, constantly progresses. The Bible is, in each of its books, the actual expression of a particular stage of revelation and spiritual potency, only in its entirety becoming the word of God in the sense of the organ of absolute truth.<sup>73</sup>

Like Beck, the Erlangen Lutheran Johann Christian Konrad Hofmann (1810–1877) replaced the old teaching of inspiration with the notion that Scripture is a divine testimony of the revelatory history of salvation. Revelation or word of God therefore constitutes first and foremost a history. Scripture then appears secondary to revelation history, at the same time being its only means of access. As such it must however be true, its truth resting in the fact that not only each of its books but also their inclusion in the biblical canon is brought about by the divine spirit. As much as Hofmann strayed from the orthodox dogma of inspiration, in his *Weissagung und Erfüllung* (1841–1844) he no longer understood the Old Testament prophecies as predictions of future events in the way that Hengstenberg did. Prophecies are rather historical events to which later events are typologically linked. The entire history prior to Christ’s appearance must therefore be understood as constituting a prophecy for which the fulfillment occurred in Christ. Like the Christian Church, the community of the old covenant possessed a permanent literary monument, so that the Old and New Testament together form the Holy Scripture of Jesus Christ’s community. The Old Testament is the literary monument of the history pointing to Christ, the New Testament is the monument of Christianity’s historical inception.<sup>74</sup> Thus the

<sup>73</sup> Beck, *Einleitung* (1870), 115 f.

<sup>74</sup> Hofmann, *Weissagung*, I (1841), 40 ff.

continuity between Old and New Testament is emphasized as is also the case in the commentaries of Franz Delitzsch (1813–1890), the founder of the *Institutum Judaicum*.

For confessional Lutherans as well as for biblical theologians in succession to Beck, the Old Testament retains its importance not simply as a document of a religion that formed a precursor of Christianity. In fact, the head of the Erlangen *Erfahrungstheologie*, Franz Hermann Reinhold Frank (1827–1894), in his *System der christlichen Gewißheit* (1873) sees the Christian's certainty as extending to the Old Testament, however, without any certainty about this pre-Christian word of God except for its connection with the Christian community. Originating in the Old Testament community, the New Testament community can comprehend and understand the preparatory word of God in the old covenant knowing that its inherent plan of salvation originates in the same saving purpose as that of the New Testament.<sup>75</sup> A comparable reevaluation of the Old Testament also took place in liberal theology. Unlike Schleiermacher, Hegel, and Pfleiderer, the Jena theologian Richard Adelbert Lipsius (1830–1892) in his *Lehrbuch der evangelisch-protestantischen Dogmatik* (1876) moved it considerably closer to Christianity. Lipsius, impressed by the *Alttestamentliche Theologie* (1869) of Hermann Schultz (1836–1903), saw the Jewish religion not simply as a religion of law but as a religion of grace which interprets law as a gift of salvation. He saw the covenant between Israel and God as granted by grace and believed humanity's religious feeling to be humble faith and moral action to be the God-given precondition for Israel in asserting the grace of the covenant.<sup>76</sup> Lipsius acknowledged that in post-exilic times an externalization of Israel's religion occurred. But he rejects the idea of projecting this decline, culminating in pharisaic Judaism, back into Israel's 'Golden age'. This he saw as Schleiermacher's and Hegel's error, resulting in a distorted picture of Judaism. He did not accept that Judaism's nature was expressed in the abstract spiritual idea of God, and in the material opposition of God and humankind in the juristic perception of religion as external contractual relationship, or in its composition as a religion of law. For him the Israelite religion's main characteristic is the basically ethical frame of the covenant.<sup>77</sup> The notion of the covenant also comprises the thought of God's life-giving presence, God and humankind no longer facing each other as master and servant. The covenant is the expression of God's fatherly love for his chosen people. According to Lipsius, the institution of sacrifices is also a manifestation of God's grace and benevolence, the prophets proclaiming the idea that salvation is maintained through humility and faith in God and not through external merit. Justice does not consist of individual deeds but lies in a devote lifestyle and love of justice. Despite this fundamental correction of the popular image of Judaism, Lipsius does not conceal his own criticism of the Jewish religion. In its essence it carried the seed both for its prophetic spiritual development as well as for its pharisaic deterioration, only succeeding in developing into a world religion when its ethical basis had overcome its characteristic historical form in God's special

<sup>75</sup> Frank, *System*, 2. Hälfte (1873), 81 ff.

<sup>76</sup> Lipsius, *Lehrbuch* (1876), 106 f.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.* 108.

covenantal relationship with Israel.<sup>78</sup> Christianity's ambivalent stance towards Judaism is therefore understandable. On the one hand it follows the prophetic ideal of an ethical religion, on the other it contradicts the pharisaic piety of law and salvation through works which for Lipsius are a caricature of the true Israelite faith. Therefore, Christianity had to deal with the relationship between a religion of law and a religion of grace, which only at this point was perceived as in opposition. The religion of law was viewed as precondition for the religion of grace in so far as the awareness of impossibility of fulfilling the law awakens in humankind a longing for deliverance. The consequence of this perception, however, was an ethical universalism which no longer viewed the law of the covenant as an advantage for one single nation or perceived saving grace limited to this one nation. The establishment of a purely ethical basis for access to God's kingdom recognized the sweeping aside of all merely external national privileges.<sup>79</sup>

Lipsius' positive evaluation of the Old Testament can also be found in the writings of Albrecht Ritschl (1822–1889). Already in the second edition of his *Die Entstehung der altkatholischen Kirche* (1857) he explains that early Catholicism was not only dependent on the authority of Paul but was also based on the speeches of Christ and the authority of the Apostles as well as on the Old Testament. Thus the Old Testament for Ritschl constitutes a unity with the New Testament. In his main work *Die christliche Lehre von der Rechtfertigung und Versöhnung* (1874), the Göttingen systematic theologian argued that we can only reach an authentic understanding of the Christian religion and revelation through the documents from the time of the Church's inception. The era of Christianity's formation, however, not only comprises Christ's personal deeds but also the first generation of his community, the founder's intention and effectiveness not being recognizable without the successful creation of the community. The documents of this effective revelation are, however, the books of the New Testament, which thereby becomes the foundation of Ritschl's theology. Unlike Schleiermacher, however, Ritschl emphasizes the continuity between the New and the Old Testament, Jesus and the New Testament authors distinguishing themselves through an authentic understanding of the Old Testament. This was not idiosyncratic for contemporary Judaism in its Pharisaic, Sadducean, or Essene form. The New Testament Scriptures differ from the post-apostolic era's Pagan-Christian literature especially through this authentic understanding of the Old Testament, the post-apostolic authors not succeeding in seizing the correct Old Testament conceptions of Christ's, or the Apostles', thoughts.<sup>80</sup> The adequate interpretation of the Old Testament can thus only be reached by way of the New Testament.

The understanding of the Old Testament was now, however, significantly modified by the perception of Israel's history of religion. In his book *Die geschichtlichen Bücher des Alten Testaments* (1866), Karl Heinrich Graf (1815–1869) reached a conclusion similar to Vatke. Accordingly, the priestly cultic law in Leviticus and Numbers is younger than Deuteronomy and was not joined with the Pentateuch until after exile. For his hypothesis Graf recurs to his Stras-

<sup>78</sup> Ibid. 109.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid. 110.

<sup>80</sup> Ritschl, *Rechtfertigung*, 2 (1882), 9ff.



bourg teacher Eduard Reuss (1804–1891), who summarized his results in his late *L'histoire saint et la Loi* (1879) and in the *Geschichte der heiligen Schriften des Alten Testaments* (1881).<sup>81</sup> The version of Deuteronomy found during the reign of Josiah was not aware of the Sinaitic legislation which also is true of prophecy which must accordingly be of earlier date. It does, however, know the Decalogue, the book of the covenant, and the Jahwist's historical narratives, which can be seen as the earliest part of the Pentateuch. The Pentateuch was then compiled, along with Deuteronomy, just shortly before the exile. The priestly legislation was not developed until after the exile and was codified under the reign of Ezra. Finally, the priestly codex was joined with the earlier scriptures in the Pentateuch in Ezra's school. The Reuss-Graf hypothesis was further developed by the Leiden Old Testament scholar Abraham Kuenen (1828–1891), who in his *De Godsdienst van Israaël* (1869/1870) showed that priestly legislation as well as priestly historiography are later than the prophetic and Jahwist historiography. During their time in Goshen in Northern Egypt, the Israelites had been polytheists. After the organized escape from Egypt, Moses had not only overseen the tribes' communal life but at Sinai had committed them all to one common God. This God had indeed before been a tribal god of the Hebrews. Moses, however, gave him the name *Yahweh*, declared him to be the only God to be worshipped, and his moral holy will distinguished him from the gods of nature. For Kuenen as well as for Vatke, Moses' accomplishment lay in this connection of religion and morality, which found its expression in the Decalogue.<sup>82</sup> In his book *Die Theologie der Propheten als Grundlage für die innere Entwicklungsgeschichte der israelitischen Religion* (1875), Bernhard Duhm (1847–1928) alluded to the new perception of the Reuss-Graf hypothesis according to which Israel's history of religion cannot be comprehended by assuming a cultic and priestly order decreed by Moses for the pre-prophetic Mosaic era. The prophets never refer to this order in their criticism of the cult. By assuming an early date for the law, an explanation for the change from the Mosaic religion's law and legal prescriptions to the prophets' spirituality and morality becomes necessary.<sup>83</sup> Since this cannot be found, Israel's religion must commence with the prophets and not with of the law. The law therefore is a later product, the Israelite religion adopting a legalistic form, beginning under the reign of Josiah with Deuteronomy. The living religion was transformed into revealed doctrine, God's word becoming holy Scripture.

Already in his literary critical work *Composition des Hexateuchs* (1876/77), Julius Wellhausen (1844–1918) joined the contemporary debate on the Pentateuch's, resp. Hexateuch's, sources. The source analysis of this served as background for his reconstruction of Israel's history. In continuation of Vatke's approach he developed an entirely new construction of Israel's history and religion in his *Geschichte Israels* (1878) – after the second edition this book appeared under the title *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels* (1883). As Wellhausen held the Priestly Source to be post-exilic, he understood the entire Hebrew early history to have passed without Mosaic Law; the Pentateuch's individual sources

<sup>81</sup> Graf, *Die geschichtlichen Bücher* (1866), 69 ff.

<sup>82</sup> Kuenen, *Godsdienst van Israel*, I (1869), 261 ff.

<sup>83</sup> Duhm, *Theologie der Propheten* (1875), 10.

correspond to different stages in the development of Israel's religion. The Jahwist's historical accounts originated in the time of the division of the Davidic-Salomonian Empire, Deuteronomy is placed into Josiah's time, while the Priestly Source is post-exilic. Whereas the Jahwist presupposes a multitude of sacrificial altar sites which even the prophets do not oppose, the centralization of the cult in Jerusalem occurred under the reign of Josiah. This situation was then projected back into primeval times by the post-exilic priesthood through the portrayal of the Tabernacle. The entire practice of the cult together with the restriction of sacrifice to the central sanctuary along with historization of the festivals and their separation from the natural year was canonized in the Mosaic Law. This is of post-exilic origin, so that the Priestly Source constitutes a document of the post-exilic cultic formalizing of religious life. The post-exilic books of the Chronicles then describe Israel's entire history from the perspective of the Priestly Source, having their forerunners in the historical books Judges, Samuel, and Kings, which have been edited in accord with the Deuteronomic view point. Wellhausen here saw a deep divide between the original Jahwist's presentation of the nation's old legendary material in its original freshness and the Priestly Source's artificial, ritualistic construction. Israel's profane and natural prehistory turns into a holy, religious story with its supernaturalism. Wellhausen accordingly vehemently distinguished between the old Israel and post-exilic Judaism. Old Israel did not know any form of written law but only the Torah as the priests' and prophets' oral directive; not until Deuteronomy was the law codified. This process was completed with the post-exilic canonization of the priestly codex and of the entire Pentateuch which was brought from exile by Ezra. The Mosaic Law is the expression of a late phase in the history of Israel's religion; it marks the beginning of a ritual formalizing of life in its entirety after the exile, in short: it is the product of an emergent Judaism. Comparing Moses, the legislator, with Peter, Wellhausen views the Mosaic theocracy's legal regulations of life in its entirety, including the priesthood and cult, as the beginning of the old Catholic Church. According to Wellhausen, Moses initiated the elevation of the oppressed Israelite tribes in Goshen and turned their self-assertion against the Egyptian lords into a religion.<sup>84</sup> In his *Abriß der Geschichte Israels und Judas* (1884), Wellhausen assumed that the strict Yahweh faith came to an end with the Israelite tribes' settlement in the land and united with the Canaanite Baal cult. After Israel became a state, this led to the prophets' criticism of religious syncretism. Hebrew literature, the written fixation of religious songs, historiography, the collection of priestly legal rulings, and the patriarchal narrations were then developed in the Northern kingdom. The transition from a non-literary to a literary age occurred at the same time as the rise of written prophecy and the change from the national Yahweh faith to an ethical monotheism with criticism of the cult. The prophets became founders of the religion of law which later led to the cult centralization in Josiah's reign and to the reform of law which had its classical expression in Deuteronomy. After the exile, however, a Jewish cult community was established based upon the priestly codex introduced by Ezra;

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<sup>84</sup> Wellhausen, *Abriß* (1884), 6.

this first and foremost regulated the cult. Israel's religion reached its high point in the prophets' ethical monotheism, whereas post-exilic Judaism became hardened into a religion of outward observance, orienting itself by way of the ceremonial regulations of the law. The prophets' ethical heritage, however, lived on in wisdom and the Psalms to be revived later in Jesus' Gospel.<sup>85</sup> Recognition of these different elements in Judaism made possible the perception of Christianity as the continuation of the best elements of the Old Testament traditions.

Christianity's forthright treatment of the Old Testament was rendered complex by the revised conception of Israel's religion. Paul Anton de Lagarde (1827–1891), Ewald's successor in Göttingen, accordingly proposed a reconstruction of the original form of the Septuagint as the common edition of the Old Testament for early Christianity. This sought to free the Old Testament from the alleged distortion of Judaism's and Christianity's adoption of it as canon. Lagarde restricted the actual Old Testament to the proclamation of the prophets and the Psalms, excluding the tradition of law which led to Pharisaism. The link between the Hebrew Old and the Greek New Testament, however, is the Greek translation of the Old Testament with its spiritualization of the Jewish tradition. According to Lagarde, Christianity's as well as Judaism's development was characterized by a deviation from these authentic foundations, the correct response being a return back to these foundations. In his writings *Über das Verhältnis des deutschen Staates zu Theologie, Kirche und Religion* (1873), Lagarde ascribed to Paul the adoption into the Christian Church of the Old Testament in its pharisaic form and interpretation.<sup>86</sup> In contrast, the Gospel of Jesus and the early Christian community cannot be interpreted from the specifically Jewish traditional background. In his work *Der Antichrist. Fluch auf das Christentum* (1888), Friedrich Nietzsche (1844–1900) also argued that Christianity in its Pauline form is a continuation of Judaism. In agreement with Wellhausen he understood Israel's history as the history of the disfiguring of natural values, the prophets' original popular God turning into the God of justice and law. The collapse of the state led to a promotion of the priests and to the reorganization of returning exiles in a cult community, ruled by the ideal of holiness of life through a network of ceremonies and observancies. This distinguished Jews from the rest of mankind.<sup>87</sup> Wellhausen believed that an inner feeling provided the core and seed of a higher future which survived beneath the frame of ceremonial instructions in wisdom literature and in the Psalms, and which was later developed by the Gospel. In contrast Nietzsche saw in Christianity simply the inevitable continuation of Judaism's tendency to decline. For Nietzsche, this tendency finally culminated in Christianity as the self-negation of Judaism.

Supplanting older perceptions, Wellhausen's new image of Israel's history of religion soon established itself among Old Testament scholars. His supporters focussed attention on literary criticism. Bernhard Stade (1848–1906), the main proponent of the *Wellhausenschule*, in his *Geschichte des Volkes Israel* (1887) differentiated the historical-critical account of Israel's history from the edifying bib-

<sup>85</sup> Ibid. 102.

<sup>86</sup> de Lagarde, *Deutsche Schriften* (1886), 73.

<sup>87</sup> Nietzsche, *Antichrist* (1888), 416.

lical story. Stade on certain points differed from Wellhausen. While Wellhausen ascribed Moses little importance, Stade saw him as a founder of a religion who not only led his people out of Egypt but who gave them an entirely new life-transforming idea with the worship of Yahweh; in this way the foundation of the new religion occurred simultaneously with the foundation of the nation. Replacing pre-Mosaic animism, Moses introduced the cult of Yahweh, originally a God of thunder and battle, located at Mount Sinai and worshipped by Kenite and Midianite tribes.<sup>88</sup> The Israelite's sojourn in Kadesh provided Moses with time to win over the nation to the new Yahweh religion. Moses did not teach that Yahweh was the only God, but committed his people to the exclusive worship of Yahweh, this deity's cult thus representing monolatry, not monotheism. Wellhausen had indeed irretrievably destroyed the orthodox picture of Moses. Among his followers the new image of a founder of a religion and leader of a nation emerged which was finally elaborated by the supporters of the *Religionsgeschichtliche Schule*. Hugo Greßmann's book *Mose und seine Zeit* (1913) depicts Moses as a religious and political leader who adopted the law as well as the cult of Yahweh from the Midianites. In the figure of Moses the sphere of law for the first time became associated with religion.<sup>89</sup>

While Wellhausen and Stade made use of literary source criticism in reconstructing the history of Israel's religion, the wider History of Religion School sought to uncover the historical connection between Israelite religion and other Near Eastern religions. The latter had become accessible through archaeological discoveries of the time in Egypt and Mesopotamia, extending historical-critical resources and introducing beyond literary and source criticism the tradition-historical approach which sought for the historical precursors of the biblical tradition in the context of other religions close to ancient Israel. For the Old Testament a special importance is ascribed to the Mesopotamian religion. Hermann Gunkel (1862–1932), from the school of Wellhausen and Harnack, endeavoured to reconstruct the prehistory of the material of the first biblical account of creation, arguing in his *Schöpfung und Chaos* (1895) that it was not a free creation of the Priestly Source's author but rather an adaption of the Babylonian myth of creation. This was well known in Canaan at an early time.<sup>90</sup> Gunkel explained the interval between the Mesopotamian myth and the genesis of the Priestly Source's account of creation by the point that legends, before their literary fixation, already have a history in oral tradition. Prehistory, however, can not be reached through literary criticism. The excavations in Mesopotamia and the decipherment of the Assyrian-Babylonian language in 1857 made possible a comparison of Old Testament legends and Babylonian myths. The proof of a historical dependency of the Old Testament on materials of its religious environment – e.g. the story of the flood – gave rise to the radical thesis that when compared with the Mesopotamian religion the earliest Israelite religion does not display any level of originality. This so-called Panbabylonism was promulgated by Friedrich Delitzsch (1850–1922), the son of the conservative Franz Delitzsch,

<sup>88</sup> Stade, *Entstehung* (1899), 7ff.

<sup>89</sup> Greßmann, *Mose* (1913), 471ff.

<sup>90</sup> Gunkel, *Schöpfung* (1921), 4ff.

in his lectures *Babel und Bibel* (1902–05). It led to the “*Babel-Bibel-Streit*”, and Gunkel entered into this argument by explaining in his work *Israel und Babylonien* (1903) that the fact that the Israelite religion was strongly influenced by its religious environment by no means rules out revelatory faith. If God reveals himself in history he reveals himself also in the Babylonian elements of the Israelite religion. Gunkel does not, however, restrict this paradigm of the history of religion to the Old Testament. In his book *Zum religionsgeschichtlichen Verständnis des Neuen Testaments* (1903), he indeed shows how the New Testament religion in its inception and development was also influenced by other religions. Christianity developed out of an already syncretistic Judaism and shows itself syncretistic traits. The only way from the Old to the New Testament lies in Judaism. The New Testament, the apocalypse of John, as well as the Gospels and the letters show numerous mythical conceptions from a pagan environment, notably the Jewish-oriental Gnosis’ myth of the redeemer who descends from heaven and then returns back to heaven. This myth was ascribed to Jesus. Christianity thus shows itself to be a syncretistic religion. Gunkel, however, was not only the pioneer of Old Testament tradition history but also the founder of form criticism. Already in his commentary *Genesis* (1901), he makes reference to Jakob and Wilhelm Grimm’s research on fairy tales and Herder’s conception of legend and poetry as the oldest form of the language of mankind. Originally having used the term ‘mythology’, he replaced it with the term ‘legend’, myths being defined as stories of the gods in contrast to legends in which the actors are human. For the Yahweh religion’s monotheistic tendency was not particularly favourable towards the myths. Gunkel distinguished historic, ethnographic, and aetiologic legends, tracing a large part of the legends back to Babylonian or Egyptian influence, the stories’ poetic value being of greater importance to him than any underlying historical truth. Legend is in its very nature poetry, seeking to uplift, inspire, and motivate. In his essay *Die Grundprobleme der israelitischen Literaturgeschichte* (1906), Gunkel argued that the preservation of orally transmitted materials is defined by laws inherent to their form. Understanding the genres presupposes an understanding of their “*Sitz im Leben*”. As a result of its embodiment in communal life the community serves as the carrier of tradition. This is of central importance for Old Testament literature. Gunkel presupposes the priority of oral tradition, believing that before their literary fixation for instance the Old Testament legends already had a history in oral tradition which cannot be reached through literary criticism. The integration of foreign Near Eastern legendary material into the Yahweh faith was essential for Israel’s history of religion. Gunkel further elaborated on the concept of revelation in his contribution *Die Religionsgeschichte und die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* (1910) which dealt with the entire history of religion, mostly referring to the major religious personalities who are perceived as bearers of revelation. Gunkel saw it as a duty of Old Testament scholarship to understand fully the key figures of the Old Testament religion and to explain what they achieved with empathy. In his work *Was bleibt vom Alten Testament?* (1916), Gunkel, however, emphasized that it was not the individual personality as such which was of interest to him. The Old Testament’s lasting value for him consists in spiritual insights of permanent

worth and especially in the moral monotheism which constitutes the core of the prophetic message.

Julius Kaftan's *Dogmatik* (1897) shows how a systematic theologian of the Ritschl school could handle the results of contemporary Old Testament scholarship. Kaftan (1848–1926) understood Scripture as the testimony of God's revelation in history which reached its end-point in Jesus Christ and had its beginning in the age of Moses as the time of the formation of Israel as a nation.<sup>91</sup> The first unmistakable proof of God's revelation to Israel is found in the literary records of the prophets. However, the creative beginning of prophetic divine revelation lies with Moses to whom as legislator also the Israelite religion's close connections with law and morality are owed. God reveals himself through the prophets as the God of history who as Israel's God, is also the creator of the world. The prophetic understanding of God which can be described as ethical monotheism is not identical with the distinctively Christian one, although it was combined with it without difficulty.<sup>92</sup> During the time of the exile, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Deutero-Isaiah experienced a new awakening which is then reflected in the religion's focus on the individual, along with a universal perspective, and legal formalization. In the post-exilic period the law and its spirituality and piety replaced the prophets; this forms the second period of the Old Testament divine revelation, the period of Judaism. It took on a different overall imprint compared to that of the prophetic period. Having been elevated into a more transcendent sphere, God now acts through law and cult. The New Testament, however, presupposes also this second period, the more so as with his proclamation of the Kingdom of God Jesus draws a direct line to apocalypticism. This introduces the idea of a kingdom of God which is preexistent in heavenly transcendent realm. Only through a supernatural act of divine intervention is it introduced into the terrestrial world.<sup>93</sup> Like Ritschl, Kaftan emphasized the continuity between the Old and New Testaments' divine revelation, albeit assuming naively the absolute nature of the New Testament's revelation. Contemporary biblical theologians such as Martin Kähler (1835–1912) emphasized this continuity even more, describing in the treatise *Jesus und das Alte Testament* (1907) that Jesus' work as redeemer was systematically anticipated in Israel's history and interpreted in the light of this preparation recorded in the Holy Scriptures of the Old Covenant.<sup>94</sup> Therefore the Old Testament is part of the Christian canon only as collection of Scriptures, in which the pre-messianic revelation is transmitted, and finds its authentic interpretation only in Christian exegesis. For its authority and its full appreciation the Old Testament relies solely on the preached Christ.

Unlike the Ritschlians, the confessional Lutherans, and the biblical theologians who all presuppose Christianity's paramount importance, Ernst Troeltsch (1865–1923) in his study *Die Absolutheit des Christentums und die Religionsgeschichte* (1902) sought to substantiate the claim of Christianity's absoluteness through a syncretism in accord with the paradigm of the history of religion. In

<sup>91</sup> Kaftan, *Dogmatik* (1920), 136 ff.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.* 142 f.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.* 147 ff.

<sup>94</sup> Kähler, *Bibelfrage* (1907), 112.

agreement with contemporary Old Testament scholarship he saw in the Jewish religion the unification of two contradictory features. For him, Jewish religion is a world religion in the guise of a folk religion, the other nations having been called to God only through Israel and the circumcision. The law included among its provisions for general human piety and morality regulations governing political-national particularity which were intended to elevate Jews above the heathen. The elective and unifying grace was constituted in the covenant with one nation which had been chosen by God's arbitrary will from the world of nations.<sup>95</sup> This antagonism between universalism and particularism in Israel was never resolved. Moreover, the political-national conception of the religion prevailed after the Seleucid persecution while the universal element, enriched by Jesus' personality was dispensed with. After the end of the Judean state, Judaism has once again shrunk to becoming an ethnic community of blood-relationship; the success of the parochial organisation merely established the religion's definite ossification. The synagogue replaced the temple, from then on blood and law, memory and hope constituted the bond of unity.<sup>96</sup> Israel's internal development came to a closure with Christianity, the old prophetism in Israel itself shrinking to Judaism. Islam, which comprises elements of both Christianity and Judaism, won followers in Asia and Africa.<sup>97</sup> Troeltsch argues that even though Judaism and Islam, as religions of law, did approximate with their promises to a religion of salvation, on the basis of the law salvation always remained bound by the limitations of mankind's natural strength. Despite showing certain elements of a religion of salvation, Judaism and Islam as the two branches of Israelite prophecy are essentially religions of law which have furthermore never entirely overcome natural and particular relationships. Judaism and Islam apparently share with Christianity their origin in Israelite prophetism. Christianity, however, is in its essence a religion of salvation, thereby transcending the core of prophetism.<sup>98</sup>

In his essay *Glaube und Ethos der hebräischen Propheten* (1916), Troeltsch turned against the popular interpretation of the prophets as representatives of a moral monotheism. The prophets' morality in his eyes does not constitute humankind's morality, but the morality of Israel, in whom – as in all nations of antiquity – customs, law, and morality are not separated. Other nations can only participate in this morality in turning to Yahweh.<sup>99</sup> These human moral requirements do not apply to foreigners. The morality of the prophets differs not only formally, but also in content, from any universal rational morality. It is mere ethics of the neighbour and not universal law of reason. Troeltsch here uses a term that Max Weber (1864–1920) applies in his study *Das antike Judentum* (1917–19) in his *Wirtschaftsethik der Weltreligionen*. Weber also speaks of the Jews' pariah nation ethic which differs from the Protestant ethic that has essentially shaped the western modern culture. In Israel the pursuit of economic gain was by no means understood as proof of religious value, as it applies in Weber's

<sup>95</sup> Troeltsch, *Absolutheit* (1969), 156.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.* 157.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.* 158.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.* 86.

<sup>99</sup> Troeltsch, *Glaube und Ethos* (1916), 50.

analysis to ascetic Protestantism. God rather blesses man when he lives according to his commandments, irrespective of his occupation. The message of the prophets could therefore not be of use for economic purposes. Because the Rabbis called for the correct compliance with the law as the only way to salvation they prevented the development of an economically motivated conduct of life. Attempts to create a direct connection between Old Testament prophecy and a rational law of reason, Kantian morality, or the capitalist ethic of economy, are thus doomed to failure.



## CHAPTER THREE

# The Phenomenon of 'Historicism' as a Backcloth of Biblical Scholarship

By GUNTER SCHOLTZ, Bochum

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## 1. The Rise of Historical Consciousness and the Term ‘Historicism’

The former view of the origin of historicism was the following: The European thinking of the eighteenth century was philosophical, whereas the nineteenth century was the age of history; in the Enlightenment all scholarship was non-historical but combined with Romanticism we later find a turning to history, the rise of historical research and the growth of historicism. But meanwhile the perception has changed because we can see a lot of history writing between 1750 and 1800 concerned with all aspects of civilization: histories of law, theology and philosophy, of sciences, technologies and fine arts.<sup>1</sup> These historical activities were not opposed to the philosophical intentions, but were on the contrary mostly motivated and initiated by the enlightenment philosophy or completely in accordance with it. In the preface to his general history, Fr. M. Vierthaler wrote in 1787: “Wanting to explain the value of history to enlightened people means offending them”.<sup>2</sup> In eighteenth century literature, many arguments for the usefulness of historical investigation can be found but the main aims of philosophy were the understanding of the human world and the defense of cultural achievements.

In the seventeenth century, the growth of the mathematical sciences of nature was combined with historical skepticism because all accounts seemed to be without any certainty. In the eighteenth century however, philosophers began to establish and defend historical knowledge. In 1725, G.B. Vico argued that human society, *mondo civile*, is less difficult to understand than nature because natural things are made by God whereas the human world is made by human beings. Therefore, in the humanities, the human mind is concerned with its own products, while natural sciences have to understand external given objects.<sup>3</sup> Later, at the end of the nineteenth century, W. Dilthey, the philosopher of historicism, argued in a very similar way, and so we are not astonished that Vico’s *Scienza nuova* was called ‘historicism’.<sup>4</sup> In the eighteenth century, philosophical empiricism as well as rationalism tested the possibility of sound historical propositions. D. Hume developed a theory of historical probability which shows how to distinguish between more and less probable accounts,<sup>5</sup> and because in Hume’s philosophy empirical knowledge does not get any absolute certainty, the gap

<sup>1</sup> Reill, *The German Enlightenment* (1975); Bödeker (ed.), *Aufklärung und Geschichte* (1986); Blanke/Fleischer (eds.), *Theoretiker der deutschen Aufklärungsgeschichte*, I–II (1990).

<sup>2</sup> *Philosophische Geschichte der Menschen und Völker*, I (Salzburg 1787), Vorwort.

<sup>3</sup> *Principj di una scienza nuova intorno alla natura delle nazione* (Napoli 1725); *Prinzipien einer neuen Wissenschaft über die gemeinsame Natur der Völker*, I (Hamburg: Meiner 1990), 142–143.

<sup>4</sup> K. WERNER, *Gianbattista Vico als Philosoph und gelehrter Forscher* (Wien 1879).

<sup>5</sup> *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, cap. VIII/1.

between sciences and historical accounts became smaller than in the scientific view of the seventeenth century. A very interesting theory can be found in the school of G. W. Leibniz. According to his metaphysics, every being, every *monade*, is individual – the leaf of a tree as well as the human soul – and reflects the whole universe within an individual perspective. J. M. Chladenius transferred the model to history and made clear that every historical narrative is written from a certain individual point of view (*Sehe-Punkt*).<sup>6</sup> This thesis includes two important consequences. First, if various historians report on the same event in very different ways, we are not allowed to infer that their accounts are false, and that history in general is the field of errors and lies. We must only take into account that their stories are shaped by their individual perspectives, that means by different social, psychological, local and temporal circumstances. Based on the given reports and documents, we have to work out a new and more complete picture of the past event. The second implication is: even a very critical historical account assessing every available document is affected by the particular situation in which it was written. The insight of Chladenius is important for all history writing until today and remains close to modern theories of the historicity of understanding. Between 1750 and 1800, a lot of theoretical considerations and introductions to the writing of history appeared.<sup>7</sup>

But the philosophy of Enlightenment intended more than a sound knowledge of singular events. They were seeking for tendencies and even general laws of development in the human world: they wanted the “Newton of history”.<sup>8</sup> The dominant concept of shaping the plurality of historical facts was the theory of progress, the result of new sciences and technologies.<sup>9</sup> In his *Novum Organum*, Fr. Bacon showed the correct method of scientific research to control nature, and in his *Nova Atlantis* the overall aim of the project is a society of happiness based on science and technology. Bacon stressed that the new sciences were much better than the old primitive philosophy of Aristotle and the arts of his age. The contrast between the ancient and the modern world became the starting point for theories of progress in the eighteenth century, as they are found in the writings e.g. of I. Iselin, F.-M. A. Voltaire, M. Turgot, and J.-A.-N. de C. Condorcet. I. Kant explained the two main reasons why such a theory was fascinating. The theoretical goal was to master the “burden of history”, i.e. to subordinate the abundance of historical knowledge of facts under a particular overall concept. But the practical goal seemed to be even more important: If progress can be accepted as a valid hypothesis and if we believe in it, we will promote the realization of civil society as it is postulated by ethical reason.<sup>10</sup> The French Revolution was the proof that the concept of progress was effective for changing the reality of society. But is it legitimate to accept theories of progress

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<sup>6</sup> *Allgemeine Geschichtswissenschaft, worinnen der Grund zu einer neuen Einsicht in allen Arten der Gelahrtheit gelegt wird* (Leipzig: Friedrich Lanckischens Erben 1752; repr. Wien/Köln/Graz: Hermann Böhlau Nachf. 1985).

<sup>7</sup> Blanke/Fleischer/Rüsen, *Historik als akademische Praxis* (1983).

<sup>8</sup> U. DIERSE, “Der Newton der Geschichte”, *ABG* 30 (1986/87) 158–182.

<sup>9</sup> J. RITTER, “Fortschritt”, *HWP* II (1972), 1032–1059.

<sup>10</sup> I. Kant, “Idee zu einer allgemeinen Geschichte in weltbürgerlicher Absicht” (1784), *Akademieausgabe*, VIII (1968), 29–30.

as a special form of historical consciousness? Of course, they mark out breaks and differences in history as for example the opposition between ancient and modern ways of thinking, and such stressing of differences may be seen as the main criterion of historicism. Therefore, some authors used to call such historical concepts 'historicism'.<sup>11</sup> Usually, though, theories of progress are not accepted as a perfect form of historical thinking because they are based on the assumption that mankind has always been aspiring to the same aims: happiness or freedom or morality – regardless of the fact that people of past ages did not know that and pursued their own ambitions. Figuratively, one could say: Those theories show a coherent drama on the stage of the *theatrum mundi*. But step by step, a new view of history developed, initiated by the discussion about the presupposition of the philosophy of progress and its consequences.

Studies and reflections led some philosophers of the Enlightenment to note the difficulty of speaking of progress in all spheres of human life and culture. Around 1700, the French Academy discussed in the *Querelle des anciens et des modernes* whether ancient fine arts were still the leading paradigm for modern artists or not. The so-called *antiqui* and *moderni* of the Academy did not reach agreement, and the result was the view that any artwork may be perfect within its own style, and that it is impossible to dispute rationally about the beauty of historic styles. We can argue about the progress of science and technologies but we do not have any rational criteria for speaking about the progress of fine arts, and this result was later seen as a source of 'historicism'.<sup>12</sup> In 1748, Montesquieu showed the reasonable principles of the constitutions for modern states but he did not postulate one and the same legislation for all nations. According to Montesquieu, laws had to be harmonized with the conventions and mores of different peoples, and thus, it was not theoretical reason but individual traditions which provided the criteria to distinguish between good and bad legislation. Because we have to accept the diversity of mores in the human world, the conception of Montesquieu's *De l'esprit des loix* was interpreted as 'historicism'.<sup>13</sup> Finally, J. G. Herder published his first version of philosophy of history in 1774<sup>14</sup> and criticized the theory of progress with the following main arguments: We are not allowed to judge all ages by our own narrow criteria but have to understand their different cultures which consist of different rules, customs, ideals, and even feelings. To understand past and foreign cultures we do not need our modern philosophical terms but our skill of empathy. In Herder's view, world history is like a tree with many growing branches. In the same way as G. W. Leibniz' metaphysics defined the universe as a unity consisting of infinite individual units, for Herder history is a unity in diversity, or a unity of units. Since the beginning of the twentieth century scholars have agreed that J. G. Herder delivered a first very distinct and clear profiled position of early historicism in his book. Thus, if cul-

<sup>11</sup> C. Antoni, *Lo Storicismo* (1957); Fr. edn.: *L'Historisme* (1963).

<sup>12</sup> H. R. JAUSS, "Ästhetische Normen und geschichtliche Reflexion in der 'Querelle des Anciens et des Modernes'", introd. to *Charles Perrault, 'Parallèle des Anciens et des Modernes'* (München 1964), 8–81.

<sup>13</sup> M. GÖRING, *Montesquieu. Historismus und moderner Verfassungsstaat* (Wiesbaden 1956).

<sup>14</sup> *Auch eine Geschichte der Philosophie zur Bildung der Menschheit. Beytrag zu vielen Beyträgen des Jahrhunderts* (1774), *Sämmtliche Werke*, V (ed. B. Suphan).

tural breaks and deep diversities are accepted in history, we are allowed to speak of historical consciousness, and in such consciousness the source of historicism was found. Therefore, historicism is first of all an awareness of plurality and variability in the human world. The more historical knowledge was achieved, the less changes and diversities of history could be denied. By the growth of knowledge, one did not only see new actors on the stage of the *theatrum mundi* but very new roles, and even new and different dramas.

In the Aristotelian tradition, 'theory' was the knowledge of eternal truth (or *vérités de raison*), and 'history' the knowledge of singular events or facts (or *vérités de fait*). When in 1756 Voltaire called his anti-theological view of history *philosophie de l'histoire*,<sup>15</sup> the old opposition between the terms was given up. For 'theory' refers to the temporal change of civilization, the singular but universal progress, and 'history' was no longer a certain genre of narrative literature or the embodiment of the notion of facts, but became the term for the universal connection of events, for historical structures and tendencies. J.J. Winckelmann formed the history of ancient Greek art to a "system of art",<sup>16</sup> and later I. Kant demanded to transform the mere "aggregate" of historical knowledge into a "system".<sup>17</sup> History could be interpreted as a spiral of cycles (G. Vico), as a progress of culture (M. Turgot), as a regression of mores (J.J. Rousseau), as the surges of moral change (M. Mendelssohn), as the growth of a cultural organism (J.G. Herder): in every case 'history' was seen as an quasi-agent with forces of its own. As, at the end of the eighteenth century, the unforeseen results of the French Revolution caused skepticism against the rational constructions of state and religion, the following questions became more and more urgent: How is it possible to understand the course of the changing world? Can we believe in the progress of society and culture? Is human reason really able to lead the historical development – or should we trust in the given traditions? Different answers to this established different concepts of history. On the one hand, history was the field of uncontrolled change – and on the other, the richness of cultural tradition. Orientation for thinking and acting in the human world demanded not – or not only – what I. Kant called "pure reason" but first of all knowledge of history. In this situation, the word *Historismus* was formed.

Until today, all controversies about the meaning of the term are mingled with the discussion about the evaluation of certain forms of history writing – the source of many misunderstandings. Since a certain term and concept constitutes the subject, we should first take a look at the history of the word. In the nineteenth century, the term was used in manifold ways in the discussions about the right relation to the changing society and culture, and we can find nearly all aspects of its meaning which have been important until today. With R. Koselleck, the term can be taken as an 'indication' (*Indiz*) of the importance of history in general and of the conflicts about right historical thinking and action. To place the different main meanings in order, we can start with the associations of the

<sup>15</sup> U. DIERSE/G. SCHOLTZ, "Geschichtsphilosophie", HWP III (1974), 416–418.

<sup>16</sup> *Geschichte der Kunst des Altertums* (1763–1768), *Sämtliche Werke*, III (repr. Osnabrück: Zeller 1965), 9–10.

<sup>17</sup> Kant, *Idee zu einer Geschichte* (1784/1968), 29.

word 'history' because the expression 'historism' or 'historicism'<sup>18</sup> stresses in every context a certain association which 'history' can provoke.

(1) History means change – not stability and constancy. In their fragmentary notes of 1797/98, Novalis and F. Schlegel generated new linguistic expressions and also the word *Historismus*, and these are the earliest occurrences of the term which are known. Both authors did not give any definition and we can only guess about their intention.<sup>19</sup> I suppose the meaning of the word was the philosophical consideration of cultural phenomena in their growth and decline or the reflection of the changing world as a whole. We find this aspect in later conceptions of historicism, too, and thus we can interpret the term in the notes of Schlegel and Novalis as the headline of nineteenth-century thinking. But Schlegel and Novalis drew schemes for the interpretation of the historical world as a meaningful whole progressing to a particular goal, and this assumption became problematical later.

(2) History can be associated with the past – in opposition to the present and future. In 1839, L. Feuerbach criticized the works of the historian H. Leo as *Historismus* and by using this word, attacked the author's conservatism. Feuerbach fought for emancipation from political and religious traditions, and thus, everybody looking at the past and its cultural heritage was a historicist for him.<sup>20</sup> In his view, philosophy has to be *Antihistorismus*, like the thinking of I. Kant or G. E. Lessing; it has to look at the future, based on rational argumentation. But the interest in cultures of the past was a very strong current in the nineteenth century, in philosophy, literature and also in fine arts; and therefore in the twentieth century, the tendency to build in gothic or rococo style, to rediscover and interpret old music was called "historicism". Thus, the word became a term for the tendency since the nineteenth century to renew old aesthetic paradigms. Used as term for a certain style, it usually lost its critical emphasis. But besides that, "historicism" can be used to attack a certain conservatism, too.

(3) History can signify the field of human reason and freedom – not the field of nature and determinism. In 1848 Chr. J. Braniß published a philosophical program which he called *Historismus*.<sup>21</sup> In opposition to the *Naturismus* of Feuerbach and to every form of materialism and determinism, he claimed that history was the realization of freedom. Writing before the revolution of 1848, he saw the turning of world history toward self-determination and self-government of all people in the world. Thus for Braniß, real historicism was a philosophy of history as a progress to freedom, based on the action of God. The main difference to Feuerbach can be found in the evaluation of religious tradition. Braniß saw the historical roots of freedom in Judaism and Christianity while for Feuerbach

<sup>18</sup> To the change of the word from 'historism' to 'historicism' in America see Lee/Beck, The meaning of "Historicism" (1953/54), 568.

<sup>19</sup> Fr. von Hardenberg (Novalis), *Schriften* (ed. P. Kluckhohn/R. Samuel), III (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer 1960), 446; F. Schlegel, "Zur Philologie I", *Kritische Friedrich-Schlegel-Ausgabe* (ed. E. Behler; Paderborn 1981), XVI, 35–41; XVIII, 91, 484, 490; XIX, 184.

<sup>20</sup> *Erläuterungen und Ergänzungen zum Wesen des Christentums, Sämtliche Werke* (ed. W. Bolin/F. Jodl; Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt: frommann<sup>2</sup>1960), 1–2, 43–44.

<sup>21</sup> *Die wissenschaftliche Aufgabe der Gegenwart als leitende Idee im akademischen Studium. Hodegetische Vorträge* (Breslau: Maske 1848), esp. 148–160.

religion was only a barrier to freedom. Thus historicism for Braniß was the title of his metaphysic of history. Later on it was mainly the Hegelian philosophy which was called in that way (R. Zimmermann, R. Haym, R. Eisler et al.), while G. W. F. Hegel was a deterministic *Naturalist* to Braniß.

(4) History can be appreciated as cultural tradition, as a reservoir of real values – in opposition to mere constructed ideas. When the enlightened law systems like the *Code Napoléon* seemed to be poor and unsuited to the manners of society, the historical school of law (*Historische Rechtsschule*), founded by G. Hugo and Fr. C. von Savigny, began to study old Roman law in a new historical way, convinced that it contained more richness of law materials than any modern system and that a lot of elements were still in use and alive. Roman law was seen as real existing right while the *Code civil* was criticized as a mere construction of intellectual jurists. In 1850, I. H. Fichte and M. Chalybäus called the character of the historical school of law *Historismus*.<sup>22</sup> They recognized a positive side of that conception as well as a negative one. The positive one: right is not only philosophically postulated but shown as a reality within the human world. The negative one: the historical school is concentrated on Roman and German tradition, it is conservative and does not accept the relativity of every legal system.

(5) History is a certain form of methodical research – not the product of speculative philosophy. Polemicizing against the Hegelian constructions, C. Prantl explained his idea of a “true historicism” in 1852: Looking at the history of mankind as a whole, such historicism, as a form of empirical study, is concerned with every detail, not only with tendencies and structures.<sup>23</sup> Prantl’s student F. Dahn – the later famous author of historical novels – made the following comment: “Historicism is mainly a methodical moment, not a speculative principle”. The leading category of Hegel was teleology but for Prantl the main principle of historicism has to be causality. Every historical phenomenon must be understood in its context and as a result of causes. We should not expect or construct a certain aim of history but accept that the aim of history is only the historical movement itself. Defending the methodical research in all fields of history, he developed a new form of philosophy at the same time, which he called “objective idealism”: The “ideas” can only be found within the historical reality. In this demand for methodical research based on philosophy, we recognize the feature of a historicism which later was often seen as typical of the nineteenth century.

(6) History as the field of permanent and unforeseen change is the field of cultural relativity – not of constant norms. If scholars concentrate on historical changing only, their position can be criticized as historicism in the sense of historical relativism. At the end of the nineteenth century, this meaning became dominant, and we can only give a few examples here. In the field of national economics, A. Menger attacked the *Historismus* of G. Schmoller because the exclu-

<sup>22</sup> I. H. FICHTE, *System der Ethik. Erster kritischer Theil: Die philosophischen Lehren von Recht, Staat und Sitte in Deutschland, Frankreich und England von der Mitte des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts bis in die Gegenwart* (Leipzig: Dyk’sche Buchhandlung 1850), 465–471; H. M. CHALYBÄUS, *System der speculativen Ethik, oder Philosophie der Familie, des Staates und der religiösen Sitte*, II (Leipzig: Brockhaus 1850), 42.

<sup>23</sup> *Die gegenwärtige Aufgabe der Philosophie*. Festrede in der Sitzung der kgl. Akademie der Wissenschaften (München 1852); see Scholtz, “Historismus” (1973), 131–133.



sive historical approach to economics denies all general theories and laws.<sup>24</sup> Historicism was seen as a danger to maintaining right norms and theories. R. Stammler savaged the historical school of law because their *Historismus* was confined only to a relative ideal of right but true and asserted norms of law have to be based on principles a priori.<sup>25</sup> In 1883, the new-Kantian philosopher W. Windelband criticized the *Introduction to the Human Sciences* of W. Dilthey as *Historismus* because the genetic method seemed to undermine the worth and validity of all cultural norms.<sup>26</sup> In 1911, E. Husserl repeated that attack on Dilthey's thinking in an even sharper tone as *Historizismus*.<sup>27</sup> Dilthey became the "philosopher of historicism": He reflected the origin of the historical consciousness and the evolution of the historical human sciences. In doing this, Dilthey on the one side stressed the achievements of the new historical view of the human world and praised the freedom from all the traditional chains by the historical insight. On the other side, the later Dilthey saw the relativity of all philosophical and religious systems and was afraid of the "anarchy of all convictions".<sup>28</sup> According to Dilthey, the human being is a "creature of time" and thus unable to produce permanent cultural systems beyond the flow of history.<sup>29</sup> As a consequence, he seemed to lose all trusted norms and to abandon the ideal of truth. Therefore, Dilthey became the philosopher of historicism in a double sense: As the analyzer of historical consciousness he seemed to be a victim of his subject, a historical relativist. But we should keep in mind that Dilthey was rightly opposed to the criticism of E. Husserl because in his systematic lectures he was always seeking for the foundation of scientific truth. That was necessary: Without any solid historical knowledge, it was impossible to speak about the flow of history. The growth of historical knowledge and the rise of historical relativism were only two aspects of the same thing.

Overall, since the end of the nineteenth century the so-called problem of historicism has been understood as the problem of historical or cultural relativity, and the term has mostly become a weapon of criticism up until the philosophical and theological discussion of today. In the writings of J. Burckhardt and F. Nietzsche, of R. Eucken and E. Troeltsch we see the beginning of the attack against exaggerated or misleading historical knowledge which K. Heussi 1932 called "the crisis of historicism", and the core of the crisis was the now recognized dissonance between the richness of historical knowledge on the one hand and the open question of their significance for life on the other. Historicism in this context means historical positivism combined with relativism and skepticism undermining absolute values; the burden of historical knowledge, which does

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<sup>24</sup> *Die Irrtümer des Historismus in der deutschen Nationalökonomie* (Wien 1884; repr. Aalen 1964).

<sup>25</sup> *Über die Methode der geschichtlichen Rechtstheorie. Festgabe zu Bernhard Windscheids fünfzigjährigem Doktorjubiläum* (Halle/S. 1888), 1–63.

<sup>26</sup> "Kritische oder genetische Methode?" (1883), in: idem, *Präludien. Aufsätze und Reden zur Philosophie und ihrer Geschichte*, II (Tübingen: Mohr (Siebeck) 1919), 132–133.

<sup>27</sup> "Philosophie als strenge Wissenschaft", *Logos* I (1911), 323–328.

<sup>28</sup> "Rede zum 70. Geburtstag" (1903), in: idem, *Gesammelte Schriften*, V. *Die geistige Welt* (Stuttgart: Teubner 1957), 9.

<sup>29</sup> "Das Wesen der Philosophie" (1907), *ibid.* 364.

not give any orientation; the reception of all documents of the past, paralyzing one's own creativity; the permanent looking back to past epochs, which prevents acting in the present. Even one of the first occurrences of the word stresses that feeling. In 1816, the theologian W.M.L. de Wette characterized the philologist A. Boeckh by the following remark: Boeckh "seems to have turned away from a non-philosophical historicism (*Historizismus*); he said that soon one wouldn't dare to think for oneself but only ruminates old wisdom".<sup>30</sup> 60 years later, many scholars saw that danger in the whole intellectual culture, and we can summarize: At the end of the nineteenth century, the so-called "historical century", many scholars had the feeling of sitting hungry at a table full with food of all centuries and nations. The reasons for that situation can be found in the development of historical thinking and research during the nineteenth century.

## 2. The Way of Historicism in the Nineteenth Century

The historians of today are discussing if we have to understand historicism as a certain paradigm of a particular period or not. Knowing the use of the word, we should be cautious to consider historicism as a substantial entity. But the evolution of the different meanings of the word gives us clues about the change of the subject, of history writing and historical interpretation. Leaving aside the struggles between the authors and schools of the humanities since the beginning of the nineteenth century, the disciplines always had two suppositions in common: First, the approach of all humanities has to be professional, reflected and critical; the dominant method must be a historical one because changing phenomena in their temporal extension had to be explored. Second, historical studies are the most important activities for understanding human life and for orientation within the human world. To establish values, to achieve education and cultural self-interpretation, we need historical knowledge instead of abstract theories. In the tension between the two tendencies, the scientific intention and the request for values and orientation, we encounter the specific feature and difficulty of the humanities in the nineteenth century. This tension was combined with the conflict between the philosophical and the historical approach to history: while philosophy sought to find sense and laws in history, historical research was first of all seeking for verifiable propositions. But they needed each other. The philosophy of history with its ideas and schemas could not work without precise historical information because it tried to understand the change of epochs and to assimilate important events like the French Revolution. On the other side, historical research needed philosophical conceptions, as we will see.

The dominant philosophies of history were the conceptions by G.W.F. Hegel and A. Comte, which both maintained the progress of mankind, but in very different ways. While the positivism of Comte was only interested in the perfection and extension of the sciences of nature and society, mainly to build up sociology

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<sup>30</sup> See M. LENZ, *Geschichte der Königlichen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Berlin*, I (Halle/S.: Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses 1910), 573 (footnote).

as *physique sociale*, Hegel's philosophy integrated all spheres of culture. And while for Comte the stadium of theology was overcome by the scientific spirit, Hegel transformed old traditions into new concepts. Therefore, Hegel's thinking became much more important for the humanities than Comte's. His philosophy on the whole can be interpreted as an answer to the challenge of the changing historical reality. To cope with the problems, Hegel worked out his logic, which explores the dialectic movements of thoughts, and applied this dialectic to the development of history. His philosophic system integrates the results of historical evolution, and his philosophy of history transforms the evolution of the human spirit into a reasoned progress, so that system and history are completely fitting to each other. The conception was fascinating because of its many advantages: The modern social world could be accepted as well as the historical changes because the dialectic method showed that the great revolutions and all the catastrophes of world history were necessary. By concentrating on the leading ideas in history, the burden of historical facts was mastered, and the philosophy gave orientation in past and present. Cultural achievements of former times were not neglected but *aufgehoben*, i. e. negated and conserved, and in that way Hegelian thinking bridged the gap between the past and the present. Therefore, we are not surprised that in the nineteenth century, thinking about fine arts, religion, sciences, and state was very often influenced by Hegelianism. But its expansion was retarded and stopped in the middle of the century mainly for two reasons: The Hegelian concept of spirit seemed to be a mixture of theology and philosophy, and logical progress only a fiction. This is why R. Haym called the conception an "illusory historicism".<sup>31</sup> The alteration and the end of Hegelianism can be seen par example in the editions of E. Zeller's famous history of ancient philosophy: First, Zeller based his way of thinking on the categories of the Hegelian logic, but as Zeller integrated more and more new material for the following edition, the philosophical frame went beyond the scope of all manifold aspects; the volumes grew bigger and the philosophical framework diminished.<sup>32</sup> In all fields of historical studies the multitude of results could not easily become integrated in terms of a given philosophy of history. Therefore, philosophy of history – separated from historical studies – was mostly not accepted by professional historians.

These historians of the nineteenth century had two opponents: the philosophical constructs of historical evolution on the one side, and the previous historical writing on the other. The first book that L. von Ranke published was primarily a criticism of former historians who simply repeated the handed down narratives without going back to the sources and checking the validity of tradition. Ranke's

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<sup>31</sup> *Hegel und seine Zeit* (Berlin: Gaertner 1857; repr. Darmstadt: Wiss. Buchgesellschaft 1962), 354, 467.

<sup>32</sup> *Die Philosophie der Griechen. Eine Untersuchung über Charakter, Gang und Hauptmomente ihrer Entwicklung*, I–III (Tübingen 1844–1852); 2nd completely rev. edn.: *Die Philosophie der Griechen in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung dargestellt*, I–V (Tübingen/Leipzig 1859–1868). On Zeller and the tension between philosophy and history in the history of philosophy in the nineteenth century, cf. G. SCHOLTZ, "Das Griechentum im Spätidealismus. Zur Philosophiegeschichte in den Schulen Hegels und Schleiermachers", in: idem, *Ethik und Hermeneutik. Schleiermachers Grundlegung der Geisteswissenschaften* (Frankfurt/M: Suhrkamp 1995), 286–313.

programmatic proclamation shows the radical break with the rhetorical form of history writing within the old *artes liberales*: According to Ranke, history has to seek only for “naked truth without any ornament; exhaustive research of singularities; [...] no poetry writing, not of the smallest details, no phantasm”.<sup>33</sup> His famous words that he was only willing to set out what really had happened (*wie es eigentlich gewesen*)<sup>34</sup> are not trivial if we keep in mind that he was fighting against largely poetical and philosophical constructions. He refused to be the judge of the past, and demanded “strict presentation of matters of fact” as the primary task instead, whether or not it is quite limited or ugly. This effort was in accordance with the scientific ideals of the Enlightenment. But Ranke added a new aspect: The true historian discovers unlimited significance in every single person or situation, on account of its sacred basis.<sup>35</sup> He is first of all concentrated on particular phenomena and individual persons, and he is at the same time looking to the objective connection of events, ultimately to the development of the human world in the whole. Von Ranke gave lectures on world history (*Universalgeschichte*).<sup>36</sup> J. G. Droysen sharply criticized Ranke’s pursuit of objectivism and impartiality – but not in order to turn back to the old rhetorical paradigm; instead he wanted to give a better and more adequate basis for history writing. In his lectures on *Enzyklopädie und Methodologie der Geschichte* (1857–1883) Droysen explains that there is no historical reality beyond the historical consciousness: What we call a historical event can only be achieved from methodical approaches and interpretations of different aspects. Historical reality for Droysen has always been *known* history, the result of historical remembrance and research on a certain point of view within the progress of history.<sup>37</sup>

If nowadays problems of historicism are discussed the debaters normally only look at *political* history writing whereas *all* humanities of the nineteenth century were involved because they approached the spheres of culture in historical ways. The main methodical instruments of research were supplied by philology, which turned from a rhetorical art to a scientific discipline along with history. Since past events are normally reported in written texts, and these documents are very often the main keys also for the right understanding of non-verbal human products of the past (these may be buildings or music), philology became the methodical key discipline, even for political history. L. von Ranke was the student of the philologist G. Hermann, and J. G. Droysen the student of F. A. Boeckh. In the beginning of the nineteenth century, in the Prussian Academy we can find besides the class of mathematics and sciences of nature a second class, called “*historisch-philologische Classe*” – a very clear proof that history and philology were connected closely and both were accepted as scientific activities, on the same level as the

<sup>33</sup> “Zur Kritik neuerer Geschichtschreiber”, in: idem, *Geschichten der romanischen und germanischen Völker von 1494 bis 1535* (Leipzig/Berlin: Reimer 1824), 28.

<sup>34</sup> *Geschichten der romanischen und germanischen Völker*, VII (1824), Vorrede.

<sup>35</sup> “Idee der Universalhistorie” [1831 or 1831/32], in: idem, *Vorlesungseinleitungen*, in: *Aus Werk und Nachlass*, IV (ed. V. Dotterweich/W. P. Fuchs; München/Wien: Oldenbourg 1975), 77.

<sup>36</sup> Idee der Universalhistorie [1831 or 1831/32], 87–88.

<sup>37</sup> *Historik. Vorlesungen über Enzyklopädie und Methodologie der Geschichte* (ed. R. Hübner; Darmstadt: Wiss. Buchgesellschaft 1971); *Historik. Historisch-kritische Ausgabe* (ed. P. Leyh; Stuttgart 1977).

sciences of nature. But history and philology could also become rivals, as may be seen in A. Boeckh's *Encyklopädie und Methodenlehre der philologischen Wissenschaften*, lectures given between 1809 and 1865.<sup>38</sup> According to Boeckh, philology is concerned with all products of mankind, and written texts are only the most important stratum. The understanding of human phenomena always has to be the reproduction of products and the recognition of cognition (*Erkenntnis des Erkannten*), in the realm of speaking and writing as well as in the sphere of acting and producing. In that way philology appeared as the embodiment of all historical studies. But Boeckh's student, the historian J. G. Droysen, did not accept this and showed the difference between philological and historical interpretations: The former has in literary works "a richness of objective data" and must only reconstruct the sense of complete given texts, but the second has to reconstruct or constitute a past reality.<sup>39</sup> Indeed, there is a big difference between Boeckh's theory of hermeneutics and Droysen's methodology of historical interpretation, and between their concepts of criticism, too: In Boeckh's system, criticism, the evaluation of the *interpretanda* from different aspects, follows the hermeneutic, but for Droysen criticism is the first step because it has to control the sources as the supposition of interpretation<sup>40</sup> – it is, by the way, a pity that the new philosophers of hermeneutics normally did not take notice of this. But also for Droysen the subject of his discipline was not only political history but history of society and culture as a whole.<sup>41</sup>

Educated and led by philology, the historians of the nineteenth century were engaged in accurate studies of the textual sources and they concentrated on the intentions of the historical agents, on the intentions of individual persons in planning, speaking, acting, and producing. Here, we can find the first reason for the conflict between historical humanities and the social sciences of the positivistic school that was seeking for general laws in history as well as in nature. The distance between the schools is very evident in J. G. Droysen's sharp criticism of Th. Buckle's *History of Civilization in England* (1859/61). According to Droysen, Buckle is naively speaking of facts that are only produced by historical research; his laws are trivial and without any relevance for understanding the present time; he tries to explain everything by statistically based laws, but not one single work of fine art can be *explained* in this way – we must try to *understand* such works.<sup>42</sup> In this context Droysen used the distinction of 'explanation' (*Erklären*) and 'understanding' (*Verstehen*) which he commented in his lectures and which later became a very important point in the discussion about methods in the human sciences up to the present. In the criticism of Droysen one can recognize some arguments that reappeared in more recent conflict between social and cultural history.

The scientific and methodical approach to the subjects of history required a

<sup>38</sup> *Encyklopädie und Methodenlehre der philologischen Wissenschaften. Erster Hauptteil: Formale Theorie der philologischen Wissenschaft* (ed. E. Bratuscheck; Darmstadt: Wiss. Buchgesellschaft 1966).

<sup>39</sup> Historik (ed. Hübner; 1971), 171.

<sup>40</sup> Boeckh, *Encyklopädie* (1966), 169–260; Droysen, Historik (1971), 92–148.

<sup>41</sup> See Droysen's chapter: "Die Systematik", in: idem, Historik (1971), 194–265, 345–353.

<sup>42</sup> Droysen, "Erhebung der Geschichte zum Rang einer Wissenschaft" (1863), in: Historik (1971) 397; cf. "Grundriss der Historik" (1882), *ibid.* 328, 330, 339.

rejection of rhetorical, poetical and philosophical constructions. But in what way could the political or cultural history of a particular epoch or age be written? Should it be a mere accumulation of well tested propositions about past events? This question leads to the interesting aesthetic and philosophical implications of historicism. To deal with this problem, in the field of literature F. Schlegel and F. Ast demanded first to seek out an intuitive outlook or view (*Anschaung*) of the whole age under consideration. Every interpretation of a singular artwork should be interpreted within this anticipated context, while conversely the context gains greater clarity by knowing individual works. Progressing in the circle between an aesthetic look at the whole age and the methodical interpretation of singular phenomena we get an increasingly better knowledge of a period and specific literature. Without the aesthetic focus – probably oriented to W. von Humboldt's philosophy of language – later W. Dilthey tried to show the "structure" of a certain culture or society. In early historicism, a special concept of "ideas" became important for the analysis of historical ages and developments. Those ideas – it was presupposed – are effective forces in the human world, being located in the minds of the agents and historians, too. The concept combines the Platonic term "idea" with the Aristotelian concept of entelechy and allows explanation of the possibility of understanding past ages as well as historical continuities. According to W. von Humboldt's famous essay of 1821, the same ideas can be found in different shape and clarity in every period of history and the historian has to pursue the tendencies of these ideas and forces to achieve realization.<sup>43</sup> In 1832 von Ranke wrote a draft about the activities of the human spirit and noted – close to the philosophy of J. G. Fichte and F. W. J. Schelling – that the human spirit has a productive and a cognitive force. All human productions have their roots in the idea of truth, good and beauty. "The idea of truth dominates the cognition. The idea of good dominates the activity of the best people, the [idea] of beauty the productions of fine art".<sup>44</sup> While following Plato on the one hand, von Ranke claims on the other that all philosophy is only an abstraction of real productions realized by the "divine force" of the human being. For von Ranke these ideas are manifested in history, though not based on the *cognition* but effective in the human *will*. Reading the short draft we get an impression of the optimistic presupposition in von Ranke's research: A divine force is leading the human will in history, and thus we can call this philosophy a form of non-orthodox theology, too. Therefore, the good historian has to combine two different skills: He has to work as the critical and exact interpreter of the sources, but at the same time has to explore the "leading ideas" or "dominant tendencies" of a particular age,<sup>45</sup> and those ideas can only be described, without the possibility of methodical deduction from philosophy. The most elaborated theory of historical ideas can be found in the *Historik* lectures of J. G. Droysen. He

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<sup>43</sup> "Ueber die Aufgabe des Geschichtschreibers" (1821), in: idem, *Werke*, I (ed. A. Flitner/K. Giel, Darmstadt: Wiss. Buchgesellschaft, sec. rev. edn. 1960), 585–606.

<sup>44</sup> "Über die 'Thätigkeit des Geistes'" (1832), in: Baur, Versuch über die Historik des jungen Ranke (1998), 159–162, cit. 161.

<sup>45</sup> "Ueber die Epochen der neueren Geschichte", in: idem, *Weltgeschichte*, IX/2 (ed. A. Dove et al.; Leipzig 1888), 7.

explained ideas as “moral forces” (*sittliche Mächte*) which are effective in the life of all human beings, producing the different forms of communities and spheres of culture. Every idea is an entelechy which moves towards perfect realization without reaching it. Under the headline “*Systematik*”, Droysen has developed a social ethic, very similar to that we know from F. Schleiermacher and R. Rothe, and in this ethical perspective history appears as a field of growing humanity. To summarize, it can be said that early historicism did not displace philosophy; on the contrary, it was based on philosophical assumptions. In J. G. Droysen’s preface to his history of Hellenism (1843) we even read a short but pregnant theology of history. “The ultimate task of our science is theodicy”. “History holds fast to the belief in a wise and benevolent world order of God [...]”.<sup>46</sup> When von Ranke wrote that all epochs have their own value and are in the same way immediately close to God he confessed a very similar belief in the divine order.<sup>47</sup>

Knowing the alliance between philosophical thinking and historical research, we are able to understand the concept of truth and the appraisal of values within that early historicism. For W. von Humboldt, historical facts were only one side of research establishing the starting point, because facts are products of agreements and only the bare material of true histories. Those histories mainly have to show the evolution of ideas. With this goal, the historian needs imagination like an artist.<sup>48</sup> A more critical and precise explication again can be found in the lectures of J. G. Droysen. He distinguished “historical correctness” from “historical truth”. The first is an accumulation of correct propositions and knowledge of events which, if isolated from ideas, is only “dead scholarship”, but the latter is the real aim of research: “True histories” always show events in the context of a certain culture and society, which are manifestations of ideas or moral forces.<sup>49</sup> “Historical fact” was a very problematical term for Droysen because we do not have such facts as given objects (the smallest entities are the inner actions of the human will); what we call historical facts is product of research. But “historical truth” is based on the evolution of ideas which must be presupposed in the core of historical reality. To write history means to further the progress of humanity in the development of mankind. Being involved in the evolution of ideas and moral forces, the ontological truth, the historian is not confronted with the relativity of values but engaged in their perfection. When this optimistic philosophical substructure was no longer accepted by skeptical scholars, history was simply seen as a field of methodical research for facts. In 1889, E. Bernheim was eager to fight against historical skepticism and to show the right way to achieve valid reports, or, as J. G. Droysen would have put it: historical correctness.<sup>50</sup> Further aims and criteria besides the methodology were needed for historical studies, as Bernheim knew very well, and therefore he pointed to the philosophy of history.

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<sup>46</sup> “Theologie der Geschichte. Vorwort zur Geschichte des Hellenismus II”, in: idem, *Historik* (1971), 369–385, cit. 371, 373.

<sup>47</sup> Ueber die Epochen der neueren Geschichte (1888), 5.

<sup>48</sup> Ueber die Aufgabe des Geschichtschreibers (1821/1960), 586–589.

<sup>49</sup> *Historik* (ed. Leyh; 1977) 60–61, 425; Scholtz, *Historismus und Wahrheit in der Wissenschaftstheorie* (1991), 160–162.

<sup>50</sup> *Lehrbuch der Historischen Methode und der Geschichtsphilosophie* (Leipzig 1889; 3rd – 4th edn. 1903).

But he was not able to provide a solid philosophical conception by himself. Therefore one may say: The declared "crisis of historicism" was initiated by the loss of philosophical foundation. The mere accumulation of historical knowledge began to appear senseless.

However to explain the genesis of this feeling we have to look at all the fields of cultural history in the nineteenth century. Modern society, increasingly removed from its own tradition and confronted with expanding sciences of nature and new technologies, produced an increased need of cultural orientation, and the request for cultural ideals motivated an intense investigation of past and foreign cultural paradigms. Continuing their tradition, the scholars of philology first of all looked back to the art and literature of "classical" Greek and Roman Antiquity. But besides this, with regard to its own cultural identity, the origins of Christian culture and national traditions regained attention as the ground on which new activities in the history of literature and fine arts arose. Seeking for a harmonious society, connected by a common religion, the mediaeval era became fascinating. The conviction that we can find the "mother country of ideas" (F. W. J. Schelling) in ancient oriental cultures and the requested true philosophy in Taoism or Buddhism opened other horizons of study.<sup>51</sup> In every case past or foreign cultures were considered as ideal paradigms needed in the present, and historical research was driven forward by normative assumptions. However the quest for true cultural values by historical research led to fresh difficulties. Nobody was able to give a proof that one ideal was better than the others. Therefore, the knowledge of many cultural paradigms without criteria could end in disorientation. Furthermore, it was very difficult to bridge the gap between past and present and to realize the declared ideals – Greek classic and medieval Christianity, Buddhism and Taoism – within a modern society based on science, technology, division of labor, rational administration etc. Only the general trend of methodical research could be realized in all historical studies and *must* be followed. By that procedure, modernity was confirmed as a scientific one. But the historical methods very often destroyed the suppositions: The historical school of law had to defend the claim that *Roman* law had relevance in the *Germanic* world, too, and real law, seen as an unconscious product of the *Volksgeist*, now became the business of professional *scholarship*. Philology was led to the insight that the "classical" Greek age was not only an age of beauty and humanity, but also of brutality and primitivism, and the Hellenistic age took on a new interest. The belief in one's own national tradition as the best one was undermined by the knowledge that it was mainly the result of older traditions and foreign influence. Historical belief and historical knowledge became divided. We will see that theology became the most important discipline in which the problem was discussed.

The whole outline can be summed up in one sentence: The so-called "crisis of historicism" was a crisis of cultural orientation. The roots of this crisis can be found in the nineteenth century, but the full unfolding did not happen until after

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<sup>51</sup> C. J. H. WINDISCHMANN, *Die Philosophie im Fortgang der Weltgeschichte*, I/1 (Bonn 1827), esp. 392–413. Whereas A. Schopenhauer praised the Buddhism Windischmann found the most important philosophy in Laotse.



the First World War, when the need for moral, political and religious orientation became urgent. The core of the problem has to be seen in the antagonism between the richness of historical knowledge and the lack of orientation for life: There were huge libraries crowded with history books – but no agreements concerning the aims of life; values and facts seemed divided as well as knowledge of the past and experience in the present. In 1858, the historian H. von Sybel declared that history had more and more taken over the role of philosophy in public opinion and general education, and that all historians were more or less involved in political and religious discussions and activities. In this way, history-writing shows the same variations as political parties and no longer speaks with one voice.

### 3. Historicism in Biblical Studies

Within theology, the term ‘historicism’ became common at the end of the nineteenth century and that in a solely critical sense. It was a weapon in the fight of theological schools, usually to attack historical positivism and relativism. To mention only two examples: In 1892, M. Kähler criticized research on the life of Jesus because it was seeking for historical facts where such facts cannot be found. For Kähler, the result of such an approach amounts to an attack upon religion: “*Historicismus* in this respect is as arbitrary, as humanly arrogant, as faithlessly Gnostic as dogmatism, which was also modern in its time”.<sup>52</sup> This position can be called historical positivism. The way from this form of positivism to relativism is short. If historical research becomes the only source of theology, as O. Kirn explained in 1900, the result of such *Historicismus* is “historical relativism”.<sup>53</sup>

The question is why the critical term, the controversies, and the sharp criticism of historicism arose at the end of the nineteenth century whereas the crucial problem was much older. It is well-known that G.E. Lessing saw a “horribly large gap” (*der garstige breite Graben*) between contingent historical facts which cannot be demonstrated and the truths of reason, and he confessed being unable to jump over the gap and to base his moral and metaphysical convictions on such historical facts. But this was only one voice. In his history of biblical hermeneutics (1860), W. Dilthey showed the growing conflict between the Protestant supposition of the unity of the biblical canon and historical and critical exegesis; a gulf had opened between dogmatic theology and biblical studies since the seventeenth century, a conflict caused by the Protestant principle *sola scriptura* which motivated intense and exact historical studies.<sup>54</sup> On this view, theology had not been influenced by alien secular methodology but had reached this position on its own and had promoted critical methodology in the humanities, too. For

<sup>52</sup> Kähler, *Der sogenannte historische Jesus* (1892/1913), 44.

<sup>53</sup> *Glaube und Geschichte. Festrede zur Feier des Reformationsfestes* (Leipzig 1900), 33; Wittkau, *Historismus* (1992), 116–117.

<sup>54</sup> “Das hermeneutische System Schleiermachers in der Auseinandersetzung mit der älteren protestantischen Hermeneutik”, in: Dilthey, *Leben Schleiermachers*, in: *Gesammelte Schriften*, XIV/2 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1966), 595–787.

W. Dilthey, orthodox dogmatic theology had already been undermined in the eighteenth century by the critical works of J.D. Michaelis and J.S. Semler. But nevertheless, theology was not dominated by historical research. Theological dogmatics could normally integrate new historical conclusions like the insight in imperfect language of biblical reports by the thought of God's accommodation. On the other side, new philosophical theologies like pantheism and deism saw divine truth as granted by human reason. Therefore, biblical history and history of the Christian church could now be sharply criticized or partly affirmed without any consequence for religious convictions. This can be studied in B. Spinoza's criticism of the Bible in his *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, based on his pantheism, and in I. Kant's philosophy of religion, one of the most elaborated forms of deism. The more positive religion was shown by historical research to be a field of contradictions, doubtful reports, and different traditions, the more such philosophy was needed; and inversely, the firmer the philosophical standpoint seemed to be, the more criticism of all positive religions became possible.

Since the end of the eighteenth century, deism has been criticized as a mere intellectual idea which neglects the essence of religion and the varieties of religious cultures. The deist concept of God either seems to be completely indeterminate and void, or to show properties derived from positive religions. Therefore, the new philosophy of religion or philosophical theology combines theory and history and finds the main cue for the link in a new interpretation of revelation: Used in a broad sense, it bases the positive religions or history as a whole on the will of God. The result was a metaphysic of history which could later be called "historicism". Its first source has to be seen in the division and connection of the Old and New Testaments because this shows a certain progress or variability of divine action. For W. Dilthey, the differentiation between chronological stages of revelation is an important supposition of modern historical consciousness in general. Actually in 1777/80, G.E. Lessing transformed the Trinitarian theology of Joachim de Fiore into a philosophy of religion which at the same time was a philosophy of history: Revelation has to be conceived as an ongoing divine education of human reason. By the theological model of stages of revelation, Lessing, as an enlightenment philosopher, affirmed the legitimacy of progress in an age without any positive religion. In contrast J.G. Herder stressed the concept of the originality and the uniqueness of religious cultures. His theory of revelation, developed in his treatise *God* (1787/1800), and his meta-criticism of Kant's *Criticism of Pure Reason* (1799), transformed revelation into an ontological term of a dynamic metaphysic: every manifestation of nature and history is revelation of the divine being. Whereas Spinoza had especially attacked the Old Testament religion, Herder sympathized with Spinoza's *Ethica* but fought for the acceptance of the Hebrew religion as an original form possessing its own style of life, feeling, and thinking. Also Fr. Schleiermacher's famous *Speeches on the Religion* (1799) defended all positive religions by the term revelation in a broad sense when he defined that "every original and new view of the universe" is revelation.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> *Über die Religion. Reden an die Gebildeten unter ihren Verächtern* (Berlin: Unger 1799), 118–120.

This philosophical theology and metaphysics of history, although neither accepted by orthodoxy nor by deism, solved a lot of problems. The criticism of biblical writings and of Church history could easily be accepted because they forfeited their significance for understanding the central features of religious life. No longer was the truth of certain historical reports placed at the centre but religious feeling and living. No longer were particular events of the past the most important feature but the reality of the specific religious consciousness in history. The plurality of religions was no longer seen as a source of conflict and threat to personal belief, but rather as based on the will of God whose infinite majesty manifests itself in various religions. All forms of anthropomorphism, sharply criticized by the Enlightenment, now appeared as revelations and as God's own actions. The historical and "positive" character of religion was not the unreasonable and merely "statuary" anymore, as I. Kant said, but on the contrary the specific feature of religion. By this conception, history of religion was established as an important theological discipline.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, there was often no clear division between theology and philosophy, and in both disciplines revelation became a hermeneutical term to articulate the connection between the absolute being and changing world of history. In his *System of Transcendental Idealism* (1800) the philosopher F.W.J. Schelling claimed that "history as a whole is a progressive, gradually developing revelation".<sup>56</sup> Similarly, in G.F.W. Hegel's philosophy, the absolute spirit only exists through its continued revelation in history. On the other side, the theologian Ph. Marheinecke explained that God is only conceivable as a self-revealing God and the whole world must be seen as the work of God's revelation. Even in the dogmatics of the so-called Catholic Tübingen School, the universe, the world and humanity were considered as God's revelation. Therefore, according to F. A. Staudenmaier, the Christian view of the world is a historical one: "Christianity [...] is *the system of God's activities*. God's activities cannot but be conceived historically, and that is whence the historical view of the world (*die historische Weltanschauung*) of Christianity generates itself".<sup>57</sup> Whereas philosophy and theology proceeded in a similar framework, also the gap between their metaphysics of history and professional history writing was often more one of degrees of distance but not of a different grounding. The former directly explained the divine source of historical development and on this background, historians concentrated on critical research.

Since that time, historical theology began to work in close connection with philosophers as well as in accordance with all historians of the philosophical faculty. First of all, the method was required to be strictly historical. In 1818, M. L. de Wette tried to show "biblical literature in its real historical relations and peculiarities", and for this he sought to avoid the ordinary "burden of hypotheses" and to aim solely at facts and their combination to form a "historical picture" which is in harmony with the whole history.<sup>58</sup> To understand biblical

<sup>56</sup> *Sämtliche Werke*, I/3 (Stuttgart/Augsburg: Cotta 1858), 603.

<sup>57</sup> *Geist der göttlichen Offenbarung, oder Wissenschaft der Geschichtsprinzipien des Christentums* (Gießen 1837; repr. Frankfurt/M: Minerva 1967), 14–15.

<sup>58</sup> *Lehrbuch der historisch-kritischen Einleitung in die kanonischen und apokryphischen Bücher des Alten Testaments* (Berlin: Reimer 1852), VI–VII (Vorrede zur ersten Ausgabe, 1818).

writings in a historical way, de Wette described the “natural, social, and political-religious conditions” of the Hebrew nation and called his book “a quasi statistic of the old Hebrew way of life” (*gleichsam eine Statistik des alten hebräischen Volkslebens*).<sup>59</sup> Being historical without dogmatic suppositions, his research was nevertheless in accordance with his dogmatic theology because for de Wette Christian faith has nothing to do with miracles which break laws of nature but divines God’s effects in the consciousness of the sacred authors.<sup>60</sup> Because human reason cannot be regarded as complete and static but rooted in “mystic depth” and action in history, in de Wette’s “higher rationalism”, the concept of a revelation beyond reason and nature has lost its basis.<sup>61</sup> In biblical texts, de Wette distinguished three elements: symbols, myths, and dogmas. The interpreter has to seek for “ideas”, the bases of symbols and myths, “ideas in their historical setting”. But because all religious speech is rooted in a particular mood ultimately real understanding of religion is based on faith and feeling, too.<sup>62</sup> De Wette repeatedly stressed his historical intention and presented his dogmatics in “its historical development”. But mainly due to the religious engagement of the interpreter, the Tübingen School did not accept his approach as a truly historical one. Indeed, the method of D.F. Strauss’ *Life of Jesus* (1835) was historical in a very different sense. Strauss demanded the complete abdication of theological presuppositions for biblical studies and the same “unchristian neutral presuppositions” as of all other studies: “everything in the world always happens in the same way”. “There is no purely historical consciousness without insight into the unbreakable chain of defined causes and into the impossibility of miracle”.<sup>63</sup> The result of his research shocked theologians and the religious community: most of the biblical stories appeared as myths. Whereas de Wette tried to show harmony between methodical research and religious faith, Strauss’ historical approach destroyed traditional convictions and opened a sharp conflict between historical method and faith. Biblical religion is seen as belonging to the past and is now obsolete, and all hope for a revival by new speculative or mystical philosophy is in vain.<sup>64</sup> When in 1892 M. Kähler fought against the *Historizismus* of the research concerned with the life of Jesus, he was at first provoked to do so by Strauss. For him, studies in history were weapons of criticism in every case, also in the field of dogmatics. To criticize a certain dogma we have only to study its historical development: “The true criticism of dogma is its history”.<sup>65</sup> But F. Chr. Baur, founder of the Tübingen School, corrected the view of Strauss – not

<sup>59</sup> *Lehrbuch der hebräisch-jüdischen Archäologie nebst einem Grundrisse der hebräisch-jüdischen Geschichte* (Leipzig: Vogel 1864), 1–2.

<sup>60</sup> *Lehrbuch der christlichen Dogmatik, in ihrer historischen Entwicklung dargestellt* (1816; 3rd anew rev. edn.; Berlin: Reimer 1840), II. *Dogmatik der protestantischen Kirche nach den symbolischen Büchern und den älteren Dogmatiken beider Confessionen*, 37–40, §§25–26b.

<sup>61</sup> “Eine Bemerkung”, *ThStKr* 1 (1828) 563–567.

<sup>62</sup> *Lehrbuch der christlichen Dogmatik, I. Biblische Dogmatik alten und Neuen Testaments. Oder kritische Darstellung der Religionslehre des Hebraismus, des Judenthums und Christenthums* (3rd rev. edn.; Berlin: Reimer 1831), 30–39, §§ 49–59.

<sup>63</sup> *Das Leben Jesu, kritisch bearbeitet* (Tübingen: Osiander 1838), 97, 86.

<sup>64</sup> *Das Leben Jesu* (1835/38), VIII–IX.

<sup>65</sup> *Die christliche Glaubenslehre in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung und im Kampfe mit der Wissenschaft dargestellt*, I–II (Tübingen: Osiander/Stuttgart: Köhler 1840/1841), I, 71.

by theological arguments but by a more diligent historical methodology. Baur rejected theological suppositions, too: The historian's relation to his subject has to be "more or less indifferent" without "false subjective interests". But whereas Strauss was asking for facts, true "historical criticism" for Baur first has to investigate the viewpoint and interest of the author and his relation to his story. In this way, Baur turned from criticism of reported events to criticism of texts, for he had learned criticism of sources by the historian B. G. Niebuhr. He found a new historical order of the Gospels and was able to show the origin of Christianity as the most important movement in world history.<sup>66</sup> Baur affirmed that the understanding of culture only became exclusively historical in his century; the "great question of the time" – the question of the essence of Christianity and its authority – could only be answered by historical research, by exploring its origin and growth.<sup>67</sup> For Baur, Christian history was not the decline of religion but the revelation of the spirit. In order to conceive historical developments of religious and theological thoughts, he adopted Hegelian thinking and structured the history of Christian dogmas as a dialectical progress of ideas, as a "spiritual progress" in which the "essence of spirit reveals itself". Only by that "higher standpoint of historical thinking" can history be surveyed and considered as a whole.<sup>68</sup> Against crude empiricism, he explained – in accordance with G. W. F. Hegel and J. G. Droysen – that historical facts are not simply given. Only our thinking achieves the "objectivity of matter" which treats general thoughts as units and sources of manifold action and particular thoughts of people. In distinction from Strauss, therefore, the presupposition of historical understanding has to be speculative reason. When W. Dilthey proclaimed that modern religious sciences should at last heal the wound which they had cut,<sup>69</sup> he may have remembered Baur's reaction to Strauss' "negative criticism". In 1865, Dilthey had praised the immense work of Baur since we owe the understanding of Christianity in history as a whole by true critical research to him.<sup>70</sup> But Baur's work was also characterized as the beginning of "historicism" in a critical sense, for instance by R. Bultmann.<sup>71</sup> Provoked by permanent conflicts with his theological critics Baur defended vehemently freedom of research and scientific methodology. There was an agreement that research should not simply accumulate a totality of facts, but for some authors, Baur's "historical criticism" seemed to dominate, or even overwhelm, the individualities of phenomena by philosophical schemas.<sup>72</sup> A. Ritschl did not accept that the miracles of the New Testament

<sup>66</sup> *Kritische Untersuchung über die kanonischen Evangelien, ihr Verhältnis zu einander, ihren Charakter und Ursprung* (Tübingen: Fues 1847), 71–76.

<sup>67</sup> *Paulus, der Apostel Jesu Christi. Sein Leben und Wirken, seine Briefe und seine Lehre. Ein Beitrag zu einer kritischen Geschichte des Urchristentums*, I (2nd edn. by E. Zeller; Leipzig: Fues (Reisland) 1866), VI (Vorrede zur ersten Auflage, 1845), 3–5.

<sup>68</sup> *Lehrbuch der christlichen Dogmengeschichte* (Stuttgart: Becher's Verlag 1847), VIII–X, 9.

<sup>69</sup> "Das Problem der Religion" (1911), in: Dilthey, *Gesammelte Schriften*, VI: *Die geistige Welt. Einleitung in die Philosophie des Lebens*, II (Stuttgart: Teubner/Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1962), 303.

<sup>70</sup> "Ferdinand Christian Baur", *Gesammelte Schriften*, IV: *Die Jugendgeschichte Hegels und andere Abhandlungen zur Geschichte des deutschen Idealismus* (Leipzig/Berlin: Teubner 1921), 402.

<sup>71</sup> Kraus, *Die biblische Theologie* (1970), 145–146.

<sup>72</sup> K. HASE, *Die Tübinger Schule. Ein Sendschreiben an Herrn Dr. Ferdinand Christian von Baur* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel 1855; repr.: F. Chr. Baur, *Ausgewählte Werke*, ed. K. Scholder; Stutt-

should be discounted on the basis of Baur's historical method.<sup>73</sup> Because of the tension or even conflict between philosophy and historical study, the influence of Hegelianism diminished. In Baur's *Lectures on New Testament Theology* (1852–1860)<sup>74</sup> and also in W. Vatke's "unbiased research" of his *Historical-Critical Introduction to the Old Testament*, only a few Hegelian elements can be noticed.<sup>75</sup>

In the works of the new history of religion, which arose at the end of the nineteenth century, the impact of L. von Ranke and J. G. Droysen is predominant. As we read in their programmatic proclamations, the school was led only by a "historical interest".<sup>76</sup> Avoiding theories and searching for historical reality, the scholars aimed for a "distinctive realism"<sup>77</sup> and, following von Ranke, demanded to seek what had really happened.<sup>78</sup> Therefore, they were constantly willing to correct their suppositions by the "constraint of facts".<sup>79</sup> But because the historian had "to make the facts speak", they requested *thoughts* which produced facts. Again following von Ranke, e.g. R. Kittel would show the "effective forces" and the "leading ideas" without the premise of systematic philosophy.<sup>80</sup> From this the main subject was not simply criticism of linguistic sources but moreover the exploration of the underlying base of those documents: i.e. piety and the real religious life of particular societies. For this task, W. Wrede and H. Gunkel remembered J. G. Herder's ideas on empathy and demanded to empathize with the religious life of past cultures.<sup>81</sup> Whereas the specific feature of a particular religion had to be described, they looked at the context, too, at the whole culture, at the previous religious traditions, and at the religious life of neighbouring nations. According to E. Troeltsch, the adequate method consists of three elements: *criticism* (of the linguistic sources), *analogy* (of reported events to similar experiences), and *interdependency* (between historical phenomena).<sup>82</sup> For

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gart-Bad Cannstatt: Frommann 1975, V, 7–116; see 71–76). Baur's response: *An Herrn Dr. Karl Hase. Beantwortung des Sendschreibens die Tübinger Schule* (Tübingen: Fues 1855; repr. F. Chr. Baur, *Ausgewählte Werke*, V (1975), 117–220; esp. 197–199).

<sup>73</sup> "Ueber geschichtliche Methode in der Erforschung des Urchristenthums", *JDTh* 6 (1861) 429–459; repr. F. Chr. Baur, *Ausgewählte Werke*, V (1975), 467–499.

<sup>74</sup> *Vorlesungen über Neutestamentliche Theologie* (ed. F. Fried. Baur; Leipzig: Fues (Reisland) 1864).

<sup>75</sup> *Historisch-kritische Einleitung in das Alte Testament* (ed. H. G. S. Preiss; Bonn: Strauss 1886).

<sup>76</sup> W. WREDE, "Das theologische Studium und die Religionsgeschichte" (1903), in: idem, *Vorträge und Studien* (Tübingen: Mohr (Siebeck) 1907), 64–83, see 65, 67.

<sup>77</sup> Wrede, *Das theologische Studium* (1903), 65.

<sup>78</sup> Murrmann-Kahl, *Die entzauberte Heilsgeschichte* (1992), 300–304.

<sup>79</sup> H. GUNKEL, *Israel und Babylonien. Der Einfluss Babyloniens auf die israelitische Religion* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1903), 15; W. BOUSSET, *Kyrios Christos. Geschichte des Christusglaubens von den Anfängen des Christentums bis Irenäus* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1926), XIII (Vorwort zur ersten Auflage, 1913).

<sup>80</sup> *Geschichte des Volkes Israel, 1. Band: Palästina in der Urzeit. Das Werden des Volkes. Geschichte der Zeit bis zum Tode Josuas* (1888; Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer 1932), 4–6.

<sup>81</sup> Wrede, *Das theologische Studium* (1903), 65; H. GUNKEL, *Die Religionsgeschichte und die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft. Vortrag. Sonderausgabe aus dem Protokoll des 5. Weltkongresses für Freies Christentum und Religiösen Fortschritt Berlin 1910* (Berlin-Schöneberg: Protestantischer Schriftvertrieb 1910), 10.

<sup>82</sup> "Ueber historische und dogmatische Methode in der Theologie" (1898), in: idem, *Zur religiösen Lage, Religionsphilosophie und Ethik* (Tübingen 1913), repr. in: *Gesammelte Schriften*, II, Tübingen: Mohr (Siebeck) 1922; repr. Aalen: Scientia 1962), 729–753, cit. 732, 740.

Troeltsch, these methods transformed the whole of theology and caused a break in the “Christian world of ideas” because they only granted a probability of propositions, no certainty, and showed everything as a “product of the flow of history”. Therefore, Troeltsch called the realization of historical methodology in theology a “complete revolution of our way of thinking”, similar to the modern sciences of nature.<sup>83</sup>

The scholars of this direction emphasized the advantages of their project. Just like L. von Ranke who stressed the universality of historical research,<sup>84</sup> they opened the perspective, discovered different old oriental cultures and their influence on biblical writings more and more. Exploring the character of a particular religion by constantly comparing it with connected religions, existing before or at the same time, they had to work in permanent cooperation with other academic disciplines, historical and philological; and religious history could be acknowledged as an important part of modern cultural history. But using the methods of all historical scholarship and becoming a part of the scientific community, the history of religion moved further away from the contemporary life of Churches. The former subject of theological studies, Jewish and Christian religion, seemed to be mere transient waves in the immense flow of religious life in history. Therefore, H. Gunkel spoke of alienation between the Church and modern scholarship.<sup>85</sup> But methodical history of religion was in a broad sense theological, too. Nearly all scholars absorbed the wide concept of revelation which is mentioned above as an important base and frame of historical study. According to E. Troeltsch, we have to give up the narrow “authoritarian” supernatural concept of revelation and accept that “all religion is rooted in religious intuition or revelation”.<sup>86</sup> A similar concept can be found in the writings of the other authors: We have to speak of revelation if the human soul feels near to God. Revelation as “effect of God” can be found in all religions, and the whole history of religious life of mankind has to be seen as “a great work of God”.<sup>87</sup> Although the plurality of religions was acknowledged, historians were nevertheless engaged in confirming the “greatness” of the Hebrew religion<sup>88</sup> or, even more, Christianity as the “absolute religion”. Thus, they not only looked for *causes* of particular phenomena but studied religions with confidence in *teleology* of history in the whole. By doing this, they took up an older tendency again. Since the beginning of the strong historical awareness, thinking had followed two contrasting directions and acknowledged the individual worth of different cultures on the one side whereas on the other a certain progress and goal of the whole history were frequently affirmed. In his first version of philosophy of history, J. G. Herder stressed the individuality of cultures and its values but in his later con-

<sup>83</sup> Ueber historische und dogmatische Methode (1898), 730, 735.

<sup>84</sup> von Ranke, Idee der Universalhistorie [1831 or 1831/32], 79; Ueber die Verwandtschaft und den Unterschied der Historie und der Politik (1836), 291.

<sup>85</sup> Israel und Babylonien (1903), 3.

<sup>86</sup> Ueber historische und dogmatische Methode (1898), 729, 731, 739.

<sup>87</sup> Gunkel, Israel und Babylonien (1903), 15; idem, Die Religionsgeschichte und die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft (1910), 13; Wrede, Das theologische Studium (1903), 66; W. Bousset, *Das Wesen der Religion dargestellt an ihrer Geschichte* (Halle: Gebauer-Schwetschke 1904), 8.

<sup>88</sup> Gunkel, Israel und Babylonien (1903), 24.

ception he also claimed a universal progress of reason, justice, and humanity. In his famous *Speeches on the Religion*, F. Schleiermacher defended all positive religions as divine revelations but expounded Christianity as the highest religious form, as the "religion of religions".<sup>89</sup> For L. von Ranke, all epochs were in the same way near to God but he would not deny that there is a certain progress, too, and the idea of the education of mankind had some truth for him.<sup>90</sup> J. G. Droysen called for the interpretation of events in their individual context, but he saw a developing humanity in history as a whole. These two tendencies can also be found in the history of religion around 1900. The methodical approach called for all religions of the world to be studied for their individual distinctness. At the same time, the historian was also looking at his own situation and age. For E. Troeltsch, religious history can demonstrate Christianity to be "the highest moral force", A. von Harnack and W. Bousset spoke of ascent in religious development, and similarly, for W. Wrede history as a whole not only showed plurality but a "progressive revelation".<sup>91</sup> Later, for E. Troeltsch historical methodology cannot prove Christianity to be the "absolute religion" as G. W. F. Hegel called it but the historical approach can explain the highest value of that religion for our own culture and life.<sup>92</sup> Close to Hegel, for Troeltsch the historian has to accept the following supposition: We need a belief in the self-revelation of divine reason in history.<sup>93</sup> Because historical study must concentrate on particular individualities (of persons or cultures) it also has to look for universal progress; for Troeltsch Leibniz on the one hand and Hegel on the other were the most important philosophers. In his philosophical theology, the strict division between human and divine spirit was abandoned up in the same way as the dualism of secular and salvific history (*Heilsgeschichte*). In this way, objective history cannot be valued as senseless and chaotic but shows a particular tendency towards a goal, based in God's revelation. That was the reason for Troeltsch's hope that in the future religious history will even show the "glory of God in history" and will be fruitful for the Christian community.<sup>94</sup>

Until today, E. Troeltsch' work is the main subject of theological discussions on historicism because he defended historical studies as inevitable, and also reflected the consequences for theology as a whole. Reading his works, we can reconstruct the ambiguity of the term historicism. He vehemently defended historicism as a combination of philosophical history and methodical research in order to give a normative orientation in practical life. He later called this alliance

<sup>89</sup> Über die Religion (1799), 310.

<sup>90</sup> Ueber die Epochen der neueren Geschichte (1888), 5–6; Idee der Universalhistorie [1831 or 1831/32], 85.

<sup>91</sup> Troeltsch, Über historische und dogmatische Methode (1898), 746–747; A. von Harnack, "Die Aufgabe der theologischen Fakultäten und die allgemeine Religionsgeschichte, nebst einem Nachwort" (1901), *Reden und Aufsätze*, II (Giessen <sup>2</sup>1906), 168–174; Bousset, Das Wesen der Religion (1904), 6–7; Wrede, Das theologische Studium und die Religionsgeschichte (1903), 66, 76–77.

<sup>92</sup> E. Troeltsch, "Die Dogmatik der –religionsgeschichtlichen Schule" (1913), in: Zur religiösen Lage (1913), resp. in: Ges. Schriften (1922, repr. 1962), 509.

<sup>93</sup> Über historische und dogmatische Methode (1898), 745, 747.

<sup>94</sup> Über historische und dogmatische Methode (1898), 739; cf. Gunkel, Die Religionsgeschichte und die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft (1910), 14.



the “good historicism”.<sup>95</sup> At the same time, he excoriated historical positivism, which is confined to the accumulation of facts, and rather more the historical relativism with its nihilistic skepticism. In 1903, he criticized E. Renan as the prototype of such a position: The fatal problem of Renan’s work about the life of Jesus is the loss of aims, the “historical skepticism and relativism” which confronted with “thousands of past religious feelings and opinions does not find the courage to present its own position”.<sup>96</sup> E. Renan represented the “bad historicism” which Troeltsch sharply attacked in 1913 as the heritage and burden of the nineteenth century.<sup>97</sup>

But other authors would not distinguish between ‘good’ and ‘bad’ historicism and were opposed to the whole historical movement. J. Burckhardt, as a student, was alienated by the historical approach to the Bible of W. M. L. de Wette and left the theological faculty.<sup>98</sup> A. Ritschl did not follow his teacher F. C. Baur and based his dogmatics on Kantian principles. In 1873, F. Overbeck claimed that the historical research of modern theology destroys religion<sup>99</sup> – an important supposition of F. Nietzsche’s famous attack against exaggerated historical thinking in general. The conflict grew with the advance of the history of religion noted above: Now even the idea was discussed to transform theological faculties into faculties of religious history.<sup>100</sup> Whereas at the end of the eighteenth century rationalistic philosophy was often attacked by theologians, at the end of the nineteenth century the main danger was seen in historical research. In this situation, “historicism” became a weapon of criticism and that even within opposed parties.

In 1897, M. Kähler called the theology which is exclusively based on historical research “overstrained historicism” because in this way the biblical canon is split in divergent directions. In 1904, J. Kaftan underlined this intention: Historicism accepts only historical methods in theology, and he reaffirmed the “urgent need of dogmatics” in his time. According to O. Kirn, the Bible in the context of religious faith is the only true revelation of God and not a historical source, therefore religious faith and historical criticism must be divided.<sup>101</sup> E. Troeltsch was fighting against historical relativism and wrote about W. Dilthey that he was drifting like a ship without a helm in the richness of history. But he himself was accused of this historicism, and with almost the same words.<sup>102</sup>

In the nineteenth century, one of the important contrapositions to historicism was seen in the theology of A. Ritschl. But in 1904, F. J. Schmidt attacked his theology as “historicism”, too, namely in the meaning of “positivism”, which

<sup>95</sup> *Der Historismus und seine Probleme* (1922).

<sup>96</sup> E. TROELTSCH, “Die theologische und religiöse Lage der Gegenwart” (1903), in: idem, *Zur religiösen Lage* (1913, <sup>2</sup>1922), 11.

<sup>97</sup> *Das neunzehnte Jahrhundert* (1913), in: idem, *Zur religiösen Lage* (1922).

<sup>98</sup> Howard, *Religion and the Rise of Historicism* (2000).

<sup>99</sup> F. Overbeck, *Über die Christlichkeit unserer heutigen Theologie* (1873; 2., um eine Einleitung und ein Nachwort vermehrte Auflage; Leipzig 1903; repr. Darmstadt: Wiss. Buchgesellschaft 1963).

<sup>100</sup> von Harnack, *Die Aufgabe der theologischen Fakultäten* (1901).

<sup>101</sup> *Glaube und Geschichte* (1900) 33.

<sup>102</sup> E. Troeltsch, “Wilhelm Dilthey”, *Festgabe von Fachgenossen und Freunden für A. von Harnack zum siebenzigsten Geburtstag dargebracht* (Tübingen 1921), 288; Bodenstein, *Neige des Historismus* (1959), 189.

knows nothing but empirical facts, and he recommended the idealistic philosophy of history to overcome such a narrow view.<sup>103</sup> In 1908, F. Kattenbusch repeated this criticism with a more precise accent: The *Historismus* of Ritschl is positivism of a "closed, fixed revelation" by which the dogmatics gets the character of master over the individual.<sup>104</sup> In this context, historicism means conservatism or traditionalism, similar to the use of the term by L. Feuerbach. As theology has to refer to the Bible, nearly every theologian could be criticized as being a historicist. But normally the term means historical research which came up in the nineteenth century. At the beginning of the twentieth century, E. Troeltsch and F. Meinecke historicized this way of thinking and defended its achievements. But because research and religious faith are different, the term often did not lose the critical accent and like in philosophy and history writing, also in theology the problems of historicism are discussed until today.<sup>105</sup>

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<sup>103</sup> *Der Niedergang des Protestantismus. Eine religionsphilosophische Studie (Wissenschaftliche Beilage zum Jahresbericht der Dorotheenschule zu Berlin, Ostern 1904)*; Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung 1904), 23–24.

<sup>104</sup> "Theologie", RE XXI (31908), 912.

<sup>105</sup> Murrmann-Kahl, *Historismusdebatten* (2001); Schröter, *Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* (2003).

## CHAPTER FOUR

# Expansion of the Historical Context of the Hebrew Bible/Old Testament

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## 1. Introduction

The nineteenth century began with vague maps of the Holy Land possessed of recognizable coastlines and a sprinkling of biblical place-names cartographically established, like Jerusalem, and others earnestly believed in, like the Cities of the Plain. The dead languages of the Fertile Crescent awaited decipherment. Although Europeans had transported Egyptian monuments to Rome centuries earlier and intrepid Enlightenment travelers like C. Niebuhr circulated drawings of Achaemenid art, the hermeneutical keys to their mysteries were lacking, while the visual imaginary of ancient Mesopotamia was undreamed of. By century’s end, maps accurate to within one inch to the English mile existed for Palestine, Egyptian and cuneiform texts had been translated by the hundreds, artwork from Egypt and Mesopotamia graced Euro-American museums and affordable history books, and the convoluted history of Jerusalem’s built environment began to emerge as an exciting adjunct to the exegetical toolbox.

The exploration of the ancient Near East by nineteenth-century Euro-Americans stemmed from a host of competing motives that the reader should bear in mind.

*Biblical Confirmation.* The Bible lay at the foundation of practical Victorian Protestantism. For example, the Mesopotamian archaeologist A. Layard received the Freedom of the City of London in 1853, a rarely bestowed honorarium given him by the Mayor of the City of London: All of the speeches connected with that award, including Layard’s, belabored the point that the chief significance of disinterring ancient Assyria lay in confirming the truth of Scripture, a confirmation wholly dependent on successful decipherment. Substantial drivers behind this push were challenges to traditional biblical literalism posed by German

source-critical theory, secular disbelief in miracles, and geological and evolutionary affronts to the Genesis creation narratives.

*Secular Historiography.* The exploration of the Middle East held the promise that “lost” civilizations could be recovered, thus permitting Assyria and Babylonia, Pharaonic Egypt, Achaemenid Persia and ancient Syria-Palestine to speak in their own languages through their own material culture.

*Euro-American Nationalism.* European struggle for global hegemony expressed itself in ancient Near Eastern exploration through the laurels of decipherment and trophies secured for national museums. True or false, England claimed to possess more – and more dazzling – Assyrian antiquities than France; it was imperative that the British Jack should wave over the first prize in decipherment as well. Centuries of American Protestant self-identification as the New Zion led, ultimately, to E. Robinson’s pioneering research in historical geography.

*Imperialism.* Physical survey and mapping of new territories was the critical first step for military and economic exploitation. With few exceptions, the major cartographic programs in the Fertile Crescent yielded ordnance maps funded by military budgets. Many explorers, like Layard and the members of the Palestine Exploration Fund survey teams, actively engaged in intelligence work for their governments.

*Commerce.* Nearly 4 million Bibles were issued annually in England by 1861: those illustrated with engravings from landscape sketches “made on the spot” and recognizable antiquities briskly outsold the others; the enterprising London publisher John Murray had begun to cash in on this market early in the century. The advent of Cook’s steamship tours to the Holy Land in 1869 signified the increasingly lucrative investment of middle-class wealth in Middle Eastern travel, antiquities and mementos. Discoveries by H.C. Rawlinson with Bible tie-ins earned headlines in illustrated weeklies as well as staid academic periodicals, and made newspaper editors happy.

*Graphic Illustration and Rise of a New Visual Culture.* A close and positive relationship exists between the creation of the biblical archaeology movement and the rise of print technologies geared to the mass production of illustrated text. With the perfection of the white-line technique of wood engraving, illustrations could be mass-produced cheaply for the first time in history, augmented by photographic reproductions in the latter part of the era. Travelogues, parlor Bibles and *Denkmäler* editions both stoked intellectual curiosity and satisfied it through richly illustrated – and affordable – publications that educated efficiently by organizing information through novel means.

## 2. The Bible in the Context of the Ancient Near East – the Significance of New Comparative Texts

In 1818 an American Bible was published with a reproduction of a seventeenth century copperplate illustration of the Tower of Babel, flanked by engravings of two cuneiform brick inscriptions exhibited in New York City the previous year.



Although the Vermont publisher provided provenance details and physical descriptions of the objects, the inscriptions could not be read. The connection between such inscribed objects and the legendary builders of Babel in Genesis 11 was, however, a scholarly commonplace. The implicit assumption underlying this remarkable illustration, the first cuneiform inscription published in America and the first published in any Bible, was that the Middle East holds linguistic treasures from highest antiquity useful for contextualizing biblical events, and that someday, undoubtedly, keys would be found to unlock these riddling texts.<sup>1</sup>

The Enlightenment yielded tools for the decipherment of ancient Near Eastern languages and the certain confidence that the texts would illuminate scriptural events like the Exodus and the fall of Jerusalem. Access to original texts in prior centuries alone did not culminate in accurate translations. G.F. Grotefend extracted royal names and titles from the Old Persian Persepolis inscriptions in 1802, but full decipherment of a lengthy Achaemenid inscription would wait until 1846. Decipherment of Semitic Akkadian, written in an ancient script created for non-Semitic Sumerian, was a critical outcome of the Anglo-French contest for museum trophies and intellectual possession of the Bible-kingdoms of Assyria and Babylonia, an achievement by the Irish prelate E. Hincks and others, officially recognized as an accomplished fact by the Royal Asiatic Society in 1857. Hincks also laid down the foundation for deciphering Urartian, a project matured by A.H. Sayce in 1880.<sup>2</sup> J.-F. Champollion published his initial decipherment of hieroglyphic Egyptian in 1822, with the polyvalent system of the glyphs described by R. Lepsius in 1836.<sup>3</sup> Himyaritic, a south Arabic dialect, deciphered by E. Rödiger and W. Gesenius by 1841, materially assisted the science of Semitic comparative philology. Numerous inscriptions in Neo-Luvian hieroglyphics, identified as Hittite at the time, would be published in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, but effective decipherment would wait until the next century.<sup>4</sup>

While popular periodical accounts of archaeological discoveries and the profitable genre of the travelogue were often the first means by which such news entered Europe and America, the tiny number of savants capable of working with primary texts ensured that, for the first decades at least, initial access to translations would be through scientific monographs and papers read before learned societies. Once they were published, however, the appetite for biblical confirmation led to the creation of popularizing syntheses directly aimed at the biblical studies market, which in turn would be further disseminated through detailed reviews in magazines like *Blackwood's Magazine* and the *Edinburgh Review*. For instance, by 1830 two lengthy accounts of the decipherment of Egyptian and the elements of ancient Egyptian civilization had been printed in

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<sup>1</sup> Holloway, *Austin's Asiatic Antiquities* (2008), 287–298.

<sup>2</sup> Hincks, *On the Inscriptions at Van* (1848), 387–449; Sayce, *Cuneiform Inscriptions at Van* (1882), 377–732.

<sup>3</sup> Bibliographies for any of the Egyptologists mentioned in this study are listed after their entries in Dawson/Uphill/Bierbrier, *Who Was Who in Egyptology* (1995).

<sup>4</sup> Daniels, *Methods of Decipherment* (1996).

English. Marquis Spineto, a lecturer in history at Cambridge University, published a series of lectures describing the progress of Egyptology, in the course of which he provides woodcuts of the cartouches of all the Pharaohs deciphered or guessed at, names and titles of the gods, and an inscription on a sarcophagus lid excavated by G. Belzoni. The harmonization of ancient history follows the usual pattern, with the chronology of the Septuagint defended against the Egyptian monuments.<sup>5</sup> In 1830 the Andover biblical authority M. Stuart and his son Isaac translated and annotated a work by J. G. H. Greppo on Champollion's decipherment and the application of Egyptology to biblical studies. In his preface M. Stuart observes that

The interest which the Christian public is now taking in the subject of Egyptian Hieroglyphics, renders it desirable that some work should appear, which may impart the information necessary to gratify literary and religious curiosity. Egypt was the mother of the arts, sciences, letters, and learning, in the ancient western world. Its history, at a very remote period, stands connected with that of the people of God. The philosopher as well as the Christian, then, cannot help feeling a deep interest, in having the dust of ages which has covered the monuments and the glory of Egypt, swept away; and in seeing her rising from her obscurity and ruins, with renovated splendor.<sup>6</sup>

In the early years, diplomatic text editions of unique monuments were the primary means of dissemination. Egypt was unique in its myriad funerary inscriptions that memorialized the voices of private individuals as well as kings and queens; in other parts of the Fertile Crescent, lengthy inscriptions chronicled royalty, and so most of the earliest texts to be deciphered were historiographic, fortuitously, as these texts tend to provoke fewer translational riddles and contain the place-names and royal names that Europeans hoped to find.<sup>7</sup>

With decreasing costs for academic periodicals and Near Eastern exploration increasingly sponsored by museums, universities and private societies, learned bodies catering to the novel specialization of ancient Near Eastern studies issued journals that frequently published newly discovered inscriptions for the first time.

Five texts achieved “stop-press” status upon publication: the Moabite Stone, “Chaldean Genesis”, Siloam Tunnel Inscription, Tell el-Amarna tablets, and the “Israel” stele of Merneptah. The Moabite Stone inscription recounts the exploits of King Mesha’ of Moab in his own words, describing his military victory over the Israelite Omrides. A series of swashbuckling misadventures in 1868–69 involving Prussian, French and British agents resulted in the deliberate breaking of the object by its owners, the Bani-Hamideh, leaving fragments and a defective squeeze for scientific posterity. This was precisely the kind of meaty ancient narrative, filled with identifiable kings and toponyms heretofore attested only in the

<sup>5</sup> Spineto, *Lectures on the Elements of Hieroglyphics* (1829).

<sup>6</sup> Greppo, *Essay on the Hieroglyphic System* (1830), iii.

<sup>7</sup> Champollion and most thoughtful epigraphers recognized they were racing against vandalism, theft or simply the ravages of time, and understood that their records might be all that survive, hence the enormous geographical breadth of coverage. With tightening restrictions by indigenous antiquities laws on European archaeologists (the first in the Middle East was promulgated under Muhammad Ali in 1835, the Ottomans instituted protective legislation in 1874), including requirements for publication, the genre of the excavation report increasingly replaced the *Denkmäler* survey as the locus of the text *editio princeps*.

Bible, that Bible-fearing Egyptologists longed to discover in Egyptian royal inscriptions but never did.<sup>8</sup>

In 1872, G. Smith, working in the British Museum tablet collection, recognized the similarity between fragments of the flood story in the Gilgamesh Epic (unidentified as such at the time) and the biblical Deluge narrative. He delivered a public lecture before the Society for Biblical Archaeology; W. Gladstone, the Prime Minister, attended. The “Daily Telegraph” editor, scenting subscription profits, offered Smith 1,000 guineas to personally travel to the Assyrian capitals and locate other portions of the narrative. The interminable title of the 1876 publication summarizes Smith’s estimation of the impact this and related texts would exert on OT studies: *The Chaldean Account of Genesis, Containing the Description of the Creation, the Fall of Man, the Deluge, the Tower of Babel, the Times of the Patriarchs, and Nimrod: Babylonian Fables, and Legends of the Gods; from the Cuneiform Inscriptions.*<sup>9</sup>

Another inscription that roused comparable interest was the so-called Siloam Tunnel Inscription, an inscription cut in paleo-Hebrew characters that recounts the boring of a water tunnel beneath the eastern hill of Jerusalem, presumably dating from the reign of Hezekiah. It was first identified by C. Schick in 1880; the naïve excitement of the narrative adds a colorful dimension to a dry biblical passage (2 Kgs 20:20 || 2 Chr 32:30), while the datable inscription provided an early control for biblical Hebrew syntax and vocabulary.<sup>10</sup>

Apart from the Moabite Stone, the Tell el-Amarna tablets launched more diplomatic text editions and secondary studies in the nineteenth century than any other corpus from the ancient Near East. The texts, comprised primarily of imperial correspondence exchanged between Amenophis III and Akhenaten and their vassals in Western Asia, were excavated by local fellahin at Tell el-Amarna and sold on the antiquities market in 1887. The tablets, written in a peripheral Akkadian heavily influenced by the Canaanite dialects of the writers, were appropriated by their modern interpreters to demonstrate almost anything, including the universal sweep of Babylonian civilization, the facticity of the Exodus and the Conquest Narratives, and on occasion merely the political landscape of Late Bronze Age Syria-Palestine.<sup>11</sup>

In 1896, while excavating at Thebes, Petrie found a stele of Amenophis III that had been reused by Merneptah. In the midst of defeated Palestinian cities occurs *I.si.ri.ar*, “Israel”, marked by a people-determinative, the first time that “Israel” had been read in any Pharaonic inscription. “Won’t the reverends be pleased?” quipped Petrie to Spiegelberg, his epigrapher.<sup>12</sup> In the excavation publication, Petrie himself ran through the possibilities, all of which deal with the dating of the Exodus, none of which question the historicity of the event.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>8</sup> For bibliography and historical orientation to its discovery, see Dearman, *Studies in the Mesha Inscription* (1989).

<sup>9</sup> G. Smith, *Chaldean Account of Genesis* (1876).

<sup>10</sup> Guthe, *Die Siloahinschrift* (1882), 725–750.

<sup>11</sup> For bibliography see Borger, *Keilschriftliteratur*, III (1975), § 56.

<sup>12</sup> Quoted in Drower, *Flinders Petrie* (1985), 221.

<sup>13</sup> Petrie/Spiegelberg, *Six Temples at Thebes* (1897), 30; translation by Spiegelberg, 28–29, photograph and inscription pls. 13–14.

The truism that biblical confirmation motivated ancient Near Eastern studies is nowhere more evident than the reaction to two “lost and found” Assyrian kings. “Sargon” appears once in the Old Testament (Isa 20:1) but in no Greco-Roman text. Exegetes before the nineteenth century typically assumed that the name concealed a better known king like Sennacherib or Shalmaneser. Excavation of Sargon II’s palace at Khorsabad and publication of his numerous inscriptions rehabilitated the king for biblical students – no one, to my knowledge, resisted the identification after 1860. King Pul, on the other hand, mentioned three times in the Old Testament (2 Kgs 15:19, 1 Chr 5:26), failed to materialize in the Assyrian royal inscriptions, leading to nearly a quarter of a century’s worth of creative manipulation of Assyrian sentence names, chronological tinkering and outright denial. E. Schrader proposed in 1872 that the scriptural entity Pul = the scriptural and Assyriological entity Tiglath-pileser, an equation that won almost universal acceptance.<sup>14</sup>

In the following section we shall trace the reception of the new comparative literature through the venues of Bible dictionaries, lexicons, text anthologies, historical surveys, and Bible commentaries, handbooks, and “the monuments”.

*Bible Dictionaries.* E. Robinson, in his revision of Calmet’s venerable *Dictionary of the Holy Bible* (1832), displays encyclopedic knowledge of ancient and modern travelogues in his rewriting of the “Exodus” and “Babel” articles, but the man read no Egyptian and cites no newly translated texts. Thirty-one years later, J. P. Thompson’s entry on Memphis in W. Smith’s immensely popular *Dictionary of the Bible* cites the work of Champollion, Brugsch, Lepsius, Birch, Bunsen, Mariette, and Wilkinson, and notes that the city’s antiquities have been dispersed to European and American museums.<sup>15</sup> By 1898, an encyclopedic article by F. Hommel on Babylonia enumerates over 4,000 years’ worth of Sumerian, Kassite, Elamite, Assyrian and Babylonian rulers, deities, temples, and nine different literary compositions, outdated scholarship to be sure that otherwise reads like a contemporary entry in the RLA.<sup>16</sup>

*Lexicons.* Nineteenth-century Akkadian and Egyptian dictionaries, rarely more than glossaries keyed to a single text or text corpus, nevertheless often included text extracts for context. In 1883, Fried. Delitzsch, in a slender volume entitled *The Hebrew Language Viewed in the Light of Assyrian Research*, took the editors of the ninth edition of Gesenius’ Hebrew dictionary severely to task for traditional over-reliance on Arabic cognates and a corresponding disinclination to establish the etymologies of Hebrew words and verbal roots through comparative use of Akkadian.<sup>17</sup> Accordingly, the tenth German edition (1886) petulantly acknowledges its debt to Delitzsch.<sup>18</sup> By the thirteenth edition (1899), prepared under the meticulous editorship of F. Buhl, Akkadian cognates would

<sup>14</sup> See Holloway, *Quest for Sargon* (2002), 68–87.

<sup>15</sup> Thompson, Memphis, in: W. Smith, *Dictionary of the Bible*, II (1863), 318–321.

<sup>16</sup> Hommel, Babylonia, in: Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible*, I (1898), 214–230.

<sup>17</sup> Fried. Delitzsch, *Hebrew Language* (1883). The substance of Delitzsch’s volume appeared in a series of articles printed in the London *Athenaeum* (1883).

<sup>18</sup> Gesenius e.a., *Gesenius’ hebräisches und aramäisches Handwörterbuch* (<sup>10</sup>1886), v. The bow to Delitzsch also includes his *Prolegomena* (1886).

feature in the discussions of 16 lemmas in the *zayin* section alone, with references to primary Akkadian texts, lexica and abstruse journal discussions.<sup>19</sup>

*Text Anthologies in Translation.* In December of 1870, five years after the formation of the Palestine Exploration Fund, the influential Society of Biblical Archaeology was founded in London. Its members were enjoined, in the words of President S. Birch,

to collect from the fast-perishing monuments of the Semitic and cognate races illustrations of their history and peculiarities; to investigate and systematize the antiquities of the ancient and mighty empires and primeval peoples, whose records are centered around the venerable pages of the Bible.<sup>20</sup>

Due to the industry of this society, the first English anthology of ancient Near Eastern texts appeared between 1873 and 1881 in twelve volumes. *Records of the Past: Being English Translations of the Ancient Monuments of Egypt and Western Asia*, edited by Birch, comprised translations of Sumerian, Akkadian, Old Persian, and Egyptian texts, and the Moabite Stone, numbering some 172 entries, translated by 33 British and Continental scholars. On the flyleaf of each volume was printed “Note: Every text here given is either newly translated for the first time, or has been specially revised by the Author to the date of this publication”. Text selection was usually governed by material that either explicitly dealt with Syria-Palestine, added historical details to important reigns, or was perceived to illustrate cult and religious imagination. In some instances the titles chosen by the translators reflected their Christian background and biblical literacy, such as “Babylonian Saints’ Calendar” (extracts from the hemerology *Inbu bēl arḫī*), and “The Fight between Bel and the Dragon, and the Flaming Sword which Turned Every Way (Gen. III.24) from a Chaldean Tablet” (misunderstood extracts from tablet 4 of the creation account *Enūma eliš*). *Records of the Past* was reissued under the energetic editorship of Sayce in 1888–92.<sup>21</sup>

E. Schrader edited a remarkable series that attempted to publish reliable text editions and translations of Sumerian and Akkadian texts of all periods and places. *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek* (1889–1915) printed Romanized transliterations and translations on facing pages with critical notes, with editions and translations prepared by Schrader, L. Abel, C. Bezold, P. Jensen, F.E. Peiser, and H. Winckler. Three volumes covered royal inscriptions, including the Sumerian texts from Tello and other Babylonian sites; legal and administrative texts organized by reign; Winckler’s volume on the Tell el-Amarna corpus; and religious texts, divided into epics, myths and cult.

*Historical Surveys.* Heeren’s influential history of Asia and Persia (1812–15) appends an essay on the decipherment of the Persepolis inscriptions by Grotefend.<sup>22</sup> At mid century the publishing firm John Murray issued a translation by G. Rawlinson of Herodotus’ *History*, heavily annotated, with extensive appen-

<sup>19</sup> Gesenius e.a., Gesenius’ hebräisches und aramäisches Handwörterbuch (131899).

<sup>20</sup> Cited in Rogers, *History of Babylonia and Assyria*, 1 (1900), 245.

<sup>21</sup> Papyrus 10494 containing the *Wisdom of Amenemope* was illegally procured for the British Museum by E.A.W. Budge in 1888. A perfect candidate for *Records of the Past*, the text remained inaccessible until Budge himself published it in 1923.

<sup>22</sup> Grotefend, *Über die Erklärung der Keilschriften* (1812–15), 563–609.

dices by H. C. Rawlinson and J. G. Wilkinson. Volume two contains the balance of Wilkinson's contribution in the guise of illustrated essays on Egyptian origins, calendar, deities, Nilometers, modes of writing, gymnastics, geometry, and an Egyptian history, embellished with the occasional cartouche woodcut. H. C. Rawlinson concludes the volume with bonus translations of a Nebuchadnezzar II inscription and full transcription and translation of the Bisitun inscription of Darius I. Volume four included H. C. Rawlinson's transcription and translation of the Naqsh-i Rostam inscription of Darius I, together with a "Family Tree of the Achaemenidae" with readings from the Old Persian supplementing the classical and biblical sources. John Murray also commissioned G. Rawlinson to publish *The Five Great Monarchies of the Ancient Eastern World*, inserting large sections of the unrevised texts from the Herodotus volumes and adding hundreds of exotic illustrative woodcuts from the earlier publications of Layard and other authors under John Murray copyright. Both the *Five Great Monarchies* and a repackaged expansion entitled *The Seven Great Monarchies of the Ancient Eastern World* remained in print until 1900. It would be difficult to overestimate the impact of the tens of thousands of copies of these John Murray publications on the course of biblical scholarship in Europe and America.

The French Egyptologist G. Maspéro composed a modest history of the ancient Near East in 1875 that was rewritten and expanded repeatedly, ultimately morphing into a ponderous three-volume set.<sup>23</sup> Heavily influenced by conservative British scholarship and perhaps John Murray's formula for moving inventory, the 1895–99 edition is lavishly illustrated with maps, line drawings and photographic reproductions. Translations of royal inscriptions, myths, correspondence and epics are printed *in toto* in the flowing prose; little wonder that Sayce edited an English translation for the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

R. Kittel published a *Geschichte der Hebräer* remarkable for its integration of ancient Near Eastern sources, all the more admirable in light of his distrust of Wellhausen's redactional schema. Although he had access to more material that might have profitably informed his historiography, his understanding of the value of the Hebrew, Phoenician, Moabite, Akkadian and Egyptian texts at his disposal was judicious and sophisticated. In addition to seminal journal articles and commentaries, Kittel cites the CIS (1881–), Ebers, *Aegypten und die Bücher Mose's* (1870), Schrader, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek* (1889–), Meyer, *Geschichte des alten Ägyptens* (1887), Tiele, *Babylonisch-assyrische Geschichte* (1886/1888), the pioneering art history by Perrot and Chipiez (1882–), and the latest editions of K. Baedeker's handbooks for travelers for geographical terms.

*Bible Commentaries, Handbooks, and "The Monuments"*. The format of the venerable Bible commentary genre adapted to the new information by fits and starts. The *Comprehensive Commentary on the Holy Bible* (1834–38), edited by the American Orientalist W. Jenks, blazed a trail by posting late-breaking news of biblical archaeology. Buried in the notes at the bottom of the pages are the first examples in a biblical commentary of Egyptian and cuneiform names of

<sup>23</sup> Maspéro, *Histoire ancienne*, I–III (1895–99).

rulers mentioned in the OT in woodcut reproduction: “Hophra”, “Rameses”, “Potiphar”, “Shishak”, “So”, “Thutmose III”, “Zerah the Ethiopian”, “Cyrus”, “Darius”, “Xerxes”, “Tirhakah”. Egyptian Dynastic chronology and a false identification of Rehoboam among bound Asiatic captives in relief exemplify the earliest textual influences, here and elsewhere.<sup>24</sup>

The conservative exegete E. W. Hengstenberg published an early specimen of Egyptology in the service of biblical apologetics. His *Die Bücher Mose's und Ägypten* (1841) attempts to refute objections to the historicity of the patriarchal narratives and the Exodus by citing chapter-and-verse parallels from Egyptian texts and visual sources, drawing heavily on the Beni Hassan tomb paintings to illustrate the appearance of the Israelites in Egypt and the *Description de l'Égypte* for natural history explanations for the plagues of Egypt.<sup>25</sup> Twenty years later, J. W. Colenso's rationalistic attack on the historicity of the Exodus, in contrast, makes no use of Egyptology.<sup>26</sup>

E. Schrader, the so-called father of Assyriology in Germany, published the single most accessible source of nineteenth century Assyriological research for Old Testament specialists, *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*.<sup>27</sup> Arranged as a commentary by canonical order of biblical books, chapters and verses, Schrader marched through the Old Testament, stopping at each verse where comparative philology, mythology, geography, or historical examples could shed light. Most of the scriptural passages selected for exposition are taken from Genesis, especially the Table of Nations and the Tower of Babel narratives, 2 Kings and Isaiah. The end matter includes a chronological discussion and table comparing the reigns of the Neo-Assyrian kings with those of Israel and Judah, a glossary of Akkadian words in Hebrew characters and transliteration with citations to the text, indices, and maps. A second edition appeared in 1883, incorporating virtually every new text and discussion in the secondary literature since publication of the first edition, with fresh translations and expanded coverage of biblical texts. Schrader's *vade mecum* permitted the Old Testament student lacking any pretensions to Assyriological expertise to comprehend the latest contribution of Assyriology to the interpretation of Scripture.<sup>28</sup>

The epicenter of the so-called “destructive” higher criticism was another German, J. Wellhausen. He evidently understood the connection between “antiquarian” ancient Near Eastern material and Israelite history, but one finds little more than passing allusions to the Moabite Stone, Akkadian philology, Apis worship, and Assyrian royal inscriptions in his Old Testament commentaries and histories. Whether he could have written a global summary of ancient Near Eastern studies and its impact on the Bible comparable to S. R. Driver's is doubtful, given

<sup>24</sup> Jenks, *Comprehensive Commentary*, I–VII (1834–38).

<sup>25</sup> A kindred soul, G. Rawlinson, finds support for the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch in the high antiquity of Egyptian and cuneiform writing; *Historical Evidences* (1859), 53–54.

<sup>26</sup> Colenso, *Pentateuch and Book of Joshua* (1863).

<sup>27</sup> Schrader, *Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament* (1872, <sup>2</sup>1883); ET from <sup>2</sup>1883: *Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament*, I–II (1885/1888).

<sup>28</sup> Schrader may have patterned his *Keilinschriften* after the Egyptologist E. M. Ebers, *Ägypten und die Bücher Mose's* (1868), which is also canonically organized, adducing texts in various Egyptian scripts, Greek and Hebrew, with cartouches and other woodcuts.

Wellhausen's faith in surviving pre-Islamic Arabian culture as the exhaustive model for earliest Israelite traditions.<sup>29</sup> The Scottish exegete and Wellhausen patron W. Robinson Smith was more open to comparative studies and made use of Northwest Semitic and Akkadian inscriptions in his *Lectures on the Religions of the Semites* (1889/1995).<sup>30</sup> H. Gunkel went much further than W. Robinson Smith in his *Schöpfung und Chaos* (1895) and *Genesis* (1901) in applying Mesopotamian sources to biblical exegesis, incurring public censure by Wellhausen in so doing. Gunkel's flirtation with H. Winckler's astral-myth theories in his exposition of the patriarchal narratives reflects a *Religionsgeschichte*-comparative approach equally at odds with the archaeological historicism of a Sayce.<sup>31</sup>

The polyglot A. H. Sayce, holder of the first Chair in Assyriology at Oxford, published a perfect blizzard of well-written articles and books dealing with "the monuments" and their relation to the Bible. His approach to history was positivistic, in that the scientific "facts on the ground" of archaeological evidence were irrefutable, and he was especially prone to infer that his philological reconstructions, often speculative and later shown to be baseless, were part of a larger picture of background events that attest to the trustworthiness of the Bible and fix it securely in an objective chronological framework.<sup>32</sup> For instance, in *The "Higher Criticism" and the Verdict of the Monuments* Sayce takes issue with critics who dismiss the historicity of Gen 41:43, the people's acclamation of Joseph, since no Egyptian word answering to the term had been identified. He argues instead that the hapax *'abrēk* is a Sumerian term meaning "a seer" and that bilingual Sumerio-Akkadian lexical lists recently excavated by Petrie at Tell el-Amarna satisfactorily explain how such words found their way into the working vocabulary of the Egyptians in the time of Joseph.<sup>33</sup> His reckless interpretation of the Tell el-Amarna tablets helped pave the way to the disasters of Pan-Babylonism in the next century.<sup>34</sup>

Possibly the clearest and least polemical resumé of a century of ancient Near Eastern archaeological relevance for the Old Testament was penned by the Regius Professor of Hebrew at Oxford, S. R. Driver, in 1899. Driver calmly walks the reader through the Old Testament, discussing the background material point by point, citing particular inscriptions or objects when pertinent. Time and again he acknowledges the substantial historical value of the work of Conder, Sayce, and many others, but always returns to the crux of the argument, that

<sup>29</sup> Exceptionally, see Wellhausen, *Über den bisherigen Gang* (1876), 153–175.

<sup>30</sup> The Burnett Lectures delivered in Aberdeen, 1889–91; W. R. Smith, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites: First Series* (1894); idem, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites: Second and Third Series* (1995).

<sup>31</sup> Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos* (1895), relied upon H. Zimmern, a Pan-Babylonian in his own right, for Assyriological wisdom.

<sup>32</sup> F. R. Conder/C. R. Conder, *Handbook to the Bible* (1879), 28, begins with a positivistic definition of monuments: "By the expression 'Monuments' when used in a chronological sense, is intended in these pages any ancient record which is so preserved that no question can arise as to error of transcription. It does not, of course, follow that the record is true. But it is the case that the most fertile and perplexing cause of error has been eliminated".

<sup>33</sup> Sayce, "Higher Criticism" and the Verdict of the Monuments (1895), 213–215.

<sup>34</sup> Conder's attempted translation of the Tell el-Amarna tablets falls squarely into the category of apologetics aimed at "destructive criticism"; Conder, *Tell Amarna Tablets* (1893).



background information about the patriarchal period, for example, does not constitute proof of the existence of the patriarchs themselves.

The monuments witness to nothing which any reasonable critic has ever doubted. No one, for instance, has ever doubted that there were kings of Israel (or Judah) named Ahab and Jehu and Pekah and Ahaz and Hezekiah, or that Tiglath-pileser and Sennacherib led expeditions into Palestine; the mention of these (and suchlike) persons and events in the Assyrian annals has brought to light many additional facts about them which it is an extreme satisfaction to know: but it has only “confirmed” what no critic had questioned. On the other hand, the Assyrian annals have shewn that the chronology of the Books of Kings is, in certain places, incorrect: they have thus confirmed the conclusion which critics had reached independently upon external evidence, that the parts of these books to which the chronology belongs are of much later origin than the more strictly historical parts, and consequently do not possess equal value.<sup>35</sup>

### 3. The Historical Geography of the Holy Land

Euro-American students of the Bible inherited centuries of diligence expended in efforts to harmonize the geographical information in ancient sources – the Bible, Josephus, Eusebius, Arrian, and the like – with a desultory cartographic tradition strongest on coastal sites, and a vast array of maps drawn up by Holy Land travelers. The map that accompanied the Dutch scholar A. Reland, *Hadriani Relandi Palaestina ex monumentis veteribus illustrata* (1714), is typical of the genre, in the crude accuracy of the coastline, identifiable lakes and wadis, and major biblical/classical names plotted within 5–10 miles of the actual site (with startling exceptions), all delimited by latitude and longitude lines. “Arad”, “Bethel”, “Michmas”, “Schilo”, “Ecron” appear on the map, but there was no village or ruin site anchoring the names, and the world would have to wait until scholar-explorers like E. Robinson weighed the evidence of the received historical geography in the balance of the local Arab place-names and unique features accessible only through on-site inspection.<sup>36</sup>

The creation of precise topographical maps in an era before satellite telemetry entailed surveying with compass, chronometer and theodolite, a specialized and costly undertaking typically relegated to military personnel, yet knowledge of the local place-names was no less pivotal to the enterprise. P. Jacotin, lead cartographer to Napoléon during his Middle East adventure, prepared detailed topographical maps of Egypt and parts of Palestine based on compass and triangulation grid. The maps, 1:100,000 scale, show Romanized Arabic place-names together with the names in Arabic script, a smattering of biblical toponyms, French battle sites and military camps with the names of the commanding generals, ruins, names of settlements if known, regions, mountains and rivers. Although the regions surveyed covered only sections of the coastal plain of Palestine, the environs of Jerusalem, the Huleh valley and the Galilee, these were the first modern maps of the region based on scientific survey, and formed the basis for numerous other cartographic efforts of the century.<sup>37</sup> The Cambridge-

<sup>35</sup> Driver, Hebrew Authority (1899), 150–151.

<sup>36</sup> See maps and discussion of Reland in Bartlett, Mapping Jordan (2008), 88–100, figs. 30–36.

<sup>37</sup> First published in 1818 as a set of 47 maps, later incorporated into the Description de l'Égypte.

trained Swiss J.L. Burckhardt was the first westerner to describe Petra, and his highly successful method of geographical identification entailed determining what the locals called their village or nearby ruin, a feat that required fluency in Arabic, a mastery of the “received historical geography”, and the pluck to survive: all of his travelogues were published posthumously.<sup>38</sup>

Berghaus’ map of 1835, called by Robinson “the best undoubtedly up to that time”, is illustrative of a religious and epistemological trend that was driving the rush to Holy Land cartographic exactitude: the growing Protestant conceit that knowledge of the biblical landscape, whether gained through scientifically designed maps or authentic vistas of “Bible places”, would lead to faith and moral regeneration. The Berghaus map has margin insets with “picturesque” views of Beirut, Jerusalem, Samaria, and several other sites. Most of these engravings depict “scenic” landscapes and exotic but habitation-fit buildings. Other publications tapping into this lucrative vein of “geopiety” might emphasize fulfillment of prophetic judgment as attested by the blasted ruins of Bible-cities like Tyre and Babylon, and the concomitant debasement of the contemporary inhabitants.<sup>39</sup> Canny publishers like John Murray fueled this movement through subtle appeals to high-art aesthetics. *Landscape Illustrations of the Bible* (1836) is an expensive two-volume set of 96 plates professionally engraved with drawings prepared by eminent artists from sketches, one is repeatedly assured, taken on the spot. The respected biblical exegete T. H. Horne composed an erudite but lively travelogue vignette for each scene. In the words of the publisher,

No expense has been spared in procuring...drawings and engravings... with the most exact and faithful adherence to the original sketches...The gigantic temples of Egypt, the desolate plains of Babylon and Nineveh, the ruined cities of Idumea, Moab, and Ammon, and the rocky solitudes of Mount Sinai – all have afforded subjects most admirably adapted to the artist’s pencil...While the descriptions comprise the most accurate and authentic information which could be obtained,...the proprietors indulge the hope that these Landscape Illustrations of the Bible will be found eminently useful... so that in these instances the fulfilment of prophecy is actually set before the eye, while the understanding is assisted and confirmed by the sight.<sup>40</sup>

John Murray was also prepared to sell the plates alone, with exact instructions for binding them in the Bible of your choice. Both Keith and Horne testify to the power of Christian apologetics when married to the Holy Land landscape. The evolution of the massive parlor Bible in the same century provided an immediate publication venue for Bible maps and gazetteers, bound together with the illustrated Bible dictionary, landscape gallery, concordances and tables of ancient weights and measurements.<sup>41</sup> The creation and inculcation of ever-more objective and representational Palestine maps was, in many cases, a practical exercise in “geopiety”, and the Bible maps themselves became episodes in sacramental history alongside the Bibles they complemented.

<sup>38</sup> Burckhardt, *Travels in Syria and the Holy Land* (1822). A heavily annotated version in German was prepared by Gesenius and published in 1823; Burckhardt, *Reisen in Syrien* (1823).

<sup>39</sup> A. Keith pursued this line of attack in *Evidence of the Truth of the Christian Religion*, reputedly the first book of Christian apologetics to use photographs taken in Palestine (1844 edition). See Holloway, *Introduction* (2006), 15.

<sup>40</sup> Horne/Finden/Finden, *Landscape Illustrations of the Bible* (1836), iii–iv.

<sup>41</sup> Gutjahr, *American Bible* (1999), 60–88.

E. Robinson combined American Protestant piety with sound linguistic and historical training, and a thorough familiarity with the extant Holy Land travelers' narratives, to produce the watershed work on Palestinian historical geography in the nineteenth century. Trained at Andover Theological Seminary, he subsequently studied for several years with the Hebrew grammarian W. Gesenius and leading Protestant theologians in Germany. Robinson determined to visit Palestine with a friend and relation by marriage, E. Smith, a Congregationalist missionary fluent in Arabic. E. Smith co-authored a missionary travelogue in 1830 following a dangerous trek through Ottoman and Persian territories, lived for several years in Beirut, and maintained a wide network of contacts throughout the Middle East. Robinson, wholly dependent on Smith for linguistic access to local traditions and largely dependent on him for negotiating travel arrangements, could not have succeeded in his geographical researches without the collaboration.<sup>42</sup> H. Kiepert, a 23-year-old student of the geographer C. Ritter, prepared the excellent folding maps and wrote an invaluable "Memoir on the Maps", in which he details all of resources at his disposal and the rationales behind his choices for plotting particular sites and regions.<sup>43</sup> Robinson reprised the journey with his friend in 1852, publishing a supplement to the original volume in 1856. Robinson's comparative methodology exploited the primary texts from Antiquity, the latest maps and surveys available, and his sensitivity to the linguistic survival of ancient toponyms in modern Arabic place-names. This latter technique was certainly not original, but he was the first to apply it systematically to the exploration of Palestine west of the Jordan and to publish the results in vigorous dialogue with past and present scholarship.

The Hebrew names of places continued current in their Aramaean form long after the times of the New Testament...the proper names of places...have thus lived on upon the lips of the Arabs, whether Christian or Muslim, townsmen or Bedawin, even unto our day, almost in the same form in which they have also been transmitted to us in the Hebrew Scriptures.<sup>44</sup>

He acknowledged the fact that the Bible was not a comprehensive geographical reference work, and that it was therefore likely that many ancient Hebrew toponyms not mentioned in the Bible survived in modern Arabic designations.<sup>45</sup> The fact that this theory dovetailed with the Orientalist trope of a stagnant Middle East populated by cultural fossils did not detract from its usefulness: Robinson

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<sup>42</sup> Among the most valuable portions of the work are the Second Appendix: Arabic language, and lists of Arabic names, A. "Essay on the Pronunciation of the Arabic", *Biblical Researches*, 3 (1841), 89–111, and B. "Lists of Arabic Names of Places in Palestine and the Adjacent Regions", *Biblical Researches*, 3 (1841), 112–196, both by E. Smith. Portions of the lists had already been collected independently by E. Smith in 1834 and 1835, bespeaking his thorough preparation for the project; little wonder that Robinson and Smith accomplished so much in 2 ½ months!

<sup>43</sup> Kiepert, *Memoir on the Maps* 3 (1841), Appendix 1 B 29–55. This appendix was dropped from the 1856 edition.

<sup>44</sup> Robinson/Smith, *Biblical Researches*, 1 (1841), 376.

<sup>45</sup> Robinson/Smith, *Biblical Researches*, 2 (1841), 150–51. The theory that *Volksprache* preserved an authentic record of the past was part of the Romantic intellectual program of J.G. Herder, subscribed to by the Brothers Grimm in their compilation of *Volkslied* in the *Muttersprache*, and exemplified in the multi-volume work of the great German geographer C. Ritter, to whom Robinson dedicated the first edition of *Biblical Researches*.

made over 100 novel linkages between Arabic and ancient toponyms, many of which have survived the vicissitudes of subsequent archaeological investigation.

By the early 1860s, a substantial body of scholarship was accessible to students of Palestinian historical geography in the form of maps, travelogues, specialized studies, and biblical commentaries. Yet even so, G. Grove, the polymath responsible for most of the Palestine geographical entries in W. Smith (ed.), *Dictionary of the Bible* (1863), hungered for better maps and archaeological surveys.

The Palestine Exploration Fund (PEF), founded in 1865 by leading British politicians, Anglican divines and the indefatigable Grove, with the signal patronage of Queen Victoria, sponsored extensive ethnographic recording in photographs, excavation projects and, notably, the *Survey of Western Palestine*. The full title of the PEF was “Palestine Exploration Fund. A Society for the Accurate and Systematic Investigation of the Archaeology, the Topography, the Geology and Physical Geography, the Manners and Customs of the Holy Land for Biblical Illustration”.<sup>46</sup> From the beginning, the PEF operated in a place and time when Victorian Protestantism marched openly in step with British imperial pursuits. The initial PEF survey of Jerusalem in 1865, for instance, utilized the Royal Engineers C. W. Wilson and C. Warren in reconnaissance work monitoring Russian and French activity in the region.<sup>47</sup> Although Wilson had prepared a sketch map of the Sinai Peninsula in 1865, the opening of the French-run Suez Canal in November 1869 caused a worried British War Office to expedite the “Ordnance Survey of the Peninsula of Sinai”. Mostly completed in a ten-week *Blitzkrieg*, Wilson and H. Palmer, another commissioned Royal Engineer, saw their survey of western (the Suez Canal side) and central Sinai rushed into print in 1869 through the Ordnance Survey Office under the pretext of identifying biblical Mount Sinai and tracking the path of the Exodus. The essays in the elephant folio volume include workups by Wilson on biblical geography and Bedouin oral traditions collected by the Orientalist E. H. Palmer.<sup>48</sup> The Ordnance Survey maps, on the contrary, are no-nonsense military instruments, virtually devoid of biblical allusion.<sup>49</sup> This pattern of military cartography under camouflage of biblical research would be repeated several times by the PEF: the publications continue to benefit Syro-Palestinian archaeology and historical geography, accomplished largely through governmental backing in the prosecution of Kipling’s “Great Game”.

The *Map of Western Palestine*, completed and available to the British War Office in 1878 but only made available to the public in 1880, canvassed an area covering 6,000 square miles in 26 sheets at 1:63,360. Reflecting the requirements of an ordnance map, the *Map* plots over 10,000 Arabic place names (modern habitations, exposed antiquities sites, tribal regions), together with telegraph lines, railroads, roads, paths, bridges, waterways, terrain types, surveying points,

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<sup>46</sup> On the activities of the PEF and its publications, including maps, see Besant, *Twenty-One Years’ Work* (1886) and Watson, *Fifty Years’ Work* (1915). Moscrop, *Measuring Jerusalem* (2000), working from unpublished PEF archives, situates the Fund’s history in the geo-political intrigues of the day.

<sup>47</sup> Moscrop, *Measuring Jerusalem* (2000), 76–86.

<sup>48</sup> Ordnance Survey of the Peninsula of Sinai, I (1869).

<sup>49</sup> Ordnance Survey of the Peninsula of Sinai, II (1869).

and altitude in English feet above and below sea level, using Greenwich longitude. There are only 23 place-names using conventional English spellings, no Israelite tribal divisions, journeys of the Patriarchs, or Philistine Pentapolis: this is a military tool suited for troop deployment and reconnaissance.<sup>50</sup>

Parts of Transjordan and the Hauran had been mapped by various nineteenth century explorers; the PEF wanted to survey it at the same level of granularity as they had Western Palestine. Working with the War Office again, the PEF in 1881 mounted the *Survey of Eastern Palestine*, a truncated effort by Conder that managed to cover some 510 square miles and add 6,000 Arab place names to the *Survey of Western Palestine*. The PEF published the results in the same monographic format as the earlier *Survey of Western Palestine*.<sup>51</sup> The actual survey mapping saw final publication only in 1890, when Conder's efforts were added to the excellent survey work of G. Schumacher and others to form *Palestine: from the Surveys Conducted for the Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund and Other Sources*.<sup>52</sup> Compiled by G. Armstrong and revised by Wilson and Conder, the map consists of 23 sheets at 1:168,960 scale.<sup>53</sup> With labels keyed to Old Testament, New Testament, Catholic Apocrypha and Talmud, this edition is clearly aimed at the biblical scholar or rabbinic student.

The best maps produced in the 1890s incorporated the survey work in Transjordan and the 'Arabah of the 1880s, yielding maps of unprecedented detail that remain useful as records of a recent past vanished beneath urban and agricultural development. H. Kiepert revised his *Handkarte von Palaestina* (1891), scale 1:800,000, with the latest material on Transjordan.<sup>54</sup> In 1894 J. G. Bartholomew produced a single-sheet 1:700,000 scale map of Palestine for G. A. Smith's historical geography, using color shading for topographical elevations. H. Fischer and H. Guthe, with corrections by G. Dalman, published a map of Palestine in 1895 at 1:700,000 scale, with insets of the Judean highlands and the territory between

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<sup>50</sup> The maps were accompanied by nine volumes published by the PEF between 1881 and 1889, containing the surveyors' raw notes for each site plotted, often with extensive discussion of topographical features, archaeological and ethnographic notes, biblical geography and history, accompanied by site plans and photogravure landscapes, a volume on flora and fauna, physical geology (including the Sinai Peninsula and parts of Transjordan), all of the Arabic place-names in both Arabic script and Romanized transliteration, reprints from the *PEF Quarterly Statement* (1869–81), and an index, a colossal reference accompaniment in excess of 3,400 quarto pages.

<sup>51</sup> Conder, *Survey of Eastern Palestine* (1889), is the only volume ever published in the series.

<sup>52</sup> Schumacher, a Prussian surveyor for the Damascus-Haifa railway under the joint auspices of a Turkish-German partnership, was a regular correspondent of the PEF, and received retainers from the PEF as well as the *Deutscher Verein zur Erforschung Palästinas*. In 1886 a map based on Schumacher's work of the region east of the Upper Galilee south to the Yarmuk River was published, a region that the ill-starred Survey of Eastern Palestine had failed to cover – by default Schumacher became the PEF's major source of professional mapping for northern Transjordan until German-British national rivalry put an end to the relationship. See Bartlett, *Mapping Jordan* (2008), 124. British interests in Egypt, following the Urabi Revolt, dictated that ordnance maps of the largely unexplored 'Arabah be drawn up. The survey, completed by March 1884, never received permission from the Turkish authorities; neither did the Conder survey of Eastern Palestine. The work of Conder, Schumacher and the Arabah Survey were joined to the 1880 Survey of Western Palestine in 1890.

<sup>53</sup> 12-sheet versions were published the same year, with and without biblical/Talmudic name overlays.

<sup>54</sup> Kiepert, *Neue Handkarte von Palaestina* (1891) [map].

Nazareth and Tiberias (both 1:400,000), and Jerusalem (1:20,000); the extra-mural settlement sprawl of the latter was up-to-date.<sup>55</sup>

Anxieties over missing King Pul in Assyrian sources have their geographical correlate in the lurid Cities of the Plain, a problem that military cartography was not equipped to solve. Naturalistic explanations for their disappearance include expansion of the Dead Sea southward to cover the ruins, the rationale adopted by Robinson, a very old theory indeed by his time; biblical literalists like Conder believed the destruction to have been total, leaving no remains. Zoar, said to have been spared (Gen 19:22), appears in Byzantine and Arabic maps at the southern tip of the Dead Sea, and figures in the “received tradition” exemplified by Reland (1714). Robinson, following ancient and medieval sources, identified the ruins of Zoar as Seghor but situates them on the Gôr al-Lisan at the mouth of Wadi Kerak; other scholars opt for the Gôr aş-Şâfiye in the Rift Valley, an equation followed by F. Buhl (1896) and many others.<sup>56</sup> L.F.J. C. de Saulcy visited the Dead Sea in 1851. His survey added useful facts to what was known, but his claim to have positively identified biblical Gomorrah as the collective remains of Khirbet Yahud, ‘Ain Feshkha and Khirbet Qumran, in what can only be described as painful detail, found its way into several Holy Land maps.<sup>57</sup> The theory that the Cities of the Plain were located near the northern end of the Dead Sea, traceable to G. Grote, won such a wide following in Britain that A. Socin in 1880 acerbically labeled it the English dogma.<sup>58</sup> S.R. Driver condemned the theory in 1901, arguing for the traditional plotting at the southern end of the Dead Sea.<sup>59</sup> T.K. Cheyne, influenced by the Pan-Babylonians, takes off into the clouds with his notion that biblical Zoar is a textual error for Mişşur, a location in northern Arabia, part of the Deluge myth in the Jeraħmeelite tradition.<sup>60</sup>

Curious to relate, the tens of thousands of contemporary place-names amassed by the PEF and individual researchers, combined with thousands of toponyms extracted from ancient sources, and lately, the Tell el-Amarna texts, created innumerable geographical red herrings, in the almost total absence of excavation reports and a pottery chronology sequence. For instance, publication of Syrian toponym lists from the inscriptions of Thutmose III and Rameses II and III in *Records of the Past* (1891–92), provide correlative identifications for most of the unvocalized Egyptian place-names, a sizeable number of which have not survived later tests of archaeological settlement and plausible phonetic shifts.<sup>61</sup> Such

<sup>55</sup> Fischer/Guthe, revised by G. Dalman, *Palästina* (1895) [map]. The original map was published as a folding insert for Fischer, *Begleitworte zur Neuen Handkarte* (1890), 44–59, Tafel II.

<sup>56</sup> Robinson/Smith, *Biblical Researches*, 2 (1841), 479–481, 648–651; Conder, *Primer of Biblical Geography* (1884), 38; idem, *Handbook to the Bible* (1879), 241; Buhl, *Geographie* (1896), 271–272.

<sup>57</sup> De Saulcy, *Voyage autour de la Mer Morte*, II (1853), 157–167. Even the highly-respected *Atlas of Smith and Bartholomew* retains this identification, albeit with a question mark, as late as 1936; G. A. Smith/Bartholomew, *Atlas of the Historical Geography* (1936), 36.

<sup>58</sup> Grove, Sea, the Salt, in W. Smith, *Dictionary of the Bible*, III (1863), 1173–1187; idem, Zoar, in W. Smith, *Dictionary of the Bible*, III (1863), 1856–1858; Socin, *Palästinaliteratur* (1880), 80.

<sup>59</sup> Driver, Zoar, in *Hastings, Dictionary of the Bible*, IV (1901), 985–987.

<sup>60</sup> Cheyne, Sodom and Gomorrah, in Cheyne/Black, *Encyclopædia Biblica*, IV (1903), 4666–4679.

<sup>61</sup> Tomkins, *Places in Northern Syria and Palestine Conquered by Thothmes III*, in Sayce, *Records*, V (1891), 25–53; Sayce, *Places in Northern Syria and Palestine Conquered by Ramses II and III*, in: idem, *Records*, VI (1892), 19–45.

matches were all too easy to make, and incautious scholars like Conder and Sayce fostered the illusion of scientific precision in the minds of many biblical exegetes ill-equipped to question the experts.

#### 4. The Emergence of a so-called ‘Biblical Archaeology’ in Europe and North America

*Egypt.* With justice, the first sustained effort to systematically explore, measure, map, record, and publish ancient Near Eastern monuments is equated with Napoléon’s expedition to Egypt and Palestine, a military disaster but a scientific triumph. In July 1798 a team of 167 scientists, linguists, engineers and artists began to comb the ruins of Upper and Lower Egypt, ultimately yielding a publication of 22 folio volumes, nine volumes of which were devoted to inscriptions and antiquities, prepared under the editorship of D.-V. Denon.<sup>62</sup> The Rosetta Stone sailed to London; most of the Egyptian antiquities ultimately followed Denon to the Louvre.

The historicity of the Bible was assumed by virtually all of the early explorers to be literally true, unproblematic, and unambiguously attested – somewhere – in the material remains of the various Bible-lands. Accordingly, the first generations of Egyptologists confidently expected to find visual records of Hebrew slaves, inscriptions recounting the services of Joseph rendered to Pharaoh, dark hints of natural disasters in the guise of the Plagues of Egypt, and records of Egyptian military exploits in Palestine; only the latter were forthcoming. The decipherment of ancient Egyptian quickly corroborated the dynastic order of Manetho and thus led to revisions of biblical chronology, not all of which were welcome. Unlike the missing Assyrian king Pul, the failure to isolate traces of the patriarch Joseph’s career in Egyptian inscriptions and reliefs did not materially dampen the century-long enthusiasm to find them, and evidence of building activities that spanned millennia at “biblical” sites like Tanis meant that nothing found there could positively disprove the veracity of the Bible.<sup>63</sup>

Access to the earliest Egyptian discoveries by biblicists was hampered by massively expensive volumes with limited publication runs, yet popularizing accounts of the Egyptian language and the biblical application of the “monuments” hit the presses by the late 1820s. By the 1830s, novel line-drawing woodcuts of Egyptian artwork figured in innovative biblical tools such as Jenks, *Comprehensive Commentary*, where reproductions of relief scenes of chariots, warfare, musical instruments, and agricultural labor were paired with biblical

<sup>62</sup> Description de l’Égypte (1809–1828; sec. edn., Paris: Imprimerie de C. L. F. Pancoucke 1821–1829). See Russell, *Napoleonic Survey of Egypt* (2001), and Cole, *Napoléon’s Egypt* (2007). The Institut d’Égypte, established under Napoléon in imitation of the Institut de France, disappeared from Cairo in 1801 but inspired the creation of the Institut Égyptien by the Egyptian viceroy Saïd in 1859, a society devoted to Egyptology ostensibly international in membership but heavily Francophile. See Reid, *Whose Pharaohs?* (2002), 120–124.

<sup>63</sup> See, for instance, Champollion, *Monuments de L’Égypte et de la Nubie*, II (1889), 694–697; Brugsch, *Die biblischen sieben Jahre der Hungersnoth* (1891) (the Famine Stele of Sheh).

passages, using an exegetical genre that, only a decade earlier, relied on drawings of surviving Greco-Roman narrative reliefs or “Oriental manners” to make the same points. The rise of mass-produced illustrated periodicals, Middle Eastern travelogues (the British had published at least 114 by 1850) and heavily-illustrated volumes like Wilkinson’s *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians* (1837) ensured that Egyptian figurative reproductions circulated widely by the 1840s.

The London-based Egypt Exploration Fund (EEF, 1882–), originally named the Society for the Promotion of Excavation in the Delta of the Nile, was explicitly tasked to find archaeological confirmation of the Exodus. The first season’s dig at Tell el-Mashkuta by E. H. Naville resulted in *The Store-City of Pithom and the Route of the Exodus* (1885), an incautious specimen of biblical archaeology, complete with photographs of brick foundation courses touted to be the very storage-chambers built by Hebrew slaves.<sup>64</sup> The publicity was excellent. The EEF was more fortunate in the person of its second excavator, W. M. F. Petrie, whose attention to small finds, pioneering studies in pottery chronology, and detailed (and prompt) publications revolutionized Syro-Palestinian as well as Egyptian archaeology. He cleared the temple precinct of Tanis/Zoan in 1884, and worked at various sites for the EEF and other sponsoring entities.<sup>65</sup>

Issues very much on the table throughout the century included the identity and chronology of the Pharaohs of the captivity and the Exodus, the relationship of the Hyksos to ancient Israel,<sup>66</sup> and relationship between Egypt and Israel during the monarchic and post-monarchic eras of the latter.<sup>67</sup> With the stubborn refusal of the Egyptian monuments to mention biblical Joseph or the actors and events of the Hebrew sojourn in Egypt, scholarly explorers like Robinson, Lepsius, Ebers,<sup>68</sup> and the members of the Sinai Survey Fund sought to identify the path of the Exodus wanderings, seeking traces of biblical toponyms, inscriptions and plausible camp-sites, with the Holy Grail being the identity of the mount of revelation. E. H. Palmer and C. F. Tyrwhitt-Drake made a dangerous lone reconnaissance of the Eastern Sinai and ‘Arabah in the partial hope of finding another inscription comparable to the recently discovered Moabite Stone.<sup>69</sup> Use of New Kingdom lists of toponyms in Western Asia for historical geography followed hard on the heels of decipherment, and their inclusion with heavy annotations in *Records of the Past* attests to their enduring importance for biblical studies. Reports in the el-Amarna corpus of trouble caused by *hapiru* to Egyptian vassals in Palestine, evidence of Egypt’s intimate familiarity with the Southern Levant in the *Wenamun* and *Sinuhe* tales, and archaeological vestiges of the Hyksos

<sup>64</sup> Naville, *Store-City of Pithom* (1885); see also *idem*, *Land of Goshen* (1887).

<sup>65</sup> Petrie, *Tanis* (1889).

<sup>66</sup> Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, 2 (1881), 300–313, believes he has conclusive evidence that Joseph and the Hyksos were one, relying heavily on the “Famine Stele”.

<sup>67</sup> Predictably, the discovery and exhibition of the mummy of Rameses II in 1881 caused a sensation among biblical literalists; see C. S. Robinson, *Pharaohs of the Bondage and the Exodus* (1887), 18–30.

<sup>68</sup> Ebers, *Durch Gosen zum Sinai* (1872). In 1845 Lepsius explored parts of Sinai and, in close dialogue with Robinson/Smith, *Biblical Researches* (1841), speculates on the identity of Mount Sinai and the Exodus itinerary; Lepsius, *Discoveries in Egypt* (1853), 333–371, 421–447.

<sup>69</sup> Palmer, *Desert of the Exodus* (1871).



affirmed the historicity of the Joseph and Exodus narratives for some scholars, but suggested to others that centuries of traffic between Egypt and Palestine provided the raw ingredients for a dramatic foundation myth created in the post-exilic period.

For example, Petrie, following Naville and many earlier writers, dates the Exodus to the end of Merneptah's reign.<sup>70</sup> By century's end, however, archaeology was also pressed into service to drastically lower the dates of the Joseph and Exodus narratives in keeping with various appropriations of the Graf-Wellhausen documentary hypothesis. W. E. Crum notes that elements in the Joseph tradition (MT) with a claim to a genuine Egyptian provenance become well-attested only in 21st and 22nd Dynasty epigraphic sources.<sup>71</sup> E. Meyer in 1887 was the first to infer that the story of Osarsiph and the expulsion of the lepers from Egypt, as related by Manetho (Josephus, *Contra Apionem*) conceals a memory of the suppression of Akhenaton's reform.<sup>72</sup> This and Petrie's discovery of the name "Israel" in the Merneptah Stele, in the eyes of Crum, further complicates any date that can be assigned the sojourn of the patriarchs in Egypt or the Exodus itself.

*Palestine.* The most prominent ruins in Palestine figured haphazardly in European travelogues for centuries. The rediscovery of the Nabataean citadel of Petra by Burckhardt in 1809 was the most spectacular ruin to be added to the map of Palestine, whereas Seetzen's rediscovery of Gerasa (Jerash) and Philadelphia (Amman) were the first "lost" biblical cities to be identified in the century.<sup>73</sup> Burckhardt, Seetzen, Robinson and Smith, and nearly all explorers recognized the significance of inscriptions and recorded them with squeezes and drawings, often supplemented with unusual architectural details and ruins. "Biblical archaeology" as embodied by Robinson and Smith (1841), did not entail excavation, but instead meant comparing topographical details in the Bible and other ancient sources with contemporary Arab place-names, factoring the natural and human-made "facts on the ground" into historical geographical reconstruction.

Even after the French and British opened the vast Mesopotamian tells in the 1840s, explorers ignored the artificial mounds in Palestine, unaware of the layers of urban occupation buried within until late in the century. A combination of political fragmentation and religious protectivism often limited what could be accomplished with basket and shovel, as de Saulcy learned in 1863, when his rash efforts to excavate the so-called Tomb of the Kings outside the walls of Jerusalem and to sink trenches at the base of the H̄aram esh-Sharif precipitated an interna-

<sup>70</sup> See, for example, Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, 2 (1881), 133; Birch, *Egypt from the Earliest Times* (1879), 133–135; Maspéro, *Histoire ancienne*, II (1895), 442.

<sup>71</sup> Crum, *Egypt*, in *Hastings, Dictionary of the Bible*, 1 (1898), 665.

<sup>72</sup> Meyer, *Geschichte des alten Aegyptens* (1887), 276–277. Lepsius excavated at Tell el-Amarna in 1843 and 1845. In 1851 he published the first account of Akhenaten's religious reforms in which traditional Amun cultus was suppressed in favor of worship of the pure solar disk, ordering destruction of earlier Egyptian polytheist symbols and even names, only to have his own reform extirpated within a few years of his death; Lepsius, *Über den ersten ägyptischen Götterkreis* (1851). Brugsch in his *history of Egypt* follows Lepsius; Maspéro gives a positive reading of the reform and provides a partial translation of the Hymn to the Aten. See Hornung, *Rediscovery of Akhenaten* (1992), 43–49.

<sup>73</sup> Seetzen, *Seetzen's Reisen durch Syrien*, IV (1854), 198–215.

tional uproar over perceived desecration of the tombs of biblical kings and the second holiest site in Islam.<sup>74</sup>

The first major excavations in the extended Holy Land took place in the ancient Phoenician cities of Aradus, Tyre, Sidon and Byblos. As part of the political entrenchment of Napoléon III in Lebanon and an imperial echo of Napoléon I's *Description de l'Égypte*, an archaeological expedition was dispatched in 1860 under the direction of E. Renan, a Semiticist and theologian with strong interests in the realia of biblical Palestine, to gather Phoenician antiquities for the Louvre. The *Mission de Phénicie* netted hundreds of inscriptions and exquisite funerary objects, and revolutionized knowledge of Phoenician material culture in the process, but resulted in little record of the cities themselves.

The PEF added to its Ordnance Survey of Jerusalem limited excavation work aimed at discovering traces of the Solomon Temple site and an impossibly long list of walls, gates and buildings. C. Warren, a Royal Engineer trained in sapping, sunk a series of deep shafts along the base of the Haram esh-Sharif; the prohibitive cost of the operation for the Fund (the military were not interested), the combined opposition of the Jerusalem religious authorities and the Sublime Porte, and the paucity of subscription-provoking finds brought the enterprise to a halt in 1870.<sup>75</sup>

The Moabite Stone affair redoubled western interests in biblical antiquities as well as fanned the flames of national rivalry. The short-lived American Palestine Exploration Society was created in large measure to locate other inscriptions of this sort.<sup>76</sup>

PEF maintained cooperative relationships with archaeologists of various nationalities working in Palestine. One such was Clermont-Ganneau, hired by that agency in 1871 to carry out minor excavations in Jerusalem and other places. He used his connections there as a French consular agent to win admission to private households and religious institutions, where he managed to explore cellars, remove plaster from ancient stonework, enter ancient tombs and secure ossuaries and other small finds, and in some cases initiate limited excavations, usually for the purpose of tracing a wall or seeking out inscribed objects. In several instances he managed to be present when repairs to major edifices were effected.<sup>77</sup> This combination of encyclopedic familiarity with all periods of Jerusalemite existence and knack for probing ancient structures without causing a riot also typified the patient work of C. Schick, resident of Jerusalem for over fifty years and another PEF associate.<sup>78</sup>

The forgery of Palestinian antiquities seized headlines in the scholarly world in 1872 as reverberations of the Moabite Stone affair. Oddly-shaped anthropomorphic pottery inscribed with random Moabite letters began to appear in the Jerusalem antiquities shop of M. W. Shapira. The Prussians believed them genu-

<sup>74</sup> Silberman, *Digging for God and Country* (1982), 70–72.

<sup>75</sup> Besant, *Twenty-One Years' Work* (1886), 48–63; Watson, *Fifty Years' Work* (1915), 41–52. Warren produced useful reconnaissance maps of parts of Transjordan in 1867 and 1868; Bartlett, *Mapping Jordan* (2008), 119.

<sup>76</sup> Moulton, *American Palestine Exploration Society* (1928).

<sup>77</sup> Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches* (1899).

<sup>78</sup> Schick published over 200 entries in the *PEF Quarterly Statement*.

ine, reportedly bought 1,700 pieces of “Moabítica” for the Berlin Museum and planned publication of a *Corpus Inscriptionum Moabiticarum*. Conder and other members of the PEF were convinced as well, and arranged for the society to purchase some. In 1873 Clermont-Ganneau pronounced them fakes and exposed the Jerusalem fabricator; the Moabítica vanished.<sup>79</sup>

In 1890 the PEF hired Petrie to undertake the first systematic excavation of a major tell in Palestine. His pioneering skill at pottery chronology, honed on Egyptian samples from different sites securely dated by royal dynasty, allowed him to synchronize the dating of Palestine finds devoid of accompanying inscriptions, an unprecedented feat that changed the course of Middle Eastern archaeology.

And once settle the pottery of a country, and the key is in our hands for all future explorations. A single glance at a mound of ruins, even without dismounting, will show as much to anyone who knows the styles of the pottery, as weeks of work may reveal to a beginner.<sup>80</sup>

Although Petrie did not follow a true stratigraphic methodology and assumed, in common with other archaeologists of the time, that debris accumulated at a fixed rate per century, the publication of his four-months-labor at Tell el-Ḥesi visualized the successive occupation levels of the site in a way heretofore impossible by pairing pottery typology with architecture.<sup>81</sup>

While digging in Egypt, Petrie trained the American F.J. Bliss in his techniques before the latter resumed PEF operations at Tell el-Ḥesi (1891–92), where he followed a closer approximation to modern stratigraphic methodology but failed to integrate his teacher’s lessons in pottery typology.<sup>82</sup> The cuneiform tablet he excavated in 1892, a letter matching the age and dialect of the Tell el-Amarna corpus, brought his work the sort of publicity that the PEF craved. From 1894–97 he was assigned Warren’s unfinished project on the Ophel, or southeastern ridge, of Jerusalem, part of what is today known as the City of David. Bliss’s work, exemplary by the standards of the day and carried out under the usual obstacles posed by Jerusalem archaeology, settled a debate about the direction of Josephus’ First Wall initiated by H. Guthe’s 1881 excavation for *Deutscher Verein zur Erforschung Palästinas*.<sup>83</sup> From 1898 until his employment with the PEF was terminated in 1900, Bliss was given the daunting task of identifying Philistine Gath, and told to excavate at four complex coastal sites.<sup>84</sup> By that juncture, the conceptual, technical, and political challenges of Holy Land

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<sup>79</sup> Clermont-Ganneau, *Fraudes archéologiques* (1885); Kurz, *Fakes* (1967), 303–304; Moscrop, *Measuring Jerusalem* (2000), 104–106. In 1883 Shapira offered parchment strips with portions of Deuteronomy in an archaic script for sale to the British Museum, reportedly found near the Dead Sea. Clermont Ganneau pronounced them fakes as well; Shapira took his own life in the aftermath. Discovery and publication of the Dead Sea scrolls in the twentieth century suggest that Shapira’s manuscript may have been authentic; see Allegro, *Shapira Affair* (1965).

<sup>80</sup> Petrie, *Tell El Hesya* (1891), 40.

<sup>81</sup> Petrie, *Tell El Hesya* (1891).

<sup>82</sup> Bliss, *A Mound of Many Cities* (1894).

<sup>83</sup> Guthe, *Ausgrabungen in Jerusalem* (1881), 115–119; idem, *Ausgrabungen bei Jerusalem: Bericht* (1882), 7–204; Bliss/Dickie, *Excavations at Jerusalem* (1898).

<sup>84</sup> Bliss/Macalister, *Excavations in Palestine* (1902).

exploration were sufficiently mastered that it is fair to say that modern biblical archaeology had begun.

*Ancient Iraq and Associated Cultures.* In 1800, the so-called father of Indian geography, J. Rennell, published a study of Herodotus's geography in which he attempted to reconstruct the ziggurat at Birs Nimrud using whatever surveys of the ruins could be gleaned from travelogues, including Babylonian bricks recently acquired for East India House in London.<sup>85</sup> The young East India Resident at Baghdad, C.J. Rich, visited the site of Babylon in 1811 and 1817, excavated for antiquities, and in 1820 made an extensive tour of Kurdistan that included a description of the site of Nineveh. The posthumous publication of his sketches and travels in 1836 and 1839 intensified interest in Mesopotamian excavation, but the cost, dangers and delicate diplomatic situation prevented any substantive exploration until the appointment of P.-É. Botta as French consular agent at Mosul.<sup>86</sup> Beginning in 1843, Botta's preliminary excavations at Khorsabad, Sargon II's eccentric capital, astounded the world with muscular reliefs and sculpture in a style heretofore unknown to European art. In 1845 A.H. Layard opened trenches at Nimrud, Nineveh and other sites on behalf of the British Consul in Constantinople, Stratford Canning. The excavation techniques of both relied on either clearance or tunneling along stone orthostat reliefs and stone or terra cotta flooring; given that neither could consistently distinguish mudbrick rubble from standing walls, the quality of their site plans is extraordinary. Images of their discoveries began to circulate in illustrated magazines as early as 1844; the Louvre beat the British Museum by three months in mounting their first public display in May 1847 of the "Assyrian marbles". One year later, a British picture Bible carried reproductions of British Museum Assyrian reliefs. The French published the Khorsabad excavation results between 1849 and 1850 in five magnificent elephant folio volumes that none but the rich could afford, whereas the British publisher of all things Middle Eastern, John Murray, took Layard's engaging travelogue and added hundreds of line drawings to produce the nineteenth century's archaeological best seller, *Nineveh and Its Remains* (1849).<sup>87</sup> Between 1848 and 1853 Layard and H. Rassam recovered the lion's share of Assurbanipal's library at Quyunjik, the core of the 100,000+ cuneiform tablet collection currently housed at the British Museum, a resource of incalculable importance to the reconstruction of ancient Mesopotamian intellectual and cultural history.

The so-called Lachish Room excavated in Sennacherib's "Palace without Rival" at Nineveh and mounted in the British Museum in 1860, amplified the terse military notice in 2 Kgs 18:13–17 with a bird's eye view of the doomed city's defense, massive Assyrian siegeworks, and captive Judahites paraded before the enthroned figure of Sennacherib himself. British Protestants thrilled

<sup>85</sup> Rennell, *Geographical System of Herodotus* (1800).

<sup>86</sup> Rich, *Narrative of a Residence in Koordistan* (1836); idem, *Narrative of a Journey to the Site of Babylon in 1811* (1839).

<sup>87</sup> Botta/Flandin, *Monument de Ninive, I–V* (1849–50); Layard, *Nineveh, I–II* (1849). On the personalities involved and the larger social matrix in which these excavations transpired, see Larsen, *Conquest of Assyria* (1996); Bohrer, *Orientalism and Visual Culture* (2003).

to such exhibits. The Assyrian aesthetic offended the Hellenophile Royal Academician R. Westmacott Sr., who feared that British Museum visitors “would look at the Nineveh Marbles and be thinking of their Bible”.<sup>88</sup> He was right.

Both the French and the British sponsored excavations at several sites in Mesopotamia until the Crimean War forced a halt in 1855.<sup>89</sup> W. K. Loftus, initially representing the privately financed Assyrian Exploration Fund, explicitly charged with finding biblical antiquities, excavated at Warka, acting on H. C. Rawlinson’s suggestion that the largest tell in southern Babylonia concealed the site of “Ur of the Chaldees”. He found instead Uruk, biblical Erech.<sup>90</sup> J. E. Taylor, British Vice-Consul at Basra, located Ur and the temple of the moon-god at Tell el-Muqayyar in 1854, extensively repaired by Nabonidus, where several inscriptions of his mention Bēl-šar-ušur, biblical Belshazzar.<sup>91</sup>

In 1877 the French Consul at Basra, E. de Sarzec, began what would become 11 seasons of productive excavations at a site in southern Babylonia, Tello, ancient Girsu. The Tello material led to the recovery of a history in ancient Iraq stretching back to the fourth millennium. The Old Testament specialist I. M. Price composed a succinct introduction to the Tello corpus in 1887.<sup>92</sup>

The Americans formally entered the race for Mesopotamian antiquities with four expeditions to Nippur between 1888 and 1900. The rich site of Nippur attests occupation levels from Predynastic to Parthian eras with major temples and palaces.<sup>93</sup> Formal German excavations in Iraq did not begin until 1899 with R. Koldewey at Babylon.

Although objects from ancient Susa had been exhibited throughout the early century, Loftus first identified the site in 1850 and excavated in the Apadana.<sup>94</sup> M. and J. Dieulafoy excavated Achaemenid remains there, 1884–86, whereas large-scale excavations began in 1897 under J. de Morgan.<sup>95</sup> Persepolis, Achaemenid capital under Darius I and Xerxes, and Pasargadae, site of Cyrus II’s tomb, were visited often by travelers but systematic excavations did not begin until the twentieth century.

The collisions of colonialism, nationalism, and the rise of “scientific” physical

<sup>88</sup> Quoted in Holloway, Introduction (2006), 14.

<sup>89</sup> In 1852 the Ottoman government commissioned Hilmi Pasha, governor of Mosul, to excavate at Nebi Yunus, an acropolis of Nineveh, for 8 or 9 months, uncovering monumental winged human-headed bulls, reliefs and a Sennacherib inscription that eventually found its way to the Imperial Museum in Constantinople; see Hilprecht, Resurrection, in idem, *Explorations in Bible Lands* (1903), 211.

<sup>90</sup> Loftus, *Travels* (1857), 139–239.

<sup>91</sup> The French labored at Khorsabad and Babylon for almost two years. The photographs made of the Khorsabad excavations in 1851–53, poor as they are by modern standards, heralded a new way of documenting archaeological findings. See the essays in Fontan/Chevalier (eds.), *De Khorsabad à Paris* (1994).

<sup>92</sup> Price, *Inscriptions Discovered by Mons. E. de Sarzec* (1887). Translations appeared in *Records of the Past* (1889) and *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek* (1892).

<sup>93</sup> See Hilprecht, Resurrection, in idem, *Explorations in Bible Lands* (1903), 297–540, and B. Kullick, *Puritans in Babylon* (1996), 19–91.

<sup>94</sup> Loftus, *Travels* (1857), 306–433.

<sup>95</sup> J. Dieulafoy, *À Suse* (1888); M. Dieulafoy, *L’acropole de Suse* (1893); de Morgan, *Recherches archéologiques*, 1, 7–8, 12–13 (1900–12). The stele of Hammurapi, excavated at Susa in 1901, will transform Old Testament legal studies in the twentieth century.

anthropology in the mid-nineteenth century gave rise to a formidable body of Euro-American scholarship devoted to the delineation of human races.<sup>96</sup> This pursuit assumed a normative status towards the end of the century, so much so that ethnographic studies, including so-called biblical archaeology, routinely devote chapters to the matter that may shock modern sensibilities. Sayce expressed the conviction that human physiognomy, as revealed in sculpture and painting, craniometry and skin color together provide more reliable markers of race, defined as a common bloodline, than language group or nationality. He argued that most of the peoples of the ancient Near East were “white” to one degree or another –Assyro-Babylonians, Amorites, Canaanites, Israelites – and superior to black Africans.<sup>97</sup> He also believed Egyptian Pharaohs, excepting the Nubian rulers, were also white, a position fervently argued by American anti-abolitionists troubled by the possibility of black Africans developing an advanced civilization.<sup>98</sup> Anti-Semitism cruelly distorted research on the relationship between the Sumerian and so-called Amorite peoples, leading scholars like E. Schrader and F. Lenormant to denigrate Babylonian civilization as constitutionally uncreative and dependent on inspiration from Aryan contact.<sup>99</sup>

Paradoxically, mounting evidence from the monuments compiled so industriously by the early biblical archaeology movement returned to haunt its own advocates by undermining the dogma of cultural and religious uniqueness of the Israelites. What the higher critics would not do, the custodians of the monuments unwittingly accomplished by providing the Old Testament with a seductive cultural background. With the decipherment of Mesopotamian languages and the concomitant deluge of antiquities created, presumably, coeval to the Old Testament timeline, a number of scholars developed an interpretative framework for contextualizing the Bible that increasingly privileged Mesopotamian civilization. G. Smith’s incontrovertible evidence for linkages between the primeval history in Genesis and Assyro-Babylonian myths in the 1870s implied a direct borrowing from East to West.<sup>100</sup> The discovery in 1887 of the cuneiform Tell el-Amarna tablets in Egypt, revealing a hitherto unknown network of ruler-correspondents in Western Asia and a mythological tablet to boot, convinced researchers like Sayce that Mesopotamian arts and sciences dominated the scribal milieu of the Late Bronze Age throughout the region. Sayce by 1895 makes much of the idea that Abraham’s migration to the West was successful because he remained in a cultural milieu where Babylonian was spoken, Babylonian traders, soldiers, priests and scholars were abundant, and the patriarch was therefore able to communicate easily and form social bonds: “Like the Englishman who migrates to a British colony, Abraham was in contact with the same culture in Canaan and Chaldaea alike”.<sup>101</sup>

A movement within the German academy dubbed Pan-Babylonism in the

<sup>96</sup> Geulen, *Wahlverwandte* (2004).

<sup>97</sup> Sayce, *Races of the Old Testament* (1891).

<sup>98</sup> See Nott/Gliddon, *Types of Mankind* (1854); Trafton, *Egypt Land* (2004).

<sup>99</sup> On the contentious “Sumerian question”, see Cooper, *Sumerian and Aryan* (1993), 169–205.

<sup>100</sup> Among the most sophisticated treatments were Jensen, *Kosmologie der Babylonier* (1890), 263–446, and Fried. Delitzsch, *Babylonische Welterschöpfungsepos* (1896).

<sup>101</sup> Sayce, *Patriarchal Palestine* (1895), 169.

twentieth century, led by a cadre of scholars disenchanted with philhellenism and the privileging of Protestant theology over ancient Near Eastern *comparanda* for biblical exegesis, controversially reactivated the earlier use of astral mythology as the universal cipher for unriddling biblical narrative, especially in relationship to Mesopotamia. H. Winckler, H. Zimmern, A. Jeremias, and P. Jensen propounded related hermeneutical systems that sliced through the surface of biblical narratives to reveal patterns of solar and lunar myths, or the Gilgamesh epic. Winckler in particular fancied that, behind the Mesopotamian profusion of many gods, there was a doctrine of a single divine power, a doctrine that circulated only among the chosen intelligentsia. An immediate corollary of this theory maintains that the highest spiritual ideals of the religion of the ancient Israelites, including monotheism and the ban on iconographic representations of God, are Babylonian in origin, and were transported from Mesopotamia to Palestine by Abraham himself.<sup>102</sup>

At the heart of the Pan-Babylonian movement “scientific” and Old-World racism merged with the “assured” proofs of archaeology and a mythological juggernaut. Reactions in the 1890s to Pan-Babylonism and related theories on the part of the biblical studies guild ranged all over the map, from eager willingness to reduce the Old Testament to a local instance of Babylonian myth, to violent gestures of dismissal with the attitude “what hath Jerusalem to do with Babylon?”. The full fury of the tempest will strike in the following century with the “*Babel und Bibel*” lectures of Friedrich Delitzsch.

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<sup>102</sup> See Winckler, *Himmels- und Weltenbild der Babylonier* (1901). To his credit, Winckler rejected Wellhausen’s fixation on the primacy of pre-Islamic religious survivals as the single, exhaustive model for ancient Israel, arguing instead that Bedouin culture, like Islam as a whole, changes through time, and that it is methodologically myopic to ignore voluminous records of religions contemporary with the creation of the Old Testament.

## CHAPTER FIVE

# Expansion of the Anthropological, Sociological and Mythological Context of the Hebrew Bible / Old Testament

By J. W. ROGERSON, Sheffield

*Sources:* J. G. FRAZER, 'Taboo', EncBr xxiii (Edinburgh: Black 1888), 15–18; *The Golden Bough. A Study in Comparative Religion* (London: Macmillan 1890). – I. GOLDZIEHER, *Mythology among the Hebrews and its Historical Development* (London: Longmans, Green 1877). – J. GRIMM, *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* (Berlin: Realschulbuchhandlung 1812–1815); *Deutsche Mythologie* (Göttingen: Dieterische Buchhandlung 1835). – A. KUHN, *Die Herabkunft des Feuers und des Göttertranks* (Berlin: Dummler 1859). – W. MANNHARDT, *Wald- und Feldkulte*, 1–2 (Berlin: Gebrüder Borntraeger 1875–1877). – F. M. MÜLLER, *Chips from a German Workshop* (London: Longmans, Green 1867). – A. H. SAYCE, "The Astronomy and Astrology of the Babylonians", TSBA 3 (1874) 145–339. – H. STEINTHAL, "Die Sage von Simson", ZVPs 2 (1862) 129–178. – G. SMITH, "The Chaldean Account of the Deluge", PSBA 2 (1873) 213–234; *The Chaldean Account of Genesis, containing the description of the Creation, the Fall of Man, the Deluge, the Tower of Babel, the Times of the Patriarchs and Nimrod* (London: Sampson Low 1876). – W. ROBERTSON SMITH, "Animal Worship and Animal Tribes among the Arabs and in the Old Testament", JPh ix (No.17; 1880); repr. in: J. S. Black/G. Chrystal (eds.), *Lectures and Essays of William Robertson Smith* (London: Black 1912), 455–483; *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia* (Edinburgh: Black 1885); 'Sacrifice', EncBr xxi (Edinburgh: Black 1886), 132–138; *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*. First Series (Edinburgh: Black 1889), Second and Third Series (ed. J. Day, Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press 1995). – J. WELLHAUSEN, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten. Drittes Heft, Reste Arabischen Heidentumes* (Berlin: Reimer 1887); "Die Ehe bei den Arabern", NGWG (1893), 431–481.

*Reference works and special studies:* R. ACKERMAN, *J. G. Frazer. His Life and Work* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP 1987). – J. S. BLACK/G. W. CHRYSAL, *The Life of William Robertson Smith* (London: Black 1912). – R. M. DORSON, *The British Folklorists. A History* (London: Routledge 1968). – R. A. DOWNIE, *Frazer and the Golden Bough* (London: Victor Gollancz 1970). – E. E. EVANS-PRITCHARD, *Social Anthropology* (London: Cohen and West 1951); *A History of Anthropological Thought* (London: Faber 1981). – B. FELDMAN/R. D. RICHARDSON, *The Rise of Modern Mythology 1680–1860* (Bloomington: Indiana UP 1972). – J. W. ROGERSON, *Myth in Old Testament Interpretation* (Berlin: de Gruyter 1994); *Anthropology and the Old Testament* (Oxford: Blackwell 1978); *Bible and Criticism in Victorian Britain. Profiles of F. D. Maurice and William Robertson Smith* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press 1995). – R. A. SEGAL, *The Myth and Ritual Theory. An Anthology* (Oxford: Blackwell 1998). – G. SEITZ, *Die Brüder Grimm. Leben – Werk – Zeit* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft 1984). Further special studies below.



## 1. Introduction

The task of assembling, classifying, and accounting for the folk traditions and practices of the peoples of the world began well before the nineteenth century.<sup>1</sup> However, in the nineteenth century, this task was pursued with especial vigour, and resulted in the publication of source materials together with theoretical reflection upon them that far surpassed the efforts of the preceding centuries. One factor that affected this was the colonial expansion of European nations into parts of Africa and Polynesia, including New Zealand. But there was also a growing appreciation of the importance of European folk traditions as clues to the cultural, intellectual and religious development of mankind. This appreciation meant that as well as looking to newly-discovered or newly-accessible parts of the world, researchers also turned their attention to their own countries, especially those parts remote from the urban centres. Thus in Britain, for example, John Francis Campbell began in 1847 to collect traditions from Gaelic-speaking residents of the West Highlands of Scotland.<sup>2</sup> A similar task was undertaken in Welsh-speaking parts of Wales by John Rhys from 1871, while as early as 1825 T. C. Croker had published a volume containing "Fairy Legends" from the south of Ireland.<sup>3</sup> The main inspiration for these efforts was the work of the brothers Wilhelm and (especially) Jacob Grimm, whose *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* had begun to appear in 1812, to be followed by Jacob's *Deutsche Mythologie* in 1835. The Grimm brothers had also inspired researchers in other countries, including the Norwegians P. C. Asbjørnsen and J. Moe whose *Norske folkeeventyr* appeared in 1850.<sup>4</sup> Returning to the wider world, G. Grey, who had been appointed Governor-General of New Zealand in 1845, published traditions from that part of the world in 1855,<sup>5</sup> while Maïve S. H. Stokes produced *Indian Fairy Tales*, privately printed in Calcutta in 1879, and published in London the following year.<sup>6</sup> That these works were only a small fraction of what was actually produced will be apparent from the references in works such as Mannhardt's *Wald- und Feldkulte*.

At this stage in the history of research there was no real distinction between folklore studies and anthropology. Clearly, the collection of folklore materials involved fieldwork, and Mannhardt used the opportunities afforded by Prussia's wars against Denmark and France from 1864 to 1870 to question prisoners of war about traditions and customs.<sup>7</sup> But there was no systematic fieldwork as developed by social anthropologists in the twentieth century.<sup>8</sup> Just as there was no clear distinction between folklore studies and anthropology, so the study of

<sup>1</sup> Dorson, *British Folklorists* (1912); Rogerson, *Anthropology* (1978), 2–8.

<sup>2</sup> Dorson, *ibid.* 393–402.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 44–52, 419–20.

<sup>4</sup> P. C. ASBJØRNSEN/J. MOE, *Norske folkeeventyr samlede og fortalte* (Christiana [Oslo]: J. Dahl 1850).

<sup>5</sup> G. GREY, *Polynesian Mythology and Ancient Traditional History of the New Zealanders, as Furnished by their Priests and Chiefs* (London: Murray 1855).

<sup>6</sup> Dorson, *ibid.* 372–373, 335.

<sup>7</sup> Mannhardt, *Wald- und Feldkulte*, 2 (1877), xxxv.

<sup>8</sup> Evans-Pritchard, *Social Anthropology* (1951), 64–85

mythology (however defined) was not a separate discipline. In practice, traditions that could be classified as folk tales and/or myths were used indifferently by researchers in order to formulate and defend theories about the cultural and religious history of mankind. As late as 1914 experts were still not clear whether J. G. Frazer's *The Golden Bough* was a work of folklore or of social anthropology.<sup>9</sup> For this reason, the following section, although entitled 'Comparative Folkloristic Studies' will deal as much with what were classified as 'myths' as with folk traditions.

## 2. Comparative Folkloristic Studies

In the first part of the nineteenth century European Old Testament scholars made use of traditions from other parts of the world in order to shed light upon parts of the Old Testament. Thus T. H. Horne, writing about the Flood as narrated in Genesis 6–9, drew attention to flood traditions found “among the Mexicans, Peruvians, Brazilians, and Nicaraguans” as well as among “the very lately discovered inhabitants of Western Caledonia, the Cree Indians, ... the polar regions of North America, the Otaheitans... and the Sandwich Islanders”.<sup>10</sup> The ubiquity of traditions about a primeval flood was, for Horne, confirmation of the biblical account that a flood had covered the whole earth. Similar observations were made by Franz Delitzsch in his Genesis commentary of 1853, adding Indian, Chinese, and Welsh traditions to the list of parallels, although he also accepted that the geological discoveries of Charles Lyell made it likely that the flood had not covered the whole earth.<sup>11</sup> But biblical scholars were not at the forefront of theorising about how the newly-discovered traditions affected the reconstruction of the cultural and religious history of mankind. This work was undertaken by philologists and folklorists. As the century progressed, their findings began to be applied to the Old Testament not in order to confirm its historicity, but to place its religious and cultural content in the context of the general theories of religion and culture that were being advocated. In the latter third of the century the task begun to be taken up by Old Testament specialists such as William Robertson Smith; but these scholars were heirs to the general discussions that had gone on earlier in the century, an invaluable survey of which was given by Mannhardt in his preface to the second volume of *Wald- und Feldkulte*.<sup>12</sup>

It was significant that the most influential of the earliest theoreticians, Jacob Grimm, was also a philologist, who held that the phonetic sounds of languages could be described in terms of their development from a small number of basic sounds.<sup>13</sup> Grimm applied the same theory to myths and folk tales, believing that

<sup>9</sup> Dorson, *British Folklorists* (1912), 287.

<sup>10</sup> T. H. HORNE, *An Introduction to the Critical Study and Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures*, 1, (London: Cadell 1825), 181–182.

<sup>11</sup> F. DELITZSCH, *Die Genesis ausgelegt* (Leipzig: Dörffling und Franke 1853), 235–237, 255.

<sup>12</sup> Mannhardt, *Wald- und Feldkulte*, 2 (1877), v–xi.

<sup>13</sup> On Grimm's observations s. L. BLOOMFIELD, *Language* (London: Allen and Unwin 1935), 347–351.

he could trace them back to a primal form of religion that had arisen in the infancy of the human race. It had been monotheistic, but in the course of time had developed into polytheism and had become diversified and localised in the same way as human languages. The imposition upon peoples of 'higher' religions such as Buddhism and Christianity had led to the suppression of some of its 'cruder' elements, although Grimm was certain that, left to themselves, the various forms of the primal religion would have become morally more pure. In some cases the 'higher' religions absorbed elements of the folk religions. Remnants of aspects of the folk religions could be observed among contemporary so-called savage or primitive peoples; but also, the uneducated or lower classes among European societies had retained many beliefs and customs that derived ultimately from the primal folk religion. Grimm enunciated certain principles that would dominate the study of folklore for the rest of the century and beyond. His method was comparative in the sense that links were recognised between traditions if they shared common motifs, or names that could be linked by comparative philology. It was diffusionist in that it presupposed that myths had developed from a primal religion, although cross-influences were also recognised. It had a view of the primal religion and the human race that embraced it, that was noble and positive. It also held that remnants of aspects of the primal religion had survived among contemporary primitive nations and lower class strata within developed societies. These principles would be developed or adapted in various ways in the course of the century.

The first development was undertaken by the philologist A. Kuhn, whose investigation of the Indo-European languages led him to argue that it was in the *Vedas* that a form of mythology was to be found, that was the source of the myths of Greece and Rome. However, the *Vedas* did not give access to a primal mythology that had then diffused to all peoples in different ways. Their importance lay in the fact that they showed *how* myths were formed, by experience of the natural world being transformed into stories about heroes and gods.<sup>14</sup> How this transformation had come about was proposed by F.M. Müller. He argued that at an early stage in the development of human thought, language was characterised by polynomy and synonymy.<sup>15</sup> There were many separate words for the sun: the winter sun, the rising sun, the hot summer sun. Again, a word denoting a particular object could also denote another object that shared the same characteristic. Thus, in the *Vedas* the word *urvi* (wide) could denote both the earth and a river. These terms were used in a kind of poetry that described the operations of nature. The rising of the sun could be expressed as "the dawn has died in the arms of the sun" – 'dawn' and 'sun' using in each case one of the many words for the phenomena. As thought and language developed, and the vocabulary became more precise, many words became redundant or became proper names. Attempts were made to account for these proper names by inventing stories about them,

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<sup>14</sup> Mannhardt, *Wald- und Feldkulte*, xvi: "Seit diesen Beobachtungen war der Bann einer Auffassung der Mythen als eines fertigen Systems völlig gebrochen, das Princip der Entwicklung für sie gewonnen, der Nachweis ihrer Entstehung und allmählichen Ausbildung in die Aufgabe der Wissenschaft aufgenommen".

<sup>15</sup> Müller, *Chips from a German Workshop*, 2 (1867), 71–73.

“Selene embraces Endymion” – a way of saying that the sun was setting and the moon was rising, gave rise to a story about a youth, Endymion, being loved by a maiden, Selene, once the original meanings of Selene (moon) and Endymion (sunset) had been forgotten. Müller sought in this way to explain the origins of crude and barbaric elements in myths. They did not arise from an essentially barbaric human nature, but from misunderstandings of the operations of the world of nature, deriving from the development of language. Müller had argued that myths resulted from human interaction with the world of nature. Later scholarship would simplify this by cutting out the need for Müller’s theorising about original polysemy and homonymy in language. It would also account for crude and barbaric elements in myths by seeing them as reflections of a humanity at a much lower stage of moral development compared with modern Europeans. Before this is discussed, however, there will be a consideration of the first attempts by folklorists to apply Müller’s theories to the Old Testament.

In an extended review in the *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Sprachwissenschaft* by H. Steinthal of A. Kuhn’s *Die Herabkunft des Feuers und des Göttertranks*,<sup>16</sup> Steinthal outlined Kuhn’s view that the myth of Prometheus stealing fire from the gods derived from the natural occurrence of the sun being hidden by a cloud. The sun’s re-emergence gave rise to the story of fire being taken to earth, but this was also conceived as robbing the gods of fire. In applying the method to the Old Testament Steinthal chose the story of Samson whose name, in any case, contained the Hebrew word for ‘sun’. Assuming that the Samson stories were derived from solar myths that were also found in some cases in stories about Herakles, the following incidents could be explained. The lion in whose carcass bees made honey (Judg 14:5–18) – an impossibility in real life – represented the hostile side of the sun which Samson the sun-god had killed. A parallel was the story of Herakles burning himself to death and rising from the flames to Olympus. Samson’s visit to a harlot in Gaza (Judg 16:11–13) paralleled the descent of Herakles to the nether-world, while Delilah was possibly a moon goddess whose enfeebling of Samson derived from the passage of day to night. Samson’s blinding corresponded to that of Orion; the two pillars of the temple that he pulled down paralleled those of Herakles. The implication of Steinthal’s essay was that the Old Testament was to be seen as a source for recovering Semitic mythology. Goldziher extended the method to cover much more of the Old Testament. The period of greatest importance was that following the Israelite occupation of Canaan, when the Israelites were exposed to Canaanite solar mythology. This was not received passively by the Israelites, but adapted and transformed, with only the Samson cycle surviving as a recognisable solar myth. The approach of Steinthal and Goldziher required the interpretation of the Old Testament to be undertaken in the light of the comparative study of myths and legends.

By the time that Goldziher published his book (the German appeared in 1876, the English translation a year later) the influence of Kuhn’s and Müller’s type of solar mythology was on the wane, and being replaced by theories that were sim-

<sup>16</sup> Kuhn, *Die Herabkunft des Feuers und des Göttertranks* (1859); Steinthal, *Die Sage von Simson* (1862), trans. in: Goldziher, *Mythology among the Hebrews* (1877), 363–392.

pler and more in accord with a world increasingly dominated by Darwinism. The first casualty was the view that the earliest representatives of the human race had been noble and monotheist. Social Darwinism entailed a gradual evolution of mankind from lower to higher conceptions of morality and religion. This fatally undermined one of Müller's chief contentions. Secondly, instead of scholars seeking the origins of human myths and story making in astral and solar phenomena, attention was turned to phenomena of nature such as trees and the agricultural cycle. This was the contribution of Mannhardt, to whom J. G. Frazer was later deeply indebted.<sup>17</sup>

In the first volume of *Wald- und Feldkulte*, Mannhardt discussed not the myths of the *Vedas* or of ancient Greece and Rome, but the folk reminiscences and superstitions of villagers and those engaged in agriculture. This is why too rigid a distinction between myths and folk traditions is not helpful in an historical outline of the development of theorising about culture and religion during this period. Mannhardt's starting-point was traditions and superstitions about trees – beliefs that they could communicate with humans, that they had healing powers; prohibitions against wantonly felling trees and the punishments that would accrue to those who did so. A development from such beliefs was that trees possessed souls, and that these souls received external expression in the form of human-like creatures who were thought to inhabit woods and forests, and who could be beneficial as well as hostile to humans. One such manifestation was men who appeared to be clothed in moss or grass. There was also a uniting of beliefs about spirits of the woods and forests, and spirits of the storm and wind. Storms and whirlwinds were thought to be activated by such spirits. A further development was the transformation of some spirits of the woods and forests into house spirits.<sup>18</sup>

The next step in the argument was to demonstrate that the spirits of the wood and forest were also believed to be the spirits of the field, and therefore of agricultural growth and prosperity. Here, Mannhardt devoted much space to harvest customs, and especially ceremonies involving trees, especially the May tree. In some cultures, trees were dressed in clothes – an indication of the close connection believed to exist between trees and humans. In other cases, trees were brought from the forest and planted by houses or stalls where cattle were reared. Various May tree celebrations were ways of honouring the spirits of the field so as to ensure success in the production of food.<sup>19</sup>

It was not only trees that were honoured. Their spirits or souls were represented by chosen human beings such as May queens, or May kings. There were festal processions and 'marriages' of May couples. St. Valentine's Day (14 February) became the day on which the couple was chosen who would become the May 'bride' and 'bridegroom'.<sup>20</sup> Another custom to which Mannhardt drew

<sup>17</sup> Frazer wrote in the preface to the first edition of *The Golden Bough* (1890): "I have made great use of the works of the late W. Mannhardt, without which, indeed, my book could scarcely have been written".

<sup>18</sup> For a summary see Mannhardt, *Wald- und Feldkulte*, 1 (1875), 145–154.

<sup>19</sup> Mannhardt, *ibid.* 154–310.

<sup>20</sup> Mannhardt, *ibid.* 495: "*Der 14. Februar wurde gewählt, weil die Volksbeobachtung auf denselben (ich weiß nicht, aus welchem Grunde) auch die Paarung der Vögel ansetzte, so daß es eine pas-*

attention was that of communal fires at important times of the year, especially mid-summer's day. Some of these celebrations involved the burning of animals, such as cats contained in a sack or basket. In other cases men ran through the fire, believing that evil spirits responsible for illnesses and plant diseases would be killed. Representations of humans could also be burned, and Mannhardt surmised that originally, actual humans, especially criminals were thus sacrificed in order to purify the community and ensure fertility of the crops. This latter surmise was based upon evidence from classical writers, including Julius Caesar's *Gallic Wars*, and opening the way to two important developments in Mannhardt's theorising. The first was that sources from ancient Greece and Rome could take the evidence for the customs and superstitions that Mannhardt was describing back before the mediaeval sources of information upon which he and others relied (as well, of course, the testimony of contemporary members of lower and agricultural classes). The second development was that Mannhardt began to argue that stories about gods had developed from the agricultural customs and superstitions examined in his book. This latter development was based upon a description by Tacitus of a festival of Neothus/Nerthus, whom Mannhardt equated with the Norse god Njördr and his children Freyr and Freya.<sup>21</sup> Volume 2 of *Wald- und Feldkulte* developed further the idea that the gods of mythology and the non-human beings that inhabited their world were transformations of the personified tree and corn spirits. The volume discussed dryads, nymphs and nereides, centaurs, fauns and satyrs. Special attention was paid to the place of the goat in harvest beliefs and customs, and to the belief that, when corn was threshed, the corn spirit of the old year was killed. Concluding sections dealt specifically with classical sources under the titles "*Erntemai und Maibaum in der antiken Welt*" and "*Sonnenwendfeuer im Altertum*". At the end of volume 2 Mannhardt could conclude that der "*Volksglaube der Bauern die noch größtenteils im unmittelbaren Zusammenhang stehenden Keime der höheren Mythologie in sich bergen*".<sup>22</sup>

Mannhardt's importance was that he had provided the intellectual foundation on which many subsequent investigations would be based. It assumed that the beliefs and customs he was describing had originated from the "*primitivste[ ] Entwicklungszustände des menschlichen Geistes*"<sup>23</sup> and that they had developed into the mythologies found in ancient Greece and Rome and elsewhere. The explanation for these mythologies was not to be sought in solar or astral phenomena but in agricultural beliefs and customs. The tracing of the transformation of these items into 'higher' notions was a way of reconstructing the cultural and religious development of the human race. One of the most important beneficiaries of Mannhardt's work was J. G. Frazer.

The first edition of Frazer's *The Golden Bough* appeared in 1890. Its attempt

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*sende Annahme schien, auf ihn die Hochzeit der großen Naturwesen zu verlegen. Der Kalendernamen dieses Tages, St. Valentin, ist dann zunächst auf das mythische Lenzbrautpaar übertragen, wie sonst der Monatsname Mai, Maja, auf den Vegetationsdämon, und von diesem auf die dasselbe nachbildenden Paare".*

<sup>21</sup> Mannhardt, *ibid.* 588.

<sup>22</sup> Mannhardt, *Wald- und Feldkulte*, 2 (1877), 350.

<sup>23</sup> Mannhardt, *Wald- und Feldkulte*, 1 (1875), 603.

to account for the story in the sixth book of *The Aeneid* of the tree in the grove dedicated to Diana which had a golden bough which could only be obtained by someone who plucked it and used it to kill the King of the Wood, who was Diana's priest, did not touch directly on the Old Testament. This would only happen in later editions and in Frazer's *Folk-Lore in the Old Testament* of 1918; all of which fall outside the scope of the present chapter. The importance for subsequent Old Testament study was that Frazer formulated in the first edition of *The Golden Bough* his theory of magic. Designed to explain how people had believed that customs performed at harvest time, etc., would ensure the fertility of crops, Frazer defined magic as a means of controlling nature, according to primitive belief. It took two main forms: imitative magic, in which a ceremony imitated the desired result (e.g. a rain dance) and contagious magic, in which something that had been part of a person (e.g. hair) could be blessed or cursed or destroyed in order to bring about a desired result.<sup>24</sup>

Frazer's main application of comparative studies to the Old Testament in the period up to 1899 was in the article 'Taboo' in the Ninth Edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.<sup>25</sup> Explaining that the word 'Taboo' was common to the various dialects of Polynesia, and meant 'marked thoroughly' Frazer described how it could be applied to places, persons and observances to mark them as sacred, and as subject to certain prohibitions. It was the outgrowth of animalistic belief and in the course of time it served the interests of the advance of civilisation by "fostering conceptions of the rights of property and the sanctity of the marriage tie".<sup>26</sup> While traces of it could be found more or less in all primitive races it had also left its mark on civilised peoples including the Jews, Greeks and Romans.

Frazer found evidence of taboo in the Old Testament in the vow of the Nazirite (Num 6:1–21), who was to separate himself to God, to abstain from certain foods, and from cutting his hair or touching a dead body. Some of the Sabbath regulations such as doing no work, not kindling a fire, not cooking and not going out of the house were derived from taboos. The belief that contact with a dead body made a person unclean and that childbirth rendered a mother unclean could be paralleled from Polynesian practices, as could the washing ceremonies for getting rid of a violation of a taboo. The classification of certain animals as taboo and not to be eaten was also found in Polynesia. Thus the Israelites had shared in the cultural and religious evolution of the human race, and the Old Testament bore witness to this fact. This view had far-reaching implications. Was the religion of the Old Testament a unique revelation, as believed by Jews or Christians, or was it part of a natural development within a human race that had evolved morally as well as physically? This question was central to the work of the man who had invited Frazer to contribute the article on Taboo, William Robertson Smith.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>24</sup> See Evans-Pritchard, *A History of Anthropological Thought* (1981), 132–133.

<sup>25</sup> Frazer, 'Taboo' (1888), 15–18.

<sup>26</sup> Frazer, *ibid.* 17.

<sup>27</sup> On the close relationship between Smith and Frazer see R. Ackerman, "William Robertson Smith and J. G. Frazer: 'Genuit Frazerum'?", *JSTb* 1 (2008) 63–77.

### 3. New Anthropological and Sociological Perspectives – the Case of William Robertson Smith and his Work

On the face of it, William Robertson Smith was an unlikely person not only to master the burgeoning mass of information relevant to Old Testament criticism and anthropology and sociology, but to make an important contribution to it, and to come to be regarded as one of the founding fathers of the sociological study of religion. Born in the village of Keig, north of Aberdeen in 1846, Robertson Smith grew up in the Free Church of Scotland, a conservative body some of whose members bitterly opposed the use of organs in church worship. On one of Smith's first visits to Germany, he was uncertain whether it was right for him to go on a walk with a senior colleague on the sabbath (i. e. Sunday). Yet gradually, Smith was persuaded by the obvious sincerity of his German colleagues that biblical criticism, far from being a threat to Christian faith, was a necessary tool to enable the Bible, and especially the Old Testament, to convey its message to the learned world of the late nineteenth century. He became an ardent advocate of the view that modern biblical criticism was an extension and continuation of the recovery of the message of the Bible that had begun at the Reformation.

In 1870, after a brilliant undergraduate career that could have led to him specialising in mathematics or physics as well as theology, Smith was appointed to a professorship of Old Testament Studies at the Free Church College in Aberdeen, a post he held until his dismissal in 1881. This position required him to be ordained, and to preach, which he did conscientiously.<sup>28</sup> During his years in Aberdeen he began to master the results of the newly-emerging Old Testament criticism as propounded by scholars such as A. Kuenen and J. Wellhausen, with their radical implications for the history of Israelite religion and sacrifice. He also began to study Arabic and visited Egypt and the Hejaz. He published a series of reviews of foreign works on biblical criticism which indicated his growing mastery of this field.

In 1875 Smith prepared the article "Bible" for the Ninth Edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, an essay of fourteen pages of double columns, which appeared at the end of 1875.<sup>29</sup> Although the article dealt with the whole of the Bible including New Testament, its most significant section was that dealing with the Pentateuch. Smith argued that three main sources ran through the Pentateuch and Joshua: a Levitico-Elohistic document (also called the *Grundschrift* or P), a Jehovistic narrative, and a third source which belonged to northern Israel and was especially concerned with the ancestors of the northern tribes (later designated as E). Smith associated these three sources with three currents of interest that determined the course of Israelite history, namely, "the traditional lore of the priests, the teaching of the prophets, and the religious life of the more enlightened of the people".<sup>30</sup> Smith left open the burning question of the moment,

<sup>28</sup> See "Smith the Preacher" in: Rogerson, *Faith and Criticism in Victorian Britain* (1995), 130–145.

<sup>29</sup> W. R. SMITH, "Bible", *EncBr* 3 (1875), 634–648.

<sup>30</sup> Smith, *Bible*, 637.



whether the Levitico-Elohistic source was earlier or later than Deuteronomy (which was dated to the seventh century); but he pointed out the implications of the matter. If the Levitico-Elohistic document was earlier than Deuteronomy, then although its provision had existed as a legal programme well before the exile, that programme had not been carried out until the time of Ezra in the fifth century. If the Levitico-Elohistic document was later than Deuteronomy, it was the culmination of the development of the Israelite cult. That Smith was moving towards accepting the lateness of the Levitico-Elohistic source is suggested by a review in the *British and Foreign Evangelical Review* in 1876.<sup>31</sup> A case can be that Smith arrived independently at the theory of the history of Israelite religion presented classically by Wellhausen in 1878.<sup>32</sup>

However, the important thing is not whether Smith anticipated Wellhausen, nor that he came to agree with him so closely that he engaged Wellhausen to write the article 'Pentateuch' for volume xviii of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1885). Smith used the 'Wellhausen position' to embody the Old Testament in a view of the history of human religion in general, and Semitic religion in particular and he believed that in this way the message of the Old Testament could be unlocked for the educated public of his day.

This broader view was not yet apparent in *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, the published version of public lectures given in Edinburgh and Glasgow in the first months of 1881, when Smith was on trial before the General Assembly of the Free Church for heresy, on account of the article "Bible" and other writings.<sup>33</sup> This book attempted to justify Smith's views, as well as presenting in English what is still one of the best accounts of the 'Wellhausen position'. The first hint of the broader perspective was in Smith's essay on animal worship in Arabia and the Old Testament which appeared in 1880 while Smith was on probation, so to speak, having been admonished but not dismissed by the General Assembly in May 1880.<sup>34</sup> Together with the article "Hebrew Language and Literature" in the eleventh volume of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, it would lead to Smith's dismissal in 1881. The article signalled a move from Smith's concern simply with the Old Testament to a concern for the broader study of society and religion as it affected the history of the human race. It began by referring to the theory of totemism, which had been advanced by J. F. McLennan in an essay in the *Fortnightly Review* of 1869 and 1870. Evans-Pritchard wrote of McLennan that "he was the first to make a comprehensive analysis of everything known about primitive peoples" and that thanks to him, there emerged important classificatory concepts: "exogamy, matriliney, totemism, and marriage by capture".<sup>35</sup> By totemism Smith understood a religious and social arrangement in which a group of people believed themselves to be descended from an animal or plant or

<sup>31</sup> W. R. SMITH, "The Progress of Old Testament Studies", *British and Foreign Evangelical Review*, 25 (1876) 471-493.

<sup>32</sup> See Rogerson, *The Bible and Criticism* (1995), 98-100.

<sup>33</sup> W. R. SMITH, *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church. Twelve Lectures on Biblical Criticism* (Edinburgh: Black 1881).

<sup>34</sup> "Animal Worship and Animal Tribes among the Arabs and in the Old Testament", repr. in: Black/Chrystal (eds.), *Lectures and Essays of William Robertson Smith* (1912), 455-483.

<sup>35</sup> Evans-Pritchard, *History of Anthropological Thought* (1981), 66

heavenly body, to be related to each other by bearing the name of that specific object, which was also revered as a supernatural protector or friend to the group and its members. The theory explained the existence of exogamy (persons of the same totem were not allowed to marry each other), the ban on eating certain foods (the totem plant or animal could not be consumed by the group that bore its name), why some groups bore the names of animals, and why there were traces of kinship descent through the female line (it was the mother who gave the totem to her children). The purpose of Smith's article was to show that McLennan's theory was borne out by the evidence of ancient Arabian society, and that certain otherwise puzzling passages in the Old Testament could be explained as survivals of a totemic phase through which the Israelite forebears had once passed. It was also incidentally a criticism of W. W. Graf Baudissin's attempt to account for aspects of Semitic heathenism on the basis of astral mythology. Smith demonstrated that many Arabian tribes or families bore animal names, and this was significant because the Arabs belonged "to a more primitive state of society than existed in Israel at the time when the Old Testament was written" and because pre-Islamic Arabia contained a "condition of pure polytheism".<sup>36</sup> Also, there was evidence for the existence of polyandry in Arabia, an indication of descent through the female line. In the Old Testament animal names could be found in Gen 36:20 (Shobal, 'young lion', Zibeon, 'hyena', Anah, 'wild ass'), Deut 14:5 (Dishon and Dishan – a kind of antelope), and elsewhere. Smith claimed that the names of "totem tribes in Arabia reached through Edom, Midian and Moab into the land of Canaan".<sup>37</sup> He also argued that marriages and sexual practices condemned in the Old Testament were not irregular under a system of female kinship, and that they had therefore once been accepted among the Israelites. Examples included Deut 22:30 [Hebrew 23:1] "a man shall not take his father's wife" and Amos 2:7 ("a man and his father go in to the same maiden"). It was also possible that the prohibition on eating and sacrificing certain animals came from the ban on consuming the totem animal. The connection between David and the royal house of Ammon might well come from the fact that both belonged to the serpent stock, one of David's ancestors being Nachshon (1 Chr 2:10–11) while the Ammonite king of David's time was Nachash. There was even a possible link with the worship of the brazen serpent in the Jerusalem temple until the time of Hezekiah (2 Kgs 18:4). It was understandable that Smith's opponents in the Free Church should have found the article offensive. They could not have understood the significance of the concluding sentences. "It is a favourite speculation that the Hebrews or the Semites in general have a natural capacity for spiritual religion... That was not the opinion of the prophets... Our investigations appear to confirm the judgment, and to show that the superstitions with which the spiritual religion had to contend were not one whit less degrading than those of the most savage nations... It does not appear that Israel was, by its own wisdom, more fit than any other nation to rise above the lowest level of heathenism".<sup>38</sup>

<sup>36</sup> Smith, in: *Lectures and Essays* (1912), 459.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.* 475.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.* 483.

These words sum up what had become, and would remain, Smith's life work. The accumulation of information about the beliefs and practices of peoples throughout the world required explanation. The critical study of the Old Testament enabled it to be situated within what was being theorised about the cultural and religious history of the human race. But this was also an opportunity to show that the religion of the Old Testament at its highest was no mere human development. If it could be proved that the Hebrew forebears had once practised a religion that was indistinguishable from that of Semitic heathenism, then the question had to be asked where its distinctive monotheism and high morality had come from. That the prophets of Israel, beginning in the eighth century, had been the founders of the distinctive faith of the Old Testament, had been a view that had gained currency in the nineteenth century, and which was made more certain by Wellhausen's classic reconstruction which put the prophets before the law. Smith was to transcribe this view onto a much wider canvas, one that entailed the sum of knowledge of human culture and religion. The significant words of the closing sentences of the article on animal worship were that Israel was not "by its own wisdom" more fit than any other nation to rise above the lower levels of heathenism. The way was left open for divine initiative.

Smith's work on the social organisation of the ancient Semites would be followed up and expanded in *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia* (1885). The next important development in his thinking was embodied in the article "Sacrifice" in volume twenty-one of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.<sup>39</sup> Smith distinguished between 'honorific' and 'piacular' sacrifices. The former were offered in the context of a relationship of friendly dependence between worshippers and their god. The latter were designed to appease or to conciliate a god on whose favour worshippers had no right to count. Honorific sacrifices were essentially gifts, and included offerings of cereals or wine. The god was not conceived as dwelling aloft, but was located in a local object such as a tree or sacred stone. A sacrifice was not only a gift to a deity; it was a communal occasion in which gods and worshippers joined together in a feast, and which was an expression of their commensality. The origin of this conception of sacrifice was to be sought in totemism, a phase through which all peoples had passed, and in which there was an especial bond between the totem group and the object from which it was named. Because it was forbidden to a group to kill and eat its own totem, sacrificial gifts were taken from the totems of other groups. This was a way of honouring one's own totem and of casting scorn on the totem of an enemy. An exception was in the case of piacular sacrifice in which an offence so serious had been committed that it was necessary to propitiate the deity. Instead of a criminal being executed, a totem animal that had kinship with the criminal could be killed as a substitute. Smith's argument was that because totemism was a very primitive social and religious arrangement, the earliest form of sacrifice was of the honorific type, an occasion of communal celebration within a group that viewed the deity as friendly and dependable. Piacular sacrifices could arise from a situation of national calamity such as the conquest of small nations by the Assyrians in the eighth century. "The old joyous confidence in the gods gives way to a sombre

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<sup>39</sup> Smith, *Sacrifice* (1886), 132–138.

sense of divine wrath, and the acts by which this wrath can be conjured become much more important than the ordinary gifts of homage".<sup>40</sup> With these words Smith placed within a general theory of sacrifice the view that he shared with Wellhausen, that the worship of pre-exilic Israel had been one of joyful celebration at a multiplicity of sanctuaries without a centralised priesthood. The post-exilic cult concentrated upon propitiation administered by a centralised priesthood following the disaster of the destruction of the Jerusalem temple and the return from exile. The lateness of the Levitico-Elohistic source was an important element in this view of things. At the end of his article Smith let his own religious beliefs show for a moment. He wrote that sacrifices, however strange they might seem to modern sentiments, "expressed, however crudely, certain ideas which lie at the very root of true religion, the fellowship of the worshippers with one another in their fellowship with the deity, and the consecration of the bonds of kinship as the type of all right ethical relation between man and man". Even the piacular sacrifices contained "gems of eternal truths, not only expressing the idea of divine justice, but mingling with it a feeling of divine and human pity". In the mystic sacrifices (sacrifices that accompanied, among other things, initiation ceremonies) "the deity himself suffers with and for the sins of his people and lives again in their new life".<sup>41</sup>

Smith's later work added nothing new to the position that he had reached by 1886. Rather, it bolstered his views by justifying them in greater detail. *The Prophets of Israel* accounted for the source of Israel's religion as a non-human achievement, and the celebrated *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites* took further what had been begun in *Kinship and Marriage* by being a survey of the whole range of ancient Semitic religion and culture based upon classical and Arabian and other sources.<sup>42</sup> Revised editions of *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church* (1892) and *The Prophets of Israel* (1897) contained adjustments to the progress being made in critical Old Testament scholarship with regard to the dating and literary provenance of Old Testament literature, but they did not alter Smith's basic positions.

Smith's influence was considerable. While his German colleagues Wellhausen and Nöldeke were not convinced that he had demonstrated the existence of totemism among the ancient Semites (and thus by implication the Hebrew forebears)<sup>43</sup> Wellhausen expressed his admiration for Smith's *Kinship and Marriage* in a letter of 2 September 1885 and later wrote of "gleaning the harvest" that Smith and others had reaped.<sup>44</sup> In Britain, Smith's combination of critical biblical scholarship and evangelical piety convinced others that biblical criticism was not a threat to faith.<sup>45</sup> In Sweden, Erik Stave, who found himself under pressure from church authorities for embracing biblical criticism regarded Smith as a pioneer with

<sup>40</sup> Ibid. 134.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid. 138

<sup>42</sup> W. ROBERTSON SMITH, *The Prophets of Israel and their Place in History* (London: Black 1882); *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites. First Series* (1889).

<sup>43</sup> TH. NÖLDEKE in: *ZDMG* 40 (1886) 148–187; Wellhausen, *Skizzen*, 3 (1887), 176.

<sup>44</sup> Wellhausen, *Die Ehe bei den Arabern* (1893), 431.

<sup>45</sup> See, for example, A. S. PEAKE, *Reflections and Appreciations* (ed. W. F. Howard; London: Epworth Press 1938), 92.

whom he could sympathise and from whose example he could take comfort.<sup>46</sup> However, Smith's most important influence lay elsewhere.

After his dismissal from Aberdeen Smith removed to Cambridge where he resided initially at Trinity College. Here he met Frazer and began a close friendship that lasted until Smith's death in 1894. Smith commissioned Frazer to write the articles on Taboo and Totemism for the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*; and although this is not the whole truth, there is much to be said for the view that *The Golden Bough* combined the theoretical positions of Mannhardt on the agricultural origin of myths and folk traditions and of Smith on the theory of sacrifice and totemism. Another legacy of Smith was that his analysis of Arabian kinship in *Kinship and Marriage* became the basis for the theory of segmentation as developed by Evans-Pritchard and applied to societies in the Sudan.<sup>47</sup>

Smith's anthropological theories have not stood the test of time,<sup>48</sup> and, for reasons to be outlined in the next section, his view (and that of Wellhausen) that ancient Arabia was a prime source of information about the cultural and religious antecedents of the Israelites, have faded from Old Testament scholarship. Yet he stands as a colossus in the history of the discipline, unrivalled for his ability to master languages, to digest information far beyond his field of specialisation, and concerned to place Old Testament study within the context of the study of the history of human culture and religion.

#### 4. New Mythological Studies

In December 1872, George Smith announced in a lecture to the *Society of Biblical Archaeology* in London that he had discovered a Babylonian account of the flood from the library of the seventh century Assyrian king Assurbanipal in Nineveh.<sup>49</sup> On 4 March 1875 he announced in the *Daily Telegraph* that he had discovered a Babylonian account of the Creation.<sup>50</sup> These discoveries were part of the burgeoning study of Assyriology especially in Britain and in Germany, the discipline in the latter country being massively supported in the aftermath of the creation of the German empire in 1870 by the belief that Germany had lagged behind other countries and needed to take over the leading role.<sup>51</sup> Many of the most important publications resulting from this burst of scholarly energy appeared early in the twentieth century, and therefore fall outside the scope of the present chapter.<sup>52</sup> However, the following general points can be made in the light of what has preceded in this chapter.

<sup>46</sup> R. I. IDESTROM, *From Biblical Theology to Biblical Criticism: Old Testament Scholarship at Uppsala University 1866–1922* (ConBOT 47; Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell 2000), 171–172.

<sup>47</sup> E. E. EVANS-PRITCHARD, "The Nuer: Tribe and Clan (Part 3)", *Sudan Notes and Records* 18 (1935), 37–87.

<sup>48</sup> Evans-Pritchard, *History of Anthropological Thought* (1981), 69–81.

<sup>49</sup> G. Smith, *The Chaldean Account of the Deluge* (1873), 213–234.

<sup>50</sup> G. Smith, *The Chaldean Account of Genesis* (1876).

<sup>51</sup> L. HANISCH, *Die Nachfolger der Exegeten. Deutschsprachige Erforschung des Vorderen Orients in der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 2003), 1–10.

<sup>52</sup> See the survey by H. W. HOGG, "Recent Assyriology: Its Bearing on our Views of the History

The apparent similarities between the Babylonian and biblical narratives of the creation, and flood, etc., switched attention away from the study of the Old Testament in the context of reconstructions of the whole history of human culture and religion, and focussed it instead upon its setting within the ancient world as dominated by the empires of Egypt, Babylon and Assyria. Further, the view was rejected that the mythologies of primitive peoples were the basis from which those of higher civilisations had developed. A distinction was perceived between Semitic and Aryan mythological systems, with the former being much less concerned with the word of nature than the latter.<sup>53</sup> There was a revival of interest in the solar and astral origin of Babylonian mythology.<sup>54</sup> Along with this went an alternative anthropological explanation for the similarities of culture throughout the world. The theories of Mannhardt, Smith and Frazer implied that races had evolved through identical stages of culture and religion, some much faster than others, although the likelihood of societies being influence by and borrowing from each other was not ruled out. The ‘new mythology’ embraced a diffusionist model, which saw ancient Mesopotamia as the centre of a civilisation from which beliefs and customs had spread to other parts of the world. This view was summed up in a book published early in the twentieth century, but which stated the developments in the late nineteenth century, H. Winckler’s *Religionsgeschichte und geschichtlicher Orient*.<sup>55</sup> The outcome was that the study of so-called primitive peoples played an ever diminishing role in Old Testament scholarship, its place being taken by the study of the ancient Near East. The reaction of Smith to these developments was negative. Smith, in the third series of Burnett Lectures, maintained that the parallelism between Genesis 1 and the Babylonian accounts had been greatly exaggerated and concluded “I am unable to find any greater parallelism between the two accounts than follows naturally from the fact that Hebrews and Babylonians had similar conceptions of the physical constitution of the universe” and he referred to Wellhausen as remarking that “in Genesis 1 every step in creation follows in natural order, the whole is clearly thought out, not borrowed from a previous mythology”.<sup>56</sup> How Smith would have reacted to the development of Assyriology and its implications for Old Testament Study in the twentieth century can only be a matter of speculation. His death in 1894 at the age of only 47 robbed the study of the Old Testament of one of its most creative and original minds.

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of Israel”, in: A.S. PEAKE (ed.), *Inaugural Lectures delivered by Members of the Faculty of Theology during its First Session, 1904–5* (Manchester: University Press 1905), 65–104.

<sup>53</sup> R.L. OTTLEY, *Aspects of the Old Testament* (London: Longmans, Green 1897), 182, n.1, quoting E. RIEHM, *Alttestamentliche Theologie* (Halle: Eugen Strien 1889), 46–47: “die Gottheit wird nicht so tief [bei den Semiten] wie bei den Ariern, in die Natur und das Naturleben herabgezogen”.

<sup>54</sup> A.H. SAYCE, “The Astronomy and Astrology of the Babylonians”, *TSBA* 3 (1874), 145–339: “The more I examine the Accadian mythology, the more solar does its character appear” (166).

<sup>55</sup> H. WINCKLER, *Religionsgeschichte und geschichtlicher Orient* (Leipzig 1906).

<sup>56</sup> Smith, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*. Second and Third Series (Sheffield 1995), 102–103. J. WELLHAUSEN, *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels* (6<sup>th</sup> edn.; Berlin: Reimer 1927), 295–297, dealt with Genesis 1, contrasting it with the account in Genesis 2 which he described as “*Mythus*” in contrast to “*das nüchternste Nachdenken über die Natur*” of the first chapter (302).

## CHAPTER SIX

# Expansion of the Linguistic Context of the Hebrew Bible / Old Testament: Hebrew among the Languages of the Ancient Near East

By HOLGER GZELLA, Leiden

*General bibliography:* There is no in-depth treatment of the history of Hebrew and Semitic scholarship during the nineteenth century; apart from works on individual scholars and institutions, some major trends are briefly outlined in J. FÜCK, “Geschichte der semitischen Sprachwissenschaft”, *Semitistik* (HO I.3; Leiden: Brill 1964), 31–39. Bibliographical information may be retrieved from M. STEINSCHNEIDER, *Bibliographisches Handbuch über die theoretische und praktische Literatur für hebräische Sprachkunde* (Hildesheim: Olms 1976), a reprint of the original 1859 edition with copious additions. TH. BENFEY, *Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft und orientalischen Philologie in Deutschland seit dem Anfange des 19. Jahrhunderts mit einem Rückblick auf die früheren Zeiten* (München: Cotta 1869), 683–728, furnishes an overview of relevant publications in German (still “the most important Semitic language”) until 1868. For references to biographical information on many practitioners of Hebrew and Semitics, see R. LOEWE, “Hebraists, Christian”, *EncJud VIII* (Jerusalem: Keter 1978), 9–71. – *Special studies* are notified in the footnotes.

### 1. Increasing Knowledge of the Semitic Languages

A keen interest in historical approaches strongly affected various branches of learning around the middle of the nineteenth century. In particular the “comparative method” exercised a wide-ranging influence: animal species, textual traditions, ritual customs, and groups of languages were studied as part of an ongoing evolution, governed by logical and universal principles, which led from remote yet reconstructible common ancestors to their current forms along extensive family trees.<sup>1</sup> As a consequence, the scope and method of Hebrew Philology, too, underwent a momentous change. Comparative work during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was specifically geared towards, first, elucidating the biblical text on the basis of early versions, including Targumic Aramaic, Syriac, Samaritan Hebrew, and Arabic, conveniently assembled in, e.g., the Paris Polyglot (1628–55) or its London counterpart (1654–57), and, second,

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<sup>1</sup> A classic introduction is H. PEDERSEN, *Linguistic Science in the Nineteenth Century. Methods and Results* (transl. J. W. Spargo; Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP 1931), esp. 240–310. See also J. H. HOSPERS, “A Hundred Years of Semitic Comparative Linguistics”, *Studia Biblica et Semitica Theodoro Christiano Vriezen dedicata* (ed. W. C. van Unnik; Wageningen: Veenman 1966), 138–151, esp. 138–144.

arriving at the original meaning of words with the help of Arabic cognates along the lines of Albert Schultens (1686–1750) at Leiden and the “Dutch School”, the more cautious Göttingen scholar Johann David Michaelis (1717–91) as well as his successor Johann Gottfried Eichhorn (1752–1827), and others.<sup>2</sup> Attempts to compare Hebrew with Arabic in light of their evident structural similarities were by then already part of a long tradition rooted in mediaeval Jewish grammar and rediscovered by Christians in the sixteenth century when they tried to harmonize the newly-unveiled Semitic tongues. Under the influence of historical positivism, by contrast, the processes of language change as such and the rational basis of comparison increasingly demanded attention. Hence frameworks better accounting for systematic correspondences or deviations in the data outshone the offshoots of the time-honoured *philologia sacra* to which Wilhelm Gesenius put an end for good. A refined genetic classification eventually dethroned Hebrew as the primordial Semitic language, emphasizing that Classical Arabic with its more extensive inventory of consonantal phonemes and preservation of short unstressed vowels in open syllables, its morphological case system, and its rich verbal inflection must be typologically more conservative.

Within Semitic Philology, the genealogical method developed by the so-called “Neogrammarians” and based on the invariable regularity of sound changes was met by a steady stream of fresh primary material stimulating other historical and empirical ways of thinking. Semitics never turned into a branch of Comparative Linguistics proper, but constantly interacted with the synchronic description of languages and the philological examination of texts as a key to the many Near Eastern civilizations of the past. No split like the one between Indo-European Linguistics on the one hand and Indo-Iranian, Classical, Romance, or Germanic Philology on the other therefore occurred. The discovery of more and more inscriptions from Anatolia, Syria-Palestine, and the Arabian Peninsula by Julius Euting (1839–1913), Eduard Glaser (1855–1908), and other great explorers enormously promoted West Semitic epigraphy.<sup>3</sup> Such finds yielded previously unknown cognate idioms which gradually had to be assigned their proper place within the Semitic family, but could also be appreciated in their own right. Linguistic genealogy now provided a rational criterion for positively defining the scope of the new discipline “Semitics”:<sup>4</sup> it deals with a specific group of tongues

<sup>2</sup> Information on Schultens can be found in J. FÜCK, *Die arabischen Studien in Europa. Bis in den Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig: Harrassowitz 1955), 105–107, and S.G. BURNETT, “Later Christian Hebraists”, *HBOT*, II (2008), 785–801, especially 792–795; cf. also A.J. KLIJNSMIT, “Vossius, Spinoza, Schultens: The Application of Analogia in Hebrew Grammar”, *Helmantica* 51, no. 154 (2000) 139–166; F. MÜHLAU, “Albert Schultens und seine Bedeutung für die hebräische Sprachwissenschaft”, *Zeitschrift für die gesamte lutherische Theologie und Kirche* 31 (1870) 1–21. On Michaelis and Eichhorn, see R. SMEND, *Deutsche Alttestamentler in drei Jahrhunderten* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1989), 13–37; the former is now also discussed extensively by M.C. LEGASPI, *The Death of Scripture and the Rise of Biblical Studies* (Oxford: Oxford UP 2010).

<sup>3</sup> J.F. HEALEY, “‘Sicherheit des Auges’: The Contribution to Semitic Epigraphy of the Explorer Julius Euting (1839–1913)”, *Biblical and Near Eastern Essays: Studies in Honour of Kevin J. Cathcart* (JSOT.S 375; eds. C. McCarthy/J.F. Healey; London/New York: T&T Clark 2004), 313–330; W.W. MÜLLER, “Der böhmische Südarabienreisende Eduard Glaser (1855–1908)”, *Schriften der Sudeten-deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften und Künste* 23 (2002), 195–220.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. M.F.J. BAASTEN, “A Note on the History of ‘Semitic’”, in: *Hamlet on a Hill. Semitic and*



historically related by means of a family-tree, whereas the less precise notion of “Oriental languages” during the first half of the nineteenth century included members of the Indo-European phylum like Persian and Sanskrit as well. Many scholars still learned and sometimes even researched, or at least taught, the latter, but full command of both fields gradually declined.<sup>5</sup> By that time, pioneering comparisons with Egyptian, another emerging area of investigation, had successfully explored the wider Afro-Asiatic context of Semitic.<sup>6</sup>

The ‘canonical’ and largely standardized languages Hebrew, Arabic, Biblical Aramaic, Syriac, and Classical Ethiopic continued to be the backbone in research and teaching, as they had been since the seventeenth century at the latest, yet the new material added diachronic depth to their analysis by illuminating the etymology of words and the evolution of grammatical forms. A growing amount of Phoenician and Punic inscriptions as well as better insights into their language,<sup>7</sup> together with the discovery of the Moabite stone in 1868<sup>8</sup> and the Hebrew Siloah inscription in 1880,<sup>9</sup> generated a sharper picture of the linguistic environment of Hebrew, the development of the West Semitic scripts,<sup>10</sup> and the world of the Bible in general. Moreover, a number of smaller Aramaic texts from the first millennium BCE were published throughout the nineteenth century and foreshadowed the discovery of the Elephantine papyri around the turn of the century, which subsequently caused a breakthrough in determining the historical context of Biblical Aramaic and appreciating Aramaic as a proper language group. Increasing knowledge of Palmyrene and Nabataean Aramaic further contributed to a better understanding of the language situation in the Hellenistic and Roman Near East.<sup>11</sup> On a larger scale, the Old South Arabian and Ancient North Arabian languages reappeared in scores of textual witnesses since the publication of the first few Sabaic inscriptions in the 1830’s and illuminated the kingdoms of South Yemen no less than the linguistic diversity of the Arabian branch of Semi-

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*Greek Studies Presented to Professor T. Muraoka on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday* (OLA 118; eds. M.F.J. Baasten/W. Th. van Peursen; Louvain: Peeters 2003), 57–72.

<sup>5</sup> A combined interest in Arabic and Sanskrit, or Persian, still characterizes the scholarly work of Johannes Gildemeister (1812–90), Justus Olshausen (1800–82), Gottfried Kosegarten (1792–1860), and of course the poet Friedrich Rückert (1788–1866). Dillmann and Nöldeke, too, taught Sanskrit; the latter also published on various things Iranian. On Ewald, see below.

<sup>6</sup> TH. BENEFY, *Ueber das Verhältniss der ägyptischen Sprache zum semitischen Sprachstamm* (Leipzig: Brockhaus 1844). Besides a number of clear correspondences in the pronominal system, many speculative etymological parallels were initially adduced in support of a connection between Semitic and Egyptian but proved dubious when Egyptology became a more rigorously philological discipline in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

<sup>7</sup> The earliest complete grammar is authored by P. SCHRÖDER, *Die phönizische Sprache* (Halle: Verlag der Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses 1869). On the early history of research, see B. STADE, “Erneute Prüfung des zwischen dem Phönizischen und Hebräischen bestehenden Verwandtschaftsgrades”, *Morgenländische Forschungen. Festschrift Heinrich L. Fleischer* (Leipzig: Brockhaus 1875), 167–232.

<sup>8</sup> First comprehensive edition: R. SMEND/A. SOCIN, *Die Inschrift des Königs Mesa von Moab* (Freiburg: Mohr-Siebeck 1886). Until the discovery of the Phoenician Ahiröm-sarcophagus in 1923, it was widely acknowledged as the oldest Semitic inscription in alphabetic writing.

<sup>9</sup> H. GUTHE, “Die Siloahinschrift”, *ZDMG* 36 (1882) 725–750.

<sup>10</sup> The old debate whether the square script or the Samaritan alphabet reflects an older type of the Hebrew letter-shapes could thus be settled in favour of the latter.

<sup>11</sup> F. ROSENTHAL, *Die aramaistische Forschung seit Th. Nöldeke’s Veröffentlichungen* (Leiden: Brill 1939), 24–71, 83–103.

tic in pre-Islamic times.<sup>12</sup> The impact of such discoveries was huge: peoples and empires mentioned by the Bible now could be studied for the first time in light of primary sources; the antiquarian lore accumulated during earlier periods could be anchored in empirical research. One or more fields of Semitic epigraphy regularly attracted almost all leading Semitists of the nineteenth century, but it still took several decades until these insights were received into standard grammars. The lion's share of scholars' time and energy was consumed by solving problems of reading, finding out the meaning of enigmatic words, and clearing away too fanciful interpretations.

When cuneiform writing was finally deciphered by the year 1857, an increasing understanding of the Akkadian language could bring to life again, albeit at a somewhat later stage, the great cultures of Mesopotamia. They considerably antedate all the evidence hitherto available.<sup>13</sup> Friedrich Delitzsch (1850–1922) in Leipzig and later Berlin, his student Fritz Hommel (1854–1936) in Munich, and others were among the first to exhaustively confront traditional Semitic and biblical scholarship with this new data.<sup>14</sup> Only in the twentieth century, however, was the grammatical analysis of Akkadian sufficiently reliable to bear, after a period of “anti-comparativist tendencies”,<sup>15</sup> on historical-comparative Semitics in a fundamental way by revealing a number of very archaic linguistic features. Its essential differences as opposed to the other Semitic languages nonetheless prompted the basic, and still current, distinction between an “Eastern” branch chiefly comprising Akkadian and a “Western” one to which the rest could be subsumed. This distinction was established already in the last two decades of the nineteenth century.<sup>16</sup> Later methodological advances and the unearthing of Ugarit called for refinements in other parts of the model, but the discussion has not yet reached a consensus.<sup>17</sup>

Other periods of Near Eastern cultural history profited no less from this expansion of knowledge. Thanks to diplomats and travellers, overwhelming piles

<sup>12</sup> E. MITTWOCH, “Aus der Frühzeit der Sabäistik”, *Orientalia* 4 (1935) 341–52; A. GROHMANN, *Kulturgeschichte des Alten Orients: Arabien* (Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft III.1.3.3.4; München: Beck 1963), 116–120.

<sup>13</sup> On the pioneers of Assyriology, see M. T. LARSEN, *The Conquest of Assyria: Excavations in an Antique Land* (London: Routledge 1996). S. L. MARCHAND, *German Orientalism in the Age of Empire: Religion, Race, and Scholarship* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2009), 196–202, succinctly depicts the rise of this discipline within its broader Orientalist context.

<sup>14</sup> See R. G. LEHMANN, *Friedrich Delitzsch und der Babel-Bibel-Streit* (OBO 133; Fribourg: Universitätsverlag/Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1994); E. WEIDNER, “Hommel, Fritz”, NDB 9 (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot 1972), 591–592.

<sup>15</sup> H.-J. POLORSKY, “Semitics”, *The World History of the Jewish People: Volume I/1* (ed. E. A. Speiser; London: W. H. Allen 1964), 99–111, esp. 102–103. The guiding principle of the “anti-comparativists” was to explain Mesopotamian culture in light of its *Eigenbegrifflichkeit* (“conceptual autonomy”).

<sup>16</sup> For an early survey of the discussion, cf. F. HOMMEL, *Aufsätze und Abhandlungen arabisch-semitologischen Inhalts: Erste Hälfte* (München: Franz 1892), 92–123. The same idea is mentioned with some hesitation in the masterful survey by TH. NÖLDEKE, *Die semitischen Sprachen. Eine Skizze* (Leipzig: Tauchnitz 21899), 19, which adequately summarizes the state of knowledge about the history and classification of the Semitic languages at the end of the nineteenth century.

<sup>17</sup> J. HUEHNERGARD, “Features of Central Semitic”, *Biblical and Oriental Studies in Memory of William L. Moran* (BibOr 48; ed. A. Gianto; Rome: Biblical Institute Press 2005), 155–203, with a summary of previous research.

of Syriac and Arabic manuscripts concurrently reached the major European libraries from abroad, and these further encouraged the study of the mediaeval Near East.<sup>18</sup> To a lesser extent, the same applies to Classical Ethiopic.<sup>19</sup> All these proved more readily accessible to scholars trained in the customary languages than cuneiform tablets and could therefore be integrated more easily into the ongoing academic discourse. Text editions, literary histories, and catalogues of library holdings occupied generations of academics from their doctoral studies to retirement; numerous indeed are the manuscripts published by William Cureton (1808–64), Paul de Lagarde (1827–91), William Wright (1830–89), James Rendel Harris (1852–1941), and many others.<sup>20</sup> The celebrated collections at Oxford, Cambridge, London, Leiden, and Paris constantly attracted international visitors. Those were the days of the great scholar librarians! Innovative questions broadened the horizon of textual work proper and helped to shape the social-science profile of Islamology which step by step left the chorus of philological disciplines.<sup>21</sup> The limited amount of university positions, or at least librarianships, available supported a well-nigh extinct type of generalism among those qualifying for a career in academe, with the same people successfully working in quite diverse areas like grammar, literature, and history, as well as different languages. Learned societies like the *Société Asiatique* (founded in 1822), the *Royal Asiatic Society* (1823), the *American Oriental Society* (1842), and the *Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft* (1845), their scholarly journals, and newly-established bookshops facilitated the diffusion of insights.<sup>22</sup>

Both Semitic epigraphy and the study of Islam, to be sure, were already on their way to becoming, at least in terms of method, specialized subjects from the

<sup>18</sup> Specifically on Syriac, see J.-B. CHABOT, “Les études araméennes”, *Le Livre du Centenaire de la Société Asiatique (1822–1922)* (Paris: Geuthner 1922), 121–132; A. G. P. JANSON/L. VAN ROMPAY, “Syriac Studies in Leiden (1850–1940): The Vicissitudes of a ‘Lingua Minor’”, *Leiden Oriental Connections 1850–1940* (ed. W. Otterspeer; Leiden: Brill 1989), 43–61; S. P. BROCK, “The Development of Syriac Studies”, *The Edward Hincks Bicentenary Lectures* (ed. K. J. Cathcart; Dublin: University College, Department of Near Eastern Languages 1994), 94–113.

<sup>19</sup> S. UHLIG, “Ethiopian studies”, *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica* 2 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 2005), 433–438, with an up-to-date bibliography.

<sup>20</sup> S. LANE-POOLE, rev. S. Agnew, “Cureton, William”, ODNB 13 (Oxford: Oxford UP 2004), 325f; U. SIEG, *Deutschlands Prophet. Paul de Lagarde und die Ursprünge des modernen Antisemitismus* (München: Hanser 2007); M. J. DE GOEJE, “William Wright”, *JA* 13 (1889) 522–529, and now especially B. MAIER, *Semitic Studies in Victorian Britain. A portrait of William Wright and his world through his letters* (Würzburg: Ergon 2011); Fück, *Studien* (1955), 206–209; C. BERNET, “Harris, James Rendel”, BBKL XXX (Herzberg: Bautz 2009), 557–569.

<sup>21</sup> S. MANGOLD, *Eine “weltbürgerliche Wissenschaft”: die deutsche Orientalistik im 19. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart: Steiner 2004), with a somewhat one-sided emphasis on specific institutions. By contrast, Marchand, *Orientalism* (2009), outlines how Oriental Studies, by widening the scope of inherited tradition, contributed to repositioning Western cultural self-awareness and to understanding its historical roots.

<sup>22</sup> L. FINOT, “Historique de la Société Asiatique”, *Le Livre du Centenaire de la Société Asiatique (1822–1922)* (Paris: Geuthner 1922), 1–65; D. T. McGETCHIN, “Wilting Florists: The Turbulent Early Decades of the Société Asiatique, 1822–1860”, *JHI* 64 (2003) 565–580; C. F. BECKINGHAM, “A History of the Royal Asiatic Society”, *The Royal Asiatic Society. Its History and Treasures. Published in Commemoration of the Sesquicentenary Year of the Foundation of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* (eds. S. Simmonds/S. Digby; London/Leiden: Brill 1979), 1–77; H. PREISSLER, “Die Anfänge der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft”, *ZDMG* 145 (1995) 241–327; Mangold, *Eine “weltbürgerliche Wissenschaft”* (2004), 176–225.

second half of the eighteenth century onwards: the Abbé Jean Jacques Barthélemy (1716–95) in Paris devoted much of his energy to initiating the decipherment of Palmyrene Aramaic and Phoenician-Punic;<sup>23</sup> at the same time, Johann Jakob Reiske (1716–74), a friend of Lessing's, laid the foundations of a secular investigation of Arabic manuscripts and Islamic culture.<sup>24</sup> Yet it was first and foremost the *Aufbruchstimmung* during the subsequent decades which attracted some of the finest minds of their generation to Oriental Studies in general and to Arabic and Syriac in particular. The latter were also the fields in which Theodor Nöldeke (1836–1930) excelled;<sup>25</sup> it was he, perhaps the greatest Semitist of his day, who successfully established the study of the Aramaic language as a proper academic discipline. Clearly, then, there was enough to do even for empiricists who did not endorse the Neogrammarian method, and Nöldeke himself, sober as he was, always took a critical stance at the possibilities of historical reconstruction.

During the last quarter of the nineteenth century, academic investigation also increasingly included the modern Arabic, Aramaic, and Ethiopic languages, and after the Austrian expedition of 1898–99 Modern South Arabian as well. The chronological depth of the Semitic group was thereby extended to the present, and masses of data became available for more in-depth phonetic research. The first comprehensive descriptions according to scientific standards mostly targeted Arabic vernaculars of coastal or near-coastal cities of the Mediterranean, but also a few varieties belonging to the North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic group (to use a modern term).<sup>26</sup> One of the most proficient early fieldworkers was the Swiss Arabist Albert Socin (1844–99),<sup>27</sup> whose extensive visits to the Middle East (1868–70; 1873) yielded rich collections of Neo-Arabic, Neo-Aramaic (in particular Ṭuroyo), and Kurdish material; his student Hans Stumme (1864–1936) stands out among the Arabic dialectologists of the next generation. Before Socin

<sup>23</sup> M. LIDZBARSKI, *Handbuch der nordsemitischen Epigraphik nebst ausgewählten Inschriften*. I. Teil: *Text* (Weimar: Felber 1898), 89–110; M. DAVID, “En marge du mémoire de l'abbé Barthélemy (1758) sur les inscriptions Phéniciennes”, *Studia semitica philologica necnon philosophica Ioanni Bakoš dedicata* (ed. S. Segert; Bratislava: Vydavateľstvo Slovenskej akadémie vied 1965), 81–94; P. T. DANIELS, “Shewing of Hard Sentences and Dissolving of Doubts: The First Decipherment”, *JAOS* 108 (1988) 419–436.

<sup>24</sup> Fück, *Studien* (1955), 108–124; H.-G. EBERT/TH. HANSTEIN (eds.), *Johann Jakob Reiske: Leben und Wirkung* (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt 2005). A scholarly biography remains yet to be written.

<sup>25</sup> For biographical sketches, see E. LITTMANN, *Ein Jahrhundert Orientalistik* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 1954), 52–62, and R. SELLHEIM, “Theodor Nöldeke (1836–1930): Begründer der modernen Orientalistik”, *WO* 37 (2007) 134–144.

<sup>26</sup> Note especially W. SPITTA-BEY, *Grammatik des arabischen Vulgärdialectes von Ägypten* (Leipzig: Hinrichs 1880), on Cairene Arabic and H. STUMME, *Grammatik des tunisischen Arabisch nebst Glossar* (Leipzig: Hinrichs 1896), on the language of Tunis. Among the early works on Neo-Aramaic, TH. NÖLDEKE, *Grammatik der neusyrischen Sprache am Urmia-See und in Kurdistan* (Leipzig: Weigel 1868) is the most thorough, even though Nöldeke never went to the Middle East himself.

<sup>27</sup> R. WÜRSCH, “Albert Socin (1844–1899)”, *Palaestina exploranda. Studien zur Erforschung Palästinas im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert anlässlich des 125jährigen Bestehens des Deutschen Vereins zur Erforschung Palästinas* (ADPV 34; ed. U. Hübner; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 2006), 89–104, especially 98–101 (with rich bibliographical references). See also H. L. MURRE-VAN DEN BERG, “Classical Syriac, Neo Aramaic, and Arabic in the Church of the East and the Chaldean Church between 1500 and 1800”, *Aramaic in its Historical and Linguistic Setting* (Veröffentlichungen der Orientalischen Kommission 50; eds. H. Gzella/M. L. Folmer; Harrassowitz: Wiesbaden 2008), 335–351, esp. 340.

and others paved the way to an academic study of the modern Semitic languages, above all in Germany, these vernaculars had either been confined to the training of translators for diplomatic missions to the Ottoman Empire, as in Vienna, or simply remained unknown.<sup>28</sup> Although it was only in the early twentieth century that they grew deeper roots in university teaching and were researched alongside the study of the classical Semitic idioms, all the necessary preconditions had been established by then.

Such centrifugal tendencies finally undermined the erstwhile dominant role of Hebrew as the nucleus of Semitics. Its sister-languages Arabic, Syriac, Classical Ethiopic, and Akkadian could now be studied on a textual basis much larger than the Bible and the few sample texts furnished by the usual chrestomathies. So they were emancipated from their auxiliary roles and were increasingly researched in their own right. Moreover, the authority of the Christian religion was not unquestioned anymore. Hebrew therefore ceased to be an integral part of Oriental Studies in some countries, especially in France.<sup>29</sup> Since it maintained its position in Protestant Theology and continued to be taught at classical secondary schools alongside Latin and Greek in German-speaking territories as well as in the Netherlands, it still provided an obvious first contact with the Semitic world. Early interests of that kind will no doubt have been fostered in many vicars' families, whose vast contribution to intellectual life is well-known: Justus Olshausen once remarked that as a boy he felt attracted to books in his father's library bearing Hebrew, Syriac, and Arabic letters.<sup>30</sup> A comparative view of the language also supplemented the now dominant historical-critical approach to the biblical authors by adding linguistic evidence to considerations of "higher criticism" based on similar hermeneutic principles. Protestant faculties in North-Western Europe and North America<sup>31</sup> had thus lost the privilege of being the sole laboratories of Semitic scholarship, but successfully kept their role as distributors of crucial significance. Studying Theology continued to be an attractive option, as the state-supported Protestant churches could offer upward social mobility and a reasonably sheltered life to their pastors.<sup>32</sup> The comparatively large number of state universities in Germany, each with a full-fledged Theological faculty embedded into a wider academic community and often a proper

<sup>28</sup> The Oriental Academy of Vienna, established in 1754, was in fact more than a simple language school, see P. S. FICHTNER, *Terror and Toleration: The Habsburg Empire Confronts Islam, 1526–1850* (London: Reaktion Books 2008), 117–130.

<sup>29</sup> M. LAMBERT, "La philologie hébraïque, l'exégèse biblique, l'archéologie palestinienne et l'épigraphie sémitique", *Le Livre du Centenaire de la Société Asiatique (1822–1922)* (Paris: Geuthner 1922), 105–120.

<sup>30</sup> E. SCHRADER, "Gedächtnissrede auf Justus Olshausen", AAWB (1883), 1–21, here 4.

<sup>31</sup> On the latter, see G. F. MOORE, "Alttestamentliche Studien in Amerika", *ZAW* 8 (1888) 1–42, and 9 (1889) 246–302. Several American Old Testament scholars received part of their training in Germany: Edward Robinson, for example, studied with Gesenius, Samuel Curtiss with Franz Delitzsch. Some of them translated their teachers' works into English. Robinson's version of Gesenius' dictionary had a particularly noteworthy impact. A theological education often included Hebrew; the field of Semitics, however, was still much in its infancy at many universities by the end of the nineteenth century, yet rapidly developing. Cf. W. ROSENAU, *Semitic Studies in American Colleges* (Chicago: Bloch and Newman 1896).

<sup>32</sup> A. J. LA VOPA, *Grace, Talent, and Merit: Poor Students, Clerical Careers, and Professional Ideology in Eighteenth-Century Germany* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP 1988).

Oriental chair as well,<sup>33</sup> promoted a diversity of approaches and thus contributed to a thriving interdisciplinary climate for Hebrew Studies. Strong competition forced younger scholars, often *Privatdozenten* without a salary, to keep publishing original work and teach a wide array of specialized classes in order to obtain a tenured position. Many significant advances in grammar thus occurred in the German-speaking area, especially in Prussia. Elsewhere, by contrast, renowned libraries and museums determined the course of scholarship, whereas language study primarily served the purpose of enabling students to read the primary sources, but was not an end in itself: Britain and the Netherlands produced scores of text editions, and France also important work on epigraphy and archaeology.

For Catholics before the foundation of the Pontifical Biblical Institute in 1909, on the other hand, contacts with the Christian Near East in order to promote unification had proved more important than a better understanding of the original text of the Bible ever since the lack of theologically trained translators was felt at the Council of Ferrara-Florence (1437–49).<sup>34</sup> The same tendency also conditioned Catholic reactions to the philological turn of the nineteenth century. Hebrew was taught quite regularly, but did not occupy a central position in academic formation. Since the Doctrine of Inspiration could not yet easily accommodate the upcoming idea of layers and redactional processes as the driving forces behind the canon, Orientalists serving the Roman Church kept concentrating in the first place on Syriac, but also on Arabic and Ethiopic, rather than on the grammar and lexicon of Scripture.<sup>35</sup> They spent their time editing and commenting upon texts pertinent to the history, hagiography, dogmatic systems, and liturgies of the Eastern Churches, soon extending their interests to non-Semitic idioms like Coptic, Armenian, Georgian, and others as well. These activities often took place as part of personal research interests, since only rather few Catholic institutions of higher learning had professorships in Oriental languages. Yet thanks to the work of Ignazio Guidi (1844–1935), who held a professorship of “Hebrew and Comparative Semitics” in Rome, the study of Ethiopic texts

<sup>33</sup> Cf. J. W. ROGERSON, *Old Testament Criticism in the Nineteenth Century: England and Germany* (London: SPCK 1984), 138, 249. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Germany had some 20 Protestant faculties.

<sup>34</sup> See H. SUERMANN, “Der arabische Text der Bulle *Cantate Domino* des Konzils von Florenz: Vorüberlegungen für eine erneute Edition”, *Der Christliche Orient und seine Umwelt* (SOR 56; eds. S. G. Vashalomidze/L. Greisiger; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 2007), 399–404.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. H. GZELLA, “Hans Bauer und die historisch-vergleichende Semitistik”, *Studien zur Semitistik und Arabistik. Festschrift für Hartmut Bobzin zum 60. Geburtstag* (eds. O. Jastrow/Sh. Talay/H. Hafenrichter; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 2008), 141–182. Bauer’s life is a paradigm case of that conflict in the early twentieth century. The fruitful Syriac scholar Gustav Bickell (1838–1906), it is true, authored several contributions to the study of Hebrew metre and a school grammar; not surprisingly, he was a convert to Catholicism and took holy orders only after having studied Protestant Theology first in Marburg, then in Halle. See E. L. DIETRICH, *Lebensbilder aus Kurhessen und Waldeck 1830–1930*, IV (ed. I. Schnack; Marburg: Elwert 1950), 29–39. Other Catholic specialists of Syriac include Enrico Gismondi SJ (1850–1912), René Graffin (1858–1941), François Nau (1864–1931), and Jean-Baptiste Chabot (1860–1948), who also excelled in epigraphy. All of them had been ordained to the priesthood. For the intellectual context, see L. MARIÈS/F. GRAFFIN, “Monseigneur René Graffin (1858–1941). Histoire de sa famille, de sa Patrologie orientale et de ses collaborateurs”, *OrChrP* 67 (2001), 157–178.

and culture flourished outside the ecclesiastical world, too, above all in Italy.<sup>36</sup> Further specialization in this field during the twentieth century eventually elicited the rise of a non-denominational *Philologie des Christlichen Orients* in Germany. The mindset of its practitioners, while being similarly historical-comparative in nature as Semitic Philology, targeted religious customs and beliefs more readily than linguistic phenomena.

Lastly, the study of Judaism had in general not yet been integrated into the curricula of secular universities.<sup>37</sup> While several important tools were published, Targumic and Talmudic Aramaic as well as Post-Biblical Hebrew did not feature prominently anymore in the syllabi of Theological faculties or Oriental departments. The growing interest in historical-critical exegesis and enthusiasm for the explanatory potential of Arabic with the beginning of the Age of Enlightenment ousted Rabbinics from Christian Hebraism after its heydays in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. As a consequence, the Hebrew corpus was mostly confined to the Bible. The reception of historical-comparative methods among scholars affiliated with Rabbinical colleges later contributed to bridging the gap between these two academic cultures without actually removing all the barriers. Even Mark Lidzbarski (1868–1928), who left his Chassidic family in Poland at the age of 14, converted to Protestantism when studying Semitics at Berlin, and became the doyen of Semitic epigraphy and Mandaic literature in the early twentieth century, never fully took part in Prussian academe.<sup>38</sup> Indeed, the statutes of some conservative Prussian universities by tradition prohibited the appointment of non-Lutheran faculty members or at least their promotion to the level of ordinary professors.<sup>39</sup> Cross-institutional cooperation nonetheless seemed particularly fruitful in Berlin, where Jakob Barth (1851–1914), one of the foremost Comparative Semitists of his time, taught at both the Orthodox Jewish Seminary (from 1874) and the State University (from 1876; appointed as extraordinary professor in 1880).<sup>40</sup> Similarly the important works on Aramaic lexicography by Siegmund Fraenkel (1855–1909),<sup>41</sup> the Semitist of Breslau University, who was trained in Berlin, and Samuel Krauss (1866–1948), a professor at Jewish seminaries in Budapest and Vienna, soon acquired the status of standard handbooks. Targumic and Talmudic material, or Rabbinic Hebrew, however, did not yet enter mainstream research or teaching. Although contacts with Semitic Studies in

<sup>36</sup> G. LEVI DELLA VIDA, “L’opera orientalistica di Ignazio Guidi”, *OM* 15 (1935) 236–248. On the study of Hebrew at Italian universities during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, see also G. RINALDI, “Gli studi italiani di ebraico biblico”, *Gli studi sul vicino Oriente in Italia dal 1921 al 1970*, I: L’Oriente preislamico (Pubblicazioni dell’Istituto per l’Oriente 63; ed. F. Gabrieli; Rome: Istituto per l’Oriente 1971), 59–67, esp. 61 f.

<sup>37</sup> An exception is the appointment of Gesenius’ pupil Julius Fürst in Leipzig, where he also taught students (privately) in Talmud and Aramaic. Nonetheless, he never achieved the same status as his Lutheran colleagues; see K. VOGEL, “Der Orientalist Julius Fürst (1805–1873): Wissenschaftler, Publizist und engagierter Bürger”, *Bausteine einer jüdischen Geschichte der Universität Leipzig* (Leipziger Beiträge zur Jüdischen Geschichte und Kultur, 4; ed. S. Wendehorst; Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag 2006), 41–60.

<sup>38</sup> Littmann, *Ein Jahrhundert* (1954), 46–51.

<sup>39</sup> M. RICHARZ, *Der Eintritt der Juden in die akademischen Berufe: jüdische Studenten und Akademiker in Deutschland 1678–1848* (SWALBI 28; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck 1974), 164–172.

<sup>40</sup> H. WEHR, “Barth, Jakob”, *NDB* 1 (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot 1953), 603 f.

<sup>41</sup> J. FÜCK, “Fraenkel, Siegmund”, *NDB* 5 (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot 1961), 312 f.

Christian and secular environments remained thus rather sporadic for most of the nineteenth century, time-honoured Jewish education kept a long tradition of learning alive by producing generations of scholars possessing an intimate familiarity with primary source texts.

As no other language took the vacant place of Hebrew, Semitics itself became a discipline of many foci without a unifying factor.<sup>42</sup> The nineteenth century therefore created the type of the general Semitist who had grown out of Theology; an early example of specialization is Heinrich L. Fleischer (1801–88), since he soon concentrated wholly on Arabic and made Leipzig a centre for its study.<sup>43</sup> Although the idiom of the Hebrew Bible no longer provided the principal driving force of progress in Semitic Philology, its study never lost touch of advances in different areas of the field. Classical Arabic was now widely considered to be the most faithful representative of the original language type underlying Hebrew; the situation only changed with the discovery of Ugaritic in 1929 and a thorough analysis of the Canaanite elements in the Akkadian Amarna letters. For every historically-minded grammarian, the primary point of comparison was thus Classical Arabic. Together with Syriac, it remained part of the basic training of most if not all Protestant exegetes. The institutional level often bolstered connections between Biblical Studies and Oriental languages. In Göttingen, for instance, the chair of Old Testament had belonged to the Faculty of Arts since the time of Johann David Michaelis and was only incorporated into the Faculty of Divinity in 1914; elsewhere, as in Oxford, Cambridge, and Leiden, chairs specifically devoted to Hebrew have existed side by side with exegetical professorships until today.

Thanks to the enduring all-round character of Oriental Studies before the excessive growth of twentieth-century specialization, one cannot always decide with ease who was an exegete and who was a linguist. Already scholars like Michaelis, Eichhorn, and others devoted part of their teaching load to Arabic, Syriac, and Biblical or Targumic Aramaic, for which they also wrote pedagogical grammars usually accompanied by a chrestomathy and a glossary. Some generations later, however, August Dillmann (1823–94)<sup>44</sup> became a prolific commentator on biblical books and the leading nineteenth-century expert on Classical Ethiopic grammar, a topic often neglected after Hiob Ludolf in the seventeenth century, but then successfully treated again by other great Orientalists like Ewald (who set Dillmann on the track), Hupfeld, and König; the polyglot Adalbert Merx (1838–1909)<sup>45</sup> wrote biblical commentaries, edited Syriac, Targumic, Urmi Neo-Aramaic, and Arabic texts, published an album of Hebrew and Arabic palaeography, worked on Semitic inscriptions, and studied the Syriac native

<sup>42</sup> Polotsky, *Semitics* (1964), 100.

<sup>43</sup> H. PREISLER, "Heinrich Leberecht Fleischer. Ein Leipziger Orientalist, seine jüdischen Studenten, Promovenden und Kollegen", *Bausteine einer jüdischen Geschichte der Universität Leipzig* (Leipziger Beiträge zur Jüdischen Geschichte und Kultur, 4; ed. S. Wendehorst; Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag 2006), 245–268. Fleischer's own work was not affected by advances in Comparative Philology. Ironically, however, Leipzig became a stronghold of Neogrammarian thinking in his old days.

<sup>44</sup> Littmann, *Ein Jahrhundert* (1954), 1–10.

<sup>45</sup> K. BREUER, "Merx, Adalbert", *NDB* 17 (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot 1994), 194f.



grammatical tradition, not to mention his knowledge of Armenian and Turkish; Franz Praetorius (1847–1927),<sup>46</sup> who showed great acumen as a textual critic and a student of Hebrew metre, undertook pioneering work on the modern Semitic and Cushitic languages of Ethiopia; Friedrich Schwally (1863–1919)<sup>47</sup> examined aspects of Ancient Israelite religion, but simultaneously dealt with Quranic criticism and Christian Palestinian Aramaic. Since the boundaries were so fluid and the canonical members of the Semitic family resembled each other so closely, a gifted student trained for the ministry could with equal chance take the path of Theology or of Philology: often some personal encounter, like a charismatic teacher, seems to have tipped the balance. The fact that many practitioners of Semitics did not enter the field via Linguistics has been identified as the reason for a certain nonchalance in the use of the comparative method among Orientalists.<sup>48</sup> Yet the study of Hebrew remained part of the focus even of grammarians who had little or no formal affinity with Theology, such as Justus Olshausen, August Müller, and Theodor Nöldeke.

By the same token, biblical scholarship also participated in another paradigm shift in favour of empiricism, which replaced a grammatical framework still rooted in mediaeval traditions by improved functional analyses. An intimate familiarity with the primary sources that cannot even be dreamt of nowadays brought about many fine observations on grammatical as well as stylistic details. Since the study of Classical Antiquity regained considerable prestige during this time, Latin and Greek provided the obvious models for grammatical description. Wilhelm Gesenius and, in a more radical fashion, his antipode Heinrich Ewald were among the first who quite consistently applied categories inspired by the classical languages to Hebrew and Arabic morphosyntax; the latter's students Dillmann and Nöldeke refined the underlying method in their grammars of Geez and several Aramaic varieties; especially Nöldeke had a formidable knowledge of Classical Antiquity in all its aspects. By and large, entrenched terms like *plusquamperfectum*, *perfectum historicum*, *praesens historicum*, *futurum instans*, *futurum exactum* and so forth go back to those days, although their value as meaningful labels cannot anymore count as unquestionable after much more material from entirely different language groups has become available during the past few decades.<sup>49</sup> Attempts at greater completeness supplemented the desire for increasing precision in terms of detail. The nineteenth century thus witnessed the rise of extensive reference grammars (sometimes called *Lehrgebäude*) besides compact descriptions for teaching.

Given the relatively small corpus with its substantial amount of *hapax legomena*, peculiar forms, and difficult constructions, any profound study of Biblical Hebrew grammar and lexicography still depends on a comparison with cognate

<sup>46</sup> Littmann, *Ein Jahrhundert* (1954), 37–45.

<sup>47</sup> P. KAHLÉ, "Friedrich Schwally", *Der Islam* 10 (1919) 238–242.

<sup>48</sup> So, e.g., by R. G. KENT, "Linguistic Science and the Orientalist", *JAOS* 55 (1935) 115–137, especially 136f. It has to be noted, however, that August Schleicher, the founder of the genealogical method, also began his academic career as a student of Theology.

<sup>49</sup> H. GZELLA, "Morgenländische Sprachen und die europäische Grammatiktradition", *WZKM* 95 (2005) 63–85, esp. 74f.

languages. The enlarged knowledge of the Semitic phylum during the nineteenth century, due to a spectacular growth of primary data, eventually covering four millennia, and improved linguistic methodologies in historical as well as descriptive terms, necessarily affected all aspects of Hebrew scholarship. Its impact on understanding the biblical text, firmly integrated into Western society as a cornerstone of European culture, guaranteed an unbroken interest even among a wider public that shared the convictions of *Kulturprotestantismus*.

The study of Egyptian, by contrast, remained cocooned from progress in Semitic Philology. This is in part due to its more remote connection with Semitic on the higher, Afro-Asiatic, level that resulted in a linguistic blueprint often strikingly different from the Semitic idioms, which bear a much closer mutual resemblance (especially the members of the West Semitic branch that included the “canonical” languages most commonly studied in those days); the very few traces of later Egyptian influence on the idioms of Syria-Palestine do in fact come down to not more than a handful of lexical loans. In addition, the particular circumstances in which Egyptology as an academic discipline in its own right took on its shape around 1860 will also have played a role. Although Jean-François Champollion managed to decipher hieroglyphic Egyptian already in 1822, the subsequent decennia were a period of collecting and presenting the material then available with but little systematic investigation of the sources and their language.<sup>50</sup> Egyptological studies were thus carried out in close connection with museum holdings and flourished in particular at the universities of Paris, where Emmanuel de Rougé (1811–1872), perhaps the first Egyptologist in the strict sense of the word, occupied Champollion’s chair, and Berlin, where the linguist and archaeologist Richard Lepsius (1810–1884) corroborated the position of the discipline and devoted growing attention to the publication of Egyptian antiquities yet without ever becoming a genuine specialist in their exact philological or historical interpretation.<sup>51</sup>

New positions, institutions, and periodicals were established in the following years; the rise of a rational and critical Egyptian philology proper, however, only came about with the unrelenting work of Adolf Erman (1854–1937) and his Berlin school. Erman, while still a young man, first made his pioneering contributions to grammar (1880–1890, a decennium inaugurated by the appearance of his *Neuägyptische Grammatik*) and subsequently embarked on the monumental *Wörterbuch der Ägyptischen Sprache* (1897–1931).<sup>52</sup> Before that, the language and the texts were not well-known enough to grant Egyptology the status of a

<sup>50</sup> H. KEES, “Geschichte der Ägyptologie”, *Ägyptische Sprache und Schrift* (HO I.1; Leiden: Brill 1959), 3–17; E. HORNING, *Einführung in die Ägyptologie* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft<sup>4</sup> 1993), 10–14 (with bibliography).

<sup>51</sup> E. GADY, “Rougé, Emmanuel de”, *Dictionnaire des orientalistes de langue française* (ed. F. Pouillon; Paris: Karthala<sup>2</sup> 2008), 843f; E. NAVILLE, “Lepsius, Karl Richard”, ADB 51 (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot 1906), 651–670; G. EBERS, *Richard Lepsius: ein Lebensbild* (Leipzig: Engelmann 1885); E. FREIER/W.F. REINEKE (eds.), *Karl Richard Lepsius (1810–1884): Akten der Tagung anlässlich seines 100. Todestages, 10.–12. 7. 1984 in Halle* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag 1988).

<sup>52</sup> See W. SCHENKEL, “Beginn und Aufbruch: Adolf Erman und die Geschichte der Ägyptologie”, *Ägyptologie als Wissenschaft: Adolf Erman (1854–1937) in seiner Zeit* (ed. B. U. Schipper; Berlin/New York: de Gruyter 2006), 224–247.

serious academic discipline.<sup>53</sup> Instead, it was often regarded as an amateurish pastime, marred by guesswork and fanciful interpretations, that bespoke the interests of a wider public but did not match the standards of a highly technical profession like Indo-European or Semitic Philology, an opinion no doubt fuelled by the popularizing efforts of some practitioners of the field.<sup>54</sup> The adventurous Heinrich Brugsch (1827–1894) may have been an exception; he was the author of the large-scale *Hieroglyphisch-demotisches Wörterbuch* (1867–1882), the first scholarly dictionary of Egyptian (though much less well-organized than Erman's), and other important works that bear the mark of genius but regularly go beyond the evidence.<sup>55</sup> Brugsch's autobiography, whose reliability in details is not always easy to gauge, provides some insight into the state of the art during the first decennia after Champollion and gives an impression of the amount of initiative and self-teaching then required.<sup>56</sup> Yet even Erman, although he recognized the important etymological link between the Egyptian pseudo-participle and the West Semitic "perfect" (i. e., the Akkadian stative) and made occasional use of Semitic for typological comparisons, could not bridge the gap between his own specialty and the investigation of other Near-Eastern idioms.<sup>57</sup> He was a hard and diligent worker who followed an empirical *ab ovo* approach based on the primary sources themselves but had no particular interest in applying methodological considerations or advances in adjacent fields, including Comparative Linguistics. As a result, he laid the necessary groundwork for more precise translations than the often haphazard attempts of his predecessors and thereby championed an approach to Egyptian civilization strictly based on a thorough understanding of the original texts. His dictionary project subsequently provided a meeting-place for several generations of promising junior scholars from Europe and the States to come together and gain first-hand experience with the material.<sup>58</sup> Nonetheless, he did not promote the analysis of the Egyptian language

<sup>53</sup> Orientalists like de Lagarde thus held the entire field in derision, see A. ERMAN, *Mein Werden und mein Wirken: Erinnerungen eines alten Berliner Gelehrten* (Leipzig: Quelle & Meyer 1929), 255.

<sup>54</sup> Especially Erman's own teacher Georg Ebers (1837–1898), who made himself a name as a prolific writer of historical novels. See H. FISCHER, *Der Ägyptologe Georg Ebers: eine Fallstudie zum Problem Wissenschaft und Öffentlichkeit im 19. Jahrhundert* (AAT 25; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 1994), and, for the broader intellectual climate, S. L. MARCHAND, "Popularizing the Orient in *Fin De Siècle* Germany", *Intellectual History Review* 17 (2007) 175–202.

<sup>55</sup> Erman, *Werden und Wirken* (1929), 163–167, paints a vivid but perhaps somewhat one-sided picture of the man, evidently coloured by an empiricist's mistrust. If one divides the scholarly world into bookkeepers and visionaries, Erman and Brugsch seem to be archetypal representatives of their kind, much the same way as Gesenius and Ewald in the field of Semitics.

<sup>56</sup> H. BRUGSCH, *Mein Leben und mein Wandern* (Berlin: Allgemeiner Verein für Deutsche Literatur<sup>2</sup> 1894), esp. 92–94.

<sup>57</sup> Even in A. ERMAN, "Das Verhältniss des Aegyptischen zu den semitischen Sprachen", *ZDMG* 46 (1892) 93–129, he did not endeavour to provide an in-depth comparison of Egyptian and Semitic but merely presented a brief grammatical survey of the language of the Pyramid texts geared towards Semitists. Comparative evidence only features in a few passing references to Hebrew and Arabic and in a rather sceptical reassessment of various alleged, though often unconvincing, lexical parallels mentioned in earlier contributions, such as Brugsch's dictionary. The purpose of his article was to issue a sobering warning against excessive and premature guesswork and not to broaden the scope of Egyptian grammar.

<sup>58</sup> Erman, *Werden und Wirken* (1929), 286–291.

and its evolution as an end in itself.<sup>59</sup> It fell to his successors, notably Kurt Sethe (1869–1934), to fine-tune his discoveries in light of a more systematic method.

Erman, like his colleagues, studied some Hebrew, Syriac, and Arabic in his early years simply because this was an obvious thing to do for an Orientalist;<sup>60</sup> conversely, it would have been fairly normal for a Semitist, Assyriologist, or biblical scholar in the make during the last decades of the nineteenth century to have a brief glance at Egyptian, be it out of curiosity, be it due to Egypt's bearing on the history of the Ancient Near East. Personal contacts, after all, developed easily in the small world of academe.<sup>61</sup> The teaching of Coptic, too, which had long been present at Western universities, provided a shared interest: as the latest offshoot of the Egyptian language and at the same time the idiom of Egyptian Christianity, it played an important role in uncovering the linguistic system of older Egyptian and also gives access to data relevant for biblical textual criticism as well as for the study of the Eastern Churches.<sup>62</sup> In spite of that, fundamental differences in subject matter, philological professionalism, and infrastructural context precluded closer ties between these disciplines: the one was from its beginnings practised as a blend of art and archaeology, religion and society, language and literature, the other maintained a sharp focus on grammar and texts but only gradually included wider cultural issues. Egyptology thus remained as peripheral for Semitics as the Semitic languages for the study of the Egyptian sources. Its rapid progress proved of greater interest to historians of the Ancient Near Eastern civilizations and Israelite antiquities than to those roaming the worlds of Hebrew, Syriac, Arabic, or Ethiopic manuscripts. Whereas advances in the likewise nascent discipline of Assyriology were met with a similar scepticism by more traditionally-minded Semitists,<sup>63</sup> the ongoing investigation of Akkadian, as a Semitic language, rested on a firmer comparative foundation and could integrate more quickly.

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<sup>59</sup> For a brief assessment of his work, cf. B. U. SCHIPPER, "Adolf Erman (1854–1937): Leben und Werk", *Ägyptologie als Wissenschaft: Adolf Erman (1854–1937) in seiner Zeit* (ed. B. U. Schipper; Berlin/New York: de Gruyter 2006), 1–26. As he said elsewhere, he wanted "mit dem Treiben, das die Ägyptologie diskreditierte, aufräumen": *Werden und Wirken* (1929), 159.

<sup>60</sup> Erman, *Werden und Wirken* (1929), 112–113. He seems to have found Semitics rather uninspiring, however.

<sup>61</sup> Brugsch, *Leben und Wandern* (21894), 273, refers to a scholarly exchange of ideas with Heinrich Ewald during his professorship at Göttingen, while Paul de Lagarde maintained personal ties with Erman: H. BEHLMER, "Adolf Erman und Paul de Lagarde", *Ägyptologie als Wissenschaft: Adolf Erman (1854–1937) in seiner Zeit* (ed. B. U. Schipper; Berlin/New York: de Gruyter 2006), 276–293.

<sup>62</sup> Hence scholars like Heinrich Ewald and Paul de Lagarde made frequent use of Coptic; the latter also supervised the dissertation of Georg Steindorff (1861–1951), who became one of the leading Egyptologists. For a brief outline of the history of Coptic scholarship, see M. KRAUSE, "Die Koptologie und ihre Forschungsgeschichte", *Ägypten in spätantik-christlicher Zeit: Einführung in die koptische Kultur* (ed. M. Krause; Wiesbaden: Reichert 1998), 1–33, esp. 23–29.

<sup>63</sup> Several remarks by Wright quoted in Maier, *Semitic Studies* (2011), 63 may be taken as representative of the views of some older authorities in the field.

## 2. Wilhelm Gesenius and the Development of Hebrew Studies

Like no other individual figure, Heinrich Friedrich Wilhelm Gesenius (1786–1842) personifies the continuity of Hebrew grammar and lexicography during the past two hundred years.<sup>64</sup> It is hardly an exaggeration to state that he participated successfully in all areas of Semitics that were on an upswing during the first half of the nineteenth century. If Goethe, who once invited him for lunch and even studied some of his books, can be said to embody modern man, Gesenius inaugurated the modern period of Hebrew Studies.<sup>65</sup> He was born on February 7, 1786, in Nordhausen, south of the Harz Mountains, as the son of a learned physician and studied Theology in Helmstedt near Göttingen.<sup>66</sup> After earning his doctorate on July 16, 1806, in Helmstedt with a dissertation on Ovid's *Fasti*, he went to Göttingen as tutor (*Repetitor*) in Theology, but was soon thereafter incorporated into the Faculty of Arts. His heavy teaching load comprised, among other subjects, mainly Old Testament exegesis and Hebrew, but also the Greek and Latin classics, as well as Aramaic and Arabic. A popular lecturer of considerable wit already at that time, but not well-liked by the Göttingen authorities, he moved on to the Catholic grammar school in Heiligenstadt for almost a year from March 1809, after which he became extraordinary professor in Halle in February 1810 and shortly thereafter ordinary professor. At Halle, where Johann Heinrich Michaelis (1663–1738; from 1699 professor) had paved the way for a grammatical study of Hebrew and related languages during a tenure of almost four decennia, Gesenius remained for the coming thirty years until his death on October 23, 1842, when a long and serious illness gave the last blow to his frail health.

While Gesenius did outstanding work in all areas of his field, especially his contribution to Hebrew lexicography still sets the pace. The famous *Hebräisches und Aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament* (both languages were treated separately only since the twelfth edition of 1895) has never been replaced.<sup>67</sup> This project was begun in 1806 and came out in its earliest form between 1810 and 1812 under the title *Hebräisch-Deutsches Handwörterbuch über die Schriften des Alten Testaments*.<sup>68</sup> Four editions as well as several ver-

<sup>64</sup> Cf. Smend, *Alttestamentler* (1989), 53–70, and H.-J. ZOBEL, “Wilhelm Gesenius – Sein Leben und sein Wirken”, *Altes Testament – Literatursammlung und Heilige Schrift* (BZAW 212; eds. J. Männchen/E.-J. Waschke; Berlin/New York: de Gruyter 1993), 245–266, for recent sketches. A full-scale biography of Gesenius remains to be written.

<sup>65</sup> On Gesenius' contacts with several luminaries of his time, see O. EISSFELDT, *Von den Anfängen der phönizischen Epigraphik: nach einem unveröffentlichten Brief von Wilhelm Gesenius* (Halle a. d. Saale: Niemeyer 1948).

<sup>66</sup> The University of Helmstedt, too close to Göttingen to be viable, permanently disappeared in 1809.

<sup>67</sup> This distinction was first recommended by Delitzsch (see below) and gradually accepted by scholars during the last decade of the nineteenth century: W. BAUMGARTNER, “Vom neuen Biblisch-Aramäischen Wörterbuch”, *Festschrift Otto Eißfeldt zum 60. Geburtstag* (ed. J. Fück; Halle a. d. Saale: Niemeyer 1947), 47–55, esp. 47f.

<sup>68</sup> Published by Vogel, Leipzig, like most of his major works. From the 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (1823) onwards, the title was *Hebräisches und Chaldäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament*, until the old-fashioned term “chaldäisch” was replaced by “aramäisch” with the appearance of the 10<sup>th</sup> edition in 1886.

sions and translations, each incorporating at least some recent insights, appeared already during the author's lifetime. Up to the present day, the sixteenth edition (1915), prepared by Frants Buhl (1850–1932) and continuously reprinted as the seventeenth since 1921, or Edward Robinson's English adaptation of the 1833 Latin version *Lexicon manuale Hebraicum et Chaldaicum in V.T. Libros* superbly revised by Francis Brown, Samuel Rolles Driver, and Charles A. Briggs, which was published in 1906, accompanies every student of Hebrew from his very first steps and relates to the *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* like Philemon to Baucis. The most immediate ancestor of all modern revisions is the second edition (1823), but generations of nineteenth-century scholars added their corrections and improvements to the numerous manifestations of this work;<sup>69</sup> among them, sundry excellent articles by Driver on adverbs, particles, prepositions and other smaller words in Brown-Driver-Briggs deserve special mention. Despite all modifications, several of Gesenius' methodological principles<sup>70</sup> can be recognized even now: full reference to the constructions and syntactic environments in which individual words are employed; attention to the differences between older and more recent usages; incorporation of variant readings and conjectures; awareness of, among others, *realia*, geography, and archaeology; integration of proper names. The strict separation of lexical and grammatical material, by contrast, which once resulted in a limited number of forms cited, has been abandoned in later revisions. Chiefly due to such novel insights, self-evident though they may be now, Gesenius far surpassed his predecessors.

A sober attitude towards determining the meanings of words furthermore put an end both to unchecked speculations in the line of Schultens and his followers about primary significances based on Arabic, and to the opposite extreme of explaining Hebrew only out of itself. Gesenius primarily focused on language use in context, fell back on traditional wisdom as reflected by Jewish exegesis and the ancient versions for difficult words like the many *hapax legomena*, and only in the third place resorted to comparative Arabic and Syriac material, especially from the third edition (1828) onwards. The usage of these sources as such is no innovation, but Gesenius drew on them in a more critical and nuanced way than eighteenth-century lexicographers like Michaelis, Simon, Moser, and others. He put Hebrew lexicography on a firmer footing by finding the right balance. A better knowledge of etymology, for example, enabled him to distinguish, albeit only in a few instances, between homonymous roots, yet did not inspire any revisionist reading of the text. Although fresh comparative data and various corrections made their way into the dictionary during the following decades, the later editors remained faithful to the initial outline of the *Handwörterbuch*. Several articles have even been preserved exactly the way Gesenius left them in his fourth edition (1834), or with at most very few modifications. The most signifi-

<sup>69</sup> For a succinct history of the various editions, see E.F. MILLER, *The Influence of Gesenius on Hebrew Lexicography* (Contributions to Oriental History and Philology 11; New York: Columbia UP 1927), and H. DONNER, "Dies diem docet. Wilhelm Gesenius (1786–1842) – der Vater der hebräischen Lexikographie", *WZH.GS* 36 (1987) 104–111.

<sup>70</sup> Outlined in a preface of almost forty pages ("Von den Quellen der hebräischen Wortforschung") in the 2<sup>nd</sup> edition published in 1823 (vii–xlv). Regrettably, it has been omitted from all editions since the 11<sup>th</sup>.

cant advance of the first posthumous editions consisted in the disproof of various alleged Indo-European cognates to Hebrew words.<sup>71</sup> As a consequence, the field stagnated: no other Hebrew dictionary published during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries caused any substantial advance over this achievement.<sup>72</sup> A promising endeavour announced by Friedrich Delitzsch a century after Gesenius' birth never saw the light of day.<sup>73</sup> It would have been an original contribution indeed, even though its guiding ideas often seem obsolete to the modern observer: in his *Prolegomena*, Delitzsch banned proper names to an appendix, advocated for an arrangement of all words strictly according to abstract roots instead of the more practical alphabetic order, and encouraged an extensive use of Akkadian instead of Arabic cognates in order to determine the exact nuance of each item.<sup>74</sup> His proposal to separate the lexicon of Biblical Hebrew from the one of Biblical Aramaic, however, has become common practice. The long-term success of Gesenius' synthesis cemented the independence of the Christian Hebraists from Rabbinical writings, because few Old Testament scholars felt the need to resort to Jewish traditional exegesis when its relevance for the meaning of Hebrew words was thought to have been fully incorporated into the standard handbook.<sup>75</sup>

Whereas the *Handwörterbuch* achieved the status of a bestseller in part because of its convenient format, the encyclopaedic *Thesaurus philologicus criticus linguae Hebraeae et Chaldaeae Veteris Testamenti*, which gave abundant room to textual variants, the discussion of alternative proposals, and especially *realia* such as geographical particulars, aimed at comprehensiveness more than at

<sup>71</sup> A particularly critical attitude towards that kind of comparison already underlies F.E. CHR. DIETRICH, *Abhandlungen für semitische Wortforschung* (Leipzig: Vogel 1844), a study of the meaning and use of words for grass and body parts. An early contribution to Semitic synonymics, they prelude various twentieth-century dissertations discussing individual groups of Hebrew words. Dietrich also took care of the 5<sup>th</sup>–7<sup>th</sup> editions of Gesenius (1855–68) and revised some etymological information (Miller, *Influence* [1927], 53–61); the remaining comparisons between Semitic and Indo-European were subsequently removed by Mühlau and Volck (*ibid.*, 62–76), who also introduced some Akkadian material for the first time, but did not quite succeed in bringing the lexicon up-to-date according to the highest scholarly standards of that period.

<sup>72</sup> The most common were: J. FÜRST, *Hebräisches und Chaldäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament* (Leipzig: Tauchnitz <sup>1</sup>1857; <sup>2</sup>1863; <sup>3</sup>1876), translated into English by S. Davidson in 1867; C. SIEGFRIED/B. STADE, *Hebräisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament* (Leipzig: Veit 1893); E. KÖNIG, *Hebräisches und Aramäisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament* (Leipzig: Dietrich <sup>1</sup>1910; <sup>2,3</sup>1922; <sup>4,5</sup>1931; <sup>6,7</sup>1936), which conveniently includes a number of difficult forms in alphabetic order, consistently tries to translate proper names (anticipating some serious work on Hebrew onomastics in the twentieth century), and gives comparative evidence in scientific transcription.

<sup>73</sup> F. DELITZSCH, *Prolegomena eines neuen Hebräisch-Aramäischen Wörterbuchs zum Alten Testament* (Leipzig: Hinrichs 1886). In his review article of Gesenius-Buhl, the same author presents a number of valuable *Lesefrüchte* and suggests more precise German definitions: "Philologische Forderungen an die Hebräische Lexikographie", *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft* 20.5 (1915). Some of the erroneous references to which Delitzsch refers (36–37) go back to 1834 and went unnoticed for decades!

<sup>74</sup> For a more cautious approach to Akkadian evidence, see the review of Delitzsch's *Prolegomena* by TH. NÖLDEKE, *ZDMG* 40 (1886) 718–743. A comparison of these two positions illustrates quite well the paradigm shift which separates traditional nineteenth-century Semitics from the growing impact of Assyriological research among a younger generation of scholars.

<sup>75</sup> A. VAN DER HEIDE/K. JONGELING, "Hebrew at Leiden University: Between Old Testament and Judaism", *Leiden Oriental Connections 1850–1940* (ed. W. Otterspeer; Leiden: Brill 1989), 27–42, esp. 27f.

easy access. The extensive reflection on the etymology of the name “China” in the lemma *šīnīm* (II, 948–50), an unknown place name mentioned once in Isa 49:12, aptly illustrates the broad scope of this work. It was published in fascicles between 1829 and 1858, the last of which had to be completed by Gesenius’ former pupil and later colleague, Emil Rödiger (1801–1874) of Halle, himself the author of a widely-used Syriac chrestomathy.<sup>76</sup> Unlike its shorter counterpart, however, no continuous process of revision brought this monument of scholarship and fine example of nineteenth-century typography up to date. Yet the thoroughly reworked eighteenth edition of the dictionary in six fascicles since 1987, which has by now been completed under the able editorship of Rudolf Meyer, Herbert Donner, and Udo Rütterswörden, constitutes an intermediate step between the *Handwörterbuch* and the *Thesaurus*: it combines the exhaustive references of the latter with the sharper lexicographical focus of the former. (Buhl had already tried to assimilate the twelfth edition of the dictionary, published in 1895, to the *Thesaurus* in terms of completeness when he took over from his unfortunate predecessors Mühlau and Volck.) Once again, it returns to Gesenius’ proper virtues as a lexicographer, after much twentieth-century work had been marred when the discovery of Ugaritic caused Schultens’ spirit to come back by reinforcing unrestrained comparative treatments of the vocabulary. Since the eighteenth edition also incorporates material from the Qumran scrolls, the Hebrew version of Sirach, various Hebrew inscriptions and Semitic languages discovered in the meantime, it has come closer to a dictionary of the language itself rather than of the biblical corpus. Gesenius is as present as ever in Hebrew lexicography.

The *Hebräische Grammatik* from 1813, too, evidences the nineteenth-century roots of present-day Hebrew scholarship. The twenty-eighth edition (1909), be it in the German original or Arthur Cowley’s English translation published in 1910 (*Gesenius’ Hebrew Grammar as edited and enlarged by the late E. Kautzsch*), features among the most frequently cited tools even today, but its beginnings were less grand. As a teaching manual of 202 pages in small octavo format geared towards beginners, it once constituted, together with an annotated reader published a year later under the title *Hebräisches Lesebuch*, the *Hebräisches Elementarbuch*. Both parts enjoyed great success and saw many editions.<sup>77</sup> The 1814 reader, from the eighth edition revised by August Heiligstedt, contains a selection of Old Testament passages for neophytes with succinct lexical, grammatical, and exegetical explanations, as well as an extensive glossary. Although it still offers valuable advice for capturing the exact nuance of particular expressions, the *Lesebuch* was eventually outrun by the grammar.

Successive stages of revision before and after the author’s death changed the profile of what was meant to be a modest presentation for learners into a more ambitious research grammar updated in light of contemporary work on Comparative Semitics and enriched by references to the secondary literature. As with the *Handwörterbuch*, Gesenius was fortunate to have found scholars of later generations who put their energy at the service of his book instead of writing

<sup>76</sup> C. SIEGFRIED, “Roediger: Emil R.,” ADB 29 (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot 1889), 26–30.

<sup>77</sup> First published by Renger, then by Vogel.



their own (and perhaps helped to create an image of the man somewhat larger than his true, and still most impressive, self). After Rödiger had respectfully taken care of the fourteenth to twenty-first editions (1845–72), his namesake Emil Kautzsch (1841–1910) accompanied the book from its twenty-second to its twenty-eighth editions (1878–1909) and eventually brought it into its present form.<sup>78</sup> The nature of this work, with its coherent and reasoned structure, lends itself to easy adjustment. Both editors therefore refrained from far-reaching modifications in the chapters on phonology and morphology; when Kautzsch took over, however, he introduced some remarkable alterations in the part on syntax. Among them, the definition of the verbless clause still features in the contemporary discussion: Rödiger's successor at first chose to follow the Arab grammarians in considering every clause that begins with an independent subject, like a noun or a personal pronoun, as a nominal clause (even when a verb later follows), and only a verb-initial clause as a verbal clause. A new paragraph § 144a has been added to the twenty-second edition of 1878 in order to make this idea explicit, but was removed once again from the twenty-fifth edition (1889) onwards, when Kautzsch decided that the clause type depended on the nature of the predicate regardless of word-order: a nominal clause has a nominal predicate, a verbal clause contains a finite verb.<sup>79</sup> During Kautzsch's editorship, the size of the volume grew from 307 pages in 1878 to 606 in 1909, which alienated it from its original purpose and prompted the publication of a smaller version for the use in schools (1896) as well as of an exercise book (1881; sixth edition 1908).

The methodological principles underlying Gesenius' Hebrew grammar resemble those of the lexicon. His basic ideas still determine the character of the latest version, because the frequent references to this work in the secondary literature, especially biblical commentaries, prevented a fundamental restructuring for compatibility reasons. All facts of phonology, accident, morphosyntax (that is, the semantics of various morphological categories), and sentence-syntax are lucidly arranged according to normal classical and later usage, whereas copious notes discuss individual phenomena as well as textual problems. Explanations rest on universal logical categories mostly derived from Latin grammar. Not surprisingly, the author and successive editors often referred to analogous phenomena in Latin and Greek. After a period of speculation in Hebrew scholarship concerning above all the reliability of the Masoretic pointing,<sup>80</sup> Gesenius returned to a strictly empirical description of the traditional text. Since notes on grammatical details are susceptible to accumulating layers of editorial additions and modifications, the body, though not the backbone, of this work lacks a clear and homoge-

<sup>78</sup> R. SMEND, "Traditionsbewusste Erneuerung der alttestamentlichen Wissenschaft: Emil Kautzsch (1841–1910)", *Im Spannungsfeld von Gott und Welt. Beiträge zu Geschichte und Gegenwart des Frey-Gymnasischen Instituts in Basel 1747–1997* (ed. A. U. Sommer; Basel: Schwabe 1997), 111–122; H.-P. MATHYS, "Emil Kautzsch (1841–1910)", *Palaestina exploranda. Studien zur Erforschung Palästinas im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert anlässlich des 125jährigen Bestehens des Deutschen Vereins zur Erforschung Palästinas* (ADPV 34; ed. U. Hübner; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 2006), 65–88.

<sup>79</sup> See § 140f of the present (28<sup>th</sup>) edition and especially Mathys, Emil Kautzsch (2006), 79–81.

<sup>80</sup> See E. BREUER, *The Limits of Enlightenment: Jews, Germans, and the Eighteenth-Century Study of Scripture* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP 1996), 86–107.

neous approach sifting through the material. The strength particularly of its latest editions lies in the exhaustive inventory of Biblical Hebrew forms. Even where better interpretations of the data have been found in the meantime, the *Hebräische Grammatik* retains its value as a mine of well-structured information.

A sense of rank which accounts for the historical dimension of the material in the Gesenius-family of dictionaries and grammars seems to be directly related to their founder's awareness of earlier and later compositions in the Hebrew corpus. Gesenius' *Geschichte der hebräischen Sprache und Schrift. Eine philologisch-historische Einleitung in die Sprachlehren und Wörterbücher der hebräischen Sprache* (Leipzig 1815) includes a comprehensive summary of Hebrew scholarship up to his own day and has not yet found a successor. Here the author marshals a number of philological arguments in favour of the relative lateness of the Books of Chronicles as opposed to Samuel and Kings. He observed that in the Chronicler's reworking of older material, earlier words had been replaced by later ones, and that explanatory glosses had been added. Stylistic considerations further led Gesenius to date Deuteronomy later than the other books of the Pentateuch, but the overall similarity of its prose to the historical works made him place Genesis to Deuteronomy in the monarchic period. Consequently, he was the first to substantiate the still workable division of the linguistic history of Hebrew into a pre-exilic and a post-exilic period (with Ezekiel as an intermediate stage) on explicit philological grounds. He thereby confirmed, from a different point of view, the earlier philosophical and historical conclusions of Wilhelm Martin Leberecht de Wette (1780–1849).<sup>81</sup> Although the idea that some poetic passages like Exodus 15 or Judges 5 might reflect another, earlier, language variety was only confirmed after the discovery of Ugarit in the twentieth century, Gesenius showed himself aware of archaisms in personal names. A thorough discussion of the vowel signs further justifies his decision to take the Tiberian pointing as a reliable guide to the original pronunciation.<sup>82</sup>

Gesenius obviously liked clear boundaries. Just like the *Handwörterbuch*, the grammar, too, was soon supplemented by a fuller treatment, that is, the two-volume *Ausführliches grammatisch-kritisches Lehrgebäude der hebräischen Sprache mit Vergleichung der verwandten Dialekte* (Leipzig 1817).<sup>83</sup> Following the same structure of a plain and coherent gist erected on strictly empirical principles and enriched by detailed observations in notes, the latter contained much more comparative material from Syriac and Arabic than the teaching grammar whose presentation it was meant to corroborate. Here Gesenius also added extra emphasis to the differences between older and younger texts, and between prose and poetry. Variant readings as well as the Samaritan Pentateuch, whose value as

<sup>81</sup> Rogerson, *Old Testament Criticism* (1984), 50–53. For a first synopsis of “late” linguistic features, see Gesenius, *Sprache und Schrift* (1815), § 10.

<sup>82</sup> He thus attributed conflicting evidence between the Tiberian vocalization on the one hand and Greek and Latin transcriptions on the other to regional differences in pronunciation: *Sprache und Schrift* (1815), § 54.

<sup>83</sup> H. GZELLA, “Wilhelm Gesenius als Semitist: Das ‘Lehrgebäude’ in seinem wissenschaftsgeschichtlichen Kontext”, in: *Biblische Exegese und hebräische Lexikographie: Das “Hebräisch-deutsche Handwörterbuch” von Wilhelm Gesenius als Spiegel und Quelle alttestamentlicher Forschung* (BZAW 427; eds. S. Schorch/E.-J. Waschke; Berlin/New York: de Gruyter 2012).

a witness to genuine Ancient Hebrew he had in the meantime assessed, albeit negatively, by means of a separate study (*De Pentateuchi Samaritani origine, indole et auctoritate*, published in 1815), also received greater attention. Later on, he devoted several studies specifically to the Samaritan tradition in light of formerly inedited texts: *De Samaritanorum Theologia ex fontibus ineditis commentatio* from 1822 and *Carmina Samaritana e codicibus Londinensibus et Gothanis* from 1824. Unfortunately, direct competition with its smaller but steadily growing counterpart prevented the *Lehrgebäude* from selling well. It was therefore not included in the constant process of revision which affected the *Handwörterbuch* and the *Grammatik*; in the course of time, the latter had been sufficiently expanded to take its place. Nonetheless, the *Lehrgebäude* still contains a number of valuable comments not to be found elsewhere.

Thanks to his fundamental contributions to lexicography and grammar, Gesenius is often referred to as a Hebraist. He did, however, consider himself to be a theologian,<sup>84</sup> and the lion's share of his considerable teaching load was devoted to biblical exegesis. It is therefore perhaps somewhat surprising that he only authored one book in that area, but of course it was a monumental one. The first volume of his commentary on Isaiah, containing an elegant and precise translation, was published in 1820 (a second edition came out in 1829), the other three followed in 1821. *Der Prophet Jesaja übersetzt und mit vollständigem philologisch-kritischen und historischen Commentar begleitet* breathes the same spirit as the more strictly philological works. With due caution, it might furnish some insights into the author's theological ideas: his study of Isaiah is far from merely supporting a dogmatic system and certainly not steeped in Pietist doctrine, but those who, in an anonymous article from 1830, charged him with the vague term "rationalism" (not quite a compliment in the circles whence that accusation originated, just like "modernism" later in Catholic theology) seem to have confused the good-humoured empiricism of a man who preferred to keep his religious convictions to himself with plain unbelief.<sup>85</sup> This attitude did not appear out of the blue, but reflects the same openness to contemporary intellectual debates as Gesenius' contributions to Semitics. The human side of Scripture underlying his reading of the text here and elsewhere has long been anticipated by, among others, Herder, whose programme, outlined in *Vom Geist der Ebräischen Poesie* (1782–83), Gesenius put into action.<sup>86</sup> Someone who took such great care to establish unmistakable borders between the purpose of a lexicon, a grammar, and a commentary would have considered questions about verbal inspiration and supernatural predictions to be part of dogmatics and not of exegesis. His objective was to make sense of ancient texts in their own right.

That intention emerges plainly from the time and energy Gesenius spent on *realia*. He not only incorporated the results of the newly-emerging field of Semi-

<sup>84</sup> Zobel, Gesenius (1993), 266.

<sup>85</sup> See U. RÜTERSWÖRDEN, "Wilhelm Gesenius als Theologe", *Kontexte. Biografische und forschungsgeschichtliche Schnittpunkte der alttestamentlichen Wissenschaft* (eds. Th. Wagner/D. Vieweger/K. Erlemann; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener 2008), 99–113.

<sup>86</sup> Perceptively remarked by Rütterswörden, Gesenius (2008), 107 f. On Herder's role in launching a more historicized reading of the Hebrew Bible, see Marchand, *Orientalism* (2009), 43–52.

tic epigraphy into his lexical and grammatical works on Hebrew, but participated actively, and successfully, in the decipherment of Phoenician and Punic. Already his *Sprache und Schrift* documents an early interest in writing systems and comprises the first full history of the Semitic scripts. A pioneering contribution on Phoenician and Punic palaeography proper (*Paläographische Studien über phönizische und punische Schrift*, Leipzig 1835) was soon followed by a comprehensive, lavishly illustrated edition of the corpus then available, together with a grammatical synopsis and a glossary: the three-part *Scripturae linguaeque Phoeniciae monumenta quotquot supersunt*, Leipzig 1837, established Gesenius' fame as the best expert on Phoenician of his day. His interest in this sister-language of Hebrew, however, goes back right to the beginnings of his career. For already in 1810 he published a *Versuch über die maltesische Sprache*, which aimed to refute the earlier theory that Maltese was an offshoot of Punic. Instead, Gesenius argued, as indeed most scholars nowadays do, that Maltese is an Arabic vernacular which has undergone heavy influence from Italian. Somewhat less well known is the fact that Gesenius and Rödiger also worked for several years on deciphering the first Sabaic (then called "Himyaritic") inscriptions which had been copied in 1834.<sup>87</sup> These texts were then almost virgin ground, but Gesenius managed to identify correctly 20 of the 29 letters in an article from 1841; the expert palaeographer Rödiger, who finally published a more comprehensive *Versuch über die himjaritischen Schriftmonumente* in the same year, discovered the value of three more and arrived at better interpretations than his teacher. Rivalry cast a shadow over their friendly relationship, but it did not prevent Rödiger from devoting his best years to finishing Gesenius' *Thesaurus* and keeping the *Hebräische Grammatik* up-to-date as long as he could. The possibility of examining manuscripts and inscriptions made Gesenius interrupt his life of *stabilitas loci* at Halle and embark on a study visit to England and France in 1820, and again to England in 1836, the latter trip being specifically devoted to collating Phoenician inscriptions.

Although he was thus no great traveller himself, a passion for archaeology and topography even before the heydays of explorers and excavators later in the nineteenth century, which launched Palestinian Archaeology as a proper academic discipline, added to Gesenius' eminent work on epigraphic texts. The discussion of geographical terms in his lexica and his commentary on Isaiah reflects a formerly unknown level of preciseness: they betray the genuine fascination of an empiricist *pur sang* with concrete detail, an interest he might have passed on to his student Friedrich Tuch (1806–67).<sup>88</sup> He therefore followed the reports of travellers with great attention and had the diaries of the Swiss adventurer Jean Louis, or John Lewis, Burckhardt (1784–1817), *Travels in Syria and the Holy Land* (published 1822 in London), translated into German; copious annotations

<sup>87</sup> Mittwoch, *Frühzeit* (1935); Grohmann, *Arabien* (1963), 117f.

<sup>88</sup> An in-depth treatment of geographical aspects is the most salient hallmark of Tuch's *Kommentar über die Genesis* (Halle: Verlag der Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses 1838; <sup>2</sup>1871). Tuch also distinguished himself as an epigraphist and contributed to the decipherment of the Nabataean script in the footsteps of Eduard Friedrich Ferdinand Beer: "Ein und zwanzig sinaitische Inschriften", *ZDMG* 3 (1849) 129–215.

by Gesenius himself render this two-volume edition, which became available in 1823–24 under the title *Reisen in Syrien, Palästina und der Gegend des Berges Sinai*, more useful than the original. Archaeological matters also feature prominently in his lectures and seminars as well as in reading-groups like the “*Exegetische Gesellschaft*” which he inaugurated in 1813. A surviving set of lecture notes taken by a participant of the very popular course on “Biblical Archaeology” gives an impression of Gesenius’ broad stance that combined Ancient Near Eastern history with *realia* and the institutions of Ancient Israel.<sup>89</sup>

To sum up, Gesenius furthered all constituent parts of Hebrew Studies, including those which only became *en vogue* after his death: lexicography, grammar, exegesis, epigraphy, and archaeology. It is thus only fair to call him the Goethe of his field.

### 3. Further Achievements in Hebrew Philology

Gesenius’ contribution to Hebrew lexicography has dominated research until today. The cautious revisions of his grammar throughout the decades, by contrast, could not keep pace with progress in historical and descriptive Semitic Linguistics, even if many of the nineteenth-century teaching manuals adopted its descriptive model.<sup>90</sup> A daunting rival appeared already a few years after the *Hebräische Grammatik*: Heinrich Ewald (1803–75),<sup>91</sup> a native of Göttingen and product of its university, published the first edition of his *Kritische Grammatik der hebräischen Sprache* in 1827;<sup>92</sup> from 1845 until the eighth and last edition in 1870, the title changed into *Ausführliches Lehrbuch der hebräischen Sprache*.<sup>93</sup> An abridged version for beginners came out in 1842.<sup>94</sup> Gesenius’ and Ewald’s grammars were as dissimilar as their authors’ personalities. The deeply religious Ewald, who had been appointed to Eichhorn’s Göttingen chair of Old Testament in 1831 after having served the same university as *extraordinarius* for four

<sup>89</sup> O. EISSFELDT, “Wilhelm Gesenius und die Palästinaforschung”, *ZDPV* 65 (1942) 105–112, repr. in: Eißfeldt, *Kleine Schriften*, II (eds. R. Sellheim/F. Maass; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck 1963), 435–440.

<sup>90</sup> A comprehensive list of works is given by R. GOTTHEIL/W. BACHER, “Grammar, Hebrew”, *JE* VI (New York/London: Funk and Wagnalls 1904), 67–80, especially 76–79.

<sup>91</sup> Until a full biography of Ewald has been written, see J. WELLHAUSEN, “Heinrich Ewald”, *Festschrift zur Feier des 150jährigen Bestehens der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen* (Berlin: Weidmann 1901), 61–81, repr. in: idem, *Grundrisse zum Alten Testament* (ThB 27; ed. R. Smend; München: Kaiser 1965), 120–138, and L. PERLITT, “Heinrich Ewald: Der Gelehrte in der Politik”, *Theologie in Göttingen: eine Vorlesungsreihe* (Göttinger Universitätschriften, 1; ed. B. Moeller; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1987), 157–212, repr. in: idem, *Allein mit dem Wort. Theologische Studien zum 65. Geburtstag* (ed. H. Spiekermann; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1995), 263–312.

<sup>92</sup> Published by Hahn, Leipzig. The second edition (1835) is also available in English: *A Grammar of the Hebrew Language of the Old Testament* (tr. J. Nicholson; London: Whittaker 1836).

<sup>93</sup> The part on syntax of the eighth edition was translated into English posthumously: *Syntax of the Hebrew Language of the Old Testament* (tr. J. Kennedy; Edinburgh: Clark 1879).

<sup>94</sup> H. EWALD, *Hebräische Sprachlehre für Anfänger* (Leipzig: Hahn 1842); an English version of the same book was translated from the third edition: *Introductory Hebrew Grammar* (tr. J.F. Smith; London: Asher 1870).

years, turned his predecessor's and teacher's deep-seated dislike of Gesenius into open hostility. Nonetheless, the same professorship had initially been offered to the eminent scholar from Halle, who in the end chose not to leave a position where he was already well-installed. One of the reasons for the steady growth of this aversion may have been the smooth and unbroken success of the amiable Gesenius, while Ewald's difficult and belligerent temper soon brought a promising career in his home town to an end: he was dismissed in 1837 as one of the *Göttingen Seven* after protesting against a change of the constitution, took a chair in Tübingen the following year and remained there until his return to Göttingen in 1848, but was expelled once again from the Arts Faculty when he refused to take the oath of loyalty to the Prussian king in 1867. Personal grief like the early death of his first wife (a daughter of the mathematician Carl Friedrich Gauß), continuous quarrels with both colleagues and authorities, secular and ecclesiastical alike, and a general lack of political correctness made him lonely and bitter, but also alert. The fact that he was a *homo novus* who rapidly rose to fame in his field without an academic family background may explain both his zeal and the chip on his shoulder. As a result, he often devoted his sharp wits to finding faults in others and, due to excessive self-consciousness, taking essentially valid points to the extreme. Gesenius' *Hebräische Grammatik* seemed to him unscientific, superficial, and totally useless; what is more, he could not even appreciate his adversary's prowess as a lexicographer.<sup>95</sup>

In his own way, however, Ewald was no lesser grammarian, especially in the area of syntax, where many perceptive though often ingeniously impressionistic remarks still prove useful to the advanced reader. While Gesenius often exercised superior judgment, Ewald's work bears the mark of genius. He did not confine himself to a mere description of linguistic facts, but wanted to uncover the driving forces shaping language as an organic system and its philosophy.<sup>96</sup> This desire also led him to a radically new understanding of the verbal system.<sup>97</sup> Already in the first edition of his *Kritische Grammatik*, he pointed out that the finite conjugations of the verb did not simply express temporal relations like past, present, and future, as had been commonly assumed since the Middle Ages,

<sup>95</sup> See Smend, *Alttestamentler* (1989), 67f.

<sup>96</sup> A similar plan to combine description and interpretation, albeit in a more moderate fashion, underlies H. HUPFELD, *Ausführliche Hebräische Grammatik. Ersten Theiles erster Abschnitt. Schriftlehre in historischer Entwicklung* (Kassel: Krieger 1841), at least according to the programmatic statement in § 4. Owing to his perfectionism, only the first part on preliminary matters, writing, and phonology appeared. In-depth information on the author, who succeeded Gesenius in Halle, has been collected by O. KAISER, *Zwischen Reaktion und Revolution. Hermann Hupfeld (1796–1866) – ein deutsches Professorenleben* (AAWG.PH, Dritte Folge, 268; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 2005), in particular 70–82 on his controversy with Ewald, and 125–127 on his other contributions to Semitics. It is not commonly acknowledged that Hupfeld may also have been the first to suggest that the West Semitic alphabetic script was syllabic in nature with an unmarked default vowel /a/ and thus not consonantal (*Hebräische Grammatik*, § 11). This idea gained considerable popularity with I.J. GELB, *A Study of Writing* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul 1951; revised edition Chicago: University of Chicago Press 1963) and still has some adherents. Gelb, however (152 with n. 54, in the revised edition), only cites F. PRAETORIUS, *Über den Ursprung des kanaänischen Alphabets* (Berlin: Reuther & Reichard 1906), as his earliest predecessor.

<sup>97</sup> See the discussion in L. MCFALL, *The Enigma of the Hebrew Verbal System. Solutions from Ewald to the Present Day* (HTIBS 2; Sheffield: Almond Press 1982), 43–57.

but rather the subjective presentation of an event as completed or in progress regardless of its objective duration in time. The analogy with the Latin perfect and imperfect, which both normally refer to the past but denote either punctuality or duration, inspired the use of the same terms for the two basic finite conjugations in Hebrew from the second edition (1835) onwards. This interpretation of the verbal system, although rooted in obsolete premises of cultural-psychological speculation, was later fruitfully connected to the concept of “aspect” on a broader empirical basis by Samuel Rolles Driver. It continues to be part of the ongoing discussion about the semantics of verbal forms in Semitic languages, in fact one of the central topics of Semitic morphosyntax. Ewald’s use of the names “perfect” and “imperfect” are widely in use even today and have fully replaced the designations *praeteritum* and *futurum* or *praesens*, modelled on Latin categories, with which older grammarians of Semitic languages from Johannes Buxtorf (1564–1629) through Thomas Erpenius (1584–1624) until Gesenius associated the “temporal” analysis of the mediaeval scholars.<sup>98</sup> The same applies to Ewald’s *Grammatica critica linguae arabicae cum brevi metrorum doctrina*, published in two volumes between 1831 and 1833. Its value consists in the attempt to redeem the description of Arabic from the conceptual constraints of national grammar which had recently been revived by Silvestre de Sacy (1758–1838). This work, too, contains many valuable insights which disappeared from later manuals, but lacked the accessibility of a standard textbook, since Ewald did in general not express himself with utmost clarity and economy.

Despite the fact that neither his Hebrew nor his Arabic grammars were convenient enough to be revised and updated by subsequent generations, Ewald’s early contribution to philology is certainly his most lasting one. This includes his articles on Phoenician and Old South Arabian epigraphy. Although less systematic and comprehensive than Gesenius’, they reflect great acumen on points of detail.<sup>99</sup> Many other publications on biblical exegesis and the history of Ancient Israel as well as of its literature display his stupendous learning.<sup>100</sup> Important studies on Sanskrit furthermore mark him as one of those Orientalists whose field of expertise still included Indology. The attempt to boldly extract historical information from mythological narratives, based though it was on methods current in his time and even in later Old Testament scholarship, has little in common with the empiricism represented by Gesenius. Recollections of former pupils indicate that Ewald had little pedagogical talent (a fact which also set him apart from Gesenius), but a man so purposefully one-sided and yet so inventive could exercise a natural fascination on the sharpest minds.<sup>101</sup> He found no Rödiger and

<sup>98</sup> Gzella, *Morgenländische Sprachen* (2005), 73 f. For a summary of present approaches, cf. idem, *Tempus, Aspekt und Modalität im Reichsaramäischen* (Veröffentlichungen der Orientalischen Kommission 48; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 2004), 5–35.

<sup>99</sup> Ewald was apparently the first to realize that Phoenician was a language of its own, cf. Stade, *Erneute Prüfung* (1875), 170.

<sup>100</sup> Rogerson, *Old Testament Criticism* (1984), 91–103.

<sup>101</sup> TH. NÖLDEKE, in: T. W. DAVIES, *Heinrich Ewald Orientalist and Theologian 1803–1903. A Centenary Appreciation* (London: Fisher Unwin 1903), 37; Wellhausen, *Heinrich Ewald* (1901), 121 f. (in the reprint). Like several others, the young Nöldeke has been sent to Ewald by his father to become an Orientalist.

no Kautzsch, whose own contributions mostly slipped into oblivion, but luminaries who worked in quite different branches of learning like Dillmann, Nöldeke, and August Schleicher (1821–68), one of the founding fathers of Comparative Indo-European Linguistics, were among Ewald's Tübingen students, whereas the Assyriologist Eberhard Schrader (1836–1908), who later trained Friedrich Delitzsch, and the many-sided Julius Wellhausen (1844–1918) enjoyed his teaching at Göttingen. Even a number of Gesenius' best disciples recognized his achievements.<sup>102</sup> It is of course impossible to assess how many improvements on syntactic description, especially in Dillmann's and Nöldeke's grammars, owe their existence to Ewald's reading classes, but he would be a man to light many fires in those able to follow his thoughts.

Meanwhile, forward movement in Comparative Semitics promoted the advent of more rigorously historical presentations. Descriptive work on Hebrew syntax suffered from some stagnation after Ewald, particularly since the rising discipline of Comparative Indo-European Linguistics considered phonological and thus morphological change the basic driving force of linguistic evolution, whereas syntax was often thought to be arbitrary. Hence, considerable interest, culminating in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, was devoted to phonetic developments<sup>103</sup> and the history of particular morphemes,<sup>104</sup> the genesis of the "weak" (or "irregular") verbal classes,<sup>105</sup> and the root and pattern system in general.<sup>106</sup> According to the scientific ideal of objectivity, attested forms were to be derived directly from purported ancestors by means of logical or psychological deduction and with as little room for chance or subjectivity as possible.<sup>107</sup> The description of the phonetic realities of the classical Semitic languages still suffered from a certain imprecision, in part because not all grammarians were suitably acquainted with articulatory processes as they can be observed in, e.g., modern Semitic idioms. Rödiger and especially Kautzsch added the respective references to their editions of Gesenius' grammar, but refrained from modifying the core of this book in light of such developments. Its conceptual defects could therefore not go unnoticed. Ewald, despite his broad learning and passion for synthesis,

<sup>102</sup> This clearly emerges from a number of personal letters addressed to Ewald, a selection of which has been published posthumously: *Briefe an Ewald* (eds. R. Fick/G. von Selle; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1932). They attest his international reputation no less than his difficult disposition. Many others in the University Library of Göttingen still await a critical study.

<sup>103</sup> E.g., F.W.M. PHILIPPI, "Das Zahlwort Zwei im Semitischen", *ZDMG* 32 (1878) 21–98 (the first systematic study of a principle later called "Philippi's Law"). Further work on unexpected sound correspondences also had a bearing on Hebrew etymology, as in J. BARTH, *Etymologische Studien zum semitischen insbesondere zum hebräischen Lexicon* (Leipzig: Hinrichs 1893).

<sup>104</sup> H. HÜPFELD, "System der semitischen Demonstrativbildung und der damit zusammenhängenden Pronominal- und Partikelbildung", *ZKM* 2 (1838) 124–163, 427–482; TH. NÖLDEKE, "Untersuchungen zur semitischen Grammatik, II: Die Endungen des Perfects", *ZDMG* 38 (1884) 407–422.

<sup>105</sup> TH. NÖLDEKE, "Untersuchungen zur semitischen Grammatik, I: Die Verba 'וּ in Hebräisch", *ZDMG* 37 (1883) 525–540.

<sup>106</sup> P. DE LAGARDE, *Übersicht über die im Aramäischen, Arabischen und Hebräischen übliche Bildung der Nomina* (AGWG; Göttingen: Dieterich 1889–1891), soon replaced by J. BARTH, *Die Nominbildung in den semitischen Sprachen* (Leipzig: Hinrichs 1889–90; 21894). These works build upon an earlier discussion often correlating nominal with verbal forms. In contradistinction to the first editions of Gesenius, Ewald did already treat Hebrew noun patterns.

<sup>107</sup> Psychology played a considerable role in nineteenth-century linguistics.



was no comparative linguist either; he found the typological primacy of Arabic hard to accept, and commented upon the rise of the new paradigm in philology with disdain.<sup>108</sup>

These and other expressions of methodological conservatism could not, however, hold up the quest for more original stages of Hebrew, an objective no doubt reinforced by language reconstruction in Indo-European. Leaving aside Friedrich Böttcher's (1801–63) exhaustive collection of all kinds of variant forms and spellings,<sup>109</sup> which is still indispensable for its richness but does not contain significant original insights and, due to its inductive outlook, excludes comparative evidence, the second half of the nineteenth century produced a range of efforts to unveil the “true” Hebrew behind the Tiberian pointing in light of historical linguistics. Many of them can be consulted with profit even today. Yet achievements of Christian Hebrew scholarship still seldom bore on Jewish learning, a notable exception being Samuel David Luzzatto (1800–65) from Padua, who engaged with the grammars of Gesenius, Ewald, and others.<sup>110</sup> Quite untypically for a Talmudic scholar of that age, Luzzatto studied Syriac for a better understanding of the Targums and did not disallow textual emendations. He was therefore one of the few to acquire a name among his Christian contemporaries. The work of the Bavarian-born émigré Isaac Nordheimer (1809–42) was less popular in Europe, but it had some influence on Hebrew Studies in North America.<sup>111</sup> Like Luzzatto, Nordheimer combined a traditional Jewish upbringing with contemporary Christian Hebraism.

The first attempt at a genuine historical grammar of Hebrew was made by Justus Olshausen (1800–82) in 1861, after having devoted many years to preparatory research since 1840.<sup>112</sup> Olshausen, whose book only covered phonology and morphology, consistently used comparative material in order to reconstruct the original forms underlying the Tiberian stage of Hebrew in the light of Classical Arabic, thereby tracing back the various phonetic developments which gave the received garb of the language its distinctive shape and making its differences

<sup>108</sup> See the quotation in Wellhausen, Heinrich Ewald (1901), 127 (in the reprint). Ewald's warning against a rash and superficial use of Comparative Philology without a prior mastery of a particular language in all its complexity is still as valid as it was in 1843. Characteristically enough, it was their different assessment of Olshausen's grammar (see below) in 1861 which contributed to creating a lasting rift between Ewald and Nöldeke: cf. the comment in Fick/von Selle (eds.), *Briefe* (1932), 188, n. 4. Ewald's own ideas on linguistic history and classification emerge from his *Sprachwissenschaftliche Abhandlungen*, I–III (Göttingen: Dieterich 1861), especially the second and third contributions. Misguided though his conclusions may be, these pages brim with inspiring remarks.

<sup>109</sup> F. BÖTTCHER, *Ausführliches Lehrbuch der hebräischen Sprache*, 1–2 (Leipzig: Barth 1866–68). It was posthumously published by F. Mühlau and lacks the envisaged part on syntax.

<sup>110</sup> M.B. MARGOLIES, *Samuel David Luzzatto: Traditionalist Scholar* (New York: Ktav 1979). Luzzatto's *Prolegomeni ad una grammatica ragionata della lingua ebraica* (Padua 1836) are best consulted in the English edition by A.D. Rubin, *Prolegomena to a Grammar of the Hebrew Language* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press 2005); the *Grammatica della lingua ebraica* (Padua, 1853–1867) has never been translated.

<sup>111</sup> *A Critical Grammar of the Hebrew Language*, 1–2 (New York: Wiley and Putnam 1838–1841). Its chief contribution is an exposition of the older but formerly unfamiliar theory that Hebrew only has a relative past and a relative future tense. Cf. McFall, *Enigma* (1982), 57–59.

<sup>112</sup> J. OLSHAUSEN, *Lehrbuch der hebräischen Sprache* (Braunschweig: Vieweg 1861). On the author, see Schrader, *Gedächtnissrede* (1883), and Mangold, *Eine “weltbürgerliche Wissenschaft”* (2004), 138f.

from Arabic more transparent. He thus supposed that in older Hebrew, for instance, the third person masculine singular of the “perfect” and the “imperfect” were *mašal-a* and *yamšul-u* respectively, that there was a productive case system, and that the Hebrew vowels all descended from original *a*, *i*, and *u*. Moreover, nominal patterns are arranged according to their basic forms, which has now become standard practice in Semitics. The introduction even contains a summary of Proto-Hebrew as envisaged by the author.<sup>113</sup>

Since the *Lehrbuch* really targets an advanced readership and thus lacks, for example, paradigm tables, it only saw one edition. However, several others followed its lead during the subsequent years and tried to communicate its key results to beginners. In the first and only part of a new Hebrew teaching grammar in Dutch published in 1869,<sup>114</sup> the versatile Jan Pieter Nicolaas Land (1834–97), a proficient scholar of Syriac as well as a philosopher and a musicologist, espoused many of Olshausen’s ideas in a very systematic fashion and with great attention to a more informed albeit unconventional terminology, but sought to improve in particular on his forerunner’s treatment of the phonology.<sup>115</sup> Most importantly, Land, who already employed a vowel triangle,<sup>116</sup> stressed that quantity did not matter at all in Tiberian Hebrew, because the pointing only indicated vowel quality. This latter important insight remained a minority opinion until well into the twentieth century. Yet he also showed himself aware of the difference between the actual phonetics of the language and the restricted representation of sounds in the pointing system. Although a revised and enlarged English edition appeared in 1876,<sup>117</sup> Land’s work did not exercise any significant influence. In Germany, by contrast, Olshausen’s views fared better thanks to two new school grammars that differed from their many Gesenius-like competitors. A brief outline was published in 1869 by Gustav Bickell (1838–1906), one of the leading experts on Syriac, and later translated into English and French.<sup>118</sup> According to the preface, it was meant to facilitate learning the language by means of Olshausen’s historical-comparative method as an explanatory tool. The more comprehensive work of the Arabist August Müller (1848–92) from 1878 is based on a somewhat simplified version of the *Lehrbuch* and omits a number of particularly disputed points, but continues to compare the Tiberian data with

<sup>113</sup> Olshausen, *Lehrbuch* (1861), 1–37. A more recent reconstruction of pre-exilic Hebrew in light of epigraphic and comparative evidence can be found in H. GZELLA, “Ancient Hebrew”, *Languages from the World of the Bible* (ed. idem; Berlin/New York: de Gruyter 2011), 76–110.

<sup>114</sup> J. P. N. LAND, *Hebreeuwſche grammatica ten dienſte van het Hooger Onderwijs*, I: *De leer van de klanken en die van de woorden* (Amsterdam: van Kampen 1869).

<sup>115</sup> Cf. van der Heide/Jongeling, *Hebrew at Leiden University* (1989), 30f, who also provide biographical information on the other three major Hebrew grammars published in the Netherlands during the nineteenth century (Roorda, 1831–33, in Latin; Veth, 1847; Noordtzijs, 1895). Land’s contribution to Syriac is summarized by Janson/Van Rompay, *Syriac Studies in Leiden* (1989), 44–55. For a more extensive survey of the man and his work, see C. B. SPRUYT/C. VAN VOLLENHOVEN, *Jaarboek van de Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen* (1898), 1–62.

<sup>116</sup> This was not uncommon nineteenth-century phonetics, yet still extraordinary in Semitics.

<sup>117</sup> J. P. N. LAND, *The Principles of Hebrew Grammar* (tr. R. Lane Pool; London: Trübner 1876).

<sup>118</sup> G. BICKELL, *Grundriss der hebräiſchen Grammatik* (Leipzig: Brockhaus 1869); English: *Outlines of Hebrew Grammar* (tr. S. I. Curtiss; Leipzig: Brockhaus 1877); French: *Principes généraux de grammaire hébraïque* (tr. É. Philippe; Paris: Lecoffre 1883). Bickell contributed some original ideas to the behaviour of the semi-vowels /w/ and /y/, as well as very few remarks on syntax.

those original forms which can be reconstructed confidently.<sup>119</sup> Its chapter on syntax, however, bears more original traits; although it has undergone some influence from Ewald, the author gave a clearer and more practical account. A successful English translation of that latter part reached no less than four editions.<sup>120</sup> The lucid disposition of grammatical facts, which clearly distinguishes between main points and notes with specific detail, gives it lasting value.

Only one year after the appearance of Müller's *Schulgrammatik*, Bernhard Stade (1848–1906), the founder of the *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, endeavoured to combine the virtues of Olshausen's and Ewald's grammars into a crystal-clear synthesis in the spirit of Nöldeke's descriptions of Aramaic.<sup>121</sup> Most of it was written before Stade had been appointed to the professorship of Old Testament at Gießen in 1875. Unfortunately, the second part on syntax announced in the preface never came out because of the author's lack of time and the limited resources offered by his new academic environment;<sup>122</sup> the same may apply to the envisioned replacement of Gesenius' *Geschichte der hebräischen Sprache und Schrift*. Stade no doubt saw himself as a theologian, and his later work was almost totally devoted to exegesis and biblical theology, but his fine training in Semitics acquired under the direction of Fleischer and Dillmann enabled him to make sensible use of comparative material. He therefore deduced the attested forms from reconstructed ancestors in the vein of Olshausen, to whom he dedicated his grammar, but also tried to expound, like Ewald (yet in a much more organized way), the phonetic laws which governed this development. The idea that certain classes of weak verbs, that is, the "hollow roots", the *mediae geminatae*, and the *ultimaef infirmae*, go back to originally biconsonantal roots makes an important contribution to Comparative Semitics at large. Stade also took the critical attitude towards the Masoretic vocalization to a new level, later surpassed by Gotthelf Bergsträsser (1886–1933), and distinguished more consistently between normal and aberrant forms, eliminating the latter from the discussion.

During the 18 years between the grammars of Olshausen and Stade, the historical-linguistic investigation of Hebrew reached its peak that would not be surpassed until the next century. More recent research has confirmed that the ancestor languages of Biblical Hebrew and Classical Arabic share a common linguistic blueprint. Within a genealogical framework that has gained much acceptance in present-day Semitics, this basic structure is associated with an earlier evolutionary stage labelled "Central Semitic". On the other hand, it is now equally clear that the loss of morphological case markings and the restructuring of the verbal system had taken place in Hebrew shortly after ca. 1000 BCE, hence pre-exilic Hebrew will have resembled Classical Arabic to a much lesser degree than scholars assumed in the second half of the nineteenth century. A rig-

<sup>119</sup> A. MÜLLER, *Hebräische Schulgrammatik* (Halle a. d. Saale: Niemeyer 1878). On the author, see H. BOBZIN, "Müller, 1) August", NDB 18 (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot 1997), 334.

<sup>120</sup> A. MÜLLER, *Outlines of Hebrew Syntax* (tr. J. Robertson; Glasgow: Maclehouse 1882; 41894).

<sup>121</sup> B. STADE, *Lehrbuch der hebräischen Sprache. Erster Theil: Schriftlehre. Lautlehre. Formenlehre* (Leipzig: Vogel 1879). Information on the author can be found in A. VON GALL, "Bernhard Stade. Ein Nachruf", ZAW 27 (1907) I–XIV, and Smend, *Alttestamentler* (1989), 129–142.

<sup>122</sup> Cf. von Gall, Bernhard Stade (1907), VII.

orously comparative treatment on the basis of the information provided by other Canaanite witnesses, Aramaic, and Akkadian, internal variation, as well as different reading traditions only first appeared with the *magnum opus* of Hans Bauer (1878–1937) and Pontus Leander (1872–1935) in 1922.<sup>123</sup> Even then, other valuable data like the transcription of words in the Septuagint and Vulgate as well as the tiny body of evidence for Origen's *Hexapla*, later enriched by a number of fragments discovered by Giovanni Mercati in 1895, had been considered<sup>124</sup> though not yet sufficiently researched in light of the historical pronunciation of Latin and Greek. A manuscript of the Samaritan Pentateuch, it is true, had already been included as an important witness in the Paris Polyglot, but largely disregarded after Gesenius' negative verdict on its value for Hebrew grammar.<sup>125</sup> Only after the discovery of Ugarit and Qumran, however, Hebrew grammar can approximate the ideal of a historically-informed yet at the same time empirical and complete description comparable to Nöldeke's *Mandäische Grammatik* from 1875.<sup>126</sup>

The study of syntax did not progress at an equal pace. This may have something to do with the dominant role of phonology and morphology in Indo-European Linguistics. Furthermore, for the traditional "third part" of a grammar, subsequent authors could not fall back on copious collections of examples like those built up by Böttcher and Olshausen in their year-long labours. Ewald and Gesenius thus served as the principal storehouses. The situation changed when Samuel Rolles Driver (1846–1914), the greatest British Old Testament scholar of the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (he was a tutor in Classics at New College before his appointment to the Regius Professorship of Hebrew at Oxford), first published his *Treatise on the Use of the Tenses in Hebrew* in 1874.<sup>127</sup> This most original of Driver's contributions is still one of the most thorough investigations into any part of Hebrew syntax. Its presentation of the data has in later editions been extended to include other syntactical questions like clause types and word order variations. Elaborating on Ewald's idea that the Hebrew finite conjugations do not express the location of a situation or an event in time, Driver applied the then novel term "aspect" of Greek grammar to the functions of the "perfect" and the "imperfect".<sup>128</sup> A large amount of pertinent

<sup>123</sup> H. BAUER/P. LEANDER, *Historische Grammatik der hebräischen Sprache des Alten Testaments* (Halle a. d. Saale: Niemeyer 1922); cf. Gzella, Hans Bauer (2008), 169–175.

<sup>124</sup> Especially by Gesenius, *Sprache und Schrift* (1815), §§ 50.52, and Hupfeld, *Hebräische Grammatik* (1841) § 14. Hupfeld had a particular interest in phonology.

<sup>125</sup> See J. D. PURVIS, *The Samaritan Pentateuch and the Origin of the Samaritan Sect* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP 1968), 73–75.

<sup>126</sup> For a more up-to-date description of the linguistic background of Hebrew, see H. GZELLA, "Northwest Semitic in General", *The Semitic Languages: An International Handbook* (ed. S. Weninger; Berlin/New York: de Gruyter 2011), 425–451.

<sup>127</sup> S. R. DRIVER, *A Treatise on the Use of the Tenses in Hebrew* (Oxford: Clarendon Press <sup>1</sup>1874; <sup>2</sup>1881, with the addition *and Some Other Syntactical Questions* in the title; <sup>3</sup>1892). The third edition has been reprinted with an excellent introduction to the work in the context of recent Hebrew scholarship by W. R. GARR (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans 1998). On Driver himself, see J. A. EMERTON, "Samuel Rolles Driver 1846–1914", *A Century of British Orientalists, 1902–2001* (ed. C. E. Bosworth; Oxford: Oxford UP 2001), 122–138.

<sup>128</sup> McFall, *Enigma* (1982), 60–77; V. J. DECAEN, "Ewald and Driver on Biblical Hebrew 'Aspect': Anteriority and the Orientalist Framework", *ZAH* 9 (1996) 129–151.

examples is discussed from that point of view. Although Driver's historical-linguistic basis has been superseded principally by the insight from Akkadian that the "long" and the "short" forms of the Hebrew "imperfect" (e.g., wayyibnē as opposed to wayyiben) derive from two distinct conjugations,<sup>129</sup> the nuanced synchronic analysis which makes up the core of his book is still indispensable. Thanks to him, Ewald's views on verbal syntax continued to dominate the grammar until into the twentieth century,<sup>130</sup> although Driver, characteristically English in his sober and exact scholarship, was far less prone to philosophical speculation than his German precursor. Theoretically more sophisticated explanations gain ground but slowly and render the idea of a simple correlation between form and function unlikely. A very nuanced discussion of the Hebrew "imperfect" and its semantic overlaps (present-future, imperfectivity, and above all various forms of modality) in light of typological parallels from Indo-European can already be found in Franz Eduard Christoph Dietrich's (1810–83) unjustly forgotten *Abhandlungen*.<sup>131</sup> The term "Cogitativ" which he suggests corresponds nicely to the general notion of "epistemic" modality.

Finally, with his three-volume *Lehrgebäude*, Eduard König (1846–1936), displayed his tendency to swim against the tide also in the field of Biblical Hebrew grammar.<sup>132</sup> The attempt to confront an often extensive discussion of modern opinions from Gesenius to Stade with Qimhi's traditional descriptive model and extensive comparative data results in a running commentary to one hundred years of Hebrew research. Its encyclopaedic part on syntax was meant to compensate for the one-sided concentration on phonology and morphology in most other recent works. Since the author did not rely on existing collections of examples, but read the entire corpus from cover to cover, this third volume features many observations not easily found elsewhere. Perhaps it may still count as the most important full description of Hebrew syntax currently available.

A balance of power in exegesis between philology and higher criticism brought about numerous biblical commentaries ("Notes" in the unpretentious British tradition) which also, or even chiefly, contain valuable information on grammar, semantics, and style besides textual and redactional criticism as well as *realia*. The consummate example is Driver's book on Samuel, but others bear similar traits.<sup>133</sup> Only when higher biblical criticism got the upper hand, rein-

<sup>129</sup> This was argued by Bauer in 1910 and a few others before him, cf. Gzella, Hans Bauer (2008), 153–156.

<sup>130</sup> Gzella, Tempus (2004), 9f; for more modern approaches, see also idem, "Probleme der Vermittlung hebräischer Verbalsyntax am Beispiel von 2 Sam 11–12", in: J. F. DIEHL/M. WITTE (eds.), *Studien zur Hebräischen Bibel und ihrer Nachgeschichte* (KUSATU 12–13; 2011), 7–39.

<sup>131</sup> F. E. CHR. DIETRICH, *Abhandlungen zur hebräischen Grammatik* (Leipzig: Vogel 1846), 93–120. The same volume contains serviceable surveys of expressions of plurality, totality, and negation in Hebrew, Arabic, and Syriac. Dietrich was also an expert on Germanic languages.

<sup>132</sup> E. KÖNIG, *Historisch-kritisches Lehrgebäude der hebräischen Sprache*, 1–3 (Leipzig: Hinrichs 1881–1897), and two supplementary articles entitled "Syntactische Exkurse zum Alten Testament", ZAW 18 (1898) 239–251; 19 (1899) 259–287. For biographical information, see K. ENGELKEN, "König, (Friedrich) Eduard", BBKL IV (Herzberg: Bautz 1992), 264–279.

<sup>133</sup> S. R. DRIVER, *Notes on the Hebrew Text and the Topography of the Books of Samuel* (Oxford: Clarendon Press <sup>1</sup>1890; <sup>2</sup>1913); cf. J. A. EMERTON, "S. R. Driver as an Exegete of the Old Testament", *Vergegenwärtigung des Alten Testaments. Beiträge zur biblischen Hermeneutik. Festschrift für Rudolf Smend zum 70. Geburtstag* (ed. Chr. Bultmann/W. Dietrich/Chr. Levin; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck &

forced by the growing importance of the history of religion, did the amount and sometimes also the quality of philological observations quickly decrease. Rising stars of the new movement like Hermann Gunkel, the successor to Stade in Gießen, did not display the same linguistic acumen as the older generation; they showed a greater interest in more daring theory-building than in the minutiae of grammar and textual criticism. The advent of the strictly philological commentary, at any rate, considerably widened the gap between positivist exegesis and theological application. It is a challenge for contemporary biblical scholarship to reconcile precision in detail with hermeneutical and spiritual depth.

Another important tendency in Semitics led to the emancipation of *Biblical Aramaic*. Traditionally, it was treated as an appendix to Biblical Hebrew from the lexicographical point of view, and, under the name “Chaldaean”, described together with Targumic or Talmudic Aramaic from the grammatical one.<sup>134</sup> Further discoveries of epigraphic witnesses and the life-work of Nöldeke, however, increasingly unveiled the internal complexity of older Aramaic, too. A geographical classification on the basis of linguistic features thus gradually replaced the customary distinction of a “Jewish” and a “Christian” branch. Although its role as the dominant language of much of the Fertile Crescent between the Neo-Assyrian Empire and the Islamic Conquest only became fully clear during the twentieth century with the publication of the Elephantine papyri and other corpora, earlier work already provided more points of comparison for the material in Ezra and Daniel and inaugurated the ongoing discussion about the linguistic position of Biblical Aramaic within its wider context.<sup>135</sup> The same trend also encouraged the study of this Aramaic variety in its own right: its lexicon was treated separately in dictionaries after 1886, and Kautzsch published a brief but useful grammar, with fuller attention to syntax than had been usual before, along the lines of Nöldeke’s work already in 1884.<sup>136</sup> The latter filled a long-felt gap and paved the way to several other teaching manuals.<sup>137</sup> All of these were largely

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Ruprecht 2002), 285–295. Notable commentaries of this kind include Tuch, *Genesis* (1838), A. DILLMANN, *Die Genesis* (Leipzig: Hirzel 3<sup>1</sup>875; 6<sup>1</sup>892 [1<sup>1</sup>850 by A. W. Knobel]), and J. OLSHAUSEN, *Die Psalmen* (Leipzig: Hirzel 1853), which, according to the preface, is exclusively geared towards philology.

<sup>134</sup> See G. B. WINER, *Grammatik des biblischen und targumischen Chaldaismus* (Leipzig: Hartmann 1824; 2<sup>1</sup>842), later revised by B. Fischer (*Winer’s chaldäische Grammatik für Bibel und Targumim*, Leipzig: Barth 3<sup>1</sup>882), and the English edition by E. Riggs (1832); S. D. LUZZATTO, *Grammatik der biblisch-chaldäischen Sprache und des Idioms des Thalmud Babli* (tr. M. S. Krüger; Breslau: Schletter 1873). An English translation of the latter work originally published in Italian (Padua, 1865) was prepared by J. S. Goldhammer (New York: Wiley 1876). Earlier grammars, like the one by Johannes Buxtorf (1615) or various works by Johannes Danz (1700), even included Syriac or Mishnaic Hebrew respectively. An extensive bibliography can be found in E. NESTLE, “Litteratura”, in: idem, *Brevis linguae Syriacae grammatica, litteratura, chrestomathia* (PLO 5; Karlsruhe/Leipzig: Reuther 1881), 2–13.

<sup>135</sup> For a brief summary, see H. GZELLA, “The Heritage of Imperial Aramaic in Eastern Aramaic”, *Aramaic Studies*, 6 (2008) 85–109.

<sup>136</sup> E. KAUTZSCH, *Grammatik des Biblisch-Aramäischen. Mit einer kritischen Erörterung der aramäischen Wörter im Neuen Testament* (Leipzig: Vogel 1884). This work also reflects Kautzsch’s earlier view on verbless clauses (§ 94) discussed above.

<sup>137</sup> K. MARTI, *Kurzgefaßte Grammatik der biblisch-aramäischen Sprache* (PLO 18; Berlin: Reuther & Reichard 1896; 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. 1911; 3<sup>rd</sup> edn. 1925); H. L. STRACK, *Abriss des biblischen Aramäisch. Grammatik, nach Handschriften berichtigte Texte, Wörterbuch* (Leipzig: Hinrichs 1896; from

replaced by the comprehensive and historically sensitive synthesis of Bauer and Leander.<sup>138</sup> As a result, the methodological basis for identifying Aramaisms in the biblical text became more reliable. Attention had been devoted to possible Aramaic loanwords throughout the nineteenth century, but Kautzsch was the first to propose rational and practical criteria in a monograph published in 1902.<sup>139</sup> The envisaged second part on grammatical Aramaisms never appeared. Several years later, Bauer took the discussion to a new level by suggesting that Hebrew was a mixed language also comprising a younger, Aramaic, layer.<sup>140</sup>

A fresh curiosity in Targumic and Rabbinic material accompanied the new appreciation of Biblical Aramaic, although linguistic distinctions between the various forms of Aramaic still remained a bit unclear. Notwithstanding some exceptions, Rabbinic literature was but rarely taught at European and American state universities during the nineteenth century. The few manifestations of scholarly interest more or less limited themselves to editing mediaeval Jewish commentaries on biblical books, as Samuel Rolles Driver did in his early days. Missionary ambitions among German Protestants, however, resulted in the foundation of *Instituta Judaica* in Berlin (1883) by Hermann L. Strack (1848–1922) and Leipzig (1886) by Franz Delitzsch (1813–90).<sup>141</sup> Both institutions promoted the study of Post-Biblical Hebrew right from the outset. Once again it became the subject of lively lexicographic, grammatical, and editorial work undertaken by Jewish and Christian scholars alike. Gustaf Dalman (1855–1941) carried out further research on Palestinian Aramaic and was among the first Christians to study thoroughly a Jewish variety of Aramaic.<sup>142</sup> The increasing awareness of Post-Biblical Hebrew and the revival of Hebrew as a spoken language considerably widened the scope of *Hebraistik* as an academic field at the beginning of the twentieth century.

During the last decade of the period in question, three succinct comparative manuals appeared. They prepared the way to Carl Brockelmann's all-embracing and hitherto unsurpassed *Grundriß der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen* (1908–13). Like most contributions of that period, they exclude syntax, but nevertheless demonstrate the principal advances in Semitics as they have been briefly outlined here:<sup>143</sup> a large amount of primary material including

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the 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. 1897 under the title: *Grammatik des biblischen Aramäisch*; from the 4<sup>th</sup> edn. 1905 until the 6<sup>th</sup> 1921 under the title: *Grammatik des Biblisch-Aramäischen*, München: Beck).

<sup>138</sup> H. BAUER/P. LEANDER, *Grammatik des Biblisch-Aramäischen* (Halle a. d. Saale: Niemeyer 1927).

<sup>139</sup> E. KAUTZSCH, *Die Aramaismen im Alten Testament*, I. *Lexikalischer Teil* (Halle a. d. Saale: Niemeyer 1902). For a summary of earlier research, see M. L. WAGNER, *Die lexikalischen und grammatikalischen Aramaismen im alttestamentlichen Hebräisch* (BZAW 96; Berlin: Töpelmann 1966), 8–10.

<sup>140</sup> Cf. Gzella, Hans Bauer (2008), 169–175.

<sup>141</sup> R. GOLLING/P. VON DER OSTEN SACKEN (eds.), *Hermann L. Strack und das Institutum Judaicum in Berlin* (Studien zu Kirche und Israel 17; Berlin: Institut Kirche und Judentum 1996); S. WAGNER, *Franz Delitzsch. Leben und Werk* (Gießen/Basel: Brunnen 2<sup>1991</sup>). Franz Delitzsch was the father of the Assyriologist Friedrich Delitzsch and authored many biblical commentaries.

<sup>142</sup> J. MÄNNCHEN, *Gustaf Dalmans Leben und Wirken in der Brüdergemeinde, für die Judenmission und an der Universität Leipzig 1855–1902* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 1987).

<sup>143</sup> W. WRIGHT, *Lectures on the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP 1890); O. E. LINDBERG, *Vergleichende Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen*, 1. *Lau-*

Akkadian at the one end of the range and several vernaculars at the other supplemented the classical languages already known for centuries from manuscript traditions; a more historically-minded approach working out linguistic relationships in a systematic fashion by means of sound correspondences had replaced mere harmonizing elenchi of parallel features;<sup>144</sup> and Classical Arabic instead of Biblical Hebrew served as the point of departure for historical investigation. Against this background, Hebrew scholarship acquired a profile still characteristic of much current work, to which twentieth-century research added serious progress in the study of the internal diversity of Hebrew and its immediate linguistic environment. Together with a sophisticated functional description informed by linguistic typology, the latter offers great potential for the future.

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*tlebre*. A. *Konsonantismus* (Göteborg: Wettergren & Kerber 1897); H. ZIMMERN, *Vergleichende Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen. Elemente der Laut- und Formenlehre* (Berlin: Reuther & Reichard 1898). Zimmern's sketch is rather concise, but devotes special attention to Akkadian and even Afro-Asiatic. E. RENAN's earlier *Histoire générale et système comparé des langues sémitiques* (Paris: Imprimerie Impériale <sup>1</sup>1855; <sup>2</sup>1858; <sup>3</sup>1863; <sup>4</sup>1863; <sup>5</sup>1878), by contrast, subordinates grammatical and lexical data to a wide-ranging history of Hebrew-Phoenician, Aramaic, and Arabic. Only the first part, entitled *Histoire générale des langues sémitiques*, appeared. The author was not so much interested in deriving the attested forms from a Proto-Semitic ancestor and tracing their development; rather, he tried to depict the general character of the various idioms, from Hebrew via Aramaic to Arabic, as well as their speakers, and suggested that simplicity was the distinctive hallmark of Semitic (a prejudice which lingers on), just as a tendency towards monotheism was innate to the Semitic peoples. See in general R. DUSSAUD, *L'œuvre scientifique d'Ernest Renan* (Paris: Geuthner 1951), 27–35, and especially H. BOBZIN, “Ernest Renan und die Vergleichende Semitistik”, *Im Dialog bleiben. Sprache und Denken in den Kulturen des Vorderen Orients. Festschrift für Raif Georges Khoury* (eds. F. Musall/A. Al-Mudarris; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 2011), 375–389. However, such an association of linguistic features with anthropological conclusions was soon outdated in favour of a more straightforward comparison of grammatical structures.

<sup>144</sup> The latter commonly featured in the multilingual grammars of Angelo Canini (*Institutiones linguae Syriacae, Assyriacae atque Thalmudicae, una cum aethiopicarum atque arabicarum collatione*, 1554), Louis de Dieu (*Grammatica linguarum orientalium, Hebraeorum, Chaldaeorum et Syrorum inter se collatarum*, 1628), Johann Severin Vater (*Handbuch der hebräischen, syrischen, chaldäischen und arabischen Grammatik*, <sup>1</sup>1801; <sup>2</sup>1817), and others.





*B. Main Regional and Confessional Areas  
of the Nineteenth Century's Biblical Scholarship*



## CHAPTER SEVEN

# The 'New World' of North America and Canada – and the Globalization of Critical Biblical Scholarship

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*The Old Testament is truly so omnipresent in the American culture of 1800 or 1820 that historians have as much difficulty taking cognizance of it as of the air people breathed.*<sup>1</sup>

Perry Miller

For most Americans in the nineteenth century, modern biblical scholarship was foreign – both in its place of origination and in its view of the Bible. Not only was most modern biblical criticism imported from Europe, but it asserted a view of Scripture that was foreign to an increasing number of Americans who were convinced that they already understood the Bible perfectly well. In the nineteenth century, the United States was a biblically-saturated society. The Bible was by far the most printed, most read, and most respected book. Many Americans prided themselves on their knowledge of Scripture, but, perhaps even more telling, many of these Americans prided themselves on their relative ignorance of most other books.<sup>2</sup> The Old Testament had a special presence in this biblically-saturated United States. Historians have often pointed out the relationship between images of ancient Israel and American self-identity from the colonial period onward. As Americans developed a national civil religion, including the conviction that the nation had a special destiny in the world, they most often connected that national destiny to God's people in the Old Testament.<sup>3</sup>

Historians have noted that the unique blend that formed American civil religion, included belief in national destiny, the sacredness of human rights, and the command for service in wartime, all identified with images of an American Israel. Such visions of Old Testament America developed through constant repetition, persistent typological parallels between the Biblical Israel and American people, beginning in the colonial period and flourishing through the nineteenth century. The American Israel tradition has emerged in many ways, from Puritan jeremiads and, later, Revolutionary-era sermons such as Nicholas Street's "The American States Acting over the Part of the Children of Israel in the Wilderness" (1777) and Samuel Langdon's "The Republic of the Israelites an Example to the

<sup>1</sup> Miller, *Garden of Eden* (1955), 54.

<sup>2</sup> Gutjahr, *American Bible* (1999), 1.

<sup>3</sup> Historian Mark Noll observes that "Well into the national period, the public Bible of the United States was for all intents the Old Testament", Noll, *Image of the United States* (1982), 45. The historiography of American civil religion is large, and a segment of it has examined located civil religion in some relation to the Old Testament, especially beginning with the Puritans. A sample of such works includes a prominent selection of primary sources, Cherry, *God's New Israel* (1971), Miller, *Errand Into the Wilderness* (1956), Bercovitch, *American Jeremiad* (1978), Bellah, *Civil Religion* (1967).

American States” (1788). In 1776, even Thomas Paine, who later asserted that the Old Testament was “a history of wickedness” and more “the word of a demon than the Word of God”, quoted liberally from the Hebrew Bible to arouse patriotic opposition to King George III.<sup>4</sup> This American association with the ancient Hebrews appeared in various other forms of literature through the Civil War and beyond.<sup>5</sup> Even religious communities that challenged the dominant ethos of America in the nineteenth century often identified themselves with descriptions drawn from the Old Testament. The Mormons, for example, in claiming to be the God’s true Church, fashioned an identity that was closer to the Old Testament Hebrews than to New Testament Christians. And in the case of the Mormons, imitation of Israel extended to renewed practices of plural marriage and theocracy in the American West.<sup>6</sup> While the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints certainly had a unique perspective on how the Old Testament had a new presence in America, they shared with many other Americans the sense that ancient Israel paralleled America in significant ways.

In comparison, Canada was not nearly so identified by biblical and Old Testament identities, in part because Canada was no nearly so Protestant as the United States. While Canada had a substantial Catholic population and heritage, the United States was decidedly Protestant. In 1830, Protestants in the United States comprised 90.3% of religiously affiliated Americans, compared with 4.2% identified as Catholics, and the rest, including Quakers (1.7%), Unitarians (1.5%), and Universalists (1.3%). And among Protestants, evangelicals were the dominant force. Methodists and Baptists, the leading evangelical Churches, comprised almost half of all religious Americans (48.4%), with Methodists accounting for 23.4% and Baptists adding another 25%. If one considers at least part of the Presbyterian Churches as evangelical, the numbers rise even higher because Presbyterians as a whole accounted for 17% of religious persons. By the end of the century the numbers had diversified considerably given the explosion of Catholic and Jewish immigrants from Europe. Even so, Protestantism was still dominant, accounting for 63.8% in comparison with 30.2% who identified as Roman Catholics.<sup>7</sup>

Just as important as this Protestant dominance was its potent alliance with democratic ideas, and here again is a point of contrast with Canada. Nothing separated Canada from the United States more than the American Revolution. American colonists revolted against England and thereafter formed a new nation along democratic convictions; Canadians did not. Accordingly, Canadians did not share the revolt against authority that consumed citizens of the new American nation. In the intensely democratic ethos of the United States after the Revolution, Americans gained a new trust in themselves, in their capacities to govern themselves and to think for themselves. As they trusted themselves more, Ameri-

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<sup>4</sup> Paine, *Common Sense* (1918). Quotations from *Age of Reason* can be found in Paine, *Writings* (1896), 34. For a recent interpretation of Paine’s “Hebraic Republicanism”, see Perl-Rosenthal, *Divine Right of Republics* (2009).

<sup>5</sup> Street, *American States* (1777); Langdon, *Republic of the Israelites* (1788).

<sup>6</sup> Shipps, *Mormonism* (1985), 122–128.

<sup>7</sup> Gaustad, *New Historical Atlas* (2001), C.19–C.20.

cans depended on other traditional authorities less, including their traditional superiors in social class, politics, and religion.

The dramatic exception to this democratic revolt against authority was the Bible. As nearly every other traditional authority lost credence, the Bible actually increased in religious and cultural authority. But it was the Bible as read democratically, as Americans demanded the right to interpret the Bible for themselves, without the intervention of Church traditions or academic experts, both of which were more capable of perverting the truth of Scripture, which Americans considered to be clear and self-evident. The traditional Protestant belief in "the Bible alone" was not new, but Americans embraced it with unprecedented vigor. The Bible was an authority that the people could own, an authority that individuals could embrace to reinforce their self-reliance. Armed with the Bible alone, Americans could oppose any other authority that they considered to be tyrannical in a democratic age, from domineering Church authorities such as creeds and bishops to tyrannical political governors and polices.<sup>8</sup>

One of the best indicators of the power of a democratic hermeneutic is the experience of Roman Catholics in the American ethos in the nineteenth century. Catholics faced several obstacles. Not only were they outnumbered by Protestants; in addition, many American Protestants were extensively anti-Catholic, and much of the anti-Catholic sentiment focused on the supposed conflict between tyrannical Catholicism and democratic Protestantism. Such anti-Catholicism played a pivotal role in Protestantism's alignment with democratic rhetoric in the eighteenth century. As British colonists – mostly Protestant – battled the Catholic French and their Indian allies on the American frontier in several wars prior to the Revolution, colonial ministers often preached that the Pope was the Antichrist, and that his French legions has aligned themselves with savages to ravage God's Protestant forces in America. Even after the Revolution, therefore, many Americans equated Protestantism with liberty and Catholicism with tyranny.<sup>9</sup> Americans often found Catholicism's tyranny focused especially on the Bible. Whereas Protestants in America proclaimed a democratic hermeneutic, a call for all people to believe in their own authority to the Bible for themselves, Catholicism countered that Scripture belonged to the Church, and that the Church alone has authority to interpret it.<sup>10</sup> For many Protestants, nothing could be more tyrannical, or more dangerous, both to the truth of Christianity and to the liberty of the United States. Consider the viewpoint of Lyman Beecher, influential Protestant minister and father of Henry Ward Beecher and Harriet Beecher-Stowe, famous author of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Writing of Catholics in America, Beecher was most concerned with their tyrannical, "anti-republican" beliefs, such as the view that no one "may read the Bible without the permission of the priesthood, or understand it but as they interpret...and that every Catholic is bound to believe implicitly as the Church believes". Such beliefs would threaten the republican faith and could even challenge republican institutions of the nation. "Whether Catholics are pious or learned, is not the question," said Bee-

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<sup>8</sup> Hatch, *Sola Scriptura* (1982); Noll, *America's God* (2002), 367–85.

<sup>9</sup> Hatch, *Sacred Cause* (1977), 38–39, 49, 74–75; idem, *Civil Millennialism*.

<sup>10</sup> Fogarty, *Quest* (1982).



cher. The true question was “what are the republican tendencies of their system?” And the explicit claim was that republicanism – or anti-republicanism – in politics could be judged quite well by one’s attitude toward the Bible. In the new nation, therefore, Scripture gained authority as the people gained authority. As historian Mark Noll commented, “Scripture had become the national book par excellence” by the beginning of the nineteenth century.<sup>11</sup>

## 1. Biblical Criticism in the Early Nineteenth Century: Common Sense and a Democratic Scripture

If Americans claimed the right, even the responsibility, to read the Bible for themselves, they did so because they were convinced that they had the ability to understand Scripture correctly. The Bible became a powerful authority in a democratic age because of a particular view of biblical interpretation, a conviction that the Bible was understandable to the average person. Despite its admitted complexity on one level, many Americans, led by the dominance of Protestantism in the new nation, believed that scriptural truth was universal truth, available to all through pure reason and common sense reflection. It is against this background that critical biblical scholarship developed in the United States. The first biblical critics in America thought of biblical interpretation as an inductive science. Influenced by Francis Bacon and Scottish Common Sense Realism, biblical scholars believed that biblical interpretation was a science, much like natural science. After all, God created the world and inspired the writing of Scripture, and in both nature and Scripture God revealed truth, and that truth was available through inductive reasoning from observable facts. And as a science, biblical interpretation was chiefly a search for evidence, and much biblical scholarship sought to prove the truth of Scripture by assembling and classifying evidences. Common Sense Realism validated the individualistic reading of Scripture that flourished in the democratic ethos of the new nation. Both ministers and laity believed that biblical truth – like all truth – was universally available to all through common sense observation. One did not need to delve into abstract theories and philosophical speculations to arrive at truth because truth was thought to be clear and universally knowable, even across thousands of years.<sup>12</sup>

In the early nineteenth century, these assumptions of Common Sense Realism shaped the development of modern biblical criticism in the United States. Despite differences in theological perspective and denominational tradition, American criticism of the Bible shared an approach to Scripture through the Baconian search for evidence, assembling the facts of Scripture and classifying them to understand biblical truth. This common approach to biblical interpretation as inductive science encompassed a significant breath of approaches to Scrip-

<sup>11</sup> Beecher, *Plea* (1835), 85–87; Fogarty, *Quest* (1982), 164; Noll, *America’s God* (2002), 370–372.

<sup>12</sup> Bozeman, *Age of Science* (1977); Marsden, *Everyone One’s Own Interpreter* (1982); Kamen, *Science of the Bible* (2004), 35–41; Noll, *America’s God* (2002), 103, 233.

ture, however, especially in the two leading institutions of critical biblical scholarship early in the century: Harvard Divinity School, which became a center of Unitarianism, and Andover Seminary, which arose as a leading center of orthodox Congregationalism.

### *1.1. American Biblical Criticism Conceived: Joseph Stevens Buckminster at Harvard*

Biblical criticism in America effectively began in New England with the appointment of Joseph Stevens Buckminster as the Dexter Lecturer at Harvard University in 1811. The Dexter lectureship was the first endowed position devoted to the critical study of the Bible. Buckminster assumed the lectureship after serving as minister of Boston's liberal Brattle Street Church since 1804, a position in which he secured a reputation as an outstanding preacher with an abiding interest in biblical scholarship. Buckminster embraced scientific study of Scripture, and he recognized that the results could challenge traditional doctrines. But he believed that the Church would benefit from a critical assessment of biblical texts. Any doctrines that could not hold up under careful scrutiny of the Bible should be abandoned, he admitted, but he firmly believed that the true message of Scripture would withstand critical scrutiny and strengthen the Church. In this way, biblical criticism could prove decisive in the ongoing debates between Unitarians and Calvinists in New England. Equipped with new methods for understanding the Bible, Buckminster believed that Unitarian thinkers could reform the Church of unbiblical dogma and recapture the rational and moral message of Christ in Scripture.

As a teacher, Buckminster trained future Harvard professors William Ellery Channing, Edward Everett, and Andrews Norton. In conjunction with his teaching, Buckminster also contributed to biblical criticism through his extensive collection of over three thousand books, a library that featured the latest in biblical criticism from Germany. Buckminster's collection included works of "textual criticism", in which scholars such as Johann Jakob Griesbach attempted to find the most authentic biblical texts by comparing existing manuscripts. At a time when information on German criticism of the Bible was scarce in America, the sale of Buckminster's library after his death literally launched an enlightenment in American biblical scholarship.<sup>13</sup>

### *1.2. The Beginnings of Old Testament Scholarship in America: Moses Stuart at Andover*

Among those influenced by the sale of Buckminster's library was the leading scholar of Old Testament criticism in early nineteenth century America, Moses

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<sup>13</sup> Holifield, *Theology in America* (2003), 191; Brown, *Rise of Biblical Criticism* (1969), 23, 48; Buckminster, *Sermons* (1815), 22–23.

Stuart, the Professor of Sacred Literature at Andover Seminary. If Harvard Divinity School represented the best in Unitarian and liberal religious scholarship, Andover became its conservative counterpart. Moses Stuart contributed greatly to the strength of Andover. Stuart was a Yale graduate, a student of Timothy Dwight, president of Yale and grandson of revered Calvinist theologian and revivalist Jonathan Edwards. True to his training under Dwight, Stuart defended Calvinism against liberal attacks, but he did so while also pursuing excellence in modern biblical scholarship. This pursuit led Stuart to attend the auction of Buckminster's massive library in 1812. There Stuart bought many books – some for his own library, and others for Andover. One of the most influential volumes for Stuart was Johann Gottfried Eichhorn's *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*. Stuart outbid Harvard graduate and future Harvard professor Edward Everett for the Eichhorn's coveted work, and Stuart never forgot the competitiveness at the auction – and he never forgot Eichhorn's *Einleitung* and its influence on him. Through Eichhorn's work Stuart encountered German biblical criticism for the first time, and from then on he constantly engaged German criticism. Stuart's fascination with modern biblical scholarship made his colleagues suspicious, but he had no hidden, radical agendas. He wanted to defend biblical authority, not to question it, and he believed German criticism could help. He believed "that the Bible does not shrink from the examination of critical inquirers", and "that the result of all such examination fairly conducted will always be favorable to the word of God". In his interpretation of the Bible, therefore, Stuart joined two approaches to biblical criticism that many conservatives believed were oppositional. He was a Common Sense Realist, committed to the pursuit of biblical evidences, and yet he was also incorporated German biblical criticism as part of that task.<sup>14</sup>

Stuart published widely, especially in Old Testament studies. He wrote commentaries on Daniel, Proverbs, and Ecclesiastes, in addition to Hebrew grammars, a book on the exegesis of biblical prophecy and his influential *Critical History and Defense of the Old Testament Canon* (1845). Stuart's openness to the latest exegetical methods forced him to address difficult issues, including questions about Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch. Here Stuart accepted Eichhorn's radical thesis that Moses was not the sole author of Genesis, admitting that Genesis included multiple sources. But if Moses did not write alone, Genesis was still Moses' book because Moses compiled the Elohim and Yahweh (Jehovah) sources and shaped the book. This concession to German criticism could shock conservative believers, Stuart admitted, but not if they properly understood it. Modern biblical criticism of Genesis did not threaten divine inspiration. Moses may have used different sources, but God inspired the sources just as God inspired Moses in his editorial work.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Quotation is from Stuart, *Lectures on Sacred Literature*, # 14, quoted in Giltner, *Moses Stuart* (1988), 33. See also *ibid.* 8–9; Holifield, *Theology in America* (2003), 191.

<sup>15</sup> Stuart's works on biblical criticism included: *Critical History and Defense* (1845); *Commentary on Daniel* (1850); *Critical Examination of Genesis 1* (1836); *Hebrew Grammar* (1823); *Commentary on Proverbs* (1860). For a bibliography of Stuart's works, see Brown, *Rise of Biblical Criticism* (1969), 192. See also Giltner, *Moses Stuart* (1988), 34.

As his treatment of the Mosaic authorship of Genesis indicates, Stuart was committed to “the grammatical-historical method” of interpretation. That is, one can understand the meaning of Scripture only through an understanding of its original language, its historical context, and its author’s intellectual worldview and intentions in writing. God inspired the Bible comprehensively but not verbally – God did not dictate the words of Scripture to biblical writers. The words of biblical writers, therefore, were human words, though also divinely inspired. And as human words, the words of Scripture were as clear to readers in the nineteenth century as in biblical times. This assertion was a major component of Common Sense Realism: people share faculties of understanding that allow them to communicate clearly to one another, regardless of culture, regardless of historical period. Interpretation of Scripture, therefore, was a matter of common sense, not a mystical philosophy or advanced science. As Stuart asserted “hermeneutics is no science that depends on learning and skill, but is one with which all the race of man is practically more or less acquainted”. So hermeneutics “is not, in its fundamental parts, a thing of uncertainty, of conjecture, of imagination, or of mere philosophical nicety. If it were a far-fetched science, dependent on high acquisitions and the skillful application of them, then it would be comparatively a useless science; for, in such a case, only a favored few of the human race would be competent to understand and acquire it; still fewer could be satisfactorily assured of its stable and certain nature”. In this statement Stuart did not imply that biblical interpretation was unimportant or trivial. To the contrary, he asserted that the feasibility of hermeneutics verified its importance: God intended the Bible to be plain, available to humanity for salvation. To be sure, advanced biblical study required devoted work, including difficult work of learning ancient languages, but the texts themselves were not indecipherable and irrelevant; they were understandable and alive with meaning for all times.<sup>16</sup>

In some ways Stuart pushed his Common Sense reading of Scripture to conclusions that few other conservatives would accept. Most importantly, his emphasis on understanding Scripture in its historical context undercut one of the major elements of traditional biblical exegesis: the conviction that some texts had multiple meanings, meanings above the literal sense, meanings that were either prophetic – predictions of the future that even the original prophets may not have understood – typical, or allegorical. For Stuart, however, the true meaning of a biblical text was its original meaning, the meaning that the biblical writer intended. “I take the meaning of any language to be, the idea which the speaker or writer himself attached to it”, Stuart asserted. “Just this, and neither more nor less, all right interpretation will give as his meaning.”<sup>17</sup> In asserting the integrity of the original meaning of every text, Stuart was ready for the conservative counter-argument about prophecy: was not God the true author? And, therefore, could not God infuse multiple meanings into any ancient text? Stuart counted that God would not force the prophet to write something the prophet could not understand completely. To do so would violate the prophet’s intellect, “his rational and immortal part”, which is “the very image of the God”. The prophets

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<sup>16</sup> Stuart, *Are the Same Principles of Interpretation to be Applied* (1832), 126.

<sup>17</sup> Stuart, *Alleged Obscurity of Prophecy* (1832), 220.

were “not men bereaved of their understanding, their reason, their consciousness, their free agency; but the most enlightened, the most rational, the most free, of all men on the face of the earth”.<sup>18</sup> God inspired through intelligible communication, not through ecstatic confusion. The Holy Spirit never incapacitated the mind; it heightened the intellect, revealing and clarifying the Word for both the biblical writer and his later interpreters. And as a good Common Sense thinker, Stuart asserted that biblical writers wrote clearly, and that their meanings were accessible to themselves and to modern interpreters. If the true meaning of a text was the original meaning, and if that meaning was clear and understandable, then biblical texts did not have multiple meanings. There were no mystical or spiritual interpretations of Scripture that competed with the plain, original meaning.<sup>19</sup>

### *1.3. Edward Robinson and the Innovation of Biblical Archeology*

Stuart researched well and published often, but his broadest influence on American biblical criticism may have been through his teaching, specifically in training Edward Robinson, who taught first at Andover and then at Union Theological Seminary in New York. Robinson became the most internationally known American biblical scholar in the mid-nineteenth century. Like Stuart, Robinson combined a conservative approach to biblical interpretation with an avid interest in the latest critical scholarship coming from Europe. Unlike Stuart, however, Robinson engaged German scholarship more extensively, and his groundbreaking research on the archeology and geography of biblical lands won international praise from scholars of various theological perspectives. Robinson published his major work, *Biblical Researches in Palestine* (1841), simultaneously in Germany, England, and the United States, and dedicated it both to Moses Stuart and to the German geographer Carl Ritter, thereby communicating his dual commitments to his New England theological tradition and German critical scholarship. Robinson’s research was comprehensive, detailed, and scathing in its criticism of the topography of biblical lands in the early and medieval Church. And yet, even though Robinson rejected many early Church traditions on geography and archeology, he never doubted Scripture. His critical research in archeology and geography only intensified his reverence for biblical revelation. Often Robinson’s *Researches* highlighted his awestruck impressions of holy places, and even his revulsion against others who did not appreciate their holiness. Retelling his experience at the Easter mass at the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, Robinson was appalled by the presence of Catholic monks whose “vulgar and unmeaning visages . . . peered out from [their] costly vestments”. They appeared to Robinson to be “more like ordinary ruffians, than like ministers of the cross of Christ”. Above all, the entire service “was to a Protestant painful and revolting” – especially because the monks seemed not to appreciate the sacred nature of the space. They did not show “the slightest degree of faith in the genuineness of the surrounding objects” and did not even “pretend, that the present sepulcher is any-

<sup>18</sup> Ibid. 222, 245.

<sup>19</sup> Marsden, *Everyone One’s Own Interpreter* (1982), 92–93.

thing more than an imitation of the original". Such disregard of biblical sites was too much for Robinson. For him, "to be in the ancient city of the Most High, and to see these venerated places and the very name of our holy religion profaned by idle and lying mummeries" was "too painful to be borne", and Robinson vowed never to visit again. Much more inspiring was Robinson's experience of the Jordan River, the site of Jesus' baptism and many other biblical scenes. Here, Robinson marveled as they "stood upon its shores and ... bathed in its waters", fully apprehending "all the emotions, which the region around is adapted to inspire". Moved by this kind of reference for the biblical narrative and its sacred sites, Robinson painstakingly assessed the geography of biblical lands and pioneered a new discipline in Biblical archeology.<sup>20</sup>

#### 1.4. Unitarian Biblical Scholarship at Harvard

Like Stuart and Robinson, liberal biblical scholars at Harvard were committed to evidential reasoning to establish biblical truth. The place of German criticism was another issue. Surprisingly, Stuart, defender of Calvinist piety at Andover, was more open to German critical scholarship than his liberal counterpart Andrews Norton at Harvard. While Stuart accentuated the positives in German criticism, Norton saw only negatives, calling to German scholarship a cesspool of licentiousness and speculation. Norton even forbade his son from learning German, worried that the mere knowledge of the language would destroy his Unitarian faith. Norton's major work was the three-volume *The Genuineness of the Gospels* (1837), which defended the historicity of the Gospels against the claims of German criticism. In his defense of the Gospels, Norton viewed the Old Testament as a liability. While the Gospels could survive the scrutiny of critical scholarship the Old Testament could not, he argued. Accordingly Norton was not interested in Old Testament scholarship.<sup>21</sup>

One of Norton's students, George R. Noyes, shared his teacher's distaste for Old Testament historicity but not his avoidance of Old Testament criticism. Noyes, who held the Dexter Professorship at Harvard for twenty-eight years (1840–68), became the leading Old Testament scholar in the liberal movement and the only American scholar who could approach Stuart's mastery of the field. In his scholarly output, Noyes was primarily a translator. During the period 1827–46 he published translations of Job, the Psalms, the prophets, Proverbs, Ecclesiastics and Canticles. Believing that good translation was a necessary prelude to critical scholarship in America, Noyes hoped that his work would prepare the way for the laity to engage biblical scholarship directly, examining American's sacred text from a critical perspective. Such a view, he believed, would lead to a liberal appreciation for the morality and piety of Jesus, a perspective unencumbered by undue fealty to the errors of the Old Testament. Here Noyes differed markedly from Stuart, and Noyes was one of the few to respond

<sup>20</sup> Robinson, *Biblical Researches* (1856), 223–24, 543. See also Brown, *Rise of Biblical Criticism* (1969), 118–122; Williams, *Times and Life of Edward Robinson* (1999), 1.

<sup>21</sup> Brown, *Rise of Biblical Criticism* (1969), 76; Norton, *Internal Evidences* (1855).

directly to Stuart's *Critical history and Defense of the Old Testament Canon*. In particular, Noyes faulted Stuart's use of Jesus to defend the authority of the Hebrew scriptures. While Stuart had accepted the authority of the Old Testament on the grounds that Jesus accepted it as scripture, Noyes demurred, arguing that it was impossible to believe that Jesus' coming implied an uncritical acceptance of Old Testament authority. Besides, Noyes argued, there was a wide discrepancy between the peaceful Christ who implored his disciples to turn that other cheek and the warlike God of the Old Testament who demanded that Israelites slay their enemies, even children. Noyes's chief assertion was that Stuart's *Defense of the Canon of the Old Testament* guarded the Old Testament against any honest scholarship. As such, Stuart forced modern thinkers to choose between accepting the Old Testament at face value or rejecting Christ.<sup>22</sup>

In perhaps his most radical stance, Noyes questioned the allegedly prophetic predictions of Christ in the Old Testament. In his review of University of Berlin Professor E. W. Hengstenberg's *Christology of the Old Testament* and elsewhere, Noyes denied that Jesus was the fulfillment of Old Testament prophecy. Writing specifically of supposed messianic predictions in the Psalms, Noyes denied that Old Testament texts could have two meanings, one meaning of the author's time and another meaning for a later time, such as a prediction of Christ's coming. The meaning of a text was tied to its original context, Noyes argued. So the Psalms did not predict Christ because the authors of the Psalms had no knowledge of him in their time. Besides, the predictions of a message in the Old Testament usually referred to the conquering rule of an earthly king, which could hardly be recognized with the ministry of Jesus. What, then, of the many New Testament texts, including those by Paul and other Apostles, which interpreted Christ as the fulfillment of Old Testament prophecy? On this question Noyes concluded that the Apostles were wrong. He did not deny that the Apostles were inspired by God, but he claimed that God did not inspire them "as critics and interpreters" of the Old Testament; God inspired them as authors of the New Testament. So their writings on religion and morality in the New Testament carried divine authority, but their exegetical commentary on the Old Testament did not. When it came to their skills as exegetes, the Apostles were bound by the ancient view of texts that dominated interpretation in their time, including typological and allegorical methods of interpretation that modern critical scholarship could not accept.<sup>23</sup> If that were not radical enough, Noyes further asserted that even Jesus was wrong if he believed that the prophecies of the Old Testament predicted his coming.<sup>24</sup> Again, the same logic held true: while Noyes believed that Jesus was inspired by God, that divine inspiration did not extend to textual interpretation. God's inspiration revealed insights into many truths, but it did not include expertise in modern biblical criticism.

It is not surprising that these views stirred controversy among conservative Calvinists and liberal Unitarians alike. It is perhaps more surprising that the controversies did not spread wider or last longer than they did. Consider a compari-

<sup>22</sup> Brown, *Rise of Biblical Criticism* (1969), 127, 190.

<sup>23</sup> Noyes, *New Translation of Psalms* (1846), 10.

<sup>24</sup> Brown, *Rise of Biblical Criticism* (1969), 134–135.

son with the later nineteenth century, when controversies biblical interpretation spread nationally, encompassing entire denominations, seminaries, and even gaining the attention of the mainstream press. At that time, the rise of German higher criticism would shake denominations and seminaries to their foundations, issuing in heresy trials and heated reactions from all sides. In the early nineteenth century, however, Americans were too secure in their common sense readings of scripture to concern themselves much with German critics.<sup>25</sup>

## 2. Mid-Century Challenges to the American Bible

In the early to mid nineteenth century, the new critical methods of interpreting Scripture did not challenge the prevailing Protestant ethos of biblical authority in the United States. The biblical scholars who were aware of German higher criticism recognized that it had the potential to threaten the sacred aura of Scripture in America as it had in Germany, but they did not believe such a crisis was immanent. They believed that, in the United States, respect for Scripture was too strong, in part because of the widespread influence of Common Sense Realism and Baconian reasoning, which convinced Christian scholars that the Bible was historically reliable and consistent with the findings of modern science. In the mid nineteenth century, however, this common sense view of biblical authority encountered challenges, and two were particularly serious. The first was the challenge of natural science, especially geology, and it was a portent of things to come later in the century. The second challenge was more immediate and much more serious for many more Americans: the crisis of slavery. The crisis of slavery not only divided the nation and helped to drive it into Civil War; slavery also drove Americans to the Bible for answers that the Bible seemed incapable of providing.

### *2.1. Genesis and Geology in America: The Old Testament and the Challenges from New Science*

Even early in the nineteenth century much of the conversation about the relation between science and Scripture centered on the Old Testament. And as was so often the case, Moses Stuart was a principle contributor to the discussions. Stuart's conviction that the only meaning of Scripture was the original meaning had several benefits. It was clear and consistent with Common Sense Realism; it countered any attempts to twist the clear meaning of Scripture into a skeptical quagmire through hermeneutical speculations, and it rested on the belief that biblical knowledge is consistent with all rational knowledge, including knowledge gained through natural sciences. Ominously, however, this last point was only a benefit as long as natural sciences seemed consistent with the scriptural record. That period would not last long. Before Darwin, and even in Stuart's life-

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<sup>25</sup> Ibid. 137–139.



time, scientific theories increasingly challenged biblical descriptions of natural phenomenon. And when science began to correct rather than to confirm the scriptural record, Stuart's insistence that the only meaning of Scripture was the original meaning became a liability rather than an asset. A chief example came in the charges from geologists who concluded that the earth was much older and developed through a much longer period than the seven days described in the Genesis creation story. In response to this challenge some interpreters of Scripture could conclude that the creation story was not literal but figurative – the seven days described by Moses were not literal days but symbolic or poetic representations of the long expanse of time through which God created the world. The days of Genesis, therefore, actually stood for long blocks of time, even thousands of years. Stuart could not abide such views. Moses did not think as a modern geologist, and geology could not force the meaning of Scripture. As Stuart asserted, "I am unable to see how the discoveries of modern science and of recent date, can determine the meaning of Moses' words". Biblical writers were not modern scientists, so, in this case, Moses would never have used the word "days" to describe thousands of years so that his view would be consistent with the findings of modern geology. How, then, could Stuart escape from the dilemma? If Moses could not square with modern geology, what did this discrepancy imply for Scripture? In Stuart's view, Moses was right and modern geology was wrong. His was not a statement of Bible versus science; it was a statement that a trusted biblical narrative trumped unproven scientific theory. Science and the Bible were compatible, but science needed to be proven trustworthy. "My own belief most fully is, that there is indeed nothing in the sacred books, which, when rightly viewed and interpreted according to the established principles of sound hermeneutics, will contradict any of the real and established maxims or principles of recent science. I cannot suppose that God will contradict in one book, what he has taught in another. If he develops himself in the works of nature (as he surely does), then he cannot make an inconsistent and contradictory development in the volume of his holy word".<sup>26</sup>

In essence, therefore, Stuart's claim that Biblical interpretation was a science equivalent to other sciences meant that Scripture could never contradict science. Any apparent contradictions between the two resulted either from improper interpretations of Scripture or faulty research. Stuart was not alone in making such connections between science and Scripture – such interpretive moves were consistent with Common Sense Realism. The danger of this position became apparent as the findings of scientific research increasingly challenged the Bible. Common Sense Realists like Stuart had made biblical interpretation into a science, in part to defend the integrity of Scripture in a modern world, but the result was to put the Bible in a vulnerable position. Once science and Scripture

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<sup>26</sup> Stuart, *Critical Examination of Genesis 1* (1836), 49–50. See also Marsden's comment: "Faced with the choice between the perspicuity of Scripture and the perspicuity of nature, Stuart bit the bullet and chose Scripture", Marsden, *Everyone One's Own Interpreter* (1982) 93. Stuart debated Genesis and modern geology with Andover scientist Edward Hitchcock in the 1830s. Hitchcock's contributions to the debate, like Stuart's cited above, are recorded in *Biblical Repository*; Kamen, *Science of the Bible* (2004), 184.

clearly contradicted one another, biblical interpretation lost its standing as a science and the Bible lost its dominant intellectual authority in the academy and much of culture.<sup>27</sup> So geology's challenge to Genesis in Stuart's lifetime was but the opening salvo in what would later develop into a long and dramatic war between traditional views of biblical authority and that latest in scientific discoveries. Following on the heels of geology's threat to Genesis was an even more pervasive challenge in Charles Darwin's *Origin of Species* (1859). And yet scientific research, in all its many fields, did not single-handedly dethrone biblical literalism and a common sense acceptance of biblical authority. Years before biblical interpreters would wrestle with Darwinian theories of natural selection, they faced a more urgent, much more divisive menace to biblical authority: the tragedy of American slavery.

## 2.2. *The Bible, Slavery, and the Civil War*

Slavery created a biblical crisis for many Americans. The turmoil developed in part because most Christians in the United States believed that the Bible was the ultimate authority on morality and religion, both for individuals and for society. A dilemma as intensely contested as slavery, therefore, naturally required appeal to Scripture. American Christians had every reason to believe that the Bible would be affective in settling the slave crisis. Here the dominance of common sense thought in biblical interpretation was important. Ministers, scholars, and laypeople alike most often viewed the Bible as an accessible revelation of truth. If interpreters would impartially examine the biblical texts through careful, inductive reasoning, these biblical facts would reveal a clear and truthful solution to the controversy over slavery. When interpreters looked to Scripture for answers to the slave question, however, they repeatedly found only confusion. Most problematically, prominent ministers and Bible scholars from North and South, all equally committed to reading Scripture through impartial, inductive reason, still came to opposing conclusions.

The experience of the slaves themselves demonstrated that the slave crisis was intensely biblical and especially centered on the Old Testament. The slaves who converted to Christianity commonly adapted biblical themes and symbols to their own experience, thereby creating dynamic new readings of Scripture that challenged the slave system at its religious foundations. In this process of reinterpretation through the strife of slavery, the most prominent biblical narrative was the Exodus. In reinterpreting the Exodus story, the slaves crafted a creative reversal of the traditional American narrative of God's new Israel. Whereas European colonists interpreted their immigration to America as an exodus from oppression to an American Israel that promised freedom, slaves viewed America as more a new Egypt than a new Israel – a place of bondage in which God's chosen people, the slaves, faced oppression at the hands of American pharaohs. And like in the Egypt of old, the American pharaohs faced God's impending judg-

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<sup>27</sup> Marsden, *Everyone One's Own Interpreter* (1982), 93–94.

ment. As Maria Stewart, a free African-American reformer wrote in 1831, God would avenge America's sin of slavery by pouring out upon America "the ten plagues of Egypt". In the very next line, Stewart connected the Exodus deliverance to the American conviction for liberty. America's own God of freedom – the God the patriots invoked in the Revolution – would deliver the slaves. As Stewart asserted, "our souls are fired with the same love of liberty and independence with which your souls are fired ... too much of your blood flows in our veins, and too much of your color in our skins, for us not to possess your spirits".<sup>28</sup> As slaves experienced the Exodus narrative, therefore, they often did so as most Americans read Scripture – as a democratic authority that valued liberty. But from the slaves' point of view, the chosen land had forsaken freedom to embrace slavery, creating an oppressive Egypt instead of a liberating Israel. Beginning with slavery, therefore, the Exodus became a lasting theme in African American biblical interpretation; consider, for instance, historian Albert J. Raboteau's claim that "no single symbol captures more clearly the distinctiveness of Afro-American Christianity than the symbol of Exodus".<sup>29</sup>

Of course not all Americans agreed with the slaves' interpretation of Exodus. But the slaves' interpretation of Exodus revealed one truth that few Americans doubted: The Bible was an important authority on slavery. Nearly everyone, from southern slaveholders to northern abolitionists, agreed that the slave crisis and the Bible were inseparable, and that the Bible was either an asset in the controversy or an obstacle to overcome. The problem was that a literalistic, common sense reading of biblical texts on slavery could mount strong arguments both for and against slavery in the United States. A sampling of key Old Testament texts on slavery proves the point. In defense of slavery, ministers cited Gen 9:25–27, the legendary "curse of Canaan", to label Africans as the cursed descendants of Canaan who were forced to suffer slavery as punishment for Canaan's transgression. Opponents of slavery questioned this connection: where did the text state that the curse of Canaan included skin color? In defense of slavery, ministers turned to the Old Testament Patriarchs who owned slaves with God's approval. Opponents of slavery countered that not everything the ancient Patriarchs did was acceptable in modern society. What about polygamy? Would southern Christians who defended slavery from the Old Testament also defend multiple wives? Certainly not, opponents of slavery argued.<sup>30</sup> These were just a few examples of biblical examples from the Old Testament that became fodder for slave debates. Texts from the New Testament were no more helpful in resolving the crisis. Whether drawn from the words of Paul or Moses, texts on slavery from Scripture could not settle the issue decisively in the United States.

Most problematically, the Common Sense approach to Scripture not only failed to solve the problem; it exacerbated it. Once it was clear that both the Old and New Testaments, when read literally, seemed to condone slavery, those who wanted to renounce slavery had an undesirable choice. A first option was to

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<sup>28</sup> Stewart, *Meditations from the pen* (1879), 33–34; see Raboteau, *African-Americans, Exodus* (1994), 83.

<sup>29</sup> Raboteau, *ibid.* 9.

<sup>30</sup> Holifield, *Theology in America* (2003), 496; Haynes, *Noah's Curse* (2002).

abandon Scripture altogether – not a real option for most Protestants. Only the most radical thinkers of the day would go this far – thinkers such as abolitionist William Garrison, who admitted that the Bible supported slavery, in effect agreeing with the biblical interpretation of many slaveholders, and he responded by rejecting the Bible. When Garrison and other radicals went so far as to reject biblical authority, they alienated practically all Protestants in the nation, and made it more difficult for liberal Protestants who wanted to find a way to defend both Scripture and abolitionism. This was the second option. Unlike radical abolitionists who rejected biblical authority, many opponents of slavery wanted to make their case through Scripture. In so doing, however, they tended to abandon the way most Americans had read Scripture all their lives. That is, they asked Americans to deny what they had long believed – that most biblical texts revealed truth with unmistakable clarity, in plain language, and that anyone with common sense could understand the major ideas of Scripture. In place of this common sense reading of Scripture, those who wanted to reject slavery had to admit that the Bible was not always clear on major issues. Moreover, they denied that Scripture could always be applied directly to nineteenth-century America. To understand the Bible, they argued, one needed to understand the ancient world as different in many ways from the modern world. Here, then, the controversy over slavery forced interpreters of Scripture to acknowledge historical difference and ambiguity, even in the Bible. This issue was serious, because most Protestants firmly connected biblical authority with biblical clarity, and to admit biblical ambiguity was to invite biblical insecurity, even doubt. Moreover, disagreements over whether the Bible condoned slavery dramatically illustrated how differences in social location and economics shaped differences in biblical interpretation.<sup>31</sup> It was no accident that southern ministers such as Baptist Richard Furman concluded that the Bible supported slavery while Francis Wayland, his New England Baptist colleague, argued that the Bible opposed slavery in the strongest terms.<sup>32</sup> Under the strain of the slavery controversy, therefore, significant cracks developed in the monolithic assumption that the Bible could be understood through careful, inductive reasoning according to common sense principles of unbiased investigation. As historian E. Brooks Holifield surmised, “long before biblical criticism made significant inroads into the consciousness of most Christian thinkers, the debate over slavery would introduce American readers to critical questions about history, doctrinal development, and hermeneutics”.<sup>33</sup>

### 3. The Formation of an American Academy of Biblical Scholarship: Early Collaborative Efforts

In the years following the Civil War, American Protestants collaborated on two projects that signaled the development of an American scholarly communion on biblical interpretation. Both of these projects revealed that American biblical

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<sup>31</sup> Noll, *America's God* (2002), chap. 19, “The Bible and Slavery”.

<sup>32</sup> Fuller/Wayland, *Domestic Slavery* (1845).

<sup>33</sup> Holifield, *Theology in America* (2003), 494–495.

critics were strongly inclined toward “lower” or textual criticism and still strongly resistant to German “higher” or historical criticism. The distinction was significant. “Text criticism”, focusing on recovering genuine biblical texts in original languages and translation, attempted to restore the texts and reveal their original meaning. In contrast, “higher criticism” or “historical criticism” focused on the historicity of scriptural texts, including evaluation of authorship and dating, issues which were much more rife for controversy in a Protestant American that valued a common sense acceptance of biblical truth.<sup>34</sup>

### 3.1. *Biblical Commentary: The Lange Project*

The first project was an English translation of a multi-volume biblical commentary edited by Johan Peter Lange, a professor of theology at the University of Bonn. The commentary, *Theologisch-homiletisches Bibelwerk*, was an impressively comprehensive representation of German biblical scholarship. Leading in the effort to translate Lange’s commentary into English was Church historian Phillip Schaff. Born in Switzerland and educated in Germany, Schaff taught at the University of Berlin before coming to America to teach at the Theological Seminary of the German Reformed Church at Mercersburg, Pennsylvania. Schaff eventually joined the faculty at Union Theological Seminary, but he had established his reputation at the Reformed Seminary, where he and his colleague John Williamson Nevin shaped a new perspective in American thought. In this Mercersburg theology, Schaff and Nevin criticized the revivalist and individualist Protestantism that was so dominant in America. One of the major problems of this individualistic piety was its loss of biblical authority as empowered thought Church tradition. While this view sounded like Catholicism to many Protestants, Schaff remained as anti-Catholic as many of his Protestant colleagues. What he and Nevin hoped to recapture, however, was the witness of Church authority in its ecumenical unity, to the extent that such unity could be envisioned.<sup>35</sup> The Lange commentary was a perfect means to that end, because it was an ecumenical Protestant effort to examine the Bible using the latest in textual criticism. Schaff, who had studied under Lange in Germany, hoped to bring to America his teacher’s zeal for a commentary that was “learned, yet popular, orthodox and sound, yet unsectarian, liberally and truly catholic in spirit and aim”, a commentary that would represent scholars who were “equally distinguished for ripe scholarship and sound piety”.<sup>36</sup>

In this evangelical, ecumenical effort, Schaff assembled a group of forty-nine translators, among whom were forty-five Americans (including one Canadian) and four scholars from the United Kingdom. Those from the United States represented twenty-nine schools and nine Protestant denominations, with the most representative denomination being Presbyterian. As a whole, the commentary denied the radical conclusions of historical critics and leaned in a more con-

<sup>34</sup> Thuesen, *Discordance* (1999), 45; Campbell, *Biblical Criticism* (1982), 11.

<sup>35</sup> Holifield, *Theology in America* (2003), 467–481.

<sup>36</sup> Lange, *Commentary*, Vol. I of NT (1865), viii.

servative direction. In areas where the Lange volumes did veer toward higher criticism, it was almost always in reference to the Old Testament, where several crucial questions were examined, such as the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch and the veracity of historical books. Even on such questions, however, the commentary followed Lange's agenda to avoid the conclusions of radical higher critics whose exegesis was marred by "unscientific" and "purely infidel prejudices", which resulted in much "critical blundering". Lange and most of his American translators believed that sound biblical criticism required an impartial critic who was not biased against "the living idea of revelation".<sup>37</sup> The Lange commentary received mostly positive reviews from both denominational journals and mainstream newspapers such as *The New York Times*. The commentary and its reception signified how interested many Americans were in biblical scholarship. Much of that interest was concern, even anxiety over the challenges of higher criticism. The Lange commentary demonstrated that scholarly investigation of the Bible, even with German assistance, did not have to challenge the traditional view of scriptural authority that was so central to American Protestantism.<sup>38</sup>

### 3.2. *Biblical Translation: The Revised Version*

Schaff also led a second major collaborative effort in American biblical scholarship: the publication of the *Revised Version of the Bible*. The project began under the authority of the Church of England in 1870, and American translators were soon asked to join the effort. In part because of his leadership in the Lange project, Schaff was the natural election to be president of the American committee. And just as he did with the Lange project, Schaff assembled an ecumenical team of translators. Americans contributing to the project represented nine denominations and prominent educational institutions such as Harvard, Andover, Yale, and Princeton Theological Seminary.

The very idea of a new Bible was a risky prospect, especially in America, where the *King James Bible* (KJV; the *Authorized Version*) had been so influential. For most Americans, the *King James Bible* was the only imaginable version of Scripture. One of the major sources of nativist hatred of Catholics centered on their rejection of the *King James Bible* in favor of the *Douay Version*, which was a translation based on the Latin Vulgate. Catholics resented that Protestants had so structured society as to force the *King James Bible* on them, especially by requiring its reading in public schools. In turn, Protestants resented Catholics for besmirching the sacred *Authorized Version* for, in Protestant America, the *King James Bible* was the Bible.<sup>39</sup>

Given the widespread reverence for *King James Version*, Schaff was careful to describe the new translation as more a restoration than a replacement for the KJV. The goal, wrote Schaff, was not "to furnish a new version (which is not

<sup>37</sup> Lange, *Commentary*, Vol. I of the OT (1868), 31.

<sup>38</sup> Campbell, *Biblical Criticism* (1982), 67–116.

<sup>39</sup> Fogarty, *Quest* (1982), 164–165.

needed, and would not succeed), but a conservative revision of the received version, so deservedly esteemed". As a revision, the goal was "to adapt King James's version to the present state of the English language, without changing the idiom and vocabulary". As Schaff reassured Protestant readers, "the new Bible" would "read like the old", though it would be improved through the latest scholarly research. Schaff was clear, however, that the scholarship that produced the RV would not be a higher critical decimation of the Scripture, but would be limited to lower, "textual criticism, Greek and Hebrew philology", and recent discoveries in "Biblical geography and archeology".<sup>40</sup> The goals were to strengthen biblical authority – not to attack it – and to honor the promise of the *King James Version*, updating its language for a new era while preserving its historic spirit and truth.

Such efforts in textual criticism received broad support. Even the most staunch opponents of German scholarship were some of the most zealous advocates of textual research. They hoped that an accurate, updated, reliable Bible would be impervious to attacks from skeptics. So while most translators opposed the radical conclusions of German criticism, they did not ignore historical questions. Using textual criticism, they wanted to reconstruct the original texts, but they did so because they wanted to defend the historical validity of these texts. In the late nineteenth century, therefore, scholars who wanted to defend biblical authority adopted textual criticism as a major tool. Conservative scholars who did so included Archibald Alexander Hodge and Benjamin Breckinridge Warfield at Princeton Theological Seminary; likewise their colleague at Princeton Seminary, William Henry Green, who chaired the committee of American translators working on the *Revised Version of the Old Testament*, which was published in 1885.

In this period, therefore, strong defenders of biblical authority had no aversion to all German scholarship on the Bible. They made clear distinctions between the constructive use of textual criticism and the destructive potential of historical criticism. This situation would soon change. By the early twentieth century, many of those who defended biblical inerrancy would reject all forms of biblical criticism – whether textual or historical – just as they would reject the *Revised Version* in nostalgic reverence for the *Authorized Version*.<sup>41</sup>

#### 4. The Old Testament and Higher Criticism in the United States and Canada, 1880–1900

In the latter nineteenth century, conflict over biblical interpretation ensued on several fronts. One of the major venues of debate concerned the relationship between natural science and Scripture, and that debate was specifically focused on the plausibility of the Genesis account of creation in the wake of recent findings, especially after the publication of Darwin's *Origin of Species* (1859).

<sup>40</sup> American Bible Revision Committee, *Anglo-American Bible* (1879), 15–16.

<sup>41</sup> Thuesen, *Discordance* (1999), 42–65.

Equally important, however, was the historicism of the German critics. To be sure, these ideas were not altogether new. Leading scholars already knew about German higher criticism and its radical potential. In the earlier era, however, scholars could be somewhat sanguine about selecting the areas of German criticism that were helpful to them while avoiding the radical implications of the new view of history. Until the late nineteenth century, such methods of managing the radical challenges of higher criticism held sway. By the 1880s, however, that situation changed as German historical scholarship became a force to be reckoned with in denominations and seminaries. In part, the growing acceptance of higher critical research resulted from a philosophical shift in American institutions. In Germany, historical criticism prospered in tandem with German idealism, which had little influence in America until the late nineteenth century. Accordingly, since German idealism and higher criticism were mutually reinforcing, it makes sense that higher criticism did not gain much adherence in America until German idealism did.<sup>42</sup> As more Americans encountered German idealism, they recognized that it contradicted the Common Sense Realism that had been so dominant for so long in America. Unlike Common Sense philosophy, which taught that humans shared a common view of the world and morality that was consistent among all humanity in all times, German idealism denied that there was any common sense or universal experience of reality across all times and cultures. Instead, historical and cultural situations shaped human experience and limited one's view of the world. So the ancient, biblical world was quite distant from the modern world. Consequently, biblical texts carried the cultural and historical limitations of their human authors. The Bible could not be timeless, therefore. They were ancient texts. And as products of the ancient world, the ancient texts of Scripture had limited relevance for modern cultures.<sup>43</sup>

These conflicting views of history, experience, and texts clearly shaped conflicting approaches to biblical criticism. That is, conservatives and liberals did not disagree over whether the Bible should be read critically; the question was what kind of criticism was appropriate. On this point conservatives and liberals disagreed radically, and there is no better example of conflicting views than in a debate among Presbyterians, waged on the pages of *The Presbyterian Review* in the early 1880s. The two scholars who edited *The Presbyterian Review* stood in opposing sides on biblical scholarship: Archibald Alexander Hodge of Princeton Theological Seminary and Charles A. Briggs of Union Theological Seminary.<sup>44</sup> But Hodge and Briggs were but two of many leading scholars who wrote for the *Review* and, in so doing, represented the best in both conservative and liberal approaches to the Bible. One representative on the liberal side, Henry Preserved Smith of Lane Theological Seminary in Cincinnati, clearly described the new approach to biblical study by summarize three "axioms of criticism". First, con-

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<sup>42</sup> Marsden, Soul (1994), 207.

<sup>43</sup> Marsden, *Everyone One's Own Interpreter* (1982), 83; Kamen, *Science of the Bible* (2004), 39–40; Wacker, *Demise* (1982), 125–127.

<sup>44</sup> The contrasting views on biblical criticism were clearly in view in an 1881 edition of *The Presbyterian Review (PR)*, which published articles on biblical inspiration by conservatives A.A. Hodge and B.B. Warfield along with a rejoinder by Charles A. Briggs. Hodge/Warfield, *Inspiration* (1881), 225–260; Briggs, *Critical Theories* (1881), 550–79.



cerning the question of authorship, especially of the Pentateuch, it is reasonable to conclude that multiple styles of writing in a book imply multiple authors of the book. If Moses had written the Pentateuch, all five books would share the same style, but they do not. Second, texts reflect the historical situations of their authors. Even prophetic writings in Scripture, which often involve predictions of the future, reveal more about the times in which their authors wrote than they do about future events. Third, texts reflect the moral and religious views of their authors, and these views are always limited by the author's historical situation and perspective. In Scripture, revelation is progressive – authors later in Hebrew history knew of earlier traditions and built on them. So no biblical truth is completely timeless, unbound by its historical situation. Truth is always relative, and it will always be surpassed by future discoveries. In these three “axioms”, Smith made the case for the new critical methods of biblical interpretation: as one learns the history of the texts, one can see their meaning in their original context, and such meaning can help in evaluating the text's relevance for the modern world.<sup>45</sup>

Conservatives countered that such “axioms of criticism” were more impediments than aids to understanding Scripture. These “axioms” were neither scholarly nor factual, conservatives argued. Instead, these “axioms” were no more than the biases of liberal critics, biases that prevented them from seeing clearly the plain truths of Scripture. In effect, then, the real problem with historical criticism was that it was not critical enough. For conservatives, therefore, the major task of biblical criticism was to allow the facts of Scripture to speak for themselves, without the interference of supposed scholarly biases or mistaken presuppositions. In contrast to these modern, uncritical methods of interpretation, scholars such as Willis J. Beecher argued for methods they believed were more traditional, conservative, and critical.

Beecher, who was Hebrew professor at Auburn Theological Seminary in New York, outlined the conservative approach in a negative evaluation of the Dutch Old Testament scholar Abraham Kuenen. Beecher used Moses Stuart's term “Neology” to refer to the potential of German criticism to threaten biblical authority, but he claimed that Stuart had not seen anything compared to the threats Christianity faced in more recent years. Given these threats, Beecher urged, “we are in pressing need of a genuine, sanctified Christian rationalism”, which he defined as “a study of the Bible that is reverently, yet distinctively critical”. This kind of reverent criticism could refute the biased, uncritical perspective of Kuenen, whose research suffered from his refusal “to assume that there is anything supernatural or exceptionally inspired in the Old or New Testaments”. This bias against supernaturalism, in itself, would not impair an interpreter of Scripture, just as one who was biased by their belief in the plenary inspiration of Scripture could still be a sound biblical critic. The key was to acknowledge one's biases, and to be willing to put them aside if the evidence calls for it. Whatever one's presupposition or “creed”, whether it be for supernaturalism or against it, sound biblical critics must evaluate the facts of Scripture without being influenced by their creeds. As Beecher asserted, “critical inquiry may yield its best

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<sup>45</sup> Smith, *Critical Theories of Julius Wellhausen* (1882), 370–378. See a full discussion of the contrasting approaches to biblical criticism in Noll, *Between Faith* (2004), 20–22.

results” only when it is “strictly independent”. Biblical research “must be carried on in the spirit which loves the creed for the truth it contains, and not in that which loves the truth because it is contained in the creed, and by a method which refuses to demonstrate a proposition by first assuming it to be true”. Accordingly, biblical scholarship must “reject all evidence which is based on the assumption that the Books are inspired, just as it rejects that which is based on the assumption that they are not inspired”. True biblical criticism, therefore, followed several foundational “canons”, the first of which is that criticism must follow the evidence without subverting it with “groundless assumptions”. Second, biblical criticism, like any other form of historical inquiry, must take seriously “reputable human testimony”. Third, conjecture is not evidence; “mere hypothesis proves nothing”. Fourth, the best historical evidence was taken from the texts themselves. The texts should be allowed to speak for themselves unless there is ample evidence to contradict their claims. For instance, “a statement from the Book of Chronicles”, even if is not “strictly historical”, has the advantage of being “nearer to the original sources of evidence, by some twenty centuries or more, than a similar statement made by” modern interpreters. Kuenen failed this test, according to Beecher, because Kuenen’s biases against supernaturalism and the plain testimony of ancient people prevented him from recognizing the facts of Scripture.<sup>46</sup>

Such debates over biblical criticism became more intense and more frequent in part for institutional reasons. German higher criticism rose to prominence in universities, which began to rival seminaries as the leading centers of academic biblical study. Unlike in earlier decades, this time higher criticism challenged traditional views of biblical authority with more persuasiveness because it arose in combination with new challenges from natural science and other areas of research, including archeology and world religions. New research in these areas brought with it the rising authority of the modern research university and new professional venues for biblical research such as the *Society of Biblical Literature*, which was founded in 1880. From the late nineteenth century on, major universities became more professionalized and more detached from religious affiliations. Driving this new academic pursuit was the commitment to scientific knowledge, often in direct opposition to the dogmatic presumptions of religion. This academic and professional vision empowered German higher criticism and gave it a new presence and a new kind of intellectual authority that it lacked earlier in the century.<sup>47</sup>

#### 4.1. *The Old Testament and the University: The Vision of William Rainey Harper*

The leading visionary for the place of the Bible in the modern university was William Rainey Harper, a Yale-educated Baptist and Old Testament scholar who

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<sup>46</sup> Beecher, *Logical Methods* (1882), 701–707; Noll, *Between Faith* (2004), 21–22.

<sup>47</sup> Noll, *ibid.* 12–13.

became president of the new University of Chicago in 1891. Even before he ascended to the presidency at Chicago, Harper was already one of the most well known biblical scholars in America. No other scholar rivaled Harper in shaping a patriotic, popular, and evangelistic vision for America into an academic zeal for biblical research, even higher critical research. While Harper was a scholar, he was also populist in communicating the latest in biblical research. Far from an isolated scholar, Harper was an intellectual activist, a teacher with an almost unlimited student body. He organized and taught correspondence schools, taking biblical scholarship to ministers and the interested laity. He founded and edited journals, some targeted for academics and ministers, others for interested laypeople. He founded one of these journals, his most popular, in 1882, first entitled *The Hebrew Student* (it later changed titles to *The Old Testament Student*, *The Old and New Testament Student*, and finally *The Biblical World*). Many Americans first learned of higher criticism through this journal, and Harper attempted to make a proper introduction with a conservative, discriminating use of higher criticism that avoided radical statements. Harper founded another journal in 1884, the more scholarly *Hebraica*. It was in the pages of *Hebraica* that Harper debated with Princeton's William Henry Green on "The Pentateuchal Question", in which Harper advocated the merits of the documentary hypothesis.<sup>48</sup>

When Harper became president of the University of Chicago at age 34, he expressed his vision for university education in terms drawn from his work as a scholar of the Old Testament. "Democracy has been given a mission to the world", Harper wrote, and "the university" is democracy's "priest", "prophet", "philosopher", and "messiah" – the university is democracy's "to-be-expected deliverer".<sup>49</sup> Democracy, for Harper, was not a religion but it had a religion that revered human equality, a religion that Harper traced to the Old Testament prophets Jeremiah, "who first preached the idea of individualism", and Ezekiel, who first preached "solidarity, the corollary of individualism", both principles that were later central to Christianity.<sup>50</sup> Harper's mission as an educator included messianic prospects for the university, therefore, a vision that called upon American Protestants to lead the world in education, shaping minds and society to democratic ideals.<sup>51</sup>

In the world-transforming educational vision that Harper valued, the latest in scientific methods would inform all areas of knowledge, including biblical studies, and Harper demonstrated this commitment by located Old Testament studies in the graduate school, not the divinity school, of the University of Chicago. Harper was confident that higher criticism and the search for truth through all forms of scholarship would affirm the value of Scripture, not as an inerrant authority on history, but as a valued resource for timeless religious and moral truths. For all his enthusiasm for higher criticism, however, Harper's goals were

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<sup>48</sup> Harper, Pentateuchal Question (1888), and Green, Pentateuchal Question (1889). See also Kamen, *Science of the Bible* (2004), 392–393.

<sup>49</sup> Harper, *Trend* (1905), 12; Wacker, *Demise* (1982), 123–124.

<sup>50</sup> Harper, *Trend* (1905), 21; Marsden, *Soul* (1994), 250.

<sup>51</sup> Cherry, *Hurrying* (1995), 2–3.

equally academic and evangelistic, and he saw the two as complementary. In the United States, however, conservative scholars, ministers, and laity of most protestant dominations rejected the complementary relationships that Harper envisioned between historical criticism and active evangelism. For them, higher criticism was the death of Scripture, not the key to its modern relevance. Reactions to higher criticism grew more intense, therefore. The crisis erupted in various heresy trials, the most critical of which centered on a progressive thinker who shared Harper's vision of using modern biblical scholarship to strengthen the Church: Charles Briggs.<sup>52</sup>

#### 4.2. *The Protestant Heresy Trial in the United States: The Case of Charles Briggs*

The rising prominence of higher criticism in universities and seminaries provoked several controversies in the 1880s, and the Old Testament was almost always central to the crises. Many Americans, especially Presbyterians, were alarmed by the heresy trial of William Robertson Smith of the Free Church College of Aberdeen, Scotland. Smith, an Old Testament scholar, ignited controversy with his article on the Bible in the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, in which he endorsed some conclusions of higher critics, including denial of the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch. Similar controversies would erupt in America, in part because of the publicity surrounding the Smith case and in part because the most prominent biblical scholars in American academic life were primary authorities in Old Testament scholarship. Along with Harper, the list of American Old Testament scholars included Crawford Toy, a Baptist from Virginia and Confederate army veteran, who published the influential *History of the Religion of Israel: An Old Testament Primer* in 1882. Toy's endorsement of modern biblical scholarship did not provoke a heresy trial, but it probably would have if he had not resigned his professorship at the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary. Toy found a more congenial environment for his historical critical research at Harvard.<sup>53</sup> Of course more than just the Old Testament, or the Bible itself, was involved in religious controversies of the period. This was a time in which modern developments in education, industrialization, urbanization, and other factors created what historian Paul Carter called "the spiritual crisis of the gilded age". But if the Bible was not the only American authority in crisis, it was certainly the central religious locus of controversy. The Bible had been America's Book, the all-encompassing source of truth, accessible to all through Common Sense reasoning, and valuable for any pursuit of human or divine wisdom. And where the American Bible faced challenges, the threat often centered on the Old Testament. It was not accidental, therefore, that the most famous American heresy trial in the period was that of an Old Testament scholar, Charles Briggs of Union Theological Seminary.

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<sup>52</sup> Wind, *Bible and the University* (1987), 108; Funk, *Watershed* (2006), 169–188.

<sup>53</sup> Brown, *Rise of Biblical Criticism* (1969), 202.

Charles Augustus Briggs was a native of New York who served in the Civil War before enrolling at Union Theological Seminary in 1861. After graduation, study abroad, and almost four years in parish ministry, Briggs returned to Union in 1874 as a faculty member. During his nearly forty year career there, he made Union a leading center of Old Testament studies and, consequently, a leading center of controversy over the use of higher criticism in theological education. In the career of Charles Briggs, two traditional commitments of American biblical scholarship coincided: the pursuit of a scholarly, scientifically-defensible interpretation of the Bible alongside a commitment to the Bible as God's authoritative word for the modern world. It is appropriate, therefore, that Briggs was a revival convert and a Presbyterian minister who also encountered German scholarship firsthand at the University of Berlin, where he studied for three years with Isaac August Dorner, E. W. Hengstenberg, and H. G. A. Ewald among others. Briggs professed his evangelical commitments in his influential book, *Biblical Study: Its Principles, Methods, and History*, together with a *Catalogue of Books of Reference*, published in 1883. In this book Briggs professed that the scriptures deserved both scientific study and pious devotion. And to keep the scientific study from squelching the devotional reverence, Briggs sharply distinguished "evangelical criticism", which he professed, from "rationalistic criticism", which denied the Bible's relevance to the modern world. So for Briggs, just as for Harper, historical critical scholarship needed to be used discriminately to combat the more rationalistic and destructive uses of the method.<sup>54</sup>

In this way, Briggs identified himself within the American tradition of evangelical scholarship. Even Briggs's training and professorship testified to the icons of American biblical criticism in the nineteenth century. He was a student of Edward Robinson at Union, whom he praised as "my honored teacher" and "the greatest name on the roll of Biblical scholars of America". Likewise Briggs commended Robinson's lineage as "the pupil of Moses Stuart, the father of Biblical learning in America", thereby sealing his place in the learned tradition of American biblical scholarship. Briggs's comment was accurate: Robinson's scholarship represented a significant contribution of American scholarship to biblical studies internationally. Scholars around the world admired his work in biblical archeology, and yet Robinson's academic standing did not compromise his traditional view of biblical authority and heartfelt piety. Briggs praised Robinson for appropriating "the best treasures of German learning" while holding "his ground against every suspicion of rationalism", and Briggs could not have stated more clearly his own academic goals. "Everywhere I have been under the spell of his influence", Briggs said of Robinson.<sup>55</sup> But Robinson's influence could not translate into a repetition of Robinson's success a scholar whose research elicited admiration, not condemnation, from conservative Protestants. Briggs made these auspicious statements on the legacies of Robinson and Stuart as he accepted his appointment to the Edward Robinson chair of Biblical Theology at Union. It was his inaugural address as the Edward Robinson professor that sparked the

<sup>54</sup> Brown, *Rise of Biblical Criticism* (1969), 198–199; Shiver, *Dictionary* (1997), 46–47.

<sup>55</sup> Briggs, *Authority* (1891), 6–7, 19–20.

two years of controversy that led to his trial and conviction for heresy by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church.

On January 20, 1891, Briggs delivered his address entitled "The Authority of Holy Scripture", in which he advocated higher criticism as the Bible's only hope for a modern age. Higher criticism, for Briggs, was invaluable because it removed several of the "barriers" to "divine authority" in Scripture. Among these "barriers" to biblical authority for Briggs were ideas that were foundational to Biblical authority for conservatives, including the verbal inspiration of every word of Scripture and the inerrancy of scriptural texts. Moreover, Briggs denied the widespread confidence in the reliability of biblical authors. Whereas most Americans – including most scholars – had long defended biblical authority on the reliability of inspired authors such as Moses and Isaiah, Briggs asserted that higher critical methods cast considerable doubt on biblical authorship. No one knows who wrote or edited most books in the Bible, Briggs stated, so if biblical authority depended on the reliability of biblical authors, the entire pursuit was meritless. Fortunately, Briggs said, scriptural authority should rest on its perceived divine authorship, its ability to teach eternal truths, not on the human authors of the ancient texts. Briggs even proposed that God may have providentially hidden the identities of the true authors so that interpreters would "be forced to resort to divine authority" in interpreting Scripture. For Briggs, therefore, "Higher Criticism has rendered an inestimable service to this generation" destroying only "the fallacies and conceits of theologians" and "the obstructions that have barred the way of literary men from the Bible". Higher criticism served the purpose of the Westminster Confession, to place authority of Bible "not upon the testimony of any man or Church, but wholly upon God", the "author" of Scripture.<sup>56</sup> By defending higher criticism against conservative advocates of biblical authority, Briggs challenged the ways in which Scripture had been read, even in scholarly circles, for most of the century. But in charging conservative interpreters of Scripture with destroying biblical relevance, he was accusing them of distorting that which they most sought to reveal: the ultimate value of the Bible. Few claims could have been more heretical for conservatives.

The reaction to Briggs's address came swiftly. In April, the Presbyterians of New York appointed a committee to investigate the address and to recommend a response. The committee faulted the address on several points. Briggs displaced Scripture as the highest source of truth, effectively claiming that the Bible was no more authoritative than reason or the Church, and he denied both biblical inerrancy and the claim that God had verbally inspired the biblical writers. Thus began a series of hearings, trials, and appeals that culminated in 1893 with The General Assembly's decision that suspended Briggs from the ministry for heresy. The condemnation of Briggs included a condemnation of Union Theological Seminary, which defended Briggs through the process. As a result, Union severed its affiliation with the Presbyterian Church, and Briggs became an Episcopal priest in 1899.<sup>57</sup> The Briggs case profoundly influenced not only biblical interpretation but also theological education in the United States and, to a lesser

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<sup>56</sup> Briggs, *Authority* (1891), 33–34.

<sup>57</sup> Shiver, *Dictionary* (1997), 46–57; Bowden, *Dictionary* (1977), 66–67.

extent, Canada. In his strong advocacy for historical critical method, Briggs challenged the Bible as most Americans knew it. So Briggs and his heresy trial were precursors of strife to come in the fundamentalist-modernist controversies in the early twentieth century.<sup>58</sup> These later conflicts between fundamentalists and modernists were primarily Protestant controversies, limited mainly to the United States. And yet controversy over higher criticism expanded beyond Protestantism and beyond the United States. Catholics in the United States, as well as both Protestants and Catholics in Canada, experienced disputes over higher criticism in the wake of the Briggs trial.

### 4.3. *Historical Criticism and American Catholicism*

The official stance of the Catholic Church on biblical criticism came in the papal encyclical *Providentissimus Deus, On the Study of Holy Scripture*, issued by Leo XIII in 1893, the same year as the Briggs trial. Despite widespread assumptions, especially among Protestants, that Catholics and Protestants radically disagreed on Scripture, the papal statement closely paralleled the views of most American Protestants on the subject. That is, lower, textual critical criticism was a helpful and necessary tool for biblical scholarship while higher, historical criticism was a dangerous threat to biblical authority. In *Providentissimus Deus*, textual criticism was likened to the armaments of war – the “modern methods of attack” for defense of the Church to repel the “hostile assaults” of Rationalists against Scripture. Higher criticism, on the other hand, was “an inept method” that would “make the enemies of religion much more bold and confident in attacking and mangling the Sacred Books”. Most Higher critics were “tainted with false philosophy and rationalism”, and their work threatened to eliminate “from the sacred writings of all prophecy and miracle, and of everything else that is outside the natural order”. On the questions of inspiration and inerrancy, Leo XIII decreed that inspiration was incompatible with error. The scriptures were “written at the dictation of the Holy Ghost,” so any claims that the scriptures contained errors implicated not only the human authors but God as well.<sup>59</sup>

Perhaps the most conversant American Catholic scholar on these issues was Father Charles Grannan, professor of Old Testament at Catholic University of America. In 1897, Grannan published an article that addressed these central questions of debate: “What is the Bible?.. Is it human?.. Is it divine?.. What is Inspiration?”. Here Grannan argued that “the Bible is the joint production of God” and humanity, and humanity was “much more than a lifeless channel” in the process.<sup>60</sup> God could have written the Bible alone or through angels; God chose to use human pens. While Grannan stopped short of indicting Scripture with error, his approach to the humanness of Scripture opposed any mechanical

<sup>58</sup> Christensen, Briggs (1997), 323.

<sup>59</sup> *Providentissimus Deus*, <[www.vatican.va/holy\\_father/leo\\_xiii/encyclicals/documents/hf\\_l-xiii\\_enc\\_18111893\\_providentissimus-deus\\_en.html](http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/leo_xiii/encyclicals/documents/hf_l-xiii_enc_18111893_providentissimus-deus_en.html)> Fogarty, *American Catholic* (1989), 44–45.

<sup>60</sup> Grannan, *Twofold Authorship* (1897), 131, 151–152.

views of inspiration as divine dictation.<sup>61</sup> The next year Grannan more clearly identified his positive view of historical criticism. Writing in *The Catholic University Bulletin*, Grannan published "The Human Element in Scripture", in which he identified the interpretation of Scripture as "the problem of the age" and "the living, burning question of the day".<sup>62</sup> In his explication of Scripture's human authorship and divine inspiration, Grannan affirmed that biblical authors used various sources, which God inspired them to redact. Moreover, he affirmed that the creation story in Genesis was a religious lesson about God and not a scientific message about the cosmos. Finally, he argued that the authority of the Bible needed to "be rigorously demonstrated independently of the claims of the Bible to be divinely inspired and independently of the claims of the Church to be the authoritative interpreter of the Bible". The Bible should be proven true "by arguments exclusively scientific, critical, and historical".<sup>63</sup> Grannan did not admit that the Bible contained errors. But he did validate historical critical methods for proving the Bible true, and placed these tests on par with any dogmatic claims for biblical infallibility.

Alongside Grannan's article in *The Catholic Bulletin* was an equally positive evaluation of historical criticism entitled "On the Pentateuch", which summarized a paper by Father Marie-Joseph Lagrange, O.P. This article defended the controversial multiple source authorship of the Pentateuch by identifying its Catholic origins in the work of French Catholic Jean Astruc. Siding against the traditional view that Old Testament books were written by single authors who then deposited them "beside the ark, whilst no one dared to change a line", Lagrange argued that redactors could be as inspired as authors, and that the sacred character of Scripture did not rest with its authorship by Moses or any prophet. The value of a biblical book was in its religious teaching, not the historical verifiability of every detail in every text. "We rightly cling to the veracity of the Bible even in details", and yet "where these details are not important in themselves, we are free to ask whether God really willed to teach them to us, or whether He has not used them as material elements of a higher teaching". Sometimes the literal reading of a text is as historically questionable as it is spiritually meaningless; even in the Pentateuch, which is important because it is a law, not because it is a history; in fact, "the history is but a frame work" for the law.<sup>64</sup> With publications of articles from Grannan and Lagrange, therefore, Catholic University emerged as the center of progressivism in the Church, both in biblical criticism and in the related liberal side of the Americanist controversy.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> Fogarty, *American Catholic* (1989), 55–57.

<sup>62</sup> Grannan, *Human Element* (1898), 167.

<sup>63</sup> Grannan, *ibid.* 180.

<sup>64</sup> Lagrange, *Pentateuch* (1898), 116, 121–122.

<sup>65</sup> Fogarty, *American Catholic* (1989), 58–77.



#### 4.4. *Historical Criticism in Canada*

The Charles Briggs trial was an internationally-known event, a signal of the changing status of biblical scholarship worldwide. While the Presbyterian controversy over W. Robertson Smith in Scotland was earlier and generated much publicity internationally, it at least was a European affair, and Christians in the West had grown accustomed to radical approaches to the Bible among European scholars. The Briggs case erupted in the United States, however, and it signaled the pervasiveness of the higher critical challenge even in the nation most dominated by Protestantism and most known for conservative approaches to Scripture. The religious situation in Canada was different in many ways – Protestants did not dominate as they did in the United States, for instance. And yet Canada, like the United States, had not engaged historical criticism in any substantial or controversial way before the late nineteenth century. For Canadian Protestants, therefore, the Briggs trial signaled a change for them, though the shift was not as drastic as it was in the United States because Canada had a different religious complexity.<sup>66</sup>

Just as it had in the United States, disputes over biblical criticism in Canada often centered on the Old Testament. The most notable controversy focused on the career of George Coulson Workman of the Methodist-controlled Victoria College. Workman was a professor of metaphysics and theology who transitioned to teach Old Testament interpretation. To prepare for his new position, Workman studied in Leipzig with noted Franz Delitzsch, who later wrote an appreciative introduction to Workman's 1889 book, *The Text of Jeremiah*.<sup>67</sup> After returning to Victoria, Workman ignited controversy with a lecture on messianic prophecies, in which he denied the direct application of Old Testament prophecies to the coming of Christ. Word of the lecture reached the media, and newspapers in Toronto publicized the story. Soon to follow were attacks from ecclesial sources, including a Methodist newspaper, and even a full book by the newspaper's editor E. W. Dewart entitled *Jesus the Messiah in Prophecy and Fulfillment: A Review and Refutation of the Negative Theory of Messianic Prophecy*.<sup>68</sup> Many angry letters followed, which prompted the board of regents at Victoria College to investigate in January, 1892. As a result, Workman lost his position as a teacher of theology. Workman, who throughout professed that he was orthodox and misunderstood, resigned his position after refusing a transition to another area of study.<sup>69</sup>

Although the Workman case confirmed the suspicion of some Canadians that higher criticism was a foe to be defeated, biblical research in Canada continued and reached new heights in the 1890s. The leading biblical scholar in the period was Presbyterian James Frederick McCurdy, who taught Orientals in University College, which was part of a new federation of colleges at the University of Toronto. A native of Chatham, New Brunswick, McCurdy studied with W.H.

<sup>66</sup> Moir, *History of Biblical Studies* (1982), 8.

<sup>67</sup> Workman, *Text of Jeremiah* (1889).

<sup>68</sup> Dewart, *Jesus the Messiah* (1891).

<sup>69</sup> Moir, *History of Biblical Studies* (1982), 10–12.

Green at Princeton Theological Seminary, and, after graduating, taught oriental languages for nine years. Over time McCurdy became a bad fit for Princeton, however. He departed significantly from his colleagues in accepting higher criticism, and became the only Princeton representative in the newly-formed Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis. After leaving Princeton and studying in Göttingen and Leipzig, McCurdy returned to Canada and accepted his teaching position at Toronto in 1886. In his twenty-eight year career at Toronto, McCurdy grew the small department in a secular university into a major center of biblical studies in Canada. In the process, McCurdy's career was most notable for its lack of dispute. Much of this success was due to McCurdy's own approach to higher criticism, which he called "sane and tactful", focusing on facts while avoiding unproven and radical theories.<sup>70</sup> Also contributing to the general lack of controversy over Scripture was the religious ethos of Canada. Not nearly so dominated by evangelical Protestantism as the United States, Canada's religious loyalties were more equally divided, especially among Catholics, Presbyterians, Anglicans, and Methodists. So, evangelical Protestantism never held the power to define scriptural authority for the nation.

## 5. Conclusion

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Old Testament had significant authority in much of North America. In the United States, citizens of the new nation often disagreed on specific questions in biblical interpretation, but most Americans did agree that whatever the Bible actually said, its message was uniquely American, and it came especially from the Old Testament. Claims to be "God's New Israel" came from almost everywhere. In the wake of victory in the Revolutionary War, many Americans, including clergy, believed the new nation's future rested on a civil religion in which God was leading a new people to tame a new wilderness in America, beginning with George Washington, the new Moses, charging forth through a violent Exodus from the grasp of a British Pharaoh. This vision has continued, in various forms, throughout the history of the United States. Americans from Mormons to slaves saw themselves as American Israelites in some distinct way.

This civil and cultural identification with the Old Testament helps to explain the trauma of the Briggs trial and other disputes over historical criticism late in the century. In contesting the accuracy of the Bible, new critics not only questioned religious truth; many believed that they also questioned American history and identity. This perspective explains why historical criticism effected Canada so differently. Here one of the main differences between the Bible in Canada and the Bible in the United States may have had more to do with the American Revolution than with critical scholarship. From the Revolution on, republican political ideology and democratic ideas shaped both evangelicalism and popular views of the Bible in the United States. Such was not the case in Canada. Accordingly,

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<sup>70</sup> Moir, *History of Biblical Studies* (1982), 23–25.

Scripture in the United States had a unique cultural status and a pervasive political and religious authority that it lacked for most Canadians. Part of this legacy shaped the fundamentalist versus modernist controversies in the twentieth century. As debates on both sides raged within and beyond denominations, fundamentalists saw their battles for the Bible as part of an ongoing war for the destiny of the United States. This destiny, many fundamentalists believed, required Americans to fight for Scripture and nation against European, especially German, menaces in both biblical criticism and world wars. Modernists were no less patriotic in their zeal for an American future, and the prophetic role of Scripture in it. But for modernists American's future depended on new forms of scientific inquiry, which required a new appreciation for Scripture. America still needed the Bible. But the Bible that America's future required needed to be viewed in a new way to sustain new theologies and new, sometimes social, gospels that could not be sustained if the fundamentalists won.<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>71</sup> Cf. H. E. Fosdick, *Shall the Fundamentalists Win?* (1999); B. J. Longfield, *Presbyterian Controversy* (1993); G. M. Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture* (1980).

## CHAPTER EIGHT

# Protestant Biblical Scholarship on the European Continent and in Great Britain and Ireland

By J. W. ROGERSON, Sheffield

*Main sources:* J.S. VATER, *Commentar über den Pentateuch, mit Einleitungen zu den einzelnen Abschnitten, der eingeschalteten Uebersetzung von Dr. Alexander Geddes's Merkwürdigeren Critischen und Exegetischen Anmerkungen und einer Abhandlung über Moses und die Verfasser des Pentateuchs* (Halle: Waisenhaus-Buchhandlung 1802–1805). – W. M. L. DE WETTE, *Beiträge zur Einleitung in das Alte Testament* (Halle: Schimmelpfennig 1806–1807). – W. VATKE, *Die biblische Theologie wissenschaftlich dargestellt. I. Die Religion des Alten Testaments* (Berlin: Bethge 1835). – J. F. L. GEORGE, *Die älteren Jüdischen Feste mit einer Kritik der Gesetzgebung des Pentateuch* (Berlin: Schroeder 1835). – H. EWALD, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel* (Göttingen: Dieterich'sche Buchhandlung 1843–1859). – A. KUENEN, *De godsdienst van Israël tot den ondergang van den Joodschen staat* (Haarlem: Kruseman 1869–1870). – J. WELLHAUSEN, *Die Composition des Hexateuchs und der historischen Bücher des Alten Testaments* (Berlin: Reimer 1889); *Geschichte Israels* (Berlin: Reimer 1878). – B. DUHM, *Das Buch Jesaja* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1892). – H. GUNKEL, *Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit, eine religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung über Gen 1 und Ap Job 12; mit Beiträgen von Heinrich Zimmern* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1895). – S. DAVIDSON, *The Text of the Old Testament Considered, with a Treatise on Sacred Interpretation and a brief Introduction to the Old Testament books and the Apocrypha* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, & Roberts 1856). – F. TEMPLE e.a., *Essays and Reviews* (Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts 1860). – J. W. COLENSO, *The Pentateuch and Joshua critically examined* (7 vols.; London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts & Green 1862–79). – A. P. STANLEY, *Lectures on the History of the Jewish Church* (London: Murray 1863–1865). – W. R. SMITH, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites. First Series* (Edinburgh: Black 1889), *Second and Third Series* (ed. J. Day, Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press 1995). – S. R. DRIVER, *An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament* (Edinburgh: Clark 1891).

*Special studies:* R. SMEND, *Deutsche Alttestamentler in drei Jahrhunderten* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1989). – J. W. ROGERSON, *Old Testament Criticism in the Nineteenth Century. England and Germany* (London: SPCK 1984); *W. M. L. de Wette. Founder of Modern Biblical Criticism. An Intellectual Biography* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press 1992). – P. B. DIRKSEN/A. VAN DER KOOIJ (eds.), *Abraham Kuenen (1821–1891). His Major Contributions to the Study of the Old Testament* (OTS XXIX; Leiden: Brill 1993). – J. A. DRAPER (ed.), *The Eye of the Storm. Bishop John William Colenso and the Crisis of Biblical Interpretation* (London: Clark 2003). – W. JOHNSTONE, *The Bible and the Enlightenment. A Case Study: Alexander Geddes 1737–1802* (London: Clark 2004). – A. I. NEGROV, *Biblical Interpretation in the Russian Orthodox Church. A Historical and Hermeneutical Perspective* (BHT 130; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 2008). – Further sources and special studies below.

## 1. The Political and Ecclesiastical Background

The course of Protestant biblical scholarship in Europe and Great Britain and Ireland in the nineteenth century was significantly affected by the political situation in Europe as a whole, and by local ecclesiastical factors. The first decade-and-a-half saw Europe and Britain struggling against French domination under Napoleon. The latter's conquests led to territorial adjustments on the Continent, one of the results of which was the closure and amalgamation of several German universities, and the reorganisation of others. The humiliation of Prussia by Napoleon at the battle near Jena in 1806 led to the founding of the University of Berlin in 1810 as part of Prussia's strategy for revival,<sup>1</sup> and to the rise of a type of German patriotic Christianity based upon Gymnastic sports, directed in particular to university students and expressed through their student associations or *Burschenschaften*.<sup>2</sup> The final defeat of Napoleon in 1815 produced different results in the German lands and in Britain. In the latter, the widespread belief that Napoleon had been the anti-Christ foretold in the Bible led to expectations that the Second Coming of Christ was imminent. Conferences were organised to determine which Old Testament prophecies were still to be fulfilled, there was intense interest in missions to Jews and their return to the Holy Land as a necessary preliminary to the return of Christ, and new churches such as the Catholic Apostolic Church were founded in response to the outbreak of Pentecostal phenomena in the West of Scotland and London.<sup>3</sup> All this engendered what can only be called a pre-critical attitude to the study of the Bible, an attitude that was reinforced by the rise of the Oxford Movement in the Established Church in the 1820s and 1830s, which was an attempt to revive the 'Catholic' roots of the Church of England in the face of what was diagnosed as a "national apostasy".<sup>4</sup> The 'pre-critical' attitude was reinforced by the power of the two universities in England (there were five in Scotland at this time!). For example, E. B. Pusey (1800–1882) was Regius Professor of Hebrew in Oxford from 1828 to 1882 and did not hesitate to use his position to hinder in every possible way the progress of biblical criticism in England. When J. W. Colenso (1814–1883), the Anglican Bishop of Natal in the British colony of that name in South Africa, began to publish his critical views on the composition of the Pentateuch in the 1860s (he played an important role in the development of the so-called Grafian hypothesis as will be explained later), the Established Church arranged for him to be tried and 'deposed' by a synod in Capetown and appointed a bishop to replace him. As late as the 1880s, William Robertson Smith (1846–1894) was dismissed from his post at the Free Church of Scotland College in Aberdeen, the General Assembly having determined that he was guilty of heresy. He had published,

<sup>1</sup> M. LENZ, *Geschichte der Königlichen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Berlin*, Erster Band: *Gründung und Ausbau* (Halle: Verlag der Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses 1910).

<sup>2</sup> G. STEIGER, *Aufbruch. Urburschenschaft und Wartburgfest* (Leipzig: Urania-Verlag 1967).

<sup>3</sup> C. G. FLEGG, "Gathered under Apostles". *A Study of the Catholic Apostolic Church* (Oxford: Clarendon 1992).

<sup>4</sup> F. W. CORNISH, *A History of the English Church in the Nineteenth Century*, 1 (London: Macmillan 1910), 213–298.

among other things, an article on the Bible in the Ninth Edition of the Encyclopaedia Britannica which set out in a non-controversial way the current state of the (Continental) critical study of the Pentateuch.

The situation in the German lands was quite different. Here, the issue was that of the future shape of Germany. The students who had fought against Napoleon, and the intellectuals who sympathised with them, did not want a return to a Germany that consisted of a number of small states ruled by absolutist princes and dukes. There was a movement for a united, democratic, Germany, an aspiration that found expression in a festival and demonstration held at the Wartburg near Eisenach in the state of Saxony in October 1817.<sup>5</sup> This commemoration of the three hundredth anniversary of the Reformation at the place where Luther had taken refuge and translated the New Testament into German in 1521, was viewed with great suspicion, especially in Prussia. When a theological student, Karl Ludwig Sand, assassinated a popular playwright and ambassador, August Kotzebue, in Mannheim in March 1819, representatives of the absolutist German lands met and imposed a harsh system of repression upon German universities.<sup>6</sup> Wilhelm Martin Leberecht de Wette (1780–1849), a leading critical scholar, was dismissed from his post in Berlin because of his connections with Sand, and could find employment only in Basel in Switzerland.<sup>7</sup> The Prussian court, dominated by pietistic, conservative churchmen, did its utmost to discourage the development of biblical criticism and to ensure that ‘orthodox’ professors were appointed to universities under its control. A completely different situation was brought about by the defeat of France by Prussia in 1870 and the establishment of the Prussian-dominated German Empire. Now, there was a determination that German scholarship should lead the world, and vast financial resources were placed at its disposal. The advance of German-led critical scholarship throughout the Continent and in Britain was irresistible.<sup>8</sup>

## 2. The Continent of Europe from 1800 to 1860

The foundations for the development of nineteenth century criticism in Germany had been well laid by the end of the preceding century. The Pentateuch had been divided into two or three sources, Isaiah 40–66 had been dated to the Babylonian exile, the unity of Daniel and Zechariah had been called into question.<sup>9</sup> All these findings were, of course, rejected by traditional, conservative scholarship. A radical step forward was taken by de Wette in 1806–1807 with his *Beiträge zur Einleitung in das Alte Testament*. The first volume argued that the Books of Chronicles were based upon the Books of Samuel and Kings, and pre-

<sup>5</sup> See Steiger, *Aufbruch*.

<sup>6</sup> C. E. McCLELLAND, *State, Society and University in Germany 1700–1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP 1980), 218–219.

<sup>7</sup> Rogerson, De Wette (1992).

<sup>8</sup> L. HANISCH, *Die Nachfolger der Exegeten. Deutschsprachige Erforschung des Vorderen Orients in der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 2003), 1–35.

<sup>9</sup> Rogerson, *Old Testament Criticism in the Nineteenth Century. England and Germany* (1984), 15–27.

sented a distorted view of the history of ancient Israelite sacrifice and priesthood, one which was contradicted by Samuel and Kings. The second volume argued that the main value of the Pentateuch was religious, not historical. It yielded information about the religious beliefs of those who had written it, not historical information about Israelite origins. At a stroke, de Wette opened up the possibility that the actual history of Israelite religion and sacrifice was different from that portrayed in the biblical narratives. The developed Levitical system instituted, according to the narratives, by Moses, was in fact a gradual development over a number of centuries. Until the time of Josiah there was no fixed central sanctuary, no precise regulations about how sacrifices were to be offered and no official priesthood to regulate Israelite religion. Because de Wette believed that Deuteronomy was the latest part of the Pentateuch to be written and that it was to be dated to the seventh century, he did not propose the so-called Grafian hypothesis. He did, however, create all the necessary conditions for its development later in the century. de Wette's breakthrough was taken up by several other scholars including W. Gesenius (1786–1842), who advanced arguments from philology and grammar to support de Wette's datings of Deuteronomy and Chronicles,<sup>10</sup> C. P. W. Gramberg (1797–1830) who, before his early death at the age of 33, had published a history of Old Testament religion based upon de Wette's theories,<sup>11</sup> and J. F. L. George (1811–1873). The latter, in his *Die älteren Jüdischen Feste*, published in 1835, came close to proposing the Grafian hypothesis in that he argued that the legal and cultic material in parts of Exodus, Leviticus and Numbers was later than Deuteronomy. The Day of Atonement ritual in Leviticus 16, for example, was post-exilic. The progress of this line of research was, however, blocked by several factors. These included de Wette's dismissal from his chair in Berlin in 1819, the scandal provoked by the publication in 1835 of the *Biblische Theologie* of Wilhelm Vatke (1806–1882), the rise of confessional orthodoxy, and the critical, but more traditional work of Heinrich Ewald (1803–1875).

It was unfortunate for Vatke (and for George's *Die Jüdischen Feste*) that his *Biblische Theologie* was published in the same year as D. F. Strauss's radical *Leben Jesu*, and that the hostility provoked by the latter work rubbed off onto Vatke's masterpiece. He was described as an 'Old Testament Strauss'. Unashamedly Hegelian in its view of the origin and nature of religion, the *Biblische Theologie* was nonetheless a shrewd examination of the content of the Old Testament, making a powerful case for the gradual development of Israelite religion to its final Levitical form. Because, in his view, religion proceeded by way of progress and dialectic, Vatke rejected the book of Judges as an historical account of the period of the Judges. Religion did not have cycles of renewal and apostasy. Again, Vatke held that Israel's religion had emerged from a conflict between astral religion, especially the worship of the sun, and the attempt of Moses to ban from religion all elements drawn from the natural world. However, this conflict

<sup>10</sup> W. GESENIUS, *Geschichte der hebräischen Sprache und Schrift. Eine philologisch-historische Einleitung in die Sprachlehren und Wörterbücher der hebräischen Sprache* (Leipzig: Vogel 1815).

<sup>11</sup> C. P. W. GRAMBERG, *Kritische Geschichte der Religionsideen des Alten Testaments* (Berlin: Duncker und Humblot 1829–1830).

characterised Israelite religion until well after the exile. Even the Passover celebration ordered by Josiah (whose law book was not Deuteronomy but Exod 13:19–24 and 32–34) bore clear elements of astral religion, and it was not until the Persian period that the religion of the people was finally cleansed from idolatry. Vatke was never appointed to a full professorship and was fortunate to be able to depend upon a wealthy spouse for his livelihood. De Wette's successor in the Berlin chair was E. W. Hengstenberg (1802–1869), who became the influential leader of the confessional orthodox school. He held that biblical interpretation should be governed by doctrinal formulae such as the Augsburg Confession, whose three hundredth anniversary fell in 1830. The Old Testament foretold a suffering, atoning Messiah fulfilled in Jesus. It needed to be interpreted according to this belief, and to be defended on scholarly grounds against its dismemberment by biblical criticism. Tobias Beck (1804–1878) and J. C. K. von Hofmann (1810–1877) defended the Old Testament against radical criticism by tracing a pattern of prophecy and fulfilment through its narratives and prophetic books, culminating in the coming of Christ. Another learned defender of the Old Testament during this period was Franz Delitzsch (1813–1890). For all these scholars the history recorded in the Old Testament was sacred history, and therefore above criticism. Heinrich Ewald also believed that Old Testament history was guided by a divine providence, but this did not prevent him from reconstructing it critically. His massive *Geschichte Israels* began to appear in 1843. It was based upon very complicated theories of the origins of the Pentateuch and the so-called historical books (Judges to 2 Kings). The first stage in the composition of the Pentateuch was the work of a 'First Narrator' who worked in the latter part of the period of the Judges and combined various ancient fragments of tradition with a biography of Moses, stories of the Patriarchs, and records of various covenants. The next stage saw the composition of a 'Book of Origins', probably by a Levite in the reign of Solomon. It contained Gen 1–2:4, a Flood narrative, the Tower of Babel story, other traditions about the Patriarchs, a description of the desert tabernacle, and regulations about priesthood and sacrifice. A 'Third Narrator', working in the Northern Kingdom in the tenth or ninth centuries collected traditions about the Exodus and Joseph. A 'Fourth Narrator', in the ninth to eighth centuries, was influenced by the great prophets, and was responsible for the narratives about the origin of evil (Genesis 3), Sodom and Gomorrah and Israel's apostasies in the wilderness. A 'Fifth Narrator' worked up all this material into something like the present form of the first four books of the Pentateuch, to be followed by the author of Deuteronomy writing in the second half of the reign of Manasseh, probably in Egypt. The Pentateuch and Joshua had reached something like their final form before the fall of Jerusalem. In converting these findings into an historical account, Ewald saw behind the stories of the Patriarchs, information about the migrations of peoples to Canaan from the north-east. The religion of these people was probably already monotheistic. The Jacob narratives reflected the arrival of a new wave of immigrants part of which, the Joseph branch, went to Egypt at the time of the Hyksos, where Joseph rose to prominence. Moses, who was brought up in the Egyptian court, led the Hebrews from Egypt to Canaan, accompanied on the way by other migrating peoples who swelled the numbers to over 600,000 fight-



ing men (cp. Exod 12:37). In the wilderness Moses gave to the people a religious calendar, instituted such festivals as the Passover and Day of Atonement, and regulated priesthood and sacrifice. Although thoroughly critical, Ewald's reconstruction produced a history of Israelite religion much closer to the picture contained in the Old Testament narratives than the versions proposed by de Wette or Vatke. This would be significant when British scholarship began to make a serious attempt to come to terms with German critical scholarship. Ewald's traditional picture was preferred to more radical reconstructions of Israelite history.

So far, this section has concentrated on the Pentateuch and the history of Israelite religion. The progress of research in other areas can be judged from successive editions of de Wette's *Einleitung ins Alte Testament* which began to appear in 1817, reached a seventh edition in 1852, three years after the author's death, and was subsequently revised first by Friedrich Bleek and later by Julius Wellhausen.<sup>12</sup> The 1852 edition ascribed Isaiah 40–66 to the time of Cyrus in the late sixth century, and cast doubt on the eighth century dating of many parts of chapters 1–39, for example the oracles against the nations and chapters 36–39. The section on Jeremiah drew attention to the variant Greek tradition of the book and identified various collections of oracles whose editing into a final form could not have been the work of Jeremiah. Jonah was described as *freie Dichtung*. Zechariah was divided into 1–8 and 9–14, with uncertainty as to whether 9–14 belonged to an earlier or a later period than chapters 1–8. Daniel, seen as a literary unity, was dated to the time of Antiochus Epiphanes. Job, whose literary unity was disputed (the Elihu chapters were clearly later insertions), was dated to the later period of Hebrew literary activity. In 1810 de Wette had published a commentary on the Psalms, in which he argued that only eight were definitely pre-exilic and that twenty-nine were certainly composed in the Maccabean period. Successive editions of the commentary tended towards earlier datings, but even so, the 1852 edition of the *Einleitung* dated the greater part of the Laments in the Psalter to the period of the Exile. As the influence of the Confessional scholars began to wane the critical enterprise began to be renewed. In 1853 Hermann Hupfeld (1796–1866) published a new investigation of the sources of the Pentateuch in which he divided the *Grundschrift*, or Priestly source, into two.<sup>13</sup> In effect, he distinguished between what would later be called the Priestly and Elohist sources, and revived interest in the documentary theory of the composition of the Pentateuch in opposition to the main rival theories, the fragmentary and supplementary hypotheses. This would be a significant development in progress towards the Grafian position.

<sup>12</sup> W. M. L. DE WETTE, *Lehrbuch der historisch-kritischen Einleitung in die Bibel Alten und Neuen Testaments*, I. *Die Einleitung in das Alte Testament enthaltend* (Berlin: Reimer 1817, <sup>2</sup>1822, <sup>3</sup>1829, <sup>4</sup>1833, <sup>5</sup>1840, <sup>6</sup>1844, <sup>7</sup>1852).

<sup>13</sup> H. HUPFELD, *Die Quellen der Genesis und die Art ihrer Zusammensetzung* (Berlin: Wiegandt und Grieben 1853).

### 3. Great Britain and Ireland from 1800 to 1860

The first steps towards critical scholarship in Britain and Ireland were taken not in the ancient universities but by scholars working on the edges of what might be called the intellectual Establishment. Alexander Geddes (1737–1802), a Scottish Roman Catholic Priest who did not entirely enjoy the favour of his church, and who was working in London supported by noble patronage, published in 1800 some *Critical Remarks on the Hebrew Scriptures* as part of his project for a new translation of the Bible.<sup>14</sup> This contained many shrewd observations on the difficulties in the biblical text without, however, leading to any radical theories about its composition. Geddes recognised, for example, the different character of Genesis 2–3 as compared with Genesis 1, but rejected the Documentary Theory. His main explanation for inconsistencies in the text was that they were the result of interpolations into coherent passages. However, he rejected the view that Moses had produced the Pentateuch in its final form and placed the finished composition somewhere between the time of David and Hezekiah. He also advocated a mildly rationalising approach to the miraculous elements in narratives and criticised passages that displayed crude moral sentiments. His work, surprisingly, had a greater impact in Germany than Britain because Johann Severin Vater (1771–1826) devoted considerable space to Geddes’s observations in his commentary on the Pentateuch of 1802–05. Vater proposed a fragmentary view of the composition of the Pentateuch, although it is going too far to say that he took this over from Geddes, as has sometimes been suggested.<sup>15</sup> The next landmark in British scholarship was Henry Hart Milman’s *The History of the Jews*, published in 1829–30. Milman (1791–1868) was at this time Vicar of St. Mary’s, Reading, and would later become Dean of St. Paul’s Cathedral. His three-volume work presented an entirely traditional account of Israelite history and religion based upon a straightforward reading of the biblical text, enriched by material drawn from accounts of travellers to the Holy Land.<sup>16</sup> It was also characterised by attempts to explain, where possible, miraculous elements in natural terms, without rejecting the possibility of miracles. It took no account of source-critical research as undertaken in Germany. It met with a torrent of abuse from the universities as well as generally – an indication of the state of things in Britain at the time. Francis Newman (1805–1897), the younger brother of John Henry Newman, was another scholar working on the fringes of the intellectual establishment, having taught at a Unitarian institution, Manchester New College, before becoming Professor of Latin at the recently-founded and avowedly secular University College, London. His *History of the Hebrew Monarchy*, published in 1847, covered the period from Samuel to the Exile, it drew (sparingly) upon the work of Ewald and was full of shrewd observations about the difficulties in the

<sup>14</sup> A. GEDDES, *Critical Remarks on the Hebrew Scriptures: Corresponding with a New Translation of the Bible*, I. *Containing Remarks on the Pentateuch* (London: printed by J. Davis and sold by R. Faulder & J. Johnson 1800).

<sup>15</sup> J. W. ROGERSON, “Was Geddes a ‘Fragmentist’? In Search of the ‘Geddes-Vater’ Hypothesis”, in: W. Johnstone (ed.), *The Bible and the Enlightenment* (2004), 157–167.

<sup>16</sup> H. H. MILMAN, *The History of the Jews* (London: Murray 1829–30).

biblical texts.<sup>17</sup> Newman pointed out the contradictions in the accounts of Saul's rise to the kingship, and was particularly sceptical about the value of the Books of Chronicles as historical sources; neither was he convinced that the account of the discovery of the book of the law in the reign of Josiah made any sense. The first four books of the Pentateuch began to receive their final shape only from the time of Josiah's reform. However, Newman's approach was far too radical to make any impression upon British scholarship at this time. Newman wrote from outside the churches and could not be disciplined by them. Samuel Davidson (1806–1898) did not enjoy this immunity. He was born near Ballymena in Ireland and educated in Belfast before moving to England in 1842 to become a professor at the Lancashire Independent College near Manchester, a college that represented the Congregational churches. He had an unrivalled knowledge of developments in German critical scholarship, and although he did not necessarily accept their findings, he regarded it as his scholarly duty, when writing about the Old Testament, to describe the proposals made by critical scholars, together with arguments that were advanced against them by scholars of a more traditional persuasion. In 1854 he was asked to revise the second of the four volumes of Horne's standard introduction to the Bible. He completely re-wrote it and the volume appeared in 1856.<sup>18</sup> It led to his dismissal from his post at the College the following year on the ground that he had not upheld the plenary inspiration of the Bible. In fact, Davidson's view of the Bible's inspiration, as expressed in this book, could be paralleled from many writers whose orthodoxy was not in doubt. Davidson's crime was that of having made available to readers in Britain a measured account of the latest German critical scholarship, together with rebuttals of their findings. Had he done this in a sarcastic, polemical way, using it as proof of the decadence of a German Protestantism that had succumbed to rationalism, he would probably have got away with it. This is what Henry John Rose (1800–1873) had done in a series of lectures delivered to the University of Cambridge in 1833 and published the following year.<sup>19</sup> Britain was not yet ready to evaluate the progress of critical scholarship in an objective way.

#### 4. The Continent of Europe 1860–1899

In the period from 1860 to 1882, the burning question in critical scholarship was that of the unity and date of the so-called *Grundschrift* (also known as the Pentateuchal source P) and the implications of this for the history of Israelite religion and sacrifice. Scholars working in several countries contributed to this discussion, although it was in Germany that what was to become the classical critical answer to the question emerged. In 1860 it was becoming generally accepted in critical circles that the Pentateuch was made up from several documents or

<sup>17</sup> F. NEWMAN, *A History of the Hebrew Monarchy from the Administration of Samuel to the Babylonish Captivity* (London: Trübner 1847).

<sup>18</sup> S. Davidson, *The Text of the Old Testament Considered* (1856).

<sup>19</sup> H. J. ROSE, *The Law of Moses, viewed in connection with the History and Character of the Jews with a Defence of the Book of Joshua against Professor Leo of Berlin* (Cambridge: Rivington 1834).

sources. Deuteronomy was connected with Josiah's reform and dated to the seventh century. The traditions in the books of Exodus to Numbers were based upon at least two sources, a Yahwist source that used the name YHWH for God and a Priestly source that contained narrative and priestly-legislative elements. What was open to question was whether the Priestly source also contained a non-priestly narrative source that used the word '*elohim* for God (Hupfeld's suggestion) and, if this was separated from the Priestly source, whether what remained (Priestly narrative and Priestly-legislative material) was a unity and when it was to be dated. A radical answer to this question had been given before 1860 in Strasbourg by Edouard Reuss (1804–1891), who had argued in 1834 that the levitical law had been composed only after the time of Ezekiel.<sup>20</sup> He had not published his findings because of the outcry over Vatke's *Biblische Theologie* in 1835, but had taught Karl Heinrich Graf (1815–1869), with whose name the ultimate classical theory is often associated. An unlikely contribution to the discussion came from a British scholar working in the isolation of the British colony of Natal in South Africa. In 1862 John William Colenso (1814–1883) published the first part of his *The Pentateuch and Joshua*, which contained a devastating attack on the historicity of the biblical account of the Crossing of the Red Sea and the Wilderness Wanderings. Because he wanted to translate into English the *Historisch-Kritisch Onderzoek*, published by the Dutch scholar Abraham Kuenen (1828–1891) in 1861, Colenso had contacted Kuenen and begun a long and fruitful correspondence with him.<sup>21</sup> Colenso's researches convinced Kuenen that the narrative parts of the *Grundschrift* or Priestly source must be post-exilic (Colenso himself believed that they were pre-exilic and that the levitical legislation was post-exilic). In 1869 Theodor Nöldeke (1836–1930) argued that the *Grundschrift*, narrative and legislation, was a unity and pre-exilic.<sup>22</sup> The final step, apparently first taken by Kuenen and then communicated to Graf, was that the *Grundschrift* was a unity and post-exilic. Prior to this Kuenen had broken new ground in his *De Godsdienst van Israël*, published in two volumes in 1869–70. Its starting point was the eighth-century prophets and the religion of the ordinary people which they criticised. How had these things originated and developed? Although Kuenen's overall historical reconstruction looked reasonably traditional – he allowed for a positive role of Moses and broadly followed the outline of exodus, settlement, rise of the monarchy – the detailed descriptions of Israel's religion were far from traditional. For example, Kuenen allowed that sacrifice was originally not confined to one sanctuary or to a professional class of priests, but could be offered by any Israelite. The prophets had Canaanite rather than Israelite origins, although the eighth-century prophets expressed something quite new and distinctive. Moses had taught the people to use the name YHWH for God and had given them some form of the Decalogue, but he was not the

<sup>20</sup> See Rogerson, *Old Testament Criticism* (1984), 259 n. 8.

<sup>21</sup> The correspondence is to be found in J. W. ROGERSON, "J. W. Colenso's Correspondence with Abraham Kuenen 1863–1878", in: W. P. STEPHENS (ed.), *The Bible, the Reformation and the Church. Essays in Honour of James Atkinson* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press 1995), 190–223.

<sup>22</sup> T. NÖLDEKE, *Untersuchung zur Kritik des Alten Testaments* (Kiel: Schwerts'sche Buchhandlung 1869); 1–144: "Die s.g. *Grundschrift des Pentateuchs*".

author of the codes of law attributed to him. Kuenen's developmental account of the history of Israel's religion was quite different from a traditional view that saw it all instituted at the outset by a founder named Moses and was a step towards the synthesis later proposed by Wellhausen.

In a series of articles published in 1876–77 in the *Jahrbuch für Deutsche Theologie*,<sup>23</sup> Julius Wellhausen undertook a fresh examination of the Pentateuchal sources. He confirmed the view of Hupfeld that an Elohist narrative source could be identified. He further argued that in Genesis 27–36 this Elohist source had been combined with the Jehovist narrative in such a way that only the difference in the divine name made it possible to distinguish them. This indicated that there had been a redaction of the two sources. When the combining of these sources with the Priestly narrative material was examined, it was clear that the Jehovist and Elohist sources had been combined together *before* they had been incorporated into the Priestly narrative. However, Wellhausen's examination of the Priestly source indicated that it had reached its final form only after a complex process of expansion and supplementation. It consisted of various elements including a strand that he called Q (after the Latin word for four, because it was a source that described four covenants), and the important section Leviticus 17–26, with its close similarities to Ezekiel. Wellhausen argued that these latter chapters were older than Q and independent of it, but that they had been added to the other Priestly material after Q had been added. A post-exilic date could be demonstrated for the Priestly source in its final form, but if it was the source into which the combined Jehovist and Elohist narrative had been incorporated, this can only have been after the exile. Further, this final redaction had taken place only after the Jehovist and Elohist narrative had been combined with Deuteronomy. Wellhausen had arrived at the now well-known view that the Pentateuch had grown in three main stages: the combination of the Jehovist and Elohist sources, their combination with Deuteronomy, and the redaction of these into the Priestly source. What must not be overlooked is the sophisticated analysis behind these conclusions, which allowed for the sources to be supplemented and enlarged along their paths to their final forms and combinations. It remained for Wellhausen to spell out the implications of these literary analyses for the history of Israel's religion and sacrifice, and this he did in his *Geschichte Israels* of 1878, better known in its second edition of 1883 as *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels*. Basically, he identified the three redactional stages of the composition of the Pentateuch with three periods in the development of Israelite religion. The J/E traditions came from the period of the early monarchy in Judah and Israel. It was a time where there was no central sanctuary and no official state priesthood to regulate worship and sacrifice. This changed with the reform of Josiah in the late seventh century, the promulgation of the laws in Deuteronomy, and the celebration of the Passover by royal command. There was a move towards centralisation. The destruction of Jerusalem, and the Babylonian exile and the return from exile, finally established a centralised and highly regulated religion. The dominance of the Jerusalem temple in a geographically much reduced Judah, and the

<sup>23</sup> The articles were reprinted in Wellhausen's *Die Composition des Hexateuchs* (1889).

sense of sin and guilt occasioned by theological reflection on the exile left their mark in the Priestly traditions. They stressed the need for the central regulation of worship and sacrifice, and laid particular emphasis upon propitiatory sacrifice. To lend legitimacy to their claims, they traced their origins back to a founding time when Moses had received the instructions about priesthood and sacrifice from God. The description of the Tabernacle in the wilderness wanderings in the books of Exodus, Numbers and Leviticus were back-projections from the Second Temple of the post-exilic period. J/E, D and P represented stages in the development of Old Testament religion to its final form in the levitical legislation. It was a unilinear view of the development of the religion. Its implications for the historicity of the narratives about Israel's origins were that although Moses had been the founder of its religion, little could be known about him. The traditions about Abraham and the patriarchal families contained no information about the pre-Mosaic period but justified the various Israelite sanctuaries that existed in the ninth-eighth centuries. Only from the time of the Philistine oppression and the rise of the monarchy could anything be known with any certainty about Israelite history. Similar suggestions had been made earlier by scholars such as de Wette, Vatke and George. Wellhausen combined them together elegantly in a theory that was based upon profound examination of the composition processes of the Pentateuch and the books of Judges-2 Kings. If Wellhausen was correct, his theory had implications for the study of the prophetic books associated with prophets active before the seventh century. Under the old view, prophets who called upon the people to repent were doing this in the context of the existence of laws promulgated by Moses that kings and people were ignoring or disobeying. Under the new view they were much more like innovators, indeed, the creators of Israel's ethical monotheism. It could be argued that Deuteronomy embodied the preaching of the eighth-century prophets. It was therefore no accident that at the same time that Wellhausen and others were working towards the view that the Priestly traditions were post-exilic, other researchers assigned to the prophets a formative role in the development of Israelite religion. An important contribution was Bernhard Duhm's *Die Theologie der Propheten*, published in 1875.<sup>24</sup>

Wellhausen's synthesis was not universally accepted in Germany. There were no longer confessionally-motivated scholars such as Hengstenberg to enter the fray, and even the conservative Franz Delitzsch reluctantly accepted some aspects of the Documentary theory. Some critics broadly accepted the premises upon which Wellhausen based his theory, but questioned his conclusions. Rudolf Kittel (1853-1929) seized upon Wellhausen's acknowledgment that the Priestly traditions had developed through various stages and argued that it was therefore wrong to conclude that they must all date from the post-exilic period.<sup>25</sup> According to Kittel some elements of the Priestly traditions dated to the tenth and eighth centuries. Israel's religion had not developed in the unilinear way demanded by Wellhausen's approach. Other scholars such as Eduard Riehm

<sup>24</sup> B. DUHM, *Die Theologie der Propheten als Grundlage für die innere Entwicklungsgeschichte der Israelitischen Religion* (Bonn: Marcus 1875).

<sup>25</sup> R. KITTEL, *Geschichte der Hebräer* (Gotha: Perthes 1888-1892).

(1830–1888)<sup>26</sup> and August Dillmann (1823–1894)<sup>27</sup> rejected Wellhausen’s theory about the nature of the redaction of the Jehovist and Elohist sources and their combination with Deuteronomy prior to their redaction into the Priestly source. Riehm argued that J and E and the Priestly traditions had been combined together in the eighth century and that it was the deuteronomistic redaction that had put the Pentateuch into its final form. What these alternative approaches indicated, of course, was that the lines of research begun by de Wette and refined over the course of seventy years now constituted the paradigm within which critical scholarship in Germany had to work. However, the paradigm was shifted in a new direction by the appearance in 1895 of Hermann Gunkel’s *Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit*. The background to this work was the decipherment of Assyrian and Babylonian cuneiform in the nineteenth century, and the discovery between 1848 and 1876 of Babylonian creation and flood narratives from the great library at Nineveh. Gunkel was not the first scholar to suggest that there was some kind of dependence of the Genesis 1 creation narrative on the Babylonian tradition, but he did so in a way that opened new lines of investigation. Basically, his contention was that Genesis 1 had its origins in a version of the Babylonian tradition that had once been diffused throughout the ancient Near East and had existed orally among the Hebrews in a form adapted to Israel’s distinctive faith. Evidence for this diffusion could be found in other parts of the Old Testament where there were fragments of poetic descriptions of a divine struggle with the forces of chaos. Examples included Isa 51:9–10, Ps 89:9–12 and Job 9:13–14. In the second part of the book, dealing with Jewish and New Testament apocalyptic, Gunkel explored the possibility that the imagery occurring in these sources was also drawn from widely-diffused forms of the ancient creation story. This approach drew attention to the part played by oral traditions in the formation of the written traditions of the Pentateuch. It also opened the possibility that while the form of the traditions in the Priestly Source was post-exilic, the content could be much earlier. It might be possible to learn more about the history of Old Testament religion by investigating the milieu from which it had emerged with the help of the Babylonian material. All this would be developed much more fully in the twentieth century. For the moment it must be noted that Gunkel’s line of research went in exactly the opposite direction from that being taken by Wellhausen. As early as 1870, in his dissertation on the genealogy of Judah in 1 Chr 2:4–41, Wellhausen had used a description of travels in Central and Eastern Arabia published in 1866 to explain some of the features of the genealogy.<sup>28</sup> The assumption was that Arabian society had retained primitive features for several thousand years which could explain aspects of social conditions recorded in the Old Testament. When Wellhausen made what he called his “*Uebergang vom alten Testament zu den Arabern*” in 1882 he was retracing his steps. In his *Reste Arabischen Heidentums* of 1887 he sought to reconstruct aspects of the primitive Semitic religion out of which Israelite reli-

<sup>26</sup> E. RIEHM, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, 1 (Halle: Strien 1889), 318–329.

<sup>27</sup> A. DILLMANN, *Die Genesis* (KEH 1; Leipzig: Hirzel 1892).

<sup>28</sup> J. W. ROGERSON, “Wellhausen and Robertson Smith as Sociologists of early Arabia and ancient Israel”, *JSTh* 1 (2008) 54–61.

gion had developed, an enterprise also being undertaken in Britain by his friend Robertson Smith.<sup>29</sup> Gunkel's line of approach was quite different. The newly-discovered Babylonian texts opened up the history and culture of the world in which ancient Israel existed, and had to be the basis on which its distinctive religion was investigated. It was a mistake to work from texts written over a thousand years later. The twentieth century would follow Gunkel and not Wellhausen in this respect, for all that Wellhausen's synthesis would still provide the framework in or against which all research was undertaken.

The concentration in this section on the Pentateuch should not obscure the important research undertaken on the prophets. Bernhard Duhm's *Die Theologie der Propheten*, published in 1875, had played an important part in the debate about the date of the *Grundschrift* of Priestly Source by arguing that Israel's religion had been indebted to inspired individuals, the prophets. They were not dependent upon a theocracy established by Moses. In fact, Deuteronomy was an embodiment of the prophetic teaching of Hosea and Isaiah. The prophets preceded the law in its developed form. In 1892 Duhm published a commentary on Isaiah, one of the most influential commentaries ever written on a prophetic book. It broke new ground in two ways. It ascribed chapters 56–66 to a third prophet writing later than the author of chapters 40–55, and argued that the section 40–55 contained a number of poems by a different author from the majority of the chapters. Duhm was not the first to identify 'Suffering Servant' passages (42:1–4, 49:1–6, 50:4–9, 52:13–53:12 with enlargements of the first three passages). His distinctive contribution was to argue that the 'Israel' portrayed in the Servant passages differed from the 'Israel' elsewhere in chapters 40–55, and that its vicarious, suffering role differed from the 'Israel' that had been justly punished for its sins and was now promised an exalted position over the nations.

## 5. Great Britain and Ireland 1860–1899

The 1860s were trying times for those in Britain who wished to stem the tide of German critical scholarship, or indeed any approach to the Bible which allowed for the use of human reason. In 1860 seven members of the Established Church published a volume entitled *Essays and Reviews*. It is difficult today to see why the essays caused so much trouble. Two affected the interpretation of the Old Testament, Frederick Temple's "The Education of the World" and Roland Williams' "Bunsen's Biblical Researches". Temple (1821–1902), who was headmaster of Rugby School and would later become Archbishop of Canterbury, presented the Old Testament as the beginnings of the history of a divine education of the human race. His essay raised no critical questions and did not mention German scholarship, but its scheme, which traced the development of the Hebrew people from lower to higher apprehensions of morality and the nature of God, was

<sup>29</sup> J. WELLHAUSEN, *Reste Arabischen Heidentums* (Berlin: Reimer 1887); W. R. SMITH, "Animal Worship and Animal Tribes among the Ancient Arabs and in the Old Testament", *JPh* 18 (1880) 455–83.



bound to be offensive to an orthodoxy that believed that the Old Testament contained propositional, revealed, information about God which could be read off from the text. What guided Temple was an optimistic humanism. He made no mention of a 'fall' of the human race or the necessity of atonement. The backslidings of the Israelite people described throughout the Old Testament were seen in educational terms, as part of a process of learning from experience. The significance of the essay lay in its implication that the Old Testament could be read like any other book and that it was not an exclusively ecclesiastical work. Christian Carl Josias von Bunsen (1791–1860), the subject of the essay by Williams (1817–1870), had been Prussian minister in London from 1842 to 1854 and was thus well known in British ruling circles. He was also a productive scholar whose *Ägyptens Stelle in der Weltgeschichte* had earned praise from that most severe of critics, Ewald, and who between 1858 and 1870 would publish a massive *Bibelwerk für die Gemeinde*, which aimed to acquaint German churchgoers with the results of critical scholarship. According to Williams, Bunsen vindicated the broad outline of Old Testament history, dated Abraham and Moses within world history, and upheld the historical reality of the Exodus. He did not, however, accept traditional views of the composition of the Bible. The Pentateuch was not written by Moses, the books of Isaiah, Zechariah and Daniel were each the work of more than one author, and Bunsen interpreted prophetic oracles such as Isa 7:14 in their historical contexts and not as forecasts of a coming Messiah. Williams was charged with heresy for writing that "the Holy Scriptures proceed from the same mental power as has produced other works" and that the Bible "is an expression of devout reason" and was found guilty by the Court of Arches (an ecclesiastical court) in December 1862. However, this verdict was overturned in February 1864 by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, a fact which did not prevent further attempts by conservative churchmen to have the whole volume condemned.<sup>30</sup> Hard on the heels of *Essays and Reviews* came the much more formidable challenge of John William Colenso's *The Pentateuch and Joshua*. The first volume was published in 1862, to be followed by four more parts over the next three years, with parts six and seven appearing in 1871 and 1879. The whole enterprise amounted to some 3,500 pages, and demonstrated that Colenso was the most original and profound British critical scholar of the first three-quarters of the nineteenth century. The first volume was a devastating attack on the historicity of the biblical accounts of the Exodus and Wilderness Wanderings. Colenso demonstrated that the figures given in the Bible at Exod 12:37–38 and Num 1:46 required that some two-and-a-half million Israelites must have left Egypt at the time of the Exodus together with some two million sheep, goats and oxen. There had been a remarkable increase in human population over four or five generations from the family of seventy that constituted the descendants of Jacob in Egypt, according to Exod 1:5! The whole company cannot possibly have been accommodated in the wilderness of Sinai. None of this was new, of course, and had been hotly debated in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in Germany. What shocked the British establishment at the time was

<sup>30</sup> F. W. CORNISH, *A History of the English Church in the Nineteenth Century*, 2 (London: Macmillan 1910), 215–244.

that an Anglican bishop, albeit a missionary working in the British Colony of Natal, South Africa, should have published such views. Colenso was a mathematician by training; but his first-hand knowledge of cattle husbandry gained from his work among the Zulus of Natal, and the fact that some of his Zulu converts found the narratives unconvincing, spurred Colenso to write as he did. Part 2 addressed the composition of the Pentateuch. What he called the Elohist (otherwise known as the *Grundschrift* or Priestly source) had been written by Samuel and had later been supplemented and enlarged by a Jahwist writer. Deuteronomy was dated to the time of Josiah and had possibly been written by Jeremiah. The division of the Elohist source into two as proposed by Hupfeld was noted as a possibility. Colenso based part of his argument on an examination of proper names and the divine names with which they were combined. Throughout the Pentateuch and Joshua only two names were combined with a form of YHWH, Joshua himself and the mother of Moses, Jochebed. The occurrence of names combined with elements of YHWH in pre-Mosaic times in the Books of Chronicles were indications of the historical unreliability of the Books of Chronicles. Part 3 was a detailed examination of the vocabulary of Deuteronomy, which showed that it had been composed probably early in the reign of Josiah. Part 4 was devoted to Genesis 1–11, and divided the chapters into two sources, mostly in agreement with standard critical German scholarship. It also demonstrated the impossibility of the narrative of Noah's ark, asking how creatures that did not normally go in pairs (such as bees) had survived in the ark, estimating how many additional animals would be needed to feed carnivores such as lions, and asking how wingless birds had migrated across oceans from the ark's final resting place to distant parts such as Mauritius and New Zealand. Part 5, which appeared in 1865, was an examination of the whole of Genesis from a source-critical point of view. A notable argument was that the Jehovist source in Genesis had reached its final form in four stages between the latter part of Saul's reign and the beginning of Solomon's reign. The material composed in the first stage was identical with that of Hupfeld's second Elohist. Part 6, published in 1871, examined Exodus to Joshua, and modified Colenso's earlier views in one significant particular. He now separated the narrative material in the Elohist (i.e. the *Grundschrift* or Priestly source) from the levitical-sacrificial material, dating the latter to the post-exilic period. This was because Leviticus 18–27 was similar to Ezekiel in vocabulary and must therefore have been written during the exile. (Wellhausen was arguing along similar lines some years later!). The levitical legislation found in Exodus, Leviticus and Numbers could be removed from their contexts and was to be dated after the exile. The Pentateuch was almost complete by the time of Ezra. The final part, part seven, appeared in 1879, and was a defence of Colenso's division of the Elohist (i.e. *Grundschrift* or Priestly source) into a pre-exilic narrative part and a post-exilic levitical-legal part. This was against the trend establishing itself in Germany to see the *Grundschrift* as a literary unity, to be dated after the exile.

No one in Britain at the time was able to meet the challenge made by Colenso in a way that would command any respect today. Some slight relief was offered, however, by the fact that in 1863 and 1865, Arthur Penrhyn Stanley (1815–1881), who would later become Dean of Westminster Abbey, published the first

two volumes of his *Lectures on the History of the Jewish Church*. In some ways, the lectures were not much of an advance upon Milman's *History of the Jews*. Stanley did not discuss source criticism, apart from conceding that the laws in the Pentateuch probably did not reach their final shape until a much later period than the time of Moses. His outline of Israelite history broadly followed the picture given in the Old Testament and was illuminated by his own travels in Sinai and Palestine, an account of which he had published in 1856. He also indulged in the mild rationalising of miraculous elements, and claimed that the words describing the sun standing still at the request of Joshua in Josh 10:12–13 were a fragment of poetry, and not to be taken literally. He dodged the problem of the vast numbers of Israelites taking part in the Exodus by noting that Ewald accepted the figure of 600,000 at Exod 12:37. Indeed, Ewald, whom Stanley had met at a congress in Dresden in 1844, was the inspiration behind the lectures, although Stanley tactfully avoided acquainting readers with the German scholar's source-critical views. Stanley's most critical remarks were reserved for Israelite priesthood and sacrifice both of which, he maintained, were borrowings from other nations, and whose religious value fell below that of the prophets. The Temple in Jerusalem must have resembled a slaughter house. The ultimate value of the priesthood was that it was a permanent institution, able to preserve Israelite religion when there was no longer a monarchy and when prophecy had become silent. The importance of Stanley's lectures was that without being explicit about German critical scholarship, they conveyed the impression that there was nothing to fear from biblical criticism. It could defend and illumine the traditional shape and course of Old Testament history. Stanley's view of Colenso's researches was that they were too often based upon arguments from silence and that the source division of Genesis after the first four chapters was precarious. However, he was also willing to support Colenso against his detractors. It would not be until the 1880s that British scholars would take seriously the possibility that the Priestly source was a unity and post-exilic, and draw the necessary conclusions for the history of Israelite religion and sacrifice. In the meantime, a further boost to the influence of Ewald's scholarship was given by the appearance from 1876, of an English translation of his *Geschichte Israels*. The sponsor was a Unitarian woman, Charlotte Lupton (1812–1890), who had learned German and who backed the project financially as well as assisting with the translating. Unitarian circles in Britain were much more open to biblical criticism than the established churches, as has been shown in the case of Francis Newman. Miss Lupton was assisted and advised by Russell Martineau (1831–1898) and J. Estlin Carpenter (1844–1927), two Unitarian scholars who were teaching the results of Ewald's criticism in Unitarian institutions. However, the breakthrough to the so-called Grafian view did not come from Unitarian circles but, surprisingly, from the conservative Free Church of Scotland.<sup>31</sup> While still a student, and before moving to New College, Edinburgh, to study for Ordination, William Robertson Smith had journeyed to Germany in 1865 and 1866 in order to learn German and to study German theology. He quickly perceived that there was no

<sup>31</sup> J. W. ROGERSON, *The Bible and Criticism in Victorian Britain. Profiles of F. D. Maurice and William Robertson Smith* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press 1995), 56–179.

necessary connection between German biblical criticism and infidelity to Christianity, and when he visited Göttingen in 1869 he was deeply affected by attending the lectures of Albrecht Ritschl. He kept up his German links after being appointed to a post in Old Testament at the Free Church College in Aberdeen in 1870. In 1872, for example, he visited Göttingen in order to study Arabic with Paul de Lagarde. Smith's fluency in German and Dutch enabled him to keep abreast of the latest developments in continental scholarship and to convey its findings to an academic readership via a series of reviews in the *British and Foreign Evangelical Review* from 1873 to 1876. As he watched the progress of the discussions about the unity and dating of the *Grundschrift* or Priestly source he began to formulate his own view. In the article "Bible" in the ninth edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1875) he left open the question of whether what he called the "Levitico-Elohistic document" (i.e. the *Grundschrift* or Priestly source) was earlier or later than Deuteronomy, but spelled out the implications of each alternative. His growing preference for the later dating was perhaps hinted at in his observation that if the Levitico-Elohistic document was earlier than Deuteronomy, its provisions had existed long before the exile but the programme of implementing them was not fully carried out until after the time of Ezra. In an article entitled "The Progress of Old Testament Studies" published in the *British and Foreign Evangelical Review* in 1876, Smith indicated a strong preference for the view of the development of Israel's religion that followed from dating the Levitico-Elohistic source later than Deuteronomy. It can be argued that he had reached this view independently of Wellhausen, which explains why, when he reviewed the latter's *Geschichte Israels* in 1879, his verdict was that the importance of the book lay not in the originality of its ideas but in the powerful and convincing way in which Wellhausen had presented them.<sup>32</sup> From 1876 to 1881 Smith was under investigation by the General Assembly of the Scottish Free Church for heresy, his article on 'Bible' being one of the causes of complaint. He was acquitted and admonished in 1880, only to be suspended again when articles that were in the press at the time of his acquittal appeared in print. He would be dismissed from his post in May 1881. From January to March 1881 Smith gave a series of public lectures in Glasgow and Edinburgh setting out his views on the critical study of the Old Testament, and these were published in May 1881 under the title *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church*.<sup>33</sup> It remains one of the most brilliant expositions of what might be called the Wellhausen synthesis in English, yet its approach was entirely original. In the last five of his twelve lectures, Smith began by outlining the traditional theory of Old Testament history, namely that Moses had instituted a complete levitical system of priesthood and sacrifice in the earliest days of the Israel's existence. This was flawed for at least two reasons. It ignored the realities of the nature of religion as understood in the ancient world, and it was contradicted by much information about the religion of the people in texts such as the Books of Samuel. De Wette

<sup>32</sup> The review was published in *The Academy*, May 1879, and reprinted in W.R. SMITH, *Lectures and Essays* (ed. J.S. Black/G. W. Chrystal; London: Black 1912), 601–607.

<sup>33</sup> W. ROBERTSON SMITH, *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church. A Course of Lectures on Biblical Criticism* (Edinburgh: Black 1881).

had used similar arguments in 1805! Smith contrasted the religion of the great prophets with that of the levitical legislation, contrasting the awesome and unapproachable God of the latter with the prophetic statements of God's intimate relationship with his people. The dating of the various sources of the Pentateuch was demonstrated by contrasting three types of legislation: that in Exodus 21–23 (the First Legislation), Deuteronomy 12–26, and the Levitical Legislation scattered throughout Exodus, Leviticus and Numbers. Each legislation was described against its social and historical background. The First Legislation met the needs of a simple agricultural society. The purpose of the Deuteronomic Legislation, with its emphasis on a single sanctuary, was to prevent Israel's religion from being assimilated to that of her surrounding neighbours. The Levitical Legislation met the needs of a people that had passed through the experience of exile and restoration and had developed new rituals of sin and atonement. However, the post-exilic period had also developed a spiritual, non-ritual religion, as expressed, for example, in the Psalms. If Smith's lectures did not save him from dismissal, they made available in English a passionate defence of the legitimacy of biblical criticism. Smith himself maintained that his work was carried out in the spirit of the Reformation and in continuity with it. Following his dismissal from Aberdeen he moved to Cambridge, where he held various posts, including the Professorship of Arabic, until his untimely death. His work on ancient Semitic religion and sacrifice will be considered later in this section.

If a member of the Scottish Free Church had made the first, and most passionate, defence of the view that the *Grundschrift* or Priestly source was a unity and post-exilic, it was left to a member of the Established Church in a prestigious post in Oxford to ensure that this view became unrivalled in British academic scholarship. In 1883, Samuel Rolles Driver (1846–1914) succeeded Pusey as Regius Professor of Hebrew at Oxford, and in 1891 published an Introduction to the Literature to the Old Testament which a year later had already gone into a fourth edition.<sup>34</sup> Driver stated in the preface that he had no doubts that what he called the "Priests' Code" formed a clearly defined document, and in the text of the work he deployed detailed arguments, including refutations of those who held contrary views, to show that the completed Priests' Code was the work of the age subsequent to Ezekiel.<sup>35</sup> In the preface he was also at pains to point out that there was no incompatibility between critical scholarship and Christian faith. Biblical criticism affected only the form of the divine revelation, not its fact. Criticism did not touch the authority of the Bible nor its inspiration, nor the fact that the Old Testament pointed forward prophetically to Christ. Driver also dealt with the objection that the attitude of Jesus towards the Old Testament was decisive in determining critical matters. No doubt he had in mind that his predecessor, Pusey, had seen biblical criticism as a direct threat to belief in the divinity of Christ and that opposition to such criticism was the first line of defence of this belief. Driver insisted that the aim of Christ's teaching was religious, and not designed to foreclose the future investigation of the manner and authorship of the inspired record. That Driver felt it necessary to engage in such Christian

<sup>34</sup> S. R. DRIVER, *An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament* (Edinburgh: Clark 1891).

<sup>35</sup> Driver, *ibid.* 135.

apologetics in a book of scholarly and scientific investigation is an indication that biblical criticism was still regarded with great suspicion in Britain in the churches in general. Because Driver had written an introduction to the literature of the Old Testament as a whole, a brief look at some other parts of his Introduction will indicate the state of British critical scholarship in other areas. On Isaiah, Driver assigned chapters 13:2–14:23 and 40–66 to the end of the Babylonian exile. It was impossible that Jeremiah or Baruch had been responsible for the final form of the Book of Jeremiah given the chronological disorder of the material. The collection was not formed before the end of the exile, and the two recensions in the Greek and Hebrew indicated that prophecies or groups of prophecies were in circulation for a while prior to being collected together. Joel was dated to after the exile, as was Jonah, chapter 2 of which was taken by the author from some prior source. The Psalms attributed by their titles to David were unlikely to have been composed by him. Some were clearly pre-exilic, others post-exilic. It was not impossible that some were composed in the Maccabean period, but they would be few in number, possibly 44, 74 and 79. The Book of Proverbs was probably the work of “wise men” living during the monarchy although there might be a nucleus that derived from the wise king Solomon himself. The Book of Job was probably composed during the exile, the Elihu speeches being a later insertion. Daniel was written in the age of Antiochus Epiphanes. All of these opinions would have been regarded with horror at the beginning of the nineteenth century in Britain and Ireland. That they began to be the established critical positions in Britain was due to the fact they were embraced by a growing number of scholars including A. F. Kirkpatrick (1849–1940, Regius Professor of Hebrew at Cambridge),<sup>36</sup> T. K. Cheyne (1841–1915, author of outstanding commentaries on several prophetic books before he became increasingly mentally unstable) and the Scottish scholar and geographer of the Holy Land George Adam Smith (1856–1942) who published commentaries on Isaiah (1888–90) and *The Book of the Twelve Prophets* (1896–98) in the outstanding series *The Expositor's Bible*.

To conclude this section it is necessary to return to William Robertson Smith. Although he enjoyed very cordial relations with Abraham Kuenen, he did not accept the latter's view that Israelite religion and prophecy were not unique but merely the result of the natural evolution of human religious awareness. In a series of articles and lectures from 1870 to 1876 Smith took issue with Kuenen on this matter asking why, if Israelite prophecy was a natural rather than a supernatural phenomenon, no other people in the ancient Near East had developed the ethical monotheism that was characteristic of Israelite prophecy. He addressed the same issue in 1882 in his *The Prophets of Israel and their Place in History*, but it was in his Burnett Lectures delivered in Aberdeen in 1888–1891 that Smith returned to the subject utilising all the resources of his encyclopaedic knowledge. The subject matter was not Israelite prophecy as such, but the ancient Semitic religion. Using his knowledge of Greek, Latin and Arabic sources, Smith described the fundamental institutions of ancient Semitic religion, laying in the

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<sup>36</sup> His *Divine Library of the Old Testament* (London: Macmillan 1891) argued that the Priestly Code was the latest of the strands of the Pentateuch.

process the foundations of the sociological study of religion.<sup>37</sup> Because he believed that the stages of the development of Hebrew religion could now be traced with some certainty, thanks to the researches of many scholars among whom Smith named Kuenen and Wellhausen in particular, the time was now ripe for an examination of the general Semitic religion out of which Old Testament religion had developed, and with which it had remained in touch via the religion of its neighbours. This part of his work would continue to play an important part in British scholarship in the twentieth century among scholars who advanced evolutionary theories of the development of Israelite religion, but was vulnerable to the charge that it ignored the first-hand evidence of the history and culture of the ancient Near East as provided by the Babylonian material. Smith's death at the age of 47 in 1894 prevented him from engaging in any detail with this charge and its implications.

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<sup>37</sup> Smith, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*. First Series (1889), Second and Third Series (1995).

## CHAPTER NINE

# Biblical Scholarship in Northern Europe

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## 1. The Historical Background

The Nordic countries, like the rest of Europe, were heavily affected by the turmoil of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars. The peace arrangements made at the Vienna congress drastically changed the political organization of the region. For centuries, Norway and Denmark had been united under the Danish crown, while Finland belonged to the realm of Sweden. The new order severed the ties between Norway and Denmark, and attached Norway to Sweden under the new Swedish sovereign Bernadotte (Carl Johan), while the North Atlantic territories Greenland, Iceland, and the Faeroe islands remained under Danish rule. In 1809 Sweden had lost control of Finland, which had passed to the realm of the Russian emperor; and the Vienna accord confirmed this transfer. In the aftermath of the political upheaval, the Nordic countries suffered in various degrees from the economic consequences of war. The beginning of the nineteenth century was a period of poverty and austerity. At the same time, intellectual and cultural currents of the early nineteenth century (Romanticism, nationalism, religious awakening, and political reaction) were felt in Northern Europe, which had a strong tradition of cultural exchange with Germany and France.

Later on, around the middle of the century, while the economic situation of the Nordic countries was generally improving, political and religious liberalism began to make its impact. Norway had enjoyed a free constitution since 1814, although the political rights of the country and its citizens were curbed by the forced union with Sweden, where a more authoritarian system prevailed. A reform of Sweden's political system was introduced in 1866, replacing the old system of representation by a parliament with two elected chambers. In Denmark a free constitution was carried through in 1849. Finland had been made a great-dukedom under Russian rule, and remained a part of the authoritarian imperial system throughout the century even if political reforms were gradually introduced. In all the Nordic countries, reform also affected the organization and conditions of church life. The Lutheran state Churches retained their traditional dominant position, but religious freedom in various degrees was granted to other confessions.

The late nineteenth century saw the beginning of industrialization in the Nordic countries, and an urban working class was emerging. Liberal and socialist ideas began to make an impact, and anti-religious movements with various intellectual backgrounds were materializing. The traditional intellectual monopoly held by the clergy in a predominantly rural society gradually gave way to a more pluralistic religious culture; among intellectuals and opinion-makers views markedly opposed to Christian values and to the Churches as institutions were regularly voiced. At the same time, movements of religious revivalism occurred continually throughout the century. In general, church membership remained at a high level.

## 2. Bible Reading and Bible Promotion in the Nordic Countries

Reading and exposition of biblical texts traditionally played an important part in the life of the Lutheran state Churches in the Nordic countries. In sermons and prayers, in the hymns sung in church, and in catechization and teaching selected passages from the Bible were commemorated and interpreted. The nineteenth century saw a greatly increased and conscious effort to promote active Bible reading among lay people in general. A significant factor was the founding of Bible Societies. Bible Societies were founded (with the British Bible Society as direct source of inspiration) to further Bible reading in Finland (1812), Denmark (1814), Sweden (1815), and Norway (1816). Bibles became more widespread in the Nordic populations, and private Bible reading became an increasingly important part of many people's personal religious lives.

Much effort was put into improving existing translations of the Bible into the Nordic languages, and establishing new translations from the Hebrew and Greek. As a result of these efforts, which involved biblical scholars from the theological faculties as a main force, several revised Bible translations appeared in the Nordic languages. Nordic biblical scholars also published a number of translations of various biblical books into Nordic languages; some of these translations grew out of the work made in preparation for national Bible revisions.

Bible editions intended for popular use with comments and annotations were also produced and widely appreciated.

From the beginning of the nineteenth century onwards, the Nordic countries experienced movements of religious revivalism taking various expressions. These movements were to a great extent driven by laymen, but theologians, pastors and other intellectuals also played an important part. In Denmark a particular and complex influence was exercised by theologian, poet, and literate N.F.S. Grundtvig (1783–1872). In Norway, Hans Nielsen Hauge (1771–1824) had founded and organized a widespread and influential spiritual movement strongly influencing the older generation at the beginning of the nineteenth century. His work was carried on by new generations of active lay people. In Sweden, Carl Oluf Rosenius (1816–1868) became a leading figure within the awakening movement. Finland had similar movements, with Paavo Ruotsalainen (1777–1852) as an important instigator. The origin, development and history of religious revivalist movements are complex, with connections reaching back to the Pietistic movements of the eighteenth century, and there was great variety in the expressions and form from place to place. At the same time, movements spread from one country to another, and with numerous contacts (and conflicts) between participants in the various countries.<sup>1</sup>

In various ways, these movements made their impact on biblical interpretation and biblical scholarship both directly and indirectly. There were significant differences in the approaches they took to biblical interpretation and Bible reception, but generally speaking, the awakening was often inspired by particular (usually traditionally-minded) readings of biblical texts; and these were understood and presented as a biblically oriented revival of traditional Christian faith. The influence of revivalist movements among congregations and pastors also made an impact on the theological faculties, and contributed to changing the atmosphere in which biblical interpretation took place. The students and, to a lesser degree, the professors, were influenced by such movements in various ways, and at times the faculties were the objects of concern and criticism from their adherents.

### 3. Biblical Scholarship at the Nordic Universities

While biblical exegesis at the universities was exercised as an academic discipline, informed by the problems and issues dealt with in academic contexts throughout Europe, church life of the countries in which Nordic biblical scholars lived was another important context for their work. In general, ties between theological

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<sup>1</sup> Hauge made a journey through Denmark in 1804, and established contacts with revivalist circles there. The views of Grundtvig exercised significant influence in Norway in the first half of the century. He had followers among the faculty of the Norwegian university, and the national poet Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson represented his world view for a while. A peculiar movement founded by the Swedish pastor Læstadius swept through the northernmost provinces of Sweden, Norway, and Finland from 1825. Rosenius was much read and used in revivalist circles throughout the Nordic countries.

faculties and Churches were tight in the Nordic countries; many theologians had careers which involved pastoral offices as well as university positions.<sup>2</sup> At the beginning of the nineteenth century, biblical studies were taught as an academic subject at the universities in Uppsala and Lund in Sweden, in Åbo in Finland (which still belonged to the Swedish realm), and in Copenhagen in Denmark. A university (including a theological faculty) was founded in Christiania [from 1925: Oslo] in Norway in 1811. In Finland, after the Russian conquest, the Swedish royal academy in Åbo was replaced by the Imperial Alexander University, which since 1828 was based in Helsinki.

The theological faculties, which had biblical exegesis as part of their traditional curriculum, were more or less closely related to the education of pastors. In the course of the nineteenth century the task of educating people for the ministry became the main task of the faculties in all Nordic countries. This had been the case in Denmark for a long time, and this system was retained in Norway after the political separation from Denmark, with the University of Christiania replacing Copenhagen as the institution educating Norwegian clergy. In eighteenth-century Sweden, preparation for the ministry had been primarily in the hands of the Church organization. A major task of the theological faculties in Sweden consisted in organizing an elementary exam, which was obligatory for all who completed a university degree or aspired to a public office in Sweden. In 1831, however, the *examen theologicum* was abandoned, and the education of pastors now became the main concern of the faculties of Lund and Uppsala. In general, theological students were expected to read the New Testament in the Greek original, and to study a limited curriculum of Old Testament texts in Hebrew.<sup>3</sup> Lectures were primarily directed to guiding students through these selected texts, but also included introductions to biblical theology.

There were close contacts between academic teaching and studying at the Nordic theological faculties and the academic world of the German universities. Even though local professors wrote and published commentaries and other study books, much of the scholarly literature used by students and academics in the Nordic countries was German, and it was not uncommon for Nordic academics to spend some time at a German university.

Pastors in the Nordic Lutheran Churches were educated in, and possessed basic knowledge of, the original languages of the Old and New Testament. This general situation meant that biblical scholarship was not confined to the theological faculties. Although many pastors were undoubtedly primarily occupied with day-to-day matters of church life and practical theology, numerous pastors were also active contributors and participants in discussions of biblical theology and exegesis. Throughout the nineteenth century this tendency was supported

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<sup>2</sup> In Sweden and (in the early nineteenth century) in Denmark combined posts consisting of a professorship and a pastoral office were institutionalized.

<sup>3</sup> In Denmark, following a reform of the theological curriculum in 1847, the study plan included the reading of Genesis, 25 chapters from prophetic books, and 50 chapters from poetic books; cf. Ingerslev, *Det theologiske Studium*(1854), 123. The degree to which actual student behaviour was in accordance with the prescriptions is obviously to some extent unknown. Remarks in contemporary literature and in memoirs of theologians who studied during the period may give certain insights, see Grane, *Københavns Universitet 1479–1979* (1980), 315–320.

both by a general improvement in theological education, and by the founding of theological journals providing the framework for scholarly debates involving both university theologians and clergymen. The overall picture of relations between the theological faculties and the Lutheran Churches was one of close institutional ties as well as mutual intellectual exchange. The relationship between church life and academic theology, however, were not always perceived as peaceful or harmonic. At times, the theological faculties were subject to severe criticism from intellectuals outside the universities. In Sweden, the system prevailing at the beginning of the century with the *examen theologicum*, which all academics were supposed to pass, prompted criticism suggesting that the faculties were held in low esteem. After the reform in 1831, however, criticism was directed against the new focus of the faculties on professional education.<sup>4</sup> In Denmark, N.F.S. Grundtvig at an early point in his career (1824) launched a vehement attack on the theological professor H.N. Clausen (1793–1877), giving a highly polemical denouncement of Clausen’s recent book on Catholicism and Protestantism. Grundtvig’s main focus was to present his own characteristic idea of the Christian Church as a historically existing body confessing the faith, as it had been authentically handed down from the Apostles’ time. Clausen, according to Grundtvig, had placed himself in the forefront of the enemies of the Church.<sup>5</sup> In an ensuing court trial Grundtvig was sentenced to life-long censorship, a sentence that was later abandoned following the introduction of a free constitution abolishing all censorship in 1849. The Copenhagen faculty remained hostile to Grundtvig and his adherents for a long period, and Clausen, as a leading figure at the faculty, remained a symbol of adversity for Grundtvig’s growing party of adherents. Thomas Skat Rørdam (1832–1909), theologian and oriental scholar, later bishop of Copenhagen (for Sealand) and a moderate follower of Grundtvig, after having obtained a doctoral degree in oriental languages, was denied the right to give lectures in the theological faculty. In his correspondence with his friend pastor O. Møller, Rørdam gives a highly negative evaluation of academic standards at the Copenhagen faculty in the first half of the nineteenth century, and this notion is shared by Møller.<sup>6</sup> Towards the end of the century, when historical criticism was gaining ground within biblical scholarship, the theological faculties came under attack from revivalist circles and people (clergy and laymen) with more traditional views. Professors were regularly accused of undermining the credibility of the Bible, and accused of giving in to critical positions destructive to Christian faith. Such controversies occurred in all the Nordic countries with various degrees of intensity. In Norway, the debate helped pave the way for

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<sup>4</sup> Carl Adolph Agardh, natural scientist and later bishop in Lund, attacked the new system as promoting “homework” rather than independent thinking; see Olsson/Bexell/Gustafson, *Theologicum i Lund* (2001), 31.

<sup>5</sup> Grundtvig, *Kirkens Gienmæle* (1825).

<sup>6</sup> See Nørr, *Breve mellem Otto Møller og Thomas Skat Rørdam 1854–1909*, I (1999). According to Møller, the Copenhagen faculty was driven by fear of “living” Christian faith (43). Rørdam states that a professor, no matter how bad, will always have listeners as long as he bases his exams on the lectures he gives (39). Rørdam published several exegetical works including a complete translation of the New Testament from the Greek into Danish with explanatory notes.

the establishment (1907) of an independent Lutheran school of theology (Det teologiske Menighetsfakultet).

Reforms of the universities also prompted reflection on the nature and purpose of theological studies. Lund professor Henrik Reuterdaahl (1795–1870) published a programmatic treatise on the study of theology (1832). Reuterdaahl built on the well-known programme by Friedrich Schleiermacher, but interestingly also modified it on important points. While Schleiermacher departs from the practical need of the Church as an institution for a useful theological education, Reuterdaahl begins his treatise by establishing the academic, scholarly character of theology, and its place within the framework of a university.<sup>7</sup> According to Reuterdaahl, theology is basically knowledge about religion, and this knowledge is defined as “historical”. Reuterdaahl thus emphasizes the historical dimension of theology more strongly than Schleiermacher, granting more room and importance to biblical exegesis as a historical discipline.<sup>8</sup>

## 4. From Historical “Biblicism” to Historical Criticism

### *4.1. Historical “Biblicism” – a Conservative Synthesis*

The Nordic theological faculties, while influenced by rationalist tendencies of the Enlightenment period, nevertheless retained their traditional close connections to church life, and rejected the more radical positions of rationalist theology. The changing mood of academic theology in Europe at the beginning of the nineteenth century was felt at the Nordic universities, where positions and views held at the universities of Germany exercised a great influence in general. The increased awareness of history brought about by Romanticism and cognate trends also left its impact on biblical scholarship in the Nordic countries. A theological synthesis gradually evolved, which viewed the texts of the Old and New Testaments above all as witnesses to a process of divine revelation. While basing itself largely on traditional dates for the various parts of biblical literature, the main focus was not (as in earlier Protestant orthodoxy) on the infallible biblical text itself, but on the meaningful gradual unfolding of the kingdom of God in history, with the revelation of God’s grace and forgiveness in Jesus Christ as the final and comprehensive expression. The Old Testament was seen as prophecy in the sense that it contained stages of God’s revelation which were promises pointing forward to the full revelation of truth in Christ. History in other words was seen as a perspective of the greatest importance for understanding the biblical message.

At the faculty in Copenhagen viewpoints on biblical exegesis characteristic of the late eighteenth century were represented by professor Claus Frees Hornemann (1751–1830, professor from 1776), who strove to demonstrate the harmony between reason and the essence of biblical religion, and wrote

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<sup>7</sup> Reuterdaahl, *Om det teologiska studium* (1837), 30–31.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Olsson/Bexell/Gustafson, *Theologicum i Lund* (2001), 32.

commentaries on several prophetic writings based on this conviction. In his later years he came under heavy attack from N. F. S. Grundtvig and other adherents of more traditionally confessional positions. Within New Testament studies, prominent figures at the faculty were C. E. Scharling (1803–1877) and H. N. Clausen (1793–1877). Both scholars were opposed to the positions held by F. Chr. Baur and the Tübingen School. The emphasis placed by Baur on the contrast between Paul's version of early Christianity and the beliefs of the other Apostles was seen as a dramatic exaggeration, and the work of the Tübingen School was to a great extent perceived as a destructive attack on the integrity and reliability of the early Christian scriptures. Similarly conservative views were maintained at other Nordic faculties in the early nineteenth century. Hans Magnus Melin (1805–1877, lecturer in Lund from 1834, professor from 1844) published four volumes on the life of Jesus as a polemical response to D. F. Strauss' influential *Leben Jesu*.<sup>9</sup> Melin's judgment on Strauss' work is harsh: Strauss aims at destroying the historical existence of Jesus in its essential aspects. To Melin, Strauss is a representative of a "materialist" movement typical of his time. While Christianity is the religion of truth and love, the new religion advocated by Strauss is really a religion of illusion and egoism, built on the fundamental proposition that there is no God.<sup>10</sup> The work is a learned and detailed rejection of Strauss' position, based on a conservative exegesis of the Gospel narratives.

Around the middle of the century, such a conservative line of historical "Biblicism" prevailed at the faculties all over the Nordic countries. At the faculty of Copenhagen, the teaching of the Old Testament was in the hands of Christen Hermansen (1806–1882, professor from 1850). His approach to critical questions was perceived as close to the position held by E. Hengstenberg. Hermansen's own scholarly production is limited, but reflects his familiarity with the debates going on among contemporary German biblical scholars. In a treatise from 1874 Hermansen defends the unity of the Book of Job.<sup>11</sup> The book is a defence for the plausibility of reading Job as a coherent, meaningful literary unit held together by a characteristic plan designed by the biblical author. Hermansen asserts the subjective character of the various critical theories which hold the book to be a composite unit. According to Hermansen, critical scholars regard parts of the biblical book as interpolations because they do not fit the scholars' own preconceived ideas of what the original author intended.<sup>12</sup> In fact, it would seem to be impossible to assess the intention of an entire book from selected passages of that book. The correct procedure must be to assume that the book is a unity and to attempt to grasp the author's plan.<sup>13</sup> Hermansen also makes some more fundamental reflections on the impact of critical questions on the authority of the Old Testament. The validity of the Old Testament scriptures as sources of revelation

<sup>9</sup> Melin, *Föreläsningar*, I–IV (1842–1851).

<sup>10</sup> Melin, *Föreläsningar*, I, 1–3. Melin's main achievement is a popular and much used Swedish Bible translation with explanatory notes (1858–1865).

<sup>11</sup> Hermansen, *Betrægtninger* (1874), 1–41.

<sup>12</sup> Hermansen, *ibid.* 29.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.* 29 f.

is in Hermansen's view guaranteed by the use Christ and his disciples made of these scriptures, and since the collection of writings in the Old Testament canon has remained unchanged, specific questions of authorship and date have little if any direct bearing on scriptural authority.<sup>14</sup> However, the Old Testaments reflects a revelation unfolding within a framework of historical succession, and hence it is necessary, as far as possible, to understand the various books against their own particular historical background and time of origin.<sup>15</sup>

Similarly conservative viewpoints prevailed at the Swedish faculties. Martin Gabriel Rosenius (1825–1901), who taught biblical exegesis in Uppsala and later became professor in Lund (from 1882), was a representative of this line.<sup>16</sup> In his dissertation from 1866 Rosenius gives a clear demonstration of the historically oriented “biblicism” dominating this period.<sup>17</sup> His work is a study of the doctrine of atonement in the Old Testament, compared to the concepts of atonement held by Schleiermacher and von Hofmann. The dissertation is learned in its details and presents a thorough philologically based treatment of biblical texts, in particular Lev 17:11. Theologically, Rosenius presupposes the fundamental unity of Old and New Testaments. The perspective holding the two Testaments together is historical in the sense that each part of the Christian Bible represents a particular dispensation of divine grace.<sup>18</sup> The contents of the revelation in both Testaments is identical, the expressions are characteristically different. To Rosenius, biblical theology represents the standard against which contemporary theological projects (Schleiermacher and von Hofmann) are evaluated. Atonement is seen as the central element of sacrifice in the Bible, always originating from the righteous and unchangeable Creator. At the same time, atonement is something that takes place between free, intelligent beings. Atonement requires the act of the Creator, but must be carried out by man. Thus, the Old Testament sacrificial system contains a hidden reference to Christ divine and human.<sup>19</sup> With this understanding of the biblical doctrine as his point of departure, Rosenius criticizes Schleiermacher for his view of the relationship between the divine and the human, which, in Rosenius' view, represents an “idealistic” and “mystical” confusion, where man becomes an integral part of God.<sup>20</sup> Rosenius is more sympathetic to von Hofmann, and willingly recognizes his achievement in emphasizing the personal nature of atonement in the Bible. Hoffmann, however, is censured for not sufficiently emphasizing the aspect of divine wrath.<sup>21</sup>

At the other Swedish faculty in Uppsala conservative positions were defended by O.F. Myrberg (1824–1899, professor 1859–1892), who published a learned defence for the authenticity of Second Peter. In Finland, the Helsinki professor K.A.R. Tötterman (1835–1907, professor 1879–1902) represented a similar stand, combining philological learnedness with basically traditional views on the

<sup>14</sup> Ibid. 2.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid. 2–3.

<sup>16</sup> He was the brother of revivalist leader Carl Oluf Rosenius (1816–1868).

<sup>17</sup> Rosenius, *Gamla Testamentets Försoningslära* (1866).

<sup>18</sup> “en särskild Guds nådeshushållning”, Rosenius, 2.

<sup>19</sup> Rosenius, *ibid.* 21–22.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.* 23–29.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.* 46–56.



origin and date of biblical writings. In Norway such positions were represented since 1847 by a scholar with an international reputation, C. P. Caspari (1814–1892). Caspari, whose work will be treated below, saw the Bible as a testimony of the revelation of God's kingdom unfolding in a history where every part had its necessary place, the coherence and meaningfulness of which were almost self-evident.

#### *4.2. Historical Criticism – a New Synthesis Emerging*

From the latter part of the century onwards new waves of historical biblical criticism developing at the European continent were felt and acknowledged among biblical scholars in the Nordic countries. Again, the general dependence on the tendencies at the German universities is evident. The main focus of the debate on biblical criticism had to a great extent shifted from the New Testament to the Old. Much of the debate focused on the viewpoints put forward by W. M. L. de Wette and J. K. W. Vatke, who defended the position that the Mosaic legislation was the end, rather than the beginning, of a long development in ancient Israel. The prophetic writings, according to this view, had their historical place at a stage before the final collection and codification of the law material in the Pentateuch. This view, which was later taken up and refined by J. Wellhausen, was met with much opposition from conservative scholars, who retained the traditional notion that the legislation by Moses stood at the very beginning of Israelite history, representing the fundamental divine revelation and source of Old Testament religion. The “authenticity” of the Pentateuch was seen as being threatened by theories which not only dismissed Moses as the author or main instigator of the law, but placed the narrative and legal material at the end of a long historical development as the final outcome of Israel's religious history rather than its indisputable beginning and foundation. Such “critical” viewpoints faced fierce opposition from many theologians, who felt that traditional positions on the authorship and date of biblical books were an essential part of the credibility and reliability of the Bible as a source of religious truth. In fact, the critical reconstruction advocated by Wellhausen appeared as an alternative historical model aimed at replacing the historical synthesis cherished by conservative biblical scholars. This may have been an important reason for the opposition to the theory. The critical model was perceived as a serious threat to Christian theology, because it unfolded within the same perspective of history as the conservative models of the time.

The most important early Nordic representative of this new wave of biblical criticism was Copenhagen professor Frants Buhl (1850–1932), who succeeded Hermansen in 1882. Buhl, who in many respects remained a moderate advocate of the new historical criticism, will receive a more detailed treatment in the following section. His successor in Copenhagen, Johannes Christian Jacobsen (1862–1948, professor 1890), worked along the same line as Buhl, and put much effort into defending in a broader public context the necessity and integrity of critical biblical studies.

In Norway, Simon Michelet (1863–1942), who in 1896 succeeded Caspari as

professor in Christiania,<sup>22</sup> represented the critical positions; and, as Buhl and Jacobsen, he was determined to demonstrate their compatibility with Christian faith and theological responsibility. In an article from 1895 aimed at the Norwegian clergy, Michelet takes as his point of departure the indisputable importance of the Old Testament for the Christian Church. In the present situation, though, the fact is, he states, that the Old Testament has become more a problem than a source of faith for many Christians. After carefully demonstrating the inevitability of accepting the fundamental points of the Wellhausen school regarding source criticism in the Pentateuch, Michelet contrasts two opposing perspectives on the history of Israel. One perspective is purely “rational” and views the history of Israelite religion as a natural development, driven by human forces and without any reference to divine intervention. The other perspective includes what Michelet calls a “supranaturalist” view which regards the Old Testament texts as witnesses to divine revelation. Interestingly, he points to Wellhausen as a representative of the first view, and to Buhl as a spokesman for the second view, with which he also aligns himself. At the end of his article, he emphasizes the need to face the historical and theological problems connected with the Old Testament honestly and directly.<sup>23</sup>

In a Swedish context, similar positions were brought into the centre of the academic debate first and foremost by Samuel Andreas Fries (1867–1914), who in 1894 published a history of Israel largely based on Wellhausens’s theory.<sup>24</sup> Fries was a thoroughly learned and independent biblical scholar, but never obtained a professorship.<sup>25</sup> Uppsala professor E. Stave (1857–1932, lecturer from 1889, professor 1900) represented the new critical synthesis at the academic level of the theological faculties. Stave, like Fries and Michelet, demonstrates a deep interest in making the achievements of critical biblical scholarship fruitful in a theological context. In his work on the Old Testament canon he emphasizes the historical validity of the Jewish (Palestinian) canon definition reflected in the Masoretic Bible, and (in accordance with the viewpoint held by Frants Buhl) regrets that the tripartite structure of the Jewish canon is not reflected in the Bible editions used by Christian Churches.<sup>26</sup>

Towards the turn of the new century, a new “critical” synthesis was emerging. Basing itself on a radically different reconstruction of the development and history of Israelite religion and the Old Testament literature, the new perspective remained firmly within the overall historically oriented model characteristic of the nineteenth century. The spokesmen of the new synthesis were no less concerned with the theological and pastoral implications of biblical studies than the older generation. While the prevailing positions at the theological faculties were changing in favour of the new critical positions, fierce opposition to biblical criti-

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<sup>22</sup> The Old Testament chair had been vacant for some years following Caspari’s death (1892) due to a political conflict.

<sup>23</sup> Michelet, *Den gammeltestamentlige Bibelforskningens nuværende Stilling* (1895), 70–77.

<sup>24</sup> Fries, *Israels historia* (Uppsala 1894).

<sup>25</sup> Fries’ work on the centralization of the Israelite cult (*Den israelitiska kultens centralisation*, 1895) demonstrates his independence, and critical approach, to some of Wellhausen’s ideas.

<sup>26</sup> Stave, *Gamla Testamentets kanon* (1894), 82–84. On Buhl’s position, see below.

cism continued in the Nordic countries among theologians outside the faculties as well as in the general public. This discussion continued well into the twentieth century.

## 5. Two Internationally Renowned Biblical Scholars: C. P. Caspari and F. Buhl

### *5.1. Carl Paul Caspari*

Carl Paul Caspari (1814–1892), of Leipzig, who was called to the University of Christiania as lecturer 1847, and served as theological professor from 1857 to his death, was an internationally renowned biblical and oriental scholar. An unambiguous testimony to his reputation outside Norway is the calls he received from several German universities, but always declined. His influence on Norwegian theologians during his long scholarly career was very significant. He was famous for his deep love of the Hebrew language and the biblical scriptures, as well as for his profound learning. Theologically Caspari, who had studied with E. Hengstenberg in Berlin, felt at home in Lutheran orthodoxy, as represented by his Christiania colleague and friend Gisle Johnson. Caspari published an Arabic grammar (1848), but within biblical studies his main area of interest was the prophetic writings. He published scholarly works and numerous articles in German and Norwegian on Isaiah, Micah, and Obadiah, and began, but never completed, a comprehensive commentary on Isaiah in Norwegian. In his later years, Caspari devoted much energy and time to church history and patristic studies, and especially to the history and development of Christian creeds, on which he published numerous works both in Norwegian and in German.

Caspari is a consistent and independent representative of the historically founded synthesis of biblical theology characteristic of conservative biblical scholars of the period. He views the history of biblical Israel as a great, coherent and deeply meaningful history of salvation and revelation, and the connection between the Old and New Testament is an integral part of his perspective on biblical theology. The history of God's kingdom unfolding in the history of Israel and in the scriptures of the Old Testament finds its conclusion only in the revelation of God's saving grace in Christ. Biblical scholarship basically consists in a continuous effort to gain a deeper and more comprehensive understanding of the truth and significance of this history and of the scriptures bearing witness to it. Although Caspari decidedly aligns himself with the position of conservative scholars like his friend Frantz Delitzsch, and against the views on the date and authorship of biblical books held by more critical scholars, his approach to biblical scholarship is by no means dominated by polemic efforts. In his works on the biblical texts, he does not generally devote much space and effort to attack critical positions. This has to do with his reliance on the ability of the biblical history to speak for itself. Exposing the contents of the Bible, in a sense, becomes a form of apologetic. The inner harmony and meaningfulness of history of God's kingdom and the depth and richness of the Bible are positive facts to be demon-

strated, which point to the glory of sacred history and holy writ. This constitutes a much better protection against the attacks of unbelievers than any direct defence.<sup>27</sup> This fundamental notion of the task and structure of biblical interpretation probably explains Caspari's limited interest in polemics against diverging opinions. In fact, it has been said of Caspari that in his lectures and academic publications, he tended to set forward his thoroughly conservative view of the biblical scriptures as if it were uncontroversial, without engaging his radical opponents in a real debate, and even without revealing the depth and extent of the ongoing contemporary scholarly discussion, with which he was clearly always familiar.

Caspari's view is presented with exemplary clarity in his popular introduction to the Book of Daniel. Here the connection between the history of Israel and, indeed, world history as such, and the history of God's revelation is emphasized. Caspari's conservative position on the date and origin of Old Testament books is clearly seen from his unwavering advocacy for the traditional exilic date for the Book of Daniel. The exile is a great dividing line in the history of God's people, and the historical connection between the Book of Daniel and that significant time is in Caspari's view almost a self-evident fact. There could be no other time more suitable for the great revelation of the final destiny of the kingdoms of the world and the kingdom of God. Caspari readily acknowledges that the prophecies contained in the Book of Daniel are primarily directed towards later generations. The book has as its primary addressees the Jews of the martyr period, the persecutions of Antiochus Epiphanes and the Maccabean revolt. But the revelation itself is organically associated with the time of the downfall of the Israelite kingdom and the exile.<sup>28</sup>

Thus, the prophecies of Daniel have their necessary set place within the great framework of biblical history. Old Testament times include four periods particularly rich with wonders: The time of Moses, the time of Elijah and Elisha, the time of Daniel and the Babylonian exile, and, finally, the time from John the Baptist to the ascension of Christ.<sup>29</sup> The occurrence of the great prophets, who, from the beginning of the eighth century onwards, began writing down their prophecies, is intrinsically connected to the emergence of greater world powers, the collapse of the Israelite and Judaeen states and the dispersion of the covenant people. While the phenomenon of Israelite prophecy is not in itself new, prophecy now is related to all nations, and gains a particular importance for future generations. The need for a written prophetic word thus grows out of the changed historical situation. The order of the Old Covenant changed drastically with the destruction of the kingdoms, and the prophetic word, as it were, came to function as a replacement for Israel's older, national foundation.

For Caspari the inner coherence of biblical history is practically self-evident. It encompasses every detail, including the names of the prophetic figures, which in Caspari's eyes speak clearly and loudly of their particular function and role in the history of God's revelation. Thus, the name given to the prophet Jeremiah –

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<sup>27</sup> Caspari, *Bibelske Afhandlinger* (1884), preface.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.* 51f.

<sup>29</sup> Caspari, *Zur Einführung in das Buch Daniel* (1869), 37.

interpreted by Caspari as “the Lord throws away” or “the Lord rejects” – reflects the particular role of this prophet as a prophet of God’s rejection of the nations and of his sinful people, while Isaiah – “the Lord is salvation” – is the messenger, above all, of divine promises of salvation for the faithful.<sup>30</sup>

Caspari’s deep conviction of the meaningful overall coherence of the revelation of God’s kingdom, biblical history, and world history, is combined with a great concern for historical and philological details of the texts. This combination is evident, e.g., from his treatment of the revelation scene in Isaiah 6, which can be adequately explained only when the fulfilment of the prophecy in the New Testament is taken into consideration.<sup>31</sup> Undoubtedly, he also felt it to be his responsibility as a biblical scholar to make the results of his work known to the general public, and, in particular, to familiarize lay people with the world of the biblical texts, and he published numerous popular writings to this effect.

### 5.2. *Frants Buhl*

Frants Buhl (1850–1932) is another Nordic scholar with an international horizon, representing the alternative historical model inspired by a reconstruction of Old Testament history and the development of Israelite religion based on source criticism. He was lecturer at the University of Copenhagen from 1880, professor of Old Testament from 1882 to 1890, when he accepted a call to succeed Franz Delitzsch as professor in Leipzig. In 1898 Buhl returned to Copenhagen as professor of Semitic philology.<sup>32</sup> Buhl, who had studied in Copenhagen with his predecessor Hermansen and the oriental scholar van Mehren, and in Leipzig with Delitzsch, eventually became the representative of a modern critical approach to Old Testament studies in Denmark. He always maintained a great degree of independence in his positions, and a strong attachment to the theological dimension of biblical exegesis. He gradually came to embrace many of the viewpoints held by Wellhausen regarding pentateuchal criticism and the history of Israel, but always strove to retain a religious and theological perspective on the interpretation of the Old Testament. Buhl was the author of a “history of Israel”, which appeared in Danish in 1893 and became a highly influential standard work, appearing in several re-editions. His commentaries on Isaiah (1894) and Psalms (1900) remain valuable tools to this day. Both works were re-edited and updated by Buhl in his later years. A major achievement making Buhl’s name renowned throughout the world of biblical scholars and students was his edition of Wilhelm Gesenius’ dictionary of biblical Hebrew and Aramaic, which has also remained in use. Buhl’s command of the entire linguistic and exegetical material is amply reflected in this work. Outside the field of biblical studies, he also devoted himself to studies of Islamic history, and published a biography of the prophet Mohammad.

<sup>30</sup> Caspari, *Jeremias’ Livsomstændigheder* (1869), 48–52.

<sup>31</sup> Caspari, *Om Serapherne i Jes. 6* (1863).

<sup>32</sup> The chair in Old Testament exegesis had been filled with J.C. Jabobsen, who represented a position basically similar to that of Buhl.

Buhl never saw himself as a “radical” biblical critic devoted to destroying traditional positions. On the contrary, his work on the Old Testament texts is rooted in a deep conviction of their religious significance, and devotion to the truth of Christianity. His concern has an apologetic dimension, which is evident throughout his scholarly career. In fact, he began his scholarly career defending traditional positions on the age and origin of the Pentateuch against contemporary critical positions.

In an early article on the date of Deuteronomy Buhl attempts to give a defence of the traditional position which associates Deuteronomy with the time of Moses.<sup>33</sup> In the subsequent years Buhl gradually modified his position, eventually accepting Wellhausen’s overall viewpoint and the critical hypothesis of four sources behind the Pentateuch.

Buhl’s article from 1878 is a critical survey of the assignment of Deuteronomy to the time of Josiah, a thesis central to the historical reconstruction advocated by Graf, Kuenen, and de Wette. Buhl agrees that an analysis of the Pentateuch should proceed from Deuteronomy, since this book is the most unified and characteristic document, which enhances the possibility of assessing its date and origin. It is interesting to note Buhl’s considerations on the assumption of pseudonymous books, which demonstrate his apologetic concerns. While not denying that certain biblical and ancient Jewish writings could have been falsely assigned to alleged authors, Buhl asserts that this assumption is always extremely difficult and should only be allowed when transparent and undeniable reasons can be adduced, and no reasons are against the thesis. In the case of Deuteronomy, the use of Moses’ name conveys to the book not only the respectability of age but also divine authority. To assume that the book is really a pseudonymous work therefore implies a notion of deliberate and direct fraud, which, in Buhl’s view, would stand in contrast to the ethical position held by the author of Deuteronomy.

This early study demonstrates Buhl’s characteristic independence as a scholar, and he is able, in his survey of the “critical” hypothesis put forward by Wellhausen, to make a number of acute observations. Thus, he takes a critical approach to conclusions based on preconceived ideas about the history and development of religious ideas, since such conclusions often run the risk of moving in a circle. Something similar goes for dating based on the presumed history of the Hebrew language (Buhl points out that Deuteronomy has few Aramaisms compared to Jeremiah). Furthermore, Buhl criticizes the basic assumption made by critical scholars that the centralization of Israelite cult was demanded by Deuteronomy in contrast to the older laws (Exodus 20–23), which allowed sacrifices to take place in many diverse locations. The question is, however, whether cult centralization is really called for in Deut 12:5. According to Buhl, the point is to contrast Yahweh cult and pagan cult, not to make a statement regarding one rather than many cult-places. The place to bring sacrifices is left to Yahweh’s choice, and, according to Jer 7:1, at one time in the history of Israel, Shiloh rather than Jerusalem was the place chosen by Yahweh.

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<sup>33</sup> Buhl, *Naar er femte Mosebog affattet?* (1878), 129–168, 194–227.

Apart from this central question, Buhl finds many testimonies to the antiquity of Deuteronomy. The extensive references to the Canaanites are more naturally associated with an earlier than a later period: Why would a late author contribute fictive commandments to exterminate the Canaanites to Moses, if these commandments had evidently never been carried out? In general, the evaluation of non-Israelite peoples in Deuteronomy (where they are judged solely according to their relationship with Israel) stands out against the picture drawn in notoriously later texts. Furthermore, Buhl points out that the representation found in Deuteronomy of life in the promised land as peaceful and harmonic would be difficult to reconcile with the time of Manasseh, and that a number of central ideas known from Psalms, wisdom literature, and prophetic books (Death and afterlife, piety and life experience, the Day of Yahweh, the Messiah, the remnant) are not present in Deuteronomy. The prophets' polemical statements on ritual and sacrifice could hardly have been contemporary with the composition of pseudo-Mosaic literature containing detailed prescriptions for ritual and sacrifice. In Buhl's opinion, Deuteronomy is not a composition written by Moses (after all, it informs the reader of Moses' death, and uses expressions like "the other side" of the Jordan), but there is no incompatibility between the contents of Deuteronomy and the Mosaic age. The book, then, is "Mosaic" in its substance, and represents a genuine testimony to the historic personality of Moses.<sup>34</sup>

In later works, Buhl gradually accepts a good deal of the critical reconstruction advocated by Wellhausen. His position, however, remains nuanced in many respects. In a series of articles on Pentateuch criticism, Buhl expresses his deep admiration for the work of a conservative scholar like Frantz Delitzsch. Above all, he emphasizes Delitzsch's willingness to concede valid points made by Wellhausen and other critical scholars, and to change his own position accordingly. In Buhl's view, this flexibility is not a sign of weakness but a testimony to Delitzsch's commitment to the problem. Buhl acknowledges that the traditional view of the Pentateuch is not satisfactory. The critics have demonstrated problems that cannot be denied. Buhl's intention is fundamentally apologetic. His aim is to build up a well-informed and balanced defence against the new wave of criticism. In this connection Buhl makes some basic observations on the Old Testament and its relationship to Christian faith. This relationship is, in Buhl's words, always "mediated" through Christ. The Old Testament is revelation at a historical stage which the Christians have as such surpassed. The Christian enters into a personal relation to the prophetic history only in as much as Christ has testified that he is the fulfilment of the old covenant, thereby showing the history of that covenant to be a "prophetic history". The idea that the Mosaic Law could have undergone changes or have been the result of a historical development is not in itself unacceptable to Christians.<sup>35</sup> Against the views of Wellhausen, however, Buhl acknowledges the incompatibility of a "natural" theory of religious evolution with the notion of the Old Testament as revelation. Buhl criticizes the idea that the prophets were the real creators of Israelite religion with its distinct features, ethical monotheism, and the non-iconic worship of a spiritual deity.

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<sup>34</sup> Buhl, *Naar er femte Mosebog affattet?* (1878), 216–218.

<sup>35</sup> Buhl, *Den nyere Pentateuchkritiks Ret og Uret* (1885), 260.

The fact is that there is a sharp contrast between Israelite religion and “natural” religion, and ascribing the creative role to the prophets offers no real explanation. Moreover, the prophets themselves do not accept this honour, but present themselves as messengers of the God who sent Moses and made his covenant with the Israelite people when it left Egypt. The prophets do not strive to bring the Israelites from a primitive to a more advanced stage of religious belief, but attack the people that have fallen from the true God.<sup>36</sup> Buhl goes through the impelling reasons for assuming that the Pentateuch is composed from different sources. However, he attacks Wellhausen’s derogatory statements regarding the Priestly source. To Buhl, the Priestly source, viewed as a literary document, is the youngest of the Pentateuchal sources, but the notion (held by Wellhausen and his followers) that the entire system of priestly cultic laws is an “artificial” invention of the exilic age is plainly absurd to Buhl, who, when it comes to the final balance, sees much more continuity in the development of Israelite religion than Wellhausen.<sup>37</sup>

The Old Testament, as Buhl sees it, bears witness to what he calls a “preparatory revelation”. Israelite religion is not in itself a “preparatory religion” aiming at its culmination. Rather, the preparatory revelation in its final stages has begun to dissolve itself, in order to make space for something new and more perfect. The Old Testament scriptures contain the sprouts of the Judaism that recognized Christ as well as the Judaism that rejected him.<sup>38</sup> This double testimony is most clearly seen from the canonical writings, and in the question of how to define the Old Testament canon, the judgment should be left to the Jews.<sup>39</sup>

Interestingly, Buhl finds that the assumption of different sources in the Pentateuch has an important apologetic aspect. What would seem to be confusion and poor style in the work of a single author testifies to faithfulness and care in a compiler of older sources.<sup>40</sup> According to Buhl, historical criticism, when applied with insight and respect to the texts, is a support for Christian faith rather than a threat. This viewpoint has to do with Buhl’s conviction that the ethics of true critical scholarship, the honest and uncompromising quest for truth, is deeply akin to the spirit of Christianity.<sup>41</sup> It is characteristic of Buhl’s approach to the debate on biblical criticism that his response to the sometimes very fierce contemporary attacks on critical scholarship consists, above all, in pointing to the facts contained in the biblical texts, and inviting his opponents to consider these facts honestly and carefully.

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<sup>36</sup> Ibid. 261 f.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid. 273–282.

<sup>38</sup> Buhl, *Den gammeltestamentlige Skriftoverlevering* (1885), 54.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid. 53.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid. 266 f.

<sup>41</sup> Buhl, *Til Vejledning i de gammeltestamentlige Undersøgelser* (1895), 100.



## 6. Bible Interpretation in N.F.S. Grundtvig and S. Kierkegaard

### 6.1. Nikolai Frederik Severin Grundtvig

Nikolai Frederik Severin Grundtvig (1783–1872), who was educated at the faculty in Copenhagen, held various positions as pastor in the Danish church, but also lived through longer periods as an independent author. From 1839 to his death he served as pastor at Vartov, a Copenhagen charitable institution for the elderly. This position gave him extensive freedom to preach and write. His literary production is vast, covering theological, historical, and political topics. In his early career Grundtvig was seen as a leading figure within a confessional and conservative movement seeking to renew the values of traditional Lutheranism in opposition to the rationalism and scepticism of the Enlightenment. Later on, he developed a particular, independent theological position. Grundtvig took up and transformed central ideas from Romanticism, and emphasized the Christian Church as a historically existing organic body, the true character of which unfolds through history as a witness to the Christian truth which is most clearly and authentically expressed in the baptismal creed and in the words and action of the Eucharist. Grundtvig's theological development has sometimes been described as a movement away from biblical theology (which is then seen as characteristic only of his early "confessional" stage) towards a position which emphasizes the historically existing Church, and is less occupied with the Bible as a source of Christian truth. In fact, Grundtvig remained deeply concerned with the universe of the Bible, striving towards a synthesis in which biblical history, world history, and the history of the Church all have their essential role.

At first glance, his view of the Bible seems traditional or conservative. In his historical works – he wrote no less than three "histories of the world" between 1812 and 1833 – he generally places much faith in the reliability of biblical traditions. In his world history from 1812 he regularly makes polemical remarks against critical scholars and their interpretations of various texts. Thus, he explicitly states that what the patriarch Jacob says of Judah (Gen 49:11) must be read as pertaining to the death of Jesus Christ. Grundtvig ironically denounces the modern "times of enlightenment" which have scared even good Christians like Herder into rejecting the traditional understanding of Old Testament scripture as true prophecy.<sup>42</sup> Likewise, the prophecy in Daniel 2 relates, in Grundtvig's view, to the downfall of the Roman Empire, and he asks rhetorically whether it is really credible that the Jews would have made this prophecy up to please the Christians.<sup>43</sup> On a more general level, Grundtvig claims that it defies common historical logic to regard the prophecies of the Old Testament as late compositions composed after their fulfilment. The authority granted to these texts within Judaism is understandable only if their ancient origin was undisputed. He adds the literary argument that there is a huge difference between the old genuine pro-

<sup>42</sup> Grundtvig, *Kort Begreb af Verdens Krønike i Sammenhæng* (1812), 392.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.* 394.

phets and the surviving Jewish works of the post-exilic period (the Apocrypha), clearly showing how the “fire of poetry” had died out.<sup>44</sup>

Here, Grundtvig is clearly occupied with defending the Old Testament texts as authentic prophecies related to the coming of Christ over against contemporary historical criticism. However, in another historical work, he demonstrates a critical position regarding the canonical status of Old Testament books.<sup>45</sup> And in his later works, Grundtvig explicitly renounces the doctrine of verbal inspiration. Characteristically, he now makes polemical remarks directed both at rationalists and at orthodox adherents of verbal inspiration. The Jewish scriptures are not the foundation upon which the Church is built, as the orthodox theologians would have it. Grundtvig ironically states that protestant theologians have cherished the odd idea that the Jewish scriptures were a rock of foundation, and their pens were like the rod of Moses – when they struck the rock, articles of faith would spring forth.<sup>46</sup> This does not mean that the Old Testament loses its importance for Grundtvig. His work amply demonstrates the centrality of biblical texts and motifs. In fact, his views remained basically conservative with regard to the historicity of many biblical narratives. In his sermons he makes extensive use of Old Testament quotations, interpreting them according to the classic patterns as prophecies directly relevant for the Church, or as typological models for Christians. Interestingly, in his later sermons explicit quotations are found less frequently, but at the same time Grundtvig’s sermons are permeated with biblical motifs and imagery from the Old Testament.<sup>47</sup> In his hymns, he achieves the creation of a universe which is biblical in a comprehensive sense. Passages and motifs from the Old and the New Testament are often aligned and combined into a new, poetic whole, which is held together by an imagery common to both Testaments. An example is Grundtvig’s favourite image of “living water”, which has its roots in the Old (Psalm 42) as well as the New Testament (John 4). In Grundtvig’s hymns it is often impossible to determine the particular background of the image, which has become part of a common “biblical” context. This rather unique ability to create a biblical poetic universe has undoubtedly contributed to Grundtvig’s lasting influence within the Lutheran Churches of Denmark and, to a lesser extent, the other Nordic countries, where many of his hymns have remained popular.

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<sup>44</sup> Ibid.

<sup>45</sup> Thus, in *Kort Begreb af Verdens Krønike* (1814) Grundtvig states that the Song of Songs has no proper place within the canon, since there is no New Testament testimony to the authority of this book, and its expression does not show the same “purity” as found in Psalms. Grundtvig makes a distinction between canonical books of different orders: The Pentateuch, the prophetic books and Psalms, which have an explicit New Testament testimony as the word of God, constitute the proper Old Testament canon. Books used by Christ and the Apostles, have a secondary authority, while the remaining books should be regarded as human products (408–409; XXXI–XXXII); cf. Rosendal, *Grundtvig forkynder Israels historie* (2006), 151.

<sup>46</sup> Grundtvig, *Haandbog i Verdens-Historien*, 46–50.

<sup>47</sup> Thodberg has very precisely said of Grundtvig’s sermons that they are biblical in a way that – paradoxically – does not let one feel that they are; Thodberg, *Grundtvig og Gammel Testamente* (1998), 61.

## 6.2. Søren Kierkegaard

While Grundtvig's achievement as interpreter of the Bible can be viewed as a particular and highly personal unfolding of a historically oriented synthesis typical of the nineteenth century – many positions are, in fact, common to Grundtvig and Caspari – the contemporary approach of Søren Kierkegaard (1813–1855) must be said to stand outside the prevailing interest in history.<sup>48</sup> Kierkegaard, despite his theological degree, never sought or obtained an office in the Church, but was able, due to his inherited means and his literary production, to maintain life as an independent intellectual. Though biblical exegesis is not the centre of his work, he did make significant contributions to hermeneutics. His comparison between reading the Bible and reading a letter from a beloved person is famous.<sup>49</sup> The Bible, bearing a message of ultimate importance for every human being, demands to be read with passion and involvement by the individual. This is the true “reading”, which is different from translating the text with philological and historical methods. Several of Kierkegaard's renowned works focus on the understanding and meaning of particular biblical passages. In *Gjentagelsen* (“Repetition”, 1843) Kierkegaard uses the Book of Job as a recurrent point of reference, the voice of Job representing the personal relationship between a human being and God. *Frygt og Bæven* (“Fear and Trembling”, 1843) is a reading of the story of Abraham's sacrifice. The narrative in Genesis 22 is read by Kierkegaard as a contemporary story with a universal message. His interpretation does not focus on historical issues in terms of critical reconstruction of past events, and he is not primarily interested in the Abraham story as an episode in a theologically conceived coherent history of salvation. The narrative is understood as a paradigmatic tale of human faith in God, expressing the profound paradoxical character of faith. This is played out in the radical conflict between the divine demand on Abraham to make the ultimate sacrifice (of his son) and his indisputable ethical responsibility and obligation. In an ethical perspective what is common to all is placed above what regards the individual. Faith, however, places the individual above what is commonly and collectively valid. Ethical norms are suspended in the light of a higher objective. This means that the Abraham story has an absurd and ultimately inexplicable aspect. *Begrebet Angest* (“The Concept of Anxiety”, 1844) deals with the notion of original sin, and Kierkegaard devotes much space to the biblical narrative of the fall (Genesis 2–3). He denounces the modern classification of the biblical story (by critical scholars) as a “myth” as a superficial statement, and turns the concept upside down. Modern interpreters have constructed their own myth, which is a bad one. The narrative in Genesis reflects the only meaningful notion of original sin, which may be summarized in the statement that sin entered the world through sin (or through a sinful act). The figure of Adam is both an individual and humankind, as each individual human being incorporates humankind. Thus, the story of Adam is the story of any human being. The Genesis narrative seems to associate innocence

<sup>48</sup> Cf. Müller, *Kierkegaard and Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Biblical Scholarship* (2010).

<sup>49</sup> The image is found in Kierkegaard, *Til Selvprøvelse, Samtiden anbefalet* (1851), 69–76.

with ignorance, and this is taken up in Kierkegaard's work. *Angest* ("Anxiety") is rooted in the destination of man as a spiritual being, which does not allow man to dwell comfortably in a natural state of ignorance and innocence. Man's relation to spirit is anxiety, sympathy and antipathy at the same time. The interpretation of the Genesis narrative given in *Begrebet Angest* is both traditional and innovative. "Anxiety" is, as it were, placed at the position traditionally assigned to "concupiscence", which is supposedly called forth in man by the divine prohibition itself. The reading of Genesis 3 in *Begrebet Angest* goes far beyond a "literal" historicizing interpretation. In certain respects Kierkegaard may be said to have anticipated twentieth century exegesis founded on literary and psychological theories. He dismisses critical biblical scholarship of his own time without discussing it very extensively or deeply, since his main concerns lie elsewhere.<sup>50</sup> His achievement as interpreter of biblical texts, however, serves as an interesting alternative approach when it is viewed against the background of the overwhelmingly historical orientation prevailing in nineteenth-century biblical studies. Kierkegaard's emphasis on the biblical text in its relationship with the individual reaches back to older (Pietist) traditions, and at the same time it points forward to the hermeneutical interest of the century to come.

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<sup>50</sup> See Müller, *Kierkegaard and Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Biblical Scholarship* (2010), 320–324.

## CHAPTER TEN

# The Catholic Church and Historical Criticism of the Old Testament

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*Sources:* BENEDICT XV, Enc. *Ad beatissimi* (1914); Enc. *Spiritus Paraclitus* (1920). – *Compte rendu du quatrième congrès scientifique international des Catholiques, tenu à Fribourg (Suisse) du 16 au 20 août 1897* (Fribourg: Imprimerie et librairie de l'oeuvre de Saint Paul 1898). – *Enchiridion symbolorum* (ed. H. Denzinger/A. Schönmetzer; Freiburg Br. <sup>33</sup>1965) [abbr. DS]. – LEO XIII, Enc. *Testem Benevolentiae*, in: J. T. ELLIS (ed.), *Documents of American Catholic History I-II* (Chicago: Henry Regnery 1967), II, 537–547. – M.-J. LAGRANGE, O.P., *Père Lagrange: Personal Reflections and Memoirs* (tr. Henry Wainsbrough; New York: Paulist Press 1985). – PIUS X, Enc. *Pascendi Dominici Gregis* (1907). – PIUS XII, Enc. *Divino Afflante Spiritu* (1943); Enc. *Humani Generis* (1950). – H. POELS, “A Vindication of My Honor”, in: *Annua Nuntia Lovaniensia* (ed. with an introduction by F. Neiryck; 1962). – *Rome and the Study of Scripture* (St. Meinrad’s, IN: Grail Publications 1962).

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## 1. Introduction

On December 22, 2005, Benedict XVI addressed the curia about the response of Catholic theology to the French Revolution and its aftermath in the nineteenth century. As he put it: “under Pius IX [1846–1878], the clash between the Church’s faith and a radical liberalism and the natural sciences ... had elicited from the Church a bitter and radical condemnation of this spirit of the modern age”. The Pope noted that, on the eve of Vatican II, “in a certain school, the historical-critical method claimed to have the last word on the interpretation of the Bible and, demanding total exclusivity for its interpretation of Sacred Scripture, was opposed to important points in the interpretation elaborated by the faith of the Church”.<sup>1</sup> Catholic theological reaction to the rationalism of the French Revolution led to a suspicion of human endeavor in general, whether it be democracy as a form of government or the human element in Scripture or the human knowledge of Christ.

Catholic theology in the nineteenth century had been largely cobbled together to defend the Church and its doctrine against the rationalism, the concept that reason alone gave human beings their destiny, that underlay not only the French Revolution but also the other revolutions that threw the nineteenth century into turmoil. The Church was under siege, and nothing better expressed this than the First Vatican Council.

The dawn of the nineteenth century witnessed a new approach to biblical scholarship due to breaking the code of Ancient Near Eastern languages. The earlier recognition that the Hebrew Bible consisted of different documents written at different times began with Jean Astruc, an eighteenth-century French Catholic physician, although some would later challenge his religious faith because he lived with a mistress without benefit of clergy. The decoding of the Rosetta Stone opened scholarly access to hieroglyphics and the Rock of Behistun, inscribed with Old Persian, Elamite, and Akkadian, provided the key to these other ancient Near-Eastern languages.<sup>2</sup> The science of geology showed that the world was considerably older than the biblical accounts. Before the end of the century, Darwin would present his views on evolution. Unfortunately, the major practitioners of the new biblical scholarship tended to be German rationalists, who denied inspiration and treated the sacred writings like any other ancient works. These new scientific and philological discoveries challenged for many Christians, including some Catholics, the traditional interpretation of, for instance, creation, although some leading Catholic thinkers were careful to point out that the Fathers of the Church never agreed on interpreting Genesis literally. Were these new discoveries threats to the faith or opportunities to explain anew the ancient teaching of the Church, as Thomas Aquinas had done in the thirteenth century in embracing Aristotle? What was needed was a theology of

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<sup>1</sup> “Address of His Holiness Benedict XVI to the Roman Curia offering them his Christmas Greetings”, Dec. 22, 2005: [http://www.vatican.va/holy\\_father/benedict\\_xvi/speeches/2005/december/documents/hf\\_ben\\_xvi\\_spe\\_20051222\\_roman-curia\\_en.html](http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/benedict_xvi/speeches/2005/december/documents/hf_ben_xvi_spe_20051222_roman-curia_en.html).

<sup>2</sup> Albright, *From the Stone Age to Christianity* (1957), 27; Finigan, *Light from the Ancient Past* (1959), 235–236.

inspiration and a careful analysis of the distinction between inspiration and revelation. The Catholic discussion of inspiration arose in response to the application of historical criticism to Scripture. Historically, the phrase “God is the author of Scripture” had been subjected to a variety of interpretations, such as “God is the authority or cause of Scripture”. Aquinas himself had not dealt specifically with inspiration. He had, however, written about prophecy. From the Thomistic treatment of the nature of prophetic literature, nineteenth-century Catholic theologians attempted to construct theories of inspiration in general.<sup>3</sup> Among these theologians, Johann Baptist Franzelin, an Austrian Jesuit, made what was to become the dominant contribution to the discussion.

## 2. The First Catholic Reaction to Historical Criticism

Simply put, Franzelin began with the time-honored statement that “God is the author of Scripture”, but then he attributed to God everything that is known of a human author. From this, he derived a theory of “content inspiration”. Inspiration was the charism which enlightened and stimulated the mind of the human author to write down only those truths which God wished to communicate to the Church. This constituted the “formal word” or element of Scripture. Inspiration was distinguished from “assistance” which extended to the “material words”, by which the human instrument conveyed the inspired truths.<sup>4</sup> Before the end of the century the Catholic biblical world would become embroiled over the meaning of “God as author”, as the starting point for the discussion of inspiration. This approach also led to the insistence on having only one human author, preferably one whose name was actually known. As will be seen, this would certainly challenge any type of document hypothesis.

At the First Vatican Council Franzelin played a key role in drafting the constitution on faith, which had decreed that the Church held the books of Scripture, “to be sacred and canonical, not because, having been carefully composed by mere human industry, they were afterwards approved by her authority, not merely because they contain revelation, with no admixture of error, but because, having been written by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, they have God for their author, and have been delivered as such to the Church herself”.<sup>5</sup> Earlier nineteenth-century theologians had included in their definition of inspiration not only the act of writing but also the acceptance of the writing by the Church. Few Catholic proponents of historical criticism, moreover, would have held that the sacred works were “composed by mere human industry”. Vatican I’s formulation illustrated the Church’s growing concern with preserving the doctrine of inspiration against the increasing incursions of rationalism.

Franzelin also played a role in formulating the council’s treatment of tradition in its relation to Scripture. At Tübingen, earlier in the century, Johann Adam

<sup>3</sup> Benoit, *Aspects of Biblical Inspiration* (1965), 55–56, 100–103.

<sup>4</sup> Burtchaell, *Catholic Theories of Biblical Inspiration since 1810* (1969), 98–99.

<sup>5</sup> DS, 3006. On Franzelin, see McCool, *Catholic Theology in the Nineteenth Century* (1977), 220–221.

Möhler developed a dynamic approach to the theology of tradition as the totality of the lived experience of the Church. Tradition, therefore, antedated the writing of the New Testament, which, together with the interpretation of Scripture by the magisterium, comprised tradition. Vatican I declared that “all those things are to be believed with divine and Catholic faith which are contained in the word of God, written or handed down (*verbo Dei scripto vel tradito*), and which the Church, either by a solemn judgment, or by her ordinary and universal magisterium, proposes for belief as having been divinely revealed”.<sup>6</sup> The “doctrine of faith”, the council continued, “is like a divine deposit handed on (*tradita*) to the Spouse of Christ, to be faithfully guarded and infallibly declared”.<sup>7</sup>

Reflecting so much of Franzelin’s thought, the council’s formulation thus represented a move away from tradition as a dynamic process to tradition as static content. But by “Spouse of Christ”, as Yves Congar noted, “the council understands here above all the magisterium, especially that of the Roman Pontiff”.<sup>8</sup> Pius IX himself had encouraged the identity between tradition and the papal magisterium with his unfortunate, but well attested, statement: “*La Tradizione son’io*”.<sup>9</sup> The council, moreover, had altered the Tridentine decree on Scripture and Tradition in what may have appeared to be a minor way, but was to have major repercussions.

Trent had decreed that the “Gospel” of Christ was “*the source* [emphasis mine] of all salutary truth and moral discipline”, and that this “truth” and “discipline” were “contained in Scripture and unwritten traditions”.<sup>10</sup> In quoting Trent, Vatican I truncated the text. Instead of “salutary truth and moral discipline”, “revelation” was now said to be contained in Scripture and unwritten traditions.<sup>11</sup> This new theology of tradition, to which Franzelin had so significantly contributed, would significantly alter the Church’s understanding of previous magisterial pronouncements on Scripture, for now theologians considered Scripture and Tradition to be separate “sources” of revelation. Pius IX recognized Franzelin’s achievements in 1876 by naming him a cardinal.

Franzelin’s brand of “speculative theology” was not unique. In 1879, Camillo Mazzella, SJ, answered the summons of Leo XIII to implement Thomism at the Gregorian University in Rome and occupy the chair vacated by Franzelin. Mazzella had been a leader in the Italian Thomistic revival. Fleeing the *Risorgimento* in 1850, he later became the first dean of the new Jesuit house of studies, Woodstock College, outside Baltimore. In 1886, upon the death of Franzelin, he was named a cardinal and subsequently became prefect of the Congregation of the Index.<sup>12</sup> Like that of many other Jesuits, much of Mazzella’s theological orientation was shaped by his own political experience of having been expelled from his

<sup>6</sup> DS, 3011.

<sup>7</sup> DS, 3020.

<sup>8</sup> On Franzelin’s theology of tradition and his influence on the council, see Congar, *Tradition and Traditions* (1966), 196–198; see also Burghardt, *The Catholic Concept of Tradition* (1951), 48–49.

<sup>9</sup> Aubert, *Le pontificat de Pie IX (1846–1878)* (1952), 354.

<sup>10</sup> DS, 1505.

<sup>11</sup> DS, 3006. See Congar, *ibid.* 198.

<sup>12</sup> (Anon.): *Two of Woodstock’s Founders* (1900), 296–308.



own country and of seeing papal temporal power wrested away by the Kingdom of Italy.

In 1893, a generation after Vatican I, Leo XIII issued *Providentissimus Deus*. He placed his teaching about biblical studies within the context of the “rationalists”, who denied inspiration. Professors of Scripture, he said, were to use the Vulgate, which Trent had declared to be the “authentic” version, but were to refer to the Hebrew and Greek texts, whenever there was any ambiguity.<sup>13</sup> This reiteration of the Tridentine decree that the Vulgate was “authentic” would lead the English-speaking world in particular to assume, erroneously, that translations of the Bible into the vernacular had to be made from the Vulgate. The Pope, however, did encourage more advanced students and seminarians to learn the oriental languages in which the Scripture had originally been written. He also praised “the art of criticism”, but here he meant “lower criticism”, the verification of the text. But he warned that “there has arisen, to the great detriment of religion, an inept method, dignified by the name of ‘higher criticism’, which pretends to judge of the origin, integrity, and authority of each book from internal indications alone”.<sup>14</sup> History and historical criticism were clearly going to be problematic for Catholic exegetes.

In regard to apparent contradictions between the Scripture and science, Leo noted that the sacred writers “did not seek to penetrate the secrets of nature, but rather described and dealt with things in more or less figurative language, or in terms which were commonly used at the time, and which in many instances are daily used at this day, even by the most eminent men of science”. In the words of Thomas, continued the Pope, the writers “went by what sensibly appeared”.<sup>15</sup> Immediately after treating the natural sciences, the Pope declared that “the principles here laid down will apply to cognate sciences, and especially to history”.<sup>16</sup> It was but a logical conclusion for the liberal exegetes to develop what they termed “historical appearances”. But, as will be seen, that approach met with serious opposition in the early twentieth century.

It was Leo’s treatment of inerrancy and inspiration, however, which caused future controversy. “It is absolutely wrong and forbidden”, he stated, “either to narrow inspiration to certain parts only of Holy Scripture or to admit that the sacred writer has erred”. He was particularly harsh on those who wished to limit inspiration only to matters of faith and morals.<sup>17</sup> Since God is the Author of Scripture, inspiration and error were incompatible, “for all the books which the Church receives as sacred and canonical are written wholly and entirely, with all their parts, at the dictation of the Holy Spirit; and so far is it from being possible that any error can coexist with inspiration, that inspiration not only is essentially incompatible with error, but excludes and rejects it as absolutely and necessarily as it is impossible that God Himself, the supreme Truth can utter that which is

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<sup>13</sup> Leo XIII, *Providentissimus Deus* (1962), 13.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.* 20.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.* 22.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.* 23.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.* 23–24.

not true".<sup>18</sup> After quoting the First Vatican Council on Scripture, the Pope then considered the nature of inspiration itself:

Hence, the fact that it was men whom the Holy Spirit took up as his instruments for writing does not mean that it was these inspired instruments – but not the primary author – who might have made an error. For, by supernatural power, He so moved and impelled them to write – He so assisted them when writing – that the things which He ordered, and those only, they, first, rightly understood, then willed faithfully to write down, and finally expressed in apt words and with infallible truth. Otherwise, it could not be said that He was the Author of the entire Scripture.<sup>19</sup>

The formulation of the theology of inspiration was familiar to those who knew Franzelin's thought. Cardinal Mazzella had drafted that part of the encyclical and incorporated into it Franzelin's theory.<sup>20</sup>

But there were other Catholic voices that, amid great opposition, countered what Franzelin and Mazzella were saying. In 1890, Marie-Joseph Lagrange, OP, founded the *Ecole Biblique* in Jerusalem. Two years later, the institution initiated *La revue biblique* that represented a more progressive approach to biblical studies. Other French exegetes, however, were beginning to create problems for orthodox scholars like Lagrange who was trying to bridge the gap between contemporary discoveries and the Catholic tradition. In 1894, at the *Institut Catholique* in Paris, Alfred Loisy, a pioneer scripture scholar, had to resign his position in response to *Providentissimus Deus*. He also ceased publication of his journal, *L'Enseignement biblique*. As time went on, he came to personify Modernism, what Pius X, as will be seen, called the "heresy of heresies".

Ironically in the mid 1890s, however, Loisy and some other suspect European biblical scholars had the support of prelates in the United States, where scholarship was in its infancy and was derivative from Europe. In 1890, John Ireland, recently named the first Archbishop of St. Paul, Minnesota, was recruiting professors for his seminary. He insisted that his faculty members have doctorates, a qualification not universal for seminaries in the United States well into the twentieth century. Ireland's friend and confidante, Monsignor Denis O'Connell, then rector of the American College in Rome, remarked: "if you could only get Loisy of Paris for Scripture. He is the best Biblical scholar in the church".<sup>21</sup> The Americans were motivated, however, as much by appreciation for scholarship as naiveté. The progressives in the United States, represented by Ireland, O'Connell, and Cardinal James Gibbons of Baltimore, failed to see the European dimensions of their desire to create an American center of Catholic intellectual life, the *Catholic University* of America, founded by the American hierarchy in 1889. The first faculty member hired for the university was Henri Hyvernat, a friend of Lagrange's and a specialist in the Old Testament. After *Providentissimus Deus*, he had his Hebrew chair transferred from the school of theology to the graduate school. By the end of the 1890s, the progressive agenda in the United States, now

<sup>18</sup> Ibid. 24.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

<sup>20</sup> Turvasi, Giovanni Genocchi (1974), 93.

<sup>21</sup> AASP, O'Connell to Ireland, Rome, Sept. 21, 1890, quoted in Fogarty, *Biblical Scholarship* (1989), 39.

known as Americanism, became intermeshed with the biblical question in Europe.

In August, 1897, Fribourg hosted the fourth International Catholic Scientific Congress. It was, incidentally, the last such congress and was a gathering of virtually everyone with new ideas in the Church. The American participation resulted from the translation into French of the life of Father Isaac Hecker, a convert and founder of the Congregation of St. Paul the Apostle, the Paulists, a group dedicated to trying to explain Catholicism to Protestant America. In France, however, Hecker became the model for a new type of priest who moved from the monastery to the market-place and who would blend the distinctions between Catholicism and Protestantism. Denis O'Connell read a paper entitled "A New Idea in the Life of Father Hecker". He argued for the value to the Church of the American separation of Church and State, which flowed from Anglo-American Common Law. John A. Zahm, CSC, then the Roman procurator for the American Holy Cross fathers, spoke on the compatibility of evolution and dogma. Lagrange presided over the section of the congress devoted to biblical studies and delivered a discourse on the historical criticism of the Pentateuch. Baron Friedrich von Hügel sent a paper, read for him by Giovanni Semeria, an Italian Barnabite Biblicalist, on the sources of the Hexateuch. Maurice Blondel, according to von Hügel, was also to be present, but there is no record that he actually spoke.<sup>22</sup>

At first glance, the ideas presented at the Fribourg congress seem unrelated. Yet, there was an interlocking consistency – at least in the minds of the conservatives. To speak, as O'Connell had, of the separation of Church and State and religious liberty seemed to surrender the very rights the Church in Europe was seeking to defend from the usurpations of the European liberal State; it appeared to be an American form of the rationalism which the European Church was trying to combat. To show the compatibility of evolution with the Church's doctrine, as Zahm had asserted, seemed to endanger the notion of God as Creator. Von Hügel and Lagrange's acknowledgement that the Old Testament, as it exists, was the product of several sources raised the question of who was the inspired author. Blondel's notion of philosophical personalism appeared nothing more than subjectivism and individualism. For the Fribourg progressives, the heart of the issue was the potentiality of human reason under grace or inspiration. For their opponents, the emphasis on human reason was the very basis of all the problems the European Church confronted.

Americanism and the biblical question had a yet closer association. In the United States, the Catholic University of America was the bastion of the liberal or Americanist party. *The Catholic University Bulletin* published a version of Lagrange's Fribourg paper, translated and summarized by von Hügel – the only

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<sup>22</sup> *Compte rendu du quatrième congrès scientifique international des Catholiques* (1898). For Lagrange and von Hügel, see sect. 2: "sciences exégétiques", pp.5, 10–11, 179–200, 231–265; for O'Connell, see sect. 4: "sciences juridiques économiques et sociaux", 34–36, 74–81; for Zahm, see sect. 9: "sciences anthropologiques", 8–10, 166–176; for von Hügel's remark about Blondel, see Barmann, Baron Friedrich von Hügel and the Modernist Crisis in England (1972), 68–69; Fogarty, *The Vatican and the American Hierarchy* (1982/1985), 153–156.

English version of the work.<sup>23</sup> O'Connell also arranged for the *Bulletin* to publish the full text of von Hügel's paper.<sup>24</sup> Lagrange noted that source-criticism of the Pentateuch had originated with a Catholic, Astruc, and was further developed by Richard Simon, the seventeenth-century French Oratorian, but that most of the more recent research on the Pentateuch had been done in Protestant circles. He acknowledged the consensus that the five books relied upon four documents: the Elohist (E), the Jahvist (J), Deuteronomy (D), and the Priestly Code (P). He further argued that the dogma of inspiration did not require that the sacred books were composed all at once without any development and that all that was required was the "inspiration of the final redactor". He also asserted that this did not jeopardize the Mosaic authorship of the books, because Mosaic Law lay behind the composition. Nor, he continued, did this violate the tradition of the Church that Moses was the author of the Pentateuch, for, when Trent referred to the "Five Books of Moses", it was not defining the authorship, but describing the books that were to be included in the canon. Unfortunately, some prominent theologians argued that Trent had, in fact, defined that Moses was the author of the Pentateuch; hence, they were literalists in interpreting not only Scripture, but also the magisterium. Lagrange, moreover, was linking inspiration with canonicity, the acceptance of the books by the Church, rather than authorship alone.<sup>25</sup>

Lagrange would subsequently develop his own theory of verbal inspiration partly to refute Franzelin. Everything in Scripture, he argued, was inspired, but not everything was revealed. The exegete had to use the historical method to determine precisely what the sacred writer intended.<sup>26</sup> But such freedom given to the human author of Scripture would win Lagrange and other exegetes sympathetic with the historical method strong opposition.

In the meantime, the Holy See made its first move against the Fribourg progressives. In the summer of 1898, both the Congregation of the Index and the Holy Office began an investigation of Americanism, but Leo XIII ordered the investigators not to issue any decision without his personal authorization. Late in the summer, the Pope took the case to himself and appointed a new commission, the membership of which is still uncertain. At the same time, Lagrange was also under investigation as a result of a denunciation from Archbishop Luigi Piavi, OFM, Latin-rite Patriarch of Jerusalem. Giovanni Genocchi, the Italian exegete, saw a relation between Americanism and the biblical question. He remarked to Umberto Fracassini, another Biblicist and superior of the seminary of Perugia, that some considered "critico-biblical studies" as a part of Americanism.<sup>27</sup>

On January 22, 1899, Leo issued *Testem Benevolentiae*. He did not treat the American separation of Church and State, but condemned certain perceived

<sup>23</sup> Barmann, *ibid.* 68n.

<sup>24</sup> F. von Hügel, "The Historical Method and the Documents of the Hexateuch", *Catholic University Bulletin* 4 (1898) 198–226.

<sup>25</sup> Lagrange, *Miscellaneous: On the Pentateuch* (1898), 115–122.

<sup>26</sup> Fogarty, *Biblical Scholarship* (1989), 91.

<sup>27</sup> Genocchi to Fracassini, July 4, 1898, in Turvasi, Giovanni Genocchi (1974), 98.

aspects of Hecker's thought, such as deemphasizing certain Catholic doctrines to gain converts.<sup>28</sup> Of greater significance for the biblical question was Hecker's teaching on the Holy Spirit and his optimistic view of human nature. Hecker was not well trained in theology, much less in the Thomism of his day, and frequently used terms loosely. When he argued that the Paulists should be so tuned into the indwelling of the Spirit that they did not need to take the external vows of religious orders, the Pope thought this implied the rejection of "external guidance". Leo went further to cite the teaching of the Second Council of Orange that the illumination of the Holy Spirit was essential for one to accept the saving truth of the Gospel.<sup>29</sup> The citation should have warned Americanists that they were suspect of being at least semi-Pelagian. Leo argued that those who spoke of the abundance of the Spirit seemed also to "extol beyond measure the natural virtues as more in accordance with the ways and requirements of the present day, and consider it an advantage to be richly endowed with them, because they make a man more ready and more strenuous in action". This seemed to imply that "nature . . ., with grace added to it", was "weaker than when left to its own strength". "If we do not wish to lose sight of the eternal blessedness to which God in His goodness has destined us", Leo concluded, "of what use are the natural virtues unless the gift and strength of divine grace be added?"<sup>30</sup>

In short, the letter rebuked those who extolled human nature without grace. Grace and the external guidance of the Church were necessary for human nature to attain its end. In relation to the biblical question, the prevailing theology would argue that the new exegetes could not apply mere natural criticism to the sacred books, for this would imply that Scripture was a natural work. To preserve the inspiration of Scripture, the exegete had to acknowledge that the mind of the human author was supernaturally elevated to such an extent that a book of the Bible was a unique form of literature and could not be subjected to comparisons with other ancient Near-Eastern literary works or to any other form of higher criticism, for Scripture had God as its Author. Inspiration had to be restricted to an author, whose name was known by tradition. To accept the possibility that the books of Scripture went through a series of redactions or to argue that several sources were put together to form a given book could mean that inspiration, like grace for the Americanists, would not be rare.

### 3. The Catholic Attack on Modernism

In the meantime, the Church began to take its first steps directly against the new critics. In November, 1898, Lucien Méchineau, SJ, professor of Scripture at the Gregorian University, wrote an article accusing Lagrange of going over "to the camp of our adversaries". Shortly later, Leo wrote the Minister General of the Franciscans to warn of the dangers of some modern tendencies in the study of

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<sup>28</sup> Leo XIII, *Testem Benevolentiae*, in: Ellis (ed.), *Documents*, II (1967), 539.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.* 541-542.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.* 543.

Scripture. Lagrange was convinced that this was the response to Piavi's complaint and was intended for the Dominicans at the Ecole biblique. Finally, on January 28, within a week of *Testem Benevolentiae*, Father Andreas Frürwirth, OP, the Master General, wrote Lagrange, alerting him to the letter addressed to the Franciscans and ordering that every article to be published in the *Revue Biblique* be first submitted to Rome to be read by censors, whom he would choose.<sup>31</sup> Quite clearly, Roman authorities were beginning to move against the exegetes.

On August 30, 1901, Leo XIII appointed a committee to prepare for the establishment of a permanent Pontifical Biblical Commission. To it he named twelve consultors, most of whom were either moderate or conservative, but he excluded Lagrange because of his advanced ideas.<sup>32</sup> On October 30, 1902, the Pope promulgated his apostolic letter *Vigilantiae*, formally establishing the Biblical Commission. Only cardinals were members, but the Pope did include Lagrange as a consultor. Von Hügel, however, informed Charles Augustus Briggs, a prominent Protestant exegete at Union Theological Seminary in New York, that the consultors to the new commission were increased from twelve to forty, but had a decided conservative bent.<sup>33</sup> Many of them, moreover, were not exegetes, but theologians of the new Thomistic bent, incapable of grappling with history or historical development. Symbolic of this new trend was Louis Billot, SJ. In his life, Billot embodied all the fears of an ecclesiastical Rome reacting against rationalism and the liberal state. He bragged that, in his twenty years of teaching, first in France and, after 1885, at the Gregorian University, his students did not know there was such a thing as "the biblical question". A consultor to the Biblical Commission, he boldly applied Aristotelian syllogisms to every problem in Scripture – the very approach which Lagrange had shown could not be taken. Genocchi described for Fracassini Billot's effort in 1903 to defend the Johannine Comma (1 John 5:7–8). Relying on Franzelin's thesis that, if the magisterium cited a verse from the Vulgate, the verse was authentic, Billot was undaunted by the objection that the text was not in the Greek codices. "If it is not there, it ought to be there", he responded; "look further, you will find it".<sup>34</sup> Even the Biblical Commission had to conclude: "Reverend Father Billot's discourse supposes a lot, but proves nothing".<sup>35</sup> Within a short time, however, Billot would get more of a hearing as like-minded men came to make up the majority of the consultors of the commission. Billot would have caused little harm, had he not been considered to be one of the foremost Thomists of his age. In 1911, like Franzelin and Mazzella before him, he too received a red hat, but was forced to resign in 1927 because of his support for *Action Française*.

Billot's abstract theology of "immutable tradition" would shape the first crack-downs on biblical scholars. On June 27, 1906, the Biblical Commission issued its "response" that Moses was "substantially" the author of the Penta-

<sup>31</sup> Lagrange, *Père Lagrange: Personal Reflections and Memoirs* (1985), 68–75.

<sup>32</sup> Turvasi, Giovanni Genocchi (1974), 217.

<sup>33</sup> Fogarty, *Biblical Scholarship* (1989), 141–142.

<sup>34</sup> Quoted in Turvasi, *ibid.* 222.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.* 226.

teuch. In the United States, this caused a crisis of conscience for Henry Poels, Dutch professor of Old Testament at the Catholic University and a consultant of the commission. In a tragic miscarriage of justice, involving Pius X's confusion of Poels with another professor, former Americanists, like O'Connell and Gibbons, wanting to distance themselves from any taint of heresy, and manipulations of Cardinal Raffaele Merry del Val, the Secretary of State, Poels was forced to resign when he refused to swear an oath that in conscience he believed Moses was the author of the Pentateuch.<sup>36</sup>

In the meantime, Roman authorities continued to move against the new exegetes. On July 3, 1907, the Holy Office issued *Lamentabili*, a syllabus of condemned propositions of the Modernists. Among those propositions was that inspiration did not so extend to the entire Scripture in such a way as to preserve each of its parts from any error.<sup>37</sup> On September 8, Pius X issued *Pascendi Dominici Gregis*, condemning Modernism, which he considered to be a unified movement. In regard to Scripture, he drew upon Billot. He caricatured what the exegetes were doing. He condemned those who applied the historical method to the study of Scripture, for the critics dismembered and partitioned the Scripture with "the result" that

the Scriptures can no longer be attributed to the authors whose names they bear. The modernists have no hesitation in affirming commonly that these books, and especially the Pentateuch and the first three Gospels, have been gradually formed by additions to a primitive brief narration – by interpolations of theological or allegorical interpretation, by transitions, by joining different passages together. This means, briefly, that in the sacred books we must admit a vital evolution, springing from and corresponding with the evolution of faith.

The Pope used ridicule rather than reason to dismiss the historical critics. As he put it:

Judge if you can how men with such a system are fitted for practicing this kind of criticism. To hear them talk about their works on the sacred books, in which they have been able to discover so much that is defective, one would imagine that before them nobody ever glanced through the pages of Scripture, whereas the truth is that a whole multitude of doctors, infinitely superior to them in genius, in erudition, in sanctity, have sifted the sacred books in every way, and so far from finding imperfections in them, have thanked God more and more the deeper they have gone into them for His divine bounty in having vouchsafed to speak thus to men. Unfortunately, these great doctors did not enjoy the same aids to study that are possessed by the modernists for their guide and rule – a philosophy borrowed from the negation of God, and a criterion which consists of themselves.<sup>38</sup>

Quite clearly, exegetes were not welcome in the Church. The bishops were to ban congresses or meetings of priests, instruments the Modernists had used to propagate their heresies. To assure conformity, each bishop was to establish a "council of vigilance" that would investigate any deviation from the condemnation of Modernism. Every three years, the bishop was to send the Pope a summary of the findings of his vigilance council.<sup>39</sup> Such vigilance gave rise to a witch

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<sup>36</sup> Poels, *A Vindication of My Honor* (1962). For Poels' contribution to biblical studies and the case against him, see Fogarty, *Biblical Scholarship* (1989), 78–119.

<sup>37</sup> DS, 3410.

<sup>38</sup> Pius X, *Pascendi Dominici Gregis*, no. 34.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.* nos. 54–56.

hunt in the form of the Sodalitium Pianum, which planted spies on theological faculties throughout the world. Its principal agent in Rome was Monsignor Umberto Benigni. As will be seen, however, Benedict XV would order it disbanded.

In the next two years, the Biblical Commission published two more responses. On June 30, 1908, it declared that the book of Isaiah contained true prophecies, not accounts written after the fact, and was the work of a single author. A year later, the commission upheld the basic historical account of creation in Genesis 1–3, although it did allow for the figurative use of language.

In May, 1909, meanwhile, Pius X issued *Vinea Electa* establishing the Pontifical Biblical Institute under the direction of the Jesuits. The first rector, Fonck, had allied himself with Alphonse J. Delattre, SJ, who had first attacked Americanism before turning his attention to Lagrange. Genocchi commented to Briggs on this event that: “Instead of a Catholic high school [i.e. a *Hochschule* or research center], we will have a Jesuitical workshop, to cast minds in the mould exclusively prepared by the black Pope and Card. Merry del Val”. As for Fonck, he thought him “one of the most intolerant and troublesome men I ever saw”.<sup>40</sup> Despite Fonck’s conservative reputation, however, it should be pointed out that he was strong supporter of Poels’ integrity. From Jerusalem, Lagrange expressed his concerns to the master general that the Pope had entrusted this work solely to the Jesuits. He could not, moreover, “ignore Father Fonck’s personal hostility toward me”.<sup>41</sup> By this time, however, the Biblical Commission’s responses on the Pentateuch, Isaiah, and Genesis had driven Lagrange to abandon his study of the Old Testament to concentrate on the New Testament.

In 1910, the Biblical Commission issued its final response on the Old Testament that David was not the author of all the Psalms. Other responses between 1907 and 1915 pertained only to the New Testament. They upheld the traditional attribution to the evangelists, Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, and also argued that Paul in 1 Thessalonians was not expecting the Parousia in his lifetime.

Pius X’s pontificate marked the zenith of reaction against biblical scholarship, but there were clearly tensions within the curia. Cardinal Mariano Rampolla, for example, had been Leo XIII’s secretary of state and was precluded from being elected Pope in 1903 by the veto cast against him by Cardinal Jan Puzyna Kozielsko of Krakow in the name of the Austrian emperor. With Pius X’s election, Rampolla was named secretary of the Holy Office where he proved to be more moderate on the biblical question than Merry del Val who made his own office of secretary of state far more prominent in doctrinal matters than the Holy Office. At Pius X’s death in 1914, there was a shift back to the Rampolla school with the election as Benedict XV of Giacomo della Chiesa, the substitute secretary of state under Rampolla. His first encyclical, *Ad beatissimi*, denounced “integrist”, as the strident and vicious campaign against Modernism was known. In a particularly telling passage, he wrote:

<sup>40</sup> Genocchi to Briggs, Casserta June 3, 1909, quoted in Fogarty, *Biblical Scholarship* (1989), 168.

<sup>41</sup> *Exégèse et obéissance. Correspondance Cormier-Lagrange (1906–1916)*, présentée ... par N. MONTAGNES (Paris 1989), 221, quoted in G. MARTINA, SJ, “A novant’anni dalla fondazione del pontificio istituto biblico”, [http://www.biblico.it/doc-vari/martina\\_90mo.html#nota9](http://www.biblico.it/doc-vari/martina_90mo.html#nota9).



As regards matters in which without harm to faith or discipline – in the absence of any authoritative intervention of the Apostolic See – there is room for divergent opinions, it is clearly the right of everyone to express and defend his own opinion. But in such discussions no expressions should be used which might constitute serious breaches of charity; let each one freely defend his own opinion, but let it be done with due moderation, so that no one should consider himself entitled to affix on those who merely do not agree with his ideas the stigma of disloyalty to faith or to discipline.<sup>42</sup>

Benedict initiated additional changes in the curia. He replaced Merry del Val as secretary of state with Pietro Gasparri. He later made Merry del Val secretary of the Holy Office, a position that Merry del Val had rendered ineffective.

But such changes did not mean a reversal of the suspicion about historical criticism. On September 15, 1920, Benedict promulgated *Spiritus Paraclitus* to commemorate the fifteen hundredth anniversary of the death of St. Jerome. Drafted by Fonck, still the rector of the Biblical Institute, it marked the further repression of Scripture studies. The encyclical commended those who used “critical methods ... to seek to discover new ways of explaining the difficulties in Holy Scripture, whether for their own guidance or to help others”. But it warned scholars “that they will only come to miserable grief if they neglect our predecessor’s injunctions and overstep the limits set by the Fathers”. In particular, the Pope seemed still to be concerned with the relationship between inspiration and inerrancy. In words probably intended for Lagrange, he stated:

Yet no one can pretend that certain recent writers really adhere to these limitations. For while conceding that inspiration extends to every phrase – and, indeed, to every single word of Scripture – yet, by endeavoring to distinguish between what they style the primary or religious and the secondary or profane element in the Bible, they claim that the effect of inspiration – namely absolute truth and immunity from error – are to be restricted to that primary or religious element. Their notion is that only what concerns religion is intended and taught by God in Scripture, and that all the rest – things concerning “profane knowledge”, the garments in which Divine truth is presented – God merely permits, and even leaves to the individual author’s greater or less knowledge. Small wonder, then, that in their view a considerable number of things occur in the Bible touching physical science, history and the like, which cannot be reconciled with modern progress in science!<sup>43</sup>

The witch hunt of the Sodalitium Pianum may have been called off, but this Pope was not to open any doors to the critics. He also, nevertheless, made no new restrictions on scholarship. During his pontificate, the Biblical Commission issued only a single response – against Paul’s ignorance of the parousia.

In the meantime, in 1927, the Jesuits fulfilled one of Fonck’s long-standing dreams of opening a Jerusalem branch of the Biblical Institute. When Lagrange first heard of Fonck’s proposal, he knew “what had totally decided the Pope was the need to remedy the lack of orthodoxy found in other *institutes* of the same type”.<sup>44</sup> Of course, Lagrange’s *École Biblique* was the only institute for biblical studies in Jerusalem. There were, moreover, other administrative changes in the Biblical Institute that heightened its importance. In 1916, it received authorization to grant the baccalaureate and licentiate in Scripture in the name of the Bibli-

<sup>42</sup> Benedict XV, *Ad beatissimi*, no. 23; cp. Pollard, *The Unknown Pope* (1999), 58–70; see also Aubert, *The Church in a Secularized Society* (1978), 201–203.

<sup>43</sup> Benedict XV, *Spiritus Paraclitus*, nos. 18–19.

<sup>44</sup> Wansbrough, *Père Lagrange* (1985), 154.

cal Commission. In 1928, it received permission to grant all degrees in Scripture, even the doctorate, in its own name.

But the winds of change were beginning to blow through even Jesuit walls. In 1930, Augustin Bea, SJ, became rector of the Biblical Institute. While cautious, he gradually showed open sympathy for the historical method, to combat which the institute had been founded.<sup>45</sup> He initially gave little indication of the role he would play in changing the orientation of Catholic biblical scholarship.

#### 4. From Pius XII to Vatican II: The Catholic Embrace of Historical Criticism

On September 30, 1943, Pius XII issued *Divino afflante spiritu*, his commemoration of the feast of St. Jerome, written in the midst of World War II and when the Germans were occupying Rome. Bea and Jacques-Marie Vosté, secretary of the Biblical Commission, jointly drafted the encyclical. It became known as the *magna carta* for Catholic biblical scholars. The Pope noted that, at the time of Leo XIII archeological excavations of biblical sites and textual criticism were only beginning. In light of this, he urged the study of the Bible in the original languages. This, he continued, did not derogate from the decree of Trent declaring the Vulgate to be authentic, for “this special authority or, as they say, authenticity of the Vulgate was not affirmed by the Council particularly for critical reasons, but rather because of its legitimate use in the Churches throughout so many centuries”.<sup>46</sup>

The encyclical proceeded to exhort Catholic exegetes: “Being thoroughly prepared by the knowledge of the ancient languages and by the aids afforded by the art of criticism, let the Catholic exegete undertake the task, of all those imposed on him the greatest, that, namely, of discovering and expounding the genuine meaning of the Sacred Books”.<sup>47</sup> The Pope then virtually reversed the thrust of *Spiritus Paraclitus*. The present age with its discoveries, he said, could contribute to a deeper understanding of Scripture, “for not a few things, especially in matters pertaining to history, were scarcely at all or not fully explained by the commentators of past ages, since they lacked almost all the information which was needed for their clearer exposition”. As an example, he cited the various ways in which the Fathers had explained the first chapters of Genesis.<sup>48</sup> The Catholic interpreter was now urged, “with all care and without neglecting any light derived from recent research”, to “endeavor to determine the peculiar character and circumstances of the sacred writer, the age in which he lived, the sources written or oral to which he had recourse and the forms of expression he employed”.<sup>49</sup>

Fully to understand the meaning intended by the author, the interpreter was

<sup>45</sup> Fogarty, *Biblical Scholarship* (1989), 235.

<sup>46</sup> Pius XII, *Divino Afflante Spiritu*, no. 21.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.* no. 23.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.* no. 31.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.* no. 33.

to “go back wholly in spirit to those remote centuries of the East”. He was to use “history, archaeology, ethnology, and other sciences” to determine the particular “modes of writing” an author of a given age was likely to use.<sup>50</sup> “The Sacred Writers”, like “other ancient authors”, used “certain fixed ways of expounding and narrating, certain definite idioms, especially of a kind peculiar to the Semitic tongues, so-called approximations, and certain hyperbolic modes of expression, nay, at times, even paradoxical, which even help to impress the ideas more deeply on the mind”. It was only to be expected, the Pope continued, that the human author would use his own language and form of expression to express his thought and here he drew an analogy with the Incarnation, so frequently used by the progressives of the last century. “For as the substantial Word of God became like to men in all things, ‘except sin’”, he stated, “so the words of God, expressed in human language, are made like to human speech in every respect, except error”.<sup>51</sup> To prove the Scripture immune from error, the Catholic exegete had to determine the “manner of expression or literary mode adopted by the sacred writer” in order to provide “a correct and genuine interpretation”. Furthermore, the Catholic scholar had to “be convinced that this part of his office cannot be neglected without serious detriment to Catholic exegesis”. As an example of the need to determine the “literary mode”, the Pope used history. Too frequently, he said, “some persons reproachfully charge the Sacred Writers with some historical error or inaccuracy in the recording of facts”, when, in reality, “it turns out to be nothing else than those customary modes of expression and narration peculiar to the ancients, which used to be employed in the mutual dealings of social life and which in fact were sanctioned by common usage”.<sup>52</sup> Lagrange and others may finally have felt vindicated; other biblical commentators may well have felt betrayed as even the Pope said not everything in the Bible was to be taken literally.

Pius concluded his exhortation to exegetes by reminding them that progress would be slow and that they should seek to refute adversaries but also “satisfy the indubitable conclusion of profane sciences”. He urged “other sons of the Church” to have charity and not be suspicious of whatever was new.<sup>53</sup> Pius XII had thus reversed a trend in Catholic biblical scholarship, which had begun toward the end of Leo XIII’s pontificate, developed under Pius X, and was reinforced under Benedict XV, at least in regard to historical criticism. The new encyclical had, in fact, cited *Spiritus Paraclitus* only three times and one of those seemed to take Benedict’s condemnation of “historical appearances” and reverse it.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> Ibid. no. 35.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid. no. 37.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid. no. 38.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid. nos. 46–47.

<sup>54</sup> Pius XII noted that in “speaking of things of the physical order”, the sacred writers “went by what sensibly appeared”. Leo, Pius continued, stated that that “principle will apply especially to cognate sciences, and especially to history, ‘that is, by refuting, *in a somewhat similar way the fallacies of the adversaries and defending the historical truth of Sacred Scripture from their attacks*’”. The italicized passage was taken from *Spiritus Paraclitus* – a fact that Pius acknowledged only in a footnote (see *ibid.*, no. 3). In the original context, however, Benedict XV condemned any application of “sensi-

On June 16, 1948, this new approach to the study of Scripture received a further boost in a letter from the Biblical Commission, approved by Pius XII, to Cardinal Emmanuel Celestin Suhard, Archbishop of Paris. It stated that the commission's responses about the Pentateuch earlier in the century were "in no way opposed to further and truly scientific examination of these questions according to the results obtained during the past forty years". Those earlier documents had allowed the possibility that Moses had used pre-existing sources in compiling the Pentateuch, but "there is no one today who doubts the existence of such sources and does not admit that there has been a progressive increase in the Mosaic laws, which is due to the social and religious conditions of later times, and which comes to light even in the historical narrations". Now the commission exhorted "Catholic scholars, without party spirit, to examine these questions in the light of sane criticism and according to those findings, which other sciences have obtained in regard to the matter". The Commission left open the question of what type of history the opening chapters of Genesis was narrating.<sup>55</sup>

Despite this encouragement, however, there were still signs of reaction, most probably reflecting division with the curia. On August 12, 1950, Pius XII published *Humani Generis*. Aimed primarily at the "New Theology", then developing in France, it raised issues reminiscent of those associated with Americanism and the biblical question in the late 1890s. It chastised those theologians, who abandoned scholasticism, so long approved by the Church, in favor of theological pluralism, who blurred the distinction between nature and grace, and who practiced a false irenicism that glossed over dogmatic differences between Catholics and Protestants and that was too enamored of modern philosophical tendencies. In what pertained more directly to Scripture scholarship, it dealt with two issues, which were becoming controversial. First, it spoke of "the sources of divine revelation", Scripture and Tradition.<sup>56</sup> Second, it cautioned those in historical disciplines who used the letter of the Biblical Commission to Cardinal Suhard to justify their assertion that the first eleven chapters of Genesis presented merely a figurative and not, in any true sense, an historical account.<sup>57</sup>

*Humani Generis* was a balanced document, but it marked the beginning of a decade of increased warnings to biblical scholars and others. The encyclical had stated, for instance, that "some go so far as to pervert the sense of the Vatican Council's definition that God is the author of Holy Scripture, and they put forward again the opinion . . . , which asserts that immunity from error extends only to those parts of the Bible that treat of God or of moral parts of the Bible".<sup>58</sup> The phrase "God is the author of Holy Scripture" had of course provoked controversy at the turn of the century. Perhaps out of loyalty to Franzelin, Bea argued that one could attribute to God all that a human author did in writing a book, but then he pointed out that Scripture bore "the traces of the human

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ble appearances to history" (see *Spiritus Paraclitus*, no. 2.). Pius XII made other less significant references to the earlier encyclical in nos. 9 and 33.

<sup>55</sup> DS, 3862–3864.

<sup>56</sup> Pius XII, *Humani Generis*, no. 21. DS, 3886.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.* no. 38. DS, 3898.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.* no. 22. DS, 3887.

instrument adopted by God in writing it”.<sup>59</sup> Conservative interpreters, however, used the same phrase to argue that the encyclical condemned the analysis of the human author that was so essential for the application to Scripture of the historical method. Moreover, the encyclical stated that certain contemporary trends in biblical exegesis were “foreign ... to the principles and norms of interpretation rightly fixed by our predecessors of happy memory, Leo XIII in his Encyclical ‘Providentissimus Deus’, and Benedict XV in his Encyclical ‘Spiritus Paraclitus’, as well as by Ourselves in the Encyclical ‘Divino Afflante Spiritu’”.<sup>60</sup>

Despite the encyclical’s caveats, other positive signs came from Rome from the Biblical Commission, although Athanasius Miller, OSB, secretary of the Biblical Commission, and Arduin Kleinhans, OFM, the under-secretary, chose an unusual way of giving their sign to the scholarly world. Reviewing a new edition of the *Enchiridion Biblicum*, the collection of official Catholic statements on biblical studies, Miller in the *Benediktinische Monatschrift* and Kleinhans in the *Antonianum* virtually repealed the early responses of the commission. Miller wrote in German and Kleinhans in Latin, but their texts were substantially identical. The *Enchiridion*, they wrote, illustrated “how Sacred Scripture has always been the primary source and foundation of the truths of Catholic faith” and recorded the history of “the fierce battle that the Church at all times has had to fight, though with varying degrees of intensity, to maintain the purity and truth of the Word of God”. They asserted that, whenever the commission’s earlier responses “propose views which are neither immediately nor mediately connected with truths of faith and morals ... the scholar may pursue his research with complete freedom [*plena libertate/in aller Freiheit*] and may utilize the results of his research, provided always that he defers to the supreme teaching authority of the Church”. The two officials of the Biblical commission admitted that “today we can hardly picture to ourselves the position of Catholic scholars at the turn of the century, or the dangers that threatened Catholic teaching on Scripture or its inspiration on the part of liberal and rationalistic criticism, which like a torrent tried to sweep away the sacred barriers of tradition”. But now, they asserted, “the battle is considerably less fierce”, many “controversies have been peacefully settled and many problems emerge in an entirely new light, so that it is easy enough for us to smile at the narrowness and constraint which prevailed fifty years ago”.<sup>61</sup>

They concluded by mentioning the “apologetic value” of the collection of official Catholic pronouncements in showing “the Church’s untiring vigilance and her perennial solicitude for the Scriptures”. In particular, they mentioned the encyclicals *Providentissimus Deus* and *Divino Afflante Spiritu* for presenting “with admirable clarity the basic principles of Catholic interpretation which hold for all times and effectively close the door to subjective and arbitrary expositions”. They made no mention of *Pascendi* and *Spiritus Paraclitus*.

But the battle was far from over. In the declining years of the pontificate of

<sup>59</sup> A. Bea, SJ, “L’Encyclica ‘Humani Generis’ e gli studi biblici”, *Civiltà cattolica* 101 (1950), 417–418.

<sup>60</sup> Pius XII, *Humani Generis*, no. 24. DS, 3889.

<sup>61</sup> Siegman, *The Decrees* (1956), 24; cf. Fogarty, *Biblical Scholarship* (1989), 262.

Pius XII, professors at the Lateran Seminary accused exegetes at the Biblical Institute of being in heresy. Even after the Second Vatican Council convened, conservative scholars sought to reverse the trend that had begun with *Divino Afflante Spiritu*. At the first session of the council in October, 1962, the bishops received a proposed schema on revelation that, in fact, was entitled *De Fontibus*, thus making Scripture and Tradition totally separate from one another. Only after some heated discussion did John XXIII withdraw the schema from consideration. Only at the final session in 1965 did the bishops again discuss the biblical question and approved the dogmatic constitution on Revelation, *Dei Verbum*. Continuing the new Catholic approach to criticism that had begun with *Divino Afflante Spiritu*, it placed Catholic biblical scholarship firmly in line with the legitimate developments in historical criticism that had taken place primarily in Protestant circles over the previous century. It also stated that Scripture and Tradition constituted a single source of Revelation.<sup>62</sup> So much of what had caused such suffering for great exegetes like Lagrange had now become part of the official Catholic teaching.

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<sup>62</sup> I treat these issues more at length in my *Biblical Scholarship* (1989), 291–298, 322–250.

## CHAPTER ELEVEN

# Jewish Biblical Scholarship between Tradition and Innovation

By EDWARD BREUER and CHANAN GAFNI, Jerusalem

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## 1. Introduction

Any survey of the Jewish study of the Hebrew Bible in the nineteenth century must begin with a brief look back to the last quarter of the eighteenth century. It was at this time that a small number of enlightenment-minded European Jews came into greater and more intimate contact with European culture and scholarship, and began a process of selective internalization of contemporary European approaches to Scripture. The most important manifestation of this phenomenon was Moses Mendelssohn’s publication of *Sefer Netivot ha-Shalom* (1780–1783), an edition of the Pentateuch which included a German translation, a Hebrew commentary (*Bi’ur*) penned by Mendelssohn and others, and a set of technical notes on the MT. As we shall see below, the legacy of this Mendelssohn Bible served as both framework and contrast for subsequent nineteenth-century developments. On the one hand, this Bible aimed to revive the once-flourishing medieval attention to *peshuto shel miqra’*. For the early *maskilim* (the proponents of the Haskalah, or Jewish Enlightenment), the renewed interest in textually rigorous readings of Scripture was part of an effort to revive Hebrew language study and to broaden early modern Jewish culture and scholarship beyond the traditional focus on rabbinic and halakhic literature. Mendelssohn and others also introduced literary-aesthetic and philosophical themes in their exegesis, reflecting their desire to bring about a more cultured appreciation of the Hebrew Bible. On the other hand, *Sefer Netivot ha-Shalom* was a thoroughly conservative work that assumed and defended the authority of the MT against the nascent text-critical claims of Christian scholars in Germany and England. The *Bi’ur* also made ample



use of Talmudic and midrashic texts with the aim of instilling in its readers an appreciation of the textual sophistication of rabbinic traditions of interpretation.<sup>1</sup>

Nineteenth-century Jewish biblical scholarship unfolded against the background of accelerated change in European Jewish life. For most of the century, European Jews were broadly preoccupied with the ongoing challenges of emancipation and integration. In post-revolutionary France, the civic equality granted to Jews proved to be contingent upon their commitment to socio-economic and cultural self-transformation. Jews residing in the large swath of communities throughout the German-speaking lands of western and central parts of the continent were drawn into a protracted struggle for the attainment of full political rights. The public debates that accompanied these efforts unfolded with an acute awareness of the religious and cultural gulf that separated European Jews and Christians, and in the shadow of the unresolved question of how, or whether, the gulf could be narrowed and eliminated. It was broadly assumed that Jews at all levels of society would not only adapt themselves to the civic mores of their societies, but would also further the processes of acculturation that had already been set in motion. One example of this was the growing demand on the part of many European principalities that Rabbis and school-teachers, the traditional scholarly elite of the Jewish community, demonstrate a certain mastery of the 'national' language (be it French or German), and should be in possession of a university degree or teaching certificate. Another concomitant development of this period that originated with the late-eighteenth century Haskalah but continued apace was the appearance of a Jewish intelligentsia separate from, and independent of, the Rabbinate. An important manifestation of this phenomenon was the enrollment of a small number of Jews in the humanistic faculties of German universities, which led, in 1819, to the formation of the first association for the scholarly study of Jews and Judaism, the *Verein für Cultur und Wissenschaft der Juden*. Finally, and equally significantly, was the growing abandonment of traditional Jewish practices and disregard for rabbinic authority. While this phenomenon was partly fueled by social and even aesthetic considerations, this movement was informed by an increasingly sophisticated historical and textual critique of Rabbinic Judaism.

The exposure on the part of Jews to the world of European and particularly German arts and letters came at a propitious moment in the history of humanistic learning in general, and biblical scholarship in particular. It was in the first half of the nineteenth century that the writings of Eichhorn, Rosenmüller, Ilgen, de Wette, Gesenius, Hupfeld, Bohlen, Ewald, Hitzig, Vatke – to name only the most prominent – came to establish the scholarly parameters of the critical study of Scripture. As the chapters of this volume amply attest, the schools and approaches of nineteenth century European biblical scholarship were many and varied and not without controversy and tension, including Christian sensitivity and opposition that brought about some degree of retrenchment. Nevertheless, the new schools of biblical criticism made permanent inroads in European universities, and the fruits of this scholarship began to spread to the broader reading public.

Although one should not overestimate how many Jews actually read and

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<sup>1</sup> See Breuer, *Jewish Study of the Bible* (2008), 1010–1021.

absorbed the work of these Christian scholars, it is clear that a small number of Jews began to familiarize themselves with their writings. Exposure and awareness, of course, did not necessarily translate itself into an immediate or even meaningful internalization of these new modes of scholarship, and the developments sketched below will highlight the degree to which Jews alternately acknowledged, adapted, or opposed the scholarly developments unfolding around them. It is, however, important to fully appreciate some of the historical and cultural-intellectual realities that directly affected the Jewish involvement in nineteenth-century biblical scholarship. First, the new developments with regard to the study of the Hebrew Bible unfolded largely within the theological faculties of various European universities, and mainly those with strong Lutheran or Calvinist ties. These faculties, with their deep religious commitments and the natural melding of methodological and pedagogic approaches to the “two” Testaments, were inhospitable to Jewish students, and certainly to potential Jewish faculty. And although a handful of Jews attained academic positions in Hebrew and Semitic languages and literatures in the second half of the century, none had positions in Bible. As such, the primary institutional framework within which European biblical scholarship flourished remained closed to Jews.<sup>2</sup> Second, many German Jews integrally involved in the early development of *Wissenschaft des Judentums* and hence intellectually open to the methods and claims of biblical criticism devoted far more attention to the study of rabbinic and medieval Judaism than to the Hebrew Bible. Insofar as these scholars published work in the realm of biblical studies, they focused their attention on the history of interpretation, including rabbinic hermeneutics, or the history of *peshuto shel miqra*, especially in northern France.<sup>3</sup> This setting of scholarly priorities undoubtedly reflected the cultural and intellectual agenda that these German Jews had set for themselves, but with few exceptions, it was neither explicitly discussed nor justified; as a result, the underlying causes of this phenomenon remain open to historical discussion.<sup>4</sup> The sum of these realities, however, was that while the

<sup>2</sup> See Goshen-Gottstein, *Christianity, Judaism, and Modern Bible Study* (1975), 77f. Of the half-dozen Jewish scholars teaching Hebrew, Semitics, or ‘oriental’ studies at European universities, three could be regarded as scholars who contributed to the study of the Hebrew Bible. Perhaps the most notable of these was D. H. Müller (1846–1912) who was at the university in Vienna from 1876, and produced studies on Biblical poetry, Ezekiel, and on the Code of Hammurabi. However, it was telling that Müller’s most important biblical research was not initially published in the leading journals of biblical research, but in the *Jahresbericht der Israelitisch-Theologischen Lehranstalt in Wien*, the in-house publication of the Jewish seminary where he had a parallel appointment.

<sup>3</sup> This is evident in the attention devoted to the commentaries of Rashi, Rashbam, Joseph Kara, Joseph Bechor, and Eliezer of Beaugency; see S. JAPHET, “Major Trends in the Study of Medieval Jewish Exegesis in Northern France”, *Trumah* 9 (2000) 43–61. This aspect of nineteenth-century Jewish biblical scholarship will not be addressed here, but deserves extensive treatment of its own.

<sup>4</sup> See Goshen-Gottstein, *Modern Jewish Bible Research* (1983), 5; Haran, *Biblical Research* (1970), 9–15; and Sarna, *Abraham Geiger* (1975), 21–23. The factors cited in explanation of this phenomenon are numerous and overlapping: 1) The proponents of *Wissenschaft des Judentums* set out to reclaim post-biblical Jewish literature and thought from the overwhelmingly negative treatment it received at the hands of European-Christian scholars. There was, obviously, no concomitant need to ‘rehabilitate’ the Hebrew Bible. 2) These nineteenth-century scholars were highly sensitive to contemporary political debates regarding Jewish civic equality and integration, and they sought to downplay or avoid the notion that Jews formed a national-ethnic entity. They underscored the ethical monotheism that was the legacy of the Hebrew Bible, a move that demanded only broad and sweep-

discussion below will point to Jewish absorption of, and engagement with, nineteenth-century biblical scholarship, one must not lose sight of the fact that for most of the century, and with only a few notable exceptions, the Jewish and European-Christian study of the Hebrew Bible took place in separate spheres of discourse, with little common ground and a minimum of meaningful interaction.<sup>5</sup>

## 2. Approaches to Textual Criticism

The Mendelssohn Bible, as we have already noted, insistently defended the authority and accurate preservation of the MT. Cognizant of the new text-critical approaches assumed by the likes of Benjamin Kennicott and Johann David Michaelis, Mendelssohn argued that Jews had no use for this scholarly undertaking, since the precise wording and orthography of the biblical text served rabbinic traditions of interpretation in ways that ensured accurate preservation. In his view, Christians and Jews approached the Hebrew Bible in fundamentally different ways. Gentile scholars could avail themselves of text-critical approaches because they regarded the biblical text as a source for ancient history or a primer on God's providential ways; for them, it made little difference if a particular word or phrase read this way or that. Not so the Jews:

For us, the house of Israel, this is not possible. For us, this Torah is an inheritance not just for the purposes already mentioned, but to know the *mitzvah* that the Eternal our God commanded us, to study and to teach, to observe and to perform. This is our life and the endurance of our days.<sup>6</sup> And in order that our lives not be suspended precariously before us by the hairbreadth of supposition and a thread of deliberation alone,<sup>7</sup> our Sages decreed for us the Masorah.<sup>8</sup>

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ing discussion of the Bible while conveniently allowing them to avoid the political implications of the biblical attachment to land and nation. 3) Due to their precarious political status, Jewish scholars had to be far more careful than Christian scholars in being perceived as promoting ideas antithetical to traditional religious values. Given the conservatism of some regions and governments, including a period of officially-backed hostility to biblical criticism, Jews prudently avoided being drawn into discussions regarding the divinity and historicity of Scripture. 4) Given the inextricable contemporary links between biblical study and Christian theology, Jews were wary of challenging or directly confronting Christian scholars and the presuppositions of their work. To the factors described here, which may be described as outward-looking in their orientation, the discussion below will add the evident internally-oriented factors, namely, sensitivity to traditional Jewish beliefs regarding the sanctity of the Hebrew Bible and the authority and reliability of the MT.

<sup>5</sup> One measure of this separation is the fact that by and large, Jewish and Christian scholars published their biblical writings in separate journals, the former appearing in periodicals whose editors and contributors were Jews, or later in the century, in publications of the new Jewish rabbinic seminaries. One notable exception to this was the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* (from 1847) which regularly included submissions by Jewish scholars. This journal, however, concentrated on Semitics and 'oriental' literature, and only a few of the Jewish contributions touched on biblical material. Journals like the *Archiv für wissenschaftliche Erforschung des Alten Testaments* (1867–72) and *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* (from 1881) also included a few contributions by Jews.

<sup>6</sup> The phrases here are drawn from the daily liturgy, reinforcing the traditionalist nature of the argument.

<sup>7</sup> The text cleverly alludes to and combines Deut 28:66 with Mishnah Hagigah 1:8.

<sup>8</sup> Mendelssohn, *Gesammelte Schriften*, 15,1 (1990), 39f.

Informed by traditional considerations, Mendelssohn and others of his immediate circle would not allow new critical approaches to impugn the letter and vowel-perfect preservation of the MT, and they dismissed out-of-hand what they perceived as wanton emendations of the received text.<sup>9</sup>

The conservatism articulated by Mendelssohn and the Jewish commitment to the MT maintained its hold on Jewish attitudes in the generation that followed.

Those familiar with contemporary biblical scholarship and even appreciative of the new air it breathed into the study of the Hebrew Bible nonetheless resisted the premises and conclusions of contemporary textual criticism. In 1790, Joel Löwe (1762–1802) and Aaron Wolfsohn (1756–1835) published a German translation and commentary to Lamentations which reflected their serious engagement with contemporary scholarship, especially the writings of Michaelis and Herder. In their introduction, they criticized those who denigrated the MT and took uncalled-for liberties in proposing conjectural emendations, even suggesting that the hostility to MT was merely another form of anti-Jewish animus. Löwe and Wolfsohn insisted that any fair-minded assessment of rabbinic and medieval literature would demonstrate the long-standing Jewish attention to the textual issues being raised in contemporary scholarship. Unlike Mendelssohn, however, they defended pre-modern Jewish biblical scholarship by arguing that MT was never intended to be taken as a ‘sacred tradition’, and that Jewish scholars never claimed textual infallibility. Along these lines they allowed rather vaguely that a translation could avail itself of conjectural corrections, but only when absolutely necessary; their commentary, in any event, avoided text-critical issues.<sup>10</sup>

This pattern of response continued into the early decades of the nineteenth century, wherein Jews well-versed in contemporary biblical scholarship continued to resist or ignore the premises and conclusions of textual criticism. In 1817, Isaac Bernays (1792–1849), a student at the University of Würzburg and the soon-to-be chief Rabbi of Hamburg, published a review of Gesenius’ *Neues hebräisch-deutsches Handwörterbuch*. Bernays criticized the German scholar for being too quick to emend grammatical irregularities or difficulties that appeared in the *textus receptus*, and for showing insufficient deference to the medieval Massorettes and grammarians.<sup>11</sup> A few years later, Moses Landau of Prague (1788–1852) penned a work in German for Christian readers on Hebrew and its

<sup>9</sup> For other maskilic expressions of fealty to the Masorah and dismissal of conjectural emendations, see E. BREUER, *The Limits of Enlightenment: Jews, Germans, and the eighteenth-century study of Scripture* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard 1996), 124–130.

<sup>10</sup> J. LÖWE/A. WOLFSOHN, *Jeremias Klagegesänge. Uebersetzt und mit Anmerkungen* (Berlin: Maurer 1790), iii–xxiv, esp. xiv–xx; see also A. WOLFSOHN, *Exegetische kritische Anmerkungen über Habakuks Vision* (Breslau: Grass & Barth 1806), i–iv.

<sup>11</sup> This review appeared in a German-Protestant journal *Neue Theologische Annalen* (1817) 180–195; our thanks to Prof. S. Leiman for providing a copy. A few years later, there appeared a thin two-volume anonymously published work titled *Der Bibel’sche Orient* (München: Fleischmann 1821) which also ascribed great value to the MT; see *ibid.* II, 47, 63–64. A review of this work published shortly thereafter identified Bernay as the possible author, although speculation continues to this day. – See S. Z. LEIMAN, “Rabbinic Openness to General Culture in the Early Modern Period in Western and Central Europe”, *Judaism’s Encounter with Other Cultures* (ed. J. J. Schacter; Northvale: Aronson 1997), 166–175, and esp. n. 41.

development during the Second Temple period. Although Landau cited the likes of Eichhorn, Jahn, and Gesenius, his discussion of the vowel points did not venture beyond a review of the rabbinic evidence regarding their antiquity, and the result was a traditional presentation that yielded nothing to new critical perspectives.<sup>12</sup> It is not surprising, then, that a number of outstanding Jewish scholars, most notably Wolf Heidenheim (1757–1832), Solomon Frensdorff (1803–1880) and Seligman Baer (1825–1897) continued to dedicate themselves to the preservation and systematization of massoretic texts and traditions, giving no consideration to the new critical trends taking shape.<sup>13</sup>

When new critical approaches to the Hebrew Bible did begin to manifest themselves among Jews, this came about gradually and cautiously, and without challenging traditional views regarding the sanctity and punctilious preservation of the Biblical text. This is evident in the life and work of the outstanding Italian Jewish scholar Samuel David Luzzatto (1800–1865), a native of Trieste and teacher in the Rabbinical seminary in Padua. In one of his earliest writings Luzzatto addressed the issue of the antiquity and authority of the *niqqud* and *te'amim*, a subject which still aroused dispute and resistance.<sup>14</sup> Like his predecessor Elijah Levita, the noted sixteenth-century German grammarian, Luzzatto seized upon the lack of any reference to the vowels or accents in classical rabbinic literature, and concluded that the notational system of vocalization and accentuation was a late, post-Talmudic development.<sup>15</sup> Luzzatto, however, understood that in their reading of the Hebrew Bible, ancient scribes, not unlike the authors of the Targumim, were guided by ideological and theological considerations, and that one could determine these pre-Massoretic readings.<sup>16</sup> A striking instance of this was

<sup>12</sup> M. LANDAU, *Geist und Sprache der Hebräer nach dem zweyten Tempelbau* (Prague: Scholl 1822), 13–36.

<sup>13</sup> See W. HEIDENHEIM, *Mishpetē ha-Te'amim* (Rödelheim: Heidenheim 1808) on the massoretic accentuation, and idem, *Humash Me'or 'Enayim* (Rödelheim: Heidenheim 1818–1821) in which he incorporated the medieval massoretic-grammatical work of Yekutiel ha-Kohen, *'Ein ha-Qore* and added his own *'Ein ha-Sofer*; S. FRENSDORFF, *Fragmente aus der Punctuation's- und Accentlehre der hebräischen Sprache* (Hanover: Helwing 1847), an edition of the medieval *Darke ha-Niqqud ve-ha-Neginot* of Moshe ha-Naqdan; idem, *Das Buch Ochlah W'ochlah (Massora)* (Hanover: Hahn 1864); and *Die Massora Magna: I. Massoretisches Wörterbuch* (Hanover: Cohen & Risch 1876); S. BAER, *Torat 'Emet... Ta'ame Tehillim u-Mishlē ve-'Iyob* (Rödelheim 1852), a book on the massoretic accentuation; idem/H. STRACK, *Die Dikdukē Ha-Teamim des Ahron ben Mosche ben Ascher und andre alte grammatisch-mossoretisch Lehrstücke* (Leipzig: Fernau 1879). Baer was best known for publishing, with the support of F. Delitzsch, his *Textum masoreticum accuratissime expressit, e fontibus Masorae varie illustravit, notis criticis confirmavit* (Leipzig: Tauchnitz 1869–1894), his attempt at reconstructing the text of Ben Asher. This Bible edition bases itself exclusively on massoretic texts and compilations.

<sup>14</sup> Luzzatto, Viquah (1852). From Luzzatto's own writings, it becomes clear that he wrote this treatise between 1815 and 1825, and that the decision to present this as a debate reflected a dispute he had on this subject in his youth. See Penkower, *Vowels and Accents* (2004), 79 ff.

<sup>15</sup> See Luzzatto, Viquah (1852), 79–109; Vargon/Zipor, *Niqqud Nusah ha-Mesorah* (2007), 49–73.

<sup>16</sup> Luzzatto, for example, suggests that Gen 31:39, wherein Jacob insists that he took scrupulous care of his father-in-law's flock, including reimbursement for animals "stolen (*genubti*) by day and stolen (*genubti*) by night", might originally have been vocalized as *ganabti*, "I stole". Luzzatto took his cue from Onkelos and the defective spelling in the MT, and suggested that Jacob was being suspected of negligence bordering on thievery, impelling him to speak as if he was a thief. Luzzatto then added that "it was not far-fetched [to suggest] that the reading *genubti* was a *taqqanat soferim*, and

an emendation that originated in response to a matter of theological concern. In his comment to Exod 20:19 (in BHK/S 20:23), “Do not make along with me (*'itti*) gods of silver, and gods of gold don't make for yourselves”, Luzzatto dismissed the notion that Scripture was warning against associative gods.<sup>17</sup> Rather, attuned to midrashic and medieval interpretations that took the verse to be a general warning against ascribing or giving any form to God, Luzzatto suggested that the original reading of the verse was “Do not make me (*'oti*)...”. The MT's *'itti*, he added, “was an emendation of the Sages, for the expression ‘make me (*'oti*)’ would be difficult for the masses”.<sup>18</sup>

Luzzatto later moved beyond questions of vocalization and engaged in a broader critical examination of the MT, but he did so by maintaining a sharp distinction between the Pentateuch, with regard to which he granted only a few minor changes, and the Prophets and Writings, wherein he accepted the possibility of textual corruptions that required emendation. In justification of this distinction, Luzzatto claimed that the intensive preoccupation of Jews with the Pentateuch would not permit any mistakes, whereas the remaining parts of the Bible could in fact suffer from such occurrences:

It is I who opened *this gate, which had been kept shut and was not to be opened*<sup>19</sup> by us, the House of Israel; that gate is the opening to the emendation of the Torah scrolls according to reasoned supposition, as I have done... I, however, proceeded exceedingly cautiously with regard to these, and I did not set forth to emend [the text] unless I saw that the language cannot be properly interpreted without emendation, and that with the emendation, it is suitably interpreted, and no difficulty remains... Moreover, all my corrections were in the [books of] Prophets and Writings, and not the Pentateuch; for I know that because [the Pentateuch] was so often read in each and every generation, and because of the excellent preservation with which it was safeguarded at all times, it is almost impossible that it would have become overgrown with thorns, with the exception of *plene* and defective [spellings] and other such very minor changes.<sup>20</sup>

In other ways as well, the generally assertive Luzzatto tempered his confidence with caution, as when he wrote, in 1837, that it was not fear that prevented him from emending the text of the Pentateuch, but rather an honest awareness that emendations alone would hardly remove many interpretative difficulties. He stressed the need for a truly deep and broad knowledge of Hebrew, as well as repeated analysis of the existing text with the hope of finding some reading that precludes emendation. He also insisted that anyone proposing an emendation had to ask himself whether it really provided a better reading than the original

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that earlier Sages fixed the reading such in order to avoid the astonishing expression, ‘I stole by day, and I stole by night’”. See Luzatto, *Ha-Mishtadel* (1847), to Gen 31:39, and also the commentary to Num 16:5; for bibliographical questions regarding this work, see n. 140.

<sup>17</sup> Luzzatto appeared to be critiquing Mendelssohn's commentary to this verse.

<sup>18</sup> See Luzzatto, *Hamisha Humshē Torah* (1871–76), to Exod 20:19 (23) (s. above). There is at least one rabbinic source that explicitly suggested a reading of *'oti*, but as an interpretative move rather than a textual-emendational one; see *Yalqut Shim'oni* § 302. For other examples, see Vargon/Zipor, *Niqqud Nusah ha-Mesorah* (2007), 59–63.

<sup>19</sup> With this reference to Ezek 44:2, Luzzatto was elegantly suggesting a parallel between the sanctity of the Temple and that of the biblical text.

<sup>20</sup> See the letter of Luzzatto to Samuel Leib Goldenberg in *Kerem Hemed* 2 (1836) 130f. It is worth noting that here, as below, much of the discussion concerning text-critical matters appeared in Hebrew journals produced and largely read by maskilim.

text.<sup>21</sup> Some years later, he wrote in another letter that he did not rush to publicize proposed emendations since it was all too easy to err in positing such textual suppositions.<sup>22</sup> Even with this cautiousness in hand, Luzzatto's commentaries, essays, and letters yield dozens of emendations of the Prophets and Writings, including corrections of orthography and verbal tenses and suggestions regarding the replacement or deletion of words.<sup>23</sup> One particularly sensitive suggestion, given its place in the traditional Jewish liturgy, was the correction of the awkwardly placed phrase in Ezek 3:12, "Blessed [*barukh*] is the presence of the Lord, from its place". Based on a careful analysis of the philological evidence and contextual parallels, and noting the similarity of the letters *khaf* and *mem* in the ancient Hebrew script, Luzzatto emended the text to read: "... As the presence of the Lord rose [*be-rum*] from its place".<sup>24</sup>

As Luzzatto began to share his modest critical endeavors with his maskilic contemporaries and to publish them in maskilic journals, his enlightened and scholarly contemporaries also responded with caution. In his early writings, Luzzatto's Italian compatriot Isaac Samuel Reggio (1784–1855) gave expression to thoroughly conservative views, essentially repeating Mendelssohn's comments regarding the fundamental differences between Jewish and Christian scholarship.<sup>25</sup> At the same time, he wrote a series of letters in which he dismissed the questions raised against the antiquity of the vocalization by decoupling it from the status of its authority, and by disparaging those who raised these issues as seeking cover for the introduction of their own speculative ideas. Reggio, like others after him, worried seriously where such doubts and innovations, minor as they were, might eventually lead.<sup>26</sup> Soon after, Reggio formed a deep friendship

<sup>21</sup> See the letter to Joshua Heschel Schorr in Luzzatto, 'Iggrot (1882), 367f.

<sup>22</sup> See his letter of 1851 in R. KIRCHHEIM, *Karmu Shomron* (Frankfurt: Kaufmann 1851), 106.

<sup>23</sup> See e.g. S.D. LUZZATTO, *Sefer Yishayah Meturgam 'Italqit u-Meforash 'Yorit – Il Profeta Isaia: volgarizzato e commentato ad uso Degl' Israeliti...* (Padua: Bianchi 1855), to 2:20 (where he cites Rosenmüller and Gesenius) and 33:1. For a list and thorough analysis of his emendations, see Vargon, *Shadal* (2002/3), 71–148.

<sup>24</sup> See the 1840 letter to Schorr in Luzzatto, 'Iggrot (1882–1891), 705f; this material was later included verbatim in the posthumously published S.D. LUZZATTO, *Perushu Shadal 'al Yirmiyah, Yehezqu'el Mishle ve-'Iyob* (Lemberg: Menkes 1876), 127–129. From the evidence of this letter and another to Abraham Geiger in 1857 (Luzzatto, 'Iggrot [1882–1891], 1309), it appears that Luzzatto first broached this emendation in the mid-1830s in private letters to Geiger, S.J.L. Rapoport, J. Fürst and Franz Delitzsch. It is again telling that in the first letter, Luzzatto introduced the emendation by writing that "this should only be said in a whisper", and he warned his young correspondent against rushing into such textual emendations. In the letter of 1857, Luzzatto wrote regarding textual emendations that "out of fear, I refrained from publicizing my thoughts for some years", and he recalled that Geiger had earlier remarked that this emendation was "too bold". He also claimed that the German scholar Hitzig – who in his view lacked a real feel for Hebrew – may have learned of this proposed emendation from one of the above-mentioned letters, and included it without attribution in his own published work.

<sup>25</sup> See the prospectus announcing the publication of this Italian translation of the Pentateuch, I. REGGIO *Sefer Torat ha-'Elohim Meturgemet 'Italqit .... u-be-Ro'sh ha-Sefer Haqdamah* (Vienna: Holzinger 1818), 6a.

<sup>26</sup> See his letter of 1817, posthumously published in: 'Otzar Nehmad 4 (1863), 139–141. In an essay titled *Torah min ha-Shamayim* that was included in the prospectus of 1818, Reggio defended the divinity of the Bible by insisting that every last word and letter came from God. He did not, how-

with Luzzatto, and although he later suggested some of his own emendations, he was careful to point out that such corrections of the Hebrew Bible were theoretical and speculative suppositions and that Jews needed to maintain their fidelity to all aspects of the MT.<sup>27</sup>

The need for caution regarding textual criticism was also given expression by another friend and colleague of Luzzatto's, Solomon Judah Leib Rapoport (1790–1867), one of the leading maskilim of Galicia, then part of the Habsburg Empire (now southern Poland). In a letter of 1829, in which Rapoport praised Luzzatto's critically-informed exegetical acumen, he referred appreciatively to the textual emendations utilized by non-Jewish scholars. But no sooner had he said this than he quickly issued a caveat.

However, all this is according to the pathways of the gentile scholars, for they were given the freedom to seek and research as they desire;<sup>28</sup> but we Jews – can we expose such interpretations publicly? Is this possible, with the Masorah standing as an iron wall in front of us?<sup>29</sup>

A little over a decade later, after he had assumed the position of chief Rabbi of Prague, Rapoport engaged in a broader discussion about scholarly views that diverged from tradition in general, and from rabbinic teachings in particular. Although couching this discussion in rather general terms, its applicability to the challenges of textual criticism is evident. Now, as in earlier periods, wrote Rapoport, scholars needed to weigh the desire to educate and enlighten against the need to protect against confusion and heresy. As such, the inner conflict of scholars drawn to textual criticism is what, if anything, could or should become part of the broader Jewish study of the Bible.<sup>30</sup>

As the example of Rapoport demonstrates, the awareness of the new critical approaches to the biblical text had spread eastward within Central European lands, to fairly traditional Jewish communities with far less direct exposure to the world of German Biblical scholarship. It was here, paradoxically, that a number of Jewish writers began to flaunt this cautiousness and expressed a far more open and even aggressive interest in applying conjectural emendations to the MT. In a letter published in 1842, Abraham Mendel Mohr (1815–68) described a variety of scribal confusions that, in this view, had marred the transmission of the biblical text. He declared that the Bible was replete with errors, and cavalierly proclaimed that “every individual could change Scripture as he pleases, with honest

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ever, address the question of the *niqqud* and *te'amim*; even those who upheld the authority and antiquity of these vocal notations did not necessarily claim their divinity. On Reggio's early critical view of Luzzatto, see Penkower, *Vowels and Accents* (2004), 88–95.

<sup>27</sup> Both his proposed emendations and his caveat appear in an undated letter published in I. REGGIO, *Iggrot Yashar* (Wien: Schmid 1834), pt. 1, pp. 29–37.

<sup>28</sup> The Hebrew phrase utilized here, *re'ut ruham* (Eccl 1:14; 2:11, etc.) carries the negative biblical connotation of futile or senseless thoughts, further underscoring Rapoport's perspective.

<sup>29</sup> The letter is published in *Kerem Hemed* 1 (1833) 20–23; the citation is on p. 22.

<sup>30</sup> See the letter of Rapoport in *Kerem Hemed* 7 (1843) 93f. On Rapoport and critical biblical scholarship, see I. BARZILAY, “The Scholarly Contribution of Shlomo Judah Leib Rapoport (Shir)”, *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* 35 (1967), 32–38. On the inner tensions within Rapoport's thinking, see the brief formulation and bibliography in J. KATZ, *Divine Law in Human Hands: Case Studies in Halakhic Flexibility* (Jerusalem: Magnes 1998), 245.



judgment”.<sup>31</sup> Far better known was the work of Joshua Heschel Schorr (1818–1895), a resident of Brody and the founding editor of the Hebrew-language journal, *He-Halutz*. Schorr defended Luzzatto and others who engaged in textual emendations, arguing that such contemporaries joined a long line of Jewish scholars who recognized the textual variants and problems that had crept into extant Hebrew Bibles. Schorr insisted that such an approach did not diminish Jewish belief, for the authority of Scripture relied on its meaning and not on its precise phrasing, which was susceptible to inadvertent error and corruption.

In such investigations and in the search for the truth in all matters, the heights of pure faith will not fall and no damage will be incurred, heaven forbid, just as it did not fall or incur damage from the *tiqqune sopherim*... or the differences between the first and second Decalogue, even though they are the foundation of belief. For in truth, the letters and words are like lifeless bodies, and only the spirit – the divine spirit sweeping over the Holy Scriptures – gives life to the nation and establishes it as a banner to other peoples, from always and forever.<sup>32</sup>

In a number of articles that he published in *He-Halutz* in the 1850s and 60s, Schorr put forth lists of proposed emendations.<sup>33</sup> Although many of these emendations were relatively minor, they reflected the rather unfettered freedom with which he allowed himself to correct the MT, often proposing changes with little or no scholarly discussion, and relying on his own sense of what seemed fitting or proper.<sup>34</sup> The cavalier nature of such conjectural emendations was evident in his handling of the opening verse of the Bible. Pointing out that the heavens were only created on the second day, and that the existence of water was already mentioned at the end of the first verse, Schorr proposed that Gen 1:1, “When God began to create the heaven [*shamayyim*] and earth...” be emended to read “When God began to create the water [*mayyim*] and earth”.<sup>35</sup>

A decade later, Abraham Krochmal (c.1818–1888), Schorr’s fellow Galician maskil and one-time colleague, provided an even more audacious attempt to draw attention to the textual corruptions of the Hebrew Bible when he published *Ha-Ketav ve-ha-Mikhtav*, a small book that juxtaposed, on facing pages, the MT (*ha-Ketav*) and a series of proposed emendations (*ha-Mikhtav*). In the outlandish introduction to this work, Krochmal claimed that the contents of this

<sup>31</sup> M. MOHR, “Mikhtav me-’Ehad me-Hokhmē Polaniya’ be-’Inyan ha-Qritiq”, *Tzion* 2 (1842) 188–192.

<sup>32</sup> *He-Halutz* 1 (1852) 98, and see also his comments on 100–101 and 116. A similar view had been articulated some years earlier by another Galician-Jewish writer, M. LETTERIS, *Higrē Leb* (Pressburg [Bratislava]: Schmid 1837), 10–12. Letteris’ view probably had less to do with contemporary biblical scholarship than his deep-seated poetic and literary sensibilities and his fascination with Spinoza.

<sup>33</sup> *He-Halutz* 3 (1857) 89–118; 6 (1862) 1–13. There are also articles that discuss text-critical issues in the writings of others, as for example his critique of Geiger, *He-Halutz* 4 (1859) 70–83, and of A. Krochmal, below n.37.

<sup>34</sup> See the criticism of Raphael Kirchheim in his review of the third volume of *He-Halutz* in: *L’Univērs Israēlite* (January 1857) 218–226. Schorr responded in *He-Halutz* 5 (1860) 75–91.

<sup>35</sup> *He-Halutz* 3 (1857) 97. On Schorr, see Ezra Spicehandler, “Joshua Heschel Schorr: Maskil and Eastern European Reformist”, *HUCA* 31 (1960), 181–222, and idem, “Joshua Heschel Schorr – The Mature Years”, *HUCA* 40–41 (1969–70), 503–528. Schorr was also joined in his text-critical endeavors by another Galician Jew, Mordechai (Markus) Dubs; see *He-Halutz* 2 (1853) 156f, and *Sedeh Tzofim* (Lemberg [Lvov]: Wolf 1860), 63–65.

book reached him by means of a manuscript that originated with none other than Spinoza, but that they represented traditions going back to Sinai.<sup>36</sup> In truth, many of the textual changes did not appear to originate with him, and Schorr provided a lengthy list of Krochmal's liberal and unattributed use of the writings of European Bible scholars such as Bohlen and Gesenius – but mainly from Schorr himself.<sup>37</sup> Of the conjectural emendations that appeared to have originated with him, many were rather curious and whimsical, designed more to provoke than to enlighten. One such example is his emendation of Exod 13:8, “And you will tell your son on that day, ‘It is because of what the Eternal did for me [*‘asab*] in my going out from Egypt’”, a text cited in rabbinic sources as the basis for the Passover-eve *seder*. Pointing simply to the biblical failure to specify what God had done, Krochmal suggested not one but two alternate readings that averted the supposed lacuna: “And you will tell your son on that day, ‘because of this, that God pushed [*‘isab*]<sup>38</sup> (hastened [*‘ishab*])<sup>39</sup> me as I went out of Egypt’”. The writings of Schorr and Krochmal, designed as they were to provoke, did not fail to elicit criticism.<sup>40</sup>

Far more serious, and perhaps the most substantive and consequential Jewish text-critical work of the mid-nineteenth century, was the contribution of Abraham Geiger (1810–1874), a German Rabbi and a leading figure in the early development of both *Wissenschaft des Judentums* and Reform Judaism. In his *Urschrift und Übersetzungen der Bibel* (1857), Geiger took as a starting point the centrality of the Bible for Jewish life in late Antiquity, and posited that the fundamental challenge of each generation was to render the text relevant to its own age, or conversely, how “every age, every movement and every personality in history has brought its own ideas to bear upon the Bible”.<sup>41</sup> Geiger's novel argument was that this dynamic view of history and Scriptural interpretation was linked to the history of the biblical text itself, and that in the pre-Tannaitic era, the means by which Scripture was rendered meaningful to the Jews was through textual revision.

The extraordinary attention later devoted to the preservation of the biblical text must not lead us to conclusions about earlier times. In olden times the text was often dealt with in quite an independent, often even arbitrary manner, and the later attention was simply a healthy reaction against this long ongoing process of high-handed text revision.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>36</sup> Krochmal, *Ha-Ketav ve-ha-Mikhtav* (1874), 5–12; and see A. NADLER, “The Besht as Spinozist – Abraham Krochmal's Preface to *Ha-Ketav ve-ha-Mikhtav*: Introduction and Translation”, *Rabbinic Culture and Its Critics* (eds. D. Frank/M. Goldish; Detroit: Wayne State 2008), 359–389.

<sup>37</sup> See *He-Halutz* 10 (1878) 70, 75–85.

<sup>38</sup> Krochmal pointed to two biblical witnesses, Ezek 23:3 “their virgin nipples were pressed [*‘issu*]” and 23:21 “when the men of Egypt pressed [*ba'esor*] your nipples”.

<sup>39</sup> The biblical usage was attested in Joel 4:11, “Hurry [*‘ushu*] and come all surrounding nations”.

<sup>40</sup> Aside from Kirchheim's review, above n. 34, see *Ha-Maggid* 2 (1858), no. 44 p.173 and no. 46 p.181[177]; and *Ha-Maggid* 3 (1859), no. 7 p.26. For an example of a less provocative, more scholarly, but much narrower work of a Galician maskil, see S. PINSKER, *Mabo' 'el ha-Niqqud ha-'Ashuri 'o ha-Babli* (Vienna: Bendiner 1863).

<sup>41</sup> Geiger, *Urschrift* (1857), 72.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.* 97.

In Geiger's view, it was precisely the reverence towards Scripture as a source of instruction that allowed the scholars of antiquity to make good use of the small variations found in the Hebrew Bibles of antiquity, noting that "[they] did not shy away from making small changes here and there in order to make the written word conform more closely to their own presumptions".<sup>43</sup>

Among the[ir] most far-reaching achievements remain those changes that were intentionally made with respect to the advancing religious views, as an effort to remove innocent biblical expressions or those that might easily result from misunderstanding... Indeed it seemed sacred duty, when the clarity of ideas might be obscured... Not only did they render the meaning through paraphrased translation, but they even changed the text itself through changes to single letters or entire words, all to avoid difficulties in belief or harmful expressions touching patriotic, personal, or moral sensibilities.<sup>44</sup>

At some later juncture, Jewish scholars changed course and established a fixed reading of the Bible, and Geiger asserted that the Hebrew Bible currently used by Jews conformed closely to its original form.<sup>45</sup> This point, however, would not assuage the reaction of co-religionists to his claim that this divine text had been exposed to arbitrary changes.<sup>46</sup> In the end, Geiger's book was historically important not only for its critical and substantive insights, but as the first serious and extended Jewish study of its kind to appear in German. The *Urschrift* was reviewed in many major journals and by some leading German scholars, and despite some harsh criticism, it drew European attention to the fruits of *Wissenschaft des Judentums*.<sup>47</sup>

The individuals discussed here formed a fairly small circle of scholars, almost all of whom knew one another, actively perused each others' writings, and corresponded regularly. With few exceptions, most of these discussions were published in Hebrew-language maskilic journals.<sup>48</sup> There was no expectation that

<sup>43</sup> Ibid. 159.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid. 259f. Geiger, in this regard, cited Luzzatto's emendation of Ezek 3:12; see *ibid.* 318, and n.24 above. Geiger more generally credited Luzzatto's writings for indirectly pointing the way to his own assertions; see *ibid.* 18.

<sup>45</sup> Geiger, *Urschrift* (1857), 99f: "*Nun besitzen wir zwar meistens den richtigeren und ursprünglichen Text, allein zur Zeit als die Einen übersetzen und die Andern ihren Text sich feststellten, war derselbe in der Umgestaltung verbreitet, und erst später fingen die palästinensischen Juden an, durch sorgfältigere Kritik ihren Text seiner ursprünglichen Beschaffenheit conformer zu machen*". Beginning in 1862, Geiger also published some articles, reviews and notes on text-critical matters in his *Jüdische Zeitschrift für Wissenschaft und Leben*.

<sup>46</sup> See Luzzatto, 'Iggrot (1882–91), 1289; Z.M. PINELES, *Darkah shel Torah* (Vienna: Forster 1861), 168–171; S.J.L. RAPOPORT, *Nahalat Yehudab* (Crakow: Budweiser 1868), Pt. II ("Or Torah"), 2.

<sup>47</sup> On the German-Christian readership and response to Geiger's work, see S. HESCHEL, *Abraham Geiger and the Jewish Jesus* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press 1998), 188–93.

<sup>48</sup> The predilection for Hebrew in discussions of text-critical issues is underscored in a series of articles that appeared almost simultaneously in two journals, both of which were edited by Isaac Jost (on Jost, see under the next section 3). In *Israelitische Annalen*, Jost included a series of articles that drew attention to *Kerem Hemed* and its contribution to Jewish scholarship, applauding, *inter alia*, the critical questions being raised with regard to the Bible, but not devoting much attention to such text-critical issues. Two months later, pointing explicitly to these articles, Jost's Hebrew language *Tzion* took up the question and devoted attention to variations in biblical texts. It is striking, however, that the Hebrew articles are very narrowly construed, dealing only with textual discrepancies between the MT and rabbinic literature that were well-known to medieval Jewish scholars; it is also telling that the only non-Jewish authority cited was the almost century-old work of Kennicott. See "Neue Leistun-

European Christian scholars would read these texts, and in the end, the impact of their writings did not extend much beyond the confines of their loosely-formed scholarly guild concentrated mainly in the West-Central European lands of the Prussian or Habsburg Empires. Still, their work demonstrated an awareness of contemporary trends, and they not only attended to some of the pertinent questions of the day, but regularly consulted – sometimes appreciatively, sometimes critically – the writings of their Christian counterparts.<sup>49</sup> Overall, however, the Jewish handling of text-critical issues unfolded as an internal discourse, in terms that were largely framed by Jewish texts and sensitivities. This is evident with regard to a number of issues that pertained to the evaluation of the MT relative to other textual witnesses of late Antiquity. Both Jewish and Christian scholars had long been aware of discrepancies between the citations of biblical texts in rabbinic-era literature and the texts as they appeared in the MT. As such, some Jewish scholars began to think about how this literature could be used to help determine alternative readings of the Hebrew Bible,<sup>50</sup> while others focused specifically on the Targumim and the light that they shed on the biblical text.<sup>51</sup> Some of the scholars mentioned above, joined by others such as Raphael Kirchheim (1804–1889), Zacharias Frankel (1801–1875), and Heinrich Graetz (1817–1891) also began a serious assessment of the reliability and authority of other ancient versions or translations, including the Samaritan Pentateuch,<sup>52</sup> the Septuagint,<sup>53</sup> and the Syriac Peshitta.<sup>54</sup>

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gen der Kritischen Schule”, *Israelitische Annalen* 3 (1841) 28f, 35f, 44f, 51f; and “Shinuy Nusha’ot be-Tanakh bēn ha-Massoret u-bēn Hokhmē ha-Talmud u-She’ar Hakhamim Qadmonim”, *Tzion* 1 (1841) 100–102, 133–135.

<sup>49</sup> A good example of the Jewish appreciation of contemporary scholarship is found in the writings of Heinrich Graetz, better known for his historical writings than for his biblical scholarship. Graetz published *Kobelet, oder der Salomonische Prediger, übersetzt und kritisch erläutert* (Leipzig: Winter 1871) and *Schir ha-Schirim, oder das Salomonische Hohelied übersetzt und kritisch erläutert* (Vienna: Braumüller 1871) both of which utilized German scholarship and proposed a variety of textual emendations. Later, speaking of the new methods of ‘lower’ textual criticism as helpful tools for biblical exegesis, Graetz noted that while Christians once learned from Jews, “[we] are nowadays almost entirely surpassed by them... and have fallen behind in this branch of study”; see “Parallelen aus der jüdischen Geschichte”, *MGWJ* 36 (1887) 355, – Graetz, as we shall see below, had a very different evaluation of Wellhausen and his historical-theological schema.

<sup>50</sup> Schorr, for example, stated rather boldly that he could fill a book with citations of rabbinic passages “from which we would see with complete clarity that they had before them different versions [of Scripture]”; see *He-Halutz* 5 (1860) 85; for an example of such an emendation, see *ibid.* 80f. Towards the end of the century, the issue was taken up in far more scholarly manner in L. BLAU *Masoretische Untersuchungen* (Strassburg: Trübner 1891). For a survey of traditional and critical approaches to this question, see Aptowitz, *Schriftwort* (1906), I, 8–28.

<sup>51</sup> See, e.g. S.D. LUZZATTO, *’Ohēb Gēr* (Vienna: Schmid 1830), 80. See also his many emendations in the book of the Prophets that were based in part or in whole on Pseudo-Jonathan, e.g. Luzzatto, *Sefer Yishayah* (1855) to Isa 11:15; 34:16; 41:25. Later in the century, see W. BACHER, “Das Targum zu Hiob”, *MGWJ* 20 (1871) 211–13; and *idem*, “Das Targum zu den Psalmen”, *MGWJ* 21 (1872) 463–65.

<sup>52</sup> See Kirchheim, *Karmē Shomron* (1851), 33–36, in which he stresses the unreliability of the Samaritanus; this book also includes as an appendix a ten-page letter of Luzzatto on the Samaritan script. Their position was critiqued by Schorr in *He-Halutz* 5 (1860) 84f. Geiger, for his part, argued for the antiquity and value of the Sam. in *Urschrift* (1857), 97–100, 128–130; see also A. GEIGER, “Zur Theologie und Schrifterklärung der Samaritaner”, *ZDMG* 12 (1858) 132–142.

<sup>53</sup> See Z. FRANKEL, *Vorstudien zu der Septuaginta* (Leipzig: Vogel 1841); H. GRAETZ, “Fälschungen in dem Texte der Septuaginta von Christlicher Hand zu dogmatischen Zwecken”, *MGWJ* 2 (1853) 432–436; Geiger, *Urschrift* (1857), 161 f. Graetz duly noted the variants attested to in the Sep-

Finally, some of the same patterns and attitudes regarding new critical approaches to the study of the biblical text were evident in Eastern Europe as well. The lands east of the Prussian and the Habsburg Empires had large concentrations of Jews and vibrant centers of traditional Jewish learning, and its Jewish communities were still dominated by traditional study. Although the Haskalah that developed in Eastern Europe was generally influenced by Jewish developments in Western and Central Europe, scholars familiar with and interested in the new modes of biblical scholarship faced a deeply conservative society, and one is hard-pressed to find direct engagement with text-critical questions. One measure of Eastern European cautiousness may be seen in the exegetical writings of a leading Lithuanian maskil, Abraham Lebensohn (Adam ha-Kohen; 1794–1878). In his notes to the later Prophets, published in 1858, he wrote that he would deviate only from the cantillation, although not the vocalization, of the MT – and this only on rare occasions.<sup>55</sup> As late as the end of the nineteenth century, there was still serious concern with Luzzatto's view on the late dating of the vocalization.<sup>56</sup>

Reflecting the deep rabbinic roots of Eastern European Jewish learning, some scholars broached the subject of textual emendations via the study of rabbinic literature, focusing in particular on a pseudo-Tannaitic text known as *Mishnat Rabbi Eliezer*, which listed a series of thirty-two hermeneutical principles by which the Torah was to be interpreted. In his commentary to this text, the early Lithuanian maskil Zvi Hirsch Katzenellenbogen (1796–1868) was careful to affirm that the Sages drew a distinction between textual interpretation and correction, but he appeared to test that distinction by stretching the application of these interpretative rules towards emendations of the kind proposed by some Western European Jews.<sup>57</sup> The use of these thirty-two principles as a biblical text-critical tool was taken up in earnest by the Polish maskil Jacob Reifmann (1818–1895), who seemed to suggest that the rules put forth in the name of R. Eliezer were not merely exegetical, as other scholars understood them, but rabbinically-sanctioned techniques for arriving at the original biblical text.<sup>58</sup> Since, in

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tuagint in his *Emdendationes in Plerosque Sacrae Scripturae Veteris Testamenti Libros* (Breslau: Schlesische Buchdr. 1892–1894).

<sup>54</sup> See the letter of Rapoport to Luzzatto, S. J. L. RAPOPORT, *'Iggrot Shir* (ed. E. Gräber; Przemysl: Zupnik 1885), 43–48; and most importantly, the dissertation of J. PERLES, *Meletemata Peschitthoniana* (Breslau 1859).

<sup>55</sup> A. LEBENSOHN, *Be'urim Hadashim* (Vilna: Romm 1858), xiv. Thirty years earlier, when I. B. Levinsohn praised eighteenth and early nineteenth century Christian scholars for their deep-seated commitment to the study of the Hebrew Bible, he warmly applauded the work of Eichhorn and Gesenius, but nowhere mentioned its critical nature; see I. B. LEVINSOHN, *Te'udah be-Yisra'el* (Vilna and Grodno: Man & Zimel 1828), 16f. Whether this silence was intentional or reflected a lack of familiarity with their methods and conclusions is unclear.

<sup>56</sup> See e.g. J. BACHRACH, *'Ishtadalut 'im Shadal* (Warsaw: Shuldberg 1896).

<sup>57</sup> See Z. H. KATZENELLENBOGEN, *Netivot 'Olam* (Vilna: Zimel 1822), 26a; Katzenellenbogen later applied his approach in proposing an alternative reading of Ps 42:6–7 (citing Michaelis in support); see his note in *Pirḥē Tzafon* 1 (1841), 44f, (the possible emendation of that verse had also been broached in Rapoport's early letter to Shadal; see above n. 29). Katzenellenbogen made a rather more daring proposal to change the reading of Prov 12:11 in the expanded second edition of *Netivot 'Olam* (Vilna: Romm 1858), 91a. On Katzenellenbogen, see Levinsohn, *Early Vilna Haskalah* (1999), 183–188.

<sup>58</sup> See Reifmann, *Muḥshib Dabar* (1866), 20f, 27–29, 50–61; cf. n. 59, below p. 277; and idem, *Min-*

Reifmann's view, these principles actually pointed to alternative readings of the biblical text, they could serve as an ideal precedent for similar investigations of the biblical text in modern times.<sup>59</sup> Samuel Rosenfeld (1789–1887) of Vitebsk (Belorussia) adopted another approach, examining rabbinic citations of Scripture and the evidence they supplied regarding earlier versions of the received text, and arguing that proper regard for the authority of the Sages should allow for the precedence of their readings over the MT. With this principle in hand, and with reference to Kennicott and de Rossi, he offered lengthy lists of emendations of both the Pentateuch and other Scriptural texts.<sup>60</sup>

At the same time, Eastern European Jewish scholars continued to resist text-critical approaches to the Hebrew Bible. In his *Massoret Seyyag la-Miqra'*, David Kahana (1838–1915) sharply criticized German scholarship, both Christian and Jewish, for its wanton treatment of the MT. Kahana was clearly familiar with much of the contemporary critical literature and the many substantive emendations they proposed, but insisted that the textual problems raised by critical scholars were neither unrecognized in earlier Jewish texts nor beyond exegetical resolution. As such, focusing on the books of the Prophets and the Writings, he set forth various readings of the Hebrew Bible that were intended to obviate and deflect the need for text-critical solutions.<sup>61</sup> Resistance, finally, also came from some leading maskilic writers such as Peretz Smolenskin (1842–1885) and Asher Ginsburg (Ahad Ha-'Am; 1856–1927), both of whom were critical of aspects of traditional Judaism, but whose cultural nationalism led them to dismiss biblical criticism for diminishing the spirit of the Hebrew Bible.<sup>62</sup>

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hat Zikharon (1881), 6 (on Judg 19:30 and 1 Sam 5:5), 14 (on Ps 82:7). It is indicative of Reifmann's intent that the first of these books carried the German title *Historisch-kritische Abhandlungen*. On Reifmann's work, see CH. GAFFNI, "Bein Parshanut le-Nusah: Yaakov Reifmann u-Midrash lamed-bet Middot", *Shenaton: An annual for Biblical and Ancient Eastern Studies* 20 (2010).

<sup>59</sup> Reifmann was criticized for his approach, which he anticipated in *Mëshib Dabar* (1866), 4. The criticism appeared in *Ha-Maggid* 11 (1867) no. 6, pp. 47f, and 14 (1870), no. 44, p. 351, although there was also a positive review in 11 (1867) no. 18–19, pp. 142f, 150. Reifman also published critical notes on selected books in Prophets; see J. REIFMANN, "He-'Arot 'al Sifrē Kodeshēnu", *Ha-Shabar* 2 (1871).

<sup>60</sup> Rosenfeld, *Mishpapat Soferim* (1883). On Rosenfeld, see Aptowitz, *Schriftwort* (1906), I, 17–20.

<sup>61</sup> Kahana, *Massoret Seyyag la-Miqra'* (1882), 1f, 35, 133f. This text was first published in two parts in *Ha-Shachar* in 1877 and 1880. Of the Jewish scholarship he cited, Kahana was most consistently critical of Graetz's *Geschichte*.

<sup>62</sup> See P. SMOLENSKIN, "Mishpat Harutz", *Ha-Shachar* 3 (1872) 257–270, 313–330, and especially 257 and 325. This was a two-part review of Graetz's edition of the Song of Songs (see above n. 49) in which Smolenskin sharply attacked the German scholar not for eschewing tradition, but because of his reckless and capricious approach to the text. Smolenskin went further and dismissed all contemporary biblical scholarship as a kind of modern-day *pilpul*, a groundless and logically tortuous reading of texts that obscured far more than it enlightened. See the excellent analysis of D. ENGEL, "Hebrew Nationalism and Biblical Criticism: The Attitude of Perez Smolenskin", *Ki Baruch Hu: Ancient Near Eastern, Biblical, and Judaic Studies in Honor of Baruch A. Levine* (ed. R. Chazan e.a.; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns 1999), 483–507. Ginsberg's stance was somewhat more ambivalent. While appreciative of the fresh handling of the biblical text and open to some critical premises, he too was dismissive of the wanton nature of many emendations and theories. More importantly, he felt that such scholarship missed the true historical role of the text as a 'national' treasure whose spiritual legacy lived on in the hearts and minds of its Jewish inheritors. See *Ha-Shiloah* 3 (1898) 563f, and 25 (1911) 654–659; and A. GOTTSCHALK, "Ahad Ha-Am as Biblical Critic – A Profile", *Studies in Jewish Bibliography, History and Literature* (ed. C. Berlin; New York: Ktav 1971), 133–144.

### 3. On Authorship and Dating of Biblical Texts

Although questions regarding the dating, composition, and redaction of the various biblical books had already been raised by Christian scholars and by Spinoza in the seventeenth-century, those ideas remained largely marginal to the popular and even scholarly Christian handling of the Old Testament; among Jews, the existence of these early modern questions were only rarely noted.<sup>63</sup> Nineteenth-century European scholarship engaged a much broader and deeper set of questions concerning the dating and redaction of the biblical texts, and these writings would clearly prove to be far more challenging to Jewish scholars. From a traditional Jewish perspective, this modern scholarship would appear not only to have rejected or questioned the historical validity of biblical stories, but it posited an alternative historical model for the development of Israelite history. The story of this nineteenth-century scholarly development, extending from the writings of de Wette down to Wellhausen and beyond, is extensively detailed elsewhere in this volume, and it is sufficient to emphasize here that the new historical-critical approaches to the Hebrew Bible challenged not only the integrity of the received text, but offered radically new notions of the centralization of worship and the development of biblical law. Clearly, the sweeping delineation in Wellhausen's *Geschichte Israels* between the original Israelites, whose spontaneous nature and beauty was reflected in the earlier texts of the Bible, and later Judaism, characterized by its political and legal stagnation, would be understood by Jews as more than a statement about ancient Israel. It bespoke a worldview – unmistakably Christian in provenance – that posited an unalterable Jewish decline into spiritual and religious irrelevancy. For this reason and others mentioned above, Jewish scholars were uninvolved in the full flowering of this scholarly endeavor, and many of them were to express their deep discomfort and reservations with this turn in modern biblical scholarship. Not surprisingly, the scholarship of those few Jewish writers who eventually ventured into this area of scholarship was marked by various qualifications and caveats.

Jewish awareness of the new scholarly insights into the dating and redaction of biblical texts was already evident at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The earliest instance of this came in *Mabo' el Miqra'e Qodesh*, a set of introductory essays to the books of the Prophets and Writings by Judah Leib Ben Ze'ev (1764–1811), a second-generation maskil who had perused the writings of Eichhorn. In his discussion of the unity of the book of Isaiah Ben Ze'ev went far beyond the medieval Jewish recognition of the issue and pointed, in terms informed by Eichhorn, to the compelling differences “in time, in subject matter, and in style” that separated the two parts of the book. He acknowledged the tension between this assertion and the traditional view regarding the integrity of the book only in passing, writing that “the matter is subject to the heart of each and

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<sup>63</sup> See A. A. WORMS, *Seyag la-Torah* (Frankfurt 1766), 20b. Well before the seventeenth century, a handful of medieval Jews had also touched upon issues of textual redaction, but their comments and insights remained marginal and undeveloped in early modern Jewish scholarship. For a brief survey of these medieval sources, see N. SARNA, “Hebrew and Bible Studies in Medieval Spain”, *The Sephardi Heritage* (ed. R. D. Barnett; London: Vallentine & Mitchell 1971), 349–51.

every individual to think about, in accordance with how he considers it in his mind".<sup>64</sup> Somewhat more ambiguous was his comment regarding the editorial process of the book of Samuel. Drawing upon Eichhorn's scholarship, Ben Ze'ev pointed out that 1 Samuel 17, encompassing the story of David and Goliath, appeared to be the product of two separate documents that were combined by a later editor. He signaled his ambivalence regarding such critical perspectives when he asserted, in words reminiscent of Mendelssohn and others, that Jews, unlike gentiles unfettered by tradition, could not permit themselves such views.<sup>65</sup> However, the inclusion of the critical perspective coupled by the rather weak nature of its repudiation made it appear as if Ben Ze'ev was surreptitiously trying to open the door to questions regarding the redaction of the Prophets and Writings.

Other Jewish scholars, meanwhile, dealt with the questions concerning the redaction of the Bible with polite resistance. The Prague-based Landau published a popular Tanakh (1833–37) in which he reprinted the Mendelssohn Pentateuch and offered new German translations and commentaries to the remainder of the books. He and his fellow contributors used the introductions to various books of the Prophets and Writings to address questions of authorship and dating, often referring to the work of contemporary German scholars, particularly that of Eichhorn. In the introduction to Judges, for example, Landau addressed himself to Eichhorn's contention that the last five chapters of the book were written by a different hand, which he then proceeded to refute.<sup>66</sup> The author of the introduction to Samuel, Wolf Meyer, also pointed to numerous problems of authorship and redaction, including those raised by Eichhorn. Meyer took seriously the claims made by this German scholar and addressed them in respectful terms, but he consistently rejected his critical insights, preferring to rely on the older humanistic-critical approach of the late medieval Jewish exegete Abarbanel.<sup>67</sup>

Not surprisingly, the first Jewish scholars to utilize notions regarding the late

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<sup>64</sup> See Ben Ze'ev, *Mabo* (1810), 29a–30a. Interestingly, Ben Ze'ev chose not to cite Ibn Ezra as an earlier scholar who hinted at the different nature of Isaiah 40ff, perhaps indicating his sense of the fundamentally different nature of the modern approaches to the problem. He may have been expressing just such an appreciation in his general introduction to this work, when he sought to allow for new critical perspectives: "It is the obligation of one who... attempts to discern the truth from among divergent opinions to render his heart free and his thoughts clear.... Fear should not alarm him, and the pressure of men should not weigh upon him to force him to decide a matter against reason and in opposition to proper judgment... in all deliberations, truth must be the aim of his intentions"; *baqdamah kelalit*, 3 [unpaginated in text].

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.* 11a–13a. Cf. also 57a regarding Zechariah, where he wrote that "were it not for tradition", the substantive and stylistic differences between the two parts of the book would lead him to date the last six chapters earlier than the first half.

<sup>66</sup> *Sifre Qodesh targumim u-b'urim mi-mehabrim shonim: Sefer Shoftim* (Prague: Landau 1833), 2a–3b. Landau took a sly jab at Eichhorn, adapting Judg 20:16 and writing that "this scholar slings stones of nothingness at a hair and misses each and every time". He also employed Judg 16:9 and wrote that the problems raised by this German scholar "snapped as a string of tow snaps when it feels the fire".

<sup>67</sup> *Idem, Sefer Shmu'el* (1835), i–xi. Meyer's conservatism was also evident in his introduction to Joshua, where he rejected the Talmudic opinion that Joshua wrote the last eight verses of the Pentateuch (in favor of the view that Moses wrote them himself), writing that this would leave open the possibility that "other passages are also the product of a later scribe. Great damage would result from this to Jewish belief"; see *idem, Sefer Yehoshua* (1833), 6a.



dating of biblical books were members of the small group of young German Jews intimately connected with the beginnings of *Wissenschaft des Judentums*. Leopold Zunz (1793–1886), a central figure of this new intellectual endeavor, was among the earliest group of Jews to enroll in the humanistic faculties of a German university and to have sustained exposure to the development of new historical and philological methods. His enrolment in the university in Berlin in the mid 1810s, in fact, allowed him to study directly with de Wette.<sup>68</sup> In his *Gottesdienstliche Vorträge* (1832), a historical introduction to rabbinic sermonic literature, Zunz posited that the books of Ezra and Nehemia were written by the author of Chronicles and originally formed one unit, which he ultimately dated to 260 BCE.<sup>69</sup> In simple but significant terms, Zunz wrote that the biblical author “carried over the ideas and needs of his [own] period to ancient history”, thereby articulating rather neatly the historical notion that the late redaction of texts merely reflected the later political and social developments of the Israelites.<sup>70</sup> A more far-reaching example of the new critical thinking is once again Geiger’s *Urschrift und Übersetzungen der Bibel*, in which the author asserted that the true value of the books included in the Writings was rooted in the particular historical context that lay beneath the narrative itself. As we have already seen, Geiger emphasized the dominant role the Bible played in second temple Judaism, and the need of each generation to make the Bible meaningful and relevant. For him, the textual revisions discussed above were but the second stage in this ongoing endeavor. The first stage, however, entailed something more sweeping, if less subtle. Anyone working with an unprejudiced conception of history, Geiger wrote,

will admit that entire works which were written at that [later] time were ascribed to authors who had lived long before, that Ecclesiastes and the Song of Songs were not from Solomon.... [and that] these works were written by later authors who were fully convinced that they were speaking to their people in the spirit of these [earlier] men, and hence did not think there was any harm in placing their names on their title pages.... He will also admit that older works and facts were completely revised in newer [=later] writings, with altered language and conceptions.<sup>71</sup>

In this fashion, for instance, Geiger underscored the importance of the book of Ruth; the fact that the Moabite Ruth was the ancestor of no less a central biblical figure than David was presented as a later historical attempt to justify and legitimate the inclusion of non-Jews within the nation of Israel.<sup>72</sup> For Geiger, it should be pointed out, there was no doubt regarding the relevance of his findings for the challenges of the nineteenth-century: to his Christian audience, he sought to affirm the vibrancy and dynamism of late- and post-biblical Judaism, while to

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<sup>68</sup> In a letter written to de Wette twenty years later, Zunz thanked him for his critical insights into the Bible and for contributing to his scholarly development; see L. GEIGER, “Zunz im Verkehr mit Behörden und Hochgestellten”, *MGWJ* 40 (1916) 258.

<sup>69</sup> Zunz, *Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge* (1832), 19–21, 31–33. For an appreciation of Zunz’s view on this particular issue in the context of nineteenth-century scholarship, see S. JAPHET, “The Supposed Common Authorship of Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemia Investigated Anew”, *VT* 18 (1968) 330–332.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.* 24f.

<sup>71</sup> Geiger, *Urschrift* (1857), 73.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.* 51.

fellow Jews he sought to emphasize the early historical flexibility of Jewish traditions as an instructive guide-post to contemporary reform.<sup>73</sup>

As with 'lower' textual criticism, such historical-critical observations regarding the dating and redaction of biblical books also made their way from the German heartland to a small number of scholars living in the Habsburg-ruled areas of Galicia. Perhaps the most open and assertive of these Galician maskilim, predating Geiger by two decades, was Nachman Krochmal (1785–1840), Abraham Krochmal's father. In an article submitted for publication shortly before his death and then posthumously republished in his *Moreh Nevuchē ha-Zeman* (1851), Krochmal articulated an historical-philosophical approach to Scripture.<sup>74</sup> Sensitive to common European Christian assertions regarding the spiritual deterioration of post-Biblical Judaism, Krochmal viewed the late Second Temple dating of Ecclesiastes and other biblical books as a means of demonstrating the continued intellectual and spiritual vibrancy of this period. He, like others, also maintained the post-exilic dating of the latter part of Isaiah, but was clearly sensitive to the claim – argued by Luzzatto<sup>75</sup> – that the systematic dating of texts to a point after the events they foretold undermined the very possibility of prophecy. Krochmal thus insisted that the prophetic books truly spoke of future events, but only in the most general terms; with regard to its substance and details, however, biblical books were directed at their own age, in ways that would be meaningful to the nation. As such, it was imperative to “date each and every prophecy to its proper time”, and to interpret them accordingly.<sup>76</sup>

Most interesting was Krochmal's historical-cultural justification of this new critical approach. Insisting that the modes of study and teaching employed in any given era had to be appropriate and fitting for that time, he suggested that the traditional early dating of the Writings had once been applied in order to buttress the notion of prophecy and its predictive powers. In the modern age, however, the situation was different, and one needed to “inquire, investigate, and ascribe each and every [textual] matter to the correct time of its composition”. Citing Psalm 137 as an example, he wrote that the traditional ascription of this text to David “will not move the hearts of knowledgeable readers and listeners, nor the young people, given the knowledge of this generation”. With even a modicum of exposure to world history, Krochmal asserted that young Jews

<sup>73</sup> For another example of this in Geiger's writings, this time concerning the provenance of Targum Onkelos, see M. GOSHEN-GOTTSTEIN, “The Language of Targum Onkelos and the Model of Literary Diglossia in Aramaic”, *JNES* 37 (1978) 169f. This aspect of Geiger's scholarship was noted by Schorr, who drew a clear parallel between the flexibility of the Written Law and that of the Oral Law; see Schorr, *He-Halutz* 4 (1859) 76.

<sup>74</sup> The material regarding the Hebrew Bible first appeared in *Kerem Hemed* 5 (1841) 51–98, with the note announcing his death appearing on the last page. Zunz, who was tasked with editing and publishing Krochmal's manuscript writings, then included this material in *Moreh Nebukhē ha-Zeman*.

<sup>75</sup> See Luzzatto's letter in *Kerem Hemed* 7 (1843) 224–242. Krochmal might have known of Luzzatto's position from direct or indirect knowledge of the latter's unpublished writings on Isaiah. Luzzatto refers to these writings in this letter (p. 225). On Luzzatto's position, see L. KAPLAN, “Scholarly, Non-traditional Fundamentalism: On Samuel Luzzatto's Approach to the Bible”, *Conservative Judaism* 35 (1982) 15–25.

<sup>76</sup> See *Kerem Hemed* 5 (1841) 56; and (1851) 100. See Harris, Nachman Krochmal (1991), 156–205.

would react to the traditional dating of texts with “contempt for our explanations and interpretations”.<sup>77</sup>

A far more ambivalent position was struck by Rapoport, Krochmal’s one-time student and fellow Galician maskil, who as early as the 1820s had already pointed to problems of textual redaction in Judges and other prophetic books, even suggesting how certain instances of textual displacement may have come about.<sup>78</sup> He too allowed that sections of Psalms originated much later than traditionally believed, dating them well into the Second Temple period.<sup>79</sup> Nevertheless, although appreciative of the new research that endeavored to understand Scripture “in its proper time and place”, he was clearly wary of the reaction such work would elicit, and claimed to refrain or limit his engagement with such ideas.<sup>80</sup> In the end, Rapoport never drew a clear line between scholarship that he deemed acceptable and that which was to be eschewed. While on the one hand he seemed to accept the legitimacy of Krochmal’s positions, he vociferously attacked Geiger’s *Urschrift und Übersetzungen der Bibel* by publishing a detailed refutation of its points.<sup>81</sup> In more general terms, Rapoport allowed himself a few observations regarding the motivation and effect of Geiger’s work. What Geiger had proudly portrayed to be ancient scholarly nimbleness and an ever-present concern for relevance, Rapoport saw as an effort to turn the authors of the prophetic books into spiritual charlatans and textual forgerers. He accused Geiger of harboring a nefarious agenda: “The manner of his language and fine expressions ... seek to wrap the issues in a holy cloak in order to attain a profane end – and even worse, an impure end; woe to the generation that is caught up in it”.<sup>82</sup>

The willingness on the part of some nineteenth-century Jews to consider the late dating of some biblical books should not obscure the fundamental conservatism that manifested itself with regard to the Pentateuch, especially in the first half of the nineteenth century. Of the scholars who were clearly aware of contemporary developments in the study of the Hebrew Bible, most simply chose to ignore questions regarding the authorship and redaction of the first five books of the Hebrew Bible.<sup>83</sup> Of the few who chose to respond, Luzzatto was notable for

<sup>77</sup> Moreh Nebukhē Ha-Zeman (1851) iii.

<sup>78</sup> See S.J.L. RAPOPORT, “Al Debar Yehudim Hofshim ha-Nimtza’im be-’Eretz ‘Arab...”, *Biqqurē ha-’Itim* 4 (1823) 58; and his letter of 1831 to Luzzatto printed in *Ha-Carmel* 4 (1879) 695, where he wrote that one could not readily dismiss the views of non-Jewish Bible scholars on Deutero-Isaiah.

<sup>79</sup> See S.J.L. RAPOPORT, “She’erit Yehudah”, *Biqqurē ha-’Itim* 8 (1827) 183; Rapoport, ‘Erekh Millin (1852), vi–vii; and his prefatory letter to H. FREUND, *Shoresh Dabar u-Motza’ Dabar* (Vienna: Schlossberg 1866), vii. This last source is also echoed in an earlier letter to Michael Sacks, posthumously published in *Ha-Shachar* 3 (1872) 33–42, 89–106, esp. 42.

<sup>80</sup> See his brief comments in a letter published in *Kerem Hemed* 3 (1838) 39, and in ‘Erekh Millin (1852), viii–ix, wherein he wrote of his commitment to truth, while at the same time asserting that investigations into “religious books” should only be undertaken “in a manner that would depart from that which is widespread and accepted by the nation”; see also n.30 above. It appears that Rapoport seemed less hesitant with regard to the late dating of certain biblical texts than with textual revisions.

<sup>81</sup> As one example, see his refutation of Geiger’s statement on Ruth referred to above in *Nahalat Yehudah* (Crakow: Budweiser 1868), part II (“Or Torah”), 67.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.* 103–107; the citation is on p.105.

<sup>83</sup> An argument has been made that Krochmal, whose writings fit this pattern of complete silence with regard to the Pentateuch, actually harbored radical views regarding its editing; see M. DIMON,

using his Bible commentaries to explicitly deny that Moses collected or copied from earlier documents.<sup>84</sup> Although Luzzatto claimed an obligation to arm his rabbinical students with the means to defend against “the orientalist from among the Protestant theologians of Germany”, it was certainly telling that his introductory lectures to the Bible steered entirely clear of contemporary questions of authorship and redaction, as if the very mention of them would prove too disturbing.<sup>85</sup> Even scholars like Zunz and Geiger who had already rejected all manner of Jewish orthodoxies did not publicly broach the subject of the redaction or late dating of the Pentateuch in the first half of the century.<sup>86</sup> Geiger, in fact, acknowledged in a private letter of 1836 that the biblical text was of human authorship and thus needed to be subject to critical study, but that such an undertaking “was not for today, nor for tomorrow”;<sup>87</sup> as a result, he chose to avoid any discussion of the dating or redaction of the Pentateuch for decades.<sup>88</sup>

There were two distinct exceptions to this pattern of avoidance in the first half of the nineteenth century, although they too reflected some of the sensitivity and caution of their coreligionists. Isaac Jost (1793–1860), a one-time student of Eichhorn and an early contributor to the *Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, was the first modern Jewish historian to write a sweeping history of the Jews. Although Jost began his *Geschichte der Israeliten* with the Hasmonean period, he turned back to the earlier development of Judaism in the third volume, in which he

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“Rimzē Biqqoret ha-Torah be-Sifro shel Ranaq”, *Tarbiz* 18 (1947) 59f. Harris, Krochmal (1991), 196, n. 24, rightly rejects this argument.

<sup>84</sup> See, for example Luzzatto, *Ha-Mishtadel* (1847), to Gen 2:4 and Deut 12:5 (countering de Wette’s late dating of Deuteronomy), Gen 19:38 (countering de Wette’s claim of the Israelite fabrication of 19:30–38 out of hatred of the Moabites and Ammonites), and Exod 15:1 (responding to claims of the late addition of Moses’ song). See also Luzzatto, *Hamisha Humshē Torah* (1871–1876), to Gen 6:9, where he cites Rosenmüller’s opposition to the documentary notions based on the different names of God. It may be noted, however, that in *Ha-Mishtadel* to Deut 1:2, Luzzatto rejected Spinoza’s claim that Ibn Ezra had denied the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, but he did so by arguing that Ibn Ezra’s assertion that a few select verses were added later could only make sense if the rest of the text formed a unified and more ancient whole. Luzzatto thus appears to have accepted, without objection, the claim for limited editorial additions to the biblical text. On Luzzatto and higher criticism, see Vargon, *Habiqqoret Ha-Geboha* (2002), 271–304. For a nineteenth-century denial that Ibn Ezra had ever suggested that some verses were late additions, see S.Z. ZALMAN NETTER, *Pērush ‘al ‘Ibn ‘Ezra’*, first printed in the Vienna 1859 *miqra’ot gedolot*, to Deut 1:2.

<sup>85</sup> See the “Introduzione critica ed ermeneutica, scritta nell’anno 1829, ad uso degli alunni dell’istituto convitto rabbinico di Padova”, in: Luzzatto, *Hamisha Humshē Torah* (1871–1876), i–xliv; the reference to German scholars appears on p. vi. The introduction apparently originated in 1829 as a series of lectures to his rabbinical students. It is striking that the only mention of questions regarding Mosaic authorship pointed to the writings of the seventeenth-century Richard Simon, while the work of Eichhorn and de Wette are never even acknowledged. Of the nineteenth century scholars he claims to be defending against, only Gesenius is mentioned, and this in the context of the Samaritan Pentateuch and textual issues. A slightly abridged English translation is available in S. MORAIS, *Italian Hebrew Literature* (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary 1926), 93–152.

<sup>86</sup> As editor of the very first *Wissenschaft* journal, however, Zunz included the publication of an essay by Lazarus Bendavid, in which Bendavid concluded that the biblical text in our hands did not originate with Moses, but emerged later; see “Ueber geschriebenes und mündliches Gesetz”, *Zeitschrift für die Wissenschaft des Judenthums* 1/3 (1823) 472–500, esp. 491 f.

<sup>87</sup> This letter was published posthumously in L. GEIGER, “Abraham Geigers Briefe an J. Dérenbourg”, *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums* 60 (1896) 165. A similar comment about the “dangers” of engaging in such critical work in the 1830s, made in reference to the authorship of Kohelet, was made by L. HERZFELD, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, III (Nordhausen: A. Vüchting 1857), 66.

<sup>88</sup> See Sarna, Geiger and Biblical Scholarship (1975), 17–30.

described the emergence of the Hebrew Bible as a process that entailed the collection and editing of earlier fragments, a process that itself determined and shaped the history of this people.<sup>89</sup> In a lengthy appendix, he offered a detailed list of the dozens of fragments that comprised the biblical text, focusing mainly on the Pentateuch and plainly underscoring the problems of textual unity.<sup>90</sup> He also added an excursus titled “On the Investigation of the Period in which the Biblical Documents were Written and Collected”, in which he defended the necessity and importance of a scholarly-critical approach to the biblical text.<sup>91</sup> It should be noted that Jost’s view of the late redaction of the Hebrew Bible and its role in the formation of Judaism was not without broader intellectual and cultural significance. Like other Jews of his generation, Jost struggled to deflect the overwhelmingly negative European Christian view of post-biblical Judaism and its portrayal of Jewish history as a story of irredeemable decline. But Jost had also internalized the profound German commitment to historicist scholarship and its grasp of cultural and spiritual advancement. His response was to delineate an overarching historical distinction between what he called *Mosesthum* and later Judaism, that is, between the early (but unimplemented) law-centered religion and the later God-centered spiritual faith that came to encapsulate the real legacy of the Hebrew Bible.<sup>92</sup> With this historical construction in hand, Jost hoped to reclaim a more positive interpretation of Judaism, one that posited a certain historical dynamism that began with the Bible but extended beyond.

The radical implications of Jost’s discussion of biblical fragments and the late redaction of the biblical text were not lost on his contemporaries, but it was not to be his final word on the matter. On the basis of his *Geschichte der Israeliten*, Jost was vilified by Luzzatto as ‘Godless’ and a ‘heretic’, one who destroyed the foundations of faith: “Can I consider him to be a lover of my nation – or a lover of mankind – one who writes a history of the Jews from the Hashmoneans onward and who inserts twelve pages to prove that the Pentateuch is gathered and composed from different fragments from different texts that sometimes contradict one another?”<sup>93</sup> Rapoport, interestingly, took a far more benign view of Jost’s work, but he might have known that the latter’s new two-volume abbreviated history of the Jews would adopt a far more traditional approach.<sup>94</sup> Indeed,

<sup>89</sup> Jost, *Geschichte*, III (1822), 42–48.

<sup>90</sup> Jost, *Geschichte*, III (1822), supplementary material [with separate pagination], 120–136. He indicated explicitly his indebtedness to Eichhorn as well as to Karl Ilgen, among other unnamed contemporaries, but ultimately added to and extended their work.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.* 198–218. See R. MICHAEL, *Y. M. Yost, 'Abi ha-Historiografyah ha-Yehudit ha-Modernit* (Jerusalem: Magnes 1983), 37–39; and Ha-Cohen, *Mehadeshē ha-Berit* (2006), 69–74.

<sup>92</sup> See Jost, *Geschichte*, III (1822), 10–33 and *passim*.

<sup>93</sup> Luzzatto, *Iggrot* (1882–1891), 178, from a letter of 1831 to Rapoport; see also his letters of 1830, *ibid.* 170, 176. It is evident in the latter source that Luzzatto’s anger was fueled, in part, by the dissemination of these ideas in a popular German-language work. Another measure of contemporary discomfort with Jost’s presentation here is a one-volume Hebrew history of the Jews based on the *Geschichte* and designed for use in Jewish schools. Although generally appreciative of much of Jost’s work, this text went out of its way to distance itself from these untraditional views and judgments; see SHALOM HA-COHEN, *Qore' ha-Dorot* (Warsaw: Sklower 1838), iv.

<sup>94</sup> See his letter of 1831 to Luzzatto, published in *Ha-Carmel* 4 (1879) 683–686, especially 686. Two years later, upon receipt of the first volume of Jost’s *Allgemeine Geschichte*, Rapoport wrote to Luzzatto noting the much improved language and more respectful attitude, although still acknowl-

when Jost's *Allgemeine Geschichte des Israelitischen Volkes* appeared in 1832, his presentation of the biblical period assumed the integrity of the Pentateuch, and he avoided any mention of biblical fragments. In a kind of a methodological addendum to this section, Jost cited both the traditional and critical approaches to the question of the unity and integrity of the Pentateuch, adopting something of an agnostic view as to their relative correctness.<sup>95</sup> In the general introduction to this work, he also tried to neutralize the challenges posed by critical scholarship by insisting on the mutually exclusive nature of historical and theological questions, and suggesting that the historian could rest content with accepting the Hebrew Bible as a document that gave expression to the spirit of its people; as such, the teachings of the Pentateuch were deemed far more important than the precise historical provenance of the text or its parts.<sup>96</sup> Jost's position, to be sure, still exhibited a healthy respect for historical-critical approaches to the Pentateuch, but his moderation was enough to mollify Luzzatto and deflect further Jewish criticism.<sup>97</sup>

A second scholar who addressed himself to questions concerning the composition of the Pentateuch was Solomon Munk (1803–1867), a Silesian Jew who studied at the universities of Berlin and Bonn and, in 1828, migrated to Paris. Munk developed into an outstanding semiticist and was among the first Jews to attain a position at a number of prestigious French state institutions. In 1845, Munk published a French book aimed at a general readership on the physical, cultural, and historical geography of Palestine, in which he included a discussion of the antiquity and integrity of the Pentateuch. He acknowledged the controversial nature of the questions regarding the historical origin and redaction of the Pentateuch, although he insisted that they were being raised by conscientious individuals of deep religious conviction, and were not to be dismissed as manifestations of religious skepticism. Munk pointed out that the finest scholars – all Germans – were themselves divided on the issues, and he proposed to set out before his readers the state of the question and the arguments of traditionalists and “hypercritics” regarding the authenticity of the Pentateuch.<sup>98</sup> On the one hand, Munk pointed to the repetitions, contradictions, interpolations and fragmentary nature of the Pentateuch, not to mention certain linguistic and redactional issues, as arguments that “gravely compromise” the tradition of Mosaic authorship. On the other hand, Munk cited what he considered to be the “strongest proofs” against these claims. He explained the distinctiveness of Deuteronomy as a function of Moses' own authorial voice, and he cited the disorderly jumble of narrative and legal material that comprised the Pentateuch as indicative of an *absence* of later redac-

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ging certain objections; see Rapoport, 'Iggrot (1885), 17. On the relationship of Rapoport and Jost, see I. BARZILAY, *Shlomo Yehudah Rapoport (Shir), 1790–1869, and his Contemporaries* (Ramat Gan: Massada 1969), 106–115.

<sup>95</sup> Jost, *Allgemeine Geschichte*, I (1832), 147–156; see Ha-Cohen, *Mehadeshē ha-Berit* (2006), 74–77.

<sup>96</sup> Jost, *Allgemeine Geschichte*, I (1832), 11–14.

<sup>97</sup> See the glowing letter of 1839 to Jost, Luzzatto, 'Iggrot (1882–91), 599.

<sup>98</sup> Munk, *Palestine* (1845), 132 f. He mentioned scholars of an earlier generation such as Michaelis, Eichhorn and Johann Jahn, and the contemporary Bible scholars Bohlen, de Wette, Hengstenberg, Hartmann, and Rosenmüller.

tion. Munk also focused specifically on biblical law, again citing arguments for and against the notion that all or most of the laws originated with or at the time of Moses.<sup>99</sup> In the end, he clearly accepted the legitimacy of the questions and methods utilized by critical scholars and some of their moderate conclusions concerning the late redaction of the text. At the same time, Munk went out of his way to inform his readers that these were still open questions, and he deftly tried to finesse the issues by writing that the Pentateuch could still reasonably be referred to as a Mosaic book – and a divinely inspired one at that – even if it did not all originate with Moses.<sup>100</sup>

The widespread reticence among Jews to take up questions concerning the critical dating and redaction of the Pentateuch began to fall away in the 1860s and 1870s. This came at a propitious moment in biblical scholarship, for it was at this time that Graf, Kuenen, Nöldeke, and then Wellhausen made their signal contributions and advanced the critical study of the Pentateuch. As Jewish society became more culturally assimilated and liberal, and as traditional authority over communities and individuals dissipated, Jewish scholars began to take up an interest in the ‘higher criticism’ of the Pentateuch. Zunz and Geiger, for example, abandoned much of their earlier hesitation and began to publish essays and reviews that reflected openness to such scholarship.<sup>101</sup> Notions such as the late redaction of the Pentateuch and evidence of the editing of early sources also made their way into the writings of the Galician scholars like Schorr<sup>102</sup> and A. Krochmal.<sup>103</sup>

The most substantively notable and sophisticated effort, however, belonged to two otherwise forgotten German Jews, Julius Popper (1822–1884) and Marcus

<sup>99</sup> Ibid. 133–142.

<sup>100</sup> Ibidem and particularly the comments on p. 142.

<sup>101</sup> See L. ZUNZ, “Bibelkritisches”, *ZDMG* 27 (1873) 669–689; and some related writings that he left behind in manuscript and were published in L. ZUNZ, *Gesammelte Schriften* (Berlin: Gerschel 1875–1876), I, 243–270. Geiger signaled his intention to contribute more seriously to the field of biblical studies in a letter of 1865, printed as an appendix to A. GEIGER, *Das Judentum und seine Geschichte* (Breslau: Schletter 1865–1871), I, 201. Soon after, he published essays that incorporated recently published biblical scholarship, including the work of Hausrath, Nöldeke, Ewald, and Lagarde; see his *JZWL* 7 (1869) 96–111, 195–199, 309–315. Geiger also discussed the redaction of the Pentateuch in his lectures to the *Hochschule für die Wissenschaft des Judenthums* in Berlin; see Geiger, *Nachgelassene Schriften* (1875–1876), II, 77, where he spoke of sections of the Pentateuch as products of the First Temple period, and IV, 222ff, where he compared Elohist and Yahwist sources. Another scholar who began to write about the various documents that comprised the Pentateuch was the noted orientalist Julius Fürst (1805–1873). He applied a largely literary analysis to the texts, and was not overly concerned with questions of authorship and history; as such, he continued to assign the Pentateuchal texts to Moses’ time; see J. FÜRST, *Geschichte der biblischen Literatur und des jüdisch-hellenistischen Schriftthums* (Leipzig: Tauchnitz 1867–1870).

<sup>102</sup> J. H. SCHORR, “Sefer ha-Torah”, *He-Halutz* 6 (1862) 1–6. Schorr referred here to various parallel documents used by the biblical redactor in the composition of the Pentateuch.

<sup>103</sup> A. KROCHMAL, *Theologie der Zukunft. Ein kritisch-philosophischer Traktat zur Rechtfertigung des religiösen Bewusstseins* (Lemberg: Poremba 1872), part I, 44–74, in which Krochmal writes of the late redaction of the Pentateuch and offers an alternative historical reconstruction of the biblical era. The impact of such writings can be seen in the pseudonymously published work of M. L. LILIENBLUM, *Hatteo’t Ne’urim* (Vienna: Breg 1876–1879), part II, 44–45. For another Galician writer who dismissed the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch as foolish naivete and pointed to different fragments that came to comprise the Pentateuch; see S. HIRSCH, *Qorot Yisrael ve-Emunato* (Vienna: Hahn 1873), 34ff; see also Soloveitchik/Rubasheff, *Toldot Biqqoret ha-Miqra’* (1925), 155 f.

Kalisch (1828–1885). In 1862, Popper published a monograph that examined the chapters concerning the Tabernacle in Exodus and Leviticus. He pointed to the composite nature and ongoing redaction of the relevant texts, and argued that its final redaction was decidedly post-exilic. More importantly, Popper raised serious questions regarding the supplement theory and the notion of a *Grundschrift* then dominant; Kuenen later noted the importance of Popper's ideas and acknowledged that they had influenced not only his own work, but also that of Graf.<sup>104</sup>

Kalisch, who moved as an adult to England, produced lengthy commentaries to the first three books of the Pentateuch between 1855 and 1872, each of which demonstrated his growing appreciation for new philological, historical, scientific, and archeological findings.<sup>105</sup> Although his first volume (Exodus) complained of the “extreme” and “arbitrary” tendencies of modern criticism and generally sought to uphold the unity of the text, the second volume (Genesis) struck a different posture, analyzing the composition of the biblical text in light of the interweaving of J and E sources.<sup>106</sup> It was Kalisch's commentary to Leviticus, however, that highlighted the depth of his commitment to Pentateuchal criticism, for he endeavored to show that the laws of Leviticus must have originated after the enactments of Deuteronomy (and hence later than the seventh century BCE), and that the texts displayed a distinct spiritual and religious development consonant with the political history of the period.<sup>107</sup> Kalisch's work, not to mention its radical conclusions, was not taken up by other nineteenth-century Jews.

Not surprisingly, the scholars most receptive to the critical handling of the Pentateuch and most willing to engage new methods and conclusions were those who strongly aligned themselves with the Reform movement. Their rejection of traditional orthodoxies and their adamant and passionate embrace of modern and progressive scholarship led them to assert that the denial of biblical criticism

<sup>104</sup> J. POPPER, *Der biblische Bericht über die Stiftshütte: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Composition und Diaskene des Pentateuch* (Leipzig: Hunger 1862). This work was cited in A. KUENEN, *De godsdienst van Israël tot den ondergang van den Joodschen Staat* (Haarlem: Kruseman 1869–70), II, 266f, where the author sided with Popper against Nöldeke, suggesting that the latter dismissed Popper unjustifiably and without considering the evidence. More importantly, Kuenen cited Popper's approach as an important turning point in his own work; see A. KUENEN, *An Historico-Critical Inquiry into the Origin and Composition of the Hexateuch* (London: Macmillan 1886), xvii–xxii; in this same introduction, Kuenen claimed that Graf had also noted the importance of Popper's work. Although Graf's seminal book makes no such acknowledgement, it did make use of Popper's scholarship; see K.H. GRAF, *Die geschichtlichen Bücher des Alten Testaments* (Leipzig: Weigel 1866), 86f. See also S.J. DE VRIES, “The Hexateuchal Criticism of Abraham Kuenen”, *JBL* 82 (1963) 42f.

<sup>105</sup> M. KALISCH, *Historical and Critical Commentary on the Old Testament with a New Translation* (London: Longman, Brown 1855 [Exodus], 1858 [Genesis], 1867–72 [Leviticus; 2 vols.]); see Exodus, iii. On Kalisch, see Schwartz, *La Critica del Pentateuco* (1995), 444f.

<sup>106</sup> See Kalisch, Exodus (1855) iv, x, and the commentaries to 11:1 and 12:1; and Genesis (1858) to 5:1–20; 22:11–19; 28:16–22; 31:43; 35:27–29; 39:19–23.

<sup>107</sup> See e.g. Kalisch, Leviticus I (1867) 43f, 604–613, 658, and Leviticus II (1872) 190–194, and 636–640, where Kalisch added a concluding note titled: “On the Economy, Date, and Authorship of Leviticus”. In formulating his argument regarding Leviticus, Kalisch was certainly aware of, and cited, the work of Vatke, George, and others who had articulated some of these notions as early as the 1830s; he did not, however, seem to know Graf's *Die geschichtlichen Bücher des Alten Testaments* and its similar dating of Leviticus after the book of Deuteronomy. More importantly, the fact that Kalisch clearly anticipated some of Wellhausen's general tenets by a decade has been largely overshadowed by the success of the latter; see Schwartz, *La Critica del Pentateuco* (1995), 444f.



was akin to denying the advance of modern science. This is evident in the writings of Reform leaders such as David Einhorn (1809–1879)<sup>108</sup> and his son-in-law Kaufmann Kohler (1843–1926),<sup>109</sup> both of whom would ultimately make their rabbinic careers in the United States. Their embrace of contemporary biblical scholarship, however, was substantively qualified by an attempt to deflect or remove its Christian tendentiousness. Towards this end, they responded to the overwhelmingly negative view of post-exilic Judaism among biblical scholars by drawing upon and explicitly citing a wide variety of rabbinic and medieval Jewish sources. Perhaps the most notable scholar in this regard was Sigmund Maybaum (1844–1919), the Hungarian born, German-trained lecturer at the flagship Reform seminary for the training of liberal Rabbis, the *Hochschule für die Wissenschaft des Judenthums* in Berlin. Maybaum, like Kohler, was a full generation younger than Geiger and his cohort group, and for this generation the notion that the Pentateuch was comprised of distinct documents that emerged at different times and under different circumstances was taken as well-rooted scholarship. Maybaum appreciated both the importance and the challenges of Wellhausen's groundbreaking work, and in two books that he published in the early 1880s, he offered his own alternative reconstruction of ancient Israelite history, with particular attention to the development and relationship of prophecy and priesthood. Maybaum was particularly sensitive to the negative Protestant views of biblical law, and as such, put forth a developmental model that presented the legal elements of the Pentateuch in far more positive and progressive terms.<sup>110</sup>

For scholars who identified with the movement to reform Judaism by aligning it with historical and scientific-scholarly progress, the embrace of Pentateuchal criticism served as both stimulus and justification for their forward-looking efforts. For those who supported the Positive-Historical School of Zacharias

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<sup>108</sup> D. EINHORN, *Das Princip des Mosaismus und dessen Verhältniss zum Heidenthum und rabbinischen Judenthum* (Leipzig: Fritzsche 1854). This book was a Hegelian-inspired presentation of the ideas underlying the biblical text, in which Einhorn traced the progressive and developmental relationship between God, man, and the world, and assumed the distinction between J and E sources in the Pentateuch; see, e.g. pp.22–32. See also G. GREENBERG, "Mendelssohn in America: David Einhorn's Radical Reform Judaism", *Leo Baeck Institute Year Book* 27 (1982), 281–293.

<sup>109</sup> K. KOHLER, *Der Segen Jacobs mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der alten Versionen und der Midrash kritisch-historisch untersucht und erklärt* (Berlin: Benzian 1867). This book was the young Kohler's dissertation, in which he argued that Jacob's blessing in Genesis 49 was really a product of a later era, when the Israelites conquered Canaan and began to live as distinct tribes. Kohler later described it as "a bold effort at reconstructing the entire historic development of the religious views of the Bible... it applied the principle of historical evolution to the whole Pentateuch". He also noted that the conservative reaction to the work effectively blocked any rabbinic appointment; see idem, "Personal Reminiscences of My Early Life", *Studies, Addresses and Personal Papers* (New York: Hebrew Union College 1931), 478. See also his 1887 lecture on historical approaches to the Pentateuch in: idem, "The Bible in the Light of Modern Research", *Hebrew Union College and Other Addresses* (Cincinnati: Ark 1916), 177. Kohler's approach to the Genesis narratives found somewhat similar treatment in the hands of Aaron Bernstein, a political and popular science writer. See A. BERNSTEIN, *Ursprung der Sagen von Abraham, Isaak, und Jacob* (Berlin: Dunker 1871), and Soloveitchik/Rubasheff, "Toldot Biqqoret ha-Miqra' (1925), 134–135.

<sup>110</sup> Maybaum, *Entwicklung des altisraelitischen Priesterthums* (1880); and idem, *Entwicklung des israelitischen Prophetenthums* (1883), 131–146, esp. 142ff, for his critique of Christian approaches. See also Ha-Cohen, *Mehadeshē ha-Berit* (2006), 204–221.

Frankel and its simultaneous embrace of *Wissenschaft* and rabbinic traditions, however, the critical study of the Pentateuch posed something of a serious challenge. Frankel, like many of his colleagues in his Rabbinical seminary in Breslau, generally avoided critical discussions of the redaction or dating of the Pentateuch, and when he did address the issue at the end of his life, it was with a pronounced dismissiveness.<sup>111</sup> Within this school, it was the historian Heinrich Graetz who most directly addressed himself to the critical approaches to the Pentateuch, although he too waited until the 1870s.<sup>112</sup> Graetz cited the work of conservative biblical scholars against their more radical contemporaries in an attempt to show that careful and discriminating scholarship need not impugn the integrity of the Pentateuch.<sup>113</sup> He struck out at many of the leading German Bible scholars who had dissected the Pentateuch, writing that while they paid a great deal of attention to Hebrew sources, they did so “only with the intention of diminishing their value”; he accused them of harboring personal antipathy towards Jews, which hindered their ability to correctly understand Scripture.<sup>114</sup> A decade after writing these words, he sharply reiterated his assessment by dismissing most Bible scholars as insufficiently expert in Hebrew, and adding for good measure that “[Wellhausen’s] criticism is largely influenced by his Antisemitism which he takes no pains to disguise”.<sup>115</sup>

The rejection of the critical study of the Pentateuch was even more evident among Jews whose vigorous resistance to any reformation of Judaism crystallized under the banner of Orthodoxy.<sup>116</sup> To be sure, few Orthodox figures both-

<sup>111</sup> Z. FRANKEL, “Missverständene Stellen in der Genesis”, *MGWJ* 23 (1874) 113–122, esp. 113f.

<sup>112</sup> As is well known, Graetz began publishing his monumental *Geschichte der Juden von den ältesten Zeiten bis auf die Gegenwart* in 1853 with volume 4 and the Talmudic period. He deferred work on the volumes corresponding to the biblical period until after he completed the remainder of the history; the first three volumes were thus only published in 1874–76.

<sup>113</sup> See the note titled “Composition der Thora oder des Pentateuch” in: Graetz, *Geschichte*, II/1 (1875), 452–475. Graetz discussed the canonization of Scripture more generally in: “Der alttestamentliche Kanon und sein Abschluss”, an appendix to Graetz, *Kohelet* (1871), 147–173.

<sup>114</sup> Graetz, *Geschichte*, XI (1870), 580.

<sup>115</sup> H. GRAETZ, “Judaism and Biblical Criticism”, *Jewish Chronicle* (5.8.1887) 9; Graetz wrote this brief essay in response to an earlier piece in the *Jewish Chronicle* which called upon Jews to address critical issues such as the historicity of the Exodus narratives. See also his criticism of Wellhausen in: H. GRAETZ, “Die allerneueste Bibelkritik, Wellhausen-Renan”, *MGWJ* 35 (1886) 193–204, 233–251, esp. 234–235. Graetz’s comments were famously echoed in Solomon Schechter’s assertion that higher biblical criticism was just another form of higher anti-Semitism. Like Graetz, Schechter was not opposed to critical biblical scholarship, and even praised its fine intellectual attainments, but he pointed to “modern Aryan” motivations that guided some Bible critics; see S. SCHECHTER, “The Study of the Bible”, in: idem, *Studies in Judaism, Second Series* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society 1908) 39–40; and idem, “The Dogmas of Judaism”, *JQR* 1 (1888) 53. In his sharpest statement against contemporary critical scholarship, he described Wellhausen’s writing as “full of venom against Judaism”, and wrote that “the Bible is our sole *raison d’être*, and it is just this which the Higher antisemitism is trying to destroy”; idem, “Higher Criticism – Higher Antisemitism”, *Seminary Addresses and Other Papers* (Cincinnati: Ark 1915), 36f. For a more nuanced consideration that directly tempers the evaluations of Graetz and Schechter, see L. SILBERMAN, “Wellhausen and Judaism”, *Semeia* 25 (1983) 75–82.

<sup>116</sup> Even the question of the integrity or redaction of the prophetic books remained a sensitive issue among Orthodox scholars in the second half of the nineteenth century. See the critical comments of E. HILDESHEIMER, *Offener Brief an den Redacteur der Monatsschrift Ben Chananja...* (Vienna: Della Torre 1858), 14f, n.7. Decades later, Hildesheimer’s son-in-law Jakob Barth, a semitist and faculty member of the Orthodox Rabbinerseminar in Berlin, apparently discussed his accep-

ered to address and refute critical insights regarding the Pentateuch, perhaps stemming from a desire to avoid attracting attention to questions of which the majority had little or no awareness. One scholar who did take up the question was Joseph Gugenheimer (1833–1896), a Rabbi in Bohemia with a doctorate in medieval Jewish philosophy and the son-in-law of Samson Raphael Hirsch (1808–1888), one of the most outspoken rabbinic leaders of German Orthodoxy. In 1867, just as Hirsch began to publish his commentary to the Pentateuch, Gugenheimer penned a series of articles to assert that despite its overt silence, Hirsch's commentary to Genesis served as an unimpeachable response to questions regarding the unity and compositional integrity of that book.<sup>117</sup> Gugenheimer argued that Hirsch's translation of *toledot* in Gen 2:4 as *Erzeugnisse* (products) and his careful and detailed analysis of other elements of this verse undermined the critical reading of German Bible scholars from Eichhorn to Ewald, and by extension, their critical theories concerning Gen 1 and 2.<sup>118</sup> Gugenheimer went on to cite Hirsch's lengthy expositions to Gen 1:1 and 2:4 to suggest that the two names of God represented different but complementary ways in which the deity interacts with mankind.<sup>119</sup> Along the way he also took aim at Einhorn and his unwarranted reliance on the supposedly "firm results of biblical criticism",<sup>120</sup> in response to which Gugenheimer ultimately proclaimed that critical approaches to the Pentateuch could be deflected by means of clear and precise analysis. A decade later, and in the far more traditionalist environment of East European Jewry, Kahana's *Massoret Seyag la-Miqra'* focused similarly on the relationship of Gen 1 and 2 and the names of God, arguing that the use of different names and the other discrepancies between the narratives were didactically intended and do not constitute proof of multiple authorship.<sup>121</sup>

A broader and more critically engaged Orthodox response was that of David

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tance of Deutero-Isaiah with his students, and was subsequently criticized by an Orthodox writer for following "non-Jewish and un-Jewish criticism". See I. HIRSCH, "Ueber jüdische Bibelexegese", *Jeschurun* 18 (1885) 290; and M. BREUER, *Modernity Within Tradition* (New York: Columbia 1992), 187f. See also Z. WEINBERG, "Hartza'otav shel Ya'akov Bart 'al sefer Yesha'yahu be-bēt ha-midrash la-rabbanim be-Berlin", *Iyyunē Miqra' u-Farshanut* 1 (1980), 235–238. Weinberg points out (p. 240) that although Barth was open to questions of authorship and dating, he was quite conservative with regard to textual emendations.

<sup>117</sup> Gugenheimer, "Die Hypothesen der Bibelkritik" (1867–1869), appeared in seven installments but was never completed; the journal in which these articles were published, *Jeschurun*, was also published by Hirsch. The latter's commentary to the Pentateuch will be discussed below.

<sup>118</sup> Gugenheimer, *Hypothesen* (1867), 302–312. In this first installment, he also cited Bohlen and others.

<sup>119</sup> Gugenheimer, *Hypothesen* (1868), 1–7. The distinction between the two names of God and the notion that their appearance represents two different attributions or facets of God is a classic trope in rabbinic literature. The significance of Gugenheimer's argument is that he recasts the classical notion to serve as a modern response to a new critical formulation of the problem. Gugenheimer's approach might have been the source for a similar twentieth-century Orthodox attempt to deflect biblical criticism, that of Hirsch's great-grandson Mordechai Breuer; see M. BREUER, "Emunah u-Madda' be-parshanut ha-miqra'", *De'ot* 11 (1959) 18–25, and 12 (1960) 12–26; and idem, *Pirqē Bere'shit* (Alon Shevut: Tevnot 1999).

<sup>120</sup> Gugenheimer, *Hypothesen* (1867), 295, 307–309; and (1868) 7f, 188–190; Einhorn was seemingly singled out for criticism because at this juncture, he was the first Jewish scholar to write about the fragmentary nature of the early chapters of Genesis.

<sup>121</sup> Kahana, *Massoret Seyag la-Miqra'* (1882), 111–133. Kahana does not appear to have known of Gugenheimer's articles.

Zvi Hoffmann (1844–1921), a Hungarian-born, German-educated teacher and rector of the Orthodox Rabbinical seminary in Berlin.<sup>122</sup> In his writings, Hoffmann made it abundantly clear that he set out with the a priori belief in the divine origin of the Pentateuch and its Mosaic authorship.<sup>123</sup> But Hoffmann felt that simply reiterating the traditional approach was insufficient, and in a series of articles that appeared in 1879 and 1880, he began to challenge aspects of the “new hypothesis”, including the post-exilic dating of the Priestly Code.<sup>124</sup> Two decades later, clearly aware of the lasting impact of Wellhausen’s writings and a certain scholarly consensus that was forming in its wake, Hoffmann reiterated and expanded upon his objections in another extended study, “*Die Wichtigsten Instanzen gegen die Graf-Wellhausensche Hypothese*”.<sup>125</sup> Focusing mainly on the particulars of Wellhausen’s ideas and honing in on their internal inconsistencies, Hoffmann raised a series of textual questions regarding the dating of the Priestly legislation and its relationship to D, all in an effort to topple central assertions of Wellhausen’s historical-textual theory and leave intact the unity and integrity of the Pentateuch.<sup>126</sup>

The cultural and intellectual differences between West-Central and Eastern European Jewries are also notable with regard to the handling of historical and redactional issues concerning the biblical text. As before, the question of how much exposure Eastern European Jewish scholars had to nineteenth-century biblical scholarship remains difficult to pinpoint, especially in light of the fact that so much of this literature was disseminated in German-language academic publications. It appears that Jewish awareness of these critical issues in these lands came not through direct exposure to European scholarship, but through the writings of other Jews, namely those encountered above. It is also evident that insofar as they did broach critical issues regarding authorship and dating, it was with utmost caution. This is evident in a mid-century maskilic edition of the Tanakh featuring Mendelssohn’s Pentateuch that included the almost half-century old introductions of Ben Ze’ev to the books of the Prophets and Writings, and also in the conservative handling of the question of authorship in a new mas-

<sup>122</sup> Hoffmann’s first engagement with critical approaches to the Pentateuch predated Wellhausen’s major work; see D.Z. HOFFMANN, “Einheit und Integrität der Opfergesetze”, *Magazin für die Wissenschaft des Judenthums* 4 (1877) 1–17, 62–76, 125–141, 210–218.

<sup>123</sup> The clearest statement of this appears in the preface to D.Z. HOFFMANN, *Das Buch Leviticus, übersetzt und erklärt* (Berlin: Poppelauer 1905), vii: “In consequence of the foundation of my belief, I am unable to arrive at the conclusion that the Pentateuch was written by anyone other than Moses”.

<sup>124</sup> Hoffmann, *Die neueste Hypothese* (1879–1880); see also D.Z. HOFFMANN, “Priester und Leviten. Eine Beurteilung der Schrift: ‘Der Kampf zwischen Priestern und Leviten seit den Tagen Ezechiel’s’ – Eine historisch-kritische Untersuchung von Dr. H. Vogelstein”, *Magazin für die Wissenschaft des Judenthums* 17 (1890) 74–87, 136–151, particularly his comment on p. 74 regarding his earlier articles and their successful refutation of the critical dating.

<sup>125</sup> This study appeared in two parts in the *Jahres-Bericht des Rabbiner-Seminars zu Berlin* beginning in 1902–03. The second part appeared with the annual report for 1914–15 (although the preface is signed 1916), and deals exclusively with Genesis.

<sup>126</sup> See Ellenson/Jacobs, *Scholarship and Faith* (1988) 27–40. Schwartz, *La Critica del Pentateuco* (1995), 448, points out that while Hoffmann believed that the flaws he exposed served to delegitimize Wellhausen’s theories, he did not consider whether these claims sufficed to bolster or prove traditional claims regarding the Pentateuch.

kilic commentary to Kohelet.<sup>127</sup> As late as 1871, the leading Eastern European maskil, Samuel Josef Fuenn (1818–1890), was still rather cautious in discussing the multiple and late authorship of sections of Isaiah or Zechariah. In the end, Fuenn clearly gave heed to some new ideas about the authorship of the books of the Prophets and Writings, but in doing so he adhered to fairly moderate views that had already gained traction decades earlier among Western European Jewry; at the same time, he appeared to resist some of the more critically-minded assertions that merely pushed traditional rabbinic assumptions aside.<sup>128</sup> Reifmann, similarly, wrote about the composition of Samuel and the three texts from which it was composed, but he too ended with a cautionary note extolling others to proceed only with due caution and humility.<sup>129</sup>

#### 4. Exegesis

The rapid nineteenth-century linguistic acculturation of European Jews and the far-reaching religious and cultural transformations of this era led not only to the production of new European translations, but also to a variety of new commentaries written either in Hebrew or one of the vernaculars. As one might expect, these nineteenth-century biblical commentaries represented a range of exegetical presuppositions and goals, often reflecting the religious and intellectual proclivities of the different societies from which they emerged. Although the Hebrew Bible certainly served as an arena in which the many competing interpretations of Judaism clashed, most of the new commentaries were penned by scholars who identified themselves as religiously traditionalist or Orthodox, and as a result, much of the exegesis of this period tended to be moderately or strongly conservative in character.<sup>130</sup>

Many of the new translations and commentaries to the Hebrew Bible that appeared in the first half of the century reflected the influence of the Mendelssohn Bible, whose enduring popularity and impact was also evident in the roughly two-dozen re-printings during this half-century alone.<sup>131</sup> Jewish scholars and teachers of this period who sought to advance the study of the Hebrew Bible faced the same conjoined needs for contemporary translations and commentaries. The growing cultural-political pressures of the new century intensified the need for fine vernacular translations as a means of abetting the social and cultural integration of the Jews. The need for translations was also undoubtedly fueled by changes in the patterns of Jewish education, and a question of how best

<sup>127</sup> See *Miqra'ē Qodesh* (Vilna 1848–53); and M. PLUNGIAN, *Kerem li-Shelomoh* (Vilna: Romm 1857), 1a–9a.

<sup>128</sup> See S.J. FUENN, *Dibrē ha-Yamim li-Bnē Yisra'el* (Vilna: Fuenn & Rosenkrantz 1871), part I, 80–110. On these Eastern European maskilim and their handling of questions of biblical dating and redaction, see Levisohn, *Early Vilna Haskalah* (1999), 173–178.

<sup>129</sup> J. REIFMANN, *Or Boqer* (Berlin: Poppelauer 1879), 20–31.

<sup>130</sup> Much of the non-traditionalist interpretations of the Hebrew Bible were articulated in rabbinic sermons, and there is a great deal of such material in print. Methodologically and substantively, however, the study of this material demands separate treatment.

<sup>131</sup> See Lowenstein, *Readership* (1982), 179–213.

to instill an appreciation for, and comprehension of, the biblical text. At the same time, the cultural stimulants that brought about the eighteenth-century revival of *peshat*-oriented exegesis only deepened, and there remained a distinct need for articulate, sophisticated and yet accessible commentaries. These needs were evident in the early nineteenth-century appearance of Isaac Reggio's *Sefer Torat ha-'Elohim*. This Pentateuch, with an original Italian translation and Hebrew-language commentary (also published under the generic heading *Bi'ur*), was explicitly modeled after, and largely shaped by, Mendelssohn's *Sefer Netivot ha-Shalom*.<sup>132</sup> Citing the needs of his own Italian audience, Reggio set out to offer a somewhat more accessible commentary. He selected what he deemed to be the best *peshat* exegesis from among the medievals and *Sefer Netivot ha-Shalom* and blended them, without citation or references, into a clear and straightforward work. This Italian Bible represented the continuation of the exegetical revival of the Berlin Haskalah and its various religious and cultural sensitivities, but it did not significantly move beyond its attainments.

Far more ambitious and original, and certainly the least traditional of the commentaries of the first half-century, was the French translation and French commentary to the Tanakh penned by Samuel Cahen (1796–1862). Cahen's overarching aim was to present the Bible and its study as a text that demanded, and deserved, the same thoughtful sophistication that would be applied to any classical text. In the end, he produced a remarkable work unlike any other Jewish Bible at the time.<sup>133</sup> Although eschewing all manner of dogmatism and touting its adherence to a "méthode critique ou rationnelle", this eighteen-volume opus did not specifically set out to promote a text-critical agenda.<sup>134</sup> The Hebrew text employed throughout was the traditional *textus receptus*, and the French translation to the Pentateuch adhered to that version;<sup>135</sup> and while the translation of the other books of the Tanakh occasionally varied from the MT, the readings they offered generally stayed within the interpretative range offered by the Targumim or the medieval exegetes. At the same time, the distinctly modern character of this French Bible was evident in the approach adopted in the commentaries and some appended essays. The commentaries, written in a succinct though readable prose, provided a remarkably seamless blend of Jewish and non-Jewish sources,

<sup>132</sup> Reggio, *Torat ha-'Elohim* (1821). Interestingly, the 1818 prospectus to this work (see above, n. 25) was far more explicit regarding its debt to the Mendelssohn Bible – virtually describing it as an Italian *Sefer Netivot ha-Shalom* – than the actual Pentateuch that was published. Nevertheless, its debt to the earlier Bible is apparent.

<sup>133</sup> Cahen, *La Bible*, (1831–1851). For a general presentation of this Bible and some keen observations regarding the unique aspects of the French-Jewish culture, see J. BERKOVITZ, *The Shaping of Jewish Identity in Nineteenth-Century France* (Detroit: Wayne State 1989), 132–144. For a more focused though somewhat tendentious discussion of *La Bible*, see Schwarzbach, Cahen's Bible Commentary (2003), 175–210.

<sup>134</sup> See the *Avant-Propos* in Cahen, *La Bible* (1831), I, ix–xvi. This preface announced that a general introduction that would address "la rédaction du Pentateuque" would be included with the volume for Deuteronomy. The preface to the second edition (1845) then indicated that this introduction would be completed only after all volumes had been published. In the end, this introduction does not appear to have been published.

<sup>135</sup> The commentary is sprinkled with instances in which Cahen reviewed various renderings of a difficult phrase or verse fragment but ended by indicating that he followed the translation of Mendelssohn.

of traditional Jewish learning and modern scholarship. Cahen regularly referenced the Septuagint, Samaritan Pentateuch, Targumim, classical rabbinic literature, medieval Jewish exegesis (and occasionally other medieval Jewish literature), *Sefer Netivot ha-Shalom*, and a variety of contemporary, mainly German, scholars. The appendices on the Pentateuch alone included excerpts from Philo (on animal sacrifices) and on a variety of subjects such as topographical observations of the Sinai desert and leprosy and elephantiasis.<sup>136</sup> Perhaps the most important of the appendices was contributed by Solomon Munk on the subject of the Temple and sacrificial cult, in which he examined these biblical practices in light of the cultic practices of other ancients.<sup>137</sup> Cahen thus introduced a distinct historical-anthropological interest in the ancient world alongside his textual-philological presentation, although he presented such insights as complementing Jewish traditions, and not upending them.<sup>138</sup> In a number of instances this work also touched on the late redaction of various biblical books, including the Pentateuch, but the subject was not highlighted or treated separately.<sup>139</sup> In the end, Cahen produced a remarkable French Bible that blended the worlds of traditional and modern learning.

Another exegete of note was the Italian Samuel David Luzzatto, the author of numerous works on biblical Hebrew and an important study of Targum Onkelos, whose writings with regard to textual and redactional criticism we have already discussed above. Sometime between 1846 and 1848 Luzzatto published some exegetical notes to the Pentateuch under the title *Ha-Mishtadel*,<sup>140</sup> and after his death in 1865 his son published an Italian-Hebrew Pentateuch with a significantly expanded version of his Hebrew commentary. This edition also included an Italian introduction based on Luzzatto's lectures on the Bible originally delivered before his students in Padua.<sup>141</sup> In his introductory remarks, Luzzatto emphasized the need for grammatical and linguistic rigor along with the proper and plausible exercise of reason. He repeatedly underscored the primacy of the former, since without a clear and precise understanding of the biblical text, biblical interpretations were merely eisegetical impositions. Luzzatto's resistance

<sup>136</sup> See Cahen, *La Bible* (1832), II, 190–216, and III, 151–160, 161–169.

<sup>137</sup> S. MUNK, "Réflexions sur le Culte des Anciens Hébreux, dans ses Rapports avec les Autres Cultes de l'Antiquité", printed in Cahen, *La Bible* (1833), IV, 1–56, and esp. 20f.

<sup>138</sup> See e.g. his commentary to Gen 46:34, Exod 3:5; 28:30 (supplementary notes); 34:33, and Deut 25:5–10. Although Cahen generally presented rabbinic texts in respectful or neutral terms, he clearly struggled with rabbinic passages that challenged his critical sensibilities. Compare the different approaches in Num 15:1; 20:22; 21:23; 26:4; 27:16, and 28:15. See Schwarzbach, *Cahen's Bible* (2003), 206–208.

<sup>139</sup> See Schwarzbach, *Cahen's Bible* (2003), 198f.

<sup>140</sup> These notes first appeared as an appendix to the Viennese 1846 edition of Mendelssohn's Pentateuch; they commented directly on the Hebrew Bible and were not written as a supercommentary to the *Bi'ur*, although it regularly referred to Mendelssohn's German translation and commentary. *Ha-Mishtadel* was also printed by the same publisher as a free-standing volume in 1847. The confusion regarding the dating stems from the fact that while this edition of *Sefer Netivot ha-Shalom* was dated 1846 and the free-standing volume was dated 1847, Luzzatto's introduction published in both versions was dated 1848. That introduction also referred to his eighteen years as a teacher at the rabbinic seminary in Padua, which would date the work to the summer of 1847 or later.

<sup>141</sup> Luzzatto, *Hamisha Humshē Torah* (1871–1876); this edition also included Luzzatto's Italian translation, first published as *Il Pentateuco* (Trieste 1858–1860). On the introduction, see above n. 85.

to such *interpretatio* was further buttressed by his keen sense of the limits of speculation and inquiry, here manifested by his assertion that the Bible touched on divine matters that necessarily defied human comprehension. Luzzatto, interestingly, insisted on a degree of humility not only with regard to certain existential questions, but also with regard to the narrative peculiarities of the biblical text, as for example the structure and organization of certain sections and the many repetitions of the Bible.<sup>142</sup> The degree of his commitment to an unfettered and rigorous explication of the biblical text was also evident in his refusal to privilege rabbinic interpretations, even in matters of halakhah. Dismissing Mendelssohn's principled insistence on abandoning the *pesbat* in favor of the rabbinic reading when the two stood in conflict, Luzzatto cited rabbinic sources and the example of medieval exegetes as license for full exegetical independence.<sup>143</sup>

Given its posthumous and evidently unedited publication, Luzzatto's commentary was very much a work-in-progress, shaped in part by his ongoing lectures to his rabbinical students. His comments, some of which are dated to a particular year or day, often revise or correct his earlier writings, and he was fond of citing the insights offered by his students.<sup>144</sup> Luzzatto's ardent pursuit of truth manifested itself in his use of an astonishingly broad range of Jewish and non-Jewish sources, be they ancient, medieval or modern, all of which were marshaled in defense of the sanctity and divinity of the Hebrew Bible. Although the interpretations put forth by this exegete have occasionally been dismissed by other modern students of the Bible as unconvincing, his commentary reflected an unusual melding of fierce independence and originality with deeply traditionalist commitments.

One of the least known and appreciated Jewish commentaries of the mid-nineteenth century was that of Elijah Benamozegh (1823–1900), whose exegesis combined something of Cahen's intellectual range with Luzzatto's originality and staunch traditionalism.<sup>145</sup> Benamozegh, who served as Rabbi of his native Livorno (Leghorn), exhibited an impressive familiarity with ancient texts and literatures and a far-ranging interest in the work of modern semitists, anthropologists, archeologists, and historians and their insights into the religions of Antiquity. This vast erudition was interwoven with rabbinic, medieval, and mod-

<sup>142</sup> Ibid. I, xxxviii–xli; Morais, *Italian Hebrew Literature* (1926), 143–147. Luzzatto was clearly not suggesting that structural or narrative questions could never be addressed, but that such textual problems could not, and indeed need not, be solved in all instances. His aversion to forced readings of this kind was surely another swipe at critical scholars and their use of narrative dislocations and repetitions as a springboard to redactional corrections. On his hermeneutical predilections, see S. RAWIDOWICZ, "On Interpretation", *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* 26 (1957), 123f.

<sup>143</sup> Luzzatto, *Ha-Mishtadel* (1847), introduction [unpaginated]; see also S.D. LUZZATTO, *Bēt ha-'Otzar* (Lemberg 1847), 34b–35a. On rabbinic divergences from *pesbat*, see his comment to Lev 7:18. In his comment to Deut 28:23, Luzzatto somewhat wistfully pointed to the Sages themselves as exemplars of intellectual freedom.

<sup>144</sup> On the dating of many comments, see e.g. Luzzatto, *Hamisha Humshē Torah* (1871–76), to Gen 19:16; 21:23; Exod 24:10; Lev 7:18; Num 23:10; on the revision or correction of earlier interpretations, see e.g. Gen 27:1; 36:43; Exod 5:3; 15:11; Lev 10:3; Num 11:21; 20:12; and for citations of his students, see e.g. Exod 9:14; 15:11; Lev 6:2; Num 32:15.

<sup>145</sup> E. BENAMOZEGH, *Sefer Torat ha-Shem...ve-nosaf 'alav 'Em la-Miqra'*, 1–5 (Livorno: Benamozegh 1862–1863).



ern Jewish scholarship with the aim of demonstrating that the growing knowledge of the ancient world could be used to reinforce the integrity of the Hebrew Bible and legitimate its rabbinic – not to mention kabbalistic – interpretations. Although Benamozegh's approach was clearly shaped and limited by its apologetic aims, his commentary went to great lengths to utilize ancient and modern writings as a means of illuminating the biblical text.<sup>146</sup>

With the emergence of *Wissenschaft* and reform-minded Jewish scholars who began to question the textual basis of the rabbinic interpretation of Scripture, one of the dominant trends of nineteenth-century traditionalist exegesis was the development of a different aspect of Mendelssohn's exegetical legacy, namely the defense of classical rabbinic interpretations. Rabbis and scholars who wished to uphold the authority and integrity of Rabbinic Judaism found the approach of Luzzatto or his medieval antecedents (e.g. Rashbam) to be problematic, and one of the ways in which they tried to buttress a new Orthodoxy, as it became known, was by demonstrating the fundamental accord between Scripture and its rabbinic elucidations. The first of these commentaries, expressly published to address this issue, was written by Jacob Zvi Meklenburg (1785–1865), chief Rabbi of Königsberg. In the introduction to his aptly titled commentary, *Ha-Qetab ve-ha-Qabbalah* [Scripture and Tradition] (1839), Meklenburg focused on the object of his concern, namely, the perceived inauthenticity of oral traditions and the particular notion that rabbinic interpretations were foisted unnaturally upon Scripture. In language reminiscent of the introductions to *Sefer Netivot ha-Shalom*, he suggested that a refined grasp of the biblical language and idiom would demonstrate that “the Written Torah and the Oral Torah are twins, conjoined one to the other such that they could not be sundered.”<sup>147</sup> Meklenburg's intention was not to collapse the distinction between *peshat* and *derash*, that is, between the straightforward and linguistically informed interpretation of Scripture and its rabbinic interpretations as found in talmudic or midrashic collections. Rather, his aim was to defuse any apparent tension between them and to legitimate rabbinic readings by grounding them in the biblical text with subtlety and sophistication. In the commentary itself, curiously, this particular concern for rabbinic exegesis actually played a secondary role. Rather, like so many other commentaries of this era, *Ha-Qetab ve-ha-Qabbalah* was devoted first and foremost to an explication of *peshuto shel miqra*, citing a wide range of late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century Jewish scholars, from Elijah b. Solomon Zalman of Vilna's *'Aderet 'Eliyahu* to the *Bi'ur* and Luzzatto, as well as a host of less-known but gifted scholars such as Solmon Pappenheim and Wolf Heidenheim. In many ways, this commentary served as an excellent anthology of late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century *peshat* exegesis, a collection that reflected the reinvigorated Jewish Bible study. Meklenburg's explication of the rabbinic interpretations of Scripture was undertaken only on a selective basis, and in the first edition of this work, his limited attempts at articulating a systematic approach to the problem relied heavily on Mendelssohn's own articulations.

<sup>146</sup> Benamozegh's aims and its concomitant selectivity was also manifest in the fact that he did not appear eager to seriously confront the various claims of biblical criticism.

<sup>147</sup> Meklenburg, *Ha-Qetab* (1839), x.

In lengthy notes appended to the introductions to the second edition of this work (1852), Meklenburg grappled in a more nuanced and original way with the issues of text and interpretation.<sup>148</sup> The written word of Scripture, Meklenburg averred, contained signifiers that allowed the perspicacious reader to discern meanings hidden in the text. That these meanings were not stated explicitly certainly allowed for multiple and even discordant readings, but this ambiguity compelled the individual Jew to make a positive – and Orthodox – affirmation in favor of the regnant rabbinic reading.<sup>149</sup> Meklenburg was essentially insisting on two very different claims: that the corpus of rabbinic teachings originated *qua* traditions that were only later cast in literary-exegetical form, and that these rabbinic teachings could be linguistically derived from Scripture. Meklenburg harmonized these disparate notions by suggesting that rabbinic traditions were not merely pegged to Scripture verses as a literary-mnemonic device, but as ‘associative signs’ whose correlations were naturally and systematically calibrated.<sup>150</sup> As such, Meklenburg tried to simultaneously affirm the genesis of rabbinic law as revealed legal tradition while also embracing the substantive value of its exegetical transmission.<sup>151</sup>

The concern for rabbinic exegesis was carried forward into the second half of the nineteenth century by Meir Leibush Malbim (1809–1879), a Polish-born scholar who served for over two decades as Rabbi in the eastern Prussian province of Posen (then Prussia) and later in a succession of Eastern European communities. Like Meklenburg, Malbim was sensitive to the growing critical assessment of Rabbinic Judaism on the part of Jews. He too set out with the aim of joining the Written and Oral Torahs, but he approached the undertaking in a far more systematic and ambitious fashion.<sup>152</sup> Although he exhibited an abiding interest in the Prophets and Writings,<sup>153</sup> his signal contribution as an exegete was his work on the Pentateuch, which tellingly began as a study of rabbinic literature, and not as biblical commentary. In 1860, Malbim published an edition of the *Sifra*, the early rabbinic midrash to Leviticus, in which he interpolated the relevant biblical verses into the rabbinic text and added a lengthy Hebrew commentary titled *Ha-Torah ve-ha-Mitzvah*. In the general introduction to his work, he asserted that the most direct way to deflect anti-rabbinic criticism and to protect the authority of Rabbinic Judaism was through its hermeneutical

<sup>148</sup> The 1852 edition was published under the slightly different title, *Torat ha-Qetab ve-ha-Qabalab*. In contrast to the first edition, which was printed as a stand-alone commentary, this edition contained the Hebrew Bible, a new German translation, Onkelos, and Rashi. More importantly, the commentary was vastly expanded and edited, with some earlier comments removed and others revised. One of the two introductions, to which reference is made here, was also substantively rewritten. This second edition was reprinted without further revision in Königsberg, 1856, and a fourth edition, with a small number of further editions, was also published in Berlin, 1880.

<sup>149</sup> Meklenburg, *Ha-Qetab* (1852), x-xii, n. 2.

<sup>150</sup> *Ibid.* xvii–xxiv, n. 4. Meklenburg uses the term *siman moda'i* and adds in parentheses *Merkmal*.

<sup>151</sup> For a more extensive discussion, see Breuer, *Between Haskalah and Orthodoxy* (1995), 259–287.

<sup>152</sup> Malbim expressed his early concern for Jewish anti-rabbinism in a letter of 1839; see S. Nobel, “Der Malbim vi 'a Kempfer gegen Reform”, *Yivo Bleter* 33 (1949) 237 f.

<sup>153</sup> He published commentaries to Esther (1845), Isaiah (1849), and Song of Songs (1860), and then between 1866 and 1868, a commentary to the Prophets and Hagiographa.

underpinnings. He set out to demonstrate how rabbinic interpretations of Scripture were firmly rooted in the language of the Hebrew Bible, and that the Sages were in possession of a myriad of precise hermeneutical rules that had been lost over time. Malbim went ahead and recreated these rules – set at 613 – in an introductory section titled *'Ayelet ha-Shabar*, in which he codified a host of interpretative stratagems including not only grammar and syntax, but the application of biblical style and idiom, and a systematic means of decoding repetitions, superfluities, and synonymity.<sup>154</sup> Malbim rejected the notion that rabbinic teachings were merely traditions that used Scriptural verses as props or as a kind of subscript; rather, he insisted upon such a degree of textual acumen among the Sages that their interpretations were indistinguishable from *peshuto shel miqra'*. The words of the Oral Torah, he wrote, “are compelled by and ingrained in the Scriptural *peshat* and in the depths of the language. *Derush* [rabbinic interpretation] alone is the simple *peshat* that is based upon the true and clear rules of language”.<sup>155</sup> What thus began as a work on a classical rabbinic text was soon transformed into a biblical commentary. Between 1875 and 1878, Malbim published a Pentateuch that included the *Mekhilta* (Exodus), *Sifra* (Leviticus) and *Sifre* (Numbers and Deuteronomy), with his *Ha-Torah ve-ha-Mitzvah* now expanded to cover the entire Pentateuch.<sup>156</sup> In sections of the Pentateuch containing narrative non-legal material, Malbim posed a series of questions to which he supplied lengthy answers, somewhat reminiscent of the style employed earlier by Abarbanel and other late medieval scholars.

Taken as a whole, Malbim's exegesis remained firmly rooted within Jewish texts and sources. Although his commentary occasionally allowed that the *peshat* and *derash* were not in fact commensurate,<sup>157</sup> its many pages devoted to the legal portions of the Pentateuch were deeply committed to the goal of cementing the relationship of the biblical text and its reading at the hands of the Sages. With regard to the non-legal, narrative portions of the Hebrew Bible, this commentary offered a substantially different notion of *peshuto shel miqra* than that developed by Meklenburg, Luzzatto, and others, one that was leavened with a fair amount of homiletic material. In Malbim's exegetical approach to biblical narrative, the classical categories of *peshat* and *derash* were not so much collapsed as they were blurred. And although there is much evidence regarding Malbim's extensive awareness of maskilic literature and at least some of the broader cultural and intellectual developments unfolding in Europe, his commentary represents a traditionalist turn away from contemporary ideas in favor of an almost exclusive immersion in classical rabbinic and medieval writings.<sup>158</sup> The reawakened inter-

<sup>154</sup> Malbim, *Sifra* (1860), 1a–9b. The number 613 conveniently matched the Talmudic tradition regarding the number of biblical commandments.

<sup>155</sup> *Ibid.* introduction, 2a [unpaginated in text].

<sup>156</sup> This Pentateuch was published under the generic title *Hamishah Humshē Torah* (Warsaw, Eisenstat), but the printing dates are contradictory and confusing. Malbim's commentary was included alongside the commentaries of Rashi, Ba'al ha-Turim, and Siftē Hakhamim, a popular early modern super-commentary to Rashi.

<sup>157</sup> See, e.g. his commentary to Deut 24:1; 26:15. These examples were cited by D. BERGER, “Malbim's Secular Knowledge and His Relationship to the Spirit of the Haskalah”, *Yavneh Review* 5 (1966) 32 f.

<sup>158</sup> Berger, Malbim (1966), 24–46.

est in Hebrew and Bible study and the need to reinforce the integrity of traditional Judaism also gave rise to the commentary of Samson Raphael Hirsch (1808–1888). Hirsch served for over three decades as the Rabbi of the separatist Frankfurt Orthodox community, a pulpit from which he articulated a new vision of Orthodoxy that was stridently critical of religious reform and insistent that Jews remain faithful to rabbinic traditions while participating fully in German society and culture. Hirsch gave concrete form to his neo-Orthodoxy in his new translation and German-language commentary to the Pentateuch.<sup>159</sup> Although Hirsch was no less committed to the defense of normative Rabbinic Judaism than Meklenburg and Malbim, he took an entirely different approach to the interpretation of Scripture. In his view, the corpus of rabbinic teachings could not – and for polemical purposes, should not – be derived from the biblical text. The Bible, rather, had to be viewed as a mnemonic primer that elicited the particulars of the Oral Torah, which Hirsch cast as a revealed tradition that Moses and the Israelites had independently received.<sup>160</sup> Beyond the issues of biblical and rabbinic law, Hirsch was highly sensitive to the prevailing European-Protestant depreciation of Judaism, and devoted a great deal of his commentary to demonstrate the thoroughly integrated – and unsurpassable – spiritual and ethical world-view of the Torah. Towards this end, Hirsch utilized an imaginative and distinct mix of philology and homiletics. His philological analyses, it should be noted, had no serious basis in Hebrew or Semitic linguistics, and he appears to have willfully ignored contemporary advances in the field. Instead, he produced something of a theosophical commentary that made heavy use of biblical symbolism and mined biblical narratives and strictures for their sublime moral teachings.

In German Orthodoxy, the scholars of the Berlin *Rabbinerseminar* represented a vastly different approach to *Wissenschaft*, and this is evident in the biblical exegesis of Hoffmann, mentioned above in the context of his response to Wellhausen. In his commentaries to Leviticus and Deuteronomy, which he wrote over the course of the last three decades of the century, Hoffmann also argued for the concordance of the Hebrew Bible with the Oral Law as preserved in rabbinic literature.<sup>161</sup> Like Malbim, he devoted a considerable amount of scholarly attention to the study of *midrash halakhah*, but the methodological conclusions he drew were different.<sup>162</sup> Hoffmann, however, adopted an exegetical position closer to that of Meklenburg. He asserted that the oral traditions that explicate Scripture were a fully formed, independent, and synchronous revelation at Sinai, and should not be viewed as an exegetically derived corpus.<sup>163</sup> Never-

<sup>159</sup> Hirsch, Pentateuch (1867–78).

<sup>160</sup> See his comment to Exod 21:2.

<sup>161</sup> Hoffmann, Leviticus (1805–1806); idem, Deuteronomium (1813–1822).

<sup>162</sup> Hoffmann published a series of studies on the Mishnah (1881/1882) and *midrash halakhah* (1886/1887) in *Jahres-Bericht des Rabbiner-Seminars zu Berlin*; the latter reflected his thorough familiarity with the work of Malbim.

<sup>163</sup> Hoffmann, Leviticus (1905), 4: “the normative practices (*halakhot*) which the Midrash derives from Scripture did not first emerge from *derashab*; they are, rather, traditional teachings for which support has been found, either to provide stronger confirmation or to preserve them from being forgotten.... *Halakhot* would rest on a very weak basis if they owed their primary existence to the Midrashim. We have to admit in many instances that the derived Halakhah does not necessarily follow

theless, since in his view the biblical text and the oral traditions formed a perfect whole, it was the task of the modern exegete to connect the Bible with tradition, to demonstrate – even if retrospectively – how rabbinic interpretations and teachings were indicated by and fit perfectly with the precise wording of Scripture.<sup>164</sup> Beyond this overarching concern, Hoffmann's internalization of nineteenth-century European scholarship manifested itself in the range of his linguistic, scientific, and anthropological insights.

The nineteenth-century Jewish revival of Bible study, finally, was also evident in Eastern Europe, and it appeared to have both traditional and maskilic sources.<sup>165</sup> On the one hand, Elijah b. Solomon Zalman of Vilna (Gra; 1720–1797), the venerated Lithuanian scholar and vociferous opponent of the popular mystical-revivalist movement of Hasidism, attempted to refocus attention on the study of Scripture. In his *'Aderet 'Eliyahu*, which first appeared posthumously as a commentary to an 1804 edition of the Pentateuch, Gra highlighted the importance of *peshat*-oriented readings of Scripture, but maintained a clear distinction between *peshat* and rabbinic exegesis.<sup>166</sup> His expression of concern for the biblical text and its traditional rabbinic interpretation aimed to underscore the far-reaching, even radical, nature of rabbinic *derash*. As such, this commentary did not in itself set out to advance fresh approaches to the biblical text, nor, in the end, did it substantively explicate the exegetical discernment of the Sages. Rather, this Lithuanian scholar sought to highlight the interpretative creativity and profundity of Rabbinic Judaism, an endeavor that would shape the intellectual and spiritual character of Lithuanian scholarship for the next century.<sup>167</sup>

On the other hand, the Mendelssohn Bible reached Eastern Europe even before the end of the eighteenth century and was clearly studied in the nineteenth century by rabbinic scholars and teachers.<sup>168</sup> Beyond traditional circles, *Sefer Netivot ha-Shalom* served as an inspiration and model for the small but growing number of maskilim who had begun to develop their own revival of Bible study as part of the nascent Eastern European Haskalah.<sup>169</sup> By mid-century, these east-

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from the words of Scripture and that the words of Scripture could also be interpreted differently than Midrash". See Harris, *How Do We Know This?* (1995), 230 f.

<sup>164</sup> Hoffmann, *Leviticus* (1905), 1f; and see Schwartz, *La Critica del Pentateuco* (1995), 446.

<sup>165</sup> We will not deal here with the nineteenth-century Hasidic interpretation of Scripture. While Hasidic masters certainly devoted a great deal of attention to the contemplation and interpretation of the Hebrew Bible, they did so in terms that were directly related to medieval and early modern Jewish mystical traditions, and concomitantly unrelated to the issues and historical developments addressed in this chapter. See, e.g. M. IDEL, *Absorbing Perfections: Kabbalah and Interpretation* (New Haven: Yale 2002) 190–192, 470–481, and passim; idem, "Hermeneutics in Hasidism", *HBOT*, II (2008), 943–952; S. MAGID, *Hasidism on the Margin: Reconciliation, Antinomianism, and Messianism in Izbica and Radzin Hasidism* (Madison: University of Wisconsin 2003).

<sup>166</sup> This commentary was first published in *Hamishah Humsbē Torah* (Dubrovna: Abraham b. Jacob/Barukh b. Elyahu 1804) alongside other commentaries, and was introduced and seemingly edited by the author's sons; on the distinction of *peshat* and rabbinic interpretations, see his comments to Exod 21:6; 21:29; 34:7 and Deut 11:32.

<sup>167</sup> Harris, *How Do We Know This?* (1995), 235–239.

<sup>168</sup> See M. HILDESHEIMER, "Moses Mendelssohn in Nineteenth-Century Rabbinical Literature", *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* 55 (1988), 106–108, 120f; Levisohn, *Early Vilna Haskalah* (1999), 137.

<sup>169</sup> For early examples of this Eastern European revival, see Levinsohn, *Te'udah be-Yisra'el*

ern proponents of the Haskalah, concentrated in urban centers such as Warsaw and Vilna, arranged for the publication of new editions of the Mendelssohn Bible.<sup>170</sup> An edition published by Adam ha-Kohen Lebensohn included both an anthology of new nineteenth-century exegesis (Luzzatto, Meklenburg, Gra, etc.), as well some of his own exegetical notes.<sup>171</sup> Other maskilim too contributed various commentaries and notes to the books of Scripture.<sup>172</sup>

Ultimately, the most notable exegetical works that emerged from Eastern Europe, particularly on the Pentateuch, were produced not by maskilim, but by traditional scholars. Perhaps the most outstanding and original of these was a commentary to the Pentateuch titled *Ha-'Ameq Dabar* by the head of the prestigious Volozhin yeshivah, R. Naftali Zvi Yehudah Berlin (known also as Netziv; 1817–1893).<sup>173</sup> Like Malbim and Hoffmann, Berlin had devoted considerable attention to the study of rabbinic *midrash*, especially the Sifre, and in this context he articulated a view of classical rabbinic exegesis as both an original and creative process of deducing new *halakhot* and an a posteriori effort to establish Scriptural connections for established traditions orally received. Pursuant to this project, Berlin conceived of his biblical commentary as clarifying, filling in, and extending those exegetical proclivities. He melded a sensitivity to biblical grammar, philology, and syntax with a profound appreciation for the formulated and unformulated rabbinic modes of interpretation, which were to be applied anew in every generation.<sup>174</sup> The result, in narrative portions of the Pentateuch, was the extension of existing midrashim or the creation of new midrashic readings,<sup>175</sup> while in the realm of halakhah, Berlin regularly seized upon particular words or formulations and presented them – in novel and original terms – as the basis for rabbinic teachings.<sup>176</sup> In this way, Berlin underscored the limitless interpretative possibilities that inhered in the biblical text, opening up and extending the creative possibilities for traditional exegesis. Berlin was also attuned to the social and

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(1828), 1–17, where he emphasized the value and importance of Hebrew language and Bible study (and see above n. 55); and the second edition of Katzenellenbogen, *Netivot 'Olam* (1858), 64a–65a.

<sup>170</sup> These include *Netivot ha-Shalom* (Warsaw, 1836), and the Vilna 1852 edition published by Y. L. Mandelstamm. The revival of Hebrew Bible study in Eastern Europe is also evident in the maskilic journal *Pirḥē Tzafon* 1 (1841) 16–18, 29, 48f; and 2 (1844) 62–69, 186f.

<sup>171</sup> Lebensohn published this edition in Vilna 1848–1853 under the general title *Miqra'ē Qodesh*, although the Pentateuch volumes were printed as *Sefer Netivot ha-Shalom*. He later published exegetical notes to Jeremiah, Ezekiel and the minor prophets in: Lebensohn, *Be'urim* (1858).

<sup>172</sup> See, e.g. Plungian, *Kerem li-Shelomoh* (1857), a commentary to Kohelet. Many Eastern European maskilim interested in the Hebrew Bible contributed exegetical notes to journals such as *Ha-Maggid* (1856–) and *Ha-Carmel* (1860–). Another manifestation of the maskilic interest in the Bible and biblical exegesis can be found in the published notes of Judah Leib Gordon to his biblically-themed poems; see J. L. GORDON, *Kol Shirē Yehudah Leb Gordon* (St. Petersburg: Pines & Cedarbaum 1884), III, 7–12, 100–06.

<sup>173</sup> Berlin, *Torat 'Elohim* (1879–80); this commentary was included in an otherwise standard edition of the Pentateuch with Rashi and Onkelos. The second edition (1936–1938) included an extra slim volume in which Berlin's son, Meir Bar-Ilan, contributed additional notes culled from his father's manuscripts along with a "Mabo' Qatzar".

<sup>174</sup> Berlin, *Torat 'Elohim* (1879–1880), iv; this appeared in an introduction to his commentary titled "Qidmat ha-'Emeq". For a discussion of this aspect of Berlin's exegesis, see G. PERL, "Emek ha-Neziv: A Window into the Intellectual Universe of Rabbi Naftali Zvi Yehudah Berlin" (Harvard University diss., 2006) 289–317; see also Harris, *How Do We Know This?* (1995), 239f.

<sup>175</sup> See e.g. Gen 11:3; 22:9; 32:29; Exod 32:2; Num 13:22.

<sup>176</sup> See e.g. Lev 7:29–30; Num 3:48; 18:2; Deut 24:3.

religious upheavals of the century, and used his commentary to fend off the perceived evils of acculturation and assimilation by limning his commentary with the Torah-centered ideology of traditional Lithuanian Jewry.<sup>177</sup>

## 5. Epilogue

As this survey demonstrates, the Jewish study of the Hebrew Bible in the nineteenth century took place on two interconnected planes. On one level, the story of Jewish biblical scholarship in this century is one that is enmeshed with the broader intellectual and scholarly challenges that were transforming European Jews and Judaism. The complex process of Jewish integration and acculturation, which was fraught at every turn with political and religious pressures, clearly impacted upon Jewish scholarship in general, and this included the study of the Hebrew Bible. As Jews immersed themselves in the culture of western and central Europe, they confronted new modes of biblical scholarship that challenged traditional assumptions and beliefs regarding the textual integrity and preservation of the MT, the historical provenance and redaction of its books, and the hermeneutic validity of rabbinic interpretations. Looking back on this era, one must bear in mind that since the rate and depth of Jewish acculturation varied in time and place, what Jews knew about contemporary scholarship was neither uniform nor uniformly sophisticated. As a result, the Jewish engagement with the presumptions, methods, and conclusions of critical scholarship was often selective and uneven. More importantly, the new modes of biblical scholarship, which were themselves buffeted by political and religious considerations, did not reach Jews in a historical vacuum, and their religiously-laden assumptions and goals would not go unnoticed. For Jews, contemporary European approaches to the Hebrew Bible were *Christian* approaches, and given the political and cultural-religious dynamics that unfolded during this century, this perspective would stimulate Jewish reaction while also complicating the response. The dynamics of this historical context were clearly such that the Jewish study of the Hebrew Bible was placed into a reactive if not defensive posture.

On another level, clearly related to the historical dynamic just described, it is evident that much of what we have surveyed here amounted to an internal discourse, that is, a study of the Hebrew Bible that remained thoroughly Jewish in its audience and its objectives. A good deal of nineteenth-century Jewish biblical scholarship continued to be written in Hebrew; and even though some Jewish writings produced in European vernaculars were written with a non-Jewish audience in mind, much of what was published in German was really directed at their co-religionists. Jewish biblical scholarship thus focused on a series of questions and textual issues that were distinctly Jewish in their focus and sensitivity, be it an abiding concern for the integrity of the Hebrew *textus receptus*, the nature of biblical religion and law, or the hermeneutical perspicacity of rabbinic interpretations. Despite the ease with which some Jewish scholars disparaged

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<sup>177</sup> On this aspect of Berlin's commentary, see Perl, 'Emek ha-Neziv (2006), 318–390.

and belittled the scholarly acumen of their Christian counterparts, many of the Jewish scholars we encountered above appreciated – tacitly if not explicitly – the seriousness of the new critical questions that were being raised. Their self-appointed task, then, was one of demarcation and qualification. Writing as individuals, and working with little consensus, these scholars sought to delimit what methods and conclusions could be utilized in the Jewish study of the Hebrew Bible, or to qualify the texts and instances to which they might be applied.

The nineteenth century, then, is very much of a transitory period in the modern history of Jewish biblical scholarship. The developments outlined in this chapter demonstrate the substantive Jewish re-engagement of the Hebrew Bible as a manifestation of the broader changes in Jewish culture and learning. But for all their serious contributions to biblical scholarship, Jews approached many aspects of the study of the Hebrew Bible with hesitation and uncertainty, and in some cases with avoidance and silence. As the century drew to a close, Jewish scholars were not an integral part of nineteenth-century biblical scholarship; they were still excluded from its ranks and alienated by its overt and often aggressive Christian overtones. The full participation of Jews in the modern study of the Hebrew Bible would only come about with two important developments: the institutional and attitudinal transformation of the western scholarly guild, such that biblical scholarship shed its heavily Christian orientation and/or made room for Jewish perspectives; and the concomitant Jewish openness to critical scholarship and the cultivation of critical methods and approaches. The manifestation of these developments, however, belongs to the story of the century that followed.





*C. Special Fields and Different Approaches  
in the Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible /  
Old Testament*



## CHAPTER TWELVE

# The ‘History of Israel’: Its Emergence as an Independent Discipline

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### 1. Introduction: The Development of a Historical Methodology in the Seventeenth Century

*Sources:* J. MABILLON, *De re diplomatica*, Libri VI (Paris: Billaine 1681; <sup>2</sup>1704; repr. Naples: Vincenzo Ursino <sup>3</sup>1789). – H. ROSWEYDE / J. BOLLAND / G. HENSCHEN / D. VAN PAPENBROECK (PAPEBROCHIIUS), *Acta Sanctorum* (Antwerp: Jan Meurs 1643). – G. VICO, *Principi di una scienza nuova d'intorno alla commune natura delle nazioni* (Naples: Felice Mosca 1725, <sup>2</sup>1730, <sup>3</sup>1744); *Opere* (Bari: Laterza 1914–1940); ET: *The First New Science* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge UP 2002); *The New Science of Giambattista Vico* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell UP 1948; Cornell Paperbacks, 1976).

*General works and studies:* R. GODDING e.a., *Bollandistes, saints et légendes. Quatre siècles de recherche hagiographique* (Bruxelles: Société des Bollandistes 2007); idem, *De Rosweyde aux Acta Sanctorum. La recherche hagiographique des Bollandistes à travers quatre siècles* (Bruxelles: Société des Bollandistes 2009).

The evolution of the discipline of a “History of Israel” during the nineteenth century can be better understood when read against the background of historical studies in academic circles at the same time. Several elements are to be taken into account. First, familiarity with classical historians, Greek and Roman, had become common from the Renaissance. An important figure of this period is Giambattista Vico (Naples, 1668–1744) who elaborates a synthesis of ancient and modern ideas in his philosophy of history. He divides the history of the universe into three main phases: the age of gods in which humankind believed that the gods governed the world and made their will known through oracles and auspices; the age of heroes and of aristocratic republics; the age of human beings in which all were recognized to be equal because sharing the same human nature. In this third age, those who were once submitted to their lords take power and favour a democratic form of government, although this does not exclude some forms of monarchy. More important, perhaps, is his insistence on “experiencing rationality”, and of the importance of studying languages and laws to understand the history of a particular nation. Vico had perhaps no immediate influence on his contemporaries. But there are similarities between Vico’s ideas and those of Herder (“the German Vico”) and Hegel in Germany, especially about the way

history influences the development of philosophy. Vico had more impact in France than anywhere else, especially on the historian Jules Michelet.<sup>1</sup>

A second element must be mentioned in this context, namely the development of a particular type of “sacred history” during the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries. The Reformers had criticized the veneration of the Saints. In reaction, Catholic scholars tried, on the one hand, to defend this kind of piety, but on the other hand soon became interested in a critical study of hagiographic writings. One point is of great importance. Scholars endeavoured to distinguish historical facts and figures from merely legendary elements. This leads to the elaboration of a historical method in the field of sacred history, especially in determining the different kinds of documents available and their “literary genres”. These principles, first applied in the field of hagiography, would be applied to the Bible. Baruch Spinoza and Richard Simon are pioneers in this respect.

Two discussions are of a certain interest for our purpose. The first one has to do with historical methodology. In his study of old traditions and old documents about different saints, the Jesuit Papebrochius (Daniel van Paepenbroek) used what could be called a hypercritical method. He was even called “iconoclast”. The Benedictine Jean Mabillon answered him in what can be considered one of the founding works of modern historiography, his *De re diplomatica* (1681). He explains how the researcher can distinguish an authentic document from a forgery. He prefers more objective and concrete criteria to ideological ones. For Mabillon, the age of a document can be determined thanks to two sets of observations. First, one has to analyse the type of handwriting and compare it to other documents written at the same period. Second – and this is more important for biblical studies – every period of time is characterized by a special vocabulary and the use of formulae and stock-phrases.<sup>2</sup> It is then possible to state whether a document was written at the date it bears or not. Papebrochius was the first to admit the superiority of Mabillon’s criteria and to subscribe to his rival’s conclusions. The first method will soon become what is called “palaeography” and the second “diplomats”.<sup>3</sup>

The second case reveals that mentalities do not change very quickly. Papebrochius and his confreres, the Bollandists, studied the origins of the Carmelite order.<sup>4</sup> Very soon they arrived at the conclusion that the Carmelites could not claim that their congregation could go back as far as the biblical prophet Elijah (1 Kings 18–19). The latter were upset by this opinion. They complained secretly to the Spanish Inquisition, which condemned the work of the Jesuits in 1695. The condemnation was not revoked by Roman authorities until 1715, one year after

<sup>1</sup> J. MICHELET, *Principes de la philosophie de l'histoire* (Paris: J. Renouard 1827).

<sup>2</sup> Lorenzo Valla (Rome, c. 1407–1457) is surely an important pioneer in the field. He demonstrated that the so-called *Donation of Constantine* was a forgery mainly on the basis of its style and vocabulary (1440). He also denied that the Apostles’ Creed could have been composed by the twelve Apostles themselves. He introduced the categories of “false” and “true” instead of “apocryphal” and “authentic” into the study of ancient documents. See, for a modern edition, L. VALLA, *De falso credita et ementita Constantini donatione* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP 2007).

<sup>3</sup> In the controversy between Richard Simon and Bossuet, Mabillon sided with Bossuet. This is the reason why Richard Simon and Mabillon – unfortunately – never collaborated.

<sup>4</sup> The Bollandists, named after one of their founders, Bolland, are a group of Jesuits dedicated to the critical study of the lives of the Saints.

Papebrochius' death. The learned circles at that time took side with Papebrochius, of course, but this incident shows that there is more at stake in discussions on historicity than mere knowledge of the past. More recent discussions in the field testify that history and biblical history are often battlefields where not all weapons are mere academic and intellectual arguments.<sup>5</sup>

## 2. Modern Studies of History in the Nineteenth Century

*Sources:* N. D. FUSTEL DE COULANGES, *La cité antique* (Paris: Durand 1864; Hachette<sup>2</sup> 1866, <sup>7</sup> 1896). – E. GIBBON, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, I–VI (London: Strahan & Cadell 1776 [vol. I], 1781 [vols. II–III]; 1788–1789 [vols. IV–VI]); French tr.: *Histoire du déclin et de la chute de l'empire romain*, I–II (Paris: Ledentu 1828; repr.: Paris: Laffont 1983); Italian tr.: *Decadenza e caduta dell'Impero Romano* (Paperbacks storici 10–15; Roma: Newton Compton 1973). – J. MICHELET, *Histoire de France* (Paris: A. Lacroix 1876; Flammarion 1893; repr. Paris: Équateurs 2008). – Th. MOMMSEN, *Römische Geschichte*, I–IV (Berlin: Weidmann 1861–1886; repr. München: Deutscher Taschenbuch 1976); ET: *The History of Rome* (London: Bentley 1862–1866, 1894; Clinton, MA: Meridian Books 1958); *Römisches Recht*, I–III (Leipzig: Hirzel 1871–1888); *Römisches Strafrecht*, I–III (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot 1899). – B. G. NIEBUHR, *Römische Geschichte* (Berlin: Realschulbuchhandlung 1811–1812; Berlin: Reimer 1853); ET: *The History of Rome* (tr. J. C. Hare / C. Thirlwall; London<sup>4</sup> 1847). – L. VON RANKE, *Geschichte der romanischen und germanischen Völker von 1494 bis 1514* (Leipzig: Reimer 1824). – A. THIERRY, *Histoire de la conquête de l'Angleterre par les Normands*, I–III (Paris: Firmin-Didot 1825); *Récits des temps mérovingiens* (Paris: J. Tessier 1840; repr. Bruxelles: Complexe 1995).

*Studies:* A. MOMIGLIANO, *The Classical Foundations of Modern Historiography* (Sather Classical Lectures 54; Berkeley / Los Angeles / Oxford: University of California Press 1990). – J. W. ROGERSON, *Old Testament Criticism in the Nineteenth Century: England and Germany* (London: SPCK 1984 / Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press 1985). – R.-N. SMITHSON, *Augustin Thierry, Social and Political Consciousness in the Evolution of a Historical Method* (Genève: Droz 1973).

Sometimes called the “English Voltaire” for some of his biting criticism of Christianity<sup>6</sup>, Edward Gibbon (1737–1794) can also be considered as one of the first real historians of modern times. His major work, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, was very influential. On one point Gibbon left a mark on subsequent studies in the field, namely in the development of a history that was not prejudiced or swayed by official Church doctrines. In other words, Gibbon's history is purely rational and secular. Even in his study of the institutional Church, Gibbon shows a very liberal and enlightened spirit. For him the Church or the Churches are historical phenomena similar to any other historical institution. There is nothing supernatural or exceptional about them. Gibbon even saw in Christianity the cause of the Roman Empire's decadence. In his opinion, the ideas of a universal Church and a heavenly kingdom had undermined loyalty

<sup>5</sup> In Italy, an important figure is Ludovico Antonio Muratori (1672–1750). He is famous for his discovery of the so-called *Canon Muratorianus* which is essential in any discussion of the New Testament Canon. L. A. MURATORI, *Antiquitates Italicae Medii Aevi*, III (Milan: Società Palatina 1740); cf. S. PRIDEAUX TREGELLES, *Canon Muratorianus: The earliest Catalogue of the Books of the New Testament*. Edited with notes and a facsimile of the MS. in the Ambrosian Library at Milan (Oxford: Clarendon 1867).

<sup>6</sup> See especially chapters XV and XVI in the first book of his major work, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. There are also, in the same chapter XVI, some anti-Semitic remarks.

towards the Empire and its institutions. Gibbon was also very critical of religious intolerance and warfare.<sup>7</sup>

It is of course difficult to determine any direct influence Gibbon may have had on biblical scholars of that time. Nonetheless it seems that Gibbon is representative of a new spirit, a spirit that was in the air in the intellectual circles of that time, whether in Great Britain or on the Continent. In the eighteenth century it became possible to cast a secular look on religious phenomena and to write a history of religious institutions from a secular point of view. What Gibbon did for the Roman Empire and Christianity should also be possible for the history of Israel. Besides the “History of Salvation” of a J. Ch. K. von Hofmann, for instance, that sees in the Bible a theological rather than a historical development, there is room for a secular viewpoint that studies the history of Israel as one would study the history of any other nation (cf. E. Renan, for instance). Others, on the contrary, reaffirmed the unique, and religious, value of Israel’s history. The conflict that had set Richard Simon at odds with Bossuet was to have a long aftermath.

Gibbon was very soon known in France through François Guizot’s translation of his work into French that was available as early as 1812, before the end of the Napoleonic wars. Gibbon’s and Voltaire’s spirit is present, for instance, in Jules Michelet’s *Histoire de France*. For our purpose, it is essential to notice that Jules Michelet is one of the first historians to apply liberal principles drawn from the French Revolution to historical research. He had a natural aversion to authoritarianism and ecclesiasticism. On the other hand, historical inquiry should not concentrate only on leaders and institutions, but mainly on the people itself. The major actor in the History of France is the French people. These principles, that were to be developed in a systematic way by the so-called *École des Annales* (Marc Bloch, Lucien Fèbvre, Fernand Braudel),<sup>8</sup> were to be applied in recent times to the history of Israel as well, especially by Norman K. Gottwald or Niels Peter Lemche.<sup>9</sup>

Another important figure in France is Augustin Thierry (1795–1856) who had more sympathy for Christianity than Michelet. He was influenced by Romantic literature, especially Chateaubriand’s *Les Martyrs* and Walter Scott’s novels. On the other hand, he was a great admirer of the French Revolution and of the values of democracy. From a methodological point of view, he was eager to consult primary sources and to avoid any political prejudice in his historical reconstructions. In spite of this, he never went to England when writing his very successful book *Histoire de la conquête de l’Angleterre par les Normands*. His style was not without dramatic elements. In this respect, Augustin Thierry is a

<sup>7</sup> There are even today several opinions on this topic. See, for instance, S. MAZZARINO, *La fine del mondo antico. Le cause della caduta dell’impero romano* (Torino: Bollati Boringhieri 2008).

<sup>8</sup> See especially M. BLOCH, *Apologie pour l’histoire ou métier d’historien* (Paris: Armand Colin 1949, repr. 1999).

<sup>9</sup> N.K. GOTTWALD, *The Tribes of Yahweh: A Sociology of the Religion of Liberated Israel 1250–1050 B. C. E.* (London: SCM 1979; Sheffield: Academic Press 1999); idem, *The Hebrew Bible: A Socio-literary Introduction* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press 2009); N.P. LEMCHE, *The Old Testament between Theology and History: A Critical Survey* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press 2008).

good representative of his time since he combines an “objective” and positive view of history with a style imbued with romantic enthusiasm.<sup>10</sup>

Numa Denis Fustel de Coulanges (1830–1889) had a more direct impact on biblical studies than did A. Thierry. De Coulanges' book, *La Cité antique* (1864), was and remained for a long time a best-seller. Fustel de Coulanges is often considered one of the main exponents of positivistic and empirical historiography. He declared that political opinions and personal preferences should in no way influence the historian. But, ironically, he himself could not always be faithful to this ideal. After the defeat of Napoleon III at Sedan (2<sup>nd</sup> of September, 1870) and the loss of Alsace-Lorraine, he tried to demonstrate that German populations, in particular the Franks, had had very little influence on French institutions. He also had a polemical exchange of letters with Theodor Mommsen. More important are his theories about ancient populations. For him, social and economic factors, such as property and transmission of property, were key elements in the formation of ancient societies. A further element that was essential in creating the cohesion of ancient groups is ancestor worship. This cult unites two prominent elements of ancient cultures, genealogies and religion (or cult). These two elements will be pinpointed in Israel's society by scholars such as Wellhausen and Stade.<sup>11</sup>

When we turn to Germany, a name that first must be mentioned is that of a historian of Danish origin, Barthold Georg Niebuhr (1776–1831). His masterwork *Römische Geschichte* (1811–1812) influenced biblical exegesis on one major, but also very problematic, point, namely the possibility to use ancient, folkloristic, traditions and myths to reconstruct the past of a nation. This would enable the historian to write history even if original records or documents are not available. Niebuhr did so in his history of Rome. Exegetes face the same situation when dealing with the origins of Israel and the temptation is to use Niebuhr's method in the search for historical elements in, for instance, the patriarchal narratives.<sup>12</sup> This procedure will inevitably become the occasion of lively debates. Another idea present in Niebuhr's *History of Rome* that had much success among biblical scholars is that of divine providence. Niebuhr was convinced that the historian could recognize the “finger of God” in the way Rome was saved from perils and carried out its conquests and achievements.<sup>13</sup>

In Germany the most prominent figure is Leopold von Ranke (1795–1886), often hailed as “the founder of the science of history” or “the father of the objective writing of history”. An often quoted sentence is the following: “One has reckoned that history ought to judge the past and to instruct the contemporary world as to the future. The present attempt does not yield to that high office. It

<sup>10</sup> See Smithson, Augustin Thierry (1973).

<sup>11</sup> There were of course other theories, such as that of Ernest Renan, who defined a nation by its culture and its desire to live; he summarized in this sentence: “*Avoir fait de grandes choses ensemble, vouloir en faire encore*” (“Having done great things together and wishing to do more”). The sentence appears in Renan's discourse *Qu'est-ce qu'une nation?* (Paris: Calmann Lévy 1882).

<sup>12</sup> Greek myths were used in the same fashion by K. O. MÜLLER, *Prolegomena zu einer wissenschaftlichen Mythologie* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1825; repr. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft 1970).

<sup>13</sup> Rogerson, *Old Testament Criticism* (1984 / 1985) 188–189; p.189 he quotes from Niebuhr, *The History of Rome*, xxviii: “The nations and the men before whom Rome might have fallen appeared too late [...] there are events in which we cannot but recognize the finger of God”.



will merely tell how it really was [*wie es eigentlich (war)*].<sup>14</sup> Von Ranke conceives history in an almost positivistic way. He wants neither to judge nor to educate. He just wants to “know”. In this way, he is closer to Thucydides than to Herodotus or Tacitus. The famous sentence “*wie es eigentlich gewesen [war]*” is not completely new. Lucian, in his booklet on historical research, had used a similar expression to characterize Thucydides’ way of writing history, that is to say things ὡς ἐπρόσθη (“as it was done”, “as it happened”).<sup>15</sup> We may also feel in this attitude the influence of the scientific mentality of a Barthold Niebuhr in his historical research. The ideals of positivistic science entered the world of humanities, especially in the field of history. The same spirit was to spread over to the theological faculties and impinge on the way biblical history was to be studied.

The investigation, according to von Ranke, must be based on the records of eye-witnesses and first-hand documents. Contrary to Michelet and Thierry, von Ranke always preferred to present facts in a strictly objective way, even at the cost of unattractiveness. His method was also systematically inductive. One can go from the particular to the general, but from general theories it is impossible to reach the particular.

In spite of this, von Ranke was rather conservative. As his master Thucydides did, he emphasized political history, focusing more on the deeds of kings and leaders than on social and economic factors. His basic attitude was also nationalistic. The effects of the French Revolution and of liberalism are hardly registered in his work. He remains faithful to the monarchic regime and is deeply religious. Criticism of religion and of Church institutions is to be found in Gibbon and Michelet, not in von Ranke.

Acclaimed as “the greatest German historian”, von Ranke had a strong influence, although less direct than indirect, on biblical studies. The work of W. M. L. de Wette, for instance, goes along the same line as that of von Ranke. Other German historians could be mentioned, as for instance Theodor Mommsen, Max Lenz and Friedrich Meinecke.

Theodor Mommsen (1817–1903), however, deserves to be mentioned in this context because of striking similarities between his work and that of J. Wellhausen. They are related on two main points. First, both insisted on a careful philological study of the sources. Second, they were both interested in the historical development of law and juridical institutions.<sup>16</sup> Mommsen was the father-in-law of Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, a famous classical philologist, who became friend of Wellhausen in Greifswald.<sup>17</sup> For Wellhausen Mommsen was the model of a historian.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Cf. von Ranke, *Geschichte* (1824), v-vi: “*Man hat der Historie das Amt, die Vergangenheit zu richten, die Mitwelt zum Nutzen zukünftiger Jahre zu belehren beygemessen: so hoher Ämter unterwindet sich gegenwärtiger Versuch nicht: er will bloß sagen, wie es eigentlich gewesen*”.

<sup>15</sup> LUCIAN, *De Historia*, 25,41, quoted by Momigliano, *Classical Foundations of Modern Historiography* (1990), 48.

<sup>16</sup> See Mommsen’s work on Roman Law, *Römisches Recht*, I–III (1871–1888), and *Römisches Strafrecht*, I–III (1899).

<sup>17</sup> Wellhausen dedicated his *Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte* (Berlin: Reimer 1878) to Ulrich Wilamowitz-Moellendorf. The latter dedicated his *Homerische Untersuchungen* (Berlin: Weidmann 1884) to Wellhausen.

<sup>18</sup> The influence of Mommsen on Wellhausen is acknowledged by R. SMEND, “Julius Wellhau-

This short survey of historical research in Europe in the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century yielded some interesting conclusions concerning the intellectual atmosphere of the time. The new interest for history that goes back to the Renaissance was fostered by some important changes. The American Revolution, the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars shaped new mentalities and generated new ideas and ideals. A world had gone and a new world had been born, although the Restoration after the Congress of Vienna (1815) tried to cancel the effects of the French Revolution and to rebuild the world according to the principles of the *Ancien Régime*.

As for biblical studies, especially the history of Israel, some elements will be of major importance. First, the accurate study of documents – as promoted by the Bollandists and Jean Mabillon – will be soon applied to biblical documents as well. Second, the positivistic and secular spirit of the Enlightenment will impinge on the way Holy Scriptures will be read. Scholars will either adopt this spirit or react against it. But they will not remain indifferent. More important, perhaps, the new mentality enabled scholars to look at sacred texts from a non-exclusively theological point of view. They studied biblical documents as they studied Greek, Roman, or any other nation's history, with the same tools and the same critical mind. Third, the strong interest in national history that arose after the Napoleonic Wars during the nineteenth century created a new interest in the history of Israel as a nation. Moreover, the English Revolution and the Bill of Rights that limited the rights of the monarchy (1688), the revolution that led to the independence of the United States of America (1776), and the French Revolution (1789) revealed that a nation can be the real protagonist of its history, and not only its leaders. Social and economic factors can be as important in history as military victories and the fate of a people can be decided elsewhere than on a battlefield or in a king's office. This consciousness grew more quickly in some circles in England and in France, and found its classical formulation in the programme of the *École des Annales*. But it was destined to have a great impact on the Histories of Israel in the twentieth century. All these elements will be present, in one form or in another, in the first presentations of the 'History of Israel' of that time.

### 3. Biblical Chronology

*Sources:* Eusebius: *Chronicon*; *Vetustiora latinorum scriptorum chronica: ad mss. codices emendata, et cum castigatioribus editionibus collata, notisque illustrata, in unum corpus collecta, praemisso Eusebii Chronico a D. Hieronymo e graeco verso, et multis aucto / collegit D. Thomas Roncallius* (Patavii [Padova]: Penada 1787); *Eusebii Pamphili Caesariensis Episcopi Chronicon Bipartitum / nunc primum ex armeniaco textu in latinum conversum adnotationibus auctum graecis fragmentis exornatum opera Jo. Baptistae Aucher Ancyranii*, Vol. 1. *Historico-chronografica*; Vol. 2. *Chronicus canon* (Venice: Typis Coenobii PP. Armenorum in insula S. Lazari 1818); *Die Chronik des Hieronymus: Hieronymi chronicon* (Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag 1956). – Venerable Bede: *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum* (731): *Opera historica: Ecclesiastical*

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sen", *Deutsche Alttestamentler in drei Jahrhunderten* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1989), 107, = "Julius Wellhausen", in: idem, *From Astruc to Zimmerli* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 2007), 97.

*history of the English nation*, 2 vols. (The Loeb Classical Library; Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP 1976–1979). – J. J. SCALIGER: *Opus de emendatione temporum; hac postrema editione ex auctoris ipsius manuscripto emendatius, magnaue accessione auctius. Addita veterum graecorum fragmenta selecta* (Leiden: Raphelengius 1598; Coloniae Allobrogum [Geneva]: Typis Roverianis 1629); *Opus novum de emendatione temporum in octo libros tributum* (Lutetiae [Paris]: Sebastianus Niuellius 1583); *The-saurus temporum* (Leiden: Thomas Basson 1606). – D. PETAVIUS (PÉTAU): *De doctrina temporum* (Paris: S. Cramoisy 1627; Venice: Bartolomeo Baronchelli 1757); *Rationarium Temporum* (Paris: S. Cramoisy 1633, <sup>2</sup>1636; G. Cramoisy <sup>3</sup>1652); *Tabulae chronologicae a mundo creato ad annum 1628* (Paris: S. Cramoisy 1628, 1629, 1633, 1657). – J. USSHER: *Annales veteris testamenti, a prima mundi origine deducti una cum rerum Asiaticarum et Aegyptiacarum chronico, a temporis historici principio usque ad Maccabaicorum initia producto* (London: J. Fleisher / J. Crook & J. Baker 1650); *Annalium pars posterior, in qua, praeter Maccabaicam et Novi Testamenti historiam imperii Romanorum caesarum sub C. Julio & Octaviano ortus, rerumque in Asia & Aegypto gestarum continetur chronicon: ab Antiochi Epiphani regni exordio, usque ad Imperii Vespasiani inita atque extremum Templi & Reipublicae Judaicae excidium deductum* (London: J. Fleisher / J. Crook 1654), in one volume: *Annales Veteris et Novi Testamenti, a prima mundi origine deducti una cum rerum asiaticarum et aegyptiacarum chronico, a temporis historici principio usque ad extremum templi et reipublicae judaeicae excidium producto* (Genevae: G. De Tournes 1722); *Chronologia sacra sive chronologia annorum regum Israelis et Judae, ad calculum redacta et illustrata* (Oxford: Guil. Hall and Rich., Davis, Edw. & Jo. Forrest 1660); a complete edition of the works of James Ussher is *The whole works of the Most Rev. James Ussher*, 17 vols. (ed. C. R. Elrington / J. H. Todd; Dublin: Hodges, Smith 1847–1864). – J. A. BENDEL: *Ordo temporum a principio per periodos oeconomiae divinae historicas atque propheticas ad finem usque ita deductus ut tota series et quarum patrium annologia* (Stuttgart: J. B. Mezler 1741, <sup>2</sup>1770).

*General works and studies*: J. BARR, “Why the World Was Created in 4004 BC: Archbishop Ussher and Biblical Chronology”, *BJRL* 67 (1984), 575–608. – R. T. BECKWITH, *Calendar, Chronology and Worship* (SAJEC; Leiden: Brill 2006). – E. J. BICKERMAN, *Chronology of the Ancient World* (Aspects of Greek and Roman Life; London: Thames & Hudson 1980). – J. HUGHES, *Secret of Times. Myth and History in Biblical Chronology* (JSOT.S 66; Sheffield: Academic Press 1990). – G. LARSSON, *The Chronological System of the Old Testament* (Frankfurt a. M. / New York: P. Lang 2008). – P. DI ROSA, “Denis Pétau e la cronologia”, *AHSJ* 29 (1960) 3–54.

The interest in chronology is very old and we find early traces of it in the Bible itself. The Priestly Writer and the Book of Ezechiel, most probably under Mesopotamian influence, have their chronological system. They give, for instance, the dates of important events and the age of the main personages of the past. The Books of Kings are famous for their chronology of the reigns of Samaria and Judah and the many problems attached to it.<sup>19</sup> The Book of Jeremiah provides a link between biblical and Babylonian chronology in Jer 25: 1, “The fourth year of Jehoiakim, which was the first year of Nebuchadnezzar”. Another important date is given in 2 Kgs 25:27, “in the thirty-seventh year of the exile of King Jehoiachin of Judah, in the twelfth month, on the twenty-seventh day of the month, King Evil-merodach of Babylon, in the year that he began to reign, released King Jehoiachin of Judah from prison”. This date has been used to create a synchronism between biblical and Babylonian chronologies. On the other hand the discrepancies between the figures given in the Masoretic Text, the Septuagint, and the Samaritan Pentateuch are just one of the many problems that the study of biblical chronology must cope with.

This interest in chronology, the backbone of every historical work, remained very strong after the closure of the canon. Christianity, with its idea of a univer-

<sup>19</sup> See, for instance, Beckwith, *Calendar* (2006); Larsson, *The Chronological System* (2008).

sal salvation, tried to find correspondences between the events of its faith and the history of the universe. One of the first attempts is that of Eusebius Pamphilus of Caesarea (260–340), friend and admirer of Emperor Constantine. His chronology starts with the creation of the world and finishes with the Council of Nicaea (325 CE). Eusebius used several sources, Greek and Roman. Among the main authors we must mention are Manetho (3<sup>rd</sup> Century BCE), Berosus (3<sup>rd</sup> Century BCE), Abydenus (2<sup>nd</sup> Century BCE), Polyhistor (1<sup>st</sup> Century BCE), Josephus (37–103 CE), Ptolemy (70–161 CE), Cephalion (1<sup>st</sup> Century CE), Censorinus (3<sup>rd</sup> Century BCE), Africanus (3<sup>rd</sup> Century BCE), and other sources now lost. Eusebius' Chronology is to be found in his *Chronicon* which was translated into Latin by Jerome. Almost all subsequent writers until recently followed Eusebius. The whole system is based on correspondences between the Greek chronology of the Olympiads, the Roman system of counting the years of consulship, and biblical chronology. The date of the first Olympiad was fixed by Censorinus, followed by Eusebius, at 776 BCE.

Other authors followed or improved Eusebius' and Jerome's chronology. Some of them were influential, such as Isidore of Seville in Spain (c. 560–636; see *Etymologia*, lib. v, c. 39; also lib. iii) or the Venerable Bede in England (673–735) in his *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum* (731).<sup>20</sup> Bede is also known for having adopted the Anno Domini era established by Dionysius Exiguus (Denys the Little or Denys the Short; c. 470 – c. 544). It is only after Bede adopted it in his *Historia Ecclesiastica* that the Anno Domini era became dominant in the Western world.

### 3.1. Joseph Justus Scaliger (1540–1609)

If we come to the late Renaissance, we have to mention three main works. The first is that of the French humanist Scaliger.

Joseph Justus Scaliger was born in Agen, in Southern France, studied first at the College of Guienne in Bordeaux and then at the University of Paris.<sup>21</sup> He travelled through Italy, England, and Scotland. During his travels he became a Protestant and after the Massacre of Saint Bartholomew, he fled to Geneva before coming back to France. Eventually in 1593 he set out for Leiden in the Netherlands where he spent the last years of his life. He is famous especially for having expanded the notion of classical history, i.e. Greek and Roman History, to include Egyptian, Mesopotamian, Persian, and Biblical history.

Scaliger's first important work is *De Emendatione Temporum* (1596). This work is considered to be the very basis of the modern science of chronology. He is the first one to integrate astronomical data into the subject. But he used them more to prove than to check the accuracy of the biblical chronology as established

<sup>20</sup> In a very uncritical way, Isidore established correspondences between biblical chronology and Greek mythology, for instance, between the time Deborah was judge in Israel and the invention of medicine and music by Apollo.

<sup>21</sup> Scaliger had heard from his father that he was a descendent of the famous Veronese family La Scala (or Scaligeri). He was very proud of this aristocratic origin. This gave rise to a strong polemic between Scaliger himself and the Jesuits who contested the fact.

since the time of Eusebius. His major work, however, is entitled *Thesaurus Temporum* (1606). Scaliger intended first to publish a new edition of Eusebius's *Chronicon* with some notes. But he went far beyond this first project and published a work in which he edits a complete series of ancient chronologies known in his time. This compilation of sometimes restored ancient chronologies is the most important work in the field and remained a standard work for a long time.

One example of Scaliger's interpretation is the way he explains the prophecy of Daniel's 70 weeks (Dan 9:24). For him, the 70 weeks end with the destruction of Jerusalem, in 70 CE, and consequently they start in the fourth year of Darius Nothus, i.e. in 420 BCE. Judged by modern standards, this would be considered at the least a daring surmise. But this was a very normal activity at that time although Hugo Grotius had already interpreted Old Testament prophecies as foreseeing events in the near future of the prophets who uttered them.

Judgments on Scaliger's work can vary very much from one author to the other. Some hail in him the inventor of modern scientific chronology.<sup>22</sup> Others, on the contrary, assert that, in spite of his erudition, he never dared challenge the Bible's authority.

### 3.2. Denis Pétau (*Dionysius Petavius*) (1583–1652)

Denis Pétau (Latinized as Dionysius Petavius) was born at Orléans in 1583; and there he started his studies. He went afterwards to the University of Paris where he obtained a degree of Master of Arts in Greek. Then he studied theology at the Sorbonne. A friend of Isaac Casaubon, librarian at the Royal Library, he could spend much time in this library studying ancient Greek manuscripts. He became deacon at Orléans, started teaching at the University of Bourges before he entered the Society of Jesus in 1603. He taught rhetoric and theology in different places (Bourges, La Flèche, Paris, and Madrid). In 1639 he became a cardinal at Rome. He died in Paris. His major works are on chronology, in patristic theology, and in the history of dogma.

Petavius revised Scaliger's work. He had the advantage of having studied not only philosophy, theology, and ancient languages, but also mathematics and astronomy. His work was translated into French and English and reprinted as late as 1849. But, in a way very similar to Scaliger, he used all the resources of his science to confirm the truth of the Bible. The authority of the Bible, in particular of the Masoretic Text, could not be questioned in any way, even by astronomical discoveries. The cases of Copernicus, Kepler, and Galileo Galilei were still fresh in all memories. One should not forget that Petavius was a Jesuit (and a cardinal) as was Robert Bellarmine (1542–1621) who took part in the trials of Galileo Galilei and Giordano Bruno.

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<sup>22</sup> Bickerman, *Chronology* (1980), 82.

### 3.3. James Ussher (1581–1656)

James Ussher (also spelled Usher; Latinized as Usserius) was born in Dublin, Ireland, in an Anglo-Irish family. He studied at Dublin Free School and at the newly founded Trinity College. In 1602 he was ordained a deacon in the Protestant Church of Ireland. He was for a while Chancellor of Saint Patrick's cathedral, Dublin, and started a career of professor at Trinity College where he became first Vice-Chancellor (1615) and then vice-provost (1616). Afterwards he was appointed Archbishop of Armagh (in Northern Ireland) and Primate of All Ireland (1625–1656). He was very prolific, but is above all famous for his works on biblical chronology. He is also known as one of the main contributors to the redaction of the first confession of faith of the Church of Ireland.

James Ussher produced the most influential work of chronology in the English-speaking world.<sup>23</sup> His chronology was corrected and improved by William Lloyd, Bishop of St. Asaph and, subsequently, of Worcester. The latter added Ussher's dates in the margin of his *Holy Bible with Chronological Dates and Index*. The so-called "Lloyd's Bible" (published 1701) is thus the first Bible, containing the King James Version and published with marginal dates. Ussher is also famous for his study, one of the first in this respect, on the chronologies of the reigns of the kings of Judah and the kings of Samaria.

Ussher's method is not different from that of his predecessors and contemporaries.<sup>24</sup> He establishes synchronisms between biblical events or personages and events or personages mentioned in other sources, especially Greek and Latin authors. For instance he identifies the Darius mentioned in Ezra 4:5 or in the non canonical Esdras 3:1–2; 2:30 with the Ahasuerus of the Book of Esther, and both are identified with Darius Hystaspes (Darius I) mentioned in Greek sources. This identification is found in Ussher, in his *Annals*, sub anno mundi 3484, and in Lloyd's edition of the Authorized Version in the margin of Esth 1:1. The date given there, 521 BCE, is that of the accession of Darius I to the throne of Persia.

The proposed date for the creation of the universe is, according to Ussher, the 23<sup>rd</sup> of October, 4004 BCE. Ussher's choice of year 4004 may have been influenced by a then common belief that the universe duration was around 6000 years (4000 before the birth of Christ and 2000 after). These 6000 years correspond to the six days of Creation, each day counting for 1000 years. The basis of the argument is to be found in Ps 90:4; cf. 2 Pet 3:8, "one day is with the Lord as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day". The date, 4004 BCE, was of course added in the margin of Gen 1:1 of Lloyd's edition of the Authorized Version and in all subsequent editions of the same kind. The date in the fall was chosen on the grounds that the year begins in the autumn in the Jewish calendar.

<sup>23</sup> On James Ussher see the important article by Barr, Why the World Was Created in 4004 BC (1984), 575–608.

<sup>24</sup> Ussher is probably less original than it is often thought. He may have used – and corrected on certain points – a work by T. Lydiat (1572–1646), whom Ussher came to know. They worked together and there are striking similarities between Ussher's work and Lydiat's *Emendation Temporum* published in 1609. Lydiat's work, however, was much shorter (334 pages) than Ussher's first edition of his *Annales* (2000 pages); see J.R.A. HUGHES, "Ussher, James (1581–1656)", DBInt II (1999), 602–603.

Others preferred a date in the spring following the Babylonian and other ancient calendars.

The main dates proposed by Ussher are the following: 4004 BCE – Creation; 2348 BCE – Flood; 1921 BCE – God calls Abraham; 1491 BCE – The Exodus from Egypt; 1012 BCE – Solomon builds the Temple in Jerusalem; 586 BCE – Destruction of Jerusalem by the Babylonians and the beginning of the Babylonian Exile; 4 BCE – Birth of Jesus Christ. The date of the creation is slightly different from that of the Venerable Bede (3952 BCE), Melanchthon (3964 BCE), Scaliger (3949 BCE), Petavius (3984), Johannes Kepler (3992 BCE), or Sir Isaac Newton (c. 4000 BCE). James Ussher is often associated with John Lightfoot (1602–1675), Vice-Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, who worked along the same lines and published a chronology very similar to that of his colleague (1642–1644).<sup>25</sup>

It is not until the nineteenth century that Ussher's chronology came under heavy attack. Geology, anthropology, astronomy, and science in general had made enormous progress. Fixing exact dates for the creation of the world and other "events" of the same kind became ever more problematic. The age of the earth and of the universe was considered million of years older than what biblical chronologists were ready to admit. In 1890, Princeton professor William Henry Green published an article in *Bibliotheca Sacra* that sounded like a battle cry against Ussher and his fellow chronologists. The article, entitled "Primeval Chronology" finishes with these scathing words: "We conclude that the Scriptures furnish no data for a chronological computation prior to the life of Abraham; and that the Mosaic records do not fix and were not intended to fix the precise date either of the Flood or of the creation of the world". Herder too had not much sympathy for this kind of speculation: "How many absurd cosmogonies have been framed from the simple and sublime history of creation given by Moses [...]. How many great men, among whom even a Newton himself is to be reckoned, have the Jewish chronology and Apocalypse robbed of time, that might have been employed in more useful inquiries!"<sup>26</sup> Exegetical work on the "literary genres" used by biblical writers had also undermined the reliability of biblical figures for establishing a historical chronology. Today, the so-called creationists still defend Ussher's chronologies or ideas very similar to them.<sup>27</sup>

The study of biblical chronology radically changed in the nineteenth century for three main reasons. First, exegetical work proved more and more convincingly that many biblical texts were written long after the events they describe and do not intend to provide the reader with exact pieces of information on historical facts or persons. Moreover, biblical books, especially in the Pentateuch, are compilations of texts written in different periods by different writers. Research on chronology must therefore proceed with much caution when deal-

<sup>25</sup> One of the major works in the field in the eighteenth century is that of Bengel, *Ordo temporum* (1741 / 1770).

<sup>26</sup> Herder, *Reflections* [s. next section], 141; quoted by Rogerson, *A Brief Outline* (2007; s. next section), 4.

<sup>27</sup> See L. R. BAILEY, *Genesis, Creation, and Creationism* (New York / Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press 1993); J. ARNOULD, *Les créationnistes* (Paris: Le Cerf 1996); S. C. BARTON / D. WILKINSON (eds.), *Reading Genesis after Darwin* (Oxford – New York: Oxford UP 2009).

ing with biblical dates. Second, archaeology became a fashion. The discovery and the decipherment of many texts coming from ancient cultures contemporary with ancient Israel made comparison and synchronisms possible. Mesopotamian chronicles in particular became very useful in the establishment of synchronisms and synchronic chronologies. Third, progress in astronomical science proved to be decisive. Mesopotamian documents often registered solar and lunar eclipses. Modern astronomers were able to fix the date of several of these eclipses because they happen at regular times. Assyrian chronology could be pinned down thanks to an eclipse mentioned in a list of Assur's eponyms and that occurred – according to modern astronomical calculations – on the 15<sup>th</sup> of June, 763 BCE.<sup>28</sup> This date enabled scholars to locate one the first absolute dates in biblical history, namely the battle of Qarqar in which King Ahab, with a coalition of Syrian kings, fought against the Assyrian King Shalmaneser III. The battle took place in 853 BCE. Ironical as it is, the battle is not mentioned in the Bible, but on the so-called Black Obelisk recording the main events of Shalmaneser III's reign.<sup>29</sup> A few more synchronisms are made possible by the Bible itself (2 Kgs 24:8, 12; 25:8, 27; cf. Jer 52:30). We have already mentioned Jer 25:1. All these dates concern Nebuchadnezzar or his successors. Not all problems are solved, obviously, and scholars still discuss, for instance, about the chronology of the monarchy, that of Samaria and that of Judah, in spite of the synchronisms between the reigns of the two kingdoms given by the Books of Kings.<sup>30</sup>

#### 4. The Emergence of an Independent History of Israel

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<sup>28</sup> Bickerman, *Chronology* (1980), 86–87.

<sup>29</sup> ANET, 278–279. The Black Obelisk is in the British Museum.

<sup>30</sup> For a more recent treatment of these questions, see Hughes, *Secret of Times* (1990).



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#### 4.1. Baruch Spinoza (1632–1677) and Richard Simon (1638–1712)

For a long time, the Bible was considered as a kind of text-book about the history of the universe and the history of Israel. There was no distance between the world of the text and the real world.<sup>31</sup> In the ancient world outside of the Church, however, some critical voices had cast doubts on the "historicity" of some biblical narratives. Even an Origen had considered the first chapters of Genesis as fictions, just like the parables of the Gospels.<sup>32</sup> He remained isolated, however, within the Patristic tradition.

In more recent times, B. Spinoza (1632–1677) is surely a pioneer in the development of a more critical study of biblical narratives. In book VIII of his *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, he shows that Genesis 38 cannot have been written by the same author as the one who wrote the rest of the Joseph Story. The method is typically that of a historian because it is based on chronology. Joseph was 17 when he was sold by his brothers (Gen 37:2). He is thirty when he is appointed

<sup>31</sup> On this problem, cf. the classical study by H. FREI, *The Eclipse of Biblical Narrative: A Study in Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Hermeneutics* (New Haven, CT / London: Yale UP 1974).

<sup>32</sup> Origen, *De Principiis*, book IV. See M. REISER, *Bibelkritik und Auslegung der Heiligen Schrift. Beiträge zur Geschichte der biblischen Exegese und Hermeneutik* (WUNT 217; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 2007), 360–363.

grand vizier in Egypt (41:46). To that we must add seven years of abundance and two years of famine before Jacob's family come down to and settle in Egypt (41:52; 45:6). This means that more or less twenty-two years elapsed between Genesis 37 and 45. In the meantime, according to Genesis 38, Judah has had time to marry and to beget three sons. Still in the same chapter, the three sons are of age to marry, Judah has twins by Tamar, his daughter-in-law. Even, according to Gen 46:12, Perez, son of Judah and Tamar, comes down to Egypt with two sons. Is it possible to place all these events within twenty-two years? This is what Spinoza asks and this question creates a gap between the world of the text and the world that a critical reader tries to reconstruct. In simple words, for Spinoza things cannot have happened the way they are told in Genesis.

Richard Simon (1638–1712) also uncovered problems of chronology in the Old Testament. For instance, he observed that Joseph (Genesis 37) was sold twelve years before Isaac's death although the latter had been already buried according to Gen 35:27–29.<sup>33</sup>

#### 4.2. *The Netherlands:*

##### *Hugo Grotius (1583–1645) and Peter Cunaeus (1586–1638)*

The Netherlands became in the sixteenth century an important centre of biblical studies for several reasons, but especially for political reasons. This country had fought for independence against Catholic Spain. Theological and figurative exegesis was, however, dominant in the Netherlands as in other Protestant milieus. With Hugo Grotius (Hugo de Groot, 1583–1645) we come across a representative of a new mentality. Jurist by formation and humanist by vocation, his desire was to reconcile the different Christian confessions of his time whereas religious wars plagued Western Europe. Grotius worked as a philologist, applying to the Bible the rules of classical philology, and also as a historian. In this respect, he is one of the first to have used in a more systematic way what we can call a "historical method". He always tried, for instance, to place and read biblical texts within their own historical contexts using external evidence, pagan as well as Jewish and early Christian. He is famous for his personal way of understanding Old Testament prophecies. For him, prophecies, in particular messianic prophecies, should have been understood by the prophet's contemporary audience. Grotius interpreted for instance Isa 7:14 as announcement of the birth of Isaiah's son, not of Jesus Christ.<sup>34</sup> This more secular way of reading the Bible was evidently not to the taste of those who favoured more dogmatic readings of the Bible. With Spi-

<sup>33</sup> Isaac is sixty when Jacob is born (Gen 25:26). Jacob is 130 when he comes down to Egypt (47:9) and Joseph must be 39/40 (Gen 41:46, 53; 45:6). Jacob, therefore, was 90 or 91 when Joseph was born and Isaac 150 or 151. When Joseph was 17, Isaac was 167 or 168. He died at the age of 180 according to Gen 35:28. This means that he lived 12 or 13 years more after Joseph had been sold or brought to Egypt. See R. SIMON, *Histoire critique du Vieux Testament (1678)* suivi de *Lettre sur l'inspiration* (ed. P. GIBERT; Paris: Bayard 2008), 136–137. The same observation had been made earlier by Rashi in his commentary on Gen 35:28. Simon probably depends on Rashi. On Simon see also HBOT, II (2008), 838–843 and pass.

<sup>34</sup> For more examples, see H.J.M. NELLEN, "Hugo Grotius", HBOT, II (2008), 813.

noza, a gap between dogmatic, theological, exegesis and a more humanistic and historical reading of biblical texts opens up. With Grotius this gap broadens to such an extent that it became more difficult to re-unite the two opposed sides of biblical studies.

A disciple of Hugo Grotius, the Dutch jurist and humanist Peter Cunaeus (Peter van der Kun; 1586–1638), worked along the same lines. In his major work *De Republica Hebraeorum* (or *Respublica Hebraeorum*), Cunaeus sought to provide the newly established republic of the Netherlands with a juridical and biblical foundation.<sup>35</sup> For this purpose he described the ancient Hebrew kingdom as a paradigm of a republican government. Many scholars would say today that Cunaeus used his imagination more than his critical sense to arrive at this conclusion. Nonetheless his book was very popular and was reprinted seven times between 1617 and 1700. It was soon translated into Dutch, French, and English. Cunaeus was not the first to speak of a *Republic of the Hebrews*, but his originality lies in his effort to show that the united monarchy, under Saul, David, and Solomon, was already a model of republican government.<sup>36</sup> With the help of his immense knowledge of the Bible, but also of Josephus, of the Talmud and of Maimonides, he endeavoured to show that the Hebrew State was superior to the Greek polis, and to the Roman republic and empire. This conclusion is not based on historical observation but derives from a theological statement. Israel's God was the true God, and therefore everything in the Hebrew state was of divine origin. Israel's laws were "natural laws", those inscribed by God in his creation. Divine justice was the source of inspiration for social life. The regime was neither monarchic nor oligarchic nor democratic. Israel was a republic ruled by the Sanhedrin. Magistrates, i.e. judges and priests, enforced the divine laws and were responsible for their being observed in civil life. The members of the Sanhedrin were all well-to-do people, notables or members of honourable parentages.

Moses is considered by Cunaeus as the first lawgiver of the universe, the first one to have founded a state on a *written* law. This law, of divine origin, created a kind of egalitarian society. In this respect, the most original and the most significant Mosaic Law is Leviticus 25, the law on the Jubilee. After fifty years, all land transactions were nullified and properties were returned to their original owners and their families. This law prevented rich people from growing ever richer and poor people ever poorer. Greed, exploitation, and oppression were excluded from Israel thanks to this law. For this reason Israel survived, unlike Athens and Rome. What brought about the decline and downfall of Athens and Rome is the high standard of living of their elites and power struggle among their leaders.

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<sup>35</sup> Hugo Grotius and Petrus Cunaeus were friends and corresponded on several matters. See the *Epistolae quotquot reperiri potuerunt* (Amsterdam 1687) and the *Briefwisseling van Hugo Grotius* (The Hague 1928–2001). Hugo Grotius also sought in Israel's institutions a foundation for the new Dutch Republic rather than in Rome. See especially his *De republica emendanda* (To Improve the Dutch Republic; manuscript 1601; pub. The Hague 1984).

<sup>36</sup> See, for example, the title of book XVII in Spinoza's *Tractatus theologico-politicus*: "It is shown that no one can, or need, transfer all his rights to the sovereign power. Of the Hebrew republic, as it was during the lifetime of Moses, and after his death, till the foundation of the monarchy; and of its excellence. Lastly, of the causes why the theocratic republic fell, and why it could hardly have continued without dissension".

Those evils were absent from Israel's form of government. But even in Israel, these evils were present. The law of Leviticus 25 was no longer applied after the return from the exile and the Levites deprived the Council established by Moses of its power. The same Levites had respect neither for divine nor for human prerogatives.<sup>37</sup> Jeroboam's sin, which is described as religious apostasy in the Bible (1 Kgs 12:33–34), is interpreted as hunger for dominion and misuse of religion. The theological interpretation is translated into a more secular one.

This interpretation was not shared by everyone. For instance, Cocceius's exegesis is often pitched against Grotius'. A seventeenth century saying runs this way, "Cocceius found Christ everywhere in Scripture and Grotius nowhere". But the new mentality is also felt in Cocceius since it had become necessary to demonstrate the relationship between the Old and the New Testament, between text and historical facts. The same holds true for Johannes Albrecht Bengel (1687–1752).

#### 4.3. *Great Britain and France: Moses Lowman (1679–1752);*

*Bernard de Montfaucon (1655–1741); Humphrey Prideaux (1648–1724); Henry Hart Milman (1791–1868); Francis William Newman (1801–1890)*

Cunaeus' line of thought, but more positive, is the same as that of Moses Lowman, a Reformed clergyman, in his *Dissertation on the Civil Government of the Hebrews: In which the True Designs, and Nature of their Government are Explained* (London 1745). His first purpose was to find in the Old Testament arguments for a constitutional monarchy. He also dealt with very sensitive issues such as treason, or the right to overthrow what was considered an illegitimate monarchy.<sup>38</sup> The contribution of Lowman to historical methodology in biblical studies is, however, limited because of his strong interest in contemporary issues.

We have to go to France to see research go one important step further. Bernard de Montfaucon (1655–1741), a Benedictine monk, is often regarded as the "father of palaeography". The term itself was perhaps coined by Montfaucon in his famous *Palaeographia graeca*.<sup>39</sup> The study of old manuscripts and especially of the differences in handwriting was used by Montfaucon to determine the date of the available documents. With the science of diplomatics developed by Mabillon, Montfaucon's palaeography was to become an important tool in subsequent historical research because it introduced more objective criteria into the discussion.

In the field of biblical history, Montfaucon must be remembered for his – aborted – attempt to reconcile the apocryphal or deuterocanonical Book of Judith with history (*La vérité de l'histoire de Judith*, 1690). To quote A. Momi-

<sup>37</sup> Rogerson, *Writing the History of Israel* (1992), 220–221; Cunaeus, *De republica*, 141.

<sup>38</sup> Direct allusions to the political situation in Great Britain at that time are evident in Lowman's work. In 1745, when Lowman published his book, the Catholic Prince Charles Edward had invaded England from Scotland and tried to overthrow the Protestant William III of Orange; see Rogerson, *Writing the History of Israel* (1992), 223–224.

<sup>39</sup> F. DE LASALA, *Exercise of Latin Paleography* (Rome: Gregorian UP 2006), 7.

gliano, “According to the Book of Judith the Jews returned from exile and rededicated the temple under Nebuchadnezzar, who is described as reigning ‘over the Assyrians at Nineveh’. At the end of the seventeenth century the great Montfaucon, mastering all the resources of the learning of his time, was unable to make sense of this howler. His failure was one of the first signs that the citadel of traditional biblical exegesis was beginning to crumble under the attacks of critics such as Hugo Grotius”.<sup>40</sup> In Montfaucon’s title, the word “vérité” is a striking element. “Vérité” was really at stake in this period. This “truth” was no longer a merely theological subject matter. It had become the object of historical inquiry and had to be established through all the resources of historical methods as well.

Going back to England, we meet Humphrey Prideaux (1648–1724) who is perhaps the very first important author to write a history of ancient Israel. Written in English, his work entitled *The Old and New Testaments connected, in the History of the Jews, and Neighbouring Nations; from the declensions of the Kingdoms of Israel and Judah to the time of Christ*, was soon translated into German, French, and Italian, and became a standard work for several decades.<sup>41</sup> Today he might have been branded as “minimalist” because he decided that his History of Israel should begin in 747 BCE, with the accession of king Tiglath-pileser to the throne of Assyria. The reason he alleges is that, prior to that date, reliable documents about Near Eastern history do not exist. This affirmation is perhaps questionable, especially today, but the principle is essential. Prideaux feels that he is unable to write a history in the absence of trustworthy documents. The Bible itself is not sufficient any more to write a history of Israel. It must be confirmed by external evidence, as in the case of Hugo Grotius. Prideaux used in a systematic way the method of cross-references or “connections”, which means the constant comparison between biblical data and extra-biblical documents.

Prideaux’s first source was nonetheless the Bible, obviously. He relied on an ancient author such as Josephus, or on more recent ones such as Scaliger (1583), Petavius (1627) and Ussher (1650). He discusses quite a few points with his predecessors and, in problematic cases, he generally prefers the biblical chronology. For him the study of Old Testament history was a discipline that required a method akin to that of secular studies in the same field. The Bible was not only the source of absolute and eternal truths, but also contained elements the interpretation of which could be hotly debated.

Prideaux’s radical positions provoked strong reactions in more traditional circles. Samuel Shuckford, for instance, in his *History of the World Sacred and Profane* (London 1727–1729) sifted again all available pieces of evidence to state, in conclusion, that the first event of biblical history that could be considered as historical fact was the crossing of the Red Sea (Exodus 14). In Germany, Johann Franz Budde (in his Latinized form Buddeus; 1667–1729) wrote a *Historia ecclesiastica veteris testamenti ab orbe condito usque ad Christum natum* (1715–1718),

<sup>40</sup> Momigliano, *Classical Foundations of Modern Historiography* (1990), 11.

<sup>41</sup> Prideaux started writing in 1712. He completed the first part of his work in 1715 and the second in 1718. The two volumes were published in London by the editor Anon in 1716–1718. A French translation appeared in 1722; a German in 1726. There was also an Italian translation that I could not trace. See Rogerson, *A Brief Outline* (2007), 4–5.

which is a mixture of old and new ideas. But Budde makes very few concessions to the new spirit coming, for instance, from Spinoza or Prideaux, whom he attacked for their alleged atheism. In a very traditional way, his *Ecclesiastical History of the Old Testament* starts, therefore, with the creation of the world, *ab orbe condito*. This of course alludes to the famous Latin formula *ab urbe condita* (Livy).

Let us mention, to conclude this general overview, two significant personalities of the nineteenth century, namely Henry Hart Milman (1791–1868) and Francis William Newman (1805–1897). Both tried, each one in his own way, to read the Bible “like any other book”. The first writer is, from a modern point of view, very traditional.<sup>42</sup> But even if there are very few instances in which he reveals his scholarly erudition and very mild rationalism, he met with very tough hostility because of an alleged German influence. His *History of the Jews* (1829–1830) is characterized, however, by a great insistence on the role of the divine providence that conveyed a unique revelation to humankind through the history of Israel.<sup>43</sup>

The second, Francis William Newman, is the younger brother of John Henry Newman (1801–1890), a leading figure of the Oxford Movement. We mention Newman to show that there had been many contrasting, if not contradictory, views about Israel's history in Great Britain as elsewhere. Newman had read Ewald and Hitzig, but many of his ideas are personal insights.<sup>44</sup> His *History of the Hebrew Monarchy* (1847) is a masterpiece of historical sensitivity. He sees, for instance, a contradiction between 1 Sam 13:19–23 which describes the Philistine control over the Israelites and 1 Samuel 11 where Saul wages a campaign against the Ammonites without any hindrance from those Philistines. The anointing of David by Samuel in 1 Samuel 16 is a narrative that awakes suspicion because there are no later references to it. As a third example of his sharp criticism, let us mention Josiah's reform. For Newman, it is hard to understand this radical reform if the Pentateuch had been known in a published form before Josiah's reign. To be sure, Newman's book was not well received and one had to wait until John William Colenso (1815–1883) to meet with such a radical view of Israel's history in English language.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>42</sup> For more details, see Rogerson, *Old Testament Criticism* (1984), 184–188.

<sup>43</sup> Milman, *The History of the Jews from the Earliest Period down to Modern Times* (†1863 / 1909).

<sup>44</sup> Newman, *A History of the Hebrew Monarchy* (2<sup>nd</sup> 1853).

<sup>45</sup> On Colenso, see, for instance, Rogerson, *Old Testament Criticism* (1984), 220–237; J. A. DRAPER (ed.), *The Eye of the Storm: Bishop John William Colenso and the Crisis of Biblical Interpretation* (JSOT.S 383; London / New York: T&T Clark 2003). Colenso criticized the historical accuracy of the Exodus and wilderness narratives in a way very similar to that of Reimarus (see next paragraph).

4.4. *Germany: Hermann Samuel Reimarus (1694–1798);  
Johann Gottfried Herder (1744–1803);  
Wilhelm Martin Leberecht de Wette (1780–1849)*

One of the most famous challenges to the historical reliability of biblical narratives comes from H.S. Reimarus in his analysis of Exod 14:1–31.<sup>46</sup> Reimarus foregoes the theological meaning of the text and asks very pragmatic questions as a Herodotus or a Thucydides would have done. According to Exod 12:37, 600.000 men left Egypt when Israel was liberated from Egyptian bondage. For Reimarus, this means that the whole population, with women and children, amounted to over three million. They needed more or less six thousand carts to carry their belongings. As for the cattle, Reimarus estimates that there were around one hundred thousand horses, three hundred thousand oxen, and six hundred thousand sheep. Then he calculated that the caravan, depending of course on its breadth, would have been 180 German miles, i. e. more or less 1.350 km long. It is impossible to imagine how such a crowd could have crossed the sea during one night as is supposed by Exod 14:21–29. Such a view of course provoked strong reactions, but it took time before the challenge was taken seriously.

The idea of a secular explanation of the history of Israel crops up again in one of the most influential German personalities in the nineteenth century, Johann Gottfried Herder (1744–1803). Is he really the father of historicism as some scholars have asserted? The question may remain open for the time being.<sup>47</sup> Herder dedicated a work to universal history in which we find one chapter on the history of Israel. The chapter is relatively short given the small size of Israel. But some remarks made by Herder are of great importance; for instance, “In human fashion must one read the Bible; for it is a book written by men for men: Human is the language, human the external means with which it was written and preserved; human finally is the sense with which it may be grasped, every aid that illuminates it, as well as the aim and use to which it is applied”.<sup>48</sup>

This statement is not directed primarily against theologians, but against too formal and abstract a way of reading biblical texts, especially biblical poetry.<sup>49</sup> Herder’s opposition to abstract categories and his insistence on the human side of the Bible, however, will have its supporters among exegetes. They will apply it to the study of biblical history and all their efforts will aim at removing dogmatic categories from their reading. Although Herder himself was not opposed

<sup>46</sup> The work was published by Lessing after Reimarus’ death as a fragment written by an anonymous author. For more details, see Rogerson, *Old Testament Criticism* (1984), 25; CHR. BULTMANN, “Hermann Samuel Reimarus”, HBOT, II (2008), 878–884.

<sup>47</sup> See the summary on this question in H. GRAF REVENTLOW, “Johann Gottfried Herder – Theologian, Promoter of Humanity, Historian”, HBOT, II (2008), 1041–1050, esp. 1049–1050.

<sup>48</sup> Herder, *Briefe* (1785), vol. 10, n.7; quoted and translated into English by Frei, *Eclipse* (1974), 184.

<sup>49</sup> See, for instance, CHR. BULTMANN, *Die biblische Urgeschichte in der Aufklärung. Johann Gottfried Herders Interpretation der Genesis als Antwort auf die Religionskritik David Humes* (BHTh 110; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 1999).

to the possibility of supernatural wonders, his followers were to write a history of Israel without divine oracles and miracles. In a way similar to Herodotus – and along the line traced by Spinoza and Grotius – historians were to look for human causes and exclude divine interventions from their intellectual horizon.

A second aspect of Herder's philosophy will be important for the understanding of W. M. L. de Wette's attitude towards historical factuality. For Herder, the reliable way towards essential truths is not abstract reason, but sensitivity. He coined in this context the word *Einfühlung*, which means empathy, involvement, participation. To understand, the reader must enter into the world of the text and of its author, and share his or her values, visions, ideas, morals, and world conceptions.

A third element in Herder's work is noteworthy, namely the parallel drawn between Israel's history and German history. Nationalism was fashionable in the nineteenth century and Herder is one of its representatives. Germany had not yet been unified at that time. Herder is one of those who contributed to create a national consciousness among Germans. We should not forget that he lived for several years in what is now Latvia, in Riga, in a German-speaking milieu that had settled in this Baltic country long before. For Herder, two elements are of fundamental importance: ethnic origin and language. The first element is given by nature, by birth, and the second belongs to one's culture. Herder takes the Jewish people as an example because they could preserve their identity even during the exile or when they were scattered among other nations. They preserved their own character and their culture in the diaspora. The main element of a nation's culture is, however, its language.

This aspect explains – partly at least – the great interest in Israel's history during the nineteenth century in German-speaking areas. Israel was in many ways a paradigm. The parallel drawn explicitly by Herder between Israel and other nations, especially Germany, reappears in many ways and under different forms in subsequent works in which Herder's philosophical ideas became the guidelines of historical investigation.

After Herder we cannot but mention W. M. L. de Wette (1780–1849), who was one of his disciples. De Wette is famous for several reasons. He is the one that identified – in modern times since the idea is already present in some early Christian writings – the book discovered in the temple under King Josiah (2 Kings 22–23) with the core of the Book of Deuteronomy. This discovery was the starting point of many other observations. First, the centralization of the cult required by Deuteronomy 12 cannot be older than Josiah and cannot go back to Moses' time, as the book of Deuteronomy suggests. This explains why many texts suppose a different legislation. The Patriarchs, the Judges, and kings such as David and Solomon offered sacrifices in different places without being blamed for that. The important point, from a historical viewpoint, is that biblical narratives, especially the Pentateuch, cannot be used as primary sources for the reconstruction of a history of Israel.<sup>50</sup> The same holds true for the Books of Chronicles which pro-

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<sup>50</sup> "Was man vielleicht als zu kühn erkennen wird, daß ich den ganzen Pentateuch von Anfang bis Ende in mythischer Bedeutung nehme, ist doch weiter nichts als Konsequenz: denn wie das Einzelne, so das Ganze", de Wette, Beiträge zur Einleitung, II. Kritik der Israelitischen Geschichte (1806/1807),



ject into the past of David and Solomon a situation that obtained only after the exile, in the Second Temple Period. As Wellhausen did after him, he considers that the narratives about the ancestors of Israel in Genesis reveal the piety and beliefs of those who composed the texts, but contain no historical information about historical figures or events. Exodus bears the marks of legendary traditions (*Sagen*) and is strewn with lots of miracle stories.<sup>51</sup> This feature prevents the historian from looking for reliable elements in this part of the Bible. We are on firmer ground when we read the Books of Samuel. With the Books of Kings, however, the historian is again in an uncomfortable position. The figures given in 1 Kings 8, the chapter devoted to the dedication of Solomon's temple, are not plausible. There are too many workers, too many oxen and too many sheep. The legends about Elijah and Elisha are anything but history.

To sum up, de Wette uses three main criteria to distinguish what is historical from what is not historical: (1) When documents are written long after the event they recount, they cannot be used as sources. Primary and reliable sources come from eye-witnesses.<sup>52</sup> (2) Unhistorical are also narratives retelling supernatural events or containing extraordinary features, i.e. poetic legends (*Sagen*).<sup>53</sup> (3) Contradictory reports on the same event arouse suspicion.<sup>54</sup>

This intellectual attitude can be explained by two main factors.<sup>55</sup> First, de Wette was a very sharp critic who never tried to harmonize discrepancies or contradictions uncovered in the biblical texts. He had a special eye for differences in the texts and was, in this respect, an heir both of the philological studies that began with the Renaissance and of the critical spirit of the Enlightenment (*Aufklärung*). But his readings were guided by philosophical principles rather than by a strictly historical method. We do not find yet in de Wette's exegesis any systematic classification of documents according to their literary genres.

Here enters into the picture the second factor of de Wette's cultural background: his Kantian philosophy. De Wette met a disciple of Immanuel Kant, J. F. Fries (1773–1843), when teaching theology at the University of Heidelberg (1807–1810). In Kantian philosophy supernatural realities are unknowable to the "pure reason" (*reine Vernunft*).<sup>56</sup> The only guaranteed path to religion is moral-

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iv. De Wette means to say that everything is poetical or mythical in the Pentateuch, and not only the form of the texts.

<sup>51</sup> De Wette, *Lehrbuch der hebräisch-jüdischen Archäologie* (1814), 27; s. Rogerson, *A Brief Outline* (2007), 5.

<sup>52</sup> De Wette, *Beiträge zur Einleitung*, II (1806/1807), 14: "*Glaubwürdig im eigentlichen Sinne ist nur die Relation eines Augenzeugen [...]*".

<sup>53</sup> De Wette, *Beiträge*, II (1806/1807), 15: "*Ein Erzähler, der bona fide Dinge erzählt, die an sich nicht wahr seyn können, die durchaus unmöglich und undenkbar sind, die nicht allein die Erfahrung, sondern auch die natürlichen Gesetze überschreiten, und sie als Geschichte giebt [...] ist kein Geschichtserzähler, er ist poetischer Erzähler [...]*".

<sup>54</sup> See, for instance, his development on Genesis 18 in *Beiträge*, II, 88–89. De Wette concludes (89): "*Welcher Erzählung über die Verheißung Isaaks sollen wir nun glauben, der unsers Dichters [Gen 18: 1–15] oder der vorliegenden [Gen 17]? denn vereinigen lassen sie nicht. [...] Ist es nicht handgreiflich, daß wir hier nichts als poetische Fiktionen haben?*".

<sup>55</sup> See Rogerson, *A Brief Outline* (2007), 6.

<sup>56</sup> I. KANT, *Kritik der reinen Vernunft* (Riga: Hartknoch 1781, <sup>2</sup>1787; Hamburg: Meiner 1998); ET: *Critique of Pure Reason* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP 1998).

ity (*praktische Vernunft*)<sup>57</sup> and a reason sensitive to aesthetic and artistic values.<sup>58</sup> This explains why de Wette was not very worried when he undermined the historical value of many a narrative in the Pentateuch and the Historical Books. For him, true religion was rooted in ethical choices, moral values, and a deeply aesthetic sensitivity (cf. Herder's *Einfühlung*) more than in the contingency of uncertain historical facts. "*Die Geschichte verlor, die Religion gewann*", as he aptly sums up his position.<sup>59</sup>

As we can see, the writing of the history of ancient Israel has its own "Sitz-im-Leben". We can see in de Wette's new synthesis in which the presence of Kant and Herder is discernable, a critical attitude deriving from the Enlightenment and an artistic sensitivity coming from Romanticism, along with a philosophy of intellectual rigour and a religious attitude instilled by Pietism.

De Wette was followed by only a few exegetes, among them Gesenius and Gramberg. Others attacked him, sometimes fiercely. His most famous adversary was Hengstenberg who succeeded in preventing the appointment of exegetes defending theories similar to that of de Wette. He was a friend of the Prussian Kultminister Karl Otto von Raumer.<sup>60</sup> Other adversaries of de Wette's method are F. Delitzsch and von Hofmann. Both, and each one in his own way, insisted on the relationship between the two Testaments and the value of messianic prophecies.

## 5. Georg Heinrich August Ewald (1803–1875)

Sources: H. EWALD, *Einleitung in die Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, I–VIII (Göttingen: Dieterichsche Buchhandlung 1843–1859, <sup>3</sup>1864–1868); ET: *History of Israel*. Edited, with a Preface and Appendix, by R. Martineau, 1–8 (London: Longman & Green <sup>3</sup>1876–1886).

General works and studies: T. W. DAVIES, *Heinrich Ewald, Orientalist and Theologian 1803–1903: A Centenary Appreciation* (London: Unwin 1903). – L. PERLITT, "H. Ewald: Der Gelehrte in der Politik", *Theologie in Göttingen. Eine Vorlesungsreihe* (ed. B. Moeller; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1987), 157–212, = idem, *Allein mit dem Wort. Theologische Studien* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1995), 263–312. – J. W. ROGERSON, *Old Testament Criticism in the Nineteenth Century: England and Germany* (London: SPCK 1984 / Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press 1985), 91–103. – R. SMEND, "H. Ewalds Biblische Theologie. Hinweis auf ein vergessenes Buch", in: *Theologie und Wirklichkeit*. Festschrift W. Trillhaas (ed. H. W. Schütte / W. Wintzer; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1974), = idem, *Epochen der Bibelkritik. Gesammelte Studien*, 3 (BEvTh 109; München: Kaiser 1991), 155–167.

<sup>57</sup> I. KANT, *Kritik der praktischen Vernunft* (Riga: Hartknoch 1788; Hamburg: Meiner 2003).

<sup>58</sup> I. KANT, *Kritik der Urteilskraft* (Berlin: Libau 1790; Hamburg: Meiner 2001); ET: *Critique of the Power of Judgment* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP 2000).

<sup>59</sup> De Wette, Beiträge, II (1806/1807), 408, quoted by Rogerson, A Brief Outline (2007), 6.

<sup>60</sup> Vatke, for instance, was prevented from teaching in Berlin. George, in Greifswald, had to pass from the faculty of theology to that of philosophy; see Rogerson, *Old Testament Criticism* (1984), 95–97.

### 5.1. *The Purpose of Ewald's History of Israel*

Heinrich Ewald wrote the major "History of Israel" in the nineteenth century. This history starts with the origins of the universe and ends with the destruction of Jerusalem in 135 CE. Contrary to de Wette, H. Ewald tried by all means to reconcile biblical data with the requirements of historiography. The authority of the Bible could not be challenged, even on the field of history. This was at least Ewald's conviction. For this reason, Ewald tried to prove the historicity of the most ancient parts of the Bible, namely the Book of Genesis. He took inspiration from scholars in the field of Roman history, such as Barthold G. Niebuhr or Fustel de Coulanges, and in the field of mythology, such as K. O. Müller.<sup>61</sup> He believed in the possibility of using ancient traditions, folktales and myths, in his reconstruction of Israel's past. Not only the patriarchal narratives, but even Genesis 1–11 on the origin of the world contained historical kernels.

The introduction to his "History" contains three main affirmations. First, we are in a privileged situation when it comes to knowing anything about the remote past of Israel. "The history of the ancient people of Israel lies far behind us, a finished period of human events".<sup>62</sup> Since we are less directly involved in the events recounted, we may more correctly describe what happened some eighteen centuries ago.

Second, the usefulness of writing a history of Israel is nonetheless evident. Several nations in Antiquity conquered empires or developed very sophisticated cultures. Israel pursued another aim:

This aim is Perfect Religion – a good that all aspiring nations of antiquity made a commencement, and an attempt, to attain; which some, the Hindoos and the Persians for example, really labored to achieve with admirable devotion of noble energies; but which this people alone clearly discerned from the beginning, and then pursued for many centuries through all difficulties, and with the utmost firmness and consistency, until they attained it, so far as, among men and in ancient times, attainment was possible.<sup>63</sup>

Ewald sees Israel's uniqueness in its discovery of "Perfect Religion".<sup>64</sup> In this way, Ewald's historical research tries to reconcile the hyper-critical attitude of de Wette with some ideas of von Hofmann and his *Heilsgeschichte*: "To describe this [Israel's] history, therefore, as far as it can be known in all its discoverable remains and traces, is the design of this work; and its best commendation will be, that it describes it with the greatest fidelity as it really was [*wie sie wirklich war*]"<sup>65</sup> We can perceive in Ewald's program an echo of von Ranke's (or Thucy-

<sup>61</sup> Ewald mentions B. G. Niebuhr and K. O. Müller in the foreword to his History of Israel, I (1843), ix–x. This mention disappeared from the third edition I consulted. Ewald quotes Müller again on p. 259, n. 1; German, 370, n. 1.

<sup>62</sup> Ewald, History of Israel, I (1876), 1; German original: Einleitung in die Geschichte des Volkes Israel, I (1843), 3.

<sup>63</sup> Ewald, History of Israel, I (1876), 4; German I (1843), 8 ("*die vollkommene wahre religion*").

<sup>64</sup> Ibid. I, 5; German I, 8–9.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid. I, 7; German I, 12. See also I, 13: "One of the primary duties of all historical inquiry, and of every historical composition springing therefrom, is to distinguish the story from its foundation, or from that which has occasioned it, and thus to discover the truth of what actually occurred [*die*

dides') famous idea of a history that aims at describing the past *wie es eigentlich gewesen [war]*.

### 5.2. Ewald's Method

After defining with a touch of passion and in a stylish way the coordinates of his inquiry, Ewald comes to the third point of his introduction, namely the method by which to reach his objective. In a certain way, he announces the program of the *religionsgeschliche Schule* since he decides to use a comparative method. All elements that can be found in other world religions and are similar to what is found in Israel's tradition can be used for a solid historical reconstruction. The comparison will enhance Israel's uniqueness in the common quest for truth. Moreover, Ewald will be very attentive to the multifarious aspects of Israel's conditions in different times. I think that Ewald wants to avoid in this way the simplifications of some *Heilsgeschichten*: "There are especially two means which, properly applied, may happily fill up our imperfect knowledge of many periods: the uniform use of all sorts of sources accessible to us, and the constant attention to all, even the most diverse, phenomena in the varying conditions of the people".<sup>66</sup>

Particularly interesting in this respect is the treatment of *Sage* – translated with "tradition" in the 1876 English version of Ewald's history. Ewald dedicates around fifty pages to this "source" of history. The word '*Sage*' will become an essential part of Gunkel's work on Genesis.<sup>67</sup> For Ewald – contrary to de Wette – the *Sagen* ("popular stories" or "folktales") may contain a historical kernel: "Tradition [*Sage*] has its roots in actual facts; yet it is not absolutely history, but has a peculiar character and a value of its own. [...] It is absurd entirely to neglect its use for historical purposes, and to consider the duty of science to be to express sad doubts of its truth; thereby depriving ourselves, out of mere folly, of the most comprehensive means of searching out a great portion of history".<sup>68</sup> For Ewald, the first source of Israel's history is the Bible and it would be inconsiderate to neglect it, even if it contains many *Sagen*. Here Ewald may have in mind de Wette and some of his disciples. The argument put forward by Ewald will come back more than once in recent discussions.<sup>69</sup>

A second argument, which is also frequent in this kind of discussion, is that the Bible has a special taste for truth: "Hebrew tradition possesses all the charms

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*wahrheit des wirklich geschehenen]*" (German I, 21). Von Ranke published his book in 1824, some twenty years before Ewald's *Einleitung in die Geschichte des Volkes Israel* (1843 – 1859).

<sup>66</sup> Ibid. I, 9; German I, 12; see also I, 317, n. 1 (German I, 455, n. 1): "Considering how difficult it now is to recognize any of the mental characteristics of those early ages, we ought to beware of hasty and unfounded judgement upon them, and collect most carefully any real atom of reliable knowledge of them that are still to be found".

<sup>67</sup> Cf. the well-known statement that opens Gunkel's introduction to the Book of Genesis: *Die Genesis ist eine Sammlung von Sagen* – "Genesis is a collection of folktales"; see H. GUNKEL, *Genesis übersetzt und erklärt* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht<sup>3</sup>1910), vii.

<sup>68</sup> Ewald, *History of Israel*, I, 44; German I, 68.

<sup>69</sup> See, for instance, I. W. PROVAN, "Ideologies, Literary and Critical: Reflections on Recent Writing on the History of Israel", *JBL* 114 (1995) 585–606.

that belong to that or the other aspiring nations of Antiquity, and, in addition, the altogether peculiar excellence of being filled and sustained by the spirit of higher religion – nay, of even having become in part the vehicle of its great truths”.<sup>70</sup> Elsewhere, Ewald will say that mythology, as for instance in Greece or in India, easily gives rein to one’s fancy when describing the origins of the world or of a nation. Sobriety and reserve are, on the contrary, the main qualities of true religion. Biblical traditions (*Sagen*) are for this very reason more reliable than “heathen” writings.<sup>71</sup> There is more “truth” in the Old Testament than in other ancient writings.

More concretely, Ewald finds historical elements in songs, proverbs, proper names, monuments, and institutions.<sup>72</sup> He is on the other hand aware of all the shortcomings of biblical traditions, which, in many cases, reflect the preoccupations of the time in which they were composed. Traditions were also reworked to be adapted to a new spirit and new conceptions. This creates a special kind of problem:

Because this reanimation of the whole and the part [of the ancient tradition] proceeds from a narrator and a remodeller [*erzähler und umbildner*], whose warmest sympathies are with his own time, and who revives the old tradition mainly for the sake of his own time; later ideas are sure to mingle, more or less unobserved, in the description, and the peculiar spirit of the age and religion of such a remodeller can never be dissembled. Thus a multitude of genuine Mosaic ideas and truths have penetrated into the Hebrew tradition about the primeval age, and sometimes even look quite natural there.<sup>73</sup>

The example chosen by Ewald is interesting. For him the tradition about the origins of the world were reinterpreted at the time of Moses. Wellhausen, later on, will make a similar remark about the patriarchal narratives and draw a more drastic conclusion. For Ewald’s disciple, the patriarchal narratives do not reveal anything about a patriarchal time. They can only reveal something about the time they were written.<sup>74</sup>

### 5.3. *The Written Sources of a History of Israel*

As for written sources, Ewald distinguishes three main successive works in Israel’s literature. The first is called “Great Book of the Origins” and comprises the Pentateuch and Joshua. The second is the “Great Book of Kings” that contains Judges, Ruth, 1–2 Samuel and 1–2 Kings. It incorporates older documents such as state annals (“Diaries of the Kings”), narratives about Saul and the wars of David preceded by a short and abstract account of the period of the Judges,

<sup>70</sup> Ewald, *History of Israel*, I, 44; German I, 68.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.* I, 41–42; German I, 63–64; see also I, 259 (German I, 370–371): “For the Greek tradition, even in its oldest extant version, only presents conceptions beautiful as poetry, but utterly barren of historical matter and tone [...]”.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.* I, 18–22; German I, 27–31.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.* I, 36; German I, 57.

<sup>74</sup> WELLHAUSEN, *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels* (Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1878, <sup>2</sup>1883; <sup>5</sup>1899; repr.: de Gruyter Studienbuch; Berlin / New York: de Gruyter 2001), 318–319; ET: *Prolegomena to the History of Israel. With a Reprint of the article Israel from the Encyclopaedia Britannica* (Edinburgh: Black, 1885; repr. Reprints and Translations Series; Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press 1994).

and a "Prophetic History" comprising more or less the actual books of Samuel and 1 Kings 1.<sup>75</sup> Ewald seems to have but little to say about the sources of the Book of Judges. The "Great Book of Kings" is attributed to two different compilers, two Deuteronomists. The first worked after the reform of King Josiah in 622 BCE and the second after the rehabilitation of Jehojachin in Babylon (2 Kgs 25:27–30).<sup>76</sup>

The third work is called "The Great Book of Universal History down to the Greek times", comprising 1–2 Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemiah.<sup>77</sup> This third book was redacted around 323 BCE by a Levite. His purpose was to make Jerusalem the centre of Israel and of the universe. He used as sources 1–2 Samuel and 1–2 Kings, some state annals, and a third work on the monarchy that had been excluded from the official writings of Israel.<sup>78</sup>

We recognize in these three "Great Books" the Hexateuch, the Deuteronomistic History – but without Joshua – and what is sometimes called the Chronicler's work (1–2 Chronicles and Ezra – Nehemiah). Ewald goes on to describe in minute details these three written sources in the last part of his introduction.<sup>79</sup>

One sentence in this paragraph deserves attention because it clearly reveals Ewald's design:

Where true religion, with its fundamental claims and directions, stood in so close a connection with the whole people, whether they would or no, as here, and where the conception of the spiritual God, as constantly watching behind all human thought or action, was so powerfully active, there all historical observation and description of things and events must also easily draw the narrator up to God.<sup>80</sup>

For Ewald accurate and thorough historical research – in the case of Israel – must have a religious dimension. For him there is no dichotomy between history and theology since the history of Israel necessarily leads to its religion, because its religion is the only true religion. For this reason, the history of Israel is unique in the whole universe: "But the height of the subject and treatment in consequence of which Hebrew historiography stands so alone in Antiquity, and serves for us

<sup>75</sup> The idea of a prophetic history in 1–2 Samuel was to be found more recently in A.F. CAMPBELL, *Of Prophets and Kings: A Late Ninth-Century document (1 Samuel 1–2 Kings 10)* (CBQ.MS 17; Washington, DC: The Catholic Biblical Association of America 1986).

<sup>76</sup> There are striking similarities between Ewald's theory and M. Noth's theory of a Deuteronomistic History attributed to a Deuteronomistic compiler, as noted by Rogerson, *Old Testament Criticism* (1984), 97–98. Cf. M. NOTH, *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien. Die sammelnden und bearbeitenden Geschichtswerke im Alten Testament* (SKGG 18,2; Halle: Niemeyer 1943 = Tübingen: Niemeyer 1957, <sup>3</sup>1967), 43–266; ET: *The Deuteronomistic History* (JSOT.S 15; Sheffield: Academic Press 1981, <sup>2</sup>1991). There are even more striking similarities between Ewald's theory and that of a double redaction of the Deuteronomistic history proposed by F.M. Cross and his disciples; see F.M. CROSS, "The Themes of Kings and the Structure of the Deuteronomistic History", *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic: Essays in the History of the Religion of Israel* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP 1973), 274–289; R.D. NELSON, *The Double Redaction of the Deuteronomistic History* (JSOT.S 18; Sheffield: Academic Press 1981).

<sup>77</sup> Ewald, *History of Israel*, I, 61–62; German I, 92–94.

<sup>78</sup> The attribution of 1–2 Chronicles and Ezra–Nehemiah to Levitical circles is another idea that is to crop up often in research in this field. To take only one example; see K. MIN, *The Levitical Authorship of Ezra–Nehemiah* (JSOT.S 409; London: Clark 2004).

<sup>79</sup> For more detail, see Rogerson, *Old Testament Criticism* (1984), 94–97.

<sup>80</sup> Ewald, *History of Israel*, I, 53–54; German I, 82. The unique value of the history of Israel is underscored again and again.

too as a perpetual model, remained the sole highest point which it both strove after and attained".<sup>81</sup> For the same reason, nobody can challenge the claim to truth of Israel's historiography: "That it sought out and faithfully used the most reliable sources, is a matter of course, a consequence of its universal tendency to plain truth and Divine earnestness: but to what may be called in a strict sense erudition it never raised itself".<sup>82</sup> Nowhere as clearly as here can we discern how Ewald derives historical tenets and principles from theological reflections.

Another remark by Ewald in this context is of great importance. These are the reflections on the anonymous character of the Hebrew writers.<sup>83</sup> This paragraph justifies the subsequent inquiry about the different sources that entered into the composition of the biblical books we know. Ewald mentions two main reasons for this state of affairs. First, "When one reflects, moreover, that the higher a narrator soared (p. 53 sqq.) the more he was compelled to let his own personality disappear behind the grand Divine story he had to tell, it cannot be a matter of surprise that the names even of the greatest historians of the Old Testament are lost to us".<sup>84</sup> Second, "In this simplicity of life and thought, during the very time that its peculiar spirit was undergoing the most fruitful development, it felt little necessity for critically investigating its ancient history; and though a science of history might have commenced in the period after David and Solomon, yet it was choked by the new troubles of the succeeding times".<sup>85</sup> In other words, the writers disappeared behind their works first for theological reasons – the grandeur of the work did not allow them to disclose their identity – and, second, because of the particular circumstances of Israel's history – Israel's isolation and troubled history prevented the development of real historiography. For this reason, anonymous documents were easily re-used and compiled by later writers. A modern critic can disentangle later works and isolate more ancient sources since biblical writers were compilers, collectors, and digesters rather than real authors.<sup>86</sup> Ewald surely promotes the use of the historical critical method. He has even some sharp words on those who deny its legitimacy.<sup>87</sup> He has little sympathy for the supporters of a merely theological exegesis: "The opinions of such as Hengstenberg, Delitzsch, Keil, Kurtz, stand below and outside of all science".<sup>88</sup> On the other hand, Ewald deplors some excesses of the critical method. He notes about some of his predecessors: "Scholars were too easily

<sup>81</sup> Ibid. I, 55; German I, 84–85.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid. I, 55; German I, 85.

<sup>83</sup> Ibid. I, 56–62; German I, 85–92.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid. I, 57; German I, 87.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid. I, 58; German I, 87–88.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid. I, 58–59; German I, 89. Ewald uses the German words *Sammler* and *Verarbeiter* (I, 89); the English translation speaks of "collectors" and "digesters" (I, 58). In recent times, John Van Seters vehemently argued in favour of the opposite opinion. For him, biblical writers are real authors and not only redactors, editors, or compilers; see J. VAN SETERS, *The Edited Bible: The Curious History of the "Editor" in Biblical Criticism* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns 2006).

<sup>87</sup> "No conscientious man ought any longer to pay the least attention to the stupidity of those scholars who even in our days condemn all investigations of this sort in the lump" (Ewald, *History of Israel*, I, 61, n. 1; German I, 92, n. 1).

<sup>88</sup> Ibid. I, 64, n. 1; German I, 95, n. 1.

satisfied with hunting out contradictions in the books, detecting want of coherence in the stories and resolving everything into 'fragments' [...].<sup>89</sup>

In the "Great Book of the Origins" (Pentateuch and Joshua), Ewald distinguishes nonetheless up to five different writers (Ewald speaks of "narrators", German: *Erzähler*) in the Pentateuch. The first narrator wrote his "Book of the Covenants" (*Buch der Bündnisse*) during the time of the Judges.<sup>90</sup> This work contains texts about different covenants (Gen 21:22–32; 26:28–31; 31:44–54; Exod 24:3–8) and the blessing of Jacob (Genesis 48). This author united for the first time the oldest patriarchal narratives with the first elements of a "life of Moses" (Exod 4:18 and Exodus 18). He also added to his work the Decalogue (Exod 21:1–17) and re-used some earlier poetic fragments (for instance Num 21:14, 20; Exod 15:1–18).

The second narrator wrote the "Book of the Origins" (*Buch der Ursprünge*) at the time of David and Solomon.<sup>91</sup> This source mainly contains the texts mentioning the "generations" of Israel (*tôledôt*) and roughly corresponds to the Priestly Writer of the later classical Documentary Hypothesis.<sup>92</sup> The first two "narrators" are followed by three "Prophetic Narrators of the Beginnings" (*drei prophetische Erzähler der Urgeschichten*).<sup>93</sup>

Each "narrator" completed and supplemented the previous one. These "ancient documents" (*Urschriften*) were completed and compiled afterwards. We must still count with the work of a Deuteronomic author and a last re-working of the whole Pentateuch.<sup>94</sup> Ewald believed that the historical-critical method was able to demonstrate the real truth of Israel's religion, and not the opposite. He therefore used all the tools of historical research and literary criticism to achieve this goal. Ewald was the first scholar who attempted to write a complete "History of Israel" according to the principles of the historical-critical method.

#### 5.4. *The Patriarchs in Ewald's History of Israel*

For Ewald, the patriarchs are embellished figures, "ideal types" (*Helden, Vorbilder*), who personify the aspirations and moral standards of later periods.<sup>95</sup> The historian, however, is able to affirm with a reasonable amount of certainty, that they migrated from the north-eastern part of Mesopotamia, went down to Egypt, settled there, were later on oppressed, and liberated by a leader called

<sup>89</sup> Ibid. I, 61, n. 1; German 92, n. 1.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid. I, 69–74; German I, 95–111.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid. I, 74–96; German I, 111–144.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid. I, 80, n. 1; German I, 120, n. 1.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid. I, 96–115; German I, 145–168.

<sup>94</sup> Ibid. I, 115–132; German I, 169–193.

<sup>95</sup> See, for instance, the subtitle *Der kreis der 12 vorbilder* (I, 415), in English, "The Cycle of the Twelve Types" (I, 290). J. M. MILLER / J. H. HAYES, *A History of Ancient Israel and Judah* (Louisville, KY / London: Westminster 2006), 69–74, summarize very well the "Difficulties with Using the Genesis – Judges Narrative for Historical Research". They speak of elements of "Folk Material" present in these biblical books (74–79) before giving a short survey of "Contemporary Approaches to the History of Ancient Israel" (79–83). Much of this is already present, in one form or in another, in Ewald's work.



Moses.<sup>96</sup> The same Moses gave Israel some of its main sacrificial and priestly institutions. Since priesthood and sacrifice prefigure Christ's mission, Ewald considers that they must have a solid historical basis.

Ewald is aware of the difficulty in finding historical elements in the patriarchal narratives and in the Pentateuch in general. He says it clearly more than once: "If we look simply at the prevailing character and representations of this period given in the most ancient sources, we shall find little that is really historical to say of the three Patriarchs".<sup>97</sup> He does not give up any hope of finding some snippets of history here and there in the background of the texts. One of the arguments used by Ewald has its roots in the Romantic mentality of his time. He considers that a great personality must stand behind every important tradition or institution. This is the case with the Patriarchs: "[...] the three Patriarchs must at least have lived and performed extraordinary deeds, because otherwise there would be no accounting for the rise of the existing traditions respecting them".<sup>98</sup> The same holds true for Moses, Israel's "mightiest hero".<sup>99</sup>

Other arguments are taken from particular texts, especially in the case of the Patriarchs. Genesis 14, for instance, has a great historical value for Ewald.<sup>100</sup> He also stresses the differences between the patriarchal and the Mosaic ages.<sup>101</sup>

We have already mentioned several points on which Ewald's opinions pave the way to future debates on similar subject matters. Let us add to these points the discussion on the twelve tribes of Israel.<sup>102</sup> Ewald notices the stability of the number twelve throughout Israel's history and looks for parallels among the Etruscans, in Greek literature and history, and even in Africa.<sup>103</sup> M. Noth's theory of the Israelite amphictyony is already present *in nuce* in these pages.<sup>104</sup>

<sup>96</sup> Ewald, *History of Israel*, I, 362, n.2 (German I, 519, n.1), takes issue with authors who altogether deny the historicity of the patriarchs on the basis of parallels between biblical narratives and some Greek myths. Cf. this other statement: "To deny the existence of such great men, such fathers and benefactors of the people as Jacob and Joseph, would be pure folly [*reine torheit*]" (I, 382; German I, 547); cf. I, 338 (German I, 484, n.3); I, 362, n.2 (German I, 519, n.1) where Ewald criticizes the authors who affirm that the patriarchs are unhistorical figures.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.* I, 290; German I, 415–416.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.* I, 300; German I, 431. The German text is clearer: "[...] *dennoch müssten die 3 Patriarchen auch in der wirklichen geschichte gelebt, ja außerordentliches ausgeführt haben, weil ohne diese annahme sogar die entstehung der jezigen sage über sie undenkbar sei* [...]".

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.* II, 15; German II, 24. See especially II, 33–34 (German 49–50): "Be it granted that the leader of that age and originator of that most pregnant development, from the very fact that he obtruded himself so little, but gave the glory to his God, gradually disappeared from the recollection of posterity behind his great work, and for long was distinctly known to but few: yet that he was possessed of a soul of extraordinary greatness, and that he worked, and worked with wonderful power and success, remains perfectly clear, unless we choose to ascribe to chance whatever is most spiritual in the world, and so to plunge ourselves into blindness".

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.* I, 300; German I, 431.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.* I, 301–302; German I, 432–433.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.* I, 362–381; German I, 519–546.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.* I, 370, n.1; German I, 530, n.1.

<sup>104</sup> M. NOTH, *Das System der zwölf Stämme Israels* (BWANT 4.1; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer 1930; repr. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1966). On the same topic see the recent treatment by Ch. LEVIN, "Das System der zwölf Stämme Israels", *Congress Volume Paris 1992* (ed. J.A. Emerton; VT.S 61; Leiden: Brill 1995), 163–178 = Ch. LEVIN, *Fortreibungen. Gesammelte Studien zum Alten Testament* (BZAW 316; Berlin / New York 2003), 111–123.

### 5.5. Concluding Remarks

Ewald concludes his methodological reflections with this revelatory statement:

At the close of the prehistoric period of Israel, we may consider that this much at least has been made evident – that if only we diligently seek and rightly apply all the means at our command, many most important historic truths may be recovered even from that distant age.<sup>105</sup>

These few lines prove, once again, that Ewald used the tools of historical research and his immense erudition for one purpose, namely to give a historical foundation to his biblical creed. In this way, he tried to reconcile de Wette's and Vatke's criticism with Hengstenberg's and Delitzsch's theological exegesis.<sup>106</sup> Did he succeed? The danger was surely to displease the supporters of both tendencies. For sure, Wellhausen considered Ewald's enterprise as a failure and today Ewald's monument of erudition is very seldom mentioned by modern scholars in the field.<sup>107</sup> We have seen, nonetheless, that Ewald's work contains many seminal ideas and that he asked several important questions. This is perhaps more important than the answers he gave.

## 6. Julius Wellhausen (1844–1918)

*Sources:* J. WELLHAUSEN, *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels* (Berlin: Georg Reimer 1878, <sup>2</sup>1883; <sup>5</sup>1899; repr.: de Gruyter Studienbuch; Berlin / New York: de Gruyter 2001); ET: *Prolegomena to the History of Israel*. With a Reprint of the article *Israel* from the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. Preface by W. Robertson Smith (Original edition: Edinburgh: Black 1885; repr.: Reprints and Translations Series; Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press 1994); *Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte* (Berlin: Reimer 1878, <sup>7</sup>1914; repr. Berlin: de Gruyter 1958, 1981, 2004).

*General works and studies:* W. BAUMGARTNER, "Wellhausen und der heutige Stand der alttestamentlichen Wissenschaft", *ThR* 2 (1930) 287–307. – F. BOSCHWITZ, *Julius Wellhausen. Motive und Massstäbe seiner Geschichtsschreibung* (Libelli 238; Marburg 1938; repr. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft 1968). – H. GRAF REVENTLOW, "Den Gang der Geschichte Israels neu bestimmen: Julius Wellhausen", *Epochen der Bibelauslegung*, IV. *Von der Aufklärung bis zum 20. Jahrhundert* (München: Beck 2001), 302–316; Italian tr.: "Ridefinire il corso della storia d'Israele: Julius Wellhausen", *Storia dell'interpretazione biblica*. IV. *Dall'illuminismo fino al XX secolo* (Casale Monferrato [AL]: Piemme 2004), 360–376. – E. MEYER, *Julius Wellhausen und meine Schrift "Die Entstehung des Judentums"*. *Eine Erwiderung* (Halle: Max Niemeyer 1897; repr. Hildesheim: Olms 1965, as an appendix to E. MEYER, *Die Entstehung de Judentums*). – E. W. NICHOLSON, *The Pentateuch in the Twentieth Century. The Legacy of Julius Wellhausen* (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1998). – J. PASTO, "When the End Is the Beginning? Or When the Biblical Past Is the Political Present: Some Thoughts on Ancient Israel, 'Post-Exilic Judaism', and the Politics of Biblical Scholarship", *SJOT* 12 (1998), 157–202. – L. PERLITT, *Vatke und Wellhausen. Geschichtsphilosophische Voraussetzungen und historiographische Motive für die Darstellung der Religion und Geschichte Israels durch Wilhelm Vatke*

<sup>105</sup> EWALD, *History of Israel*, I, 422–423; German I, 604.

<sup>106</sup> In this respect, Ewald is close to R. de Vaux who tried to find a middle way between the American archaeological school (W. F. Albright) and the German literary-critical school (J. Wellhausen, H. Gunkel, and above all M. Noth). See R. DE VAUX, *Histoire ancienne d'Israël*, I–II (*Études bibliques*; Paris: Gabalda 1971–1973); ET: *The Early History of Israel to the Exodus and Covenant of Sinai* (London: Darton, Longman & Todd 1978).

<sup>107</sup> J. WELLHAUSEN, "Heinrich Ewald", *Grundrisse zum Alten Testament* (ed. R. Smend; München: Kaiser Verlag 1965), 120–138, 131–132.

und Julius Wellhausen (BZAW 94; Berlin: Töpelmann 1965). – J. W. ROGERSON, *Old Testament Criticism in the Nineteenth Century: England and Germany* (London: SPCK 1984 / Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press 1985), 257–272. – R. SMEND, “Julius Wellhausen”, *Deutsche Alttestamentler in drei Jahrhunderten* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1989), 99–113; ET: “Julius Wellhausen”, *From Astruc to Zimmerli: Old Testament Scholarship in three Centuries* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 2007), 91–102; *Julius Wellhausen: Ein Bahnbrecher in drei Disziplinen* (München: Carl von Friedrich Siemens Stiftung 2006). – M. WEINFELD, *Getting at the Roots of Wellhausen's Understanding of the Law of Israel on the 100<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Prolegomena* (Report 14; Jerusalem: The Hebrew University 1979).

“Konstruieren muß man bekanntlich die Geschichte immer [...]. Der Unterschied ist nur, ob man gut oder schlecht konstruiert” – “But history, it is well known, has always to be constructed [...]. The question is whether one constructs well or ill”.<sup>108</sup> Much of Wellhausen’s spirit is encapsulated in this reflection that he makes about the dating of the different law codes in the Pentateuch. We can also find here one of the major contributions of Wellhausen to the emergence of an independent ‘History of Israel’ in the nineteenth century.

Much has been said and written on Wellhausen and there is no point in repeating it here. From our point of view, that of the “History of Israel”, Wellhausen represents a decisive step, although he was much contested and it took much time before the academic world gauged the depths of his insights. There is probably a good deal to discover even today in his *Prolegomena* or in his *Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte*.

In this section, I will expound three main aspects of Wellhausen’s research: first, his distinction between history and theology; second, the importance of juridical institutions and law codes in his historical reconstruction; third, the problem of sources when dealing with the remote past of Israel.

The quotation that opened this paragraph is revelatory of Wellhausen’s spirit, as I said. Wellhausen speaks of the sequence of the three main sources of the Pentateuch: Jehovist, Deuteronomy, and Priestly Code. Others still defended another arrangement in which the Priestly Code preceded the Jehovist and Deuteronomy. For Wellhausen, it was clear that this was a theory or a reconstruction too. There is no reason to think that any one hypothesis is better than the other. In other words, there are no “dogmas” in history; some hypotheses are better than others, depending on the solidity of the arguments on which they are founded; he says:

[...] the order, Priestly Code, Jehovist, Deuteronomy, is not a thing handed down by tradition or prescribed by the nature or the case, but a hypothesis as yet only a score of years old or thereabouts, the reasons of which were somewhat incomprehensible, so that people have forgotten them and begun to regard the hypothesis as something objective, partaking of the character of dogma.<sup>109</sup>

The difference, for Wellhausen, is simple. History is descriptive, dogma is not: “Was geschehen mußte, darauf kommt es weniger an als auf das wirklich geschah”.<sup>110</sup> It is impossible not to notice here an echo of von Ranke’s famous

<sup>108</sup> Wellhausen, *Prolegomena* (1883 / 2001), 365; *Prolegomena to the History of Israel* (1994), 367.

<sup>109</sup> Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*, 367; German, 365.

<sup>110</sup> J. WELLHAUSEN, *Geschichte Israels* (Berlin: Reimer 1878), 48 (first edition of the *Prolegomena*).

“*was eigentlich gewesen [ist]*”. Wellhausen looks for facts, not for ideas or abstractions. The parenthood with de Wette is evident, and it comes as no surprise to find de Wette quoted in the first footnote of the *Prolegomena*.<sup>111</sup>

One example will suffice to illustrate Wellhausen's rigorous method. In his analysis of 1 Sam 7:2–17, the story of Samuel's victory against the Philistines, he comes to the drastic conclusion: “There cannot be a word of truth in the whole narrative”.<sup>112</sup> The reasons for this sweeping statement are two. First, it is hard to believe that all the actions described in 1 Sam 7:3–12 could have taken place within one single day. Second, there are conspicuous contradictions between this chapter and the rest of 1 Samuel. According to 1 Sam 7:13, the Philistines were utterly defeated and did not come back to Israel. Other texts, however, suppose exactly the opposite (see 1 Samuel 13 – 14; 17; 21:11–16 which contradicts 7:14; 28:1; 29; 31).<sup>113</sup> Wellhausen uses two criteria in assessing the historicity of a narrative, namely the likelihood of what is recounted and the coherency of the whole narrative. We have already come across these criteria when reading de Wette.

The second contribution of Wellhausen – and perhaps the more lasting one – is in the field of methodology. The *Prolegomena* are almost entirely dedicated to a history of Israel's juridical and legislative institutions. This is well-known, but we can never underscore enough the importance of this singular way of proceeding. Wellhausen's whole construction is based on a study of Israel's law. We may feel here the influence of such personalities as Mommsen and Fustel de Coulanges.<sup>114</sup> The former dedicated much time to Roman Law and the latter to the importance of cult and religion in Greek and Roman cultures. This explains why Wellhausen begins his study of Israel's history with a history of Israel's cult, in particular the place of worship, the sacrifices, the feasts, the priests and Levites, and the endowment of the clergy.

Very interesting in this regard is the first note of the *Prolegomena* where Wellhausen acknowledges his debt to some forerunners in the field. He names Leopold George and Wilhelm Vatke, but especially Karl Heinrich Graf and the latter's master, the Alsatian Eduard Reuss. They all had been disciples of W. M. L. de Wette “the epoch-making pioneer of historical criticism”.<sup>115</sup> Eduard Reuss is quoted at length in this note because of his insistence on the importance of law for the historian: “*L'intérêt principal de l'historien doit porter sur la date des lois, parce que sur ce terrain il y a plus de chance d'arriver à des résultats certains*” – “The historian's main interest must be for the date of the laws because, in this field, there is more chance to reach solid results”.<sup>116</sup>

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Quoted by L. PERLITT, *Vatke und Wellhausen. Geschichtsphilosophische Voraussetzungen und historiographische Motive für die Darstellung der Religion und Geschichte Israels durch Wilhelm Vatke und Julius Wellhausen* (BZAW 94; Berlin: Töpelmann 1965), 187.

<sup>111</sup> Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*, 4; German, 4.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.* 249; German, 245.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.* 248; German, 245.

<sup>114</sup> The influence of Mommsen on Wellhausen is noted by Perlitt, *Vatke und Wellhausen* (1965), 68–71, 153.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.* 4; German, 4.

<sup>116</sup> E. REUSS, *L'histoire sainte et la Loi* (Paris: Fischbacher 1879), 23–24; quoted by Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*, 4; German, 4.

From 1838 until 1888 Reuss taught in the theological faculty at the University of Strasbourg where Fustel de Coulanges was active from 1860 till 1870. Did they ever meet? It is difficult to assert anything certain.<sup>117</sup> Be that as it may, we can say that Wellhausen had several good reasons to find a solid foundation for his history of Israel in the study of cultic and juridical institutions. The pivot of this juridical history is the centralization of the cult introduced by Josiah (2 Kings 22–23) and based on Deuteronomy 12. The idea comes from de Wette, but Wellhausen offers a systematic analysis of the whole legislation of Israel in this field. For him, everything that does not presuppose this centralization – i. e. the Jehovist – is anterior to Deuteronomy, and everything that takes the centralization for granted – i. e. the Priestly Code – is posterior to it. This chronology is based on a careful study of the vocabulary and the evolution of the institutions because there is an evident *evolution* in Israel's legislation, as there is an evolution in Roman Law for Mommsen or Fustel de Coulanges.

When Wellhausen comes to the *History of Tradition (Geschichte der Tradition)*, in the second part of his *Prolegomena*, he can assert with much confidence: "Now, the strata of the tradition show the same arrangement as do those of the legislation". This is what he is to demonstrate afterwards. But Wellhausen is confident. The foundation he has just laid is solid enough.

The third element of Wellhausen's contribution is to be found in his analysis of the most ancient traditions of Israel. One sentence of the *Prolegomena* is often quoted and deserves to be read carefully:

The materials here [in the patriarchal narratives] are not mythical but national, and therefore more transparent, and in a certain sense more historical. It is true, we attain to no historical knowledge of the patriarchs, but only of the time when the stories about them arose in the Israelite people; this later age is unconsciously projected, in its inner and outer features, into hoar antiquity, and is reflected there like a glorified mirage. The skeleton of the patriarchal history consists, it is well known, of ethnographic genealogy.<sup>118</sup>

This means that Wellhausen distinguishes at least three types of documents. First, there are mythical narratives, as for instance in Gen 1–11, which deal with a primeval age and not with history as such. Second, there are, of course, narratives of historical value. This historical worth has to be evaluated in each case and there can be important differences in reliability. Anyway, the documents have historical value. Third, there is a further category, that of "legends" (*Sagen*) that have a historical value, but, so to speak, in an indirect way. The historical elements they contain are not about the period they describe, but about the period in which they were written, namely the early monarchy for the Jehovist and the post-exilic period for the Priestly Code.

In this, Wellhausen is a faithful disciple of H. Ewald and B.G. Niebuhr.<sup>119</sup>

<sup>117</sup> E. Reuss was a Protestant and a strong defender of the German language. Fustel de Coulanges was born in a Catholic family. More important, he had little sympathy for German culture and German academic tradition. This was probably enough to separate the two personalities although it is difficult to believe that they never heard of each other.

<sup>118</sup> Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*, 318–319; German, 316.

<sup>119</sup> On Niebuhr's influence on Wellhausen's historical research, see Perlitt, Vatke und Wellhausen (1965), 57–61, 153.

Wellhausen may be more radical and rigorous than Ewald, but he still looks for historical elements in the patriarchal narratives. For instance, he speaks of the patriarchs as “prototypes” (*Vorbilder*) of the Israelites, using a word dear to Ewald.<sup>120</sup> More recently, some exegetes have proposed speaking of a “paradigmatic” type of history when speaking, for instance, of the patriarchs.<sup>121</sup> These narratives prefigure, announce, or reflect events or situations that occurred later in Israel’s history.

As is well known, Wellhausen’s theories provoked very sharp, often scathing – and unjust – comments.<sup>122</sup> But he himself had already foreseen what was to happen: “*Die kirchliche Wissenschaft scheint im Alten Testament die Aufgabe zu haben, fünfzig Jahre lang eine neue Entdeckung zu widerlegen, darnach einen mehr oder minder geistreichen Gesichtspunkt aufzufinden, unter welchem dieselbe ins Credo aufgenommen werden kann*” – “The Ecclesiastical science seems to have one duty as far as the Old Testament is concerned. This duty is to refute a new discovery for fifty years and, afterwards, to find out a more or less sensible point of view so that the discovery can be integrated into the creed under this form”.<sup>123</sup> Whether Wellhausen was a prophet or not is a difficult question. On this point, however, his prophecy was undoubtedly fulfilled.<sup>124</sup>

## 7. The Other “Histories of Israel”

Sources: C. H. CORNILL, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel von den ältesten Zeiten bis zur Zerstörung Jerusalems durch die Römer* (Leipzig: Harrassowitz / Chicago, IL: Open Court 1898); ET: *History of the People of Israel. From the Earliest Times to the Destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans* (Chicago, IL: Open Court 1898). – C. P. W. GRAMBERG, *Kritische Geschichte der Religionsideen des Alten Testaments* (Leipzig: Neumann, Neudamm, and Paris: Librairie de la Bible 1876).

<sup>120</sup> See, for instance, Prolegomena, 320 (German, 318): “[In the Jehovist] the Patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, are not mere names, but living forms, ideal prototypes [*Vorbilder*] of the true Israelite”.

<sup>121</sup> See R. SMEND, *Elemente alttestamentlichen Geschichtsdenkens* (ThSt 95; Zürich, EVZ Verlag, 1968), 18–23; N. LOHFINK, “Die Priesterschrift und die Geschichte”, *Congress Volume Göttingen 1977* (ed. W. Zimmerli; VT.S 29; Leiden: Brill 1978), 189–255, p. 215, 236–237 = *Studien zum Pentateuch* (SBAB 4; Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk 1988), 213–254, p. 242; J. NEUSNER, “Paradigmatic versus Historical Thinking: The Case of Rabbinic Judaism”, *History and Theory* 36, 3 (1997) 353–377; R. S. KAWASHIMA, *Biblical Narrative and the Death of the Rhapsode* (Indiana Studies in Biblical Literature; Bloomington / Indianapolis, IN: Indiana UP 2004), 124–160 (“Biblical Time and Epic Time: From Grammar to Narrative Technique”); S. BOORER, “The ‘Paradigmatic’ and ‘Historiographical’ Nature of the Priestly Material as a Key to its Interpretation”, *Seeing Signals, Reading Signs: The Art of Exegesis*. Festschrift A. F. Campbell (ed. M. A. O’Brien / H. N. Wallace; JSOT.S 415; London / New York: Clark 2004), 45–60.

<sup>122</sup> See, among others, Peritt, Vatke und Wellhausen (1965), 153–173; SMEND, *Deutsche Alttestamentler*, 107–108 = From Astruc to Zimmerli, 97–98.

<sup>123</sup> Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*, VII (Foreword to the second edition, Berlin: Reimer 1883); quoted by Peritt, Vatke und Wellhausen (1965), 158.

<sup>124</sup> For a survey of Wellhausen’s influence in more recent times, see E. W. NICHOLSON, *The Pentateuch in the Twentieth Century. The Legacy of Julius Wellhausen* (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1998). For a summary of Wellhausen’s *Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte*, see ROGERSON, A Brief Outline, 7–8. On the merits and limits of Wellhausen’s historical research, see H. GRAF REVENTLOW, “Julius Wellhausen”, *Epochen der Bibelauslegung*, IV (München: Beck 2001), 302–316, esp. 315, 316. Wellhausen had very little interest in Assyriology, Egyptology, and archaeology in general. This is one of the main limitations of his work.

ments, 1. *Hierarchie und Cultus*; 2. *Theokratie und Prophetismus* (Berlin: Duncker und Humblot 1830). – H.H. GRÄTZ, *Geschichte der Juden von den ältesten Zeiten bis auf die Gegenwart*, I–XI (Leipzig: Leiner 1853–1875; <sup>2</sup>1897–1911; Berlin: Arani 1998; Bochum: Winkler 2005); ET: *History of the Jews, from the Earliest Times to the Present Day* (London: Nutt 1891–1892); *The Structure of Jewish History and Other Essays* (Moreshet series. Studies in Jewish History, Literature and Thought, 3; New York: The Jewish Theological Seminary of America 1975); French tr.: *Les origines du Judaïsme et du Christianisme. Examen critique des Évangiles anciens et modernes* (Paris: Lévy 1867); *La construction de l'histoire juive suivi de gnosticisme et judaïsme* (Passages; Paris: Cerf 1992). – H. GUTHE, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel* (Grundriss der Theologischen Wissenschaften, 2,3; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 1899, <sup>2</sup>1904, <sup>3</sup>1912). – E. W. HENGSTENBERG, *Geschichte des Reiches Gottes unter dem Alten Bunde* (Berlin: Schlawitz 1869). – L. HERZFELD, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel von der Zerstörung des ersten Tempels bis zur Einsetzung des Makkabäers Schimon zum hohen Priester und Fürsten* (Braunschweig: Westermann 1847). – F. HITZIG, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel von Anbeginn bis zur Eroberung Masada's im Jahre 72 nach Christus* (Leipzig: Hirzel 1869). – I. M. JOST, *Allgemeine Geschichte des Israelitischen Volkes sowohl seines zweimaligen Staatslebens als auch der zerstreuten Gemeinden und Sekten bis an die neueste Zeit aus den Quellen bearbeitet* (Leipzig: Amelang 1850); *Geschichte des Judenthums und seiner Sekten*, I–III (Leipzig: Dörffling und Franke 1857–1859). – R. KITTEL, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, 1. *Palästina in der Urzeit. Das Werden des Volkes. Quellenkunde und Geschichte der Zeit bis zum Tode Josuas*; 2. *Das Volk in Kanaan. Quellenkunde und Geschichte der Zeit bis zum babylonischen Exil* (Handbücher der Alten Geschichte, 1; Gotha: Perthes 1888–1892, <sup>2</sup>1909, <sup>3</sup>1916–1917, <sup>6–7</sup>1925); ET: *History of the Hebrews*, 1. *The Period Ending with the Conquest of Canaan*; 2. *Sources of Information and History of the Period down to the Babylonian Exile* (London: Williams and Norgate 1895–1896); *Der Babel-Bibel Streit und die Offenbarungsfrage. Ein Verzicht auf Verständigung* (Leipzig: Deichert 1903); *Studien zur Hebräischen Archäologie und Religionsgeschichte* (BWAT 1; Leipzig: Hinrichs 1908); *Die orientalischen Ausgrabungen und die ältere biblische Geschichte* (Miscellanea Historia V. T., 1,5; Leipzig: Deichert 1908). – H. A. KLOSTERMANN, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel bis zur Restauration unter Esra und Nehemia* (München: Beck 1896). – A. KÖHLER, *Lehrbuch der biblischen Geschichte Alten Testaments* (Erlangen: Deichert 1875). – J. H. KURTZ, *Lehrbuch der heiligen Geschichte. Ein Wegweiser zum Verständniß des göttlichen Heilsplanes nach seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung* (Königsberg: Gräfe 1843, <sup>8</sup>1858, <sup>12</sup>1871). – E. LEDRAIN, *Histoire d'Israël*, 1–2 (Paris: Lemerre 1879–82). – R. L. OTTLEY, *A Short History of the Hebrews to the Roman Period* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP 1901); *Aspects of the Old Testament* (Bampton Lectures, 1897; London / New York: Longmans Green 1897). – Ch. PIEPENBRING, *Histoire du peuple d'Israël* (Paris: Grassart 1898). – J. E. RENAN, *Histoire du peuple d'Israël*, 1–5 (Paris: Calmann Lévy 1887–1893). – L. SEINECKE, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, 1–2 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1876–1884). – S. SHARPE, *The History of the Hebrew Nation and Its Literature: With an Appendix on the Hebrew Chronology* (London: William and Norgate <sup>4</sup>1882). – B. STADE, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, I. *Geschichte des vorchristlichen Judenthums bis zur griechischen Zeit*; II. *Das Ende des jüdischen Staatswesens und die Entstehung des Christenthums* (Berlin: Baumgärtel 1881–1888). – C. STEUERNAGEL, *Die Einwanderung der israelitischen Stämme in Kanaan* (Berlin: Schwetschke 1883, <sup>2</sup>1901). – M. VERNES, *Précis d'histoire juive depuis les origines jusqu'à l'époque persane* (V<sup>e</sup> siècle avant J.-C.) (Paris: Hachette 1889); *Le peuple d'Israël et ses espérances relatives à son avenir depuis les origines jusqu'à l'époque persane* (V<sup>e</sup> siècle avant J.-C.). *Essai historique* (Paris: Sandoz et Fischbacher 1872). – G. P. WEBER / H. HOLTZMANN, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel und des Entstehens des Christenthums*, 1–2 (Leipzig: Engelmann 1867). – H. WINCKLER, *Religionsgeschichtlicher und Geschichtlicher Orient* (Leipzig: Hinrichs 1906).

*General works and studies*: D. BANKS, *Writing the History of Israel* (Library of Hebrew Bible / Old Testament Studies 438; London: Clark 2006). – J. W. ROGERSON, *Old Testament Criticism in the Nineteenth Century: England and Germany* (London: SPCK 1984 / Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press 1985).

After de Wette and Wellhausen, all of a sudden, a plethora of 'Histories of Israel' appears on the academic market.<sup>125</sup> Most of them follow the biblical text, some-

<sup>125</sup> For a useful history of research on the topic, see Kittel, *Geschichte der Hebräer*, I (1888), 33–

times even starting with the creation of the world, and paraphrase it. We have, so to speak, an Old Testament rewritten and – practically – without oracles and miracles.

Method, plan, and spirit are however very different when one goes from one 'History' to the other. Polemics are not absent either. There are nonetheless three points on which most of the authors have to make clear decisions. The first is the acceptance or refusal of the historical-critical method of de Wette and Wellhausen, a method as old as Spinoza, Simon and Grotius. The second point is the choice of a point of departure: When does the 'History of Israel' begin? Third, the growing importance of archaeological and epigraphic discoveries obliges the academic world to revise, modify, and update many traditional positions.

As for the first point, most exegetes had to take up a position for or against the use of the historical-critical method in handling sources. Some scholars, such as E.W. Hengstenberg, A. Köhler, H.A. Klostermann, or J.H. Kurtz, firmly denied the existence of sources in the Pentateuch and defended its Mosaic authorship.<sup>126</sup> This also means that they refuse to treat Israel as any other nation and reaffirmed with force the uniqueness of the biblical revelation. Ewald was a model in the field. No matter how much erudition is accumulated by the different scholars, the conclusions are very similar. They basically defend the historicity of the main events recounted in the Scriptures. Sometimes, as in the case of Köhler, a disciple of Franz Delitzsch und J.C.K. von Hofmann, scholars used the tools of biblical criticism to buttress their positions.<sup>127</sup> For this very reason, Köhler entered into a bitter conflict with some conservative circles in Bavaria at the end of his life.<sup>128</sup>

Others, following the path traced by Spinoza and Grotius, used all the resources of historical research in a more systematic and rigorous way and applied them to biblical documents like any other document. C.H. Cornill, B. Stade, H. Guthe, and R. Kittel (in the second edition of his *Geschichte*) are among those who followed Wellhausen in the latter's dating of the Priestly Code and in the cautious handling of ancient sources.

The second question, when does the history of Israel actually begin, is hotly debated. The answers given are also revelatory of the mindset and presuppositions of the different scholars. For de Wette, there was no history of Israel before Israel existed, namely before the monarchy was instituted by Saul, David, and Solomon. C.P.W. Gramberg and B. Stade were of the same opinion.<sup>129</sup> E. Reuss

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43; ET: History of the Hebrews, 1 (1895–1896), 36–48. For a list of 'Histories of Israel' written in the nineteenth century, see Kittel, *Geschichte der Hebräer* (second edition, 1909), 6–10.

<sup>126</sup> See Rogerson, *Old Testament Criticism* (1984), 79–90 ("Confessional Opposition to the Critical Method"); 272–289 ("England from 1880: the Triumph of Wellhausen"); Perlit, *Vatke und Wellhausen* (1965). The acceptance of Wellhausen's method and conclusions is clear, for instance, in Ottley's work; see Ottley, *A Short History of the Hebrews* (1901); idem, *Aspects of the Old Testament* (1897); on Ottley, see Rogerson, *Old Testament Criticism* (1984), 287–289.

<sup>127</sup> On Hofmann and Delitzsch, see Rogerson, *Old Testament Criticism* (1984), 104–120: "For them, the Bible, the Church and Faith stood in intimate relationship. Scholarship, as much as possible, was to be the servant of these, and not their master, hence the rejection of the historical-critical method" (120).

<sup>128</sup> See E. SELLIN, "Köhler, August (lutherischer Theologe)", *ADB* 51 (1906) 310f.

<sup>129</sup> Gramberg, *Kritische Geschichte* 1–2 (1830); Stade, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel* (1881), 9–10:



opts for the conquest of Canaan and so does the Jewish scholar I.M. Jost as well.<sup>130</sup> Others prefer to start with the Exodus and Moses.<sup>131</sup> Some are much more radical and affirm that the whole Bible is a product of the Israel of the Second Temple.<sup>132</sup> One is tempted to say, with Qohelet, “Nothing new under the sun” (Qoh 1:9).

As for the third point, the progress of archaeology and epigraphy, the evolution is very clear when comparing the ‘Histories of Israel’ written at the beginning of the nineteenth century with those written at the end. One clear example is that of H. Guthe’s *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*.<sup>133</sup> Guthe participated in different campaigns of excavations in Israel, especially in Jerusalem. He explored the Ophel and the so-called Hezekiah tunnel. He discovered the famous Siloam inscription and copied it before it was brought to Istanbul. He went afterwards to Megiddo and Madaba where he copied the well-known mosaic map of Jerusalem. These journeys deeply influenced his views in several aspects. Unfortunately for Guthe – and for German scholarship – the First World War interrupted these activities. R. Kittel is another example. In the first edition of his ‘History’ he refused two tenets of Wellhausen’s theory, namely the late dating of the Priestly legislation and the impossibility of reaching any solid conclusion about Israel’s ancestral period.<sup>134</sup> After a first experience in Palestine, he changed his views. The second edition (1909) of his ‘History’ is therefore completely recast. The first chapters (1–4) are dedicated to archaeology and palaeontology and Kittel adopted positions aligned with those of Wellhausen’s school.<sup>135</sup> For instance he speaks of the post-exilic date of P and, on the historicity of the patriarchs, he concludes:<sup>136</sup>

*Es unterliegt somit auch nach dieser Richtung keinem Zweifel, daß es sich bei unseren Quellen nicht um historische Urkunden im strengen Sinn handelt. Es sind Urkunden, die in der Form der Sage,*

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“Hat ein Volk erst von der Zeit an Geschichte wo es selbst Geschichte macht, so ergibt sich, daß wir als Ausgangspunkt die Entstehung der Königsherrschaft zu nehmen haben” (10). This was to be the case of J. A. SOGGIN, *An Introduction to the History of Israel and Judah* (London: SCM 1984, <sup>3</sup>1999). Gramberg was one of the few disciples of de Wette and he endeavoured to apply the latter’s principles to the whole of Israel’s history; on Gramberg, see Rogerson, *Old Testament Criticism* (1984), 57–63.

<sup>130</sup> E. REUSS, *Die Geschichte der Heiligen Schriften Alten Testaments* (Braunschweig: Schwetschke und Sohn 1881), 32–33; Jost, *Allgemeine Geschichte des Israelitischen Volkes* (1850).

<sup>131</sup> Piepenbring, *Histoire du peuple d’Israël* (1898), 12–13.

<sup>132</sup> Vernes, *Précis d’histoire juive* (1889); idem, *Le peuple d’Israël – Essai historique* (1872). This position was to reappear in more recent times; see, for instance, L. L. GRABBE (ed.), *Did Moses Speak Attic? Jewish Historiography and Scripture in the Hellenistic Period* (JSOT.S 317; Sheffield: Academic Press 2001).

<sup>133</sup> H. GUTHE, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel* (Grundriss der Theologischen Wissenschaften, 2,3; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 1899, <sup>2</sup>1904, <sup>3</sup>1912).

<sup>134</sup> On Kittel’s opinions, see the summary in Rogerson, *Old Testament Criticism* (1984), 258–260.

<sup>135</sup> Kittel, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel* (second edition, 1909), 253–254, 306–333, 386–455. There is some irony in Kittel’s case since Wellhausen himself had very little interest in archaeology and archaeology convinced Kittel that Wellhausen was right.

<sup>136</sup> Kittel, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel* (second edition, 1909), 411–412; cf. also 386: *Schon ein oberflächlicher Blick in die Erzählungen, wie sie besonders in den Büchern J und E entgegen treten, läßt keinen Zweifel darüber, daß wir es hier im allgemeinen nicht mit Geschichte, sondern mit Sage zu tun haben.* See also Guthe, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel* (<sup>2</sup>1904), 14: *Denn die Einigung der Israelitischen Stämme zu einem Volke vollzieht sich erst in Kanaan; sie fällt zum guten Theil noch für uns in das Licht der Geschichte [...], während sich das von den Anfängen des Volkes durchaus nicht sagen läßt.*

*der Geschlechter- und Stammesgeschichte, der Heiligtumsgeschichte und dgl. Auskunft über vergangene Zeiten geben.* – According to this tendency [of modern exegesis], there is no doubt either that our sources are not historical documents in the strict sense of the word. These sources are documents which give information on the past under the form of legends, namely legends about genealogies and tribes, shrines and so forth.

The gradual recourse to extra-biblical sources, especially Mesopotamian sources, provoked the so-called *Babel-Bibel* controversy, in which R. Kittel was involved.<sup>137</sup> He wrote several important studies on the topic.<sup>138</sup>

Let us mention, lastly, two important Jewish 'Histories of Judaism', those of Jost and Grätz.<sup>139</sup> They are among the first complete histories of Judaism from the beginning until modern times. The first work adopts a critical and rationalistic point of view. For Jost, as we saw, the history of Israel begins with the settlement in the land. Grätz is more complete, although his immense work could hardly be flawless. He adopts a point of view different from Jost and expresses more sympathy for his own people. But he was criticized, even by Mommsen, for his alleged anti-Christian and anti-German biases. On the other hand, he was a very imaginative and creative personality. The first sentence of his monumental work has remained famous: "On a bright morning in spring nomadic tribes penetrated into Palestine". After a critical analysis of the sources, one may wonder where Grätz found out the "bright morning" and the "spring". Be that as it may, Grätz work was republished several times, and it was translated into English, Russian, and Hebrew, and some of it into Yiddish and French.

Let us conclude this long journey with a short observation. There is a very impressive number of 'Histories of Israel' and there is an even more impressive number of opinions about what is or what should be a 'History of Israel'. Very few of the works we have met in these pages lasted for long, however, and many a name is completely unknown today. It seems that 'Histories of Israel' grow old very quickly, just as most of the 'Theologies of the Old Testament' do.

<sup>137</sup> Friedrich DELITZSCH, *Babel und Bibel* (Leipzig: Hinrichs 1903, <sup>5</sup>1905). For more details, see the comprehensive survey by G. LEHMANN, *Friedrich Delitzsch und der Babel-Bibel-Streit* (OBO 133; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht / Freiburg Schweiz, Universitätsverlag, 1994).

<sup>138</sup> See R. Kittel, *Der Babel-Bibel Streit und die Offenbarungsfrage* (1903); *Die orientalischen Ausgrabungen* (1908); *Studien zur Hebräischen Archäologie und Religionsgeschichte* (1908).

<sup>139</sup> Jost, *Allgemeine Geschichte des Israelitischen Volkes* (1850); *Geschichte des Judenthums und seiner Sekten* (1857–1859). Grätz, *Geschichte der Juden von den ältesten Zeiten bis auf die Gegenwart*. 11 vols. (1853–1870; 1897–1911 / 1998 / 2005); *History of the Jews, from the Earliest Times to the Present Day* (1891–1892); *The Structure of Jewish History* (1975); *La construction de l'histoire juive suivie de gnosticisme et judaïsme* (1992). Among the forerunners in the discipline, one must mention the Protestant French scholar Jacques BASNAGE DE BEAUVAL, *Histoire des Juifs depuis Jésus-Christ jusqu'à présent. Pour servir de continuation à l'histoire de Joseph*, 1–7 (Rotterdam: Reinier Leers 1705) (a second edition in 15 vols. was published in The Hague: Henri Scheurleer <sup>2</sup>1716–1726); ET: *The History of the Jews, from Jesus Christ to the Present Time: containing their Antiquities, their Religion, their Rites, the Dispersion of the Ten Tribes in the East, and the Persecutions this Nation has suffer'd in the West* (London: Taylor 1706; London: Crull 1708); idem, *Antiquités judaïques ou remarques critiques sur la république des Hébreux* (Amsterdam: Frères Chatelain, 1713). On J. Basnage, see E.-A. MAILLET, *Jacques Basnage. Théologien, controversiste, diplomate et historien. Sa vie et ses écrits* (Genève: Schuchardt 1880 / Paris, Champion 1976); J. M. ELUKIN, *Jacques Basnage and the History of the Jews: Anti-Catholic Polemic and Historical Allegory in the Republic of Letters* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press 1992).

## CHAPTER THIRTEEN

# ‘Lower Criticism’: Studies in the Masoretic Text and the Ancient Versions of the Old Testament as Means of Textual Criticism

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## 1. Introduction

While the periodization of intellectual developments is always an inexact science, one might well mark the beginning of the nineteenth century in the field of textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible / Old Testament at 1797, the date of publication of volume 1 of E. F. K. Rosenmüller’s *Handbuch für die Literatur der biblischen Kritik und Exegese*, and his oft-quoted conclusion concerning the results of the great work of B. Kennicott published in *Vetus Testamentum hebraicum cum variis lectionibus*:

*Dieser ganze, mit so vielem Aufwand von Zeit und Kosten zusammengeführte Variantenwust giebt übrigens das einfache Resultat: daß alle noch vorhandene Codices im Verhältnisse zu den Originalen sehr jung sind ... daß sie sämtlich im Ganzen eine Rezension darstellen, aus einer Quelle geflossen sind, und daß folglich aus ihnen für die etwa verdorbenen Stellen des hebräischen Textes wenig oder gar keine Hülfe zu erwarten ist.*<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Rosenmüller, *Handbuch*, 1 (1797), 247.

This widely accepted verdict signals the closing of one stage and the opening of another in the development of the discipline of textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible / Old Testament. If the available masoretic manuscripts all go back to a single origin, i. e., represent a single recension, and that recension is relatively recent in relation to the origin of the Biblical text, then the ancient versions become more significant as possible witnesses to an earlier Hebrew text. However, up until that point the versions had only been available in the great polyglots where a single manuscript or a handful of manuscripts represented any particular versional text. Thus the contemporaneous appearance (1798) of the first volume of the *Vetus Testamentum Graecum cum variis lectionibus* of R. Holmes and J. Parsons with its great compilation of readings from Septuagint manuscripts is the other marker for the beginning of this new developmental stage in the field of textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible / Old Testament. However, substantive work in the ancient versions was not the only consequence of the assessment of the MT resulting from the work of Kennicott and de Rossi. If the accumulation of the evidence of the many manuscripts in those compilations did not give access to the original text of the Bible, then other avenues had to be sought: searching for better manuscripts or manuscripts of other traditions than that of the Tiberian Masoretes; probing the details of the Masorah as a mechanism for correcting the “copyists’ faults”; greater research into the witness of the ancient versions; attempts to conceptualize the larger picture of the text’s transmission, of which the Masoretic Text was only a part; the application of comparative Semitics to conjecture “better” readings.

All of these avenues of research characterized the emergence of “lower criticism”, and more specifically textual criticism, as a specialty in its own right within the study of the Hebrew Bible / Old Testament. They also set the stage for the publication in 1902 of a work that we may take as the close of this developmental stage, namely, R. Kittel’s *Über die Notwendigkeit und Möglichkeit einer neuen Ausgabe der hebräischen Bibel*. The work of twentieth century text critics, of which Kittel’s monograph may be taken as the opening fanfare, was built upon the foundations laid by the work that flowed from the “dead end” sensed in the results of Kennicott and de Rossi.

## 2. Abraham Geiger’s *Urschrift und Uebersetzungen der Bibel* (1857)

Rosenmüller’s conclusion that the MT was a relatively recent recension put squarely on the table the questions of the history of the transmission of the text before that recension and of the relation of the MT, Samaritan text and ancient versions as means of accessing that history. Perhaps the most comprehensive, and – from the perspective of the twenty-first century, far-sighted – response came from Abraham Geiger.

Abraham Geiger (1810–1874) was a leader in the Reform movement in Judaism in Germany. Trained as a Rabbi, he also studied oriental languages and Greek at the universities in Heidelberg and Bonn. Over his lifetime he served as



Rabbi with congregations in Wiesbaden, Breslau, Frankfurt, and Berlin. He helped found the *Jüdisch-Theologisches Seminar* in Breslau in 1854 and the *Hochschule für die Wissenschaft des Judentums* in Berlin in 1872. He directed the latter institution until his death. Geiger's work justly has received much attention in studies of the intellectual history of Judaism in the nineteenth century, and of the Reform movement in Judaism in particular. M. Meyer argues that "until Geiger, almost no one had given any serious attention to the possibility that Judaism might have undergone a process of transformation prompted by changing external circumstances as well as by inner spiritual development".<sup>2</sup> According to N. Sarna, Geiger is "the first Jewish scholar to incorporate the modern systematic study of the biblical books within the program of *Jüdische Wissenschaft*, and he was the first to introduce this into the curriculum of a Rabbinical seminary".<sup>3</sup> A prolific author, it is his principal work, *Urschrift und Uebersetzungen der Bibel in ihrer Abhängigkeit von der innern Entwicklung des Judenthums* (1857, second edition 1928), that most concerns us here although the lectures in the fourth volume of his *Nachgelassene Schriften* also are an important expression of his views related to textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible / Old Testament.

Geiger wrote *Urschrift und Uebersetzungen* to address the question "how the difference [of readings among the extant witnesses] arose". He regarded the common explanations of divergent readings as due to "arbitrary change, biased interpretation, [and] ignorance" as dubious in the extreme.<sup>4</sup> His approach, as the title of his book already signals, was to investigate the history of the text in its various recensions and versions as it unfolded within the social and intellectual history of Judaism. At the time Geiger was writing, the stemmatic approach to investigating textual history was proving a powerful tool in the hands of Karl Lachmann in researching the text of works of classical Antiquity and the New Testament. This approach treated manuscripts in isolation, and used an analysis of their commonalities and differences to construct a map of historical relationships (stemma) among them. Geiger, by contrast, took an essentially sociological approach to understanding the textual history of the Hebrew Bible, reasoning that the history of the Bible's text cannot be understood apart from the history of the communities that cherished it as sacred Scripture.<sup>5</sup> As Kahle pointed out in his introduction to the second edition of *Urschrift und Uebersetzungen* in 1928 this perspective was "*das Neue, das Originelle [Geigers] Buches*".<sup>6</sup> Many aspects of the textual history Geiger reconstructed may be seen to have been vindicated by work in the second half of the twentieth century, but this basic perspective alone was an outstanding contribution. Th. Nöldeke's assessment that *Urschrift und Uebersetzungen* was an "epoch-making" investigation was surely just,<sup>7</sup> even though – strangely – Geiger's work figures little in accounts of nineteenth cen-

<sup>2</sup> Meyer, *Abraham Geiger's Historical Judaism* (1975), 5.

<sup>3</sup> Sarna, *Abraham Geiger and Biblical Scholarship* (1975), 22.

<sup>4</sup> Geiger, *Urschrift und Uebersetzungen* (1857), 13.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* 19, 432.

<sup>6</sup> Kahle, *Zur Einführung* (1928), ii. So also Heschel, *Abraham Geiger and the Jewish Jesus* (1998), 80–82.

<sup>7</sup> Nöldeke, *Die alttestamentliche Literatur* (1868), 240.

tury textual criticism in spite of his acknowledged role in *Wissenschaft des Judentums*.

Geiger began his account of the history of the Biblical text with the return from the exile and continued up to the tenth century CE. He focused most intensively on the period from approximately 200 BCE to approximately 200 CE. In his view this was a period of transition between what he schematically labeled as “the old time” (*die alte Zeit*) and “a more recent time” (*die jüngere Zeit*). These were quite different in the dominant attitudes and norms concerning halakha, and concerning the transmission of the biblical text and its interpretation. The change in attitudes and norms regarding halakha, and the biblical text and its interpretation resulted from a change in Jewish society during this period in that the Pharisees, who came to prominence during the Maccabean revolt, by the end of the Second Revolt had supplanted the Sadducees, the aristocratic priestly party, as the leading party in Palestinian Judaism.<sup>8</sup>

Geiger argued that with the return from the exile the regular reading of the biblical books, especially the Pentateuch, was introduced into religious practice. Due to a lack of knowledge of Hebrew among the populace and to the inherent difficulty of some passages, the practice of translating the readings arose. In Judah these translations were in Aramaic and were entirely a matter of oral performance. Geiger posited that where the everyday language of the community was not similar to Hebrew, the translation had to be fixed and written down. That translation then generally came to replace the original as the text of the community.<sup>9</sup> Thus in the fourth and third centuries BCE the Bible was translated into Greek in Egypt.<sup>10</sup> Since the Aramaic translations made in Palestine were not written down in this period, the other main witness to the text in this period is the Samaritan Pentateuch.

In Geiger’s view the Septuagint originated as oral rendition into Greek, which was then written down. Hence the norms governing the translation did not have a literary aim in view, but rather aimed to express a contemporary understanding of the text in the language of its Greek-speaking audience. Although in many places it does render freely, by and large the Septuagint rendered the text “faithfully” (*treu*) in close connection with the words of the Hebrew text.<sup>11</sup> Implicitly then, many of the variations between the Septuagint and the MT should be attributed to the *Vorlage* of the Septuagint although others are indeed attributable to the translators. As the newer halakhic insights associated with the Pharisees came into the Greek-speaking Jewish community, these did not affect the biblical text because they were grounded in the authority of the scholars of the Palestinian Jewish community and thus did not need to be tied to the text by altering the text to align with them.<sup>12</sup> Thus the Septuagint remained a witness to the early stage of textual transmission even as its community experienced a change of religious norms. Although Geiger characterized both the Samaritan

<sup>8</sup> Geiger, *Urschrift und Uebersetzungen* (1857), 149–150.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* 160.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.* 1.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.* 161.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*

Pentateuch and the Septuagint as “recensions”, he specifically asserted that they should *not* be understood as a distinct Samaritan text and a distinct Alexandrian/Egyptian text. Instead he argued that they are simply the surviving representatives of the text as it was found in the period before the second century CE. With the exception of some instances in the Prophets where the revision of the text undertaken in the earlier Zadokite period was not completely implemented in all exemplars (i.e., those used for the Septuagint), and with the exception of some specific variations related to holy places in the Samaritan text, the variations encountered in the Septuagint and the Samaritan text fall within the range of variation that was characteristic of the transmission of the text before the second century CE. There are also some differences due to dialectal differences between Samaritans and Palestinian Jews, and due to lesser linguistic competence in Hebrew in the Egyptian community. However, the chief source of the variations in these witnesses was the character of textual transmission in the exemplars circulating during this period. This was more variable and less controlled than later. Geiger correlated this view of a common text circulating with a considerable degree of allowable variation among a number of exemplars with his understanding of easy communication and exchange between the Egyptian and Palestinian Jewish communities, and between the Samaritan and Jewish communities in Palestine.<sup>13</sup> When he expressed himself in evaluative terms, Geiger referred to this climate of textual transmission as “poorer and more careless” or “far more independent, even arbitrary”.<sup>14</sup> When using more descriptive terms, Geiger observed on the one hand that in this period small deviations in the wording of the biblical text were not regarded as significant so long as they did not affect the overall sense, and on the other that changes were allowed to be introduced into the text to harmonize it with the contemporary understanding of its meaning.<sup>15</sup> Indeed, at some periods this revision to express contemporary understandings was more pronounced than others. In the first blush of Zadokite rule following the return from the exile, and then much later, as dissatisfaction with the Zadokites grew, the biblical text was re-worked with various additions and individual modifications to express the regnant understandings.<sup>16</sup> This climate affected the precursors of the MT as well, but since the MT was the product of a deliberate attempt to remove such readings from the text in order to recover a more pristine form of the text, the traces of the processes fully on display in the Septuagint and Samaritan texts are less visible in the MT.<sup>17</sup>

The second century CE brought the ascendancy of nascent Rabbinic Judaism, rooted in the Pharisaic party, in the wake of the destruction of the Second Temple. The resulting shift in halakha brought an accompanying shift in biblical interpretation and thus in what mattered in the transmission of the text. The shift in hermeneutical rules meant that meaning was no longer derived only from the text as a whole, but also could be derived from individual letters or signs. Thus

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<sup>13</sup> Ibid. 97–100.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid. 98, 97.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid. 159.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid. 432.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid. 159–160.

the change of a single letter could result in a considerable difference in meaning. So it became important to establish a correct text in every detail. This led Palestinian Jewish scholarship to undertake a project of purifying the text from the various deviations that had crept in during earlier centuries in order to obtain a critically restored text. Herein lay the beginnings of the efforts that would lead to the MT. The project did not succeed entirely; some of the re-shaping of the text in earlier centuries was too thoroughly integrated, and some of the assumptions on the part of those who sought to purify the text led to “incorrect conjectures”. Nevertheless, Geiger judged that the resulting text, which we meet as the MT, could confidently be treated as more authentic than the older text witnessed by the Septuagint and Samaritan recensions.<sup>18</sup>

This social change, and others as well, contributed to the need for a new round of translations of the text. In particular, Geiger singled out as additional factors: the loss of a “self-contained national-religious life in Palestine”, a greater attention to the needs of the diaspora, and the Christian use of the Septuagint to construct “proofs” against Judaism. These led to a need for either a completely new translation into Greek or a correction of the existing one towards the newly restored Hebrew text. Geiger identified the translation of Aquila as following the first model, yielding a translation that followed the Hebrew so closely as to preserve in Greek the interpretive capacity of the original, but at the expense of offending Greek stylistic norms. He identified the translation of Theodotion as following the second model. Geiger observed that the interest in such versions that led Origen to collect them into the *Hexapla* was not matched by other Christians. Thus as the population of Greek-speaking Jews declined so did the interest in reproducing these translations so that they survive today only in fragments while the Septuagint survives entire.<sup>19</sup> Symmachus and the Syriac translation also belong to this period in Geiger’s view. He situates the approach of these two versions between the new style of transmission and translation exemplified in the proto-MT, Aquila and Theodotion on the one hand, and the Septuagint and Samaritan text on the other although both were based on the proto-MT, Symmachus entirely and the Syriac mostly.<sup>20</sup> He attributed all four of the new versions to Jewish authors, or at least Jewish-Christian authors.<sup>21</sup>

In regard to the Targumim Geiger proposed that at this time the schools of *meturgemanim* in Palestine produced public translations in accord with well established norms. He hypothesized that the translations were written down, but because they were never circulated, they were never standardized. Although the close connection between the meturgemanim and halakhists made it easier to introduce change into the tradition, he concluded that here too the need for new translations was felt. Moreover, the same twofold pattern appeared: one Targum

<sup>18</sup> Ibid. 99–100, 159–160, 433.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid. 3, 161–162.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid. 2, 167. Later, in a review of several of de Lagarde’s works, Geiger described Symmachus as aiming at “a translation more faithful to the sense, understandable to the reader, [and] corresponding to the predominant views of the time” than Aquila’s; Geiger, review of P. de Lagarde, *Materialien zur Kritik und Geschichte* (1869), 312. The language Geiger uses to describe Symmachus is the language he uses to describe witnesses from the earlier stage of transmission.

<sup>21</sup> Geiger, *Urschrift und Uebersetzungen* (1857), 2.

(to the Pentateuch) being a completely new translation that stayed closely tied to the restored Hebrew text, one Targum (to the Prophets) being a revision of the existing Targum in the direction of the restored Hebrew text. In the fourth century, as the new halakhic school became authoritative in Babylonia, these two Targumim also became authoritative there. There too they received their final redaction in the fourth century as well as the names by which they are now known, i.e., Onkelos and Jonathan. Indeed, they become so identified with Babylonia that they were assumed to have been composed there.<sup>22</sup>

Also in the fourth century, in the Christian orbit, Jerome took up the task of the revision of the Itala, which had been translated from the Septuagint, but soon turned to the direct translation of the then available Hebrew text, i.e., the restored text produced in the Palestinian schools. The resulting work, the Vulgate, became the received Latin text in the Christian West.<sup>23</sup>

Geiger observed that, even after the creation of Targum Onkelos and Targum Jonathan, the old Targum tradition continued in Palestine. The guilds of *meturgemanim* were self-contained enough and the vigor of the halakhic schools declined enough in ensuing centuries that the tradition was not displaced. Instead it continued over many centuries with corrections and additions so that the resulting Jerusalem Targumim contained a mixture of many old elements with some new, finally crystallizing by the eleventh century. Nevertheless, in spite of the accumulation of additions and corrections, “the old text recension and understanding” are the foundation of these Targumim. That these are found only for the Pentateuch (pseudo-Jonathan) and certain Hagiographa (including two for Esther) was due to what was actually read and translated in synagogue services.<sup>24</sup>

Concerning the further development of the Hebrew text, Geiger proposed that the process of establishing the precise writing of the consonants along with their vocalization and accentuation, as well as that of inventing signs to represent the vowels and accents was completed first in the Masoretic schools in Babylonia in the seventh century CE. In Palestine the same process continued more slowly and somewhat more independently so that the process was not concluded until the tenth century CE, and the resulting MT differed from the Babylonian text at many places, especially in vocalization and accentuation, and in the signs used to represent the vowels and accents. Having seen Pinner’s prospectus for the publication of the then newly discovered Codex of the Prophets and other manuscripts with the Babylonian system of vowels and accents, Geiger placed particular value on manuscripts found in Karaite communities since in his view they had held fast to the Babylonian system of vocalization and accentuation. The use of these manuscripts would allow a systematic compilation of the differences between the Babylonian and Palestinian traditions.<sup>25</sup>

In Geiger’s reconstruction of the history of the text the tenth century CE is the time of the final closure of the recension we know as the MT. At the beginning of the century Saadia produced his Arabic translation. For Geiger Saadia was the

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<sup>22</sup> Ibid. 163–164.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid. 2–3.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid. 165–166.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid. 167–169.

last representative of the pre-closure epoch. He knew the Babylonian tradition, and in a number of places preferred it to the Palestinian. Geiger argued that with the text fully established in all its details the treatment of the text changed again. The new approach featured a “*wissenschaftliche*” treatment of the text grounded in Arabic linguistic scholarship, and independent commentary on the now established text.<sup>26</sup>

The history of the text and its translations put forward by Geiger has a number of features worthy of note. The MT is the product of a process of controlled transmission that creates a standardized text. From the beginnings of the evidence we have up to the tenth century CE, the development of the text we know as the MT is a process of the reduction of textual variability. What is seen in the collations of Kennicott and de Rossi is the accumulation of variations *since* the standardization of the textual tradition. That the MT is the result of such a process of controlled transmission suggests that it is not susceptible to classic stemmatic analysis since the distinctive features that stemmatic analysis would treat as the characteristics of an archetype are explained by the process of controlled transmission. Moreover, Geiger’s picture of initial textual variability in the period before the second century CE pre-dates by decades Kahle’s *Vulgärtext* theory, and eventually is vindicated by the data from the Dead Sea Scrolls. The periodization inherent in Geiger’s account of textual history and the associated network of relations among the witnesses, namely into pre-Masoretic, emerging Masoretic (“proto-Masoretic” in the twentieth century) and full Masoretic stages, is an essential precursor to proper weighing of the testimony of the various witnesses to the text. This periodization constituted a significant response to Rosenmüller’s characterization of the MT as “*jung*”. As the MT is visible in the collations of Kennicott and de Rossi, it is indeed *jung*, but as the end product of a process that sought to purify the text of the second century CE of its earlier accretions and alterations, and then to control the transmission of that purified text, the MT is instead our most authentic and reliable witness to the text. Moreover, this periodization would be confirmed by the work of twentieth century projects such as the *Hebrew University Bible* and the *Hebrew Old Testament Text Project* of the United Bible Societies. Geiger’s view of the history of the text and its translations substantially affirmed the worth of the Septuagint and the Samaritan text over against other, more negative evaluations of their value. Thus from his point of view the variations in the Septuagint are more apt to reflect a variant *Vorlage* than translators’ arbitrariness or ignorance. The Samaritan text is not a late, derivative text, as W. Gesenius has suggested in 1815, but a primary witness to the earliest period of textual transmission.

In *Urschrift und Uebersetzungen* Geiger does not present a method for textual criticism. This perhaps should be attributed to his attitude toward modernity. For Geiger modernity represented more opportunity than threat. His interest in history was not to recover a pristine past from which society had fallen away, but to ground his generation’s creative re-appropriation of tradition. So Geiger’s interest in this history is to authorize taking the next step in the on-going story

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<sup>26</sup> Ibid. 169–170.

of Judaism's transmission and interpretation of the Bible, rather than to find the path to return to some point of origin. Nevertheless, his work highlights the importance of evaluating the interpretive norms at work in the constitution of each witness in order to understand its character and worth. His work also highlights as important factors driving textual change the meaning ascribed to the biblical text, and a concern for its intelligibility by an audience that itself brings particular assumptions and concerns to the text. As later developments would show, this was by no means an obvious perspective at the time. Moreover, his systematic focus on differences (*Abweichungen*) among the witnesses, rather than on the corruption (*Verderbnis*) of the text, is perhaps a clue to his later explicit rejection of conjecture as a valid text critical technique.<sup>27</sup>

### 3. Paul de Lagarde

Although, as we have seen with Geiger, Rosenmüller's assessment of the character of the MT did not necessarily lead to the conclusion that its text could not bring the reader close to the original text of the Hebrew Bible / Old Testament, for many it did. Thus the methodological question of how to orchestrate the use of the various non-Hebrew witnesses to the text with the MT needed to be addressed. Paul de Lagarde addressed the question directly.

Paul Anton de Lagarde (1827–1891) was a scholar of oriental languages as well as a political philosopher. It is only the former role that concerns us here. He studied at the University of Berlin, eventually receiving the doctorate from that faculty. Post-doctoral study at Halle led to his *Habilitation* there and appointment as *Privatdozent*. After two years of study and research in London, he returned to Halle to marry. Frustrated in pursuit of a professorship, he went into secondary-school teaching. After receiving an honorary Doctor of Divinity from Halle in 1868, he was appointed professor in Göttingen, a post he held for the rest of his life. Later we will focus on his work in the Septuagint; here we focus on his views concerning the development of, and the proper method for reconstructing, the text of the Hebrew Bible.

Perhaps the clearest statement of de Lagarde's views concerning the Hebrew text is found in the opening pages of his *Anmerkungen zur griechischen Übersetzung der Proverbien* (1863).<sup>28</sup> There he begins by drawing an analogy between Hebrew manuscripts and Greek and Syriac manuscripts in regard to certain scribal phenomena. Specifically, he regards the placing of dots above words as a mechanism for deletion, the writing of characters above the line as a means of insertion, and the presence of gaps in the text as indicators of either a hole or rough patch in the exemplar being copied or a place where the text of the exemplar could not be understood by the copyist.<sup>29</sup> He then interprets the *puncta*

<sup>27</sup> As asserted by N. Sarna in: Sarna, Geiger and Biblical Scholarship (1975), 27.

<sup>28</sup> Cornill later described these opening four pages as "almost epoch-making, and the most significant and consequential thing that has been accomplished in our field up to now"; Cornill, Ezechiel (1886), 6.

<sup>29</sup> De Lagarde, *Anmerkungen zur griechischen Übersetzung der Proverbien* (1863), 1.

*extraordinaria*, *litterae suspensae* and *pisqôt* found in masoretic manuscripts from this perspective. He concludes that the appearance of these phenomena can only have come as the result of a scribe not understanding the various techniques and thus mechanically reproducing them in his manuscript rather than deleting, inserting and closing up text. Observing that these textual phenomena recur in the same places across many Masoretic manuscripts, he regards it as improbable that many scribes would have made the same basic errors independently in exactly the same places. Thus, he concludes, all of the surviving masoretic manuscripts must go back to a *single manuscript* that contained these specific errors.<sup>30</sup> De Lagarde dates this exemplar to the time of Hadrian, i. e., the first half of the second century CE.<sup>31</sup>

However, the archetype of the MT cannot be recovered from the Masoretic manuscripts alone. Thus the importance of the Septuagint for de Lagarde is that it gives us a means of access to the archetype of the MT. Were it not that the Septuagint translated an exemplar from another family of manuscripts, the archetype of the MT would be accessible only through conjecture. Methodologically, however, this means that one must first recover the *Urform* of the Greek translation before it can be used to clarify the Hebrew text. He specifically criticizes the practice of using the Greek to correct the MT by means of *einfälle und beiläufige bemerkungen* without first having established the archetype at the head of the recension represented by the Septuagint.<sup>32</sup>

The picture of the development of the Hebrew text that de Lagarde presents here mirrors his understanding of the development of the Septuagint. Just as the Septuagint develops from a single archetype into three recensions – Hexaplaric, Lucianic and Hesychian – each with its own archetype at its beginning, so the Hebrew text develops from a single archetype into two recensions: the Egyptian, which is represented by the Septuagint, and the Palestinian, which is represented by the MT. In order to reconstruct the archetype at the head of the stemma, one uses the manuscripts of a given recension only to criticize each other in the interests of reconstructing the archetype of that recension. The re-constructed archetypes are then compared to reach *their* archetype.

As M. Goshen-Gottstein has pointed out, in de Lagarde’s attempt at a stemmatic proof based on common mistakes or distinctive features in a group of manuscripts we see the influence of K. Lachmann, the great mid-century scholar of the textual criticism of classical texts and the New Testament.<sup>33</sup> It is not only de Lagarde’s attempt to demonstrate that the manuscripts of the MT go back to single exemplar that shows this influence. The resulting picture of the evolution

<sup>30</sup> De Lagarde, *Anmerkungen* (1863), 2, says: *es ergibt sich also, dass unsere hebräischen handschriften des alten testaments auf ein einziges exemplar zurückgehn, dem sie sogar die korrektur seiner schreibfehler als korrektur treu nachgeahmt und dessen zufällige unvollkommenheiten sie herübergenommen haben*. De Lagarde later also supports his argument by reference to a tradition recounted in a note in a seventh century CE manuscript of a Christian Arabic version of the Pentateuch. This tradition tells of a scroll of the law saved from the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans, kept among descendants of David, and from which other scrolls were later copied; see de Lagarde, *Materialien* (1867), xii.

<sup>31</sup> De Lagarde, *Materialien* (1867), xii.

<sup>32</sup> De Lagarde, *Anmerkungen* (1863), 2.

<sup>33</sup> Goshen-Gottstein, *Hebrew Biblical Manuscripts* (1967), 257–258.



of the text, and his method for reaching the *Urtext* shows it as well. It is quite striking, however, that de Lagarde *never* grounds this stemmatic approach in an analysis of the variants collated by Kennicott and de Rossi! Similarly, his analysis of the selected textual phenomena on which his argument focuses is framed by an analogy with practices in Greek and Syriac manuscripts rather than any acquaintance with traditional understandings of these phenomena within Jewish tradition. For the *pisqôt* in particular, this creates a crucial misunderstanding that weakens his argument.

De Lagarde's perspective is often differentiated from Rosenmüller's by contrasting de Lagarde's "one archetype" theory of the text with Rosenmüller's "one recension" theory.<sup>34</sup> As Goshen-Gottstein points out, de Lagarde himself asserted that his theory was his alone and not a refinement of anyone else's, even though de Lagarde's contemporaries seem widely to have viewed his position as exactly a refinement and elaboration of Rosenmüller's (as well as that of de Lagarde's contemporary Olshausen).<sup>35</sup> Goshen-Gottstein correctly points out that de Lagarde had precursors both for the idea that the recension originated in a single exemplar (J. G. Sommer) and for the type of argument de Lagarde would use to support that view (J. Olshausen).<sup>36</sup> However, the reality of the relation between the views of Rosenmüller and those put forward most sharply by de Lagarde seems more complex and nuanced than Goshen-Gottstein allows. De Lagarde, even as he asserted that the recension arose from an archetype, still continued to use the term "recension" to refer to the MT. Moreover, Rosenmüller described the manuscripts of the MT both as representing "one recension", and as having flowed from "one source" (*aus einer Quelle*). Goshen-Gottstein has observed that the methodological consequence of a "one archetype" theory is to require comparison of manuscripts only within groups to reconstruct their archetypes and then to compare archetypes (as de Lagarde stipulated). He then notes that the text critical practice of the nineteenth century actually was to compare manuscripts across groups (e. g., individual masoretic readings with individual versional readings).<sup>37</sup> Thus de Lagarde's contemporaries saw his theory as in the line of Rosenmüller's even as they engaged in the text critical practice that de Lagarde criticized as inconsistent with a theory of archetypes.<sup>38</sup> One may say that *both* de Lagarde and his contemporaries are correct, and that it is a question of emphasis. De Lagarde's and Rosenmüller's views *are* close. Rosenmüller and others, including Geiger, put more emphasis on the idea of recension than the idea of a single source. De Lagarde, on the other hand, focused more on the single source, and offered a specific understanding of what that metaphor meant in concrete terms, i. e., a single, archetypal manuscript.

It is important to note that de Lagarde's theory also contains an assumption of the nature of the process of textual transmission as a process of the contamination or corruption of a "pure" original. This corruption either takes the form of

<sup>34</sup> See, for example, Mulder, *The Transmission of the Biblical Text* (1988), 100.

<sup>35</sup> Goshen-Gottstein, *Hebrew Biblical Manuscripts* (1967), 260–262.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.* 261, n. 3.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.* 264–265.

<sup>38</sup> See below for another explanation.

scribal errors resulting from the mechanics of transcription or from misunderstanding (e.g., the argument cited above), or of deliberate falsification. This latter type of corruption is illustrated by the second supplementary argument de Lagarde offered for his theory of the MT in his *Materialien zur Kritik und Geschichte des Pentateuchs* (1867). De Lagarde relies on a tradition in a Christian Arabic manuscript of the Pentateuch to claim that a chronological difference between the Septuagint and MT arose through the falsification of the chronology of the Patriarchs in the MT in order to contradict a dating of the appearance of the Messiah calculated by Christians using the dates in the Septuagint. From de Lagarde’s point of view such a falsification could have succeeded only if a single manuscript was the origin of the recension. He situates this argument in a larger assumed picture of Jewish “doctoring” of the text from alleged anti-Christian motives.<sup>39</sup> This particular anti-Jewish perspective concerning the character of the MT is at least as old as the Reformation, and his specific assertion was refuted thoroughly by other scholars before the century was out (see below).<sup>40</sup>

The larger consequence of this picture of the transmission of the biblical text is a view of the transmission of the text as a steady process of the degradation of the text, a process of inevitable decline. Thus the only worthwhile aim of the text critic is the recovery of the “pure” original from the centuries of contamination, degradation and corruption. Here the resonances with the perspectives of de Lagarde the political philosopher are strong. In his political writings de Lagarde was prone to see modernity and contemporary German society as a degraded and corrupted form of authentic human and German identity and life.<sup>41</sup> He argued for a return to the authentic original. His conception of the transmission of the biblical text, and his understanding of the task of the critic is another instance of his foundational assumption that modernity and contemporary religion were threats to authentic human existence, and that they were to be resisted by reaching back through centuries of decline and corruption to the purity of the origins.

Before the century was out de Lagarde’s “one archetype” theory of the MT was decisively refuted, and replaced with a different and more persuasive understanding of what it might mean to say that the MT “flowed from one source” as Rosenmüller had imagined. As we have seen, this more persuasive understanding had already been fully articulated by Geiger, but it is the criticism of de Lagarde’s position by later scholars that actually seems to have been decisive. Here the significant voices are A. Kuenen, H. Strack and E. König. Kuenen, in a work first published in Dutch in 1873 as *De Stamboom van den masoretischen Tekst des O. T.*, and later in German as “Der Stammbaum des masoretischen Textes des Alten Testaments” in: *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur biblischen Wissenschaft*, undertook an extensive and point by point refutation of de Lagarde’s arguments in *Materialien* based on the note in the Leiden manuscript *arab.* 377. More importantly for where research would go in the future, he reformulated his

<sup>39</sup> De Lagarde, *Materialien* (1867), xii.

<sup>40</sup> Geiger’s response was to highlight its absurdity by inserting exclamation points following it in his quotation of de Lagarde’s statement; see Geiger, review of De Lagarde (1869), 313.

<sup>41</sup> Stern, *The Politics of Cultural Despair* (1963), 27–34.

negative conclusion that the “one archetype” theory could not be sustained in positive terms to propose that instead the MT originated as a careful “*selection* from among pre-existing material”.<sup>42</sup> König in his *Einleitung* of 1893 directly attacked de Lagarde’s stemmatic argument. He pointed out that the “uniformity” of the MT is, after all, only relative unless the mass of variations collated at the end of the eighteenth century were simply irrelevant. He suggests that the relative agreement among the manuscripts can easily have come about through the application of scribal rules. The abnormalities upon which the “one archetype” theory was based seemed to have continued to increase after the time of the supposed single exemplar, and indeed to have grown up gradually over time. These peculiarities would be retained in subsequent manuscripts as a result of their cataloguing by the Masorettes. The conformity of Aaron ben Asher’s widely used master codex to these rules then spread the phenomena still further.<sup>43</sup> Strack in the fourth edition of his *Einleitung* of 1895 also countered the basic stemmatic approach used by de Lagarde (and to a lesser extent by Sommer and Olshausen, as Strack notes), albeit more generally, by pointing out that the work of properly classifying and defined the relationships among the great number of masoretic manuscripts according to their readings – as a proper stemmatic analysis would require – had yet to be done. Strack proposed instead that the exceptional agreement that characterized the MT came, not from origin in a single archetypal manuscript, but was the effect of the standardizing work of the Masorettes.<sup>44</sup> Of course this is what Geiger had eloquently argued six years before de Lagarde’s publication ever appeared.

#### 4. Permutations: Nöldeke, Wellhausen and Cornill

Geiger and de Lagarde both offered understandings of the history of the text and approaches to the work of textual criticism that were – taking together what is explicit with its implicit assumptions and consequences – comprehensive in nature. Nevertheless, with the possible exception of C.H. Cornill’s work on Ezekiel, neither approach in its pure form seems to have governed subsequent practice. Instead various permutations and reactions to both approaches defined how text criticism would actually be practiced. To exemplify this situation, we examine the work of three scholars: Th. Nöldeke, C.H. Cornill, and especially J. Wellhausen.

Th. Nöldeke (1836–1930) in the last two chapters of his *Die alttestamentliche Literatur in einer Reihe von Aufsätzen dargestellt* (1868) offers a review of the history of the development of the texts and translations of the Hebrew Bible / Old Testament and evaluations of their text critical value. In his survey he cites Geiger’s work twice with great approval: for establishing that the text underwent intentional as well as accidental changes, and for his evaluation of the Targums.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>42</sup> Kuenen, *Der Stammbaum des masoretischen Textes* (1894), 82–118.

<sup>43</sup> König, *Einleitung* (1893), 88–89.

<sup>44</sup> Strack, *Einleitung* (1895), 171–172.

<sup>45</sup> Nöldeke, *Literatur* (1868), 240 and 256.

Moreover, it seems that with one notable exception the whole of Nöldeke’s history of the text and its translations is dependent on Geiger’s. This is especially noticeable in Nöldeke’s account of the early period of the transmission of the text (i.e., pre-second century CE),<sup>46</sup> of the underlying stemma of relationships among the versions, of his attribution of the origins of the MT to the Pharisaic party, of the value of the Samaritan Pentateuch, of the specific character of Aquila and Theodotion, and of the development and value of the Targumim.<sup>47</sup>

The notable exception to Nöldeke’s apparent dependence on Geiger is in his understanding and evaluation of the MT where he appears to be at least partly dependent on Olshausen and de Lagarde although there is no acknowledgement to confirm this. Like Olshausen and de Lagarde, Nöldeke posited the origin of the MT in a single exemplar, rather than in a process of textual restoration and controlled transmission. Moreover, Nöldeke asserted that this exemplar (or collection of exemplars since each book would be a separate scroll) was not assembled out of a process of careful selection or comprehensive editing. In his view the MT was of quite uneven quality – very good in the case of the Pentateuch, but disfigured by carelessness and damage in other books. This suggested that these scrolls were taken up without plan. Moreover, the vocalization encoded in the vowels and accents could not to be regarded as reflective of anything other than a late school tradition. Only the consonantal text could be regarded as reflective of the original exemplar, and this was capable of more than one vocalization and meaning.<sup>48</sup> Thus the other textual traditions, especially the ancient versions, were essential to the work of the critic because they conveyed the understanding of the “original”, and sometimes reflected a different text from that received through the MT. However, their value was limited because often, where the modern critic had difficulty, the ancient versions also did as well, and were only guessing at the meaning.<sup>49</sup>

In 1871 J. Wellhausen (1844–1918) published his study *Der Text der Bücher Samuelis*, in part as a response to an earlier work on Samuel by O. Thenius (1842). Thenius had made clear the importance of the Septuagint for the study of the text of Samuel, but Wellhausen was not satisfied with Thenius’s methodology. On the first page of his foreword he announced a double aim of contributing a series of “improvements” for the text of Samuel and the method by which he obtained them. Hence his study began with a long methodological prologue. In this he explicitly engaged the work of both de Lagarde and Geiger, agreeing at some points, but mostly disagreeing with both.

Wellhausen accepted de Lagarde’s picture of the history of the text where the MT, the Septuagint, the Peshitta, the Targumim, and the Vulgate each go back to single archetypes, which in the case of the versions can then be converted into the Hebrew exemplars that lay before the ancient translators.<sup>50</sup> However, Well-

<sup>46</sup> It is worth noting that Nöldeke is the first to use the term *Vulgärtext* to designate what Geiger called “circulating exemplars”; see Nöldeke, *ibid.* 240.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.* 240–270, esp. 240–241, 242–243, 252–253, 256–261.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.* 241–242.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.* 245–246.

<sup>50</sup> Wellhausen, *Der Text der Bücher Samuelis* (1871), xiii.

hausen explicitly disagreed, and argued his disagreement at some length, with de Lagarde's contention that one could not use versional evidence to control the evidence of the MT until the *Urform* of the version had been reconstructed. Wellhausen maintained that the criticism of the Greek, in particular, not only could, but should, proceed hand in hand with criticism of the Hebrew.<sup>51</sup> Thus Wellhausen continued to use de Lagarde's concept and language of archetypes to describe the evolution of the text, but explicitly rejected the methodological consequence of that conception of textual history. This is the root of the conundrum Goshen-Gottstein notes, namely, that text critics who followed what he calls the Lagarde-Wellhausen approach spoke theoretically of archetypes but proceeded methodologically as if they were dealing with recensions.<sup>52</sup> At the same time Wellhausen followed de Lagarde in stressing the importance of determining the translation technique of a version before using it as a means of establishing the Hebrew text.<sup>53</sup>

Wellhausen identified the goal of textual criticism as the "rolling back" of the course of textual development that led from the archetype to the present. In this respect too he is much like de Lagarde. This goal had two methodological consequences visible in his discussion. It pointed to the importance of the use of conjecture because the evidence of the extant witnesses does not take us all the way back to the original.<sup>54</sup> It also required the critic to understand the dynamics of the process of transmission, in other words, to uncover the impulses for change in the text.<sup>55</sup> This latter point is in many ways the center of Wellhausen's method.

It is in his consideration of the dynamics of the process of textual transmission that Wellhausen eventually came to engage Geiger's *Urschrift und Uebersetzungen* directly. Wellhausen appears to have been influenced by Geiger's picture of the history of the text's transmission and translation so far as to have seen that history as beginning with considerable variability in the text, and to have seen the MT as the result of a process of constraining that variability and finally fixing the text. He further insisted, as did Geiger, that the critic not read back the care devoted to the MT and the mechanical translation technique of later witnesses (e. g., Aquila) into an earlier period of textual transmission.<sup>56</sup> However, in spite of his appreciation for Geiger's presentation of the history of Judaism in relation to the development of the text, Wellhausen was entirely unconvinced by Geiger's argument that the transmission and translation of the text is shaped by that social history. Wellhausen's rejection of that conclusion is based less in a systematic counter-argument from evidence than on his own assumption that "the circum-

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<sup>51</sup> Ibid. 1–9.

<sup>52</sup> Goshen-Gottstein, *Hebrew Biblical Manuscripts* (1967), 264–265.

<sup>53</sup> Wellhausen, *Samuelis* (1871), 9.

<sup>54</sup> Note the similarity to Nöldeke.

<sup>55</sup> Wellhausen, *Samuelis* (1871), 14, 28. The discussion of conjecture is found in the first note on p. 14 (\*). Interestingly, Wellhausen argued there against the possibility of seeking to establish the text at a given stage of textual development (as one might choose to do based on a history such as Geiger's, or a method such as de Lagarde's) because conjecture necessarily leads only to the original.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid. 16.

stances that affect the form of the text are not temporary, but constant”.<sup>57</sup> In other words, the dynamics of textual transmission are shaped by the mechanics of scribal interaction with the text in its copying and translation, not by the social dynamics of the communities that valued and carried the text forward. Wellhausen then asserted that the first two thirds of Geiger’s book, although undoubtedly valuable for Jewish religious history, were not particularly valuable for textual criticism. Only the final third, which dealt with specific categories of textual changes and thus might illuminate the dynamics of scribal interaction with the text, was significant for that.<sup>58</sup> Even here, however, Wellhausen was largely unconvinced by Geiger’s arguments for “intentional changes” (*tendenziöse Aenderungen*) in the text as a fundamental motive for textual change. At most he granted that Geiger had demonstrated how the consonantal text was subject to change along with the more easily varied vowels.<sup>59</sup>

For Wellhausen the chief sources of textual change lay in the processes of copying and translation. Thus mechanical errors and accidents were one source of change although they were by no means sufficient to explain many textual phenomena. Much more central in his view was the variability inherent in the text due to the fact that before the MT only the consonants were written down.<sup>60</sup> Thus for Wellhausen a critical preparation for the work of text criticism was an historical assessment of Hebrew orthography, stylistics and rhetoric, especially drawing on the resources of the burgeoning field of comparative Semitics. This knowledge would ground the investigation of the dynamics of transmission, the evaluation of readings, and any conjectures needed to recover the original text.<sup>61</sup>

The commentary of C. H. Cornill (1854–1920) on Ezekiel is sometimes cited as a rare instance of the application of the “Lagardean ideal that full-fledged stemmatic analysis is the prerequisite for critical treatment of a biblical book”.<sup>62</sup> Indeed, Cornill firmly adopted de Lagarde’s position that the MT stemmed from a single archetype. As did Nöldeke, Cornill then concluded that the MT could not have resulted from either a careful selection of manuscripts according to their quality or an eclectic construction of a new recension. Instead the manuscripts adopted were selected under “the most bitter necessity”, which perfectly suited de Lagarde’s proposal that the archetype of the MT dated to the time of Hadrian. Cornill believed this to be confirmed by the disagreement of the Targum, which he dated to the time of Christ, with the MT, by the disagreements of Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion with the MT and the nearly complete agreement of the Vulgate with the MT.<sup>63</sup> Cornill noted that this would put the archetype of the MT some 700 years after Ezekiel. Given what the text might suffer in transmission through mechanical errors and ignorance on the part of its copyists, Cornill emphasized the importance of four other “recensions” of the text: the Septuagint, the Targum, the Peshitta, and the Vulgate. He believed that each of

<sup>57</sup> Ibid. 29–30 (quotation from 30).

<sup>58</sup> Ibid. 30.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid. 30–33.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid. 14–16, 19–21. Note the similarity to Nöldeke’s views.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid. viii.

<sup>62</sup> Goshen-Gottstein, *Textual Criticism of the Old Testament* (1983) 382.

<sup>63</sup> Cornill, *Ezechiel* (1886), 6–11, esp. 10.

these led back to another Hebrew exemplar beyond that at the origin of the MT. He concluded similarly that Aquila, Theodotion and Symmachus each led to another differing exemplar. Of these the most important was the Septuagint because it brought the critic to within 350 years of the prophet. In good Lagardian fashion he emphasized that before these versions could be used to control and criticize the MT, their own original texts must be established, and then the Hebrew original behind each reconstructed on the basis of an analysis of each version's translation technique.<sup>64</sup> Throughout this discussion there is no indication at all that Cornill is acquainted with Geiger's work.

For Cornill, however, the Lagardian analysis only brought him to the starting point. The goal was to reach the text that "the original composer (*Verfasser*) himself had written".<sup>65</sup> If this could be found in the available readings from the extant witnesses, well and good. However, if not, then the critic must intervene with a conjecture, to "out of faithfulness to the author (*Autor*) be unfaithful to the tradition".<sup>66</sup> So far, Cornill was simply following in the predominant line of approach exemplified by Wellhausen. What was notable in Cornill's perspective was that, whereas for Wellhausen conjecture was grounded in an understanding of scribal traits and comparative Semitic analysis of language and rhetoric, for Cornill the scholar's ability to make cogent conjectures came from an empathic, love-filled understanding of the ancient author. This would allow the modern critic to think the thoughts and feel the feelings of the ancient author to such an extent that the critic could know the author's thoughts "in advance" (*im Voraus*). Out of this knowledge the scholar would be able to recover the purity of the original text.<sup>67</sup> This surely reflects the influence of Romanticism.

In the work of these scholars we may find prefigured many of the questions that would be debated throughout the twentieth century. Was the object of textual criticism the explanation of the variants that have accrued over time (Geiger), or the recovery of the original text by reconstructing the stemma that leads back to the archetype (de Lagarde), rolling back the chain of transmission to its beginning (Wellhausen), or purifying the text of its corruptions (Cornill)? Was the text to be aimed at the original that came from the hand of the biblical writer(s), or some intermediate stage? Were the occasions that gave rise to the variations among the extant witnesses only constant dynamics of the individual copyists or translators confronting the text, or were they also the varying dynamics of the different and evolving communities that carried the text forward? Was the MT, in spite of the lateness of its finished form, a relatively early, reliable and authentic witness to the text, or was it late and much in need of correction and restoration? These questions would all be engaged long after the close of the nineteenth century, but as the century ended and for long into the twentieth century, it was Wellhausen's particular combination of answers to these questions (leading to the method that Goshen-Gottstein later would refer to as "text-and-versions

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<sup>64</sup> Ibid. 11–12.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid. 4.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid. 5.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid. 4–6.

evaluation plus Semitic-conjecture manipulation”<sup>68</sup>) that governed text critical procedure in most commentaries and other studies of the Hebrew Bible / Old Testament.

## 5. Study of the Masoretic Text and Its Details (Masorah, Accents)

At the same time as Rosenmüller’s judgment concerning the MT led scholars to attend to a much greater extent to other witnesses to the Hebrew text of the Bible, intensified work on the MT went on as well. This took multiple forms, including: the search for, cataloguing of, and publication of manuscripts of the Bible and of masoretic handbooks and lists; the study of systems of vocalization and accentuation and of the Masorah itself; the production of editions of the MT.

The search for manuscripts of the Hebrew Bible led to the careful description and cataloguing of manuscripts in the libraries of Europe (e.g., Steinschneider, Neubauer) and occasionally to the publication of facsimile editions of some of these manuscripts (e.g., Ginsburg, Strack). Scholars’ ability to engage in such work was aided, no doubt, by developments in rail travel and photography in the second half of the century. However, for all that these labors led to a more precise picture of the surviving manuscript evidence for the MT, the results added little to advance scholars’ understanding of the transmission of the text.

Instead, manuscript discoveries outside the realm of the libraries of Western Europe would be the particular legacy of this stream of nineteenth century scholarship: the discovery of manuscripts using a Babylonian system of vocalization and accentuation, including those preserved among Karaite communities; the collections of manuscripts gathered by Firkovitch and ultimately deposited in the Imperial Public Library in St. Petersburg; the opening of the Geniza in the old synagogue in Cairo, and the bringing of its contents to libraries in Europe, especially Cambridge, England. While a number of manuscripts using a Babylonian system of marking the vowels and accents came to light in this period, perhaps the most notable was the codex of the Latter Prophets, dated to 916 CE, announced along with other materials by E. M. Pinner in a prospectus with a few plates in 1845, and finally fully published in a photolithographic edition by H. Strack in 1876. The riches of the Firkovitch collections would not be begin to be fully plumbed until the twentieth century, but it was the catalog of A. Harkavy and H. Strack that alerted scholars in a detailed way to the contents of these collections. At the very end of the century the contents of the Cairo Geniza came to light and began to be published by S. Schechter and C. Taylor. These finds appeared too late to influence the course of the discipline in the nineteenth century, but they are a part of its legacy to the twentieth and twenty-first.

Early in the century the crucial figure in the study of the various masoretic phenomena was W. Heidenheim (1757–1832). Already active in the late eight-

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<sup>68</sup> Goshen-Gottstein, *Textual Criticism* (1983), 378; cf. 373: “conjectural criticism that enabled phantasy, intuition, and learning of scholars to uncover the ‘correct’ meaning of the biblical text, to cut and heal, to tear down and restore”.



eenth century, he was an important bridge figure in that, as A. Dotan notes, he represented a turning point in the scholarly work on the Masorah in that he “systematically discussed problems of the Masorah and its rules”.<sup>69</sup> At the beginning of the century he published his study of the accentual system, *ספר משפטי דטעמים*, in 1808. This study focused on the rules of accentuation in the Twenty-One books. Heidenheim never completed a study of the comparable rules for the Three poetic books, but S. Baer, following in his line, did so in *Thorath Emeth* in 1852. In 1863 S. Pinsker published a study of the Babylonian system of vocalization and accentuation (*Einleitung in das Babylonisch-Hebräische Punctuationssystem*). Then in the last two decades of the century three studies of the Tiberian system appeared in close sequence: W. Wickes, *Two Treatises on the Accentuation of the Old Testament* (1881 and 1887); A. Büchler, *Untersuchungen zur Entstehung und Entwicklung der hebräischen Accente* (1891), and A. Ackermann, *Das hermeneutische Element der biblischen Accentuation. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der hebräischen Sprache* (1893). In the last quarter of the century study began to focus on the many marginal notes of the Masorah parva, Masorah magna and Masorah finalis. Up until then this had been represented almost entirely in the Masorot of ben Hayyim’s Rabbinic Bible of 1525, but this was seldom published in the editions of the time, which typically only reproduced some version of the text of 1525 (see below). In 1876 S. Frensdorff published the Masorah magna of Jacob ben Hayyim’s 1525 Rabbinic Bible according to the biblical order, vocalizing the key words, “translating” the catchphrases into chapter and verse references, and providing a series of annotations explaining the notes and remarking mistakes in them. This rendered this part of the Masorah far more accessible to the many scholars who had not immersed themselves in it.

Throughout the century, as this direct study of the Masorah (cantillation, notes and signs) was going on, numerous publications of medieval masoretic treatises also appeared. Again W. Heidenheim was the first, publishing the *עין דהקורה* of Jekuthiel haNaqdan in the margins of his own edition of the Pentateuch, *מאור עינין*, in 1818–1821. In 1847 S. Frensdorff published fragments of a work attributed to Moses ha-Naqdan, followed in 1864 by an important edition of the collection of masoretic lists known as *‘okhlah we’okhlah*. Before undertaking his own independent study of the Masorah, in 1867 C. D. Ginsburg published the Hebrew texts with English translations for two important documents from earlier study of the Masorah, Jacob ben Hayyim’s introduction to the Rabbinic Bible of 1525, and the *Massoreth ha-Massoreth* of Elias Levita. In 1879 S. Baer and H. Strack published an edition of *Diqduqe ha-Te’amim* of Aaron ben Asher. This edition was much criticized by many, especially Ginsburg, then and later for significantly altering the text as found in the manuscript to fit the editors’ notions of the norms of the Ben Asher school. J. Derenbourg (*Manuel du lecteur*, 1871) and A. Neubauer (*Petite grammaire*, 1891) published editions of – respectively – the Hebrew translation and Arabic original of a work titled *Mahberet ha-Tijān*. Finally, W. Wickes, as an appendix to his *Two Treatises on the Accentuation of the Old Testament* (1881 and 1887), published an edition of the

<sup>69</sup> Dotan, Masorah, EncJud 16, 1477.

important grammatical tractate *Hidayat al-Qari*, which is now judged to be the source document for those published by Derenbourg and Neubauer.<sup>70</sup> In the last two decades of the century J. Derenbourg, either alone or in collaboration with H. Derenbourg, published several of the important medieval grammatical and lexicographical treatises on the MT written in Judaeo-Arabic. Although not often consulted, these works are another important source for understanding the text transmitted by the medieval Masoretes.

This trajectory of research culminated particularly in two works of C.D. Ginsburg, *The Massorah, Compiled from Manuscripts*, and *Introduction to the Massoretico-Critical Edition of the Hebrew Bible*. The first volume of *The Massorah, Compiled from Manuscripts* appeared in 1880. This work, whose volumes would continue to appear through 1905, and which actually would never be completed, provided in its first three volumes an edition of the notes of the Masorah as Ginsburg found it in the margins of a significant number of medieval manuscripts, mostly in Western European libraries, many in Great Britain, but also some as far afield for him as St. Petersburg. Unfortunately, he did not systematically identify his sources. However, this compilation was a major step forward since all previous publications of the Masorah had been of that in Jacob ben Hayyim’s 1525 edition. Ginsburg’s work altered the direction of masoretic studies by the volume and quality of data it put in front of the reader, and by the fallacies about the Masorah those data exposed. For much of the nineteenth century it was commonly assumed that the Masorah was ultimately a single coherent set of notes that – apart from errors and corruptions from transmission – was largely accessible in ben Hayyim’s text. Ginsburg’s studies made it clear that, contrary to that prevailing assumption, “the Massorah is not homogeneous”, but rather represents a corpus to which rival masoretic schools had contributed, and which could not be reduced to a unity.<sup>71</sup> In consequence, it also became clear that the Masorah could not be used to correct the *textus receptus* of 1525 to recover the single “original” Masoretic Text at the head of the MT recension (see below). Ginsburg’s *Introduction to the Massoretico-Critical Edition of the Hebrew Bible*, which appeared in 1897, was a comprehensive study of all the details of the Masoretic Text as it was then known, and a thorough presentation of his views. The work drew on Ginsburg’s extensive study of the manuscript evidence reflected in *The Massorah*, and engaged much of the work done earlier in the century, especially the edition of S. Baer.<sup>72</sup>

The century’s work in this area yielded at least two significant results. On the one hand, the study of the details of the Masoretic Text was on a completely different footing at the end of the century than at its beginning. The modern study of the Masorah, recognizable in the work of twentieth century scholars, is built on the achievements of the scholars just discussed. On the other hand, this study also for a time opened a possible approach to editing the text of the Hebrew Bible, or at least the MT.

A number of editions of the text of the Hebrew Bible were printed during the

<sup>70</sup> Ibid. 1473–1474.

<sup>71</sup> Ginsburg, *The Massorah: Compiled from Manuscripts* (1880–1905), vol. 4, ix.

<sup>72</sup> See below.

nineteenth century, but every one of them had as its starting point the text edited by Jacob ben Hayyim and printed by Bomberg in 1525. One of the earliest editions, that of Joh. Jahn, published in Vienna in 1806, is exceptional. Although it reproduces only the text of ben Hayyim's edition, and not the Masorah, it offers what would prove to be a great rarity among nineteenth century editions of the Hebrew Bible: an apparatus compiling variant readings from other ancient witnesses. By comparison to the standards of today's editions the number of cases offered is small, but Jahn cites variants from Kennicott's compilation, the Septuagint, Targum manuscripts, the Vulgate, the Syriac, the Hexaplaric witnesses (using Montefaucon), Saadia's Arabic version and others. Moreover, the apparatus is mostly composed of such variants from the ancient witnesses in contrast to the emphasis on conjecture later in the century (e.g., with Wellhausen, Cornill and others). Jahn's edition is not unique in this regard; A. Merx begins his *Die Prophetie des Joel und ihre Ausleger* (1879) with an edition of the Hebrew text with the variant readings from de Rossi's compilation, the Septuagint, the Peshitta, the Vulgate, and the Targum in separate registers below the Hebrew and its German translation. However, Jahn's lead is not followed by the other editions of the complete Bible for the rest of the century.

Probably the most widely reprinted editions of the nineteenth century are those of Aug. Hahn (1831) and M. L. Letteris (1852, 1866). Both reproduce the Bomberg text as printed by Everardus van der Hooght in 1705 without Masorah, and without an apparatus of variant readings. By implication this text is presented as the text at least of the Masoretic Text, if not also that of the Hebrew Bible itself.

Likewise, the two notable editions of the Masoretic Text produced later in the century, those of S. Baer and Franz Delitzsch on the one hand and of C. D. Ginsburg on the other, begin from the ben Hayyim text, and do not offer an apparatus of readings from the ancient versions. However, both editions proceeded from the assumption that the ben Hayyim text itself does not completely represent the MT as it was finalized in the great masoretic schools, and sought to present the reader with that text. These editions differ from each other in their conception of what it means to represent the MT, and therefore in their methods. As has already been mentioned, this was also a matter of explicit debate and criticism between Baer and Ginsburg in other publications.

Seeligman Baer (1825–1897), with the assistance of Franz Delitzsch, published an edition of the entire Hebrew Bible except Exodus through Deuteronomy, which were the books remaining to be edited when Baer died. The first volume to appear was that for Genesis in 1869. The text is provided with occasional critical notes and identification of *q<sup>erê</sup>* readings, as well as appendices with various masoretic data. For Baer the ben Hayyim text of the Bible was close to the text established by Aaron ben Asher, and the Masorah was developed as a mechanism to confirm and maintain that text. Thus in Baer's eyes the Masorah was a tool for recovering the pure ben Asher text of the MT.<sup>73</sup> The text in the printed editions of the Bible up to Baer's time, including ben Hayyim's upon which they were all

<sup>73</sup> Kahle, *Cairo Geniza* (1959), 113.

dependent, was close to the MT, but nevertheless contained errors in accents, vowels and consonants – even entire words.<sup>74</sup> Baer’s aim was to apply his deep knowledge of the Masorah and what he had deduced to be the true rules of Aaron ben Asher (see above on his ‘editing’ of *Diqduqe ha-Te’amim*) to recover the true ben Asher text. In this Baer was typical of his era in which it was assumed that the Masorah was a unity, and combined an awareness of the MT as the product of a controlled transmission as Geiger had suggested with an assumption that its coherence can be traced finally not to the process of control but to a unitary origin (even though Baer does not refer explicitly to an archetype as de Lagarde does).

By contrast Christian David Ginsburg (1831–1914), as we have already discussed, had come to the conclusion that the Masorah was not homogeneous, but represented a vast collection of materials drawn from multiple masoretic schools and traditions. It was coherent, but not always consistent, because the schools did not always agree. It was evidence for controlled transmission, and it was evidence for subtle currents within the broad stream of the transmission of the MT, but its implication was that the recensional character noted by Rosenmüller was not due to a unitary origin as Baer supposed, but to the reduction in the range of variation due to the controlling mechanism of the Masorah.<sup>75</sup> This meant, however, that his edition aimed not to produce “the” (one) text of the MT, but by printing the ben Hayyim text and adding readings from other printed editions and manuscripts of the Hebrew text, to document both the coherence and range of diversity that constituted the MT.

Thus we can note that by the end of the nineteenth century the two most careful editions of the Masoretic Text of the Hebrew Bible reflected the divergent assumptions about the text on display in the work of Geiger and de Lagarde. We note also that they are taking place in the midst of a good deal of ferment caused by the manuscript discoveries of the era, which Ginsburg in part incorporated into his reflections on the history of the masoretic Text, but which ultimately would depose the ben Hayyim text from its central place in the study of the text. Finally, we may note that, in spite of the very considerable work done on the text and interpretation of the ancient versions, and in spite of the way that Geiger’s history of the text and its versions as well as de Lagarde’s stemmatic approach provided frameworks for deploying that evidence in pursuit of the Hebrew text, at the end of the nineteenth century there was no edition of the complete Bible

<sup>74</sup> S. BAER / FRANZ DELITZSCH (eds.), *Liber Genesis* (Leipzig: Bernhard Tauchnitz 1869), v-vi.

<sup>75</sup> As Ginsburg put it in his *Introduction*, “it is essential to bear in mind that even after the text was fixed it was by no means absolutely uniform. The different Schools still continued to retain some of their former readings. These they more or less exhibited in their Standard Codices. Some of the Massorites themselves belonged to one or the other of these Schools and framed their Massoretic notes and Rubrics in accordance with the recensions which obtained in their Schools... . Hence too the Massorites not only record the variants in Codices which were redacted by authoritative Scribes, but adduce readings from renowned MSS. which obtained in certain communities and were distinguished by certain names”; see Ginsburg, *Introduction to the Massoretico-Critical Edition of the Hebrew Bible* (1897 / 1966), 425. One way to view Ginsburg’s work in this regard is that he continued in a highly detailed way into the masoretic period the sociological approach to understanding the branches of the text’s tradition introduced by Geiger.

that presented the reader with the evidence of all the Hebrew and primary versional witnesses to the text as did Jahn's at the beginning of the century.

## 6. The Samaritan Pentateuch

Prior to the nineteenth century the text of the Samaritan Pentateuch was available primarily in the great polyglots of the seventeenth century, and the evaluation of that text was caught up in the debates between Protestant and Roman Catholic scholars as to the relative merits of the MT on the one hand, and the Septuagint and Vulgate on the other.<sup>76</sup> Thus as the nineteenth century opened there was no clear consensus as to the witness' worth, and no edited text grounded in the testimony of multiple manuscripts.

In 1815 W. Gesenius published a study on the Samaritan Pentateuch that assessed it as offering a corrupt and relatively late text, i. e., a witness of little worth for establishing the "original" text.<sup>77</sup> His position was extended and elaborated by R. Kirchheim in *Karme Shomron* (1851). Similarly Z. Frankel defined the Samaritan text as a recension based on the MT, but full of errors and scribal interventions.<sup>78</sup> This assessment held the field until Geiger contested it in *Urschrift und Uebersetzungen* (see above). Geiger's mid-century assessment that the Samaritan Pentateuch was actually a witness to the period of textual fluidity and variability prior to the second century CE is the one that ultimately endured, and settled the importance of this witness for textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible / Old Testament.

In addition to achieving an appropriate recognition of the value of the Samaritan Pentateuch, the nineteenth century afforded the first independent edition of its text. This was the work of H. Petermann and C. Vollers, *Pentateuchus Samaritanus*, published in 1872 and 1891. This would be superseded, however, by the edition of von Gall published early in the twentieth century.

## 7. Septuagint and Other Greek Versions

The study of the Septuagint and other Greek versions in the nineteenth century is marked by the work of a number of individuals, the impact of which endures to this day. R. Holmes, J. Parsons, J. F. Schleusner, F. Field, C. von Tischendorf, H. B. Swete, E. Hatch, H. A. Redpath, and G. Mercati all left publications that, in varying degrees, continued to be important resources for scholars long after the century ended. P. de Lagarde's editions have long since been surpassed, and some indeed are now recognized not even to have achieved their stated goals.<sup>79</sup> However, his conceptions of the task of Septuagint criticism, of the proper

<sup>76</sup> Purvis, *The Samaritan Pentateuch* (1968), 73–74.

<sup>77</sup> Gesenius, *De Pentateuchi Samaritani origine* (1815).

<sup>78</sup> Frankel, *Ueber den Einfluss der palästinischen Exegese* (1851), 242. Frankel was followed subsequently by S. Kohn.

<sup>79</sup> Jellicoe, *The Septuagint and Modern Study* (1968), 7.

approach to editing the text of the Septuagint, and of the relation of the Septuagint and Masoretic Text shape textual criticism of the Bible to this very day.

For de Lagarde the importance of the Septuagint was that it witnessed another recension of the Hebrew text than the MT, which he called the “Egyptian recension” in distinction from the “Palestinian recension” represented in the MT.<sup>80</sup> The Septuagint only became useful for this purpose, however, when the archetype of the recension to which it witnessed could be reconstructed. Since the manuscripts of the Septuagint itself were thought to belong to three different recensions, the reconstruction of the archetype behind the Septuagint can only come after the reconstruction of the archetype of each of the three recensions of the Septuagint (Hexaplaric, Lucianic, and Hesychian) and the comparison of those archetypes. Thus for de Lagarde the reconstruction of these archetypes was the aim of textual criticism of the Septuagint, i. e., the aim of editions of the Septuagint.

De Lagarde was the first to articulate a set of principles to govern the work of reconstructing the text of these Septuagint archetypes. They are these:<sup>81</sup>

- The manuscripts of the Septuagint are, directly or indirectly, the result of an eclectic process, i. e., are of a mixed character. Thus the recovery of the authentic text of the Septuagint (or its recensions) is necessarily an eclectic process. As de Lagarde put it, “no manuscript of the Septuagint is so good that it does not frequently offer bad readings, [and] none so bad that it does not offer now and again a good particle”.
- The standard of judgment in this eclectic process is the recognition of the styles of the individual translators, for which the crucial mechanism is the recognition that a particular reading either goes back to a specific Semitic *Vorlage* or is an inner-Greek corruption.
- When the witnesses offer two versions of a verse or portion of a verse, one in a free translation, and the other a “slavishly faithful” translation, the free translation is probably the authentic text of the Septuagint.
- When the witnesses offer two opposing readings, one of which renders the MT, and the other a deviating *Vorlage*, the non-MT *Vorlage* is to be preferred as original.

De Lagarde in his published probes into an edition of the Septuagint never achieved the reconstruction of the archetype of any of the three recensions, much less of the Septuagint itself although he did describe what he believed to be some of the orthographic and graphical peculiarities of the exemplar from which it was translated.<sup>82</sup> Nevertheless, his conception of the task in working with the Septuagint passed down to his student A. Rahlfs, and with his refinement gave shape in the twentieth century to the Göttingen *Septuaginta-Unternehmen*. The work of this project, further refined and developed by the successors of Rahlfs, has produced the standard editions of the Septuagint in use today.

The editions of the Septuagint published in the nineteenth century took a dif-

<sup>80</sup> De Lagarde, *Anmerkungen* (1863), 2.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.* 3.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.* 4.

ferent approach from that advocated by de Lagarde. Beginning with the work of R. Holmes and J. Parsons (1798–1827), the pattern of these editions was to publish a known text, which then served as the reference point against which variants from manuscripts, sub-versions and editions could be collated. For the edition of Holmes and Parsons this was the Sixtine text (1587; Bos's version 1709), as it was for Tischendorf's edition. Holmes and Parsons collated a long list of Greek manuscripts, especially minuscules, many versions, the Complutensian and Aldine polyglots and Grabe's edition of Codex Alexandrinus (1707–1720). Although the plan of the edition was well-regarded, the execution was seen to have been inconsistent and to have a higher error rate than desirable. Tischendorf's manual edition emphasized a much shorter list of the great uncial manuscripts. From the sixth edition (1880) on, edited by Eb. Nestle after Tischendorf's death, these were supplemented by readings from Codex Vaticanus published by Vercellone and Cozza-Luzi in a photolithographic edition (1869–1872, 1881), but the running text remained the Sixtine. Thus it was a significant step that Codex Vaticanus was used as the continuous text in the *editio minor* of the Cambridge Greek Old Testament project edited by H.B. Swete (published 1887–1894). This edition presented variant readings from important uncial manuscripts in the apparatus, and earned a reputation for great accuracy. In time it came to supersede Tischendorf's in general use as it was itself eventually superseded by the manual edition of A. Rahlfs (1935), which followed the same pattern of using the text of Vaticanus as a base text against which variants from a selection of important manuscripts were collated. The same pattern was followed for the *editio maior* of the Cambridge Greek Old Testament project, edited by A. Brooke and N. McLean, but that is a publication of the twentieth century even though it was begun in the late nineteenth. In the case of Tischendorf and the two Cambridge editions the choice to structure these editions in this way was deliberate, based on the assessment that the conditions were not yet right for the establishment of an eclectic text reconstructing the *Urtext* of the Septuagint or its recensions. So this form of the edition did not necessarily represent an alternative theory to that of de Lagarde.

Alongside these editions the nineteenth century saw the publication of two essential tools for the study of the Septuagint. J.F. Schleusner published his multi-volume *Novus thesaurus philologico-criticus sive lexicon in LXX* between 1820 and 1829 in Leipzig, Glasgow and London. By the last quarter of the twentieth century the work had long been neglected and out of print, but it remained the best lexicon specifically concerned with the Greek of the Septuagint until the publications of J. Lust, E. Eynikel and K. Hauspie and of T. Muraoka.<sup>83</sup> At the close of the century (1897) the magnificent and comprehensive concordance begun by E. Hatch and completed by H. A. Redpath appeared. The concordance covered all occurrences of all words in the Greek Old Testament and Apocrypha except proper names, personal pronouns and a few extremely common words. In a context in which there was as yet no agreed reconstructed text for the Sep-

<sup>83</sup> J. LUST / E. EYNICKEL / K. HAUSPIE, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft 1992 and 1996); T. MURAOKA, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint* (Louvain: Peeters 2009).

tuagint, the compilers had to choose a base text, and opted for that found in three great uncials (Alexandrinus, Vaticanus, Sinaiticus) and a corrected Sixtine text. They also compiled the data for the Hexapla, using the new edition of F. Field as their authority. This work remains the authoritative concordance for the Septuagint although one may say that on the contemporary scene it is being superseded by the use of linguistic search programs run on computer files of the Septuagint text (typically using the edition of Rahlfs).

The closing decades of the century saw major contributions in the field of Hexapla studies. F. Field's great two volume work, *Origenis Hexaplorum quae supersunt; sive veterum interpretum graecorum in totum Vetus Testamentum fragmenta* (1867 and 1874), gathered into one place all the known readings from the various columns of the Hexapla, surpassing the work of Montfaucon in the first quarter of the eighteenth century. At the very close of the nineteenth century new manuscript discoveries began to expand the extent of the Hexapla texts that were recovered for scholarship. In 1895 G. Mercati announced his discovery the previous year of a palimpsest in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan that contained large fragments of a Hexapla of Psalms. Mercati's own publication of the manuscript would come much later, but by 1896 E. Klostermann had published a specimen of the text in the ZAW.<sup>84</sup> The next year F. C. Burkitt published fragments of a manuscript of Aquila discovered in the Cairo Geniza.<sup>85</sup> At the turn of the century C. Taylor published another Geniza fragment containing a Hexapla fragment.<sup>86</sup> These discoveries would be followed by yet more in the succeeding century.

Of course, from the point of view of the textual criticism of the Hebrew text of the Bible, the critical question in relation to the Septuagint is the degree to which its deviations from other witnesses should be attributed to the work of the translator(s) or to the Hebrew text in front of the translator(s). Emblematic of the nineteenth century's engagement of this question is the debate over the variations between the Septuagint and the MT for the book of Jeremiah. The debate oscillated back and forth throughout the century, coming to what would prove to be a resting point only in its last decade.

J. Eichhorn in 1824 proposed that the texts encountered in the Septuagint and MT can be traced back to two separate editions created by Jeremiah himself. The second edition, which was the prototype of the MT, though created in Egypt, was taken to Palestine where it entered the canon. The first edition remained in Egypt where it was eventually translated into Greek.<sup>87</sup> In the same year G. Spohn published a monograph on the problem in which he also argued that the differences between the Septuagint and MT were too great to be attributed to inner-Greek corruption in the transmission of the Septuagint text.<sup>88</sup> Spohn, however, attributed the differences to the Greek translator whom he imagined as a private person translating for his individual purposes rather than for public use. The translator thus felt free to omit a variety of materials that seemed to him redundant or unnecessary although he did so erratically.

<sup>84</sup> Klostermann, *Die Mailänder Fragmente der Hexapla* (1896).

<sup>85</sup> Burkitt, *Fragments of the Book of Kings* (1897).

<sup>86</sup> Taylor, *Hebrew-Greek Cairo Genizah Palimpsests* (1900).

<sup>87</sup> Eichhorn, *Einleitung*, 4 (1824), 170–222.

<sup>88</sup> Spohn, *Ieremias Vates* (1824).



In 1837 F. Movers published a monograph in response to Spohn, arguing that the variations were due to the different Hebrew text used by the Septuagint translator.<sup>89</sup> Movers argued that the Septuagint represented an older text than the MT, and was therefore preferable. He grounded his argument first of all in an analysis of Jeremiah 52, and then in an analysis of the pluses in the MT version of the book. He understood some of them as expansions taken from material elsewhere in the book. He noted that a smaller amount of such material occurred in the Septuagint, suggesting that both texts had undergone a degree of development although the MT text had undergone more.

K. Graf in his 1862 commentary on Jeremiah framed the question as whether the MT appeared to have grown out of the Hebrew text implied by the Septuagint through a process of expansion or the Septuagint appeared to have been produced from a Hebrew text like the MT by a process of abridgement.<sup>90</sup> After examining a variety of phenomena, he concluded that the Septuagint was abbreviated in erratic fashion by the translator, who – as Graf concluded – operated in such an ignorant, inconsistent and arbitrary manner that the result should be viewed as an edition, rather than a translation.<sup>91</sup>

A. Scholz, in a monograph published in 1875,<sup>92</sup> argued the opposite position from Graf. Scholz began with a careful study of the translation technique of the Septuagint from which he drew the conclusion that the Septuagint as a translation was “faithful” (*eine getreue Uebersetzung*) to its Hebrew *Vorlage*.<sup>93</sup> Thus the bulk of the differences between the Septuagint and MT were not due to the translator of the Septuagint, but to his *Vorlage*. Scholz’s conclusions were as follows: Jeremiah did not write two versions of the book; the MT resulted from an editorial revision; the MT also experienced expansion through many small additions inserted through use in synagogal services; the Septuagint is a careful, literal translation of its *Vorlage*; the *Vorlage* of the Septuagint differs from the MT not only in its lack of many of the additions, but in other details as well; the *Vorlage* of the Septuagint did experience some degree of interpolation; although the Septuagint does sometimes make mistakes, on the whole it is a good translation.<sup>94</sup>

G. Workman undertook to publish in 1889 a reconstruction of the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the Septuagint on the basis of the character of the Septuagint as a literal translation of the Hebrew.<sup>95</sup> In general, it may be said that if Graf was overly distrustful of the Greek translator, Workman was overly trusting of that individual, and his work did not display the careful attention to nuance of someone like Scholz.

In 1894 F. Giesebrecht addressed the question anew in the introduction to his commentary on Jeremiah.<sup>96</sup> He adopted a somewhat mediating position concerning the Septuagint, acknowledging that the MT contained a good deal of sec-

<sup>89</sup> Movers, *De utriusque recensionis Vaticanorum Ieremiae* (1837).

<sup>90</sup> Graf, *Der Prophet Ieremia* (1862), xl-lvii.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.* lvi.

<sup>92</sup> Scholz, *Der Masoretische Text und die LXX-Übersetzung* (1875).

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.* 12–28, esp. 27.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.* 228–229.

<sup>95</sup> Workman, *The Text of Jeremiah* (1889).

<sup>96</sup> Giesebrecht, *Das Buch Ieremia* (1894), xxv–xl.

ondary material. However, his investigation of the character of the Septuagint led him to conclude that its translator displayed a definite tendency to abridge the text in the process of translation. Thus the majority of the differences between the Septuagint and the MT should be attributed to the translator, not his *Vorlage*. Essentially, there was ever only one version of the book in Hebrew. Giesebrecht's position would become the dominant view for the next three quarters of a century until the publication in 1973 of fragments of Jeremiah manuscripts from Qumran cave 4.<sup>97</sup>

## 8. The Study of the Other Ancient Versions

The nineteenth century also was a time of intensive study for the other versions of the Hebrew Bible / Old Testament, resulting in the publication of editions, manuscript discoveries, linguistic studies and various textual studies.

Prior to the nineteenth century the only printed texts of the Peshitta were those in the great seventeenth century polyglots. Indeed, this was actually the same text, that of a poor quality seventeenth century manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, which was transcribed in the Paris polyglot, and copied from there in the London polyglot with the addition of some variant readings. This text was copied from there into the edition of S. Lee in 1823.<sup>98</sup> Two text editions that would come into widespread use were produced in missionary contexts primarily for purposes of evangelization. These were the Urmia edition of 1852 and the Mosul edition of 1887. Both editions do not indicate the authorities upon which they are based. The best estimate of P. Dirksen is that the Urmia edition was based on that of Lee with the addition of some (unknown) manuscripts, and that of Mosul was based on Urmia with the addition of further manuscripts.<sup>99</sup> From this perspective the publication by A. Ceriani of a facsimile edition of the seventh century Codex Ambrosianus was an event of major significance. Indeed, this manuscript would form the foundation of the major edition produced by the Leiden Peshitta Institute in the second half of the twentieth century.

The nineteenth century saw a great number of studies published concerning the Peshitta. Many of these revolved around the question of the relation of this witness to others, especially the MT, the Septuagint, and the Targumim. The century also saw an on-going debate concerning the Jewish, Christian or Jewish Christian identity of the translators: L. Hirzel advocating Christian authorship in 1825, Perles advocating Jewish authorship in 1859, Th. Nöldeke advocating Jewish-Christian authorship in 1868, and Eb. Nestle advocating translation by a Christian under Jewish influence in 1876.<sup>100</sup>

The Vulgate and Old Latin versions received comparatively less attention than

<sup>97</sup> For more detailed discussion of this history see J.G. JANZEN, *Studies in the Text of Jeremiah* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University 1973), 2–7.

<sup>98</sup> Dirksen, *The Old Testament Peshitta* (1988), 256.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.* 257.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.* 262–263.

some other versions in the nineteenth century. For the Vulgate the text in use throughout the century was the Clementine text established in 1593. C. Vercellone published a reliable reprint of this in 1861. Otherwise, the century saw publication of individual manuscripts (U. Robert) or of partial or complete collations of readings from significant manuscripts against the Clementine text (Vercellone [1864], C. von Tischendorf and Th. Heyse). F. C. Burkitt, E. Ranke and others published various new fragments of the Old Latin as these come to light. Studies by S. Berger (*Histoire de la Vulgate pendant les premiers siècles du moyen âge*), W. Nowack (*Die Bedeutung des Hieronymus für die alttestamentliche Textkritik*), H. Rönsch (*Itala und Vulgata*), H. P. Smith ("The Value of the Vulgate Old Testament for Textual Criticism"), and L. Ziegler (*Die lateinischen Bibelübersetzungen vor Hieronymus*) addressed various issues related to one or the other version.

By contrast, the various Targumim were the subject of a fair amount of attention in the nineteenth century. Geiger's views on the nature, development and text critical value of the various Targumim have been reviewed above. Studies by Z. Frankel, M. Friedman, P. Kahle, S. Maybaum, and J. Schönfelder are also worth noting. There was some interest in the relation between Onkelos and Aquila, e.g., Friedman's study. There was also continuing interest in the relation of the Targumim to witnesses such as the Septuagint and Syriac, seen especially in studies of the Peshitta.

The latter part of the nineteenth century was especially rich in the production of editions of the various Targumim. These were not yet critical editions, but they made targumic texts available for study and use in text critical work. An edition of Targum Onkelos was published by A. Berliner in 1884, who had earlier (1877) published the Masorah to Targum Onkelos, as did S. Landauer (1896). At the turn to the twentieth century M. Ginsburger published editions of Targum Pseudo-Jonathan (1903) and the fragmentary Targum to the Pentateuch (1899). P. de Lagarde in the volumes of his *Hagiographa Chaldaice* published with Teubner made available a text of the Targum to the Prophets (1872) and the Targumim to the Writings (1873). Near the end of the century M. David published an edition of Targum Shenî to Esther (1898). In 1874 J. Nutt published an up till then unknown fragment of the Samaritan Targum as a contribution toward an eventual critical edition.

The tenth century Arabic translation of Saadia Gaon had been known, of course, but it was in the second half of the nineteenth century that a good edition of this work was finally published at Paris through the efforts of J. and H. Derenbourg and M. Lambert (1893–1899). Other Arabic translations received some attention as well, but these were Christian translations made from a Greek or Coptic base, and thus not germane to the textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible / Old Testament.

## 9. Conclusions

The discipline we now know as textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible / Old Testament was until late in the eighteenth century the core of “criticism” of the Bible.<sup>101</sup> By the beginning of the nineteenth century it, along with linguistic study of the text, had begun to be referred to as “lower criticism” to distinguish it from the newer literary critical methods, which were referred to as “higher criticism”.<sup>102</sup> The discipline began the century with the accepted judgment that the many Hebrew manuscripts then available to scholars all belonged to a single recension that was of relatively recent vintage in relation to the original text. The first edition published in the century, that of Jahn, took a logical step and collated readings from the major ancient versions as well as Hebrew manuscripts in its apparatus.

Over the course of the century much work proceeded. The century saw the development of a comprehensive picture of the history of the text and its translations. It saw the development of disciplined methods for reconstructing the chain of textual transmission. The century witnessed intensive study of the ancient versions, especially the Septuagint and the Peshitta, but also the Vulgate and the Targumim, with some attention paid to the Samaritan Pentateuch as well. It produced major studies of the Masorah and publications of masoretic documents. In both the areas of the Hebrew text and the ancient versions, the century uncovered major new manuscript evidence, and produced tools that would serve scholars long into the twentieth century.

By the end of the century textual criticism had emerged as a distinct scholarly specialty, rather than being only one aspect of the exegetical task. This is perhaps best exemplified by the career of someone like de Lagarde. The volume of knowledge and understanding achieved, and the scope of the field’s work had expanded to such an extent that what had only needed a chapter or so in introductions as late as 1868, namely matters of canon and text, could be the subject of an entire book by the century’s end.<sup>103</sup> Not only had the field emerged as a specialty to which one might devote one’s entire scholarly career, but sub-specialties (in Masorah, in the individual versions) had emerged or were beginning to emerge.

Paradoxically, given all of this tremendous activity, the two most widely used editions of the biblical text (those of Hahn and Letteris) and the two most esteemed (those of Baer-Delitzsch and Ginsburg) either had no apparatus of variant readings at all, or had an apparatus that offered a limited array of variants from Hebrew witnesses but none from the versions.<sup>104</sup> It is this reality that sets

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<sup>101</sup> Goshen-Gottstein, *Textual Criticism* (1983), 376.

<sup>102</sup> Eichhorn is usually credited with introducing this terminology from the field of classical studies.

<sup>103</sup> Matters of canon and text took up only two of the nine chapters in Nöldeke’s introduction in 1868, but was the entire subject of Buhl’s *Canon and Text of the Old Testament* (1892; Danish original: Copenhagen: Gyldendal 1885). In Buhl’s treatment 184 of the 259 pages in the English translation were devoted to text and versions.

<sup>104</sup> This is not a complete paradox, however, since some advocated precisely that editions should only contain the MT as a text that actually held authority, and that all the proposed corrections prop-

the stage for R. Kittel's *Über die Notwendigkeit und Möglichkeit einer neuen Ausgabe der hebräischen Bibel* of 1902. Kittel's starting point is exactly that the form and contents of the editions current at the time were not commensurate with all that was known and understood and with all the resources that were then available to scholarship.<sup>105</sup> It was the broad array of work done in the nineteenth century that made its finest editions seem inadequate and created both the need and the possibility of something new.

## 10. Addendum: Development and Transformation of the Nineteenth Century's Legacy in the Twentieth

While the need for an overview of the development of the field of textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible / Old Testament in the twentieth century has been amply met, the legacy of the nineteenth century in the discussions and work of the twentieth is less often commented upon. Thus some reflections on that legacy beyond the remarks offered at several points in the preceding discussion may be useful. We will focus on two areas in particular: the conceptualization of the transmission history of the Hebrew text of the Bible, and of the task of textual criticism; and the development of multiple scholarly editions of the biblical text, realizing the potential signaled in Kittel's 1902 publication. In the interests of brevity, we must leave aside the very important developments and editions in Septuagint,<sup>106</sup> Peshitta,<sup>107</sup> Vulgate,<sup>108</sup> Targum<sup>109</sup> and Masorah<sup>110</sup> studies, which would be a necessary part of a full history of the discipline in the twentieth century. Even in the areas where we focus, it will hardly be possible to be comprehensive, and for developments in the last two to three decades of the century especially it is perhaps too soon to discern all the crucial narratives.

The history of the discipline of textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible / Old Testament in the twentieth century necessarily falls into two periods, roughly the two halves of the century. The dividing line between the two periods is, of course, the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls beginning in 1947. As will be seen, this was a far more significant boundary in the development of the field than the mere turn of the calendar from one century to the next.

Before the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls the two great figures in textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible / Old Testament were R. Kittel who gave shape to

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erly belonged in commentaries. Th. Nöldeke may be the best known such advocate; see Nöldeke, review of Wellhausen, *Der Text der Bücher Samuelis*, *ZWTh* 16 (1873) 118.

<sup>105</sup> Kittel, *Über die Notwendigkeit und Möglichkeit einer neuen Ausgabe der hebräischen Bibel* (1902), 1–3.

<sup>106</sup> For example, the edition of Rahlfs and the work of the Göttingen Septuaginta-Unternehmen, including its series of editions and monographs.

<sup>107</sup> For example the edition and other publications of the Leiden Peshitta Institute.

<sup>108</sup> For example, the *editio maior* of the San Girolamo community and the manual edition of Robert Weber published by the Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft.

<sup>109</sup> For example, the many editions and other publications of a number of Spanish scholars.

<sup>110</sup> For example, the work of Gerard Weil, Israel Yeivin, and Aron Dotan, as well as several Spanish scholars.

the tradition of editions of the Hebrew text, and P. Kahle who was the dominant figure in the conceptualization of the history of the transmission of the text. Although it is seldom remarked, and the importance of their own scholarship cannot be gainsaid, both men represent the continuation into the twentieth century of positions already well-established in the nineteenth.

R. Kittel’s 1902 publication *Über die Notwendigkeit und Möglichkeit einer neuen Ausgabe der hebräischen Bibel* gave thorough consideration to the need and options for creating an edition of the text of the Hebrew Bible that would go beyond the great editions of the second half of the nineteenth century, which simply presented an edition of the MT. This was soon followed by Kittel’s own edition in 1906, the first in a series of editions under the title *Biblia Hebraica* that would span the twentieth century.

Kittel argued that in principle the proper form of such an edition was to present an eclectic text of the Bible that integrated at every point what was judged to be the correct reading of the text.<sup>111</sup> This should be accompanied, of course, by an apparatus that presented the evidence for the readings presented in the text. It is evident from his argument that he imagines beginning with the MT, identifying the errors in it, and correcting those on the basis of the evidence of other witnesses or by means of what today would be called conjectural emendation. In spite of his preference for an eclectic text in principle, Kittel ultimately proposed an alternative form of edition, namely, one that printed the MT on the page with an apparatus at the foot of the page that offered readings from other witnesses, especially the ancient versions, and conjectural emendations from which the reader might choose the text at points where the MT seemed to be in error.<sup>112</sup> Among the grounds Kittel adduced for choosing this form of edition were the problems that arise from the procedure of constructing an eclectic text with the MT as its starting point, namely, the MT is fully furnished with vowel signs and accents whereas the readings introduced into the text to create the eclectic text would properly have neither.<sup>113</sup> However, in light of the discussion of subjectivity in textual criticism in the last quarter of the twentieth century, it is worth also noting that another of Kittel’s reasons for placing the MT on the page and all changes in that text in marginal notes was “the highly subjective character of any reorganization of the text”.<sup>114</sup>

It is clear from his arguments concerning the need for an edition that in Kittel’s view the concrete circumstances calling for textual criticism were those occasions where the text presented some incongruity or did not follow the rules of grammar as these were understood by modern scholarship. Thus cases that required entries in the apparatus of the edition were generated by analysis of the grammatical and other coherence of the text. The assumption behind this is a picture of the transmission of the text as a process of corruption, chiefly by the errors and misunderstandings of scribes in the copying process. The ancient witnesses were the first source of alternative readings that might lead to the correct text. In some

<sup>111</sup> R. Kittel, *Notwendigkeit und Möglichkeit* (1902), 77–78.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.* 77, 78–84. See also R. KITTEL (ed.), *Biblia Hebraica* (Leipzig: Hinrichs 1906), iv.

<sup>113</sup> Kittel, *Notwendigkeit und Möglichkeit* (1902), 78–83.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.* 77.

cases conjectural emendation was necessary to restore the text when readings from the extant witnesses did not give a satisfactory result. In all these aspects of Kittel's position we see the continuation of the views espoused by Wellhausen in the second half of the nineteenth century.

However, in one respect Kittel departed from Wellhausen's position. For Wellhausen conjecture was the means to restore the *Urtext*, that is to say, the words of the Biblical authors themselves. No other goal was appropriate for the procedure.<sup>115</sup> Indeed, Kittel acknowledged the pursuit of the *Urtext* as the ideal of textual criticism. However, he thought it was only possible to reach back toward that goal, not to attain it, and concluded that the aim of textual criticism ought to be the restoration of the text that came from the hands of the redactors in the fourth and third centuries BCE.<sup>116</sup> This time period is the most one can reasonably expect to project back from the archetypes of the main witnesses to the text: the MT, the Samaritan Pentateuch and the Septuagint. In taking this position, Kittel may be said to stay closer to the logic of de Lagarde's position than that of scholars such as Wellhausen and Cornill for whom the archetypes were only the jumping off point to reach for the *Urtext*.

Kittel's 1906 edition, published in Leipzig by J. C. Hinrichs and re-issued in 1909 with corrections of typographical errors, realized Kittel's basic program laid out in *Notwendigkeit und Möglichkeit*. The second edition, published in 1912 in Stuttgart by the Württembergische Bibelanstalt, was not materially different from the first, but incorporated over 250 corrections and additions.<sup>117</sup> These editions printed ben Hayyim's edition of the text with some corrections in very small details along with an apparatus that offered variant readings from medieval Hebrew manuscripts and the ancient versions as well as conjectures by modern scholars in cases where the MT appeared to have been corrupted.

The third edition of Kittel's *Biblia Hebraica* introduced a major change in that the base text printed on the page, while still the MT, was the text of manuscript B 19a in the second Firkovich collection of the then Saltykov-Shchedrin State Public Library in Leningrad, known still as Codex Leningradensis.<sup>118</sup> This manuscript had already been identified by Strack in his 1875 catalogue of the collection. The extensive work of P. Kahle in medieval Hebrew manuscripts of various traditions that had come to scholarly attention in the nineteenth century had led to a shift in views about how to best represent the MT. In the nineteenth century ben Hayyim's edition, published by Bomberg, had been accepted either as the best representation of the text or as the proper starting point for reconstructing the text produced by Aaron ben Asher, accepted as the best expression of the work of the Masoretes in stabilizing and transmitting the text. Editions in the last half of the nineteenth century only used ben Hayyim's text as a starting point, and corrected it based either on variants from other medieval manuscripts or according to what were understood to be ben Asher's own rules (see above on the editions of Baer-Delitzsch and Ginsburg). Among the contributions of

<sup>115</sup> Wellhausen, *Der Text der Bücher Samuelis* (1871), 14, note \*).

<sup>116</sup> Kittel, *Notwendigkeit und Möglichkeit* (1902), 32–38, esp. 36 and 38.

<sup>117</sup> R. KITTEL (ed.), *Biblia Hebraica* (Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibelanstalt 1912), v.

<sup>118</sup> R. KITTEL / P. KAHLE (eds.), *Biblia Hebraica* (Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibelanstalt 1937).

Kahle’s work was the identification of the Leningrad manuscript and the codex in the synagogue in Aleppo as the best witnesses to the ben Asher text, the latter from ben Asher himself. Thus the best way to represent the MT was not to have recourse to a relatively late product such as ben Hayyim’s edition, but to go to the very source itself, or at least almost to the source.

These editions from the first were revolutionary for their time. The 1906 edition is the first textual edition of the *entire* Hebrew Bible since Jahn’s at the beginning of the nineteenth century to offer an apparatus with readings from all appropriate ancient witnesses, and it provided the reader more textual material than Jahn’s by far. Over the course of the first half of the twentieth century Kittel’s editions became the edition of choice for scholarly work, displacing the editions of the MT produced in the late nineteenth century.

Kittel’s editions of *Biblia Hebraica* are indicative of the broad stream of text-critical practice in relation to the Hebrew Bible during the first half of the twentieth century. In spite of Kittel’s reserve about how far back into the transmission of the text scholarship could reach, this generally was a straightforward continuation of Wellhausen’s pursuit of the *Urtext*.<sup>119</sup> The use of comparative philology to support conjectural emendation grew as the century saw the discovery of more and more cuneiform archives, especially that coming from Ugarit, discovered in 1929, until the validity of the practice came under major criticism from J. Barr.<sup>120</sup>

Alongside Kittel the other major figure in the textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible in the first half of the twentieth century is P. Kahle. His 1915 essay, “Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Pentateuchtextes”, was the final major critique of de Lagarde’s theory of the origin on the MT in a single archetypal manuscript from the time of Hadrian.<sup>121</sup> Moreover, Kahle put forward a distinct alternative theory of the development of the text. He grounded this in, among other things, his own research into Masoretic manuscripts in the Babylonian and Tiberian traditions. As a result, in some discussions it has become a commonplace to describe the theoretical polarity in understanding the transmission history of the text of the Hebrew Bible as a contrast between Kahle and de Lagarde.<sup>122</sup> In reality, Kahle’s position is essentially Geiger’s from a century before.

Kahle argued that the MT is the result of a process of critical revision of the popular text available in Judaism of the turn of the eras, carried out around 100 CE. He described this as a process of the restoration of old readings and forms that had been removed from the typically circulating texts. Prior to this revision

<sup>119</sup> Goshen-Gottstein, *Textual Criticism* (1983), 380–383.

<sup>120</sup> J. BARR, *Comparative Philology and the Text of the Old Testament* (Oxford: Oxford UP 1968; repr.: Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns 1989).

<sup>121</sup> P. KAHLE, “Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Pentateuchtextes”, *TbStKr* 88 (1915) 399–439; repr. in: P. KAHLE, *Opera Minora* (Leiden: Brill 1956), 3–37.

<sup>122</sup> For example, S. TALMON, “The Old Testament Text,” in: CHB, 1. *From the Beginnings to Jerome* (ed. P. R. Ackroyd / C. F. Evans; Cambridge: Cambridge UP 1970), 159–199; repr. in: F. M. CROSS / S. TALMON (eds.), *Qumran and the History of the Biblical Text* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP 1975), 1–41. It may be noted that Talmon never mentions Geiger in an otherwise reasonable overview of nineteenth century textual criticism and treats Kahle’s position as entirely new with Kahle.



the transmission of the text was not particularly careful or standardized so that the circulating texts (note the plural) were full of variation in minor details. The Septuagint, Samaritan Pentateuch and MT emerged as distinct texts because they were each the text in use in one of three distinct communities: the Church, the Samaritans, and Rabbinic Judaism. The MT in some ways preserved the oldest text of the three. As the consonantal text of the MT became fixed, new Greek translations (Aquila and Theodotion) and new targumim were produced to replace older versions based on the earlier, less tightly controlled text.<sup>123</sup> Although Kahle did not cite Geiger at this point in the essay, he made important positive use of his work earlier in the essay, and in every respect the picture of the history of the text's transmission and development Kahle offers is Geiger's, even to the use of Geiger's term for the pre-Masoretic exemplars ("*die kursierenden Texte*"). The term famously associated with Kahle's theory, *Vulgärtext* or *Vulgärtexte* (both are found in the article), actually was first used in this way by Nöldeke in 1868.<sup>124</sup> So this significant nineteenth century theory of the formation and transmission of the text of the Hebrew Bible was reintroduced into the discussion in the twentieth century on the basis of significant new research by Kahle.

Space does not permit mentioning all of the other significant figures from the scholarship of the first half of the twentieth century who could well be mentioned (e.g., Paul Volz who in 1935 called for a coordinated and systematic scrutiny of text critical method), but in light of later developments it is important to name H. S. Nyberg and his dissenting position.<sup>125</sup> In general, Nyberg in his studies on Hosea foreswore pursuit of the *Urtext* in favor of recovering the earliest written tradition of the Jewish community.<sup>126</sup> From some perspectives this might well be construed as equivalent to Kittel's aim announced in 1902. Ultimately, however, for Nyberg this meant a return "to the Masoretic Text in order to study it precisely and to interpret it [since] it alone provides a solid foundation for philological work and exegetical interpretation".<sup>127</sup> This last point sounds very much like Nöldeke's position in 1868, "I am even of the opinion that an edition of the Hebrew Old Testament must never digress from the Masoretic Text ... a text that had enjoyed at one time a real authority".<sup>128</sup>

In 1947 the first of the Dead Sea Scrolls became known to modern scholarship. The ensuing discovery of the collection of scrolls and scroll fragments from the Qumran caves, as well as caves from the period of the Second Revolt and manuscript finds at Masada revolutionized textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible. Although it was nearly the end of the century before all of the relevant finds were published, the discoveries provoked an enormous flowering of text critical

<sup>123</sup> Kahle, *Geschichte des Pentateuchtextes* (1956), 34–35.

<sup>124</sup> Nöldeke, *Literatur* (1868), 240.

<sup>125</sup> For an overview of the positions of Sperber and Liebermann see Talmon, *Old Testament Text* (1970), 180–182.

<sup>126</sup> H. S. NYBERG, *Studien zum Hoseabuche* (UUÅ 1935:6; Uppsala: Lundequistska Bokhandeln 1935), 9.

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid.* 116.

<sup>128</sup> Nöldeke, review of Wellhausen, *Der Text der Bücher Samuelis* (1873), 118.

scholarship.<sup>129</sup> This flowering took the form of a tremendous increase in the volume of text critical work, and of major shifts in the conception of the field.

At first the finds were described within the existing theoretical frameworks for understanding the development and transmission of the Biblical text. For example, early editions of the Biblical manuscripts among the discoveries tended to define the character of a given manuscript in terms of its affinities to what – from the late nineteenth century on – had been regarded as the primary witnesses to the Hebrew text: for the Torah the MT, Samaritan Pentateuch and Septuagint; for everything else the MT and the Septuagint. This approach was elaborated into a theory of local texts by W.F. Albright, and especially F.M. Cross, Jr.<sup>130</sup> This approach explained the three major textual streams represented by the major witnesses as a result of geography. These texts arose as the texts of the Jewish communities in specific, separate localities, respectively Babylon, Palestine and Egypt. Underlying this theory of the development and transmission of the text one can clearly see the three-fold stemma of de Lagarde.

When the totality of the discoveries is considered, the Biblical manuscripts recovered date from approximately 250 BCE to 135 CE. Scholars noticed a distinct difference between the manuscripts found before the First Jewish Revolt in 66–70 CE and those from later caves. The pre-revolt manuscripts showed a considerable amount of variation in detail among themselves and different degrees of variation from the consonantal text preserved in the MT. The later scrolls, most notably the Minor Prophets scroll from Wadi Murabba’at and the Greek Minor Prophets scroll from Nahal Hever, presented a strikingly different picture. The text of the Murabba’at scroll and the Vorlage implied by the Nahal Hever scroll deviated hardly at all from the consonantal text preserved in the MT. Scholars drew the logical conclusion that this pattern was evidence for the beginning of the process of the standardization and controlled transmission of the text that characterized the fully developed MT.<sup>131</sup> The reflections that flowed from these observations ultimately led to two crucial perspectives. One concerned the history of the Hebrew Text. The other concerned the proper understanding of the state of the Biblical text from before the First Revolt, i.e., the state of the text as visible in the Qumran library.

Two major text critical projects, the Hebrew Old Testament Text Project of the United Bible Societies (HOTTP)<sup>132</sup> and the Hebrew University Bible Project

<sup>129</sup> Authoritative editions of all the Biblical manuscripts from around the Dead Sea are found in the series *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert* published by Oxford University Press beginning in 1955 and concluding in 2010. Near the end of the series it was extended to include republications of scrolls published before the series began. The three major bibliographies of literature concerning the finds are: W.S. LASOR, *Bibliography of the Dead Sea Scrolls 1948–1957* (Pasadena: Fuller Theological Seminary 1958); B. JONGELING, *A Classified Bibliography of the Finds in the Desert of Judah 1958–1969* (Leiden: Brill 1971); and F. GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ / D.W. PARRY, *A Bibliography of the Finds in the Desert of Judah 1970–95* (Leiden: Brill 1996).

<sup>130</sup> W.F. ALBRIGHT, “New Light on Early Recensions of the Hebrew Bible”, *BASOR* 140 (1955) 27–33; F.M. CROSS, JR., “The History of the Biblical Text in the Light of Discoveries in the Judaean Desert”, *HTR* 57 (1964) 281–299.

<sup>131</sup> D. BARTHÉLEMY, “Redécouverte d’un chaînon manquant de l’histoire de la Septante”, *RB* 60 (1953) 18–29, and idem, *Les Devanciers d’Aquila* (VT.S 10; Leiden: Brill 1963), are two seminal works within the larger conversation.

<sup>132</sup> D. BARTHÉLEMY / A.R. HULST / N. LOHFINK / W.D. MCHARDY / H.P. RÜGER / J.A. SAN-

(HUBP)<sup>133</sup> independently came to essentially the same conclusions about the history of the development of the Hebrew text of the Bible. In early publications from the HOTTP this was described as a history in four periods, but since the first period in these descriptions was defined as the period of the *Urtext*, the history of the transmission and development of the text is really a history of three periods as it was described in the HUBP and later publications of the HOTTP.<sup>134</sup> Between the final literary formulation of a given Biblical book and approximately 50–100 CE was the period of the pre-Masoretic Text. From 50–100 CE until approximately 900–1000 CE. was the period of the proto-Masoretic Text. This was followed by the period of the Masoretic Text. The period of the pre-Masoretic Text was characterized by considerable textual diversity and more or less uncontrolled transmission of the text. The concern of those transmitting the text was more for the expression of its meaning than the exact letter by letter replication of the text. Groups of manuscripts showing affinity for one another that could be interpreted as precursors of the three great later streams of transmission (Masoretic, Samaritan, Septuagintal) might be visible, but the basic picture was one of great diversity and individual differences from one manuscript to the next. The period of the proto-Masoretic Text begins with the standardization of the consonantal text that was evident in the late manuscripts from Dead Sea caves apart from Qumran. Over time the standardization extended to the vowels and accents, including the invention of signs to record them. This was augmented by the development of the Masorah to protect the accurate transmission of the text. This process culminated in the work of the great Tiberian Masoretes, in particular Aaron ben Asher. The process as a whole and the work of these Masoretes attained for the resulting text an authority that meant it displaced all others in use in Rabbinic Judaism, especially in the west. This marks the beginning of the period of the Masoretic Text, which – perhaps ironically – is characterized by the development of a degree of textual diversity as errors and misunderstandings in the process of copying the work of the Masoretes led to the panoply of textual differences among medieval manuscripts eventually recorded in the compilations of Kennicott and de Rossi. While some readings from medieval manuscripts may be survivals of variants from before the complete stabilization of the text, most

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DERS, *Preliminary and Interim Report of the Hebrew Old Testament Text Project*, 1–5 (Stuttgart: United Bible Societies 1976–1980); D. Barthélemy, *Critique textuelle de l'Ancien Testament*, 1–4 (1982–2005).

<sup>133</sup> M. H. GOSHEN-GOTTSTEIN, *The Book of Isaiah: Sample Edition with Introduction* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press 1965); M. H. GOSHEN-GOTTSTEIN (ed.), *The Book of Isaiah*, 1–3 (Jerusalem: Magnes Press 1975–1993); C. RABIN / S. TALMON / E. TOV (eds.), *The Book of Jeremiah* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press 1997); M. H. GOSHEN-GOTTSTEIN / S. TALMON (eds.), *The Book of Ezekiel* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University Magnes Press 2004). The project also has published an important monograph series, *The Hebrew University Bible Project Monograph Series*, and the excellent journal *Textus: Annual of the Hebrew University Bible Project*.

<sup>134</sup> D. BARTHÉLEMY, *Etudes d'histoire du texte de l'Ancien Testament* (OBO 21; Fribourg: Éditions universitaires / Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1978), 341–364; Barthélemy e.a., *Interim Report*, 1 (1976), vi–vii; Barthélemy, *Critique textuelle*, 3 (1992), iv–v, xix–lxviii, xcvi–xcvii; M. GOSHEN-GOTTSTEIN, *Hebrew Biblical Manuscripts* (1967), 244–250; idem, *Sample Edition* (1065), 12–17; J. A. SANDERS, “Text and Canon: Concepts and Method”, *JBL* 98 (1979) 12–15. Sanders uses the early HOTTP terminology of the *Urtext*, the *accepted text*, the *received text*, and the *Masoretic Text*.

arose in transmission since the work of the great Tiberian Masoretes and thus are of no value in establishing forms of the text from an earlier period.<sup>135</sup>

The picture of the pre-Masoretic period in this theory was an early indication of what E. Tov would argue in a seminal article in 1982, namely, that the attempts to press the textual data from Qumran into the mold of a theory of textual development that projected the three textual streams of the Common Era back into the period before that time were doomed. There were too many data unaccounted for by such an approach. The state of the text before the Common Era was different from that visible in the textual data from the Common Era. As Tov described it:

The discoveries in Qumran and other places in the Judean desert show that there existed at that time a great variety of texts for each book... . The notion of the individuality of the texts must not be maintained *ad infinitum*. One group at least can be identified. In Qumran and in other places in the Judean desert one notices a number of scrolls which bear a close resemblance to MT, and which therefore are named ‘proto-Masoretic.’ ... beyond the proto-Masoretic scrolls ... [we find] an occasional pair of closely connected sources ... Beyond the recognition of groups, two basically different approaches to the text are recognizable ... One approach, which may be called *conservative*, disallowed after a certain period the insertion of changes in the transmitted text... . A *free* approach to the biblical text allowed for orthographic modernization, as well as contextual and grammatical changes, including harmonizations of various types... . Beyond the division of all sources into two different approaches, one recognizes that they relate to each other in an intricate web of agreements, disagreements and unique readings. The MT, LXX and Sam. Pent., ... represent, in fact, but three of these many texts.<sup>136</sup>

One might see the discussions of the nineteenth century as a contest between two broad theoretical approaches, one projecting back *from* the data of the surviving witnesses a period of *decreasing* textual diversity until one arrived at the original formulation of the text, and one projecting back *before* the surviving witnesses a period of *greater* textual diversity that the surviving witnesses partly reflect and partly removed in their own quest for an older text. As the theorizing that has taken full account of the data from the Dead Sea discoveries shows, the data vindicate the second approach, that represented by the work of scholars such as Geiger and Kahle. In the case of Geiger, this extends also to a vindication of his picture of the norms that guided the transmission of the text in that period, and of his view that changes were introduced into the text not only by the accidents and vicissitudes of transmission and translation, but in order to express more clearly the meaning the text was held to carry. Given the grounding of much text critical work in the first half of the century in the first theoretical approach, it is no surprise that the conceptual shifts brought about the evidence of the Dead Sea Scrolls should lead to a series of new projects to create editions grounded in a set of norms more concordant with the new theories.

The first of the post-Dead Sea Scroll editions of the text of the complete Hebrew Bible was the fourth major edition in the *Biblia Hebraica* series started by Kittel, *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* (BHS), published by the Deutsche

<sup>135</sup> Goshen-Gottstein, *Hebrew Biblical Manuscripts* (1967), 250–255, 274–290; idem, *Sample Edition* (1965), 17–18, 38–39.

<sup>136</sup> E. Tov, “A Modern Textual Outlook Based on the Qumran Scrolls”, *HUCA* 53 (1982) 11–27. See also E. Tov, “Hebrew Biblical Manuscripts from the Judean Desert: Their Contribution to Textual Criticism”, *JJS* 39 (1988) 5–37; and S. Talmon, *The Old Testament Text* (1970), 195.

Bibelgesellschaft in the 1970s.<sup>137</sup> This continued fundamentally in the vein of the third edition of 1937, but with several key differences. The two apparatuses of the earlier edition were replaced by a single apparatus. So far as they had then been published, readings from the Dead Sea Scrolls were included, albeit somewhat unevenly. Kahle's aim of publishing the entire Masorah of Leningradensis had only been realized in the 1937 edition to the extent of publishing the small Masorah. In BHS the large Masorah was published as well, albeit in a separate volume.<sup>138</sup> The small Masorah was expanded far beyond that actually found in the manuscript to include every occurrence listed in the large Masorah. Finally, the proposals for change offered in the apparatus were on the whole more restrained than in previous editions and less prone to stray into literary criticism. Even with all of these changes, however, the edition operates according to the fundamental aims and norms of the preceding editions by Kittel. Conceptually, this edition is something of a relic, continuing past the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls perspectives on the text critical task that would be changed by that discovery.

Three other editions are far more reflective of the changed conceptions of text criticism that resulted from the mass of data brought to light by the Dead Sea Scrolls. All are currently in process toward completion: the Hebrew University Bible (HUB), *Biblia Hebraica Quinta* (BHQ), and the Oxford Hebrew Bible (OHB). At critical points all three operate on norms that differ significantly from the editions of the first half of the century. They understand that the reader is faced with a text critical case only when the evidence of the surviving witnesses to the text differ. Although they differ in their understandings of and nomenclature for changes in the text, they all expect that differences among actual or presumed Hebrew readings may arise both by reason of errors or accidents of copying and by changes introduced in consequence of an interest in the meaning of the text, as Geiger proposed.

The Hebrew University Bible Project, which to date has published editions for Isaiah, Jeremiah and Ezekiel, offers an edition that follows the basic structure used by Kittel, that is, the text printed on the page is the MT, and the evidence of the other witnesses is presented in one or more apparatus.<sup>139</sup> However, this similarity of form cloaks significant differences. In addition to those just noted, the text printed on the page along with its complete small and large Masorahs is that of the Aleppo Codex, produced by Aaron ben Asher himself. The scope of the edition is more that of an *editio maior*, reporting the evidence of all available witnesses whose evidence is relevant. Thus it cites medieval manuscripts where they are thought to present readings from the proto-Masoretic or pre-Masoretic periods, but does not report the many readings that sprang up subsequent to the complete standardization of the text. It also reports readings in Rabbinic litera-

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<sup>137</sup> K. ELLIGER / W. RUDOLPH (eds.), *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft 1967–1977). The first fascicle (Genesis) appeared in 1967, and the bound volume of the complete Bible appeared in 1977.

<sup>138</sup> G. E. WEIL, *Masorah Gedolah iuxta codicem Leningradensem B 19a* (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute 1971).

<sup>139</sup> See above, n. 28.

ture from the proto-Masoretic period, the Dead Sea Scrolls and all ancient versions understood to have been translated from a Hebrew Vorlage although in the case of the latter it presents only those readings judged to reflect a variant at the level of the Hebrew text. It understands and organizes this evidence according to the division of the text's history into pre-Masoretic, proto-Masoretic and Masoretic periods discussed above, and uses multiple apparatuses to group witnesses by their relative weight. It specifically seeks to address what was understood as the excessive subjectivity of text critical practice during the first half of the twentieth century by declining to propose preferable readings, and only rarely offering any characterization of the evidence of the witnesses. The aim is an objective, or at least dispassionate, presentation of all the surviving evidence that is relevant to establishing the best reading of the text.<sup>140</sup> Decisions as to which reading that is are left to the reader, and thus the edition is transparent to a variety of choices about the stage of the text to reconstruct.

The fifth edition in the line started by Kittel in 1906, *Biblia Hebraica Quinta*, continues the basic structure defined by Kittel, presenting the MT as that printed on the page, still using Codex Leningradensis as the standard for that, and complementing that with a critical apparatus.<sup>141</sup> In most other respects, however, the edition differs sharply from its predecessors. Even the role of printing the MT on the page has shifted. The edition describes this as a reference text against which the evidence of the ancient witnesses is compared and organized. Codex Leningradensis is chosen less for inherent worth than because it is the oldest complete manuscript of the Hebrew text and thus represents a consistent reference point. Because of the edition's different understanding of what constitutes a text critical case, its apparatus is restricted to instances where the extant witnesses differ, and conjectural emendations are rarely invoked – in many books, never invoked. Due to the influence of the work of the HOTTP on its conception, the edition shares the same understanding of the history of the text as that which guides the HUB. For the first time the small and large Masorahs of the Leningrad Codex are printed in the edition itself, as they appear in the manuscript, finally realizing Kahle's goal. Unlike the HUB the BHQ does not attempt to be an *editio maior*, and thus presents a somewhat more restricted set of witnesses. BHQ aims to restrict itself to cases where it is at least arguable that the difference is at the level of the Hebrew text, and whose outcome would affect translation and/or exegesis. Based on instances where preliminary publications of BHQ overlap published volumes of the HUB, these differences in norms may in practice lead to few differences in the cases presented to readers and the evidence offered in them. Per-

<sup>140</sup> Goshen-Gottstein, Sample Edition (1965), 11.

<sup>141</sup> A. SCHENKER / Y. A. P. GOLDMAN / A. VAN DER KOOIJ / C. MCCARTHY / G. J. NORTON / S. PISANO / R. SCHÄFER / J. DE WAARD / R. D. WEIS (eds.), *Biblia Hebraica Quinta* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft 2004–). The fascicles published to date, in order of appearance, are: vol. 18, General Introduction and Megilloth; vol. 20, Ezra and Nehemiah; vol. 5, Deuteronomy; vol. 17, Proverbs; vol. 13, The Twelve Minor Prophets; vol. 7, Judges. For discussion of the character of the edition see the "General Introduction" in vol. 18, and A. SCHENKER, "Eine Neue Ausgabe der Biblia Hebraica", *ZAH* 9 (1996) 58–61; and R. D. WEIS, "Biblia Hebraica Quinta and the Making of Critical Editions of the Hebrew Bible", *TC: A Journal of Biblical Textual Criticism* 7 (2002) n.p. [<http://purl.org/TC/vol07/Weis2002.html>].

haps the greatest difference between the HUB and BHQ, apart from their base manuscripts, is in their choices about what to do with the inevitable subjectivity involved in proposing to read with a specific witness or witnesses in a given instance, a problematic that Kittel acknowledged, but did little about. As we have seen, the choice of the HUB has been to minimize the degree to which it offers the reader choices for readings and interpretations of the evidence. BHQ, on the other hand, indicates to the reader which readings are preferable in the view of the editor, and offers quite substantial interpretations of the extant evidence in both the apparatus and an accompanying commentary. The extent of this goes far beyond anything in previous editions. In effect, BHQ has responded to the same practice of early twentieth century textual criticism that led the HUB to avoid explicit preferences and interpretations, but by making the subjectivity of the editor's preferences and interpretations fully visible to the reader, opting for transparency rather than a will-'o-the-wisp of objectivity. In offering preferred readings BHQ specifically aims at presenting the earliest text that can be attained from the surviving evidence. It does not fix a date for this, but in practice this does not appear to be far removed from Kittel's goal of reconstructing the text of the fourth and third centuries BCE.

The Oxford Hebrew Bible (OHB), on the other hand, departs from the basic structure of all the twentieth century editions mentioned so far in favor or attempting to achieve Kittel's ideal of an edition that presents an eclectic text.<sup>142</sup> The edition intends to present the "earliest inferable textual state" of each book of the Hebrew Bible, including that for each edition of those books where multiple editions survive.<sup>143</sup> This is seen as a step in the direction of the original text of each book although that is seen to be unobtainable on present evidence, essentially Kittel's position. The solution of OHB to the problem of vocalization and accents identified by Kittel in his deliberation of a choice for the structure of an edition is to present substantive readings presented by witnesses other than the MT as unvocalized consonants, but to present in parallel columns the edition's eclectic text and the text of Codex Leningradensis with obvious scribal errors corrected.<sup>144</sup> The edition will present the evidence of Masoretic manuscripts, the Samaritan Pentateuch, Septuagint, the Qumran biblical texts and all ancient versions that translate a Hebrew Vorlage where this – in the editor's judgment – presents an ancient Hebrew reading. The apparatus of the OHB will primarily consist of cases generated by the readings of these witnesses, but in a minority of cases will contain reconstructions (i. e., non-extant readings attested indirectly by extant readings) and conjectures. Witnesses regarded as major will be handled differently from those regarded as minor, and the apparatus will also distinguish between primary and secondary variants. It envisions this as a more restrictive

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<sup>142</sup> R. HENDEL, "The Oxford Hebrew Bible: Prologue to a New Critical Edition", *VT* 58 (2008) 324–351; S. WHITE CRAWFORD / J. JOOSTEN / E. ULRICH, "Sample Editions of the Oxford Hebrew Bible: Deuteronomy 32: 1–9, 1 Kings 11: 1–8 and Jeremiah 27: 1–10 (34 G)", *VT* 58 (2008) 352–366. For the initial proposals that led to the project see also R. HENDEL, *The Text of Genesis 1–11: Textual Studies and Critical Edition* (New York / Oxford: Oxford UP 1998).

<sup>143</sup> Hendel, *Oxford Hebrew Bible* (2008), 329–330.

<sup>144</sup> *Ibid.* 343–346.

presentation of evidence than in HUB or BHQ. The apparatus, which will signal the editor's evaluation of each case, will also be accompanied, as in BHQ, by a textual commentary.<sup>145</sup> Thus OHB's solution to the problem of subjectivity parallels that of BHQ, i. e., accept that it is inevitable and attempt to make it transparent to readers so that they may enter into critical conversation with the editor's judgments. In offering an eclectic text this edition represents a significant departure from the dominant practice of the field of textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible for both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, but it is not without precursors, that by P. G. Borbone being perhaps the most notable.<sup>146</sup>

In the same period when these three major editions were put in train, other scholars continued in the vein of Nöldeke's and Nyberg's expressed preference for the MT. A notable example of editions of this type is that of Dotan, *Biblia Hebraica Leningradensia*.<sup>147</sup> Both Dotan's edition and others based on the Aleppo Codex reflect the move seen in the 1937 Kittel-Kahle edition, namely, to represent the MT not by ben Hayyim's edition based on late medieval manuscripts but by the great Masoretic manuscripts from the period of the completion of the stabilization and standardization of the text. In this sense they represent an updating of the nineteenth century practice of editing the MT of the Hebrew Bible.

As can be seen from the foregoing historical sketch, it was not really until the last quarter of the twentieth century that the evidence of the Dead Sea Scrolls began to make a substantive difference in conceptions of the history of the Hebrew text and the task of textual criticism, as well as the making of editions of the text of the Hebrew Bible. By the end of the century, and into the first decade of the twenty-first century, the implications of this evidence have begun to push conversations beyond the framework established in the debates of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The most provocative of these conversations is a challenge to the idea of an *Urtext*. The diversity of the texts recovered for any given book from the caves around the Dead Sea, the diversity of editions recovered for some books, the observed similarity of textual changes in the process of transmission as seen in those texts and textual changes posited for the formation of the Biblical books, and especially the new phenomenon of scrolls with texts classified as "rewritten Bible" have led scholars such as E. Ulrich to challenge the concept of an *Urtext* as it was presupposed by all the major participants (including Geiger and Kahle!) in the debates of the nineteenth century and those that flowed from it.<sup>148</sup> Instead these scholars see a more or less seamless process of

<sup>145</sup> Ibid. 330–331, 346–349.

<sup>146</sup> P. G. BORBONE, *Il libro del profeta Osea: edizione critica del testo ebraico* (Turin: Silvio Zamorani 1990). For a full list of other attempts at editions based on an eclectic text see Hendel, Oxford Hebrew Bible (2008), 329, n. 12.

<sup>147</sup> A. DOTAN (ed.), *Biblia Hebraica Leningradensia* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson 2001). Other editions based on the Aleppo Codex include M. COHEN (ed.), *Mikraot gedolot ha-Keter*, 1–8 (Ramat-Gan: Bar Ilan University 1992–); and M. BREUER / Y. KAFAH / M. L. KATSENELENBOKEN (eds.), *Torat Hayim* (Jerusalem: Rav Kuk 1986–1993).

<sup>148</sup> E. ULRICH, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Hebrew Scriptural Texts" in: *The Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 1. *Scripture and the Scrolls* (ed. J. Charlesworth; Waco: Baylor University 2006), 77–99.



on-going textual development into the last centuries before the Common Era, a process in which there is no particular moment that one can point to as *the Urtext*. Should such a position gain wide acceptance, it would surely come to mark the boundary of another major stage in the development of the discipline of textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible / Old Testament.

## CHAPTER FOURTEEN

# ‘Higher Criticism’: The Historical and Literary-critical Approach – with Special Reference to the Pentateuch

By THOMAS RÖMER, Paris/Lausanne

*General bibliography:* C. HOUTMAN, *Der Pentateuch. Die Geschichte seiner Erforschung nebst einer Auswertung* (CBET 9; Kampen 1994). – H.-J. KRAUS, *Geschichte der historisch-kritischen Erforschung des Alten Testaments* (Neukirchen-Vluyn 1982). – A. DE PURY / T. RÖMER, “Le Pentateuque en question: position du problème et brève histoire de la recherche”, in: *Le Pentateuque en question* (ed. A. de Pury / T. Römer; Le Monde de la Bible, 19; Geneva 1991), 9–80. – J. ROGERSON, *Old Testament Criticism in the Nineteenth Century. England and Germany* (London 1984). – H. GRAF REVENTLOW, *History of Biblical Interpretation, IV: From the Enlightenment to the Twentieth Century* (Resources for Biblical Studies, 63; Atlanta, GA 2010). – R. SMEND, *Deutsche Alttestamentler in drei Jahrhunderten* (Göttingen 1989).

### 1. W.M.L. de Wette

*Works of de Wette:* *Dissertatio, qua Deuteronomium a prioribus Pentateuchi libris diversum, alius cuiusdam recentioris opus esse monstratur* (1805), in: *Opuscula theologica* (Berlin 1830), 149–68, repr. and transl. into German in Mathys, *Dissertatio* (see below); *Auffoderung [sic!] zum Studium der Hebräischen Sprache und Litteratur: Zur Eröffnung seiner Vorlesungen* (Jena, Leipzig 1805); *Beiträge zur Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, 1–2 (Halle 1806–1807; repr. Darmstadt 1971); “Beytrag zur Charakteristik des Hebraismus”, *Studien. Dritter Band* (ed. C. Daub / F. Creuzer; Heidelberg 1807), 241–312; *Lehrbuch der hebräisch-jüdischen Archäologie nebst einem Grundriss der hebräisch-jüdischen Geschichte* (Leipzig 1816; <sup>4</sup>1864); *Lehrbuch der historisch-kritischen Einleitung in die Bibel Alten und Neuen Testaments, I. Die Einleitung in das Alte Testament enthaltend* (Berlin 1817; <sup>6</sup>1844): ET with additions by T. Parker: *Introduction to the Canonical Scriptures of the Old Testament* (Boston 1843); *Die biblische Geschichte als Geschichte der Offenbarungen Gottes* (Berlin 1846).

*Studies and bibliography:* H.-P. MATHYS / K. SEYBOLD (eds.), *Wilhelm Martin Leberecht de Wette: Ein Universaltheologe des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Studien zur Geschichte der Wissenschaften in Basel, NF 1; Basel 2001). – H.-P. MATHYS, “Wilhelm Martin Leberecht de Wettes *Dissertatio critico-exegetica* von 1805”, *Biblische Theologie und historisches Denken. Wissenschaftsgeschichtliche Studien. Aus Anlass der 50. Wiederkehr der Basler Promotion von Rudolf Smend* (ed. M. Kessler / M. Walraff; Studien zur Geschichte der Wissenschaften in Basel, NF 5; Basel 2008), 171–211. – J. ROGERSON, *W. M. L. de Wette, Founder of Modern Biblical Criticism. An Intellectual Biography* (JSOT.S 126; Sheffield 1992). – R. SMEND, “De Wette und das Verhältnis zwischen historischer Bibelkritik und philosophischem System im 19. Jahrhundert” (1958), *Epochen der Bibelkritik. Gesammelte Studien*, 3 (BEvTh 109; Munich 1991), 145–154. – E. STAEHELIN, *Dewettiana: Forschungen und Texte zu Wilhelm Martin Leberecht de Wettes Leben und Werk* (Studien zur Geschichte der Wissenschaften in Basel, 2; Basel 1956). – J.S. VATER, *Commentar über den Pentateuch. Mit Einleitungen zu den einzelnen Abschnitten der eingeschalteten Uebersetzung von Dr. Alexander Geddes’s merkwürdigeren kritischen und exegetischen Anmerkungen, und einer Abhandlung über Moses und die Verfasser des Pentateuchs* (Halle 1802–1805).

Wilhelm Martin Leberecht de Wette (1780–1849) is without doubt one of the most influential scholars of the Hebrew Bible of the nineteenth century. According to Rogerson, he could even be called the “founder of Modern Biblical Criticism”. He did, in fact, provide new insight into the understanding of the formation of the Hebrew Bible and especially the Pentateuch.

De Wette was born in Ulla, Saxony, on the 12<sup>th</sup> of January 1780. In the sixteenth century, his family had converted to Protestantism and moved from the Netherlands to Germany, in order to escape persecution. His father was a minister of the Lutheran church. In 1796, de Wette entered grammar school in Weimar, at a time when Goethe and Schiller were residents of the town. At grammar school, he met Herder, the Lutheran General Superintendent. Herder’s teaching and preaching fascinated de Wette, and this encounter motivated him to pursue his study of theology. In 1799, de Wette entered the University of Jena as a student of philosophy and theology. In philosophy, he attended lectures by Schelling, Hegel and the young scholar Fries. Later, Fries and de Wette became close friends, and the philosophical system of Fries, who was a follower of Kant, strongly influenced de Wette’s theological and exegetical work.<sup>1</sup> Fries, however, aimed to overcome the transcendental proofs by which Kant tried to demonstrate the existence of ideas. According to Fries, there is an anthropological necessity for the existence of the human intuitions of value, unity and harmony, even if the human understanding of the reality that lies behind these intuitions is limited. Nevertheless human beings are gifted with “*Abndung*”, premonitions of the ultimate realities.<sup>2</sup> Fries used the term “myth” to describe human attempts to express their intuitions of these ultimate realities.<sup>3</sup> Similarly, de Wette would frequently use the term “myth” in order to characterize the narratives of the Penta- or Hexateuch. This may well betray the influence of Fries, but may also be inspired by the work of Christian Gottlob Heyne,<sup>4</sup> the founder of the study of mythology.<sup>5</sup> In 1805, de Wette presented his dissertation which we will take a closer look at below (see 1.1.). He was married in the same year, but his wife died shortly afterwards (in 1806). Several months later, Jena was plundered by French troops and de Wette lost all his possessions. After being appointed at the University of Heidelberg in 1807, he remarried in 1809 and was offered a professorship at the newly founded University of Berlin in 1810, where Schleiermacher was among his colleagues. After some initial rivalry,<sup>6</sup> they

<sup>1</sup> There is some uncertainty how well de Wette knew Fries when he was a student in Jena. In his 1984 book, *OT Criticism*, Rogerson is very affirmative about a close relationship between the two while de Wette was still a student (pp. 36–40), yet in his book of 1992, on de Wette, he retracts this view (24–26) and concludes: “It can be said with confidence that there was no influence of Fries upon de Wette, and probably no friendship at that time” (26). Smend, *Deutsche Alttestamentler* (1989), 40, however, thinks that Fries began to influence de Wette while he was in Jena.

<sup>2</sup> J.F. FRIES, *Wissen, Glaube und Abndung* (1805) (Göttingen 1905; repr. and edited by L. Nelson), 171–327.

<sup>3</sup> J.F. FRIES, *Sämtliche Schriften*, 6. *Neue oder anthropologische Kritik der Vernunft*, 3 (1831) (Aalen 1967).

<sup>4</sup> Smend, *Deutsche Alttestamentler* (1989), 42.

<sup>5</sup> On Heyne and the concept of myth see S. FORNARA, “Christian Gottlob Heyne dans l’histoire des études classiques”, *Revue Germanique Internationale* 14 (2011) 15–26.

<sup>6</sup> In a letter to Schleiermacher, dated 24.7.1810 (edited in Staehelin, *Dewettiana*, 1956, 68), de

became close<sup>7</sup> and strongly influenced each other. In 1819, and despite the opposition of Schleiermacher, de Wette was dismissed from his chair following a letter he wrote to the mother of Karl Ludwig Sand, the murderer of the reactionary poet August Kotzebue.<sup>8</sup> After three years of exile spent in Weimar, de Wette was appointed at the Faculty of Theology at the University of Basel. After the death of his second wife he remarried again in 1833. He died in 1849, while serving as university principal for the fifth time.<sup>9</sup>

Initially attacked by Pietist groups because of his liberal teaching, de Wette turned more and more conservative towards the end of his life.<sup>10</sup> De Wette’s works that had a major influence on critical Hebrew Bible scholarship were not written in Basel, but in Jena and Berlin.

### 1.1. *De Wette and Deuteronomy (1805)*

In his short doctoral dissertation of 1805,<sup>11</sup> de Wette aimed to demonstrate the specific character of Deuteronomy with regard to the other books of the Pentateuch. He started by stating that it has become impossible to maintain the idea of Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, a statement that must have sounded somewhat optimistic at the time.<sup>12</sup> He was mainly interested in demonstrating that and in which respect the book of Deuteronomy is different from the books of Genesis to Numbers. Since Leviticus 26 constitutes a clear conclusion of the Mosaic Law and since Deuteronomy repeats this chapter in a different style, de Wette draws the conclusion that Deuteronomy stems from a different author.<sup>13</sup> He also lists an important number of words and expressions that do not appear in the Tetrateuch.<sup>14</sup> The fact that Deuteronomy also contains parallels to the laws and narratives of the preceding books shows that its author was familiar with those traditions and that his work must therefore date from a later period.<sup>15</sup> De Wette further observes that the main focus of the Deuteronomic law lies on the

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Wette assumes, however, that Schleiermacher was the initiator of his call to Berlin. Later he told Fries that Schleiermacher gave himself airs and that it was difficult to get close to him (Staehelin, *ibid.* 69). There was some competition between the two with regard to the number of students they would attract (letter to Fries of 31.12.1814; see Staehelin, *ibid.* 74).

<sup>7</sup> Letter to Fries of 15.3.1817, see Staehelin, *ibid.* 78, and Schleiermacher’s letter to de Wette, 5.4.1817, 78–80.

<sup>8</sup> The letter is reprinted in Staehelin, *ibid.* 85–87.

<sup>9</sup> For more details see Rogerson, W. M. L. de Wette (1992), 192–271.

<sup>10</sup> See especially his book *Biblische Geschichte*, where he does not retract the critical investigation of the Bible, although he is in favour of a quite literalist approach when teaching the biblical story to the youth. The older de Wette’s view of biblical history was influential for many conservative scholars who worked with the concept of a “history of salvation” (*Heilsgeschichte*).

<sup>11</sup> Reprinted 1830 in his *Opuscula*, now in Mathys, *Dissertatio* (2008), with a German translation. The work will be quoted after Mathys’ edition. For a photo of this original publication’s title, see Mathys, *ibid.* 183.

<sup>12</sup> Or is it polemical against scholars like Eichhorn, whom he tries to refute one year later in his *Beiträge?*

<sup>13</sup> *Dissertatio* (ed. Mathys), 184–86.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.* 186–87.

<sup>15</sup> *Libros illos novisse et ante oculos habuisse auctorem nostrum insitias ire non possumus*, *ibid.* 191–192.

authority of the Jerusalemite Temple and the idea of a centralization of the cult. This idea is a novelty; the books of Samuel and Kings containing narratives like 1 Kings 3, where Salomon offers sacrifices at Gibeon, without any negative comment. The law of Deuteronomy 12 clearly contradicts Exod 20:21–22. It comes close to Leviticus 17, which states that all sacrifices must be offered at the entrance of the Tent of Meeting, but the laws in Leviticus never refer to this concept, contrary to Deuteronomy 14–17. The passages in Leviticus must therefore predate Deuteronomy.<sup>16</sup> The historical context of the attempt to make the Temple of Jerusalem the only legitimate sanctuary was the time of Josiah. In a lengthy footnote, de Wette states that *illum enim codicem legum ab Hilikia sacerdote inventum* (2 Reg. 22.) *Deuteronomium nostrum fuisse haud improbabili conjectura judicare potest.*<sup>17</sup> The identification of the book discovered in 2 Kings 22 with the book of Deuteronomy was not new; it is attested in Jerome and in Chrysostom.<sup>18</sup> While the identification of Deuteronomy with Josiah's law book was nothing new, the possibility that Deuteronomy could stem from the time of Josiah was, and it would allow a precise date for the book of Deuteronomy. Although de Wette, who was cautious, did not explicitly state this in his dissertation, he provided, as O. Eissfeldt put it, "Pentateuchal criticism with a 'point of Archimedes' to which it could attach itself in order to deliver it from the bonds of church and synagogue tradition, and put in its place an alternative dating of the Pentateuch".<sup>19</sup> In his *Beiträge* (the first volume of which appeared only one year later), de Wette was more precise. On pages 168–79, he tries to refute Eichhorn's view that the discovered law book was old and well known.<sup>20</sup> In a careful analysis of 2 Kings 22, de Wette demonstrates that the narrative itself proves that the book was formerly unknown and probably hidden in the Temple by the priest Hilkiah,<sup>21</sup> thus supporting the idea of a seventh-century BC origin of Deuteronomy. De Wette also argued, referring to Vater, that the book which triggered the Josianic Reform "was not our Deuteronomy in its present form and extent since, as Vater has shown, it has been put together from a number of pieces".<sup>22</sup>

<sup>16</sup> De Wette never accepted the idea held by Graf and others that the "priestly" texts in Leviticus and elsewhere were later than the book of Deuteronomy.

<sup>17</sup> *Dissertatio* (ed. Mathys), 190.

<sup>18</sup> For details see Mathys, *Dissertatio* (2008), 174–81.

<sup>19</sup> O. EISSFELDT, *The Old Testament: An Introduction* (New York 1965), 171.

<sup>20</sup> Since quoting rules were at that time liberal, de Wette never quotes the pages precisely. He seems to refer to J. G. EICHHORN, *Einleitung ins Alte Testament*, 1–3 (Reutlingen 1790), vol. 2, 257–260 (§ 411).

<sup>21</sup> *Beiträge*, I, 170. But here, also he remains cautious: *Doch bin ich weit davon entfernt, diese Vermuthung zur Gewißheit erheben zu wollen ... Woher das Buch gekommen sey, darüber zieht die Geschichte ihren Vorhang und es würde vermessen seyn, ihn wegziehen zu wollen.*

<sup>22</sup> *Beiträge*, I, 177 (transl. from Rogerson, W. M. L. de Wette, 1992, 58).

### 1.2. *de Wette and Vater*

At the end of his dissertation, de Wette refers to Johan Severin Vater’s third volume on the Pentateuch,<sup>23</sup> describing him as a “*socius*” with regard to his ideas about the formation of the Pentateuch. While de Wette only mentions that he found this work delightful, Griesbach, de Wette’s teacher in Jena, tells us that de Wette was half delighted, half shocked.<sup>24</sup> Therefore, he probably shortened and hastened the publication of his “Contributions” of 1806–1807, in which he outlines his ideas about the formation of the Pentateuch and the historical books. As far as the Pentateuch is concerned, these ideas are quite similar to those expressed by Vater. Johan Severin Vater (1771–1826)<sup>25</sup> was above all a linguist (a specialist in Slavonic and indigenous American languages) and also a biblical scholar. In 1798, he was appointed professor in Jena, yet he moved to Halle in 1799, which is why it is uncertain whether de Wette knew him at that time. After the French had closed the University of Halle, Vater went to Königsberg, where he taught theology, and came back to Halle in 1820. In the title of his three-volume commentary on the Pentateuch, Vater explicitly refers to the Scottish biblical scholar A. Geddes,<sup>26</sup> who had characterized the Pentateuch as a combination of different and originally unrelated fragments. In his commentary, Vater provides a German translation of Geddes’ *Critical Remarks* (he was a linguist!) and offers his own view on the formation of the Pentateuch, which he perceives to be the result of a compilation of hundreds of fragments. Vater criticized the documentary hypothesis held by Astruc, Eichhorn and Ilgen, by showing that it is impossible to reconstruct two separate coherent documents, one that uses “*elohim*” and one that uses “*Jehova*”,<sup>27</sup> and by pointing out that in books like Kings or Chronicles, both names can be used by the same author. Vater also acknowledged the specific character of Genesis and Deuteronomy in comparison to Exodus-Numbers.<sup>28</sup> Genesis and Numbers are the most fragmentary books, but even Deuteronomy is the result of the combination of about twenty fragments: Deut 28 could represent an original conclusion which was complemented by various fragments in several stages. While Geddes had been quite optimistic about the fact that Moses could have written an important number of the fragments of the Pentateuch himself, and while he argued that the most plausible time of its compilation was the time of Solomon, Vater showed himself very sceptical about the existence of fragments of Mosaic origin, although he did not completely reject the possibility. He thought, however, that the first law collection was formed in early monarchic

<sup>23</sup> Vater, *Commentar* (1802/05).

<sup>24</sup> Griesbach in his *Vorrede* to de Wette’s *Beiträge*: *halb erfreut, und halb erschrocken* (v). According to Griesbach, and after consultation with Vater, de Wette published his *Beiträge* very quickly, in order not to be suspected of having only copied from Vater (see vi–vii).

<sup>25</sup> E. KUHN, “Vater, Johann Severin”, *ADB* 39 (1895), 503–508; <http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd118767372.html?anchor=adb> (30.5.2012).

<sup>26</sup> On Geddes see *HBOT* II (2008), 964–970 (W. McKane)

<sup>27</sup> *Commentar*, 3, 696–728.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.* 514: *Die Genesis könnte als etwas für sich Bestehendes schon vorhanden gewesen seyn ... Auch Deuteronomium könnte seinem größten Theile nach schon ohne Rücksicht auf die vorhergehenden Bücher zu einem Ganzen vereinigt worden seyn.*

times and considered that the Pentateuch came into existence towards the end of the monarchy and received its definitive form in exilic times.<sup>29</sup>

De Wette held a similar view in his *Beiträge*, considering the Pentateuch to be the result of the bringing together of formerly independent fragments. He argued, however, that the well-organized arrangement of the fragments necessitated the existence of a basic framework into which the different fragments were incorporated. This framework, which de Wette thought could roughly be reconstructed up to the Sinai revelation in the book of Exodus (Gen 1:1–2:4; 5; 6:9–22; 7:11–24; 8:1–5, 13–19; 9:1–7; 11:10–32\*; 17; 23; 35:9–15; Exod 1–2\*; 11–12\*; 13\*; 19:7–19; 20),<sup>30</sup> coincided largely with Eichhorn’s “Elohim document”. This epic of the Israelite monarchy was written in monarchic times and later complemented by the fragments, which were combined in the books of Leviticus and Numbers. Leviticus was the work of later priests who added their ritual laws; the compilers of the book of Numbers imitated fragments of Exodus displaying a mixture of ceremonial laws and mythological accounts typical of a later composition.<sup>31</sup> The book of Deuteronomy, finally, was something totally different, providing a reinterpretation of materials contained in the books of Exodus and Numbers.<sup>32</sup> In the theocratic epic, later texts that imitated older ones were also incorporated as, for instance, the account of God’s covenant with Abraham, which reinterprets Genesis 17.<sup>33</sup>

Following the advice of his teacher Griesbach, de Wette’s first volume focuses on the historical books of the Hebrew Bible, especially Samuel-Kings and Chronicles, which was meant to distinguish his work from that of Vater. In this volume, de Wette declares that anyone interested in the history of ancient Israel must pay attention to the evolution of the Israelite religion. This interest in the evolution of religious concepts, which betrays the influence of Schelling and Fries,<sup>34</sup> foreshadows the theories of Wellhausen and others. In order to reconstruct ancient Israelite history, de Wette states that Samuel-Kings and Chronicles offer two contradictory accounts. De Wette denied the historical credibility of the Chronicles which he dated around 330 BCE. The books of Samuel and Kings, edited around 550 BCE, were deemed more reliable by him. The author of Chronicles used Samuel-Kings as a source and reworked the accounts according to his own theological viewpoints.<sup>35</sup> De Wette’s demonstration is so convin-

<sup>29</sup> Ibid. 673–681.

<sup>30</sup> *Beiträge*, II, 29.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid. 279.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid. 385 ff.

<sup>33</sup> Here again de Wette appears as a forerunner of contemporary Pentateuchal scholarship. After the identification of the “Elohim document” with the Priestly document (see below), Genesis 15 was mostly held to be older than Genesis 17. Only recently has it been recognized that this view is problematic and that Genesis 15 is probably later than the priestly account of Genesis 17; see among others T. RÖMER, “Gen 15 und Gen 17. Beobachtungen und Anfragen zu einem Dogma der ‘neueren’ und ‘neuesten’ Pentateuchkritik”, *DBAT* 26 (1990) 32–47; J. C. GERTZ, “Abraham, Mose und der Exodus. Beobachtungen zur Redaktionsgeschichte von Genesis 15”, *Abschied vom Jahwisten. Die Komposition des Hexateuch in der jüngsten Diskussion* (ed. J. C. Gertz / K. Schmid / M. Witte; BZAW 315; Berlin / New York 2002), 63–81; K. SCHMID, *Genesis and the Moses Story. Israel’s Dual Origins in the Hebrew Bible* (Siphut 3; Winona Lake, IN 2010).

<sup>34</sup> Smend, *Deutsche Alttestamentler* (1989), 40 and 47.

<sup>35</sup> *Beiträge*, I, 5–136.

cing that most scholars accept his theory until today, although sometimes modified.<sup>36</sup>

De Wette was also a forerunner of “Deuteronomistic studies”. In the first volume of his *Beiträge*, he describes Joshua as a late book that depends on Deuteronomy and can be characterized as “deuteronomic” in style and theology.<sup>37</sup> De Wette’s arguments concerning the centralization of the cult and the existence of a law book make the period of Josiah a crucial time for the history of Israelite religion. By entrenching the birth of Deuteronomistic theology in the time of Josiah, de Wette profoundly marked subsequent research.<sup>38</sup>

### 1.3. *The Pentateuch as a Mythical Story of Origins*

As noted above, de Wette’s interest in his *Beiträge* was to reconstruct the evolution of the religion of ancient Israel. He reckoned that at the beginning, there was no need for sanctuaries and priests, but a total freedom of cultic concerns: *Wie bey den Patriarchen und homerischen Griechen, war Gottes freier Himmel sein Tempel, jede Mahlzeit ein Opfer ... und jeder Prophet, König und Hausvater ohne weitere Umstände Priester.*<sup>39</sup> After the erection of the Jerusalem Temple, open sanctuaries and cultic freedom remained in existence. It was under Josiah that this freedom came to an end.<sup>40</sup> De Wette was not particularly interested in what came after the Exile. In his *Biblische Dogmatik*, however, he characterizes Judaism as a *verunglückte Wiederherstellung des Hebraismus*.<sup>41</sup> In 1807, he published another “Contribution” devoted to the character of “Hebraism”, the Israelite religion before Judaism.<sup>42</sup> In this study he mainly analyzes the books of Psalms, Job and Qoheleth, claiming that the Hebrew Bible witnesses a religion of misfortune (to which Christianity offers consolation). According to de Wette, the Hebrew religion displays the ethical idea of one God as a holy will. However, this idea occurs in mythical form in the narratives of the Old Testament.<sup>43</sup> De Wette’s emphasis on myths can be explained when bearing in mind the intellectual context of his time. Rogerson rightly states: “mythology was one of the

<sup>36</sup> Most scholars still accept the view that the Chronicler drew from Samuel-Kings, although from a different textual form than the one conserved in the MT. The older view that Samuel-Kings and Chronicler drew from a common source, which according to Rogerson, *OT Criticism* (1984), 22, was the view of Eichhorn, has recently been defended by A.G. AULD, *Kings Without Privilege. David and Moses in the Story of the Bible’s Kings* (Edinburgh 1994), and R.F. PERSON JR., *The Deuteronomistic History and the Books of Chronicles. Scribal Works in an Oral World* (Ancient Israel and Its Literature, 6; Atlanta, GA, 2010).

<sup>37</sup> *Beiträge*, I, 137. In the second note of this page, de Wette even envisages the same author for Deuteronomy and Joshua and qualifies passages as Josh 1:2–9 and 23:3–16 as *ganz deuteronomisch*.

<sup>38</sup> T. RÖMER / A. DE PURY, “Deuteronomistic Historiography (DH): History of Research and Debated Issues”, *Israel Constructs Its History. Deuteronomistic History in Recent Research* (ed. A. de Pury / T. Römer / J.-D. Macchi; JSOT.S 306; Sheffield 2000), 24–141; for de Wette see 32–35.

<sup>39</sup> *Beiträge*, I, 255.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.* 258.

<sup>41</sup> W. ZIMMERLI, “Biblische Theologie, I”, *TRE* 6 (1980), 426–55, 430.

<sup>42</sup> *Beytrag* (1807).

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.* 304: the story of Genesis 2–3 is a myth for the passage from a stage of innocence to a stage of knowledge and contradictions.



major preoccupations of the literary world in Germany from the last third of the eighteenth century”.<sup>44</sup> The perception of the Pentateuch as a mythical text is a central idea in de Wette’s works on the Hebrew Bible,<sup>45</sup> from his inaugural lecture through to his last work on the Old Testament.<sup>46</sup> De Wette did not deny that figures like Abraham or Moses were historical,<sup>47</sup> yet he argued that nothing historical could be known about them. Most of the Pentateuchal narratives are mythical since they do not correspond with the laws of nature and contradict general experience (e.g. the appearance of angels, the parting of the sea, the crossing of the sea of more than 600.000 Israelite men with their families in one night).<sup>48</sup>

Criticizing scholars like Eichhorn, de Wette emphasized the fact that the Pentateuch and the whole Bible should not be used as sources for the reconstruction of secular history. Biblical narratives are made up of myths and traditions. Therefore, we do not dispose of historical witnesses, with the exception of some prophets, but even those do not provide the historian with much material.<sup>49</sup> Even if this statement is somewhat contradictory to his treatment of the books of Samuel and Kings, de Wette initiates a new phase of Biblical research with regard to the Pentateuch and the Former Prophets; and a great number of his insights and theories were later taken up by Wellhausen and others. So he is himself a “symbol” for a new paradigm in Biblical Studies.

## 2. The Emergence of Theories about the Formation of the Pentateuch

### 2.1. *Moses and the Pentateuch*

*Bibliography:* F. BLEEK, “Einige aphoristische Beiträge zu den Untersuchungen über den Pentateuch”, *Biblich-exegetisches Repertorium*, I (ed. E. F. K. Rosenmüller / G. H. Rosenmüller; Leipzig 1822), 1–79. – A. CLARKE, *The Holy Bible, containing the Old and New Testaments, the text carefully printed from the most correct copies of the present authorized translation, including the marginal readings and parallel texts: with a commentary and critical notes designed as a help to a better understanding of the sacred writings* (Nashville 1977; repr. from the 6<sup>th</sup> edition 1851 [first edition 1825]). – S. DAVIDSON, *The Text of the Old Testament Considered; with a Treatise on Sacred Interpretation; and a brief Introduction to the Old Testament Books and the Apocrypha* (London 1856); *An Introduction to the Old Testament Critical, Historical, and Theological: Containing a Discussion of the Most Important Questions* (Edinburgh 1862). – F. DELITZSCH / C. F. KEIL (eds.), *Biblicher Commentar über das Alte Testament*, 1–17 (Leipzig 1861–1875); ET: *Biblical Commentary on the Old Testament* (Edinburgh 1864–1892; new rev. edition: Peabody, MA 1996). – J. G. EICHORN, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, I–III ([1780–1783] 4<sup>th</sup> edition Göttingen 1823/1844). – F. H. W. GESENIUS, *Geschichte der heb-*

<sup>44</sup> Rogerson, W. M. L. de Wette (1992), 48; see also idem, *Myth in Old Testament Interpretation* (BZAW 134; Berlin / New York 1974).

<sup>45</sup> Auffoderung (1805).

<sup>46</sup> Lehrbuch (1816), “de Wette’s last work on the Old Testament”, so Rogerson, W. M. L. de Wette (1992), 135.

<sup>47</sup> In Beiträge, II (1807), 274, de Wette argues that Moses did indeed promulgate the primitive form of the Decalogue.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid. 173.

<sup>49</sup> Auffoderung (1805), 28.

räischen Sprache und Schrift: eine philologisch-historische Einleitung in Sprachlehren und Wörterbücher der hebräischen Sprache (Leipzig 1815; repr. Hildesheim 1973). – R. HACHOEN, *Reclaiming the Hebrew Bible: German-Jewish Reception of Biblical Criticism* (Studia Judaica, 56; Berlin 2010). – A. T. HARTMANN, *Historisch-kritische Forschungen über Bildung, Zeitalter und Plan der 5 Bücher Moses* (Rostock 1831). – E. W. HENGSTENBERG, *Die Authentie des Pentateuches*, 1–2 (*Beiträge zur Einleitung ins Alte Testament*, 2–3; Berlin 1836–1839); ET: *Dissertations on the Genuineness of the Pentateuch*, 1–2 (Edinburgh 1858–1868; repr. Grands Rapids 1970); *Die Bücher Mose’s und Aegypten; nebst einer Beilage: Manetho und die Hyksos* (Berlin 1841). – H. D. M. SPENCE-JONES / J. S. EXELL (eds.), *The Pulpit Commentary*, 1–36 (London 1882–1892). – T. SÖRENSEN, *Historisch-kritischer Kommentar zur Genesis* (Kiel 1851). – M. VERNES, *Les résultats de l’exégèse biblique: l’histoire, la religion, la littérature* (Paris 1890). – L. ZUNZ, *Kleine gesammelte Schriften*, 1 (Berlin 1875).

When Astruc wrote his *Conjectures*, in which he outlined the Documentary Hypothesis combined with a Fragment Hypothesis, he did this in an apologetic perspective, aiming to defend the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch. He claimed that Moses had at his disposal documents which he used and which latter redactors misused.<sup>50</sup> Even if Mosaic authorship had been rejected on several occasions in the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (by Spinoza and others), it was still defended in the first half of the nineteenth. Eichhorn in his influential *Introduction* of 1780–1783 (the fourth edition published in 1823/24) argued that the book of Genesis was almost completed at the time of Moses who had used ancient sources.<sup>51</sup> The same applies to the books of Exodus–Deuteronomy that were all composed by Moses or men that were close to him. The final shape of the Pentateuch was achieved in the time between Joshua and Samuel.<sup>52</sup>

In England, Adam Clarke defended Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch in a commentary on the Old Testament published in 1825.<sup>53</sup> Yet he felt free to emend the text and allowed for the possibility that the Pentateuch contained interpolations most probably made by Ezra in Persian times – but since Ezra was also inspired, his additions were of the same authority as the documents compiled and written by Moses.<sup>54</sup> A quite similar view was still held in 1881 by Thomas Whitelaw, who also conceded revisions by Ezra and rejected the objections against Mosaic authorship made by de Wette, Ewald, Kuenen, Wellhausen and others as “simply incredible”.<sup>55</sup>

In Germany, there was also much resistance against a rationalist approach to the Bible. The major figure was Ernst Wilhelm Hengstenberg (1802–1869),<sup>56</sup> trained in theology and Oriental languages and strongly influenced by the awa-

<sup>50</sup> J. ASTRUC, *Conjectures sur la Genèse. Introduction et notes de Pierre Gibert* (Paris 1999); on Astruc see HBOT II (2008), 846–47.

<sup>51</sup> Einleitung, III (1783), 93. In the fourth edition (1844), Eichhorn has become more cautious in regard to the final composer of Genesis: his name does not really matter. See also A. WESTPHAL, *Les sources du Pentateuque. Étude de critique et d’histoire*, I–II (Paris 1888), I, 122.

<sup>52</sup> Einleitung, III (1783), 177–362.

<sup>53</sup> The commentary of Genesis is from 1810; for details on Clarke see Rogerson, *OT Criticism* (1984), 180–82.

<sup>54</sup> Preface to the commentary of Genesis (unnumbered page).

<sup>55</sup> “The Authorship of the Pentateuch”, published in the series “The Pulpit Commentary”, quoted according to Rogerson, *OT Criticism* (1984), 287.

<sup>56</sup> J. BACHMANN, *Ernst Wilhelm Hengstenberg: Sein Leben und Wirken*, 1–3 (Gütersloh 1876–1892); Rentvlow, *Interpretation*, IV (2010), 286–298.

kening movement, which had greatly expanded in the 1820s, especially in Berlin (where Hengstenberg taught as the successor of de Wette from 1826 until his death) and Pomerania (Pommern). Against de Wette and the “rationalists”, Hengstenberg defended the authenticity of all prophetic books of the Bible as well as of the Pentateuch. In 1836 and 1839, he published a two-volume work, *The Authenticity of the Pentateuch* (*Die Authentie des Pentateuches*). In this book (which displays a somewhat confusing disposition), Hengstenberg tries to show that the Pentateuch existed a long time before Ezra. He starts by claiming that prophets like Amos and Hosea knew the Pentateuch (cf. Hosea 12 and Am 2:7) as did the authors of Kings (1 Kings 18 presupposes Lev 1:6–8; 1 Kgs 21:13 knows of Lev 25:33)<sup>57</sup>. Contrary to other conservative critics, Hengstenberg did not accept the idea that the Pentateuch was composed by combining two or more sources. Hengstenberg attacked Astruc’s main argument by claiming (rightly)<sup>58</sup> that the use of *Yhwh* and *Elohim* respectively does not point to different sources. Both names have different meanings, and thus one author might use them both.<sup>59</sup> In his second volume, Hengstenberg deals with the anachronisms in the Pentateuch. Contrary to scholars like Clarke, who allowed for later interpolations, Hengstenberg thought that such a position would speak against the Mosaic authenticity of the Pentateuch. He therefore tries to demonstrate that there are, in fact, no real anachronisms.<sup>60</sup> The same applies to contradictions and doublets, the existence of which Hengstenberg tries to deny by symbolic interpretations or by claiming that parallel passages refer to different events.<sup>61</sup> Most of his arguments are, as Reventlow put it, “spurious” and “occasioned by his fundamentalist guidelines”.<sup>62</sup> Finally, Hengstenberg was one of only few biblical scholars who immediately tried to take into account the discoveries of the new field of Egyptology into their scholarship – although he was, once again, guided by his apologetic position. In his 1841 work *The Books of Moses and Egypt*, published less than twenty years after the decipherment of the Egyptian hieroglyphs by Champollion (1821), Hengstenberg tried to prove the Mosaic authenticity of the Pentateuch by claiming that the image of Egypt, as it is depicted in the Joseph and Exodus narratives, corresponds exactly to Egyptian sources of the time of Moses – an erroneous affirmation.<sup>63</sup> Hengstenberg was very influential in Prussian university politics and prompted the appointment of several conservative professors of theology.

One of Hengstenberg’s influential students was C.F. Keil (1807–1888)<sup>64</sup>, professor of Bible and oriental studies at Dorpat (Tartu). After his retirement in

<sup>57</sup> *Authentie*, I (1836), 48–180.

<sup>58</sup> In recent scholarship, scholars with different backgrounds have shown that the alternation of *Yhwh* and *Elohim* should not be used as a main criterion for source criticism; see, for instance, E. BLUM, *Die Komposition der Vätergeschichte* (WMANT 57; Neukirchen-Vluyn 1984), 471–75.

<sup>59</sup> *Authentie*, I, 306–414.

<sup>60</sup> *Authentie*, II (1839), 179–338.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.* 346–399.

<sup>62</sup> Reventlow, *Interpretation IV* (2010), 296.

<sup>63</sup> See on this D.B. REDFORD, *A Study of the Biblical Story of Joseph (Genesis 37–50)* (VT.S 20; Leiden 1970); M. GÖRG, *Die Beziehungen zwischen dem Alten Israel und Ägypten: von den Anfängen bis zum Exil* (EdF 290; Darmstadt 1997).

<sup>64</sup> P. SIEMENS, *Carl Friedrich Keil (1807–1888). Leben und Werk* (Gießen 1994).

1859, Keil moved to Leipzig, where he completed his main scholarly work, the *Biblischer Commentar über das Alte Testament*, a series he co-edited with Franz Delitzsch, to which he contributed the commentaries on the five books of the Pentateuch, the Former and Latter Prophets, as well as Ruth, Lamentations, Daniel, Ezra-Nehemiah and Chronicles (first edition 1861–1875). This collection, which was also translated into English, proved very influential in German and English conservative scholarship and has remained, until today, a standard work for conservative and fundamentalist Christian colleges. Like Hengstenberg, Keil's aim was to demonstrate the unity and coherence of the Pentateuch by showing that it does not contain real contradictions or other particularities that would necessitate the assumption that different documents were used in its composition. Some of his observations are indeed quite astute; they show that some so-called "contradictions" in the Pentateuch do not have to be regarded as such and do not speak in favour of a radical Documentary or Fragment Hypothesis.

Friedrich Bleek (1793–1859),<sup>65</sup> who advocated the idea of Mosaic origins of the Pentateuch,<sup>66</sup> also held a rather conservative view although he admitted that the Pentateuch as a whole originated in the time of the monarchy. The Penta- or rather Hexateuch was the result of the combination of an older account contained in the books of Genesis–Numbers and Joshua. This account was the work of an author using Mosaic and other documents and writing between the reigns of Saul and Solomon. The account was supplemented by the author of Deuteronomy, who also added passages in the books of Genesis–Numbers. This Pentateuch was then discovered in the temple at the time of Josiah. Contemporaneously, the book of Joshua was separated from the Law of Moses.<sup>67</sup>

The rejection of Mosaic authenticity of the Pentateuch was a challenge for Jewish intellectuals and biblical scholars, too. As HaCohen rightly points out, there was a desire in Reform Judaism, represented by scholars like Levi Herzfeld, Julius Popper and Abraham Geiger, to take up biblical criticism, yet this was prevented by pressures internal and external to the Jewish community, and the *Wissenschaft des Judentums* never really engaged in a critical investigation of the Bible,<sup>68</sup> although there were exceptions like Zunz – as will be shown below.

Even if the conservative positions of Hengstenberg and others remained popular throughout the nineteenth century, they could not prevent the emergence of a new view of the formation of the Pentateuch and the Bible, which turned out to be a rather late and complex document. The change toward a more rationalist view, which had already taken shape in the early nineteenth century (de Wette, Vater), is represented by Samuel Davidson (1807–1898)<sup>69</sup> who was appointed professor of Biblical Criticism at the Lancashire Independent College in Manchester in 1842. After being appointed, he wrote an introduction to the Old Tes-

<sup>65</sup> Smend, *Alttestamentler* (1989), 71–84.

<sup>66</sup> In *Beiträge* (1822), 11, he sees the *höchste Wahrscheinlichkeit* [...], daß die schriftliche Aufzeichnung dieser Gesetze schon dem Mose oder dessen Zeitalter angehöre.

<sup>67</sup> *Beiträge* (1822), 44–62.

<sup>68</sup> HaCohen, *Reclaiming* (2010), 78–85.

<sup>69</sup> Rogerson, *OT Criticism* (1984), 197–208.

tament<sup>70</sup> in which he adopted a rather conservative position, considering, for instance, the Eden Narrative in Gen 2–3 to be a literal account.<sup>71</sup> He defended the thesis that Moses wrote the book of Deuteronomy as well as the Sinai legislation and the wilderness itineraries.<sup>72</sup> For the rest of the books of Genesis to Numbers, Davidson adopted, against Hengstenberg and Keil, a documentary theory, postulating an *Elohim document* from the time of Joshua and a *Jehovah document* from the time of the Judges; both documents were combined in the early monarchy.<sup>73</sup> Davidson pointed out that the Bible did not state explicitly that Moses wrote the entire Pentateuch. He also insisted on the fact that inspiration did not cease with Moses.<sup>74</sup> Yet this rather conservative position provoked letters of protest which led to Davidson's resignation from his position.<sup>75</sup> Following his dismissal, he worked as a private tutor and published a three-volume *Introduction to the Old Testament* in 1862, in which he moved towards a much more critical position. He agreed with Hupfeld, whom he knew personally, on the theory of three documents (see below), which he dated between the time of Saul (the elder Elohist) and Uzziah (the Jehovist).<sup>76</sup> Those sources continued in the book of Joshua, which Davidson considered to be older than the book of Deuteronomy<sup>77</sup> that was not Mosaic any more. Davidson dated it to the seventh century BCE,<sup>78</sup> thus adopting de Wette's position, for whom "he felt particular sympathy . . ., perhaps because both he and de Wette had suffered dismissal".<sup>79</sup>

Davidson's biography is representative of the shift of nineteenth-century Old Testament scholarship. Although the documentary hypothesis emerged in an apologetic perspective (Astruc, Witter), the application of a literary model of the Pentateuch rendered the idea of its Mosaic authorship impossible on a scientific level.

An increasing number of scholars came to the conclusion that the beginning of the Pentateuch had to be located in the monarchic period. The grammarian Wilhelm Gesenius (1786–1842)<sup>80</sup> defended on philological grounds the lateness of Chronicles compared to Samuel–Kings. In his history of the Hebrew Language (*Geschichte der hebräischen Sprache*), he introduced the distinction of pre-exilic and post-exilic Hebrew, still used today, and demonstrated that Chronicles clearly displays a late form of the Hebrew language, contrary to Kings. Gesenius insisted on the stylistic and philological similarities between Deuteronomy and

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<sup>70</sup> He was asked to revise Horne's introduction, but finally decided to rewrite a new introduction to the OT.

<sup>71</sup> Text (1856), 576.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.* 616.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.* 631.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.* 632–33.

<sup>75</sup> For more details see Rogerson, *OT Criticism* (1984), 201–206. On the one hand Davidson was accused of doubting the plenary inspiration of the Bible. On the other hand he was (anonymously) accused of the plagiarism of German scholars, especially Keil. As Rogerson shows, there are indeed very strong parallels between Keil and Davidson, but Davidson very often does not agree with Keil's conclusions.

<sup>76</sup> *Introduction I* (1862), 50–51.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.* 424.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.* 383.

<sup>79</sup> Rogerson, *OT Criticism* (1984), 208.

<sup>80</sup> Smend, *Alttestamentler* (1989), 53–70.

the book of Jeremiah that confirmed a late seventh-century dating for Deuteronomy, the latest book of the Pentateuch. Since the other books of the Pentateuch are very close to other narrative books from the monarchic period, it appears that the Pentateuch was written during that time. Anton Theodor Hartmann (1774–1838) took a similar position. He doubted that Moses was able to write and argued that the language of the Pentateuch parallels writings from the time between Hezekiah and the Babylonian exile.<sup>81</sup> A student of Gesenius, Wilhelm Vatke, to whom we will return later, denied any historical value of the book of Genesis<sup>82</sup> and argued that the laws of the Pentateuch revealed the unhistorical character of the Mosaic state.<sup>83</sup> The historical Moses was probably a prophet, but he did not write the Pentateuch.

In the course of the second half of the nineteenth century, the claim of Mosaic authenticity was given up by most, and the formation of the Pentateuch was dated between the time of the early monarchy and the Babylonian exile. Some scholars, however, dated the Pentateuch much later, as, for instance, Leopold Zunz (1794–1886),<sup>84</sup> who claimed that Leviticus was younger than Deuteronomy and Ezekiel and was written in the Second Temple period.<sup>85</sup> Specific evidence of the existence of a Pentateuch does not exist before the fourth century BCE.<sup>86</sup> T. Sörensen situated the formation of the Pentateuch in the context of 125 BCE, when John Hyrcanus ordered his publication for the synagogical cult.<sup>87</sup> The Pentateuch may incorporate some older sources, but sometimes what sounds archaic dovetails better with the Hellenistic period. This is the case, for instance, with the law of circumcision in Genesis 17 the historical context of which seems to be the time following Antiochus IV.<sup>88</sup> In France, M. Vernes<sup>89</sup> dated the oldest documents of the Hexateuch around 400 BCE (he dated Deuteronomy around 250) and its completion around 200 BCE.<sup>90</sup> In fact, most nineteenth-century scholars postulated the existence of a Hexateuch, prior to the truncated Pentateuch.

<sup>81</sup> *Forschungen* (1831), 643–676.

<sup>82</sup> *Theologie* (1835), 184.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.* 205.

<sup>84</sup> *Schriften* (1875). The first part of the article “*Bibelkritisches*” (217–70) had been published 1873 in *ZDMG* 27 (669–89). On Zunz, see N. N. GLATZER (ed.), *Leopold Zunz, Jude, Deutscher, Europäer; ein jüdisches Gelehrtenchicksal des 19. Jahrhunderts in Briefen an Freunde* (Tübingen 1964); HaCohen, *Reclaiming*, 195–97.

<sup>85</sup> *Schriften* (1875), 237.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.* 242.

<sup>87</sup> *Genesis* (1851), 24.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.* 146.

<sup>89</sup> For Vernes see P. CABANEL, “Un fils prodigue du protestantisme: Maurice Vernes (1845–1923) et l’histoire des religions”, *Bulletin de la Société de l’histoire du protestantisme français* 149 (2003) 481–510.

<sup>90</sup> *Résultats* (1890), 181–204.

## 2.2. *Hexateuch instead of Pentateuch*

*Bibliography:* H. EWALD, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel bis Christus*, 1–6 (Göttingen 1843–1859); ET: *History of Israel* (London 1867–1886); “Review of J.J. Stähelin, *Kritische Untersuchungen über die Genesis* (1830)”, *ThStKr* (1831) 596–606. – A. GEDDES, *The Holy Bible, Or The Books Accounted Sacred By Jews And Christians; Otherwise Called The Books of the Old and New Covenants* (London 1792). – G.F. OEHLER, *Theologie des Alten Testaments. Erster Band: Einleitung und Mosaismus* (Tübingen 1873).

According to Houtman, the term “Hexateuch” appeared in biblical scholarship in the nineteenth century<sup>91</sup> – in fact already at the end of the eighteenth century – but it is difficult to know who invented it. Later, similar terms were coined, for example “Heptateuch” (Genesis–Judges), “Octateuch” (Genesis–Samuel) and “Enneateuch” (Genesis–Kings). The idea of a Hexateuch<sup>92</sup> probably emerged on the basis of two observations. First, the narrative coherence of the books of Genesis to Joshua seems greater than that of Genesis to Deuteronomy. The patriarchal narratives emphasize the promise of the land and this promise reaches its fulfilment only in the book of Joshua. The end of Deuteronomy clearly indicates a continuation as its last chapters (Deuteronomy 31 and 34) insist on the installation of Joshua as Moses’ successor who is in charge of accomplishing the conquest of the land. Also, the final discourse of Joshua, after the conquest and the distribution of the land, clearly concludes the narrative from the time of the Patriarchs to the entry into the land (Joshua 24). Second, there are stylistic links between the book of Joshua and the preceding books, especially Deuteronomy. In 1792, the first part of Alexander Geddes’ translation and introduction to the Bible contained the books of Genesis to Joshua. Geddes argued that the book of Joshua belonged to the Pentateuch since it stemmed from the same author and presented a necessary appendix to the rest of the narrative.<sup>93</sup> In a review of Stähelin’s book on Genesis (1831) and differently from his earlier position,<sup>94</sup> Ewald postulated an Elohistic document as the origin of the Pentateuch which contained a narrative starting with the creation of the world and ending with the conquest of Canaan, a Hexateuch of a sort. In his later *History of Israel*, however, Ewald postulated the existence of a “Great Book of Origins” that comprised the Pentateuch and the book of Joshua. This book resulted from the combination of numerous ancient fragments reworked and augmented by several “narrators”.<sup>95</sup> The original “story of origins” from creation to the conquest of the land did not comprise the book of Deuteronomy, which emerged during the reign of Manasseh. The Deuteronomistic character of many passages in Joshua could be explained by the reworking of the Joshua narrative by the author of

<sup>91</sup> Houtman, *Pentateuch* (1994), 3.

<sup>92</sup> The idea is, of course, much older than the use of the term in the academic discussion. See, for instance, the so-called “old English Hexateuch”, the translation of the books of Genesis to Joshua into Old English in the tenth or eleventh century.

<sup>93</sup> *Bible* (1792), xviii–xix.

<sup>94</sup> In his first book on the composition of the Genesis, Ewald had postulated one author for the whole book of the Genesis: H. EWALD, *Die Komposition der Genesis kritisch untersucht* (Braunschweig 1823).

<sup>95</sup> *Geschichte*, I (1843), 73–164; ET: 73–164.

Deuteronomy. The combination between Deuteronomy and the narrative in Genesis – Numbers and Joshua occurred between the seventh century and the fall of Jerusalem.

The idea of a Hexateuch is adopted by most theories about the formation of the first books of the Bible. Particularly in different variations of the documentary hypothesis, the book of Joshua is seen as the end of several of the documents combined in the Pentateuch. Even if the term “Pentateuch” is used, scholars adopt the idea that Joshua belonged to the first part of the Hebrew Bible. An example among many others can be found in Oehler’s *Theology of the Old Testament*, where the Pentateuch (!) comprises four periods: the origins, the time after the Flood, the Patriarchs, and the time of Moses and Joshua.<sup>96</sup> The book of Joshua must be analyzed together with the Pentateuch, *weil das Buch in seinem ganzen schriftstellerischen Charakter wie seinen biblisch-theologischen Grundideen nach wesentlich mit dem Pentateuch zusammenhängt*.<sup>97</sup> The idea of a Hexateuch remained prevalent until the middle of the twentieth century<sup>98</sup> when Martin Noth’s theory of a Deuteronomistic History (1943)<sup>99</sup> created, in fact, a Tetrateuch (Genesis–Numbers) instead of a Hexateuch, because Deuteronomy and Joshua were now regarded as the introduction to a Deuteronomistic history. At the end of the twentieth century, when Noth’s theory came under attack, the idea of an original Hexateuch was discussed once again.<sup>100</sup>

### 2.3. Theories about the Evolution of Israel’s Religious Ideas

*Bibliography:* C.P.W. GRAMBERG, *Kritische Geschichte der Religionsideen des Alten Testaments*, 1. *Hierarchie und Cultus*; 2. *Theokratie und Prophetismus* (Berlin 1830). – J.F.L. GEORGE, *Die älteren Jüdischen Feste, mit einer Kritik der Gesetzgebung des Pentateuch* (Berlin 1835). – L. PERLITT, *Vatke und Wellhausen: geschichtsphilosophische Voraussetzungen und historiographische Motive für die Darstellung der Religion und Geschichte Israels durch Wilhelm Vatke und Julius Wellhausen* (BZAW 94; Berlin 1965). – W. VATKE, *Die biblische Theologie wissenschaftlich dargestellt*, 1. *Die Religion des Alten Testaments* (Berlin 1835).

The elaboration of models to explain the formation of the Hebrew Bible and especially the Penta- or Hexateuch is closely related to ideas about the evolution of the Israelite religion.

Already de Wette was interested to reconstruct the evolution of ancient Israel

<sup>96</sup> *Theologie* (1873), 74–130.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.* 72.

<sup>98</sup> Particularly influential was G. VON RAD, “Das formgeschichtliche Problem des Hexateuch (1938)”, repr. *Gesammelte Studien zum Alten Testament* (ThB 8; Munich 1971), 9–86; ET: “The Form Critical Problem of the Hexateuch”, *The Problem of the Hexateuch and Other Essays* (Edinburgh 1965), 1–78.

<sup>99</sup> M. NOTH, *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien. Die sammelnden und bearbeitenden Geschichtswerke im Alten Testament* (1943) (Darmstadt<sup>3</sup> 1967); ET: *The Deuteronomistic History* (JSOT.S 15; Sheffield 1991).

<sup>100</sup> See on this question: T. RÖMER, “How Many Books (teuchs): Pentateuch, Hexateuch, Deuteronomistic History, or Enneateuch?”, *Pentateuch, Hexateuch, or Enneateuch? Identifying Literary Works in Genesis through Kings* (ed. T.B. Dozeman / T. Römer / K. Schmid; AIL 8; Atlanta, GA 2011), 25–42.



and its transition from “Hebraism” to “Judaism”.<sup>101</sup> Carl Peter Wilhelm Gramberg (1797–1830),<sup>102</sup> a student of Gesenius who was influenced by de Wette, distinguished seven periods in the development of the Old Testament religion in his *Critical History of the Religious Ideas of the Old Testament (Kritische Geschichte der Religionsideen des Alten Testaments)*, a work that he was not able to finish because of his early death.<sup>103</sup> The first period is reflected in the books of Genesis, Exodus, and Judges. These books, written in the time from David to Hezekiah, contain older oral sources and memories. The second period is represented by the books of Samuel and Ruth. They contain memories from the time of David but were written shortly before the Babylonian exile. The prophetic books of Isaiah 1–35\*, Hosea, Joel and others originated in the eighth and seventh centuries and were reworked somewhat later. The books of Leviticus and Numbers and Prophets like Jeremiah and Ezekiel represent the fourth period; they were compiled at the beginning of the Babylonian exile. The fifth stage is reflected in books like Kings, Deuteronomy, Joshua and Isaiah 40–66 that were compiled at the end of the Babylonian or the beginning of the Persian period. The redactors of the books of Kings insist on the central sanctuary, therefore the edition of Kings must date from the same period as Deuteronomy.<sup>104</sup> Gramberg thus advocates an exilic or early post-exilic date for the book of Deuteronomy. Joshua also implies knowledge of Deuteronomy (see 8:30–35). The sixth period, reflected in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah, Haggai etc. is the time of the return from exile. The seventh and last stage, that covers the time from the end of the Persian period to Antiochus Epiphanes, can be detected in the books of Chronicles, Esther and Daniel. Contrary to de Wette and others, Gramberg was not interested in correlating these periods to an overall philosophical or theological idea of the evolution of religion. In a way, he considered his schema of the seven stages as “neutral” (*unparteyisch*) and objective.<sup>105</sup>

Johann Friedrich Leopold George (1811–1873)<sup>106</sup> in a study about the Israelite festivals made suggestions about the evolution of these festivals. He distinguished three main periods: an epic period, reflected by the narrative material of the Pentateuch; a lyrical period which can be detected in some of the legal material, especially in the book of Deuteronomy; finally the period of priestly hierarchy that developed after the Babylonian exile, reflected in the legal material from the books of Exodus, Leviticus and Numbers.<sup>107</sup> Contrary to de Wette, George demonstrated that the legal material in Exodus–Numbers is later than the book of Deuteronomy and anticipated the idea that the “priestly” texts in the Pentateuch are post-Deuteronomistic.<sup>108</sup> George’s three-step model of the evolution of

<sup>101</sup> See above, 399.

<sup>102</sup> See Rogerson, *OT Criticism* (1984), 57–63.

<sup>103</sup> *Geschichte*, 1 (1830), xxv–xxvi (summary of the position he wants to develop in several volumes dealing with cult, political organization, prophecy, religious and ethical concepts).

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.* 146–47.

<sup>105</sup> *Geschichte*, II (1830), iv. See also Gesenius, who wrote the Preface in vol. I, ix–xiii.

<sup>106</sup> For a biography see A. HÄCKERMANN, “George, Leopold”, *ABD* 8 (1878), 710–721 = [http://de.wikisource.org/wiki/ADB:George,\\_Leopold](http://de.wikisource.org/wiki/ADB:George,_Leopold) (22.6.2012).

<sup>107</sup> *Feste* (1835), 11–13.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.* 12: *so haben wir in dem Deuteronomium die erste Zusammenfassung dieses allmählig Entwickelten. Nach dem Exil aber gab die Erneuerung der gottesdienstlichen Verfassung und die*

the Israelite religion, which tends toward centralization and priestly control, anticipates in an astonishing way Wellhausen’s model,<sup>109</sup> in which J/E, D and P represent similar periods.

Unfortunately, George’s work was overshadowed by Wilhelm Vatke’s *Biblical Theology*, which was published in the same year and received a much broader reception, both positive and negative.<sup>110</sup> Vatke (1806–1882)<sup>111</sup> was strongly influenced by Hegelian philosophy,<sup>112</sup> which he exploited for an understanding of the evolution of the Israelite faith and religion by applying the idea of development according to which religion moves from the lower to the higher; yet he also based his thinking on de Wette, Gesenius and Gramberg.<sup>113</sup> Like the latter, Vatke divided the history of the Israelite religion into several periods, following the *Entwicklung der Alttestamentlichen Religion nach den kanonischen Büchern des A. T.*:<sup>114</sup> the time of Moses, the period of the Judges, the time of David and Solomon, the tenth and ninth centuries, the Assyrian era, the Chaldean era, the Persian period, the Macedonian and Maccabean era. These titles show that, for Vatke, historical information about the Israelite religion of some certainty is available only from the ninth century, even if there are historical reminiscences from the time of Moses<sup>115</sup> and the Judges. The time of the Judges corresponds to the transition from a nomadic to a settled lifestyle; the cult of Yahweh was simple and combined with the worship of other deities. Yhwh even received human sacrifices, a custom that continued during the monarchic period. The entire period up to the Assyrian era is characterized by polytheism and rudimentary ethics. Josiah’s reform, which was not based on Deuteronomy that was written later,<sup>116</sup> represents a first step toward a more prophetic and ethical religion. The destruction of Jerusalem and the Babylonian exile trigger the transformation of “Hebraism” to “Judaism”.<sup>117</sup> The laws and the cult are attributed to Moses, and new doctrines like that of resurrection emerge due to the contact with Babylonian and Persian beliefs. Vatke considers the Persian period as the *Blüte der Alttestamentlichen Religion*;<sup>118</sup> only the emergence of the *späteren Judenthum*, represented by the Sadduceans and Phariseans, brought the unity of the Old Tes-

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*Umgestaltung der Verhältnisse noch mehr Anlaß für die Gesetzgebung, und so wurden die früheren Bemühungen fortgesetzt in den Büchern Leviticus und Numeri. Und auch Exodus wurde durch Stücke vermehrt, die dieser Zeit angehören.*

<sup>109</sup> On the question of a direct influence see Rogerson, *OT Criticism* (1984), 64.

<sup>110</sup> Because of the intervention of Hengstenberg, Vatke never received a full professorship and was hindered to complete his *Theology* of which only the first volume appeared.

<sup>111</sup> C. BULTMANN, “Vatke, Wilhelm”, *TRE* 34 (2002), 552–555.

<sup>112</sup> On this question see especially Perlitt, Vatke, and also KRAUS, *Geschichte* (1982), 189–99.

<sup>113</sup> According to Rogerson, *OT Criticism* (1984), 71, “de Wette is referred to more than any other scholar”.

<sup>114</sup> *Theologie* (1835), 177–599.

<sup>115</sup> The Patriarchal narratives only inform us that the Israelites were at the beginnings “rough nomads” worshipping stars and planets (*Theologie*, 184–185). They were not put down in writing before the time of the monarchy (455).

<sup>116</sup> *Theologie* (1835), 505.

<sup>117</sup> It may be noted, however, that for Vatke Judaism is the result of a long evolution, and a “strict separation” (*strenge Scheidung*) between Hebraism and Judaism seems impossible to him (*Theologie*, 551).

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.* 566.

tament to an end.<sup>119</sup> Interestingly, although he considers the Judaism of the Roman period as the end of true Old Testament religion, Vatke does not adopt a theory of decadence and degeneration. On the contrary, its apotheosis occurs in the Persian period. In this regard, Vatke's view differs from de Wette's, Gramberg's and especially Wellhausen's, even if the latter refers to Vatke's work as the most important contribution to the understanding of the history of Israel.<sup>120</sup> Vatke's book received – for different reasons – more critical than positive comments.<sup>121</sup> His emphasis on the Persian period, however, anticipated a trend in present Hebrew Bible scholarship.

The literary models explaining the formation of the Pentateuch that were developed during the nineteenth century were all, in a sense, related to ideas and theories about the evolution of the Israelite religion and its transformation into Judaism.

#### 2.4. Three Main Models to Explain the Formation of the Pentateuch: *Fragment Hypothesis, Supplementary Hypothesis and Documentary Hypothesis*

*Bibliography:* F. BLEEK, *De libri Geneseos origine atque indole historica observationes quaedam contra Bohlenium* (Bonn 1836). – T. K. CHEYNE, *Founders of Old Testament Criticism. Biographical, Descriptive and Critical Studies* (London 1893; repr. Jerusalem 1971). – J. W. COLENSO, *The Pentateuch and Book of Joshua Critically Examined*, 1–7 (London 1862–1879). – W. M. L. DE WETTE, *Lehrbuch der historisch-kritischen Einleitung in die kanonischen und apokryphen Bücher des Alten Testaments (neu bearbeitet von E. Schrader)* (Berlin 1869). – A. T. HARTMANN, *Historisch-kritische Forschungen über die Bildung, das Zeitalter und den Plan der fünf Bücher Mose's* (Rostock 1831). – H. HUPFELD, *Die Quellen der Genesis und die Art ihrer Zusammensetzung von neuem untersucht* (Berlin 1853). – K. D. ILGEN, *Die Urkunden des jerusalemischen Tempelarchivs in ihrer Urgestalt*, 1. *Die Urkunden des ersten Buchs von Moses in ihrer Urgestalt* (Halle 1798). – A. KNOBEL, *Die Genesis* (KEHAT 11; Leipzig 1852). – E. RIEHM, *Die Gesetzgebung Mosis im Lande Moab. Ein Beitrag zur Einleitung in's Alte Testament* (Gotha 1854). – B. SEIDEL, *Karl David Ilgen und die Pentateuchforschung im Umkreis der sogenannten Älteren Urkundenhypothese: Studien zur Geschichte der exegetischen Hermeneutik in der Späten Aufklärung* (BZAW 213; Berlin / New York 1993). – F. TUCH, *Kommentar über die Genesis* (Halle 1838). – J. VAN SETERS, *The Edited Bible. The Curious History of the "Editor" in Biblical Criticism* (Winona Lake, IN 2006).

<sup>119</sup> Ibid. 579

<sup>120</sup> J. WELLHAUSEN, *Geschichte Israels*, 1 (Berlin 1878), 4. In a letter of condolence, Wellhausen speaks of Vatke as the man from whom he had learnt the most, although he was a Hegelian (Perlitt, Vatke, 1965, 152).

<sup>121</sup> For the reactions of Hengstenberg, Nitzsch, Ewald and de Wette see Perlitt, Vatke (1965), 132–143. On the Jewish side, Salomon Ludwig Steinheim (1789–1866) wrote an entire book directed against Vatke, in 1840: S. L. STEINHEIM, *Die Offenbarung vom Standpunkte der höheren Kritik. Eine Prüfung der Darstellung des Herrn Professors W. Vatke in seiner Schrift: "Die Religion des Alten Testaments nach den kanonischen Büchern entwickelt"* (Kiel 1840), in which he appears, according to HaCohen, to be the "first Jewish thinker to explicitly point out the Christian bias in modern biblical criticism [...]. Interestingly, Steinheim identified the Christian bias of this approach specifically in the work of Vatke, who was not hostile toward the Law as so many other Christian scholars", *Reclaiming* (2010), 112–113.

Authors of “introductions to the Old Testament”, when dealing with the history of Pentateuchal research, present three literary models to explain the formation of the first five books of the Bible, which emerged mainly in the nineteenth century and which were in competition: the documentary hypothesis, the supplementary hypothesis and the fragment hypothesis. The documentary hypothesis, which originated with Astruc and Witter already, postulates that the Pentateuch is the result of the combination of two or more documents that were originally independent from each other and that were put together by one or more redactor(s) in order to form the Pentateuch<sup>122</sup> in its present form.<sup>123</sup> The supplementary hypothesis considers that at the origin of the Pentateuch there was a narrative, which extended from the origins to Moses’ death or the conquest; later hands subsequently inserted complements or fragments from other traditions. The fragment hypothesis regards the Pentateuch as the result of the combination of several fragments. The narrative frame of the Pentateuch is not original, it is the result of the combination of originally independent texts stemming from different traditions.

One often tries to classify the great names of nineteenth-century Pentateuch research based on their adherence to one of these three models, but this classification seems rather artificial. First, most scholars, beginning with de Wette, changed their minds in the course of time and, second, they often combined aspects from two or three of these hypotheses. This can already be observed for Astruc, who postulated that the two “memoires” A and B had been supplemented by an important number of fragments. It is also the case of Carl David Ilgen (1763–1834),<sup>124</sup> professor at the University of Jena which he left in 1802 for rather unclear reasons.<sup>125</sup> In his book on the documents of the Jerusalemite Temple archive of which only the first volume (dealing with the book of Genesis) appeared, Ilgen comes to the conclusion that the book of Genesis results from the compilation of 17 documents which were written down by three separate authors; two Elohist and one Jehovistic author. The first Elohist author (whom he calls “Sopher Eliel harishon”) wrote ten documents, the second Elohist author (“Sopher Eliel hashsheni”) five and the Jehovistic author (“Sopher Eliyah harishon”) two. Ilgen leaves the dating of these three documents to further investigation, which has never been carried out.<sup>126</sup> A redactor combined these documents and, in doing so, truncated them in order to realize his compila-

<sup>122</sup> For commodity, we will use the term “Pentateuch”, although many scholars imagine in fact an original Hexateuch, as shown above.

<sup>123</sup> In order to illustrate this hypothesis, scholars often quote the Diatessaron, the Gospel harmony, created in the second century by Tatian, see, for instance, G. F. MOORE, “Tatian’s Diatessaron and the Analysis of the Pentateuch”, *JBL* 9 (1890) 201–215, and H. DONNER, “Der Redaktor. Überlegungen zum vorkritischen Umgang mit der Heiligen Schrift”, *Henoah* 2 (1980) 1–30.

<sup>124</sup> For his biography see Seidel, Ilgen (1993), 68–91, who provides further bibliographical references.

<sup>125</sup> According to Seidel, *ibid.* 90–92, the University of Jena was known for paying bad salaries to its professors, which is why Ilgen probably left for financial reasons.

<sup>126</sup> He insists on the idea that we should not look for the historical Moses whom we do not know, but concentrate on the “kerygmatic Moses”; he also thinks that the Pentateuch must have been edited before 285 (manuscript of his *Introduction to the Old Testament*, quoted by Seidel, Ilgen, 1993, 172–173).

tion. Yet this *Sammler* is not an author, but only a compiler<sup>127</sup>. Ilgen's rather complicated theory that did not find much support is nevertheless an interesting combination of the documentary and the fragmentary hypotheses.

Protagonists of the fragmentary hypothesis (the initiator of which is often said to be Alexander Geddes<sup>128</sup>) often acknowledged that the fragments were already combined in one way or another before redactors brought them together. In his early works, de Wette, influenced by Vater, accepted the idea that the Pentateuch is composed of an important number of fragments.<sup>129</sup> Yet these fragments had been incorporated into a basic framework.<sup>130</sup> Anton Theodor Hartmann (1774–1838), professor of theology at the University of Rostock, defended the fragmentary hypothesis, criticizing Astruc, Ilgen and others, who used the divine names “Elohim” and “Jehova” (the common spelling of the *tetragrammaton* in the first half of the nineteenth century).<sup>131</sup> He also seems to suggest a different development of the book of Genesis compared to the other four books of the Pentateuch; he insists on the *Ungleichartigkeit der schriftlichen Urkunden und die Verschiedenheit der Verfasser* in the different books of the Pentateuch (p.239). However, his long and often polemical analysis does not offer a clear model of the compilation of these different documents.

Heinrich Ewald (1803–1875)<sup>132</sup> is often said to be the pioneer of the supplementary hypothesis. In a way, he had a forerunner in de Wette, who in his *Beiträge* postulated the existence of a Hebrew national epic, covering the narrative from Genesis 1 to Exodus 20, which was later supplemented by different fragments. Ewald, professor in Göttingen and the teacher of Wellhausen – who, however, had a rather ambiguous opinion of his professor<sup>133</sup> – was very passionate about his scholarly and political convictions.<sup>134</sup> As outlined above (Sect. 2.2.) he also changed his views on the formation of the Pentateuch more than just once. In his review of Stähelin's book, he does not really postulate a Supplementary hypothesis.<sup>135</sup> The base document of the Hexateuch, according to him, was

<sup>127</sup> Urkunden (1798), 344.

<sup>128</sup> See, however, J. W. ROGERSON, “Was Geddes a ‘Fragmentist’? In Search of the ‘Geddes-Vater Hypothesis’”, *The Bible and the Enlightenment. A Case Study – Dr Alexander Geddes (1737–1802)* (ed. W. Johnstone; JSOT.S 377; London / New York 2004), 157–167, who claims that Geddes never developed a clear theory, by postulating small units of oral tradition and claiming that they were written down only much later. According to VAN SETERS, *Edited Bible* (2006), 202, J.S. Vater should be considered the founder of the fragmentary hypothesis.

<sup>129</sup> *Beiträge*, II (1807 / 1971), 311.

<sup>130</sup> *Ibid.* 29.

<sup>131</sup> *Forschungen* (1831), 86–99.

<sup>132</sup> For biographical information see CHEYNE, *Founders* (1893), 66–118; L. PERLITT, “Heinrich Ewald. Der Gelehrte in der Politik”, in: *Theologie in Göttingen, eine Vorlesungsreihe* (ed. B. Müller; Göttingen 1987), 157–212; Rogerson, *OT Criticism* (1984), 91–103.

<sup>133</sup> In J. WELLHAUSEN, “Heinrich Ewald (1901)”, in: *Grundrisse zum Alten Testament* (ThB 27; Munich 1965), 120–138, he describes him as being a major obstacle to progress in biblical research, as made by Wette and Vatke (131–32), and as a teacher without pedagogical skills, who presented the results of his own research without any further arguments (120).

<sup>134</sup> He belonged to the “Seven of Göttingen” who in 1837 protested against King August, who suspended the liberal constitution of Hanover. In 1867, when Göttingen became Prussian, he refused the loyalty oath to the Prussian king and was deprived of the *venia legendi*. In 1874, he was imprisoned for three weeks for having insulted Otto von Bismarck.

<sup>135</sup> Ewald, *Review of Stähelin* (see 2.2.).

an “Elohistic document” which was combined with a “Jehovistic document”; the redactor used the Elohist document as a basis to which he added fragments from the Jehovistic document. Ewald was not sure, however, whether the Jehovist, the author of the Jehovistic document, edited the Elohist base narrative (*Grundschrift*). According to that model, there was only one narrative that one or more redactor(s) supplemented. While Ewald, in 1831, remained close to the assumptions of the classical documentary hypothesis,<sup>136</sup> other scholars elaborated a more precise supplementary hypothesis.

Friedrich Bleek (1793–1859) and Friedrich Tuch (1806–1867), criticizing both the fragmentary hypothesis<sup>137</sup> and the documentary hypothesis, developed the idea of one “document” and one “Supplementer” (*Ergänzer*). For Tuch,<sup>138</sup> the Jehovist was clearly the redactor of the *Elohimquelle*,<sup>139</sup> and the Pentateuch, with the exception of the book of Deuteronomy, was the result of this Jehovistic reworking.<sup>140</sup> August Knobel advocated the same position: The Elohist document had been edited by the Jehovist, who may also have had written documents and oral traditions at his disposal.<sup>141</sup> This relatively simple model (one narrative, one reviser and the book of Deuteronomy) has recently been defended by J. Van Seters according to whom a Jahwistic History was supplemented by a priestly redactor, who also inserted the book of Deuteronomy.<sup>142</sup>

The initiator of the so-called “newer documentary hypothesis” (in opposition to the “older” documentary hypothesis that postulated the existence of only two parallel documents) was probably Hermann Hupfeld (1796–1866), professor in Marburg and later successor of Gesenius in Halle.<sup>143</sup> In his book *The Sources of Genesis and the Manner of Their Conflation* (*Die Quellen der Genesis und die Art ihrer Zusammensetzung*, 1853), he tried to demonstrate that within the “Elohistic texts” one has to distinguish two documents: the older Elohist source (*Urschrift*),<sup>144</sup> which contains the narrative reaching from the origins of the world to the conquest of the land, and a second Elohist source, which contains mainly the patriarchal narratives.<sup>145</sup> The third and youngest document is the “Jhistic”<sup>146</sup> source.<sup>147</sup> These three sources were all originally independent and

<sup>136</sup> Houtman, *Pentateuch* (1994), 94–95.

<sup>137</sup> Bleek’s book is a refutation of Peter von Bohlen, an advocate of the fragmentary hypothesis.

<sup>138</sup> Genesis (1838), LI–XCVIII.

<sup>139</sup> *Ibid.* LXV, LXXVIII.

<sup>140</sup> A conservative variant of the supplementary hypothesis can be found in FRANZ DELITZSCH, *Die Genesis* (Leipzig, <sup>2</sup>1853), who situates the Jehovistic redactor in the time of Joshua. In the fifth edition of his commentary, he adopted the documentary hypothesis. For an intellectual biography see S. WAGNER, *Franz Delitzsch. Leben und Werk* (Munich 1978; <sup>2</sup>1991).

<sup>141</sup> Knobel, Genesis (1852), XIII: *Dabei ist er theils anderen älteren Schriften, welche ihm als Quelle dienten [...], theils der im Volke geltenden Sage [...], theils seiner eigenen Voraussetzung und Vermuthung gefolgt.*

<sup>142</sup> See, for instance, J. VAN SETERS, *The Pentateuch. A Social Science Commentary* (Trajectories; Sheffield 1999).

<sup>143</sup> On Hupfeld see CHEYNE, *Founders* (1893), 149–155; Rogerson, *OT Criticism* (1984), 131–34; O. KAISER, *Zwischen Reaktion und Revolution: Hermann Hupfeld (1796–1866) – ein deutsches Professorenleben* (AAWG. Ph.-H. Klasse, III/268; Göttingen 2005).

<sup>144</sup> *Quellen* (1853), 6–38.

<sup>145</sup> *Ibid.* 38–56, 167–95.

<sup>146</sup> Hupfeld uses this term, close to the *tetragrammaton*, instead of the common “Jehovist”.

<sup>147</sup> *Quellen* (1853), 56–79, 101–67.

were brought together by a redactor<sup>148</sup> who acted “in strict fidelity” and “inserted his sources verbatim and in full and brought them together retaining all of their peculiarities”, but who also paid attention to the “overall structure of the narrative in order to avoid obvious repetitions or contradictions [...] reproducing on an expanded scale in the complete work the (epic) plan of the history inhering in the sources”.<sup>149</sup> With the support of his student Eduard Riehm (1830–1888)<sup>150</sup> – who, in a monograph, dated the book of Deuteronomy to the time of Manasseh<sup>151</sup> and described its intention as a modernization of the ancient Law – Hupfeld opened the way to the four-document hypothesis. By frequently using the term “Deuteronomist”, Riehm shaped the idea that Deuteronomy could be considered a fourth document, completing the three sources identified by Hupfeld; and Hupfeld’s distinction of two “Elohists” prepared the later distinction between a priestly source (Hupfeld’s *Urschrift* of the Pentateuch) and a (more fragmentary) Elohist source. However, the combination of different models remained common among scholars. Even Hupfeld admitted that some cases – as, for instance, the tribal list in Genesis 29–30 – can best be explained with a supplementary hypothesis.<sup>152</sup>

A combination of models is also advocated by the older de Wette or better by his reviser, Schrader. In the eighth edition of his critical introduction (revised by Schrader), we read<sup>153</sup> that the right insight into the formation of the Pentateuch can only be gained through a combination of all three hypotheses, “especially the combination of the documentary and the supplementary hypothesis, in imagining that the Hexateuch (Gen 1–Josh 24) originated from two main documents: the document of the annalistic narrator and the document of the theocratic narrator. A third one, the prophetic narrator, combined those, not only in putting them together, but also [...] by adding texts stemming either from written documents or from oral tradition”.<sup>154</sup> Similarly, John William Colenso accepted the idea that a younger Elohist should be distinguished from the main Elohist; yet the younger Elohist (which he identified with the Jehovist) and the Jehovist (which he labelled Second Jehovist) should not be considered to be independent documents, but supplements to the first Elohist.<sup>155</sup> Colenso also thought that one should distinguish at least four stages in the work of the Jehovist, which reminds of Wellhausen’s idea that J should be split into J<sup>1</sup>, J<sup>2</sup>, J<sup>3</sup>, etc.

A close examination of nineteenth-century Pentateuchal research reveals that until the victory of the Kuenen-Wellhausen model, scholars tended to combine ideas and observations from the three explanatory models available to them.

<sup>148</sup> Ibid. 195–213.

<sup>149</sup> Ibid. 196. English translation taken from Van Seters, *Edited Bible* (1999), 222. According to him, Hupfeld based himself on the model of the “edited” Homeric epic and had in mind “a historian who is editing his sources in a diplomatic style [...] it is this earliest description of the function of the Pentateuchal redactor that has persisted throughout its subsequent use” (222).

<sup>150</sup> For the importance of Riehm, see Kaiser, Hupfeld (2005), 225–231.

<sup>151</sup> *Gesetzgebung* (1854), 96–105.

<sup>152</sup> *Quellen* (1853), 43–44.

<sup>153</sup> This statement may indeed come from Schrader, who indicates in the foreword, that he has entirely revised the paragraphs on the formation of the Pentateuch: *Lehrbuch* (1817), VIII–IX.

<sup>154</sup> Ibid. 313.

<sup>155</sup> Pentateuch, Pt. 5, 180–183. On his model see also Rogerson, *OT Criticism* (1984), 228–237.

### 3. Critical Investigation on the Formation of the Former and Latter Prophets

#### 3.1. *The theory of Deuteronomistic Redactions in the Books of Joshua – Kings*

*Bibliography:* H. AUSLOOS, “John William Colenso (1814–1883) and the Deuteronomist”, *RB* 113 (2006) 372–397. – H. EWALD, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel bis Christus*, 6 vols (Göttingen 1843–1859; 41883); ET: *History of Israel* (London 1867–1886). – T. RÖMER / A. DE PURY, “Deuteronomistic Historiography (DH): History of Research and Debated Issues”, *Israel Constructs Its History. Deuteronomistic History in Recent Research* (ed. A. de Pury / T. Römer / J.-D. Macchi; JSOT.S 306; Sheffield 2000), 24–141.

As we have pointed out, de Wette had recognized the Deuteronomistic character of the book of Joshua,<sup>156</sup> thus preparing the idea of “Deuteronomistic” redactions elsewhere in the Pentateuch or in the Former Prophets.<sup>157</sup> The idea of “Deuteronomism” was taken further by H. Ewald in his *History of Israel*. We have seen that he advocated a Hexateuch by postulating a “Great Book of Origins” (Genesis – Joshua). He considered the following books, Judges – Kings, as having constituted the “Great Book of Kings”. This “book” contained different documents from the time of Saul and the monarchy, and was compiled in accordance with “Deuteronomic ideas” (*deuteronomische Ansichten*).<sup>158</sup> 1 Samuel 12 shows that this Deuteronomic editor must still have worked in the time of the Davidic monarchy, and the period of Josiah offers a plausible setting. This “last but one” (*vorletzter*) editor was followed by the final, a second Deuteronomic editor who revised the older edition during the second half of the Babylonian exile: “one final author or collector edited the present Books of Judges, Ruth, Samuel and Kings as a whole”.<sup>159</sup> This exilic editor sets out to answer the question why the people had to undergo the destruction of Jerusalem and the exile. Interestingly, Martin Noth was to conceive the project of the Deuteronomist in similar terms.

But Ewald also admitted a Deuteronomistic reworking of the “Great Book of Origins” and attributed it to the sixth stage of the edition of Genesis – Joshua. The work of this Deuteronomist, who wrote at the time of Josiah, corresponds largely to the book of Deuteronomy, as well as much of Joshua (this is probably due to de Wette’s influence). This redactor knew the books of Genesis – Numbers, too, and “he also drew largely upon many documents, both of a narrative and a legislative character, which are now entirely lost”.<sup>160</sup> The work of the Deuteronomist, responsible for the editing of Deuteronomy and Joshua, was linked

<sup>156</sup> Beiträge, I, 137, n. 2

<sup>157</sup> Kraus, *Geschichte*, 176.

<sup>158</sup> *History I*, 133–168.

<sup>159</sup> *Ibid.* 160

<sup>160</sup> *Ibid.* 125–126. According to Van Seters, *Edited Bible*, the idea of widespread literacy and the collection of ancient works is an “unconscious anachronism reflecting the influence of the Renaissance and early modern period” (217).



with the books of Genesis – Exodus (compiled by the fifth narrator<sup>161</sup>) by the last compiler and editor of the Hexateuch, whose fundamental contribution was to conflate documents: “He left the work of the Fifth narrator exactly as he found it, up to the section, shortly before the death of Moses, to which the chief portion of the Deuteronomist’s work could suitably be attached. But since the latter ... had written the life of Joshua very briefly, the editor proceeded, after the death of Moses on a freer plan, uniting the more detailed narrative given by the older work with the essential contents of the Deuteronomist’s, and so blending the two works completely into one. It was certainly this last editor who inserted the Blessing of Moses (Deut. xxxiii).”<sup>162</sup> In speaking of a last editor of the Hexateuch, Ewald anticipated the idea of a last redaction of the Penta- or Hexateuch, which in current scholarship plays an important role yet again.<sup>163</sup>

Curiously, Ewald sharply distinguished between the two Deuteronomists of the Hexateuch (the sixth narrator and the final editor) and the two Deuteronomists (from the time of Josiah and the time of the Babylonian exile) of the books of Judges. Ewald realized that Judg 2:6–23, stemming from the exilic Deuteronomists, opens with a passage (2:6–10) parallel to Josh 24:28–33. He conceded that this passage constituted a link of a sort, yet he did not admit the idea of an Enneateuch, or the idea that the exilic editor of the “Great Book of Kings” might have wished to join his work to the Pentateuch and the book of Joshua.<sup>164</sup> Although his ideas of the relation between Gen – Josh and Judg – Kgs remain somewhat unclear, Ewald anticipated a trend in Deuteronomistic research: Wellhausen adopted the idea of a Josianic Deuteronomistic edition of the books of Samuel and Kings,<sup>165</sup> and scholarship in the second part of the twentieth century was strongly influenced by the work of Frank Moore Cross, who advocated the double redaction of the Deuteronomistic History, with the same dating (Josianic and exilic) as Ewald<sup>166</sup> and made it the major explanatory model for the formation of the Prophets in North America until today.<sup>167</sup>

Another major player in the research on Deuteronomism is John William Colenso (1814–1883), the first Anglican Bishop of Natal in the British Colony of South Africa where he protested against the treatment of the native population by British authorities. His refusal to teach the doctrine of hell and eternal damna-

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<sup>161</sup> Who precedes the sixth narrator, the Deuteronomist, and resembles Wellhausen’s “Jehovist” (the compiler of J and E).

<sup>162</sup> History, I, 130.

<sup>163</sup> T. RÖMER / K. SCHMID (eds.), *Les dernières rédactions du Pentateuque, de l’Hexateuque et de l’Ennéateuque* (BETHL 203; Leuven 2007).

<sup>164</sup> For more details on Ewald’s view about the relation of the Deuteronomistic editions of Gen – Josh and Judg – Kgs, see Römer / de Pury, *Deuteronomistic Historiography* (2000), 35–38.

<sup>165</sup> J. WELLHAUSEN, *Die Composition des Hexateuchs und der historischen Bücher des Alten Testaments* (Berlin 1899; repr. 1963), 262–263. Contrary to Ewald, Wellhausen is not sure whether the Deuteronomistic redactions in Samuel and Kings belonged to the same editors, but he thinks that this question is not relevant (“gleichgiltig”, p. 301).

<sup>166</sup> F. M. CROSS, “The Themes of the Book of Kings and the Structure of the Deuteronomistic History”, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic. Essays in the History of the Religion of Israel* (Cambridge, MA 1973), 274–289.

<sup>167</sup> Van Seters, *Edited Bible*, 220, points out that the very conservative position of Ewald, who insisted on the historical value of the traditions of his two “Great Books”, found a successor in William F. Albright and his school.

tion to newly converted Christians led him to re-examine the Bible and propose highly critical results. His publications on the Pentateuch and Joshua sparked strong reactions in England, with opponents to his theories attempting to defend the historical reliability of the first books of the Bible.<sup>168</sup>

In the six volumes of his publication, Colenso was one of the first to systematize the question of a Deuteronomistic edition of the Hexateuch. In Part III, he distinguished the original edition of the Book of Deuteronomy, which he (like others) thought to have been written by the prophet Jeremiah<sup>169</sup> and which he dated to the time of Josiah, from later additions to the book made by the Deuteronomist. Colenso also listed expressions in Deuteronomy used by the Deuteronomist but not occurring in the first books of the Pentateuch.<sup>170</sup> He argued, on the basis of linguistic evidence, that the books of a Genesis – Numbers also underwent a redaction by the exilic Deuteronomist.<sup>171</sup> Those Deuteronomistic passages are “smaller ones in Genesis, but longer ones in Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers and Joshua”.<sup>172</sup>

The question of the existence of one or more Deuteronomistic redactions of the Pentateuch has been discussed again since the 1970s, leading numerous scholars to abandon the documentary hypothesis as it was held by Kuenen and Wellhausen, because it was unable to explain the “Deuteronomistic” elements in the Tetrateuch.<sup>173</sup>

### 3.2. Source and Redaction Criticism in the Latter Prophets

*Bibliography:* U. BECKER, “Der Jesaja-Kommentar von Wilhelm Gesenius”, *Biblische Exegese und hebräische Lexikographie. Das ‘Hebräisch-deutsche Handwörterbuch’ von Wilhelm Gesenius als Spiegel und Quelle alttestamentlicher und hebräischer Forschung, 200 Jahre nach seiner ersten Auflage* (ed. S. Schorch / E.-J. Waschke; BZAW 427; Berlin/Boston, forthcoming). – B. DUHM, *Das Buch Jesaja* (HKAT III/1; Göttingen 1892); *Das Buch Jeremia* (KHC.AT XI; Tübingen, Leipzig 1901). – H. EWALD, *Die Propheten des Alten Bundes*, 2 vols (Stuttgart 1840–1841; <sup>2</sup>1867). – F. H. W. GESENIUS, *Philologisch-kritischer und historischer Commentar über den Jesaja*, 2 vols (Leipzig 1821; <sup>2</sup>1829).

The question of a Deuteronomistic redaction began to concern also the treatment of the Prophetic books, especially the book of Jeremiah. The links between the book of Jeremiah and the Deuteronomistic passages in the Pentateuch and the Former Prophets, as observed by Colenso and others, received a redaction-critical explanation in Bernhard Duhm’s (1847–1928)<sup>174</sup> commentary of 1901. In this

<sup>168</sup> J. A. DRAPER (ed.), *The Eye of the Storm: Bishop John William Colenso and the Crisis of Biblical Inspiration* (JSOT.S 386; London 2003).

<sup>169</sup> Pentateuch III, 410. See also Pentateuch I, 367. This idea is based on the right observation that the Deuteronomistic style also occurs in the book of Jeremiah. This should probably be explained by the theory of a Deuteronomistic redaction of the book of Jeremiah (see below).

<sup>170</sup> Pentateuch, III, 402.

<sup>171</sup> See on this Ausloos, Colenso (2006), who provides a useful list of all the texts that Colenso considered to be “Deuteronomistic”.

<sup>172</sup> Pentateuch, I, 367. The observation, that Genesis is much less “Deuteronomistic” than Exodus and Numbers plays a major role in present Pentateuchal research as well.

<sup>173</sup> See on this de Pury / Römer, Pentateuque en question (1991), 48–50, 58–62.

<sup>174</sup> On Duhm see Smend, *Alttestamentler*, 114–128.

commentary, Duhm attributed no more than some 60 brief oracles to the historical Jeremiah. He then postulated the existence of a “biography of Jeremiah” in Jer 26–29 and 32–45. The main parts of the book (about 850 verses) are due to Deuteronomistic reworking,<sup>175</sup> which can easily be recognized by their style, including repetitions and theological platitudes.<sup>176</sup> Duhm postulated that “the book has slowly expanded, like a forest growing wildly”,<sup>177</sup> and that the Deuteronomistic scribes, whom he did not like very much (sometimes he refers to them as “Pharisees”), worked on the book from the Babylonian to the Maccabean period. In a way, Duhm’s commentary presents the achievements of the critical analysis of the Prophetic books in the nineteenth century.

Nineteenth-century biblical scholarship on the Prophets was mainly characterized by the search for the *ipsissima verba* of the Prophets, as well as by the idealistic and Protestant concept of the prophets representing a spiritual and ethic religion. The commentary on the book of Isaiah by Wilhelm Gesenius (the first part of which was published 1820) is exceptional in this context, as Gesenius showed himself to be more interested in philological and historical questions. As pointed out by U. Becker, Gesenius wished to contribute with this work to a profane reconstruction of Jewish history, by adopting a “comparative” approach.<sup>178</sup> Although Gesenius himself was more interested in “lower” criticism, his commentary contributed decisively to the “higher criticism” of the book. He accepted the fact that chapters 40–66 are not to be attributed to the prophet of the eighth century.<sup>179</sup> But in Proto-Isaiah, numerous passages are also due to later authors: Isaiah 13–14; 21; 24–27; 34–35; 36–39.<sup>180</sup> Chapters 24–27 clearly indicate the historical context in which they were composed, which is the end of the Babylonian period: *Das Land Juda und Jerusalem sind verwüstet (24,1–12. 27,10,11), die Juden zerstreut (24,14–16). Der Sturz Babels steht aber als nahe bevor.*<sup>181</sup> The book of Isaiah is the result of the compilation of smaller collections<sup>182</sup> that were all attributed to the prophet. A first collection from the time of the exilic period ended in chapter 35, to which chapters 36–39 (excerpted

<sup>175</sup> The idea that the book of Jeremiah grew in three main stages, “Jeremiah” – “Baruch” – “Redactor”, can also be found in the commentary of F. GIESEBRECHT, *Das Buch Jeremia und die Klagegedichte Jeremiae* (HKAT III/2; Göttingen 1894; <sup>2</sup>1907).

<sup>176</sup> See for instance his comments on the passage of the new covenant in Jer 31:31–34.

<sup>177</sup> Jeremia (1901), xx.

<sup>178</sup> Becker, “Gesenius”, manuscript, p. 3. I would like to thank my colleague for having permitted the use of his manuscript before publication.

<sup>179</sup> The theory of a “Second Isaiah” emerged in the eighteenth century in the works of Döderlein (1775) and Eichhorn (1783) quoted by Gesenius, *Jesaja* (1821) I, 17. It was still refuted in the second half of the nineteenth century by F. Delitzsch, *Biblischer Commentar über den Prophet Jesaja* (Leipzig 1866); ET: *Biblical Commentary on the Prophecies of Isaiah* (Edinburgh 1867).

<sup>180</sup> *Jesaja*, I, 16–17. Gesenius mainly wants to distinguish two authors and attributes chapters 13–14; 21; 24–27; 34–35 to a “Pseudo-Isaiah”. Contrary to many of his colleagues, Gesenius did not express a negative view on the later additions to the book, which belong (especially chapters 40–55) to the “most important and attractive passages of the Old Testament” (*Jesaja*, II (1829), 1; see Becker, “Gesenius”, 4).

<sup>181</sup> *Jesaja*, I, 757.

<sup>182</sup> Gesenius (*Jesaja* I, 18–23) distinguishes four books: 1–12 (mostly authentic oracles); 13–23 (oracles against the nations with some non-authentic interpolations); 24–35 (authentic oracles from the time of Hezekiah in 28–33, framed by passages from the exilic period: 24–27 and 34–35, to which a “collector” added 36–39 from the books of Kings), 40–66 (added to the book only in postexilic times).

from the books of Kings) were added to conclude the book (in the same way as Jeremiah 52, which is also a summary taken from Kings).<sup>183</sup> Chapters 40–66 were added to the book of Isaiah only later, probably in the Persian period.<sup>184</sup> Gesenius anticipated numerous developments, which were taken up by B. Duhm<sup>185</sup> at the end of the century as well as by many scholars in the twentieth century,<sup>186</sup> which makes his commentary a true milestone in the history of research on the Prophets.

Contrary to Isaiah and Jeremiah, the book of Ezekiel remained somewhat excluded from “higher criticism” in the nineteenth century, probably because of its relatively homogenous style. Ewald observed rightly that the formation of the book comprised several stages: chapters 40–48 were written later than the majority of the other texts (only 29:17–21 is later). Contrary to the other passages of the book, this vision of the new temple reflects a “*priesterliche-ängstliche Farbe ... und Gedanken ... die dem übrigen Buche völlig fremd sind*”.<sup>187</sup> Nevertheless all the parts of the book were, despite their differences, written by Ezekiel, who was more of a writer than a prophet,<sup>188</sup> in different situations of his life. A notable exception is the Jewish scholar L. Zunz, who considered the book to be a pseudepigraph from the second half of the fifth century,<sup>189</sup> a position that was later adopted by Torrey and, more recently, by J. Becker and U. Feist.<sup>190</sup> Most of the redaction-critical work on the book of Ezekiel was carried out in the twentieth century, and the same holds true for the Twelve Minor Prophets. Ewald elaborated a theory on the formation of the Book of the Twelve.<sup>191</sup> The

<sup>183</sup> Jesaja, I, 952–956.

<sup>184</sup> Gesenius advances an interesting argument: originally as attested in the Talmud, Isaiah stood after Jeremiah and Ezekiel, which were considered to be canonical earlier than Isaiah (Jesaja, I, 22–23 with footnote 38).

<sup>185</sup> In Jesaja (1892), 7–22, he distinguishes five main stages in the formation of the book: a first collection edited by the prophet himself, other collections added by his disciples, redactions during the exilic period, edition of a book of Isaiah in the fourth century BCE, final edition under the Hasmoneans.

<sup>186</sup> See the short summary in J. VERMEYLEN, *Du prophète Isaïe à l'apocalyptique. Isaïe, I–XXXV, miroir d'un demi-millénaire d'expérience religieuse en Israël* (Etudes bibliques; Paris 1977–1978), 4–30.

<sup>187</sup> Propheten, II (1841), 218.

<sup>188</sup> Ibid. 207. A similar view is defended by F. HITZIG, *Der Prophet Ezechiel* (KEHAT 8; Leipzig 1847), professor in Zürich, who also wrote commentaries on Jeremiah and the Twelve. With the exception of some glosses, the book was the result of Ezekiel's scribal skills (viii–xvi). In his edition of the Bible, E. Reuss held a similar view, admitting only minor glosses and scribal errors, see J. M. VINCENT, “Eduard Reuss' Auslegung des Ezechielbuches in La Bible”, *Altes Testament. Forschung und Wirkung. Festschrift für Henning Graf Reventlow* (ed. P. Mommer / W. Thiel; Frankfurt/Main 1994), 369–382, 375–376.

<sup>189</sup> *Bibelkritisches* (1873), 226–233. In *Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden, historisch entwickelt: ein Beytrag zur Alterthumskunde und biblischen Kritik zur Literatur- und Religionsgeschichte* (Berlin 1832; Frankfurt/Main 1892), 157–162, he advocated, followed by A. Geiger, the early Persian period.

<sup>190</sup> C. C. TORREY, *Pseudo-Ezekiel and the Original Prophecy* (Yale Oriental Series. Researches 18; New Haven/London 1930); J. BECKER, “Erwägungen zur ezechielschen Frage”, *Künder des Wortes. FS J. Schreiner* (ed. L. Ruppert / P. Weimar / E. Zenger; Würzburg 1982), 137–149; U. FEIST, *Ezechiel: das literarische Problem des Buches forschungsgeschichtlich betrachtet* (BWANT 138; Stuttgart et al. 1995).

<sup>191</sup> Propheten I, 60–62, and, more detailed, in the second edition of 1867, 74–82. See also J. WÖHRLÉ, *Der Abschluss des Zwölfprophetenbuches: buchübergreifende Redaktionsprozesse in den späten Sammlungen* (BZAW 389; Berlin/New York 2008), 2–3.

individual books of the Twelve, like Joel, Amos, etc., were, however, all written by the prophets themselves (with very few exceptions). “Higher Criticism” on the Prophets started in the nineteenth century with research carried out on Isaiah.

#### 4. On the Way to Wellhausen: Reuss, Popper, Graf and the Invention of a Postmonarchic Priestly Document

*Bibliography:* K. BUDDÉ (ed.), *Eduard Reuss' Briefwechsel mit seinem Schüler und Freunde Karl Heinrich Graf: zur Hundertjahrfeier seiner Geburt* (Giessen 1904). – J. CONRAD, *Karl Heinrich Graf's Arbeit am Alten Testament. Studien zu einer wissenschaftlichen Biographie* (ed. U. Becker; BZAW 425; Berlin/Boston 2011). – K. H. GRAF, *Die geschichtlichen Bücher des Alten Testaments: zwei historisch-kritische Untersuchungen* (Leipzig 1866); “Die sogenannte Grundschrift des Pentateuch”, *Archiv für die wissenschaftliche Erforschung des Alten Testaments* 1 (1869) 466–477. – J.-G. HEINTZ, “Edouard Reuss, Karl Heinrich Graf et le Pentateuque”, *RHPbR* 71 (1991) 443–457. – A. KAYSER, *Das vorexilische Buch der Urgeschichte Israels und seine Erweiterungen* (Strasbourg 1874). – S. R. KÜLLING, *Zur Datierung der ‘Genesis-P-Stücke’, namentlich des Kapitels Genesis XVII* (Kampen 1964). – T. NÖLDEKE, *Untersuchungen zur Kritik des Alten Testaments* (Kiel 1869). – J. POPPER, *Der biblische Bericht über die Stiftshütte: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Composition und Diaskeue des Pentateuch* (Leipzig 1862). – Y. SHAVIT / M. 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* (Studia Judaica 38; Berlin/New York 2007). – R. J. THOMPSON, *Moses and the Law in a Century of Criticism since Graf* (VT.S 19; Leiden 1970). – J. M. VINCENT, *Leben und Werk des frühen Eduard Reuss: ein Beitrag zu den geistesgeschichtlichen Voraussetzungen der Bibelkritik im zweiten Viertel des 19. Jahrhunderts* (BEvTh. 106; Munich 1990).

The documentary hypothesis and the supplementary hypothesis postulated an Elohist document that formed the basis of the Penta- or Hexateuch (*Grundschrift*) and two which belonged to “priestly” texts like the construction of the sanctuary in the second part of the book of Exodus, ritual laws in the book of Leviticus, but also texts like the institution of circumcision (Gen 17) or the Shabbat (Exod 16). Hupfeld’s idea that the Elohist document should be split into two independent sources did not change his view that the oldest document contained priestly legislation (see above).

The idea that the “priestly” laws and narratives are later than the oldest document of the Pentateuch was brought forward by Edouard Guillaume Eugène Reuss (1804–1891),<sup>192</sup> professor at Strasbourg, and Karl Heinrich Graf (1815–1869), his student, who never obtained a chair and worked as a teacher of French and Hebrew in Meissen.<sup>193</sup> During his entire life Graf remained very close to Reuss as attested by the abundant correspondence between the two. Reuss claimed that he had come up with the idea that the Law was later than the Prophets as early as 1833, and that he had made it public in his lectures of 1834, but that he had refrained from publishing it because it was contradictory to the exe-

<sup>192</sup> Reuss studied in Germany and his teachers were Eichhorn and Gesenius. He had a very positive attitude to German biblical research and to Germany in general, which is why he remained professor after the annexation of Alsace by Germany. For his life and work see Vincent, *Leben*, and E. JACOB, “Edouard Reuss, un théologien indépendant”, *RHPbR* 71 (1991) 427–435.

<sup>193</sup> On his rather tragic life see Conrad, *Graf* (2011), 15–72.

getical mainstream.<sup>194</sup> It is quite possible that Graf heard of this idea when he attended classes with Reuss in Strasbourg. Reuss observed that the Laws in the middle books of the Pentateuch were unknown to the Prophets. Those laws do not fit into the time of the monarchy, but rather into the context of the Babylonian exile or later. Reuss also predicted that the view that Leviticus was later than Deuteronomy would soon become a widely accepted idea in Pentateuchal research.<sup>195</sup> Indeed, Graf always recognized that it was his teacher Reuss from whom he adopted the view that the priestly legislation of the Pentateuch belonged to the youngest texts of the Pentateuch.<sup>196</sup> Before turning to Graf, however, we should emphasize that the idea of a late (exilic or postexilic) date of the priestly laws of the Pentateuch had been “in the air” since the 1830s.

Wilhelm Vatke claimed in 1835 that Ezekiel ignored major parts of the legislation of the books of Exodus and Leviticus, which were probably only composed in the exilic period.<sup>197</sup> George defended the same idea, arguing that the ritual laws in Exodus, Leviticus and Numbers were written in Babylonian times, later than the Deuteronomic laws.<sup>198</sup> At the same time, Peter von Bohlen also observed that there was no evidence that the priestly laws of the Pentateuch had been observed before the time of the exile.<sup>199</sup>

A major contribution was made by the work of the Jewish scholar Julius Popper (1822–1884) who, in 1862, published a monograph on *The Biblical Account of the Tabernacle* in which he compared the building instructions (Exod 25–31) with the account of the building work (Exod 35–40). The linguistic and logical differences between the two accounts led Popper to postulate that several chapters of the second description stemmed from a later redaction that was carried out in the third century BCE.<sup>200</sup> Popper did not determine whether all priestly laws of the so-called *Grundschrift* belonged to the postexilic period,<sup>201</sup> but in attributing parts of the account of the Tabernacle to the postexilic period, Popper

<sup>194</sup> Vincent, Reuss (1990), 256–262.

<sup>195</sup> Reuss published this idea only in 1850 in an encyclopaedia article: E. REUSS, “Judenthum”, *Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Wissenschaften und der Kunst* (ed. J. C. Ersch / J. G. Gruber; Leipzig 1850), 327–347, 329–337. He narrates the story of his initial intuition in 1833 in the foreword to his *Geschichte der heiligen Schriften des Alten Testaments* (Braunschweig 1881), vii–viii. In *La Bible. L’Histoire Sainte et la Loi (Pentateuque et Josué)*, vol. 1 (Paris 1879), he speaks of a “savant d’origine alsacienne [Graf], qui mit à profit ... les principes qu’il avait entendu recommander trente ans auparavant quand il était encore sur les bancs d’école” (32), without mentioning his own name explicitly.

<sup>196</sup> Letter to Reuss, published in Budde, Briefwechsel (1904), 501. See also Külling, Datierung (1964), 6–7.

<sup>197</sup> Vatke, Theologie, 534–539. He argues for instance that Ezekiel could not have written the last chapters of his book if Leviticus and Numbers had already existed. Later Vatke gave up this opinion and returned to the traditional view on the age of the “Elohistic source”, see Külling, *ibid.*, 38–39.

<sup>198</sup> Feste (1835), 11–13. See above.

<sup>199</sup> P. VON BOHLEN, *Die Genesis historisch-kritisch erläutert* (Königsberg 1835; ET: *Introduction to the Book of Genesis*, London 1855). He recognized that the laws in Leviticus had been successively compiled by priests (clxxii) in the postexilic period, and showed that the narrative of Gen 38 is unaware of Levitical legislation according to which Judah would have been punished with death (364–365). Von Bohlen dedicated his work to de Wette, who reacted in admitting that von Bohlen had presented valuable arguments for dating the Levitical system to a later age; see Thompson, Law (1970), 24.

<sup>200</sup> Stiftshütte (1862), 7.

<sup>201</sup> On p. 208, he wonders whether these laws are earlier than Ezekiel or later.

supported Graf's ideas that he published some years later.<sup>202</sup> According to HaCohen, "Popper's work contains the ('Jewish?') roots of the Graf-Wellhausen hypothesis".<sup>203</sup>

Graf's critical work on the Hebrew Bible started in 1855 with an investigation on the sanctuary of Shilo in the book of Judges, in which he tried to show that the books of Judges and Samuel do not presuppose the idea of one central sanctuary.<sup>204</sup> Consequently, the Tabernacle of Exod 25–40 is a literary fiction that transposes Solomon's temple into the wilderness. This fiction, together with other similar texts in Exodus – Numbers, stemmed from the time of the exile.<sup>205</sup> Graf's major contribution to Pentateuchal research was his 1865 work on the historical books of the Hebrew Bible.<sup>206</sup> Graf started with the affirmation that the Book of Deuteronomic law (Deut 5–26 and 28) corresponded to the book of the Josianic reform. He then asked which texts of the Pentateuch were to be regarded as earlier or later than the first edition of Deuteronomy. In a second step, Graf demonstrated that the priestly laws in Exodus, Leviticus and Numbers<sup>207</sup> were added in several stages: some in the exilic period before Ezra, the majority by Ezra himself and some collections even later.<sup>208</sup> Like his teacher Reuss, Graf defended a supplementary hypothesis in postulating that the *Grundschrift* of the Pentateuch, which also contained texts like Genesis 17, had been revised by the Jehovist in the eighth century.<sup>209</sup> This Jehovist comprised a Hexateuch of a sort, reaching from the creation of the world to the conquest of the land. A later redactor, the Deuteronomist, inserted in exilic times the book of Deuteronomy by adding Deut 1–4 and 29–34 and by thoroughly reworking the book of Joshua. The same Deuteronomist also reworked the books of Kings.<sup>210</sup> The priestly laws existed in the time of Ezra as an independent collection which a redactor later inserted into the Deuteronomistic edition of the Hexateuch.<sup>211</sup> Bishop Colenso expressed a similar view in a letter of 1869: "I have no doubt that large parts of the three middle books & Joshua are due to the later or Levitical legislator after the captivity".<sup>212</sup>

Graf's reconstruction of the formation of the Hexateuch received much atten-

<sup>202</sup> Graf was aware of Popper's work, see Thompson, *ibid.* 34, and Conrad, Graf (2011), 117.

<sup>203</sup> HaCohen, *Reclaiming*, 138. He quotes a review that was published some year later in a Protestant Journal in which we read: "Mr. Popper can clearly claim to be the first to point definitively to this idea, which is of enormous importance to Pentateuch criticism as a whole".

<sup>204</sup> F. GRAF, *De templo Silonensi commentatio ad illustrandum locum Iud. XVIII, 30 sq.* (Meissen 1855). For a summary of the work see Conrad, Graf, 80–87.

<sup>205</sup> *De templo* (1855), 20–23.

<sup>206</sup> Despite the publication date (1866), the book appeared in 1865, see Houtman, Pentateuch, 100.

<sup>207</sup> The idea that Numbers contains mostly later supplements to the original legislation can already be found in A. KNOBEL, *Die Bücher Numeri, Deuteronomium und Josua* (KEHAT 1; Leipzig 1861).

<sup>208</sup> *Bücher* (1866), 85–117; see Conrad, Graf, 99–121.

<sup>209</sup> Graf was aware of the similarities between Gen 17 and the priestly laws, but explained them by pointing to an archaic priestly language used in those centuries (92–93).

<sup>210</sup> *Bücher*, 6–18, 109–110. Graf does not accept the idea of a Deuteronomistic edition of the books of Judges and Samuel. He ascribes the so-called dttr texts in these books to the Jehovist, see Conrad, Graf, 126–128.

<sup>211</sup> *Bücher*, 74–75.

<sup>212</sup> Letter dated 9<sup>th</sup> of January 1869, published in Draper, *Eye of the Storm* (2003), 96.

tion and positive as well as negative criticism.<sup>213</sup> Particularly important were comments by T. Nöldeke and A. Kuenen who criticized Graf’s decision to split the *Grundschrift* into an older narrative and younger priestly laws.<sup>214</sup> Nöldeke (1836–1930, professor of Semitics<sup>215</sup> in Kiel, and after the German annexation of Alsace, in Strasbourg) argued that several narratives of the *Grundschrift* were closely related to the laws and that the *Grundschrift* as a whole should be considered to be preexilic. He admitted, however, that it was impossible to prove that this document was the oldest source of the Pentateuch.<sup>216</sup> In a letter to Graf, the Dutch scholar A. Kuenen discussed whether it was preferable to locate the whole *Grundschrift* after the Jehovist in a later period. Graf answered in French on the 12<sup>th</sup> of November 1866, recognizing that this was a new and surprising solution to the problem and saying that he was going to try to come to a new “conviction raisonnée”.<sup>217</sup> In an article published after his death, he proposed a revised view on the formation of the Pentateuch,<sup>218</sup> acknowledging that the Jehovist was not a redactor but an independent document. Thus, it was no longer necessary to date the *Grundschrift* at the beginning of the Pentateuch. Quite the contrary, it now formed the last step in the formation of the first books of the Bible. Graf did, however, remain an advocate of the supplementary hypothesis. He claimed that the *Grundschrift* should be understood as a redaction and a revision of the older Jehovistic source.<sup>219</sup> It is interesting to note that one of the most important fore-runners of Wellhausen did not advocate a documentary hypothesis but a supplementary theory, which is again discussed in present scholarship as a viable option for an adequate understanding of the so-called priestly texts of the Pentateuch.<sup>220</sup>

A similar position with regard to the “Elohistic document” was adopted in 1874 by August Kayser, also a student of Reuss, who argued that “the so-called *Grundschrift* was composed in its entirety (historical and legislative portions alike) after the return from captivity”.<sup>221</sup> One of the most influential scholars who, together with Wellhausen, proposed the idea of an exilic or postexilic date of the priestly texts of the Pentateuch (in the context of the “newer” documentary hypothesis [JE, D, P] almost for a century the main hypothesis on the formation of the Pentateuch) was the Dutch scholar Abraham Kuenen. His approach will be presented in the chapter dedicated to him and Wellhausen.

<sup>213</sup> Conrad, Graf, 132–141.

<sup>214</sup> One should also mention the review by E. RIEHM in *ThStKr* 41 (1868), 350–379, who, similarly to Nöldeke, defended the unity of the *Grundschrift* and advocated a documentary hypothesis.

<sup>215</sup> His work on the Quran received a prize from the French *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*. On his life see M. FRENCHKOWSKI, “Theodor Nöldeke”, *BBKL* 6 (1993), cols 979–983.

<sup>216</sup> Untersuchungen (1869), 141: *auf keinen Fall darf man die Forderung aufstellen, dass die Grundschrift von allen ausführlichen Quellen des Pentateuchs gerade die älteste sein sollte.*

<sup>217</sup> Conrad, Graf, 135–136.

<sup>218</sup> *Grundschrift*.

<sup>219</sup> Referring to Nöldeke, he argues that it is impossible to reconstruct a coherent narrative, *Grundschrift*, 471–472.

<sup>220</sup> For an overview see S. SHECTMAN / J.S. BADEN (eds.), *The Strata of the Priestly Writings. Contemporary Debate and Future Directions* (AThANT 95; Zürich 2009).

<sup>221</sup> *Urgeschichte* (1874). English quotation according to Rogerson, *OT Criticism* (1984), 259.



## CHAPTER FIFTEEN

# The Work of Abraham Kuenen and Julius Wellhausen

By RUDOLF SMEND, Göttingen

### 1. Introduction

The classic era of Old Testament scholarship in the second half of the nineteenth century – or, to be more precise, its last third – is represented by two outstanding figures, Abraham Kuenen (1828–1891) and Julius Wellhausen (1844–1918). The two acknowledged each other mutually as a ‘pair’, and were on cordial terms. All in all, their work went hand in hand, although it took different ways, and they therefore complemented each other excellently. The difference between them has been characterized as that between “grave didacticism” and “brilliant poignancy”.<sup>1</sup> Wellhausen himself made the point when he wrote to Kuenen: “Your even-handed justice is impossible for one of my temperament; my capacity for work suffers too much from this”.<sup>2</sup> “Dry as cork but clear as glass”, was the way one of Kuenen’s pupils described his teacher’s chief work, then adding “sound through and through”.<sup>3</sup> The description can be applied not only to the work but also to the person behind it, of whom everyone who knew him could say that he was even more important than the work. Kuenen was describing himself when he compared the work of the biblical critic in its detail with that of a judge who passes judgment on the basis of a completely objective assessment of all the relevant evidence.<sup>4</sup> Of course Wellhausen would have agreed, but in his case another element of almost equal importance was added, one which comes out in the very first comment we have from him: in the summer of 1863 the 19-year-old student submitted to the theological faculty in Göttingen a dissertation on messianic prophecy, which unfortunately has not been preserved; but we have the accompanying letter in which the author expresses the hope that the work will show “that he did it with love”.<sup>5</sup> The early comment is highly characteristic of both his life

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<sup>1</sup> Rofé, *Contribution* (1993), 105 (for the following bibliographical ref. s. below Sect. 2).

<sup>2</sup> Letter of 13 March 1878.

<sup>3</sup> Oort, *Godgeleerde* (1893), 535.

<sup>4</sup> Kuenen, *Abhandlungen* (1894), 22f.

<sup>5</sup> Universitätsarchiv Göttingen SA 0128.7. The difference from Kuenen should not be overstated, however, or be taken to mean that his work was lacking in love: at the end of the preface to the first edition of the *Onderzoek* he thinks it important to establish that he had worked on the book “with love”.

and his work. He strove for strict rectitude and objectivity – that was matter of course; but he never worked *sine ira et studio*. He always invested his own strong, reflective person in what he did. He never gave himself up to problems which did not attract him personally in one way or another – problems which he did not find ‘congenial’ – or if he did so, it was against the grain. Conversely, facts and problems often took on a completely unexpected life just because he threw himself fully into them. That gives his work even today a freshness and colour which is rare among scholars.

The era and work of Kuenen and Wellhausen deserves the word ‘classic’ partly because in them the previous history of Old Testament studies drew to a certain conclusion, and it is there that the work that came afterwards has its inception. Both scholars may have been to some extent conscious of the role they were thus playing, to some extent also because they were more clearly and vividly aware of the history of their own discipline than were most of their colleagues. Apart from frequent individual references – in Kuenen more obviously in the sense of the ‘examination of a witness’ than in Wellhausen’s case, where the comment is often more implicit – this also often comes out in special studies: Kuenen portrayed his great Dutch predecessor Hugo Grotius<sup>6</sup>, and Wellhausen, in a characteristically different way, his difficult teacher Heinrich Ewald;<sup>7</sup> Wellhausen, in his “brilliant poignancy”, presented the most sovereign survey of the history of Old Testament scholarship which we possess,<sup>8</sup> while there is no period in these studies about which we are as well and as justly informed as we are about the years 1869–92, during which Kuenen reviewed the new publications in his *Theologisch Tijdschrift*.

Unlike Wellhausen, Kuenen built up a regular ‘school’, to which J. Dyserinck, I. Hooykas, W. H. Kusters, J. C. Matthes and H. Oort belonged. They inclined to more radical criticism than their teacher, who with his cautious weighing up of the material could seem to them positively conservative. But in the succeeding generations Dutch Old Testament scholarship, even when it turned away to the left or the right, always saw itself in relation to Kuenen, indeed it was from Kuenen that it took its bearings.<sup>9</sup> Wellhausen, on the other hand, had hardly any academic disciples. His closest friends in his own discipline, B. Duhm, whose genius was almost equal to his own, and R. Smend, had indeed been his pupils in his first years of teaching in Göttingen, and at that time received essential impulses from him. But afterwards they pursued their careers under others; and his relations with his colleagues were otherwise not especially close. He was an individualist of the purest water, and could be pinned down to no single direction. He achieved his influence through his books, and here his powerful arguments were given added force through his language: seldom has there been a biblical scholar who wrote so well. The impact of his writing was of course bound to be less outside the German-language sector; and moreover only very few of his works were

<sup>6</sup> Kuenen, *Abhandlungen* (1894), 161–185.

<sup>7</sup> See below, 437.

<sup>8</sup> Bleek / Wellhausen, *Einleitung* (1878), 644–656.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Houtman, *Wirkung der Arbeit Kuenens* (1993).

translated into a foreign language – not even the *Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte*, although this was most widely known during his lifetime and is indispensable for a knowledge of his work. In spite of this he became very quickly known in Great Britain, so that after 1880 one can even talk about a “triumph of Wellhausen”,<sup>10</sup> his renown there being thanks to his friend W. Robertson Smith, who arranged for him to write the article on ‘Israel’ in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1880) and also initiated the English translation of the *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels* (1883). Smith made contact with Kuenen later than he did with Wellhausen, but the bond then became so firm that Kuenen can really be called the third in this international affiliation. After Kuenen’s death, T.K. Cheyne wrote: “Wellhausen and Robertson Smith (leaders and representatives of Kuenen’s juniors) have ... lost more than can be said in this prince of critics”.<sup>11</sup>

What Kuenen and Wellhausen initially had in common was that they both, independently of each other, recognized the importance of Graf’s hypothesis – in 1866 the 38-year-old Leiden professor, in 1867 the 23-year-old private tutor in Hanover. In 1871 Wellhausen read Kuenen’s *Godsdienst van Israël*, in 1872 Kuenen read Wellhausen’s *Text der Bücher Samuelis*. In 1874 the intensive correspondence between them began, and in 1878 personal contact followed, with Wellhausen’s first visit to Leiden.

In what follows, the two scholars will be discussed one after another, but with the inclusion of the comments with which they accompanied each other’s work.

## 2. Kuenen: Inquiry and History

Sources: A. KUENEN, *Oratio de accurato antiquitatis Hebraicae studio Theologo Christiano magnopere commendando* (Leiden: Engels 1853); *Libri Exodi et Levitici sec. Arabicam Pentateuchi Samaritani versionem ab Abu-Saido conscriptam. Ex tribus Codicibus* (Leiden: Brill 1854); “Het Oude Testament in Het Nieuwe Testament”, *GodBij* 31 (1857) 177–212; 32 (1858) 97–113, 113–132; 34 (1860) 1–39; *Historisch-kritisch onderzoek naar het ontstaan en de verzameling van de boeken des Ouden Verbonds*, I–III, I. *Het ontstaan van de Historische boeken des Ouden Verbonds* (Leiden: Engels 1861), II. *Het ontstaan van de Prophetische boeken des Ouden Verbonds* (1863), III. *Het ontstaan van de Poëtische boeken des Ouden Verbonds. De verzameling van de boeken des Ouden Verbonds* (1865); *Historisch-Kritisch [sic] onderzoek...*, Tweede, geheel omgewerkte uitgave, I,1 (1885); I,2 (1887); II (1889); III,1 (1893, ed. J. C. Matthes), ET: *The Pentateuch and book of Joshua critically examined* (tr. J. W. Colenso; London: Longman, Green etc. 1865); *An historico critical inquiry into the Origin and Composition of the Hexateuch* (tr. Ph. H. Wickstead; London: Macmillan 1886), FT: *Histoire critique des livres de l’Ancien Testament*, I/II (tr. M. A. Pierson; préface de E. Renan; Paris: Lévy Frères 1866 / 1879), GT: *Historisch-kritische Einleitung in die Bücher des Alten Testaments hinsichtlich ihrer Entstehung und Sammlung*, I/II (tr. Th. Weber / C. Th. Müller; Leipzig: Schulze und Reisland 1886 / 1892); *De godsdienst van Israël tot den ondergang van den Joodschen staat*, I–II (Haarlem: Kruseman 1869 / 1870); ET: *The religion of Israel to the fall of the Jewish state*, I–III (tr. A. H. May; London: Williams and Norgate 1874–1875); *De profeten an de profetie onder Israël. Historisch-dogmatische studie* (Leiden: Engels 1875), ET: *The prophets and prophecy in Israel. An histori-*

<sup>10</sup> J. ROGERSON, *Old Testament Criticism in the Nineteenth Century. England and Germany* (London: SPCK 1984), 273–289.

<sup>11</sup> T. K. CHEYNE, *Founders of Old Testament Criticism* (London: Methuen 1893), 194.

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## 2.1. Beginnings

Abraham Kuenen was born (1828) in Haarlem as son of a pharmacist. Having finished school, he moved to Leiden to study theology, and remained there for the rest of his life. His career moved forward unusually swiftly, even for those days; one of the obituaries calls it a positive “triumphal progress”.<sup>12</sup> In 1851 he received his theological doctorate; in 1852 he became assistant professor of theology, and in 1855 full professor, having meanwhile, in 1853, been awarded an honorary D.Phil. His most important teachers were the orientalist T. W. J. Juijnbold and the theologian J. H. Scholten, and accordingly as a student Kuenen pursued oriental studies just as vigorously as theology. His dissertation was a part-edition of an Arabic translation of the Samaritan Pentateuch, on which he contin-

<sup>12</sup> Tiele, *In Memoriam* (1892), 193.

ued to work in the years that followed. In 1851, under Juijnbooll, he became custodian of a great Leiden collection of oriental manuscripts, succeeding R. P. A. Dozy, the later renowned Arabic scholar and historian. He kept this position until 1855, the year in which he was appointed to a chair. As professor of theology he had initially to lecture on New Testament exegesis, the history of the Old Testament books, encyclopaedia and methodology, and from 1860 on ethics as well. At that time Old Testament exegesis was anchored, not in the theological faculty but, together with Hebrews, in the philological one. It was officially transferred to Kuenen only in 1877, following a university reform. But even after 1877 he kept the lectures on ethics, which he particularly had at heart, and which the students evidently enjoyed more than those on the Old Testament, which bored them somewhat, even when the lecturer was a Kuenen. He never allowed there to be the shadow of a doubt that he pursued Old Testament scholarship in the framework of theology, thus aiming to put it at the service of the Christian faith. Together with his teacher Scholten, he was one of the leading representatives of an influential movement which lasted into the twentieth century and called itself *moderne richting* ("modern school"). It fought against the supernaturalism which was particularly strong in the Dutch Reformed Church, and in the biblical sector, therefore, naturally concerned itself particularly with the belief in miracles, and with Christ as the fulfilment of Old Testament prophecy. But here too it went far beyond these questions, and through Scholten (who was close to the Tübingen school) tried to gain a new historically based, overall picture of the New Testament, and through Kuenen a corresponding picture of the Old Testament. Consequently Kuenen did not content himself with two series of articles in the late 1850s on *Het Oude Testament in het Nieuwe Testament* and *Christologie van het Oude Verbond*; he soon brought out a comprehensive work, the *Historisch-kritisch Onderzoek naar het ontstaan en de verzameling van de Boeken des Ouden Verbonds*. It appeared in three volumes in 1861–65.

## 2.2. Historisch-kritisch Onderzoek

This work, *A Historical-Critical Inquiry into the Origin and Composition of the Books of the Old Testament*, belongs within the tradition of so-called 'introductions' to the Old Testament. In Kuenen's time<sup>13</sup> discussion arose about a topic which has never been laid to rest ever since: the question whether an 'introduction' which works analytically should not give way to a literary history which proceeds synthetically. The literary history which follows in Herder's footsteps, and which Hermann Hupfeld demanded and defined in 1844,<sup>14</sup> had already been developed for the New Testament by Eduard Reuß in 1842 and for the Old Testament by Ernst Meier in 1856.<sup>15</sup> Over against these two, Kuenen decided in

<sup>13</sup> I am following Kuenen's preface to the first volume.

<sup>14</sup> H. J. HOLTZMANN, "Über Begriff und Methode der sogenannten biblischen Einleitungswissenschaft", *ThStKr* 20 (1860) 410–416, here 411.

<sup>15</sup> E. REUSS, *Geschichte der Heiligen Schriften Neuen Testaments* (Brunswick: Schwetschke 1874); E. MEIER, *Geschichte der poetischen National-Literatur der Hebräer* (Leipzig: Engelmann 1856).

favour of the analytical method. He did so for pragmatic reasons, not for reasons of principle. Israelite literary history is part of Israel's history as a whole, and of its religion. For this history, again, the books of the Old Testament are almost the only source. But we can only use them as such if we have investigated their origin, their date and their reliability. This investigation must therefore precede the compilation of a history of Israel, a history of its religion, and then a history of its literature too. As Heinrich Julius Holtzmann put it: the premise for the compilation of a literary history is "that another business has already been completed, i.e., the criticism". Consequently Kuenen replaced the colourless title 'introduction' by "A Historical-Critical Inquiry ..."; the title's continuation: "into the Origin and Composition of the Books ..." indicates that it is the individual books and the canon which are the subject. The work excludes the text and translations, which take up the greater part of the *Histoire critique* of Richard Simon, whom Kuenen invokes right at the beginning as "the father of biblical criticism". 'The books of the Old Testament' means only those belonging to the Hebrew canon. Again, Kuenen restricts himself to these for pragmatic reasons not, as one might perhaps think, because of the tradition of the Reformed Church of his own country.

The *Onderzoek* consists of three volumes, 1,301 pages in all. Not many people will have worked through them completely and with equal thoroughness. But it is a unique book; hardly any one of the subsequent introductions to the Old Testament can stand beside it as its equal. Following the method of many textbooks, his theses are followed by numerous detailed notes; these contain the larger part of the material and the learned discussion.

Wellhausen characterized the author's method as follows:

He does not provide a grouped survey of learned traditions and hypotheses, but develops his own views, though with detailed justification and conscientious respect for other opinions, in a splendid objective discussion with friend and foe. He renders and demands an account for everything; nothing for him is so certain that he does not investigate it; he has the reasons to hand even for what one is generally accustomed to treat as a matter of course. He is thereby always prepared to withdraw or correct his own earlier opinions (even if no one has disputed them), or to tone down the certainty of their tone. The mature scholar can learn from the book, and yet it is true scholarly teaching for the beginner: he is never permitted to believe, neither tradition, nor the ruling critical opinion; he must always search, weigh up and judge. He is led beyond the *doxa* to recognition of the reasons for knowing or not-knowing; he is made independent of authorities, and is yet excellently provided with an orientation in the learned literature. At the same time, the book is not easy reading. The systematic stringency of the arrangement tears the material apart, inevitably leads to interweavings and repetitions, and adversely affects the overall view. The main points are not sufficiently brought out; one would be much mistaken were one to view what is printed in large type as being the most important. The attempt to squeeze the immense plenitude of the material into the smallest space has perhaps gone too far. But such deficiencies are the necessary result of the constraints imposed on the introduction by the textbook form; and it is with pleasure that we pay the necessary price.<sup>16</sup>

Wellhausen's assessment was written on the occasion of the publication of the first volume of the second edition of the *Onderzoek*. This appeared 21 years after

<sup>16</sup> J. WELLHAUSEN, Review of vol. 1 of the second edition, *DLZ* 8 (1887) 1105f, here 1105; cf. also Oort's similar description, already cited in n. 3.

the third and final volume of the first edition; but that does not matter. Kuenen always remained the same. In substance, on the other hand, the second edition differs very radically from the first, especially with regard to the Pentateuch or, as Kuenen now says: the Hexateuch. To this 196 pages are devoted in the first edition (still divided into Pentateuch and Joshua), in the second 327. The two decades had here brought about a fundamental change, and one in which Kuenen had had a decisive share.<sup>17</sup>

### 2.3. *The Hexateuch*

Round about 1860 there was as little general consensus as ever in Hexateuchal (Pentateuchal) criticism, but there was nevertheless a kind of majority view, which can be represented by the names of Ewald, Bleek, Tuch and de Wette. According to this view, the Hexateuch was given its present form in the seventh century BCE, by “the Deuteronomist”. He had at his disposal the work of the “Yehovist” (later called “Yahwist”). The Yehovist, for his part, wrote in the eighth century and again had as literary basis an earlier work, the “Book of Origins”, dating from the early period of the monarchy, which was written by a priest or Levite (this later being called the Priestly Code or Priestly Writing). The Yehovist had augmented this original writing, the *Grundschrift* (“basic document”), with a wealth of other material. The Deuteronomist added Deuteronomy (his own work) as well as related fragments. This hypothesis, which was supported by the above-named scholars in differing variations, was called the “the supplementary hypothesis” (*Ergänzungshypothese*; Kuenen: *aanvullingshypothese*).

At first sight Kuenen’s account of 1861 looks very similar to this conception. But a closer glance reveals important differences.<sup>18</sup> On the one hand, for Kuenen the Yehovist/Yahwist (in 1861, transitionally, “Yhvhist”) did not merely supplement or edit the *Grundschrift*; he was the author of an initially independent work, which was united with the *Grundschrift* by a third person – it was this third who first acted as editor or redactor. This is no longer the supplementary hypothesis; it is now “the documentary hypothesis” (*Urkundenhypothese*). Kuenen did not initiate it. He took it over – if we may here leave aside its earlier history, represented by the names Astruc, Eichhorn, Ilgen – from Hermann Hupfeld’s *Die Quellen der Genesis* of 1853. What is even more important is that the *Grundschrift* itself now took on a different aspect, first – incidentally also following Hupfeld – because a further writing was split off from it which until then had usually not been distinguished from the rest, since in Genesis it too talks not about Yahweh but about Elohim. This is what was initially called the ‘second’ or ‘younger Elohist’, and afterwards designated by the letter E. With this hypothesis, Kuenen already maintained in 1861 the ‘four-source theory’ or ‘the newer

<sup>17</sup> I am here following his own account, translated by Wellhausen in Bleek-Wellhausen, *Einleitung* (1886), 609–629, (1893) 607–627; cf. also the introduction to the English translation of the 2<sup>nd</sup> edition of the first part of the *Onderzoek*.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. esp. *Onderzoek*, 1<sup>st</sup> edn. I (1861), 105–112.

documentary hypothesis' (the later sigla being PEJD). But above all, Kuenen subjected the *Grundschrift* to closer examination, and thereby acquired the impression that its legislative components can hardly all derive from the early period of the monarchy, indeed that some of them are even later than Deuteronomy. But in this case Deuteronomy was not simply the latest component of the Hexateuch, and its author was not its redactor; it was rather that the redaction followed the lines of the *Grundschrift*, which thus in a strange way seemed to encompass the whole, from the beginning and from the end.

In 1861 Kuenen went no further than this – and later himself shook his head over the fact: how could he have stopped only at this point? Especially since a generation earlier several scholars (George, Vatke, Reuß) had already maintained that Deuteronomy was prior to the priestly laws, even though their theory did not at that time win acceptance. Looking back, Kuenen called his position of 1861 “a humiliating proof of the tyranny which the opinions we have once accepted often exercise over us”.<sup>19</sup> It was the work of three outsiders which after 1861 confirmed Kuenen in his doubts with regard to the *Grundschrift*.

The first to be mentioned was John William Colenso, the Anglican bishop of Natal, with his seven volumes of ever-increasing bulk entitled *The Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua critically examined* (1862–79). Kuenen was most impressed by the first volume, for it emerged from this (without Colenso's having intended or even properly noticed it, let alone made full use of the fact) that the narratives and lists of the *Grundschrift* especially (which were held to be the oldest just because they purport to be so precise and documentary) contradict the laws of probability most – that is to say are the least historical.<sup>20</sup>

The second outsider was the Jewish scholar Julius Popper. In 1862 he published a book entitled *Der biblische Bericht über die Stiftshütte, ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Komposition und Diaskeue des Pentateuchs* (The Biblical Account of the Tabernacle. A Contribution to the History of the Composition and Literary Development of the Pentateuch). In this he showed that the detailed description of the building of the tabernacle in Exodus 35–40 does not belong to the same literary stratum as the equally detailed instructions for its building in Exodus 25–31, but that it is later and was only fixed long after the Babylonian exile, being one component in an ongoing literary development or, as Popper put it and after him Kuenen, a *diaskeue* which must be distinguished from the composition that preceded it. It is only when one is clear about this that one can turn to an investigation of the composition with any hope of success.

The third author who must be mentioned here, and the most important, was Karl Heinrich Graf. Graf came from Alsace, taught in Meissen in Saxony, and was the pupil and friend of Eduard Reuß in Strasbourg. In his famous book, *Die geschichtlichen Bücher des Alten Testaments* (The Historical Books of the Old Testament; Leipzig 1866), he started from the Deuteronomic Law which came into being at the time of Josiah, in the seventh century BCE, and compared it with the other laws point for point, his conclusion being that the Book of the Covenant (Exodus 21–23) is earlier than Deuteronomy, whereas the 'priestly'

<sup>19</sup> Inquiry (1886), xiv.

<sup>20</sup> On the relationship between Kuenen and Colenso, cf. Rogerson, Responses (1993), 91–98.



laws are later. Otherwise he abided by the hitherto accepted sequence, that is to say, that the *Grundschrift* is prior to everything else. Kuenen, who was surprised by Graf's book while he was again working through the Hexateuch, recognized at first glance that what from then on came to be called 'the Graf hypothesis' still had an Achilles heel: the splitting of the *Grundschrift* into narrative and law. Of course Graf had noticed this split, indeed had accepted it, thereby falling victim to the same 'tyranny' as Kuenen in 1861; he explained the striking linguistic similarity between the priestly laws and the narrative in the basic document by saying that it was the result of imitation, centuries later.

For Kuenen, it became "clearer every day" that this was impossible, and he therefore wrote to Graf on 4 September 1866 (the letter is unfortunately not extant), suggesting to him that the narrative and the law in the *Grundschrift* should be put together again, and both of them assigned to the post-deuteronomical – i.e., exilic – period, as was in any case evident for the law. Graf responded affirmatively in a letter of 12 November 1866, and shortly before his death in 1869 publicly as well. From that time on his hypothesis should actually have been called 'the Graf-Kuenen hypothesis'. Wellhausen remarked that the Hebrews would call Kuenen "Graf's Goel".<sup>21</sup>

It was Wellhausen also who indirectly brought about the delay of years to the final form of Kuenen's analysis of the Hexateuch in the second edition of the *Onderzoek*. When in 1876 and 1877 Wellhausen published his analysis of the Hexateuch, Kuenen declared in the *Theologisch Tijdschrift*<sup>22</sup> that it was "an epoch-making contribution to the extensive literature on the subject", and made it the starting point for his great discussion with Wellhausen in the ten *Bijdragen tot de critiek van Pentateuch en Josua* in the 1877–1884 volumes of the *Theologisch Tijdschrift*. With this he fulfilled Wellhausen's intention; as the latter admitted to Kuenen when he wrote, he had thought of no one more than of him, and always imagined him as reader.<sup>23</sup> That in many respects his analysis was a provisional one, no one knew better than Wellhausen himself, and he repeatedly said so. Above all, he pointed out that the literary process which he had described on the basis of the *Urkundenhypothese* "was in reality more complex, and the so-called *Ergänzungshypothese* can still find its place in a subordinate way"; it was not least along these lines that he hoped for "discussion and dissent".<sup>24</sup> Kuenen's *Bijdragen*, in which Wellhausen's hope was fulfilled, are in the opinion of one expert "the driest and most difficult to follow of Kuenen's writings".<sup>25</sup> Instead of a widely ranging review,<sup>26</sup> the central insight may be represented by a quotation taken from an essay written in 1880: "The borderline between the *writing* and the *editing* of the Hexateuch exists only in our imagination. The latest writers were at the same time redactors, and vice versa. The further we advance in the critical investigation, the more the extent of what Pop-

<sup>21</sup> Wellhausen, *Geschichte Israels*, 1 (1878), 11, n. 1; cf. *Prolegomena* (1885), 11, n. 1.

<sup>22</sup> 12 (1878) 373, 375.

<sup>23</sup> Letter from Wellhausen to Kuenen of 5 January 1877.

<sup>24</sup> Wellhausen, *Composition* (1877), 478 f.

<sup>25</sup> De Vries, *Criticism* (1963), 48.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. De Vries, *Criticism* (1963), 48–51

per called *the ongoing diaskene* emerges".<sup>27</sup> Wellhausen gladly accepted this correction, saying that it was "of the agreeable kind which frees my own fundamental viewpoint from the still existing remnants of the old leaven of the mechanical separation of sources".<sup>28</sup> It may surely be said that with this Graf's Goel had also become to some small degree Wellhausen's too.

The new *Onderzoek* began to appear in 1885, with the first part of the first volume. 1887 saw the completion of the whole volume (on the Torah and the historical books). Volume II (on the prophets) followed in 1893. The beginning of Volume III (Proverbs, Job, Ecclesiastes) was published only posthumously, and the treatment of the Psalms unfortunately never materialized. What attracted the greatest interest was of course Kuenen's treatment of the Hexateuch. In the foreword to the English translation of this section Kuenen was able to establish with satisfaction that "... I am no longer advocating a heresy, but am expounding the received view of European critical scholarship".<sup>29</sup> He of course knew that there were still scholars whose fundamental viewpoint differed in one or another respect, and today, over a century later, these dissidents could perhaps even again be in the majority. But in all camps, experts would soon have to agree that no subsequent overall account is the equal of Kuenen's classic work in its sterling quality, and that even in individual questions it can still be used with profit.

#### 2.4. Prophecy

The same can be said with certain reservations about the remaining parts of the second edition of the *Onderzoek*. Whereas Kuenen's view of the redactions of the books of Kings has acquired a certain renewed topicality in the more recent discussion about the Deuteronomistic History,<sup>30</sup> he has been relatively little mentioned in research on the prophets since his time. Although in the introductory questions about the prophetic books he also exercised the function of recorder and judge in an impressive way, he made no epoch-making contributions through his own research. But he was by no means generally uninterested in prophecy; in 1875, exactly between the two editions of the *Onderzoek*, he published in two volumes *De Profeten en de Profetie onder Israël*, with its significant subtitle, *Historisch-dogmatische Studie*. The book, not by chance suggested by a Scotsman, is a highly extensive polemic against supranaturalism, both Dutch and English. The essential thing about the prophets was their ethical monotheism, not that by virtue of a supernatural endowment they prophesied future events, let alone Jesus of Nazareth as the Christ. In order to demonstrate this, Kuenen did not find it unduly laborious to spend 270 pages going through all the prophetic predictions, first the unfulfilled and then the fulfilled. The first category is by far the greater, and where fulfilment can be established, nothing supernatural

<sup>27</sup> *TbT* 14 (1880) 281.

<sup>28</sup> Wellhausen, *Prolegomena* (1883), 8, n.2.

<sup>29</sup> Kuenen, *Inquiry* (1886), xl.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. f. ex. R.D. NELSON, *The Double Redaction of the Deuteronomistic History* (JSOT.S 18; Sheffield: JSOT Press 1981), 14–16, and also K. W. WEYDE, Ch. 19 below.

is involved. The prophets were not concerned at all about facts already laid down for the future; their concern was the moral behaviour of men and women, which was supposed to accord with the divine righteousness and justice; it is this to which they wanted to move their hearers with their threats and their promises.

Wellhausen<sup>31</sup> was not precisely enthusiastic about the book. For one thing he thought that with his meticulous confutation Kuenen was doing supranaturalism too much honour; but he realized that the main purpose of the book was “to clear away the debris”. Nevertheless he found that “the positive aspect” was lacking, or at least that it was “not the work’s strong side”. Kuenen had succeeded ‘no better than others’ in explaining the phenomenon of prophecy and ‘probably did not intend to do so’, although in one place he pointed to ‘the mystery of individuality and its inseparable connection with the source of all truth’. There could be no doubt that Kuenen sincerely ‘warms to his subject’, but it could not be said of him that he had a ‘rapport with the prophets of the kind that Ewald, for example, possessed’.<sup>32</sup> It is certainly true that exegesis of the prophetic books was not one of Kuenen’s strong points. Here impulses came much more from Ewald’s school, from Wellhausen and his friend Bernhard Duhm – who again was what in relation to the prophets might be called “a kindred spirit”; it was from Duhm that towards the end of the nineteenth century the ‘the history of religions school’ (*Religionsgeschichtliche Schule*) took considerable inspiration. This group dissociated itself from Kuenen’s book even more sharply than Wellhausen had done earlier. Walter Baumgartner, for example (later Duhm’s successor in Basel), “laid it aside with a sense of dissatisfaction” even if one “is bound to agree with it in the main”. “One is chilled by its cool, rationalizing atmosphere”, the verifying of every individual prophecy seems “small-minded” and the significance of prophecy is “decidedly underrated”.<sup>33</sup>

## 2.5. Religious History

The best test of an analysis, and indeed, as a rule, in some sense its goal as well, is the synthesis. No sooner had Kuenen become clear about the sequence of the Pentateuch sources than he went to work, and in 1869/70 already brought out his second magnum opus (after the first *Onderzoek*) in two opulently printed volumes, comprising more than 1,000 pages, with the title *De Godsdienst van Israël* – not secular history therefore, but religious history, in keeping with the religious character of the sources and the determining role of religion in the history of this people. It was not by chance that the first history of ancient Israel to rest on a late date for the ‘priestly laws’ (even if not as yet so distinctly) should have been a history of the religion – Wilhelm Vatke’s torso of a ‘biblical theology’, published in 1835. What in Vatke still remained in an obscurity almost impenetrable for normal readers (not least because of its intermingling with the Hegelian philosophy of history) was in Kuenen “clear as glass”.

<sup>31</sup> In his review *ThLZ* 1 (1876) 203–208.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.* 208.

<sup>33</sup> W. BAUMGARTNER, *Zum Alten Testament und seiner Umwelt* (Leiden: Brill 1959), 32.

The very approach already shows what was new in the whole conception. The account does not begin with Moses, or even with the Patriarchs, but with the eighth century, the period of the first literary prophets. It is here for the first time that the sources permit an assured knowledge about conditions and events. From this point Kuenen feels his way cautiously into the past, so much drained of content through the displacement of the *Grundschrift* – an era of polytheism and much else that was later condemned. At the same time, in Kuenen's eyes too, it was Moses who planted the seed for all else that was to come. True, he did not write the great law books, but the Decalogue is still for the time being left to him. The prophets are his successors, their 'ethical monotheism' is the climax of the whole development. Its periods are reflected in the phases of the Pentateuch's development: first the prophetic one, with Yahwist and Elohist, then the deuteronomic, and finally the priestly, law-bound stage, with which Kuenen had least sympathy.

Twelve years later he once again took up the synthesis which he had given in his *Godsdiens van Israël*, not in order to revise the book afresh (a plan which he was unable to carry out later too) but in order to set its subject in a wider context. When he was invited to give the Hibbert Lectures for 1882 in London and Oxford, he chose as his subject *National Religions and Universal Religions*, and drew a broad panorama of Buddhism, Christianity and Islam, with their respective roots in earlier Brahmanism, in Palestinian Judaism and in earlier Arab religion, where in each case (and this Kuenen sees as the decisive factor) a great individual personality made the transition to a world religion. Since Christianity was what Richard Rothe termed *die allerwandelichste*, the most open to change, of these religions, and thus the most vital, it was Christianity – when not ossified in particular ecclesiastical forms – which had the greatest chances for the future. Kuenen's English listeners will have followed sympathetically this comprehensively learned apologia for their religion, balanced as it was with almost wearisome scrupulousness, while we may surmise that experts among readers of the book (which appeared in 1882 in English, in 1883 in German, and in 1884 in French) fell at once on the polemical excursions in the appendix, dealing with the books which were allegedly already available to Mohammed, the pronunciation of the name of Yahweh, the age of Israelite monotheism, the work of Ezra, Bruno Bauer's denial of the Jewish origin of Christianity, and other controversial questions, about which Kuenen gives his opinion with all his accustomed clarity.

The French translator of *National Religions and Universal Religions* was Maurice Vernes, and this may offer the occasion to draw attention to a final opinion expressed by Kuenen, one that is highly characteristic and which now and again, and today especially, acquires new topicality. Vernes, an extremely productive Paris scholar, in most of his writings championed the radically late dating of the Old Testament writings. In 1888 Kuenen took as the subject for discussion Vernes' essay "*Une nouvelle hypothèse sur la composition et l'origine du Deutéronome*", which had appeared the previous year.<sup>34</sup> Vernes adhered to the

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<sup>34</sup> *TbT* 22 (1888), 35 ff. Similar in fact but sharper in tone is Wellhausen's review of another of Vernes' books: *HZ* 66 (1891) 306 f.

sequence of the Pentateuch sources put forward by Graf and Kuenen, but changed the absolute chronology: Deuteronomy is no earlier than the fifth century; the cult was not centralized in the pre-exilic period; the author of 2 Kings 22–23 is certainly familiar with Deuteronomy, but that does not prove the historicity of what he reports. The other sources are shifted forward accordingly: the Yahwist and the Elohist to the Exile, the Priestly Code to the fourth century. In his view, any possible counter-arguments drawn from the history of prophecy have no cogency, since the prophetic books, especially Jeremiah, are pseudepigrapha of a later period; Elijah and Elisha especially are not historical figures. Kuenen rejects this catalogue in his customary detailed fashion, his arguments being accompanied by an unusual degree of indignation. His conclusion is: “he must repent, not we”; but for all that, he follows his criticism with some notable sentences:

That should not, however, be taken to mean that we have nothing to learn from his essay. The exaggeration of which he is guilty must not make us forget that the fact which provides his point of departure is irrefutable. The whole of Old Testament literature, including the pre-exilic laws, narratives and prophecies, has come down to us through the medium of post-exilic Judaism or, to be more precise, through the Jerusalem scribes. It behoves us always to remember this, and continually to ask ourselves whether this might perhaps have exercised an influence on the content and form of the older components of the canon, and what influence? An unbounded scepticism in this respect, such as Vernes embraces, is in my view contradicted by the facts. Yet we have every reason to avoid blind trust, but to doubt and to investigate.

### 3. Wellhausen: Judaism and Ancient Israel

Sources: J. WELLHAUSEN, *De justitia dei erga singulos quid sentiat Vetus Testamentum* (Manuscript 1868, Göttingen, Archive of the University); *De gentibus et familiis Judaicis qui 1. Chr. 2. 4. enumerantur* (Diss. theol. Göttingen: Dietrich 1870); Hebr. tr.: Jerusalem: Dinur Center 1985; *Der Text der Bücher Samuelis untersucht* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1871); *Die Pharisäer und die Sadducäer. Eine Untersuchung zur inneren jüdischen Geschichte* (Greifswald: Bamberg 1875; repr. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1967), ET: *The Pharisees and the Sadducees*. An Examination of Internal Jewish History (tr. by M. E. Biddle; Mercer Library of Biblical Studies, Macon, GA: Mercer UP 2001); “Die Zeitrechnung des Buchs der Könige seit der Theilung des Reichs”, *JDTh* 20 (1875) 607–640; “Die Composition des Hexateuchs”, *JDTh* 21 (1876) 392–450, 531–602; 22 (1877) 407–479; *Geschichte Israels in zwei Bänden*. Erster Band (Berlin: Reimer 1878); *Geschichte Israels* (Greifswald Weihnachten 1880), also in: *Grundrisse* (1965), 13–64; “Israel”, *EncBr*<sup>9</sup> 13 (Edinburgh 1881), 396–431; *Muhammed in Medina. Das ist Vakidi's Kitab alMaghazi in verkürzter deutscher Wiedergabe* (Berlin: Reimer 1882); *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels*. 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. of *Geschichte Israels. Erster Band* (Berlin: Reimer 1883, 3<sup>rd</sup> edn. *ibid.* 1886, 4<sup>th</sup> edn. 1895, 5<sup>th</sup> edn. 1899, 6<sup>th</sup> edn. 1905, reprints *ibid.* 1927, 1981, 2001); *Prolegomena to the History of Israel with a reprint of the article 'Israel' from the EncBr* (trans. from the 2<sup>nd</sup> edn., with Preface by W. R. Smith; Edinburgh: Black 1885; repr. Cleveland / New York: Meridian Books, World Publishing Company 1957; Gloucester, MA: Peter Smith 1973; Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press 1994), Hebr. tr.: Tel Aviv 1938); *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*. Erstes Heft. 1. *Abriss der Geschichte Israels und Judas*. 2. *Lieder der Hudbailiten*, arabisch und deutsch (Berlin: Reimer 1884; repr. 1985); *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*. Zweites Heft. *Die Composition des Hexateuchs* (Berlin: Reimer 1885); *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*. Drittes Heft. *Reste Arabischen Heidentums* (Berlin: Reimer 1887; 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. *ibid.* 1897; repr. 1961); *Die Composition des Hexateuchs und der historischen Bücher des Alten Testaments* (Zweiter Druck, mit Nachträgen; Berlin: Reimer 1889, 3<sup>rd</sup> edn. 1899; repr. *ibid.* 1963); *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*. Fünftes Heft. *Die kleinen Propheten übersetzt*, mit Noten (Berlin: Reimer 1892, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. *ibid.* 1893, 3<sup>rd</sup> edn. 1898; repr. 1963); *The Sacred Books of the Old Testament*. A critical edition of the Hebrew text printed in colors, with notes ... under the editorial direc-

tion of Paul Haupt, Part 14: *The Book of Psalms ...* by J. Wellhausen (Leipzig: Hinrichs / Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press / London: David Nutt 1895); *The Sacred Books of the Old and New Testaments*. A new English Translation with explanatory notes and pictorial illustrations, ed. ... by Paul Haupt. Part 14: *The Book of Psalms*. By J. Wellhausen (London: James Clarke / New York: Dodd, Mead 1898); *Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte* (Berlin: Reimer 1894, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. 1895, 3<sup>rd</sup> edn. 1897, 4<sup>th</sup> edn. 1901, 5<sup>th</sup> edn. 1904, 6<sup>th</sup> edn. 1907, 7<sup>th</sup> edn. 1914; repr. 1921, 1958, 1981, 2004); "Heinrich Ewald", in: *Festschrift zur Feier des 150jährigen Bestehens der K. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen* (Berlin: Weidmann 1901), 61–88, also in: *Grundrisse* (1965), 120–138; *Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz* (Berlin: Reimer 1902; repr. 1960), ET: *The Arab Kingdom and its Fall* (tr. M. G. Wehr; 1927; repr. Beirut: Khayats 1963); *Das Evangelium Marci übersetzt und erklärt* (Berlin: Reimer 1903, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. 1909; repr. in: idem, *Evangelienkommentare*, mit einer Einleitung von M. Hengel (Berlin: W. de Gruyter 1987); *Das Evangelium Matthaei übersetzt und erklärt* (Berlin: Reimer 1904, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. 1914; repr. in: *Evangelienkommentare*); *Das Evangelium Lucae übersetzt und erklärt* (Berlin: Reimer 1904; repr. in: *Evangelienkommentare*); *Einleitung in die drei ersten Evangelien* (Berlin: Reimer 1905, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. 1911; repr. in: *Evangelienkommentare*); "Israelitisch-jüdische Religion", in: *Die Kultur der Gegenwart*, Teil I, Abt. IV: Die christliche Religion mit Einschluß der israelitisch-jüdischen Religion (ed. P. Hinneberg, Berlin / Leipzig: Teubner 1905), 1–40, also in: *Grundrisse* (1965) 65–109; *Das Evangelium Jobannis* (Berlin: Reimer 1908; repr. in: *Evangelienkommentare*); *Grundrisse zum Alten Testament* (ed. R. Smend; ThB 22; München: Kaiser 1965). – F. BLEEK, *Einleitung in die Heilige Schrift*. Erster Theil. *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, 4<sup>th</sup> edn. by J. Wellhausen (Berlin: Reimer 1878; 5<sup>th</sup> edn. 1886, 6<sup>th</sup> edn. 1893).

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### 3.1. The Early Works

On 8 February 1879, the 34-year-old Julius Wellhausen, Professor for Old Testament in the theological faculty of Greifswald University, wrote as follows to Justus Olshausen, a prominent official in the Prussian ministry of education: “For the last ten years I have been exclusively claimed by historical studies, these having been devoted to the contrast between Judaism and ancient Israel. But I am now coming to the end”. If we go back the ten years he mentions (which were of course meant as a round number) we find Wellhausen as tutor at the theological hall of residence (*Stift*) in Göttingen. In the *curriculum vitae* which he submitted in 1868 with his application for this post, he writes somewhat mysteriously that he preferred to be silent about his plans, for fear of making himself ridiculous.<sup>35</sup> So even at that time he will already have more or less envisaged the subject which he then in 1879 paraphrased with the formula “the contrast between Judaism and ancient Israel”. His key word, however, will initially have been ‘the Law’, or – if we prefer even here to have it in double form – ‘the Law

<sup>35</sup> *Verum consilio rerum gerendarum tacebo, ni ridendus fiam* – quoted in: Schwartz, Wellhausen (1918), 72.

and the Prophets'. For the Bible, at the beginning of the history stands the Law, with its numerous divine decrees, given through Moses, and powerfully determinative of everything that followed. With this picture of the sequence the young Wellhausen had run into great and increasing difficulties. These are the subject of the famous retrospect he wrote in 1878:

In my early student days I was attracted by the stories of Saul and David, Ahab and Elijah; the discourses of Amos and Isaiah laid strong hold on me, and I read myself well into the prophetic and historical books of the Old Testament. Thanks to such aids as were accessible to me, I even considered that I understood them tolerably, but at the same time was troubled with a bad conscience, as if I were beginning with the roof instead of the foundation; for I had no thorough acquaintance with the Law, of which I was accustomed to be told that it was the basis and postulate of the whole literature. At last I took courage and made my way through Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and even through Knobel's *Commentary* to these books. But it was in vain that I looked for the light which was to be shed from this source on the historical and prophetic books. On the contrary, my enjoyment of the latter was marred by the Law; it did not bring them any nearer me, but intruded itself uneasily, like a ghost that makes a noise indeed, but is not visible and really effects nothing. Even where there were points of contact between it and them, differences also made themselves felt, and I found it impossible to give a candid decision in favour of the priority of the Law. Dimly I began to perceive that throughout there was between them all the difference that separates two wholly distinct worlds. Yet, so far from attaining clear conceptions, I only fell into deeper confusion, which was worse confounded by the explanations of Ewald in the second volume of his *History of Israel*. At last, in the course of a casual visit in Göttingen in the summer of 1867, I learned through Ritschl that Karl Heinrich Graf placed the Law later than the Prophets, and, almost without knowing his reasons for the hypothesis, I was prepared to accept it: I readily acknowledged to myself the possibility of understanding Hebrew antiquity without the book of the Torah.<sup>36</sup>

The "decade of exclusively historical studies" had therefore been preceded by a time of preparation in which Wellhausen worked through the Old Testament for himself, or at least the Law and the Prophets, or – to be more correct still – the Prophets and the Law. In retrospect he made this period of preparation coincide with the beginning of his university studies. This statement can be dated even more precisely. Julius Wellhausen, born on 17 May 1844 in Hameln on the Weser as the son of a conservative Lutheran pastor, had it in mind to follow the example of his father when in 1862 he began to study theology in Göttingen. But he soon began to have doubts about traditional orthodoxy, and all that held him to theology was the historical examination of the Bible, which he came to know through his reading of Heinrich Ewald's *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*. In Göttingen Ewald became his teacher, not only for the Old Testament but also for the Semitic languages which were then commonly known (that is to say, not yet Akkadian). But above all, he perseveringly read the Hebrew Bible for himself, and in doing so found himself in the predicament which he described in 1878, and out of which Ewald could not help him. That help came unexpectedly from another Göttingen professor, not an Old Testament scholar, whom he visited while he was employed as private tutor in Hanover, after finishing his university studies. This was Albrecht Ritschl, who told him about Graf's hypothesis, which had been published a good year earlier. Wellhausen evidently immediately sensed the significance of Graf's thesis, and set out to substantiate it completely, and to

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<sup>36</sup> Prolegomena (1885), 3 f.



draw the appropriate conclusions. It was to be ten years before, in 1878, he arrived at a provisional end of this work with the first volume of a *History of Israel* (later entitled *Prolegomena to the History of Israel*); and it was 16 more years before he finally brought his undertaking to an end, in 1894, with his *Israelite and Jewish History*.

In order to be able to carry out this great project, he decided to take up an academic career, and at the beginning of 1868 applied to the Göttingen theological faculty for the tutorial post that has already been mentioned. He accompanied his application with an article which discusses *De justitia dei erga singulos quid sentiat Vetus Testamentum* – “What the Old Testament thinks about the justice of God towards the individual”. Wellhausen treats the theme on the basis of the Psalms and also Job, and we may assume that he entered into it not only as a rising Old Testament scholar but – even beyond the *con amore* of 1863 – as a devout Christian and theologian as well. This was where his heart lay – just as it did in the New Testament with Paul’s Epistle to the Romans, that great exposition of God’s justice towards human beings, and the trust in God based on belief in that justice. It will hardly be by chance that Wellhausen’s first lecture as university teacher, in 1870, and his last, in 1913, were both devoted to the book of Job.

But even if on a somewhat different level, the very last sentence in the biographical retrospect of 1878 reflects his personal relationship to his subject, and sounds almost as if he is describing the experience of a liberation: “I readily acknowledged to myself the possibility of understanding Hebrew antiquity without the book of the Torah”. In the work of the next ten years this motif was always in the background, we might even say that it made the work possible and spurred it on. Since Wellhausen was concerned with the whole, with ‘Hebrew antiquity’ per se, he had to proceed on a broad front. But he did so not through discussions of principle and sweeping surveys, but by first of all picking out carefully chosen individual questions, which he treated with love and precision. Here there was hardly anywhere a direct or even an indirect reference to the great theme Law – Prophets – Israel – Judaism. We almost have the impression that the subject is at first being deliberately avoided and by-passed, the aim being first to clear the ground in the preliminary approaches to the theme and its surrounding territory, so as then to take possession of it all the more securely.

In 1870 he submitted to the Göttingen faculty his dissertation for the licence to teach (lic. theol., roughly corresponding to a PhD), his subject being *De gentibus et familiis Judaeis quae 1 Chr. 2.4. enumerantur* – “On the Judean clans and families listed in 1. Chron. 2.4”. Here for the first time we see the source critic at work, with his historical thrust. Following the footsteps of his Göttingen teacher Heinrich Ewald, he pared away the shell of the Chronicler’s Judah genealogy and brought to light an older kernel which allowed something about the pre-exilic groups Caleb and Jerahmeel still to be deduced. On the last page of the dissertation Wellhausen himself presciently observed that “someone might judge [with Horace] *parturisse montes, nasci ridiculum murem* (mountains travailed but what was born was merely a ridiculous mouse)” – on which he commented: “*Me si quidem mus evenerit, exercuisse montes non taedebit* – If at least a mouse should have emerged, I shall not repent at having set mountains in

motion". He very soon showed that his acumen was a match for more important material as well.

Exactly a year after this dissertation he published *The Text of the Books of Samuel*, in the judgment of S.R. Driver, "an unpretending but epoch-making work on the textual criticism of the Old Testament". To quote Driver further:

With rare acumen and sagacity, Wellhausen compares the Massoretic text with the Ancient Versions (specially with the Septuagint), and elicits from the comparison the principles that must have operated, on the one hand in the process of *translation*, on the other in the *transmission* both of the Hebrew text itself and of the corresponding Ancient Version. He thus sets in its true light the crucial distinction between renderings *which presuppose a different Hebrew original*, and those which do not do this, but are due to other causes; and shews further that both texts, the Massoretic text as well as that of the Septuagint, have received modification (chiefly in the form of harmonistic or other additions), though in unequal degrees, in the process of transmission.<sup>37</sup>

To call the book "unpretending" is an apt description, inasmuch as its permanent value lies most evidently in the individual observations and proposals on the text, some of which have been strikingly confirmed by the textual findings on 1 Samuel from Cave IV in Qumran.<sup>38</sup> But indirectly the work was designed to serve three overriding goals as well. It aimed to be a contribution to a future critical edition of the Hebrew Old Testament (a plan which Wellhausen later sensibly declared to be impracticable).<sup>39</sup> It hoped to help prepare a reconstruction of 'the original text of the Septuagint' (and, as we know, here work is still going on in Göttingen today, though more in Lagarde's and Rahlfs's footsteps than Wellhausen's). And it wished to make the biblical text of greater use for the investigation of Israelite and Jewish history. Here Wellhausen was inspired by Abraham Geiger (who was then still available for discussion, since he died only in 1874).<sup>40</sup> This last purpose was for Wellhausen the most important. He explicitly said that the book "emerged in the context of historical investigations".<sup>41</sup> For historical investigations, literary criticism – the 'higher criticism' – is of course far more fruitful than textual criticism, the 'lower criticism'. For Wellhausen the borderline between the two is often fluid, especially in the books of Samuel; consequently, in spite of all the distinctions in principle, he does not draw too hard and fast a line round textual criticism. So the book, though still tentatively rather than thetically – *in statu nascendi* – includes some of the literary criticism with which Wellhausen came to the fore some years later.

He was "snatched away" from his studies on the text in 1872 through his invitation to a chair in Greifswald where, in contrast to Göttingen, there was no library adequate for the purpose. However, he observed,<sup>42</sup> little though he

<sup>37</sup> S.R. DRIVER, *Notes on the Hebrew Text and the Topography of the Books of Samuel* (2<sup>nd</sup> edn.; Oxford: Clarendon Press 1913), VII.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. F.M. CROSS e.a., *Qumran Cave 4.XII: 1–2 Samuel* (DJD XVII; Oxford: Clarendon Press 2005); most recently A. RAVASCO, "Reflections about the Textual Transmission of the Books of Samuel", *RdQ* 23 (2008) 405–13.

<sup>39</sup> Wellhausen, *Text* (1871), III.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. GEIGER's review, *JZWL* 10 (1872) 84–103, 313 f.

<sup>41</sup> *GGA* (1872) 69.

<sup>42</sup> Bleek–Wellhausen, *Einleitung* (1878), V.

would neglect these things, they were after all not the matters that were of most concern to him, these being the historical questions. At the same time, he had made himself so much at home in the history of the text (and the canon) that in 1878 he was able to provide a textbook account of it, which with complete competence filled the gap<sup>43</sup> left in Kuenen's *Onderzoek*.<sup>44</sup>

In the years that followed *The Text of the Books of Samuel*, the historical investigations for their part found a place within the framework of Wellhausen's university teaching. Several times, first in Göttingen and then in Greifswald, he held series of lectures extending over two semesters on "The History of the People of Israel from the Exodus from Egypt until the Babylonian Captivity" (5 hours weekly) and on "Jewish history from Cyrus to Hadrian" (3 hours weekly). So here we already see the bipartite division into Israel and Judaism, and in the proportion of 5 to 3, the quantitative relationship here perhaps also being meant to indicate a qualitative one: we know more about ancient Israel than we do about post-exilic Judaism, and for us Christians it is more important. Unfortunately we do not know the content of this double series of lectures: Wellhausen, or at latest his widow, destroyed all his manuscripts. We may presume that Wellhausen would certainly not have presented a conventional account in which Graf's hypothesis left no traces, but it is equally certain that it was by no means as yet the timbers of a structure into which he later needed only to incorporate his *Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte*. It may be remembered that a model had not long before made its appearance, Kuenen's *Godsdienst van Israël*, and it can be shown that Wellhausen was familiar with it at the time in question. In the spring of 1871 the Göttingen university library acquired the two volumes, perhaps at Wellhausen's instigation, and the list of borrowers shows that he took them out in May, that is to say towards the beginning of his first *History of the People of Israel*. The study of Kuenen's work will have given him a double stimulus: he saw that it was possible and useful to write a history on the basis of Graf's hypothesis, but saw too there was still plenty of work for him to do.

In Greifswald, over and above the customary teaching obligations, he continued to dig himself more deeply into a number of selected points, and he liked to do so by way of more specialist lectures, which provided the basis for later articles. One of them, "On the Jewish Parties at the time of Christ", held in Greifswald in 1873, issued in the little book *The Pharisees and the Sadducees*, which Wellhausen submitted to the Göttingen theological faculty as thanks for the honorary doctorate it had conferred on him. In the dedication he expresses the hope that "the revered gentlemen" will enter into "the interplay of forces in that history". In reference to his teacher Ewald, and especially again to Abraham Geiger, he defined the opposition between the Pharisees and the Sadducees as not mainly dogmatic. He saw it sociologically, as the difference between a largely religious and a largely political party in a community that was spiritual rather than worldly. This was a power-play of the kind which in its diverse variations repeat-

<sup>43</sup> See above, 429.

<sup>44</sup> Bleek-Wellhausen, *Einleitung* (1878), 561-643.

edly occupied him in his later work. He saw it as a fundamental problem in all history, in the ancient Arab world no less than in Israel and Judaism, and in Christendom. This little book of the 30-year-old professor contains in all essentials the “motives and principles” on which his future historiography was based, over and above his work on the sources. With regard to the sources, Wellhausen’s view of the Pharisees is strongly influenced by the New Testament, and especially by Pauline utterances. The Greek sources – that is, after the New Testament, Josephus – provide him with the structure into which he interposes the rabbinic sources, which in his eyes are more remote. It need hardly be said that this was controversial from the beginning, and provided the material for further dispute.<sup>45</sup>

As the subject of another series of specialized historical lectures, in 1875, he took the Books of Kings, and immediately gave the topic literary form in his essay on the chronology of these books.<sup>46</sup> Wellhausen shows that the inner-biblical synchronisms between the reigns of the kings of Israel and those of the kings of Judah are the work of an exilic redactor, so that historically they are worthless; but what concerns him most are the synchronisms with the Assyrian data, which at that time had recently been deciphered (the battle of Qarqar, the tributes of Jehu and Menahem, the fall of Samaria, and so forth).<sup>47</sup> These interested him not just for their factual value but as a way of testing the contribution which this budding Assyriology could offer. At that time he had also devoted serious attention to cuneiform script and had written a “clear and graceful report”<sup>48</sup> about its decipherment.<sup>49</sup> In the long run, however, he willingly left Assyriology to the Assyriologists, believing that he could learn more about the nature of the ancient Israelites from Arab antiquity than from the great world empires. But for him one thing was certain, and he stressed it more emphatically than most people: through their intervention the Assyrians had led Israel to reflect on its own character – to put it in modern terms, had helped it to find its own identity.

### 3.2. *Prolegomena to the History of Israel*

The most competent judge of these early works was Abraham Kuenen. In his *Theologisch Tijdschrift* he reviewed the *Text of the Books of Samuel*, briefly but with the prediction that “scholarship can expect much” from this author.<sup>50</sup> His review of *The Pharisees and the Sadducees* was very much more extensive – 29

<sup>45</sup> Cf. R. DEINES, *Die Pharisäer. Ihr Verständnis im Spiegel der christlichen und jüdischen Forschung seit Wellhausen und Graetz* (WUNT 101; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 1997); H.-G. WAUBKE, *Die Pharisäer in der protestantischen Bibelwissenschaft des 19. Jahrhunderts* (BHTh 107; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 1998).

<sup>46</sup> Wellhausen, *Zeitrechnung* (1875).

<sup>47</sup> Wellhausen bases his account on E. SCHRADER, *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament* (Gießen: Ricker 1872).

<sup>48</sup> Schwartz, Wellhausen (1918), 60 (347).

<sup>49</sup> Wellhausen, *Keilenzifferung* (1876).

<sup>50</sup> *TbT* 6 (1872) 95.

pages<sup>51</sup> – and ended with the wish that “in the future Wellhausen might often be encountered in the field of Israel’s history and its religion”. In the years that followed Kuenen increasingly came to be a kind of mentor for Wellhausen: Ewald, the revered teacher, could no longer play this part, not just because he had not much longer to live (he died in 1875) but also because the Graf hypothesis was for him like a red rag to a bull, and in addition he had fallen out with his favourite pupil for political reasons: as a faithful adherent of the Welf dynasty, which had lost its power after the Austro-Prussian war of 1866, he hated Bismarck, whereas Wellhausen was on the Prussian side.

As far as we know, Kuenen was for good reason the first and perhaps the only member of the older generation whom Wellhausen had told about his great undertaking, which was now immediately impending. On 28 August 1874 he wrote to him: “If I can, in the next few years I am going to write a book called something like ‘the Law and the Prophets’. In it I shall of course hammer away yet again at the same thing – one can’t speak the truth too often – and shall dedicate it to Vatke”. So Wellhausen was well aware that he was not offering anything completely new – later on he liked to say that he was only dotting the i’s – but that he had predecessors. And among these he acknowledged – almost a discourtesy, since he was writing to Kuenen of all people! – that he felt most indebted to Vatke (whom he did not yet know personally at that time). In 1874, when he himself had already arrived at “an independent view about most of the points”, he got to know Vatke’s 1835 book *Die Religion des Alten Testaments*, and in it found his own views “continually confirmed”. This greatly encouraged him, and gave the final impetus to the plan about which he had told Kuenen. When he had completed the greater part of it, he described his relationship to his two crucial forerunners by saying: “My inquiry proceeds on a broader basis than that of Graf, and comes closer to that of Vatke, from whom indeed I gratefully acknowledge I have learnt best and most”.<sup>52</sup>

The plan of 1874 was not carried out in every respect. The book was neither called *The Law and the Prophets*, nor was it dedicated to Vatke. For Wellhausen had visited him in Berlin and was shocked to find that in his old age he was no longer on the level of his book of 40 years before. So he dedicated his own book to his meanwhile deceased “unforgotten teacher Heinrich Ewald, in gratitude and reverence”.

On 18 December 1875 Wellhausen went to work. That day he wrote to Kuenen:

Today I have got to grips with the criticism of the Pentateuch etc. According to a provisional plan, I am going to treat:

1. *Antiquitates sacrae* – in their genesis
  - a. The tabernacle and its idea
  - b. Levi and Aaron
  - c. The equipment of the cultic personnel
  - d. The festivals

<sup>51</sup> *TbT* 9 (1875) 632–650.

<sup>52</sup> *Prolegomena* (1885), 13.

- e. Sacrifice and the view taken of the cult
  - f. The people and the congregation
  - g. The Law and the Prophets.
2. Literary criticism of the Pentateuch.
  3. Criticism of the historical books of the Old Testament.
- The idea is to provide a kind of critical foundation for a history of Israel.

That was the plan. It took him three years to carry it out, but then in a different form. His work was furthest advanced in relation to the Pentateuch. In January 1873, after he had been professor in Greifswald for three months, he had written about his plans: “It is not as if I had intended to come forward with literary work in the immediate future. It is true that I have the Pentateuch hovering before my eyes, but it will continue to ‘hover’ for a long time yet”.<sup>53</sup> Later he told that in that winter of 1872–73 he had turned his attention to the literary composition of Genesis,<sup>54</sup> and two years later, in the winter of 1874–75, he had done the same for the rest of the Pentateuch. It seems as if he wanted to let these investigations lie fallow for a while, or to make them the foundation for the second part of the book planned at that time – this seems to have been the state of things at the end of 1875. But during these years the subject became very much the fashion, and when in 1875 Bernhard Duhm took the prophets as substantiation for Graf’s hypothesis,<sup>55</sup> Wellhausen was afraid that he would now also fall upon the real subject of the hypothesis, the Pentateuch, and would hence steal a march on him. So he decided to publish his investigations without delay in a periodical, under the title “The Composition of the Pentateuch”, even though this form of publication meant that they might attract less attention. The result was the three essays of 1876 and 1877, with their classic version of ‘the newer documentary hypothesis’ but still without stress on Graf’s hypothesis.<sup>56</sup> By no means all the conclusions were new, but Wellhausen summed up earlier literary criticism and took it further, simplifying it and at the same time refining it. The fundamental point is the separation between the main components, on the one hand the Priestly Code, and on the other the fusion of the Yahwist and the Elohist (together called the Yehowist), a fusion created by a frequently deeply intervening redaction which can often no longer be resolved. Wellhausen dispenses with a thoroughgoing separation of the sources, and leaves room for expansions and proliferations of many kinds – here generally and in many details in the time that followed stimulated by Kuenen – while he for his part also stimulated Kuenen.<sup>57</sup>

By bringing forward the publication in this way, one of the three parts of the scheme drawn up in December 1875 broke away from the book as planned: the two remaining parts – *antiquitates sacrae* and the historical books – no longer amounted to a whole, so Wellhausen published them separately, both in 1878. The criticism of the historical books was interpolated into the Fourth edition of

<sup>53</sup> Letter to P. de Lagarde of 13 January 1873.

<sup>54</sup> Wellhausen, *Composition* (1876), 392.

<sup>55</sup> B. DUHM, *Die Theologie der Propheten als Grundlage für die innere Entwicklungsgeschichte der israelitischen Religion* (Bonn: Marcus 1875); Wellhausen’s review, *JDTh* 1876, 152–158, is important.

<sup>56</sup> Wellhausen, *Composition* (1876/77).

<sup>57</sup> See above 432f.

Bleek's *Introduction to the Old Testament*, where it stood side by side with the chapters on the canon and the text, and the *Kurze Übersicht über die Geschichte der alttestamentlichen Wissenschaft* ("Brief survey of the history of Old Testament scholarship") as one of the sections which was completely new. His thesis about the so-called historical books, or to be more precise the 'former prophets', was that they were a collection of earlier writings which together with the Pentateuch have been combined and revised deuteronomistically, that is to say in the spirit of Deuteronomy.

What now remained were the *Antiquitates sacrae*, and in fact Wellhausen wrote to Kuenen on 28 December 1876, a year after his initial plan: "Within a year, God willing, I shall have published a history of Hebrew antiquities (cultic antiquities) under some title or other". He was able to use the manuscript of lectures on this subject which he had given twice weekly in the summer semester of 1875; but for all that he needed rather more than a year. In the autumn of 1878 his most famous book appeared, the *Geschichte Israels. In zwei Bänden. Erster Band*. Strictly speaking, however, a second volume never followed, and the uncertainty about it made Wellhausen give the second edition of the first volume (which came out in 1883) the title *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels*. In the interim, incidentally, he had envisaged taking this title for a new edition of the *Composition des Hexateuch und der historischen Bücher*, now to appear together with volume one of the *Geschichte Israels* in a single volume or in two volumes; this, that is to say, was now to implement the plan of 1875.<sup>58</sup> However, he again abandoned his intention, not least because the various parts in the form in which they had now taken, after all appealed to different circles of readers. In a less direct sense, the two works of course remained 'Prolegomena to the History of Israel' – and indeed, in a less direct sense still, this may be said of all Wellhausen's works from 1870 onwards.

New though the *Composition* (of the Pentateuch and the historical books) was in many respects, its real novelty lay not so much in the literary criticism as such, as in the resolute attempt to avoid pursuing criticism as what Wellhausen liked to call a sport, or game of skittles, but to use it to reconstruct the history of ancient Israel; for the strata of the historiography represent stages in that history. To show this is the main purpose of the book, which in 1878 was called *Geschichte Israels* and then *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels*. The first part presents a history of the cult under the main aspect of the different forms it took in the pre- and post-exilic periods. In the early period sacrifice was practised in many places, and neither the prophets nor the historiography see any objection. This changes after the Exile. Now the Temple in Jerusalem is the sole place of worship. This order is presupposed by the Priestly Code and is shifted back to the Mosaic period. The transition from the early practice (to which the Yahwist and the Elohist testify) is made by Deuteronomy, with its demand for the centralization of the cult. Where sacrifice, the festivals and the priesthood were concerned, matters were similar. It emerges everywhere that it was only post-exilic Judaism for which the Priestly Code's 'Mosaic law' came to be fundamental. What is shown

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<sup>58</sup> Letter to G. Reimer of 1 July 1882.

by the history of the cult is confirmed by the history of tradition. Chronicles recasts the ancient tradition in such a way that the history matches up to the demands of the Priestly Code; for example, it makes King David a servant of the cult and a pattern of piety according to the post-exilic interpretation. But in this respect it was already preceded up to a certain point by the Deuteronomistic revision of the books of Judges, Samuel and Kings. This did not indeed recast the earlier history quite so ruthlessly, but it did judge – and for the most part condemn – the cultic practice of the Israelites and their kings in all generations, in accordance with the Deuteronomic norm. Finally, the great difference also appears in the stories about the primal period: the Yahwist and the Eloist offer the ancient folk saga material in all its freshness and naturalness. The Priestly Code is a new, artificial construction which has lost its ties with the origins.

The conclusion is that we have to distinguish between Israel and Judaism. Israel knew no written law. Its ‘Torah’ was the oral instruction of the priests and prophets. The law in its proper sense, as it then became the foundation of the biblical canon, only came to exist for the first time with Deuteronomy, and in its most complete form with the Priestly Code. The concept of the covenant between God and the people did not belong to the early period either, and theocracy as a religious institution, as a hierarchy, is entirely a product of Judaism – or rather is Judaism itself. It too had a positive function, inasmuch as it preserved the inheritance of the early period as if in a rigid shell, out of which it could one day emerge once more in living form. To separate the precious content from its later deformations was the main purpose of the book. Wellhausen headed the second chapter, “the History of Tradition”, with a quotation from Hesiod: *πλέον ἤμισυ παντός* – “The half is more than the whole” – meaning that the pre-exilic tradition is more than the whole canonical history determined by the late redactions of Priestly Code and Chronicles. It was with “the half” that his sympathies lay, which meant the patriarchs, kings and prophets, acting as living people according to the impulse of their nature and their circumstances, governed neither by the force of cultic institutions nor by the pattern of theological conceptuality. With this, literary critical investigation discovered an ancient world in a new way; and the brilliant presentation brought it almost palpably close to the modern reader.

That Wellhausen did not write *sine ira et studio* can of course be said of this book to a pre-eminent degree, and it can surely not be read *sine ira et studio* either. It is a book on which opinions have been divided from the beginning, and are sometimes divided still. Seen as a whole, it can be said that in the world of scholars competent to give an opinion, in the long run it has more or less completely prevailed. Some who hitherto had not favoured Graf’s hypothesis deserted their colours and went over to the enemy, others carefully cultivated various provisos, in order not to appear completely defeated. Others still pretended that they had always shared the new opinion: after the event, everyone likes to be on the winning side. The military image is in fact appropriate. None other than that most incorruptible of observers, A. Kuenen, used it when he said of Wellhausen’s book that “its publication may be regarded as the ‘crowning fight’ in the long campaign”. Looking back to his own reaction, Kuenen wrote:



I can hardly describe the delight with which I first read it – a delight such as seldom indeed meets one on the path of learning. At one with the writer *a priori*, not only in principles but in general results, I was able to follow him from beginning to end with almost unbroken assent, and at the same time to learn more than I can say from every part of his work. Now and then my pleasure was – shall I say tempered or increased? – when I noted that Wellhausen had got the start of me as to this or that point that I had expected to indicate for the first time in my own forthcoming work. But I could not wish that I had been sooner on the field, for in that case I should have missed all the other points which I had *not* anticipated and by which I could now profit.<sup>59</sup>

### 3.3. *Israelite and Jewish History*

The first volume of the *Geschichte Israels* was supposed soon to be followed by the second, and the source criticism for the history was to be followed by a positive account of them. As has been said,<sup>60</sup> for this readers had to wait sixteen years – and that in spite of the rapidity with which Wellhausen otherwise worked. His opponents were already jubilant: on the basis of Wellhausen's criticism a history of ancient Israel could simply not be written, so no second volume would ever follow the first. True, in 1878 Wellhausen could still tell his publisher: "I shall write the second volume this winter, God willing. It will be much less trouble than the first".<sup>61</sup> But are we then to say that God was not willing? Soon after this announcement Wellhausen found himself in an unproductive state of crisis, due partly not only to death and illness in his family, and to the tremendous mental exertions of the previous years, but also to his increasingly negative relationship to what was expected of him as a professor of theology. As such, he had to prepare students for their ministry in the Protestant Church, yet he felt that he was a member of that Church only in an external sense. To exercise his function therefore seemed to him to be acting a lie. Of subordinate importance, but no less vital for his own work, was the fact that his scholarly questions and interests were moving away from what he would have been bound to offer his theology students, even setting aside the fact that for him "the biblical theology of the Old Testament" had long become suspect as a scholarly discipline. With the *Prolegomena*, he had for the time being concluded the historical work of ten years, and for the moment he was somewhat tired of the Old Testament. But it was not that, it was the problem of conscience that made him decide in 1880 to approach the Prussian minister of education in a personal meeting, with the request that he be moved to the philosophical faculty. In 1882, when the request had still not been met, he decided to resign his chair and to apply as non-stipendiary lecturer for Semitic philology in Göttingen or Halle. The minister thereupon made him assistant professor (*außerordentlicher Professor*, i.e., without a chair) in the philosophical faculty in Halle. During this period he felt completely "broken-winged"<sup>62</sup> and dejected. In addition, he now had to qualify as a Semitic scholar.

<sup>59</sup> Kuenen, *Inquiry* (1886), xxxix.

<sup>60</sup> See above, 440.

<sup>61</sup> Letter to G. Reimer of 11 October 1878.

<sup>62</sup> Letter to Reimer of 30 November 1879.

In the summer of 1880 his publisher will hardly have been greatly delighted to hear that “I am studying Arabic poets and not the history of Israel”.<sup>63</sup>

But at the same time W. Robertson Smith, who had recently become one of the editors of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, arranged for his friend to be offered the article on “Jewish History” (later entitled “Israel”); and this Wellhausen wrote in a few months, in 17 chapters, almost half of them covering the exilic and post-exilic period up to the Hasmoneans and Herods and beyond. Parallel to this, at Christmas 1880 he had a German version printed privately, under the title *Geschichte Israels*; but this only covered the first nine chapters, ending with Jeremiah and the destruction of Jerusalem.

Behind this difference between the English and the German versions lay a factual problem, and it was this which was also the real reason for the sixteen years’ delay. We know from a letter Wellhausen wrote to Abraham Kuenen in 1877<sup>64</sup> that he had originally – at least temporarily – wanted to publish the first volume as “Prolegomena to the History of Israel and Judah”. What he had in mind, therefore, was a comprehensive Israelite and Jewish history, extending over practically the same period as the article in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* – that is, including the whole Second Temple period. But because the book was then written as the first volume of a *History of Israel* or as a *Prolegomena to the History of Israel* (and not of Israel and Judah), the original plan (or at least the plan of June 1877) was cut by half. The precise task of the criticism in the first volume was now to press forward through the later distortions to the ancient Israel of the era before the exile and before the law; for that was the real object of Wellhausen’s interest, not to say his love. The Israelite “half” of the Old Testament was “more” than the “whole” put together by Jewish hands (πλέον ἡμῶν παντός!); so it was only this half which was to be the subject of the historical account. The second volume of the “History of Israel” would have fitted its title only within these limits.

But in the course of the said sixteen years Wellhausen had come to find this limitation increasingly questionable, and consequently what followed at the end of them, in 1894, was not a ‘history of Israel’ but the *Israelite and Jewish History*. Its preface formulates the decisive insight which had emerged during these 16 years: “Prophecy cannot be separated from the Law, from Jewish piety, and from Christianity”. So it is not possible, as was still the case at Christmas 1880, to set a full stop at Jeremiah and the destruction of Jerusalem. An intermediate stage was provided by the *Sketch of the History of Israel and Judah* with which Wellhausen opened his *Sketches and Preliminary Work* in 1884, and which Hermann Gunkel called Wellhausen’s “most brilliant work”.<sup>65</sup> It ends with a chapter on “Judaism and Christianity”, and Christianity or, to be more precise, the Gospel, is also an integral part of the great book of 1894, which follows the same lines as the *History of the People of Israel down to the Time of Christ* written by

<sup>63</sup> Letter to Reimer of 23 June 1880.

<sup>64</sup> On 1 June.

<sup>65</sup> H. GUNKEL, “Die ‘Christliche Welt’ und die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft”, in: *Vierzig Jahre ‘Christliche Welt’. Festgabe für Martin Rade* (ed. H. Mulert; Gotha: Klotz 1927), 151–56, here 152. The sketch corresponds roughly to the article in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* and its reprints.

Wellhausen's teacher Ewald. But this conformity did not remain. In 1897 Wellhausen moved this chapter to the end, and in 1914 he supplied an addendum to it, saying that although he was allowing it to stand, he was now only partly in agreement with it. This was the outcome of the criticism of the Gospels to which he had meanwhile devoted his attention. At the same time the Jewish element in the account as a whole becomes still more dominant. In any case the 'Jewish' part, with its 14 chapters, is considerably longer than the 'Israelite' part, with its 9 – a reversal of the 5:3 ratio in the two-semester lecture series of 1871–72.<sup>66</sup> One reason for this may have been that here no 'prolegomena' could be presupposed, so that a great many critical notes were required; but, nevertheless, Wellhausen explicitly declared that the proportion of the two parts was also "intrinsically justifiable".<sup>67</sup> The *Geschichte Israels* as volume 1 (1878) and as fragment (Christmas 1880) had over-emphasized the discovery of ancient Israel, and this stress the later Wellhausen now to some extent rescinded. The Judaism of the Second Temple took on greater importance for him the longer he concerned himself with it, both for its own sake and because of its "importance for world history as the foundation of Christianity" – or so he wrote to his old confrère Theodor Nöldeke, looking back after the final edition of 1914.<sup>68</sup>

His productive learned work on Israelite and Jewish history and on the Old Testament could count in 1894 at latest as being more or less completed. He now confined himself to having pointed the way for research; and in the few productive years still left to him,<sup>69</sup> he turned to ancient Arabia and the New Testament. In 1909 he told his publisher not to reprint *The Minor Prophets* and *The Composition of the Hexateuch*, giving as his reason: "Both books have been completely absorbed into the theological compilations, often most impudently copied – so they have fulfilled their purpose".<sup>70</sup> And again in a letter to Nöldeke: "I am always delighted to hear that you still take such a lively interest in the Old Testament. It is certainly an invaluable book, and the New Testament would be nothing without the Old".<sup>71</sup>

### 3.4. Concerns and Criteria

From early on Wellhausen's opponents tried to discredit him by associating him with compromising movements of thought. Franz Delitzsch began it, by declaring Wellhausen's view to be "merely applications of Darwinism to the sphere of theology and criticism".<sup>72</sup> The favourite imputation was to call him a Hegelian. "Hegel begot Vatke, Vatke begot Wellhausen" can be read in one of many, gen-

<sup>66</sup> See above, 442.

<sup>67</sup> *Geschichte* (1894), V (preface).

<sup>68</sup> Letter of 24 January 1914.

<sup>69</sup> From 1885 to 1892 he held a chair in Marburg, afterwards in Göttingen; severe arteriosclerosis made him incapable of working long before his death in 1918.

<sup>70</sup> Letter to Walter de Gruyter of 4 September 1909.

<sup>71</sup> Letter of 18 November 1908.

<sup>72</sup> Thus the report of an (anonymous) Scottish interviewer in the article "Wellhausen and his Position", in: *The Christian Church* 2 (1882, 366–69) 368.

erally fundamentalist anti-Wellhausen pamphlets which it is not worth while listing.<sup>73</sup> Others put it differently and in more learned terms, but without being able to prove their case. Wellhausen revered Vatke as an exegete, not as a philosopher of history. Hegelian speculation was as alien to him as it could well be for a German nineteenth century historian who was not totally remote from his time.<sup>74</sup> If we wish to cite the historians who especially impressed him we must name Theodor Mommsen with his *Römische Geschichte*, Jacob Burckhardt with his *Griechische Kulturgeschichte* and the *Weltgeschichtliche Betrachtungen*, and Thomas Carlyle with *On Heroes, Hero-worship and the Heroic in History*. The more severe imputation of antisemitism has occasionally been heard, down to the present day, a reproach levelled at him with as much violence as ignorance by Ernst Bloch, for example, who called Wellhausen “the radical exacerbater and anti-Semitic epigone of Biblical criticism”.<sup>75</sup> Here it should suffice to hear the voice of the great Jewish philosopher Hermann Cohen. Cohen was “for many years bound [to Wellhausen] in confiding sympathy, in loyal friendship and warm affection, and remains so”, and he testified that for Wellhausen “the hate of other people even in its historically national form of hatred for the Jews was inwardly repulsive”.<sup>76</sup>

Wellhausen did not waste his and his readers’ time with methodological discussions. His maxim was: “It does not depend only on the glasses but on the eyes as well”.<sup>77</sup> Occasionally he remarked that one must “already have a notion of the truth before one can find it” and that here “even a very rough and negative picture of the truth provides the viewpoints for discovering what is valuable out of the jumble of the useless”.<sup>78</sup> This, though really a hermeneutical truism, has been held against him as indicating ideological prejudice. But by far the most important source for this picture and already existing concept is not some ideology or other, but the unceasing and extensive study of – sources. A strong subjective – and I would add: artistic – element can always be sensed in what he wrote, and he himself was the last person to deny it. The essential point is expressed in his much quoted double statement in the *Prolegomena*: “History, as is well known, has always to be constructed ... The question is whether one constructs well or ill”.<sup>79</sup>

What has always struck readers most is his predilection for the early periods, where conditions are fresh, natural and vigorous, without the straitjackets of institution and law, and also without the division between sacred and profane – that is to say, ancient Israel, the pre-Islamic Arabs, but also in a wholly different way, and perhaps particularly, Jesus of Nazareth in his Jewish context. Wellhausen’s great forerunner in these preferences was Johann Gottfried Herder, who

<sup>73</sup> M. KEGEL, *Los von Wellhausen!* (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann 1923), 10; ET: *Away from Wellhausen* (London: Murray 1924), 23.

<sup>74</sup> Cf. for more detail, Perlitt, Vatke und Wellhausen (1965).

<sup>75</sup> E. BLOCH, *Das Prinzip Hoffnung* (Frankfurt a/M: Suhrkamp 1959), 1452; ET: *The Principle of Hope* (tr. N. and S. Plaice / P. Knight; Cambridge, MA / Oxford 1986).

<sup>76</sup> Cohen, Wellhausen (1924), 466; cf. also Smend, Wellhausen und das Judentum (1982).

<sup>77</sup> *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, VI (1899), VIII.

<sup>78</sup> Wellhausen, *Text* (1871), 7 note.

<sup>79</sup> *Prolegomena* (1885), 367.

was born exactly a century before him, in 1744. The intervening years, between the French Revolution and the Franco-Prussian war of 1870–71, were not particularly peaceful, and that is partly why the ‘beginnings’ of origin lost their idyllic character for Wellhausen. He saw earliest Israel in the following way: “the camp was, so to speak, at once the cradle in which the nation was nursed and the smithy in which it was welded into unity; it was also the primitive sanctuary”.<sup>80</sup> Wellhausen recognized that the favourable and kindly prophecies at the end of the book Amos were later additions which turn the meaning of what has gone before upside down: “roses and lavender instead of blood and iron”.<sup>81</sup> This is the voice of Bismarck’s contemporary and admirer, who in spite of all his sympathy with natural eras of origin is glad that in his own commonwealth there is an over-riding authority. As a historian he is not interested in the finished state and its institutions; his interest lay with its beginnings and with whatever remained alive from these beginnings, or came to life once more. “It was out of Israel’s religion that the commonwealth of Israel developed – not a sacred state but *the* state. And the state continued to be consciously rooted in the religion which kept it from quitting or losing its rapport with the soil from which it had originally sprung”. So wrote Wellhausen in 1880,<sup>82</sup> heralding a theme which had already appeared in 1874 in the context of the “inner power-play” between the Pharisees and Sadducees and which can be found again in multifarious variations in the internal and external power-plays in Israelite-Jewish and Arab history.

Here Wellhausen was not interested in a more or less abstract sense with this main theme and its subsidiaries, and still less was he concerned with the relevant institutions as such. What essentially interested him was what was unique and original in these processes – and with the individuals. If he had a *Weltanschauung*, a philosophy, then it was individualism. Of course in this he was a child of the nineteenth century, but two things must also be said: Wellhausen, who according to a saying of Eduard Schwartz could “vie with the proudest Lower Saxony peasant in his sense of independence”,<sup>83</sup> was as if made for a powerful individualism; and he found the roots of his individualism in the Bible. Both the *Abriß der Geschichte Israels und Judahs* and the final version of the *Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte* end with an acknowledgment of the “religious individualism of the Gospel”,<sup>84</sup> but substantially this reaches far back into the Old Testament, where the prophets and Jeremiah especially hold a key position.<sup>85</sup> Apart from the Gospel, Wellhausen’s religious individualism was nourished by a series of texts of Jewish piety and spirituality, above all the book of Job, and then some Psalms in which “we meet the innermost sense of God’s fellowship with the devout as an unshakeable assurance”.<sup>86</sup> This assurance seemed to him “so grand indeed that we must in honesty be ashamed to repeat the words of the 73<sup>rd</sup>

<sup>80</sup> *Geschichte Israels* (1880), 8f; *Prolegomena* (1885), 434.

<sup>81</sup> Wellhausen, *Propheten* (1898), 96.

<sup>82</sup> *Geschichte* (1880), 11 (*Grundrisse*, 20); *Prolegomena* (1885), 436f.

<sup>83</sup> Schwartz, Wellhausen (1918), 70 (360).

<sup>84</sup> *Abriß* (1884), 102; English: *Prolegomena* (1885), 513; *Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte* (1914), 371.

<sup>85</sup> Cf. *Geschichte* (1880), 76 (*Grundrisse*, 63f); *Prolegomena* (1885), 491, 500f.

<sup>86</sup> *Geschichte* (1914), 207f.

Psalm”.<sup>87</sup> To quote Hermann Cohen’s testimony to Wellhausen once more: he speaks of the “strength, faithfulness and certainty of his naive childlike faith” and adds: “This man with his clear, piercing eyes, who had perhaps never been deceived by any human being, had certainly never seriously have been overtaken by the shadow of a doubt in God. As far as that profoundest foundation stone of religion is concerned, this great philologist remained life-long the simple pastor’s son from Hameln”.<sup>88</sup>

*Translated by Margaret Kobl, MA MLitt*

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<sup>87</sup> *Abriss* (1884), 95; *Prolegomena* (1885), 506.

<sup>88</sup> Cohen, Wellhausen (1924), 464.

## CHAPTER SIXTEEN

# Albert Eichhorn and Hermann Gunkel: The Emergence of a History of Religion School

By ERHARD S. GERSTENBERGER, Marburg

Sources: W. BOUSSET, *Jesu Predigt in ihrem Gegensatz zum Judentum. Ein religionsgeschichtlicher Vergleich* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1892); *Kyrios Christos* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1913); *Jesus der Herr: Nachträge und Auseinandersetzungen zu Kyrios Christos* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1916). – A. EICHHORN, *Das Abendmahl im Neuen Testament* (Hefte zur “Christlichen Welt”, 36; Leipzig: Mohr 1898), ET by Jeffrey F. Caylor: ALBERT EICHHORN, *The Lord’s Supper in the New Testament* (SBL History of Biblical Studies, 1; Atlanta: SBL Press 2007). – H. GRESSMANN, *Albert Eichhorn und die religionsgeschichtliche Schule* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1913). – H. GUNKEL, *Die Wirkungen des heiligen Geistes, nach der populären Anschauung der apostolischen Zeit und nach der Lehre des Apostels Paulus: eine biblisch-theologische Studie* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1888); *Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit: eine religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung über Gen 1 und Ap. Job 12* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1895); *Genesis* (HKAT 1/1; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1901, repr. 1966); *Israel und Babylonien. Der Einfluss Babyloniens auf die israelitische Religion* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1903); *Die Psalmen* (HKAT 3/2; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1926; repr. 1968). – idem / J. BEGRICH, *Einleitung in die Psalmen. Die Gattungen der religiösen Lyrik Israels* (HKAT, Ergänzungsband zur II. Abteilung; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1933). – F. M. SCHIELE, “Das Grundproblem des geschichtlichen Christentums”, *ChW* 10 (1896) 76–80. – E. TROELTSCH, *Die Soziallehren der christlichen Kirchen und Gruppen* (Gesammelte Schriften, 1; Tübingen: Mohr 1923); *Die Absolutheit des Christentums und die Religionsgeschichte* (Tübingen / Leipzig: Mohr 1902), ET: *The Absoluteness of Christianity and the History of Religions* (Richmond 1971 / London 1972); *Der Historismus und seine Probleme* (Tübingen: Mohr 1922).

Studies: E. BARNIKOL, “Albert Eichhorn (1856–1926)”, *WZHG.S IX/1* (1960), 141–152. – M. J. BUSS, *Biblical Form Criticism in Context* (JSOT.S 274; Sheffield: Academic Press 1999); *The Concept of Form in the Twentieth Century* (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press 2008). – H.-G. DRESCHER, *Ernst Troeltsch. Leben und Werk* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1991). – U. E. EISEN / E. S. GERSTENBERGER (eds.), *Hermann Gunkel Revisited. Literatur- und religionsgeschichtliche Studien* [Symposium 2007 to commemorate the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Gunkel’s coming to Giessen] (Exegese in unserer Zeit, 20; Münster: LIT Verlag 2010). – F. W. GRAF, “Der ‘Systematiker’ der ‘Kleinen Göttinger Fakultät’”, in: idem / H. RENZ (eds.), *Troeltsch-Studien*, I (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus 1986), 235–290. – W. KLATT, *Hermann Gunkel. Zu seiner Theologie der Religionsgeschichte und zur Entstehung der formgeschichtlichen Methode* (FRLANT 100; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1969). – H. KLUETING, *Das Konfessionelle Zeitalter. Europa zwischen Mittelalter und Moderne* (Darmstadt: Primus 2007). – G. LÜDEMANN, “Religionsgeschichtliche Schule”, *TRE* 28 (1997) 618–624; idem (ed.), *Die Religionsgeschichtliche Schule. Facetten eines theologischen Umbruchs* (STRS 1; Frankfurt/M: Lang 1996). – G. LÜDEMANN / M. SCHRÖDER (eds.), *Die Religionsgeschichtliche Schule in Göttingen. Eine Dokumentation* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1987). – B. MOELLER (ed.), *Theologie in Göttingen: Eine Vorlesungsreihe* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1987). – A. ÖZEN / H.-J. DAHMS / G. LÜDEMANN, “Die Göttinger Wurzeln der ‘Religionsgeschichtlichen Schule’” (excerpts from Lüdemann [ed.], *Schule*; STRS 1, 1996); the internet *Archiv der Religionsgeschichtlichen Schule*: [http://wwwuser.gwdg.de~aoezen/Archiv\\_RGS/](http://wwwuser.gwdg.de~aoezen/Archiv_RGS/). – J. OSTERHAMMEL, *Die Verwandlung der Welt* (München 2009). – F. SCHNABEL, *Deutsche Geschichte im neunzehnten Jahr-*

*hundert*, 1–4 (Freiburg: Herder 1929–1937). – R. SMEND, *Deutsche Alttestamentler in drei Jahrhunderten* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1989).

## 1. Preludial

To define the notion of ‘schools of thought’ adequately is a precarious task. Given the flux of time and the modulations in persons and perspectives we can never be sure how to pinpoint clusters of ideas and their intertwinements as well as the thinkers’ total and lasting commitment to the main lines of reasoning purportedly cultivated in a given ‘school’. This uncertainty is particularly patent in regard to that ominous ‘*Religionsgeschichtliche Schule*’ (‘History of Religion School’)<sup>1</sup> of, roughly, the two last and the first two decades around the turn of the nineteenth to the twentieth century. The concept has become hard currency in the academic world only in retrospect and under serious qualms. Furthermore, the subject-matter, together with the group of scholars using the pertinent avenues to the past, remains elusive until this very day.<sup>2</sup> Allegedly, there was one determined place of origin for the ‘school’ at hand: the University of Göttingen. Protest arose from the University of Tübingen, where local savants claim there existed a cluster of promoters of religious-historical thinking.<sup>3</sup> Other places and traditions also raise their voice in defence of their own leaders. So it may be well to remember that the nineteenth European and American centuries on the whole have been euphoric about discovering the constant movement of all things called ‘history’. Hegelian dialectics of the Spirit, Marxist movement towards the just socialist society, and natural scientific recognition of the coherence of matter and life (with Darwin’s theory of evolution as its high point) were three powerful spiritual forces pushing forward intellectuals and other people. There was a common belief in changes for the better, a wide-spread fervour to benefit from human and national progress. Politics, economics, sciences all breathed the feeling of newness and ascent towards universal bliss.<sup>4</sup> Only some traditional circles,

<sup>1</sup> Thus the Oxford English Dictionary; others prefer the version ‘History of Religions School’ leaving ample room for speculations as to what concept of ‘Religion’ might be intended.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Graf, *Systematiker* (1986), 239: “What theological-historical rubrics are supposedly to yield, namely to give structure to the concrete plurality within a ... historical process, this term decidedly does not bring about”; A. Özen, *Die Göttinger Wurzeln der ‘Religionsgeschichtlichen Schule’*, in: Lüdemann (ed.), *Die Religionsgeschichtliche Schule* (1996), 23–64.

<sup>3</sup> Names cited as protagonists include E. Kautzsch, W. Volz, A. Bertholet, J. Heitmüller (see home page of Tübingen University Library); cf. also H. BOERS, “Religionsgeschichtliche Schule”, in: DBI II (1999), 383–387, esp. 383f; Lüdemann, *Religionsgeschichtliche Schule* (1997), 618; Eichhorn, Wrede, Bornemann, Mirbt, Gunkel, Hackmann, Rahlfs, Weiß. There are many other lists of components of the ‘History of Religion School’, e.g. J. HEMPEL, in: RGG<sup>3</sup> V, 991; G. Lüdemann e.a. count with 15 “members”, cf. the internet portal (see Bibliography under A. Özen).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the encyclopaedic multivolume work edited by P. HINNEBERG, *Kultur der Gegenwart* (Leipzig: Teubner 1905–), firmly dedicated to the idea of progress. H. GUNKEL contributed his famous “Die israelitische Literatur” to P. Hinneberg’s vol. I,7, “Orientalische Literaturen” (1906), 51–102 (after <sup>2</sup>1925, 53–112, repr. Darmstadt 1963); first ET by A. SIEDLECKI, “The Literature of Ancient Israel”, in: T.J. SANDOVAL e.a. (eds.), *Relating to the Text* (JSOT.S 384; London: Clark 2003), 26–83; Schnabel, *Geschichte*, 1 (<sup>2</sup>1937), 263: “Schelling and Hegel ... eliminated Kant’s opposition of spirit and nature ... and tried to explain world-development as ascending revelation of their union ...”; about Fichte s. op. cit. 293–300; cf. also Osterhammel, *Verwandlung* (2009).



mainly nobility and Church hierarchies (and these in unison), were afraid of any such developments threatening the established authorities with loss of power.<sup>5</sup> For them the eternal values of faith and ethos, as revealed in Scriptures, had to be defended against the forces of destruction.

## 2. University Spirit

The academic community in Germany had been a potential site of unrest since the era of enlightenment began in the seventeenth century. Off and on programs of modernization took effect, thus when the University of Halle was founded in 1694.<sup>6</sup> The Prussian reform of scholarship under Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767–1835) promoted further secularization, independent and open-ended research, classical and modern scientific studies. The states did keep control of liberal movements within the academic population, cf. e.g. the political protest of the “Göttingen Seven” in 1837,<sup>7</sup> but reliance on modern historical concepts by necessity produced visions of change. There were 17 full universities on German territories before 1914, the newest foundations of Breslau (1811), Bonn (1818), and Berlin (1871) included.<sup>8</sup> Each of them boosted a theological faculty; Breslau, Bonn, and Tübingen had a Catholic as well as a Protestant department side by side, coexisting with faculties of philosophy, medicine, economics, and emerging sciences.<sup>9</sup> Nationalistic feelings at times ran high, especially among militarized student organizations (*Burschenschaften*), e.g. at the University of Jena. Theologians coexisted with all their differently branded colleagues; quite often but not always they represented the bed-rock of traditionalism in the academic bodies.

## 3. The Beginnings

It happened that some students of Protestant theology met at Göttingen University in the late 80s of the nineteenth century. The university was burgeoning with natural scientific studies since the times of the mathematician Carl Friedrich Gauß (1777–1855)<sup>10</sup> but there was only scarce and indirect syntonic resonance

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Klüeting, *Zeitalter* (2007), passim.

<sup>6</sup> “Natural law and reason took the place of Aristotelian philosophy, confessional orthodoxy, and humanistic eloquence”, E. WOLGAST, “Universität”, *TRE* 34 (2002), 364.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. M. SAAGE-MAASS, *Die Göttinger Sieben – demokratische Vorkämpfer oder nationale Hel-den?* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht unipress 2007).

<sup>8</sup> Wolgast, *Universität* (2002), 368. Cf. G. Hübing (ed.), *Kultur und Kulturwissenschaften um 1900*, Part I (Stuttgart: Steiner 1989), 104: “At the turn of the century Protestant Theology is taught within Germany at 17 faculties, of which 9 are located in Prussia. Those faculties comprise 115 full and 37 extraordinary chairs”.

<sup>9</sup> Special faculties of Mathematics and Pure Sciences were installed at the universities of Tübingen (1863), Strasbourg (1872), Heidelberg (1890), independent Technical Universities without the Humanities started with the opening of the Aachen school in 1870; cf. Wolgast, *Universität* (2002), 369.

<sup>10</sup> D. Kehlmann in his novel *Die Vermessung der Zeit* (Hamburg: Rowolt 2006) has masterfully synthesized the intellectual climate of the 1830s and the imagined interplay between Göttingen and Berlin (Gauß and von Humboldt).

between science and the humanities. Both fields of knowledge even cultivated, to a certain extent, a cherished antagonism.<sup>11</sup> The person who dominated the theological discourse was Albrecht Ritschl, teaching, at the “Georgia Augusta”, New Testament, Church History, and dogmatics since 1864 almost until his death in 1891. He was well aware of historical changes in Christian thought from New Testament times through the Middle Ages, from the Reformation epoch to his own era. Some observers saw him close to Liberal Protestant Theology.<sup>12</sup> Yet his concept was based on an unchangeable truth revealed in Christ, precariously perceived and handled by all of Christ’s followers through the ages, so it had to be salvaged from distortions again and again. Ritschl’s influence<sup>13</sup> was great; his numerous pupils constituted an intellectual “Ritschl School”,<sup>14</sup> which became somewhat of a counter pole for the “History of Religion” group. Anyway, the doctoral students convening at Göttingen University or staying in close contact with each other – notably Hermann Gunkel, Wilhelm Bousset, William Wrede, Ernst Troeltsch, Johannes Weiß, Wilhelm Heitmüller, Hugo Gressmann<sup>15</sup> – found their source of inspiration in Albert Eichhorn, a church historian teaching but briefly at Göttingen (1884–85), thereafter at Halle.<sup>16</sup> Eichhorn was opposed to strictly dogmatic definitions and historicist formulations of truth. For him, faith and theological conceptualizations were part of living processes woven into ongoing life itself. Typical is a lecture presented to an audience at Halle:<sup>17</sup> Eichhorn fully recognizes the marginality of his theological stance. He apologizes to his listeners for his eccentricity and then explains his vision of historical growth of the Messiah-traditions in the first Christian communities. They gradually formed the picture of the sacrificed saviour whose flesh and blood are offered to the believers so that they may partake in the heavenly body of Christ, on the basis of “oriental Gnostic” conceptions of world, sin and ablution of sins. This unusual perspective on Christology (the same vision constitutes one of the fundamental insights of the History of Religion School in contrast to most revelation-centred theological systems) implies a strong participation of the faithful in determining theological truths. They, in fact, bear responsibility for their credal

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Gressmann’s note about Eichhorn’s wide scope of interests and his aversion against natural sciences, idem, Eichhorn (1913), 14. Troeltsch, on the other hand, was much interested also in the scientific perceptions of the world at large.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. M. JACOBS, “Liberale Theologie”, TRE 21 (1991), 47–68, esp. 53 f.

<sup>13</sup> His theological position seems to have been between neo-Lutherans and liberals, on the tracks of E. Kant and F. Schleiermacher, cf. O. RITSCHL, *Albrecht Ritschls Leben*, 1–2 (Freiburg / Leipzig: Mohr 1892 and 1896).

<sup>14</sup> A dense summary of its parameters gives R. SCHÄFER, “Ritschlsche Schule”, TRE 29 (1998), 232–235. His presentation of the matter proves how much “schools of thought” were dependent on mutual interests and power politics of its members, and how little was owed to uniform theological conceptualizations. Small wonder that some “members” of the “History of Religion School” also were considered close to Albrecht Ritschl, like his son-in-law Joh. Weiß, A. von Harnack, E. Troeltsch.

<sup>15</sup> Lüdemann in the internet Archiv der Religionsgeschichtlichen Schule (see above n.2–3) excludes Gressmann, who belongs to the second generation of adepts; twelve of the pioneers are even documented with photographs.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Gressmann, Eichhorn (1913; ET 2007); Barnikol, Eichhorn (1960); Lüdemann / Schröder, Schule (1987), 63–66.

<sup>17</sup> Eichhorn, Abendmahl (1898).

statements, they are not simply framing eternally given gold-nuggets of divine revelations with ornamental design. The role of the individual also was a key point in Eichhorn's doctoral (disputation) theses of 1886.<sup>18</sup> We have to ask, how this central issue of "Historical development of theological insights within the communities of faith" was elaborated by the Göttingen group of scholars; what the differences were between individual protagonists of the "school" as well as over against "outsiders" as against opponents. This kind of questioning includes challenging possible deviations of "Religious-History-Interpreters" from their own principle, just outlined above.

#### 4. Interdisciplinary Work

Adherents to "History of Religion" thinking worked in different fields of theological and philosophical research paying attention and giving emphasis to a wide range of subject matter, which fact, of course, in itself may lead to differing viewpoints among members of the same "school". In addition, personalities and biographies of the protagonists, as always is the case, influenced quite a bit the course of their studies and their outcome. Göttingen was at best the starting point of the movement, since the core team of "History of Religion" scholars very soon spread to other places of higher learning, notably Gießen, Halle, Berlin, Breslau, Oslo etc. The "group" itself more or less stayed in close contact, however, exchanging opinions and criticism, and acting, at times, as a pressure group in pursuit of their own political and personal interests.<sup>19</sup> The Old Testament never was the sole area of scrutiny, but it did play an important role in the general discussion. All components of the group regarded themselves as full-blown theologians; specializations were a necessary evil, e.g. because of required competences in ancient languages. Separate theological fields, however, were translucent and inter-connected. Gunkel himself started as a New Testament scholar, and focused on the Old Testament only in response to pressures from the state ministry which provided a career for him in this particular field. We have to look, in consequence, as much as possible at the whole spectrum of the History of Religion movement and its dealings with "History" and "Revelation", which in turn weighed heavily on Old Testament exegesis.

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<sup>18</sup> Cf. Graf, *Systematiker* (1986), 246: Eichhorn's eighth of 24 doctoral theses was coined against Albrecht Ritschl's varlorization of the collective: "The community does not have any religious significance for the individual". Gressmann stresses among other points Eichhorn's view of history: e.g. thesis no. 13: "One may be called 'historian' only, if one does understand present times"; and thesis no. 18: Ecclesiastical History "must include the development of all humanity". Also thesis no. 3 is relevant in this context: "NT introduction courses must teach history of early Christian literature"; s. Gressmann, Eichhorn (1913), 8.

<sup>19</sup> Negotiating university appointments for "brothers in the spirit" always has been a cherished activity of "schools of thought". Given the superior authority of state governments in university affairs at the time the margin of influence was limited but still real. A case in question is the installation of H. Gunkel at Gießen (1907) and Halle (1920), cf. Klatt, Gunkel (1969).

## 5. Focus on Jesus

The New Testament, in a way, was in the centre of the discussion.<sup>20</sup> At least four scholars of the inner circle became specialists in this field: Wilhelm Bousset, Johannes Weiss, William Wrede, Wilhelm Heitmüller, with many others following their lead or standing sympathetically close by. Albert Eichhorn, their spiritual father, nominally teaching Church History, was intensely involved also with the main issues of the New Testament: How to fit Jesus the Christ into the picture of evolving religious-historical faith, and, second, what to make of the first Christian communities, their structure and their theological outlooks. Both William Wrede (1859–1906) and Johannes Weiss (1863–1914) re-discovered the overwhelming importance of apocalyptic thinking for the articulation of Christology and the formation of Christian ethics in its earliest stages.<sup>21</sup> Historical insight makes us realize the different frame of mind prevalent in the time of Jesus. Hermann Gunkel, in his seminal work *Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit*<sup>22</sup> contributed to the debate by investigating the Old Testament and Babylonian roots of apocalypticism (Zoroastrian origins, although some forays into Iranian studies had been made already, were still largely ignored). Confrontations with ancient eschatological concepts, easily recognized as “alien” from modern perspectives, were deeply inscribed into the minds of biblical believers through the debate of earlier generations. Rudolf Bultmann and the “Bultmann School” readily picked up these ideas, including explicitly all the Gnostic literature of those remote centuries.<sup>23</sup> The gist of the matter was this: The concept of “history” seems to be inverted in the History of Religion School. While the course of historical affairs in earlier thinking had been propelled by God himself or by an absolute principle like Hegel’s Spirit and Marx’s Perfect Society now history was construed in retrospect by people interpreting the past and putting their own yearnings into by-gone figures, structures and events. We also may say that humans in a deepest sense took over the creative part from divine powers and thus became responsible for their own destiny. The most recent ideas of existentialist, constructionalist, destructionalist, post-modern attitudes towards history are incipiently pre-figured in the History of Religion School. To exemplify the situation with some conclusions of pertinent New Testament scholars of the time: Eichhorn, Wrede and Weiß recognized the creative force of early Christian tradition, in itself formed by Hellenistic and Judaic eschatological and apocalyptic visions. Jesus of Nazareth posthumously was transformed into a divine global saviour. Likewise, Wilhelm Bousset (1865–1920) gradually devel-

<sup>20</sup> Vgl. G. LÜDEMANN, “Die ‘religionsgeschichtliche Schule’ und die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft”, in: idem, *Schule* (1996), 9–22.

<sup>21</sup> Pivotal publications were: W. WREDE, *Das Messiasgeheimnis in den Evangelien* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1901), ET by J.C.G. GREIG, *The Messianic Secret* (Cambridge: Clark 1971); J. WEISS, *Die Predigt Jesu vom Reiche Gottes* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1892).

<sup>22</sup> *Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1895).

<sup>23</sup> Cf. most of all R. BULTMANN, *Das Evangelium des Johannes* (KEK II. Abt.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1941; 13<sup>th</sup> edn. 1953), esp. 9–15 and index no. IV: “Religious-Historical References”, 562f; idem, *Theologie des Neuen Testaments* (Tübingen: Mohr 1954), 349–439 and 162–182; H. JONAS, *Gnosis und spätantiker Geist*, 1–2 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1934 and 1954).

oped a similar hind-sight of the messianic attributions.<sup>24</sup> The “historical” Jesus, if we still are able to ascertain him at all beneath heavy layers of embellishing traditions, was a rabbinic and somewhat enthusiastic popular preacher. After his death faithful followers made him the resurrected Messiah who would come back at the end of history. They created the childhood legends, augmented his miraculous fame, built up a passion story on the basis of Psalm motives. St. John, like any good Gnostic, even promoted him into eternal pre-existence. Thus the formative and orienting force of Christian doctrine was no longer transcendental revelation but immanent human faith.<sup>25</sup> Small wonder, that traditional theologians and monarchic governments felt threatened by this group of rebellious scholars. Small wonder also, that most of the History of Religion adepts felt a peculiar inclination to value not only the élitist thinkers but also plain people, parishioners of old and present days, for their participation in theological conceptualizations.<sup>26</sup> The role of worship services in tradition-making ancient and modern became of particular interest for some of the group.<sup>27</sup> Involvement in social and political affairs of the day was a hall mark of others. To what extent the History of Religion scholars were able fully to recognize their basic shift away from orthodox stands and stick to it will be a matter of debate.

## 6. Christian Doctrine?

As much as our revolutionaries liked to deal with the history of doctrine they shunned away from systematic theology, and philosophical systems, for that matter. Stabilized, traditional intellectual edifices were far removed from real life and historical fluidity. Topics and texts were the preferred fields of their research (cf. their biblical commentaries and theological essays!). Nobody of the group wrote a dogmatic handbook, or any treatise like *Die christliche Lehre von der Rechtfertigung und Versöhnung* (“Christian Doctrine of Justification and Recon-

<sup>24</sup> W. BOUSSET’s masterful study *Kyrios Christos* (1913), particularly in its 2<sup>nd</sup> edition of 1921, and already his *Jesus der Herr: Nachträge und Auseinandersetzungen zu Kyrios Christos* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1916) are still valid interpretations of the growth of Jesus traditions. The author notes in his foreword to *Kyrios Christos*: The “work hardly deserves the affirmative title ‘Kyrios Christos’, because it is a retrospect credal assertion . . .”.

<sup>25</sup> Schiele, co-editor of the 1<sup>st</sup> edition of RGG, in a review article on Martin Kähler’s rather dogmatic positions (*Jesus und das Alte Testament*; Leipzig: Deichert 1896) brings it to the point, Grundproblem (1896): “Even for theology there is, just like for all other types of knowledge, no absolute point of departure. Theology can recognize only the relativity of all things” (op. cit. 80). Absolute certainty only occurs “sola fide”, within the believer (ibid.).

<sup>26</sup> Debates and controversies over the edition of the RGG-dictionary (Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart, 1909–1913) illuminate also the tendency towards popular and revolutionary goals, cf. A. ÖZEN, “Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart, I. Teil”, in: Lüdemann, Schule (1996), 149–206.

<sup>27</sup> In the foreword to the first edition of his *opus magnum* Bousset states: “This present study tries to take its departure in every instant from the cult and community worship”, s. Bousset, *Kyrios Christos* (1913), repr. in 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. (1921), VII. S. Mowinckel built his theories of Psalm-genres to a large extent on reconstructions of ancient Israel cult celebrations at the (Babylonian) New Year’s festival.

ciliation”) – the main opus of Albrecht Ritschl.<sup>28</sup> The person most inclined to deal with systematics as a field of study, i.e. the effort to spell out a valid and coherent Christian doctrine, undoubtedly was Ernst Troeltsch (1865–1923), son of an Augsburg physician.<sup>29</sup> His predilection gained him the nickname “our systematician”.<sup>30</sup> Of course, even he liked to go for the historical, changing aspects in treating topics like Christian social ethics<sup>31</sup> or credal statements. But he indulged in discussions of present day doctrinal issues, and he undoubtedly realized some basic discrepancies in Protestant theological thinking of his day. One of the central problems for him was the harmonization of religious-historical thinking with the Metaphysics of faith. His study on the “Absoluteness of Christianity”<sup>32</sup> boldly addresses the fundamental issues. Christian faith, in his eyes, is a historical, this-worldly reality throughout and has nothing in it that would qualify it as basically different from other religions. But sensing the danger of transferring the creative origin of the stream of history from divine sources to transitory and limited minds he wanted on the one hand to cling to all the methods and perspectives of critical historical research: “Christianity is in every single instant of its history a purely historical phenomenon underlying all the conditionings of an individual historical phenomenon, just like the other great religions as well.”<sup>33</sup> On the other hand, however, pragmatic reasons (“There must be some transcendental foundation or goal in history”) lead him to opt for a factual superiority of Christianity over all primitive and higher religions. There is no essential core of eternal truth inherent in history, as it had been for Hegel and other idealistic thinkers. Troeltsch believes that many widely spread creative insights in all religions synthesize over time; piece by piece they bond into the highest form of religion possible and this is Christianity.

Christianity is, indeed, the strongest and most concentrated revelation of personalistic religiosity. Even more: Christianity in fact takes a unique stand in uniquely having accomplished a radical breach – of which everyone is conscious – between the higher and the lower worlds. The material, truly existent and inherited reality is being overarched by a higher world resulting from action and inner necessity; thus Christianity transforms and finally overcomes the lower world. It is empowered to do so by the salvific union of the souls entangled in world and guilt with the approaching and seizing love of God.<sup>34</sup>

Here, tied firmly to the notions of “absoluteness” and “realization of a higher world”, however this is to be understood, Christianity is credited with producing by itself and God’s assistance the required firm anchorage in history. The

<sup>28</sup> A. RITSCHL, *Die christliche Lehre von der Rechtfertigung und Versöhnung*, I–III (Bonn: Marcus 1870–1874).

<sup>29</sup> A comprehensive biography of Troeltsch is that of Drescher, Ernst Troeltsch (1991).

<sup>30</sup> Gunkel used a similar expression in a critical response against the Ritschl-follower Max Reischl: “Troeltsch, the systematician among the historians of religion”, quoted by Graf, Systematiker (1986), 236.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. his exhaustive volume *Die Soziallehren der christlichen Kirchen und Gruppen* (1923).

<sup>32</sup> Troeltsch, *Die Absolutheit des Christentums und die Religionsgeschichte* (1902; ET: *The Absoluteness of Christianity and the History of Religions*, 1971 / 1972); cf. also his last publication: *Der Historismus und seine Probleme* (1922).

<sup>33</sup> My own English translation from Troeltsch, *Die Absolutheit des Christentums* (repr. from the edition Tübingen: Mohr 1929, at München: Siebenstern, Taschenbuch 138, 1969), 64.

<sup>34</sup> Troeltsch, *Absolutheit* (1929), 88, n. 24.

danger of abusing God's potentials for self-centred purposes, then, seems not to be avoided, after all, but newly installed,<sup>35</sup> for fear of loosing the firm foundations of life.

## 7. Hebrew Scriptures

Old Testament interpretation, of course, is of highest importance in the present context. As it were, Hermann Gunkel (1862–1932) and his pupils have been those prominent members of the group who made the Hebrew Scriptures their life-time interest, without loosing contact with New Testament exegesis and the history of religious line of thinking.<sup>36</sup> Gunkel himself, as already hinted at, was preparing to be a New Testament researcher,<sup>37</sup> when he was coerced into an Old Testament chair at Halle University. But he soon welcomed this destiny and became, against stark resistance from traditionalists, one of the leading scholars in this field. His speciality within canonical literature were the narratives of Genesis, the poems of the Psalter (and other writings), and prophetic literature.<sup>38</sup> How did Gunkel, and under his influence pupils like Gressmann, Staerk, Haller, Volz, Mowinckel, Schmidt, Begrich, deal with the problems of history and the longings for absolute, divine truth?<sup>39</sup>

Hermann Gunkel did not reflect very much on systematic positions and theories of knowledge or religion. In fact, he hardly ever mentions in his work the significance of thinkers like Troeltsch or Ritschl, nor that of Kant, Hegel or other philosophers or historians, for that matter. We therefore have to deduce from his operational arguments to which system he was leaning and how he envisioned, implicitly and without knowing perhaps, the nature of history and the hermeneutics of its interpretation.<sup>40</sup> Apparently, to him and most of his companions, religious history was a universal affair pertaining to all humankind, because

<sup>35</sup> Cf. F. W. GRAF, *Missbrauchte Götter* (München: Beck 2009).

<sup>36</sup> Strangely enough, Gunkel is not even mentioned as a member of the History of Religion School in an article on E. Troeltsch by T. RENDTORFF (TRE 34, 2002, 131) – a signal of disregard for the Old Testament?

<sup>37</sup> Gunkel's dissertation, handed in at Göttingen University, in fact, dealt with a NT topic: *Die Wirkungen des heiligen Geistes, nach der populären Anschauung der apostolischen Zeit und nach der Lehre des Apostels Paulus* (1888) – the title does reveal his attention to folk-beliefs and intellectual reworkings of common concepts of faith.

<sup>38</sup> While the first two fields of study yielded substantial commentaries, still widely used in bible studies today, Gunkel was not able any more to elaborate an equal convolute for the prophets. His most important contribution in this field is the introduction to the prophetic literature interpreted by his pupil H. SCHMIDT, *Die großen Propheten* (SAT II/2; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1915), XI–LXXII.

<sup>39</sup> Methodological issues like the creation of Form- and Genre-criticism are treated by A.F. CAMPBELL in Chap. 31 of *HBOT III/2* ("The Emergence of Form-critical and Traditio-historical Approaches").

<sup>40</sup> Typically, Gunkel's most important reference works, the commentaries on Genesis and Psalms as well as his "Introduction to the Psalms", completed by Joachim Begrich after his death, do contain indices of subject matters, but no list of quoted authors, beyond the bibliography of selected exegetical publications in the Psalm-commentary. At the time, the significance of the author's own "world-view" or his intellectual / social / religious frame of mind had not been acknowledged yet (cf. later R. Bultmann's *Vorverständnis* = "preconditioned approach to texts").

human beings by their very nature do possess some antenna for the divine world. They are capable of religious experience, as conceived e.g. by Friedrich Schleiermacher,<sup>41</sup> everywhere and at all times. There are, however, “lower” and “higher” theological insights (and spiritual realities?), and a clear development towards nobler forms and contents in theological discourse. Since we do not have direct access to the inner experiences of ancient people, we have to dig down through written remains of the passed epochs. This was Gunkel’s life-long dream: to find out religious truth by interpreting religious literature according to its spiritual unfolding.<sup>42</sup> Literature is not an end in itself, not even form- and genre classifications are such goals, but the life of the spirit within literature, intimately connected with real social and religious life of the people,<sup>43</sup> is the treasure to be hunted for. The Old Testament gives ample witness to the encounters with Yahweh, Israel’s God, but the oldest layers, preserved in communal traditions, reveal only, through popular genres of songs and diverse narrations (saga, legend, fairy tale, myth etc.), communal faith, not personal confessions. Gradually, in the course of religious history, clearer knowledge of God and the world are emerging. Gunkel demonstrates this refinement by sketching e.g. the history of prophecy.<sup>44</sup> From ecstatic, mantic and magic beginnings Old Testament men of God over centuries grew into towering spiritual figures, the “great” and “writing” prophets of the eighth century (which happens to be also the time of the Assyrian crisis, a crucial period in world history). Gunkel shared this extraordinary estimation of Israel’s prophets with many contemporary scholars, be they sympathizers of his ways of interpreting the Bible or not, like Julius Wellhausen (1844–1918), Bernhard Duhm (1847–1928) and Gustav Hölscher (1877–1955). The classical Old Testament prophets were, in fact, at least for Protestant thinkers, the guarantors of spiritual and ethical superiority, they were *non plus ultra* heroes of sensibility for the divine. Gunkel enthusiastically sketches their evolution in the history of Israel<sup>45</sup> (there were not yet many extra-biblical prophetic texts known at his time) claiming that their theological insights are still valid for his own time. Obviously, he believes in historical progress like all his contemporaries, but somehow this progress stops or lingers when some extraordinary religious teachers reach an all-time climax in spiritual knowledge around 750–700 BC. His own principles of looking for divine experiences especially in the receptive minds and souls of extraordinary people and of making them responsi-

<sup>41</sup> Schleiermacher had called it *das Gefühl der schlechthinigen Abhängigkeit* (“sentiment of ultimate dependence”).

<sup>42</sup> Publications which most dedicatedly deal with the progress of religious ascent are Gunkel, *Die israelitische Literatur (Kultur der Gegenwart I,7; 21925)*, 53–112, resp. ET: *The Literature of Ancient Israel*, in: Sandoval, *Relating to the Text* (2003), 26–83; s. above n. 4.

<sup>43</sup> This is why Gunkel valued so much the *Sitz im Leben* of literary genres: these “situations in real life” allowed glimpses into the faith of collectives and individuals, cf. E. S. GERSTENBERGER, “Canon Criticism and the Meaning of ‘Sitz im Leben’”, in: G. M. TUCKER e.a. (eds.), *Canon, Theology, and Old Testament Interpretation* (Philadelphia: Fortress 1988), 20–31; idem, “Social Sciences and Form-Criticism: Towards the Generative Force of Life-Settings”, in: *Relating to the Text* (2003), 84–99.

<sup>44</sup> The lyrical genres also could well serve as an example of “spiritual development towards higher realms of piety and more substantial theological conceptions”, cf. Gunkel, *Psalmen* (1926).

<sup>45</sup> See his “Introduction” to the “great prophets”, in SAT II/2 (s. above n. 38).



ble for progress on the religious pilgrimage, seems to be blocked, probably thanks to traditional ways of thinking from the past towards the present, and not, as modern historical custom suggests, vice versa. Basic to the “secret experiences of the prophets”<sup>46</sup> of all periods have been ecstatic conditions of drawing near to the deity.

From these [ecstatic] circles, then, arose the very best, which the Old Testament can offer, yet by way of a long history. The most powerful and most noble figures produced by ancient Israel, are the prophets. ... The later prophets were filled with the highest thoughts and sentiments while suffering such [ecstatic] conditions. ... Exactly those religious people do experience such [ecstatic] conditions, in whose soul faith is not burning like a nice, warming flame in the fire-place, but has become a powerful, blazing, consuming conflagration.<sup>47</sup>

But from this prophetic class came individual men of a loftier kind, men with a higher range of thoughts and wider horizons. These heroes talk about the destinies of the nation and its kings.<sup>48</sup>

The last big turn in the history of prophecy occurred in the eighth century, when the terrible Assyrian threat drew nearer and nearer. At that time, when the minds shuddered before the approaching catastrophe, the common agitation of the epoch exploded in the first scriptural prophets. ... They incorporate high ideals of piety and ethos. ... These men are, in fact, passionate characters, endowed with a shaking and uplifting power which moves even us, the ones born much later. ... Their basic conviction is to have received their ideas from Yahweh himself. The prophet did not make them up alone. It was not he who discovered them, but they “got together somehow” (Jer 15:16).<sup>49</sup>

They were able to proclaim the thoughts of their God! They are capable of naming Yahweh's motifs, knowing, why everything happened just like it did. ... The new thing, which occurred with these men is, therefore, the arrival in prophecy of the pious and ethical dimension.<sup>50</sup> ... We, therefore, recognize God's revelation in these great, agitated, pious persons and in the eternal thoughts, the bearers of which they became.<sup>51</sup>

We notice the peculiar Gunkelian way of dealing with history, in contrast to that of Troeltsch. The social dimension of developing religious ideas has vanished. There seems to be a precarious reduction to the individual self and its religious sensitivity and intellectual capacity. Rooted in archaic ecstatic behaviour and oracular practice the “higher”, “literary” prophets incorporate ethical standards in their visions and pronouncements. They are convinced of being the spokesmen for Yahweh, using the divine “I” quite naturally. While the personalistic construction of truth inaugurated by Eichhorn is maintained (but only from the ancient perspective of the acting men of God), the hermeneutical standpoint of modern interpreters has all but disappeared. Traditional revelatory language and conceptualisation come to the fore, although there is still considerable emphasis on present day (visualized both for the prophet's as well as our modern age) creativity. In this fashion we may marvel at an un-reflected mix of theoretical viewpoints, carried away by a staunch belief in the progressive ethical betterment of humankind, in spite of all the horrors of the First World War.<sup>52</sup> Also, Gun-

<sup>46</sup> Thus the title of an earlier paper re-used in his “Introduction” (s. above n.38).

<sup>47</sup> Gunkel, Introduction (SAT II/2; 1915), XXX.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid. XXXI.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid. XXXII–XXXIII.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid. XXXV.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid. XXXVI.

<sup>52</sup> The encyclopaedic collection of essays in *Kultur der Gegenwart*, edited by P. Hinneberg from 1905 to 1925, in which Gunkel's famous treatise about “The History of Israelite Literature” first

kel's division of "lower" and "higher" spheres and values sounds like good old idealistic discourse. From our present vantage point, a century later, those fundamental assumptions, not explained nor discussed by Gunkel, are no longer plausible. All concepts of history living by its inherent (revelatory) dynamics and very likely climaxing in absolute high-points<sup>53</sup> have to be seriously challenged exactly on account of the initial discoveries of History as man-made retrospective construct (Eichhorn!).

Besides this critical evaluation we have to recognize, however, that the underlying, partly unconscious innovations of the History of Religion School brought a great deal of motion into petrified dogmatic theology and exegesis. Gunkel and his pupils were quite conscious of this new situation and proud to be instrumental in overcoming habitual customs and vivifying sterile discourses. The consequences of taking a fresh look at history were enormous in the framework of traditional theology and its institutions; e.g., Holy Scriptures were a source of inspiration to the young, rebellious group, but they ceased to be the absolute norm of faith and morals. Canon-borders became irrelevant to the scholars who investigated the development of doctrine: Gunkel, as well as all his companions, freely surveyed apocryphal documents both in the Jewish and Christian spheres, and took these outside witnesses as equally valued evidence. More than that: Ancient and even modern religions became partners in dialogue about the profundity and range of religious feeling and knowledge. According to the static concept of revelation God had manifested himself here and there in the past and written witness of these events (doctrines?!) would incessantly illuminate all subsequent eons. Such doctrinal architecture had been abandoned by the History of Religion School in favour of the dynamic formation of truth throughout the ages. Ideas contrasting the line of prophets, Jesus, Apostles, which do not fit into the picture of historical creativity moulding past and future, were only echoes of bygone models of thinking. That means: the door was opened to admit and to provoke new theological discourses throughout the history of Christianity. The Protestant Reformation was valued highly in this regard, but Troeltsch and others were also critical of the medieval survivals in Luther's concepts. He, therefore, praised the secularizing (!) enlightenment as the very source of modern theologies, and he was also keen to draw all modern ways of thinking, be they philosophical, scientific, psychological, anthropological, sociological or anything else in the academic realm, into a common dialogue about the destinies of humankind and the world at large.<sup>54</sup> Consciousness of theology being only one fragment of humanity's grappling for a comprehensive understanding of the world we are living in led to an appreciation of all epistemological enterprises. For Troeltsch this definitely included scientific thinking. Also Gunkel was much

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appeared in 1906, encompassed all fields of knowledge and was a prime example of progressive and optimistic thinking (see n. 4 above). E. Troeltsch wrote two essays for Hinneberg: "Modern Academic Theology, its Method and Tasks" and "Protestant Christianity and Churches in the Modern Period". A. von Harnack contributed on: "Prospects of Christianity in Present and Future Times".

<sup>53</sup> Examples, as said before, are: Hegel's Prussian State; Marx's final egalitarian socialism; Huntington's end of history = American dominance.

<sup>54</sup> Cf. the efforts of Paul Hinneberg for cultural synthesis and Troeltsch's as well Gunkel's involvement with the project, s. above n. 52.

aware of colleagues in other fields besides Bible studies. He entertained fruitful communication and cooperation with Assyriologists like Heinrich Zimmern (1862–1931), with early anthropologists like Wilhelm Wundt (1832–1920), and consulted the works of historians, Egyptologists, and to some extent psychologists (scientists and systematicians of any brand were not on his agenda, as pointed out already).

One more aspect needs to be pointed to as an outcome of new attitudes and constructs of history in the History of Religion School. The coreligionists of the first and second generation proved to be very much oriented to their own time and environment. They wanted to take their insights into society at large, discuss the results of their research with everybody willing to engage in such conversation. Academic scholarship for them was decisively not a matter of experts in ivory towers. So they made haste to start scholarly and also popular publications, journals, series of monographs, review organs. Some of their periodicals are still in existence, although their policies may have changed. The important dictionary *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (RGG; an English edition under way: *Religion Past and Present*<sup>55</sup>), meanwhile in its fourth German edition, was, to a large extent, planned and executed by Gunkel and his closest associates.<sup>56</sup> The monograph series *Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments* (FRLANT; “Studies in Religion and Literature of the Old and New Testaments”; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht) started in 1903 and in more than a century gave birth to 200 plus volumes. Most members of the group loved to offer public lectures (sometimes also to improve their meagre household budgets). A series of booklets for interested lay people was named *Religionsgeschichtliche Volksbücher für die deutsche christliche Gegenwart* (“Popular Studies in the History of Religion for To-days Christians in Germany”). In everyday lives, as already stated, History of Religion adepts often took part in social and political programs. To their mind Bible and religion had to be the concern of any thoughtful human being, because they were important factors in the formation of our European culture. Their scholarly insights and biographical interests as well made them more or less democrats, or at least suspicious over against hierarchies, monarchies and sometimes even against nationalisms.<sup>57</sup>

<sup>55</sup> The English edition is appearing since 2006, the 14<sup>th</sup> and last volume to appear 2013, under the direction of H. D. Betz, D. S. Browning, B. Janowski, and E. Jüngel, at Brill’s Publishers of Leiden.

<sup>56</sup> *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*: 1<sup>st</sup> edn. by F. M. Schiele and L. Tscharnack (Tübingen: Mohr 1907–1913); 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. by H. Gunkel and L. Tscharnack (Tübingen: Mohr 1929–1931); cf. Özen, “Religion”, in: Lüdemann, Schule (1996), 149–206.

<sup>57</sup> Typical is the moderate nationalism of E. Troeltsch who already voted against imperialist annexation of colonies as a war-goal in 1916, and after the catastrophe of 1918 turned highly critical of imperial politics to the extent that he actively engaged in the governance of the Weimar Republic, cf. Drescher, Ernst Troeltsch (1991). Many Churches and theologians remained monarchical in their minds, because they were accustomed to think in hierarchical = God given (!) configurations.

## 8. Twentieth Century Developments

The First World War with its shaking of the foundations – Gunkel himself survived teaching at Giessen (he went there in 1907<sup>58</sup> leaving again 1920 when he took on his last position at the University of Halle) – interrupted much scholarly work and international communication. Some of the Historians of Religion in the Old Testament field were drafted, Hans Schmidt, an ardent patriot, even volunteered for military service,<sup>59</sup> all were widely separated. Gunkel's correspondence of more than a thousand letters, kept at the University of Halle, gives an idea of lively exchanges in personal and academic matters.<sup>60</sup> In general, the motifs of the History of Religion group were actively pursued by quite a number of European experts in Bible studies. Gunkel's personal associates<sup>61</sup> and students<sup>62</sup> had an important role in developing further religious-historical thinking in the field. Interestingly, Gunkel's name became most firmly associated with his "form- and genre-critical" method,<sup>63</sup> which is widely used (or assumed to be utilized) by bible-students across all theological "schools". The lack of "authored" ancient literature brought Gunkel to the insight, that any kind of repeated communication will be standardized and can thus be recognized by its inter-communicative "forms of speech", which by necessity are marked by institutional characteristics.<sup>64</sup> Unfortunately, his original emphasis on these *Sitze im Leben* (life-situations of "recurring and standardizing discourses") have been much neglected in later times. They do survive, however, in socio-historical investigations and modes of thinking.<sup>65</sup> Even scholars who – before and after the Second

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<sup>58</sup> To celebrate the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of this event a symposium was held at Giessen University in July of 2007. Papers read at this occasion and other essays on Hermann Gunkel and his continuing influence in Old Testament scholarship are published by Eisen / Gerstenberger, Hermann Gunkel Revisited (2010).

<sup>59</sup> He was decorated and promoted in the First World war, joined the Nazi-party in 1933, fought again in the Second World War, was dismissed from his university position in 1945 and worked as a pastor to his death in 1953.

<sup>60</sup> The Gunkel Archive at Halle preserves 224 letters alone of Gressmann to Gunkel, the largest number of one individual sender (among close to 600 senders).

<sup>61</sup> Among Gunkel's contemporaries and students who joined his efforts, e.g. with SAT, Willy Staerk (1866–1946), Paul Volz (1871–1941) and Max Haller (1879–1949) became prominent. How well Gunkel's literary approach to the Bible was regarded is ably demonstrated, for instance, by Klatt, Hermann Gunkel (1969), 166–179.

<sup>62</sup> Directly or indirectly learned from Gunkel e.g. Hugo Gressmann (1877–1927), Hans Schmidt (1877–1953), Hedwig Jahnow (1879–1944), Martin Dibelius (1883–1947), Rudolf Bultmann (1884–1976), Sigmund Mowinckel (1884–1964), Walter Baumgartner (1887–1970), Joachim Begrich (1900–1945) and many more.

<sup>63</sup> See in HBOT III/2, Chap. 31: Campbell, Approaches; cf. also Buss, Form Criticism (1999), 209–262.

<sup>64</sup> Cf. Gerstenberger, Canon Criticism (1988), s. above n.43; idem / U. SCHOENBORN (eds.), Hermeneutik – sozialgeschichtlich (exuz 1; Münster: LIT Verlag 1999).

<sup>65</sup> Cf. E.S. GERSTENBERGER, "Vom Sitz im Leben zur Sozialgeschichte der Bibel", in: TH. WAGNER e.a., *Kontexte. Biografische und forschungsgeschichtliche Schnittpunkte der alttestamentlichen Wissenschaft* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener 2008), 157–170; idem, *Theologien im Alten Testament*, Stuttgart: Kohlhammer 2001), ET by J. BOWDEN: *Theologies in the Old Testament* (London: Clark / Minneapolis: Fortress 2002).

World War – sharply opposed the History of Religion approach would use (and cherish!) form-critical methods in their own analyses.<sup>66</sup>

Real History-of-Religion approaches flourished before the First World War, maintained their influence until the thirties, thereafter subsiding as a basic tool of biblical exegesis before the onslaught of “Dialectical Theology” with its aggressive denunciation of all and every “Religion” as purely man-created pseudo-faith. A positive portrayal of the “School” would show immense achievements. Its “members” were good to excellent philologists, careful exegetes who made a point of interpreting the Scriptures not only technically, but with clear reference to its spiritual value and its actual impact on our own world. A general audience was envisioned not just the academic community.<sup>67</sup> A few glimpses on works and insights must suffice. Hugo Gressmann, one of Gunkel’s closest and most intimate collaborators,<sup>68</sup> not only published important monographs and commentaries, but also elaborated the first fairly comprehensive collection of “Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament”.<sup>69</sup> The comparison of parallel or older religious witnesses from Israel’s ancient neighbours became standard in exegesis. We have to ask, of course, whether or not the ancient religions were regarded as on an equal footing with that of “God’s own people”. Gressmann himself, although being a critical historian, somehow still believed in the superiority of Christian faith.<sup>70</sup> Just as was the case with Ernst Troeltsch, Friedrich M. Schiele and others the absoluteness of Christianity was more a subjective, pragmatically experienced matter than a construct of (revelatory; essential) history. We may say: The idea of “human progress” conquering earth and heaven was strongly entrenched in the minds of most contemporaries. The First World War began to shake this spiritual foundation, but until the thirties of the twentieth century the lofty edifice did not really come down.

Sigmund Mowinckel, student from Norway, seems to have been less addicted to progressivistic illusions. He not only carried on, in a most effective and significant way, Gunkel’s form- and genre-critical analysis of the Psalms,<sup>71</sup> but he also strictly applied his critical insights to explain the growth of historical and pro-

<sup>66</sup> To name but a few: Gerhard von Rad; Hans Walter Wolff; Walther Zimmerli.

<sup>67</sup> Besides popular series of essays and studies the biblical commentary, founded by Gunkel and his friends was very significant: *Die Schriften des Alten Testaments in Auswahl übersetzt und für die Gegenwart erklärt* [SAT] (The Writings of the Old Testament, selected and translated for Today), were published at Göttingen from 1906 onwards, in a second edition from 1920–1925. The New Testament companion was initiated by Johannes Weiß, Wilhelm Bousset, and Otto Baumgarten, starting in 1907; cf. Lüdemann / Schröder, *Schule* (1987), 109–136 (documentation composed by Nittert Jansen).

<sup>68</sup> See above n. 61–62.

<sup>69</sup> This is, of course, James Pritchard’s title of 1950. H. GRESSMANN’s work is entitled: *Altorientalische Texte und Bilder zum Alten Testament* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1909).

<sup>70</sup> Gressmann’s depiction of Eichhorn is quite revealing in this regard; see idem, Albert Eichhorn und die religionsgeschichtliche Schule (1913).

<sup>71</sup> See, first of all, his very influential *Psalmenstudien*, I–VI (Kristiania [Oslo]: Dybwad 1921–1924), and also his later comprehensive work *Offersang og Sangoffer* (Oslo: Aschehoug 1951), ET by D.R. Ap-Thomas: *The Psalms in Israel’s Worship*, 1–2 (Nashville: Abingdon 1962). Mowinckel used freely available cult-historical, anthropological, psychological knowledge to put the different categories of Israel’s sacred songs into their proper *Sitz im Leben*. Cf. S. HJELDE, *Sigmund Mowinckel und seine Zeit. Leben und Werk eines norwegischen Alttestamentlers* (FAT 50; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 2006).

phetic traditions in Israel. The book of Jeremiah, to his mind, is composed of three main layers, the last of which are, predominantly, deuteronomic sermons.<sup>72</sup> Equally, the Ezra-Nehemiah tradition consists of fragments, put together piece by piece over a long time.<sup>73</sup> Furthermore, he does not use so much qualitative judgments about “lower” and “higher” literature depending on the degree of maturity, enlightenment, and God-experience of some individualistic authors. In one of his letters to Gunkel discussing Ezechiel’s strange behaviour he mocks at “prophetic figures” in the Old Testament, equalling them to some kinds of religious harlequins: “Most of these are a bit of a trickster sheltering within themselves rather profane, but un-admitted, side-interests and desires. Why shouldn’t there be a few of them also in the Bible?”<sup>74</sup>

Another example: Hedwig Jahnow was one of Gunkel’s female students in Berlin. She remained in contact with him also in Giessen while teaching at a Lyceum in near-by Marburg. Her Old Testament monograph *Das Leichenlied im Alten Testament* (“Dirge in the Old Testament”) is a classical form-critical treatise quoted down into our time. Jahnow was denounced to the Nazi secret service in 1942; she died in the concentration camp of Theresienstadt in 1944. Walter Baumgartner, from whom we have a vivid description of Gunkel as a scholar and teacher,<sup>75</sup> worked in lexicography, exegesis, literature of the Old Testament, principally in Deutero-Isaiah and Psalms. And, to finish the selection of subsequent History of Religion defenders, Joachim Begrich was particularly close to Gunkel, being one of his younger students and co-workers. He finished his master’s famous analysis of the Psalms, after Gunkel had died in 1932.<sup>76</sup> All these confidants worked pretty much in the steps and settings of Gunkel himself, in terms of methods as well as in regard to their estimation of history of religion, evaluation of human ethos and divine experience, appraisal of Scriptures, enhancement of culture.

Increasingly, however, European Protestant Theology, in particular that of the reformed branch, moved in the opposite direction. Frustration about the deep fall into barbarism in the War, the incapacity of progressive ethos to prevent the catastrophe and a general polarization of political attitudes was instrumental in ushering in a new age of theological construction. The beginning of “Dialectical Theology” is frequently seen in the publication of the second edition of Karl Barth’s commentary on the Letter to the Romans in 1922, a rather arbitrary fixation. The book is a fulminant attack on all the values of liberal,<sup>77</sup> history-of-religion oriented Christianity which was followed by heated debates about *sola fide*, *sola scriptura*, *solo Christus* in the life of the Church and in wider society. A later summary of Barth’s struggle for a genuine recovery of biblical and reformation

<sup>72</sup> S. MOWINCKEL, *Zur Komposition des Buches Jeremia* (Kristiania: Dybwad 1914).

<sup>73</sup> Cf. S. MOWINCKEL, *Statbolderen Nebemia* (Kristiania: Norli 1916); idem, *Ezra den skriftlaerde* (Kristiania: Norli 1916).

<sup>74</sup> Gunkel Archive of the University Library of Halle, Yi 33I M 80, p. 3; cf. above n. 60.

<sup>75</sup> W. BAUMGARTNER, “Zum 100. Geburtstag von Hermann Gunkel”, in: [IOSOT] Congress Volume Bonn 1962 (VT.S 9; Leiden: Brill 1963); repr. in: Gunkel, *Genesis* (<sup>8</sup>1969) 1\*-18\*.

<sup>76</sup> Noteworthy is the full title of the “Introduction”: *Einleitung in die Psalmen. Die Gattungen der religiösen Lyrik Israels*, von Hermann Gunkel, zu Ende geführt von Joachim Begrich (1933).

<sup>77</sup> On Liberal Protestantism cf. MANFRED JACOBS, “Liberale Theologie”, TRE 21 (1991), 47–68.

thinking, against all the modern, enlightened apostasies was his book “Protestant Theology in the Nineteenth Century”.<sup>78</sup> Trust in any kind of positive ability of human beings, hope for any participatory activity of the faithful in divine salvation, even reliance on epistemological capacities to realize the good and right are vehemently denounced as the great error since the eighteenth century. Barth principally targets Friedrich Schleiermacher for his positive focus on “religious experience”. But all the other theologians down to Albrecht Ritschl and Ernst Troeltsch are put into the same pan, and even the History of Religion exegetes receive their due verdict: “that choir of historians led by Troeltsch, namely Gunkel, J. Weiß, Bousset, Heitmüller, Wernle ...”.<sup>79</sup> God, for dialectical theologians, is great, and there is nothing but God, and Christ is his son. Humans are reduced to receive the divine grace and respond in true faith to their foregoing salvation and capacitation. The battle about the true faith went on into the Nazi period, where “Barthians” joined by a few “Lutherans” went into opposition, were persecuted, and experienced a rebirth after the Second World War which gave them a dominant position in German theological schools and a good number of Churches. Exegesis of the Old Testament at that time, well into the eightieth of the twentieth century was oriented by the great “Barthian” interpreters Martin Noth, Gerhard von Rad, Hans-Walter Wolff, Walter Zimmerli, who bravely made use of Gunkel’s methods but shunned his cultural and historical views. Only after the eightieth there were slight moves to rehabilitate the century old History of Religion School.

## 9. Outlook

All theology, every school of thought and each individual way of interpreting Scriptures are bound to their specific times and conditioning circumstances. None is absolute, they all have their way and time (cf. Qoheleth 3). Dialectical theology had its time and History of Religion views had their time. Since we have to keep learning, exegetically as well as theologically, from past endeavours we should ask about the results and caveats of by-gone enterprises in order to master the present-day spiritual and social challenges.

The History of Religion School was very strong in recognizing the depth of historic – and religious! – development, the particular socio-economic and cultural conditionings of determined theological affirmations (including their own?), the participation of human beings in the creation of divine images, the importance of social and personal ethics, the human basis of Scriptural tradition, the equality of all religions, the global dimensions of religious thought, the common involvement of all humankind in a religious discourse which may be decisive for survival, the restructuring of societies along democratic ideals. This is,

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<sup>78</sup> K. BARTH, *Die protestantische Theologie im 19. Jahrhundert. Ihre Vorgeschichte und ihre Geschichte* (Zürich: Evangelischer Verlag 1947), ET: *Protestant Theology in the Nineteenth Century* (New edition; London: SCM 2001).

<sup>79</sup> Barth, *Theologie* (1947), 598.

indeed, an impressive list of extremely up-to-date impulses for our age which, unfortunately, possesses the capability of ending all conscious life on this planet.

On the other hand, there certainly are (not only because dialectical theologians sounded an alarm) grave shortcomings to be lamented and avoided: Overestimation of human potential, volition, and sincerity to create a just world-order, optimism in regard to automatic improvement and progress, survivals of former belief in the reality of literary allusions and hierarchical structures, one-sided reliance on individualistic ethos and perception of truth etc. Some of these last components of nineteenth century conceptualizations are outmoded, and no longer feasible in modern discourse. But preponderant positive insights of History of Religion protagonists may still help us to acknowledge our situation and inform our decisions for a contemporary, responsible exegesis and theology.



## CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

# In the Wake of Wellhausen: The Growth of a Literary-Critical School and Its Varied Influence

By RUDOLF SMEND, Göttingen

### 1. Introduction

In the years following the First World War there was a general awareness in the most varied quarters that this was a turning point between two epochs. In Old Testament studies, Rudolf Kittel and Hugo Gressmann expressed this awareness programmatically, Kittel by talking about the “future” of these studies, Gressmann about the “tasks” before them. The two were at one in defining the “past”, “bygone” or “surmounted” period as the era of literary criticism.<sup>1</sup> Looking back later, Otto Eissfeldt actually talked about a “literary-critical school”, in analogy to the “history of religions school”, though he immediately added that this was not, as in that other case, “a closely adhering community”. He saw its heyday as lying between “about 1870 and 1920”, that is to say, more or less the period of Julius Wellhausen’s academic activity.<sup>2</sup> There was never a “Wellhausen school”, but it is surely more than justifiable to say that a great part of the scholarship of those years moved “in the wake of Wellhausen”. Our account must therefore begin, picking up what has been said above, with a brief characterization of Wellhausen as literary critic, and can afterwards, in view of the “open” character of the “school”, be restricted to a few scholarly personalities. Here we have necessarily to cross the boundary of the century, but it is only in the exceptional case that we have to look beyond Wellhausen’s lifetime. We shall still keep in mind as far as possible the relationship to Wellhausen, perhaps including what we know of his reactions to the work of his successors. It need hardly be said that the Pentateuch has to stand at the centre of the literary criticism, since that was its most important and most paradigmatic subject.

Sources: A. BERTHOLET, Review of K. Budde, *Das Buch der Richter*, *TbLZ* 23 (1898) 209–212; Review of C. Steuernagel, *Das Deuteronomium*, *TbLZ* 24 (1899) 481–486; Review of H. Gunkel,

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<sup>1</sup> R. KITTEL, “Die Zukunft der alttestamentlichen Wissenschaft”, *ZAW* 39 (1921) 84–99, here 91. H. GRESSMANN, “Die Aufgaben der alttestamentlichen Forschung”, *ZAW* 42 (1924) 1–33, here 2f.

<sup>2</sup> O. EISSFELDT, “Literarkritische Schule”, *RGG*<sup>3</sup> IV (1960), 388–390; cf. also R. SMEND, “Literarkritische Schule”, *RGG*<sup>4</sup> V (2002), 390–391.

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## 2. Wellhausen as Literary Critic

One occasionally reads or hears it said that Wellhausen’s importance for the history of Old Testament studies is above all his introduction into Pentateuchal criticism of the “new documentary hypothesis”. That is not correct. This hypothesis goes back to Hermann Hupfeld,<sup>3</sup> and, besides Wellhausen and after him, it was also taken over by scholars who cannot be termed his supporters. It is true that he too supported the theory, indeed even gave it “classic” form, so to speak, but he did not bind himself to it unconditionally, and maintained a distance from scholars who showed less reserve, even if they referred to him for their views, and then especially.

When the young Wellhausen was working on the text of the books of Samuel in the second version of the narrative about the genesis of the monarchy<sup>4</sup> he detected an expansion of the earlier version, written from the beginning in relation to this version, not originally independent of it, and only united with it by a redactional hand. This conclusion provided the occasion for the general comment which he added to a first statement about the Pentateuch.

The historical books of the Old Testament in general did not come into being in so mechanical a manner as – contrary to Ewald – is generally imagined. In the Pentateuch too, there are not two or several great historical complexes with the same subject, originally written independently of each other, in such a way that the later one takes no account of the one written earlier. It is rather that sometimes smaller blocks were joined to a single core (note: or were probably also assimilated into

<sup>3</sup> See above 431.

<sup>4</sup> He found the second version in 1 Sam. 7; 8; 10:8, 17–27; 11:12–14; 12; 13:8–15.

it), as Gen. 4 is joined to Gen. 2.3; into this for the first time the individual stories which until then had existed in oral or written form were fitted... the whole sometimes being newly worked over as a fresh complex, perhaps in such a way that from the beginning its essential content continued to be incorporated after the new revision, or in such a way that only the bare outlines of its plan determined this revision, thus making it possible for a later redactor to combine the old and the new – there is much to be said in favour of both possibilities. At all events, modifications of the original core and the revision of shorter passages, changes in individual words, and minor interpolations (Gen. 3.20) are indissolubly bound up with the way in which the historical books developed, and it is difficult to find the dividing line where literary criticism ceases and textual criticism begins.<sup>5</sup>

Not so mechanical! That was for Wellhausen himself extremely characteristic.<sup>6</sup> He tried to grasp texts not on the basis of abstract rules and principles, but in the light of their living context, naturally and historically. It was as a means of reconstructing these living contexts that for him the texts were mainly interesting. In this respect he saw himself as being in opposition to many of his fellow scholars, and here he viewed himself as the pupil of Heinrich Ewald especially. From that standpoint he could not, any more than Ewald, become the supporter of a pure documentary hypothesis either. Ewald's opinion about the development of the Pentateuch as he finally developed it in his *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*<sup>7</sup> has been described as a "crystallization hypothesis".<sup>8</sup> This is not unduly wide of the mark, and the description also quite well fits in with the indications of his view which, as we saw above, Wellhausen put forward in 1871. There, of the three classic hypotheses the supplementary hypothesis is at first sight dominant; but the documentary and fragment hypotheses are by no means dismissed. So we see the future Pentateuch critic as having by no means arrived at a final stance but already engaged in a reflective examination of the possibilities that were under discussion at the time; and we find him above all already fixed in that dislike of anything "mechanical" which for him, as Ewald's heir, was more important than all hypotheses.

When soon afterwards he himself turned to the analysis,<sup>9</sup> it was then after all Hupfeld from whom he "in every respect started" – that is to say the documentary hypothesis; but at the provisional end of the work he could add that he had learnt not only from Hupfeld but from all his predecessors<sup>10</sup> – that in itself saved him from too strict a fixation on the documentary hypothesis. He was very much aware of the largely experimental and provisional character of his work in this sector especially, where he had to pursue "often untrodden paths", and he hoped that his "rough investigations" would be followed by others "much more exact and detailed" which would "confirm, rectify and overturn" their results.<sup>11</sup>

As far as the fulfilment of this hope was concerned, he declared after some years, in the *Prolegomena* of 1883,<sup>12</sup> that "up to now" he had been "corrected in

<sup>5</sup> Wellhausen, *Bücher Samuelis* (1871), Xf.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. already Chap. 15 above, n.28.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Holzinger, *Einleitung* (1893), 59.

<sup>8</sup> F. DELITZSCH, *Die Genesis ausgelegt* (Leipzig: Dörffling und Franke 1852), 29.

<sup>9</sup> See above 445f.

<sup>10</sup> Wellhausen, *Composition* (1877), 479; cf. his article on his direct predecessors in Bleek-Wellhausen (1878), 169–177.

<sup>11</sup> Wellhausen, *Composition* (1877), 479.

<sup>12</sup> Wellhausen, *Prolegomena* (21883), 8, n.2. This is followed by the important statement: "For

essentials only by Kuenen” – about this we have already spoken.<sup>13</sup> He repeated this declaration in all the later editions of the *Prolegomena*,<sup>14</sup> from which it will be permissible to deduce that the “more exact investigations” of the succeeding decades had not impressed him particularly, or at least had not led him to make any “essential corrections”. It should be noted here, however, that he became less and less interested in the literary analysis the more for him the historical synthesis began to coalesce. “There are few people in Germany who understand that I really have more positive things in mind than Pentateuchal criticism”, he wrote in 1882 to Robertson Smith,<sup>15</sup> and as early as 1878 to Kuenen himself, coming down even more clearly on the negative side: “The whole critical analysis actually gives me no pleasure at all; you will hardly believe this, but it is true”.<sup>16</sup> So after the discussion with Kuenen<sup>17</sup> he hardly concerned himself with the “more exact investigations” in this sector, probably for the most part not even taking note of them; and this was entirely so once Arab antiquity and the New Testament absorbed his capacity for work. But when Theodor Nöldeke thanked him for the third edition of the *Composition* with a number of detailed critical comments, Wellhausen entered into discussion with him, although he introduced his rejoinder by saying: “I by no means stand by the correctness of everything written there; my confidence has come to be severely shaken”.<sup>18</sup> It is a great pity that he did not expand this remark. It was certainly not meant as a retraction of the statement which is to be found in every edition of the *Prolegomena*<sup>19</sup> – that is to say which he still reiterated even in 1905: “Details I surrender; with regard to the general way of viewing the literary process through which the Pentateuch came into being, I believe that I have pointed research in the right direction”.

### 3. The Successors

#### 3.1. *The Representative “Introductions”*

Among the “theological compilations” in which Wellhausen in 1909, half with satisfaction, half sarcastically, discovered that *Die kleinen Propheten* and *Die Composition des Hexateuchs und der historischen Bücher des Alten Testaments* had been passed over,<sup>20</sup> he will have been mainly thinking, where the *Composition* is concerned, about the “Introductions” to the Old Testament. Among these the textbook written by C. H. Cornill (1854–1920) may be mentioned as repre-

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Kuenen shows that certain elements which I have attributed to the Elohist are not fragments of a once independent complex, but are addenda, inserted later, which have joined themselves parasitically to a complex from elsewhere”.

<sup>13</sup> See above 432f.

<sup>14</sup> Lastly in <sup>6</sup>1905, 8, n.2.

<sup>15</sup> Letter of 11 May 1882.

<sup>16</sup> Letter of 13 February 1878.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. the addenda in Wellhausen, *Composition* (<sup>2</sup>1889), 303–361.

<sup>18</sup> Letter from Wellhausen to Nöldeke of 21 April 1900.

<sup>19</sup> In each case on p. 8, n. 2, in the English translation as well.

<sup>20</sup> See above Chap. 15, n.70.

sentative of the German-speaking area, and for the English-speaking world the “Introduction” of S. R. Driver (1846–1914). Both these books, from their first edition of 1891 to their last of 1913 (the 7<sup>th</sup> or 9<sup>th</sup> respectively), made the quintessence of nineteenth century research accessible – directly to a whole generation of students, and indirectly to a much wider public. It has even been said of Driver’s book: “It was the most scholarly and most influential *Introduction* ever to be written by an Englishman, and it played no little part in advancing the critical cause in English Old Testament study”.<sup>21</sup> In Germany it signified a caesura and the symptom of a climate change when in 1910 the conservative scholar Ernst Sellin (1867–1946) published his brief “Introduction”. This was undoubtedly meant to be an alternative to Cornill, and Cornill too assumed that Sellin was throwing down a gauntlet, which he immediately took up in 124 pages of polemics under the title *Zur Einleitung in das Alte Testament*. To this Sellin replied straight away in 105 pages under the same title. From then on, his “introduction” dominated the market considerably longer than Cornill’s had done previously – a sign that Wellhausen’s time had for a time passed.

Apart from the brief “Introductions” the most important part-sector may be represented by the very detailed *Einleitung in den Hexateuch* (1893) written by Kautzsch’s pupil Heinrich Holzinger (1863–1944), for whose “almost merely reproductive procedure” the author explicitly apologizes in the foreword; yet this very procedure gives the book the value of a work of reference which covers research up to that point and which hardly ever lets the user down.

### 3.2. *The ZAW*

More important for the progress of research were Wellhausen’s hoped-for “more exact investigations” which built on the foundation of his own fundamental work (and incidentally of course on the work of others, especially Kuenen’s). As a collecting point for these, the *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* (ZAW) soon became available, being published from 1881 onwards by the energetic Gießen scholar Bernhard Stade (1848–1906), whom his students reverentially nicknamed Yahweh. Wellhausen never published in the ZAW, but its second editor, Karl Marti (1855–1925), like Stade an adherent of Wellhausen, could in addressing him establish that “after all it owes its existence to the powerful new movement which in the realm of Old Testament studies and far beyond took its starting point mainly from your brilliant, conclusive work”.<sup>22</sup> As an example, we may pick out the very first volume. In this, Friedrich Giesebrecht (1852–1910), at that time like Wellhausen in Greifswald, supported his older colleague and friend by demonstrating the late linguistic usage of the Priestly Code;<sup>23</sup> Stade offered precise evidence for Wellhausen’s view about the develop-

<sup>21</sup> J. W. ROGERSON, *Old Testament Criticism in the Nineteenth Century* (London: SPCK 1984), 275.

<sup>22</sup> K. Marti in Wellhausen-FS, *Studien zur semitischen Philologie und Religionsgeschichte* (1914), V.

<sup>23</sup> Giesebrecht, *Hexateuchkritik* (1881).

ment history of the pre-Deuteronomic book of Judges;<sup>24</sup> and the ancient historian Eduard Meyer (1855–1930) – he was to continue to intervene in Old Testament studies – followed in Wellhausen’s footsteps by tracing the Yahwist and the Elohist as far as the accounts of the conquest of Palestine.<sup>25</sup> The volume also offered literary criticism of two prophetic books, Zechariah and Micah, written by the editor<sup>26</sup> which he was later to follow up.

### 3.3. First Variations

The year before the start of the ZAW, an inconspicuous essay had already appeared which gave Wellhausen particular pleasure: Adolf Jülicher’s dissertation on the sources of Exod 1–7:7.<sup>27</sup> While he was a student in Berlin, Jülicher (1857–1930) was won for the Old Testament and literary criticism by August Dillmann’s lectures on Genesis. On his own account he investigated the sources of the books of Exodus and Numbers and while so doing came across the work of Kuenen’s pupil H. H. Oort. So in order to understand it, and Kuenen’s too, he learnt Dutch. While he was still a student he was converted “from being Dillmann’s disciple to being a supporter of Wellhausen”.<sup>28</sup> In 1880 he received a doctorate in Halle for the above-mentioned dissertation, following up this doctoral thesis in 1882 with its continuation, an analysis of Exod 7:8–24:11.<sup>29</sup> In spite of all its leanings on Wellhausen (and Kuenen) the study contains much that was his own. In his eyes, Wellhausen “in the course of the *Sturm und Drang* sometimes overshot the mark, stressing the differences between the individual phases too strongly, and detecting a sequence where a parallel would be closer to the truth”.<sup>30</sup> Wellhausen could easily accept this criticism; it will have pleased him especially that, following in his footsteps, Jülicher declared that “the mechanical mosaic hypothesis” was “the most erroneous and most dangerous of all the Pentateuch hypotheses since Astruc”.<sup>31</sup> Wellhausen paid him the compliment of saying “that you understand how to grasp principles and driving forces, how to observe literary growth, and how to pursue the undertaking not just as a game of skittles”.<sup>32</sup> Unfortunately, Dillmann was so much offended by Jülicher’s dissertation because of its proximity to Wellhausen that Jülicher switched over from the Old Testament to the New, where he soon made a great name for himself. Even in 1894 Wellhausen took the opportunity offered by Jülicher’s *Einleitung in das Neue Testament* to tell him that he must “now still write an introduction to the Old Testament too, and displace the nonsense which Cornill has had the impudence or the naivety to term an introduction to the Old Testa-

<sup>24</sup> Stade, *Entstehungsgeschichte* (1881).

<sup>25</sup> Meyer, *Kritik* (1881).

<sup>26</sup> Stade, *Deuterozacharja* (1881) and *Bemerkungen* (1881).

<sup>27</sup> Jülicher, *Quellen* (1880).

<sup>28</sup> Idem, *Self-portrayal* (1928), 170.

<sup>29</sup> Idem, *Quellen* (1882).

<sup>30</sup> Idem, *Self-portrayal* (1928), 170.

<sup>31</sup> Idem, *Quellen* (1882), 106.

<sup>32</sup> Letter to Jülicher of 8 November 1880 (see above).

ment”.<sup>33</sup> For Jülicher’s introduction would have been not a “compilation” but a book resembling Kuenen’s *Onderzoek*, only shorter and more serviceable.

Karl Budde (1850–1935) held the chair for Old Testament in Marburg from 1900 onwards, parallel to Jülicher, who from now on was professor for New Testament. Budde worked rather in Kuenen’s meticulous and detailed way. In 1883, shortly after Wellhausen’s second *Prolegomena*, he published *Die Biblische Urgeschichte*, a voluminous investigation (539 pages) of the state of the sources in Gen 1:1–12:5.<sup>34</sup> Wellhausen, following Eberhard Schrader’s procedure, had noted inconsistencies in the Yahwist’s primeval history, particularly the isolated position of the story of the Flood, or also the preceding pericope about the marriages of the sons of God; but he had dispensed with a closer definition of these passages – for example the question whether they belonged to a larger literary complex. In his “more exact investigation”, Budde went beyond this renunciation. He reconstructed an earlier prehistory without the Flood (J<sup>1</sup>), and a later one (J<sup>2</sup>) which probably took over the Flood saga from Babylon and modified it in several ways; after the unification with the “basic document” (= P) the two were fused by a redactor (J<sup>3</sup>) on the foundation of J<sup>2</sup>; only J<sup>2</sup>, however, provided the *Vorlage* for Budde’s minutely detailed investigation, carried out with great astuteness, left little in the primeval history untouched. It received the tribute of a 50 page long review by no less a critic than Kuenen<sup>35</sup> which was full of praise but also included critical questions, finally arriving at the judgment: “Budde never gives us too little but again and again rather too much; he occasionally wants to take us further than we can go; a little *docta ignorantia* would have done him no harm”.<sup>36</sup> Wellhausen wrote along the same lines to Robertson Smith, but with even more reserve: “The finesse of Budde’s analysis of Gen. 1 ff. does not engage my sympathy. The very fact that the matter is probably extremely complicated ought rather to make one content with less”.<sup>37</sup>

Budde was an exceedingly versatile and productive scholar who, although in the Wilhelmine Germany of his day he was nationalist in feeling, very consciously pursued his work in the international context. He spoke fluent English, was a willing attender of congresses, and an honorary member of the Society for Old Testament Study and the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis. He began his career by declaring that, contrary to the received opinion, he held the speeches of Elihu to be an original component of the book of Job and as such the key to its understanding<sup>38</sup> – a thesis which he reiterated indefatigably all his life. His publications, which include an impressive series of major and minor commentaries, cover all parts of the Old Testament, and because of their thoroughness are still of value today. His thesis about “the Isaiah Memorandum” (Isa 6:1–9:6),<sup>39</sup> enjoyed great popularity, and his discovery of the “song of lament” as

<sup>33</sup> Wellhausen, Letter to Jülicher of 19 July 1894.

<sup>34</sup> Budde, *Urgeschichte* (1883).

<sup>35</sup> Kuenen, Review of Budde (1884).

<sup>36</sup> Ibid. 130: *Budde geeft ons nooit te weinig, mar wel eens iets te veel; hij will ons nu en dan verder brengen dan wij komen kunnen; een wenig docta ignorantia zou hem niet hebben geschaad.*

<sup>37</sup> Letter of 30 December 1883.

<sup>38</sup> *Beiträge* (1876).

<sup>39</sup> Budde, *Geschichte* (1906), 76 f.



genre,<sup>40</sup> even just before the development of methodically pursued genre history (of which he did not have a very high opinion) won him Gunkel's enduring respect. In view of the range of his scholarship, it seemed reasonable to suppose that Budde too would write a great "Introduction" – not a "compilation", but a work in the style of Kuenen's *Onderzoek*. He did in fact plan to do so, and found a publisher to whom he proposed to submit the manuscript in 1890 or thereabouts. Because the problem of the Hexateuch seemed to him too difficult as a starting point, he first of all worked on the sections about Judges and Samuel. He finished these at the beginning of 1887. But then the work came to a halt. What had been completed was really a series of intricate investigations rather than a concise, textbook-like presentation, and it would not have been easy to keep it up to date until the hoped-for conclusion of the whole. Consequently Budde abandoned his overall plan, published some sections separately in the ZAW in 1887/88, and in 1890 brought out the analysis as a whole in a self-contained book.<sup>41</sup> A further stage – not the last – was the publication in 1894 of the highly instructive edition of the Hebrew text of the books of Samuel. This appeared in Paul Haupt's *Regenbogenbibel*,<sup>42</sup> or "Polychrome Bible", with many emendations, including rearrangements, and the use of different colours for the different literary strata: black for the Judean source as basis (J<sup>1</sup>, compiled before 800), bright red for its supplementary material (J<sup>2</sup>, before 650), dark blue for the earlier strata of the Ephraimite source (E<sup>1</sup>, before 750), light blue for its later strata (E<sup>2</sup>, before 650), mauve for additions made by the redactor of the two sources (R<sup>JE</sup>, c. 650), light green for Deuteronomistic expansions of JE (R<sup>D</sup>, 6<sup>th</sup> century), yellow for additions made by the last redactor (R<sup>P</sup>, contemporary with the final Pentateuch redaction, 440–400), dark orange for later additions from the Midrash (after 400), light orange for final additions (hymns). The great sources J and E do not signify individual persons, but schools, which began their work with this material, and from which the strata J and E in the story of the Patriarchs finally emerged. In order to indicate the problems of the whole construction, not only from today's standpoint, I shall confine myself to a single example, although a central one: into his E<sup>2</sup> Budde incorporated the passages which Wellhausen and Kuenen considered to be Deuteronomistic interpolations, 1 Sam 7; 8; 10: 17ff; 12; 2 Sam 7. The assumption "that these specifically Jewish sections were Ephraimite and pre-exilic" was called by Stade – in this point one with Wellhausen and Kuenen – "especially disastrous for the separation of the sources".<sup>43</sup>

<sup>40</sup> Idem, *Klagelied* (1882).

<sup>41</sup> Idem, *Bücher* (1890).

<sup>42</sup> Idem, *Books* (1894).

<sup>43</sup> Stade, *Review of Budde* (1896), 9.

### 3.4. *Literary History*

But Budde was not only a man of subtle analyses; on the contrary, in the area we are considering here especially he also succeeded in producing an impressive synthesis; and this did not take the form of the usual “introductions”, arranged according to the canonical sequence of the biblical books. It was a generously laid out *Geschichte der althebräischen Literatur*, based throughout on the results of critical analysis which had up to then been achieved – not least by Budde himself – but this now in the context of a lively and readable historical narrative. At central points the narrative had unavoidably to offer more or less detailed analysis as well, indeed had even to be interrupted by it – for instance in the case of the Pentateuch, where as example the story of the Flood is presented synoptically, or in the case of the prophets. And with a certain inevitability, the further the historical account proceeds, the more it passes into a descriptive “introduction” – completely so in the treatment of the apocrypha and pseudepigrapha, which Budde did not deal with himself but left to his colleague Alfred Bertholet (1868–1951).

A preliminary stage to Budde’s *Geschichte* was the *Literatur des Alten Testaments nach der Zeitfolge ihrer Entstehung* by Gerrit Wildeboer (1855–1912). This is more of a textbook than Budde’s work, is more rigidly sub-divided, and presents a skilful selection and characterization of the learned literature, especially of course the Dutch (here one finds the way to Kuenen’s opinions more quickly than in his own great books) but the rest of it as well. In its translations – English, German and French – the book was much used also outside the Netherlands.

Wildeboer for his part could point to an illustrious predecessor, who in 1881 had published an extensive *Geschichte der Heiligen Schriften Alten Testaments*. Its date would suggest that it swam “in the wake of Wellhausen” but this is not really so. Not unjustly, Wildeboer described its author, the Strasbourg scholar Eduard Reuss (1804–1891), as the “father of the new school”.<sup>44</sup> Reuss began his preface by declaring that this was his last work, but that he might perhaps equally well have said that it was his first, because in the summer semester of 1834 he had already put forward the idea, layout and main theses of the book in lectures “which were meant to take the place of what is generally called an introduction to the Old Testament”.<sup>45</sup> Wellhausen, who did not really like Reuss’ “flowery, would-be-clever style”<sup>46</sup> – which probably showed traces of French influence – wrote polite reviews of both editions; typically, he found “the interest of the book” to lie no longer in the theses but “in the person of the author, who had passed through three generations of scholars and yet remained more or less the same”.<sup>47</sup> That which in 1834, a year before Vatke’s *Religion des Alten*

<sup>44</sup> Wildeboer, *Literatur* (1905), 5.

<sup>45</sup> Reuß, *Geschichte* (1890), VII. However, Reuß was mistaken with regard to the date, and neither a manuscript nor notes of the lecture are extant, cf. J. M. VINCENT, *Leben und Werk des frühen Eduard Reuss* (BEvTh 106; Munich: Kaiser 1990), 202 f.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. his letter to Jülicher of 19 July 1894.

<sup>47</sup> Wellhausen, *Review of Westphal* (1889), 50.

*Testamentes*, would above all have conferred on the book the scholarly rank of a “Reussian literary history” – the development, well supported by detailed literary criticism, of the theory about the priority of the prophets before the law – was left by Reuss to his pupils K. H. Graf<sup>48</sup> and August Kayser;<sup>49</sup> and from their work Kuenen and Wellhausen, but not least Reuss himself, were able to profit greatly.<sup>50</sup> A comprehensive survey of the whole of Pentateuch criticism, comparable with Holzinger’s somewhat later “introduction”, was provided by Alexandre Westphal<sup>51</sup> in Montauban (1861–1951) with his *Sources du Pentateuque*, in which Reuss’ somewhat underrated share in the movement (and the French share in general) was given proper recognition. Westphal speculated that if the young Reuss had not been so hesitant, the Wellhausen school might have been called the “École de Strasbourg”.<sup>52</sup> And he listed “Richard Simon, Jean Astruc, Edouard Reuss: trois français, trois initiateurs. L’un, fonde la critique; l’autre, trouve les sources au Pentateuque; le troisième est maître de Graf”.<sup>53</sup> Westphal could also point to another French colleague outside Strasbourg, Charles Bruston in Montpellier (1869–1961), who in a different way from Budde maintained the theory about the two Yahwists, following this up well into the period of the monarchy.<sup>54</sup>

### 3.5. Geschichte des Volkes Israel

Wellhausen called Westphal’s account “very industrious and careful”, but stumbled over the view that the difference between the sources was not at all destructive but really provided support for the historicity of the biblical accounts since it was the evidence of a number of witnesses. “Here”, commented Wellhausen ironically, “one can only offer sincere congratulations”.<sup>55</sup> Actually, the literary criticism of course necessitated very considerable modification of the biblical picture of history, and a radical reshaping of “the history of the people of Israel” as discipline. An initial synthesis, a provisional one, so to speak, had already been provided by Kuenen’s *Godsdienst* of 1869/70, but in the fullest sense it really only became possible for the first time on the basis of the first volume of Wellhausen’s *Geschichte Israels* (1878). Wellhausen himself did not find it an easy task, and after the provisional outlines of the 80s it was 1894 before he brought out the *Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte*.<sup>56</sup> The book was anticipated by Stade who, energetic and ambitious as he was, produced his voluminous *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, in instalments from 1881 onwards and as a whole in 1887/88. This angered Wellhausen not a little. He wrote a review about

<sup>48</sup> See above 432.

<sup>49</sup> Kayser, *Das vorexilische Buch der Urgeschichte* (1874).

<sup>50</sup> Cf. Wellhausen in Bleek-Wellhausen, *Lehrbuch* (1878), 172 f.

<sup>51</sup> Westphal, *Sources* (1888/92).

<sup>52</sup> *Idem*, *Sources II* (1892), XVIII f.

<sup>53</sup> *Idem*, *Sources I* (1888), XXVI.

<sup>54</sup> Bruston, *Jéhovistes* (1885).

<sup>55</sup> Wellhausen, *ThLZ* 14 (1889) 50.

<sup>56</sup> See above 448–450.

the first issue (which came out in two numbers) which began as follows: “With regard to these two issues, which take the history of the people of Israel down to the death of David, I am in the unusual situation of being materially so much at one with the author that if I wished to criticize him I should almost have to write a self-criticism. He deviates from me in only a few points”. In two of these points (minor ones), however, he conceded that Stade was right,<sup>57</sup> and as time went on he also came to respect his colleague. And when the *Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte* appeared in 1894 it immediately, as was only to be expected, cast Stade’s more voluminous work into the shade.

From then on it was almost impossible for “histories of the people of Israel” (including histories of religion) to move outside “the wake of Wellhausen”, unless they took up a totally outsider position. This is what August Klostermann’s history did,<sup>58</sup> in connection with his more textual than literary-critical investigations of the Pentateuch.<sup>59</sup> Although Wellhausen had known Klostermann well personally ever since his student days in Göttingen, he probably did not read these books; at all events he did not respond publicly, and confined himself privately to calling Klostermann “Issachar” (cf. Gen 49:14). In the German-speaking world, the standard textbook (parallel to Cornill’s *Einleitung* and appearing in the same series of *Grundrisse*) was for some time Hermann Guthe’s *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, the first edition of which appeared in 1898, and the third in 1914. It was then, like Cornill’s *Einleitung*, replaced by a book by Sellin, and then again, after a more considerable time, superseded by the latter’s rather conservative *Geschichte des israelitisch-jüdischen Volkes* (1924/32).<sup>60</sup> When Rudolf Kittel (1853–1929) described Guthe’s *Geschichte*, not unjustly, as “written in accord with the views of Wellhausen and Stade”,<sup>61</sup> he was at the same time dissociating himself from it. For he felt – again not unjustly – that it was he himself who was Wellhausen’s real antagonist.

Kittel’s patron at the beginning of his life-long opposition to Wellhausen was none other than Ludwig Diestel, who more than a century later, through the dedication of the first volume of HBOT, also became the patron of our present undertaking. In 1874 Diestel had formulated the title for the prize essay offered that year by the Tübingen Protestant theological faculty as follows: “An investigation of the consequences for the Pentateuchal question, especially with regard to the age and content of the so-called basic document, which emerge if the Ezekielian legislation in chap. 40 ff. and the ‘historical’ psalms are compared with the content of the Pentateuch”.<sup>62</sup> Since the question about the age of the “basic document” (later known as the Priestly Code) had quite recently become acute because of Graf’s hypothesis, it was no bad idea of Diestel’s to let it be treated from outside, so to speak – from the angle of Ezekiel and the “historical” Psalms. This was also done, *mutatis mutandis*, at the same time elsewhere, and with the opposite result: in 1875, when the Tübingen prize essay had to be submitted, Bernhard Duhm’s *Theologie der Propheten* appeared, and completely confirmed Graf’s hypothesis. The Tübingen candidate – it was Kittel – could hardly have already got to know Duhm’s work, and even less of course Wellhausen’s books on Hexateuchal criticism, which then appeared in 1876–78. Kittel won the prize with an essay which is unfortunately not extant, but the conclusion of

<sup>57</sup> Wellhausen, Review of Stade (1882), 681 f.

<sup>58</sup> Klostermann, *Geschichte* (1896).

<sup>59</sup> Klostermann, *Pentateuch* (1892).

<sup>60</sup> In order to avoid a list of further titles, the reader may be referred to F. Buhl’s sovereign outline of 1893 (*Det israelitiske folks historie*).

<sup>61</sup> R. KITTEL, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, I<sup>5.6</sup> (Gotha: Klotz 1923), 7.

<sup>62</sup> Kittel, Self-portrayal (1925), 115.

which, according to his own later account, was that “Graf was correct in putting the Priestly Code later than B and C (=J and E), but wrong when he moved its main components into the post-exilic period”.<sup>63</sup> Some years later, after the appearance of the first volume of Wellhausen’s *Geschichte*, Kittel took up the question once more and wrote a treatise, now in several parts, which was printed under the title *Die neueste Wendung der pentateuchischen Frage. Versuch einer Kritik von Wellhausens Geschichte Israels*.<sup>64</sup> Kittel unreservedly recognizes that Wellhausen has maintained the post-exilic writing of the “Priestly codex” “with the penetrating acumen of the bold critic, with the ruthless consistency of the pure historian, and with the brilliant presentation of a feuilletonist”. He also concedes that if Wellhausen is right “the religious history of the Old Testament must be turned upside down”, or, to be more exact, “in that case it was upside down before, and must first be built up afresh from below”.<sup>65</sup> In order to confute Wellhausen, and thus to make a reconstruction of this kind superfluous, Kittel picks out three chapters from the “History of the Cult”, which constitutes the first part of Wellhausen’s book – the chapters about the place of worship, sacrifice, and the priests and Levites. In each case Wellhausen had seen the Deuteronomic law as being the great caesura between this and the earlier period, and had let this be followed first by Ezechiel and then by the Priestly Code. Kittel presents Wellhausen’s argument and pulls it to bits meticulously and acutely, and for his counter-position makes use of Wellhausen’s insight that the Priestly Code is a “conglomerate”, “as it were the work of a whole school”,<sup>66</sup> the difference being that he himself sees this school as already rooted in the pre-exilic period. This makes it possible for him to avoid allowing Priestly Code texts, or parts of texts, which are indisputably post-Deuteronomic to determine the date of the Priestly Code as a whole. This frequently requires quite subtle literary criticism. For example, Kittel – following lectures by his teacher Diestel, and incidentally Wellhausen too<sup>67</sup> – removes the mention of the tabernacle and the camp from the sacrificial regulations in Lev 17:2–9 and declares that what is left is an instruction to slaughter or sacrifice not at will, but at one of the Yahweh sanctuaries, a great number of which were still in existence. These sanctuaries were later abolished in accordance with the Deuteronomic law, although with the concession that those who lived some distance away might slaughter outside a sanctuary. This concession revokes the present requirement in Lev 17:2–9 by commanding that everything that had been slaughtered should be sacrificed at the central sanctuary. The Priestly Code’s text is therefore partly pre- and partly post-Deuteronomic; the relation between the Priestly Code and Deuteronomy is not a relation of pure sequence – they represent two parties, one priestly and one prophetic. These certainly took “the one same path” but they nevertheless undoubtedly “squabbled” on the way.<sup>68</sup> Correspondingly, there is an earlier stratum in the Priestly Code which as yet knows nothing about the separation between priests and Levites (cf. Num 17:16–28), while a later one demands it (cf. Num 16:8–11), even if the subordination of the Levites is not yet established; once again, Deuteronomy (cf. Deut 18:1–6) is in the middle. At the end comes Ezekiel (chap. 44), who seems to imply that the separation already exists, just as in the sacrificial legislation he also occupies a position not before but after the Priestly Code. To put it in simplified, formula-like terms: in place of Wellhausen’s sequence D – Ezekiel – P, Kittel has P – D – P – Ezekiel.

Kittel was a man whose energy equalled Stade, and like him he managed to anticipate Wellhausen’s *Geschichte* of 1894 by himself producing a two-volume history – not of course “written in accord with the views of Wellhausen and Stade”. It was called *Geschichte der Hebräer*, the sub-title of the first volume (1888), translated, being “Sources and History of the Period down to the Death of Joshua”, and the sub-title of the second (1892) “Sources and History of the Period down to the Babylonian Exile”. This corresponded to what in Wellhausen was called Israelite history excluding the Jewish era, and what was all that

<sup>63</sup> Ibid. 117.

<sup>64</sup> Kittel, *Wendung* (1881/82).

<sup>65</sup> *TbSW* 2 (1881) 31.

<sup>66</sup> Wellhausen, *Geschichte*, I (1878), 8.

<sup>67</sup> *Composition des Hexateuchs*, III (JdTh 22, 1877, 407–479), 425.

<sup>68</sup> *TbSW* 2 (1881) 38.

Wellhausen seems to have envisaged in his first volume of 1878; until 1894 Kittel had no way of knowing that Wellhausen had later abandoned this plan.<sup>69</sup> In 1892 he held out the prospect of later, “if perhaps time and leisure should be granted me, following the history of the Hebrews with a history of the Jews, at least in their earlier period”.<sup>70</sup> The repeated division into information about the sources and history also followed Wellhausen’s model, except that here the source criticism came first, in a completely separate volume. Kittel’s study of the sources could be briefer in the second volume than in the first, because here the problems are not as complicated as they are in the case of the Pentateuch. But here too they are by no means lacking. At that time the discussion was dominated above all by the thesis which we already came across in connection with Budde, and which was later developed by others: that the earlier pentateuchal sources still continue into the books of Judges, Samuel and Kings. Kittel<sup>71</sup> does not simply brush this thesis aside; on the contrary, he admits that there are a number of echoes and analogies. But for his own part he believes more emphatically that here we have a series of redactionally joined narratives and collections. That is to say, he supports what in the terminology of pentateuchal criticism is known as a fragment, not a documentary, hypothesis<sup>72</sup> and provides important preliminary work for later research, at the centre of which, however, was rather a supplementary and redactional hypothesis (see Martin Noth’s *Deuteronomistisches Geschichtswerk*).

Kittel’s continual attempt to shake Wellhausen’s position gives his whole book a fundamentally defensive and apologetic character, and has nothing of the power and the brilliance which still make Wellhausen enthralling reading even today for any reader who is not from the outset impervious to it; and this can be said not only of the historical account but already of the preceding source criticism. But nevertheless: from 1888/92 there was an alternative to Wellhausen’s *Geschichte*, and a scholar who felt called upon to lead the conservative camp in place of the departed luminaries Delitzsch and Dillmann. Kittel presented the situation somewhat dramatically for himself and posterity when he wrote:<sup>73</sup> “In the ten years that had passed since 1878 Wellhausen had to such a degree won the assent of nearly all the colleagues who wished to count for anything in the realm of scholarship, especially the younger ones, that my book appeared to many as a questionable act of daring. I myself was well aware that I should be swimming against the tide, and that in so doing I was in prospect of losing my scholarly reputation”. The other side could hardly claim a head for its “school” – certainly not Wellhausen, who had no interest in anything of the kind; at most Stade who, however, outside Gießen, his own university, was not particularly successful in university politics. But in Kittel’s eyes this other side was permanently engaged in undermining them through rigorous party politics in the matter of reviews and by way of appointments to university chairs, and

<sup>69</sup> See above 449.

<sup>70</sup> Foreword to *Geschichte der Hebräer*, II (1892).

<sup>71</sup> Cf. also his essay *Urkunden* (1892).

<sup>72</sup> Cf. O. EISSFELDT, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament* (Tübingen: Mohr<sup>3</sup>1964), 326.

<sup>73</sup> R. KITTEL, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, II (Gotha: Klotz<sup>6,7</sup>1925), VII.

consequently from early on he himself was active in both these spheres. As soon as he had the first copy of the first volume of the *Geschichte der Hebräer* in his hands, he took it to Tübingen, in order to ask Emil Kautzsch, Diestel's successor, "by taking over the review in the *Theol. Literaturzeitung* ... to save it from the fate which Schürer [the founder and at that time editor of the *ThLZ*] had shortly before, through Stade, inflicted there on Dillmann's commentary on Num.Deut. Josh."<sup>74</sup> Even before he could come out with this request, Kautzsch, in glancing through the book, came across a passage about the Priestly Code, on which he could only comment: "I am very sorry, but since Wellhausen we are further forward here". After that, Kittel had no further interest in the review.

### 3.6. Commentaries

There was a reason why it was Kautzsch particularly to whom Kittel turned. Emil Kautzsch (1841–1910) counted as a Wellhausen supporter – indeed as really a kind of adherent from the very beginning. It was said that in the autumn of 1878 after reading the first volume of the *Geschichte Israels*, which had just appeared, he immediately travelled from Basel where he was working to Greifswald in order to discuss the book with its author, and that he returned as a complete convert. For the journey there is no unimpeachable evidence, but of the conversion there can surely be no doubt. In January 1879, only three months after the appearance of Wellhausen's book, the *Theologische Literaturzeitung* printed a detailed review which attracted a good deal of attention and has remained a document of scholarly history. After a thorough report, what Kautzsch came up with was "instead of criticism, rather an admission":

"Like the majority of his fellow scholars, the reviewer had hitherto neither by Graf, nor by Kuenen or Kayser, nor even by Wellhausen's own work in this sector, been shaken in his conviction about the priority of the Priestly Code; and he approached the present work too with the expectation that it would be unable to roll away the heavy weight of the grounds which speak against Graf's hypothesis. But in this expectation he proved to be entirely wrong. Step by step, there was wrung from him, in spite of his initial almost obstinate scepticism, the admission that here it is no longer a matter of hypothesis against hypothesis: the alternative is rather whether one is prepared simply to accept facts about which there can be no dispute or wishes deliberately to go on denying them."

"The overall picture which the author has drawn on the basis of these facts about the course of Israel's history bears so palpably and to such a degree the stamp of truth that no dispute about the detail will be in a position to blur the fundamental features of this picture any longer. The reviewer does not deceive himself for a moment about the implications of this admission. With a sigh, he must now, day in day out, experience that the altered view about the sources also has as consequence the overturn of a deeply rooted biblical-theological construction of the content of these sources. The reader has therefore all the more reason to believe him when he says that it is not the *rerum novarum cupido* which drives him to so radical a re-learning but the irresistible compulsion of a newly acquired conviction. The reviewer has no doubt that a thorough study will have the same effect on numerous other readers too."<sup>75</sup>

<sup>74</sup> Stade's review (*ThLZ* 12, 1887, 193–200) in spite of all his criticism is consciously respectful.

<sup>75</sup> Kautzsch, Review of Wellhausen (1879), 29.

In this expectation Kautzsch did not prove wrong. It has also been generally assumed, probably rightly, that his review contributed to Wellhausen's rapid success. If a man as conservative and cautious as Kautzsch was known to be could effect an about-turn so quickly and apparently so completely, it was bound to make an impression and encourage others to do the same. The question whether in Kautzsch himself the about-turn was really so complete is another matter. After his death, Hermann Gunkel – himself undoubtedly a *vir novarum rerum cupidus* – decided that in spite of all that he had learnt from Wellhausen Kautzsch “belonged ultimately speaking to the school of thought which preceded [him]” and he provided evidence for this with examples, some important, some less so, where Kautzsch did not in fact draw the necessary conclusions from Wellhausen's analyses but stopped short at the Leipzig school from which he had started.<sup>76</sup>

Kautzsch's ambivalent position, which Gunkel acutely perceived, and which encouraged Kittel to make his adroit even though unsuccessful request for a review, accorded in general with his natural inclination to mediate, from which Old Testament studies profited in several respects. In 1888, together with his Tübingen Arabist colleague Socin, he brought out *Die Genesis mit äußerer Unterscheidung der Quellenschriften übersetzt*, a little book intended for student instruction which made available to its users in a clear and simple way the results of source criticism. It soon found (in 1892) a demanding successor in B. Wisner's *The Genesis of Genesis*, where the sources are not just marked within the running text but are also reproduced afterwards, each for itself, in context, while several additional essays (among them a short history of Pentateuch criticism provided by G. F. Moore) offer a positive “catechism of the methods of Old Testament scholarship”.<sup>77</sup> Meanwhile Kautzsch was not idle. The publisher Siebeck wanted an Old Testament pendant to stand beside the *Hand-Commentar zum Neuen Testament* which it had been in its list since 1890, but had run up against the difficulty that “it was extremely difficult to find contributors who all shared essentially the same view of the Old Testament, thus ensuring the inner unity of the work”.<sup>78</sup> So the beginning was to be a new translation by several scholars, which was then to be followed by the commentary. As head of the undertaking the publisher tried first for no one other than Wellhausen. But for work of this kind he was little suited; his strength lay in polarization, not mediation. So he accordingly refused, and instead Siebeck asked Kautzsch, who was known to him in a similar connection through the little Genesis book. It was a very happy choice. Kautzsch collected round himself ten scholars belonging to different schools of thought, and brought their work into harmony through selfless verification. The first part-issue of the first edition of *Die Heilige Schrift des Alten Testaments* (HSAT [K]) appeared in 1890, the last in 1894. As well as the translation, in the margins it included sigla for the sources; in addition there were text-critical elucidations, and in an appendix all kinds of tables and surveys bearing on the history

<sup>76</sup> Gunkel, Review of Kautzsch (1912), 1101.

<sup>77</sup> Budde, Review of Wisner (1892), 347.

<sup>78</sup> O. RÜHLE, *Der theologische Verlag von J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck). Rückblicke und Ausblicke*, (Tübingen: Mohr 1926), 30.



of Israel and the history of the Old Testament writings. All this was developed further in the following editions; the fourth, edited in 1922 by Alfred Bertholet, was without a substitute throughout the whole of the twentieth century in meeting the needs of learned and unlearned users of the Old Testament, and saw to it that in the German-speaking world the serious reading of the Old Testament never strayed completely outside “the wake of Wellhausen”. The Dutch translation, “with explanations and notes”, is comparable; it was published in two volumes from the outset, began in 1885 under Kuenen’s guidance, and was finished in 1899/1901. Kuenen had the wish and the ability to communicate to a greater degree than Wellhausen, but was more decisive than Kautzsch. So the Leiden Bible makes a more unified impression than its Tübingen parallel, one important reason being that Kuenen had only three co-translators and commentators, who were all his pupils, and who after his death in 1891 gave if anything a more radical turn to his critical views, so that at the beginning of the twenty-first century the Leiden Bible reads in part almost like a modern book.

Good and useful though these one- or two-volume complete, explanatory translations were, for the progress of scholarship, and for establishing the point it had reached in any given case, the commentaries proper were of much greater importance. There was good reason why it was in a commentary that in 1886 August Dillmann again presented the “new documentary hypothesis”<sup>79</sup> along very defensive, anti-Graf, anti-Wellhausen lines, at least wringing from Wellhausen the compliment: “The characteristics of the individual sources, especially of the Priestly Code, are in such a condition, in spite of the evident attempts to take the sting out of them as far as possible, that hardly any Graf adherent can ask for more. Dillmann deserves the greatest credit for not being afraid even in his late years to undergo a critical development”.<sup>80</sup> On the other hand, in a coincidence which will hardly have been fortuitous, he himself found in the very same year, 1886, that it “was not necessary to plough on with the work always in the form of commentaries”.<sup>81</sup> In the series of these which soon began to appear “in the wake of Wellhausen” he did not participate, with a single exception, and he scrutinized them particularly in places where his adherents cited him for their judgments: when his supporter Wilhelm Nowack in his exposition of Amos followed him even in an error, he mocked him unmercifully: “Nowack remains devotedly faithful to me even in misfortune, and in following me falls flat on his face”.<sup>82</sup>

Nowack (1850–1928), who was first of all a follower of Dillmann’s and then switched over to Wellhausen, edited the first in these series of commentaries, the *Handkommentar zum Alten Testament* (HKAT). This was started by the publisher Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht in Göttingen, as a pendant to the “Meyerscher Kommentar”, the *Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament* (KEK), which had existed from 1832 and still flourishes today. It began publica-

<sup>79</sup> Dillmann, *Die Bücher Numeri, Deuteronomium und Josua* (21886), 590–690.

<sup>80</sup> Wellhausen, *Review of Dillmann* (1887), 482 f.

<sup>81</sup> Bleek-Wellhausen, *Lehrbuch* (31886) 629. The continuation is worth noting: “nor either to let the investigations swell if possible into fat books”. Here he was probably thinking of Budde’s *Urgeschichte* of 1883.

<sup>82</sup> Wellhausen, *Die kleinen Propheten* (31898), 89; cf. also 215. Nowack replied: *Die kleinen Propheten* (HKAT III/4, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 21903), 160 f.

tion in 1892, leading off immediately with a classic, Duhm's *Jesaia*, and with a bestseller – as Psalm commentaries often are – Friedrich Baethgen's *Psalmen*. The *Handkommentar* neither was nor remained the work of a single school of thought, not even under the influence of the publisher.<sup>83</sup> This is evident from the three volumes which appeared just after the turn of the century: Kittel's *Könige* (1900) and *Chronik* (1902) and – again a classic – Gunkel's *Genesis* (1901). The new century brought a financial disadvantage of the publishers inasmuch as after Baethgen's death (1905) Gunkel also took over the *Psalmen* (which had been abandoned after three editions) but only finished them twenty years later, in 1926.<sup>84</sup>

The somewhat later, more compact, and in tendency more homogeneous counterpart to the *Handkommentar* was the *Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament* (KHC) published by J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), which linked up on the one hand with the *Hand-Commentar zum Neuen Testament* (HC), and on the other with Kautzsch's *Heilige Schrift des Alten Testaments* (HSAT [K]). It was the achievement – inconceivable today – of the publisher and editor Karl Marti (1855–1925) to bring out these twenty “brief” but closely packed volumes in considerably less than a decade (1897–1904) for a subscription price of 60 Marks, a sum fixed from the beginning which remained valid until 1900. It succeeded because Marti depended on quite a small staff of collaborators, each of whom took over at least two biblical books, pushed ahead with the work, and in case of need were prepared at short notice to step into the breach for colleagues who were late with their contributions or who defected. Marti, a cautious Swiss, had after initial opposition<sup>85</sup> switched over to Wellhausen's side, and in the *Kurzer Hand-Commentar* expounded Isaiah, the minor prophets and Daniel along Wellhausen's lines. For Jeremiah, the Psalms and Job he gained as contributor his Basel colleague, the Wellhausen friend Bernhard Duhm; for Leviticus, Deuteronomy, Ezekiel, Ruth and Ezra-Nehemiah Duhm's pupil Alfred Bertholet; so that the whole of prophecy and about half the Old Testament was in Swiss hands. Four books were taken over by Heinrich Holzinger (Genesis, Exodus, Numbers, Joshua) and four by Karl Budde (Judges, Samuel, Song of Songs, Lamentations), three by Gerrit Wildeboer (Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Esther) and two by Immanuel Benzinger (Kings, Chronicles). Publisher and editor had defined in advance the common denominator of the commentaries with the catchword *religionsgeschichtlich* – “in the context of the history of religion”; and along these lines Marti went on to write a belated introductory volume called *Die Religion des Alten Testaments unter den Religionen des vorderen Orients*; but this gave the impression of being a somewhat artificially attached appendage; and in talking about the commentaries Siebeck felt bound to establish that “the history of religions angle is not equally successful in all the books”.<sup>86</sup> Certainly, work pursued from this aspect then and later, both in and outside the “history of

<sup>83</sup> Cf. W. RUPRECHT, *Väter und Söhne. Zwei Jahrhunderte Buchhändler in einer deutschen Universitätsstadt* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1935), 211.

<sup>84</sup> Cf. Ruprecht, *Väter und Söhne* (1935), 250.

<sup>85</sup> Cf. Marti, *Spuren* (1880).

<sup>86</sup> Cf. Rühle, Verlag (1926), 58.

religions school” (as it distinctly termed itself), necessarily also moved “in the wake of Wellhausen”, but there came to be more to it in addition, and that is only sporadically evident in the terse analyses of the Marti handbook.

The 1890s also saw the beginning of two important, very different series in English: the Hebrew (1893–1904) and English (1898–1904) parts of Paul Haupt’s *Sacred Books of the Old Testament*, in which German scholarship was much involved, both in content and by way of its contributors (this is the exceptional case in which Wellhausen contributed to such an undertaking;<sup>87</sup> Budde’s contribution was mentioned above); and *The International Critical Commentary*, which got off to a brilliant start in 1895 with S.R. Driver’s *Deuteronomy* and G. F. Moore’s *Judges*, and still, after more than a century, continues publication on a high level. Budde was at that time working on the book of Judges in the *Kurzer Hand-Commentar* and his opinion of Moore’s work can still stand: “In every respect a truly masterly commentary which finds few equals in this sector”.<sup>88</sup>

Of course, even though the authors of these commentaries followed “in the wake of Wellhausen”, they were not just mutually complimentary; they also argued about differences in fact and method which were of lasting importance. A good example is provided by the Deuteronomy commentaries of Steuernagel and Bertholet, which appeared in 1898 and 1899 in the *Handcommentar* and the *Kurzer Hand-Commentar* respectively. Each of the two authors reviewed at short notice the work of the other; but whereas there was “a considerable measure of agreement”,<sup>89</sup> with regard to the individual explanations, where the literary criticism was concerned differences emerged even in fundamentals, the result being that behind the subtlety of Steuernagel’s analysis Bertholet could often find only “purely subjective views”.<sup>90</sup> With this objection he renewed the criticism which he had made a year previously of Budde’s exposition of the book of Judges in the *Kurzer Hand-Commentar*:

Now even with a very general acceptance of today’s source criticism, it is not given to everyone to share the blissful faith which Budde cherishes about the possibility of a hair-splitting analysis of the transmitted narrative material; and for me it is very much the question whether the labour that is expended in order to get beyond certain indisputably important results of source criticism stands in an acceptable relationship to the profit for theology and the history of religion which attempts of this kind can promise. But a commentary which takes as its special purpose theological and religious-history elucidation should not for a moment permit the idea to arise that we read a book such as the book of Judges in order to pursue source criticism, and not to study a piece of religious history and theology ... On [Judges] 2:10, for example, we are given merely a long somewhat barren source-critical explanation, and are given no indication of what makes the verse theologically interesting: how for the Deuteronomistic writer good and evil are spread over different generations.<sup>91</sup>

Bertholet’s criticism in this pointed form could not simply be set aside with the comment that his strength simply did not lie in “the area of independent source analysis”.<sup>92</sup> For as we have seen above, the *Kurzer Hand-Commentar* was in fact

<sup>87</sup> Cf. Smend, *Wellhausen on the Psalms* (2010).

<sup>88</sup> Budde, *Review of Moore* (1896), 283.

<sup>89</sup> Steuernagel, *Review of Bertholet* (1900), 433.

<sup>90</sup> *Review of Steuernagel* (1899), 482.

<sup>91</sup> Bertholet, *Review of Budde* (1898), 211.

<sup>92</sup> Steuernagel, *Review of Bertholet* (1899), 434.

intended to serve the “history of religions viewpoint”; a source criticism which approached “art for art’s sake” (even if that was not its intention) therefore stood in contradiction to the intention of the work, and also in contradiction to Wellhausen’s own intention, although it was precisely in his “wake” that, precisely in this series, the writers were supposed to be following. A commentary which appeared in the *Göttingen Handkommentar* shortly after this controversy tried to accord with this intention in a new and very momentous way: Gunkel’s *Genesis*.

In his foreword, Gunkel wrote:

Anyone who calls himself a theologian must study *religion*; everything else must be for him comparatively subsidiary. We must try to increase the wealth of an understanding of the history of religion gained for us by the generation of whom Wellhausen is the leader and typical exponent, and must try to discover how to re-mint it into smaller coins for exegesis too. A treatment that is mainly only philological, archaeological or “critical” is treatment that is inadequate for the Old Testament. Anyone who views a good many of our modern Old Testament commentaries may be overtaken by the secret fear that the progress which our studies have made during the last thirty years may be again on the wane, and that a new Alexandrine epoch may be about to break in, in which the main thing is lost sight of by reason of all the preliminary work. May this danger be perceived in good time! May above all the younger generation fulfil its obligation and be increasingly intent on its own investigations; for only in this way, and not through the reiteration of what has long since been said, can we repay our teachers with the gratitude they deserve.<sup>93</sup>

Bertholet, linking up with his reviews of the previous commentaries, welcomed this declaration as “an encouraging sign that the time has come when the emphasis in Old Testament commentary literature will be somewhat different”.<sup>94</sup> But he could also note with satisfaction “that G., parallel to the main purpose which he pursues with his commentary” (and which is not under discussion here) “does not neglect the literary-critical problem”.<sup>95</sup> There is no doubt that Gunkel was right, even if later monomaniacs in the realm of genre and transmission history chalked it up against him as inconsistency.

### 3.7. *Swan Songs*

In 1900, a year before the appearance of Gunkel’s *Genesis*, Steuernagel began his twelve-year work on an *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, in the framework of the *Sammlung theologischer Lehrbücher*, whose highlight was and remained Harnack’s *Dogmengeschichte*. It is hardly possible to conceive of a greater contrast: there the brilliant overall picture, here the dry-as-dust “compilation” of what were for the most part the research results of others, at most useful for reference, not for reading, accompanied in addition by an explicit and not truly justified rejection of “certain ‘modern’ requirements and methods”.<sup>96</sup> In his lectures Albrecht Alt called Steuernagel’s book “the swansong of the Wellhausen school”. When round about the middle of the century Gustav Hölscher (1877–

<sup>93</sup> Gunkel, *Genesis* (1901), Vf.

<sup>94</sup> Bertholet, Review of Gunkel (1902), 133.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.* 136 (with examples).

<sup>96</sup> Steuernagel, *Einleitung* (1912), VII.

1955) once again analysed the books Exodus to Kings in a highly independent variation of the classic documentary hypothesis,<sup>97</sup> Alt thought that with it “he had come a generation too late”. But it should not be forgotten that during Gunkel’s lifetime Hölscher had tried to enter into discussion with him, and continually pointed out to him the dangers – which his pupils made evident – of neglecting literary criticism.<sup>98</sup> Even during Wellhausen’s lifetime, Hölscher wrote an outline of the literary criticism of the prophetic books – not a “compilation”, but a quite independent survey, for which the foreword was by chance written in Göttingen, that is to say actually in Wellhausen’s vicinity.<sup>99</sup> Hugo Gressmann’s judgment may be enough to characterize it: “Anyone ... who rejects as a single huge error the usual literary criticism of the Wellhausen school as it is applied to the prophetic writings will find himself unable to agree with Hölscher’s expositions”.<sup>100</sup>

In 1912, in the same year that Steuernagel’s *Einleitung* was published, another book appeared which might also be called “a swan song of the Wellhausen school”. In this case it was neither a commentary nor a “compilation” but, as once before with Budde, simply a “fat book”<sup>101</sup> – fat because it presented an independent overall analysis of *Die Erzählung des Hexateuch* (“the narrative of the Hexateuch”), to cite the title of Rudolph Smend’s monograph. Largely ignoring (often most unjustly) the work of other scholars carried out “in the wake of Wellhausen”, Smend (1851–1913) generally speaking directly picked up the thread of the *Composition* written by his teacher, friend and Göttingen colleague, especially his observations about the lack of unity within the sources J and E. From this, in a consistent development, he constructed a new hypothesis which, following Astruc’s “two-source” and Hupfeld’s “three-source hypothesis”, he called the “four-source hypothesis”: four self-contained, continuous sources, J<sup>1</sup>, J<sup>2</sup>, E and P, of which the three earlier (each of them almost a unity from a literary point of view) extend not only beyond the primeval history and Genesis, but also beyond the Hexateuch, continuing into the books of Judges, Samuel and Kings. His death prevented Smend from writing a further monograph he had planned on “JE in the Historical Books of the OT”. Wellhausen passed on to Holzinger the already existing material for this found among Smend’s posthumous papers, and Holzinger published it.<sup>102</sup> The separation into the four sources is made almost completely in the Hexateuch and, unlike Wellhausen, Smend brings the supplementary hypothesis into play at only relatively few points.

Because it presents the evidence in such compressed form and dispenses almost entirely with a discussion of other opinions, Smend’s book makes difficult reading,<sup>103</sup> but it exerted an influence, direct and above all indirect, which should not be underestimated. One early reader even thought that it could “acquire an

<sup>97</sup> Hölscher, *Anfänge* (1942).

<sup>98</sup> Cf. Smend, Hölscher (2009), 353–357.

<sup>99</sup> Hölscher, *Profeten* (1914), 359–460.

<sup>100</sup> Gressmann, *Review of Hölscher* (1914), 452.

<sup>101</sup> See above 479.

<sup>102</sup> Smend, *JE in den geschichtlichen Büchern* (1921).

<sup>103</sup> Smend seems to have felt this himself, and hence gave a summing up in *GGA* 1912.

importance like that of Wellhausen's *Composition des Hexateuchs* earlier",<sup>104</sup> and to another, Otto Eissfeldt, it seemed "in the clearly visible clarity of its structure like a Gothic cathedral of severe forms and austere beauty".<sup>105</sup> Eissfeldt (1887–1973), who as a student had heard Smend lecturing on "The Introduction to the Old Testament",<sup>106</sup> undertook the task of making the "four-source hypothesis" which he later called "the newest documentary hypothesis" (in distinction from Hupfeld's "new documentary hypothesis"),<sup>107</sup> more accessible and effective by presenting it visually in his four-column *Hexateuch-Synopse*. He then justified his procedure to Smend as follows:

If in the Hexateuch [...] approximately fifty passages appear in which fourfold elements emerge; if it is possible to order these fifty times four points into four series of points, or rather, if an intensive observation demands that the facts be thus ordered; and if thereby the whole material in the Hexateuch is as good as completely absorbed – then the assumption of a fourfold narrative thread may be considered proved.<sup>108</sup>

Eissfeldt renamed the earliest source L = "lay source", instead of J<sup>1</sup>, his purpose being to express not only the independence of the two "Yahwistic" narrators, but also the development in intellectual and spiritual history from its original secularity to the sacral character of the Priestly Code. Even if this may seem like a far-off reminiscence of Wellhausen's view of history, we may none the less assume that if Wellhausen had seen Eissfeldt's book he would have viewed it as a glaring example of the "mechanical mosaic hypothesis". We only know of one comment of his about Smend's conception. That touches on a not unimportant detail, and is negative.<sup>109</sup> The book as a whole will hardly have pleased him. The first person to raise a justifiable objection was Kittel. He "had not allowed himself to be put off by the inexpressible exertion" of tracing Smend's differentiation between his two Yahwists "almost from beginning to end" and ended up with "the impression that it was a Sisyphean labour. As long as we have to rely on little more than pure intuition, such a detailed, often positively hair-splitting dissection will always give rise to misgivings". With regard to the question itself, he finds it "much to be regretted" that Smend omitted "to investigate J's relationship to an earlier written tradition and to the oral one".<sup>110</sup>

During the following decades work on the oral tradition was so much in the foreground that the literary criticism came sometimes to be almost forgotten. Today things are different, and many people are again working "in the wake of Wellhausen" without knowing it or even without wishing to know it. They will do well to make use of the observations, questions and answers of their predecessors a hundred years ago.

*Translated by Margaret Kohl, MA MLitt*

<sup>104</sup> Holzinger, Review of Smend (1914), 231.

<sup>105</sup> Eissfeldt, *Hexateuch-Synopse* (1922), 4.

<sup>106</sup> Cf. Smend, Eissfeldt (1993), 319.

<sup>107</sup> Eissfeldt, *Einleitung* (3<sup>rd</sup> 1964), 223 f.

<sup>108</sup> Eissfeldt, *Hexateuch-Synopse* (1922), 6.

<sup>109</sup> Wellhausen, *Geschichte* (7<sup>th</sup> 1914), 34, n. 1.

<sup>110</sup> Kittel, Review of Smend (1915), 194.

## CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

# A Conservative Approach in Opposition to a Historical-critical Interpretation: E. W. Hengstenberg and Franz Delitzsch

By RUDOLF SMEND, Göttingen

### 1. Introduction

*Falsa est de Wettii de Pentateucho sententia*: that is the assertion in a doctoral thesis presented in 1823 in the philosophical faculty of Bonn University: “De Wette’s opinion about the Pentateuch is false”.<sup>1</sup> The laconic sentence categorically disputes the starting point of the path pursued by the historical criticism of the Old Testament in the nineteenth century, a path which led from W. M. L. de Wette’s *Beiträge zur Einleitung in das Alte Testament* (1806/1807) to Julius Wellhausen’s *Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte* (1894). In retrospect it is easy to overlook the fact that this path was consistently taken only by a small avant-garde. Most scholars followed only hesitantly and with many reservations, or even remained obstinately in an opposition based more or less on principle. This majority largely dominated the field, and generally met with more sympathy from the public than did that avant-garde, especially among the devout and “the people in the pew”. In the background were the intellectual and religious tendencies of the time, but quite practical matters of university and church politics were also involved. Polemics, often fierce ones, were not lacking among the protagonists on both sides, each party claiming certainty in the triumph of their cause. Thus in 1830 Ernst Wilhelm Hengstenberg, the author of that 1823 Bonn dissertation and the most vehement champion of orthodox theology (*kirchliche Theologie*), wrote jubilantly: “The youthful force of rationalism is past; it is an old, now dead tree which is putting forth no new branches and blossoms”.<sup>2</sup> But on the other side, fifty years later, Wellhausen could write derisively: “In the Old Testament the church’s scholarship (*kirchliche Wissenschaft*) seems to set itself the task of confuting any new discovery for fifty years, but after that of discovering a more or less ingenious standpoint which makes it possible to absorb that discovery into the creed”.<sup>3</sup> This prediction was not wholly false. Franz Delitzsch

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<sup>1</sup> Bachmann, Hengstenberg I (1876), 328.

<sup>2</sup> “Vorwort”, *EKZ* (1830) 1–16, here 2.

<sup>3</sup> J. WELLHAUSEN, *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels* (Berlin: Reimer<sup>2</sup>1883), VII.

(1813–1890) – after Hengstenberg (1802–1869) the second symbolic figure on the anti-critical side – felt constrained towards the end of his life to concede a considerable amount to his opponents; and – after his initial and in part lasting resistance – even more admissions had to be made by Rudolf Kittel (1853–1929), Delitzsch’s real heir and, like him, professor in Leipzig. When Kittel’s Leipzig successor Albrecht Alt (1883–1956) and his pupils wanted to take the critical work of the nineteenth century further in a cautiously conservative direction, this was then entirely on the foundation laid by Wellhausen. But respect should not be completely denied to men like Hengstenberg and Delitzsch simply because as scholars they were in the long run failures. They nevertheless reawakened in widespread circles a vanished awareness of the importance of the Old Testament and its exegesis for theology and the Church, and for a time they kept this awareness alive. This admittedly became more problematical with the increasingly successful thrust from the critical side. In his later days, Delitzsch became conscious of this problem and was alarmed by it, though he was unable to arrive at a solution. The fact that in the century recently concluded no one else succeeded in solving the problem either in a generally convincing way is no reason for glorifying the nineteenth century’s anti-critical stance.

## 2. Hengstenberg

Sources: E. W. HENGSTENBERG, *Einige Worte über die Nothwendigkeit der Ueberordnung des äußeren Wortes über das innere, nebst Stellen aus Luthers Schriften* (Berlin: Decker’sche Geheime Ober-Hofbuchdruckerei 1825; see below Bachmann I, 334–54); *Die Königliche Preussische Ministerialverfügung über Mysticismus, Pietismus und Separatismus* (Berlin: Oehmigke 1826; see below Bachmann I, 354–76); *Christologie des Alten Testaments und Commentar über die Messianischen Weissagungen der Propheten*, I–III (Berlin: Oehmigke 1829–1835; 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. *ibid.* 1854–1857); *Beiträge zur Einleitung ins Alte Testament*, I. *Die Authentie des Daniel und die Integrität des Sacharjah* (Berlin: Oehmigke 1831); II. *Die Authentie des Pentateuches*, 1–2 (*ibid.* 1836–1839); *De rebus Tyriorum commentatio academica* (Berlin: Oehmigke 1832); *Christology ...*, 1–3 (tr. R. Keith; Alexandria, Washington D. C. 1836/39); *idem* (ed.), *Ioannis Calvini in librum Geneseos Commentarius* (Berlin: Bethge 1838); *Die Bücher Mose’s und Ägypten nebst einer Beilage: Manetho und die Hyksos* (Berlin: Oehmigke 1841); *Die wichtigsten und schwierigsten Abschnitte des Pentateuchs*, I. *Die Geschichte Bileams und seine Weissagungen* (Berlin: Oehmigke 1842); *Commentar über die Psalmen*, I–IV (Berlin: Oehmigke 1842–1847; 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. *ibid.* 1849–1852); *Die Offenbarung des heiligen Johannes für solche die in der Schrift forschen erläutert*, I–II (Berlin: Oehmigke 1849–1851); *Das Hohelied Salomonis ausgelegt* (Berlin: Oehmigke 1853); *Christology of the Old Testament and a Commentary on the Messianic Predictions*, 1–4 (2<sup>nd</sup> ed. greatly improved; tr. Th. Meyer / J. Martin; Edinburgh: Clark 1854–68); reprint of the edn. from 1872–78 with a foreword by M. F. Unger (Grand Rapids, MI: Kregel 1956); *id.*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn., Clark’s Foreign Theological Library, New Series vol. I/IX/XIX/XX (Edinburgh: Clark 1863/61/64/65); *Über das Buch Hiob. Ein Vortrag* (Berlin: Schlawitz 1856); *Die Opfer der heiligen Schrift. Die Juden und die christliche Kirche* (Berlin: Schlawitz 1859); *Der Prediger Salomo ausgelegt* (Berlin: Oehmigke 1859); *Die Weissagungen des Propheten Ezechiël für solche die in der Schrift forschen erläutert*, I/II (Berlin: Schlawitz 1867/1868); *Predigt vor der Eröffnung des Landtages der Monarchie, am 12. Januar 1859, gehalten in der Dom-Kirche zu Berlin* (Berlin: Wilhelm Schultze 1859); *Das Evangelium des heiligen Johannes erläutert*, I–III (Berlin: Schlawitz 1861–1863; 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. *ibid.* 1867–1870); *Geschichte des Reiches Gottes unter dem Alten Bunde*, I/II (Berlin: Schlawitz 1869/1871); *History of the kingdom of God under the OT*, 1–2 (Edinburgh 1871/72); *Das Buch Hiob erläutert*, I/II (Leipzig: Hinrichs 1875); *Vorlesungen über die Leidensgeschichte* (Leipzig: Hinrichs 1875). In addition, Hengstenberg was editor of the *Evangelische Kirchen-Zeitung* (1827–1869) and also the author



of all prefaces and of many of its articles (mostly anonymously). – G. N. BONWETSCH (ed.), *Aus vierzig Jahren Deutscher Kirchengeschichte. Briefe an E. W. Hengstenberg*, I/II (BFChrTh 22,1; 24,1,2; Gütersloh: Bertelsmann 1917/1919).

*Studies*: J. BACHMANN, *Ernst Wilhelm Hengstenberg. Sein Leben und Wirken nach gedruckten und ungedruckten Quellen*, I/II (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann 1876/1880); III, by TH. SCHMALENBACH (ibid. 1892). – A. KRIEGE, *Geschichte der Evangelischen Kirchen-Zeitung unter der Redaktion Ernst-Wilhelm Hengstenbergs* (Diss. ev. theol. Bonn 1958). – D. C. DAVIS, *The Hermeneutics of Ernst Wilhelm Hengstenberg* (Diss. theol. Göttingen 1960). – K. F. A. KAHNIS, “Zum Gedächtniß Hengstenbergs”, *EKZ* (1869) 417–425. – H. WULFMEYER, *E. W. Hengstenberg als Konfessionalist* (Diss. phil. Erlangen-Nürnberg 1970). – W. KRAMER, *E. W. Hengstenberg, die Ev. Kirchenzeitung und der theologische Rationalismus* (Diss. phil. Erlangen-Nürnberg 1972). – F. WEICHERT, “Ernst Wilhelm Hengstenberg”, in: *Berlinische Lebensbilder. Theologen*, 5 (ed. G. Heinrich; EHKB 60; Berlin: Colloquium 1990), 201–214. – M. A. DEUSCHLE, *Ernst Wilhelm Hengstenberg. Ein Beitrag zur Erforschung des kirchlichen Konservativismus im Preußen des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, forthcoming).

## 2.1. Career and Church Politics

Ernst Wilhelm Hengstenberg was born on 20 October 1802 in Fröndenberg near Unna in Westphalia, not far from Kamen, the birth-place of Buxtorf the Elder. He never went to school but was taught by his father, a Reformed pastor who was both devout and highly educated. From the beginning his aim was to be a theologian, but in Bonn, from 1819 to 1823, he studied not so much theology as classics, philosophy, and above all Arabic under G. W. Freytag, finishing with a dissertation on an Arabic poem for which he was awarded a D.Phil. Among the propositions in his 1823 doctorate<sup>4</sup>, his above-mentioned verdict on de Wette (IX) was already in line with the Hengstenberg he later became, but it stands side by side with his surprising surrender of the authenticity of Isaiah 40–66 (VII) and Job 32–37 (VIII). Parallel to the innocuous verdict that no one could be a good theologian without being fully conversant with the Hebrew language (III) is his severe judgment that the theological interpretation of the Old Testament is useless (*theologica Veteris Testamenti interpretatio nihili est*, II). It is evident that here there can as yet be no question of any distinct trend, let alone his later one.

From 1823–1824 Hengstenberg lived in Basel where he taught Arabic to the future Old Testament scholar J. J. Stähelin (1797–1875) but also to the missionary society’s pupils, privately pursuing his theological studies more seriously than before. But it is a great exaggeration to say that Basel was “his Damascus road”, where “the scales fell from his eyes and he saw the Lord face to face”,<sup>5</sup> or, in less flowery terms, that here there came to be “a breakthrough, more or less in the direction of the old Halle pietism”;<sup>6</sup> we could at most talk about a “turn to the right”.<sup>7</sup> While he was still in Basel, Hengstenberg defended the exilic date of Isaiah 40–66 over against the conservative Stähelin.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Bachmann, Hengstenberg I (1876), 328 f.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. 109.

<sup>6</sup> E. HIRSCH, *Geschichte der neuern evangelischen Theologie*, V (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann 1954), 120.

<sup>7</sup> M. LENZ, *Geschichte der Königlichen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Berlin*, II/1 (Halle: Waisenhaus 1910), 331.

<sup>8</sup> Bachmann, Hengstenberg I (1876), 155.

In 1824 he succeeded in finding a footing in Berlin – his final destination, as it turned out to be. In October he was awarded the qualification in the philosophical faculty required for a professorial appointment (the habilitation). In February 1825 his theological doctorate followed, but now its theses<sup>9</sup> were in crass contradiction to those of 1823: the understanding of the Old Testament requires, in addition to philology, a mind illuminated by the glory of Christ (I); the messianic idea is divine in origin, not human, and is the same in all the prophets (IV); the book of Job is not exilic but the oldest of all (VI), and those who remove chapters 32–37 from it “do not do well” (*non bene agunt*, VIII); and so on.

There can be no doubt that a decisive part in Hengstenberg’s new orientation was played by his adaptation to the Berlin milieu, in which he rapidly, adroitly and energetically furthered his career: in 1826 he became assistant professor, and in 1828 full professor, both contrary to resistance in the faculty and the government, where opposition came even from the minister Altenstein himself, who vainly attempted to push him off to Bonn or Königsberg. In the faculty his main opponent was the Hegelian Marheineke, his most important supporter the “pectoral theologian” Neander. His relationship with Schleiermacher was not at first unfriendly. His background in oriental studies made Hengstenberg an obvious and then also a successful candidate for de Wette’s chair, which had been vacant ever since the latter’s dismissal in 1819.

The somewhat older F. A. G. Tholuck (1799–1877) found himself in a similar position. He too was initially an orientalist, and then a many-sided and influential theologian of a revivalist-pietistic kind; he achieved his doctorate and habilitation in Berlin in 1820, became assistant professor in 1823 and in 1826 was appointed to a chair – but in Halle, not Berlin. There he developed in the course of the following fifty years a wide and deep influence which, however, was hardly brought to bear on the Old Testament. In his doctoral theses of 1820<sup>10</sup> we already see him adopting the anti-critical stance which we then find 1825 in Hengstenberg’s theses: rejection of linguistic evidence that speaks against the authenticity of the Pentateuch; the prophets something better than poets and demagogues; the holy men of the Hebrews superior to the great men of Greece and Rome by virtue of their piety. Like Hengstenberg a protégé of Neander’s, Tholuck made a friend and like-minded associate of the younger man, and introduced him to the leading figures in the Berlin revival movement, Baron Kottwitz, the Gerlach brothers, and the court chaplain Strauß – which meant the conservative circles surrounding the Prussian court. Hengstenberg became an integral part of this world in 1829 when he married Therese von Quast, a landowner’s daughter – a step described as virtually a “party move”.<sup>11</sup>

What was more important for the Church and the theological world was that in 1827 – that is to say even before his appointment to a university chair – he already allowed himself to be induced by the Gerlach brothers to take on the editorship of the long-planned *Evangelische Kirchen-Zeitung*. He held this position for 42 years, until his death, and by doing so achieved a public influence which

<sup>9</sup> Ibid. 333 f.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Lenz, *Geschichte* (1910), 324.

<sup>11</sup> Lenz, *Geschichte* (1910), 344.

seldom falls to the lot of a professor of theology; to say: "Perhaps no church publication has ever exercised so great an influence on the history of the church as this newspaper"<sup>12</sup> is a judgment that can still stand even today. And it must be added that seldom has a church's mouthpiece been so strongly stamped by the person of its editor, however much Hengstenberg was to a great extent the exponent, and occasionally the instrument, of a party in the Church, in church politics, and in politics generally.<sup>13</sup> At the beginning of every year, in an often extensive foreword which attracted considerable attention, he laid down afresh the paper's direction, and he saw to it that this was given expression not only in the essays written by the contributors he and his friends selected, but also in the abundant information which the paper offered.

The *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung* soon proved itself to be a repository for secret news, which the editor had himself sent by under-cover informants from all over the world and then ruthlessly published, the paper thus showing itself to be the mouthpiece of accusations of the most malicious and spiteful kind, making its special business to characterize to an extensive public the most highly respected men as unbelievers, casting suspicion on them because they were not believers in the sense of the *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung*.

Such was the summing-up of Ferdinand Christian Baur, who was not of course unprejudiced, and who described the editorial committee of the EKZ succinctly as "an inquisition".<sup>14</sup> Many people felt the same, among them the historian Treitschke, who saw Hengstenberg as "cut from the same cloth" as "formerly the heretic-hunting judges Hogstraten and Torquemada".<sup>15</sup> What was the target of this "inquisition"? Hengstenberg reduced to the single category of "rationalism" more or less everything which for him went against the grain in intellectual, political and church life. To quote Baur once more:

Rationalism is the real enemy, and from the beginning the Ev. K.Z. has made the fight against rationalism its main task. Under this name it has reviled and persecuted everything which does not have the colour of its own belief as absolutely iniquitous, as a corruption for the soul, and as a monstrous product from hell. The rationalists are the born and sworn enemies of Christ, and the paper cannot often enough paint in the blackest colours the appalling and horrifying crisis in the church brought about by the rationalists, their naturalism, atheism and unbelievable knavery.<sup>16</sup>

Involved in the most spectacular case of this "inquisition" was an Old Testament scholar, no one less than Wilhelm Gesenius. At the beginning of 1830 the *Kirchen-Zeitung* printed in a somewhat inconspicuous place and anonymously, in the small-print "news", a two-part article on "Rationalism in Halle University",<sup>17</sup> in which on the basis of student notes and oral reports Gesenius was

<sup>12</sup> R. SEEBERG, *Die Kirche Deutschlands im neunzehnten Jahrhundert* (Leipzig: Deichert 1903), 68.

<sup>13</sup> On this complex cf. K. BECKMANN, *Die fremde Wurzel. Altes Testament und Judentum in der evangelischen Theologie des 19. Jahrhunderts* (FKDG 85; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 2002), 239–270.

<sup>14</sup> F. C. BAUR, *Kirchengeschichte des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig: Fues 1877), 240, 242.

<sup>15</sup> H. v. TREITSCHKE, *Deutsche Geschichte im 19. Jahrhundert*, III (1886; new edn. Leipzig: Hirzel 1927), 404.

<sup>16</sup> Baur, *Kirchengeschichte* (1877), 243.

<sup>17</sup> "Der Rationalismus auf der Universität Halle", *EKZ* (1830) 38–40, 45–47.

denounced, together with the dogmatic theologian Wegscheider: in his lectures Gesenius allegedly “expressed a decided disbelief in the fundamental teachings of Scripture, and in the miracles”. In his lecture room, “loud laughter, in some lectures continually recurring, was quite usual on the part of future ministers of the sacred Word of God”.<sup>18</sup> The author of the article was not Hengstenberg himself, but Ernst Ludwig von Gerlach,<sup>19</sup> a like-minded fellow-combatant who had recently settled in Halle; but there could be no doubt of Hengstenberg’s full agreement. Others in his vicinity had their doubts. Tholuck, who perceived that the tendency of the article was “to call upon the church’s higher authorities to remove from the church all rationalist teachers”, dissociated himself privately beforehand, and publicly afterwards.<sup>20</sup> Neander did the same even more emphatically, disapproving not only of the polemic against the Halle professors but also of the attack on Schleiermacher:<sup>21</sup> He withdrew his collaboration with the *Kirchen-Zeitung*, expressing his regret personally, as a colleague and as a Christian (he continued to describe Hengstenberg as his “dearly loved friend”).<sup>22</sup> To this Hengstenberg reacted with a completely unmoved, and three times as long, “counter-declaration by the editor”.<sup>23</sup> Although the “Halle church dispute” certainly aroused public interest, it did not have the direct effects which Gerlach and Hengstenberg may have hoped for. Nevertheless, on 23 September 1830 the Prussian king Frederick William III issued a cabinet decree declaring that “lectures by teachers in the Evangelical Church which deviate essentially from its dogmas, as the accepted truths of faith, are highly questionable” and instructing Altenstein, the responsible minister, in the future “to concentrate your whole attention on this matter when choosing academic teachers in the discipline of theology, making completely sure that the theological chairs at our universities are occupied by men who, while being of course learned scholars, are only those whom you have become sufficiently convinced accept the doctrine of the Evangelical Church as laid down in the Augsburg Confession”. In retrospect, the initiator of the dispute, E. L. von Gerlach, was not wrong when he saw this as a great success for “the *Evangelische Kirchen-Zeitung*’s party” and as being at the same time a milestone in the steady development of this party from its largely pietist beginnings to orthodox churchmanship. He claimed that after 1830 the assertion “that those who had fallen away from the fundamental doctrines of the church and from Holy Scripture should not be admitted to the teaching ministries of the church” had become “a commonplace”.<sup>24</sup>

It was a matter of course that after this the “party” personified by Hengstenberg pursued the struggle that had commenced with, if anything, still greater

<sup>18</sup> Ibid. 46.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. H.-C. KRAUS, *Ernst Ludwig von Gerlach. Politisches Denken und Handeln eines preussischen Altkonservativen* (SHKBA 53; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1994), I, 137–50.

<sup>20</sup> A. THOLUCK, “Ueber mein Verhältniß zu dem den Hallischen Rationalismus betreffenden Artikel der Ev. K. Z.,” *EKZ* (1830) 297–302; quotation 297.

<sup>21</sup> A. NEANDER, “Erklärung über meine Theilnahme an der Evangelischen Kirchenzeitung, und die Gründe, mich von derselben ganz loszusagen,” *EKZ* (1830) 137–140.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid. 137.

<sup>23</sup> “Gegenerklärung der Redaction”, *ibid.* 140–49.

<sup>24</sup> V. GERLACH, “Die Partei der Evangelischen Kirchenzeitung,” *EKZ* (1846) 129–134, 137–139, 161–175, 257–262, 265–274, here 170.

energy, and that here biblical studies provided it with a central forum. In 1835 an occasion for outraged polemic was offered by a series of new publications, among them Peter von Bohlen's *Genesis* and above all Wilhelm Vatke's *Die Religion des Alten Testaments* and D.F. Strauß's *Leben Jesu*. The "Voltairean frivolity" which Hengstenberg detected in von Bohlen's book even made him "look back with melancholy and wistfulness" to de Wette.<sup>25</sup> He viewed Vatke's work as "a sign of the times in the Old Testament sector": it "surpassed almost all its predecessors in the brazenness of its criticism", in so doing coming forward "as representative of his school [the Hegelian one], which he views as the true mirror of the spirit of the age". "Piety is the Isaac which has to be sacrificed to the new god, and this sacrifice is carried out with a callousness and indifference which shows with the greatest clarity how great the love for this new god is ... Even in fetish worship there is more religious content than there is in this system". The judgment passed on Strauß is similar but even more extreme, yet underlying it is a secret respect: here this philosophy, the same as Vatke's, "celebrates a triumph like the triumph of Satan when he entered into Judas. Yet when all is said and done it is able to create *whole* people, whereas others can create only half. In this respect it resembles Christianity, and is thereby its sole worthy opponent, and will ultimately remain alone with it on the battlefield until the Lord slays it with the Spirit from his mouth and makes an end of it through the appearance of his future".<sup>26</sup>

The impression that the *Kirchen-Zeitung* "was able at any time to destroy a theologian"<sup>27</sup> may be an exaggeration; but there is no doubt that it was a largely successful and dreaded instrument with which to combat the supporters of "rationalism". For this, Hengstenberg had other means at his disposal too, beginning with his contacts with the court, by means of which, for example, he was able to prevent the aforesaid Vatke from advancing in his own faculty, since he clear-sightedly discerned that Vatke's book of 1835 radically called in question the traditional picture of ancient Israel; it was not without reason that in Wellhausen's eyes this book was "the most important contribution ever made to the history of ancient Israel".<sup>28</sup> Vatke, who was awarded his doctorate and habilitation in 1830, had at first considerably more hearers than Hengstenberg,<sup>29</sup> but his career never advanced beyond the laboriously achieved appointment to an unpaid assistant professorship in 1837.<sup>30</sup> Hengstenberg prevented him from being invited to a chair in Königsberg<sup>31</sup> and cut the ground from under his feet with his students by demanding – and even checking – that, as the sole examiner in the field which he and Vatke shared, the students should attend his lectures only: "If you listen to lectures from me and from Vatke it is just as if you were to harness one horse in front of a cart and one behind it; the cart cannot move from

<sup>25</sup> "Vorwort", *EKZ* (1836) 1–45, here 28.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.* 34f, 36.

<sup>27</sup> F. SCHNABEL, *Deutsche Geschichte im neunzehnten Jahrhundert*, IV (Freiburg: Herder 1937), 491.

<sup>28</sup> J. WELLHAUSEN, *Geschichte Israels*, I (Berlin: Reimer 1878), 4, n. 1.

<sup>29</sup> H. BENECKE, *Wilhelm Vatke in seinem Leben und seinen Schriften* (Bonn: Strauß 1883), 81.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.* 269–273.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.* 258f.

the spot”.<sup>32</sup> Even apart from the individual case, it was methods such as these and their result which made the historian of the Berlin theological faculty talk about “Hengstenberg’s completely unrestricted domination”, and the corresponding “absolute nadir of [the faculty’s] intellectual productivity and creative energy”.<sup>33</sup>

While Vatke was still a student, he judged that Hengstenberg had “considerable knowledge and considerable industry, but little real intellect, although he is not lacking in cleverness”.<sup>34</sup> This cleverness was recognized by his opponents too, but even a semi-adherent admitted that it was frequently “cleverness rather than a devotion to the truth”: Hengstenberg put forward “much that was untenable, and demolished difficulties rather than solving them”.<sup>35</sup> His cleverness was not the penetration of the scholar but rather the astuteness of a barrister engaged in a dispute, although with the special feature that “he employed not the language of the combatant, but rather that of the victor and judge”.<sup>36</sup> Hengstenberg “thought with his will, and willed with his understanding. He knew nothing of an experimenting, sceptical thinking, which pursued knowledge without a particular aim. Once he had grasped something, he put his whole will behind it, and then did not easily change his mind. But he tried to enforce the conviction he had thus acquired with a vigour which admitted of no allowances, hindrances and restrictions”.<sup>37</sup> The author of this account, a convinced Lutheran, “was reminded most of Calvin. Hengstenberg is certainly no reformer, no dogmatic theologian, no preacher, pastor or church leader; yet in his character we find the same domination of will and reason, the same leaning towards the fixed and normative, the same legalistic attitude to Scripture, the same Old Testament flavour, the same acute grasp of conditions in the church, the same inclination to pursue a matter to the end with utter consistency, the same theocratic viewpoint”.<sup>38</sup> It was not by chance that it was Calvin’s Genesis commentary which Hengstenberg republished (1838) and liked to give to students.

Even at the time when the *Evangelische Kirchen-Zeitung* was founded, his pietist friends found “this youthful Samson” to be “by nature hard and cold”,<sup>39</sup> and this probably predestined him from the beginning to lean more to the Orthodox than to the pietistic components in the undertaking. It is true that his maxim was “no orthodoxy without pietism, no pietism without orthodoxy”,<sup>40</sup> and he swiftly acquired pietistic language so that all his life it flowed readily from his lips, but he “was not a pietist”,<sup>41</sup> and so the path which “his” paper pursued during the forty years of his editorship also had a certain logic in the light of his own personality too. What was at first largely a devotional paper turned into an

<sup>32</sup> Ibid. 549, cf. 295, 610.

<sup>33</sup> W. ELLIGER, *150 Jahre Theologische Fakultät Berlin* (Berlin: de Gruyter 1960), 57.

<sup>34</sup> Benecke, Wilhelm Vatke (1883), 49.

<sup>35</sup> Kahnis, Zum Gedächtnis (1869), 422.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid. 417.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid. 418.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid. 424.

<sup>39</sup> L. v. Gerlach to A. Tholuck, in: G. N. BONWETSCH (ed.), *Aus A. Tholucks Anfängen. Briefe an und von Tholuck* (BFChrTh II, 4; Gütersloh: Bertelsmann 1922), 138.

<sup>40</sup> Kahnis, Zum Gedächtnis (1869), 421.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid. 420.

instrument of church politics in the interests of the Prussian monarchy, first of all true to the union between Lutherans and Reformed established in Prussia in 1817, and then more and more denominationally Lutheran; and both ecclesiastically and politically it was reactionary in a restorative sense. In 1848 the paper categorically condemned the revolution; in 1866, contrary to the protests of E. L. von Gerlach, it ranged itself on the side of Bismarck,<sup>42</sup> who however was hardly in need of it.

## 2.2. *The Old Testament*

It was always clear to readers of the *Evangelische Kirchen-Zeitung* that in its editor it had to do with a biblical and above all an Old Testament exegete; the paper is permeated with biblical reflections and references – generally, either directly or indirectly, topical in character. Not only Hengstenberg the journalist but Hengstenberg the professor was convinced that he had a mission, and both as journalist and as professor his mission was the same: to fight against “rationalism”. He pursued this struggle not only in his teaching but also in an extensive body of scholarly works. Before he was appointed professor, he wrote two brief theological texts which show his position in fundamental questions but not yet his professional qualification.<sup>43</sup> It was all the more important for him to put before the public as soon as possible his way of treating the Old Testament as a scholar and theologian, and – energetic as he was – not merely to put it forward as a programme but also to implement it. The most obvious form for this implementation to take, especially in his case, might well have been a “theology of the Old Testament”; these Old Testament scholars who feel called to do so are accustomed to write at the end of their life’s work, as its summing up and its crown; and in the case of someone like Hengstenberg such a book might well have come at the beginning. But neither then nor later did he ever write anything of the kind, giving as perhaps initially surprising reason that “under the old covenant doctrine has not yet been elevated into independence but is still fused in the most intimate way with the history”. Consequently, other than in the New Testament, it should not be presented separately but “in conjunction with the history”. So in Hengstenberg’s lectures on “The History of the Kingdom of God under the Old Covenant”<sup>44</sup> we occasionally find a paragraph on “religious perception” and so forth.

Under these circumstances, Hengstenberg presented himself to the public not with a “theology” but with a “christology” of the Old Testament. He first put this forward in the form of lectures, and then published it in three volumes between 1829 and 1835. It was for the most part (from vol. I/2 to vol. III) a “Commentary on the Messianic Prophecies of the Prophets”, with a “general introduction” (I/1), which in the second edition (1854–1857) was moved to the end. For Hengstenberg the Old Testament was teeming with prophecies, begin-

<sup>42</sup> Cf. Hengstenberg, “Vorwort”, *EKZ* (1867) 1–66, esp. 20–30.

<sup>43</sup> Hengstenberg, *Einige Worte* (1825); *Ministerialverfügung* (1826).

<sup>44</sup> Hengstenberg, *Geschichte des Reiches Gottes* (1869/1871).

ning with the “Proto-gospel” in Gen 3:14f; they form “the soul and the centre of all prophetic proclamation”.<sup>45</sup> He goes through them all in minute detail, drawing on the whole exegetical tradition, his aim being the double proof that they are internally consistent with each other, and that they find their fulfilment in the New Testament down to the last iota. Against “the idea of a merely human Messiah in glory, a political Messiah who will raise the theocracy to great power and dominion” he puts forward the passages “in which we find the doctrine about the divinity, the suffering, death and vicarious satisfaction [of the Messiah], and in general about a Messiah in lowliness”; we must not “one-sidedly stop short at the passages which are related to the kingly office of the Messiah, and try to do away with all those in which he also appears as prophet and high priest”.<sup>46</sup>

The immediate opponent here is especially de Wette, but as well as de Wette a second, older Berliner now increasingly comes to the fore: Schleiermacher; for with him Hengstenberg was at daggers drawn all his life. Even in the last of his “Forewords” he called Schleiermacher’s theology, in an echo of the prophet Elijah (1 Kgs 18:21), a “limping on both sides”; “he neither came down firmly on the side of the wisdom of this world nor on the side of faith”.<sup>47</sup> As early as 1829, the year when the first volume of the “christology” appeared, Schleiermacher’s second *Sendschreiben an Lücke* already provided an occasion for Hengstenberg to lodge a double attack on his great colleague. In an essay *Über Schleiermacher* he countered generally Schleiermacher’s theological criticism of the “old covenant”, maintaining that with it “the new covenant too, which is nothing other, and will say nothing other, than the old covenant, realized and transfigured, is attacked at its deepest foundation and innermost being, and ... annihilated”.<sup>48</sup> As far as Hengstenberg’s special theme was concerned, Schleiermacher had declared that “he would never be able to say” that “the endeavour to prove Christ on the basis of prophecies was a profitable undertaking” and he was sorry “that so many worthy men were struggling to make the attempt”; he still thought “that not even a Jew of that time who was on the way to faith would be kept from belief by a particular suspicion that those prophecies did not point to Jesus”.<sup>49</sup> To this Hengstenberg reacted briefly in a new essay “On Dr Schleiermacher’s Assertion of the Lack of Force and the Dispensability of the Messianic Prophecies”,<sup>50</sup> bringing brief counter-examples such as the story about “the Ethiopian eunuch” (Acts 8:26–40) and a lengthy one in the edifying biography of a Jew baptized in 1722.

Of course, so clever a man as Hengstenberg arrived himself at a number of objections which could be brought against his assertions, both as a whole and in individual cases, and these he tried to relativize – then doing so at length in the

<sup>45</sup> Hengstenberg, *Christologie*, III/2 (2<sup>nd</sup> edn. 1854–1857), 1.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.* 141f.

<sup>47</sup> *EKZ* (1869) 29. “Vorwort”, *EKZ* (1869) 1–88, here 29.

<sup>48</sup> “Ueber Schleiermacher”, *EKZ* (1829) 769–98, here 780.

<sup>49</sup> F. SCHLEIERMACHER, “Über seine Glaubenslehre, an Dr. Lücke. Zweites Sendschreiben”, *ThStKr* 2 (1829) 481–532, here 497 (*Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, I,10; Berlin / New York: de Gruyter 1990, 337–394, here 354).

<sup>50</sup> “Ueber Dr. Schleiermacher’s Behauptung der Unkräftigkeit und Entbehrlichkeit der messianischen Weissagungen”, *EKZ* (1830) 17–31.



discussion that followed. In the process he almost inevitably “fell victim to the very rationalism which he was fundamentally combating”.<sup>51</sup> Thus, in order to explain all kinds of inconsistencies in the prophecies, he conceded a surprisingly wide scope to ecstasy,<sup>52</sup> and to the delight of F. C. Baur he helped to bring some difficult passages into line “after having learnt some Hegelian phrases, by maintaining that prophecy rested on the idea, and was therefore related to all the occurrences in which this idea presented itself”.<sup>53</sup> L. Diestel drew attention to one important point in which – coming very close to ‘rationalism’ – he deviated from ancient orthodoxy: his reserve towards allegory, which orthodoxy employed as the means “to raise” the Old Testament “to the level of the New” whereas he, “although he certainly finds much messianism”, nevertheless “as a whole” adopted “more modern hermeneutics”, thereby “dispensing with the main instrument for the harmonization”. The result was that “very many parts of the New Testament” were “reduced to the level of the Old”, “both methods according with the orthodox principle about the unity of the Testaments”.<sup>54</sup> In this context we can well understand Hengstenberg’s wrath when D. F. Strauß used the Old – New Testament correspondences in a contrary sense, so to speak, that is, so as to declare that the New Testament’s history of Jesus is a myth largely built up on passages in the Old Testament.

Even before the second volume of the “Christology”, Hengstenberg put in hand his other main work, the *Beiträge zur Einleitung ins Alte Testament*. The title boldly formulates the claim that this offers an alternative to de Wette’s *Beiträge* of 1806–1807, the starting point of the hated recent biblical criticism. Hengstenberg knew very well that in his field the real battle against “rationalism” had to be fought in the sector of so-called “introductory” studies, that is to say in the questions about the constitution, origin and historical reliability of the biblical books. For him much, indeed really everything, depended on these questions, or to be more exact on an answer to them which would be as completely conservative as possible. “One cannot throw overboard the Fifth Book of Moses [as being non-Mosaic]”, he once wrote, “without at the same time losing faith in the Lord’s authority, and therefore left adrift in the raging seas of the world without compass and rudder, and having to sigh secretly: alas that ever I was born”.<sup>55</sup> Nevertheless, in Hengstenberg this was countered by a remarkable certainty – whether genuine, or whether he was deluding himself and others – that this danger did not in reality exist. For in his view – according to the foreword to the first volume of the *Beiträge* – the (positive) result of all these investigations had long “become a certainty, validated by a higher than human authority”; he now only had to “defend it with human weapons against those who do not accept this authority”.<sup>56</sup> Consequently, if we are to take him at his word, he was really only fighting sham battles, all of which could end only in complete victory. But this

<sup>51</sup> P. DE LAGARDE, *Mittheilungen*, IV (Göttingen: Dieterich 1891), 79.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. the section on the nature of prophecy: *Christologie*, III/2 (1854–57), 158–217.

<sup>53</sup> Baur, *Kirchengeschichte* (1877), 446.

<sup>54</sup> L. DIESTEL, *Geschichte des Alten Testaments in der christlichen Kirche* (Jena: Mauke 1869),

708.

<sup>55</sup> Hengstenberg, “Vorwort”, *EKZ* (1862) 1–92, here 46 f.

<sup>56</sup> Hengstenberg, *Beiträge*, I (1831), IX.

victory, that is to say the complete acceptance of his view about the origin of the biblical books, was for him so important that in order to assemble and apply these “human weapons” – which, as has already been indicated, were largely borrowed from “rationalism” – he invested efforts reminiscent of two conservative predecessors and models, the younger Buxtorf or J. G. Carpzov. As in their case too, all endeavours were bound in the long run to be in vain; the result could be at most a pyrrhic victory, and for critical eyes, it was from the outset not even that.

The plan was at first for a compendium of the size of de Wette’s *Lehrbuch der historisch-kritischen Einleitung* (1817–1826), then for a “complete handbook”, and finally, together with the *Christologie*, a detailed investigation of central problems in the *Beiträge*. This was to begin with the book of Daniel, “not only in order to rescue the reputation of this book, one of the most important in the Old Testament, but also at the same time to awaken among those who are not wilfully blind to the truth a healthy mistrust of a completely rationalist criticism in respect of the Old Testament, the most certain result of which is considered to be the inauthenticity of Daniel particularly”. Studies were to follow on the unity of Zechariah, the genuineness of the Pentateuch, the date of Job, the reliability of Chronicles and Esther, the sources of the historical books, the allegorical interpretation of the Song of Songs, and other topics; résumées and indexes were afterwards to give the whole the character of a kind of handbook.<sup>57</sup> In 1831 a first volume materialized which, as the title unmistakably states, “proves” “The Authenticity of Daniel and the Unity of Zechariah”. In 1836–1839 two voluminous half-volumes followed (II/1 and II/2, or II and III) in which “The Authenticity of the Pentateuch” is given the same treatment, that is to say “is proved”.

The first volume is a classic example of clever apologetics. He disputes that the book of Daniel dates from the Maccabean period and that Zechariah 9–14 derives from the same author as the previous chapters. In both cases the investigation is pursued in three clearly arranged parts: the history of the attacks, confutation of the opponents’ arguments, and the presentation of his own. At the height of his argument Hengstenberg, in the cause of Daniel, invokes a witness of unsurpassable rank: the Lord Jesus. In Matt 24:15, by adding “spoken by Daniel the prophet” to a saying from the book of Daniel, Jesus confirmed its “genuineness” with supreme authority.<sup>58</sup> To this de Wette immediately objected that even if Jesus said this (which is doubtful) “such an utterance still provides no historical reason for the genuineness of Daniel, indeed it is not even a determining reason for the believing Christian to think about the Jewish canon in exactly the way he put it”.<sup>59</sup> Later on he expanded this: “In the nature of things Christ neither *wished* nor *could* be a critical authority”.<sup>60</sup> In Hengstenberg’s eyes this was the crassest “rationalism”, and so in the second volume of the “Christology” he went even further, with the emotionally charged sentence: “The relationship to the

<sup>57</sup> The above according to Hengstenberg, *ibid.* V–VIII.

<sup>58</sup> Hengstenberg, *Beiträge*, I (1831), 258–270.

<sup>59</sup> W. M. L. DE WETTE, “Daniel”, *AEWK* I,23 (Leipzig: Brockhaus 1832), 1–15, here 12.

<sup>60</sup> W. M. L. DE WETTE, *Lehrbuch der historisch-kritischen Einleitung in die kanonischen und apokryphen Bücher des Alten Testaments* (5<sup>th</sup> edn.; Berlin: Reimer 1840), 358.

Maccabean period and the whole non-messianic interpretation will continue to be false as long as the word of Christ continues to be true – which is to say, to all eternity”.<sup>61</sup>

Hengstenberg may have claimed eternal falsehood for his opponents’ views and eternal truth for his own, but he nevertheless registered precisely what was happening in his own day. When he brought out the first volume on the *Authenticité des Pentateuches* in 1836 the opposite side presented him with “a positive throng of differences”, “a war of all against all” – later, in a comparable situation, the term “pentateuchal crisis” was to be coined. But he did not stop at generalities. He acutely picked out one point which was in fact to acquire far-reaching importance: “The view defended by de Wette that Deuteronomy is the latest (book) of all, is the mythical coping stone of the mythical whole – a view which already seemed to have won through to general acceptance – is now beginning to give way to the completely opposite opinion: that of all the books of the Pentateuch Deuteronomy is the earliest”.<sup>62</sup> For this assertion Hengstenberg points to L. George’s book on the earlier Jewish feasts, which appeared in 1835 in his Berlin circle at the same time as Vatke’s *Religion des Alten Testaments*, and which also pointed forward to Graf’s hypothesis of 1866–1869. Against the criticism which had meanwhile culminated in these writings, in 1836 Hengstenberg entered the field with LXXXIV plus 502 pages and in 1839 with a further 662. Here, with his wonted expenditure of energy, he detected traces of the Pentateuch in the earlier prophetic and historiographical literature, explained the change in the name for God in terms of meaning instead of literary criticism, traced back the art of writing to the Mosaic period, solved anachronisms and contradictions in the Pentateuch itself, and declared its “theological character” to be the necessary foundation for the Israelite religion. An “appendix”, “designed only for the like-minded”, was going to “prove” “that the testimony of Christ and his apostles, as well as the relationship of the Pentateuch to the whole of divine revelation and Holy Scripture, speaks in favour of its authenticity”.<sup>63</sup> But this never materialized. That of course does not mean that he was any less certain of his position here than he was in the case of the book of Daniel.

In 1841 the *Beiträge* was followed, as latecomer, by *Die Bücher Mose’s und Ägypten*, first envisaged for the *Beiträge* but then brought out as an independent monograph in the hope of a wider readership. This was substantially an attempt to co-ordinate as closely as possible our knowledge about ancient Egypt (which had made a great leap forward through the recent discoveries of Champollion especially) with what is said about Egyptian affairs in the Pentateuch, thus providing a further argument for its Mosaic authorship. Like the *Beiträge*, the immediately following series on *Die wichtigsten und schwierigsten Abschnitte des Pentateuchs* remained a torso, which did not get further than the first volume on *Die Geschichte Bileams und seine Weissagungen* (1842). A second volume was intended to treat the other poetic parts of the Pentateuch, a third volume the

<sup>61</sup> Hengstenberg, *Christologie*, II (1<sup>st</sup> edn.), 578; repeated with new reasoning in *Christologie*, III/1 (2<sup>nd</sup> edn. 1854), 202.

<sup>62</sup> Hengstenberg, *Authenticité des Pentateuches*, I (1836), LXXIII.

<sup>63</sup> Hengstenberg, *Beiträge*, I (1831), LXXXIII.

most important historical parts, and a fourth the most important legal sections. The fact that Hengstenberg after long reflection brought himself to dispense with the miracle of Baalam's talking ass<sup>64</sup> attracted a good deal of surprise among readers.

Instead of proceeding with the *Beiträge* and the *Abschnitte*, Hengstenberg now turned to writing commentaries, and from then on these were to be his main concern apart from the *Kirchen-Zeitung*. This new development may perhaps already be indicated in the transition from the *Beiträge* to the *Abschnitte*. Hengstenberg unquestionably retained his fundamental stance, but it is equally unquestionable that as exegete he had something more valuable and permanent to offer than he had as an anti-critic. In their energetic striving for an understanding of every individual text in its biblical context, his commentaries show a high degree of both philological and theological passion. This has again and again been recognized even by his opponents. Hermann Hupfeld, for example, right at the beginning, in his own commentary on the Psalms took up Hengstenberg's Psalm commentary (which opened the series) and severely castigated it page-long; but he then conceded that "in spite of a profound difference in principle, in the specific interpretation of the individual passage ... [he was] often in agreement", whereas the precise contrary was true in the case of "the two most important" among the other recent commentators, Hitzig and Ewald.<sup>65</sup>

After the four volumes on the Psalms (1842–1847), Hengstenberg turned to the book of Revelation (1849–1851), strongly incited by the political events of 1848, which awakened in him apocalyptic ideas. Through a remarkable chance, it was in 1848 that his old opponent de Wette, no less shaken, finished his commentary on Revelation, his very last work.<sup>66</sup> Hengstenberg's view of the occurrences is most succinctly evident in his retrospective comment that it was God himself who put down the revolution and anarchy.<sup>67</sup> But the Apocalypse was also important for him as theological exegete of the Old Testament, namely as the "New Testament regulative for an understanding of Old Testament prophecy": through Christ's "first appearance" Old Testament prophecy was not yet completely fulfilled; the book of Revelation helps "to distinguish [the prophecies] whose fulfilment still belongs to the future, and this regulative is bound to bear the seal of divine verification, as is the case in the Apocalypse, if it was written by the Apostle John".<sup>68</sup> So here too, as in the case of Moses and the prophets, we have the indispensability of authenticity! It goes without saying that in his three-volume commentary on the Gospel of John (1861–1863) Hengstenberg was equally convinced of this; and here he explained the difference between this Gospel and the Synoptics for himself and his trusting readers by saying that Jesus "had two ways of teaching", just as, after all, in his Psalms David also "knew how to change his tone of voice".<sup>69</sup>

<sup>64</sup> Hengstenberg, Bileam (1842), 48–63.

<sup>65</sup> H. HUPFELD, *Die Psalmen*, I (Gotha: Perthes 1855), XVIII.

<sup>66</sup> W. M. L. DE WETTE, *Kurze Erklärung der Offenbarung Johannis* (KEH II,1; Leipzig: Weidmann 1848).

<sup>67</sup> Hengstenberg, "Vorwort", *EKZ* (1850) 1–52, here 1.

<sup>68</sup> Hengstenberg, *Die Offenbarung des heiligen Johannes*, II/2 (1850), 228.

<sup>69</sup> Hengstenberg, *Das Evangelium des heiligen Johannes*, II (1862) 228; III (1870), 404.

The two commentaries written during the 1850s are devoted to two “solomonic” writings and offer some surprising aspects. In 1853 Hengstenberg traces the Song of Songs back to Solomon and, although basically speaking he is no friend of allegory,<sup>70</sup> he declares the book to be allegorical, thus following the mainstream of Jewish-Christian tradition, and especially contrary to Delitzsch: “If Solomon is the author of the book, then the Solomon with whom the book has to do must – other than he himself – be the heavenly Solomon, the immediate result therefore being that the beloved is none other than the Daughter Zion”.<sup>71</sup> On the other hand, in 1859 he disputes that Solomon is the author of the book of Ecclesiastes, and assigns it to the Persian period, though without associating this with a negative opinion about its content.<sup>72</sup> His commentary on Job, in contrast, published posthumously but probably conceived in the 1850s,<sup>73</sup> contains no surprises. Again contrary to Delitzsch and in agreement with his own eighth doctoral thesis of 1825<sup>74</sup> (but contrary to the eighth of 1823<sup>75</sup>), Hengstenberg adheres inflexibly to the genuineness of the Elihu speeches: to surrender their authenticity “means that one has essentially failed to understand the book”.<sup>76</sup>

Hengstenberg’s swan song, his exegesis of Ezechiel (1867–1868),<sup>77</sup> resembles the commentary on Revelation inasmuch as it was written against the background of exciting political events: the person who immerses himself in this prophet, he writes, “will feel compelled to summon up all possible forces to bring the crisis that has arisen to a salutary end”.<sup>78</sup> It is not by chance that it is these two commentaries which are addressed on the title page to those outside the circle of theologians “who search the Scriptures”.

According to Emanuel Hirsch’s summing up, “Hengstenberg’s whole enormous work in the field of biblical and especially Old Testament studies is nothing but an episode which research can be glad to have got over”.<sup>79</sup> To this two things must be said. First, in his sharpest polemical writings, *Die Halben und die Ganzen*, D. F. Strauß, one of Hengstenberg’s keenest opponents, openly reciprocated his secret respect<sup>80</sup> when he attacked him as the prototype of a “whole”, even if it was a whole “in the reactionary sense”.<sup>81</sup> From a whole one can always learn, especially when he was, and has surely remained, a figure representative of the conservative approach. So Hengstenberg should not be negligently passed by. Moreover, the “episode” had more influence than is suggested by a view confined to the field of specialist scholarship. Hengstenberg’s most hopeful pupil, H. A. C. Hävernick (1811–1845), who according to the judgment of someone of

<sup>70</sup> Cf. the third thesis in his Berlin doctoral dissertation of 1825 (see Bachmann I, 1876, 333)

<sup>71</sup> Hengstenberg, *Das Hohelied Salomonis* (1853), 250.

<sup>72</sup> Hengstenberg, *Der Prediger Salomo* (1859), 1–37.

<sup>73</sup> Cf. Hengstenberg, *Über das Buch Hiob* (1856).

<sup>74</sup> See above, 497.

<sup>75</sup> See above, 496.

<sup>76</sup> Hengstenberg, *Hiob*, I (1875), 68.

<sup>77</sup> Hengstenberg, *Weissagungen* (1867/68).

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.* I, IV.

<sup>79</sup> Hirsch, *Geschichte*, 5 (1954), 126.

<sup>80</sup> See above, 500.

<sup>81</sup> D. F. STRAUSS, *Die Halben und die Ganzen* (1865), in: idem, *Kleine Schriften* (3<sup>rd</sup> edn.; Bonn: Strauß 1898), 215–294, here 217.

very different views<sup>82</sup> was “learned, talented, and with a notion of true scholarship”, died early; but another, F.K. Keil, was long-lived (1807–1888), and together with Delitzsch wrote the *Biblischer Commentar über das Alte Testament* which, first published in 16 volumes in 1861–1875, still went through new editions in German and English towards the end of the twentieth century, and thus evidently still met a need.

### 3. Delitzsch

Sources: FRANZ DELITZSCH, *Zur Geschichte der jüdischen Poesie vom Abschluß der heiligen Schriften Alten Bundes bis auf die neueste Zeit* (Leipzig: Tauchnitz 1836); *Wissenschaft, Kunst, Judenthum. Schilderungen und Kritiken* (Grimma: Gebhardt 1838); “Unglaube, Glaube, Neuglaube. Ein Beitrag zur christlichen Psychologie. Erste Abtheilung: Unglaube. Zweite Abtheilung: Glaube”, *ZLThK* 1 (1840) 1, 70–105; 3, 26–61; *De Habacuci Prophetæ Vita atque Aetate* (theol. diss.). Editio auctior et emendatio (Lipsiae: Niese 1842); *Der Prophet Habakuk. Ausgelegt* (Leipzig: Tauchnitz 1843); *Das Sacrament des wahren Leibes und Blutes Jesu Christi. Beicht- und Communionbuch* (Leipzig / Dresden: Naumann 1844, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. ibid. 1853, ... 7<sup>th</sup> edn. ibid. 1886); *Die biblisch-prophetische Theologie, ihre Fortbildung durch Chr. A. Crusius und ihre neueste Entwicklung seit der Christologie Hengstenbergs* (Leipzig: Gebauer 1845); *Das Hohelied untersucht und ausgelegt* (Leipzig: Dörffling und Franke 1851); *Die Genesis ausgelegt* (Leipzig: Dörffling und Franke 1852; 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. ibid. 1853); *Commentar über die Genesis* (3<sup>rd</sup> edn. ibid. 1860; 4<sup>th</sup> edn. ibid. 1872); *Neuer Commentar über die Genesis* (ibid. 1887), ET: *A New Commentary on Genesis*, 1–2 (tr. by S. Taylor; Edinburgh: Clark 1888/1889); “Talmudische Studien”, I–XIII, *ZLThK* 15 (1854) – 17 (1856) *passim*; *Commentar zum Briefe an die Hebräer* (Leipzig: Dörffling und Franke 1857), ET: *Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews*, 1–2 (tr. by T. L. Kingsbury; Edinburgh: Clark 1868/1870); idem / A. VON SCHEURL, *Die Sache des Professors D. Baumgarten in Rostock: theologisch und juristisch beleuchtet* (Erlangen: Bläsing 1858); *Commentar über den Psalter*, I–II (Leipzig: Dörffling und Franke 1859/1860); *Biblischer Commentar über die Psalmen* (2<sup>nd</sup> edn. ibid. 1867; 3<sup>rd</sup> edn. ibid. 1873; 4<sup>th</sup> edn. ibid. 1883, 5<sup>th</sup> edn. ibid. 1894), ET: *Biblical Commentary on the Psalms*, 1–3 (tr. from the 2<sup>nd</sup> German edn. by F. Bolton; Edinburgh: Clark 1871; tr. from the 4<sup>th</sup> German edn. by D. Eaton; London: Hodder & Stoughton 1887–1889); *Biblischer Commentar über die poetischen Bücher des Alten Testament*, 2. *Das Buch Job* (Leipzig: Dörffling und Franke 1864; 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. ibid. 1876), ET: *Biblical Commentary on the Book of Job*, 1–2 (tr. by F. Bolton; Edinburgh: Clark 1866; 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. ibid. 1868); *Biblischer Commentar über den Prophet Jesaia* (Leipzig: Dörffling und Franke 1866; 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. ibid. 1869; 3<sup>rd</sup> edn. ibid. 1879, 4<sup>th</sup> edn. ibid. 1889), ET: *Biblical Commentary on the Prophecies of Isaiah*, 1–2 (tr. by J. Martin; Edinburgh: Clark 1867; tr. from the German 4<sup>th</sup> edn. by J. Kennedy / W. Hastie / T. A. Bickerton / J. S. Banks, with additions and corrections by the author (ibid. 1890); *Ein Tag in Capernaum* (Leipzig: Naumann 1871); *Biblischer Commentar über die poetischen Bücher des Alten Testament*, 3. *Das Salomonische Spruchbuch* (Leipzig: Dörffling und Franke 1873), ET: *Biblical Commentary on the Proverbs of Solomon* (tr. by M. G. Easton; Edinburgh: Clark 1874); *Biblischer Commentar über die Poetischen Bücher des Alten Testaments*, 4. *Hohelied und Koboeth* (Leipzig: Dörffling und Franke 1875), ET: *Commentary on the Song of Songs and Ecclesiastes* (tr. by M. G. Easton; Edinburgh: Clark 1877); ספרי הברית החדשה נעתקים מלשון יון ללשון עברית בהשתדלות ובהשגחת החכם פראפעסור פראנץ דעליטש (Leipzig: Ackermann & Glaser 1877; 12<sup>th</sup> edn. Berlin: British and Foreign Bible Society 1901); *Jüdisches Handwerkerleben zur Zeit Jesu* (Erlangen: Deichert 1879); *System der biblischen Psychologie* (Leipzig: Dörffling & Franke 1855, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. ibid. 1861), ET: *A System of Biblical Psychology* (2<sup>nd</sup> edn. tr. by R. E. Wallis; Edinburgh: Clark 1879); “Pentateuch-kritische Studien”, I–XII, *ZKWL* 1 (1880) 3–626 (*passim*); “Urmosaisches im Pentateuch”, I–VI, *ZKWL* 3 (1882) 113–573 (*passim*); *Christentum und jüdische Presse. Selbsterlebtes* (Erlangen: Deichert 1882); *Selbstbiographie* (1883), in: M. WITTENBERG (see below: Studies) 9–11; *Der tiefe Graben zwischen alter und moderner*

<sup>82</sup> Diestel, *Geschichte* (1869), 617.

*Theologie. Ein Bekenntnis* (Leipzig: Faber 1888, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. *ibid.* 1890); *Iris. Farbenstudien und Blumenstücke* (Leipzig: Dörffling & Franke 1888); *Messianische Weissagungen in geschichtlicher Folge* (Leipzig: Akademische Buchhandlung 1890). In addition, Delitzsch was author of very many articles in *ZLThK* 1 (1840)–39 (1878); *SaH* 1 (1863)–30 (1893) and other periodicals.

*Letters*: W. VOLCK (ed.), *Theologische Briefe der Professoren Delitzsch und v. Hofmann* (Leipzig: Hinrichs 1891). – O. EISSFELDT (ed.), *Franz Delitzsch und Wolf Graf Baudissin. Dokumente über den Anfang ihrer Freundschaft aus dem Erlanger Wintersemester 1866/67* (SSAW.PH 112,2; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag 1966). – O. EISSFELDT / K.H. RENGSTORF (eds.), *Briefwechsel zwischen Franz Delitzsch und Wolf Wilhelm Graf Baudissin* (ARWAW 43; Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag 1973 [abbr. Delitzsch / Baudissin]).

*Bibliography*: S. WAGNER (see below: *Studies*), 446–98. Literary estate kept in the *Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz* in Berlin.

*Studies*: S.I. CURTISS, *Franz Delitzsch* (Edinburgh: Clark 1891). – D. KAUFMANN, “Franz Delitzsch. Ein Palmbblatt aus Juda auf sein frisches Grab” (1890), in: *idem, Gesammelte Schriften*, I (Frankfurt/M: Kauffmann 1908), 290–306. – A. KÖHLER, “Delitzsch”, *RE*<sup>3</sup> IV (1898), 565–570. – W. BAUDISSIN, Review of Delitzsch, *Iris*, *ThLZ* 1 (1899) 161–166. – M. WITTENBERG, *Franz Delitzsch (1813–1890). Vier Aufsätze über ihn und Auszüge aus seinen Werken* (Handreichung des Evangeliumsdienstes unter Israel durch die evang.-luth. Kirche, 7, 1963). – K.H. RENGSTORF, *Die Delitzsch'sche Sache. Ein Kapitel preussischer Kirchen- und Fakultätspolitik im Vormärz* (AGTL 19; Berlin / Hamburg: Lutherisches Verlagshaus 1967). – S. WAGNER, *Franz Delitzsch. Leben und Werk* (BEvTh 80; München: Kaiser 1978). – R. SMEND, “Franz Delitzsch – Aspekte von Leben und Werk”, in: *Die Erzoäter in der biblischen Tradition* (FS M. Köckert, ed. A. C. Hagedorn / H. Pfeiffer; BZAW 400; Berlin / New York: de Gruyter 2009), 347–66.

### 3.1. Biography

Franz Julius Delitzsch was born on 23 February 1813 in Leipzig, the son of Lutheran parents. One of his godparents was the Jew Franz Julius (or Levy) Hirsch, who lived in the same house. Hirsch greatly cultivated Delitzsch during his youth and had himself baptised in 1843 at his godson's instigation. There are arguments suggesting that he was in fact Delitzsch's father.<sup>83</sup> Be that as it may, from early on Delitzsch therefore had an elemental relationship to Judaism which later on made mission to the Jews one of his most important activities. He tells that in Leipzig at his secondary school, although he felt “a yearning for God” he became “a complete rationalist”. At the university he first studied philology and philosophy and became absorbed in “the systems of the great German philosophers”; he was “particularly drawn to Fichte”,<sup>84</sup> but in an earlier passage he puts Spinoza even before him.<sup>85</sup> In philology he devoted himself to semitic studies, which he pursued under Leberecht Fleischer (later a leading Arabist) and the Hebraist Julius Fürst, two scholars with whom he retained both personal and scholarly ties. What does not entirely accord with his account is the fact that at the beginning of his first semester, in the autumn of 1831, he already matriculated in the theological faculty, not the philosophical one;<sup>86</sup> by subsequently “secularizing” the beginning of his university studies he probably wished to bring out all the more forcibly the conversion which soon followed and which was of fundamental importance for his later life. He first found his

<sup>83</sup> Wagner, Delitzsch (1978), 16–23.

<sup>84</sup> Delitzsch, *Selbstbiographie* (1883), 9.

<sup>85</sup> Cf. Wagner, Delitzsch (1978), 34.

<sup>86</sup> Cf. *ibid.* 31 n. 36.

spiritual home among the “stephanists”, a sectarian movement under the leadership of the dubious Martin Stephan, which linked strict Lutheranism with a pietistic conversion devotionalism; in 1836 most of its members emigrated to North America, later becoming initiators of the Missouri Synod. In Leipzig, three times a week for many years Delitzsch led with great commitment “devotional hours in a circle of believing friends”.<sup>87</sup> In addition he studied and also produced a quantity of devotional literature; his “book for confession and Communion” which first appeared in 1844 under the title *Das Sakrament des wahren Leibes und Blutes Jesu Christi* (“The Sacrament of the True Body and Blood of Jesus Christ”) went through seven editions and was “his favourite among all his writings”.<sup>88</sup>

As the goal of his calling he had probably long envisaged mission to the Jews. So among the received theological disciplines he devoted himself especially to the Old Testament, where the Leipzig chair was held by the learned E. F. K. Rosenmüller until his death in 1835. But above all he studied post-biblical Judaism. The prospect of a profession as missionary to the Jews came to nothing, for institutional and financial reasons. Nevertheless, without any official position and with only occasional financial support, Delitzsch was active as a missionary to the Jews all his life.

In 1835, still in the final stages of his theological studies and even with a D. Phil., he now took up a career as university teacher. In the autumn of 1841 he was awarded a doctorate in theology for a dissertation on “The Life and Times of the Prophet Habakkuk”, and in the spring of 1842 as a non-stipendiary lecturer (*Privatdozent*) he acquired his post-doctoral qualification (habilitation). In the summer semester he began his teaching with lectures on the prophet Isaiah (five hours weekly). In the years that followed several chances of a chair came to nothing: in Leipzig and Halle Gesenius’s pupils F. Tuch and H. Hupfeld were preferred, in Breslau and Königsberg he blocked his path by insisting on his special position as a Lutheran in a Uniate environment.<sup>89</sup>

However, his path soon took him to places of unimpeachable orthodoxy, indeed to the very centres of the “neo-Lutheranism” which was developing at that time. In 1846 he became the successor in Rostock of J. C. K. (von) Hofmann, who had gone to Erlangen, and in 1850 he was himself already able to move to Erlangen’s wider sphere of influence, then returning in 1857 to his own university of Leipzig. There, together with K. F. A. Kahnis and E. Luthardt, he from that time on formed the “Leipzig Lutheran triumvirate”, which proved a magnet whose attraction reached far beyond Saxony, indeed even beyond Germany and Europe.

Wherever he had taught, the memory of Delitzsch remained alive for many decades. In the nineteenth century, and even into the twentieth, hardly any Old Testament scholar, at least in the German-speaking world, had a wider and deeper influence than Delitzsch on generations of students, and hence on future clergy. Of unrelenting industry, he was enormously well read, and generously

<sup>87</sup> Delitzsch, *Selbstbiographie* (1883), 10.

<sup>88</sup> Köhler, *Delitzsch* (1898), 567.

<sup>89</sup> Cf. Rengstorff, *Sache* (1967).



made the treasures of his knowledge available to others. He was a brilliant and attractive speaker, but students did not only get to know him in the lecture-room. In the *Lausitz Predigergesellschaft* (a forerunner of the later seminary) he presided over the Hebrew department, founded an English Exegetical Society (which soon mutated into an “Anglo-American Exegetical Society”) and above all held teaching sessions in the *Institutum Judaicum*, which had already been preceded by a “Jewish Circle”.

### 3.2. In Discussion

When in 1842 Delitzsch applied for a professorial chair in Prussia, he approached the powerful Hengstenberg with a request for support, writing to him:

... I may truly say that now I live and move in your writings, that your Old Testament exegetical works from the Christology to Balaam are my favourite reading, that I have learnt from them – and am still learning – the goals I have to strive for, and that I praise and thank God of all grace who has granted you, for the glory of his Name and in so rich a measure, the charismata of discernment and interpretation.<sup>90</sup>

A good ten years later he could also judge severely and soberly: “Hengstenberg is an advocate but not an apologist. And is he not still standing just where he already stood 20 years ago? Not a trace of receptivity for the theological progress which is taking place independently of his person”.<sup>91</sup> In substance Delitzsch was indebted to Hengstenberg for a great deal, but when in his own Psalm commentary, for example, he called Hengstenberg’s commentary “my foundation and my model”<sup>92</sup> that did not mean that he did not deviate from him in many details. Between the two scholars there was a continual give and take, but that only brought out all the more clearly the fundamental attitude they shared. Hengstenberg would have been able readily to agree with Delitzsch when, early on, the latter belatedly took up cudgels in one of the most famous theological disputes of the past: “Nay, in Lessing’s dispute with J.M. Goeze the latter is on the side of God while the other with demonic wit furthers the cause of the Devil”.<sup>93</sup> Like Hengstenberg, Delitzsch took his stand firmly on the foundation of the Lutheran Confession, but without sticking fast in the rigidity which is a continual threat to confessionalism; for him, it went against the grain “to fence round theology with the letter of the Formula of Concord”.<sup>94</sup> He fought against “rationalism” as vehemently as did Hengstenberg, but with greater elasticity and more systematic reflection, and he also entered more fully into the suggestions offered by the theology by which he was surrounded.

In this surrounding field, the most important man was Johann Christian Konrad von Hofmann (1819–1877), whom Delitzsch succeeded in Rostock in 1846 and with whom, when they were colleagues in Erlangen (from 1850 to 1867), he

<sup>90</sup> 12.11.1842, cf. Bonwetsch, *Aus vierzig Jahren Deutscher Kirchengeschichte* (1917), 45.

<sup>91</sup> Wagner, *Delitzsch* (1978), 78 with n. 89.

<sup>92</sup> Delitzsch, *Psalmen* (<sup>1</sup>1859), XIV.

<sup>93</sup> Delitzsch, *Unglaube*, 1 (1840), 98 n. 1.

<sup>94</sup> Köhler, *Delitzsch* (1898), 569.

carried on a lively exchange of views. Even while he was still in Rostock, he entered into intensive discussion over Hofmann's first main work (published 1841–1844), *Weissagung und Erfüllung im Alten und Neuen Testament* ("Prophecy and Fulfilment in the Old and the New Testament"). Hofmann's second book, *Der Schriftbeweis* ("scriptural Proof") appeared under Delitzsch's eye, so to speak, while they were both in Erlangen (1852–1855, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. 1857–1860). In Erlangen their exchange was not merely by word of mouth; it also took the form of private letters, written over a period of four years. They wrote these letters down successively in three notebooks and they were published after Delitzsch's death.<sup>95</sup> In these letters Delitzsch, who had leanings towards psychology, depicted their different characters: "You have a more dialectical turn of mind, mine is more mystical. For me, you dissect ideas too much, for you I talk too much in images. For me you are too discursive, for you I am too rhetorical, and conceptually too cloudy and indistinct. And yet by writing in this way I am dissecting ideas myself".<sup>96</sup> One might add, also with a little exaggeration, that Hofmann was more of a systematist (he was incidentally a historian of the Ranke school), while Delitzsch was more of an exegete. Delitzsch put nothing comparable over against the concept of "salvation history" which Hofmann developed in contrast to Hegel's system and in closer proximity to Schelling's, but he grappled with it on the basis of fundamental agreement in essential points, although on his side, too, a strong systematic temperament made itself felt. Looking at it from Hofmann's standpoint, Hengstenberg's "Christology" seemed to him "more rhapsodical than systematic", not "a presentation of the progress of salvific revelation as it grows within history by virtue of the divine workings in it and above it, and ripens towards its consummation".<sup>97</sup> He found this exposition in Hofmann, and he set it knowledgeably into the context of theological history, and with it the fundamental features of his own "salvation history" thinking as well:

The notion of an organic development of salvation with which Bengel was already familiar (for example he compares God's promises with a tree, whose furrows and grain become all the clearer the lower down they are) but which he did not feel capable of developing; the idea often expressed by Crusius<sup>98</sup> "that underlying the whole of Holy Scripture we have to see an underlying *historical plan*, and must see it as a divinely established, gradual development of such a kind that by virtue of this plan, one part can always join on to another, but that it is only together that they constitute a whole" – it is only in Hofmann's works that this idea ... arrives for the first time at a truly splendid realization. For that very reason ... the significant and epoch-making feature of this work (whose author is as historian so particularly well endowed) is that from beginning to end it shows with the strictest consistency how the divine revelations join closely on to the *history* of the Patriarchs and of the people of Israel, indeed that they have grown *in it, with it and out of it*, just as the sacred history, and indeed all history, following a divine process of development, forms a whole which moves towards its completion in organic continuity, its beginning being the foreshadowing of Christ, its centre being his appearance, and its end the transfiguration of the community of his people. Its essential content, therefore, is the self-presentation of Christ in the world – a total view

<sup>95</sup> Volck, Briefe (1891).

<sup>96</sup> Volck, Briefe (1891), 75. Cf. Wagner, Delitzsch (1978), 81f, and K. BEYSLAG, *Die Erlanger Theologie* (EKGB 67; Erlangen: Martin-Luther-Verlag 1993), 76f.

<sup>97</sup> Delitzsch, *Die bibl.-proph. Theologie* (1845), 166f.

<sup>98</sup> C. A. Crusius (1715–75); cf. A. BEUTEL, RGG<sup>4</sup> II, 502.

which, as we soon become aware in reading the work,<sup>99</sup> is already prepared for by Schleiermacher's contemplation of the world and history and which by Olshausen<sup>100</sup> is already developed exegetically in many directions, and conceptually shaped.<sup>101</sup>

Delitzsch objected that Hofmann's conception found too little space for both divine and human freedom:

as well as God's immanence, his transcendence; as well as the presence of his power, the presence of his grace; as well as the workings of God which through nature are active in all history, his supernatural workings, through which, without any abrogation of human freedom, he prophetically prepares in history the consummation of his eternal resolve for redemption, as he wills, where he wills and as far as he wills.<sup>102</sup>

Hofmann, Delitzsch writes,<sup>103</sup> would have almost "abandoned the church's doctrine of the Trinity and the Person of Christ in favour of the seductive dogmas of a pantheistic philosophy of nature such as Schleiermacher introduced into theology". Not least, Delitzsch finds that in Hofmann the Old and New Testaments are not put in the correct relationship to each other in a number of points, though somewhat subsidiary ones. He sums up his own position by saying: "The Old Testament shows us man at the beginnings of his sonship but still under the enslaving tutelage of the Law, the New Testament shows him in the completion of his sonship, as a fully responsible human being".<sup>104</sup> An additional point is that Delitzsch – though not alone, nor as the only representative of the Erlangen faculty – protested vehemently against Hofmann's denial of the doctrine of Christ's sufferings as vicarious punishment.<sup>105</sup>

His objections did not prevent him from adopting Hofmann's programme in its essentials, indeed from implementing it in the course of his exegesis to some extent more knowledgeably and imaginatively than Hofmann was ever able to do. Here one characteristic which his favourite pupil Baudissin describes stood him in good stead: "What he sees becomes for him the image of something else, and he does not think of things as they really are but in the form of the image ... In Delitzsch, Erlangen typology has grown up out of his own way of thinking and living: like his own life and the life of those whom he loves, for him the whole history of mankind is type and antitype".<sup>106</sup> The play with these and similar categories within the organism of biblical salvation history as a whole also made Delitzsch continually postulate as necessary, facts whose actual existence was disputed by historical criticism. Here the words "must", or "had to", which we frequently encounter in him, are characteristic.<sup>107</sup> The inevitable result was a conflict with historical criticism, since for that the important thing "was not so much what *had to* happen as what really did happen".<sup>108</sup>

<sup>99</sup> Weissagung und Erfüllung (1841–1844).

<sup>100</sup> H. Olshausen (1796–1839); cf. A. CHRISTOPHERSEN, RGG<sup>4</sup> VI, 553 f.

<sup>101</sup> Delitzsch, Die bibl.-proph. Theologie (1845), 170f.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid. 187.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid. 215f.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid. 244.

<sup>105</sup> Commentar zum Briefe an die Hebräer (1857), 708–746.

<sup>106</sup> Baudissin, Review (1899), 164.

<sup>107</sup> Wagner, Delitzsch (1978), 339.

<sup>108</sup> J. WELLSHAUSEN, *Geschichte Israels*, I (Berlin: Reimer 1878), 48 (against Nöldeke).

It may well be that in Delitzsch the exegetical temperament outweighed the systematic one, yet he by no means lacked the gift of systematic presentation. In Erlangen, his prescribed teaching covered Christian apologetics as well as Old Testament exegesis (and ethics), the outcome being his *System der christlichen Apologetik* (1869) – by no means a minor work if we view<sup>109</sup> apologetics and mission, both understood in a wide sense, as the main motivation behind his scholarly work. But here, above all, the *System der biblischen Psychologie* must be mentioned. This, beginning with Tertullian, was able to build on several earlier drafts,<sup>110</sup> but for all that, it was in its own way new, and without for its own part laying the foundation for any real tradition; nevertheless, H. W. Wolff cites it as the earliest forerunner of his *Anthropologie des Alten Testaments*.<sup>111</sup> In seven chapters Delitzsch discusses: the eternal presuppositions (pre-existence and so forth); creation; the Fall; natural human existence; rebirth; death and the intermediate state; the resurrection and the consummation. This, therefore, is a “biblical theology” (although Delitzsch found the term “extremely awkward”<sup>112</sup>) which takes its bearings from a salvation-history dogmatics and which converges on the conditions and experiences of the human soul. The book contains an immense wealth of material: on almost every page Delitzsch engages in discussion with theologians and philosophers, but also with scientists past and present. Both here and elsewhere, we see the marked influence of the lapsed Catholic Anton Günther (1783–1863), whose works were for years Delitzsch’s “favourite reading”.<sup>113</sup> He also shows a characteristic sympathy for the Göttingen zoologist Rudolph Wagner (1805–1864), with whom he was at one in his opposition to Darwin and materialism.<sup>114</sup>

Delitzsch had a good number of discussion partners in his own camp, another one of whom at least deserves special mention: Michael Baumgarten (1812–1889). Baumgarten was a pupil of Hengstenberg’s but then moved closer to Hofmann. In 1850 Delitzsch recommended Rostock to invite this highly original “lone wolf” to be his successor, sensing from his *Theologischer Kommentar zum Pentateuch* (1834/1844) the breath of a “vernal spirit”, an impression which “pervaded” him – “exegetical scholastic” though he was – even more in his personal contacts with him.<sup>115</sup> His description of Baumgarten’s commentary no doubt also includes an element of self-description, even if perhaps somewhat idealized:

For him scripture confronts the soul as a living testimony to the divine life which has entered into history, and in this life, which has become forfeited to the past though not to death, he seeks to immerse himself, in order not merely to contemplate it from a standpoint outside himself, but in

<sup>109</sup> With Wagner, Delitzsch (1978), 415.

<sup>110</sup> Cf. “Geschichte der biblischen Psychologie”, in: Delitzsch, *System* (2<sup>nd</sup> edn. 1861), 3–10.

<sup>111</sup> Munich 1973, 15, n. 8 (*Anthropology of the Old Testament*, tr. Margaret Kohl; London / Philadelphia 1974, 2, n. 8).

<sup>112</sup> *System* (2<sup>nd</sup> edn. 1861), 15.

<sup>113</sup> Foreword to the first edition of *System*; cf. Wagner, Delitzsch (1978) 439f; W. ROGERSON, *Old Testament Criticism in the Nineteenth Century. England and Germany* (London: SPCK 1984), 114–117.

<sup>114</sup> *System* (2<sup>nd</sup> edn. 1861) 20f.

<sup>115</sup> Wagner, Delitzsch (1978), 75, n. 86.

order to experience it for himself as a life that is present but which has its sights set on the future.<sup>116</sup>

The fact that historical-critical exegesis was outside Baumgarten's sphere of interest was of course no stumbling block for Delitzsch, but what did constitute an impediment were his activities in secular and church politics. In the long run these alienated him from his friend both theologically and personally, and even led him to criticize Baumgarten publicly.<sup>117</sup>

### 3.3. *Judaism*

If mission may be held to be one of the main motivations for Delitzsch's scholarly work, then it was above all mission to the Jews; and for him the study of Judaism was at the service of that mission. He made this unequivocally plain from the outset, in a direct address to "the men of Judah":

It is in order to preach to you the gospel of Christ crucified, and for no other purpose and with no other motivation, that I have begun to learn your languages and to examine your literature. And now too, apart from the supreme purpose of my studies which is to serve the church of God, I know no other goal than exhort you untiringly, with confident reasoning, to accept Jesus Christ, the one whom you rejected. Consider the greatness and purity of the love for the unending and holiest Good which (if it be possible) I wish to transplant among you. If you fail to recognize this love, then either you are held captive in the age-old darkness, or you have been blinded by the new Enlightenment.<sup>118</sup>

It may well be that never before had any Protestant theologian "so clearly perceived the task of encountering present-day Judaism" as did Delitzsch, and that he was filled with "a profound yearning" "that the wall of partition between synagogue and church might at last be broken down".<sup>119</sup> But not to add immediately that for Delitzsch the indispensable purpose and goal of this proceeding was the acceptance of Jesus Christ by the Jews is to fall short of the facts, indeed to falsify them. The most understanding appreciation of Delitzsch from the Jewish side is the obituary written by the highly regarded Budapest historian and philologist David Kaufmann, and he cannot avoid the judgment that "Franz Delitzsch was no friend of Judaism". The reason he gives is that

to unite church and synagogue – which means allowing Judaism to disappear in Christianity – to bring Christ closer to the Jews, to spread the gospel in Israel: that was the great passion of his heart, the task he dreamed of and for which he watched, the centre of gravity of everything he did and strove for. If in his scholarship he was wholly light, in this, his life's calling, he was wholly flame.<sup>120</sup>

This is not the place to describe that calling;<sup>121</sup> here it must suffice to point to the most important of the bodies and undertakings he set on foot: the periodical *Saat*

<sup>116</sup> Die bibl.-proph. Theologie (1845), 269.

<sup>117</sup> Delitzsch / v. Scheurl, Sache (1858); cf. Wagner, Delitzsch (1978), 79f.

<sup>118</sup> Delitzsch, Wissenschaft, Kunst, Judenthum (1838), 7f.

<sup>119</sup> H.-J. KRAUS, *Geschichte der historisch-kritischen Erforschung des Alten Testaments* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener <sup>3</sup>1982), 230.

<sup>120</sup> Kaufmann, Delitzsch (1890), 302.

<sup>121</sup> Instead cf. Wagner, Delitzsch (1978), 148–166.

*auf Hoffnung* (“sowing in Hope”, from 1863 onwards – the title hints that rapid success was not expected), the *Evangelisch-lutherischer Centralverein für die Mission unter Israel* (from 1870 onwards), and the Leipzig *Institutum Judaicum* (1866). In this framework Delitzsch published prolifically, right up to his last book *Messianische Weissagungen in geschichtlicher Folge* (1890), which according to the foreword was intended to be a “vademecum” for the missionaries. Decades of work went into the translation – designed for the Jews – of the New Testament into the Hebrew of the Mishnah and the early Midrash (first edition 1877, ten editions during Delitzsch’s lifetime).<sup>122</sup> Today one picks this up as a curiosity, but is so quickly enthralled by the remarkable undertaking that it is hard to stop reading.

It remains a noteworthy fact that it was often especially Jews highly conscious of their Judaism who were not prevented by Delitzsch’s theory and practice of mission from respecting and indeed revering him, not only as the best non-Jewish authority on Judaism at that time, but also as a great and sincere friend of Israel. In spite of the judgment quoted above, David Kaufmann finds it a comforting idea that Delitzsch’s name “will remain a symbol of reconciliation, and for future generations a model to be emulated”. What Delitzsch did “was enough to make his name live on unforgotten in the pages of Jewish history, and it will be gratefully extolled wherever Jewish hearts beat. His achievements will continue to make him a testimony to Israel and her champion, and will win friends for us beyond the grave”.<sup>123</sup>

Kaufmann is already full of praise, indeed admiration, for the early “achievements” of Delitzsch “the Judaist”, as we should call him today, and indeed for these particularly:

Anyone who contemplates the first fruits of his activity as writer would, unless he knew from elsewhere the religious affiliation of its author, deduce that he was himself a Jew, not only because of the plenitude of his magisterial learning but pre-eminently because of the warmth and inward sympathy of his often entrancing style. Just as the soaring note of the lark heralds the spring, so his first book, *Zur Geschichte der jüdischen Poesie vom Abschluß der heiligen Schriften Alten Bundes bis auf die neueste Zeit*, the prologue to which is dated 1<sup>st</sup> May 1836, is a vernal day for the appreciation and evaluation of the Jewish mind and Hebrew poetry. A young man of Christian faith, barely 24 years old, came before his contemporaries in order to tell of the Sleeping Beauty of forgotten loveliness whom he had discovered behind the thickets of the primeval forest of Jewish writings hitherto lost to the world, thickets through which he knew how to cut his way with fiery energy and resolute power. Everywhere he was at home. He had searched the Talmud and the Midrashim, had drunk delight from the enchanted wells of mediaeval Spanish poets, and had scanned with a critical eye the late fruits and belated shoots of modern times. Here standards and categories of classical literary history were applied for the first time to phenomena which had never hitherto been considered from such standpoints. Astounded, the non-Jewish world learnt from this book “that the Hebrew language had never died out but lives on in the freshness of immortal youth”, that it had unremittingly developed a wealth of poetic types and forms which must surely be the envy of many of the living, giving vivid and versatile expression to the richest variety of their content, spiritual and secular, through the sequence of the times. Dukes, Sachs and Zunz had not yet hewn out the building-blocks of Jewish literary history at the time when the Christian scholar came forward in order to elevate to the heights the structure pieced together by his mind and spirit.<sup>124</sup>

<sup>122</sup> Cf. *ibid.* 167–180.

<sup>123</sup> Kaufmann, Delitzsch (1890), 306.

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.* 292f; cf. in-depth C. WIESE, *Wissenschaft des Judentums und protestantische Theologie im*

The early synthesis did not mean an end to the work even in this partial sector. On the contrary, Delitzsch continued to be associated with post-biblical Judaism in its full extent as researcher, teacher and writer, never shrinking from the drudgery of the philologist, textual scholar and editor, and gladly working together with Jewish colleagues.<sup>125</sup> In the long run this activity was of course overshadowed in more than one respect by his work on the Bible, but even there it was always present, on various levels. In Delitzsch's biblical exegesis, Jewish material, Jewish methods and Jewish theology come to the fore more than they do in the case of any of his contemporaries, at least Christian ones. To cite Kaufmann once more: "His dazzling familiarity with rabbinic literature and post-biblical Hebrew makes of his exegetical works, even for the Jewish scholar, sources which he will always consult with profit, in addition to national interpreters".<sup>126</sup>

### 3.4. *Exegesis and Criticism*

In Delitzsch's literary production the lion's share is taken by his commentaries, and it is also through these that for generations he exerted – and still exerts – an influence in conservative circles. After two initial attempts – Habakkuk (1843) and the Song of Songs (1851) – in 1852 his Genesis appeared and was followed by a considerably altered second edition in 1853. In 1859–1860 came the Psalter, and then the series in the *Biblischer Kommentar*: in 1864 Job, in 1866 Isaiah, in 1867 the Psalms, in 1873 Proverbs, and in 1875 the Song of Songs and Ecclesiastes. The charm of these volumes for receptive readers, even of another way of thinking, then and occasionally even today, may be indicated by the characterization of the Job commentary by a reviewer, who in what he says explicitly indicates that he also means "the character of the others". The reviewer is Wellhausen:

What most strikes the reader is the author's extensive reading. He knows and takes into account everything that has been said by Church Fathers, by Rabbis and Reformers, of course also by the great Catholic and Protestant founders of Old Testament scholarship, but no less by the English, French and German writings on the book which have appeared [in recent times]. The result is an astonishing wealth of viewpoints. Where Ewald, his eye only on the text in its immediate context, moves consistently straight forward, Delitzsch looks about him to every side, leaving no flower unplucked, even if it is blooming somewhat far from the path. He has an almost old-Dutch pleasure in learning as such, not least in modern learning, in the Arabic etymologies and grammatical elucidations of the Leipzig school, in Assyrian parallels, in the results offered by the most recent dissertations and monographs. It is inevitable that in this lavishly planted garden not all the flowers yield honey; one must, like the bees, turn for preference to the least conspicuous. The parallels and quotations, but especially the syntactical and stylistic comments, are original and sometimes brilliant, depending as they do on a thorough observation of the linguistic usage ... All in all, the greater part of what the author offers is careful and well-weighed, and if one does not always learn something about the point that is really in question (for example in the etymologies), one is sure to learn something or other on almost every page. And the time is surely past when one did not *want* to learn anything from Delitzsch because he attempts to unite his scholarly conviction with the

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*wilhelminischen Deutschland: ein Schrei ins Leere* (SWALBI 61; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 1999), 99–111, 123–30.

<sup>125</sup> Kaufmann, Delitzsch (1890) offers a sovereign survey.

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.* 297.

church's tradition and thereby sometimes gets into difficulties. It is enough that he *has* a scholarly conviction, as is proved by the very fact that it brings him into conflict.<sup>127</sup>

A few years later Wellhausen would probably no longer have expressed his criticism in such friendly terms. After his *Prolegomena* of 1878 the differences in Old Testament scholarship became increasingly acute, and the "difficulties" in which Delitzsch had up to then sometimes been involved assumed a threatening character. In spite of all his reservations, grave though these often were, Delitzsch had never simply condemned or ignored the historical criticism which had been initiated by the young de Wette; in his just cited review, Wellhausen could note, for example, that Delitzsch gave way as to the authenticity of the Elihu speeches,<sup>128</sup> and when Eduard Reuß read the Isaiah commentary "he was quite astonished at how much was really conceded".<sup>129</sup> At the same time, the criticism there could largely speaking be more or less contained; Delitzsch still remarked quite tranquilly, even in the last edition of the commentary, that its influence "on the exegesis in the book of Isaiah was as good as none".<sup>130</sup> But Moses and the Pentateuch were from the beginning not quite the same as the rest of the Old Testament, and when Wellhausen lodged his great attack Delitzsch was profoundly alarmed. In the summer of 1882, a Scottish minister named Smith visited Germany so that he could report on these events to his own countrymen. He first visited Wellhausen and Zöckler in Greifswald and then "the venerable Franz Delitzsch at Leipzig". Delitzsch seemed to him

to be more deeply stirred upon the whole subject than almost anyone else that I met with ... "I am an adversary", Delitzsch said to me, "both of his [Wellhausen's] conclusions, and even more of the spirit in which he deals with the Old Testament history. Certainly", he said, "if his conclusions be true, the Old Testament cannot in any distinctive sense be the Word of God; but many critics have no proper idea of what that phrase – the Word of God – necessarily implies. And", after a pause, he added, with great earnestness and evident emotion, "that [sic!] some of them do not realize the position which they assume when they trouble with their speculations the Church of God". Again and again he repeated, in his deep guttural tones, the phrase, "Troubling the church of God".<sup>131</sup>

And to Baudissin Delitzsch quoted the Mishnah (Soṭa IX 15): "The face of the last age [before the End] will be as the face of the dog'. This whole book [Wellhausen's *Prolegomena*] has just such a dog's face; it is bristling throughout with cynical impudence".<sup>132</sup>

But he also threw himself into exegetical work, writing two series of articles for Luthardt's *Zeitschrift für kirchliche Wissenschaft und kirchliches Leben* entitled "Pentateuch-kritische Studien" (1, 1880) and "Urmosaisches im Pentateuch" (3, 1882), and once more working through his Genesis commentary so

<sup>127</sup> J. WELLHAUSEN, Review of F. Delitzsch, *Biblicher Commentar über die poetischen Bücher des ATs II. Das Buch Hiob*, *ThLZ* 2 (1877) 73–77, quotation 73.

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.* 73.

<sup>129</sup> Ed. REUSS, *Briefwechsel mit seinem Schüler und Freunde K.H. Graf* (ed. K. Budde / H.J. Holtzmann; Gießen: Ricker 1904), 582.

<sup>130</sup> Delitzsch, *Jesaia* (1866), 30.

<sup>131</sup> (Anonymous), "Wellhausen and his position", *The Christian Church. A Journal of Defense of Christian Truth* 2 (1882) 366–369, here 368.

<sup>132</sup> Delitzsch / Baudissin (1973), 440, cf. 509.



thoroughly that it could be published in 1887 as *Neuer Commentar über die Genesis*. It is true that in the foreword he emphasized that “the spirit of this commentary ... has remained the same unchanged since 1852”, but he declared that it was “not so much the differing results of the analysis which divide those working on it as the differing religious attitude to Holy Scripture and the differing evaluation of the results for religious history”;<sup>133</sup> and in saying this, he was in his own way drawing the appropriate conclusion from the fact that he had let himself be convinced in essential points by Wellhausen. Years before, his first clear concession<sup>134</sup> had already been noted by Wellhausen with satisfaction.<sup>135</sup> Later, Eduard Meyer called it “a proof of the power of the scholarly conscience for which no praise is too high” that “a few years after the appearance of Wellhausen’s work [Delitzsch] acknowledged its results without reserve, revised his whole life’s work, and found a way to reconcile the new interpretation with orthodoxy”.<sup>136</sup>

But is it really certain that for Delitzsch the matter could in the end be settled so simply? In one of the last definitions of his position he certainly concedes that “in some biblical questions [he] is bound to contradict the traditional view”, but he emphasizes in strong terms that he sees his standpoint as “nevertheless lying on this side of the ditch”<sup>137</sup> – in other words, he is still on Goeze’s side in irreconcilable opposition to Lessing. His swan song, *Messianische Weissagungen in geschichtlicher Folge*, does indeed contain concessions to the results of modern criticism, yet “the structure follows almost entirely the old pattern which has been overturned by modern literary criticism”.<sup>138</sup> Delitzsch died on 4 March 1890, and his last words were somewhat resigned: “I have had my time, but it is past”.<sup>139</sup>

*Translated by Margaret Kohl, MA MLitt*

<sup>133</sup> Delitzsch, *Genesis* (1887), 17.

<sup>134</sup> ZKWL 1 (1880) 620.

<sup>135</sup> J. WELLHAUSEN, “Israel”, *EncBr*<sup>9</sup> XIII, 369–431, here 419, n. 1.

<sup>136</sup> ED. MEYER, *Geschichte des Altertums*, II/2 (Stuttgart; Cotta, 3<sup>rd</sup> edn. 1953), 189, n. 1.

<sup>137</sup> Delitzsch, *Graben* (1890), 18.

<sup>138</sup> C. SIEGFRIED, Review of F. Delitzsch, *Messianische Weissagungen*, *ThLZ* 15 (1890) 419f, here 420.

<sup>139</sup> Delitzsch / Baudissin (1973), 534. Similarly, earlier, to M. Rade; see Wagner, *Delitzsch* (1978), 428.

## CHAPTER NINETEEN

# Studies on the Historical Books – Including Their Relationship to the Pentateuch

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## 1. The Historical Books

In Old Testament research in the nineteenth century, the phrase “the historical books” has, most often, a broad meaning comprising Genesis–2 Kings, Chronicles, and Ezra–Nehemiah, and in some studies also Ruth and Esther.<sup>1</sup> However,

<sup>1</sup> E.g. de Wette, *Lehrbuch* (1852), Bleek, *Einleitung* (1865), König, *Einleitung* (1893), include all these books in their discussion of the historical books. Nöldeke, *Die Alttestamentliche Literatur* (1868), adds the Maccabees, but excludes Esther. Graf, *Die geschichtlichen Bücher* (1866), discusses

one can also find it used in a much narrower sense comprising Genesis–2 Kings, when Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemiah, as well as Ruth and Esther, are subsumed under the Hagiographies.<sup>2</sup> The inclusion of Esther in the historical books is rare, probably because it was regarded as a novel and thus as historically unreliable.<sup>3</sup> The appraisal of Ruth varies:<sup>4</sup> Some scholars interpret it as a polemic voice from postexilic times, written in opposition to the rigorous reactions of Ezra to marriages of the Israelites with foreign women.<sup>5</sup> Others contend that Ruth is older and was originally an addition to Judges,<sup>6</sup> alternatively that a late redactor placed it between Judges and 1 Samuel in order to inform on the ancestors of David.<sup>7</sup> Most researchers, however, argue that Ruth never had that position in the Hebrew Canon; therefore they do not include Ruth in the historical books.<sup>8</sup>

It may, then, seem appropriate to exclude Ruth and Esther from our discussion; and since the title separates between the Pentateuch and the historical books, we shall focus on Joshua–2 Kings, Chronicles, and Ezra–Nehemiah. “Their relationship to the Pentateuch” may be interpreted in a broad sense, including questions related to sources, authorship, reliability, and thematic/theological connections. This would correspond to the main concerns of research in the nineteenth century. The vast amount of literature makes a comprehensive survey of it impossible; and we shall pay special attention to works that were innovative or marked turning points in the field, and examine their impact on research.<sup>9</sup> For obvious reasons, we shall deal with studies on Joshua–2 Kings, Chronicles, and Ezra–Nehemiah respectively in three separate sections.

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only Genesis to 2 Kings and Chronicles, which is, however, probably due to his sharply limited approach, cf. *Vorwort*, V–VIII. Wildeboer, *Die Literatur* (1895), does not include Ruth, Esther and the Maccabees. Driver, *Introduction* (1897), subsumes Ruth and Esther under the five Megilloth. Kuenen, *Einleitung* (1887/1890), speaks of the Hexateuch and applies *die historischen Bücher* to Judges through 2 Kings, Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemiah, Ruth and Esther. Wellhausen, *Prolegomena* (1886) 175–176, holds a similar view, but does not include Ruth and Esther. Cornill, *Einleitung* (1891), in the 7<sup>th</sup> edition (1913), applies the phrase *historische Bücher*, which comprises the Pentateuch, Joshua to 2 Kings, Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemiah, Ruth, Esther.

<sup>2</sup> E.g. Strack, *Einleitung* (4<sup>th</sup> 1895).

<sup>3</sup> See e.g. Kautzsch, *Abriss* (1897), 116; Cornill, *Einleitung* (1891), 251–253; cf. König, *Einleitung* (1893), 289; Graf Baudissin, *Einleitung* (1901), 306–307.

<sup>4</sup> König, *Einleitung* (1893), 286–289, gives a survey of the discussion, which shows how difficult it was to provide good arguments for a precise date for Ruth.

<sup>5</sup> E.g. Vatke, *Einleitung* (1886), 439–440; Kautzsch, *Abriss* (1897), 115; Nowack, *Richter–Ruth* (1900), 184; Graf Baudissin, *Einleitung* (1901), 303.

<sup>6</sup> E.g. Nöldeke, *Die Alttestamentliche Literatur* (1868), 45–46.

<sup>7</sup> So, e.g. Bertheau, *Das Buch der Richter und Ruth* (1883), 290–294.

<sup>8</sup> See references in Bertheau, *ibid.* 291–292. Cf. Wellhausen, *Prolegomena* (1886), 175; Driver, *Introduction* (1897), 4; Nowack, *Richter–Ruth* (1900), 185; Graf Baudissin, *Einleitung* (1901), 302–303.

<sup>9</sup> Most of the studies discussed in this article were produced by Protestant scholars in Germany. There were exceptions, such as the Catholic scholars F.C. Movers and A. Van Hoonacker, and towards the end of the century British and other researchers outside Germany gave significant contributions to research in the field, see 2.4, 2.6, 2.7.3, 3.3, 4.2. below, and further Peltonen, *History Debated* (1996), 576–587; cf. Kraus, *Geschichte* (1982), 377–379. Jewish Bible critics were more concerned with the Pentateuch and the question of Mosaic authorship, see Bechtoldt, *Die jüdische Bibelkritik* (1995), 439–454; Stemberger, *Schriftauslegung* (1999), 452–454; in the field of historiography, see Kraus, *Geschichte* (1982), 273–274.

## 2. Joshua–2 Kings

In the first decades of the nineteenth century source criticism was increasingly exerting its influence on research on Joshua–2 Kings.<sup>10</sup> There seemed to be a widespread scholarly opinion that Joshua was composed of the same sources as Genesis–Numbers: E (the Elohist) and J (the Jehovist). Most researchers considered the former source as the older (*die Urschrift*), which was later reworked by J. This view was first and foremost based on terminological and theological arguments, but also contradictions and tensions in the texts substantiated it. As for Joshua, it was contended that J could not have ended with the death of Moses, and that the promises to the ancestors were fulfilled only after Israel's conquest of the land (Josh 21:43).<sup>11</sup> Such arguments were basic to the Hexateuch theory, which became a central issue later in the century.<sup>12</sup> In Judges the identification of sources was more problematic, but it was a widespread view that the Jehovist occurs in this book as well, because of the close thematic connection between the end of Joshua and the beginning of Judges.<sup>13</sup> It was also contended by some scholars that this source continues in Samuel; it was supposed to be one of the two sources that relate the emergence of the monarchy.<sup>14</sup> Moreover, since the David narrative in Samuel covers 1 Kings 1–2 as well, the idea emerged that the source relating the David narrative in Samuel continues in 1 Kings 1–2.<sup>15</sup> There was a short step from these observations to the assumption that there is a close literary relationship between these books and also a common authorship of them; scholars launched theories about a comprehensive (deuteronomistic) history work. Such discussions included the question of the historical reliability of the sources, especially in cases where they present different accounts of the conquest of the land, as in Joshua and Judges respectively.<sup>16</sup>

This situation in research took new directions when W. M. L. de Wette's studies appeared in the two first decades of the century.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>10</sup> As for the importance of J. G. Eichhorn's *Einleitung* (1780–83) in this regard, see Rogerson, *Bibelwissenschaft* (1980), 356–357; cf. Smend, *Deutsche Alttestamentler* (1989), 29–37.

<sup>11</sup> A brief survey of research can be found in Kautzsch, *Abriss* (1897), 27–31. See also the references in de Wette, *Lehrbuch* (1852), 203, 207, 210; Graf, *Die geschichtlichen Bücher* (1866), 95; Nöldeke, *Die Alttestamentliche Literatur* (1868), 22, 27–28, 30–31.

<sup>12</sup> See 2.6. below.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. de Wette, *Lehrbuch* (1852), 218; Nöldeke, *ibid.* 42–43.

<sup>14</sup> E.g. Stähelin, see the reference in de Wette, *Lehrbuch* (1852), 226–228; cf. Nöldeke, *ibid.* 48.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Nöldeke, *ibid.* 51.

<sup>16</sup> E.g. Ewald, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, I (1843), 204–205, 215ff, argued, on the basis of the similarities between Judg 2:6–23 and 2 Kgs 17:7–23, that the final author of Judges is the author of Samuel and Kings; similarly Bertheau, *Das Buch der Richter und Ruth* (1883), XXX–XXXI, who, however, distinguishes between a deuteronomistic reworking and a final redaction. See also Graf, *Die geschichtlichen Bücher* (1866), 108–113, and the discussion below.

<sup>17</sup> De Wette, *Beiträge*, I–II (1806–1807); *idem*, *Lehrbuch* (1817).

### 2.1. *Deuteronomy Re-dated. Consequences for the Interpretation of the Historical Books: W. M. L. de Wette*

When W. M. L. de Wette launched a new theory on the history and the composition of the Pentateuch, based on the view that Deuteronomy was the latest of the sources in it, it had consequences for his interpretation of how Joshua gained its final shape. Joshua, he argued, especially the first part (chaps. 1–12), is mostly deuteronomistic,<sup>18</sup> which means that it shares, among other features, the deuteronomistic view on worship (e.g. Josh 9:23, 27; cf. Deut 12:11). The second part (until Joshua 21), however, is partly elohistic, partly deuteronomistic, and the last three chapters are elohistic and jehovistic. Joshua, as a whole, is theocratic in its orientation and based on the law in Deuteronomy; its author intended to present history as the fulfilment of the divine promises in the preceding books. Thus Joshua completes what is related in these books, and is closely linked to them. It follows that since Deuteronomy is later than Genesis–Numbers, Joshua, in its present shape, must also be much later than scholars until then had assumed. The author is the Deuteronomist and there are only few and weak arguments for alternative views.<sup>19</sup>

With Judges it is different; parts of it present a reliable historical tradition, where it is easy to see the ideological difference between this book and Joshua, whereas other, large parts (Judg 2:6–16:31) are closely related to J and Joshua. Another large part, the “addition” (*Anhang*) in Judges 17–21, is characterized by non-theocratic views, lack of mythology, and terminological peculiarities, which all suggest a high age of the oldest minor parts; the present shape, however, was probably formed after Genesis–Numbers, perhaps even in the time of Deuteronomy. Thus the author, who is neither J nor the Deuteronomist, built on older sources and reworked them in a late period of time.<sup>20</sup>

In Samuel, a striking feature is that mythology including miracles is present only to a limited extent. The narrative, especially in 2 Samuel, has a genuine character and is based on living, reliable oral tradition. Duplicates and contradictions, as well as explicit references to other sources, show that the author applied different kinds of sources, which in 1 Samuel perhaps included J, or more probably Genesis–Numbers. The terminology is late and suggests that Samuel is later than Judges, its latest shape also later than Deuteronomy.

In Kings, things are different. The history writing is a retrograde step coloured by a prophetic-didactical presentation and a dry chronicle style, where the activities of the prophets are essential to the author. The narratives, however, contain reliable information. With very few exceptions, the presentation of history forms an integrated whole, which is based on sources referred to and used

<sup>18</sup> In the nineteenth century the terms “deuteronomistic”, “deuteronomic”, the “Deuteronomist” and their equivalents in German were most often applied without distinguishing between them. In this article we adopt the terminology of the scholar in question.

<sup>19</sup> De Wette, *Beiträge*, I (1806), 137; idem, *Lehrbuch* (c.1852), 210–214, especially 213, where he also argues that the reference to 1 Kgs 16:34 (king Akab) in Josh 6:26 confirms that the author of Joshua is the Deuteronomist.

<sup>20</sup> De Wette, *Lehrbuch* (c.1852), 217–219.

in a free manner by the author, who wrote in the middle of the Babylonian Exile. The whole spirit of the book, the terminology, the references to the Mosaic law, and the negative assessment of the high places and the history – all these features confirm the assumed late date for Kings, and separate Kings from Samuel.<sup>21</sup> Kings is, like Joshua, strongly influenced by deuteronomistic views.<sup>22</sup>

De Wette also commented on the similarities between Kings and Jeremiah, which had already produced several theories among scholars about the authorship, among others that the prophet Jeremiah was the author of both books. De Wette suggested that the similarities might be explained by the authors' use of the same sources, or simply by the fact that they lived at the same time.<sup>23</sup>

The many similarities between Judges, Samuel, and Kings had earlier, as mentioned, led Ewald to suggest that these books, in their final shape, should be ascribed to one and the same author. On this – we would say “modern” – suggestion, de Wette remarked, again carefully, that Ewald probably went too far and that he might have included Joshua in his theory as well. It is worth noting that de Wette, in most cases in his studies, applies terms such as *gesetzlich*, *Gesetzgebung*, and phrases such as *theokratische Gesetzlichkeit* or *Gesetzgebung der Theokratie* without giving them a precise definition. But there are exceptions, as when he contends that the author of Joshua intended to present history as a model of the ideology of the second legislation, which refers to the law in Deuteronomy.<sup>24</sup> In other cases, however, he applies the terms in question to laws which later scholarship would relate to the priestly source (P). The reason for this, in our eyes, lack of precision seems to be that de Wette did not consider the possibility that these laws may be later than scholars assumed in those days. On the contrary, he regarded them as *the foundation* of the *torah*, which was developed by the second legislation, as attested in Deuteronomy. We will resume this issue in the presentation of K.H. Graf below.

## 2.2. Reactions to de Wette's Theory

Four books from the 1860s reflect the situation in research after de Wette, two of them are introductions to the OT, and the other two are studies on the historical books.

F. Bleek's introduction (1865) is strongly influenced by de Wette, but Bleek offers alternative solutions to some problems, as when he suggests that the assumed oldest source in the Pentateuch (the Elohist) contained also the narratives in Joshua that point back to the narratives in Genesis. This old material in Joshua was thus part of the document that was later reworked and expanded by the Jehovist, and finally reworked by the author of Deuteronomy.

On this basis Bleek concludes that Joshua never existed as a separate book, and that the many points of similarity with Deuteronomy suggest that the author of the latter was also the final redactor of Joshua. This redactor had a coherent narrative at his disposal, beginning with the death of Moses and ending with the conquest and apportionment of land between the tribes, and with the death of Joshua. In addition, he used other written sources.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>21</sup> De Wette, *Lehrbuch* (1852), 221–231 (Samuel), 231–237 (Kings); idem, *Beiträge*, I (1806), 168–179.

<sup>22</sup> On this, see also Rogerson, W.M.L. de Wette (1992), 58–61.

<sup>23</sup> De Wette, *Lehrbuch* (1852), 237.

<sup>24</sup> De Wette, *ibid.* 213.

<sup>25</sup> Bleek, *Einleitung* (1865), 302–305, 314, 326–334, 340. The first edition appeared in 1860.



It is to be noted that Bleek also finds links in Judges to the sources that he presumes can be identified in Joshua: Since Judg 1:1 refers to the death of Joshua, the chapter should be connected to the Elohist. However, the following narratives in Judges are more probably the work of the Jehovist, and there is “no doubt” that they are older than the deuteronomic redaction of the Pentateuch and Joshua, whereas the reflective passage in Judg 2:6–23 belongs to a much later time. Also the additions in Judges 17–21 are late, from the time of the monarchy (he argues by referring to Judg 18:1; 19:1), but not later than the elohistic or jehovistic reworking of the Pentateuch and Joshua.<sup>26</sup>

As for Samuel and Kings, Bleek, in agreement with de Wette, rejects the view, held by many scholars of the time, that these books were written by the same author; he argues that nowhere in Samuel do we find references to the Exile, as is the case in Kings; nor is there in Samuel mention of a written law as in Kings, where such references often are made by application of deuteronomic terminology. On the other hand, Samuel was never a separate book, evidence for this he finds in the connection between 1 Sam 2:27–36 and 1 Kgs 2:26–27, and between the prophecy of Nathan and Solomon’s building of the Temple. The author of Kings thus regarded his work as the continuation of the older books of Samuel. Moreover, 1 Kgs 9:6–8 shows that he wrote in a time when the people were cut off from the land and the Temple was left in ruins. The author was not Jeremiah, but perhaps Baruch, who used his sources in different ways, in some places freely, as when he characterizes kings and events by the same phrases, in other places accurately, as when he gives detailed reports of events. He also chose material from his sources, which emphasized his prophetic-didactical aim. In general, Bleek tends to date more material in Joshua–Kings to earlier times than de Wette does, including the age of Deuteronomy and the redaction of Joshua.<sup>27</sup>

T. Nöldeke (1868) adopts the widespread view that in Joshua the same source problems occur as in the Pentateuch; Joshua develops and describes in detail events that are only briefly presented in the *Grundschrift* of the Pentateuch. Moreover, he emphasizes, more than contemporary scholars did, that laws and narratives in that *Grundschrift*, although they are related to the wanderings in the wilderness, reflect the ideals of the monarchy and Solomon’s temple. Like de Wette he argues that Deuteronomy was written considerably later than most parts of the rest of the Pentateuch. Nöldeke differs from A. Knobel by arguing that *der Deuteronomiker* reworked the whole book of Joshua and is responsible for its present form. He shares, however, his view that there are no traces of this author in Judges–Kings.<sup>28</sup> Nöldeke contends that the second (later) main source in the Pentateuch continues in Judges, but this book also contains material from different times, among others three later additions, which originally included Ruth. Therefore Judges cannot be used as a reliable historical source in all parts, but it is a book of value to our knowledge of the cultural life of the times before the monarchy. The additions in Judges, he continues, separate this book from

<sup>26</sup> Stähelin, *Kritische Untersuchungen* (1843) holds, by and large, similar views but argues for an even closer connection between Deuteronomy and Joshua; they should be regarded *als ein für sich bestehendes Werk* (93). Moreover, parts of Judges 1–2 were taken from Joshua (102–104).

<sup>27</sup> Bleek, *Einleitung* (1865), 346–349, 359–363, 370–375.

<sup>28</sup> Nöldeke, *Die Alttestamentliche Literatur* (1868), 19, 27–33. On Knobel, see below.

Samuel, in which he finds two sources, which explain the duplications and contradictions in Samuel. One of these sources, he argues, can also be identified in Judges. The presentation of the people's history in Samuel is reliable, it is not coloured by theocratic ideals but expresses worldly concerns. But there are passages that indicate that the author wrote in much later times, such as 1 Sam 3:1 ("the word of the LORD was rare in those days", which reflects also the time of the prophets), 1 Sam 27:6 ("has belonged to the kings of Judah to this day"), and the words of Nathan (2 Samuel 7), which presuppose that the house of David was still on the throne. From 1 Kings 2 onwards (after David's death) the history writing changes character, only rarely do we find the vivid accounts that are so typical of Samuel. The author of Kings makes explicit references to his sources (e.g. "the Annals of the Kings of Judah, resp. Israel"). Some of these sources, such as those presenting the kings, are, without doubt, reliable, whereas narratives of the prophets (e.g. of Elijah and Elisha), which are based on an Ephraimite source, are full of wonders and exaggerations, and they are not well integrated into the literary context. Nöldeke concludes that the history-writing in Kings is less accurate than in Samuel; the author, who probably carried out his work in the time of the Exile, was first and foremost a compiler, who hardly reworked the material at his disposal.<sup>29</sup> It is noteworthy that Nöldeke, on the basis of his source observations, finds a literary connection in these books. He thus prepares the theory launched later by others that Joshua–2 Kings present a coherent history work.

A. Knobel (1861) presents a different view. He argues that the Jehovist, outside Genesis–Numbers, occurs only once in Deuteronomy (Deut 32:44–45), in four places in Joshua, and never in the following books. Like de Wette and Nöldeke, he regards Deuteronomy as the latest law in the Pentateuch, a product of *der Deuteronomiker*; in Joshua, however, there are very few traces of him, and he cannot be found in Judges–Samuel and 2 Kings. In 1 Kings there are a few passages with a deuteronomical colour, but Knobel claims that they stem from the author of Kings. *Der Deuteronomiker* is probably Hilkiyah, who in the eighteenth year of King Josiah added the law in Deuteronomy to older laws and tried to give this law collection authority.<sup>30</sup>

O. Thenius (1864) argues for the presence of several sources in both the Saul and the David narratives in Samuel. This view corresponds roughly to his division of the books into five main parts. He assumes that they are historically reliable and old, since they never refer to the Exile or the divided monarchy, and relate only few examples of wonders. The detailed description of David's family life and the lack of references to sources suggest that the authors were eyewitnesses or lived very soon after the events took place. Thenius accepts that the sources were reworked, but the *Bearbeiter* was a typical compiler, who was not interested in removing or harmonizing contradictions. He promoted, however, theocratic ideals in Samuel. Thenius shows little interest in the literary context of Samuel (i.e. Judges–Kings), and he does not discuss whether Samuel may have been reworked in the spirit of Deuteronomy. The reason for this silence is prob-

<sup>29</sup> Nöldeke, *ibid.* 42–55.

<sup>30</sup> Knobel, *Numeri, Deuteronomium und Josua* (1861), 570, 579–580, 590, 598–599.

ably that he considers the material in Samuel to be old. His use of Chronicles as a reliable source is also noteworthy: He contends that 1 Chr 29:29 may suggest that large parts of Samuel were written by disciples of the prophets. Thenius argues in many cases *e silentio* and represents what a conservative branch in research looks like in those years.<sup>31</sup>

Thus, de Wette's theories found some support, but not unanimously; there were different opinions on the assumed influence of deuteronomistic ideas on Joshua–2 Kings. It was acknowledged that they were reworked. However, the view that these books form a coherent history work did not break through.<sup>32</sup>

### 2.3. *A Postexilic Source in the Pentateuch and the Consequences for the Interpretation of the Historical Books.* K. H. Graf

The situation changes when K. H. Graf (1866) launched the theory that in the Pentateuch we find not only the sources E, J and D, but also a fourth: *Ergänzer der Gesetzgebung aus der Zeit Esra's*.<sup>33</sup> This supplement, the *latest* part of the Pentateuch, comprises the laws in Leviticus and closely related legal material in Exodus and Numbers. His view was contrary to the common scholarly opinion that these laws are parts of the assumed-oldest source E, and therefore pre-deuteronomistic.

Graf finds his theory confirmed in *prophetae priores*. The observation made by Ed. Reuss that Joshua applies legal and narrative material only from Deuteronomy and the last parts of Numbers, indicates, according to Graf, that the other above-mentioned legal material in the Pentateuch was postexilic and unknown to the author of Joshua.<sup>34</sup> But Graf adds that Joshua also has links to the *narratives* in Exodus, and that the survey in Josh 24:2–13 covers the whole narrative in the Pentateuch, as related by J from Genesis onwards. Moreover, he adopts the conclusions drawn by Bleek and Knobel that the reworking hand of the Deuteronomist (*der Deuteronomiker*), which appears in Deuteronomy 31–34, can also be found in Joshua.<sup>35</sup>

With regard to Judges–2 Kings, Graf agrees with H. Ewald, who argued that these books belong together and present a final reworking of different sources.<sup>36</sup> But against him, and in agreement with E. Bertheau and other scholars from the early years of the century, Graf contends that Judges is closely linked to the preceding books as well, especially to Joshua, and that the author is J. In other words, J's history work *continues* in Judges, and this can be seen in Judg 2:6–10, which resume the presentation of history that was interrupted in Josh 24:29–31; the terminology is the same in both passages.<sup>37</sup> Moreover, the *history* of the

<sup>31</sup> Thenius, *Die Bücher Samuels* (1864), IX–XVII. There, and throughout the commentary, he refers frequently to conservative scholars in older research.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. the reference to Ewald in 2.3. below.

<sup>33</sup> Graf, *Die geschichtlichen Bücher* (1866), 4.

<sup>34</sup> Graf, *ibid.* 95.

<sup>35</sup> Graf, *ibid.* 95–96.

<sup>36</sup> Ewald, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, I (1843), 204–205.

<sup>37</sup> Graf, *Die geschichtlichen Bücher* (1866), 97.

judges does not end with Judges, but with 1 Samuel 12. It is also clear that the Deuteronomist did not rework any of the sources in 1–2 Samuel; only from the Solomon narrative onwards (from 1 Kings 2) to the end of 2 Kings does he appear again, first in the exhortation to Solomon related in 1 Kgs 2:3–4. His main concern is his evaluation of worship, which is emphasized from 1 Kings 3 onwards.

As for the source J, Graf argues that J's history work ends in 1 Kings 10, which implies that the Deuteronomist reworked and expanded J in 1 Kings 3–10. His concern is most apparent in 1 Kgs 8:27–61, a passage which presupposes the Babylonian Exile and was added to J's inauguration prayer in verses 12–26. 1 Kings 11, on the other hand, has no connections to the previous material. On the contrary, the information given in 1 Kgs 11:14, 23–26 contradicts that in 1 Kgs 5:4, 18. This indicates that 1 Kings 11 does not belong to J, but contains material from other sources (cf. 11:41), to which there are references in the following chapters on the kings of Judah and Israel: the Book of the Annals of the Kings of Israel and Judah respectively. In these chapters the narratives of the prophets are based on other sources. However, the author of this material is the same as the one who reworked 1 Kings 3–10: the Deuteronomist, who presents history as the fulfilment of prophecy. He uses the concept of history in Judges 2–16 as his model and builds his view of worship on the ideals expressed in Deuteronomy and King Josiah's reform. Thus, the author was more than a compiler, and he wrote in a time when the Temple had been destroyed; his work ended with 2 Kgs 25:21: "So Judah went into exile out of its land". The following verses are additions, taken perhaps from Jeremiah, and Graf does not exclude the possibility, for which the conservative scholar H. A. Ch. Hävernick also argued, that Jeremiah could be the author of Kings.<sup>38</sup>

With regard to the *age* of J, Graf refers to Num 24:22(J) arguing that it may reflect the deportation by King Tiglath-pileser during the reign of King Ahaz of Judah. This means that J was completed in the middle of the eighth century BCE, it was reworked by the Deuteronomist ca. 150 years later and received its present shape another 150 years after that, when Ezra added some laws to it. However, even more material was attached to this law book (*Gesetzbuch*) after the times of Ezra and Nehemiah, and only the Chronicler had the Pentateuch as a whole at his disposal.<sup>39</sup>

In Joshua and Judges–2 Kings Graf did not find any traces of the laws in the Pentateuch, which he regarded as postexilic. This fits well with his theory that this material had not yet been included in the Pentateuch when *prophetae priores* were edited. He does not apply names to it, such as P, or relate it to a specific circle, such as the priests, as later scholars would do, although he emphasizes that it has a cultic orientation in the legislation for the priests and the offerings.

<sup>38</sup> Graf, *ibid.* 110–111. Cf. Hävernick, *Handbuch*, II/1 (1839), 171.

<sup>39</sup> Graf, *ibid.*, spec. 42–68, 71, 74–75, 83–84, 92–93, 97–113.

#### 2.4. *The Historical Books and the History of Israel. J. Wellhausen*

Graf's theory paved a new way not only for source critics but also for how scholars interpreted the history and religion of ancient Israel. When J. Wellhausen learned of the theory in the summer of 1867, it gave him the final impetus to develop his theories on the emergence of the Hexateuch and Judges–Kings.<sup>40</sup> There are many similarities – but also some differences – between their views. In what way did Wellhausen take research in this field in a new direction?

Wellhausen was first and foremost a *historian* and source criticism was only a means by which he could reconstruct the history and religious development of ancient Israel.<sup>41</sup> The basic premise of his research was that the closer history writing is to the events and persons presented in it, the more profane it is. He contends that throughout the Hexateuch, as well as in Judges–Kings, one can observe a deuteronomic reworking of older material, which connects the events chronologically and spiritually, the spiritual feature being characterized by a theocratic thinking. The degree of piety, however, varies from one part or book to another.<sup>42</sup> Different sources can be identified in these books, one criterion being the duplications in Judges 8, and in 1 Sam 9:1–10:16 compared with 1 Samuel 11 (where Wellhausen finds a spiritual gap between two ages), as well as in 1 Sam 7:8, 12 compared with chapter 13 and the assumed older presentation of the rejection of King Saul in 1 Sam 15:28.<sup>43</sup>

The David narrative, he contends, is related in two comprehensive documents built up by several layers, which are of variable historical value. The David–Jonathan narrative has a historical foundation, but it exists only in a secondary version and has been badly transmitted. In Samuel, a theological assessment of the events occurs rarely, only in passages describing important events, such as the transition to the monarchy (1 Samuel 12; cf. 7:2–4). In 1 Samuel 7, however, the reworking of older material is a *geistliche Mache*, the description has become fictitious and it contradicts other narratives; no word in it is true, for everything happens during only one day.<sup>44</sup> In Kings, the reworking of the material is most comprehensive: Chronological and religious elements are integrated into the very composition of the writing; all significant epochs of the monarchy are evaluated in sermon-like reflections, which occur far more often here than in Judges–Samuel. Moreover, prophets, who represent the theological concern of this reworking, are introduced whenever a king is overthrown. The reworking of Kings was made in a warmer, livelier spirit than that of the sources in Judges–Samuel, which is due to the fact that there was a short time between the events and the Exile, when they were written down in the spirit of Deuteronomy, of the written law book (2 Kings 22–23) and the prophets.<sup>45</sup> It is noteworthy that Well-

<sup>40</sup> Wellhausen, *Prolegomena* (1886), 4.

<sup>41</sup> Smend, *Julius Wellhausen und seine Prolegomena* (1991), 180; Graf Reventlow, *Epochen* (2001), 308.

<sup>42</sup> Wellhausen, *Prolegomena* (1886), 241–245; cf. 306–307.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.* 250–252, 261, 266–272.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.* 255–257, 272–283; the German phrase: 257.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, spec. 285–296.

hausen finds traces of priestly thinking in 1 Kings 6–8 (and more in the Hebrew text than in the Greek), but nowhere else in Judges–Kings, where Deuteronomy provides the spiritual basis for the history writer.<sup>46</sup> He concludes that the chronology and the spiritual development of the different historical traditions in Judges–Kings correspond to that of the cultic traditions related in Genesis–Kings. A basic principle in his studies is that the layers in the historical books represent different stages of history and religion in ancient Israel.

The assumed P material in 1 Kings 6–8 and the deuteronomic reworking of Samuel is perhaps the most noteworthy innovation in Wellhausen’s concept in comparison with Graf’s theories. Another significant difference can be seen in the conclusions Wellhausen draws from his analysis with regard to the history and religion of Israel. They are based on the documentary theories, which he launched in his Hexateuch study, and which have repercussions on his views of Judges–Kings, and vice versa. On these grounds he connected the legal material in Exodus, Leviticus and Numbers (by Graf regarded as the latest parts of the Pentateuch) to priestly circles, gave it the name P and presented a new theory on the history and worship of Israel and Judah, including in postexilic times, when religion according to his view declined to “dogmatics”, to rituals and offerings, and when Ezra introduced the Pentateuch (including P as its latest source) to the postexilic community in Jerusalem and thereby laid down the foundation of Judaism. Wellhausen’s achievement was above all in the field of historiography and religion, in his ability to create a synthesis based on source criticism, which radically changed the conventional picture of Israel’s history and religion, by demonstrating that a sharp division existed between pre-exilic Israel and postexilic Judaism.<sup>47</sup> For this reason he had an immediate impact on other Bible scholars of his days, not only on source critics but also on those who worked in the fields of history and religion.<sup>48</sup>

It is to be noted that the English Bishop of Natal J.W. Colenso and the German scholar M.M. Kalisch launched similar theories in the 1860s and 1870s. Colenso argued that the levitical legislation, which he found in Exodus, Numbers and Joshua as well as in Leviticus, was written after the Exile. He also identified Deuteronomic features in the narratives of the Exodus, Conquest and Judges.<sup>49</sup> Kalisch, a German Jew, who sought refuge in Britain after the upheavals of 1848, published, among other works, a two volume commentary on Leviticus in 1867 and 1872, where he argued that the levitical ordinances are postexilic; there is no evidence in the historical books that

<sup>46</sup> Wellhausen emphasizes that this changes in Chronicles, where P provides the spiritual basis for the presentation of history, see *Prolegomena* (1886), 175–176, 306–307, and 3.2. below.

<sup>47</sup> See Smend, *Wellhausen und das Judentum* (1991), 188–201; Spieckermann, *Das neue Bild der Religionsgeschichte Israels* (2008), 261.

<sup>48</sup> See Smend, *Julius Wellhausen und seine Prolegomena* (1991), 179–185; Barton, *Wellhausen’s Prolegomena* (2007), 169–179. On Wellhausen’s influence on the works of R. Smend (der Ä.), B. Stade, and A. Bertholet, see Spieckermann, *Das neue Bild der Religionsgeschichte Israels* (2008), 261, n.7. On Wellhausen’s view of Chronicles, see 3.2. below.

<sup>49</sup> Colenso, *The Pentateuch*, Vol. 6 (1871), 428ff, 616ff; Vol. 7 (1879), Appendix 152, p. 137. See further Rogerson, *Old Testament Criticism* (1984), 220–237. Rogerson regards Colenso’s *The Pentateuch* (a work of some 3500 pages) as “the most remarkable achievement by a British scholar in the field of Old Testament criticism in the nineteenth century” (232). Cf. Rogerson, W.R. Smith’s *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church* (1995), 133–134; Hinchliff, *John William Colenso* (1964), 85–114. Colenso’s theories had an immediate impact on the Dutch scholar A. Kuenen, see 2.6. below. But also Kuenen, as well as K.H. Graf, had an influence on Colenso, see Rogerson, *Old Testament Criticism* (1984), 230.

the levitical system was known before the Exile and Leviticus is later than Deuteronomy. Kalisch offered reconstructions of the history of Israelite priesthood and sacrifice which in broad outline anticipated Wellhausen's account of the same in 1878.<sup>50</sup>

### 2.5. *Writing the History of Israel after Graf and Wellhausen*

Wellhausen was thus not the first scholar who applied source criticism to reconstruct the history of Israel. In this regard H. Ewald was a pioneer; early history was his main concern and in *Geschichte des Volkes Israel bis Christus* (from 1843 onwards) he reconstructed the history of the Patriarchs and Moses on the basis of source criticism quite differently from how the biblical accounts present it.<sup>51</sup> If we search for the impact of Wellhausen in this field, B. Stade should first be mentioned. In his book on the history of Israel (1887) he depended so heavily on Wellhausen's *Geschichte Israels I* that Wellhausen, in a review, wrote that he could not criticize it without criticizing himself.<sup>52</sup> The main concern of Stade was to show how religion developed and went in the direction of Christianity.

Two other studies, by Ed. Reuss and E. Kautzsch respectively, present a combination of classical 'introduction to the Old Testament' and 'history of Israel'. Both scholars build upon the source theories of Graf and Wellhausen, and they contend, as Wellhausen also did, that P material had been inserted into Joshua, when P was connected to the other sources in the Pentateuch. Kautzsch also holds a view of the redaction of P, which is close to A. Kuenen's view (see 2.6. below).<sup>53</sup>

As for Reuss, a first draft of his *Die Geschichte der heiligen Schriften Alten Testaments* (1881) had been written already in the 1830s, in which he argued that the prophets preceded the law, a theory that became so important to Graf (who, as a student, attended his lectures) and Wellhausen. In the final publication almost fifty years later, Reuss developed his theory after having read their studies.

Other scholars, however, such as R. Kittel, were more critical to Wellhausen. In the first volume of his *Geschichte der Hebräer* (1888) he warned against the assumption that Israel's religion had developed unilinearly and he argued that the large number of cultic innovations in postexilic times, which Graf-Wellhausen supposed had taken place, would have been unlikely. Kittel built upon a view, which Wellhausen also accepted, that P had been reworked several times; but he traced its earlier parts back to the tenth and ninth centuries, and its basic composition, including its narrative parts, to the eighth century. The final redaction of the Hexateuch was carried out during the Exile and in postexilic times. Kittel was also much more positive than Wellhausen as to what we can know about the Patriarchs and Moses.<sup>54</sup> In his *Geschichte des Volkes Israel* Kittel con-

<sup>50</sup> Kalisch, *Commentary*, 3 (1867), 14–50, 33–34, 249–282, 640–659. See further Rogerson, *Old Testament Criticism* (1984), 242–244. Cf. idem, W.R. Smith's *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church* (1995), 133–134.

<sup>51</sup> See further Rogerson, *Bibelwissenschaft* (1980), 351; Kraus, *Geschichte* (1982), 199–205.

<sup>52</sup> Wellhausen reviewed the first part of Vol. 1, which appeared in 1881, in *DLZ* 3 (1882) 681f. The 2<sup>nd</sup> edition of Wellhausen's *Geschichte Israels I* (1878) appeared in 1883 with the title *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels*; cf. Smend, *Deutsche Alttestamentler* (1989), 106, 136.

<sup>53</sup> Reuss, *Die Geschichte* (1881), VII–XII, 361–365; Kautzsch, *Abriss* (1897), 64–66, 94–107.

<sup>54</sup> Cf. Rogerson, *Old Testament Criticism* (1984), 269–270.

firmed his viewpoints and in the fourth revised edition (1922) he argued even more strongly than earlier that much of the law material in P was pre-exilic.<sup>55</sup>

A. Klostermann, in *Geschichte des Volkes Israel* (1896), admits that there are sources in the historical books which have been reworked, extended, and theologically coloured. But he does not take the widely accepted sources into consideration and the reader is here and there faced with a harmonizing tendency, especially when he discusses the different accounts of the conquest of the land in Joshua–Judges and of the monarchy in early times. He also includes Chronicles in the sources, but adds that it must be used with great caution. However, he regards Chronicles as more reliable than Samuel and Kings in those parts where Saul, David, and Solomon are presented. He contends that the religious profile of Kings, such as the similarities with the deuteronomic law and the preaching of Jeremiah are intended, and that they may explain why some information in the older sources was omitted. In general, Klostermann's *Geschichte* contains very little of source criticism and history writing in the spirit of Wellhausen.<sup>56</sup>

### 2.6. *Joshua and its Literary Context: the Hexateuch Problem*

Wellhausen's source analysis was less innovative than were his contributions to the history of Israel, but he exerted great influence also in the former field. This can be observed in studies that paid special attention to the Hexateuch problem.

In his Hexateuch study, Wellhausen discusses the relationship between the sources J and E and the later reworking of them. Whereas he identified J<sup>1</sup>, J<sup>2</sup>, J<sup>3</sup>, E<sup>1</sup>, E<sup>2</sup>, E<sup>3</sup> with great precision in the Pentateuch, he was more careful in his analysis of Joshua: In chapters 1–12 he found it difficult to identify E; these chapters have been thoroughly reworked by J and the Deuteronomist. For this reason Wellhausen was reluctant to draw conclusions as regards the origin of Joshua 1–12. His carefulness is also due to another observation, namely that the narrative of the conquest of the West Jordan land in Joshua 1–12 has a parallel in Judg 1:1–2:5; only the latter account corresponds to the J narratives in the Pentateuch. Therefore, he argued, the detailed account in Joshua cannot be ascribed to J.<sup>57</sup> This issue remained a matter of discussion in research.

The Dutch scholar A. Kuenen (1886) went a step further than Wellhausen by contending that there are no traces of E in Joshua 1–12. Moreover, he argued for a more complex redaction of the Hexateuch in postexilic times than other scholars did: It was subjected to several redactions, in some cases the revisers only dealt with a single passage, and as late as in the year of the reformation of Ezra and Nehemiah (ca. 444 BCE) the deuteronomic-prophetic history and the priestly historical-legislative work still existed independently. The union of them gave rise to the present Hexateuch, which was formed because the redactors regarded Joshua's activities as inseparable from those of Moses; the accounts of

<sup>55</sup> Kittel, *Geschichte* (1922), 508–509.

<sup>56</sup> Klostermann, *Geschichte* (1896), 93, 114, 120–121, 135–136, 177–180. Cf. the presentation of his commentary on Samuel and Kings in 2.7.2. below.

<sup>57</sup> Wellhausen, *Die Composition des Hexateuchs* (1899), 116–127, 208–210.



Joshua were the indispensable complement of the narratives and the legislation of the Pentateuch. However, the later redaction of the Hexateuch included the division of the *tora* into five books and separated it from Joshua. It was the character of Judaism that involved this separation, when Judaism had assigned its peculiar authority to the *tora*; and it was the first redactor who was responsible for it and thus severed what had previously been regarded as a single whole. Kuenen adds, for the sake of precision, that the Hexateuch never existed as a single whole split up into six parts. As to that extent the name “Hexateuch” is not strictly accurate.<sup>58</sup>

When Wellhausen read Kuenen’s theories on the later redactions of the Hexateuch, he agreed with him and corrected his own view.<sup>59</sup> Also Ed. Meyer and R. Kittel adopted the view that a separate Hexateuch never existed; Kittel argues that there was only one history work: the Law (*tora*) and the early prophets; the redactor of Kings was probably identical with the author of the deuteronomistic history, which begins with Gen 2:4 and ends with 2 Kgs 24:6(7), and Joshua–Kings were combined with the Pentateuch soon after Ezra had introduced the latter to the postexilic congregation.<sup>60</sup>

H. Holzinger (1893) argued that Joshua was separated from the Pentateuch earlier than Kuenen assumed, before the last priestly redaction of J, E, D, and P, because it is unlikely that Joshua was a part of the law introduced by Ezra. He substantiated this view by showing that the end redaction was carried out more freely in Joshua than in the Pentateuch, in Joshua the influence of priestly thinking is small.<sup>61</sup> C. Steuernagel (1900) held a similar view: P occurs also in Joshua, but P was more important to the redactor of the Pentateuch than to the redactor of Joshua. Moreover, it was only in the Pentateuch that J, E, D had been combined when the redaction was carried out. This means that the redaction of Joshua must be separated from that of the Pentateuch.<sup>62</sup> Another advocate of the Hexateuch theory, the Scot W. Robertson Smith (1892), argued also that the mass of the narrative of Joshua is clearly not priestly, although there are traces of priestly style and phrases. Joshua, together with the other historical books, underwent a deuteronomistic redaction, when JE were united with Deuteronomy and all the non-priestly elements of the Hexateuch were united into one book. Judges, Samuel and Kings, in the deuteronomistic redaction, formed the continuation of that book.<sup>63</sup>

A. Dillmann (1886) advocated the Hexateuch theory, but argues that all four sources in the Hexateuch (by Dillmann called A, B, C, D) were reworked in the last 20–30 years before the Exile (by R), and that a later redactor (R<sup>d</sup>) reworked the Hexateuch during the years of the Exile. Dillmann tended – against Reuss-Graf-Wellhausen-Kuenen – to give an early date of the main elements of the Hexateuch, including the centralization command and many of the priestly laws; P had already

<sup>58</sup> Kuenen, *The Hexateuch* (1886), 315–317, 340–342. Cf. similarly Kautzsch, *Abriss* (1897), 106–107; Meyer, *Die Entstehung* (1896), 216–218. Kuenen was much influenced by J. W. Colenso (cf. 2.4. above), see Hinchliff, John William Colenso (1964), 93; Rogerson, *Old Testament Criticism* (1984), 233.

<sup>59</sup> Cf. Smend, *Julius Wellhausen und seine Prolegomena* (1991), 180.

<sup>60</sup> Meyer, *Die Entstehung* (1896), 216–217; Kittel, *Die Bücher der Könige* (1900), VI–X.

<sup>61</sup> Holzinger, *Einleitung in den Hexateuch* (1893), 500–504.

<sup>62</sup> Steuernagel, *Deuteronomium und Josua* (1900), 142–148, 284–286.

<sup>63</sup> Smith, *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church* (1892), 412–413, 425; cf. Rogerson, W. R. Smith’s *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church* (1995), 135–147.

been integrated in the Hexateuch, when Deuteronomy was added to it. The fall of the Northern Kingdom provides a possible background for the early version of the Hexateuch. This early date explains why Dillmann gave historical priority to Joshua in cases where it overlaps with Judges. The priestly laws and P, he contended, were given a final shape during the Exile, which can be seen in Leviticus 26. He thus objected to Kuenen and others, who claimed that additions were made to P after Ezra introduced the law to the postexilic congregation.<sup>64</sup> However, Dillmann's views did not find much support.<sup>65</sup> Thus, at the end of the century there were quite different opinions on how the Hexateuch took shape, especially in the last stages of its redaction. However, as S. Oettli (1893) writes, the Hexateuch theory itself was widely accepted by scholars and there were two main arguments for it: (1) the sources JE and P continue in Joshua, and (2) the authors had to tell how the promises to the ancestors already related in Genesis were fulfilled.<sup>66</sup>

## 2.7. Research towards the End of the Century

As indicated above, research on the historical books flourished in the last decades of the nineteenth century when an increasing amount of introductions and commentaries were published. How did scholars react to the new theories launched in earlier years?

### 2.7.1. Scholars adopting the New Theories

One of Wellhausen's predecessors in Göttingen, E. Bertheau, in his commentary on Judges and Ruth (1883), refers frequently to Wellhausen and Kuenen, most often in agreement with them. His view of the literary framework of Judges deserves attention. Bertheau adopts the scholarly consensus that Judges is composed of many sources, which a later history writer reworked; some of the sources are from the eighth century BCE. He emphasizes, however, that Judges is no independent history writing, it never existed as a separate book, for history is described and assessed there in the same way as in Samuel and Kings. He develops Ewald's and Wellhausen's view that Judges–Kings present to us a comprehensive history work; but while Wellhausen argued for a (final) deuteronomistic reworking of the material, Bertheau separates between this reworking and a final redaction by a history writer (*Geschichtschreiber*), who also made some additions to the material. This means that the history writer had *ein umfangreiches deuteronomistisches Geschichtswerk* at his disposal, traces of which can be found also in Joshua. Bertheau does not exclude that Ezra the scribe might have been the last redactor of this history work, which comprises Genesis–2 Kings.<sup>67</sup>

W. Vatke, like many other scholars, argued for a close connection between Joshua and the Pentateuch (*Einleitung*, published posthumously 1886). The basic story (*die Grunderzählung*) in Joshua is from the author who also gave the oldest account in the Pentateuch, the assumed second Elohist in Genesis. Another author, who inserted the priestly laws in the Pentateuch (Vatke calls him the

<sup>64</sup> Dillmann, *Numeri, Deuteronomium und Josua* (1886), 590–690, spec. 611–615, 633–643, 645, 667–690.

<sup>65</sup> Cf. Smend [der Ä.], *Die Erzählung des Hexateuch* (1912), 3.

<sup>66</sup> Oettli, *Das Deuteronomium* (1893), 124–127.

<sup>67</sup> Bertheau, *Das Buch der Richter und Ruth* (1883), XVII–XXXI, 290–294.

author of the Elohim source), reworked the basic story. Moreover, there are some additions in Joshua inserted by the Jehovist (e.g. Josh 4:6–7; Exod 12:25–27). The Deuteronomist (*der Deuteronomiker*) is the last author of the whole book. Of particular interest is Vatke's contention that the Deuteronomist also separated Joshua from the law book of Moses, with which it had belonged previously, and that he edited Joshua later than Deuteronomy, since Joshua presupposes that the stipulations in Deuteronomy had been carried out. Against, among others, de Wette, who regarded Joshua as postexilic, Vatke suggests that it was finished in the time of Jeremiah, 599–588 BCE. With regard to Judges he argues that most of the material is based on historical facts, but he agrees with Nöldeke who argued that the individuals in Judges represent tribes. Both the second Elohist and the Deuteronomist influenced the two first chapters, which combine Joshua with Judges. These two chapters, and the present shape of Judges, should be dated to the same time, after the Exile. There is, however, much older material in Judges, which originated in the time between the second Elohist and the Jehovist, whereas the additions in Judges 17–21 reflect the deportation of the Israelites to Assyria (cf. Judg 18:30) and are from no later than the seventh century. As for Samuel, Vatke rejects de Wette's view that the narratives are historically very reliable, the duplications provide one argument for his scepticism. Of the two main sources in Samuel, the older is concerned with the monarchy and is in many parts reliable; the younger source, which is more critical of the monarchy, presents prophetic and theocratic views; both sources should be dated to the eighth and seventh century respectively. They were reworked later, the last time by the author of Kings, who also reworked the last chapters in 2 Samuel and placed them together with 1 Kings 1–11. This implies that 1–2 Samuel belonged to the sources which the author of Kings had at his disposal. The admonitions and the prophetic parts in Kings suggest that the author was influenced by Deuteronomy and the prophet Jeremiah, and that he wrote his work at the end of the Babylonian Exile.<sup>68</sup>

Vatke presented his rather detailed theories on the emergence of the historical books early in his academic career in Berlin, before the middle of the nineteenth century. In 1835 he also published a book on the religion of the Old Testament, which Wellhausen came across in 1874. When he read this book, he found his own views confirmed and realized also that Vatke anticipated Graf's theory.<sup>69</sup>

The year 1900 was a highlight in research, when three German scholars published commentaries on the historical books: C. Steuernagel, R. Kittel, and W. Nowack. The commentaries of the first two mentioned were presented in the discussion of the Hexateuch. In this survey we turn to Nowack's commentary on Judges and Ruth, and include his commentary on Samuel from 1902.<sup>70</sup> Nowack argues that in Judges a post-deuteronomistic redactor inserted 1:1–2:5 (and thus interrupted the connection of 2:6–16:31 with Joshua), and the appendices in

<sup>68</sup> Vatke, *Einleitung* (1886), 417–425, 433–437, 448–458, 467–469.

<sup>69</sup> Vatke, *Einleitung* (1886), V (*Vorwort*, by his student D. A. Hilgenfeld); cf. Graf Reventlow, *Epochen* (2001), 313–314.

<sup>70</sup> The prefaces of these four commentaries show that they were all written in the last decade of the century.

chapters 17–21; this stage is later than the deuteronomistic redaction, which gave the shorter book of Judges (2:6–16:31) a theological interpretation, expressed programmatically in 2:11–19. Before this stage there existed pre-deuteronomistic accounts of the great judges, which perhaps were transmitted independently of each other, some of the material in them is very old. Nowack adopts the widespread view that the two older sources J and E occur in Judges: J has a profane colour and continues probably in the Saul-David narratives in 1 Samuel; E holds a theological-theocratic view.<sup>71</sup> In Samuel, he argues, we can also find E in addition to J; both sources were reworked by a deuteronomistic redactor, and his hand is clearly discernible throughout the book, with the exception of 2 Samuel 9–20; these chapters contain old material, which is close to the events described in them. Finally, a post-deuteronomistic redactor added some new material and included those parts in Samuel, which had not been reworked earlier. It is noteworthy that Nowack devotes a chapter to the religious significance of Samuel. He finds that it offers valuable information on religion before Yahwism, and also after it became the national religion of the Israelites, when it was characterized by a strong exclusiveness: YHWH as the only God of Israel.<sup>72</sup> In this regard Nowack drew conclusions from his source theories in a way that reminds of Wellhausen's procedures in his epoch-making works.

The survey shows that in these last decades of the century there was an emphasis on the assumed postexilic redactor(s) and his/their expansions of the texts. This interest can be observed already in Kuenen's Hexateuch study, and C.H. Cornill's *Einleitung* (1891) adds another example to it. Cornill argues that there were three stages in the emergence of Judges (which form a parallel to the emergence of the Pentateuch): R<sub>j</sub>, when the sources J and E were combined; R<sub>d</sub>, when the deuteronomistic book of Judges was shaped; R<sub>p</sub>, when a later hand (influenced by P) added new material and made modifications. Also in Joshua, 2 Samuel 9–20, and Kings Cornill locates the sources J, E, as well as deuteronomistic insertions; but P dominates in Joshua 13–24, which is a product of R<sub>p</sub>, whereas Joshua 1–12 were influenced by R<sub>d</sub>. Like Kuenen he identifies two deuteronomistic layers in Kings: one preexilic (R<sub>d</sub><sup>1</sup>), and one later (R<sub>d</sub><sup>2</sup>) from after the fall of Jerusalem; there are also some later post-deuteronomistic additions, or *Spuren noch jüngerer Diaskeuase*, which reflect the latest reworking of Kings.<sup>73</sup>

### 2.7.2. *Intermediary Critics*

Characteristic of some of the studies that we will present here is that they argue for an earlier date of (some of) the sources and the historical books than other scholars assume. In his commentary on Samuel and Kings (1887) A. Klostermann acknowledges that these books are composed of the sources to which there are explicit references; they may also have been written by authors who them-

<sup>71</sup> Nowack, Richter-Ruth (1900), IV–XVIII presents a detailed discussion of the assumed pre-deuteronomistic book of Judges, see specially XII–XV.

<sup>72</sup> Nowack, Die Bücher Samuelis (1902), XIV–XXVIII.

<sup>73</sup> Cornill, *Einleitung* (1891), 85–89, 91–97, 103–104, 111–116, 122–129; the German quotation: 129.

selves participated in the events and commented on them.<sup>74</sup> He deals, however, only briefly with problems that were discussed minutely by other researchers, such as contradictions, duplications, ideological framework, literary composition, and context.

H.L. Strack, in his *Einleitung* (<sup>4</sup>1895), contends that the sources in general have been dated too late. The terminology in P does not prove that it belongs to a late time; on the contrary, many of its stipulations are older than those in Deuteronomy. Like Cornill (see 2.7.1.), he argues that P dominates in the second part of Joshua, which in its first part is composed by the sources J and E, and also by narratives and documents that are very old. D covers mainly Deuteronomy; only in the final redaction, when J, E, and P were reworked for didactical purposes, did the material in Joshua get some deuteronomistic features. Strack holds a similar view of the emergence of the Pentateuch: J, E, and P were already connected when Deuteronomy was added to them. On this issue he thus adopts Dillmann's theory referred to above (see 2.6.). In Judges and Samuel he finds very old sources as well, the additions in Judges 17–21 are from the time of the monarchy. In Judges one can observe an influence from D, especially in the "introduction" (Judg 2:6–3:6). Elsewhere in these books a deuteronomistic influence occurs only in a few places. In Kings, by and large, the wording of the sources was maintained; traces of reworking can be seen in the reflections on history and in some recurring and fixed phrases. The date of this activity, he argues, falls together with the redaction of the final shape of the book, in 562/61 BCE.<sup>75</sup>

Both W.W. Graf Baudissin (1901) and S. Oettli (1893) hold similar views as Strack. However, Graf Baudissin, who was also influenced by Cornill, argues more strongly than Strack that P may be older than D, and that Joshua–Kings were edited by a deuteronomistic redactor who was familiar with P (or parts of it) and reworked his sources at the end of the exilic period. Moreover, Graf Baudissin adopts the Hexateuch theory, but emphasizes that we cannot know whether the Hexateuch was edited by a deuteronomistic hand as well.<sup>76</sup> Oettli emphasizes the deuteronomistic redaction of Joshua and Judges, which also coloured the presentation of Joshua, the successor of Moses. However, the accounts of the conquest are reliable, and the narratives in Joshua were supplemented with those in Judges.<sup>77</sup>

A scholar who holds a similar view of the sources as W. Vatke (see 2.7.1.), but without drawing the same conclusions in all matters, is Ed. König (1893). On the basis of different terminology, such as phrases in Joshua and the following books which do not occur in the Pentateuch, he separates Joshua from the Pentateuch. He contends that Joshua is very old; there is no reason to assume that it was completed later than the Pentateuch. Although he admits that at least two of the Pentateuch sources occur in Joshua as well, it does not give sufficient support for

<sup>74</sup> Klostermann, *Die Bücher Samuelis und der Könige* (1887), XXVIII–XXXVI. Cf. the comments on his *Geschichte* above.

<sup>75</sup> Strack, *Einleitung* (<sup>4</sup>1895), 40–51, 52–56, 58–61. Strack speaks of a connection between the Pentateuch and Joshua only as regards their sources; he does not discuss the Hexateuch theory as such.

<sup>76</sup> Graf Baudissin, *Einleitung* (1901), V, 64–65, 159–178, 199–220, 260–263.

<sup>77</sup> Oettli, *Das Deuteronomium* (1893), 128–130, 212–218.

the Hexateuch theory, for which there is no convincing argument. As for Judges, König opposes the widespread opinion that it contains any of the sources in the Pentateuch and Joshua, and the theocratic ideals in Judges, which appear in the presentation of heroes in times of crisis, suggest other authors, who were also familiar with the events they describe. However, there are signs of reworking: Judg 1:1–2:5 was not the original introduction to Judges, and the theological interpretation of history, which runs like a scarlet thread through Judges 2–16, reflects the view of the Deuteronomist; but one cannot know with certainty that the Deuteronomist reworked the book. On this basis König suggests that the final edition was not made before the eighth century. He assesses the sources in Samuel and Kings in the same way: they have no connection with the Pentateuch and Joshua, and are very close to the events described in them and the later reworking is pre-deuteronomic. Points of similarity between Deuteronomy and the framework of the narratives in Kings are due to the fact that Kings were written in a time when the Law of Moses was coloured by deuteronomic terms and views. The fact that Kings are quite different from Samuel and Judges as to how the law and the covenant are presented, and as to how the sources are referred to, speaks against a common authorship of these books and Kings.<sup>78</sup>

Klostermann, Dillmann, Strack, and König – all of whom may be regarded as more or less conservative scholars – do not speak of a history work comprising Judges (alternatively Joshua)–2 Kings, as do Ewald, Wellhausen, and Bertheau.

### 2.7.3. *Researchers outside Germany*

Towards the end of the century biblical research was becoming more international in character.<sup>79</sup> The influential Dutch scholar, G. Wildeboer, wrote an introduction to the Old Testament literature, which was translated into German and published in 1895. He adopts the Hexateuch theory and the widespread opinion of his time on the chronology of the sources, and emphasizes that an author edited the Hexateuch and reworked Judges–Kings on the basis of the deuteronomic law. In the Hexateuch, such reworking is apparent in Exodus 19–24; 32–34, in Joshua, especially in chapters 1–12, and in some passages in chapters 13–24. Judges–Kings were reworked through several stages by a deuteronomic “school”: A pre-exilic history of the monarchy covered only Judges–Samuel, which was later reworked in a deuteronomic spirit. In, or shortly before, the Exile another reworking was done, in particular of Judg 2:6–16:31, when this material gained its present shape. Finally, in or after the Exile the history work, which comprised Judges–Kings, was edited: Judg 1:1–2:5 was put at the beginning of Judges, expansions were made in Samuel, and at the end of Kings the “canonical” editor inserted 2 Kgs 25:27–30 and arranged the chronology of the events presented in these books. Wildeboer adopts Kuenen’s view that Judges–Kings should be separated from the Hexateuch, because they present two different history writings: The history in Judges–Kings was written to warn the people

<sup>78</sup> König, *Einleitung* (1893), 246–269.

<sup>79</sup> Cf. Sæbø, William Robertson Smith (1998), 333–335; Rogerson, *Old Testament Criticism* (1984), 257–289.

of Israel, who after the fall of Judah were hoping for a restored future; it is a theodicy, which tries to show that the decline was a consequence of YHWH's righteousness. When Wildeboer discusses the composition of the Hexateuch, he adopts the view that the Hexateuch once existed as an independent work; but the "first editor" separated Joshua from the Pentateuch, before the Samaritans adopted the Pentateuch as authoritative scripture. Later editors carried out a priestly reworking of Joshua, as well as of the Pentateuch.<sup>80</sup>

In addition to the Scot W. Robertson Smith (see 2.6.), the English scholar S. R. Driver contributed significantly to the OT debate in general through his *Introduction*, which was translated into German in 1896.<sup>81</sup> In this book he indicates his acceptance of the Wellhausen position.<sup>82</sup> His views of the historical books, and also of the Hexateuch, are combined with a survey of the discussion in the last decades of the century, which may also serve to *sum up* the main points in this chapter:

Judges and Kings resemble each other in their mode of composition. In each a series of older narratives has been taken by the compiler and fitted into a framework supplied by him, the framework in both cases being composed of similar elements and designed from the same point of view, strongly influenced by the spirit of Deuteronomy. Judg 1:1–2:5 contain fragments of an old account, while Judg 2:6–16:31 relate older narratives, which were fitted into a framework by a later deuteronomic editor (compiler). However, there existed also a pre-deuteronomic collection of histories of Judges, which the same compiler set in a new framework. Judges 17–21 are composed of two continuous narratives, as, among others, Wellhausen and Kuenen suggested. In the first and third divisions of Judges one can hardly find traces of the deuteronomic redactor of the middle division. In Kings, there are likewise pre-deuteronomic and deuteronomic layers in the narratives; in 1 Kings 1–11, the compiler's hand is clearly distinguishable, as it is in the narratives of Elijah and Elisha (which are of North Israelite origin). The compiler of Kings was a man like-minded with Jeremiah and "almost certainly a contemporary who lived and wrote under the same influences". The redaction of Kings, however, was not entirely completed by the main compiler, "though it is only occasionally possible to point with confidence to the passages which belong to a subsequent stage of it". 1–2 Samuel were likewise constructed from pre-existing sources, but the compiler's hand is much less conspicuous there than in Judges and Kings. In 1 Samuel 8–12 there are two independent narratives, whereas chapters 16–18 relate two accounts of how David was introduced to King Saul. In 2 Samuel 1–20 we find a thread of history without interruption; however, chap. 8 marks a break. 2 Samuel 21–24 form an appendix to the main narrative. The assumed-latest parts of 1–2 Samuel have affinity to Deuteronomy (here Driver's view differs from Graf's conclusions), whereas the older parts of Samuel seem to be (much) closer to the events recorded in them.

<sup>80</sup> Wildeboer, *Die Literatur* (1895), 229–235, 241–245, 306–333, spec. 328, 332.

<sup>81</sup> The first English edition appeared in 1891. It is an indication of the atmosphere of the time, when Driver writes that E. Kautzsch rendered his book "valuable even in Germany". See Driver, *Introduction* (1897), XIV. Cf. also Graf Baudissin, *Einleitung* (1901), V.

<sup>82</sup> Cf. Rogerson, *Old Testament Criticism* (1984), 273–275, 282–285.

The main argument for the Hexateuch theory is the continuation of the sources JE and P in Joshua; in chapters 13–24, especially in the topographical descriptions, the work of P predominates. Driver argues also that, in this book, before it was combined with P, a deuteronomic editor added elements to JE, in order to emphasize the zeal shown by Joshua in fulfilling Mosaic ordinances; the same additions have frequent references to the occupation of the trans-Jordanic territory by Reuben, Gad, and the half-tribe of Manasseh.<sup>83</sup>

### 3. Chronicles

In pre-critical research, Chronicles served, among other proofs, to prove that the Law of Moses was in force from the time of King David onwards. Moreover, it was widely assumed that the author was Ezra the scribe.<sup>84</sup> However, in the beginning of the nineteenth century the situation changed, when L. Zunz (1832) and F.C. Movers (1834) provided arguments for a common authorship of Chronicles and Ezra–Nehemiah, which found wide scholarly acceptance and implied that the author was unknown.<sup>85</sup> Also, the reliability of Chronicles was questioned, and in this regard W.M.L. de Wette marked a turning point in research on Chronicles, as he did in the field of the Pentateuch.<sup>86</sup> His theories on Chronicles and the history of the cult broke new grounds in several respects.

#### 3.1. *Questioning the Reliability. W. M. L. de Wette; K. H. Graf*

De Wette claims to be the first to have recognised that the accounts of history in Samuel–Kings and in Chronicles are contradictory.<sup>87</sup> He argues against the then standard critical view, held by, among others, Eichhorn, that where Samuel and Kings on the one hand and Chronicles on the other have material in common, it is because they have drawn on a common source, which included the narratives of David and Solomon. De Wette contends that Chronicles used Samuel and Kings as a source, leaving out anything that was detrimental to David. The narrative of David as presented, especially in 2 Samuel, gives the impression of being an original work whose parts follow on logically from each other. This would

<sup>83</sup> Driver, Introduction (1897), 103–104, 159, 160–203. On the historical value of Judges, see 171–172; on the older and later parts of Samuel, see 183–185; the quotations: 199. On the characteristics of the sources of the Hexateuch, see specially 116–159.

<sup>84</sup> Of scholars in the nineteenth century holding this view, we mention Keil, *Biblischer Commentar* (1870), 14, 17.

<sup>85</sup> Zunz, *Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge* (1832), 13–36; Movers, *Kritische Untersuchungen* (1834). This view was mainly based on the linguistic resemblance between the books and the alleged uniformity of theological conceptions, see further Japhet, *The Supposed Common Authorship* (1968), 330–332. König, *Einleitung* (1893), 284–285, is one of the few scholars who argue that the supposed common authorship of Chronicles and Ezra–Nehemiah is difficult to prove. Without opposing Zunz, he shows that his solution should be open for discussion.

<sup>86</sup> A standard work on research of the reliability of Chronicles is Peltonen, *History Debated* (1996).

<sup>87</sup> See Rogerson, W. M. L. de Wette (1992), 56–57.



not be possible if the author of Samuel had been taking excerpts from a source. As for the cases where the Chronicler's account contradicts that in Samuel and Kings, they can be best explained by supposing that Chronicles had deliberately altered the material in Samuel and Kings to conform to a particular standpoint; Chronicles is a compilation using Samuel and Kings as a source. Another example, which confirms this view, is the bringing of the Ark of the Covenant to Jerusalem; the account in 2 Samuel 6 gives the impression of being a literary unit, whereas the account in 1 Chronicles 13–15 is presented only in sections, which is interspersed with other material.<sup>88</sup>

Second, de Wette argues that Chronicles is a much later work than Samuel–Kings, possibly dating from the time of Alexander the Great (ca. 330 BCE).<sup>89</sup> This is indicated by a tendency to emphasize supernatural details, by a preference for the tribe of Levi, by the removal of any hints that the cult in Judah or Jerusalem may from time to time have been mixed with unacceptable elements, and by a concentration on Judah, while almost everything in Samuel and Kings that has to do with Israel is omitted. All these features attest to the unreliability of Chronicles; it wrongly projected levitical institutions back to the time of David.<sup>90</sup> As has been correctly remarked, this position was so convincing that it has become the generally accepted view of modern scholarship, but it took over fifty years for it to gain wide acceptance in the nineteenth century.<sup>91</sup> This slowness shows that the study of source criticism, also in research on Chronicles, was still only in its beginning.<sup>92</sup>

Thus, Chronicles remained by and large to be considered a reliable source equal to Samuel and Kings. E. Bertheau, in the first edition of his commentary on Chronicles (1854), reflects, to a certain extent, the “old” position, since he doubts that the author of Chronicles knew Samuel and Kings; he presupposes that the authors of Samuel–Kings and Chronicles respectively, in most parts of their accounts, used material from older sources almost verbatim; their works are first and foremost compilations.<sup>93</sup> Among the conservatives, who were opposed to de Wette and defended the old view of the sources of Chronicles, we find C. F. Keil (1870).<sup>94</sup>

Another important contribution in the field was K.H. Graf's above-mentioned study on the historical books (1866), in which he, in its second part, argues that Chronicles is unreliable as a historical source for the events and the times which it describes, for the author does not distinguish between history writing and epic poetry. The author gives, however, important information on the spirit and character of the otherwise almost unknown fourth century, by presenting the past in the light of the ideals of the present, and comforting and

<sup>88</sup> De Wette, *Beiträge*, I (1806), 85–91; *Lehrbuch* (1852), 248–249, 255–256.

<sup>89</sup> De Wette, *Beiträge*, I (1806), 45; in *Lehrbuch* (1852), 242–243, de Wette is more cautious; he speaks of late Persian times or even later.

<sup>90</sup> De Wette, *Beiträge*, I (1806), 78ff, 126ff; *Lehrbuch* (1852), 246–248, 257.

<sup>91</sup> Rogerson, *W. M. L. de Wette* (1992), 57.

<sup>92</sup> Cf. Smend, *Über die Epochen der Bibelkritik* (1991), 21.

<sup>93</sup> Bertheau, *Die Bücher der Chronik* (1854), XLIV–XLV; in the second edition (1873) he holds basically the same view, but admits that in some places the Chronicler used Samuel as his source.

<sup>94</sup> Keil, *Biblischer Commentar* (1870), 7–25. Keil belonged to the so-called Hengstenberg School.

strengthening the community centred in Jerusalem. His intention was not to write history by using historical-critical methods; his work should rather be regarded as ecclesiastical history.<sup>95</sup> On these grounds Graf defends the Chronicler against his critics, and he also criticizes scholars like H. Ewald and Bertheau for putting Chronicles and Samuel–Kings on the same line regarding the use of sources in these literary works. Graf argues, as de Wette did, that the Chronicler's sources included Samuel–Kings, which he reworked and expanded for his purpose, and that he also had the Pentateuch at his disposal, from where he fetched, among other things, genealogies, without altering them, since he regarded the Pentateuch as a holy, commonly recognized book, whereas Samuel and Kings had not yet gained such status and could therefore be reworked to conform to the needs of the Chronicler's time. Moreover, Graf assumes that the Chronicler used other sources as well, which possibly contained some correct historical information. He drew, however, mainly on Samuel–Kings, to which he added his own expansions and concerns.<sup>96</sup>

When Graf contends that the Chronicler holds the Pentateuch in high esteem, he adopts a position taken already by Ewald. He also finds that the Chronicler expresses his concern most clearly in 2 Chronicles, where the parallels in Kings are easily discernible.<sup>97</sup> It should be noted that when Graf emphasizes the connections between Chronicles and the Pentateuch, he does not relate Chronicles explicitly to that material which he ascribes to the latest, postexilic supplementary source in the Pentateuch; nor does he connect Chronicles to priestly circles, although he observes the cultic concerns in Chronicles. In this regard it was Wellhausen and Kuenen who took the debate further steps forward. However, Graf's contention that Samuel–Kings were at the Chronicler's disposal and served as his main source had an important effect on research.

Graf's influence can be observed in the *second* edition of Bertheau's commentary on Chronicles (1873). Here Bertheau modifies his earlier view and admits that in some parallels the most plausible interpretation is that the author of Chronicles made use of Samuel–Kings, but he does not go so far as to say that they were his main source. He argues that the author made extensive use of several sources, above all the books of the Kings of Judah and Israel respectively, and that the term *midrash* in 2 Chr 13:22; 24:27 refers to a commentary on those books, which the author probably used elsewhere as well, without mentioning it explicitly. Bertheau lists also the passages in the Pentateuch, to which references are made in Chronicles. The author, he suggests, was a temple musician, who wrote ca. 400 BCE.<sup>98</sup>

However, the diversity of scholarly opinions is demonstrated when we turn to T. Nöldeke's previously mentioned study (1868). He contends that Chronicles applied only few sources, of which the main ones were (1) Samuel and (2) the lost annals of the kings, which formed the basis for the present books of Kings and of Chronicles. The Chronicler's preference for Judah, his omission of negative features in the description of the kings of Judah, his priestly-levitical interest and his view that the cult

<sup>95</sup> Graf, *Die geschichtlichen Bücher* (1866), 246: to the Chronicler, the history of Israel was *nur eine Kirchengeschichte*. He applies this assessment to both the lists and the narratives in Chronicles.

<sup>96</sup> Graf, *ibid.* 187.

<sup>97</sup> See Graf, *ibid.* 114–124; cf. 136–137, 142, 145, 148–153, 162–163, 172–173, 183–186, 195–200, 205–210, 216–217, and 246–247.

<sup>98</sup> Bertheau, *Die Bücher der Chronik* (1873), XXVI–XLVII. The same interpretation of *midrash* was given by Keil, *Biblischer Commentar* (1870), 21. On different interpretations of this term, see further the presentations of Wellhausen, Winckler, Benzinger and Kittel below.

in old times was conducted in the same way as in postexilic times, – all these characteristics show that he worked very carelessly (*sehr nachlässig*).<sup>99</sup>

### 3.2. *The Chronicler's Source: "ein spätes Machwerk". J. Wellhausen*

It is the merit of Wellhausen that he, in his studies on Chronicles, draws consistently on his theories on the sources of the Pentateuch (Hexateuch). Having described the three periods of time to which he related the sources J-E, D, and P, and also the development of religion attested in each of them, which ended in what he regarded as the decline of the earlier "fresh" nature-related religion, Wellhausen states that Chronicles belongs to the period of priestly dominance in the community and is strongly influenced by priestly ideas; cultic-ritual interests have put their stamp on the presentation of history. These concerns, as well as all the genealogies and statistical material, show how history writing had changed compared with that in Judges–Kings. Focusing on these features Wellhausen draws a connection between Chronicles and P. In the chapter of *Prolegomena* that precedes his discussion of Chronicles, he deals with the development of the cult including the privileges of the clergy, and concludes that the historical situation of the priestly demands, which are related in P, is the Persian period.<sup>100</sup> Chronicles, he argues, was written after the fall of the Persian Empire, three hundred years after the Babylonian Exile (and the redaction of Samuel–Kings), and stands in the very centre of Judaism. By means of a close examination of Chronicles – with references to, and in agreement with, de Wette – Wellhausen shows that many of the modifications of Samuel–Kings in Chronicles are quite often based on the laws of the Pentateuch, above all on the priestly codex, and that they were adjusted to the Chronicler's ideology without being founded on historical facts. He concludes that there are no traditions from pre-exilic times in Chronicles.<sup>101</sup> The modifications of Samuel–Kings in Chronicles, as well as the additions, are all flowing from the same well, in which the past is transformed into Judaism.<sup>102</sup> This well, Wellhausen argues, cannot be the canonical book of Kings, for Kings does not contain the material to which 1 Chr 9:1; 2 Chr 33:19 refer. The nature of most of the Chronicler's information suggests that his source was *ein der wirklichen Tradition fern stehendes und spätes Machwerk*, which added apocryphal expansions to the canonical book of Kings, in the same way as the scribes expanded the holy story. Wellhausen finds evidence for this source in Chronicles itself, in the references to the commentary (*midrash*) on the Book of the Kings (2 Chr 24:27), and to the story (*midrash*) of the prophet Iddo (2 Chr 13:22). He contends that the term *midrash*, which occurs only here in the Hebrew Bible, has the same meaning in these two places as in Judaism, and it is the real title of the source which otherwise in Chronicles is referred to as the

<sup>99</sup> Nöldeke, *Die Alttestamentliche Literatur* (1868), 51, 58–59; the German quotation: 62.

<sup>100</sup> Wellhausen, *Prolegomena* (1886), 154–172, spec. 168–172.

<sup>101</sup> Wellhausen, *ibid.* 190, 195–198, 205, 208–209, 214–218, 226–229 (on Levites and priests).

<sup>102</sup> Wellhausen, *ibid.* 231: ... *es ist die Judaistrung der Vergangenheit, in welcher sonst die Epigonen ihr Ideal nicht wieder erkennen konnten.*

Book of Kings. This suggests that Chronicles belongs to the times of the scribes (1 Chr 2:55) and was written in the atmosphere of Judaism.<sup>103</sup>

### 3.3. Research towards the End of the Century

The influence of the above-mentioned theories appears in both introductions and commentaries from the last two decades of the century. In all of them the question of sources is a central issue, especially the meaning of the term *midrash*.

W. Vatke presupposes, without discussion, that the Chronicler made use of Samuel, Kings, and a reworked edition (*midrash*) of the books of the kings of Israel and Judah, which in postexilic times included narratives about the prophets, to which Chronicles refers so frequently. Chronicles is not reliable, since it adapts history to the needs of its own time, ca. 260 BCE. Vatke argues for Zunz' theory of a common authorship of Chronicles and Ezra–Nehemiah by drawing a connection between the genealogies of David in 1 Chr 3:19–24 and the genealogy of the priests in Nehemiah 12: They end at approximately the same time in history.<sup>104</sup> Ed. König's discussion of the relationship of Chronicles to Samuel is somewhat fragmentary; he applies, however, like Vatke, a broad meaning of *midrash*, which includes all the sources on which the history of the monarchy is presented in Chronicles. He does not give a precise date, but suggests that it is later than Ezra and the prophets.<sup>105</sup> H. L. Strack argues that the many references in Chronicles to the history of the two kingdoms by means of different names all refer to *ein umfangliches Werk*; the author wrote from the standpoint of priests and Levites in Hellenistic times and also used lists, as well as material from Genesis, Samuel and Kings.<sup>106</sup> E. Kautzsch gives a similar assessment of the author and contends that the priestly-levitical concerns occur most clearly in passages that have parallels in Samuel and Kings. His interpretation of the *midrash* in question is the same as that of König and he dates Chronicles to ca. 300 BCE.<sup>107</sup>

A few years later (1901), W. W. Graf Baudissin used *midrash* in a narrower sense, applying it to the unknown Book of the Kings of Judah and Israel. As for other sources, he argued that we cannot know whether the Chronicler used Samuel–Kings, but he was probably familiar with them. The Chronicler employed his sources, which included the narratives of the prophets, in an arbitrary manner and he is responsible for all modifications of parallels in Samuel–Kings. His presentation of history is based on the spirit of P.<sup>108</sup>

<sup>103</sup> Wellhausen, *ibid.* 234–235; the German quotation: 234. De Wette held a similar view of the term *midrash*, see de Wette, *Lehrbuch* (1852), 253–254. For a different interpretation of the *midrash* referred to in Chronicles, see Bertheau 3.1. above. A broad definition of *midrash* and a survey of the scholarly discussion of the term, were later offered by Budde, *Vermutungen* (1892), 37–51.

<sup>104</sup> Vatke, *Einleitung* (1886), 478–482, who gives some further arguments for the common authorship; cf. similarly H. E. Ryle, below.

<sup>105</sup> König, *Einleitung* (1893), 269–275.

<sup>106</sup> Strack, *Einleitung* (1895), 146–148.

<sup>107</sup> Kautzsch, *Abriss* (1897), 108–115.

<sup>108</sup> Graf Baudissin, *Einleitung* (1901), 268–278.

H. Winckler, who was influenced above all by Graf, but also by the emergent religion-history studies of the 1890s, discusses Graf's view that there may be some historical kernel behind the material that the Chronicler found in other sources than Samuel–Kings, which Winckler calls *midrash*. He contends that this theory may be correct, but that the material in question must be carefully examined in each case, also in the light of our knowledge of the Ancient Near East. The Chronicler shares not only the ideology of the *midrash* in question, but presents also the history of Judah in the spirit of P.<sup>109</sup>

S. Oettli (1889) defines, like Wellhausen, *midrash* as a commentary on sources to which Chronicles refers, such as the Book of the Kings of Judah and Israel, and the story of the prophet Iddo; the first-mentioned included the other narratives of the prophets. Other sources at the Chronicler's disposal were the genealogies in Genesis and probably Samuel–Kings. Oettli opposes Wellhausen's negative appraisal of Chronicles and considers it a reliable source.<sup>110</sup>

Another scholar at the turn of the century is I. Benzinger, who pays particular attention to the cultic profile of Chronicles (1901): Chronicles contains ecclesiastical history (*Kirchengeschichte*), which the Chronicler wrote in the spirit of the priestly law; he also transformed history to adapt it to the idea of retribution: piety and welfare, sin and disaster, belong together. This ideology reflects the time of the Chronicler, but was not an innovation, for it occurs already in the Chronicler's sources, except in Samuel–Kings; the Chronicler only emphasized it. This concept is the product of a development, which had been going on through generations, namely the transformation of history into legends. Benzinger contends that the sources outside Samuel–Kings, to which he applies the term *midrash*, were good sources; they are mentioned by name (e.g. "the Book of the Kings of Judah and Israel", words of a named prophet, etc.) and had a devotional, unifying character. The Chronicler also used Samuel–Kings, roughly speaking in the same form as we have them. A third kind of sources were stories and notes, which he may have fetched from one and the same history work. His focus on the Levites suggests that he belonged to their circles and compiled his work around 300 BCE. Benzinger emphasizes more than other interpreters the ideological continuity of Chronicles with the past, and argues that the genre *midrash*, in the meaning devotional literature, has ancient roots. He applies this term to collections of older sources.<sup>111</sup>

In his commentary on Chronicles (1902), R. Kittel adopts the widely accepted view of his time that there was a common authorship of Chronicles and Ezra–Nehemiah. The books are late, from the time of Nehemiah, and the language is *geschriebenes Hebräisch, Papiersprache*. The Chronicler interprets his time by means of the past. For example, the genealogies are inserted to show that families can trace their origin back to the times of old, and the narratives of David and Solomon relate these kings to the Temple and the cult. The Chronicler focuses on the Temple and the ecclesiastical history of Judah (*Kirchengeschichte Judas*), and he favours those in the people who support the congregation: God will reward them and punish the wicked. Chronicles reflects also the society of its

<sup>109</sup> Winckler, *Untersuchungen* (1892), 157–167.

<sup>110</sup> Oettli / Meinhold, *Die geschichtlichen Hagiographen* (1889), 8–13. Oettli refers often to the views of Strack and Klostermann, with whom he agrees.

<sup>111</sup> Benzinger, *Die Bücher der Chronik* (1901), VIII–XVI.

times, when there was no independent state, only a religious community under foreign leadership, which finds its strength in the past. Chronicles is a *midrash*, or more precisely, a collection of many *midrashic* works; some of the sources are the book of Kings known to us, and the older book of the Kings of Judah and the book of Isaiah, as well as additions from authors who were spiritually closely related to the Chronicler. The latest additions stem from the third century and focus on the tribe of Levi. In short, Chronicles is built on a variety of sources.

In this view there are clear connections to Bertheau, as well as to de Wette, Graf, and Wellhausen. Kittel draws upon them all, either in agreement or in disagreement with them. He shares, in several respects, de Wette's and Graf's positive views on the ideology and intention of Chronicles, which therefore makes Wellhausen's pejorative assessment of Chronicles an exception in research. Kittel applies also the term *midrash* to the sources that are different from those in Samuel–Kings, but he uses it in a positive sense, as do several scholars of the century.<sup>112</sup>

Among the scholars to whom Kittel refers, we find S.R. Driver, who, like many of his German predecessors, holds the view that Chronicles and Ezra–Nehemiah form a single continuous work, which deals with the ecclesiastical aspects of the history. It can be dated, at earliest, to shortly after 333 BCE, probably to ca. 300; the language is in decadence and from the character of the narrative it is a probable inference that the author was a Levite, who reflects the spirit of his age: Institutions of the present, such as the cult, are represented as organized and completed by David, although they had been developed gradually. In these and similar representations there is much that cannot be strictly historical. The past is idealised, and its history, where necessary, has been rewritten accordingly. The rituals of the priestly code are also duly observed. Driver adds, however, that it is unnecessary to deny that a traditional element lies at the basis of the Chronicler's representations and he draws a stronger connection to the accounts in Samuel and Kings than many German scholars did in the previous years.

Driver offers a comprehensive discussion of the sources of Chronicles arguing that it consists partly of a series of excerpts from the earlier historical books (i.e. Genesis–2 Kings), partly of additions composed by the Chronicler in some cases, in other cases they are probably from written documents. It seems clear, he contends, that the book of the Kings of Israel and Judah referred to in Chronicles, is not the book of Kings at our disposal, nor was it identical with either of the books cited as authorities in Kings. The *midrash*, twice mentioned in Chronicles, could be a commentary on Kings. Driver gives no negative assessment of it, as Wellhausen did, and he suggests that the prophetic stories referred to were independent sources, and not parts or sections of one historical compilation, as Ewald, Bertheau, and Kuenen argued. In Driver's view the most important of the sources is the book of the Kings of Israel and Judah, which probably was a post-exilic work and contained statistical material; it was written in a spirit congenial to that of the restored community.<sup>113</sup>

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<sup>112</sup> Kittel, *Die Bücher der Chronik* (1902), VI–XVI; the German phrases: VII, VIII.

<sup>113</sup> Driver, *Introduction* (1897), 516–519, 527–540.

## 4. Ezra–Nehemiah

At the core of critical research on Ezra–Nehemiah throughout the nineteenth century were questions of sources, date, and historical reliability. However, the relationship to the Pentateuch is also at stake, when scholars comment on the references to the law in these books: Which law is in focus? It appears that the answers, in some way, are related to the new Pentateuch theories in the century. This problem will be treated first.

### 4.1. *The Law in Ezra–Nehemiah*

A. Knobel, who wrote before Graf and Wellhausen (in 1861), argued that the law, which Ezra introduced to the postexilic community, was Deuteronomy and older laws attached to it.<sup>114</sup> However, E. Bertheau, in his commentary on Ezra and Nehemiah (1862), did not connect the law in Ezra–Nehemiah to any of the sources in the Pentateuch. He speaks only of the law (*das Gesetz*) in Neh 8:1–12, as he does when he contends that the obligations in Num 29:1 formed the foundation for the actions of the leaders that are related in Ezra 3:2, and when he argues that the prescriptions in Lev 23:39–43; Deut 16:13–15 were the basis for the initiatives taken by the leaders and the people, which are described in Neh 8:13–18.<sup>115</sup>

Wellhausen took a different position. In the third part (C) of his *Prolegomena*, named *Israel und das Judentum*, he examines Ezra and Nehemiah. The discussion covers only a few pages and topics. There, however, he draws further conclusions from the theories about the history of the tradition, which he presented in his discussion of the historical books in the previous parts. There is no doubt, he argues, that the law, which Ezra read to all the people according to Nehemiah 8, was the whole Pentateuch. Wellhausen focuses on the many parallels between the two accounts in 2 Kings 22–23 and Nehemiah 8–10, which also A. Kuenen, but not other scholars, had considered important. The former account informs that the unknown law book of Deuteronomy, which was introduced by Josiah (in 621 according to Wellhausen), became the authoritative law of Judah, just as the latter account narrates that an expanded version of the law (the Pentateuch including P) was introduced by Ezra, probably in 444 BCE, upon the arrival of Nehemiah in Jerusalem. In this event, the expanded law became the authoritative law of the people and Ezra made the Pentateuch the foundation of Judaism. The parallels between the two accounts indicate that the Pentateuch including P was unknown until Ezra introduced it. As it happened when Josiah introduced Deuteronomy to the people, it happened again now: The written word, the Pentateuch including P, which Ezra introduced, replaced the spoken word; Ezra took the final step to make the people of the word the people of the book. In the fol-

<sup>114</sup> Knobel, *Numeri, Deuteronomium und Josua* (1861), 570, 579–580, 590, 598–599.

<sup>115</sup> Bertheau, *Die Bücher Esra, Nechemia und Ester* (1862), 45, 204–217.

lowing years other books were, over time, attached to the law and gained an authoritative status. The process of canonization had begun.<sup>116</sup>

To a certain degree, these theories had an impact on research in the following years. In his commentary from 1901, D.C. Siegfried, with reference to K. Budde's study published in the previous year, contends that the law read by Ezra was the foundation of the P source (*die Grundlage der Quelle P*), which Ezra had brought with him from Babylon. Siegfried also observes that the command in Lev 23:40–42, to which Neh 8:14 refers, belongs to the Holiness Code (H).<sup>117</sup> There is, however, some ambivalence with A. Bertholet, who in his commentary from 1902 argues that the law from which Ezra read (Neh 8:3), was P, but in Neh 8:18 the references are to both P and H. Moreover, in Neh 10:34 it is uncertain whether the law referred to is P, and in Ezra 9:11–12 Ezra quotes the law in both H and Deuteronomy, not literally, but in a completely free and arbitrary combination. From this Bertholet concludes that Ezra did not yet know a fixed canon, the formulation of the law was still in flux.<sup>118</sup> Also W.W. Graf Baudissin (1901) argues that H belongs to the law from which Ezra read according to Nehemiah 8, and he adds that Deuteronomy was included in this law book as well. When Ezra introduced the priestly law, it gained the same authoritative status as H and Deuteronomy already had.<sup>119</sup> In 1889, S. Oettli contended, like Bertheau did in 1862, that Neh 8:13–18 refers to the prescriptions in Lev 23:39–43; Deut 16:13–15. They are, however, not applied literally, but are adapted to the current situation.<sup>120</sup>

#### 4.2. Sources, Date, Historical Reliability

It may be fruitful to compare two influential scholars from the middle of the century with some other leading researchers at the end of the century.

E. Bertheau (1862) rejects the older traditional view, as also held by C.F. Keil later, that Ezra and Nehemiah were the authors of the books named after them.<sup>121</sup> He argues that these books belong to one consistent history work, which includes Chronicles, produced by the same author, around 300 BCE. He was primarily a compiler, who wrote only a few longer passages; his sources were the memoirs of Ezra and Nehemiah respectively, in addition to the Aramaic source in Ezra. Bertheau discusses features in Ezra–Nehemiah, such as interruptions, new beginnings, sudden alterations from the first to the third person, changes in the form of narrating, the splitting up of connections by means of

<sup>116</sup> Wellhausen, *Prolegomena* (1886), 423–429. Wellhausen states that P (*der Priesterkodex*), having been inserted into the Pentateuch, became *das definitive 'mosaische Gesetz'* and thus the standard legislative part of the Pentateuch, and that Ezra made the Pentateuch *zur Konstitution des Judentums* (424; cf. 427). The varied terminology, which Wellhausen applies to P and the Mosaic Law elsewhere (423–429), should be understood in the light of this distinction.

<sup>117</sup> Siegfried, *Esra, Nehemia und Esther* (1901), 105 n. 1, 103. Cf. Budde, *Der Kanon* (1900), 30–31.

<sup>118</sup> Bertholet, *Die Bücher Esra und Nehemia* (1902), 41, 69, 72, 79.

<sup>119</sup> Graf Baudissin, *Einleitung* (1901), 192–199.

<sup>120</sup> Oettli / Meinhold, *Die geschichtlichen Hagiographen* (1889), 195.

<sup>121</sup> Keil, *Biblischer Commentar* (1870), 402, 498–499.



insertions, and shifts of presentations of Ezra and Nehemiah. All these features he explains by suggesting that a history writer, in order to comply with his purpose, gathered many paragraphs or minor parts of information from the sources at his disposal, put them together and created a new consistent work.<sup>122</sup>

T. Nöldeke (1868) focuses on the historical reliability of the sources. The Chronicler, he argues, applied most of the Nehemiah memoir at his disposal and quoted it verbatim, whereas he used only fragments of the Ezra memoir, and also modified it. The Aramaic source is far less valuable (*weit weniger werthvoll*), because it confuses King Darius II with King Darius I, and also confuses decrees concerning the Temple and the city walls. Moreover, it contains some false documents. The shift from third to first person (in Ezra 7) and the sudden introduction of the Aramaic source show that the Chronicler compiled his sources carelessly. Through his radical modifications of the sources he presents *ein merkwürdiges Bild geistiger Strömungen im Judenthum*. Nöldeke refers, as Vatke did, to Neh 12:10–22 and 1 Chr 3:19–24, to show that the Chronicler carried out his work late, approximately 200 BCE.<sup>123</sup>

At the end of the century many of the same arguments and positions were still in the centre of research. D. C. Siegfried (1901) contends that Ezra–Nehemiah, in its present shape, is a compilation of the Chronicler, who used an Aramaic book from ca. 450 BCE and rendered the memoirs of Ezra and Nehemiah partly verbatim, partly by modifying them; he also applied excerpts from other sources. Siegfried argues, in agreement with Ed. Meyer and against Wellhausen, for the authenticity of the Aramaic parts.<sup>124</sup>

A. Bertholet (1902) holds similar views and emphasizes the value of the memoirs as first hand historical sources for our knowledge of the author's time and the topography of Jerusalem. This reliability applies especially to the memoirs of Nehemiah, which Bertholet finds to be less reworked than the memoirs of Ezra. The author adopted large parts of these memoirs without changing them, but he is responsible for the third person references to Ezra and Nehemiah. Bertholet argues also for the authenticity of the Aramaic parts; other material he ascribes to the author or to sources unknown to us, in which the author transferred contemporary issues to the past, such as the hostility of the Jews to the Samaritans (Ezra 4:2). The duplicates in Ezra 1:1–3; 2 Chr 36:22–23 shed light on, and can also be explained by, the process of canonisation: Ezra–Nehemiah were first included in the canon; later, when Chronicles was included, the material in 2 Chr 36:22–23 was added to provide a bridge to Ezra and to avoid the sad ending in verses 17–21.<sup>125</sup>

S. Oettli (1889) has a similar interpretation of Ezra 1:1–3; 2 Chr 36:22–23. He also considers the sources by and large reliable, since they were written shortly after the events related in them. The (unknown) redactor, however, lived later, at the end of the Persian or at the beginning of the Hellenistic period (cf. Neh

<sup>122</sup> Bertheau, *Die Bücher Esra, Nechemia und Ester* (1862), 6–16.

<sup>123</sup> Nöldeke, *Die Alttestamentliche Literatur* (1868), 62–65; the German quotations: 62, 64.

<sup>124</sup> Siegfried, *Esra, Nehemia und Esther* (1901), 7, 11–12. Cf. Meyer, *Die Entstehung* (1896), 21–30.

<sup>125</sup> Bertholet, *Die Bücher Esra und Nehemia* (1902), XIII–XVI.

12:10, 22). He was mainly a compiler who organized and applied only parts of his sources, thereby omitting the years 516–458 and 457–45 BCE. The differences between the lists in Ezra 2 and Neh 7:6ff are not due to the redactor, but occurred in the sources that he used.<sup>126</sup>

Bertholet was one of the first German scholars who referred to researchers from the English-speaking world, such as C. C. Torrey and S. R. Driver, and he agreed, to a large extent, with Driver in the authenticity of the Ezra and Nehemiah memoirs.<sup>127</sup>

Driver (1897), like many others, argues that Ezra and Nehemiah are a compilation by an author, who to all appearances was the Chronicler, who had an interest in the Temple. To Driver the chronological sequence is a problem: Neh 7:72b–10:40 is from the memoirs of Ezra. It reflects the situation in research at the turn of the century when Driver pays special attention to the chronological sequence of the events in the restoration period and discusses the consequences of different views for the role of Ezra the priest and Nehemiah the governor.<sup>128</sup>

Another British scholar, H. E. Ryle (1899), contends that Ezra and Nehemiah preserve a series of incidents illustrative of the beginnings of Judaism, rather than a continuous narrative. The author was a compiler, neither Ezra nor Nehemiah, but one who used their writings; perhaps he was the same as the compiler of Chronicles. He took an Aramaic chronicle and inserted it without changes in his own history. The date of compilation was not earlier than 320 BCE, since the compiler considered Nehemiah's days as past history (Neh 12:47); at least two generations had succeeded that of Nehemiah (Neh 12:10–11, 22).<sup>129</sup>

C. C. Torrey, in his monograph on Ezra–Nehemiah from 1896, departs from the widespread consensus on the sources of these books, and also on the author's role in the compilation. He argues that the Chronicler's written sources are represented only by the following sections: Ezra 4:8–6:14 (a free composition in Aramaic) and Nehemiah 1; 2; 3:33–6:19 (the authentic Memoirs of Nehemiah), since there is no reason to suppose that any other sources, written or oral, were used by the Chronicler; he was the sole author of the supposed Memoirs of Ezra. Only parts of Nehemiah 1–6 are historically reliable since the author's interest was the Jewish people of his time; he did not intend to write history in accordance with his sources.<sup>130</sup>

Returning to German scholarship in the 1890s we find that A. Klostermann (1896) holds views similar to Ryle's: Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah form, in this sequence, one history work of a man, who lived in the transition from the Persian to the Hellenistic period. He wrote in order to serve the congregation of the Second Temple and of the law. The author steps back behind his sources, which have an absolute authority, and he lets them speak by quoting them verba-

<sup>126</sup> Oetli / Meinhold, *Die geschichtlichen Hagiographen* (1889), 148–152.

<sup>127</sup> Bertholet, *Die Bücher Esra und Nehemia* (1902), refers to Driver, *Introduction* (1897), on pages XIV, 1, 9, 10, 11, 13, 44, and to Torrey, *Composition* (1896), on pages 8, 34, 50, 53, 72, 90.

<sup>128</sup> Driver, *Introduction* (1897), 544–554. On research on the last-mentioned problems, see 552–553.

<sup>129</sup> Ryle, *The Books of Ezra and Nehemiah* (1899), 5–8, 23. Cf. similarly Nöldeke and Vatke above.

<sup>130</sup> Torrey, *Composition* (1896), 1–2.

tim. In the first person sections the author identifies himself with the community, in the third person parts he separates himself from it. In the memoirs he relates only what he found written there.<sup>131</sup>

Introductions to the OT reflect the situation in research on Ezra–Nehemiah in the last two decades of the century. The five studies presented briefly below share the view that Ezra–Nehemiah relate the early postexilic history in a chronological order, i.e. Ezra 1–6 narrates the first return until the rebuilding of the Temple was accomplished; the following chapters relate the return of Ezra (in 458) and his achievements, and the book of Nehemiah gives a report of the activities of Nehemiah upon his first and second arrivals in Jerusalem (in 445 and 433). W. Vatke emphasizes that the events are presented fragmentary in Ezra, because Ezra's achievements are described also in Nehemiah 8–10. Thus, the author selected from his sources and reworked them; his focus on priests and Levites suggests that he was the Chronicler. He wrote in the middle of the third century BCE and refers to his own work [i.e. Chronicles] in Neh 12:23.<sup>132</sup> Both Ed. König and E. Kautzsch hold similar views and emphasize the close connection between the books of Ezra and Nehemiah, and also that a variety of sources were reworked by the author. König gives detailed information on research, but he is rather careful in presenting his own position.<sup>133</sup> W.W. Graf Baudissin argues that the author (the Chronicler) applied his sources mostly verbatim and presents correctly the sequence of events including the chronological order of Ezra and Nehemiah. In the first part of Ezra, however, the Chronicler is not reliable in all respects, because he mixed the account of the rebuilding of the Temple with that of the rebuilding of the wall of Jerusalem. Moreover, in Ezra 2 he reproduced, with minor modifications, the genealogy of the returnees in Neh 7:6ff.<sup>134</sup> H.L. Strack, in his brief discussion of these problems, concludes differently from the three previously mentioned scholars by arguing that the author, to a large extent, used his sources *unverändert*.<sup>135</sup>

At the end of the century there seems to be an increasing disagreement on the chronology and the sequence of events as presented in Ezra and Nehemiah. Some scholars tried to solve these problems by launching theories, which D.C. Siegfried characterized as radical criticism.<sup>136</sup> They may be summarized as follows:

(1) There was no return from Babylon to Judah under the leadership of Zerubbabel in 538 BCE. (2) Those who had been left behind in Judah rebuilt the Temple (2 Kgs 25:12, 22–26), the returnees did not participate. It is the author of Chronicles and Ezra–Nehemiah who ascribed the rebuilding of the Temple to the returned exiles and related the first return to Zerubbabel. (3) The first return took place under the leadership of Ezra, but not before Nehemiah's stay in Jerusalem in 444 BCE, as usually assumed, but in 433 BCE. (4) Only after Ezra's return was the postexilic congregation constituted, who accepted the authority of the book of the law, which was introduced by Ezra the priest (Nehemiah 8).

Scholars like the Belgian A. Van Hoonacker and the Dutch W.H. Kusters in the 1890s were among the strongest advocates of such theories, especially of the chronological order of Ezra and Nehemiah; but they were not the first ones.<sup>137</sup>

<sup>131</sup> Klostermann, *Geschichte* (1896), 212–219.

<sup>132</sup> Vatke, *Einleitung* (1886), 483–495.

<sup>133</sup> König, *Einleitung* (1893), 276–285; see also his assessment of the supposed common authorship of Chronicles and Ezra–Nehemiah in 3. above; Kautzsch, *Abriss* (1897), 108–115. Kautzsch dates Chronicles and Ezra–Nehemiah to ca. 300 BCE, see 3.3. above.

<sup>134</sup> Graf Baudissin, *Einleitung* (1901), 279–300.

<sup>135</sup> Strack, *Einleitung* (<sup>4</sup>1895), 149–150.

<sup>136</sup> Siegfried, *Esra, Nehemia und Esther* (1901), 12.

<sup>137</sup> Van Hoonacker, *Néhémie et Esdras* (1890), 151–184, 317–351, 389–401; idem, *The Return*

Already in 1867 Eb. Schrader objected to the traditional view that the Temple was rebuilt as early as in the second year of the return; he regarded it unlikely that the returnees, who were so eager to rebuild the Temple, would have waited ca. fifteen years before they started on the project.<sup>138</sup> However, the view that those who remained in Judah also rebuilt the Temple after the Exile, found little support; and Ed. Meyer (1896) defended (against Kusters) the generally accepted view of the history of the restoration period, and argued (against Wellhausen) also for the genuineness of the documents cited in Ezra 4–7.<sup>139</sup> This debate had the effect that Wellhausen, in his reply to Kusters, made some concessions to him in the matter of the return under King Cyrus, and in regard to the possibility that Ezra's activity in Jerusalem may have followed that of Nehemiah.<sup>140</sup>

In conclusion, it may be maintained that the historical question – in a broad meaning of the phrase – was *the* problem in studies on the historical books in the nineteenth century. Sources were located with remarkable accuracy, theories were launched, analysis was made, and conclusions were drawn in a way which reflects a high degree of confidence in what a historical-critical approach to the Bible texts was able to say about their origin, transmission, redaction, reliability, historical contexts, and theological profile.

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(1896–97), 351–354; Kusters, *Die Wiederherstellung Israels* (1895), 4–42. For a further presentation of the two scholars, see Peltonen, *History Debated* (1996), 343–350.

<sup>138</sup> Schrader, *Die Dauer des zweiten Tempelbaues* (1867), 500.

<sup>139</sup> Meyer, *Die Entstehung* (1896), 8–71; idem, *Julius Wellhausen* (1897), 249–272 [3–26].

<sup>140</sup> Wellhausen, *Die Rückkehr* (1895), 166–186. On the discussion in the 1890s, see further Bertholet, *Die Bücher Esra und Nehemia* (1902), XI–XIII; Siegfried, *Esra, Nehemia und Esther* (1901), 12–14; Torrey, *Composition* (1896), 1–4; Driver, *Introduction* (1897), 551–553.

## CHAPTER TWENTY

# Prophecy in the Nineteenth Century Reception

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## 1. Introduction

Three distinct challenges require noting at the outset, as these will help explain the parameters within which the chapter must proceed. The reception of prophecy in the nineteenth century will be focused for the purpose of this volume on what will in time be called ‘classical prophecy’, that is, the prophetic literature associated with Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel and the Minor Prophets (The Book of the Twelve). On the one hand this is a restriction, as the Former Prophets (Deuteronomistic History) and Daniel will not be given sustained attention. On the other hand, this may seem like a traditional category that takes its bearings from the canonical presentation, as against a history-of-religion lens. That is not the intention of the essay, but simply belongs to the necessity of setting some practical limits.

Yet even this practical necessity could mask a much larger and more interesting phenomenon, with which over time the discipline would adjust to and accept reflexively, but which in the nineteenth century was a matter of enormous significance and controversy. Mention of this must introduce any serious discussion of the topic at hand. Prior to the nineteenth century it had of course been taken for granted that the canonical presentation mirrored the history of religion, and in that conception, prophecy was inextricably tied to law. The prophets were the successors of Moses. They taught what he was vouchsafed to receive. Deuteronomy in its canonical position demonstrated the pivotal character of ‘seconding’ the law, and so indicated the providential nature of a transition from Moses as Lawgiver and Prophet, to a succession of prophets following in his train and teaching for their generations the revealed moral, civil, and cultic will of God received by him at Sinai and identified in natural ways with the Pentateuch as his

book. Such a presentation was reinforced in the canonical order and sequencing, and this was so even when Bibles in translation would provide a different order, with the classical prophets (as defined above) in final position, and including Daniel.<sup>1</sup> The New Testament's reference to the contents of the Old Testament as 'Moses and the Prophets' or 'the Law and the Prophets,' in other words, was left undisturbed by canonical orders that in fact separated the Pentateuch from the 'Latter Prophets' (with Daniel). It was not this separation that led to the conception of prophecy as a category worthy of its own treatment such as we shall now undertake. Rather, prophecy would come into its own in the reception history of the nineteenth century for other reasons, having to do with a massive adjustment in the canonical portrayal in all its parts.<sup>2</sup>

Chief in this regard was the emergence of the source-critical understanding of the Pentateuch, associated with the work of Vater, de Wette, Vatke, Graf, Reuss, Kuenen and Wellhausen, itself a development of suggestions from Spinoza, Simon, Eichhorn and others.<sup>3</sup> This model, whereby the Law of Moses was reduced to a small collection of legal material and narrative reports associated with the Yahwist source, would conspire to alter forever the portrayal of prophecy, such as we now instinctively approach it in the present period.

It cannot, however, be our task in this essay to dwell on the new Pentateuchal model in its details, however much it is true that prophecy in the nineteenth century is intimately tied up with it and cannot be understood without sustained reference to the controversial and epoch-making character of the new conception. To remove Moses and the Law from a position of priority would forever change the way prophecy was understood. The prophets would emerge as the ground floor in a new history-of-religion conceptuality, and the task would be both to accurately account for their life and work and also to place them in proper order.<sup>4</sup> The first task entailed stripping back the book presentation afforded by the canon so that the prophet as historical individual would emerge in sharp focus, and the second was a natural extension of this. Once the canonical portrayal of Moses and the prophets was subject to adjustment, the prophetic literature would likewise be in need of proper restatement according to the sequential development of the prophets within Israel's religious life. It would not merely be that failure of the prophets to refer in sustained ways to the Mosaic ordinances meant the Priestly and Deuteronomic codes were later than them, if not a stifling of their spirit and vocation.<sup>5</sup> It would require as well understanding how the editing of books like Jeremiah and Ezekiel, as later prophetic witnesses, had themselves received editorial additions influenced by these later legal and

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<sup>1</sup> Seitz, *The Goodly Fellowship of the Prophets* (2009).

<sup>2</sup> Seitz, *Prophecy and Hermeneutics* (2007).

<sup>3</sup> Good English-language accounts of this important juncture in Old Testament studies can be found in Rogerson, *Old Testament Criticism in Nineteenth-Century England and Germany* (1984) and Hayes / Prussner, *Old Testament Theology: Its History and Development* (1985).

<sup>4</sup> An outstanding example of this can be seen in the lectures of W. Robertson Smith, delivered in Edinburgh and Glasgow in 1882, and published as *The Prophets of Israel and Their Place in History* (1882). The work of Duhm, *Die Theologie der Propheten* (1875), might also be cited, a discussion of which follows below.

<sup>5</sup> A representative quote from Wellhausen is included below, p. 10.



cultic developments (Jeremiah and D; Ezekiel and P). And although Daniel was not considered one of the Prophets according to the Hebrew tradition, and will not be so treated here, at the period in question both his book and that of Isaiah formed the virtual proving ground of the new critical model with its fresh understanding of the prophetic office, now no longer identified in straightforward ways with the literature associated with them.<sup>6</sup>

In sum, while it will be outside our remit to set forth the details of the penta-teuchal theory, its impact on the interpretation of the prophets in the nineteenth century is everywhere to be acknowledged. An account of the prophets must be given which understands that impact and accepts its massive influence on what will emerge as an independent account of the prophets as such. It is not to be forgotten that the earliest statements of the way the books of Moses came to form usually spoke of a ‘Hexateuch’, and again one sees how the canonical portrayal, including the first book of the Former Prophets, was being adjusted according to a very different understanding.<sup>7</sup>

A third challenge involves giving proper proportion to the topic in the light of a full appreciation of what one might understand as reception history. Our discussion will focus on scholarly (university and theological faculty) accounts of the prophets. The prodigious character of this scholarship is in large part to do with the turmoil associated with it. The nineteenth century saw a massive redrawing of conceptual lines, and this did not happen without resistance. In some places on the map of reception history, the new conceptions were rejected out of hand.<sup>8</sup> But for the most part, engagement with the topic was unavoidable, and even the most conservative defenders of an older approach nevertheless had to enter the field of battle. One could write an essay on reception history in the nineteenth century and do nothing more than tell the story of the founding of Princeton Seminary and the efforts in the long century to work through these debates, as faculty members read widely and then travelled to France, Britain, the Netherlands, and especially Germany, finding occasional allies, but always accepting that the new theories had to be engaged.<sup>9</sup> It is probably only partly accidental that the Old Princeton School, for all practical purposes, came to an end as the century itself ended, with the death of William Henry Green. After that, the models for understanding the Law and the Prophets had become facts on the ground in America, Britain and the Continent, and what was left for the

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<sup>6</sup> For an example of the conservative resistance, see Pusey, *Daniel the Prophet* (1864); Green, *Moses and the Prophets* (1883).

<sup>7</sup> De Wette speaks of the “theocratical-historical books”, by which he means the books that “contain the history of the theocracy”, especially the “books of Moses and Joshua” which “contain the history of its establishment”, *A Critical and Historical Introduction*, II (1843), 18. Early source-criticism of course included Joshua with the Books of Moses and found sources (or fragments) across these six books (Hexateuch).

<sup>8</sup> I have in mind here the preaching of the Church; Church School curricula; hymnody; lectionary practices; seminary lecturing; general publications. John Rogerson does a fine job explaining how the Anglican world accommodated itself to the new theories in the life of the Church, including preaching and popular lecturing contexts, *Old Testament Criticism* (1984), 274–289.

<sup>9</sup> See the excellent, detailed account of Marion Taylor, *The Old Testament in the Old Princeton School* (1992). William Henry Green died in 1900, and the brief period to follow Taylor categorizes as “The Erosion of the School”.

twentieth century to undertake was synthesis and further refinement. The nineteenth century's controversies were such that a genuinely international discipline emerged.

## 2. Prophets and Law

Prior to the nineteenth century, it was axiomatic that the prophets were later than, and were the teaching successors of, Moses. This view was based upon a combination of the canonical portrayal itself (e.g., Joshua as Moses' successor), the statement of Deut 18:15 concerning the raising up of prophets, infrequent references within the prophetic material to a succession (Jer 15:1), the idea of prophets in schools or guilds (e.g., Elijah and Elisha; the 'sons of the prophets'; Isaiah and his disciples), and the New Testament's subsequent perspective. But foremost was the basic notion of Israel's religious foundation at Sinai with Moses at its centre. Who could the prophets be if not the successors of Moses, dependent upon his written legacy?

On rare occasion the fact that the prophets cited actual Mosaic injunctions infrequently was thought to be significant. Calvin, commenting on the appearance in Micah and Isaiah of similar language from God (Isa 2:2–4; Mic 4:1–4), called attention to the fact that neither named the other explicitly. Calvin, in commenting on Mic 1:1, acknowledges that one prophet is sufficient, still "it pleased God that a testimony should be borne by the mouth of two, and that holy Isaiah should be assisted by this friend and, as it were colleague".<sup>10</sup> In this context Calvin continues by seeming to say that the prophets heard the testimony of one another and were gratified in discovering that they were saying the same thing, as delivered by one and the same God. In commenting on Mic 4:3, he speaks of direct borrowing, "Micah was not ashamed to follow Isaiah and to borrow his words...he designedly adopted the expressions of Isaiah, and related verbally what he had said, to show that there was perfect agreement between him and the illustrious minister of God, that his doctrine might obtain more credit" (ibid.). Somewhat in the spirit of Calvin, the eventual editor of his translated works will point to an issue that had been crying out for comment in this context where cross reference is being evaluated, that is, why the prophets do not explicitly cite Moses and his legislation. At most, Isaiah and others might say, 'to the law and the testimony' (Isa 8:20). The conclusion is drawn that God intends that we view the prophets as divinely inspired and authoritative, and that this is underscored by their lack of need constantly to invoke Moses by name.<sup>11</sup>

Similarly, Luther speaks of the prophets as focused in their preaching on the

<sup>10</sup> Calvin, *Commentaries on the Twelve Minor Prophets*, III (1950), 152.

<sup>11</sup> And so the editor, in his preface on Jonah, Micah, Nahum, concludes, sensing the issue: "Their communications proceeded from the same Author; and there was no necessity to confirm what they said by referring to what the Law sanctioned. The same God, who gave the Law by Moses, sent his messages to the people by his Prophets. And hence arises a strong, though, as it were, an incidental, proof of the Divine character of what they have written". I searched in vain for Calvin's own explicit referencing of the issue. I suspect the apparatus for reshuffling the canonical presentation was so far off, conceptually, that the matter was left without comment.

First Commandment, but makes no reference to the fact that this happens without explicit appeal to the Decalogue's letter.<sup>12</sup>

Early in the nineteenth century, with a new account of the law emerging, the prophets would take on a correspondingly new character. Whether holding to a source-critical or fragmentary hypothesis concerning the origins of the Pentateuch (Hexateuch), in either case this entails a loosening of the idea of Mosaic authorship or an early, pre-prophetic dating for the bulk of the material (even when some linkage to Moses was theorized, as with Eichhorn or de Wette). Pivotal for dating the maturing materials (in Elohist and Yahwistic renditions) was the account of the discovery of the Book of the Law in the eighteenth year of King Josiah (meaning either Deuteronomy itself or Deuteronomy as the final book of a virtually complete, combined law book, including Genesis). Since the time frame for considering pre-classical and classical prophecy extended much earlier in Israel's history, the prophets emerged as figures with their own integrity as speakers of the divine will. De Wette stressed their preaching as tied up with God's justice, and especially divine retribution, both inside and outside the nation of Israel.<sup>13</sup> This would not prevent him from referring to levitical and deuteronomic statements where such a principle was given (he speaks of Leviticus 26 and Deuteronomy 28), but one has a sense that the prophets know this by inference, and by virtue of their prophetic vocation under God, rather than as successors of Moses, persuaded by his literary record. The gradual character of the law's development into a written form, such as we now have it, would not be used to separate the prophets from the law in a strict sense.

In time the situation would change within those circles where the business of dating sources of the Pentateuch was a priority. The division of the elohistic source into an early, modest narrative form ('E' proper) and a large-scale legal document, to be called the Priestly source proper, would alter the picture as it had existed in the early nineteenth century. The energy released by this transposition of the dominant strand of the Pentateuch to the post-exilic period was felt most keenly in the interpretation of the prophetic literature. For now one could glimpse the prophets as the real progenitors of Israelite religion, unencumbered by legal codes or understandings of sacrifice, cultic obedience, and centralization of worship. How one accounted for the inspired character of the prophets would become the central fascination, and the model chosen would turn on the theological and philosophical predilections of the interpreter and his setting independently of a consideration of the intention of the canonical form (neology and rationalism adopting a natural law framework; mediating theology seeking to understand the revelatory impetus and noetic content of prophetic activity as grounded in the character of God, objectively given to the prophet; pietism and romanticism, where the insights of the prophet in religious impulses vouchsafed

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<sup>12</sup> Raeder, *The Exegetical and Hermeneutical Work of Martin Luther* (2008), 388; Bornkamm, *Luthers Vorreden zur Bibel* (1967), 67.

<sup>13</sup> De Wette, *Canonical Scriptures* (1843), 354. His introductory statement is: "The Predictions of the future were occasioned by, and founded upon, the idea of retribution – as we see in Levit. xxvi. And Deut. xxviii. – and on the unshaken confidence in the love of Jehovah towards his people" (354).

to him as God's agent of higher sensibility were critical, and so forth).<sup>14</sup> But ingredient in all of these accounts was the annexing of the prophetic literature and the Prophets as inspired figures from the canonical foundation in Law.

Wellhausen's prefatory comments in the Prolegomena make the point well, even as it would be his concern to plot the evolution of the legal material and leave to others the generation of exciting reconstructions of the prophetic materials proper. He writes:

In my early student days I was attracted to the stories of Saul and David, Ahab and Elijah; the discourses of Amos and Isaiah laid strong hold on me, and I read myself well into the prophetic and historical books of the Old Testament...at the same time [I] was troubled with a bad conscience, as if I were beginning with the roof instead of the foundation; for I had no thorough acquaintance with the Law, of which I was accustomed to be told that it was the basis and postulate of the whole literature...But it was in vain that I looked for the light which was to be shed from this source on the historical and prophetic books. On the contrary, my enjoyment of the latter was marred by the Law; it did not bring them any nearer me, but intruded itself uneasily, like a ghost that makes a noise indeed, but is not visible and really effects nothing...At last, in the course of a casual visit in Göttingen in the summer of 1867, I learned through Ritschel that Karl Heinrich Graf placed the Law later than the Prophets, and, almost without knowing his reasons for the hypothesis, I was prepared to accept it.<sup>15</sup>

Similar statements would be made by W. Robertson Smith in Scotland, Charles Briggs in the United States, and S. R. Driver and others in England, the protestations of the Old Princeton School notwithstanding.<sup>16</sup>

The new model for understanding the prophets of Israel would be animated by just this spirit of discovery and enthusiasm. If the prophets were uninfluenced by Moses and his legislation, it would also be the case that they were individuals of the highest order, encumbered by fellowship even within the own ranks. What was characteristic of classical prophecy (as against earlier forms of prophetism, with their guilds and charismatic associations) was the solitude of the individual. This was underscored by recourse to a new form of historical contextualization, whereby the specifics of the audience and setting were fore-grounded. This was not a novelty itself, for earlier treatments (throughout the history of interpretation, and inclusive of the eighteenth century depictions of Robert Lowth) also stressed the prophetic personality and sensibility.<sup>17</sup> But historical specification of the kind that would emerge in force in the nineteenth century also sought to divorce the prophet from the book associated with him. The search for the authentic words of the prophet took on a kind of moral urgency, both in the Victorian rhetoric of George Adam Smith, or in the appeal to reformation principles of freedom and *sola scriptura* in W. Robertson Smith's writing and public addresses.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>14</sup> For an account of the various species of theological interpretation (rationalism, neologism, pietism, mediating) see Frei, *The Eclipse of Biblical Narrative* (1974).

<sup>15</sup> Wellhausen, *Prolegomena* (1878; repr. Cleveland 1957), 3.

<sup>16</sup> Robertson Smith, *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church* (1881), and from his lectures delivered in Edinburgh and Glasgow in 1882, *The Prophets of Israel* (1882); Briggs, *The Right, Duty and Limits of Biblical Criticism* (1881), 550–579 (and see the insightful evaluation of M. Taylor, *Old Princeton School* [1992], 233–238); Driver, *Introduction* (1891).

<sup>17</sup> Lowth, *De sacra poësi Hebraeorum* (1753).

<sup>18</sup> G. A. Smith's enormously popular account of the Minor Prophets served to ease the British

Once the books no longer pointed reflexively to their authors, in the innocent manner of previous centuries, nor to Moses as their spiritual foundation, the prophets were birthed as distinct individuals into a new dispensation. The literature, which had indicated associations of various kinds by means of cross reference and repeated language (Isaiah material found in Kings; Micah quoted in Jeremiah; Joel and Amos sharing language; Joel, Jonah, Micah and Nahum quoting or alluding to the compassionate formula now found in Exodus 32–34; Isaiah and Micah using the same language; Obadiah and Jeremiah 49, and so forth), would cease carrying the burden of literary and religious interconnection in either the lived life of these prophetic figures or in the theological cohesion of their message as providentially determined in the counsels of the one God inspiring them as a totality. If such integration was to be sought, it would not be brokered by the canonical presentation – which was being reorganized – but by a theory supplied by the interpreter, having to do with history of religion, salvation history, tradition history, or a model of spiritual illumination (or decline).

Throughout much of the nineteenth century, attention would be paid to this dimension, but equally, the technical matters of determining authenticity and the reorganization of a ‘correct’ historical presentation were of necessity in the foreground. It would take time before a single dominant sequence of prophetic activity would find wide assent,<sup>19</sup> but the succession and association features of previous centuries of interpretation were being replaced, and even conservative reactions would find themselves thrust onto a new playing field. In the early twentieth century Isaiah and Daniel would continue to concentrate the energies of conservative apologetics, even while the idea of historical contextualization and the provision of a new sequence were accepted on all sides. At issue was a maximal or minimal account of that.

## Prophets in Order

Although the order of the Major Prophets (Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel) is not the only one attested, it is the dominant one and has been reproduced in most printed Bibles.<sup>20</sup> In the history of interpretation, the Minor Prophets, whose length is equivalent to that of the single scrolls of the Major Prophets, was usually treated in commentary formats as a single work, comprised of individual voices. The final position of The Twelve in modern Bibles is not nearly so widely attested in earlier lists, as this collection frequently appears before Isaiah. Daniel may therefore conclude the Old Testament (in orders that depart from the tripartite).<sup>21</sup>

The size and ambition of the Major Prophets as literary works, and their lack

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public into the new model, especially because of his sensitive theological handling; see Seitz, *The Book of the Twelve* (2004), 151–172. Rogerson, *Old Testament Criticism* (1984), 275–281, rightly notes the impact of W. Robertson Smith in his treatment.

<sup>19</sup> See below the evaluation of Duhm and his late dating of Joel and Jonah, division of Isaiah, and other standard sequential assumptions.

<sup>20</sup> *B. Batr. 14b* has the order Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Isaiah.

<sup>21</sup> Extended discussion of lists / orders can be seen in Seitz, *Goodly Fellowship* (2009).

of obvious cross reference, meant that they were the subject of discrete interpretation, worthy of the name 'Major'. Their order was of no special moment, beyond the appropriateness of their historical activity in this sequence.<sup>22</sup> In time, of course, Isaiah would be divided into smaller sections, but even this might warrant an initial position due to the scale of the prophetic address, from the days of Uzziah well into the Persian period (however one might account for that). Jeremiah's and Ezekiel's historical specification is of a different order. Early nineteenth century accounts, influenced by newer pentateuchal considerations or not, maintained a loose commitment to the order presented in printed Bible of the day. De Wette speaks of "theocratic-historical" as distinct from "theocratic-inspired" so as to keep the order of popular printing practices in view.<sup>23</sup> To the first category belong the Pentateuch and Former Prophets (historical books), including those writings with an historical character (Ezra-Nehemiah, Ruth, Chronicles, Esther). To the second belong the Latter Prophets (Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and The Twelve) and a later prophetic production with a completely different character (Daniel).<sup>24</sup> The language of 'theocratic' is probably a holdover from models which retained the idea of phases of religion coordinated with the canonical presentation, as in Oehler's more traditional Mosaism, Prophetism, Scribalism.<sup>25</sup>

De Wette inaugurates a practice that will gain wide currency in the nineteenth century for dealing with the Major and Minor Prophets, even as the canonical order is maintained in his treatment. He therefore begins with Isaiah and separates "genuine" from "later", "miscellaneous" (from the Men of Hezekiah, with reference to Bertholdt's appeal to Baba Batra), or "spurious" passages – describing Isaiah 40–66 all the same as "deserv[ing] great praise on account of their lively and flowing style".<sup>26</sup> Jeremiah and Ezekiel are treated in like manner.

The Book of the Twelve presents something of a format challenge, and the persistence of this challenge will span the century. De Wette notes the long tradition of reading the Minor Prophets as one book, glossing this with a conjecture about its time of final composition and consolidation. He then examines the collection in its present canonical order, beginning with Hosea and concluding with Malachi. The tradition that the books are in chronological order, and that undated books take their temporal location from their dated neighbors, goes back to a suggestion of Jerome. But as we shall see, this suggestion is treated with indifference by some pre-critical commentators, and de Wette does not mention it at all. What he does provide by way of intimation is a chart which shows a divergent order in certain Septuagint-lists, the traditional list which he follows (in first position), and a list under the rubric "According to Chronology".<sup>27</sup> So his treatment is a hybrid, in that he treats the Minor Prophets in canonical order,

<sup>22</sup> Eichhorn does note the significance of Isaiah's anthological character and the appropriateness of locating the book next to The Twelve for this reason (see the discussion below).

<sup>23</sup> Introduction to the Canonical Scriptures, II (1850), 18, 350.

<sup>24</sup> "This later shoot of prophecy belongs to a time long after them", *ibid.* 491.

<sup>25</sup> Oehler, *Theology of the Old Testament* (1883).

<sup>26</sup> De Wette, *Critical Introduction*, II (1850), 390–393.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.* 436.

but also provides minimal glosses about their historical setting in the course of the treatment.<sup>28</sup>

The most intriguing thing about the list is the way it demonstrates two different systems at work for deducing the historical sequence. One involves the awareness of literary citation within the canon, and requires a sense of the order of dependence; the other is based upon historical references found within the books. In the tradition, it had been long noted that Amos begins and ends (Amos 1:2; 9:13) with language which appears in Joel (3:16; 3:18). The earliest nineteenth century provision of lists “according to chronology” saw this as evidence that Amos drew upon Joel. Joel is therefore usually listed as the earliest prophet. But because Jonah’s date can be secured unproblematically by recourse to 2 Kings 14 (this was an earlier tradition), he is therefore placed before Amos, who has by the time of de Wette found his historical position in front of Hosea. This leads to a strange order of Joel-Jonah-Amos-Hosea. The first two books here will in time become the last two in most lists, because the system of literary dependence will get altered, as the individuality of the prophets increases and the sense of robust attachment to the works associated with them decreases. What the early nineteenth century saw as significant in terms of literary association, probably because of the persistence of canonical orders in the format presentation, as one moved from book to book, would in time recede in importance or be accounted for within a new sequence of individualized treatments as the consequence of editing.

The other adjustment in the chronological list is the placement of Zephaniah before Habakkuk, in the light of conjectures regarding the implications of the superscription and also Zephaniah’s reference to Assyrians (2:13), and Habakkuk’s to Chaldeans (1:6). The issue will surface with force in some subsequent treatments, as it entails the character of the prophet as supernaturally endowed to speak of things beyond his own day.<sup>29</sup> Apart from these few adjustments, the canonical order is maintained in the treatment, and the historical order is not far from it.

It will be useful briefly to contrast this early nineteenth century treatment with that of Eduard Reuss in 1881 (the Alsatian many regard as having dated the law later than the prophets, as early as 1834).<sup>30</sup> The genre that would emerge and begin to dominate bore a title unlike de Wette’s traditional sounding “Contributions to an Introduction”, that is, we now have a ‘History of the Sacred Scriptures of the Old Testament’ proper. The canonical literature was now to be enclosed in a scaffolding entirely historical in character, based upon a reconstruction of when the various sections of the Old Testament might be located according to their time of composition. So alongside a (still early) Joel and Jonah, we find the Yahwist and other compositions.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid. 434–480.

<sup>29</sup> Pusey, *The Minor Prophets, I–II* (1860).

<sup>30</sup> “The prophets are older than the law and the Psalms are later than both” is the way he would come to phrase it when he finally published his views in *Die Geschichte der Heiligen Schriften Alten Testaments* (1881), vii. In the preface, he refers to his lectures in the summer term of 1834 when this view came to him.

One sees clearly in Reuss' historical, sequential presentation a collapsing of various genres as well as a complete redistribution of the canonical order. One can also sense that earlier critical views, which had kept intact the canonical order of the Minor Prophets in general terms, is now coming under dispute. So while he retains Joel in first position, one sees that various new evaluations are being brought to bear, including those which would make Joel the latest prophetic witness. From a distance it is intriguing to see Joel and Jonah followed by the "the Yahwist", "the Blessing of Moses", and "the Primeval History", before moving to Hosea, Zechariah 9–11, "the Song of Moses", Isaiah, Job, Ruth, and the Book of Samuel.<sup>31</sup> Deuteronomy is a central episode. Joshua is treated after Jeremiah and "additions to Deuteronomy". The larger book of Isaiah, especially sections 24–27, 34–35, and 40–66, is slowly being dismantled, as now the primary lens for seeing these prophetic and other works is a chronological one.<sup>32</sup> All this appears in a conception whereby the historical era are cast into four large 'books': The Period of the Heroes (including the Judges, Early Prophets, Samuel, David); The Period of the Prophets; The Period of the Priests; the Period of the Scribes.<sup>33</sup>

As the century draws to a close perhaps the most popular and representative account of the Prophets is that associated with Bernhard Duhm, who would also produce the commentary on Isaiah that set a marker down on the critical interpretation of that work.<sup>34</sup>

Duhm's *Die Theologie der Propheten* (1875) bore the subtitle, "as basis for the internal, developmental history of Israelite Religion". At least three things should be said about the presentation of this work. First, the order of the prophets as given by Duhm reflects what will become a standard account in time; that is, the critical method was beginning to settle into something like its own 'canonical' order. Amos is in his now famous signal position. Joel and Malachi are the latest prophetic works. Isaiah is divided into two main divisions, with certain chapters later still. Secondly, the prophets are now fitted into a schema which reflects the historical realities of serial Ancient Near East powers, providing us with Assyrian period prophecy, Babylonian period prophecy, and Persian period prophecy. This is glossed in various ways so that the development of Israelite religion might be grasped. The beginning is marked by strong religious personalities who speak words of judgment to contemporaries, calling for the judgment of first Israel and then Judah. Deutero-Isaiah marks a sublime turning point, with a focus on the Servant of Yahweh, and promises of a more universal character. This is followed by a period of disillusionment, taking the form of eschatological and other-worldly speculation, on the one side, and a turn to Jewish theocracy on the other. Roughly in this form, the history-of-religion framework of Duhm will persist well into the twentieth century.

Finally, it should not be forgotten that an independent treatment of the prophets is itself an accomplishment that inaugurates a genre in publication. The older connective tissue to Mosaism, in whatever form that was allowed, is dis-

<sup>31</sup> Ibid. 243–304.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid. 403–405, 422–425, 426–437.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid. xiii–xv (Table of Contents).

<sup>34</sup> Duhm, *Das Buch Jesaia* (1892).



pensed with as the prophetic introduction comes into its own. Duhm would follow this with his own expanded enlargement in the following century, with the simpler title, reflecting the new consensus about textbook presentations, *Israel's Prophets* (1922).<sup>35</sup> Here we see greater refinement, as Trito-Isaiah now takes a place alongside Deutero-Zechariah. Joel and Habakkuk are the final witnesses, along with Jonah and Ruth. The genre of "The Prophets" as an independent treatment was born. The effect of this was also registered in commentary series. No longer would Isaiah be treated as a single volume in major series, and if a single book publication format was retained, then the subsections would be treated as independent prophetic accomplishments of Deutero-Isaiah, Trito-Isaiah, and a host later editorial additions.

The Book of the Twelve, or Minor Prophets, would continue to be treated as a single volume in several significant publications (G. A. Smith or E. B. Pusey).<sup>36</sup> This was of course a longstanding tradition, going back to Theodore of Mopsuestia and maintained in the history of interpretation up to the period of Calvin and kindred Reformation treatments.<sup>37</sup> The emphasis on the individuality of the prophetic figure would challenge this tradition. Moreover, given that the new sequence was itself predicated on a proper determination of the historical order and development of the prophetic vocation in Israel, the sequence given in the present order of the Twelve would become only a starting point for reconstruction and nothing more. This would be true as well for series that handled the Minor Prophets as a totality, for the job of the commentator was still to treat the books as independent affairs, dating them, indicating which portions were secondary or 'inauthentic', and leaving matters of association to the side.<sup>38</sup> Reuss had placed Joel before Amos (if somewhat reluctantly) because the criterion of literary association was still in play.<sup>39</sup> A focus on the prophets as independent figures, warranting their own individual commentary treatment, would either tend to bypass this aspect, or would account for it as something editorially supplied and so not indigenous to the 'authentic' oracles of the historical prophet. In sum, the new model at its starting point was now Amos-Hosea-Micah (and only those oracles which could be confidently ascribed to them) and Hosea-Joel-Amos was judged without interpretative significance. Moreover, Joel had once been viewed as the earliest prophet, joined by Jonah, and now they were the latest prophetic voices. Jonah became a sort of a 'fairy-tale' (*märchenliebende*) story

<sup>35</sup> Duhm, *Israels Propheten* (1916).

<sup>36</sup> G. A. Smith's lectures were first published in 1896, *The Book of the Twelve Prophets, I-II* (rev. edn. 1928); Pusey, *Minor Prophets, I-II* (1860).

<sup>37</sup> See now the English translation and annotation of Hill, Theodore of Mopsuestia (2004).

<sup>38</sup> One of the last treatments of the nineteenth century to deal both with matters of literary association and the present order as historically appropriate (with some exceptions; Amos started his career before Hosea) is Keil / Delitzsch, *The Twelve Minor Prophets* (repr. 1951). They write, e.g., of Obadiah: "That Obadiah does not belong to the prophets of the captivity, or to those after the captivity, may be generally inferred from the position of his book in the collection of the twelve minor prophets... More precise information may be obtained from the contents of his prophecy, most especially from the relation in which it stands on the one hand to the prophecy of Jeremiah (xlix.7-22) concerning Edom, and on the other hand to the prophecy of Joel" (339-340). See my extended discussion of Keil's nineteenth century evaluation of the Minor Prophets in Seitz, *Prophecy* (2007), 106-109.

<sup>39</sup> *Geschichte* (1881), 243-248.

(Duhm), commenting on Israelite prophecy through the vehicle of a humorous parabolic protagonist.<sup>40</sup>

The alternative to the developmental model was hard to come by in the case of the Minor Prophets. The present order and arrangement of The Twelve (that a divergent order existed in a Greek translation was not of great moment here) was itself not transparently chronological. The tradition (from Jerome) that undated books should be treated as contemporary with their dated neighbors was on occasion cited as a warrant for doing so, and the generally chronological order of the dated books might lend some support to this notion. But this was insufficiently bolstered in the final editorial form of the Twelve as a whole to be accepted without challenge. Undated books did not necessitate a treatment that associated them with their canonical neighbors, even as this probably factored into the hesitancy in earlier nineteenth century treatments to move Joel and Jonah from the beginning of the historical sequence.<sup>41</sup> Calvin had been content to see Obadiah as a prophet from the Babylonian period, and the wider canonical account of Edom at the Fall of Jerusalem and literary associations with Jeremiah 49 were influential in his understanding of the setting.<sup>42</sup> So, too, Calvin interpreted Habakkuk in a way that suggested the work may follow that of Zephaniah.<sup>43</sup> But the wrong conclusion would be that Calvin worked hard to discover the original setting in a manner that would become a requirement in nineteenth century accounts. Rather, he sits easy to historical setting because he is interested in religious edification and only sees history as a realistic stage on which this more dominant subject matter is being played out.

In the nineteenth century, however, the reshuffling of the canonical sequence and the logic of determining what was authentic and inauthentic was carried out with such high seriousness that it was difficult to know what the alternative model might look like. Pusey was vitally concerned that the zeal for proper historical contextualization was threatening the traditional understanding of the prophetic office itself, as surely having to do with speaking over and above the historical circumstances in which the prophet found himself placed down by God. The foreteller became, in these historically reordered accounts, forth-teller only (to use a phrase that would become common). So Pusey found himself arguing for the position of Habakkuk prior to Zephaniah as critical to the proper theological interpretation of his activity as spokesman for God.<sup>44</sup> Habakkuk

<sup>40</sup> Duhm, *Israels Propheten* (1922), 406.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>42</sup> "Now at what time Obadiah prophesied, it does not appear, except that it is probable that this prophecy was announced, when the Idumeans rose up against the Israelites and distressed them by many annoyances: for they seem to be mistaken who think that Obadiah lived before the time of Isaiah. It appears that Jeremiah (ch. xlix.) and this Prophet made use of the same thoughts and nearly the same words, as we hereafter shall see", Calvin, *Commentaries on the Twelve Minor Prophets*, 2 (1950), 418.

<sup>43</sup> "But as he denounces an approaching judgment on the Chaldeans, he seems to have prophesied either under Manasseh or under the other kings before the time of Zedekiah; but we cannot fix the exact time", *ibid.* 4 (1950), xiii.

<sup>44</sup> "The investigation into the age of Habakkuk could be easily and briefly settled, if we would start from the prejudice, which is the soul of modern criticism, that a prediction of the future, which rested, not on human inferences or on a natural gift of divination, but on supernatural illumination, is *impossible*", Pusey, *Minor Prophets*, 2 (1860), 169–170.

needed to see something in the activity of the Chaldeans that was not capable of being seen by reading the times accurately, or having a higher sensitivity, or deducing from general principles the necessity of Assyria to be followed by another power in the Levant. At stake was the supernatural endowment held to be part and parcel of the prophetic office itself, and Habakkuk's position in the Twelve, before the book of Zephaniah, was thought by Pusey to reinforce that and show it to be so. Calvin in an earlier day could sit easy to this, even as he would have agreed in large measure with the account of prophecy held by Pusey in the mid-nineteenth century. But the climate was such, and the alternatives Pusey was seeing put before the public in the new accounts of prophets as inspired individual forth-tellers so impoverishing, as he saw it, the order of the Minor Prophets was called on to do duty for a theological account of prophecy it was likely never meant to do.<sup>45</sup>

So it would be the case that the new historical sequence would eventually be adopted by conservative interpreters as the twentieth century opened and ran its course. The issue to be fought over was the extent of the books to be attributed to the historical figures said to have 'authored' them. While Daniel and Isaiah might well be defended as traceable to single authors, the sequence and order that emerged in the nineteenth century in respect of other prophetic witnesses was generally accepted. The new order, and the individuality of the prophetic author, became facts on the ground as the nineteenth century drew to a close. Conservative and more progressive interpreters both found themselves attracted to the ideal of the morally charged prophetic individual, and the canonical form of that presentation became less of concern than the question of historical specification, in either maximal or minimal form. The element of literary association, which had played a major role in determining the proper sequence to begin with, was now something that failed to garner sufficient attention, as the individuality of the twelve prophets and their colleagues became the major lens through which to understand prophecy as such. The Book of the Twelve would become a collection of individual prophetic figures, whose works would be subject to an assessment that tied them to the individual in history, splicing in the other Major Prophets, or parts of their books, into a single, sequential history of religion. This was the main accomplishment of the nineteenth century research. It remains now to look at the Major Prophets and how they fared in the course of this important century.

#### 4. Isaiah

As the century opened it was a widely held view that the book of Isaiah went back to a single individual author. Stating it in this way might well give the wrong impression, however, as it would require the new orientation of history-of-religion, as this gained momentum in the course of the century, to raise the status of questions concerning prophetic authorship in a new and unprecedented

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<sup>45</sup> Seitz, *Prophecy* (2007), 106–109.

way. Robert Lowth's influential work, *De sacra poësi Hebraeorum* (1753),<sup>46</sup> set forth an account of prophetic inspiration that focused on the human agent. But in his hands the high moral and aesthetic character of the prophet did not conflict with the predictive charism, which in the case of Isaiah would require the inspired human author to speak to his own day and also see events centuries later, at one and the same time. That is to say, in chapters 40–66 the prophet Isaiah did not straightforwardly set before his own contemporaneous audience a message that they would have understood to be associated for a later day and not themselves. Instead, it appeared that rather than speaking to a distant future ('now it shall be in the latter days') the prophet was himself transported there, because the addresses of these later chapters is also contemporaneous speech and not prediction in the strict sense. Nevertheless, it did not so stretch the bounds of what the pre-nineteenth century understood to be prophetic inspiration to hold that one book contained the speech of a single individual in two different modes of address, spanning a time frame of several centuries. Lowth could therefore conclude that Isaiah delivered the prophecies of chapters 40–66 "in the latter part of the reign of Hezekiah".<sup>47</sup>

It is interesting to note the direction of influence as the eighteenth century ended. Lowth's work was translated into German in 1780 by Göttingen professor J. B. Koppe, and this included marginal notes and amplifications of various kinds.<sup>48</sup> In the context of chapter 50, Koppe suggested that perhaps Ezekiel or "another prophet living in Babylon" (43) was the author of the material. At this point the baton will be passed to German scholars for the emergence of a very new model for understanding Isaiah. It has been noted that the German translation of Lowth was far more influential in Germany than the Latin original had been in Britain, and an English translation of the work (complete with notes supplied by J. D. Michaelis) was undertaken only in 1787.<sup>49</sup>

J. G. Eichhorn's 1803 edition of *Einleitung in das Alte Testament* contained a treatment of Isaiah that would foreshadow critical studies for the next century. Eichhorn introduces the language of 'authentic' and 'primary' as well as the focus on the biographical career of the individual (*Jesaias Leben*). The Book of Isaiah is a complex anthology from many diverse periods. A secondary and sustained level of later interpretation he locates in chapters 40–52, but equally he finds evidence of such additions and glossing in 1–39 as well (the oracle against Moab in chapter 17; chapters 24–27; and chapter 21, where he notes the Persian-period origin of 'riders on camels'). Noteworthy is also his observation that, in various lists, Isaiah is frequently next to the Book of the Twelve. He believes that we are meant to know that Isaiah is, like The Twelve, an anthology, by virtue of this presentation (so *B. Bat. 14a*, where the order is Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Isaiah, The Twelve).<sup>50</sup>

<sup>46</sup> The 10<sup>th</sup> edition appeared in 1834.

<sup>47</sup> *De sacra poësi* (1<sup>o</sup>1834), 309.

<sup>48</sup> Koppe, Robert Lowth's *Jesaias*: Neu übersetzt nebst einer Einleitung und critischen philologischen und erläuternden Anmerkungen, I–II (1780).

<sup>49</sup> Hayes / Prussner, *Old Testament Theology* (1985), 51.

<sup>50</sup> Eichhorn, *Einleitung*, 3 (3<sup>o</sup>1803), 101–104.

Gesenius is the first to refer to an individual author in chapters 40–66, and the term he uses for this is ‘Pseudo-Isaiah’. The implication here is of an effort to extend the authorial logic of an early collection into a later frame of reference. But above all, the decision to publish a distinct volume for chapters 40–66, complete with an introduction, would make the prominence of this editorial level harder to ignore against the more general anthological backdrop. Soon a literary distinctiveness would become a biographical and sociological one as well, and ‘Deutero-Isaiah’ will become the term of fashion. Gesenius argued for book-like divisions comprised of chapters 1–12, 13–23, 24–35, and 40–66, thus anticipating modern critical units in the larger book. Chapters 36–39 were brought over from Kings to serve as a conclusion to the first major section (1–39) on analogy with Jeremiah 52 as a conclusion to that work.<sup>51</sup>

The influence of this new approach would be widely felt in Isaiah commentary writing of the century. The popular series of Heinrich Ewald (1840–41) enclosed this new understanding of Isaiah within a treatment of the prophets as a whole. Isaiah is included with his contemporaries (Joel, Amos, Hosea), and Ewald has frequent recourse to what he calls ‘anonymous prophets’ in order to deal with what are now being classified as ‘secondary’ additions (so Micah 6–7). The prophet Isaiah is the author of several small ‘booklets’ and a complex table must be provided to indicate which of these belong to which historical period indicated by Isaiah’s superscription (the works of Ewald, Gesenius, Knobel, Kuenen, Cheyne and Reuss are also collated by the editor in order to show where disagreements in an otherwise general method of procedure are to be noted). As for the material in chapters 40–66, Ewald does not discuss this major block until after his treatment of Ezekiel. The main impetus for a new series of ‘anonymous prophets’ is the emergence of Cyrus and the fall of Babylon. The first anonymous prophet is the author of Isaiah 21:1–10, followed by a second responsible for 13:2–14:23. Only then we do have the commentary associated with ‘The Great Anonymous Prophet’, that is, the author of chapters 40–66.<sup>52</sup>

In a great many ways the commentary of Bernhard Duhm on Isaiah holds something of the place of Wellhausen’s work on the Pentateuch, in that it offered a consolidation of theories that had slowly evolved and taken hold in the course of the century.<sup>53</sup> That said, Duhm did put a signature on Isaiah commentary. The idea of a separate prophet behind chapters 56–66 (‘Trito-Isaiah’), and a distinction between 40–55 and 56–66 on sociological, religious, and historical grounds, is his. The idea of four Servant songs, different in origin and reference than other texts in 40–55 which spoke of Israel as servant, comes into mature form in his hands. The commentary is remarkably free of complex exchanges with critical opinion, and there is an air of imperial confidence about it, measured against twentieth century research and publication. Duhm did not believe that the literal sense of Second Isaiah chapters pointed to a prophetic figure at work in Babylon, but rather to an obscure poet active perhaps in Lebanon. But soon

<sup>51</sup> Gesenius, *Commentar über den Jesaia* (1821).

<sup>52</sup> Ewald, *Commentary on the Prophets*, 4 (1881), 244.

<sup>53</sup> Duhm, *Jesaia* (1892).

the temporal and geographical horizons would merge and the Exile would become the center of attention in newer history-of-religion accounts.

Not as well remembered is Duhm's view of so-called 'First Isaiah' chapters. Much of this material he held to be later in origin than chapters 40–66, including chapters 24–27, which he dated to the second century BCE. Duhm held the unusual view that 40–66 had once been related to the Book of Jeremiah, and so were severed from that association in order to fill out the anthological Isaiah complex. The original Isaiah material was subject to constant revision and secondary adaptation, and this is reflected in the very complex accounts that had to be given for why the book's literary form is as it is. The canonical Book of Isaiah is, as it were, swallowed whole by theories seeking to account for its development and present form, even ones as free of convolution and excess as Duhm's.

Naturally the '3–Isaiahs with numerous editorial supplementations' conception was not without its opposition. In Germany, most notable in this regard, as over against the work of Gesenius or even Ewald, was the four-volume *Die Christologie des Alten Testaments* (1829–1835) by Berlin professor E. W. Hengstenberg.<sup>54</sup> Hengstenberg would remain allied with a view of Isaiah that united it under a single prophetic viewpoint. The prophet's ability to see far into the future also protected an account of prophecy and fulfillment necessary to ground the New Testament's convictions regarding the messiah, as Hengstenberg understood that. He would therefore write (Christology, II, 3):

The Prophet does not confine himself to the events immediately at hand, but in his ecstatic state, the state of an elevated, and as it were, armed consciousness, in which he was during the whole period, his eye looks into the farthest distances. He sees, especially, that, at some future period, the Babylonian power, which began, even in his time, to germinate, would take the place of the Assyrian, – that, for this oppressor of the world, destruction is prepared by Koresh (Cyrus), the conqueror from the East, and that he will liberate the people from their exile; and at the close of the development, he beholds the Saviour of the world, whose image he depicts in the most glowing colours.

As Childs correctly observes, “the conservative position continued to find support for several more decades in the Old Princeton School, but it represented increasingly an isolated, minority opinion”.<sup>55</sup> The replacement of Hengstenberg by Dillman in the Chair at Berlin, and the popular accounts of Isaiah by A. B. Davidson, G. A. Smith and S. R. Driver indicated the general acceptance of the newer critical view in Britain, where great care was expended to show the general religious value of the historical approach.<sup>56</sup> Much was made of Delitzsch's fourth edition of his Isaiah commentary, where he changed his view and made room for secondary students of Isaiah in chapters 40ff.<sup>57</sup> Driver wrote an appreciative introduction to the English translation of 1894, commending the fourth edition and Delitzsch's acceptance of newer critical methods, though Childs is correct to wonder whether the late professor would have recognized himself fully in Dri-

<sup>54</sup> Hengstenberg, *Christologie des Alten Testaments* (1829–1835); *Christology of the Old Testament* (1956).

<sup>55</sup> Childs, Introduction (1979), 317.

<sup>56</sup> A. B. DAVIDSON, “The Book of Isaiah ch XLff”, *The Expositor*, II.6 (London 1883) 81ff; G. A. SMITH, “Isaiah”, in: *The Expositor's Bible*, XI (1903); Driver, Introduction (1891), 194–231.

<sup>57</sup> Delitzsch, *Biblical Commentary on the Prophecies of Isaiah* (1894).

ver's commendation.<sup>58</sup> Delitzsch had himself soft-pedaled the changes, and sought to underscore the organic continuity between all parts of the larger Isaiah book, in a manner which would soon find little support in the critical theories of the twentieth century.

Those prophecies originating in post-Isaian times are, in thought and in the expression of thought, more nearly akin to Isaiah than to any other prophet; they are really the homogeneous and simultaneous continuation of Isaian prophecy, the primary stream of which ramifies in them as in branches of a river, and throughout retains its fertilizing power. These later prophets so closely resembled Isaiah in prophetic vision, that posterity might on that account well identify them with him. They belong more or less nearly to those pupils of his to whom he refers, when, in chap. viii. 16, he entreats the Lord, "Seal instruction among my disciples". We know of no other prophet belonging to the kingdom of Judah, like Isaiah, who was surrounded by a band of younger prophets, and, so to speak, formed a school. Viewed in this light, the Book of Isaiah is the work of his creative spirit and the band of followers. These later prophets are Isaian, – they are Isaiah's disciples; it is his spirit that continues to operate in them, like the spirit of Elijah in Elisha, – nay, we may say, like the spirit of Jesus in the apostles; for the words of Isaiah (viii. 18), "Behold, I and the children whom God hath given me," are employed in the Epistle to the Hebrews (ii. 13) as typical of Jesus Christ.<sup>59</sup>

In this manner, via a typological association, the linkage of Isaiah to later perspectives, including the final theological horizon of the New Testament, is maintained by Delitzsch, now in a new model of prophetic inspiration different in kind than that proposed by Hengstenberg. The fate of this new understanding would shift in the twentieth century and remain in this form only in the most general terms. Newer appreciation of Isaiah as a unified collection operates with something of the instinct of Delitzsch, it could be argued, even when unaware of his formulations in the late nineteenth century.

## 5. Jeremiah and Ezekiel

The challenges related to interpretation of these two Major Prophets are not nearly as epoch-making in the nineteenth century as with Isaiah and Daniel. The reasons for this are not difficult to perceive. Both books are less temporally ambitious; they are more focused on contemporary speech in the context of a governing historical moment (the Fall of Judah and Jerusalem; the Exile and its aftermath). Secondly, and related to this, far less controversy was generated in respect of the prophetic office on theological grounds, because the conception of prophetic prediction was less central to the presentation of the works. Thirdly, while critical problems were identified in terms of text-criticism and literary presentation, both witnesses provided greater chronological superstructure and organization than the sublime presentation of Isaiah. It might also be argued that Daniel and Isaiah preoccupied the labours of nineteenth century research, thus leaving Jeremiah and Ezekiel as more straightforward alternatives for interpretation. The twentieth century would, by contrast, demonstrate the complexity of

<sup>58</sup> Childs, *The Struggle to Understand Isaiah* (2004), 274–275.

<sup>59</sup> Delitzsch, *Isaiah, I* (1894), 38.

these major prophetic works and the challenge for critical theory to defend their unity. Striking in this regard, for example, is that the literary theory of sources in Jeremiah (so-called ‘A poetry’; ‘B biography’; ‘C deuteronomic prose sermons’) was a product of the early twentieth century, not the nineteenth, even as its proponent was Bernhard Duhm.<sup>60</sup> Many modern introductions and commentary surveys have little to say about the nineteenth-century roots of critical theories when it comes to these two witnesses, and the contrast with Isaiah and Daniel is striking in this regard.

Early (late eighteenth century) challenges to the unity of Ezekiel focused on the authenticity of chapters 40–48 and 38–39.<sup>61</sup> Challenges to the unity of chapters 1–24 and 25–32 were sometimes made on the basis of style, and this aspect was the subject of a famous twentieth-century evaluation by Gustav Hölscher.<sup>62</sup> From a different tack, Kraetzschmar’s HKAT commentary investigated the doublets and parallel texts that appeared in the present work, and argued for two recensions of Ezekiel: one going back to a first-person perspective, and the other developed from it in the third-person.<sup>63</sup>

De Wette’s handling of Ezekiel is remarkably confident in attributing the entire book to him and in rejecting (in company with Eichhorn, Jahn, and Bertholdt) the theories of Oeder and Corrodi concerning chapters 38–39 and 40–48. He notes the ‘Levitical spirit’ of the prophet, his sometimes tedious style, but also his extravagance in allegory and figure. His treatment of Ezekiel turns in large measure on judgments about his style and unusual manner, which he commends and finds degenerate by turns.<sup>64</sup> The treatment of Jeremiah is much lengthier and more ambitious in critical theory. Passages which breathe a hopeful and comforting air (chaps. 30–31, 33) “have been wrought over by the pseudo Isaiah” (401) and this for reasons chiefly of style. The problems of the Septuagint and MT text are handled in an even-handed way, with de Wette sometimes arguing for the antiquity of the Septuagint reading. His main focus is however on the MT presentation, with the Oracles against Foreign Nations (and a discussion of the relation of Jeremiah 49 to Obadiah) at the close. Jeremiah’s prophecies, he concludes, reflect “the spirit of his time and the condition of his people. His humour is sad, melancholy, and depressed” (419).

One thing to note in the early nineteenth century is Jeremiah’s relationship to the shifting picture of the Pentateuch. In the twentieth century, the so-called ‘C’ material of Jeremiah (prose sermons) will be understood in terms of the deuteronomic movement, about which much attention will be given. Jeremiah’s proximity to King Josiah and so also to the discovery of the ‘Book of the Law’ would require treatments of his book to sort through the relationship between this prose material and the larger work of the Deuteronomists. De Wette had concluded *bis Josia keine Spur von dem Daseyn des Pentateuchs, nachher, besonders*

<sup>60</sup> Duhm, Jeremiah (1901). Duhm speaks of Jeremiah’s poetry, the biography of Baruch, and supplements under the influence of ‘nomism’ – this latter category overshadowing in total length the first two categories combined.

<sup>61</sup> Oeder, Freye Untersuchung (1771); Corrodi, Versuch einer Beleuchtung, 1 (1792).

<sup>62</sup> Hölscher, Hesekeiel: Der Dichter und das Buch (1924).

<sup>63</sup> See Pfeiffer’s brief summary in: Introduction (1941), 525–526.

<sup>64</sup> Critical Introduction (1843), 425–34.



*nach dem Exil, die häufigsten und deutlichsten.*<sup>65</sup> Jeremiah, however, was sitting right on the period between Josiah and the Exile. De Wette cites Jer 7:25 in favor of the view that no cult sacrifice or offering had obtained in the wilderness period, and so Jeremiah is without influence from traditions (in D and P) which speak rather differently of the matter. Above all it would be the extraction of 'P' from the *Grundschrift* and the distinguishing of 'P' from 'D' and 'E' both, that would require a more complicated assessment of the book of Jeremiah, and especially the prose sermons it contains, in relationship to Deuteronomy.

In the treatment of Jeremiah by Ewald we begin to move toward a more complex account of the development of book, but it is still without the sustained concern of the twentieth century in respect of 'D'. Ewald is concerned to distinguish the style of prophecy in Jeremiah from that of Isaiah, and to credit Jeremiah with the final burst of a specific kind of prophetic endowment, which after him would go a new way. This is tied up with the difficulty of the period in which Jeremiah is active. Jeremiah therefore represents "the great turning point of the entire phenomenon of Old Testament prophecy, when just as it has become clearly and firmly conscious of its nature and limitations, it still begins at that moment to forfeit some of its inward power and its outward influence, and therefore advances irretrievably toward its dissolution".<sup>66</sup> And this is because "his age has already become an entirely unprophetic age, which, educated by this long-standing institution of prophecy and exalted by it, now deems itself to have entirely outgrown it, and is henceforth very unwilling to listen seriously to its voice: this by its reaction cripples the power of prophecy" (72–73). Of course this particular understanding finds its strongest theological articulation in what one will call the deuteronomic strand in Jeremiah, and even as much of this could be the result of Jeremiah's knowledge of that movement and contribution to it, for Ewald it is still traceable fully to the personality and time of Jeremiah himself.

So the remainder of his treatment is a complex account of the way that Jeremiah's book came to be, going back to the first scroll he is said to have prepared, in the account provided in chapter 36. This particular way of constructing the development of the book (using chapter 36 as a reliable indication of a gradual development of the book, helped by Baruch) will gather momentum in certain quarters in twentieth century scholarship, and Ewald is a pioneer and progenitor of this approach. What will comprise the heart of so-called 'B' material (chapters 37–44), Ewald has Jeremiah compose as a refugee in Egypt. Subsequent additions are few, and the Oracles against Nations which had originally found their place in the context of chapter 25, are moved to their present location, and a final historical note is added from 2 Kings 24. The Greek translator had before him more than one text tradition, and so at times he preserves what for Ewald are significant divergences. It cannot be our task here to describe the detailed way Ewald uses the information of chapter 36 to offer a reconstruction of the book's development, but rather to note that this is now a daunting assignment many Jeremiah commentators will feel likewise compelled to follow. It will take the notion of sources, as developed by Duhm, and a fresh understanding of the role of 'D'

<sup>65</sup> De Wette, *Beiträge zur Einleitung*, II (1807), 182.

<sup>66</sup> *Commentary on the Prophets*, III (1880), 72.

material in Jeremiah, to further complicate matters of interpretation, leading to the situation we find ourselves largely in to this day – compare the divergent commentaries of Holladay, McKane, and Carroll in the English-language context.<sup>67</sup>

Ewald's account of Ezekiel is engaging and spirited. His understanding of prophecy as evolving, reaching high moments (Isaiah), and then deteriorating finds expression most clearly in Ezekiel, whom he otherwise labors to comprehend sympathetically.<sup>68</sup> He works with a distinction familiar to later scholarship in respect of Ezekiel (prophet versus author/writer) but puts his own signature on this in the area of psychology and personal evaluation. It is because Ezekiel is forced to work in private, in large measure, that he becomes an author and not a prophet in the true sense, which on his understanding entails public reproof. But this also means Ezekiel has the opportunity to contemplate the mystery of God and then to construct artistic and expansive accounts of this, using his imagination. Ewald has a keen appreciation for the literary character and idiosyncrasy of this work. The literature is a direct conduit onto the psychology and intellectual life of the man Ezekiel.<sup>69</sup>

Ewald believes that the book of Ezekiel evolved in stages, which are revealed by layers in the final form of the presentation. The chronological exactitude – Ewald calls the prophet punctilious about this and other matters – is a final editorial touch and does not obscure this staging. Intriguing is the way he understands the literary association of prophecy. The book of Jeremiah (in scroll number one) is available to the prophet Ezekiel, and in the early stages of the literature Ewald believes he sees signs that Ezekiel has read the first version of Jeremiah and is dependent on it, as well as other prophetic literature.<sup>70</sup> Ezekiel also has studied the Pentateuch, and drawn on Kings, Job, Psalms and other earlier prophetic material.<sup>71</sup> The prophet himself constructs his book, and Ewald meti-

<sup>67</sup> McKane, *Jeremiah, I–II* (1986); Carroll, *Jeremiah* (1986); Holladay, *Jeremiah, I–II* (1986–89).

<sup>68</sup> “At the same time, the complete dissolution of the older prophetism appears in this lengthy book in a still more decided and undoubted form than in the writings of Yeremya”, *Commentary on the Prophets, IV* (1880), 1.

<sup>69</sup> Only a sample can be provided here. “Though banished from public life, it is true it does not on that account immediately cease, it can be continued in the private house of solitary prophetic meditation and thought...and also by literary effort”, *ibid.* 9. “If the prophet as a writer is confined very much to his own house and the narrow limits of household life, his imagination will take another direction: in the case of any prophet of this kind whose fancy is rich, it is likely that the imagination will get the upper-hand, and the just proportion which it holds to the other mental powers in the older prophets will be disturbed. For in the retirement of a life removed from public affairs the prophet will be unable to give form to material that has already passed through his own experience of real life, and been purified by its stern realities...the man that commands an abundant flow of prophetic pictures, simply meditates and thinks how he would speak and act under the leading of Yahve's spirit, in case he could really act”, *ibid.* 12. “This important remodeling of prophetic thought and style, which becomes in later times more popular and more fully developed, giving rise to a new species of literature, meets us for the first time in Hezeqiel”, *ibid.* 13.

<sup>70</sup> “[Ezekiel] follows Yeremya as closely as possible, the writings of that prophet as far as they were then known being, according to all appearances, at his command”, *ibid.* 6.

<sup>71</sup> “That he used the Pentateuch just as a learned man might do and without the genuine prophetic originality and independence of earlier prophets, is shown by such passages as iv. 4–8; xlv. 10 (xlvi. 11); in his description of the temple, ch. xl–xliii., he evidently follows such historical works of former times as 1 Kings ch. vi., vii.”, *ibid.* 10. Ezekiel, in Ewald's view, appeals to earlier prophets, Job, Psalms, and especially Jeremiah.

culously accounts for this. There is virtually no secondary supplementation, and the book remains a direct lens on the character and peculiarity of this impressive if transitional figure in the history of prophecy.

This straightforward and imaginative evaluation of prophet and book will have to give way to a far more complicated account of the book's development, and so also its access to the man Ezekiel, in the ensuing century. Ewald's portrayal is a calm before the storm.<sup>72</sup> The situation is altogether different for the Book of Daniel, for the controversy surrounding its interpretation goes back to the earliest centuries of the Common Era. The nineteenth century represents a revisiting of these battles now within the mainstream of interpretation.

## 6. Daniel

Daniel's assessment requires some explanation, as he is not called a prophet; his book is a genre achievement unlike any prophetic book in the canon; he is placed in the *Ketubim* in Hebrew tradition; and is frequently isolated in Christian lists, often appearing in final position; only the modern printing conventions roster him clearly and consistently alongside the Major Prophets. Yet, the issues dominating the interpretation of this book are so clearly focused on the phenomenon of prophetic prediction, especially in nineteenth century discussion, that it would be curious not to include some evaluation of the Book of Daniel in a chapter on prophecy in nineteenth century reception history.

Already de Wette is instinctively predisposed to judge Daniel a work composed in its entirety in the period of Antiochus Epiphanes. He is fully aware of a long history of interpretation, going back to Porphyry and preserved in remarks by Jerome, of disputing the authenticity of Daniel, a view which brought forth response from Eusebius, Apollinaris, and Methodius in the Early Church. The genuineness of Daniel was undisputed until the time of Spinoza, by his reckoning, and though it continued to find curious support in Isaac Newton (based upon the words of Christ), questioning all or part of the final book as going back to Daniel would become the majority view in academic circles (Bertholdt, Hobbes, Collins, Semler, Michaelis, Eichhorn, Corrodi et al.). De Wette reviews the defense of Daniel's authenticity and explains his position in rebuttal. As for the reference to Daniel in the New Testament, de Wette merely concludes, "But if all this were admitted, still, from the nature of things, Christ neither would nor could be a critical authority".<sup>73</sup> Lack of reference to Daniel in Sirach's list of

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<sup>72</sup> Smend's treatment was very close to that of Ewald, though he does not refer to earlier stages in the work, *Der Prophet Ezekiel* (1880). Text-critical problems would soon become the focus, leading to a fragmentation of the Book of Ezekiel; see especially, Cornill, *Das Buch des Propheten Ezechiel* (1886), and the challenge of Bertholet, *Das Buch Hesekiel* (1897). The tradition of Cornill reaches something of its culmination in 1914, with the publication of Hölscher, *Die Profeten* (1914) and especially Hesekiel, *der Dichter und das Buch* (1924). Gone is the view of Ezekiel as bookish and private, as the true Ezekiel is retrieved by literary criticism and set before us as a prophet like the others (but with only 144 out of 1273 verses genuinely representing his preaching).

<sup>73</sup> *Historico-Critical Introduction* (1843), 496.

famous men “deserves to be taken into consideration”.<sup>74</sup> Even early chapters, which many would regard as the original folktales of the book, are for de Wette only narratives after the fact, in which Antiochus appears in the form of Nebuchadnezzar and Belshazzar.

Taking his stand in the time of Daniel, [the author] introduces into his work enough that is historical and local to give the appearance of a real historical statement, and yet composes it so skilfully that none could fail to see the application to his own times. He showed how his countrymen, even under heathen kings, like Nebuchadnezzar and Belshazzar, had been faithful to Jehovah, who had rewarded them for their fidelity; that these kings had violated the law of God, and were punished, the one with madness, the other with a violent death. The inference to be drawn was obvious; the application to the Jews and their persecutors was plain. If the former were faithful, they should be blessed, while the latter would be soon destroyed.<sup>75</sup>

What we witness in de Wette’s interpretation is a genuine curiosity in Daniel studies in nineteenth century reception. Earlier questioning of Daniel’s authorship (Newton, Spinoza) thought the first chapters, because of confused chronology, were written by others (Ezra) or drawn from records, but the latter (7–12 or 8–12) were reliably Daniel’s.<sup>76</sup> Eichhorn retained something of this view, though changed his mind in the fourth edition of his Introduction and held to a Maccabean date for chapters 7–12.<sup>77</sup> Arguments for the unity of the book could therefore go one of two ways: as with de Wette, the entire book of Daniel was the work of a single author, but one working long after the fact, and constructing (poorly enough for us to recognize it) a set of stories whose true referent was Antiochus;<sup>78</sup> or, the conservative position that the Book of Daniel was composed by him in the Babylonian period. This view was held by Hengstenberg, Hävernick, Keil, Pusey and others.<sup>79</sup> Multiple versions and a variety of authors from various times was also a serious option in interpretation, though such theories tend toward over-specification and so fail to win wide assent.<sup>80</sup>

Methodological *Auseinandersetzung* is not a special feature of Daniel interpretation, but one should not fail to note the theological implications that were seen to run alongside this wrestling for proper method. For many, Daniel stood right next to Isaiah as constituting a fault line in correct interpretation. The ability to see the future in ways not open to general reflection was so critical to the appraisal of prophecy, in some quarters, that the literal sense of Daniel could admit of only one conclusion. Either Daniel saw future events in a period long after the Babylonian Exile in which he found himself, including not just the Maccabean but also the Roman period and beyond (hence the concern for the New Testament perspective), or someone sought to introduce this perspective on the basis of known historical events, presently unfolding, and so to claim for Daniel some-

<sup>74</sup> Ibid. 494.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid. 502.

<sup>76</sup> Spinoza, *Tractatus theologico-politicus* (1674 /1955);

<sup>77</sup> Eichhorn, *Einleitung*, I–IV (1824).

<sup>78</sup> The unity position need not have a pejorative character in evaluating the first chapters; see for example, Driver, *The Book of Daniel* (1900).

<sup>79</sup> Hävernick, *Commentar über das Buch Daniel* (1832); Keil, *The Book of the Prophet Daniel* (1872); Pusey, *Daniel* (1864).

<sup>80</sup> Bertholdt, *Daniel* (1808); Reuss, *Geschichte* (1881), 574; Barton, *Composition* (1898), 62–86.

thing that was not so. Issues of how properly to interpret NT references to Daniel as ‘author of the book’ found common ground with similar concern regarding the ‘author’ Isaiah. Here as elsewhere, the nineteenth century witnessed enormous sea change in basic historiographic conceptuality and how one might properly assess the genre of the literature before us.<sup>81</sup> If the latter chapters were written in the period of the Maccabean persecution, at issue was both the character of the portrayal of Daniel, but also how the book might continue to speak given that the specification of the Maccabean setting is not shared by the interpreter.

The first of these issues was where the pressure was most keenly felt, however, in most conservative circles in the nineteenth century. Childs would characterize the public lectures of Pusey as containing both “impressive erudition and savage apologetic”, and he summarized the position of the Oxford Professor in this manner:

Pusey was willing to rest the validity of the whole Christian faith upon the sixth-century dating of Daniel, and rejoiced that this issue established a clear battle line between faith and unbelief.<sup>82</sup>

Pusey stated it this way:

It admits of no half-measures. It is either Divine or an imposture...The writer, were he not Daniel, must have lied on a most frightful scale.<sup>83</sup>

But as with Isaiah and the new model for understanding the Pentateuch, so Daniel would in time find a new conceptual framework for interpretation, which would of necessity also have to address the serious theological issues raised by Pusey.<sup>84</sup>

## 7. Conclusion

Our survey of the nineteenth-century reception of prophecy ends properly with Daniel, as an example of the way this century above all was forced to consider, create, adjust, and finally adopt an entirely new conceptual model for interpreting the prophets, against the backdrop of a massive recasting of the canonical presentation in its entirety as this had been largely presupposed at the end of the eighteenth-century. The century witnessed a true internationalization of the discipline, the consequence of precisely the turmoil, challenge, and excitement of the day. One need read only a small sample from the public lectures of W. Robertson Smith to see that the new model, while upturning many basic assumptions, also sought valiantly to describe itself as theologically credible, morally improved, and a genuine heir of principles associated with a return to the Bible

<sup>81</sup> Frei, *Eclipse* (1974).

<sup>82</sup> Childs, *Introduction* (1979), 612.

<sup>83</sup> Pusey, *Daniel* (1864), 75. See also the treatment of Seitz, *Figured Out: Typology and Providence* (2001).

<sup>84</sup> Childs mentions F. W. Farrar’s popularization of the German critical position in *The Expositor’s Bible* (1895) and also S. R. Driver’s religiously sensitive commentary, *Daniel* (1900).

as sole source of authority for Christian living.<sup>85</sup> In a telling phrase, however, George Adam Smith would also speak of “fixing the indemnity” as the vocation of the next generation of scholarship.<sup>86</sup> That vocation would turn out to have its own horizon, however, and one much longer than the hopeful Victorian interpreter would have imagined.

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<sup>85</sup> W. Robertson Smith, *Twelve Lectures* (1881); *The Prophets of Israel* (1882).

<sup>86</sup> See the study of Campbell, *Fixing the Indemnity* (2004).

\* *Mr. Robert Kasbow helped with the preparation of this manuscript and I mention his name here with gratitude.*

## CHAPTER TWENTY-ONE

# Studies of the Psalms and Other Biblical Poetry

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## 1. The Legacy of the Eighteenth Century

The study of biblical poetry in the nineteenth century is based on the legacy of the eighteenth century, developed and summarized in J.G. Eichhorn's *Einleitung in das Alte Testament* (1780–1783). Other important names in this area are those of C. Schöttgen, R. Lowth, J.G. Herder and their research on the laws and rules of ancient Hebrew poetry.

Twenty years before R. Lowth, in 1733, C. Schöttgen published a dissertation entitled *ergasia sacra*. He found this figure of speech (*ergasia*) in former rhetori-

<sup>1</sup> The bibliography is written with the assistance of Viktor Golinets, the English text with the assistance of Derek Clark. – This study was, in partly different form, also published in K. SEYBOLD, *Studien zu Sprache und Stil der Psalmen* (BZAW 415; Berlin: De Gruyter 2010), 9–33.

cal discourses. His definition was that *ergasia* is the linking of entire sentences, several words or clauses of entire sentences of similar meaning (*membra*) in a kind of parallelism.<sup>2</sup>

Lowth wrote the most famous study of poetry of the Old Testament in the year 1753: *De sacra poësi Hebraeorum praelectiones academicae Oxonii habitae*. He presented a description of the biblical style of parallelism named *parallelismus membrorum*, which has three categories: synonymous, antithetic and synthetic. He thereby found and established modern analysis of Hebrew poetry up to the present day; and, as for Hebrew poetry, there is no biblical study that is not concerned with the principles of *parallelismus membrorum* and the structure of Hebrew verse.

J.G. Herder was engaged in the meaning of ancient Hebrew poetry in his two books on *Der Geist der Ebräischen Poesie* (1782/83), seeking for and feeling intuitively the mindset of poets and the spirit of poetic literature. Living in the time of the romantic period in Germany, he enthusiastically extolled the poetry of the Psalms, tracing their formation from the beginning. His understanding of the books of Job and Song of Songs as poetic literature<sup>3</sup> was novel and of lasting influence in the nineteenth century.

According to J.G. Eichhorn there are two important terms concerning the poetry of the Old Testament: the terms *Gattung* (*Gattungen der hebräischen Poesie*), forms or types, and *Überlieferung* (tradition), in the sense of oral and scriptural tradition. With Herder he stressed the understanding of the Psalms being ancient texts and of a strange culture and language, from a world that is still in its infancy (*wie die Welt – in ihrer Kindheit*). How are the Psalms to be read? One has to be content with a weaker illumination of these ancient texts (*die Dichter ... genügen sich mit den schwächeren Strahlen ihres Zeitalters*).<sup>4</sup>

To the legacy of the eighteenth century must also be ranked work on the original text of the Old Testament carried out by B. Kennicott and J.B. De-Rossi in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as a basis for new studies on Hebrew grammar and lexicography up to W. Gesenius and his epoch-making books (1810–1817).

In the nineteenth century much work was done to explain biblical literature with the help of these studies. A grammatical and historical method was developed and accepted in Old Testament exegesis. A survey will show how many commentaries on the Psalms were published. A horizontal line runs from de Wette to Duhm and, by extension to both sides, from Rosenmüller to Gunkel.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Meynet, *Rhetorical Analysis* (1998), 53–59.

<sup>3</sup> J.G. HERDER translated Song of Songs in verses: *Salomons Lieder der Liebe, die ältesten und schönsten aus Morgenlande* (Leipzig: Weygand 1778) – as tried J.W. von Goethe, as early as 1775.

<sup>4</sup> The quotations are from Eichhorn, *Einleitung* (c.1787), II, 345, and III, 442, respectively; cf. Kraus, *Geschichte* (1969), 133–151, esp. 142 f.

## 2. Wilhelm Martin Leberecht de Wette

One of the first highlights in the study of the Old Testament Psalms was the *Commentar über die Psalmen* by W.M.L. de Wette, published in 1811 (the next editions came in 1823, 1829, 1836); the fifth edition, 1856, was revised and arranged with controversial additions by G. Baur. Each edition was an improvement of the previous one, especially by using the new tools of W. Gesenius.

The result of de Wette's exegetical work during his time in Heidelberg (1807–1810) was just the commentary on the Psalms, the only commentary he wrote on the Old Testament. He had planned a series of commentaries on the whole Old Testament, accomplishing the translation of the Old Testament which he had published at the age of 29, as a joint venture with the orientalist J. C. W. Augusti at Jena in 1809. The commentary on the Psalms is to be understood in the context of his basic discussion about the poetic biblical books of Job, Psalms and Ecclesiastes. According to Augusti they deal with the contradictions of life, especially in the lyrical collection of the Psalter. So, along this line, for de Wette Judaism was the religion of misfortune (*Unglück*) and Christianity the religion of consolation.<sup>5</sup>

The commentary of de Wette is a masterpiece; the material it presents in support of understanding the Psalms linguistically and historically is admirable. Probably no commentary up to this time is comparable with this work. As an example of scholarship, of knowledge and precision it became a standard work for all exegesis of the Old Testament, written for the first time not in Latin but in German. The layout, in the first editions with comment only, was completed later in the fourth edition by a translation written in stichoi and stanzas. De Wette took up the historical exegesis of his day, seeking to find out the historical setting of each Psalm. "Yet even here, de Wette remained true to his convictions that historical certainty was not as easy to come by as many supposed, and that the first duty of the commentator was to appreciate the psalm as a poetic whole, expressing a particular religious experience or intuition".<sup>6</sup>

The first sentence of the introduction reads as follows: "Psalms are *lyrical poems*" (*Die Psalmen sind lyrische Gedichte*). This was a new insight right from the outset. The Psalms are not only texts of Holy Scripture, the provenance of which cannot be questioned; they are indeed poetry in the original sense of the term. This approach is seeking for a new category. De Wette's definition is as follows:

*Lyrisch sind die Psalmen im eigentlichen Sinne; denn bei den Hebräern, so wie im Alterthum überhaupt, waren Dichtung, Gesang und Musik verbunden, und die Ueberschriften der meisten Psalmen bestimmen die für uns freilich unverständliche Verbindung derselben mit der Musik. Auch dem ästhetischen Charakter nach verdient die Psalmendichtung den Namen der lyrischen. Das Wesen der lyrischen Poesie ist unmittelbarer Ausdruck des Gefühls, und Gefühl ist die Sphäre, in welcher sich die meisten Psalmen bewegen. Schmerz, Betrübniß, Furcht, Hoffnung, Freude, Vertrauen, Dankbarkeit, Ergebenheit gegen Gott, alles was das Herz bewegt und erhebt, ist in diesen*

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Rogerson, De Wette (1992), 64 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Rogerson, Old Testament Criticism (1984), 45.

*Gesängen ausgesprochen. Die meisten sind der lebendige Erguß des erregten, gefühlvollen Herzens, das frische Erzeugniß der Begeisterung und Gedankenerhebung, wenige das todte Machwerk einer künstlichen Nachbildung und kümmerlichen Zusammenstoppelung, oder undichterische Gebetsformeln, Tempelhymnen und Spruch-Zusammenstellungen.*

And later in the passage: “*Man kann den Psalter sehr passend eine lyrische Anthologie nennen*”. In other words, there was a combination of poetry, song and music in Antiquity – as indicated by the superscriptions of the Psalms. Lyricism is an expression of feeling as a sphere where these texts are living: pain, grief, fear, hope, joy, confidence, thankfulness, submission to God; effusion of a feeling heart, product of enthusiasm and exaltation of thought. Only a few Psalms are dead imitations or formulas of prayer. The Psalter may rightly be termed a “lyrical anthology”.

These statements show the influence of J. G. Herder; and he was de Wette’s tutor at Weimar. There he learnt that the home of religion is feeling and that emotion is its expression; and this is what he found in the Psalms. Thereby he adds a new dimension to the exegesis of the Psalms. These texts are the mirror of the soul, by reflecting individual human emotions; and human emotion is the reflection of the Divine. This we name romanticism. The Psalms must be understood aesthetically as individual poems.

The new approach to review the Psalms as lyrical poems and the Psalter as a lyrical anthology required order and arrangement in accordance with literary criteria. De Wette faced the consequences immediately, which led him to new and valid insights.

1. De Wette succeeded in finding a new classification of the Psalms. The aim was to differentiate between the “types of poetry” (*Dichtungsarten*). The groups he combined formed the basis of further literary arrangements of the texts. Arranging the Psalms he found six groups “according to content and character” (*nach Inhalt und Charakter*):

I. *Hymns*, in which “Jehova was praised” (He held fast to the old pronunciation of ‘Jehova’ during his life, in spite of the protest of W. Gesenius). “This group includes the most exalted ideas about God, nature and the governance of the world” (*Diese Classe enthält die erhabensten Gedanken über Gott, Natur, Weltregierung*);

II. *Popular psalms*, “with allusions to the history of Israel” (*enthaltend Anspielungen auf die alte Geschichte der Israeliten*);

III. *Psalms of Zion and the temple*;

IV. *Royal psalms*;

V. *Psalms of lament*, “about misfortune and hostility, the most numerous group” (*Klagen über Unglück und Befehdung und Bitten um Hülfe...*, *die reichhaltigste Classe*); he replaced the term *Unglückspsalmen* (“Psalms of misfortune”) of the first edition by *Klagepsalmen* (“laments”). There are six subgroups: 1. individual, 2. popular, 3. general laments, 4. individual and popular, 5. didactic poems, 6. psalms of thanks;

VI. *Religious and moral psalms*, a remainder of six groups of mixed forms.

2. According to the narrow number of texts and the few specimens of the sample ‘types’ (*Dichtungsarten*) de Wette concluded that only remnants of Hebrew poetry had survived. The absence of a secular lyric – with the exception of Psalm 45 – was a problem for him, bearing in mind that outside the sphere of religion and cult there must likewise be lyrical poetry arising out of feeling. “Probably

the surviving songs came from religious use and not from an aesthetic commitment".<sup>7</sup>

3. The literary insight into the provenance and arrangement of poems constrained de Wette to reflect upon the authorship of David and that led him to an inference with far reaching consequences. He held fast to the biblical picture of David the lyrical poet and master of poetic art as he is presented in the books of Samuel. He discussed the golden age of this time and the familiar supposition of a "prophetic school" (*Prophetenschule Samuels*) where the art of lyric poetry was cultivated, from which David profited concerning the elegies he wrote. He found only two Psalms of Solomon (Psalms 72; 127), and only a few texts from the time when prophetic rhetoric flourished in Israel. Many centuries of lyrical poetry are not represented at all or at best only inadequately. In the periods from David to the exile there might have originated anonymous Psalms which were subsequently ascribed falsely to David.

4. The Psalms in the commentary were dated to periods of the history of Israel. Eight psalms are definitely, five only possibly pre-exilic. Psalm 18 is of Davidic provenance, Psalm 132 was used for the dedication of the temple, Psalm 133 for David's coronation. Psalm 10 is a model for the type of lament. Many psalms date from the exile or early post-exilic period. More than thirty psalms are from the Maccabean period, most of them collected in the second half of the Psalter. The largest groups seem to be the national (more than thirty) and the individual laments (some twenty-six) and hymns (eight).

5. A most important problem to be resolved in future will be the differentiation of original and copied texts in the poetry of Psalms.<sup>8</sup>

6. The messianic interpretation of Psalms is rejected as alien to these old texts. Only Psalm 22 indicates the messianic conversion of the nations.

7. The longest and most interesting chapter of the commentary is about "*Rhythmus und Musik der Psalmen*".<sup>9</sup> It contains a complete and detailed treatise of biblical poetry. After a comprehensive review de Wette tried to establish the system of parallelism of R. Lowth, but he agreed with the opinion *der gelehrten jüdischen Rabbinen und Herders* that there was no metre and no specific number of syllables in Hebrew literature.

To the question, what is now the rhythmic form of Hebrew poetry? he answers: The Hebrew rhythm is the parallelism of members. The nature of rhythm is the form of speech, inhaling (arsis) and exhaling (thesis); sentences develop into verses and verses into strophes: "*so entsteht ein Silbenmaass... und Sätze und Perioden*". Dance is the best paradigma of rhythm:

*Die vollkommene Tanzkunst ist die, welche die künstliche Ausbildung der Tanzschritte (pas) – sie entsprechen den metrischen Versfüßen – verbindet mit der kunstreichen Anordnung der Bewegung im Grossen, der Tanzfiguren, welche den Versen und Strophen entsprechen. So wie es aber einen*

<sup>7</sup> Wahrscheinlich haben wir die meisten dieser übriggebliebenen Lieder dem religiösen Gebrauche zu verdanken, nicht der allgemein dichterischen Theilnahme; und daher sind so wenige weltliche Lieder dem Untergange entrissen worden.

<sup>8</sup> Ein früher kaum geahntes, hier auch nur anzudeutendes, aber höchst wichtiges Problem, in dessen Lösung sich das höchste exegetische, kritische und ästhetische Verständniß der Psalmen durchdringen muß, ist die Unterscheidung des Ursprünglichen und Nachgeahmten in der Psalmendichtung.

<sup>9</sup> Commentar (1811), 47–93.

*Tanz geben kann, der nur in künstlichen Tanzschritten besteht ohne Zusammensetzung zu Figuren und einem Ganzen – dieser entspricht der rhythmischen Prosa: so lässt sich auch ein solcher denken, in welchem man die einzelnen Schritte der Natur und dem Zufalle überlässt, und nur eine gefällige Anordnung der Bewegungen im Grossen beabsichtigt – dieser entspricht der zweiten unmetrischen Art von Rhythmus. – Zu der letzteren Art gehört der hebräische Rhythmus, nämlich der Parallelismus der Glieder... Worin besteht aber der Parallelismus der Glieder...? ...mehr um den Gedanken, als um äussere Form und Klang... das Ebenmaass des Inhaltes.<sup>10</sup>*

It was the rhythm of ideas that R. Lowth had found. De Wette added a new category of parallelism which he named “rhythmic parallelism”, if parallelism was only an external and superficial form. He went on to discuss other special forms of rhythm as the “rhythm of gradation” (*Stufenrhythmus*) and also acrostic forms. Finally he asked the question whether the accents of the Hebrew text had anything to do with musical activities.

In de Wette’s view the Hebrew poetry was characterized not by metre but by the “rhythm of ideas” (*Gedanken-Rhythmus*) which came from a particular way of thinking and of expressing feelings. This is the real sense of the stylistic phenomenon of parallelism found by R. Lowth and referred to by de Wette. He pointed out that “equality of ideas” (*Gedankengleichheit*) could result in an equality of words (*Wortgleichheit*) in two parallel sentences. The idea was conceived in rhyme, the inner form of poetry. Further, the acrostic beginning of a verse or a series of words in a given sentence was for him formal poetry.

To sum up, and now with the words of Rogerson:<sup>11</sup>

The Psalms commentary, then, is fully representative of de Wette’s thinking during the Jena and Heidelberg periods. It displays scepticism and indifference to matters historical. It is not impossible, and in any case of little value, to determine the original historical setting of many psalms. What matters most is religion, seen as an expression in lyrical aesthetic forms of experiences of doubt, uncertainty, joy and hope. The lament psalms, which comprise well over a third of the whole collection, are at the heart of the Psalter, expressing at individual and corporate levels the religious struggles of the nation and its pious members. It is a way into the inner sanctuary of Old Testament religion.

### 3. Philology, History, Poetics and Linguistic-historical Commentaries

A survey of studies on the Psalms after de Wette shows the three lines of ‘philology, history, and poetics’ as more or less straightforward and always combined together. To be more precise, all studies have their own features and their centre of gravity, but the centre of gravity of the exegesis changes between these three points. A kind of transversal can be found by looking at the investigation supported by the progress of Hebrew philology (1), by the progress of historical research (2), and by focussing on style and poetry (3).

<sup>10</sup> Quotations: Commentar (41836).

<sup>11</sup> Rogerson, De Wette (1992), 76 f.

### 3.1. Hebrew Philology

As an effect of the fundamental works of W. Gesenius and others on Hebrew grammar and lexicography, and of the new tools they created, the exegesis of the Psalms came to an astonishing climax during the nineteenth century. Also without the help of cognate Semitic languages – this study began in the second half of the century as new sources, especially after cuneiform and other inscriptions had come to light – Hebrew grammar was studied and analyzed intensively at a very high level. The progress of interpreting the Psalms in detail was conspicuous. The commentaries after de Wette tried to develop this basic work, profiting from the grammarians and lexicographers. De Wette himself improved his work by means of new editions. Accompanying studies were published, like the *Philologischer Clavis* by H. E. G. Paulus (1815) and *Beiträge zur Kritik und Exegese der Psalmen* by L. Clauss (1831), or the *Commentarius grammaticus historicus* by J. J. V. D. Maurer (1838), up to monographic studies of psalmic terms as those of A. Rahlfs (1892) and others.<sup>12</sup>

### 3.2. History

The nineteenth century was the century of discovering history. The history of Antiquity, and especially the poetry of former times became increasingly a field of interest; the past came into the sight of philosophy and this was studied and reconstructed by historians.

After H. Ewalds work on the history of Israel<sup>13</sup> no interpreter of the Psalms could dispense with his epoch-making research. Concerning the Psalter it was in particular the problem of the superscriptions with historical data that had to undergo criticism. Were the Psalms of David really composed by the great king – as Psalm 151 in Septuagint maintains – although the language and style of the texts are of later date? Alternatively, are there really texts of the Maccabean era as many interpreters from de Wette up to B. Duhm suppose? Further, one has to consider that the influence of G. F. W. Hegel and his philosophy of history was present even in the work of Ewald, who looked for the rise of the ideal religion in the history of Israel. But one must say that the exegesis of the Psalms was only indirectly influenced by the categories of philosophy, especially by the idealistic conception of religion as a personal feeling. The concept of the history of religion, rising to the absolute or “true religion” (*wahre Religion*), did in no way influence the study of the Psalms. This trend lasted until the end of the century and beyond (cf. H. Gunkel).

To show the detailed discussion of history in the study of the Psalms we quote some lines from de Wette’s commentary on Psalm 1:

*Ganz gegen den Geist dieses Psalms sind die Meinungen mancher Ausleger, welche in demselben bestimmte historische Beziehungen finden wollen; es sei auf Davids Verfolgung durch Saul*

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Diestel, *Geschichte* (1869), 563–571 (Hebrew grammar) and 571–576 (lexicography).

<sup>13</sup> *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, 1843ff; <sup>3</sup>1864.



(Venema); oder auf Absaloms Empörung ... ; oder auf die Zeit der syrisch-macedonischen Herrschaft (Olshausen); oder auf die makkabäischen Zeiten und die abtrünnigen Juden (Esrom Rudinger; Hitzig, der den Psalm unter Alexander Jannäus gegen 85 v. Chr. verfasst sein lässt). Der Psalm hat einen ganz allgemeinen religiösen Sinn, wie Rosenmüller u. A. richtig bemerkt haben.<sup>14</sup>

### 3.3. Poetics

The founder of Hebrew poetics, Bishop Robert Lowth, was godfather of all studies of biblical poetry during the nineteenth century (and beyond).<sup>15</sup> Many studies sought to find a structural framework to the biblical literature, especially in the Psalms. The discussion about metre, verse, parallelism, chiasm, rhetorical style, strophe and stanza went on successively; here, we can only record general poetical studies by J.L. Saalschütz (1825), F. Boys (1825), E. Meier (1853); special studies of strophe by F. Köster (1831); of metre by J.J. Bellermann (1813), A.W. Kraemer (1837), J.J. Vaihinger (1845), up to J. Ley (1857/1887), with the beginning of a new era, of metrical studies. It is obvious, however, that these studies do not go far beyond the level of de Wette's treatise.

#### 3.4. Historical-linguistic Commentaries on the Psalms until 1860

A series of historical-linguistic commentaries, some of which were of considerable length, were published up to the fifties by F. Hitzig (1835), H. Ewald (1835), E.W. Hengstenberg (1842–1847), A. Tholuck (1843), J.G. Vaihinger (1845), C. von Lengerke (1847), P. Schegg (1850), J. Olshausen (1853), and H. Hupfeld (1855–1862). It may be noted, however, that on the way from de Wette to Duhm first of all the commentary on the Psalms by H. Hupfeld, in four volumes, became paradigmatic for exegesis of the nineteenth century. More than de Wette and others Hupfeld was interested in the religious and theological character of the Psalms.<sup>16</sup>

The theological interpretation means explaining all religious terms, ideas and views and pursuing their practical application in life. In addition, Hupfeld wanted to write a history of the interpretation of the Psalms, which he presented in the introduction to his commentary<sup>17</sup> and in the interpretation of specific lines of the Psalms. In this way, his books form a repertory for all who look for the history of the study of the Psalms before him. His classification of the texts was twofold. He distinguished between texts which deal with religious items (*Gott u. göttlichen Dingen überhaupt [ohne Anwendung auf besondere Verhältnisse]*), i.e. hymns, proverbs, didactic psalms etc., and texts which are about the practical application in life (*Anwendung der allg. Überzeugungen von Gott u. seinem Reich auf besondere Verhältnisse u. Lagen*), i.e. texts of lament or thanksgiving and royal psalms, etc.

As to the poetic character of the texts Hupfeld was typical of his time. With de

<sup>14</sup> Commentar (<sup>4</sup>1836), ad Psalm 1.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Diestel, *Geschichte* (1869), 665; esp. Smend, *From Astruc to Zimmerli* (2007), 15–29.

<sup>16</sup> Hupfeld, *Psalmen* (<sup>2</sup>1867).

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.* 56–65: § 11. *Geschichte der Bearbeitung (Auslegung) des Buchs.*

Wette he was of the opinion, that as a whole the form of the Psalms was that of lyric poetry (*Dichtungsart der Pss. ... im ganzen die des Lieds, oder die sog. Lyrische, d. i. unmittelbarer Erguss einer Stimmung oder eines ... Gefühls*).<sup>18</sup> He was very cautious with the dating of the texts. In his mind only the explicit statements of the Psalms themselves were of any specific value. So he wrote to Psalm 1:

*Ein ausgeführter Spruch ... von dem Gedeihen des Gerechten u. Verderben des Ungerechten ... Der Satz des Ps. ist so allgemein u. gangbar, dass es völlig unnütz u. verkehrt ist hier bestimmte historische Beziehungen zu suchen: auf Davids Verfolgung durch Saul; oder auf Absaloms Empörung; oder gar auf die Makkabaischen Zeiten u. die abtrünnigen Juden... Über den Verfasser des Ps. ist in Ermangelung einer Überschrift nicht einmal eine Überlieferung, wie in den Überschriften vieler anderen Pss., vorhanden.*<sup>19</sup>

Hupfeld's interpretation of the Psalms was in accordance with the thinking of the nineteenth century. The texts are above all expressions of the soul and the feelings of the individual; the expressions of feeling in the Psalms are new, original and straight from the heart – they are classical:

*Hier (scil. in the Psalms) finden wir diese die Seele bewegenden u. zu ihrem Eigenthum u. Lebensgrund gewordenen Ideen in mannigfacher Richtung u. Anwendung auf eine Weise ausgesprochen, die – schon weil selbstgeschaffen, ursprünglich, frisch aus dem Quell der Empfindung geflossen, nicht von aussen eingeführt u. nachgeahmt – in jeder ihrer Richtungeclassisch ist.*<sup>20</sup>

### 3.5. Job, Song of Songs, Lamentations

3.5.1. As for *the Book of Job*, in the nineteenth century mainly three problems were discussed:

(1) The translation of the text. Many attempts started from M.H. Stuhlmann (1804) onwards, in English by S. Lee (1837) and A.B. Davidson (1862); in French by E. Renan (1860).<sup>21</sup>

(2) The theological problem of God's righteousness. The discussion of the problem was influenced by philosophers of the century, like, first of all, I. Kant, G. W. F. Hegel and S. Kierkegaard.

(3) The literary problem of the structure of the book. This problem found no final solution, but it was accepted that the book was a composition of a prosaic tale and a poetic dialogue with some other later additions. It is noteworthy that between critical and conservative exegesis there was no difference. Under discussion was especially the dramatic form of the book (as a *Commedia divina*) and the form of the dialogue.

Many of the later commentaries were primarily concerned with the theological problem: M. Stuhlmann (1804), A. Bernstein (1813), J. J. Bellermann (1815), F. W. G. Umbreit (1824), L. Hirzel (1839), H. Ewald (1836), K. Schlottmann (1851), J. Olshausen (1852), E. Renan (1860), Franz Delitzsch (1864) and others.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid. 18.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid. 68; s. also above, 3.2.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid. 21.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Diestel, *Geschichte* (1869), 665.

3.5.2. In the study of the *Song of Songs* only one problem found extensive consideration: the question whether the poems are to be interpreted in an allegorical and typological way or understood literally as secular poems of love. The first position with variations had been powerful and firmly rooted since the days of Aqiba (second century) and remained the prevailing one up to the nineteenth century. Only occasionally, the natural understanding was advocated, first by a very few interpreters after Augustine (fourth century); this interpretation, however, found more acceptance after the studies of J. G. Herder, K. W. Justi, F. W. C. Umbreit, H. Ewald; Franz Delitzsch and others in the late nineteenth century.

3.5.3. *Lamentations (Threni)* were mainly discussed in two aspects: (1) studies on the authorship of Jeremiah with increasing doubts as to its authenticity; (2) the structure of the poems using an alphabetic acrostic structure.<sup>22</sup>

#### 4. Conservatism:

##### Ernst Wilhelm Hengstenberg and Franz Delitzsch

During the nineteenth century there was a growing need for a theological interpretation of the Psalms. This phenomenon does not cause any surprise. For most critical exegesis, mainly influenced by rationalistic methods of the Enlightenment (*Aufklärung*) and of historicism, was in principle engaged in regarding and studying the Bible as literature. Also, the dominant philosophy of idealism and its understanding of religion and the history puzzled Christian believers; the Church denied such exegesis and opposed academic theology and its concerns.

The general reader of the Psalms could hardly understand why these texts attributed to Moses, David, Solomon were in fact not written by these authors. What about the credibility of the Bible? Most readers of the Bible were not trained to understand the many passages in Hebrew, Arabic or Syriac, which the commentators quoted in their commentaries using the scripts of these languages. A series of books on the Psalms were therefore published with explanations in a more popular sense, as by R. Stier (1834), W. M. L. de Wette (1836), A. Tholuck (1843), L. Reinke (1857/1858) and O. Strauss (1859). This trend reflected conservatism in exegesis and gave rise to the comprehensive commentaries on the Psalms by E. W. Hengstenberg (1842–1847) and in particular by Franz Delitzsch (1859/1860).

Hengstenberg, an orientalist who as a young man was healed, as he said, from the philosophical fever (*philosophisches Fieber*), was born again and became a pietist. As professor in Berlin he represented the so-called *Repristinatiotheologie* (“theology of renewal” – the term is derived from lat. *pristinus* “yesterday”, in German “*gestrig*”); and he wanted to renew the theological dogmas of the Old Church. Interpreting the Old Testament, then, he returned to the time when the canon of the Old Testament was closed and renewed old Jewish synagogical traditions. Hengstenberg’s main books were his commentary on the Psalms (1842–

<sup>22</sup> Cf. i.a. the commentaries of O. Thenius (1855) or S. Oetli (1889).

47) and his *Christologie des Alten Testaments und Commentar über die messianischen Weissagungen* (1855). He combined two aims of interpretation: coherence of the scriptures of the Old and New Testament in some metahistorical realm of God and finding a deeper sense in the Holy Scripture. His interpretation was a symbolic one; he maintained that the language of Scripture is of symbolic nature, therefore the interpretation must be allegorical – and then become esoteric. In the case of the interpretation of the Song of Songs (1853) Hengstenberg was opposed to all that has to do with history. He sought to find the way to – in his words – “a deeper level of research” (*tieferer Forschung*),<sup>23</sup> constructing a kind of metahistory, e.g.: the Song of Songs is referred to Solomon; but for him this does not refer to the historical King Solomon of the tenth century BC, but a so-called “heavenly Solomon” (*himmlischer Salomo*); and he claims: “*Salomo nennt also in der Überschrift sich selbst als Verfasser des Liedes, als seinen Gegenstand den himmlischen Salomo, zu dessen Vorbilde er bei seiner Geburt geweiht war*”.<sup>24</sup>

More in line with a philological and historical exegesis was Franz Delitzsch. In his commentary on the Psalms, he took up the rich exegetical tradition of his predecessors. He tried to interpret the texts as they stood, linguistically and historically. But he did not wish to read them critically. Like Hupfeld and Hengstenberg he looked for a theological interpretation of the Psalm material. He thought in terms of the history of salvation and spoke of “the great acts of God” (*die grossen Taten Gottes*), as understood in the tradition of the Church. All the texts were explained literally. The Psalms originated as the superscriptions claimed; the Psalm in Exodus 15, Psalm 90 and the Song of Moses in Deuteronomy 32 were written by Moses himself. These are the oldest Psalms. David composed most of the Psalms, Solomon a few and subsequently the Levitical singers (Korach, Asaph etc.) their texts. There may also have been Maccabean Psalms. As for the composition of the Psalms there was a very long period of history, beginning with Moses and leading up to Judas Maccabaeus, i.e. from the fourteenth to the second century BC. Interesting, therefore, is Delitzsch’ dating of Psalm 1, namely before Jeremiah, but not earlier than Solomon:

1) er [der Psalm] ist vorjeremianisch, denn Jeremia kannte ihn, das Fluch- und Segenswort Jer 17,5–8... ist wie eine auslegende und ausschmückende Paraphrase... Er ist 2) nicht früher als salomonisch. Denn in die Zeit von Salomo ab weist uns das im ganzen Psalter nur hier vorkommende [Spötter], ein in der Zeit der Chokma von den Freigeistern üblich gewordenes Wort... Da er aber keinerlei zeitgeschichtliches Anzeichen enthält, so verzichten wir auf nähere Bestimmung seiner Entstehungszeit und sagen mit dem h. Columba...: Non audiendi sunt hi, qui ad excludendam Psalmorum veram expositionem falsas similitudines ab historia petitas conantur inducere.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>23</sup> He says: *Ich habe überall nicht bloß behauptet, sondern bewiesen, bewiesen besonders aus der Vergleichung des gesamten symbolischen Sprachgebrauchs der Schrift, in dem sich der tieferen Forschung eine wunderbare Einheit und Klarheit kundgibt*, Das Hohelied Salomos (1853), Vorwort; cf. Kraus, *Geschichte* (21969), 224.

<sup>24</sup> In his *Geschichte* (21969), 225, Kraus regarded this reading as “highly mythological” (*hochmythologisch*) and “insupportable” (*unerträglich*); cf. further on Hengstenberg Graf Reventlow, *Epochen*, IV (2001), 278–290.

<sup>25</sup> *Commentar* (21867), 58.

As for Alexander Jannai Delitzsch says in another passage that he could not be the author of Psalm 1 because his moral behaviour was wrong: “*Daß Alexander Jannai Verf. des ersten und zweiten Ps. sei und die Psalmensammlung abgeschlossen habe, ist nach Allem was wir über den Charakter und das Schalten dieses Despoten wissen moralisch unmöglich*”.<sup>26</sup>

Delitzsch consistently interpreted the Psalms as the New Testament authors read them. He dispensed himself of the historical and the critical insight of his predecessors and read all the texts consciously and subconsciously like prophetic texts, concerning Christ, as eschatological promises. Nonetheless he took up the Jewish tradition: *Daß ich aber auch Leistungen jüdischer Forscher gern in meinem Bereich ziehe, geschieht in dem Wunsche, die Scheidewand zwischen Synagoge und Kirche fallen zu sehen.*<sup>27</sup> In the end, the interpreter has to make a choice:

*Der Psalmenausleger kann sich entweder auf den Standpunkt des Dichters oder auf den Standpunkt der alttest. Gemeinde oder auf den Standpunkt der Kirche stellen – eine Grundbedingung des Auslegungsfortschritts ist die Auseinanderhaltung dieser drei Standpunkte und demgemäß die Unterscheidung der beiden Testamente und überh. der verschiedenen Heilsoffenbarungs- und Heilserkenntnisstufen.*<sup>28</sup>

Choosing between these three positions, Delitzsch chose the position of the Church.

It is interesting to note that the contribution of Franz Delitzsch (1864 – and of his son Friedrich Delitzsch, 1902) to the understanding of the book of Job in its wider context of wisdom literature found in the Old Testament and the Near Eastern tradition was a step in a new direction.

## 5. New Aspects in the last Decades of the Nineteenth Century

### 5.1. *The Psalms*

In the second half of the nineteenth century the number of special studies on the Psalms increased. Many aspects of the exegetical difficulties were discussed. These studies completed the work of exegesis in the many commentaries which were published time by time by Kamphausen (1863), C. B. Moll (1869–71), A. Rohling (1871), J.-B. Glaire (1872), F. X. Patrizi (1875), H. Graetz (1882–83), H. Lesêtre (1883–86), T. K. Cheyne (1888), S. R. Hirsch (1888), F. Baethgen (1892), H. Kessler (1899), B. Duhm (1899), A. F. Kirkpatrick (1891–1902).

First of all, the Hebrew text and the old translations of the Psalms were studied. So E. J. von Ortenberg investigated the textual problems (1861); C. Bruston wrote about *le texte primitif* (1873); E. Nestle published his *Psalterium Tetraglottum* (1879); S. Baer analyzed the Masoretic text and the system of punctuation in the poetical books in: *Das Accentuationssystem der drei biblischen Bücher Psalmen, Sprüche Salomo's und Iob* (published as a supplement to the Psalm commentary of F. Delitzsch, 1859–60, 835–861); S. Baer also edited the Masore-

<sup>26</sup> Ibid. 11.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., Vorrede, VI.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid. 45.

tic text of the book of Psalms: *Liber Psalmorum, textum masoreticum accuratissime expressit, e fontibus masorae varie illustravit, notis criticis confirmavit* (1880, with a preface of F. Delitzsch); F. Baethgen estimated den *textkritischen Wert der alten Übersetzungen* (1882); G. Hoberg wrote about *Die Psalmen der Vulgata* (1892); L. Techen published a *Syrisch-hebräisches Glossar* to the Psalms (1897).

The metrics of poetry were intensively studied by E. Meier, in his *Die Form der hebräischen Poesie* (1853), by J. Ley in *Grundzüge* (1875) and *Leitfaden* (1887), by G. Bickel in *Carmina Veteris Testamenti metricae* (1882/83) and not least by E. Sievers in his *Studien zur hebräischen Metrik* (1901).

Dating the Psalms remained a topic of debate in all the commentaries, see especially F. Giesebrecht, *Über die Abfassungszeit des Psalters* (1881). The music was, among others, studied by O. Strauss, *Psalter als Gesang- und Gebetbuch* (1859), J. K. Zenner, *Die Chorgesänge* (1896), O. Fleischer, *Neumen-Probleme* (1895–97), J. Köberle, *Die Tempelsänger* (1899), A. Büchler, *Zur Geschichte der Tempelmusik und der Tempelpsalmen* (1899/1900).

The problems of titles and superscriptions and the process of redaction were explored, especially by van den Ham (1871), A. Neubauer (1890), W. Staerk (1892), B. Jacob (1896) and W. Riedel (1899).

Of special interest and widespread influence were the studies of K. Budde on the lamentation for a death, the Hebrew *qina* (*Leichenklage*) with its typical limping meter (3+2), so in his *Das hebräische Klagelied* (1882–91). His object was primarily the book of Lamentations. And last but not least, there was a great number of more or less minor studies on psalmic notions and conceptions, e.g. of R. Smend, *Über das Ich der Psalmen* (1888), A. Rahlfs, עני and ענר in den *Psalmen* (1892), F. Coblentz, *Über das betende Ich* (1897) and others.

Finally, a brief look at the Bibliography exhibits that the term “critical” played an ever increasing role in the titles of studies and in the discussions of biblical poetry. New lines were also manifest in the critical analysis of the books of Job and of Song of Songs.

## 5.2. Job

Discussing the form of the rhetoric in the book of Job, A. Merx looked into the neighbouring countries of the Near East and found the prototype of the dialogue in the Arabic *maqama*, which means a well-organised meeting as a background of the artistic form of prose literature, and in the *musamira* as a nocturnal entertainment in the Semitic world. But, in this respect, he remained somewhat alone. With growing knowledge of the literature of the Near East the interpreters of Job were more aware of the logic of the problem under discussion. Distinguishing the positions of Job and of his friends and comparing them with positions found in some Psalms, they saw more and more that it was a conflict of the religious tradition seen with the eyes of the wise.

‘Wisdom’ was the term which found its way into the commentaries. Ancient wisdom discussion replaced the modern philosophical discourse concerning theodicy. Franz Delitzsch found the clearest words about Israelite wisdom tradition: Wisdom literature was concerned with the current issues of the world, such

as universal, human, philosophical considerations, beginning with the religion as a fear of God, and then going forward to the basic questions of mankind, the unseen roots of the visible, the human truth of all life, the common basis of the Israelites and all personal and national history. In this respect Job was not an Israelite. He was a man representing problems of all mankind. In Delitzsch' own words the 'wisdom' was:

*eine Geistesrichtung universalistischer, humanistischer, philosophischer Art, welche, ausgehend von der Furcht oder Religion Jehova's, den letzten Gründen der Dinge, den kosmischen Zusammenhängen des Irdischen, den gemeinenschlichen Grundlagen des Israelitischen, den unsichtbaren Wurzeln des Sichtbaren, der allgemeinen wesentlichen Wahrheit des individuell und national Geschichtlichen zugewendet war; ... so behandelt auch das B. Job eine gemeinenschliche Grundfrage und der Dichter hat seinen Helden geflissentlich nicht der israel(itischen) Geschichte, sondern der außersrael(itischen) Sage entnommen.<sup>29</sup>*

Delitzsch was, moreover, one of the first interpreters who compared the book of Job with the tragic literature of the Greeks. In particular the works of Euripides seemed to him to be close to the dramatic form of Job.

The book of Job was subsequently classified as a didactic wisdom poem (*Lehrgedicht*), a term which found increasing acceptance. Concerning the time of the author of the book, it was K. Budde (1896) who paved the way. Job must have been a widely travelled man who had even seen Egypt. He lived in the time of the Persian Empire after its second founding by Darius with its free trade in all good.<sup>30</sup> The dating was accepted by many of the following interpreters, e.g. B. Duhm.

### 5.3. Song of Songs

Some commentators of the Song of Songs saw behind the book an erotic plot (so H. Ewald, 1826) or a Greek Mimos recited by an actor (cf. F. Hitzig, 1855; E. Renan, 1860; H. Graetz, 1871) or a dramatic play (*Singspiel*) or a drama (F. W. C. Umbreit, 1826; F. Friedrich, in his Dissertation of 1855). In 1873 J. G. Wetzstein published a study entitled: *Die syrische Dreschtafel*,<sup>31</sup> where he described the Syriac-Palestinian marriage customs of his days. This induced K. Budde to make use of it when interpreting the Song of Songs as a secular textbook for weddings (1894–98); and some interpreters agreed with him. Solomon is, then, the bridegroom, Sulamit the bride. The texts were songs offered to the wedding festival. However, the traditional allegorical reading remained the dominant one.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. Müller, *Das Hiobproblem* (1995), 13, 76f.

<sup>30</sup> Budde, *Beiträge* (1876); *Das Buch Hiob* (1896), XLV.

<sup>31</sup> *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 5 (1873) 270–302.

#### 5.4. *Lamentations*

A new sight of the book of Lamentations, or Threni, was given after studies of the *qina*-form and the *qina*-meter of the texts understood as lamentations for the dead by K. Budde (see above). The lamentations were for a dead city.

### 6. Bernhard Duhm's Commentaries of 1897 and 1899

Although B. Duhm was of the opinion, as R. Smend relates,<sup>32</sup> “that one will become stupid through commentaries” (*dass man durch Commentare dumm wird*) – he wrote commentaries on Job, Isaiah, Jeremiah, the Twelve, and the Psalter of great importance for research up to the present day. The commentaries on Job and the Psalms may not be the most important ones – this may be true for the commentaries of Isaiah and Jeremiah – but they are the most popular ones. Notorious is here the out-spoken language, the penetrating criticism of the “pious poetry” of the writings on the Psalms. However, many readers were shocked at his censorship and especially his keen judgement on texts of the Holy Bible. Duhm read them as he read literature in general.

The commentary on Job, *Das Buch Hiob erklärt* (1897), represents the standard interpretation of the book at the end of the century. As to the problem of literary unity he proceeded from the fact that Job is a composition of several parts. The first and oldest part is the prosaic tale, named “Popular book” (*Volksbuch*) by Duhm, which functioned as a framework of the whole composition in ch. 1–2 and 42:7–17. The author of the dialogue in ch. 3–42:1–6 is a poet who wrote in verse. He chose the simplest meter of Hebrew poetry, the distichon: 3 +3 3+3. The author of Job does not have the high literary quality of the Old Testament prophets, nevertheless he was a great poet with a keen spirit, dramatic energy and creative imagination to express the conflict concerning the highest value of mankind, namely the belief in the essential righteousness of the world.<sup>33</sup>

Other parts were regarded as secondary additions, so the speeches of Elihu (ch. 32–37)<sup>34</sup> – “as God’s advocate” (*als Gottes Apologet*), “with markedly empty discourses” (*mit auffallend leeren Reden*); further, the Song of Wisdom (ch. 28); part of the animal texts in ch. 40–41; and a lot of short poems or fragments, which came into the book at a later date.<sup>35</sup> Duhm recorded the result of a long literary critical study of the book.

As to the theological question of Job, he was influenced by trends in the last years of the century. Near the end of the commentary there is a summary of his interpretation of Job. The problem of divine retribution in life found an appropriate solution up to ch. 19. The problem of God’s righteousness (theodicy) found no final solution, but only a practical answer that man is to acknowledge

<sup>32</sup> Smend, *Deutsche Alttestamentler* (1989), 122.

<sup>33</sup> Duhm, *Hiob* (1897), IX.

<sup>34</sup> This view was for the first time expressed by M. H. Stuhlmann (1804).

<sup>35</sup> Duhm, *ibid.* XI f.



the acts and wonders of God in nature and that he is no longer the central point of the world. The dramatic play of ideas has a tragic end.

The function of the speeches of God in ch. 38ff was expressed in these words: "God is here. Job can see him and this reconciles him to his suffering and the enigma of the world" (*Und schliesslich ist doch ein Gott, und Hiob darf ihn sehen! Das Sehen Gottes versöhnt ihn mit allen Leiden und Rätseln*).<sup>36</sup>

Duhm represented the critical position of the exegesis of his day. The interpretation in the twentieth century cannot ignore his statements.

The second half of the nineteenth century saw a considerable number of important commentaries on *the Psalms*. They are different in character, some of them are voluminous, most of them contain rich linguistic and historical materials. None of them are easy to read, but one particular commentary is amusing because of its lively temperament, its extreme critical position and shrewd judgement. It was published in the last year of the century, in *Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament*, by B. Duhm: *Die Psalmen erklärt*.<sup>37</sup>

With its 312 + 37 pages this commentary (excluding a translation of the text) is one of the shorter ones. Duhm's translation was published separately (1899). He brought out a second edition with a translation of the text in a stichic written form (1922). Every reader of the commentary is given the impression that it is a work of relevance. Many problems are enduring and have remained so through the ages. The main interest was the history of religion. He is waiting for readers who are seeking truth, and truth only. Duhm tried to find his own truth, which was often of a very strange character. Chronological and poetical statements are, in his view, only "Theses, proposals and the critical co-operation of the reader is required" (*Thesen, Vorschläge und appellieren an die prüfende und wenn nötig berichtigende Mitarbeit des Lesers*).<sup>38</sup>

Four points concerning the importance of Duhm's commentary on the Psalms are worthy of note.

1. Duhm's extreme late dating of Psalms: "Therefore I regard it as probable that our book of Psalms as such was prepared under Queen Alexandra or Salome, circa 70 BC" (*Danach halte ich es für wahrscheinlich, dass unser Psalmbuch als solches unter der Königin Alexandra oder Salome rund 70 a. Chr. fertig geworden ist*). This may be right concerning the Psalter as a book. However, he supported a late date for many individual Psalms, as was done by his predecessor de Wette. Because Duhm did not rely on the historical superscriptions – he was speaking of "pseudo-historical ornament" (*pseudohistorischen Kopfschmuck*). The oldest psalm for him is "das Volkslied aus der Zeit des babylonischen Exils Ps 137".<sup>39</sup> Then follows a long period with nothing. Most texts are written during the period from 200 until 100. Duhm's "proposal" (*Vorschlag*) of historical dating is worth quoting in detail:

*Aber was mag der jüngste Psalm sein? und in welchem Zeitpunkt zwischen der Abfassung des jüngsten Psalms und Lk 13,33 [sic] mag der Psalter seinen Abschluss erreicht haben? Nach meiner Über-*

<sup>36</sup> Ibid. 181.

<sup>37</sup> Duhm, *Die Psalmen erklärt* (1899; <sup>2</sup>1922).

<sup>38</sup> Ibid. (1899), VII.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid. XII, XIX.

*zeugung gehen die jüngsten Psalmen bis zu rund 80 a.Chr. – Concerning the traditional dating he continued: Das ist eine Literarkritik, die in den kindlichen Anfängen stecken bleibt, aber freilich mit einer Exegese harmoniert, die vor jedem schärferen Eindringen in die historische Situation und in die individuelle Physiognomie der einzelnen Dichtungen zurückschreckt, sich mit erbaulichen Gemeinplätzen begnügt oder gar durch allegorische Umdeutung alles konkret Geschichtliche hinwegschwemmt. Die wissenschaftliche Literarkritik darf nicht bloss, sondern muss eine Tradition von so illegitimer Art vollkommen ignorieren; es ist ein nichtiger Spuk so gut wie das allegorische Ich, das neuerdings wieder umgeht, wie zum Spott auf unsere Einbildung, dass wir jetzt endlich uns auf die rein sachliche und historische Auslegung verständen.*

Duhm dares to give different classifications. There are “*vormakkabäische Psalmen*”, “*Psalmen aus der Zeit der makkabäischen*”, “*Psalmen aus der Zeit der hasmonäischen Hohenpriester*”, “*Psalmen aus der Zeit der hasmonäischen Könige*”, “*Pharisäische Kampfpsalmen*”, and he dates these texts within only a few decades, from 168 BC until 80 BC. But he also has in mind that many texts “*weder mit der äusseren Zeitgeschichte, noch mit Parteiinteressen etwas zu tun (haben), sondern... aus solchen persönlichen Lebensgeschicken hervorgegangen (sind), wie sie überall und zu allen Zeiten vorkommen, oder behandeln ganz allgemeine Stoffe und Fragen, Gedanken und Gefühle*”. It has to be accepted, that these texts are not earlier than the fourth century and as old as all or most of the texts that can be dated.<sup>40</sup>

As to Psalm 1 he was of the opinion that it is from the first century or not much earlier:

*Dies anspruchslose Maschal muss schon darum jung sein, weil es ganze Sätze aus den “nebiim” (Jer 17,7ff. Jos 1,8) in aller Unbefangenheit herübernimmt, ohne den Vorwurf des Plagiats zu besorgen: offenbar sind Josua und Jer für den Verf. schon heilige Bücher. Sollte es von Anfang an zu einem Vorwort für den Psalter bestimmt gewesen sein, so müsste seine Abfassung in das letzte Jahrh. vor Chr. fallen. Es könnte auch aus einer Thorarolle, dem es als Motto diente, herausgenommen und dann etwas älter sein, aber gewiss nicht viel.*<sup>41</sup>

2. The second characteristic feature of the commentary is that Duhm no longer says that the Psalter was the “book of hymns or a liturgical book of the Jewish community”. Rather he saw the Psalter as a popular religious book (*religiöses Volksbuch*). He considered the aesthetic quality of many texts as “mediocre” (*mittelmässig*). But there were also masterpieces of lyrical poems.

Often quoted is Duhm’s opinion of Psalm 119, which he considered to be “the most worthless production which ever blackened paper” (*das inhaltloseste Produkt, das jemals Papier schwarz gemacht hat*) – a grotesque misunderstanding of this sapiental anthology. Less known is the fact that he made a translation of Psalm 119 copying in quite a charming fashion the alphabetic structure of this text. He perceived the pedagogical aim of the Psalter as a book. The editors of the Psalter aimed at the democratisation and popularisation of the priestly cult.

3. The third feature of his commentary is that Duhm had an imaginative regard for social reality of the time of the Psalms.<sup>42</sup> The problem of enemies in the

<sup>40</sup> Ibid. XVIII–XXIV.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid. 5.

<sup>42</sup> Duhm, *Die Psalmen übersetzt* (21907), XVIII.

Psalms has to be solved. He understood the true meaning behind the texts and discerned their reflection of the true society of the time and of the whole of Antiquity. He found a sociological method while explaining the circumstances and conditions of life of the psalmists. "Incitement" (*Verhetzung*) is his term for social situations with negative communication.

4. Finally, who wishes to find only theology in the Psalms, *übersieht nur zu gerne, in welcher Welt und für welche Menschen die Psalmen entstanden sind*. For Duhm these human beings are just the same people in the same social reality: *die Leute, die später aufhorchten und herbeiströmten, als die Armen, die Demüthigen und Friedfertigen selig gepriesen wurden, als es hieß: das Himmelreich ist nahe herbeigekommen, als die Kraft aus der Höhe sich offenbarte.*<sup>43</sup>

With these words the preface of the second edition of Duhm's historical-critical commentary of the Psalms is concluded.

## 7. Outlook into the Twentieth Century

'History', 'religion', 'literature' – these conceptions alone and in combination were the main notions (*Leitbegriffe*) in the research and study of the Bible, including the Old Testament with the Psalms in the nineteenth century. And it was very successful, as we can see when reviewing the richness of exegetical productions of this period. The investigation of the Psalms was guided by practical needs to use and understand the texts in service and meditation. But it was always influenced by the method of the period which was historical, linguistic and critical when comparing these texts with other texts, internal and external. The view was developing towards a clear picture of the history of religion. Towards the end of the century T. K. Cheyne postulated:

At the present juncture we seem to need a more critical study of the facts which condition the outward form of Christianity. Some of the most important of these are of course to be found in the Old Testament, as the crown of which we may justly regard the Psalms. The history of the growth of the Psalter must therefore first of all be studied, and if the whole of it, practically, should prove to belong to the great post-Exilic period, we shall have to compare the religious ideas of the Psalter, obtained by a careful exegesis, with those of the peoples with whom the Israelites came into the closest contact.<sup>44</sup>

The answer was given at the beginning of the twentieth century, first by the founding of the *Religionsgeschichtliche Schule*, then by H. Gunkel and his investigation of the history of literature (*Literaturgeschichte, Gattungsgeschichte*) and by study on the widespread and growing discoveries in the world of the oriental Antiquity.

<sup>43</sup> End of the Preface of the commentary (21922).

<sup>44</sup> Cheyne, *Origin* (1891), X.

## CHAPTER TWENTY-TWO

# Studies of the Didactical Books of the Hebrew Bible / Old Testament

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## 1. Introduction

The beginning of the nineteenth century saw a continuation of the view that had dominated previous centuries, that Solomon was the author of Proverbs and Ecclesiastes,<sup>1</sup> as mentioned in the superscriptions to those books (Prov 1:1; 10:1; Eccl 1:1; 1:12), and that the book of Job dated from the patriarchal age and was probably penned by Moses. These were the three canonical didactical or wisdom books of the Old Testament. By the end of the nineteenth century a huge contribution of scholarship, prompted by the rise of critical biblical scholarship itself, led to a complete overhaul of such opinions. All three books were regarded almost exclusively as products of the post-exilic, rather than the pre-exilic, age and the Solomonic attribution was regarded as entirely unhistorical. Attempts to date the books were made on other grounds than supposed authorship, notably those of the development of ideas across the Old Testament and of relationship to other books with more fixed dating references.

This article is an attempt to trace this change in outlook over the century. Change is always piecemeal and this is no exception. The didactical books were seldom the main interest of scholars from this period. They often came in for a mention on the side of mainstream Pentateuchal criticism, which was in its heyday, or in the wake of Christian scholarly interest in the prophets, their being seen as the high-point of Old Testament theology in the light of which the content of the didactical books often paled. However, there were key pockets of interest and scholarship on these books, as shall be seen. The Old Testament scene was dominated by German scholarship, particularly in the first half of the nineteenth century when there seemed to be somewhat of a hiatus in British Hebraic study. However, fresh interest and expertise seems to have given a boost to British scholarship after the middle of the century, and by the end of the century British scholars were writing some definitive overviews of the subject and commentaries on particular books.

I will treat the books of Proverbs, Job and Ecclesiastes in separate sections of this article. There are other apocryphal wisdom books, notably Ben Sira and the Wisdom of Solomon, in which there was considerable interest during this period, but space does not permit me to extend this survey beyond the canon of the Old Testament/Hebrew Bible. Most of the writing from the period comes from the production of commentaries on separate books of the Old Testament and hence conclusions about each of Proverbs, Job and Ecclesiastes tend to have been reached separately without extensive cross-reference to 'wisdom literature' as a class of books.<sup>2</sup> It was not until the last decade or so of the nineteenth century

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<sup>1</sup> In fact, rejection of Solomonic authorship of Ecclesiastes had been posited in the eighteenth century and so had gained more ground by the beginning of the nineteenth century, whilst there was no question of Solomon's authorship of Proverbs at this time.

<sup>2</sup> Crenshaw, *Prolegomenon* (1976), 3, suggests that Meinhold was the first to recognize the separate existence of wisdom (in: *Die Weisheit Israels*, 1908, 138–139) but Smend, *The Interpretation of Wisdom* (1995), disagrees. Whybray, *The Book of Proverbs* (1995), mentions that Driver, *Introduction* (1891) 368, employed the term when Driver wrote: "Wisdom among the ancient Hebrews, was a term which was used in special connexions, and hence acquired a special limitation of meaning. It was applied to the faculty of acute observation, shrewdness in discovery or device, cleverness of inven-

that more ‘overview’ articles were starting to be written. There were introductions to and theologies of the Old Testament during the period, but again this picked up towards the turn of the twentieth century.

### *1.1. The Scholarly Climate in the Early Nineteenth Century*

Scholarship came a long way in the nineteenth century from distrust of any critical remarks about the Bible to the flood-gates of biblical criticism being opened and widely accepted. In 1800, for example, Alexander Geddes was suspended from his ecclesiastical functions for his critical remarks on the Bible.<sup>3</sup> His critical work was expanded upon by J.S. Vater who argued that the Pentateuch was written at the time of Solomon, compiled from ancient documents some of which may have come from Mosaic times, including Moses’ own journals.<sup>4</sup> This concerned not the didactical books but the Pentateuch, study of which was to dominate and influence critical study of all other books. Such critical activity was set to increase beyond all expectation throughout the century, largely under the influence of critical study coming from Germany. Eichhorn’s *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, completed in 1787 and paving the way for nineteenth-century biblical criticism, had defended older and newer passages in Old Testament writings and he argued that “Very few of them came from the hand of their authors in their present form”.<sup>5</sup> Again he was mainly concerned with the Pentateuch, but he set up a distinction between original material and time of authorial writing that was to become an important one. Perhaps the first real contributor to the study of the ‘Writings’, of which the didactical books are a part, was H. Ewald, who expressed the wish of starting his series of commentaries with the ‘poetical books’ of the Old Testament. His first commentary was on *Song of Songs* (1826), followed by *Psalms* (1835), *Job* (1837), *Proverbs* and *Ecclesiastes* (1837).<sup>6</sup> It is interesting that what we now tend to call the wisdom books were treated by him under the ‘poetical’ heading. He suggests that beginning with poets rather than prophets gets closer to the primitive spiritual forces of the people of Israel. This

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tion”. It seems to be a grey area as to who first coined the terminology of ‘wisdom’, ‘wisdom literature’ and who termed those who promoted it ‘wise men’, but vestiges of early nomenclature of this material as ‘wisdom’ goes back to patristic times. Whybray supports Crenshaw on the point that Meinhold published what seems to have been the first study entirely devoted to the wisdom literature of the Old Testament. It attempts to define the Old Testament concept of wisdom, to trace its development and to demonstrate that it was not restricted to a small group of books but was to be found also in the prophets and Deuteronomy and that it influenced the later Jewish scribal tradition and the New Testament. In English scholarship, Davidson, *Proverbs* (1885), speaks in terms of ‘the wisdom’. C. G. Montefiore, *Notes* (1889–90) also uses the term ‘wisdom literature’, so it certainly seems to have become common to refer to these three books of Proverbs, Job and Ecclesiastes as such by the turn of the century. I would like to acknowledge in this article the invaluable assistance given me by Will Kynes, my former PhD student and research assistant, who is hoping to shed light in his own research on the nomenclature of wisdom, past and present.

<sup>3</sup> Geddes, *Critical Remarks* (1800).

<sup>4</sup> Vater, *Commentar über den Pentateuch* (1802–1805).

<sup>5</sup> Eichhorn, *Einleitung* (1787); quotation from English translation, Vol. 1 (1793), 92.

<sup>6</sup> Hitzig is another early nineteenth-century commentator who made a significant contribution to the study of the wisdom books. He first wrote commentaries on a number of prophets, then *Psalms* (1835), *Ecclesiastes* (1847), *Proverbs* (1858) and *Job* (1874).

was to give him a fresh vantage-point on prophetic and historical material. Despite this, there was a general feeling amongst the scholarship of the time that the poetical books were less inspirational than other parts of the canon. Ewald's commentary on *Job* is generally seen as the high point of his work, whilst his *Proverbs* and *Ecclesiastes* commentaries reflect the widespread view that these works are less fruitful and of less permanent value. The issue of relative dating with other books of the Old Testament came up in this context, another concern that was to dominate discussion of biblical books in this century.

Julius Wellhausen was a pupil of Ewald and it is interesting that, whilst he was impressed by the book of *Job*, he never took much interest in *Proverbs* and *Ecclesiastes*. Smend<sup>7</sup> records Wellhausen's less than high opinion of *Proverbs*, expressed when Wellhausen wrote: "in their dim generality, they are noteworthy only because they are of Jewish origin".<sup>8</sup> Smend also mentions in another article that Wellhausen wrote a treatise on divine justice when he applied for his post at Göttingen, in which *Psalms* and *Job* were the main subject matter.<sup>9</sup>

### 1.2. Scholarship in the Later Nineteenth Century

It was in the second half of the nineteenth century that interest in the books of *Proverbs*, *Job* and *Ecclesiastes* really flourished. From Germany, Franz Delitzsch is in many ways the most significant commentator of the mid-nineteenth century on these books. He wrote commentaries on *Job* (1864), *Proverbs* (1873) and *Song of Songs and Ecclesiastes* (1875).

The situation in England gradually improved after a hiatus in Hebrew scholarship. In 1862 John William Colenso reopened British and Continental contact in the subject area.<sup>10</sup> S. Davidson (1859; 1862–1863)<sup>11</sup> and M.M. Kalisch (1880)<sup>12</sup> in turn helped to 'found' higher criticism in England. A.B. Davidson (1884, 1885) was a prominent figure in the study of wisdom literature.<sup>13</sup> W. Robertson Smith was charged in 1878 with serious offences against sound doctrine with regard to the Scriptures, but gave lectures on Old Testament criticism nevertheless, producing two volumes, *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church* (1881) and *The Prophets of Israel* (1882). S.R. Driver<sup>14</sup> joined the debate later in the century with his non-acceptance of the Solomonic authorship of *Ecclesiastes* and his doubt that Solomon wrote many proverbs either, as did T.K. Cheyne, Oriel Professor at Oxford, with books such as *Job and Solomon* (1887). By the time of C.H. Toy's commentary on *Proverbs* for the ICC-series in 1899 the fruits of scholar-

<sup>7</sup> Smend, *The Interpretation of Wisdom* (1995).

<sup>8</sup> Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, 1 (1884), 89.

<sup>9</sup> Smend, *Wellhausen on the Psalms* (2010).

<sup>10</sup> Colenso, *Pentateuch and Book of Joshua* (1862).

<sup>11</sup> Davidson, *The Text of the Old Testament* (1859), and *Introduction to the Old Testament* (1862–63).

<sup>12</sup> Kalisch, *Path and Goal* (1880).

<sup>13</sup> Davidson, *The Book of Job* (1884), and *Proverbs* (1885).

<sup>14</sup> Driver, *Introduction to the Literature* (1891).



ship were well-established and widely accepted both in Germany and in Britain and increasingly elsewhere.<sup>15</sup>

I shall now treat the three didactical or wisdom books separately, attempting to draw out key issues of concern to nineteenth-century scholars, but without losing a sense of changing ideas as the century progressed.

## 2. Proverbs

### *2.1. Dating and Authorship Issues*

The dating of the whole book of Proverbs and of its various parts in relation to one another remains the dominating discussion of the century. As Montefiore succinctly expressed it: “The value of the wisdom literature when regarded as an element in the history of Jewish religion, would be increased if we could be sure of the dates when its chief productions were compiled”.<sup>16</sup> This preoccupation with date can be seen as a direct influence from the source critics of the Pentateuch who similarly were trying to date material in relative terms in order to come to a picture of the development of Israelite religion. Where Proverbs fitted in to this development was of interest here too, but this could only be decided once the internal dating problems had been solved. This was inextricably linked to issues of authorship. How seriously should the Solomonic attribution be taken, or were there other alternatives? An early attempt at dating the proverbs themselves comes from J. G. Eichhorn who stated the antiquity of Proverbs but with three caveats – first, there might be ‘isolated instances’ of evidence of a later period; second, he doubted whether all proverbs are Solomonic; and third, he wondered whether Solomon wrote the whole introduction to the book or whether there was a possibility of a pseudonym here.<sup>17</sup> These tentative remarks were all to be taken up by his successors.

Vatke is often acclaimed as the first promoter of a late date for Proverbs.<sup>18</sup> He dated both Proverbs and Job to the fifth century BC and Ecclesiastes even later as a result of their developed ethical stance, which he saw as influenced by prophecy. This opened up the question of the relationship between the wisdom books themselves and their relative dating both between them and other genres of the Old Testament such as law and prophecy. Vatke argued for a loose connection to Solomon but “Aramaicizing tendencies” indicated to him that none of the collections is pre-exilic. He wrote:

The former opposition between the outward worship and the freer prophetic teaching was now changed into the careful adhesion to the letter or the Levitical law on the one hand, and on the other into a free reflectiveness which even got rid of particularism altogether. Meanwhile the lyric inspiration continued, uniting in itself and reconciling both these opposite moods.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Toy, Proverbs (1899).

<sup>16</sup> Montefiore, Notes (1889–90), 430.

<sup>17</sup> Eichhorn, Einleitung (1787).

<sup>18</sup> Vatke, Die biblische Theologie (1835).

<sup>19</sup> Idem, 552, 563.

## 2.2. *Dating and Literary Issues*

The late dating of Proverbs to the fifth century BC was taken up by Delitzsch who refuted Solomonic authorship and was interested in the development of poetic forms in the literature.<sup>20</sup> On this basis he found three epochs of proverbial poetry contained within the pages of Proverbs, showing development across the centuries, but with the finished book and certain parts of it as late. It is one of the fullest discussions of the book from this period and it importantly raised literary questions many of which have remained on the agenda for scholars. One such question is the structure of the proverb and its relationship to the longer poems in the book and to the structure of the book as a whole. It also raised questions about the relationship of the book of Proverbs to the rest of the Old Testament and about its theological ideas.

Delitzsch had followed the earlier and very influential scholar Ewald even though he disagreed on some key points.<sup>21</sup> Ewald believed that the quest for wisdom, which he regarded as philosophy, had been cultivated in monarchic times. He too was interested in the literary forms and their development. He saw the antithetical saying as the main characteristic of the proverb from the beginning and hence as evidence of the ‘higher antiquity’ of those proverbs which possess it. He is attacked for this later on by A. B. Davidson in his article on Proverbs in which he argues that simple forms are earlier and hence the antithetical proverb is a result of the long use of literary methods by the wise.<sup>22</sup>

It was noted early on that different parts of Proverbs have a different character and form separate collections which raised the issue of relative date – and authorship – of these sections. The consensus position, as stated by Ewald, was that 10: 1–22: 16 is the oldest part of Proverbs dating from the eighth century but with many proverbs going back to Solomonic times, if not necessarily penned by Solomon himself. Ewald supposed that the collection was divided into five parts by the recurrence at intervals of a proverb pointing out to the young the advantages of wisdom (10: 1; 13: 1; 15: 20; 17: 25; 19: 20). Delitzsch placed the collection in the reign of Jehoshaphat, but again with the possibility of earlier individual proverbs. Many thought Prov 25: 1 should be taken at historical face-value as from the seventh century reign of Hezekiah.<sup>23</sup>

Most scholars placed Prov 10: 1–22: 16 before 25–29, the section attributed to the “men of Hezekiah” in the text. However, this was challenged by some, such as A. B. Davidson, who, again on the grounds of simple literary forms preceding more complex ones, spoke of the “great antiquity” of the proverbs in this section because they are “simple, usually contain a comparison, and have none of the abstractness which characterizes many of the maxims in 10–22”.<sup>24</sup> He thought generally that Proverbs contains the ‘precious fruits’ of Israel’s wisdom over hundreds of years and, although he gave Solomon a role, he believed that the

<sup>20</sup> Delitzsch, *Salomonisches Spruchbuch* (1873).

<sup>21</sup> Ewald, *Sprüche Salomo’s* (1867).

<sup>22</sup> Davidson, *Proverbs* (1885).

<sup>23</sup> E.g. Bertheau, *Die Sprüche Salomo’s* (1883).

<sup>24</sup> Davidson, *Proverbs* (1885) 879, col. 2.

proverbial form itself preceded him.<sup>25</sup> However, he saw the actual collection of 10:1–22:16 as quite late, possibly even from the same author as Proverbs 1–9, in the late pre-exilic period. This was taken up within British scholarship by S. R. Driver, who also argued, on stylistic grounds, that 25–29 could be the older collection, given that there are more comparative than antithetical proverbs and that the king is presented in this section in a less amiable light than in 10:1–22:16 and that religious proverbs are rare.<sup>26</sup> However, Driver was puzzled by the fact that 25–29 does not follow on directly from the principal collection – 22:17–24:22 are in between – and so ultimately opted for its being added after both preceding collections as Proverbs reached its final form. He only allowed Proverbs 30 and 31 as much later sections. It should perhaps be mentioned here that Ewald saw Proverbs 28–29 as an older section of maxims than Proverbs 25–27, a point taken up by Cheyne and others.<sup>27</sup>

It is interesting that Prov 22:17–24:22 was noted by these scholars as different in character and hence treated as a separate section, long before the Amenemope parallel was found.<sup>28</sup> Driver described the section as: “Less a collection of individual proverbs than a body of maxims, in which proverbs are interwoven, addressed with a practical aim to an individual and worked up usually into a more or less consecutive argument”.<sup>29</sup> He noted features such as the section’s hortatory tone, its devotion to a single subject – the commendation of wisdom – even though different topics make up the advice, its address to the individual and the practical nature of its maxims. Driver thought that this section also probably belonged just before the exile but was penned by a different writer to Proverbs 1–9. Prov 24:23–34, also a small separate section, was seen as an appendix to 22:17–24:22 with material on the slothful man.

There was a widespread consensus that Proverbs 1–9 is the latest part of the book. Ewald (1867), Nowack (1883), Davidson (1885) and Cheyne (1887) all agreed in placing it shortly before the Exile. Hitzig (1858) however assumed it was the oldest part of the book. Some debated whether this was a unified section at all (e.g. Bertheau, 1883), but others (e.g. Delitzsch, 1873) found great unity here. He saw these chapters as an introduction to the older 10:1–22:16, with 22:17–24:22 added by an editor who lived after Solomon but before Hezekiah at the time of Jehoshaphat. He found a connection with Deuteronomy in this section and so described it as the ‘torah’ of Solomon’s proverbs. A number of scholars wanted to divide Proverbs 1–9 into distinct sections.<sup>30</sup> Ewald found three general divisions; Bertheau<sup>31</sup> seven; Hooykaas<sup>32</sup> 11 and Delitzsch<sup>33</sup> fifteen. Davidson preferred to see the whole of 1–9 as a unity and as the work of a single

<sup>25</sup> Davidson, *Proverbs* (1885) 880, col. 1.

<sup>26</sup> Driver, *Introduction* (1891).

<sup>27</sup> Cheyne, *Job and Solomon* (1887).

<sup>28</sup> This was published in 1923. See Whybray, *The Book of Proverbs* (1995), for an evaluation of the significance of the find and its impact on the interpretation of the book of Proverbs.

<sup>29</sup> Driver, *Introduction* (1891), 375.

<sup>30</sup> This is interesting in the light of subsequent scholarship in the twentieth century that found evidence of instruction texts in the material in the light of Egyptian parallels.

<sup>31</sup> Bertheau, *Die Sprüche Salomo’s* (1883).

<sup>32</sup> Hooykaas, *Geschiedenis der Beoefening* (1862).

<sup>33</sup> Delitzsch, *Salomonisches Spruchbuch* (1873).

author, again just before the exile, near the time of Hezekiah. He saw Proverbs 8 as the high point of wisdom and hence as the latest point in its development.

The link with deuteronomic thought provided scholars with some dating criteria. Kuenen<sup>34</sup> linked Prov 1–9 and Deuteronomy and, on the grounds of his dating of Deuteronomy, placed 1–9 in the seventh century BC. He was followed by Cheyne, who suggested the period at the close of the kingdom of Judah (although Cheyne later changed his mind and opted for a much later dating).<sup>35</sup> Delitzsch also remarked on similarities between Proverbs 1–9 and Deuteronomy.<sup>36</sup> However, one concern of scholars was the lack of reference in the Proverbs as a whole, and of Proverbs 1–9 in particular, to idolatry, a concern that permeates the deuteronomic literature. This was a major argument for Reuss (1890) in dating Proverbs 1–9, and indeed the whole book, much later – to the Hellenistic period in fact.<sup>37</sup> Montefiore agreed that the absence of any allusion to idolatry is an exceedingly powerful piece of evidence for a post-exilic date.<sup>38</sup>

### 2.3. *The Character of Proverbial Wisdom and Use of Terminology*

There was a concern in the scholarship to classify the proverbial material within the wider context of intellectual life. So early on, Eichhorn<sup>39</sup> described proverbial wisdom as ‘philosophical poetry’, a description taken up by de Wette<sup>40</sup> when he spoke of proverbial wisdom as ‘practical philosophy’ as opposed to speculative philosophy. Delitzsch commended the Strasbourg theologian J.F. Bruch<sup>41</sup> for being the first to call attention to humanism as a distinctive intellectual tendency in Israel. Actually Bruch uses the term philosophy rather than humanism and the French scholar Reuss<sup>42</sup> described wisdom as religious and moral philosophy. The characterization of the material in this way as a ‘wisdom philosophy’ had the effect of separating it off from other parts of the Old Testament. This was a kind of free reflection untrammelled by the theocratic institutions and legal cult of the nation Israel (as described by Bruch) and largely indifferent to Israel’s historical traditions. Although some more conservative scholars, such as Delitzsch himself, attacked the idea of proverbial wisdom’s separateness, wishing to regard it as ‘revelation’ in line with other parts of the canon, this idea of wisdom as a rather different strain of thought persisted in the scholarship. Davidson describes

<sup>34</sup> Kuenen, *De Godsdienst van Israël*, 1 (1869).

<sup>35</sup> Cheyne, *Job and Solomon* (1887).

<sup>36</sup> Delitzsch, *Salomonisches Spruchbuch* (1873).

<sup>37</sup> Followed by Cheyne, *Job and Solomon* (1887), who was influenced by Reuss’ ideas.

<sup>38</sup> Montefiore, *Notes* (1889–90) 436, cites Reuss: “How is it to be explained, cries Reuss, that a book which sets itself to preach all human duties, to inculcate all the virtues, and to combat all the foibles and evil passions of the human heart, could have forgotten or neglected this prime aberration, the source of so many vices, if it was still in existence when the compilation was made?”, cf. Reuss, *La Bible* 6 (1879), 156.

<sup>39</sup> Eichhorn, *Einleitung* (1787).

<sup>40</sup> De Wette, *Beiträge zur Einleitung* (1807).

<sup>41</sup> Bruch, *Weisheits-Lehre der Hebräer* (1851).

<sup>42</sup> Reuss, *La Bible* (1874–1881).

what he calls ‘the wisdom’ as “a direction of thought differing from the main line of thought in Israel”.<sup>43</sup>

Delitzsch and Cheyne designated those who compiled this wisdom as the humanists of Israel and noted their interest in nature. Cheyne went as far as to see many proverbs as ‘secular’ – “The ethical principle is prudential...there seems to be a middle class with a sound moral sense”, religious proverbs conceivably added later.<sup>44</sup> This led him to reject Solomonic authorship on the grounds that his religion, as described in 1 Kings 4, cannot have had a religious character. Cheyne wrote: “Those maxims in this anthology which refer to the true God under the name Jehovah (*Yahve*) are too monotheistic and inculcate too pure a morality to be the work of the Solomon of the Book of Kings”.<sup>45</sup> Driver describes a definitive class of ‘the wise’ when he describes them thus:

The wise men took for granted the main postulates of Israel’s creed, and applied themselves rather to the observation of human character as such, seeking to analyse conduct, studying action in its consequences, and establishing morality, upon the basis of principles common to humanity at large.<sup>46</sup>

Ewald had identified the ‘scorners’ of Prov 13:1 and 14:6 with sceptical wise men, an idea taken up in relation to Prov 31:1–9 in particular (by Cheyne for example). There seems to have been some discussion of the possibility of wisdom schools in this period, with Ewald and Delitzsch positive about the idea, Bruch negative. However, the parallels from the ancient Near East that were so talked about in the next century were hardly known at this point and so this literature was seen as largely ‘sui generis’, with cross-reference tending to focus on Greek parallels rather than anything else.<sup>47</sup> Questions of folk tradition preceding literary artistry were debated. Delitzsch, for example, noted how the two-line proverbs in Proverbs were quite unlike the short popular sayings found in the narrative and prophetic books of the Old Testament.

#### *2.4. Cross Reference with the Wider Old Testament and the Development of Ideas*

The issue of relationship with other books of the Old Testament often comes up in the context of the dating argument. I have already noted the links made with Deuteronomic material. Links of wisdom with prophecy is of particular concern. One of Bertheau’s criteria for rejecting a pre-exilic date for Proverbs is the lack of reference to Proverbs in the prophetic books.<sup>48</sup> The book of Isaiah comes in

<sup>43</sup> Davidson, *Proverbs* (1885), 882, col. 1.

<sup>44</sup> Cheyne, *Job and Solomon* (1887), 135.

<sup>45</sup> Cheyne, *ibid.* 130.

<sup>46</sup> Driver, *Introduction* (1891), 369.

<sup>47</sup> Cheyne interestingly gives a hint that the method of looking to the ancient Near East for wider influences might be fruitful: “Some scholars will I know, object to this. They are of the opinion that nearly all the strange new developments of the post-exilic period can be explained as native Jewish growths”; Cheyne, *Jewish Religious Life* (1898), 156.

<sup>48</sup> His second criterion is that Proverbs implies that Yahwism has triumphed over paganism in Israel (i.e. the lack of idolatry argument), and his third that Proverbs appears to be similar to Sirach; Bertheau, *Die Sprüche Salomo’s* (1847), xli–xliii.

for a mention by Cheyne, who thinks wisdom a seventh century didactic movement, “an indirect result of the preaching of Isaiah (31:2)”.<sup>49</sup> Early forerunners of this movement, he says, might have been those with an interest in magic, in political sagacity, foretelling, makers of parables, craftsmen. But by the post-exilic period this wisdom had wider appeal as shown by the call of Proverbs 8 to the human race as a whole. He saw the wider Israelite law as presupposed in wisdom literature, but individualized and seen as essentially practical. Religion and morality were identified and were at one in this material.

Decisions over date were seen directly to affect ideas of the development of ideas – if wisdom is pre-exilic, prophecy might need to be re-evaluated; if it is post-exilic, the law might be affected. Montefiore makes this point in the way he sees date at the centre of concern, so he discusses at length the value of each alternative dating scheme put forward in the scholarship. He favours the post-exilic period as the date of the whole book of Proverbs, largely using arguments already encountered. He writes:

The proofs for that view [of a post-exilic dating] go more to the root of the matter, and deal with more essential and pervading elements of the whole book than those upon the other side. The civic luxury and populousness suggested by 1–9, the reminiscences from Deuteronomy, the frequent appearance of the king, can be more easily got over and explained than the silence respecting idolatry, the individualism of the teaching, the praise of chastity, the monogamic point of view and the general coolness and certainty of temper and tone. The real crux of the matter is where and when the phenomenon of the ‘wise men’ and their teaching may best be fitted in.<sup>50</sup>

Montefiore is heavily influenced by ideas of the ‘worth’ of different groups who produced the books of the canon. The virtues of the wise are judged by him with prophetic ideals in mind. He cites Oort’s poor opinion of wisdom – its lowness of motive and purely utilitarian stance.<sup>51</sup> He concludes that the wisdom writer must have lived under the law – again virtues of the wise judged externally, this time by the law. Some evaluation of wisdom’s ultimate value seems to be high on the agenda for Montefiore and he struggles with the issue.

It is interesting that A. B. Davidson rather attacks the attempt to find a point for wisdom in the development of ideas. He prefers an earlier dating for Proverbs, seeing many proverbs as of ‘immemorial antiquity’, but argues for a continuous influence of wisdom over time. He writes:

The truth is that the wisdom is a direction of thought, differing from the main line of thought in Israel at any time, and yet a direction which we should expect and which we desiderate at all times....There is some danger of pushing the principle of development to an extreme so as under the influence of too ideal a conception of progress to divide the history and thought of Israel into sections by drawing straight lines across it, as Ezekiel in his vision divided the holy land into rectangular belts. No people moves forward on one line or in a mass.<sup>52</sup>

This is a timely warning about being too tied to dating schemes and strict lines of the development of ideas.<sup>53</sup>

<sup>49</sup> Cheyne, *Jewish Religious Life* (1898), 156.

<sup>50</sup> Montefiore, *Notes* (1889–90), 440.

<sup>51</sup> Oort, *Spreuken I–IX* (1885).

<sup>52</sup> Davidson, *Proverbs* (1885), 882, col. 1.

<sup>53</sup> See Dell, *Development of wisdom* (1997).

### 2.5. *Late Dating Schemes at the End of the Century*

One of the last commentaries on Proverbs of the nineteenth century and generally regarded as a key one<sup>54</sup> is that of Toy in 1899.<sup>55</sup> He has no compunction about placing Job and Proverbs side by side as contemporary works, seeing the possibility of sceptical and non-sceptical attitudes as having existed side by side as entirely plausible. He puts 350 BC as the date of the oldest part of the book of Proverbs, which had been put together “out of current collections of aphorisms” (i.e. Proverbs 10–15; 16:1–22:16; 25–27; 28–29) – the completed book he dated as late as 200 BC.<sup>56</sup> Interim stages were the addition of Proverbs 22:17–24:22 in the mid third century along with Proverbs 1–9 and notably the preface in Prov. 1:2–7. He saw Prov. 6:1–19; 9:7–12 and Proverbs 30 and 31 as very late additions from the second century BC. Toy sees the book as a manual of conduct addressed to the individual, which presupposed both the religion of the prophets and the teaching of the Law. Monotheism appeared to be taken for granted – no deities other than Yahweh are mentioned in the book, and Yahweh is depicted as universal creator and controller of natural phenomena. There is no sign of the conflict over the worship of other deities that characterized the pre-exilic period: there is no religious polemic here but the presupposition of a general consensus on social and religious matters, only marred by the cynicism and behaviour of certain individuals (the ‘scoffers’). Attention is drawn to the importance given in the book to education and the schools issue raised and to certain social customs presumed to be late that are described or assumed in the book, for example, the apparently universal practice of monogamy.

So whilst the century’s scholars had battled the question of date to and fro and it had led to a myriad of different opinions, the last word on the date, at least of the final form of Proverbs, seems to lie with this late dating scheme as exemplified in the work of Toy. It is this that is taken up at the beginning of the twentieth century and only overturned by key discoveries from antiquity from the ancient Near Eastern world – notably from Egypt – that were to challenge such conclusions. It is ironic that in turn in the twenty-first century, a renewed interest in final form and in late dating has led us largely back to the conclusions of our nineteenth-century counterparts.

## 3. Job

During the course of the nineteenth century opinion of the dating of the book of Job changed from being of the patriarchal age, as indicated in the prologue to the book, where wealth is measured in terms of numbers of flocks and camels, to a date in the post-exilic period, possibly as late as the third century BC. Published in 1837, S. Lee’s *The Book of the Patriarch Job* defends the character of Job as a

<sup>54</sup> E.g. by Smend, *The interpretation of wisdom* (1995).

<sup>55</sup> Toy, *Proverbs* (1899).

<sup>56</sup> Toy, *ibid.* xxx.

historical one from the patriarchal period. There is however in Job studies an important distinction to be made between the possible historical character of Job and the time that the author wrote the book. Once again questions of date dominate the discussion but there are many by-products of that, including the division of the book into key sections, each with their own relative dates, according to source-critical theory that, heavily influenced by Pentateuchal criticism, sought to make literary sense of the stages of formation of the book. The theological nature of the book and its profundity is also a source of inspiration to nineteenth-century scholars. The question of the development of ideas in relation to other texts is also of concern, partly in relation to dating issues but also in the context of wider theological developments in Old Testament thought.

### 3.1. *Did Job Live?*

This question is aired by Umbreit early in the century and identified as a different question from whether Job actually said and did all that is related of him in the book that bears his name.<sup>57</sup> A number of scholars in the nineteenth century saw Job as a distant historical figure but regarded the book as essentially poetry.<sup>58</sup> At the other extreme were the scholars who saw the book as essentially a work of imagination.<sup>59</sup> The role of the author comes to the forefront here. The debate about Job's historical existence goes back to the Rabbis. Davidson cites a fairly moderate view of the time which regards the book of Job as resting on historical tradition about a character called Job, but historical tradition which the author has used and embellished and made a vehicle primarily for moral instruction.<sup>60</sup> He cites the heavenly scenes and symbolic numbers (e.g. of animals and of children) in the Prologue and the fact that calamities come in pairs as indicating non-historical elements in the Prologue. He sees the nature of the debate in the dialogue section as quite stylized and hence also tending towards the poetic rather than the historical. However, the mention by Ezekiel of Job (Ezek 14:14, 20) adds to the argument for historical tradition. He regards historical tradition as having provided an outline of Job's prosperity, afflictions and restoration so that in the Prologue and Epilogue there is an essentially individual treatment of Job.

During the eighteenth century an allegorical reading had seen Job as a type of the people of Israel. This picture was remodelled in 1871 by Hoekstra who regarded Job not as the people of Israel but as the idealized Israel or 'servant' figure as found in Deutero-Isaiah.<sup>61</sup> This idea is taken up by Davidson who writes of Job: "He is not Israel, though Israel may see itself and its history reflected in

<sup>57</sup> Umbreit, *Das Buch Hiob* (1824).

<sup>58</sup> For example, Delitzsch, *Das Buch Hiob* (1864); Davidson, *The Book of Job* (1884); Bradley, *Lectures on the Book of Job* (1888).

<sup>59</sup> For example, Hengstenberg, *Das Buch Hiob* (1870–1875); Merx, *Das Gedicht von Hiob* (1871); Reuss, *Hiob* (1888).

<sup>60</sup> Davidson, *The Book of Job* (1884).

<sup>61</sup> Hoekstra, *Job* (1871).



him”.<sup>62</sup> Davidson sees Job as becoming a ‘type’ in the dialogue, one who reflects the sufferings of Israel as a nation, as in the figure of the ‘servant’ from Deutero-Isaiah. Some scholars rejected this national model, for example Bleek, who thought that the situation described was a set of domestic circumstances rather than a national one.<sup>63</sup>

### 3.2. *Date and Authorship*

T. K. Cheyne in 1887 comments on the older view that Moses might have written the book of Job and is fairly dismissive.<sup>64</sup> He states that the book is neither Mosaic (traditional Jewish view) nor pre-Mosaic (e.g. Eichhorn<sup>65</sup>) – such an opinion is “a theory which is a relic of the cold, literal, unsympathetic method of the critics of the last two centuries”.<sup>66</sup> The Solomonic period had also been suggested by earlier nineteenth-century scholars,<sup>67</sup> but the main problem with that suggestion is the overlap with the book of Proverbs which does appear to give a rather different world-view to which the scepticism of Job would seem to be subsequent. Ewald’s<sup>68</sup> idea that Job arose from the aftermath of the fall of the northern state, possibly under Manasseh, and Hitzig’s<sup>69</sup> that the author of Job was from the northern Kingdom never won wide currency, but fed into the idea that the book arose out of a period of crisis, that then got transferred to the idea of an exilic date. The reference to the Chaldeans in the Prologue suggested to Cheyne the Babylonian period, an idea that he then pursues on other grounds.<sup>70</sup> He notes that the most commonly suggested period for the main Job poem is that between Isaiah and Jeremiah.<sup>71</sup> But the clear monotheism of the book suggests a later date to him, certainly later than the exilic period, possibly even post-Deutero-Isaiah.<sup>72</sup>

Some concern also focused on place of writing, speculated upon because of the wider linguistic elements in Job and because of the seeming knowledge of the natural world expressed in the God speeches in particular. The French scholar

<sup>62</sup> Davidson, *The Book of Job* (1884), xxvi.

<sup>63</sup> Bleek, *Einleitung* (1878).

<sup>64</sup> Cheyne, *Job and Solomon* (1887).

<sup>65</sup> Eichhorn, *Einleitung* (1787).

<sup>66</sup> Cheyne, *ibid.* 72.

<sup>67</sup> Notably Delitzsch, *Das Buch Hiob* (1864), 21 (English translation) writes: “It bears throughout the stamp of that creative, beginning-period of the Chokma, – of that salomonic age of knowledge and art, of deeper thought respecting revealed religion, and of intelligent, progressive culture of the traditional forms of art, – that unprecedented age, in which the literature corresponded to the summit of glorious magnificence to which the kingdom of the promise had then attained”.

<sup>68</sup> Ewald, *Buch Ijob* (1836).

<sup>69</sup> Hitzig, *Das Buch Hiob* (1874).

<sup>70</sup> Cheyne, *Job and Solomon* (1887).

<sup>71</sup> E.g. Ewald, *Das Buch Ijob* (1836); Stöckel, *Das Buch Hiob* (1842); Renan, *Le Livre de Job* (1859); Dillmann, *Das Buch Hiob* (1863); Kuenen, *Historisch-Kritisch Onderzoek* (1865); Bleek, *Einleitung* (1878); Hitzig, *Das Buch Hiob* (1874); Merx, *Das Gedicht von Hiob* (1871); Reuss, *Hiob* (1888).

<sup>72</sup> Following Vatke, *Die Biblische Theologie* (1835) and Kuenen, *Historisch-Kritisch Onderzoek* (1865). A post-exilic date for Job was also favoured by Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, I (1884); Hoffmann, *Hiob* (1891), and Cornill, *Einleitung* (1891), amongst German scholars.

Renan suggested a non-Israelite desert production and espoused the idea that the author had travelled widely.<sup>73</sup> Hirzel thought the writer so well-acquainted with Egypt that he must have been carried out there with King Jehoahaz in 611 BC.<sup>74</sup> Cheyne dismisses this 'place' question rather quickly when he writes: "To me, the whole question seems well-nigh an idle one".<sup>75</sup> Cheyne finds mythological allusions, notably 'the Satan' of the Prologue that suggest to him a post-exilic date and reinforces his argument on the basis of parallel passages from the Psalms and Deutero-Isaiah which are seen to precede Job chronologically.

Davidson notes that everything from the patriarchal age to the period after 'the Captivity' has been suggested in the scholarship. He opts for an exilic date for the book of Job. He writes: "The juster conceptions, however, which now prevail regarding the history of Israel and the advancement in the ideas of the people, occasioned in part by the progress of this history and accompanying it, have considerably narrowed the limits within which such a work can reasonably be supposed to have appeared".<sup>76</sup> He continues: "The Book can hardly have been written before the decline and fall of the northern kingdom, nor later than the return of the exiles of Judah from Babylon".<sup>77</sup> He finds a betrayal of the author's own period in his familiarity with the law of Deuteronomy. He bases his arguments about date largely on the relationship of Job to other texts – he notes the priority of Isaiah over Job and sees the book as contemporary with Jeremiah and Ezekiel, with parallels also to the servant figure of Deutero-Isaiah. Key themes such as doubt and 'disorder and misery' also suggest the Babylonian period to Davidson. He airs suggestions that have been made as to authorship, including Job himself, Elihu, Moses, Solomon, Heman the Ezrahite, the author of Psalm 88, Isaiah, Hezekiah, the author of Isaiah 38 and Baruch. He is clearly not convinced by this quest for an actual author and he concludes, somewhat weakly: "The religious life of this people was at certain periods very intense, and at these periods the spiritual energy of the nation expressed itself almost impersonally through men who forgot themselves and were speedily forgotten in name by others".<sup>78</sup>

### 3.3. *Stages of Literary Development*

The narrative parts of Job were generally regarded in this century as based on a traditional story and the evidence of mention of Job from Ezekiel 14:14, 20 boosts this impression. If any part of the book was pre-exilic, the Prologue had a claim – and this might have been the original 'prose book' without the Epilogue, although many saw prologue and epilogue making a prose whole.<sup>79</sup> However, if

<sup>73</sup> Renan, *Le Livre de Job* (1859).

<sup>74</sup> Hirzel, *Hiob* (1839).

<sup>75</sup> Cheyne, *Job and Solomon* (1887), 75.

<sup>76</sup> Davidson, *The Book of Job* (1884), lv.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.* lv.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.* lxviii.

<sup>79</sup> E.g. Macdonald, *The original form* (1895), saw a popular legend taken over by the author and changed and hence the two parts were not from one hand.

there was one main author then he would have amalgamated Prologue and Dialogue probably at the same time. Cheyne argues for that process happening in the Chaldean period.<sup>80</sup> This was not the end of the story of the Job texts however, and most scholars found sections of later redaction – the Elihu speeches were widely agreed to be such, but some scholars went for more elaborate reconstructions. Cheyne saw no less than six stages of redaction after the main author had done his work – i. e. ch. 28; chs. 32–37; 38–40:14; ch. 42:1–6; 39:15–24; 41 – with the final appending even later on of the epilogue.<sup>81</sup> Cheyne felt that since the epilogue was not a fitting ending to the book it could have been unfinished.<sup>82</sup> He saw the final book as not coming together until the Persian period. He finds no overall purpose to the book because of its composite nature – it has grown rather than ever being intended. De Wette expressed this point well earlier in the century: “It appears to us that the present book of Job has not all flowed from one pen. As many books of the Old Testament have been several times written over so has this also”.<sup>83</sup>

Davidson expresses the traditional literary-critical position that had emerged by the end of the nineteenth century that there are essentially five key parts to the book – the Prologue, Dialogue, Elihu speeches, God speeches and Epilogue.<sup>84</sup> He argued that all parts were from the main author with the exception of the Elihu speeches, but that there had been some key expansions in the dialogue and God speeches by later redactors. He gives good arguments concerning the reasons for such divisions and the problems raised by the different parts of the book not always being consistent with each other or fitting together. One commonly noted dislocation was that of the end of the third cycle of speeches where Job seems in 27:11f to be saying the wrong things, and then this is followed by chapter 28 which has the character of a separate didactic treatise. Similarly he rejected the long description of the Behemoth and Leviathan as out of keeping with the rest of the God speeches.

### *3.4. Theological Purpose and Position in Wider Development of Ideas*

Bleek, who saw Job essentially as poetry, identified three truths taught by the book of Job.<sup>85</sup> The first was the message that the pious can be afflicted; the second was that there was ultimately no point in striving with God – at the end of the day the fear of the Lord is more important; and third, God will ultimately have compassion on the pious sufferer. His attempt at an overall theme for the book was that of the lot of the pious or ungodly in reference to Divine Justice. Most scholars throughout the century similarly attempted to give a summary of

<sup>80</sup> Cheyne, Job (1901). Although he sees the epilogue as ‘unsatisfactory’, he concludes that it was “a necessary concession” by the author “to the unspiritual multitude” (col. 2467).

<sup>81</sup> For even more elaborate redactional stages see Bickell, *Das Buch Hiob* (1894), and Duham, *Das Buch Hiob* (1897).

<sup>82</sup> Cf. Dillmann, *Das Buch Hiob* (1863).

<sup>83</sup> De Wette, *Hiob* (1818–89).

<sup>84</sup> Davidson, *The Book of Job* (1884).

<sup>85</sup> Bleek, *Einleitung* (1878).

the theology of the book, but in doing so may have over-simplified it. Delitzsch saw the problem of the book as “why do afflictions upon afflictions befall the righteous man?”.<sup>86</sup> In the answer that not all affliction is the result of God’s wrath but can be due to God’s love leads him to an important truth of the book that there is a view of suffering as discipline, proving and testing upheld there. Hupfeld, more negatively, saw the purpose of the book to cast light on the problem of the suffering of the innocent and pronounce it insoluble.<sup>87</sup> Davidson saw the message of the book as the insufficiency of the doctrine of compensation and saw the book’s ultimate outcome after Job’s struggle with God as the doctrine of unlimited acquiescence when faced with the divine.<sup>88</sup> He put some stress on the germ of the idea of immortality (from Job 19:25–27), a text widely discussed in the scholarship. The composite nature of the book however made it hard to capture the message in one sentence without distorting the nature of the whole and some felt that attempt to be inappropriate anyway.

Job’s place in the wider development of ideas was of interest in this century, and not just in relation to dating issues. Its position in relation to Proverbs was important – the only close link of sentiment as far as the character of Job was concerned was with scepticism of Prov 30:1–4, although it was clear that the friends were upholding the kinds of positions on retributive justice found in Proverbs. However Proverbs and Job were thought unlikely to be contemporary, which added fuel to the decision to place Job later in the development of wisdom, but before Ecclesiastes. Its position in relation to various prophets and psalms was of equal concern, as mentioned in relation to dating above, however this was a slippery business, particularly in relation to the Psalms with the uncertainties over their dating. A didactic purpose to the whole seems to have been widely agreed, even if the Job poet used dramatic means by which to teach.

#### 4. Ecclesiastes

With Ecclesiastes there is a similar shift in dating and authorship issues over the century to what we find in relation to Proverbs. Solomonic authorship is quickly rejected by critical scholarship following observations already widely made in the eighteenth century, and this book is often seen as the very latest of the didactical books, possibly from the second century BC and arguably coming under Greek influence. Again, source-critical enquiry is applied to the book, with considerable interest in the redactional stages, such as the addition of an epilogue that led to its completion. Its elusive message and contradictory nature also generated speculation and comment.

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<sup>86</sup> Delitzsch, *Das Buch Hiob* (1864).

<sup>87</sup> Hupfeld, *Quaestionum in Iob* (1853), supported by Kuenen, *Historisch-Kritisch Onderzoek* (1865).

<sup>88</sup> Davidson, *The Book of Job* (1884).

#### 4.1. *Solomonic Authorship?*

It is interesting that Solomonic authorship had already been rejected in the late eighteenth century, by Döderlein (1779), Eichhorn (1787), and others. They were followed in the nineteenth by Nordheimer (1838) and Ewald (1867). Döderlein believed the author to have lived at the time of the Babylonian exile and to have initiated the rumour that this book was from Solomon's pen.<sup>89</sup> Hengstenberg confirmed this view in 1845, although he favoured the period of Persian rule as the background to the book.<sup>90</sup> Only a few held on to Solomonic authorship by this time.<sup>91</sup> The identity of Koheleth, the assembler or preacher (1:1), emerged as a new consensus about authorship. Luzzatto, for example, in 1860 argued that the author was Koheleth who assumed Solomon's name fraudulently.<sup>92</sup> This fraud was detected by the wise men of his day who struck out the assumed name and substituted Koheleth, leaving the words 'son of David, king in Jerusalem' as a record of the fraud. Later students, i. e. redactors, accepted the work as Solomon's and inserted three qualifying half verses – 11:6b; 12:1a; 12:8b. Two postscripts followed in the Epilogue. Luzzatto's view was adopted by Nöldeke<sup>93</sup> and Bickell who includes 3:17 also among inserted passages.<sup>94</sup>

#### 4.2. *Links with the Greek World and Dating Issues*

Scholars seem to have been mainly divided into two camps over date – those who favoured the Persian period (generally the earlier scholars of the century) and those favouring the Greek (a number of the scholars from the later part of the century). The latter suggestion brought in questions of the influence of Greek philosophical systems on the book. Cheyne was against Greek influence and sees the book as belonging to a dark era in the post-exilic period when the nation suffered political servitude, when society was in a depressed state and when national feeling was at low ebb.<sup>95</sup> Linguistic evidence and the presence of philosophical thought suggested any date from the exile onwards, but he placed his emphasis on Koheleth being a native Hebrew philosopher.

Those favouring the Persian period included Hengstenberg who insisted that the picture of Koheleth and Israel in Ecclesiastes could only come from the time when the Persians had dominion over Israel.<sup>96</sup> He discerns strong affinities between Ecclesiastes and Malachi.<sup>97</sup> Other scholars supporting a Persian dating

<sup>89</sup> Döderlein, *Scholia* (1779).

<sup>90</sup> Hengstenberg, *Ecclesiastes* (1845); cf. *idem*, *Der Prediger Salomo's* (1859).

<sup>91</sup> E.g. Wangemann (1856); Bennet (1870); Dillon (1895).

<sup>92</sup> Luzzatto, *Coheleth* (1860).

<sup>93</sup> Nöldeke, *Die alttestamentliche Literatur* (1868).

<sup>94</sup> Bickell, *Das Buch Hiob* (1894).

<sup>95</sup> Cheyne, *Job and Solomon* (1887).

<sup>96</sup> Hengstenberg, *Ecclesiastes* (1845), and *Der Prediger Salomo's* (1859).

<sup>97</sup> Hengstenberg, *Ecclesiastes* (1845), 595 writes: "The admonitions of the author to a serene enjoyment of life, and against murmuring, exhortations to be contented with Divine Providence, and the attacks upon a selfish righteousness of works, may best be explained by supposing the author to have lived in a period like that of Malachi, in which there prevailed a Pharisaical righteousness of

included De Wette (1807), Knobel (1836), Ewald (1837), Heiligstedt (1848), Stuart (1851), Vaihinger (1857–58), Ginsburg (1861), Delitzsch (1875), Nowack (1883), Wright (1883), Driver (1891) and Cox (1896).

Those favouring the Greek period did so largely on the basis of comparison with Greek philosophical thought. Following Zirkel from the end of the previous century who propounded the theory of a formative influence of Greek thought and language, largely Stoic, upon Ecclesiastes, scholars of the nineteenth century built on such observations.<sup>98</sup> Tyler, for example, found Stoic and Epicurean divisions in tension in the book.<sup>99</sup> He saw this as representative of the contradictions found in the thought of these great philosophical schools. He saw the warning about ‘many books’ at the end of the book of Ecclesiastes (12:13–14) as a warning against philosophy itself. Plumptre also saw two streams of Greek influence in the book representing a discussion between schools of thought.<sup>100</sup> The linguistic argument for the Greek period was worked out by F. Delitzsch.<sup>101</sup> Others favouring the Greek period for dating the book included Hitzig (1847), Kleinert (1864), Kuenen (1865), Bennett (1870), Renan (1882), Bickell (1884), Cornill (1891), Dillon (1895), Strack (1898), Cheyne (1898), Wildeboer (1898), Siegfried (1898), Streane (1899), Haupt (1905) and McNeile (1909). Haupt argued for a later second century BC date within the Greek period seeing Koheleth as a king only in the sense of being at the head of a school.<sup>102</sup> He regarded the book as Epicurian with Stoic interpolations, and saw final completion as having taken place up to 100 BC. Plumptre<sup>103</sup> dates the book between 240 and 187 BC, and Renan<sup>104</sup> also favoured the later Maccabean period. Some scholars preferred to be non-committal about date, unable to decide between the Persian and Greek periods.<sup>105</sup> Graetz suggested the Roman (Herodian) period, but that argument was not taken up by others.<sup>106</sup>

### 4.3. Redactions and Epilogue

The first scholar to reject the Epilogue as from the main author was Döderlein (1779) who also divided the book into six sections with prologue and epilogue.<sup>107</sup> This rejection of the epilogue was followed by Umbreit (1818), Bertholdt (1821–22) and Knobel (1851) amongst others. Renan thought that within the epi-

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works, and melancholy murmurings because God would not recognize the alleged *rights* which they produced before him and refused to acknowledge the *claims* they made upon him” [his italics].

<sup>98</sup> Zirkel, *Untersuchungen über den Prediger* (1792).

<sup>99</sup> Tyler, *Ecclesiastes* (1874).

<sup>100</sup> Plumptre, *Ecclesiastes or the Preacher* (1881).

<sup>101</sup> Delitzsch, *Hoheslied und Koheleth* (1875).

<sup>102</sup> Haupt, *Ecclesiastes* (1905).

<sup>103</sup> Plumptre, *Ecclesiastes or the Preacher* (1881). Plumptre also asked whether “many books” in the Epilogue to Ecclesiastes included Greek ones.

<sup>104</sup> Renan, *L’Écclésiaste* (1882).

<sup>105</sup> E.g. McNeile, *Introduction to Ecclesiastes* (1904).

<sup>106</sup> Graetz, *Kohelet* (1871).

<sup>107</sup> Döderlein, *Scholia* (1779).

logue verses 9–12 made a unit and verses 13–14 were therefore even later.<sup>108</sup> Geiger<sup>109</sup> likewise found two postscripts in the Epilogue, as did Graetz, who had a theory of dislocation and posited two epilogues.<sup>110</sup>

Many divisions of the book were suggested at this time. Ewald<sup>111</sup> and Vaihinger<sup>112</sup> divided the book into four parts plus Epilogue – 1:2–2:26; 3:1–6:9; 6:10–8:15; 8:16–12:8 and Epilogue in 12:9–14. Driver suggests that there are no clear subdivisions in the book and that, except in chapters 1–2 where experience guides the flow of thought, there is little development of an argument or connection of thought.<sup>113</sup> He finds abrupt changes of topic and inconsistent views expressed throughout.

These inconsistencies were noted early on (even by the Rabbis) in the book, but they were explored in the nineteenth century largely in relation to redactional ideas. Bickell put the inconsistencies down to the leaves of an early manuscript becoming disarranged.<sup>114</sup> This led some to the idea of a plurality of authors.<sup>115</sup> Siegfried for example, posited five different hands, two epilogists and two editors.<sup>116</sup> Later, McNeile was to posit two glossators – a Hokma and a Chasid glossator.<sup>117</sup> The essential unity of the book was however maintained by many scholars including Ginsburg (1861), Delitzsch (1875), Plumptre (1880, 1881),<sup>118</sup> Wright (1883), Cornill (1891), Wildeboer (1898) and Genung (1904).

#### 4.4. *Evaluations of the Message*

As early as Döderlein, the idea of the book as a dialogue or discussion was aired.<sup>119</sup> Döderlein imagined an academic setting where a group of learned men were engaged in a debate. Kuenen agreed with the idea of a dialogue to explain the disconnected character of the book.<sup>120</sup> This idea had older roots, for example Luther thought that Solomon was in dialogue with his political associates in this book.<sup>121</sup>

<sup>108</sup> Renan, *L'Éclésiaste* (1882). Renan apparently followed N. Krochmal from an 1851 journal article in *More nebuqe hazzeman* 11, but I have been unable to locate this article or find the full bibliographical details. Krochmal apparently argued that the Epilogue was added at Jamnia to close the canon.

<sup>109</sup> Geiger, *Urschrift* (1857).

<sup>110</sup> Graetz, *Kohelet* (1871).

<sup>111</sup> Ewald, *Sprüche Salomo's* (1867).

<sup>112</sup> Vaihinger, *Die Sprüche* (1857–1858).

<sup>113</sup> Driver, *Introduction* (1891).

<sup>114</sup> Bickell, *Koheleth's Untersuchung* (1884); also Dillon, *The Sceptics* (1895).

<sup>115</sup> E.g. Haupt, *The Book of Ecclesiastes* (1905).

<sup>116</sup> Siegfried, *Prediger und Hoheslied* (1898).

<sup>117</sup> To the Hokma glossator McNeile, *Introduction to Ecclesiastes* (1904), and *Ecclesiastes* (1909), attributed Eccl 4:5, 9–12; 6:7, 9; 7:1a, 4–12, 19; 8:1; 9:17f; 10:1–3, 8–14a, 15, 18f; 12:11–12 and to the Chasid glossator, Eccl 2:26; 3:14b, 17; 5:1–7; 7:18b, 26b, 29; 8:2b, 3a, 5, 6a, 11–13; 11:9b; 12:1a, 13–14.

<sup>118</sup> Plumptre, *Ecclesiastes* (1881), saw the epilogue as resolving the tensions in the book and as providing the key to its message.

<sup>119</sup> Döderlein, *Scholia* (1779).

<sup>120</sup> Kuenen, *Qoheleth*, 1883.

<sup>121</sup> See Dell, *Ecclesiastes as Wisdom* (1994).

Mendelssohn (1771) broke new ground when he posited that the object of Koheleth is “to propound the great consolatory truth of the immortality of the soul”.<sup>122</sup> The idea of a future life contained in the book was, however, rejected by most commentators. De Wette, for example, argues that Koheleth gives no hope of a future life, rather Sheol is what is in store, and his own life inclines towards fatalism, skepticism and Epicureanism.<sup>123</sup> Ewald held that the object of Koheleth is “to combine all that is true, however sad, and profitable, and agreeable to the will of God in a practical handbook adapted to those troublesome times”.<sup>124</sup> Nordheimer argued for Ecclesiastes as a philosophical didactic poem which seeks to determine the duties of man.<sup>125</sup> He wrote:

Ecclesiastes entails a warning against philosophical investigation of human relations without first examining the limits and powers of the human mind. If the epistemological limitations of human reason are not observed at the outset such an investigation is liable to lead one to skepticism.<sup>126</sup>

Hengstenberg, amongst others, found the key to the book in the epilogue and argued that the aim of Ecclesiastes is to encourage the fear of God in the face of difficult circumstances, thus putting a more positive theological interpretation on the whole book.<sup>127</sup>

De Wette maintains that Koheleth asserts the vanity of all things and the reality of enjoyment alone. Indeed the vanity theme was quickly seen as the main one.<sup>128</sup> Driver is rather reprimanding of Koheleth’s teaching when he remarks:

The Book exhibits, in a word, the reflections of a spirit, manifestly not of an optimistic temperament, impelled to despair and distrust of its own future, as well as of its nation’s (6, 12), by the depressed and artificial circumstances in which the author lived...His teaching, as a whole, if followed consistently, would tend directly to paralyse human effort, to stifle every impulse to self-denial or philanthropy, to kill all activity of an ennobling or unselfish kind.<sup>129</sup>

Driver argues that a life devoted to the interests of humanity in general is not vain in the way that Koheleth suggests. It is only a life devoted to merely personal ends that may be so. However, he hesitates to call the author a pessimist since he always retains his faith in God, is aware of a moral order in the world and sees the advantages of fearing God. It is in the conflict between faith and experience that the conundrum of Koheleth’s book lies.

Commentators often tended to place evaluation of the message in the context

<sup>122</sup> Mendelssohn, *Der Prediger Salomo* (1771). The quotation is a paraphrase from Cheyne, *Job and Solomon* (1887), 236. This was taken up by Vaihinger, *Die Sprüche* (1857–1858).

<sup>123</sup> De Wette, *Beiträge zur Einleitung* (1807).

<sup>124</sup> Ewald, *Sprüche Salomo’s* (1837). The quotation is a paraphrase from Cheyne, *Job and Solomon* (1887) 236–237.

<sup>125</sup> Nordheimer, *The Philosophy of Ecclesiastes* (1838).

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.* 207.

<sup>127</sup> Hengstenberg, *Ecclesiastes* (1845), sees the “all” of “all is vanity” (Eccl 1:2) as referring to earthly as opposed to divine matters and writes in that context: “From many passages it appears that the author was far from comprehending the fear of God and active obedience to his laws among the ALL which was vanity. This appears most strikingly from the conclusion, which, as such, is of the highest importance, and furnishes the undoubted measure for the correctness of the whole interpretation” (1845, 596) [his capitalization].

<sup>128</sup> De Wette, *Beiträge zur Einleitung* (1807).

<sup>129</sup> Driver, *Introduction* (1891), 442–443.



of the author as reconstructed. Plumptre, for example, argues that Ecclesiastes is “an enigmatic yet fascinating book”.<sup>130</sup> He is against Solomonic authorship – Koheleth for him was a debater in the Museum at Alexandria. He terms the book an ‘autobiographical confession’ and then proceeds to recreate a rather fanciful biography of the author. He sees the final aim of the book being to deepen fear of God after Koheleth’s personal experience of nearly sinking into the quicksand of scepticism. He is interested in wider textual relationships with Ecclesiasticus and the Wisdom of Solomon. McNeile, in a similar vein, describes Ecclesiastes as a ‘Hebrew journal in time’.<sup>131</sup> The book is an outpouring of the mind of a wealthy Jew who has seen much suffering and is serious in wrestling with the meaning of life. McNeile argues, rather unusually, that Koheleth’s deity is ‘Nature’ rather than Yahweh. Koheleth cannot find a key to unlock Nature’s riddle, “but at the same time he has not quite lost his Semitic belief that God is more than Nature”.<sup>132</sup> McNeile continues: “There are left to him only the shreds of the religious convictions of his fathers, with a species of ‘natural religion’ which has fatalism and altruism among its ingredients”.<sup>133</sup> Koheleth’s conclusion is that since the work of God is inscrutable and allows universal injustice and misery, man can come to no conclusion about life. Rather one can only make the most of the present. He divides the text from 2:13–10:20 up into a “series of pictures illustrating the troubles of men”.<sup>134</sup> He argues that the editor stressed Solomonic authorship so that an otherwise heretical book be returned to the canon of Scripture.

## 5. Conclusion

In conclusion, the didactical books or wisdom literature became of increasing importance and interest during the nineteenth century. The grouping of these three books together as wisdom literature paved the way for the fresh emphasis on this category in the twentieth century. The breakdown of traditional dating categories and opening of the doors of critical study on these books led on to scholarly breakthroughs in the next century, particularly when new points of comparison with key ancient Near Eastern texts came to light. What has been of particular interest in this journey through the nineteenth century, however, is the realization that scholars of this period went down many of the same scholarly roads that are popular today and that sometimes when we think we have a new idea we need to heed Qoheleth’s warning that “of making many books there is no end” (12:12) and that there may be little that is “new under the sun” (1:9) after all.

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<sup>130</sup> Plumptre, *Ecclesiastes* (1881), 11.

<sup>131</sup> McNeile, *An Introduction to Ecclesiastes* (1904), 8.

<sup>132</sup> *Ibid.* 15.

<sup>133</sup> *Ibid.* 16.

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid.* 16. McNeile is rather negative about the worth of the Old Testament in general and of Ecclesiastes within it, making it clear that the Incarnation offers a higher plane of thought, McNeile, *Ecclesiastes* (1909), 202.

## CHAPTER TWENTY-THREE

# The Question of a ‘Biblical Theology’ and the Growing Tension between ‘Biblical Theology’ and a ‘History of the Religion of Israel’: from Johann Philipp Gabler to Rudolf Smend, Sen.

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## 1. Introduction

"... was damals biblische Theologie des Alten Testaments hieß und dann später den heute leider wieder im Abgang befindlichen Namen der alttestamentlichen Religionsgeschichte bekam"<sup>1</sup> – this is how E. Hirsch, in his *Geschichte der neuern evangelischen Theologie*, refers to a 'genre' in the study of the Old Testament which underwent a significant change during the period ranging from the late eighteenth to the late nineteenth centuries. Hirsch' statement about the terminological adjustments accompanying that change, and the sentiment it conveys, encapsulate the problem we intend to address in the present essay: the shifting perspectives on the theology (or theologies) expressed in the Old Testament and its (or their) place in history.

The term 'Biblical Theology' can be seen – and has been seen – to indicate a host of different things: the theology 'contained' in the Bible; the theology of the whole Bible as opposed to the 'theologies' of its constituent parts; a form of Systematic Theology that is biblically orientated and thus 'scriptural'; 'Biblical Theology' as opposed to (or, indeed, even *instead of*) 'Systematic' or 'Dogmatic' theology; a 'genre' of scholarly writing (like, say, *Einleitungen*); a distinct 'movement' within academic theology; etc.<sup>2</sup> Other definitions are possible and have been put forward.

<sup>1</sup> Hirsch, *Geschichte der neuern evangelischen Theologie*, V (1964), 45.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Kähler, *Biblische Theologie* (1897), 192 for the list of possibilities he presents: "Der Name *Biblische Theologie* ist gelegentlich bald einer theologischen Richtung gegeben worden, welche bemüht ist, die Bibel zu ihrem ausschließlichen Quell und Richtmaße zu machen, bald dem Hauptteile der gesamten theologischen Wissenschaft, dessen Gegenstand die Bibel bildet; jetzt jedoch gehört er nach allgemeinem Einverständnis einem einzelnen Zweige biblischer Wissenschaft besonders zu. An sich weitschichtig und wenig bezeichnend ..., hat er, in dieser Verwendung ein Gepräge erhalten, welches sich, wie Aufgabe und Begrenzung dieser Disziplin selbst, nur aus deren Geschichte erklären und bestimmen läßt".

All these views can be subsumed under the heading of either ‘descriptive’ or ‘normative’.<sup>3</sup> The same dichotomy is expressed in other pairs of opposites which can equally well be used to categorise the multitude of understandings of ‘Biblical Theology’: ‘historical’ versus ‘dogmatic’/‘theological’ is one of them. The tension between these opposing viewpoints expresses the conceptual difficulties which led to the concept of a ‘History of the Israelite Religion’ arising out of and separating from that of a ‘Biblical Theology’ of the Old Testament, or rather: to the ‘Biblical Theology’ being transformed into the ‘History of the Israelite Religion’.

The present study is devoted to the unfolding of concepts of ‘Biblical Theology’ (of the Old Testament) up to the point when, in the eyes of many beholders at least, ‘Biblical Theology’ started to disintegrate and transform itself into a ‘merely’ historical discipline of the ‘History of Ancient Israelite Religion’.

## 2. The ‘Pre-history’ of Biblical Theology

The term ‘Biblical Theology’ (*biblische Theologie*) was probably coined by C. Haymann, a theologian under the influence of Pietism, in 1708.<sup>4</sup> Given the range of meanings the term has been assigned, we shall have to concentrate – given the scope of our topic – on Biblical Theology as an ‘alternative’ to Dogmatic Theology and as the progenitor of a purely historical view of the Israelite religion. We are going to explore it against the background of the development of historical thought in Europe from the early modern period onwards. We shall thus focus on what one might call ‘the description of the theology of the Bible in the Bible’s own terms’.<sup>5</sup> This modern notion of ‘Biblical Theology’, probably inaugurated by G.T. Zachariä,<sup>6</sup> and its ‘pre-history’ and later development can only be understood in the context of the intellectual history of the early modern period. While Gabler’s famous inaugural *Oratio* held at the University of Altdorf on 30th March 1787, provides a convenient starting-point,<sup>7</sup> it has a ‘pre-history’ which we have to grasp if we want to do justice to the intellectual world that brought forth the concept of ‘Biblical Theology’.

To have such a grasp is the key to understanding the predicament of modern biblical interpretation, suspended as it is between history and theology. It is therefore helpful to know more about the background of the intellectual struggle that gave rise to the concept of ‘Biblical Theology’ and its ‘non-theological’ heir, the ‘History of Israelite Religion’. While it is true that the Enlightenment and especially the overwhelming impact of what is commonly called ‘historicism’ were the forces that changed the study of the humanities – including biblical stu-

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Ebeling, *The Meaning of ‘Biblical Theology’* (1963), 80, and Janowski, *Biblische Theologie, I. Exegetisch* (1998), 1544.

<sup>4</sup> Haymann, *Versuch einer biblischen Theologie* (1708, <sup>4</sup>1768); cf. Kähler, *ibid.* 193.

<sup>5</sup> Sandys-Wunsch / Eldredge, J.P. *Gabler and the Distinction between Biblical and Dogmatic Theology* (1980), 149.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> Gabler, *Oratio* (1831), 179–198.

dies and theology – forever, some of the key problems addressed by the *lumières* of the eighteenth century and the historians of the nineteenth century had already been tackled by their academic forebears in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The tension between dogmatic theology and biblical interpretation did not arise in the eighteenth century, under the impact of the Enlightenment, or in the nineteenth century, when the study of history unleashed its subversive power. Rather, that tension already became palpable when, in the late seventeenth century, the *querelle des anciens et des modernes* foreshadowed the historians' debates of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries without which the need for concepts like those of a 'biblical theology', as opposed to dogmatic theology, would never have arisen.

Georg Calixt (1586–1656), a professor at the University of Helmstedt and Lutheran irenicist who devised the concept of the *consensus quinquesecularis*, was the first ever to express the need for a 'pure' Biblical Theology, as opposed to dogmatic theology. In his *Epitome*,<sup>8</sup> Calixt shows his sensitivity to the problems posed by the study of history under the influence of the humanists who educated him. He learned much from Casaubon, the foremost philologist of Europe, whom he went to see in London in 1612.<sup>9</sup> While Protestant Orthodoxy attempted to assign the Bible to the 'right' place in Orthodoxy's theological edifice (effectively subordinating the Bible to the structural requirements of neo-scholastic, Aristotelian system-building)<sup>10</sup> and signally failed to do so,<sup>11</sup> Calixt realised that Protestant theology should strive to be 'biblical' in a manner different from that envisaged by the vast majority of the theologians of his time. He was, however, in a minority of one, unless one counts the covenant theology of Coccejus as another example of a more historically sensitive way of approaching the biblical material.<sup>12</sup>

When the *dicta probantia* concept of supplying dogmatic theology with the 'necessary' scriptural passages to underpin its architecture finally ceased to convince the majority of academic theologians, a certain momentum gathered. In this situation, 'Biblical Theology' in the modern sense was foreshadowed by Sebastian Schmid's approach in his *Collegium Biblicum in quo dicta Veteris et Novi Testamenti iuxta seriem locorum communium theologicorum explicantur* (1671).

<sup>8</sup> Calixt, *Epitome theologiae* (1619).

<sup>9</sup> Pattison, Isaac Casaubon (1892), 305f.

<sup>10</sup> This approach survived into the eighteenth century; one of the more convincing attempts was made by Hollaz, *Examen theologicum* (1707).

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Eichrodt, *Theologie des Alten Testaments*, 1. Gott und Volk (1950), 2f: "Wie schon angedeutet, hat der Rationalismus den unvollkommenen Versuch der Orthodoxie, durch die Zusammenstellung von *dicta probantia* und eine ausgedehnte Typologie den inneren Zusammenhang von Altem und Neuem Testament aufzuzeigen, zerpfückt, indem er die Unmöglichkeit nachwies, die zeitlich und persönlich bedingte Mannigfaltigkeit der alttestamentlichen Gedankenwelt zu einem Kompendium widerspruchloser Glaubenslehre zurechtzustutzen. Nur daß er selber freilich keinen Ersatz zu bieten vermochte, weil er über die Freude an der kritischen Analyse den Sinn für die lebensvolle Synthese im Alten Testament verlor und nur noch verschiedene Lehrbegriffe einzelner biblischer Schriftsteller zu erfassen vermochte". The criticism expressed in the last sentence is direct against (among others) C. F. Ammon and G. L. Bauer; cf. *ibid.* n. 1.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Zimmerli, *Biblische Theologie: I. Altes Testament* (1980), 426.

It went beyond the usual *dicta probantia* method<sup>13</sup> and had a number of followers, among them the afore-mentioned Haymann.

A few decades later, J. LeClerc formulated his uncompromising and clear view of the historian's work. By the standards of his time, it was radical, and many theologians – especially biblical exegetes – perceived it as being disturbingly provocative:

*Omnium Scriptorum libri expendi possunt et debent ad regulas Artis, quam privatim profitentur, legesque rectae Rationis, quibus homines omnes, sine ullo gentium ac saeculorum, quibus vivimus, discrimine tenemur. Qui utrasque per omnia observarunt, sunt per omnia laudandi, at perpauci sunt: alii omnes, quatenus tantum observarunt. Quae recta sunt laudari, sine malignitate, debent: quae minus, sine superbia, reprehendenda.*<sup>14</sup>

It was this kind of reasoning that paved the way for the 'invention' of history as a discrete academic subject, with all the consequences that it was going to have for the study of theology and the development of 'Biblical Theology' as a genre of its own.

### 3. The Beginnings of Modern 'Biblical Theology': Gabler, his Immediate Predecessors and Contemporaries, and the Collision with Kant's Hermeneutics

As we have seen, Gabler did not invent the term 'biblical theology', nor was he in any meaningful sense the 'father' of the discipline of 'Biblical Theology'. The term goes back to C. Haymann. In spite of his pietistic leanings and the concomitant devotion to scripture as a *medium salutis*, Haymann produced a Biblical Theology that was exclusively intended, like similar works authored by pietists of the period, to provide ancillary services to dogmatic theology. He was unable to break away from the all-pervasive concept of biblical interpretation as a means towards a (dogmatic-) theological end. It is true that Haymann, like other pietists among the academic biblical scholars missed an opportunity to establish Biblical Theology as an independent exegetical discipline and emancipate it from its ancillary status.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Zimmerli, *ibidem*: "*Das Schriftwort rückte dabei unwillkürlich an die nachgeordnete Stelle eines dictum probans für die einzelne Lehraussage – auch da, wo man dann bewußt (unter dem nun aufkommenden Stichwort des collegium biblicum) diesem seinen vollen Platz wieder einzuräumen bestrebt war. Ein Werk wie Sebastian Schmidts Collegium Biblicum (...) läßt erkennen, in welchem ungeschiedener Selbstverständlichkeit das Bibelwort beider Testamente hier der dogmatischen Formulierung der dogmatischen loci communes zu- und dann eben praktisch deren innerem Zusammenhang untergeordnet wurde*".

<sup>14</sup> LeClerc, *Ars Critica*, Pars iii (1712), 396.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Merk, *Biblische Theologie des Neuen Testaments* (1972), 19: "*Spener hat das Kernproblem erkannt: Luthers Theologie war frei von der Scholastik, aber die Orthodoxie hat das reformatorische Schriftverständnis mit der vorreformatorischen Scholastik verbunden. Es ist im Hinblick auf unser Thema die große verpaßte Gelegenheit des Pietismus, daß er nicht in der Erkenntnis des notwendigen Durchbruchs zum reformatorischen Schriftverständnis nunmehr die Folgerungen für eine 'Biblische Theologie' gezogen hat*".

Gabler's famous *Oratio*<sup>16</sup> was preceded by several important works that carried the term 'Biblical Theology' in the title: there was, as we have just seen, Haymann's *Versuch einer Biblischen Theologie*, but there also were G. T. Zacharia's *Biblische Theologie, oder Untersuchung des biblischen Grundes der vornehmsten theologischen Lehren* (1771–1772) and W. F. Hufnagel's *Handbuch der biblischen Theologie* (1785, 1789). C. A. Doederlein's *Feyerliche Rede von den hohen Vorzügen der biblischen Theologie vor der scholastischen*, too, was not insignificant.

A. F. Büsching (1724–1793), "who took his stimulus from Pietism yet already belonged entirely to the so-called Neology", was another important forerunner of Gabler's, in the sense that he "contended against the ruling scholastic theological system" and "sought a self-contained Biblical Theology composed exclusively from the Scriptures".<sup>17</sup> He was probably the first scholar who tried to build his dogmatic theology entirely on the basis of biblical material; the title of his doctoral thesis, *Dissertatio inauguralis exhibens epitomen theologiae e solis literis sacris concinnatae et ab omnibus rebus et verbis scholasticis purgatae* (1756), speaks for itself. It was followed, two years later, by his *Gedanken von der Beschaffenheit und dem Vorzug der biblisch-dogmatischen Theologie vor der alten und neuen scholastischen, und von theologischen Aufgaben zur Erläuterung seiner Epitome theologiae*. Büsching did his work without feeling bound by the confessional documents (*Bekennnisschriften*) of his tradition. This led to a conflict between the author and the theology faculty of the university of Göttingen – and, ultimately, the Hanoverian government which oversaw the university,<sup>18</sup> a conflict which "proves that the slogan 'biblical theology' had now emerged from its original twilight and was taking a course which Pietism had certainly inaugurated, but without having had the faintest idea of its consequences".<sup>19</sup>

This brings us to the contribution made by J. P. Gabler (1753–1826). From 1772–1778, he was a student at the university of Jena, where he sat at the feet of the inspirational J. J. Griesbach whose teaching encouraged him to proceed with the study of theology. He was also under the influence of J. G. Eichhorn (1752–1827), who had taken up a professorship in Oriental languages at Jena in 1775. In 1780, he moved to Göttingen to become a *Repetent*. As a member of the Mythical School (*Mythische Schule*) of interpretation, a group of like-minded scholars with links to the university of Göttingen, he advocated – like other principal members of that school, J. G. Eichhorn and G. L. Bauer (1755–1806) – a reading of the Bible that differentiated between 'history' and 'myth'. All three, and others besides them, "shared the conviction that the biblical texts were an amalgam of history and myth. They defined as mythical those parts of the Bible that could not stand up to the rational scrutiny of Enlightenment epistemological presuppositions".<sup>20</sup>

Eichhorn, one of the key figures of the Mythical School, joined the Göttingen

<sup>16</sup> Gabler, *Oratio* (1831), 179–198.

<sup>17</sup> Ebeling, *Meaning* (1963), 87.

<sup>18</sup> Hirsch, *Geschichte* (1964), 102 f.

<sup>19</sup> Ebeling, *ibid.* 87.

<sup>20</sup> Howard, *Religion and the Rise of Historicism* (2000), 36 f.



faculty (in 1788) from Halle, where his teacher had been Johann Salomo Semler (1725–1791). Semler was, ultimately, one of three great scholars of his generation – the others were the classicist Heyne and the historian Gatterer, who can be credited with promoting a modern historical methodology, thus laying the groundwork for the development of historical criticism. Semler took his lead from the most advanced Anglican latitudinarian theologians of his day and, through his own contributions, implemented their methodological standards in the German-speaking academic world.

One may or may not share the view of E. Hirsch, representing a widespread self-perception of Protestant theologians in Continental Europe, that historical criticism in a wider sense had always been practised in Protestant theology. Less controversial is Hirsch's thesis that it was only with the work of J.S. Semler that a historical-critical 'movement' arose in Protestant biblical scholarship.<sup>21</sup>

It was the groundbreaking work of Johann Christian Gatterer (1727–1799), professor of history, and Christian Gottlob Heyne (1729–1812), professor of Greek, at the university of Göttingen that liberated history as an academic discipline from the shackles of rhetoric and transformed it into a modern subject with its own, clearly defined methodology, a concept of the sources it needed to explore and "all the tools [historians] needed: samples of different scripts, seals, heraldic symbols, coins, medals, 'and all the other forms of monument that bolster the credibility of historical arguments'".<sup>22</sup> A set of *historische Hilfswissenschaften* which employed these tools and served as history's *ancillae* was established.

Strangely, the propagators of the new type of history did not acknowledge their debt to the humanists of the sixteenth, seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, in spite of the many obvious resemblances between the 'new' history and the work done by men such as Bodin and LeClerc. The strange silence can probably be explained as a reaction of the 'new' historians against the shortcomings of the *artes historicae* of their predecessors. "Writers and practitioners of the *ars historica* claimed that they knew how to walk the tightrope that stretched between practical application and pure historicism. In fact, however, they could not explain even to themselves how the modern reader was supposed to go about both setting his texts back into their own times, with all the skill of a philologist, and making them relevant to his own day, with the bravura of a rhetorician."<sup>23</sup>

The work of the Göttingen historians, classicists and theologians accelerated the development towards "history's institutionalization and professionalization. In short, history became an autonomous *Wissenschaft*, and perspectives and

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<sup>21</sup> Cf. Hirsch, *Geschichte*, 5 (1964), 491: "*Historische Kritik hat es in der evangelischen Theologie von der Reformationszeit an gegeben. Luthers Auslegungen von Matth. 16, 18f. und Gal. 2, welche die Legenden von der Stiftung des Papsttums durch Jesus und von der Einigkeit und Irrtumslosigkeit der Apostel zerstörten, ebenso seine Aussagen über die Entstehung des Messopfers und des Bischofsamts, sind Betätigungen tief einschneidender historischer Kritik gewesen. Ganz erloschen ist die kritische Seite der Schriftforschung in der evangelischen Kirche nie. Humanismus und Deismus entwickelten sie weiter. Seit Joh. Salomo Semler gibt es dann in der deutschen evangelischen Theologie eine in sich zusammenhängende historisch-kritische Strömung*".

<sup>22</sup> Grafton, *What was History?* (2007), 190. Grafton quotes from Heyne, *Opuscula Academica*, 1 (1785), 286f.

<sup>23</sup> Grafton, *ibid.* 228.

methods drawn from history began to affect other areas of inquiry, notably theology and biblical criticism".<sup>24</sup> It is this process which can be described as the rise of historicism in European, and especially in German, scholarship.

Gabler, Eichhorn and the other members of the Mythical School built on the work done by Semler, Heyne and Gatterer. And while it is certainly true that, "[i]n light of later criticism, many of the views of the mythical school may seem rather modest",<sup>25</sup> it is also true that the work done by the members of that School firmly embedded Enlightenment standards of rationality in biblical studies and promoted the concept of a scientific (*wissenschaftliche*) study of history in the context of academic theology.

'History' is the key word here, because without the momentous changes brought about by scholars teaching history and related subjects at Göttingen University in the period in question the concept of Biblical Theology – in the new sense of the term, not in that given it by Haymann – would not have arisen. "*Strenge moderne Wissenschaft findet man freilich bei den Historikern J.S. Semler, J.A. Ernesti, Joh. David Michaelis, aber merkwürdigerweise sind gerade diese in ihren grundsätzlichen Anschauungen nur sehr bedingt zu den Neologen zu zählen*", as Barth rightly says.<sup>26</sup> However, that fact is far from 'curious' (*merkwürdig*), for the simple reason that their sensitivity for history enabled Semler, Ernesti, Michaelis and others to reconstruct the development of religious concepts and practices and thus to leave behind the atrophy and shallowness of the ahistorical philosophy of religion which characterised the Neologians' thought.

Another decisive contribution to the development of the modern academic study of history, without which the new concept of Biblical Theology could not have arisen in the first place, was made by Herder – "the man who more than any other deserves to be called the founder of 'historicism' and who has the doubtful distinction of having been denominated by Karl Barth 'the inaugurator of nineteenth-century theology before its actual inauguration by Schleiermacher'".<sup>27</sup> He also exerted a direct, personal influence on a young man who was to become one of the most remarkable Old Testament scholars of the nineteenth century: W.M.L. de Wette (of whom more later).

Herder's sway over major minds of his own generation is grounded in his refreshingly new and concrete understanding of history, which resulted in Herder's specific 'impact' on biblical interpretation, which can be described as being 'threefold': the biblical text's "context is historicized"; "[a]uthorship is individualized"; "[r]eception is aestheticized".<sup>28</sup> It is Herder's innovative reading of the Bible, especially the third aspect of its impact on biblical interpretation, which so

<sup>24</sup> Howard, *Religion* (2000), 2.

<sup>25</sup> Howard, *ibid.* 37.

<sup>26</sup> Barth, *Die protestantische Theologie* (1985), 144 (in the original, the names are given in spaced print).

<sup>27</sup> Boyle, *Sacred and Secular Scriptures* (2004), 15. Boyle takes the quotation from Barth, *Protestantische Theologie* (1985), 302: "*Wie anders würden alle Dinge aussehen, wenn man von Herder, dem Inaugurator der typischen Theologie des 19. Jahrhunderts vor ihrer Inauguration durch Schleiermacher, auch sagen könnte, daß er verstanden habe, was Kirche und was Gnade ist!*".

<sup>28</sup> Boyle, *ibid.* 24, 25, 27.

disturbed, and continues to disturb, conservatives and traditionalists.<sup>29</sup> Biblical scholarship has to thank Herder for inaugurating a refreshingly new way of reading and understanding the biblical text, an interpretative approach saturated with a deep understanding of history, informed by a refined use of the necessary philological tools and appreciative of the texts as examples of ancient literary artistry.

Summing up, we can describe Semler, Heyne, Gatterer and the members of the *Mythische Schule* as well as Herder as the progenitors of ‘historicism’. Before we proceed, however, it should be made clear in which sense that term is used in the present essay. The label ‘historicism’ (*Historismus*) has been used in many ways, with numerous connotations, some of them pejorative.<sup>30</sup> Here, it is used, on the one hand, to denote the historicisation of all human culture: the result of the increasing self-reflexivity of scholarly enquiry in the modern period, a self-reflexivity that gained momentum from the late Enlightenment period onwards. Its central contribution to scholarship, and modern culture generally, is the insight that mankind and the human cultural world are subject to constant change and that the dynamics of that process of change can be discerned through historical analysis. The result of the rise of historicism and its final breakthrough in the nineteenth century was what Troeltsch called the “*grundsätzliche[n] Historisierung alles unseres Denkens über den Menschen, seine Kultur und seine Werte*”.<sup>31</sup>

On the other hand, I shall use the term ‘historicism’ – in the narrower, more technical sense established in historical scholarship in both the British and American tradition and in the German-speaking world— to refer to the approach (*Denkweise*) characteristic of historical research (across the whole range of historical subjects) in the nineteenth century.<sup>32</sup> The groundwork for the new type of research was laid in the late Enlightenment period, and the aforementioned J. C. Gatterer was one of the key-figures during that period. One of the central assumptions later to govern historicist research is already present in Gatterer’s thought:

*Der höchste Grad des Pragmatischen in der Geschichte wäre die Vorstellung des allgemeinen Zusammenhangs der Dinge in der Welt (Nexus rerum universalis). Denn keine Begebenheit in der Welt ist, so zu sagen, insularisch. Alles hängt aneinander, veranlaßt einander, zeugt einander, wird veranlaßt, wird gezeugt, und veranlaßt und zeugt wieder.*<sup>33</sup>

<sup>29</sup> For a present-day example, cf. Boyle, *ibid.* 28: “The detachment necessary for such an aesthetic judgement seems incompatible with the claim the text makes upon us when it is read as it seems from its beginning to wish to be read: as addressed to, or the voice of, a believing community, a church for which the issue of what constitutes revelation has already been settled”. *Roma locuta, causa finita*. It is just that approach to the biblical text, starting from dogmatic assumptions and ending with yet more assumptions (but without a deepened understanding of the world from which the text comes), from which Herder and his contemporaries have liberated us.

<sup>30</sup> On the various uses of the term, cf. Jaeger / Rüsen, *Geschichte des Historismus* (1992), 4–8.

<sup>31</sup> Troeltsch, *Der Historismus und seine Probleme* (1922), 102.

<sup>32</sup> Jaeger / Rüsen, *ibid.* 7: “*Mit Denkweise ist hier mehr gemeint als bloß die für diese [i. e., historical] Wissenschaften wichtigen methodischen Verfahren der historischen Forschung, sondern die Art ihrer Begriffsbildung, ihre philosophisch-weltanschaulichen Voraussetzungen, ihr innerer Zusammenhang mit der menschlichen Lebenspraxis, ihr Bildungsanspruch und ihre praktische Bedeutung*”.

<sup>33</sup> Gatterer, *Vom historischen Plan* (1767), 22.

It was on the ground prepared by Gatterer, Heyne, Semler, and Eichhorn that Gabler built. The work that was to become so decisive in finalising the formation of ‘Biblical Theology’ as an exegetical and theological concept and an academic discipline in its own right was Gabler’s inaugural lecture at the University of Altdorf, held on 30th March 1787 and subsequently published under the title *Oratio de iusto discrimine theologiae biblicae et dogmaticae regundisque recte utriusque finibus* (An oration on the proper distinction between biblical and dogmatic Theology and how correctly to demarcate their [respective] fields).<sup>34</sup>

The significance of that influence becomes obvious when Gabler states, in his *Oratio*, as the aim of his methodology that “finally there will be the happy appearance of biblical theology, pure and unmixed with foreign things, and we shall at last have the sort of system for biblical theology that Tiedemann elaborated with such distinction for Stoic philosophy”.<sup>35</sup> Here it becomes obvious just how much Gabler is indebted to the new concept and methodology of history promoted by the Göttingen Mythical School: the ‘gold standard’ of biblical interpretation is taken from a historical and critical reconstruction of a system of ancient philosophy, Dieterich Tiedemann’s *System der stoischen Philosophie* (1776). The work of Tiedemann (1748–1803), Professor ordinarius of Greek and philosophy at the University of Marburg, later also exerted considerable influence on Schleiermacher.

Gabler differentiates between two academic fields (*fines*),<sup>36</sup> “biblical theology” and “dogmatic theology”, refers to “the simplicity and ease of biblical theology” and “the subtlety and difficulty of dogmatic theology”<sup>37</sup> and sees them both against the background of “the neglected distinction between religion and theology” (a distinction originally introduced by Semler): “[r]eligion then, is everyday, transparently clear knowledge; but theology is subtle, learned knowledge, surrounded by a retinue of many disciplines, and by the same token derived not only from the sacred Scripture but also from elsewhere, especially from the domain of philosophy and history”.<sup>38</sup> So, in Gabler’s thought, the relation between biblical theology and dogmatic theology is analogous to that between religion and theology. His line of argument culminates in his definition of the two fields of enquiry:

There is truly a biblical theology, of historical origin, conveying what the holy writers felt about divine matters; on the other hand there is a dogmatic theology of didactic origin, teaching what each theologian philosophises rationally about divine things, according to the measure of his ability or of the times, age, place, sect, school, and other similar factors.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> The translation offered by Sandys-Wunsch / Eldredge, J.P. Gabler and the Distinction between Biblical and Dogmatic Theology (1980), 134, is deficient (it does not take into account the specific meaning of *regere* in conjunction with *fines*): ‘An Oration On The Proper Distinction between Biblical and Dogmatic Theology and the Specific Objectives of Each’. What gets lost in this translation is Gabler’s stress on separating one field of enquiry from the other.

<sup>35</sup> The translation is taken from Sandys-Wunsch / Eldredge, J.P. Gabler (1980), 142.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. above, note 35.

<sup>37</sup> Translation from *ibid.* 135.

<sup>38</sup> Translation from *ibid.* 136.

<sup>39</sup> Translation from *ibid.* 137.

Thus the fundamental difference between the two is identical with the difference between history and theology: a thoroughly 'modern', post-Enlightenment point of view, foreshadowed (as we have seen) in some of the debates of the seventeenth century. One has to make sure to get the nuances and consequences of Gabler's argument right: 'biblical theology' is not in competition with 'dogmatic theology'; Gabler's does not see 'biblical theology' as a 'purer' form of, and alternative to, 'dogmatic theology'. Rather, the two are complementary, and "we must so build only upon these firmly established foundations of biblical theology ... a dogmatic theology adapted to our own times".<sup>40</sup> Paradoxically, Gabler, despite historicising it, sees biblical theology as the stable element and dogmatic theology as the ever-changing one:

Biblical theology, as is proper to historical argument, is always in accord with itself when considered by itself – although even biblical theology when elaborated by one of the disciplines may be fashioned in one way by some and in another way by others. But dogmatic theology is subject to a multiplicity of change along with the rest of the humane disciplines.<sup>41</sup>

At first sight, this is counter-intuitive. However, Gabler simply says that biblical theology, being a matter of the past, is – so to speak – frozen in time and can be explored, reconstructed and assessed, whereas dogmatic theology keeps changing. It must adapt biblical theology ever anew, "according to the measure of ... the times".<sup>42</sup> "biblical theology itself remains the same, namely in that it deals only with those things which holy men perceived about matters pertinent to religion, and is not made to accommodate our point of view".<sup>43</sup>

The "opinions of the holy men" should be "carefully collected from Holy Scripture and suitably digested, carefully referred to the universal notions, and cautiously compared among themselves"; thus the "system for biblical theology" will be established by the exegete of Holy Scripture.<sup>44</sup> Once that historical work has been done, i. e., after the task of establishing the "system for biblical theology" has been established and we behold "the happy appearance of biblical theology, pure and unmixed with foreign things", it is the dogmatist's task to make use of that "biblical theology".<sup>45</sup> Only part of it can be used by dogmatic theology; "one should investigate with great diligence which opinions have to do with the unchanging testament of Christian doctrine, and therefore pertain directly to us; and which are said only to men of some particular era or testament".<sup>46</sup> It therefore is part of the dogmatist's task to establish what in 'biblical theology' transcends its own time and is of lasting relevance; the dogmatist is expected to exercise his or her reason to make both dogmatical and historical judgements.

Gabler acknowledges his indebtedness to Zachariä when he states that the concept of Biblical Theology which he describes in his *Oratio* is that "which we

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<sup>40</sup> Translation from *ibid.* 144.

<sup>41</sup> Translation from *ibid.* 137.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. above, note 39.

<sup>43</sup> Translation from *ibid.* 144.

<sup>44</sup> Translation from *ibid.* 142.

<sup>45</sup> Translation from *ibid.* 142.

<sup>46</sup> Translation from *ibid.* 142.

know the older Zachariae to have pursued in the preparation of his well-known work”,<sup>47</sup> and it has rightly been pointed out that Gabler’s remark is not just a *captatio benevolentiae*.<sup>48</sup> While it was “Zachariä’s intention to distil out of the whole canon trans-historical truths – independently from the differing opinions of the biblical authors – which could be used for an alternative system of confirming dogmatic statements, aside from the traditional method of *dicta probantia*”,<sup>49</sup> it is indeed true that Gabler cannot be said to have “wanted to define Biblical Theology as a historical-critical enterprise in the modern sense of the word”.<sup>50</sup>

The questions arising here, i. e. whether the doctrine of inspiration can be ‘salvaged’ by employing a concept of accommodation, is touched upon towards the end of the main argument of Gabler’s lecture. He states – and applies his statement also to the Old Testament – that “we must diligently investigate what in the books of the New Testament was said as an accommodation to the ideas or the needs of the first Christians and what was said in reference to the unchanging idea of the doctrine of salvation”.<sup>51</sup> It is this kind of statement which betrays that ‘historicism’ was still in its infancy. It also indicates yet again that Gabler builds upon Zachariä’s work.<sup>52</sup> It is pertinent to remind oneself of Zachariä’s concept of Biblical Theology:

*Durch eine biblische Theologie verstehe ich hier überhaupt eine genaue Bestimmung der gesamten theologischen Lehren mit allen dazu gehörigen Lehrsätzen, und das nach biblischen Begriffen richtigen Verstandes solcher Lehrsätze nach ihren Beweisgründen aus der heiligen Schrift. Es kommt folglich hierbey an theils auf die sorgfältige Untersuchung der biblischen Beweisstellen für theologische Lehrsätze, und ihres Inhalts nach richtigen exegetischen Gründen, theils auf die genaue Bestimmung der Lehrsätze und ganzen Lehren nach denselben selbst, woraus die Richtigkeit oder Unwichtigkeit, der Grund oder Ungrund, der in den gewöhnlichen Lehrbüchern unserer Gottesgelehrten behaupteten Lehrsätze und ihrer Erwähnung erbellen mus. Es geht also die Absicht dieser Arbeit nicht dahin, ein eigentliches dogmatisches System zu schreiben, aber auch nicht auf die Erklärung classischer Schriftstellen in der Theologie (...).<sup>53</sup>*

It is clear that Gabler’s view of Biblical Theology is dependent upon Zachariä’s definition. At the heart of that definition is its advocacy of a *via media* between the *dicta probantia* approach of Protestant Orthodoxy and the desire for a ‘purely biblical’ theology to replace traditional dogmatics. Zachariä steers his

<sup>47</sup> Translation from *ibid.* 144.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. Sandys-Wunsch / Eldredge, J.P. Gabler (1980), 151 f.

<sup>49</sup> Graf Reventlow, *Towards the End* (2008), 1059.

<sup>50</sup> Graf Reventlow, *ibid.*

<sup>51</sup> Translation from Sandys-Wunsch / Eldredge, J.P. Gabler (1980), 142 f.

<sup>52</sup> Hirsch is quite right when he characterises Gabler as follows: “*ein sehr gemäßigter, gegen den eigentlichen Rationalismus kritischer Anhänger des ‘vernünftigen Christentums’*”, *Geschichte*, V (1964), 45. His evaluation should be read in conjunction with another, equally perceptive remark (*ibid.* 57): “*Die Durchdringungskraft des vernünftigen Christentums zeigt sich nun auch darin, daß neben den folgerichtigen christlichen Rationalisten, die nur eine natürliche und vermittelte Offenbarung anerkennen, mehr oder weniger halbwegs stehende bleibende Theologen sich finden. Das mehr auf das Gesamtbild als auf die Einzelaussagen achtende Urteil des Nachgeborenen wird sie meist einfach als Rationalisten betrachten. Sie selber haben sich als Hüter echten Offenbarungsglaubens wider die Zweideutigkeiten eines allzu vorbehaltlosen Rationalismus empfunden. Hierher gehören schon Männer wie Joh. Philipp Gabler*”.

<sup>53</sup> Zachariä, *Biblische Theologie*, I (1771), I–II.

course between those two extremes, and so does Gabler, although the latter is closer to the nascent historicism than the former.

With regard to the question of the biblical authors' divine inspiration, Gabler is cautious and remains guarded; when he addresses the "whys and wherefores of the theopneustia", he steers a middle course and states that "only the effects of the inspirations[,] and not their causes, are perceived by the senses".<sup>54</sup>

To sum up: Gabler's *Oratio* advocates a division of labour between biblical exegetes and dogmatists. 'Biblical theology', as reconstructed by the exegetes with the help of the methodologies and instruments of their 'trade', is the material from which the dogmatist is supposed to build the edifice of his dogmatic theology, in and for his own time. Gabler's suggestions thus promote a view of theology that is the result of the professionalisation of academic work that was to become the hallmark of nineteenth-century *Wissenschaft*.

The inevitable increase of academic specialisation led to a greater sensitivity towards detail and a heightened interest in methodological questions. That was true of all academic disciplines. As far as academic theology is concerned, establishing 'Biblical Theology' as a new discipline within theology was just another step on the way from the essential unity of the subject in the Middle Ages to the increasing specialization in the nineteenth century. Gabler sees an academically responsible, 'secular' exegesis as the key to establishing the "system for biblical theology", and thus (!) to the whole of theology – "[i]f I am a judge of anything", he says, "everything must be accomplished by exegetical observation only, and that with constant care".<sup>55</sup> With regard to his advocacy of the centrality of biblical exegesis to the enterprise of theology, Gabler can be regarded as building upon, yet going beyond Zachariä and his other predecessors – "by applying the notions of religion and theology, universal and particular, Gabler shored up the weaker sections of Zachariae's theology and preserved the independence of dogmatic theology from the biblical conceptions on which it was based".<sup>56</sup>

Thus, conceived under the influence of the re-invented study of history and as a product of nascent historicism, Gabler's *Oratio* is the central work produced in the first major phase of the development that defined Biblical Theology, precisely because Gabler was able to discern between biblical theology and dogmatic theology, preserving the status of the latter while establishing the former as a discipline in its own right.

The beginning of the second phase was marked by the rise of Hegelianism in the 1820s and 30s and the impact of Schleiermacher's *Hermeneutics*. The third phase was characterised by an ever-increasing refinement in the methodology of the study of history in the last third of the nineteenth century. The transition from the second phase to the third can be described as a transition from a period that was under the sway of the philosophy of history to one that was dominated by the rise of a more 'technical' approach to history-writing. The latter period, which can be said to have commenced in the 1840s, is characterized by the final

<sup>54</sup> Translation from Sandys-Wunsch / Eldredge, J.P. Gabler (1980), 143. In the original, the term 'theopneustia' is given in Greek script.

<sup>55</sup> Translation from Sandys-Wunsch / Eldredge, J.P. Gabler (1980), 143.

<sup>56</sup> Sandys-Wunsch / Eldredge, J.P. Gabler (1980), 157.

breakthrough of a professionalized and compartmentalized academic study of history: not interested in 'grand theory', but devoted to the arduous task of a detailed analysis of the evidence which leaves no stone unturned. "*Die Ablösung der Geschichtsphilosophie durch den historischen Realismus*"<sup>57</sup> – Perlitt's formulation captures the essence of the momentous transition we have just sketched. Using more technical language, the process Perlitt refers to can be described as the "transformation of historicism into an empirical science" (*Wissenschaft*).<sup>58</sup> The progressive refinement of philological methodology provided the basis for the emancipation of the historian's work from the philosopher's system.<sup>59</sup> J. G. Droysen is an emblematic figure of that emancipation, and it is significant that his work betrays the influence of Schleiermacher's *Hermeneutik und Kritik* (1838).

Before we can reconstruct the second and third leg of the journey from 'Biblical Theology' to the 'History of the Religion of Israel', however, we shall have to move on to the contemporaries and immediate successors of Gabler who were, apart from Gabler himself, the key figures during the first stage of the development we are sketching.

C. F. Ammon (1766–1850) published his *Entwurf einer reinen biblischen Theologie* in 1792. The *Entwurf* does not present a synthesis of the theology of the Bible but rather concentrates on the 'theologies' of some of the biblical authors.<sup>60</sup> In the first edition of his study, Ammon followed Kant's biblical hermeneutics quite slavishly, to the extent that detailed exegetical work is brushed aside as a minority activity that is of no real relevance to the educated public. There are two works authored by Immanuel Kant that were of particular importance for biblical exegetes and dogmatic theologians: *Die Religion innerhalb der Grenzen der bloßen Vernunft*, published in 1793, and the essay *Der Streit der Fakultäten*, which appeared in 1798. Ammon revoked his position in the second edition, under the influence of Gabler, and adopted a critical and historical position. However, "[t]he form of Ammon's work is undoubtedly closer to Hufnagel's example than to Gabler's prescription".<sup>61</sup>

G. L. Bauer (1755–1806) published, in 1796, a *Theologie des Alten Testaments*<sup>62</sup> which is characterized by an approach similar to that propagated in the second edition of Ammons's *Entwurf*. As he himself stated, Bauer was indeed the first scholar to publish a Biblical Theology of the *Old Testament*: "*dieser Versuch, welcher, soviel er [i. e., the author] weiß, der erste ist, der die Darstellung der Religionstheorie der alten Hebräer im Ganzen, oder eine biblische Theologie des Alten Test[aments] enthält*".<sup>63</sup>

<sup>57</sup> Perlitt, Vatke und Wellhausen (1965), 71.

<sup>58</sup> Jaeger / Rüsen, *Geschichte des Historismus* (1992), 34–40: "*Die Transformation des Historismus zur empirischen Wissenschaft*".

<sup>59</sup> Cf. Perlitt, Vatke und Wellhausen (1965), 71: "*Weil die klassische Philologie bereits 'im Zeitalter Hegels die einzige Konkurrentin der Philosophie' und 'die Vorkämpferin der neuen, induktiven Forschung' geworden war, konnte zunächst und vor allem die philologische Kritik zum unaufgebbaren Maßstab und zum eigengewichtigen Forschungsgrundsatz der historischen Schule werden*".

<sup>60</sup> Ammon, *Entwurf einer reinen biblischen Theologie* (1792).

<sup>61</sup> Sandys-Wunsch / Eldredge, J. P. Gabler (1980), 150.

<sup>62</sup> Bauer, *Theologie des alten Testaments* (1796).

<sup>63</sup> Bauer, *Theologie des alten Testaments* (1796), IV.



Bauer, being a member of the *Mythische Schule*, tried, in his *Theologie des Alten Testaments* and elsewhere, to put the central insights of the School into practice. He has rightly been described as the scholar who synthesized the approaches of Heyne, Eichhorn and Gabler, resulting in a comprehensive study of "Hebrew mythology".<sup>64</sup> This is true with regard to his reception of Heyne and Eichhorn, but does not take into account that his thought developed independently of Gabler's, at least with regard to his work in the field of Biblical Theology. As far as their respective relationships with Heyne and Eichhorn are concerned, both Gabler and Bauer were strongly influenced by those dominant figures of the Mythical School.<sup>65</sup>

Bauer was the first author in the history of theology to have used the term 'historisch-kritisch' and had a special interest in the historical development of biblical myth, which led him to devise a hermeneutical and exegetical methodology for that purpose and eventually to produce a volume on biblical hermeneutics under the title *Entwurf einer Hermeneutik des Alten und Neuen Testaments* (1799). One of the consequences of Bauer's methodological outlook and his historical training was his suggestion to treat the two Testaments separately, leading to 'Theologies' of both the Old and New Testaments: having published his Old Testament Theology in 1796, he followed it up with a *Theologie des Neuen Testaments* four years later. He thus came up with a distinction already found in Gabler's *Oratio* where we read that "it is necessary ... to distinguish among each of the periods in the Old and New Testaments, each of the authors, and each of the manners of speaking".<sup>66</sup>

As we have pointed out, Bauer was not really under the influence of Gabler but had developed his views independently,<sup>67</sup> while coming from the same intellectual background as Gabler. Both men tackled the same problems; they tried to come to terms with the relation between (the purely historical) *interpretatio* and the *comparatio*, which was supposed to identify the metahistorical truths of the biblical material.<sup>68</sup>

<sup>64</sup> Thus Beutel, Bauer, Georg Lorenz, RGG<sup>4</sup> I (1998), 1169, in his evaluation of Bauer, *Hebräische Mythologie* (1802).

<sup>65</sup> Cf. the appropriate evaluation in Merk, *Biblische Theologie* (1972), 164: "Mit Sicherheit läßt sich sagen, Bauer hat die erste, allein das Alte Testament umfassende Biblische Theologie veröffentlicht und insofern Gablers Forderung in der Antrittsrede (1787), daß die beiden Testamente in der Biblischen Theologie getrennt zu behandeln seien, erfüllt. Doch ist neben diesem mehr äußeren Gesichtspunkt vor allem darauf hinzuweisen, daß Bauer in diesen Werken zur alttestamentlichen Theologie Gedanken weiterführt, die er bereits in seine Schriften vor 1787 angedeutet hat. Gablers und Bauers Erwägungen laufen ursprünglich parallel, ihre unabhängig von einander zutage tretende Ähnlichkeit ergibt sich daraus, daß sie sich derselben 'Schule' C. G. HEYNES, J. G. EICHHORNS u. a. verpflichtet wußten. Auch nach der Begegnung beider Gelehrter in Altdorf behält trotz Berührung in vielen Punkten jeder seine Eigenständigkeit und selbständige Sicht, was sich gerade in der Biblischen Theologie auswirken sollte".

<sup>66</sup> Translation from Sandys-Wunsch / Eldredge, J. P. Gabler (1980), 142.

<sup>67</sup> Cf. Sandys-Wunsch / Eldredge, J. P. Gabler (1980), 150.

<sup>68</sup> Cf. the excellent summary in Zimmerli, *Biblische Theologie* (1980), 429: "In den Bemühungen von Gabler und Bauer zeichnen sich deutlich die zwei Pole ab, zwischen denen sich in der Folge die Darstellung alttestamentlicher Theologie mit zeitweilig starken Ausschlägen nach der einen oder anderen Seite hin bewegen wird: die (um Gablers Terminologie zu benutzen) *interpretatio*, welche die Aussagen an ihrem geschichtlichen Ort, durch den 'garstigen breiten Graben' (Lessing) der Geschichte

Ammon's and Bauer's perceived shortcomings have been ascribed, by Eichrodt, to their lack of historical understanding, allegedly indicative of the intellectual disorientation of the time in which they were living – a wrong that was only righted when Romanticism established an understanding of history which (re-)enabled biblical scholars to see the “*Sinnhaftigkeit des Ganzen*”.<sup>69</sup> As we have seen, this is not even a half-truth: the study of history had already made enormous progress before the advent of Romanticism and the deepening of the sense of history it brought about.

In any case, the evaluation given by Sandys-Wunsch and Eldredge – *viz.*, that Gabler “can be said to have done more than any other single figure to make biblical theology a separate discipline” – remains true.<sup>70</sup>

#### 4. ‘Biblical Theology’ and the Impact of Hegel

The fundamental problem tackled by proponents of a Biblical Theology was the tension which was perceived to exist between the nature of the Systematic/Dogmatic theology of the time and the witness of the Bible. The answer universally given by those proponents was to try to subject the formulation of a Systemic/Dogmatic theology to the witness of ‘scripture’ and the ‘theology’ it was supposed to contain.

In his *Hermeneutik und Kritik* (1838), Schleiermacher tried to demarcate a responsible *Kunstlehre* of textual interpretation, taking up and interacting with the hermeneutics of G. A. F. Ast and F. A. Wolf. He was the first to realise that hermeneutics should not be restricted to the study of supposedly sacred scriptures but had to address the whole of the study of (spoken and) written texts and had to take into account the process of interpretation and the person of the interpreter.<sup>71</sup>

In spite of his groundbreaking work in hermeneutics and biblical criticism, and philological criticism generally, Schleiermacher failed to assign, in his *Glaubenslehre*, the Old Testament a place alongside the New Testament. His deeply critical view of the Old Testament has been ascribed to the Neologians' influence and to the fact that Schleiermacher never came into direct contact with the Göttingen Mythical School and thus failed to develop a *sensorium* for the subtleties of historical thought. Nevertheless, Schleiermacher's *Hermeneutik* exerted a significant influence on biblical exegeses, including Old Testament scholars.

W. M. L. de Wette, probably the greatest Old Testament scholar of Schleiermacher's generation and a colleague of Schleiermacher's during the first decade of the *Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität* in Berlin, made a very considerable contribution to the study of ‘Biblical Theology’. That contribution can be found in the first part of his *Lehrbuch der christlichen Dogmatik in ihrer historischen*

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*getrennt, beläßt und historisch interpretiert, und die comparatio, welche unter übergreifender Darstellung das Allgemeingültige herauszuhören und das biblische Wort gegenwärtig zu machen versucht.”*

<sup>69</sup> Eichrodt, *Theologie* (1950), 2f.

<sup>70</sup> Sandys-Wunsch / Eldredge, J. P. Gabler (1980), 150.

<sup>71</sup> Cf. Gräb, *Die unendliche Aufgabe des Verstehens* (1985), 47–71.

*Entwicklung dargestellt*, entitled *Biblische Dogmatik Alten und Neuen Testaments: Oder kritische Darstellung der Religionslehre des Hebraismus, des Judenthums und des Urchristenthums* (1813).

De Wette's work is characterised by an acute sense of history and the problems it poses for the theologian. De Wette's sensitivity towards the issue can be ascribed to the fact that he had been under Herder's direct influence from his schooldays onwards: when de Wette attended the *Gymnasium* at Weimar from 1796, Herder was the Lutheran superintendent of Weimar. Herder, who had dealings with the local *Gymnasium*, and de Wette seem to have been personally acquainted.

Apart from Herder's influence on de Wette, there was also the strong impact which the scholarship of the Mythical School had on the young scholar. However, he did not simply accept the concept of myth and the historical methodology propagated by that School. Rather, he "made a complete break with scholarship that saw the Old Testament as a historical document only in need of 'demythologizing'. ... The Pentateuch, like the stories of Homer or Ovid, according to de Wette, was a rich mythological account of Israel's later religious identity and one largely devoid of verifiable factual history".<sup>72</sup> He thus radicalised the historicisation of the Old Testament as a collection of ancient works of literature and, at the same time, prepared the ground for a more *theological* reading of its texts. In a fascinating twist, he thus put his reading of Kant and Fries to theological use. The first volume of the *Biblische Dogmatik* is indeed what its title indicates: not a Biblical Theology in the sense proposed by Gabler, but a historically grounded dogmatic exposition of the "Religion of the Old Testament" and "The Religion of the New Testament or Christianity". Not surprisingly, F. C. Baur and K. W. Stein were strongly critical of de Wette's *Biblische Dogmatik*, the latter's main complaint being that de Wette had amalgamated historical criticism and the philosophy of religion, thus irreparably damaging the historical reconstruction of the biblical theology of the Old and New Testaments.<sup>73</sup>

D. G. C. von Cölln's *Biblische Theologie des Alten Testaments* (1836)<sup>74</sup> takes issue with de Wette, his criticism of de Wette's *Biblische Dogmatik* being similar to that put forward by Stein. Cölln gives a precise definition of the task of a Biblical Theology, which the author sees as that of "historical description" (*geschichtliche Darstellung*): *Denn nach dieser soll gezeigt werden, was die biblischen Schriftsteller unter den Religionsbegriff subsumierten und was ihnen als religiöse Vorstellung galt, nicht aber was irgendein neuerer Religionsphilosoph unter seinen Religionsbegriff glaubt aufnehmen zu können oder von demselben ausschliessen zu müssen.*<sup>75</sup> This is, of course, directed against de Wette's reliance on Kant and Fries.

F. C. Baur (1792–1860) combined the insights of Gabler and Bauer, which have rightly been described as an "*Ineinander von hist[orischer] Rekonstruktion*

<sup>72</sup> Howard, *Religion* (2000), 40.

<sup>73</sup> Stein, *Über den Begriff und die Behandlungsart der biblischen Theologie* (1816), 151–204.

<sup>74</sup> Published posthumously.

<sup>75</sup> von Cölln, *Biblische Theologie* (1836), 28.

*und theol[ogischer] Interpretation*”,<sup>76</sup> in his *Vorlesungen über neutestamentliche Theologie*, published (posthumously) in 1864. That such a methodological interaction between reconstruction and interpretation is constitutive of any significant attempt at constructing a Biblical Theology, has rightly been stressed by O. Merk. A widespread – although by no means universal – lack of insight into its crucial methodological importance in English-speaking academic theology in the nineteenth century led to a dearth of methodologically convincing historical reconstructions of Biblical Theology in English during the period surveyed here.<sup>77</sup>

Baur’s reconstruction of the history of early Christianity and its literature is heavily indebted not just to Gabler and Bauer, but also to Hegel: he seemed to offer a philosophy of history that, in Baur’s view, held the key to the proper understanding of the history of the early Church. Baur, given the fact that he was predominantly a New Testament scholar and church historian, and given the specific focus of the present study, cannot be at the centre of our attention. His work is not least a witness to the enduring influence of Gabler and Bauer and to the overwhelming importance of Hegel. Baur spearheaded, together with D.F. Strauss, the final breakthrough of the ‘new’, radical historical criticism.<sup>78</sup> His work in the fields of the New Testament and early Christianity enabled and inspired biblical scholars to pursue a radically free and truly historical enquiry of the Old and New Testaments.

Of similar stature (although this is not acknowledged by contemporary scholarship), and comparable to Baur in his Hegelian leanings, there was, on the Old Testament ‘side’, the remarkable Wilhelm Vatke (1806–1882). His main contribution to the debate about Biblical Theology was his *Religion des Alten Testaments nach den kanonischen Büchern entwickelt*, published in 1836. It was Vatke’s aim consistently to apply the categories of Hegel’s philosophy of history to the reconstruction of the history of ancient Israelite religion. Contrary to many of his predecessors in the field of Biblical Theology, Vatke eschewed the notion of a pure *Urmonotheismus* which was re-established through the good offices of Moses. Rather, Hegel’s philosophy enabled Vatke to form a more refined view of the development of religious thought and postulate the development of monotheism out of an early nature religion. Vatke saw the history of Israelite and Jewish religion as having unfolded, with inescapable dialectical necessity, according to the tripartite process postulated by Hegel. The traditional concept of an *Urmonotheismus* or *Ur-Offenbarung* goes entirely against the grain of Hegelian dialectics: “*das natürliche Bewußtsein macht wie im Leben des einzelnen Menschen so im ganzen der Weltgeschichte den Anfang*”,<sup>79</sup> and therefore monotheism is the result of the dialectical process, not its beginning.

Vatke located the origin of biblical law in the Achaemenid era, a theory which foreshadows Wellhausen’s reconstruction of the history of Israelite and Jewish

<sup>76</sup> Janowski, *Biblische Theologie* (1998), 1546.

<sup>77</sup> Cf. Merk’s comments on *New Testament Theologies* in: idem, *Biblische Theologie* (1972), 263–268. The same could be said about *Old Testament Theologies*.

<sup>78</sup> See, with reference to earlier historical-critical enquiry, Hirsch, *Geschichte*, V (1964), 491 f.

<sup>79</sup> Vatke, *Die biblische Theologie*, 1. *Die Religion des Alten Testaments* (1835), 120.

religion, which is in fact greatly indebted to Vatke: *Bei näherer Ansicht springt es in die Augen, daß die Gesetzgebung des Pentateuch nicht Grundlage eines Staatskörpers, selbst nicht eines Priesterstaates, sondern nur Ergänzung eines schon bestehenden rechtlichen und sittlichen Zustandes und partielle Fortbildung einzelner Seiten und Sphären desselben sein kann.*<sup>80</sup> Vatke, not Wellhausen, was the first to realize that the prophets precede the law, and Zimmerli has rightly pointed out that it was Hegel's "processual thinking" (*Prozeßdenken*) which gave Vatke the insight that the prophets fought the fight whose results we find in the Pentateuch.<sup>81</sup>

On the opposite side, both theologically and in terms of academic politics, was the conservative Lutheran *Ordinarius* at the University of Berlin, E. W. Hengstenberg. In his three-volume *Christologie des Alten Testaments* (published in 1829–1835), he went against the *Zeitgeist*, trying, as he did, to 're-unite' the Old and New Testaments. As we saw earlier, the historical-critical interpretation of the concept of 'Biblical Theology' led to a separation between the 'Theology of the Old Testament' and the 'Theology of the New Testament'. Hengstenberg, of course, tried his best to argue against this tendency. This is why biblical witnesses to messianic beliefs in the pre-Christian period were so important to him. As Kähler rightly says, Hengstenberg's concept of revelation did not make him a propagator of 'Biblical Theology'.<sup>82</sup> Nevertheless, it is in the context of the struggle over 'Biblical Theology' that his *Christologie* and his use of messianic material need to be seen.

Vatke is not the only dyed-in-the-wool Hegelian we find in Old Testament Studies in the nineteenth century. There was, among others, his protégé B. Bauer (1809–1882), who also was a direct pupil of G.W.F. Hegel, and an especially gifted one at that. Amongst Bauer's own pupils, when he later lectured at the University of Bonn, was Karl Marx. Bauer became a prominent critic of religion, and especially of Christianity, and published, in 1841, a study of the Gospels that was perceived as being unusually radical even by the standards of the time and eventually cost him his licence to teach, which put an end to his academic career. A few years earlier, in 1838, he had published the first volume of his important *Kritik der Geschichte der Offenbarung*, entitled *Die Religion des Alten Testaments in der geschichtlichen Entwicklung ihrer Principien dargestellt*. In this work, Bauer explores religious experience and the historical development of the forms it takes, tracing that development from the early to the late books of the Old Testament and describing it as a process of progressive internalization and universalisation of religion.

<sup>80</sup> Vatke, *ibid.* 204

<sup>81</sup> Zimmerli, *Biblische Theologie* (1980), 432.

<sup>82</sup> Kähler, *Biblische Theologie* (1897), 194: "*Trat dagegen Hengstenberg ... für die ausschließliche Zusammengehörigkeit beider Offenbarungsstufen ein, oft neutestamentliches in das A., gelegentlich auch alttestamentliches in das NT. eintragend, und auf Grund seines Begriffes von Offenbarung einer bibl. Theol. abgeneigt ... , so bewies Hävernickes Nachlaß ... , daß eine positive Denkweise die Anerkennung der Geschichtlichkeit nicht ausschließe*".

## 5. The Breakthrough of 'Historicism' Proper and its Consequences

The difference between Vatke and Wellhausen can be described as that between '*Geschichtsphilosophie*' and '*historischer Realismus*', to use Perlitt's shorthand once more. It is one of the great ironies in the history of biblical scholarship that Gabler's groundbreaking study and the historical-critical work done by his contemporaries and successors generated both 'radical' and 'conservative' consequences. While Gabler's ingenious *discrimen* liberated scholars to pursue an untrammelled investigation of 'biblical theology', i.e., of the 'theology' of the biblical literature in the context of the history of ancient Israel and its religion, it also opened up new possibilities for conservative malcontents. They could present 'biblical theology' as the 'pure' alternative to a dogmatic theology they perceived as being tainted by the theological liberalism of the age, thus attempting to stem the rising tide of historicism, "a tide which was to cover every corner of the world and which is gently rising still".<sup>83</sup> It was that "rise of historical and cultural relativism"<sup>84</sup> which conservative biblical scholarship found – and finds – so impossibly hard to deal with. It is the perceived threat posed by that 'relativism' which drove them to increasingly desperate attempts to investigate Scripture in order to come up with a 'Biblical Theology' that would serve as the bedrock of truth in a world that was in ceaseless motion. They thus tried to appropriate the historical matter, i.e. 'biblical theology', and adjust it to their own purposes: they were no longer prepared to see it as the *basis* of a dogmatic theology that was continually being adapted "according to the measure of ... the times".<sup>85</sup> Instead, the *historical* was now made *normative*; in a manner of speaking, biblical theology *became* dogmatic theology. This, of course, went completely against the grain of Gabler's concept, but it appealed to exegetes and theologians who felt they were condemned to tread a path on the endlessly shifting sands of historicism and were only too eager to find solid ground.

That unpleasant sensation of insecurity was the probable reason behind a remarkable fact to which W. Zimmerli has drawn attention: the extraordinary number of 'Biblical Theologies of the Old Testament' and 'Old Testament Theologies' published in the nineteenth century that appeared posthumously, often edited by pupils of the authors.<sup>86</sup> Here are some of them, in the order of publication:<sup>87</sup> J. C. F. Steudel's *Vorlesungen über die Theologie des Alten Testaments* (1840), S. Lutz' *Biblische Dogmatik* (1847), H. A. C. Hävernicks' *Vorlesungen über die biblische Theologie des Alten Testaments* (1848, second edition 1863), G. F. Oehler's *Theologie des Alten Testaments* (1873; preceded, in his lifetime, by his *Prolegomena zur biblischen Theologie des Alten Testaments*, published in 1845), F. Hitzig's *Vorlesungen über Biblische Theologie und messianische Weissagungen des Alten Testaments* (1880), A. Kayser's *Die Theologie des Alten Testaments in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung dargestellt* (1886),

<sup>83</sup> Boyle, *Scriptures* (2004), 14.

<sup>84</sup> Boyle, *ibid.*

<sup>85</sup> Cf. above, note 39.

<sup>86</sup> Cf. Zimmerli, *Biblische Theologie* (1980), 433.

<sup>87</sup> We follow Zimmerli, *ibidem*.

E. Riehm's *Alttestamentliche Theologie* (1889), K. Schlottmann's *Kompendium der Biblischen Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments* (1889) and A. Dillmann's *Handbuch der alttestamentlichen Theologie* (1895).

Zimmerli ascribes this remarkable phenomenon to the hesitation of the authors who, according to Zimmerli, were reluctant to produce great programmatic overviews while the whole of Old Testament scholarship went through a prolonged period of re-orientation and most scholars had yet to assimilate the multitude of new theories and insights, won especially in the areas of biblical *Einleitungswissenschaft*. Consequently, while many scholars felt they had to address the resultant problems in their lecturing, and while they indeed came up with new 'theologies' of their own, they were reluctant to submit their work to the general public.<sup>88</sup> There is yet a deeper dimension to the problem, though. The spate of 'Biblical Theologies' betrays their authors' deep awareness of the fact that the rise of historicism and the resultant professionalization of biblical research, resulting in an ever greater division of labour, finally exposed the historicization of all areas of human culture for what it was: the inescapable stumbling-block for all attempts at establishing normative religious systems. It is not surprising that the sheer magnitude of the problem biblical scholars now were inescapably confronted with should have made them reluctant to publish their by now 'counter-cultural' attempts to 'extract' normative religious concepts from the biblical texts. In some of the works just listed, the attempt is made to reconcile a conservative view of revelation with contemporary historical methodology. That the two needed to be reconciled in the first place was an insight even the most conservative scholars could no longer ignore.

Zimmerli also points out that the very large number of 'theologies' that were published posthumously contrasts remarkably with the fact that during the whole period in question – i. e., the time from roughly 1840 to 1900 – only two such works were published in their authors' lifetime: H. Schultz' *Alttestamentliche Theologie* (1869) and H. Ewald's *Lehre der Bibel von Gott oder Theologie des Alten und Neuen Bundes* (1871–1876).

While Ewald's *Lehre* can be seen as an old-fashioned attempt to maintain the unity of both Testaments, Schultz' contribution is surprisingly 'modern'. Let us first have a look at the structure of Ewald's exposition: he starts with an exploration of the concept of the "Word of God" and then moves on to the "system" of Biblical Theology. What was, in his view, the intermediate step between the two – i. e., the exposition of the history of revelation in the context of the history of Israel – was left out, simply because he had already published a History of Israel, his *Geschichte des Volkes Israel bis Christus*. We can thus see how Ewald's *Lehre* is characterised by an intriguing mixture of the traditional (the essential unity of both Testaments is assumed, the book's structure is influenced by systematic-theological considerations) and the contemporary (the stress on the significance of historical development).

Schultz' *Alttestamentliche Theologie*, while also first characterised by a mixture of the old and the new, is rather different from Ewald's *Lehre*. His *Theologie*, which went through numerous editions and progressively integrated more

<sup>88</sup> Zimmerli, *ibidem*.

and more of Kuenen's, Wellhausen's and Duhm's critical insights, was ultimately transformed by its author from a *Theologie* into a *Religionsgeschichte*.

The same openness towards the progress of a purely historical and critical investigation of Israelite and Jewish religion was not felt by Johann Tobias Beck (1804–1878), probably the greatest among the conservative malcontents in Protestant biblical exegesis in the nineteenth century. We may safely dub him, rather oxymoronically, a 'conservative revolutionary'. The designation, counter-intuitive as it may be, describes Beck very accurately: he was as opposed to historical criticism as he was to the conservative Lutheranism of his day (and, indeed, to the fashionable 'revivalism' of the period).

His was the first sustained attempt to come up with a 'system' of Biblical Theology *instead of* a dogmatic theology. He saw the Bible as the vehicle which comprises all of God's revelation, and in his view it was the sole task of theology to conceptualise it, to create a *Begriffsorganismus* that is able to express the whole of God's revelation, i.e. the *Realorganismus* of the biblical teachings.<sup>89</sup> Scripture can thus be given what, according to Beck's opinion, is its proper place at the heart of Christian theology, and it can be made operative through the conceptual 'organism' of dogmatics.

In his works, Beck did not fail to address the problem of the historical development of biblical thought. A biblicist he was, but he tried to answer the challenges presented by historicism. Beck attempted to intertwine the dynamics of history and the impact of divine revelation in order to devise a coherent, unified system with the Bible at its centre.<sup>90</sup>

In his exclusive reliance on the Bible for the purpose of formulating Christian theology, he felt duty-bound not to indenture himself to the exegetical traditions of the Reformation or even the Church Fathers. Herein lies a remarkable parallel with Büsching's approach, and again it becomes obvious that Beck was not a run-of-the-mill conservative but an independent thinker. This is further confirmed by the fact that, although he thought that *theopneustia* had invested the work of the biblical authors with the status of the word of God, he did not believe in the verbal inspiration of the biblical text.

At the opposite end of the scholarly spectrum, the transformation of the study of the Old Testament was unfolding, and we have already traced its effects with regard to one particularly interesting case, that of Schultz' *Alttestamentliche Theologie*. Wellhausen's work marks the decisive victory for modern historical thinking in the study of the Old Testament. He started to develop his position in 1876–77, when he published, in several instalments, the *Composition des Hexa-*

<sup>89</sup> Beck, *Vorlesungen*, 2 (1887), 545. Cf. Raeder, Beck, Johann Tobias, RGG<sup>4</sup> I (1998), 1198.

<sup>90</sup> See, for example, Beck, *Christliche Lehr-Wissenschaft* (1841). Also cf. Barth, *Protestantische Theologie* (1985), 567, where Barth gives a subtle and sensitive account of the core of Beck's thinking: "Aber da die Offenbarung nicht ein zufällig beschränktes Ereignis gewöhnlichen Geschichtslebens sein, sondern in unverdorbenen Objektivität sich fortpflanzen will, erfordert ihr Wesen die Fortpflanzungskraft und das Fortpflanzungsmittel des aus ihr geborenen Wortes der kanonischen Schrift (...). Kraft der pisteo-dynamischen, charismatischen, apokalyptischen Theopneustie (...) erhalten die biblischen Schriftsteller den ihre ganze Wirksamkeit umfassenden Offenbarungsgeist, der ihr Wort zu Gottes Wort macht (...). Kraft derselben ist jedes einzelne Buch der Bibel die originalgetreue Darstellung einer bestimmten Offenbarungsstufe und Geisteswirksamkeit, ist die Bibel als Ganzes das originaltreue Abbild des Wahrheitsorganismus der Offenbarung selbst (...).".



*teuchs und der historischen Bücher des Alten Testaments* (later republished in one volume). In that work, which reconstructs the literary history of the Hexateuch, he laid the groundwork for his further work on the history of the Old Testament and of Israelite and Jewish religion. The publication of Wellhausen's *Geschichte Israels* in 1878, known as the *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels* from the second edition (1882) onwards, contributed to scholarship a history of Israelite institutions that was based on the *Literarkritik* executed in the *Composition*. Wellhausen in turn built on the *Prolegomena* when he published his *Israelitische und Jüdische Geschichte*, the crowning achievement of his work as an Old Testament scholar. The *Geschichte* was the *telos* of his Old Testament work in the sense that he had always had as his ultimate aim to write a full history of Israel, a history that was at the height of the historiographical achievement of his time. He and his followers were consequently perceived (and more or less explicitly criticized), by the more conservative amongst his colleagues, as adherents of the theory of evolution, as representatives of the view later called 'social Darwinism'.<sup>91</sup> Later, Max Weber took the same view.<sup>92</sup> However, as L. Peritt has rightly pointed out, such an understanding does not take into account that Wellhausen's view of historical development is too complex to allow for simplistic adaptations of concepts of evolution to the task of the religious historian.<sup>93</sup> Wellhausen was neither an adherent of some variety of social Darwinism nor a Hegelian. He was inspired by aspects of Vatke's work, but did not adopt his philosophy of history.<sup>94</sup> Indeed, Wellhausen was not exactly of a philosophical disposition in the first place, and he did not think too highly of the philosophical interpretations of history current in his day:

*Die Einwirkung der neu aufblühenden Philosophie und philosophischen Theologie auf unsere Disciplin ist im Ganzen wenig erkennbar; jedoch sind George und Vatke, die zuerst eine Anschauung von dem wirklichen Gange der isr[aelitischen] Geschichte gehabt haben, von Hegel und Schleiermacher angeregt, obwohl von de Wette ausgegangen. Mehr haben wir Herder und Goethe auf der einen Seite, der von den Franzosen begründeten Sprachwissenschaft auf der anderen Seite zu verdanken.*<sup>95</sup>

<sup>91</sup> Cf. Kähler, *Biblische Theologie* (1897), 195, with its interesting implicit criticism of Wellhausen and his pupils: "Fortan [i. e., after the publication of Wellhausen's *Prolegomena*] wird unter Voraussetzung dieser Auffassung die alttestamentl. Theol. zur Schilderung des Vorganges, in dem sich aus den niedersten Stufen relig. Lebens, wie die moderne Entwicklungslehre sie auch für dieses Gebiet fordert, aus dem Animismus und Totemismus stufenweise der Monotheismus der Propheten und dann der theokratische Ceremonialismus des nachexilischen Judentums mit seiner Verehrung des Buchstabens entwickelt".

<sup>92</sup> Cf. Weber, *Das antike Judentum* (2005), 4, über Wellhausen: "Seine zentrale Vorstellung von der Art der Entwicklung der jüdischen Religion dürfte wohl mit dem Ausdruck 'immanent evolutionistisch' am ehesten zu kennzeichnen sein. Die eigenen, inneren Entwicklungstendenzen der Jahweregion bestimmen, wenn auch natürlich unter dem Einfluß der allgemeinen Schicksale des Volkes, den Gang der Entwicklung".

<sup>93</sup> Cf. Peritt, Vatke und Wellhausen (1965), 180: "WELLHAUSEN kann also weder unreflektiert (und damit auch untheologisch) sagen, es habe Gott gerade zu dieser Zeit gefallen, die Propheten zu senden, noch mag er 'immanent evolutionistisch' deren Auftreten als ausschließlich innere 'Notwendigkeit' bezeichnen; als Historiker sieht er vielmehr die allgemeine Verflochtenheit der konkreten Begebenheiten und verteidigt sich, ausnahmsweise, selber: 'Aber die Bedeutung des Konflikts der Weltmacht mit dem Volke Gottes für die religiöse Entwicklung, die mit den Propheten anhebt, darf man betonen ohne von einer Modekrankheit angesteckt zu sein'".

<sup>94</sup> Cf. Peritt, Vatke und Wellhausen (1965), 185–206.

<sup>95</sup> Bleek / Wellhausen, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament* (1878), 655.

Although Wellhausen was not given to theorising, he was very much *au fait* with contemporary developments in historical methodology. While he was in no ‘danger’ of being unduly influenced by any particular philosophy of history, he was open towards the innovations brought about by the professionalisation of historical research.

The rise of the *Religionsgeschichtliche Schule* led to a further radicalisation on the ‘liberal’ wing of the academic study of the Bible. The new ‘School’, formed by H. Gunkel and other members of the Göttingen faculty of theology around 1890, did not find the approval of Wellhausen, but was seen, by others, as the logical continuation of Wellhausen’s work. It is certainly true that the work done by the *Religionsgeschichtliche Schule* is, like Wellhausen’s, the result of the pervasive influence of historicism on all aspects of *Altertumswissenschaft* in the widest sense, i. e., including the study of the ancient Near East and of early Christianity. One might even argue that the *Religionsgeschichtliche Schule* indeed develops and deepens Wellhausen’s approach to Israelite and early Christian history (as unfolding in his works on New Testament literature), concentrating on aspects Wellhausen had not paid sufficient attention to: the social-historical setting of Israelite and Judaeen religion, the actual history of the Israelite, Judaeen and early Christian cults, etc.

Typical of the School’s radicalism is W. Wrede’s *Über Aufgabe und Methode der sogenannten Neutestamentlichen Theologie* (1897).

The scholarship of the *Religionsgeschichtliche Schule* accelerated the transformation of ‘Biblical Theology’ into the ‘History of Ancient Israelite Religion’ and the ‘History of early Christianity’ respectively, a process which – as we have shown – had started much earlier. It was in the first decade of the School’s existence, the 1890s, that Rudolf Smend sen. (1851–1913) – who, by the way, can not be counted as one of its members – published his *Lehrbuch der alttestamentlichen Religionsgeschichte* (1893, <sup>2</sup>1899). The title indicates that the author had drawn the consequences from the discussions of the preceding decades. Smend set a trend: in 1897, Marti revised and republished A. Kayser’s *Theologie des Alten Testaments in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung dargestellt* (1886, <sup>2</sup>1894), one of the many ‘Theologies’ published posthumously,<sup>96</sup> under a new title: *Geschichte der Israelitischen Religion*. Others followed Smend’s and Marti’s example when they published their own histories.

Abandoning the title of *Biblische Theologie* or *Theologie des Alten Testaments* was the obvious and honest thing to do, given that it was Smend’s aim to reconstruct the historical development of Israelite religion without the ‘help’ of preconceived theological notions, thus being faithful to the methodology of his teacher and friend J. Wellhausen.<sup>97</sup>

<sup>96</sup> Cf. our discussion above.

<sup>97</sup> As Eichrodt, *Theologie* (1950), 4, rightly points out: “*Es war nur konsequent, wenn man bei dieser Sachlage vielfach auf den Namen der ‘Theologie des Alten Testaments’, der doch etwas ganz anderes gemeint hatte, verzichtete und dafür israelitische Religionsgeschichte sagte; denn auch wo man an dem alten Namen festhielt, wollte und konnte man doch nichts anderes bieten, als eine Darstellung des geschichtlichen Werdegangs der israelitischen Religion.*”

## 6. Epilogue

The unsatisfactory state of affairs that was reached when Smend published his *Lehrbuch* at least had the salutary effect of making it perfectly clear that the place and function of Biblical Theology in the context of the academic study of the Bible had to be comprehensively reviewed. The transition from ‘Biblical Theology’ to ‘History of the Religion of Israel’ has been called an “alienation” (*Verfremdung*),<sup>98</sup> and that was not intended as a compliment. But can that transition really be described as an “alienation”? Was it not rather the inevitable consequence of the impact historicism had on the study of biblical literature, generating, one after the other, all the questions which rational, philologically informed and historically sensitised readers of the Old and New Testaments would now have to confront?

To ask the question is to answer it. The academic study of the Bible in the late eighteenth and in the nineteenth centuries underwent a purgation, and that is surely a good thing. Biblical studies still have not fully emerged from the cleansing, as becomes clear from the fact that many Old and New Testament scholars continue to see ‘Biblical Theology’ as a subject that can be dealt with in a more or less ahistorical fashion and in ignorance of the corrosive force of historical reasoning.<sup>99</sup>

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<sup>98</sup> Cf. Zimmerli, *Biblische Theologie* (1980), 438, where Zimmerli, commenting on E. Kautzsch’s *Biblische Theologie* of 1911 in comparison with B. Stade’s *Religion Israels* (1905), speaks of a “*noch vollständigere Verfremdung der ‘Theologie’ zur rein geschichtlich aufgezogenen Religionsgeschichte (...). So konnte es nicht ausbleiben, daß die ungemäÙ gewordene Bezeichnung schließlich offen abgeworfen wurde*”.

<sup>99</sup> For a discussion of the recent dispute between the propagators of ‘Biblical Theology’ and their critics, cf. Chap. 47 in the present volume (part volume III/2).

## CHAPTER TWENTY-FOUR

# Modernity's Canonical Crisis: Historiography and Theology in Collision

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## 1. Modernity’s Canonical Crisis

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Toward the close of the eighteenth century, J.S. Semler (1725–1791) strongly insisted that the biblical canon had a history. It did not drop fully formed from heaven, nor had Israel or the Church possessed complete agreement from the

beginning about what its contents or arrangement should be. The traditional view of the Old Testament canon attributed its existence to the work of Ezra and the men of the Great Assembly. As the sixteenth century Jewish scholar Elias Levita (1469–1549) had summarized: “In Ezra’s time the 24 books of the OT were not yet united in a single volume; Ezra and his associates united them together, and divided them into three parts, the Law, the Prophets, and the Hagiographa”.<sup>1</sup> Yet, as Semler and others began to argue, some of the books of the Old Testament appeared to date from a time after the era of Ezra. Moreover, there were apparently later disagreements by various Jewish groups over the contents of the canon. So did it not make more sense to view such disagreements as existing prior to the point at which the canon had been fixed? Just when had the canon really been closed?

The response of nineteenth-century scholars to such questions was increasingly to treat the biblical canon as the eventual consequence of a lengthier process of literary development and communal deliberation. Many who held the Bible to be the supreme authority for religious faith and practice were troubled by the notion that human decision-making and religious tradition were responsible for the existence and shape of the canon. Semler had in fact inaugurated nothing less than a modern crisis with regard to the biblical canon, and still today this crisis shows no signs of abating.<sup>2</sup> Now as then it is particularly, but not exclusively, a crisis for Protestants, who appeal to Scripture as the “unnormed norm” (*norma non normata*) within Christian theology.

At least as early as Richard Simon (1638–1712), extending into the Catholic Tübingen School in the early years of the nineteenth century, and lasting throughout that century down to the present day, some Catholic scholars have perceived biblical criticism not only as less of a threat but an ally in a theological campaign to correct Protestant privileging of Scripture over tradition.<sup>3</sup> For most Catholics, however, any suggestion that the Bible was less than completely historically accurate was taken to be just as problematic as for most Protestants. Yet the process of biblical canon formation also often appeared to be only indirectly related to the question of the Bible’s historical reliability. What could be discerned of the canonical process suggested strong links between Scripture, community and tradition—links that Catholic (and some Protestant) theologians have seen as reinforcing the Catholic position. Looking back on the nineteenth century, Friedrich von Hügel (1852–1925) would continue to voice this view:

Catholicism, once more, is essentially a “Church and Bible”, not a “Bible” only religion. Its genius, history, and most elementary defence presuppose the Bible to be a complex and difficult, not a simple and easy literature; a library, not a book; a succession of literary precipitates of religion – a religion which, already lived and loved, both corporately and individually, before such registra-

<sup>1</sup> Levita, Massoreth (1867), 120.

<sup>2</sup> Nineteenth-century historical criticism of the Old Testament is thus a direct response to the canonical crisis that Semler initiated. The relationship between the two can be seen quite clearly in Driver’s famous Old Testament introduction (1891), which begins with a description of Jewish tradition regarding the canon and its inadequacies (Introduction, xxiii–xxx). Everything in the rest of his book, all of the analysis and reconstruction, is then offered as a more fitting explanation of the canon’s history.

<sup>3</sup> E.g., Mivart, Catholic Church (1887).

tion, comes in time, and not more corporately than individually, to sort out and canonize those precipitates, as so many models and crystallizing-points for futher [sic] corporate and individual religious life and love. The Church, the Community of believers, first Jewish and then Christian, produced the Bible even more than the Bible produced the Church.<sup>4</sup>

In just this fashion the relation between Church and Bible always lies at the heart of Catholic-Protestant debate throughout the nineteenth century, whether explicitly or implicitly.

Within Protestantism, the challenge of biblical interpretation was primarily framed as historical in nature, particularly in contrast to traditional views of inspiration and miracle. Yet all the historical proposals regarding the books of the Bible, their contents and their formation, never fully penetrated to the heart of the problem, which remained stubbornly theological: if the biblical canon was a product of history, what then was the rationale for its unity and authority? Protestant response to the crisis of canonical authority largely consisted of an appeal to history as the arbiter of scriptural interpretations and claims. This appeal sought to lodge theological significance within history.<sup>5</sup> Catholic response instead stressed the importance of ecclesial tradition. For both, however, the deeper issue at stake was the unity of Scripture.<sup>6</sup> Largely missing was an adequate engagement with the theological nature of both history and tradition.

Over the course of the nineteenth century, historical-critical scholars would increasingly appeal to revelation as the basis of history and depict historical development as a dynamic process of revelation through time. By the close of the century, the idea of “progressive” revelation had become a widely accepted principle of biblical scholarship.<sup>7</sup> But all melioristic philosophies were shattered in World War I, and the theology of Karl Barth (1886–1968) subsequently called into question the location of revelation in history rather than in the biblical witness.<sup>8</sup> In Europe, only with the post-Barthian reaction later in the twentieth century would talk turn for a time to “revelation as history” (i.e., the Pannenberg school). In the U.S., the post-war Biblical Theology Movement sought to emphasize “revelation through history”, but foundered in the contrast between redemptive and scientific history.<sup>9</sup> In neither case did the appeal to revelation function with the same degree of confidence or consensus enjoyed by its nineteenth-century advocates, nor did it last.

Today history is mostly conceived and pursued within biblical scholarship without any recourse or relation to revelation at all, which begs the old question anew and even more urgently: if the biblical canon is fully contingent, a mere accident of history, what unity can it possibly have and what convincing ratio-

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<sup>4</sup> Briggs / von Hügel, Papal Commission (1906), 48, as quoted in Burtchaell, *Biblical Question* (1969), 117.

<sup>5</sup> For example, by viewing history through the lens of theological rubrics like providence (e.g., Ryle) or inspiration (e.g., Sanday).

<sup>6</sup> Ziegenaus, *Kanon* (1990), 248.

<sup>7</sup> Rogerson, *Progressive Revelation* (1982); cf. Robertson Smith, *Old Testament* (1902), 139.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Ryle, *Holy Scripture* (1904), 76: “although the Spirit of revelation is conveyed through the letter, the letter is not the revelation itself, but its record, a human literature by which the Divine message is transmitted from age to age and race to race”.

<sup>9</sup> Childs, *Biblical Theology* (1970), 62–66; Gilkey, *Cosmology* (1961).

nale can be given for its limits? In purely historical terms, how can one restrict one's inquiry to only these books, and how can one perceive anything in them other than irreducible diversity?

## 2. J. G. Eichhorn: Canon as the Jerusalem Temple Archive

*Select studies:* G. D'ALESSANDRO, *L'illuminismo dimenticato: Johann Gottfried Eichhorn (1752–1827) e il suo tempo* (La cultura storica 7; Napoli: Liguori 2000). – K. ANER, *Die Theologie der Lessingzeit* (Halle/Salle: Niemeyer 1929). – A. BEUTEL, *Kirchengeschichte im Zeitalter der Aufklärung* (UTB 3180; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 2009). – Cheyne, *Founders* (1893), 13–26. – C. HARTLICH / W. SACHS, *Der Ursprung des Mythosbegriffs in der modernen Bibelwissenschaft* (Tübingen: Mohr 1952). – S. HEIDEMANN, “Der Paradigmenwechsel in der Jenaer Orientalistik in der Zeit der literarischen Klassik”, in: *Der Deutschen Morgenland Bilder des Orients in der deutschen Literatur und Kultur von 1770 bis 1850* (ed. M. Hofmann / C. Goers; Munich: Wilhelm Fink 2008), 243–257. – Kraus, *Geschichte* (1983), 131–151. – R. W. MACKAY, *The Tübingen School and its Antecedents* (Edinburgh: Williams and Norgate 1863). – N. NEBES, “Orientalistik im Aufbruch: die Wissenschaft von Orient in Jena zur Goethezeit”, *Goethes Morgenlandfahrten: West-östliche Begegnungen* (ed. J. Golz; Frankfurt: Insel 1999), 66–96. – H. GRAF REVENTLOW, *Epochen*, IV (2001), 209–226 = *The History of Biblical Interpretation*, 4 (2010) 211–229; “Towards the End of the ‘Century of Enlightenment’: Established Shift from *Sacra Scriptura* to Literary Documents and Religion of the People of Israel”, *HBOT*, II (2008), 1051–1057. – J. SANDYS-WUNSCH, art. “Eichhorn, J(ohann) G(ottfried) (1752–1827)”, *DMBI* (2007), 400–404. – B. SEIDEL, “Johann Gottfried Eichhorn: Konstruktionsmechanismen in den Anfängen einer historisch-kritischen Theoriebildung”, *WZH.GS* 39 (1990), 73–81; “Aufklärung und Bibelwissenschaft in Jena: Erörterungen an Hand des Werkes zweier Jenenser Theologen; Oder: warum und wie betrieb man in der Späten Aufklärung historische Bibelkritik”, *Evolution des Geistes: Jena um 1800* (ed. F. Strack; Deutscher Idealismus 17; Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta 1994), 443–459. – E. S. SHAFFER, “*Kubla Khan*” and *the Fall of Jerusalem: The Mythological School in Biblical Criticism and Secular Literature 1770–1880* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP 1975). – R. SMEND, “Johann David Michaelis und Johann Gottfried Eichhorn – zwei Orientalisten am Rande der Theologie”, *Theologie in Göttingen: eine Vorlesungsreihe* (ed. B. Moeller; Göttinger Universitätschriften, A/1; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1987), 58–81 = idem, *Deutsche Alttestamentler in drei Jahrhunderten* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1989), 25–37. – H.-J. ZOBEL, art. “Eichhorn, Johann Gottfried (1725–1827)”, *TRE* 9 (1982), 369–371.

Johann Gottfried Eichhorn (1753–1827) was born in Dörrenzimmern (today part of Ingelfingen in Württemberg) and spent most of his career teaching in Göttingen. He is considered a member of the “mythological school” in Old Testament interpretation, although he himself rejected the term “myth” in reference to the biblical traditions. His concern, he maintained, was simply “true history”. But he learned from his teachers C. G. Heyne (1729–1812) and J. D. Michaelis (1717–1791) to view ancient literature as the self-expression of societies in the infancy of their cultural development. Rather than explaining away premodern beliefs, Eichhorn sought to credit them through critical attention to their time and place. In 1775 he became Professor of Oriental Languages at Jena and then succeeded Michaelis in Göttingen, beginning in 1788. His most important contribution to the field was his *Einleitung in das Alte Testament* (1780–83), in which he comprehensively summarized critical scholarship up to that point and advanced his own proposals. In the process Eichhorn more or less invented the kind of “higher criticism” that became standard in biblical studies throughout

the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.<sup>10</sup> Eichhorn's *Einleitung* was also popular, appearing in four editions during the author's lifetime.

The main lines of canonical debate in the nineteenth century are set out in J. G. Eichhorn's influential Old Testament *Einleitung*.<sup>11</sup> Eichhorn took as a given that ancient cultures deposited their sacred writings at holy places, and that textual preservation was a central function of temples and priests. The biblical tradition reflects this tradition by associating Moses' law with the priesthood and the ark of the covenant (Deut 31:9, 26). Other brief biblical references link holy writings with holy places (Josh 24:26; 1 Sam 10:25), suggesting the possibility that a "national library" gradually came into existence. However, Eichhorn is cautious about dating such a library and reconstructing the practices that created it. Did this national library already exist in the pre-exilic period, as new writings were gradually combined with the old? Were prophetic writings and other literary works joined with the Mosaic legacy at this time? Was their "formal publication" more or less identical with their placement in the temple? "To decide these questions, since proof from old historians fails us, we are, alas!, some centuries too late", Eichhorn laments.<sup>12</sup>

However, this lament is primarily for rhetorical show and represents a typical hallmark of Eichhorn's genial but elusive style.<sup>13</sup> He characteristically makes his real meaning plain by arguing from inference and probability:

But probably it was so. If stories, which, through oral tradition have acquired a fabulous form, spring, however, always from a ground of truth, we may perhaps venture, from the reports of a temple archive – of which some affirm the rescue by Jeremiah on the conflagration of the temple, others consign together with the temple to the flames – to infer the existence of a collection of holy books in the temple; and was not after the Babylonian exile, what still remained of the writings of the old times collected and, at a date soon after the foundation of the new State on the banks of the Jordan, a library formed in the newly-built temple, of which traces spring up even in the history of its destruction by the Romans? And is it not natural to conclude that this was only an imitation of an old temple library of the times before the exile, of which the memory after that event was not yet extinguished?<sup>14</sup>

Even so, Eichhorn continues, the existence of an early library is not decisive for the question of canon, for the present books of the Old Testament are not to be traced to pre-exilic Hebrew exemplars.

<sup>10</sup> For additional biographical information about Eichhorn and further appraisal of his *Einleitung*, see Reventlow, *Towards the End* (2008), 1051–1057; Rogerson, *Myth* (1974), 3–8; Smend, *Michaelis* (1987), 71–81.

<sup>11</sup> In what follows I detail Eichhorn's views especially closely, not only because of the great influence his Old Testament introduction exercised in much subsequent German scholarship but also because of his introduction's corresponding lack of widespread influence in English-language scholarship. A full English translation of the work was unfortunately never made. A translation was begun by George Tilly Gollop, only partially finished, and eventually published by his son many years later (when Gollop was ninety-eight years old). But this publication was limited and private, and the work never had the impact that it would have had if the translation had been made available earlier and more widely (the scholarly discussion had moved on considerably by 1888). For this reason, I also provide a number of excerpts from the Gollop translation, which I cite first by the page number of the English edition and then by section number for ready comparison with the German text.

<sup>12</sup> Eichhorn, *Introduction*, 1 (1888), 15 (§ 3).

<sup>13</sup> Cheyne, *Founders* (1893), 22.

<sup>14</sup> Eichhorn, *Introduction*, 1 (1888), 15f (§ 3).

If they could be traced to such exemplars, the Hebrew literature “would have been, in all probability, richer, more manifold, and comprehensive”. Eichhorn in fact uses the idea of the destruction of the writings contained in the first Jerusalem temple as a means of responding to the interpretive difficulty of the present Old Testament books, as well as a way of suggesting how the history of the literary development of those books might plausibly be reconstructed:

In the temple lay, probably, annals at large of the kingdom, and our present historical books are either extracts therefrom, or abridgments of other larger historical works which approached the temple annals in regard to fullness and compass. In the temple there was preserved, it is likely, a far greater and more complete collection of prophecies than we possess, since our present one, with the exception of the more perfect prophecies of Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the other prophets who lived after the overthrow of the State, consists partly of merely unconnected fragments of prophetic poesy, and partly of pieces confined to the short space of a few generations. From these circumstances we are at liberty to conclude that through the remaining far greater spaces of time there was no deficiency of prophecies, that they were, however, destroyed along with the temple, and that we should have lost all the prophetic poesy of the Hebrews had not accident preserved for us a few books of prophetic anthology or extracts. Of proper temple songs – of which, with a people so rich in poetry, for their numerous festivals, their religious repasts, and other solemnities, at which song and dance were the chief points, there must have been a great supply during the existence of the temple, and the various feasts therein celebrated – we possess but a small number, which, moreover, appear partly to have been composed in modern times, and those subsequent to the exile. Therefore the series of Hebrew literature downwards must have been far richer had we possessed an ancient temple library rescued by Jeremiah.<sup>15</sup>

Of particular interest in this description is not only the way Eichhorn uses destruction to explain the seemingly jumbled literary shape of the prophetic and poetical books, but also how he attempts to negotiate between their present corrupted state and their putative antiquity (since these books presumably existed in some form prior to the exile).

Eichhorn's idea is that manuscripts were retained and copied by “private persons” after Jerusalem's downfall. Great esteem for the works of Moses had ensured that these writings were transmitted “with far greater exactness than other writings”.<sup>16</sup> Old state “annals” circulated and gave rise both to Samuel – Kings, on the one hand, and Chronicles on the other. Isaiah, the Minor Prophets and the Psalms took shape out of “a collection of prophetic and lyrical poesy” but likewise “came into the hands of the compiler of our Old Testament in the shape of private manuscripts”.<sup>17</sup> This model of complementary literary formation furnishes Eichhorn with another explanatory tool. Although he has referred to the Old Testament literature as a “national library”, Eichhorn perceives the intertextual nature of the books that this library contains. The authors of the Old Testament routinely “borrow figures and expressions from one another – one alludes or refers to the other or inserts whole passages from him”.<sup>18</sup> For Eichhorn this feature is mostly a problem to be overcome, a defect that even the “anxious nicety”<sup>19</sup> exhibited by postexilic Jewish scribes in their work on the

<sup>15</sup> Eichhorn, *ibid.* 17f (§ 4).

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.* 19 (§ 4).

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.* 20 (§ 4).

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.* 21 (§ 4).

biblical text could not undo, an unavoidable consequence of Israel's exilic rupture. The implication of a more organic process of canon formation is not pursued.

Eichhorn claims that the existence of a temple library in the postexilic period is indisputable. He acknowledges that Jewish tradition credits Ezra and Nehemiah with important roles in the early work on postexilic biblical books (e. g., 2 Macc 2:13), and he is inclined to see a kernel of historical truth in the tradition of a "great synagogue", which perpetuated the work of Ezra and Nehemiah, and oversaw the future transmission of the books.<sup>20</sup> Eventually, as can be seen clearly in later writers like Josephus, there did exist a Second Temple library, and so it must have begun at some point; why then not under Ezra and Nehemiah? "I wish to decide nothing, but I cannot, with the satisfaction of my historical feeling, declare a tradition to be so remote from possibility in whose favour, type of ancient times (the old temple library), even temporal circumstances, the situation of the Jews, and the objects of the founders and reformers in Palestine speak so loudly".<sup>21</sup> Here Eichhorn wants to reject the notion, which had already been previously advanced by other eighteenth-century scholars, that the kind of veneration for the biblical books evident in Josephus was yet unknown in Israel during the days of Ezra and Nehemiah.<sup>22</sup>

For Eichhorn, the flaw in such thinking is the distinction it draws between preservation and veneration. The very fact of preservation reflects and constitutes veneration.

The collection consisted of a deposit in a holy place, in the temple: to this belonged no unprecedented character, it was the imitation of ancient custom, some attention to the necessities of the time and some obedience to its signs, which directed attention to the adornment of a temple which had risen again out of its ashes. The whole undertaking required no long previous attention as to whether the writings to be deposited in the temple were holy or divine; for in early times the ancient archives of a people were all looked upon as holy and divine, and even the Greeks described as holy and divine many sentences and traditions either because they were really old or held to be such. It was not necessary to employ any previous examination as to whether all the writings which it was determined to deposit in a sacred place were of like contents and value; for the old world used to preserve in holy places, not merely oracles and religious writings, but also all the other works of the intellect by whatever names they might be distinguished.<sup>23</sup>

In sum, the biblical canon represents essentially the Israelite literature that has survived. In the pre-exilic era, it was no doubt fuller and richer than what exists now, but we are simply fortunate to have what we have. Most of the canon received its decisive literary shape in the early postexilic period. There was

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<sup>20</sup> The idea of a "great synagogue" has also been traced by Sundberg and others to Levita. Sundberg, *Old Testament* (1964), 12–13, holds that this "Talmudic theory of canonization" became the default view of Old Testament canon formation within Protestantism until the end of the nineteenth century. In this light it is interesting to note how Eichhorn concedes uncertainty about this view even as he follows it. Sundberg may well be right that the "Talmudic theory" serves as the fundamental paradigm in the nineteenth century, but he over-emphasizes the degree to which it functioned explicitly and securely. While in the end Eichhorn does suggest a full canon operative in the time of Ezra, he also consistently stresses how much remains unknown about the status of the canon at that time.

<sup>21</sup> Eichhorn, *Introduction*, 1 (1888), 23 (§ 5).

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.* 24f (§ 5).

always a particular regard shown to pentateuchal scripture, but prophetic writings and poetical/liturgical compositions were widely known in the days of the First Temple, and all of these materials were not only laid up in the temple archive but held in great esteem as holy and divine precisely by virtue of their temple deposit.

Nevertheless, many details relating to authorship and dating remain unrecoverable. Eichhorn concludes:

At what time the collection, which began with the completion of the new temple, terminated, and no further addition was made to the old books, cannot, however, at the present time be determined, since no author has left any express information on the point; we must consider, however, the termination to have occurred a considerable time before the birth of Christ, because at so early a period they were in some way distributed under three chief heads by Palestinian and Egyptian authors, by Philo, Josephus, and the New Testament. Had not the distribution of this library been at that time firmly fixed the description of it would not have been universally the same.<sup>24</sup>

As he implies here, Eichhorn reads Philo, Josephus and the New Testament as witnessing to a common canon, which therefore must have been previously established.

This common canon possessed a tripartite structure from early on, Eichhorn believes, since in Ecclesiasticus or Sirach the litany of famous men (Sir 44–50) follows the same order as the present canon, even placing the Minor Prophets (as one book) at the end (Sir 49:10; i. e., after Ezekiel). Moreover, in Lk 24:44 Jesus not only employs a triple formula for Scripture but appears to name the Psalms as the first book of the Writings. Only with regard to the contents of the Writings does Eichhorn concede “a very learned *pro* and *con*” as to whether all of the books now identified within that group were already present and whether Luke’s reference can be viewed as identical to Philo’s reference to “hymns and the rest” or Josephus’ third canonical grouping. Ultimately, Eichhorn also begs off from this debate: “I must decline to enter, since a way out is scarcely to be found”.<sup>25</sup>

That Chronicles concluded the Writings also finds a dominical warrant from Matt 23:35 // Lk 11:51, in which Jesus describes the history of innocent bloodshed as having moved from Abel to Zechariah, apparently with Gen 4:1–16 and 2 Chr 24:19–20 in mind. But beyond the basic three-fold structure, Eichhorn realizes, there is no hard evidence that one single order of the books was consistently observed. The order in the Talmud (*b. B. Bat.* 14b-15a) differs from that of the Masoretes, and other variations are evident from various manuscript traditions. Nevertheless, the three-fold order “in the main extends as far back as the collection itself”.<sup>26</sup> The three-fold order is therefore not the result of a developmental process within ancient Israel but an organizational logic applied to the canon’s contents. Eichhorn summarizes his basic position as follows:

Soon after the return of the Jews from the Babylonian captivity a collection was set on foot of all the still extant writings of the Hebrew nation, held venerable and holy for age, contents, and

<sup>24</sup> Ibid. 18 (§ 5).

<sup>25</sup> Ibid. 31, n.3 (§ 7). Italics original. He refers to Philo, *Cont.* 25, and Josephus, *Contra Apionem* 1:37–43.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid. 33 (§ 8).



authorship by all the members of the new State, and of them a holy library was formed in the temple, which at some very early period (the exact year is not known) received no further accession.<sup>27</sup>

Subsequently, however, other compositions did appear. Unlike the older works, they were no longer considered to be the fruit of prophetic authorship, nor were they deposited in the temple. The newer writings were never compiled into a “public collection” but remained private, except that they were “annexed” to the Septuagint by Alexandrian Christians.<sup>28</sup>

Eichhorn acknowledges the critical view of some that these “annexed” writings were quoted and regarded as canonical scripture by the New Testament, the Apostles, the apostolic fathers and the doctors of the Church, but he rejects this position. If the Apocrypha were sometimes quoted without distinction, it was not because no distinction obtained but because Early Church leaders “found the taste for these writings established, and were compelled to conform to it”.<sup>29</sup> Moreover, a distinction between the canonical and apocryphal books is clearly reflected in Josephus’ comment that “we have only twenty-two books”.<sup>30</sup> Philo’s use of Scripture also reflects this distinction, since he made no allegories of apocryphal books, as he did with the canonical books. Finally, Eichhorn does not allow for any quotations of the Apocrypha within the New Testament. He realizes what hangs in the balance with regard to this question: if the books of the Apocrypha were treated as Scripture, especially prior to the time of Christ, then “[i]t would go ill with the fixing of our canon of the O. T.”.<sup>31</sup> So here Eichhorn writes as a Protestant theologian as well as a historical-critical biblical scholar. But he also recognizes and grants that the terms “canonical” and “apocryphal” are much later descriptions, which attempt to articulate a distinction previously more a matter of practice than theory.

The term “canon” itself represents an anachronism, Eichhorn admits. The manner of the term’s use has been so various that modern writers should be clear about how they are employing it.

This, alas, has frequently not been done, and hence their examinations are deficient in the requisite precision. It were even desirable that the term canon had never been applied to the Old Testament. A word of such various meanings must necessarily produce misunderstandings; and unfortunately the greatest number of meanings it has received in the course of centuries is inapplicable to the Old Testament.<sup>32</sup>

Defining “canon” as the inspired writings of the Jews prior to the time of Christ leads only to confusion, and to the radical view of Semler that the canon of the Old Testament is finally of modern provenance. Defining “canon” as those books permitted to be read publicly by the Jews prior to the time of Christ also runs into difficulty, since later rabbinic tradition indicates that some canonical books were not publicly read (e.g., Song of Songs). Instead, Eichhorn advocates

<sup>27</sup> Ibid. 51f (§ 15).

<sup>28</sup> Ibid. 53 (§ 15).

<sup>29</sup> Ibid. 53, n.1 (§ 15).

<sup>30</sup> Josephus, *Contra Apionem* 1.37–43.

<sup>31</sup> Eichhorn, *ibid.* 53, n.1 (§ 15).

<sup>32</sup> Ibid. 58 (§ 18).

beginning with the notion of “scripture” or “law and prophets” as encountered in the New Testament: “This collection is to be our canon of the Old Testament. We thus get rid of all theological and dogmatical points and our inquiry becomes, as it ought to be, purely historical”.<sup>33</sup> The challenge is thus “whether the Jews at the time of Christ were in possession of a collection fixed as to all its parts, greater or less, or a complete canon”.<sup>34</sup> This latter formulation, presented as a “purely historical” question, could also be viewed as suggesting an alternative theological understanding of the Old Testament canon’s significance (i.e., the canon as christologically warranted). Eichhorn does not explore this avenue himself, but he invites its consideration (even if he is unaware that he is doing so).

Eichhorn does argue that there was indeed such a canon at the time of Christ. Strikingly, he maintains that the canons of Egyptian and Palestinian Judaism were probably identical.<sup>35</sup> These two communities were in close contact, not isolated and separate. Jerusalem remained the world-wide center of Judaism and set the standard for religious faith and practice. In Sirach’s prologue (dated by Eichhorn to ca. 140 BCE), the grandson of the book’s author refers to his grandfather’s investigation into “the Law, the Prophets, and the rest of the books of nation”. Striking is not only the three-fold formula but the fact that it occurs in a book of the Apocrypha. Eichhorn argues cogently, if from silence, that some indication of canonical variance would have been given if such variance existed. He further interprets Philo and Josephus as being in full agreement with Sirach and Lk 24:44. There was, to be sure, a Greek or Alexandrian translation of the Old Testament, but this development transpired gradually, beginning with the pentateuchal books only. Eventually the apocryphal books were in fact included in this translation, some of them even fairly early. But the entire translation was “merely a literary one”,<sup>36</sup> which was given acceptance through “the fable that the spirit of inspiration rested on the translators”.<sup>37</sup> Moreover, Philo, although acquainted sufficiently enough with the books of the Apocrypha to “[borrow] expressions from them...does not quote even once a single apocryphal book, much less does he allegorise their contents or prove his propositions out of them”.<sup>38</sup> Eichhorn’s treatment of Philo is extensive (Sections 25–34), which indi-

<sup>33</sup> Ibid. 61 (§ 19).

<sup>34</sup> Ibid. 61 (§ 20).

<sup>35</sup> In this judgment Eichhorn opposes the previous work of Johannes Ernst Grabe (1666–1711) and Johann Salomo Semler (1725–1791), both of whom (probably independently of each other) had postulated the existence in Alexandria of a wider (Greek) canon, containing what later became known as the books of the Apocrypha. From Alexandria these books entered into the (Greek) Christian Bible. In this way the apocryphal books could claim a canonical pedigree, and the wider Catholic canon (officially ratified at the Council of Trent in 1546) could be justified against Protestant claims to the contrary. See Sundberg, *Old Testament* (1964), 18–22. Sundberg points out that Grabe had once contemplated becoming Roman Catholic, which might help to explain his stance. He became an Anglican instead. Semler’s sympathies lay not with the Catholic position but with a “free” and undogmatic approach to Scripture. What he wanted to show was the diversity of canons operative early on in order to weaken traditional appeals by the Church to the unity and authority of Scripture. Eichhorn instead follows Schmid, *Historia* (1775), who in response to Semler argued that the Alexandrian and Palestinian canons were actually the same.

<sup>36</sup> Eichhorn, *Introduction*, 1 (1888), 69 (§ 24).

<sup>37</sup> Ibid. 70 (§ 24).

<sup>38</sup> Ibid. 71 (§ 26). In this view, Eichhorn follows Hornemann, *Observationes* (1775).

cates the key role Philo plays in his argument. Because not a single apocryphal book is quoted in Philo's work, quotation is taken by Eichhorn to be the equivalent to canonical status (at least with regard to Jewish scripture). He is able to demonstrate on this basis that most of the books currently in the canon were likely also considered canonical by Philo.

With respect to the situation in Palestine, Eichhorn argues against the idea that the Sadducees possessed a scriptural canon different from that of the Pharisees. The Sadducees had sometimes been understood as having a Pentateuch-only canon, primarily because of their rejection of belief in the resurrection of the dead – a doctrine thought by some scholars as more likely to be based on scriptural material in the Prophets and Writings than the Pentateuch. But Josephus makes no mention of a canonical distinction between the Sadducees and the Pharisees. Moreover, when Rabbi Gamaliel II (ca. 80–117 CE) does seek to prove the resurrection of the dead by appealing to the Prophets and the Writings, his sectarian interlocutors do not object (*b. Sanh.* 90b). To be sure, there is reference on the part of several of the Church Fathers to the Sadducees as holding to the Pentateuch alone, but in this “[t]he good Fathers may have erred”. The choice of pentateuchal scripture by Jesus (Matt 22:23–33) in response to a similar inquiry from the Sadducees is “altogether accidental”.<sup>39</sup> Only the Samaritans had a different canon, but their adoption of the Pentateuch alone was the result of a conscious rejection of other scriptures and represents only the position of their group rather than mainstream Judaism. For the situation in Palestinian Judaism, Josephus is the most important witness, and Eichhorn deals with him at length (Sections 38–50), as well as the evidence from Melito, Origen, Jerome and the Talmud.

The result is a Jewish canon “at the time of Christ and the Apostles”, which is identical to “our present edition of the Bible”. What is more, Eichhorn finds it unlikely that a smaller canonical grouping of books had once preceded it “in the space of time between the end of the Babylonian captivity and the birth of Christ”. The manner in which Scripture was described and apparently conceived stands against such a judgment, as well as against the view that “never at any time was an intentional and in all its parts settled collection of their national writings prepared by the Jews”.<sup>40</sup> After the initial work of reconstituting what remained of the lost temple library, there was no further expansion or development of the canon:

As far as we can go back in their history, immediately where the Apocrypha connect again the broken thread of Hebrew literature, a sacred national library of the Hebrews is expressly spoken of, as if the separate parts of it were already accurately fixed. It appears then to have been established soon after the Babylonian captivity, or that out of the writings which with regard to contents, authors, and the time of their composition varied so much, an entire whole was formed with the object of hindering for the future any new writings from being added thereto..., although from want of information we are not now able to state *in what year* and *for what reason* the increase of the collection was terminated. In

<sup>39</sup> Ibid. 83 (§ 35).

<sup>40</sup> Ibid. 111 (§ 57).

short, it is the voice of history, that after the Babylonian captivity, and, indeed, soon after the new foundation of the Hebrew state in Palestine, the canon was firmly fixed and all the books were at that time received into it which we now find in it. And yet have modern scholars attempted to prove that the canon of the Old Testament was not fixed till in very late times; that many books of the Old Testament now held by us as canonical had no place formerly in the canon, but were first raised to that dignity by Fathers of the Church and later Jews.<sup>41</sup>

Other views of the canon's gradual, even late, development are but "a castle in the air", Eichhorn insists, based in theoretical speculation rather than history.<sup>42</sup>

In several respects Eichhorn's treatment is surprisingly contemporary, adumbrating the basic topics and quarrels in the canon debate even today.<sup>43</sup> The chief difference between then and now – and it is an instructive one – is the absence in Eichhorn of any three-stage theory of Old Testament canon formation. The development of this theory, and the modifications it brought to earlier views of the canon, is the story of nineteenth-century Old Testament scholarship in a nutshell. To arrive at the three-stage theory, all of the results from intensive preoccupation with questions of authorship and dating would have to be synthesized. At the same time, both the internal and external witnesses regarding the nature and use of Israel's Scripture would need to be accommodated.

### 3. Moses Stuart: Canon as the Scripture of Christ and the Apostles

*Select studies:* W. F. ALBRIGHT, art. "Moses Stuart", DAB 18, 174–175. – Brown, *Rise of Biblical Criticism* (1969), 45–59, 94–110. – R. H. BAINTON, *Yale and the Ministry* (New York: Harper & Brothers 1957). – S. E. BERK, *Calvinism versus Democracy: Timothy Dwight and the Origins of American Evangelical Orthodoxy* (Hamden: Archon Books 1974). – J. G. DAVENPORT, "Moses Stuart – The Man Who Unfettered Religious Thought in America", *Connecticut Magazine* 11 (1907) 111–124. – F. B. DEXTER, "Student Life at Yale College Under the First President Dwight (1795–1817)", in: *A Selection From the Miscellaneous Historical Papers of Fifty Years* (New Haven: Tuttle, Morehouse & Taylor 1918). – F. H. FOSTER, *A Genetic History of the New England Theology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press 1907). – J. H. GILTNER, *Moses Stuart: The Father of Biblical Science in America* (Biblical Scholarship in North America; Atlanta: Scholars Press 1988). – M. GRANTQUIST, "The Role of 'Common Sense' in the Hermeneutics of Moses Stuart", *HTR* 83 (1990) 305–319. – A. HOVEY, "Moses Stuart", *Christian Review* 17 (April 1852), 288–296. – C. R. KELLER, *The Second Great Awakening in Connecticut* (New Haven: Yale UP 1942). – A. NORTON, *The Evidences of the Genuineness of the Gospels*, 1–2 (Cambridge: John Owen 21846–48); *Statement of Reasons for Not Believing the Doctrines of Trinitarians Respecting the Nature of God and the Person of Christ; Occasioned by Professor Stuart's Letters to Mr. Channing First Published in the Christian Disciple* (Boston: Wells and Lilly 1819). – G. R. NOYES, "Stuart on the Old Testament", *Christian Examiner* 40 (January 1846) 69–77. – E. A. PARK, *A Discourse Delivered at the Funeral of Professor Moses Stuart* (Boston: Tappan & Whittemore 1852). – S. S. ROBBINS, *Old Andover Days: Memories of a Puritan Childhood* (Boston: Pilgrim Press 1908), 163–189. – H. K. ROWE, *History of Andover Theological Seminary* (Newton, MA 1933). – B. M. STEPHENS, "Breaking the Chains of Literalism: The Christology of Moses Stuart", *Covenant Quarterly* 50 (1992) 34–48. – S. M. VOGEL, *German Literary Influences on the American Transcendentalists* (New Haven: Yale UP 1955). – L. WOODS, *History of the Andover Theological*

<sup>41</sup> Ibid. 112 (§ 57). Italics original.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid. 113 (§ 57).

<sup>43</sup> See in particular the emphasis on canon as Temple archive in Beckwith, *Formation* (1985), 40–45.

*Seminary* (Boston: J.R. Osgood 1885). – C. WRIGHT, *The Beginnings of Unitarianism in America* (Boston: Starr King Press 1955). – G.E. WRIGHT, “Historical Knowledge and Revelation”, *Translating and Understanding the Old Testament* (ed. H.T. Frank / W.L. Reed / H.G. May; Nashville: Abingdon 1970), 279–303. – R.W. YARBOROUGH, art. “Stuart, Moses (1780–1852)”, *DMBI* (2007), 952–956.

Moses Stuart (1780–1852) was born on a farm in Wilton, Connecticut, and attended Yale College. At Yale he came into contact with Timothy Dwight (1752–1817), the college president, theologian and revivalistic Calvinist who practically launched the Second Great Awakening through sheer charisma. Dwight had it in his blood; he was the grandson of Jonathan Edwards (1703–1758), the New England theologian who had inaugurated the First Great Awakening. Under Dwight’s tutelage, Stuart turned from the study of law to divinity. For a brief time he served as pastor of Center Congregational Church in New Haven, where his evangelical preaching proved popular. The congregation grew, as did Stuart’s reputation. In 1809 Stuart was offered a teaching position in Sacred Literature at Andover Seminary, a new Boston-area school founded to train orthodox ministers in a theological landscape increasingly threatened by Unitarianism. Harvard was already viewed largely as a lost cause. Stuart vainly protested his lack of fitness for the appointment: he had some Greek but no Hebrew. Nevertheless, the seminary trustees insisted, and Stuart began teaching at Andover in 1810. He would remain there teaching and publishing actively, even in retirement, until his death forty-two years later.

Stuart compensated for his lack of preparation and a dearth of resources by plain hard work. He taught himself Hebrew, Aramaic, Syriac and Arabic as well as German. He managed to compose his own Hebrew grammar in 1812. However, in order to publish it he had to purchase Hebrew fonts from overseas and install a printing press in his own home, since no Boston publisher had such fonts or knew how to set them. In the meantime he was also scouring book sales for other grammars, commentaries, lexicons, and Greek and Hebrew Bibles to use with his students as well as for himself. New England had enjoyed a long tradition of critical biblical scholarship, reaching all the way back to its Puritan foundation in the seventeenth century, but by Stuart’s time a Puritan “declension” had become apparent in intellectual as well as cultural life, with a deleterious impact on instruction in biblical languages and the availability of the requisite books. The single most transformative event for Stuart as a young scholar was his purchase at auction of J.G. Eichhorn’s *Einleitung in das Alte Testament* (1780–1783). Not only did Stuart later view Eichhorn’s work as having “spread its influence over my whole subsequent life”<sup>44</sup> by awakening his interest in the Old Testament, it also proved to be his main tool for learning German and his entry point into the robust world of German biblical scholarship. The auction was held for the estate of Joseph Stevens Buckminster (1784–1812), who died at only twenty-eight. In 1811 Buckminster had become Dexter Lecturer for Biblical Criticism at Harvard and was the owner of a magnificent 3,000 volume

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<sup>44</sup> Stuart, Letter to the Editor (1841), 456f, as quoted in Giltner, Stuart (1988), 9 (although page 457 is mistakenly cited as 547).

library, much of which he had assembled while in Europe in 1806–07. To purchase Eichhorn's introduction, Stuart engaged in a friendly bidding war with Edward Everett (1794–1865), Harvard Professor of Greek Literature. Everett would subsequently study with Eichhorn in Göttingen in 1817, becoming the first American ever to earn a German doctorate. It was to Everett and his friend George Ticknor that Eichhorn had given his famously arch advice about studying: "for spoiled young Americans 12 hours a day will be enough for now".<sup>45</sup> Perhaps such rigors proved too much. Everett eventually left academic life and entered politics as a member of the U.S. Congress, later becoming Governor of Massachusetts and serving as U.S. Secretary of State.

Everett's loss at the Buckminster auction was clearly Stuart's gain. From Eichhorn, Stuart not only learned a body of critical Old Testament scholarship with which he was still relatively unfamiliar, he also perceived how critical scholarship could be employed in the service of religious orthodoxy. Even if Eichhorn's historical conclusions went too far at times for Stuart's Puritan sensibilities, Eichhorn's approach to the material nevertheless illustrated how "an ample investigation of the genuineness and canonical credit of the Old Testament can hardly fail of providing a good effect upon the open and ingenious mind".<sup>46</sup> In his openness to critical investigation and academic dialogue, particularly with German biblical scholars, Stuart succeeded more than any other early American figure in opening traditional New England piety to modern biblical scholarship. In his life-long commitment to credal orthodoxy, Stuart provided at the same time a respectable theological counter-weight to the anti-traditional intellectual currents threatening the Church of his day with disrepute and disarray.

Stuart's *Critical History and Defense of the Old Testament Canon* (1845) is a robustly polemical work, written in response to the second volume of Andrews Norton's *Evidences* (1844), in particular its chapter "On the Jewish Dispensation, the Pentateuch, and the other Books of the Old Testament".<sup>47</sup> According to Norton:

Christianity has not made itself responsible for the genuineness, the authenticity, or the moral and religious teachings, of that collection of books by Jewish writers, which constitutes the Old Testament. . . A false character has been ascribed to them, which brings them into perpetual collision with the moral and religious conceptions of men of more enlightened times than those of their writers, with the principles of rational criticism in the interpretation of language, and even with the progress of the physical sciences.<sup>48</sup>

This view constituted an intellectual dare that Stuart decided to accept. He appears to have located his essential strategy in an implication of Eichhorn's treatment of the canon: namely, the idea that the current (Protestant) Old Testament finds its legitimacy and abiding authority in the fact that it was the canon of Christ and the Apostles.<sup>49</sup> Stuart firmly pressed the theological consequences

<sup>45</sup> Smend, Michaelis (1987), 73: "dass für verwöhnte junge Amerikaner zwölf Stunden täglich zunächst genug seien".

<sup>46</sup> Stuart, *Lectures on Sacred Literature*, no. 14, as quoted in Giltner, Stuart (1988), 33.

<sup>47</sup> Norton, *Evidences*, 2 (1846–48), 402–512.

<sup>48</sup> Norton, *ibid.* 402f, as quoted in Giltner, Stuart (1988), 98.

<sup>49</sup> Stuart, *Critical History* (1849), 2. Giltner, Stuart (1988), 97, points out that Stuart's *Critical History* is very similar to lectures he gave at Andover over thirty years earlier. The main lines of his

of this fundamental point as a riposte to Norton's rejection of the Old Testament's authority for Christians:

If it can be shown that Christ and the Apostles, as the commissioned messengers of God to establish Christianity, did receive, regard, and treat the Scriptures of the Jews as obligatory and of Divine authority, and also that these Scriptures were the same books which belong to our present Old Testament, then two consequences must follow from the establishment of these propositions. The first is, that whatever doubts or difficulties any one may have about the critical history or origin of particular books in the Old Testament, still he must now acknowledge that they have received the sanction of an authority from which there is no appeal. Universal skepticism alone can make exceptions to them, on the ground of credibility and authenticity. The second is, that the man who admits the Divine origin and authority of the Christian religion, and that the New Testament contains a credible and authentic account or development of it by Christ and by the Apostles, must be altogether inconsistent with himself and inconsequent in his reasonings, if he rejects the Divine origin and authority of the Old Testament Scriptures.<sup>50</sup>

Nothing less is at stake in this dispute, therefore, than the status of the Old Testament as Christian Scripture. The canon, for Stuart, provides a historical defense of the Old Testament by underscoring its nature as a "given" for the Church from its beginning. The rest of Stuart's volume works out the details of this one basic point.

Stuart holds that "at least some parts of the Pentateuch were committed to writing in the time of Moses".<sup>51</sup> Part of his defense of this position relates to a then-contemporary debate about the antiquity of writing, a learned conversation into which Stuart enters vigorously and at length. Stuart proceeds to posit a close relationship between Scripture, religious instruction and the history of the Jewish synagogue. Because there are no biblical references to the synagogue prior to the Babylonian Exile, Stuart postpones any further expansion of the canon until the time of Ezra and Nehemiah. He assumes that parts or forms of the historical books were retained along the way, but in private hands "instead of being in the hands of the great mass of the people, or of being read every sabbath".<sup>52</sup> Still, there is also textual evidence of later literary development: e.g., the last verse of Judges describes how "in those days there was no king in Israel" (Judg 21:25), indicating that the book as a whole was composed after the rise of the monarchy.

In Stuart's judgment, the reading of Scripture in the synagogue began around the time of Ezra and Nehemiah. Although he is aware of criticism that has been levied against the tradition of a Great Synagogue emerging at this time, Stuart believes there is likely some historical basis to it. Even beyond the question of the historicity of the tradition *per se*, Stuart is concerned to identify the social

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thinking about the canon had therefore been set for some time, ever since reading Eichhorn in fact. But Norton's challenge provided Stuart with an urgent sense of occasion and compelled him to present his view of the canon before a wider public.

<sup>50</sup> Stuart, *Critical History* (1849), 3; see also his p.21.

<sup>51</sup> Stuart, *ibid.* 30. More specifically, Stuart believes (p. 55) that the last four books of the Pentateuch constitute something like a record or journal, which Moses kept during Israel's wanderings in the wilderness. Because this journal was written at different times and under diverse conditions, it exhibits a mixed form but is not in fact the result of mixed authorship. Genesis, however, is separate case. Genesis was indeed composed from a variety of traditions, both oral and written, but all combined and revised by Moses.

<sup>52</sup> Stuart, *ibid.* 64.

basis for the maintenance of the Jewish community. How did the Jews survive for centuries, along with their scriptures, without the persistent activity of religious instruction? And how could such instruction transpire except in the reading and preaching of that Scripture in the synagogue? Like Eichhorn, Stuart imagines that some scriptures were lost and others reworked or digested over the long years of their development. He exhibits a striking realism about the precarious nature of scriptural manuscripts and the fully human character of their transmission:

We freely yield our assent to the allegation, that in our present copies of the Scriptures there are some discrepancies between different portions of them which no learning or ingenuity can reconcile. *Humanum est errare*. The Bible has passed through the hands of erring men for a series of ages; and even the most sacred waters, flowing through a channel that has some impurities in it, must contract some stain, or undergo some depreciation.<sup>53</sup>

Nevertheless, Christian doctrine is unaffected by such minor mistakes and corruptions.<sup>54</sup> Still, openness to the presence of textual corruption prevents Stuart from concluding that all of ancient Israel's literature found its way eventually into the canonical "archive". To the contrary, Stuart envisions a critical component to the process of canon formation, in which judgments were made about whether or not books were sacred. For Stuart, it seems likely that inspired figures (i. e., prophets) would have made such determinations. In fact, this is finally the meaning behind Josephus' statement that the canonical reception of books ceased with prophecy.<sup>55</sup>

The law of Moses was read in the synagogue until the time of Antiochus Epiphanes (175–164 BCE). Stuart is familiar with another theory of Levita's: that when Antiochus prohibited the reading of the law and destroyed torah scrolls (1 Macc 1:57), certain prophetic passages were selected and compiled as substitutes. According to Levita, this is the origin of the *haphhtarot* (or prophetic lections) in the synagogue. Yet Stuart also knows the criticism of this view by W. M. L. de Wette (1780–1849) and others. Stuart realizes that a definite answer regarding the origin of the *haphhtarot* is not finally decisive for his project, which aims instead to demonstrate the shape of the canon at the time of Christ, not to determine the canon's absolute origins. Nevertheless, he concludes on the basis of Lk 4:17–19 and Acts 13:15, 27; 15:21 that prophetic scripture most likely also began to be read in the synagogue around the time of Ezra and Nehemiah. What is especially interesting about this part of Stuart's presentation is not the dating itself but the way he understands canonicity as tied to synagogue worship and religious instruction.

Stuart concedes that there are now no synagogue lections assigned from the Writings, but he calls attention to the traditional reading of Esther at Purim and the use of the Psalms for synagogue prayer. Moreover, some of the books of the Writings seem to be just as old as, if not older than, some of the books of the

<sup>53</sup> Ibid. 179.

<sup>54</sup> Stuart held to plenary inspiration but not verbal infallibility; on this point, see Giltner, Stuart (1988), 50.

<sup>55</sup> Stuart, *Critical History* (1849), 226. The reference is again to Josephus, *Contra Apionem* 1.37–43.



Prophets. For this reason he views with skepticism the idea that the Writings represent an exclusively late collection, and thus were no longer able to be admitted into the lectionary. In contrast, Stuart thinks that the Writings once enjoyed a more robust use within the synagogue:

According to the later Rabbinical division of the Scriptures, then, portions of all the three great divisions of the sacred books were publicly read in the synagogues, long before the Christian era. We can have no doubt, therefore, that each and every part of the Jewish Scriptures was deposited in the synagogues respectively, and of course in the temple.

But in grappling with external witnesses like Josephus, as well as the dating question for the individual books within the Writings, Stuart comes to the conclusion that the Hagiographa originally only included four books (Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes and Canticles) – although they could be counted differently – and that this view is the unified position of Sirach, Philo, the New Testament, Josephus and the early Christian authors until the fourth century.<sup>56</sup> Like Eichhorn, Stuart also decides that the canon must have been the same in Egypt as well as Palestine.<sup>57</sup> For Stuart, the canon was clearly delimited and extant in its three-fold division long before the time of Christ. In addition to the witnesses from Judaism, the New Testament and church history, there is the witness of Jesus himself, seen both in his use of Scripture and his sayings about it. “Christ was either in the right or in the wrong, as to the estimate which he put upon the Old Testament”, Stuart concludes.<sup>58</sup>

In sum, Stuart defends the idea, closely based upon Josephus, that the Old Testament canon was finalized during the time of Artaxerxes, or what was also the time of Malachi, the last of the Hebrew prophets (ca. 400 BCE, in Stuart’s dating). The three-fold division Stuart traces to ca. 200 BCE or even somewhat earlier.<sup>59</sup> This reconstruction means that the three-fold division of the canon is not yet a developmental pattern for Stuart either, but rather still reflects an organization of the canonical material made after its scope had already been determined.

To be sure, his early dating marks him as a “conservative”, even within the scholarly debates of his day. But what remains of greater import is Stuart’s insistence on a social location for the process of biblical canon formation, and the way he holds his historical work together with his theological convictions. As Stuart himself realizes in the course of his investigation, early dates are not really decisive any more, given what he is attempting to prove. The essential thing is instead that a stable Old Testament canon was inherited by Christ and the Apostles, and that they affirmed it without change. In this fashion Stuart’s theological understanding of the canon actually mitigates certain historical considerations.

Stuart’s appeal to a christologically warranted canon might have shifted the canonical discussion in another direction from the one it took, if critical scholars had been more interested in doctrine and not as focused on tracing historical ori-

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<sup>56</sup> Stuart, *ibid.* 195, 271.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.* 279.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.* 323.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.* 324.

gins and change over time. For these “liberal” scholars, Stuart’s appeal seemed like the worst sort of obscurantism.<sup>60</sup> Yet increasingly they would pursue their historical study in isolation from the theological issues at stake, minimizing the religious dynamic within biblical canon formation and creating even greater tension between the academy and the Church. Nevertheless, the way of the future would lie in ever more secularistic efforts to reconstruct the past, and especially in the hunch that the three-fold division of the canon could be the key to its historical development.

#### 4. The Rise of the Three-Stage Theory

*Select studies:* S. AMSLER, “La politique d’édition des Sociétés bibliques au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle et le canon de l’Ancien Testament”, *Le Canon de l’Ancien Testament: sa formation et son histoire* (ed. J.-D. Kaestli / O. Wermelinger; Geneva: Labor et Fides 1984), 313–338. – B. BAENTSCH, Review of William Henry Green, *Die höhere Kritik des Pentateuchs* (1897), *ThLZ* 24 (1899) 577–84. – J. BARTON, “The Significance of a Fixed Canon of the Hebrew Bible”, in *HBOT*, I/1 (1996), 67–83. – B.S. CHILDS, *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture* (Philadelphia: Fortress 1979). – J. CONDER, “Controversy respecting the Apocrypha”, *Eclectic Review* 24 (September 1825) 185–210. – R.B. COX, *The Nineteenth Century British Apocrypha Controversy* (diss., Baylor University 1981). – Ellis, *Old Testament in Early Christianity* (1991), 37–44. – F.V. FILSON, *Which Books Belong in the Bible? A Study of the Canon* (Philadelphia: Westminster 1957). – Gausson, Appendix on the “Apocrypha”, in: idem, *The Canon* (1862), 629–662. – Robert Haldane, *Review of the Conduct of the Directors of the British and Foreign Bible Society relative to the Apocrypha and to their Administration on the Continent* (Edinburgh: William Whyte, 1828). – Robert Haldane, *The Books of the Old and New Testaments; with Remarks on the Apocrypha* (Boston: American Doctrinal Tract Society, 1840). – H.F. HENDERSON, *The Religious Controversies of Scotland* (Edinburgh: Clark 1905). – Horne, Introduction, 1 (1851), 435–36. – L. HOWSAM, *Cheap Bibles: Nineteenth Century Publishing and the British and Foreign Bible Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP 1993). – M. KLINGHARDT, “Die Veröffentlichung der christlichen Bibel und der Kanon”, *ZNT* 6 (2003) 59–64. – J.P. LEWIS, “Jamnia Revisited”, *The Canon Debate* (ed. L.M. McDonald / J.A. Sanders; Peabody, MA: Hendrickson 2002), 146–162. – H.P. LIDDON, *The Divinity of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ: Eight Lectures Preached before the University of Oxford, in the Year 1866* (London: Rivingtons 1869). – L.M. McDONALD, *The Biblical Canon: Its Origin, Transmission, and Authority* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson 2007). – Robertson Smith, *The Old Testament in the Christian Church* (1881) 149–175. – A. VAN DER KOOIJ, “De canonvorming van de Hebreeuwse bijbel, het Oude Testament”, *NThT* 49 (1995) 42–65. – N. WALSH, *John Baptist Franzelin, S.J., Cardinal Priest of the Title SS. Boniface and Alexius: A Sketch and a Study* (Dublin: Gill 1895). – P.J. WOSH, *Spreading the Word: The Bible Business in Nineteenth-Century America* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell UP 1994).

It was primarily the critical dating of various biblical books that steadily pushed against the notion that the Old Testament canon had been completely or mostly established in early Persian period Israel.<sup>61</sup> But hand in hand with the later dates went an assumption of generic consistency – or at least the generic consistency of the three canonical divisions in Jewish tradition: Law, Prophets and Writings. Books were presumably found in one of these divisions for a reason. If older or more conservative scholarship simply perceived in the three-fold structure of the canon a logic of conscious organization at work, more progressive historical-cri-

<sup>60</sup> E.g., Noyes, Stuart (1846).

<sup>61</sup> Diestel, *Geschichte* (1869), 601 f.

tical scholars began to attribute that organization not to “a single mind”<sup>62</sup> but to historical development.

This development can be seen at work in de Wette’s influential presentation. De Wette traced the first four books of Moses to the time of Solomon, with Joshua and the rest of the historical books following them. The compilation of the prophetic books began in the eighth century. By the time of Josiah the first canonical division (or Pentateuch) was complete, as well as roughly half of the second division (i. e., the Prophets). However, the first and second divisions were only “closed” after Nehemiah (judging from 2 Macc 2:13). The third division (or Hagiographa) continued to form during the Persian period, which explains the inclusion of some historical and prophetic books into the Hagiographa. It is this last point in particular that indicates how a divisional logic pressed in the direction of the three-stage theory.<sup>63</sup> According to de Wette, the entire canonical process was complete by the time of Josephus, but not before then, a process de Wette termed “progressive formation”.<sup>64</sup>

There was also pressure from continued debate about the canonical status of the apocryphal books. Semler had called into question the legitimacy of the narrower Protestant Old Testament canon, too. Initially he was opposed by Christian Friedrich Schmid (1794–1852), who argued that the narrower Hebrew canon had possessed the same scope for Jesus and the Apostles. Schmid rejected the notion of an Alexandrian canon (which Semler had accepted) and identified a learned tradition of scholarship throughout church history supporting the narrower canon. But Schmid was in turn opposed by Heinrich Corrodi (1752–93), who maintained that some early Jewish groups had enjoyed a wider canon and that the New Testament writings themselves cite the apocryphal books.

A crucial push away from the Apocrypha occurred in nineteenth-century Britain, and all because of an umbrella. Formed in 1804, the British and Foreign Bible Society (BFBS) initially had a soft policy against the inclusion of the apocryphal books in English Bibles.<sup>65</sup> However, the Society was increas-

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<sup>62</sup> This memorable phrase is found in Green, *Introduction* (1899), 92. William Henry Green (1825–1900) traced the Law and the Prophets back to the pre-exilic period, and he implied more or less the same antiquity for the Writings, although more cautiously. It is telling that Green advanced this view in 1898. He hoped to counter Wellhausen, but his adoption of such an early date for the canon was so extreme in light of late nineteenth century scholarship (i. e., earlier even than Stuart or Eichhorn) that his position was dead on arrival outside the conservative Presbyterian circle he inhabited in the U. S. See Baentsch, *Review* (1899). The same phrase is found in Liddon, *Divinity* (1869), 44, his *Bampton Lectures of 1866*: “a deeper insight will discover in Scripture such manifest unity of drift and purpose, both moral and intellectual, as to imply the continuous action of a Single Mind.” As the capital letters indicate, Liddon refers here to the Mind of God.

<sup>63</sup> De Wette, *Critical and Historical Introduction* (1850), 26–27, in turn attributes this divisional logic to Leonhard Bertholdt (1774–1822). The opposing view is associated with Ernst Wilhelm Hengstenberg (1802–1869), namely that “the threefold division of the Old Testament. . .rest[s] on the different relation in which their authors stood to God” instead of being an indication of the canon’s gradual development.

<sup>64</sup> De Wette, *Critical and Historical Introduction* (1850), 26. De Wette’s *Introduction* was translated into English by the noted Unitarian pastor-scholar Theodore Parker (1810–1860), who also added his own critical comments to the work, including a detailed appendix at the conclusion to the first volume in which he illustrated at even greater length all of the problems pertaining to the Old Testament canon. Parker’s edition of de Wette’s *Introduction* represents the fullest statement of critical Old Testament scholarship available in English during the first half of the nineteenth century.

<sup>65</sup> Cox, *Nineteenth Century* (1981), 174f.

ingly under pressure from some of its Continental auxiliaries to provide Bibles containing them. For a time the Society was able to do so quietly on occasion, without alarming those of its members who would have been opposed to such a practice.<sup>66</sup> But in August of 1821 Robert Haldane (1764–1842), a Scottish evangelist and teacher who had worked in France, happened to forget his umbrella at the Society's headquarters in London. When he returned to retrieve it the next day, he was invited to join a meeting about two of the Society's French Bibles, both of which Haldane had helped sponsor while he was in France on the condition that they not include the Apocrypha. Haldane was shocked to learn in the meeting that since he had left France the Apocrypha had been added to both of the Bibles at the request of some of the French Bible societies. Haldane quickly organized resistance, which grew and hardened throughout the 1820s, particularly among the more Calvinistic Bible societies in Scotland. Many different views were aired in this debate, which dominated the popular Christian press in Britain. Some of these views were rightly seen as quite radical, a fact that also led to the hardening of the conservative opposition. For example, Josiah Conder (1789–1855) wrote that "the Canon of Scripture is not an article of faith, – is not a doctrine of Revelation, or a precept of Christ, which must be received and submitted to by all at the peril of their souls. Important...as is the question relating to the Canon, it...comes within the range of human opinion and private judgment...there is no inspired catalogue of the canonical books. Our own canon may possibly include books not inspired. Nor can the Bible Society take upon themselves to determine what books are canonical, and what are not."<sup>67</sup> In response to the controversy, the BFBS enacted a hardline policy against the inclusion of the Apocrypha in its Bibles, but several of the auxiliary societies broke off relations regardless. The American Bible Society agreed in 1828 to end distribution of Bibles containing the Apocrypha. As a result, it became increasingly difficult to obtain a Bible with the Apocrypha in Britain or the U.S., although the Authorized (or King James) Version had routinely contained them before. The BFBS provided a Bible for the coronation of Edward VII in 1902, only to discover that it was inadequate because the traditional coronation Bible was supposed to include the apocryphal books. Not until 1966 did the BFBS begin to make exceptions to its policy of total exclusion. A similar debate about the status of the Apocrypha occurred in Germany during the 1850s in the course of an essay contest sponsored by the Baden Administrative Council of the Inner Mission, but largely with the opposite outcome.<sup>68</sup> The return of the Apocrypha to English Bibles in the twentieth century owes more to business decisions by publishers than to ecumenical understanding, which is still sharply divided.

Catholic scholars were not so involved in this debate, since for them the issue had been decided at the Council of Trent (1546) and would be reaffirmed at the First Vatican Council (1870). However, the activities of the Bible Societies were viewed as a threat.<sup>69</sup> There were occasionally attempts by Catholic scholars to support their Church's position through historical argument. In this regard the work of Franz Karl Movers (1806–1856) bears special mention. According to Movers, the additional books found in the Septuagint had originally been canonical, even in Palestine. However, they were dropped in the second century CE because of the view that they were written after prophecy had ceased. On this basis, there had not yet been a fixed canon in the time of Christ and the Apostles. The Early Church took over this more extensive Hellenistic collection and did not adopt the Synagogue's later streamlining of it.<sup>70</sup> Some Catholic scholars did

<sup>66</sup> Howsam, *Cheap Bibles* (1993), 13.

<sup>67</sup> Conder, *Controversy* (1825), 192, 209, as quoted in Cox, *Nineteenth Century* (1981), 209.

<sup>68</sup> Buhl, *Canon* (1891), 70.

<sup>69</sup> Ryle, *Holy Scripture* (1904), 6, notes how the Bible Societies were listed on the Papal Syllabus of Errors in 1864, along with Socialism, Communism and secret societies. For a brief but spirited defense of repeated papal condemnations of the Bible Societies during the nineteenth century, as well as a general presentation of the Catholic stance toward Scripture during this period, see Pope, *Catholic Church* (1928), 85–101.

<sup>70</sup> Ellis, *Canon* (1992), 38.

voice doubts about the apocryphal books, even though the position of the Roman Church was clear. For example, Johann Jahn (1750–1816) acknowledged ancient and persistent reservations, both Jewish and Christian, about the deuterocanonicals.<sup>71</sup> He was vigorously rebuffed by J. B. Franzelin (1816–1886).

#### 4.1. H. Graetz: Canon as Three Assemblies

*Select studies:* I. ABRAHAMS, “Heinrich Graetz, the Jewish Historian”, *JQR* 4 (1892) 165–203 (bibliography, 194–203). – D. E. AUNE, “On the Origins of the ‘Council of Javneh’ Myth”, *JBL* 110 (1991) 491–498. – S. W. BARON, *History and Jewish Historians* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America 1964). – F. W. BAUTZ, art. “Graetz, Heinrich”, in: *BBKL* 2 (1990), 281/82. – K. BECKMANN, *Die fremde Wurzel: Altes Testament und Judentum in der evangelischen Theologie des 19. Jahrhunderts* (FKDG 85; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 2002). – P. BLOCH, *Heinrich Graetz: A Memoir* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America 1898; repr. in *Graetz’ History of the Jews* 6 [1898], 1–86). – J. C. BLUTINGER, *Writing for the Masses: Heinrich Graetz, the Popularization of Jewish History, and the Reception of National Judaism* (diss., UCLA 2003). – W. BOEHLICH (ed.), *Der Berliner Antisemitismusstreit* (Frankfurt: Insel 1965). – M. BRENNER, *Propheten des Vergangenen: jüdische Geschichtsschreibung im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (Munich: Beck 2006), 79–127 = *Prophets of the Past: Interpreters of Jewish History* (Princeton: Princeton UP 2010), 53–91. – R. E. CLEMENTS, “Heinrich Graetz as Biblical Historian and Religious Apologist”, *Interpreting the Hebrew Bible: Essays in Honour of E. I. J. Rosenthal* (ed. J. A. Emerton / S. C. Reif; Cambridge: Cambridge UP 1982), 35–55. – S. ETTINGER, art. “Heinrich Graetz”, *EncJud* 7 (1972), 845–850. – A. GERDMAR, *Roots of Theological Anti-Semitism: German Biblical Interpretation and the Jews, from Herder and Semler to Kittel and Bultmann* (SJHC 20; Leiden: Brill 2009). – C. D. GINSBURG, *Cobeleth, Commonly Called The Book of Ecclesiastes: Translated from the Original Hebrew with a Commentary, Historical and Critical* (London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts 1861). – R. GORDIS, *Kohleth – The Man and His World* (TSJ TSA 19; New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America 1951). – M. GRAETZ, art. “Heinrich Graetz”, *TRE* 14 (1985), 112–115. – I. GRUNFELD, *Three Generations: The Influence of Samson Raphael Hirsch on Jewish Life and Thought* (London: Jewish Post Publications 1958). – R. HALDANE, *Review of the Conduct of the Directors of the British and Foreign Bible Society relative to the Apocrypha and to their Administration on the Continent* (Edinburgh: William Whyte 1828); *The Books of the Old and New Testaments; with Remarks on the Apocrypha* (Boston: American Doctrinal Tract Society 1840). – S. R. HIRSCH, *Neunzehn Breife über Judentum* (Altona: Hammerich 1836; Zürich: Morascha 1987) = *The Nineteen Letters of Ben Uziel: Being a Spiritual Presentation of the Principles of Judaism* (tr. B. Drachma; New York: Funk & Wagnalls 1899). – J. KATZ, *A House Divided: Orthodoxy and Schism in Nineteenth Century Central European Jewry* (Hanover, NH: UP 1998). – S. KAZNELSON (ed.), *Juden im deutschen Kulturbereich* (Berlin: Jüdischer Verlag 1959). – L. KOCHAN, *The Jew and His History* (New York: Schocken Books 1977), 69–87. – K. KRIEGER (ed.), *Der “Berliner Antisemitismusstreit” 1879–1881: eine Kontroverse um die Zugehörigkeit der deutschen Juden zur Nation*, 1–2 (München: Saur 2003). – J. N. LIGHTSTONE, “The Formation of the Biblical Canon in Judaism of Late Antiquity: Prolegomenon to a General Reassessment”, *Sciences Religieuses / Studies in Religion* 8 (1979) 135–142. – M. MACK, *German Idealism and the Jew: The Inner Anti-Semitism of Philosophy and German Jewish Responses* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press 2003). – J. MEISL, *Heinrich Graetz: eine Würdigung des Historikers und Juden zu seinem 100. Geburtstag* (Berlin: Lamm 1917). – M. A. MEYER, “Great Debate on Antisemitism: Jewish Reaction to New Hostility in Germany, 1879–1881”, *Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook* 11 (1966), 137–70. – R. MICHAEL, “Graetz contra Treitschke”, *Bulletin des Leo Baeck Instituts* 4 (1961), 301–22. – T. MOMMSEN, *Auch ein Wort über unser Judentum* (Berlin: Weidmannische Buchhandlung 1880). – M. PYKA, *Jüdische Identität bei Heinrich Graetz* (Jüdische Religion, Geschichte und Kultur, 5; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 2008). – I. SINGER / G. DEUTSCHE, art. “Graetz, Heinrich”, *JE* 6 (1906), 64–67. – E. SCHREIBER, *Graetz’s Geschichtsbauerei* (Leipzig: Issleib 1881). – R. TASCH, *Sam-*

<sup>71</sup> Jahn, Introduction (1827), 46–48 (§ 29).

son Raphael Hirsch: *jüdische Erfahrungswelten im historischen Kontext* (SJ 59; Berlin: de Gruyter 2011). – H. VON TREITSCHKE, *Ein Wort über Unser Judenthum* (Berlin: G. Reimer 1880). – R. N. WHYBRAY, *Ecclesiastes* (Old Testament Guides; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press 1989).

Heinrich Graetz (1817–1891) was born in Książ Wielkopolski (German: Xions), part of the Grand Duchy of Poznań (a client state of Prussia), now in Poland. As a young man Graetz was profoundly moved by the *Nineteen Letters* (1836) of Samson Raphael Hirsch (1808–1888), the leading Rabbi of the Jewish neo-orthodox movement. Graetz contacted Hirsch on his own initiative, moved to Oldenburg in order to study with him, and even lodged in Hirsch's home for three years. From Hirsch he received confirmation of his conservative religious inclinations, while also gaining insight into the way that scholarship could be employed to chart a path between Talmudic traditionalism and the "Gnosticism" of the Reform movement. Graetz then pursued a university degree in Breslau (now Wrocław). He completed his studies but was unable to receive a degree because in Breslau doctoral degrees were prohibited to Jews. After gaining his degree from Jena in 1845, Graetz returned to Breslau, where in time he became the principal of an orthodox Jewish school and, beginning in 1854, taught history at the Jewish theological seminary, whose president was Zacharias Frankel (1801–75). Graetz' lasting reputation rests on his mammoth, eleven-volume *History of the Jews*, completed over the course of two decades (1853–75) and eventually appearing in several different publication formats and languages.<sup>72</sup> Graetz also published an abridged version of his history as *Volkstümliche Geschichte der Juden*, in three volumes (1888). This version is noteworthy for its coverage of more recent history, since the *History of the Jews* concludes in 1848. Graetz was active as a biblical scholar as well as a historian, producing commentaries on Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs and the Psalms, among other works. A scholar vigorously engaged in the religious and political disputes of his day, Graetz was known for being a lightning rod. He was singled out by the anti-Semite Heinrich von Treitschke (1834–96), who criticized Graetz' history for exhibiting contempt for Christianity and German culture: "the man quivers with glee whenever he can say something downright obscene about the Germans".<sup>73</sup> Graetz did believe that European culture was waning, degraded especially by rampant sexual disease and prostitution. But he defended himself and the Jewish people against the scurrilous charge of being "unpatriotic" throughout his career as a public intellectual – not always in the most effective manner even according to friends and supporters<sup>74</sup> – but ever with high moral earnestness and the impassioned sense that righteousness was on his side. His two most famous challenges to the pervasive anti-Semitism of his day are his essay on Shylock and his *Briefwechsel*.

Graetz addresses the canon question in an appendix to his commentary on Kohelet (or Ecclesiastes).<sup>75</sup> As he acknowledges at the outset of the commentary, his thesis that Kohelet dates to the reign of Herod the Great (37–34 BCE) requires him to demonstrate how the biblical canon still could have been open at that very late date, and to suggest how the canon only subsequently achieved complete closure.<sup>76</sup> For support, Graetz drew in part upon Catholic biblical scholarship, particularly the work of Movers.<sup>77</sup> The thrust of Movers' reconstruction was to legitimate the deuterocanonical books; this he did by treating them as an original part of the Jewish canon. Only in the second century CE were they excluded from the canon because some Rabbis believed them to be

<sup>72</sup> The volumes were numbered as eleven but actually comprised twelve, since the second volume appeared in two parts.

<sup>73</sup> Treitschke, Wort (1880), 14: "der Mann schüttelt sich vor Vergnügen, so oft er den Deutschen etwas recht Unflätiges sagen kann".

<sup>74</sup> Bloch, Memoir (1898), 77; Schreiber, Graetz's Geschichtsbauerei (1881); cf. Mommsen, Auch ein Wort (1880).

<sup>75</sup> *Der alttestamentliche Kanon und sein Abschluss*, in: Kohelet (1871), 147–173.

<sup>76</sup> As a reference point, the date for Ecclesiastes is set by Ginsburg, Cohelet (1861), 255, at ca. 350–340 BCE. As for modern commentaries, Gordis, Kohelet (1951), 67, opts for a date of ca. 250 BCE; a third-century date is also supported by Whybray, Ecclesiastes (1989), 19f.

<sup>77</sup> Graetz, Kohelet (1871), 149.

past the time of Malachi, and therefore bereft of the necessary prophetic spirit (cf. *t. Soṭah* 13:2).<sup>78</sup> In contrast to the well-established view that the canon had been fixed at the time of Ezra and Nehemiah, or even shortly thereafter by the “great synagogue”, Graetz also points to the critical dating of Daniel to the Maccabean era.<sup>79</sup> Crucial is not only Daniel’s late date, but the fact that this book appears within the Writings of the Jewish canon and not in the Prophets, as one would expect on the basis of the book’s content (cf. Matt 24:15; Mk 13:14). Graetz believes that Esther and Kohelet likewise exhibit later features than a fifth- or fourth-century date for the canon would permit.

One possibility that Graetz entertains, as proposed by Friedrich Bleek (1793–1859) and others, is that writings of a biblical character might have been added to the canon even after its initial closing – but then, Graetz inquires, who would decide? “If canonicity is to mean something, and indeed the separation between holy and profane literature enforce anything, is it not then impossible that the first and best books would have been superseded by attaching new writings to the old with the same dignity?”<sup>80</sup> Canonization must not only be permanent if it is to mean anything at all, it must also reflect an official decision by an authoritative deliberative body: “No one sanctions particular writings on his own initiative”.<sup>81</sup> According to the rabbinical sources, Graetz maintains, there are only three possibilities for such an assembly or “synod”: in Nehemiah’s day (ca. 400 BCE), at the time of the revolt against Rome (65 CE) and during the period of Gamaliel II.<sup>82</sup> These same sources suggest that each of the three divisions of the canon has its own integrity and history.

Graetz reads Dan 9:2 and the prologue to Sirach as evidence for a collection of Prophets in the Maccabean period. Because the main body of Sirach dates to 300–250 BCE, in his estimation, the “prophetic canon” must have already been closed.<sup>83</sup> Graetz dismisses the historical legitimacy of the tradition regarding Nehemiah’s “library” (2 Macc 2:13), questions the rabbinic account of a “great synagogue” (*b. B. Bat.* 14b–15b)<sup>84</sup> and rejects Levita’s suggestion that the prophetic books had been introduced as a lectionary “surrogate” after torah scrolls were destroyed during the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes. Instead, Graetz views

<sup>78</sup> Movers, *Loci* (1842), 20–22.

<sup>79</sup> Graetz, *Kohelet* (1871), 147.

<sup>80</sup> Graetz, *ibid.* 148: “Wenn Kanonicität etwas bedeuten soll, und zwar die Scheidung von heiliger und profaner Literatur zu statuieren, so kann es doch unmöglich dem Ersten Besten überlassen worden sein, neue Schriften zu den alten mit gleicher Dignität hinzuzufügen?”.

<sup>81</sup> Graetz, *Kohelet* (1871), 156: “Von heiler Hart sanktionirt man nicht gewisse Schriften”. “Von heiler Hart” seems to be a Germanicized version of a Frisian or Dutch expression.

<sup>82</sup> As Aune, *Origins* (1991), has noted, Graetz’ use of terms like “synod” and “council” for these assemblies, not to mention the fact that he is himself a Jew, means that this emphasis on official decision-making is not simply a Christian imposition, as has sometimes been claimed; see, e.g., Lightstone, *Formation* (1979), 141. However, Graetz may still have been unduly influenced by church history. See his *Die grosse Versammlung* (1857), 65: “Every canon-closing – so far as the history of the New Testament canon teaches us – presumes an opposition. Either scriptures that one party rejects become viewed as holy through their canonization (as the Tridentine Council sanctioned the scriptures that the Lutherans had rejected), or scriptures venerated as holy by one party are cast out of the realm of the holy”.

<sup>83</sup> Graetz, *Kohelet* (1871), 152.

<sup>84</sup> Cf. Graetz, *Die grosse Versammlung* (1857).

the canonization of the Prophets as an effort to counter the religious beliefs of the Samaritans. Working with an early postexilic date for the Samaritan schism, Graetz dates the Prophets to the time just after Nehemiah's death (ca. 400 BCE). "Other books" were already in circulation but were not prophetic in nature, and so they were not included. The later debate (ca. 65 CE) between the House of Shammai and the House of Hillel was exclusively over the canonicity of the Writings (cf. *m. Yad.* 4:6; *b. Shabb.* 1:4).<sup>85</sup>

At this point Graetz acknowledges the view of Gustav Friedrich Oehler (1812–1872) that this later debate did not actually turn on whether to canonize books but rather whether certain books, already viewed as authoritative, should be retained in the canon.<sup>86</sup> However, Graetz counters this view, apparently again on the basis that canonization requires an official decision. Since some books in the Writings could not have been canonized ca. 400 BCE, they must have been canonized ca. 65 CE. Interestingly, for Graetz the dynamic driving each assembly was different. The question for the first assembly had been which books should be read aloud in synagogue services. With the second, the issue instead was which books to protect from "disparagement" (*Verunglimpfung*).<sup>87</sup>

In the debate about which books were to be affirmed in the face of such criticism, only Kohelet was barred from the Writings because of Shammaite objection (*m. Yad.* 5.3). It was in order to resolve this debate, and to respond to newly emerging criticism regarding the Song of Songs, that the final assembly deliberated about the biblical canon.<sup>88</sup> This deliberation occurred ca. 90 CE in Jamnia (or Yavneh).<sup>89</sup> In fact, there did continue to be disagreement even after Jamnia until the canon was determined for good by the redactor of the Mishnah: "One can therefore say that the canon was finally closed with the redaction of the Mishnah...and by its authority".<sup>90</sup> Nevertheless, the Mishnah confirmed, and did not alter, the canon of Jamnia. Certain books (e.g., Sirach) had also been rejected at Jamnia. To be sure, Josephus' description of the canon dates also from this time (ca. 90 CE), but his canonical divisions and book-count are too idiosyncratic to be taken seriously.

Graetz does realize that one possible objection to his reconstructed history of the canon still relates to Kohelet. If the book in fact was not complete until the reign of Herod the Great, could it really have been accepted into the canon scarcely eighty years later? Could it have gained scriptural authority in such a short period of time? Graetz' answer is that these years were extremely turbulent ones in Israel's history, and so it is not surprising that Kohelet's recent origins could have been forgotten.<sup>91</sup> But in making this judgment, Graetz appears to give

<sup>85</sup> Graetz, *Kohelet* (1871), 157.

<sup>86</sup> Oehler, *Canon* (1858).

<sup>87</sup> Graetz, *Kohelet* (1871), 162. Graetz seems not to notice that this formulation might lend support to Oehler's position, viz., that the Hagiographa were already viewed as authoritative, at least by some.

<sup>88</sup> Graetz, *ibid.* 163.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.* 163.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.* 166: "Mann kann also sagen, dass der Kanon endgültigst mit der Redaction der Mishnah...und durch ihre Autorität abgeschlossen wurde".

<sup>91</sup> Graetz, *Kohelet* (1871), 172–73.



credit, without acknowledging it, to the view that canonization not only operates on the basis of official decisions but also requires the assent of the wider religious community.

Through his sustained attention to rabbinic sources, Graetz shifted the study of the Old Testament canon in a way that was to have lasting impact.<sup>92</sup> No longer could Christian scholars ignore or minimize this body of evidence in their own reconstructions. Furthermore, Graetz' ultimate grounding of the canon's authority in the Mishnah raised, if only implicitly, the question of whether or not Jewish and Christian tradition actually shared a single historical process of canon formation. Yet it was Graetz' introduction of Jamnia that was to be best remembered, and most influential, in subsequent scholarship. If the canon was a product of historical development but not to be considered purely contingent, a historical accident, then something else was needed to legitimate it – such as, for example, an official decision of a deliberative religious body invested with communal authority. To paraphrase Voltaire, if Jamnia did not exist, it would have been necessary to invent it. Inventing Jamnia was exactly what Graetz did, and throughout the twentieth century Jamnia would serve as the key linchpin for views of the canon's historical development. Only toward the end of that century would the flimsy historical basis for Jamnia be resubmitted to scrutiny and rejected.<sup>93</sup>

After Graetz, views of the canon's development would also echo his three-fold history. Ironically, the insight often attributed to him was in fact not quite his: that the three-fold structure of the biblical canon provides evidence of its three-stage history of formation. Yet even if other scholars reconstructed those stages more consistently and worked with other dating schemes, the idea that the three canonical divisions formed *en bloc* was a powerful one and soon widely accepted. Almost never later asked, in fact, was why the histories of the three divisions could not have overlapped or been simultaneous, if only partially. Instead the logic of the argument pushed toward three discrete subcollections, with each one "closing" in turn before the next could open, and with Jamnia signaling the end of the entire process in 90 CE. This three-stage reconstruction negotiated between the one difficulty of positing a canon that could be superseded by subsequent addition and the other difficulty of reckoning with post-Nehemiah dates for the composition of some of the biblical books.

Nevertheless, Graetz' identification of Jamnia as the scene of the canon's closure was affirmed in a major work on the Old Testament canon by Samuel Davidson (1807–1898) just a few years later, which also brought the Jamnia theory into the mainstream of English language scholarship.<sup>94</sup> Davidson was parti-

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<sup>92</sup> Graetz was certainly not the first to consider this body of evidence. Ginsburg, *Ecclesiastes* (1861), 9–16, had done the same in the previous decade, but reaching an opposite conclusion: namely, that the rabbinic sources upheld the fixity of the canon prior to the beginning of the Christian era, and that the Shammaites should be viewed as an unrepresentative rigorist minority. Ginsburg dates *Kohelet* no earlier than 350–340 BCE, adding: "and if it could be shewn that the Old Testament canon was not closed till after that time, the language and complexion of the book would fully justify us in assigning it to a much later period" (p. 255). It is precisely this possibility that Graetz develops.

<sup>93</sup> Lewis, *Jamnia Revisited* (2002).

<sup>94</sup> Davidson, *Canon* (1877), 36f, although he acknowledges the existence of even later rabbinic

cularly keen to argue that the “triplicity” of the Old Testament did not reflect different stages of religious development, as Oehler had argued,<sup>95</sup> but had instead to do with “the manner in which the books were collected”.<sup>96</sup> The three-stage theory of canon formation would have its detractors (e.g., Wildeboer) but was in time almost universally embraced, not least because of its sponsorship by H. E. Ryle.

#### 4.2. Ryle: Canon as Three Canons

*Select studies:* Chapman, *Law and Prophets* (2000), 3–7. – M. H. FITZGERALD, *A Memoir of Herbert Edward Ryle* (London: Macmillan and Co. 1928); art. “Ryle, Herbert Edward (1856–1925)”, ODNB 48 (2004), 483–485. – P. TOON / M. SMOUT, *John Charles Ryle: Evangelical Bishop* (Swengel, PA: Reiner Publications 1976).

Herbert Edward Ryle (1856–1925) produced the most comprehensive, methodologically inflected presentation of the three-stage canon theory ever written, one that continues to influence scholarship to this day. He could easily be called “the Wellhausen of canonical scholarship”, in the sense that his model of canon formation became the fundamental paradigm for twentieth-century treatments of the Old Testament canon. Born in London to J. C. Ryle (1816–1900), a famously evangelical priest within the Church of England and later Bishop of Liverpool, he attended Eton and King’s College, Cambridge, where he excelled in his studies. Ryle was ordained a priest in 1883. Beginning in 1888 he held the position of Hulsean Professor of Divinity at Cambridge. While in this post Ryle published his studies of the Old Testament canon and Philo. Ryle was named President of Queen’s College, Cambridge, in 1896. He was appointed Bishop of Exeter in 1900, Bishop of Winchester in 1903 and Dean of Westminster in 1910. Although not an evangelical like his father, Ryle was a genuine churchman, known for his ability to combine his commitment to open scholarship and new ideas in the study of the Bible with a deep pastoral concern for the spiritual needs of his students and parishioners. He is remembered for his attentive oversight of Westminster Abbey’s religious services during the First World War, as well as for his advocacy on behalf of a “Tomb of the Unknown Warrior”. The original idea for this memorial came from the Reverend David Railton, who had served as a military chaplain during the war. Railton wrote Ryle, who personally took up the cause, persuading David Lloyd George, the prime minister, and King George V to support it. Ryle contributed the inscription for the tomb from his own pen. It reads, in part: “They buried him among the kings because he had done good toward God and toward His house”. Ryle is also buried in Westminster Abbey.

Toward the close of the nineteenth century, studies of the Old Testament canon proliferated, all largely sharing a single paradigm, despite inevitable differences in detail and emphasis. The year 1882 had seen a sea change occur in Britain, with the appointment of S. R. Driver (1846–1914) to the Regius Professorship of Hebrew at Oxford, following the long reactionary tenure of that position by E.

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debate (p. 40). It bears noting that Davidson had earlier written the introduction and notes for the British edition of Stuart’s treatment of the Old Testament canon, published in 1849 by G. Routledge (London). Davidson was dismissed in 1857 from Lancashire Independent College, Manchester, because it was felt that he had undermined Christian orthodoxy by raising doubts about Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch. Davidson traced Deuteronomy and the Sinaitic laws to Moses, but he also reconstructed two post-Mosaic documents (identifiable through their respective use of the divine names Elohim and Jehovah). Davidson drew heavily on the work of German scholars to arrive at this position, raising questions of plagiarism and contributing significantly to British suspicion of German biblical scholarship. See further Rogerson, *Old Testament Criticism* (1985), 197–208.

<sup>95</sup> Oehler, *Canon*, 546: “The threefold division of the O. T. Canon is not accidental or arbitrary: it accords with the developing process of the O. T. religion”; cf. his *Prolegomena* (1845), 91 f.

<sup>96</sup> Davidson, *Canon* (1877), 59.

B. Pusey (1800–1882), and the installation of A. F. Kirkpatrick (1849–1940) as Regius Professor of Hebrew at Cambridge.<sup>97</sup> Together with Ryle, these scholars were instrumental in opening up British biblical scholarship, as well as wider British culture, to new critical ideas about the Bible. Drawing on German scholarship, they helped to create the basic historical paradigm for Old Testament studies, which existed well into the twentieth century, and they endeavored to show how this paradigm could cohere with, and even deepen, traditional Christian belief. In the introduction to the first edition of Ryle's treatment of the Old Testament canon (1892), he mentions how he was just barely able to incorporate references to Driver's famous *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament* (1891), which had only recently appeared, as he reviewed his proofs prior to publication. By setting his work on the canon firmly within the newer critical approach, Ryle gave it remarkable staying power. Despite all of the changes in Old Testament study throughout the twentieth century, Ryle's theory of the canon remained the standard view. Although this view has received mounting criticism over the last three decades, the current English-language standard work on the biblical canon reaffirms Ryle's theory.<sup>98</sup>

For Ryle, the notion that the books of the Old Testament simply represent "relics of Hebrew literature" so that "the Canon is a mere residue of archaic Hebrew writings" is strongly to be resisted.<sup>99</sup> The canon is not simply an accident of history but reflects a deliberative process within ancient Judaism: "We assume that the writings included in the Canon of the Old Testament were brought together for a special purpose, and that that purpose was a religious one".<sup>100</sup> The critical problem, however, is that Scripture does not explain how this process occurred and external witnesses to the process are meager. Ryle rejects almost without comment early Jewish traditions such as that of Nehemiah's library and Levita's notion of a "great synagogue". Instead, Ryle suggests that the way forward can only lie in reading Scripture inferentially, in the light of its reconstructed literary development, for clues about the history of the canon's formation: "Scripture must tell its own tale. No record of the circumstances which led to the formation of the Sacred deposit having elsewhere been preserved to us, we must pierce down and investigate the signs of the strata themselves".<sup>101</sup> Also of great significance is the three-fold arrangement of the canon. As opposed to "the belief that [the canon] was the work of one man or of a single generation, the triple division of the Hebrew Scriptures embodies a far more ancient tradition, that of a gradual development in the formation of the Canon through three successive stages".<sup>102</sup> The similarity between this particular formulation and the language of Ryle's subtitle (i.e., "An Essay on the Gradual

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<sup>97</sup> Fitzgerald, Ryle (1928), 77. Fitzgerald also quotes A. H. McNeile to the effect that "Those were the days when Ryle, Kirkpatrick, and Driver represented to many people English Higher Criticism of the Old Testament" (p. 97).

<sup>98</sup> McDonald, *Biblical Canon* (2007).

<sup>99</sup> Ryle, *Canon* (1895) 6f.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.* 8.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.* 9.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.* 10f.

Growth and Formation of the Hebrew Canon of Scripture”) points to the centrality of the developmental idea within his thought.<sup>103</sup>

Yet there is a further position that Ryle adopts, with far-reaching consequences. He draws a fundamental distinction between the history of canon formation and the history of the literary formation of the biblical books.<sup>104</sup> On the one hand, this position would seem unobjectionable, even necessary, from a critical point of view: the composite nature of the biblical books indicates that they were subject to change for a lengthy period of time prior to their fixation. So the history of the canon does not itself begin with the origins of the books. But, on the other hand, the two processes are also clearly to be linked in some way. Ryle's way of linking them is to require that literary formation be absolutely complete before canonization can occur. In fact, he insists on an unspecified “interval of time” between final composition and canonical acceptance. What Ryle explicitly rejects with such a formulation is the idea that some books might have been “expressly composed for the purpose of forming, or of helping to complete, the Hebrew canon”.<sup>105</sup> Ryle's reason for this judgment apparently has to do with his theological view of revelation as necessarily occurring in history. But in light of recent scholarship, it is fascinating to watch Ryle consider, and then reject, the basic insight of the “canonical approach” to the Old Testament almost one century later.<sup>106</sup>

Ryle proposes instead that there are three literary stages to be reconstructed for each biblical book: the “elemental stage”, in which the sources belonging to the book took shape; the “medial stage”, in which those sources were combined and the book edited to its “present literary form”; and the “final stage”, when the book is selected for a place in the canon.<sup>107</sup> In actuality, however, this third stage no longer consists of any literary activity *per se*, and the “interval of time” existing between the second and third stages enforces a strict separation of the literary and canonical processes, rather than any sort of overlap. Such working assumptions grow out of, and reinforce, the notion that canonization is a strictly extrinsic act, without any real relation to literary development. On this view, biblical writings are “invested” with canonical authority instead of earning it. The process of revelation may have been gradual, but the nature of canonization was basically punctiliar.

Ryle could have expanded his notion of what canonization was, conceiving of it as also more gradual. Instead, he created a series of moments of canonization in order to do the same conceptual work. So, following a long tradition, he locates the first moment of canonization in the early postexilic period under Ezra, when the Pentateuch became Israel's “first canon”.<sup>108</sup> This dating helps to explain the dignity always given to the Law in Jewish tradition, the initial translation of the Pentateuch into Greek, and the fact that the Samaritans retained only

<sup>103</sup> Cf. Ryle, *Holy Scripture* (1904), 47: “The theology of the Old Testament is historically progressive”.

<sup>104</sup> Ryle, *Canon* (1895) 16f.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.* 17.

<sup>106</sup> Cf. Childs, *Introduction* (1979), 60.

<sup>107</sup> Ryle, *Canon* (1895) 17.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.* 83.

the Torah as Scripture.<sup>109</sup> The Samaritan schism is dated by Ryle to 432 BCE.<sup>110</sup> To be sure, the prior discovery of the deuteronomic law book in the Jerusalem Temple during Josiah's reign (621 BCE) had introduced a crucial shift into Israelite religious consciousness, preparing the ground for the later innovation of a scriptural canon: "In the authority and sanctity assigned, at this conjuncture, to a book, we recognise the beginnings of the Hebrew Canon. And we cannot but feel, that it was no mere chance, but the overruling of the Divine Wisdom, which thus made provision for the spiritual survival of His chosen people on the eve of their political annihilation".<sup>111</sup> Nonetheless, the deuteronomic law by itself still did not constitute canonical Scripture, and for two reasons. First, prophecy was still a living tradition and prophetic oracles would have trumped the written word. Second, the deuteronomic law could not function as a sufficient authority because it relied upon, acknowledged and referred to a wide variety of other traditions and teachings that it did not itself contain.<sup>112</sup> Once the Law of Moses was promulgated by Ezra, however, there did exist within Israel a sufficient written guide to religious knowledge and practice.

Or perhaps not. Ryle is at pains to describe how the Law could have been perceived as final and fully authoritative in its role as Israel's "first canon", but how Israel's "second canon", the Prophets, nevertheless came into existence at the same time. A major source of his difficulty stems from another working assumption, one that he never defends or addresses explicitly: even more than Graetz, he also thinks that the three canonical subcollections have formed *en bloc*, and that the Prophets and the Writings could only "open" when the previous subcollection was "closed". Perhaps in Ryle's mind this assumption relates to his notion of the three literary stages in the composition of the biblical books. But the linear character of the assumption is not simply a straightforward judgment with respect to dating. In fact, Ryle thinks that the book of Joshua already existed when the Law was canonized but was separated from the pentateuchal books: "The ground of the separation must have been, either that its narrative did not contain direct religious teaching, or, as seems more probable, that the Book of the Law seemed to close more appropriately with the death of the great Lawgiver".<sup>113</sup> This formulation suggests two tensions within Ryle's theory of canon: first, it implies that canonization may not have been purely extrinsic but could have been related to editorial and redactional changes to the biblical literature; second, it problematizes Ryle's restriction of scriptural authority to canonization: did Joshua first become authoritative and then cease to be so, only to regain scriptural authority later? If only canonical writings were religiously authoritative, where did Joshua go when it was not initially canonized? Canonical limbo? Ryle rather lamely reasserts that Joshua had not yet gained "final acceptance" and that "an interval of time" was necessary between the canonization of the

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<sup>109</sup> Ibid. 89–92.

<sup>110</sup> Ibid. 93. The importance of this last point for Ryle's argument is indicated by his addition of an appendix on the subject following Chap. 4 of his second edition.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid. 61.

<sup>112</sup> Ibid. 67f.

<sup>113</sup> Ibid. 107.

Law and Joshua's canonization. But what was the nature of such "acceptance," and what was its relationship to canonization?

Ryle wants to date a "special interest" in prophetic tradition to the age of Nehemiah, too.<sup>114</sup> Over time, this interest grew and led to the eventual addition of a "second canon" to the first. Ryle does not think this process got seriously underway until about a century after Nehemiah, with a *terminus a quo* of ca. 300 BCE.<sup>115</sup> For his *terminus ad quem*, he considers the evidence of Sirach (dated to 180 BCE), noting not only its thorough acquaintance with traditions found in the historical and prophetic books but also its reference to the Minor Prophets as "the twelve prophets" (Sir 49:10). Ryle therefore views Sirach as exhibiting a significantly elevated regard for the prophetic books. Ryle also marks the evidence of Daniel (which he dates to 165 BCE), especially the allusion in Dan 9:2 to "the books", as an indication that the prophetic corpus was more or less extant by that time. Finally, Ryle takes account of the prologue to Sirach (which he dates to 132 BCE), with its language of "the law, the prophets and the rest of the books". He views the existence of a prophetic corpus as beyond question at this point. Ryle then sets the probable date of the "second canon" during the high priesthood of Simon II (219–199 BCE), or just prior to the body of Sirach. New Testament allusions to "the law and the prophets", he muses, may thus preserve a genuine memory of an earlier stage in the history of Old Testament canon formation, in which the totality of the canon was two-thirds of what it later became.<sup>116</sup>

Nevertheless, the "third canon" is still in the process of its formation at the time of the prologue to Sirach, so perhaps it had earlier only comprised an "informal appendix" to the "law and prophets" canon.<sup>117</sup> Ryle rejects the notion of an Alexandrian canon.<sup>118</sup> Reviewing the customary external witnesses (e.g., Philo, the New Testament, Josephus, etc.), Ryle takes the year 100 CE as the *terminus ad quem* for the canon as a whole.<sup>119</sup> He acknowledges that the historical evidence concerning Jamnia is sketchy, but accepts that discussions regarding certain books could have occurred there at this time. Another possibility, he suggests, is that "Jamnia" may in effect "symbolize the general attitude of the Jewish doctors, and their resolve to put an end to the doubts about the 'disputed' books of the Hagiographa".<sup>120</sup> To be sure, most of the Writings were likely "annexed" to the "law and prophets" canon already at the beginning of the Maccabean period (160–140 BCE). But it took over two hundred and fifty years to reach a complete consensus about their precise contents.<sup>121</sup> Here again the details of Ryle's

<sup>114</sup> Ibid. 113.

<sup>115</sup> Ibid. 117f.

<sup>116</sup> Ibid. 128.

<sup>117</sup> Ibid. 131.

<sup>118</sup> Ibid. 156. On the basis of the present study, it would seem that Sundberg, *Canon* (1964), misreads the history of scholarship when he characterizes the Alexandrian canon hypothesis as an unquestioned assumption prior to his own work in abolishing it. In fact, the hypothesis appears to have been widely known but largely unpersuasive throughout the nineteenth century.

<sup>119</sup> Ryle, *ibid.* 177, explicitly rejects the argument of Graetz by interpreting Josephus' canon as identical to the canons found in later lists.

<sup>120</sup> Ibid. 183.

<sup>121</sup> Ibid. 184.

reconstruction rest uneasily with his theory. Was this “appendix” authoritative or not? Did it experience editorial change or not? The specifics are elusive. Ryle believes that all of the books later found in the canon had already possessed “some sort of recognition before the close of the second cent. B.C., and before the death of John Hyrcanus II (105 B.C.)”. Yet “[t]he Jewish Rabbis had only, as it were, to affix an official seal to that which had already long enjoyed currency among the people”.<sup>122</sup> This notion of canonization is still extrinsic but no longer exclusively deliberative. The impression given is rather that the essence of canonization occurs through religious usage and popular assent rather than by the approval of a representative body.

A closing of the canon at the end of the first century CE explains the absence of Esther, Ecclesiastes and the Song of Songs in the New Testament; these books were not yet canonical. Nevertheless, Ryle did not read the New Testament as functioning without a stable form of Jewish Scripture, and he was still persuaded that the final determination of the canon’s scope occurred in Judaism prior to Christian consideration of the matter: “The final determination of the Hebrew Canon preceded the Church’s formal acceptance of it as the Canon of the Scriptures of the Old Covenant”.<sup>123</sup> Ryle was thus able to combine Graetz’ three-stage canon, now consistently corresponding to the three canonical divisions, with Stuart’s christological account of canon: “It was thus divinely ordered that we should be enabled to know the exact limits of those Scriptures upon which has rested the sanction conveyed by the usage and blessing of our Divine Master, and of which He spake, ‘there are they which bear witness of me’ (John v. 39)”.<sup>124</sup> In this manner Ryle held to the notion that Christianity had inherited a canon of Scripture from the Synagogue, even though he dated the absolute closure of that canon after the time of Jesus and most of the New Testament writings.

In the twentieth century, Ryle’s linear three-stage model became the acknowledged paradigm of Old Testament canon formation, appearing in most textbooks and secondary resources in the field.<sup>125</sup> It was a brilliant synthesis of nineteenth-century studies and insights. Its lack of consistency actually increased its longevity by making it flexible enough to accommodate a dizzying array of reconstructive historical schemes for the literary formation of the canon’s individual books. Toward the end of the twentieth century, however, scholars began to realize that the nature of canonization as a socio-historical process remained unclear. How and why do societies “canonize” books? What does “canonization” actually mean? Is it more a matter of literary fixation or cultural authority?<sup>126</sup> Although Ryle’s model would continue to have its defenders, it would become increasingly

<sup>122</sup> Ibid. 184.

<sup>123</sup> Ibid. 190.

<sup>124</sup> Ibid. 190; cf. 220: “the Bible of the Jewish Church on which our Saviour set the seal of His authority”.

<sup>125</sup> See Chapman, *The Law and the Prophets* (2000), 6f, for a survey and further discussion.

<sup>126</sup> Cf. de Wette, *Historical and Critical Introduction* (1850), 33: “[I]t is certain that the whole of the Old Testament came gradually into existence, and as it were of itself, and, by force of custom or public use, acquired a sort of sanction”.

common to hear references to “the demise of the three-stage canonization theory”.<sup>127</sup>

One crucial question regarding the biblical canon in particular has steadily grown out of Ryle's very avoidance of it. Was it really the case that the prophetic books could only be considered as candidates for canonization once the first canonical division was closed? Why would they have been added to such a law-oriented canon?<sup>128</sup> Clearly they existed already in some form prior to the completion of the Pentateuch. Or what of the Writings, portions of which possess a reasonable critical claim to a pre-exilic date?<sup>129</sup> What if the canonical subcollections were forming at the same time, even exercising literary influence on each other as they did so?<sup>130</sup> Especially as critical reconstructions for many Old Testament books now highlight the Persian period as the crucial time for their literary growth and development, the old possibility has re-emerged that assignment of a specific book within a canonical subdivision has more to do with its subject matter than its stage in history.<sup>131</sup>

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<sup>127</sup> E.g., Ellis, *Old Testament* (1992), 37; cf. van der Toorn, *Scribal Culture* (2007), 235: “Today this theory of canonization is no longer in favor with the scholarly community...The history of the canonization of the Hebrew Bible has to be written anew.”

<sup>128</sup> For an early exploration of this question, see E. König, *Hauptprobleme* (1906).

<sup>129</sup> Sanday, *Inspiration* (1893), 251.

<sup>130</sup> This possibility was mooted at the end of the nineteenth century by Willis J. Beecher (1838–1912). See his *Alleged Triple Canon* (1896). Beecher proposes viewing the Old Testament prior to the closure of the canon as a “growing aggregate of recognized sacred writings” (p. 126). He argues explicitly against the ascendant critical view of “successive canons”. Yet Beecher's point went misunderstood or unheard. Budde, *Canon* (1899), 657, characterized Beecher's effort as a “total failure”, largely because he felt that Beecher had not accounted adequately for the Samaritan Pentateuch-only canon.

<sup>131</sup> Ellis, *Old Testament* (1992), 44: “With the failure of the three-stage canonization theory, at least in its traditional form, the origin and meaning of the tripartite division of the Hebrew Bible remain very open questions”. Cf. further Beckwith, *Formation* (1985), 57: “A formal decision to subdivide the miscellaneous non-Mosaic Scriptures would again have been a deliberate and rational act”; and van der Kooij, *De canonvorming* (1995).





Contributors

Abbreviations

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# Abbreviations

## General and Non-literary Abbreviations

Abt.	Abteilung	n(n).	note(s)
ad loc.	ad locum	no(s).	number(s)
Arab.	Arabic	NS	New Series
b.	babli; ben / bar; born	NT	New Testament
BCE	Before Common Era	obv.	obverse
BH	Biblia Hebraica	OG	Old Greek
Bk.	Book	OS	Old Series
c.	circa / around	OT	Old Testament
CE	Common Era	P	Peshitta
cf.	confer, compare	pass.	passim
ch./chap(s).	chapter(s)	p(p).	page(s)
col(s).	column(s)	pl(s).	plate(s)
cr.	Copyright	pl.	plural
d.	died	pr.	printed / printing
Diss.	Dissertation	Q	Qumran
e.a.	et alia/i and others	q. v.	quod vide
e.c.	exempli causa	r	recto (cf. v)
ed(s).	editor(s) / edited by	ref(s).	reference(s)
edn.	edition	repr.	reprint(ed)
ET	English translation	rev.	revised
f(f)	following unit(s) / page(s)	RV	Revised Version
fol.	folio	s. a.	sine anno
FS	Festschrift	sect(s).	section(s)
FT	French translation	s.l.	sine loco
G	Greek version	sg.	singular
GT	German translation	s. v.	sub voce
HB	Hebrew Bible	Syr.	Syriac
Heb.	Hebrew	TaNaK	Tora Nebi'im Ketubim ('Law, Prophets, Writings'), acronym for the Hebrew Bible
hgg.	herausgegeben		
i.a.	inter alia	Tg(s)	Targum(s)
i. e.	id est	tr.	translated / translatio
ibid.	ibidem	UP	University Press
j.	jeruschalmi (cf. y.)	v	verso
Lat.	Latin	v(v).	verse(s)
LXX	Septuagint	var.	variant
MA	Middle Ages / Mittelalter / Moyen Age	Vg	Vulgate
MT	Mas(s)oretic Text	VL	Vetus Latina
Ms(s)/ms(s)	manuscript(s)	vol(s).	volume(s)
ND	Neudruck	vs.	versus
NF	Neue Folge	y.	yerushalmi (cf. j.)

## Acronyms of Cited Rabbis

Besht / ha-Besht	Rabbi Israel Ba'al Shem Tov	Ramban	Rabbi Moses ben Nahman / Nahmanides
Malbim	Rabbi Meir Leibush / Loeb ben Yehiel Michael	Rambeman	Rabbi Moses Mendelssohn
Radak	Rabbi David Qimhi (Kimhi)	Rasad	Rabbi Saadiah Gaon
Ralbag	Rabbi Levi ben Gershom / Gersonides	Rashbam	Rabbi Samuel ben Meir
Rambam	Rabbi Moses ben Maimon / Maimonides	Rashi	Rabbi Solomon Yishaqi (ben Isaac)

Abbreviations of Periodicals, Yearbooks,  
Reference Works and SeriesAbbreviations of periodicals are in *italic*

AASOR	Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research	AGP	Arbeiten zur Geschichte des Pietismus
AASF	Annales Academiae Scien- tiarum Fennicae	<i>AGPh</i>	<i>Archiv für Geschichte der Phi- losophie (und Soziologie)</i>
AASP	Archives of the Archdiocese of St. Paul	AGTL	Arbeiten zur Geschichte und Theologie des Luthertums
AAug	Analecta Augustiniana	AGWG	Abhandlungen der (kgl.) Gesellschaft der Wissenschaf- ten zu Göttingen
AAWB	Abhandlungen der kgl. Akade- mie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin	AHB	Allgemeine historische Bib- liothek
AAWG	Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttin- gen; cf. AGWG	<i>AHR</i>	<i>American Historical Review</i>
ABD	<i>Anchor Bible Dictionary</i>	<i>AHSJ</i>	<i>Archivum Historicum Societa- tis Jesu</i>
ABG	<i>Archiv für Begriffsgeschichte</i>	AHST	Arbeiten zur Historischen und Systematischen Theologie
ABRep	<i>American Biblical Repository</i>	AJS	<i>American Journal of Sociology</i>
ACQR	<i>American Catholic Quarterly Review</i>	AJSL	<i>American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures</i>
ADB	<i>Allgemeine Deutsche Biogra- phie</i>	AJTh	<i>American Journal of Theology</i>
ADPV	Abhandlungen des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins	AKG	Arbeiten zur Kirchenges- chichte
ÄAT	Ägypten und Altes Testament	<i>AKuG</i>	<i>Archiv für Kulturgeschichte</i>
AER/AEcR	<i>American Ecclesiastical Review</i>	AnBib	Analecta Biblica
AWEAT	<i>Archiv für wissenschaftliche Erforschung des Alten Testa- ments</i>	ANET	<i>Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament</i>
AEWK	Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Wissenschaften und Künste	AnGr	Analecta Gregoriana
		ANVAO	Avhandlingar utgitt av Det Norske Videnskaps-Akademi i Oslo

AÖG	<i>Archiv für österreichische Geschichte</i>	BHR	Bibliothèque d'humanisme et renaissance
A $\phi$	<i>Archiv für Philosophie</i>	BHRef	Bibliotheca humanistica et reformatonica
ARefG	<i>Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte</i>	BHS	<i>Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia</i> (ed. K. Elliger / W. Rudolph)
ARelG	<i>Archiv für Religionsgeschichte</i>	BHTh	Beiträge zur historischen Theologie
ARWAW	Abhandlungen der Rheinisch-Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften	<i>Bib.</i>	<i>Biblica</i>
ASGW	Abhandlungen der Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften	BibOr	Biblica et Orientalia
ATA	Alttestamentliche Abhandlungen	<i>BibR</i>	<i>Biblical Research</i>
ATD	Das Alte Testament Deutsch. Neues Göttinger Bibelwerk	BJRL	Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester
AThANT	Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments	BKAT	<i>Biblischer Kommentar. Altes Testament</i>
AUL	Acta Universitatis Lundensis	BLGNP	<i>Biographisch lexicon voor de geschiedenis van het Nederlandse protestantisme</i>
AUU	Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis	<i>BMS</i>	<i>Berlinische Monatschrift</i>
AWEAT	<i>Archiv für wissenschaftliche Erforschung des Alten Testaments</i>	<i>BN</i>	<i>Biblische Notizen</i>
BASOR	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research	<i>BNYPL</i>	<i>Bulletin of the New York Public Library</i>
BB	Biographia Britannica	BRHE	Bibliothèque de la Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique
BBB	Bonner Biblische Beiträge	BThSt	Biblich-Theologische Studien
BBC	<i>Blackwell Bible Commentaries</i>	BTT	<i>Bible de tous les temps</i>
BBKL	<i>Biographisch-bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon</i> (Bauztz)	BWANT	Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuem Testament
BCAT	<i>Biblischer Kommentar über das Alte Testament</i>	<i>BZ</i>	<i>Biblische Zeitschrift</i>
BEATAJ	Beiträge zur Erforschung des Alten Testaments und des antiken Judentums	BZAR	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für Orientalische und Biblische Rechtsgeschichte
BETL	Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium	BZAW	Beiträge zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
BEvTh	Beiträge zur Evangelischen Theologie	BZNW	Beiträge zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft
BFBS	The British and Foreign Bible Society	CBC	<i>Cambridge Bible Commentary</i>
BFChrTh	Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie	CBET	Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology
BGBE	Beiträge zur Geschichte der biblischen Exegese	<i>CBQ</i>	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
BGBH	Beiträge zur Geschichte der biblischen Hermeneutik	CBQ.MS	Catholic Biblical Quarterly. Monograph Series
BHK	<i>Biblia Hebraica</i> (ed. R. Kittel)	CBSC	<i>The Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges</i>
BHQ	<i>Biblia Hebraica Quinta</i> (ed. A. Schenker e.a.)	CGG	<i>Christlicher Glaube in moderner Gesellschaft</i>
		<i>CH</i>	<i>Church History</i>
		CHB	The Cambridge History of the Bible

<i>CHR</i>	<i>Catholic Historical Review</i>	ECCA	Early Christianity in the Context of Antiquity
<i>CbW</i>	<i>Christliche Welt</i>		
CIS	Corpus inscriptionum Semiticarum	<i>EcR</i>	<i>The Ecclesiastical Review</i>
CNedThT	Cahiers bij Nederlands theologisch Tijdschrift	EdF	Erträge der Forschung
ConBOT	Coniectanea Biblica. Old Testament Series	EEF	Egypt Exploration Fund
CRINT	Compendia rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum	EH	<i>Exegetisches Handbuch zum Alten Testament</i> (Münster)
CThM	Calwer theologische Monographien	EHPHR	Études d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses
<i>CTJ</i>	<i>Calvin Theological Journal</i>	EHS.T	Europäische Hochschulschriften. Reihe 23: Theologie
DAB	<i>Dictionary of American Biography</i> , 1–20 (1928–1958)	EKGB	Einzelarbeiten aus der Kirchengeschichte Bayerns
DABu	Dichter des Alten Bundes	EKZ	<i>Evangelische Kirchenzeitung</i>
DB	<i>Dictionnaire de la Bible</i>	EncBB	<i>The Encyclopedia of the Books of the Bible</i>
DBH	<i>Dictionary of the Bible</i> (ed. J. Hastings)	EncBi	<i>Encyclopaedia Biblica</i>
DBS	<i>Dictionary of the Bible</i> (ed. W. Smith)	EncBr	<i>Encyclopaedia Britannica</i>
<i>DBAT</i>	<i>Dielheimer Blätter zum Alten Testament</i>	EncEnl	<i>Encyclopedia of Enlightenment</i>
DBI	<i>A Dictionary of Biblical Interpretation</i> (ed. R.J. Coggins / J. L. Houlden)	EncJud	<i>Encyclopaedia Judaica</i> (Jerusalem)
DBInt	<i>Dictionary of Biblical Interpretation</i> , A–J, K–Z (ed. J.H. Hayes)	EncPh	<i>Encyclopedia of Philosophy</i>
DBF	<i>Dictionnaire de Biographie Française</i>	EncRen	<i>Encyclopedia of the Renaissance</i>
DB.S	<i>Dictionnaire de la Bible. Supplément</i>	EPH	Études de philologie et d'histoire
DHI	<i>Dictionary of the History of Ideas</i> (New York 1968–1973)	ERE	<i>Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics</i> , 1–13 (1908–1926)
DJD	<i>Discoveries in the Judaean Desert</i>	EstB	Estudios Bíblicos
<i>DLZ</i>	<i>Deutsche Literaturzeitung</i>	<i>ET</i>	<i>Expository Times</i>
DMBI	<i>Dictionary of Major Biblical Interpreters</i> (ed. D.K. McKim)	ETH	Études de théologie historique
DNB	<i>Dictionary of National Biography</i> (London 1885–1901) / <i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> (Oxford 2004)	EthSt	Erfurter theologische Studien
ODNB		ETR	Études théologiques et religieuses
DS	<i>Enchiridion symbolorum ...</i> (ed. Denzinger / Schönmetzer)	<i>EvTh</i>	<i>Evangelische Theologie</i>
<i>DtPfrBl</i>	<i>Deutsches Pfarrerblatt</i>	<i>Exp.</i>	<i>Expositor</i>
DvFLG	Deutsche Vierteljahrschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte	ExpB	<i>Expositor's Bible</i>
		FAT	Forschungen zum Alten Testament
		FKDG	Forschungen zur Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichte
		FOTL	The Forms of the Old Testament Literature
		FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
		FSThR	Forschungen zur systematischen Theologie und Religionsphilosophie

FThSt	Freiburger theologische Studien	HWP	<i>Historisches Wörterbuch der Philosophie</i>
FuF	<i>Forschungen und Fortschritte</i>	HZ	<i>Historische Zeitschrift</i>
GGA	<i>Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen</i>	IB	<i>The Interpreter's Bible</i>
GodBij	<i>Godgeleerde Bijdragen</i>	IDB	Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible
GTA	Göttinger theologische Arbeiten	ICC	<i>The International Critical Commentary</i>
GuG	<i>Geschichte und Gesellschaft</i>	IOSOT	International Organization for the Study of the Old Testament
HAL	<i>Hebräisches und Aramäisches Lexikon zum Alten Testament</i>	<i>IlfRev</i>	<i>Ilf Review</i>
HAT	<i>Handbuch zum Alten Testament</i> (Tübingen)	IMW	<i>Internationale Monatsschrift für Wissenschaft, Kunst und Technik</i>
HBOT	<i>Hebrew Bible / Old Testament: The History of Its Interpretation</i> ; I/1: Antiquity, 1996; I/2: The Middle Ages, 2000; II: From the Renaissance to the Enlightenment, 2008	Int.	<i>Interpretation</i>
HBT	<i>Horizons in Biblical Theology</i>	JA	<i>Journal Asiatique</i>
HDG	<i>Handbuch der Dogmengeschichte</i>	JAAR	<i>Journal of the American Academy of Religion</i>
HDTG	<i>Handbuch der Dogmen- und Theologiegeschichte</i>	JAOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
HF	Historische Forschungen	JARCE	<i>Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt</i>
HHMBI	<i>Historical Handbook of Major Biblical Interpreters</i> (ed. D. K. McKim)	JBL	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
HHS	Harvard Historical Studies	JBR	<i>Journal of Bible and Religion</i>
HK(AT)	<i>Handkommentar zum Alten Testament</i>	JBTh	Jahrbuch für Biblische Theologie
HSAT	<i>Die Heilige Schrift des Alten Testaments</i>	JDTh	Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie
HThK	<i>Herders theologischer Kommentar</i>	JE	<i>Jewish Encyclopaedia</i>
HThS	Harvard Theological Studies	JHI	<i>Journal of the History of Ideas</i>
HJ	Historisches Jahrbuch	JHP	<i>Journal of the History of Philosophy</i>
HO	<i>Handbuch der Orientalistik</i>	JJS	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
HR	<i>History of Religions</i>	JJTP	<i>The Journal of Jewish Thought and Philosophy</i>
HS	Historische Studien	JMRS	<i>Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies</i>
HSM	Harvard Semitic Monographs	JNES	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
HTIBS	Historic Texts and Interpreters in Biblical Scholarship	JNWSL	<i>Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages</i>
HTR	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>	JPh	<i>Journal of Philology</i>
HUBP	Hebrew University Bible Project	JPTTh	Jahrbücher für protestantische Theologie
HUCA	Hebrew Union College Annual	JQR	Jewish Quarterly Review
HUTh	Hermeneutische Untersuchungen zur Theologie	JR	<i>Journal of Religion</i>
		JRAS	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland</i>
		JRH	<i>Journal of Religious History</i>

JSNT.S	Journal for the Study of the New Testament. Supplement Series	MThS.H	schaft / Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen
JSOT.S	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament. Supplement Series	MThSt	Münchener theologische Studien. Historische Abteilung
<i>JSTh</i>	<i>Journal of Scottish Thought</i>	<i>MThZ</i>	Marburger theologische Studien
<i>JThI</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Interpretation</i>	NABU	<i>Münchener theologische Zeitschrift</i>
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>	NAWG	Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires
<i>JZWL</i>	<i>Jüdische Zeitschrift für Wissenschaft und Leben</i>	NCB	Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen
KAT	<i>Kommentar zum Alten Testament</i>	NGWG	<i>New Clarendon Bible</i>
KEH	<i>Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch</i>	NDB	Nachrichten der (vgl.) Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften (und der Georg Augusts Universität) zu Göttingen
KEK	<i>Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament</i>	NEB	<i>Neue Deutsche Biographie</i>
KHC	<i>Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament</i>	<i>NedThT</i>	<i>New English Bible</i>
KIG	<i>Kirche in ihrer Geschichte</i>	<i>NZStb</i>	<i>Nederlands(ch)e Theologisch Tijdschrift</i>
<i>KiKul</i>	<i>Kirke og Kultur</i>	OBO	<i>Neue Zeitschrift für systematische Theologie</i>
KJV	<i>King James Bible / Version</i> (the Authorized Version)	ODNB	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis
KK	<i>Kurzgefasster Kommentar zu den heiligen Schriften Alten und Neuen Testaments</i>	OLA	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i>
KUSATU	Kleine Untersuchungen zur Sprache des Alten Testaments und seiner Umwelt	OLZ	Orientalia Iovaniensia analecta
KVR	Kleine Vandenhoeck-Reihe	<i>OrChrP</i>	<i>Orientalistische Literaturzeitung</i>
LCL	Loeb Classical Library	<i>OM</i>	<i>Orientalia Christiana Periodica</i>
LHBOTS	Library of Old Testament / Hebrew Bible Studies	OTE	<i>Oriente Moderno</i>
LuJ	Luther-Jahrbuch	OTL	Old Testament Essays
<i>LuthQ</i>	<i>Lutheran Quarterly</i>	OTS	Old Testament Library
MGH	Monumenta Germaniæ historica	PAAJR	Oudtestamentische Studien
<i>MGWJ</i>	<i>Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums</i>	PaThSt	Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research
<i>MennQR</i>	<i>Menonite Quarterly Review</i>	PBA	Paderborner theologische Studien
<i>Mikra</i>	<i>Mikra: Text, Translation, Reading, and Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Early Judaism and Early Christianity</i> (ed. M.J. Mulder; CRINT II/1)	PBIInst	Proceedings of the British Academy
<i>MQR</i>	<i>Methodist Quarterly Review</i>	PEF	Pontifical Biblical Institute / Pontificio Istituto Biblico
MSU	Mitteilungen des Septuaginta-Unternehmens der Gesellschaft / Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen	PEQ	The Palestine Exploration Fund
		PhB	<i>Palestine Exploration Quarterly</i>
		PhJ	Philosophische Bibliothek
		<i>PhR</i>	Philosophisches Jahrbuch der Görres-Gesellschaft
			<i>Philosophische Rundschau</i>

PIASH	Proceedings of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities	SAJEC	Studies in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity
PKZ	<i>Protestantische Kirchenzeitung für das evangelische Deutschland</i>	SAT	<i>Die Schriften des Alten Testaments</i>
PLO	Porta linguarum orientalium	SB	Sources Bibliques
PR	<i>The Presbyterian Review</i>	SBAB	Stuttgarter Biblische Aufsatzbände
PRE <sup>3</sup>	Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Alterthumswissenschaft	SBB	Stuttgarter biblische Beiträge
PSBA	Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology (cf. TSBA)	SBEc	Studia Biblica et Ecclesiastica
PT <sub>h</sub> M	Pittsburgh Theological Monographs	SBL.MS	Society of Biblical Literature. Masoretic Studies
QKIJRG	Quellenkunde der israelitischen und jüdischen Religionsgeschichte	SBL.MT	Society of Biblical Literature. Masoretic Texts
RB	Revue Biblique	SBONT	<i>Sacred Books of the Old and New Testaments</i>
RBén	Revue bénédictine de critique, d'histoire et de littérature religieuses	SBS	Stuttgarter Bibelstudien
RdQ	<i>Revue de Qumrân</i>	SBTh	Studies in Biblical Theology
RE	<i>Realencyclopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche</i>	Sef.	<i>Sefarad</i>
REB	<i>Revised English Bible</i>	SEÅ	Svensk Exegetisk Årsbok
REncPh	<i>Routledge Encyclopedia of Philosophy</i>	SHAW	Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften
REJ	Revue des études juives	SHKBA	Schriftenreihe der historischen Kommission bei der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften
RevSR	<i>Revue des sciences religieuses</i>	SHCT	Studies in the History of Christian Thought
RGG <sup>3</sup> /RGG <sup>4</sup>	<i>Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart</i> (3. / 4. edn.)	SHVL	Skrifter utgivna av Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet i Lund
RHE	Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique	SIH	Studies in Intellectual History
RHP <sub>h</sub> R	<i>Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses</i>	SJ	Studia Judaica
RHR	<i>Revue de l'histoire des religions</i>	SJOT	<i>Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament</i>
RKZ	<i>Reformierte Kirchenzeitung</i>	SJT	<i>Scottish Journal of Theology</i>
RLA	<i>Reallexikon der Assyriologie</i>	SKGG	Schriften der Königsberger Gelehrten Gesellschaft
RoC	Records of Civilization. Sources and Studies	SNVAO	Skrifter utgitt av Det Norske Videnskaps-Akademi i Oslo
RSR	Recherches de science religieuse	SOR	Studies in Oriental Religions
RSV	<i>Revised Standard Version</i>	SOTS.M	Society for Old Testament Study. Monographs
RSyn	Revue de synthèse	SPCK	Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge
RThPh	<i>Revue de théologie et de philosophie</i>	Spec.	<i>Speculum</i>
RV	Revised Version	SRTH	Studies in Reformed Theology and History
RSV	Revised Standard Version	SSAW	Sitzungsberichte der sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig
Saec.	<i>Saeculum</i>		
SaH	<i>Saat auf Hoffnung</i>		

SSL	Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense		Theological Seminary of America
SSN	Studia Semitica Neerlandica	TSTP	Tübinger Studien zur Theologie und Philosophie
<i>StGen</i>	<i>Studium generale</i>		
StPB	Studia post-biblica	TTD	<i>Theologisk Tidsskrift / Teologisk tidsskrift for den danske folkekirke</i>
StThB	Studien zu Theologie und Bibel		
SThZ	Schweizerische Theologische Zeitschrift	TTN	<i>Theologisk Tidsskrift for den evangelisk-lutherske Kirke i Norge</i>
STL	Studia theologica Lundensia		
STPIMS	Studies and Texts. Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies (Toronto)	TU	Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur
StT	Studi e Testi. Biblioteca apostolica Vaticana	UCLA	University of California – Los Angeles
<i>StTh</i>	<i>Studia Theologica</i>	UJE	<i>The Universal Jewish Encyclopedia</i>
SThGG	Studien zur Theologie und Geistesgeschichte des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts	UUÅ	Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift
		VB	<i>Vestigia Bibliae</i>
STRS	Studien und Texte zur Religionsgeschichtlichen Schule	VC	<i>Vigiliae Christianae</i>
		VIEG	Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für europäische Geschichte, Mainz
SWALBI	Schriftenreihe wissenschaftlicher Abhandlungen des Leo Baeck Institute of Jews from Germany	VMAW	Verslagen en Mededeelingen der kgl. Akademie van Wetenschappen
SWI	Studies of the Warburg Institute	VT	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
TAzB	Texte und Arbeiten zur Bibel	VT.S	Vetus Testamentum. Supplements
TCBS	Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society	VuF	<i>Verkündigung und Forschung</i>
ThB	Theologische Bücherei	WdF	Wege der Forschung
<i>ThBl</i>	<i>Theologische Blätter</i>	WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
<i>ThLBl</i>	<i>Theologisches Literaturblatt</i>		
<i>ThLZ</i>	<i>Theologische Literaturzeitung</i>	WO	<i>Die Welt des Orients</i>
<i>ThPh</i>	<i>Theologie und Philosophie</i>	WTJ	<i>Westminster Theological Journal</i>
<i>ThQ</i>	<i>Theologische Quartalschrift</i>		
<i>ThR</i>	<i>Theologische Rundschau</i>	WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
<i>ThStKr</i>	<i>Theologische Studien und Kritiken</i>		
ThSW	Theologische Studien aus Württemberg	WZH.GS	<i>Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg. Gesellschafts- und Sprachwissenschaften</i>
ThW	Theologische Wissenschaft		
<i>ThRv</i>	<i>Theologische Revue</i>		
<i>ThT</i>	<i>Theologisch Tijdschrift</i>		
TRE	<i>Theologische Realenzyklopädie</i>		
<i>TThZ</i>	<i>Trierer theologische Zeitschrift</i>		
<i>ThZ</i>	<i>Theologische Zeitschrift</i>	WZKM	<i>Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde es Morgenlandes</i>
TS	Theological Studies	YJS	Yale Judaica Series
TSBA	Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology	ZA	<i>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie</i>
TSJTSA	Texts and Studies of the Jewish	ZAH	<i>Zeitschrift für Althebraistik</i>



ZAR	<i>Zeitschrift für Altorientalische und Biblische Rechtsgeschichte</i>	ZKWL	<i>Zeitschrift für kirchliche Wissenschaft und kirchliches Leben</i>
ZAW	<i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>	ZLThK	<i>Zeitschrift für die lutherische Theologie und Kirche</i>
ZDMG	<i>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i>	ZNT	<i>Zeitschrift für Neues Testament</i>
ZDPV	<i>Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins</i>	ZNW	<i>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
ZHF	<i>Zeitschrift für historische Forschung</i>	ZVPsS	<i>Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Sprachwissenschaft</i>
ZHTb	<i>Zeitschrift für historische Theologie</i>	ZSTh	<i>Zeitschrift für systematische Theologie</i>
ZKG	<i>Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte</i>	ZThK	<i>Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche</i>
ZKM	<i>Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes</i>	ZRGG	<i>Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte</i>
ZKTh	<i>Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie</i>	ZWTh	<i>Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie</i>

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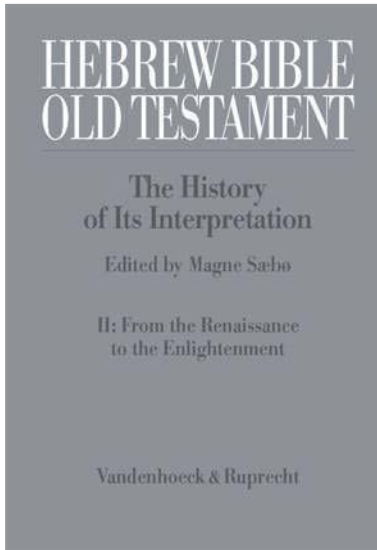
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